

SOCIETY AND SETTLEMENT

IN

GLENDALOUGH AND THE VARTRY

BEFORE 1650

IAN CANTWELL

1999

LIST OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Acknowledgements	6
Methodology	8
Paleoecology and Archaeology	11
Late Iron Age and Early Medieval	21
The Impact of Reform	43
Conquest and Secularisation	57
Decline, Resurgence and Extinction	66
Epilogue	81
Conclusions	83
Appendix I: Pollen Diagram of Glendalough	86
Appendix II: Gregorian Reform in Ireland	89
Appendix III: Draft Family tree of the O'Tooles	97
Appendix IV: Selected Documents	101
Appendix V: Placenames and Interpretation	104
Abbreviations and Bibliography	107

INTRODUCTION

In 1990, due to family circumstances, I moved to Castlekevin at which stage I just about knew that Glendalough existed. I became involved in the local historical society and other community organisations which led to the organisation of historical seminars and editing the local annual historical and folklore journal. Over time this developed into a knowledge of 18th and 19th century history and a desire to write a local study. As a result Trinity College was the next step because of a lack of understanding of the pre-historic and medieval periods. The academic milieu also seemed to be the best place to research and write, away from the distractions of home.

Glendalough and the Vartry yielded some of its secrets in these last four years and I became aware of its many unique aspects and the fact that the island viewpoints of the general political historian were not necessarily appropriate. Worth noting is their general call for more regional and local studies since the general hypotheses that they propose need to be tested and refined within more specific areas. Another factor that came to the fore was that some of the contemporary source material served propaganda purposes and these needed to be critically examined.

For any researcher the basic questions are: what is there? why is it there? what is its context? who is associated with it? what is the temporal framework? and finally how it to be interpreted? Only then can a narrative and explanatory hypotheses be developed and written. Warren's opinion that history does not exist until the historian makes it is apt. He points out that the goal of objective history is a chimera and that what passes for such is often intuitive judgements and innate wisdom disguised as methodology and the literary analogy he draws is between the relentless logic of Sherlock Holmes against the intuition of Philip Marlowe.¹

¹Warren W.L., *The Historian as a 'Private Eye'*, *Historical Studies*, Vol. IX, Belfast, 1981, p. 1-4

The aim of this dissertation is therefore to explore the local settlement and cultural history of Glendalough and the Vartry in its environmental context. Firstly the topography will be introduced and the environmental changes that took place before the advent of man.

The archaeology of the area will be described and an attempt will be made to put the pre-historic settlement into an environmental and temporal context. This is difficult as Woodman noted in a recent lecture² when he described the use of the word minimal, in explorations of the Mesolithic, as a reflection of our current understanding of it. This can be extended to a much later date.

The Christian archaeology of the valleys and plateau will be next explored within the framework of the recent work by Long and Mac Shamhrain on Glendalough and its context. An attempt will be made to fit the Vartry plateau within this framework and to explore the area as an economic and cultural unit as much of the archaeological work on Glendalough is limited to that valley. The area will also be assessed in it's wider cultural context.

The impact of Gregorian reform and the Angevin Lordship of Ireland with its associated conquest, colonisation and cultural impacts will be explored not from the point of view of invasion and military conquest, though that was undeniably important, but from the focus of continuity of the church through its assimilation by Dublin as mediated by the Augustinian Canons. The viewpoint of cataclysmic change is overly pre-dominant in the history of Irish affairs in some instances of which Glendalough is one. The importance of Europe is highlighted as many commentators do not look

²Woodman Peter, *Returning to the 'minimal Mesolithic'*, unpublished lecture, IQUA conference, 1998

beyond the island of England and miss the fact that it too was undergoing fundamental structural and cultural changes³.

The failure of the church to hold on to its lands in the face of Gaelic conquest is then described and put in to a political framework. The viewpoint taken is one of relationships whether they be of alliance, competition or outright warfare. From the local point of view the lack of sources is noted and the possible impact of some of the environmental catastrophes are discussed.

The implications for the O'Toole Clan located at the frontier of Gaelic Ireland and the English Pale is described and the processes of acculturation explored. It will be argued that notwithstanding the security threat they posed, the processes of anglicisation and gentrification were changing them culturally. However it will be noted that they succumbed to wider forces beyond their control. The settlement organisation of the mountains will be described and will concentrate on farm organisation and woodland exploitation.

The previous historiography is reviewed and the inaccurate descriptions will be identified. It is hoped that the picture that will emerge is one of a development of settlement and culture with all its continuities and changes. Political events will not be narrated but instead a political context will be established as politics is part of the wider culture and it is necessary to include the political background as part of the general understanding of patterns and processes.

³Ever since Robert Fitzstephen arrived in Wexford in 1169 the relationship with our eastern neighbour has dominated out interpretation of events in Ireland and as a result the cultural relationship between Ireland and the mainland is underestimated.

“Geography is a permanent factor in history.”

Julius Nyerere, quoting Charles De Gaulle, *Irish Times*, January 1997

“Nations are but people in slow motion.”

Michael Mac Liammor, *I must be Talking to my Friends*, Decca, 1966

“The past is dead until the historian transforms it by giving it the kiss of life.”

William L. Warren, The Historian as ‘Private Eye’, *Historical Studies*, IX, 1984

“And I don’t doubt, before the journey’s done

You mean to while the time in tales and fun

Indeed, there’s little pleasure for your bones

Riding along and all as dumb as stones”

Geoffrey Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, c. 1386 (trans. Nevill Coghill, 1951)

“Shortly before the coming of the English into the island a cow from a man’s intercourse with her - a particular vice of that people - gave birth to a man calf in the mountains around Glendalough. It spent nearly a year with the other calves following its mother and feeding on her milk, and then, because it had more of the man than the beast, was transferred to the society of men.”

Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographica Hibernica*, c. 1220, (trans. J.J. O’Meara, 1982)

“Had I met an old pagan or abbot or saint (in Glendalough) from the past I should not have been surprised; were they not all around me, had I but eyes to see them? Was I myself not like one enchanted, who, having thrown off all worries and anxieties of this world, was proceeding through a delightful old world from which had been cast out all evil and malice?”

Padraic O Conaire, *Field and Fair, Travels with a donkey in Ireland*, 1929 (trans. Cormac Breathnach, 1951)

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I have benefited from Wicklow discussions with Terry Doherty, Harry Long, Ailbe Mac Shamhrain, and Emmett O'Byrne. Brian Donovan and Fiona Fitzsimons also offered and gave practical support.

Finally my supervisor, Mark Hennessy, with whom I had a number of useful discussions, he also helped to keep me on a structured path, and suffered (but not in silence) to my opinions on nomenclature and my, perhaps, eccentric notions on the existence (or otherwise) of Geography.

To all I gratefully give thanks and I hope that the following contribution does justice to the time and assistance freely given.

I would finally like to thank my mother Krystyna Dobrzynska-Cantwell supported me and my children, Tadeusz and Jasmin, who were very patient with their distracted father and humorously told me everything three times before it sunk in. I dedicate this work to the memory of my late father, Brian J. Cantwell, F.R.S.A.I., F.I.G.R.S. (1914-92), whose love of history was my initial and abiding inspiration.

METHODOLOGY

In 1996 two important works on Glendalough were issued. In them both Harry Long¹ and Ailbe Mac Shamhrain² have pointed to the importance of a multi-disciplinary approach to an understanding of Glendalough.

Long³ writes 'The interdisciplinary approach means that the remains of Glendalough can be viewed from different perspectives' and he uses the disciplines of archaeology, history, settlement studies, Medieval Irish and Latin literature, architecture, geology, and building technology in his work.

Mac Shamhrain⁴, following the guidelines of Felim O'Briain adopts a heuristic approach. This approach should involve 'getting in contact with all the sources'⁵ and is recommended and sometimes used by Early Irish Historians. His approach involves a thorough investigation of Medieval Irish and Latin literature, Folk Traditions, and Placename evidence. His approach mostly deals with his interpretation and correlation of the diverse literature sources which he gives primacy over non-documentary evidence.

Examples such as these can be found widely in the literature⁶ and is the approach of this author, whose admiration for the polymath approach of such researchers as the late Frank Mitchell is unbounded. Obviously it is not possible to develop an equal facility in all disciplines but the challenge has been to learn as much as feasible in the researching and writing of this dissertation. From a philosophical point of view I have

¹Long William Henry, *Medieval Glendalough, an Interdisciplinary study*, Ph D Thesis, T.C.D. 1996

²Mac Shamhrain Ailbe, *Church and polity in Pre-Norman Ireland, The case of Glendalough*, Maynooth, 1996

³Long op. cit. p. 7

⁴Mac Shamhrain, op. cit. pp.33-5

⁵ibid. quoting O'Briain F., *Irish Hagiography: Historiography and Method, Measgra i gCuimhne Mhichil Uí Chleirigh*, ed. O'Brien S., Dublin, 1944, p. 119

⁶Though sometimes only as a face saving artifice to show ones open mind while defending a position and claiming that the differences in interpretation are the problem of the opposing discipline.

attempted to think like a historian and perceive like a geographer since history is ultimately an intellectual discipline and geography is a perceptual discipline, though the ecological approach, as experimented with by Colinvaux⁷, has been an interpretative influence

It is the fusion of the two that creates the interdisciplinary framework. This fusion is called Historical Geography, Landscape Archaeology and Settlement History. The differences between them are primarily a question of focus though personal taste and the cultural ecology of Academia is also important.

The disciplines used are history, landscape archaeology, settlement studies and pollen analysis. There have been four approaches used in an attempt to develop a cultural and settlement narrative within this particular environment.

The first is based on a review of the published and unpublished literature in these disciplines. Standard bibliographies of published and manuscript sources were consulted. The aim was to provide the specific historic knowledge and general geographical contexts for the research.

The second is the use of a pollen diagram of Glendalough for the purpose of providing an environmental context, a source for the human influence on the environment, and a guide to the agricultural history of the local population. A radiocarbon date was obtained to fine tune the chronology.

The third is the cartographic element: by plotting distributions within a specific topographical context it is possible to deduce settlement patterns with their changes and continuities.

⁷Colinvaux P. *The State of Nations*, London, 1978 & *Why big fierce animals are rare*, London, 1975

The fourth was the primary research on the landscape over the last 10 years. This has been mostly unstructured with no particular focus and consisted of visiting obvious sites and walking the land. The two areas of specific research conducted has been the counting of tree and bush species in hedgerows and the survey of a rath in Roundwood Townland.

The aim of combining these four research approaches was to examine the human and environmental ecology of the study area and arrive at provisional conclusions within a heuristic or inter-disciplinary context.

CHAPTER 1

PALEOCIOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Geology

The origins of the Wicklow Massif date back to when the Caledonian orogeny intruded large batholiths of granite into the overlying Ordovician shales, slates and mudstones. In the process metamorphic schists were formed with veins of intruded metal ores, such as gold, copper and lead which were to play a part in the subsequent economic geography of East Wicklow. In the subsequent 390 million years the overlying rocks were weathered and eroded which resulted in peaks of granite and quartz in the centre of the chain and sedimentary rocks on the flanks separated by a metamorphic aureole. The fact that parts of the aureole survive on some mountain peaks indicates that the area has been through a period of recent tectonic uplift which speeded up the denudation processes. To the north and east a ridge of Cambrian quartzite mountain cones (c. 500m) border the mountains from the northern Leinster and eastern lowlands¹. The Vartry Plateau is D-shaped, bounded on the west by the granite massif ridge (650-800m) and by a semi-circular quartzite ridge (250-430m) with several drainage exits.

Drainage

The main river valley system is the north to south Avonmore river, whose source is to be found in the Sally Gap (c. 490m). The Avonmore is mainly fed by the tributary rivers of the Glenmacnass, Glendassan and Glendalough valleys as well as rivers further south before joining the sea at Arklow. The Vartry plateau is drained by a river of the same name which exits at the Devil's Glen, a gorge of glacial origin.² This river may

¹Whitlow J. B., *Geology and scenery in Ireland*, London, 1974, pp. 263-71

²Whitlow, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-71

have been a tributary of the Avonmore in the pre-Quaternary period³. It is fed by a multiplicity of small streams and joins the sea at Wicklow (Map 1)⁴.

Glaciation

Prior to the Quaternary period it is likely that an ecologically mature landscape with temperate flora and fauna predominated. This changed completely with the climatic collapse of c. 2.4 million years ago which instigated cycles of glaciation of increasing length and severity interspersed with interglacial periods of which this is the latest. Over time the nature of the landscape was altered and many species became extinct, especially in the upland areas such as Wicklow which had its own mountain ice-caps.⁵ When the last glacial epoch, the Midlandian, ended about 13,000 years BP⁶ the mountain flanks bore the scars of glacial weathering and erosion, the valleys were denuded of soils and scouring left undulating depressions that became lake systems. Out-wash moraines indicate the deposition of rock debris of glacial melt-waters in the final meltdown. Glendalough valley has a low alluvial fan⁷ which became the site of ecclesiastical settlement. From the western valleys came major deposits of glacial debris which are to be found in the Vartry depression and are the result of piedmont glaciers⁸. These can be found especially on the Calary uplands⁹ which also shows signs of intense periglacial activity¹⁰. These have created complex soil patterns which can be seen from the land use patterns of today. The most obvious difference is between the northern and southern parts of the plateau where the Archaeological evidence and placenames suggest that the latter was marshy scrub-land and not settled until the modern period.

³Farrington A., The Glaciation of the Wicklow mountains, *R.I.A. proc.*, Vol. XLII, sect B, 1934, p. 174

⁴Based on Ordnance Survey, *Discovery Series*, 1:50 000, no. 56

⁵Whitlow, *op. cit.* p. 269

⁶All BP (before present) dates are given in 14C radiocarbon years.

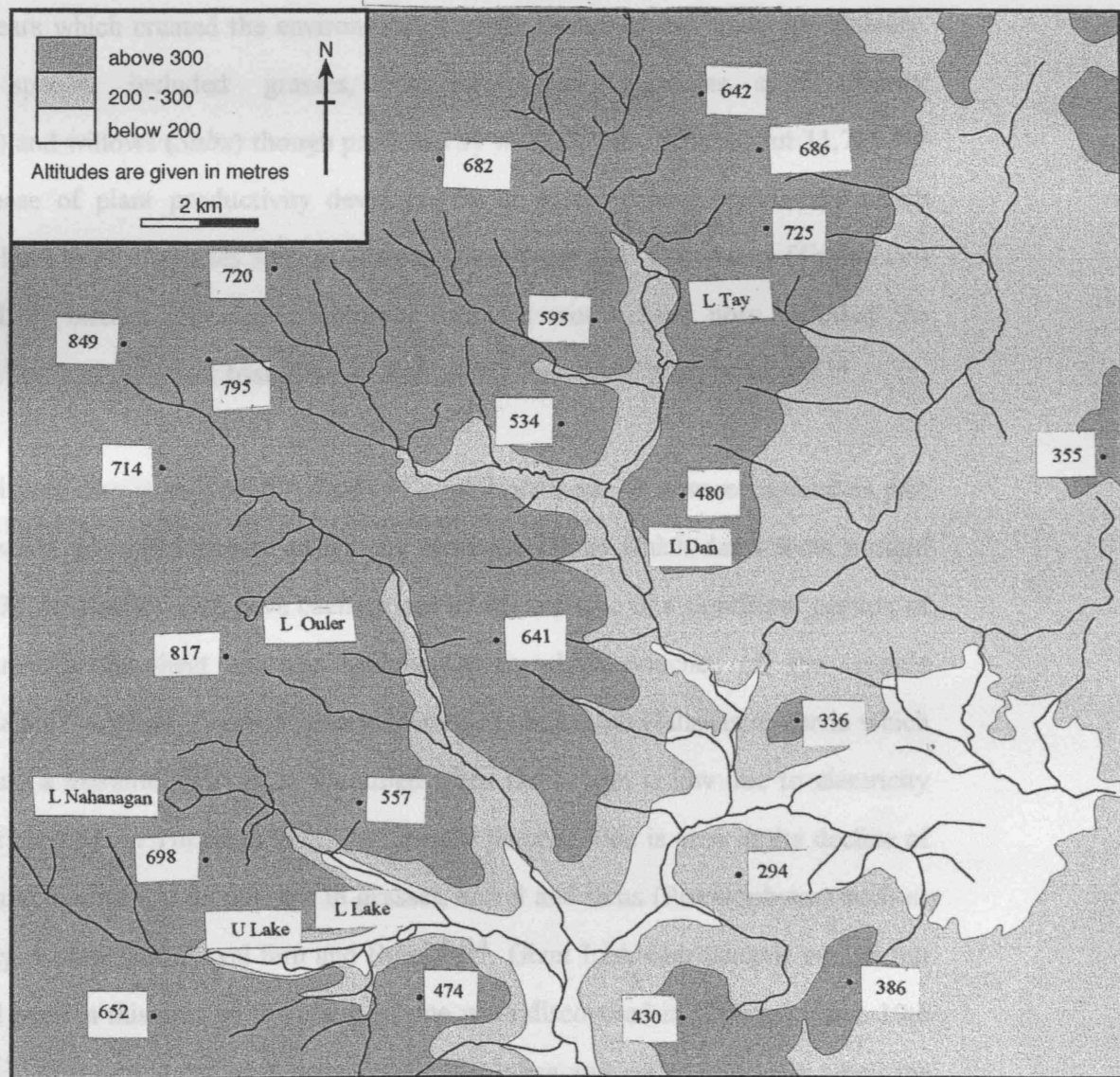
⁷Warren, W. A., *Wicklow in the Ice Age*, Dublin, 1993, p. 42

⁸*ibid.* pp. 10-13

⁹*ibid.* p. 28

¹⁰*ibid.* p. 34

Map 1 Topography and Drainage



Pre-Holocene

At the end of the period periglacial activity predominated in a harsh environment of permafrost. Flora and Fauna would have been limited to those whose range is now Arctic. Mean temperatures then almost doubled and a temperate phase lasted for 2,000 years which created the environment for soil formation and landscape stability. Pioneer species included grasses, mugwort (*Artemisia*), sedges, sorrel (*Rumex Acetosa*) and willows (*Salix*) though productivity was still low. From about 11,750 BP an increase of plant productivity developed in an open ground community which became host to bush species such as Juniper (*Juniperus*) and Crowberry (*Empetrum*) followed by birches (*Betula*)¹¹. Mammal species would have now included the remnant herds of the Giant Irish Deer as well as reindeer, wolf, bear, boar, etc.¹²

The cold snap, first identified in Ireland in Lough Nahanagan, is now recognised as part of the world wide phenomena called the Younger Dryas which dates from around 11,000 BP. It is believed to have been caused by the collapse of a significant portion of the Laurentide Ice sheet into the Atlantic Ocean which switched off the ocean's thermohaline¹³ current. A minor glacier formed in the Lough Nahanagan corrie which left behind a moraine that can be identified when the Lough is low due to electricity needs of the ESB in Turlough Hill. The climatic deterioration is seen in the decline of juniper and birches and an upsurge in grasses, sorrel and ferns (Pteridophytes) such as Polypody, Ladies fern, Royal fern and Bracken¹⁴. Giant Irish deer became extinct but they had been in this area as the bones of one were discovered in Clohoge in the 19th century¹⁵. This period lasted approximately 750 years and ended suddenly when the thermohaline current resumed its activity in the Atlantic.

¹¹Maldano Javier, unpublished pollen diagram, all further pollen reference are from this source, see Appendix I

¹²Mitchell Frank and Ryan Michael, *Reading the Irish Landscapes*, Dublin, 1998, pp. 86-7

¹³Lowe J.J. and Walker M.J.C. *Reconstructing Quaternary Landscapes*, London, 2nd. ed. 1997, pp. 362-4

¹⁴*ibid.* pp. 93-7

¹⁵Powerscourt W.M., *A Description and History of Powerscourt*, London, 1903, p. 42

Holocene

From this point the Holocene period started. The area shows the classic succession of Juniper (peaking c.9,750 BP) to Birch (peaking c. 9,250 BP) to Hazel (*Corylus*, peaking c. 9,000 BP), which are all bush species, to trees such as Oak (*Quercus*), Elm (*Ulmus*) and Pine (*Pinus*). The typical mature woodland for the next 2,000 years comprised of these species with open ground species being found in the higher altitudes. In general the data matches Birks's hypothesis of tree spreading in the archipelago¹⁶.

From about 7,000 BP (5,000 BC) Alder (*Alnus*) scrub invaded causing a relative decline in other species, particularly Pine which, though being tolerant of most conditions, is a poor competitor. Pine declined considerably from its peak of 6,200 BP (4,200 BC) for the next 1,000 years and from then its presence was mostly marginal. While Mesolithic gatherers and hunters were present in Ireland at this time no evidence of them in the Wicklow Uplands has yet been discovered. This may be due to natural erosion¹⁷. The Elm decline is noted in Glendalough at around 5,000 BP (3,000 BC) which is in accord with its decline elsewhere. It had never been a major species in the area, unlike the midlands, and it does not appear to have been followed by the human intervention of the Mesolithic/Neolithic typical of the more fertile areas of the island.

Peat formation

The expansion of peat in this period is now seen as a combination of a wetter climate and the crossing of pedogenic thresholds with the dating of first peat formation around Ireland varying from 4.5 to 1 thousand years BP.¹⁸ Research in Arts Lake, Co. Wicklow, has indicated that the initiation of blanket peat formation started between

¹⁶Birks H.J.D., Holocene isochrone maps and patterns of tree spreading in the British Isles, *Journal of Biogeography*, Vol. 16, no. 6, 1989, pp. 503-40

¹⁷Stout Geraldine, Wicklow's Prehistoric Landscape, *Wicklow*, p. 4

¹⁸Edwards K.J. et al., *Chronology, Quaternary Ireland*, ed. Edwards K.J. & Warren P.W., London 1985, p. 291

4,600-4,200BP, with an increase of sphagnum from around 2,800BP. Secondary deposition in the lake start to appear from around 3,000 BP. This is believed to be as a result of banks reaching critical depth and/or the composition of different peat types becoming unstable on slopes. Wet seasons would also enhance the possibility of bog flows and one is recorded at Sliabh Cualann in 867¹⁹. The authors further note that the formation and erosion of peat has been significant in the last 150 years.²⁰

Neolithic

From about 4,800-4,700 BP (2,800-2,700 BC) the distribution of tree cover changes with a growth in oak and birch but a decline in hazel (substituted by holly), alder, pine (substituted by yew) and the appearance of ash. For the first time charcoal values show a large increase beyond natural causes and indicates the first human presence in the valley. Tree pollen values decline and is followed by an increase in grasses. In this period the species range becomes more cyclical which indicates human disturbance by Neolithic Pastoral farming. Open ground species such as grasses (*Poaceae*), plantain (*Plantago lanceol. l.*), sedges (*Cyperaceae*), nettle (*Urtica*), heather (*Calluna*) and ferns become more common. The growth of heather also indicates the first spread of blanket bog which became widespread from 4,500 BP (2,500 BC).

It has been often noted that the eastern uplands has much less archaeological evidence than the north west with its rich heritage of tombs and settlement sites²¹. Ritual sites such as Megalithic tombs (with a possible kerbed cairn) are to be found in Parkmore²² and Glasnamullen²³. Cooney²⁴ has pointed out the spatial relationship between

¹⁹Cantwell I. *Climate Change and the Gaelic Annals, Proceedings of the Young Irish Archaeologists*, Galway, 1998, p. 31

²⁰Bradshaw R.W.H. & McGee E., The extent and time-course of mountain blanket erosion in Ireland, *New Phytologist*, Vol. 18, 1988, pp. 221-4

²¹ibid., p. 1, & quoting Price Liam, The ages of stone and bronze in Co. Wicklow, *R.I.A. Proc.*, xlii, sect. C, 1934, pp. 31-64

²²Grogan Eoin and Kilfeather Anne, *Archaeological Inventory of County Wicklow*, Dublin, 1997, p. 8 & 21

²³Stout, op cit. p. 32

²⁴Cooney Gabriel, *Megalithic tombs in their environmental setting: a settlement perspective*,

settlement and the ritual landscape which is obvious in the Glasnamullen area with settlement on the plateau and tombs on Djouce mountain (725m). The ritual significance of Parkmore is unclear though they do stand at a cross-roads. Within the area the archaeological indications are that Ballyremon Commons, Powerscourt Paddock and Glasnamullen have been continuously settled from at least the late third millennium BC onwards and were probably the centres of settlement until at least 1200AD.²⁵

It must be stressed that all interpretations of the area's prehistory are based on surveys of surviving surface sites and that the area has had hardly any archaeological excavation. The concentration of settlement in the northern part of the plateau, situated on passes from the northern and eastern lowlands is likely to be significant. The lack of sites from the Glendalough valley may be a function of the intense landscape management from the early Christian period. In general the area is poorly represented by archaeological remains.

Early settlement probably was based on the shifting model of landscape clearance and abandonment within forest clearings followed by later more permanent settlement on the plateau based in northern higher sections²⁶. A major clearance phase of oak, birch and alder appears in about 3,500 BP (1,500 BC) and this culminates in the first appearance of cereal pollen (*Triticum*) about 200 years later. Charcoal values show a sharp rise around this time. Cereal planting was probably on the lighter soils of moraines above the lakes with cycles of clearance and abandonment happening at a faster rate. This late date of cereal farming, approximately 1,500 years after its first recorded appearance²⁷, is perhaps typical of upland areas and this expansion is maybe

Landscape Archaeology in Ireland, Reeves-Smyth Terence & Hamond Fred, London, 1984, p. 183-5

²⁵Grogan op. cit. p. 244 for map

²⁶Aalen F.H.A., *Man and the landscape in Ireland*, London, 1978, p. 63

²⁷Edwards K.J., *The Anthropogenic factor in vegetational history, Quaternary Ireland*, ed. Edwards K.J. & Warren W.P., London, 1985, pp. 196-7

diagnostic of high population pressures which caused marginal lands to be exploited at a time when mean temperatures on the island were higher. Locally, however, average temperatures are about 1-2 degrees cooler than the adjacent lowlands with the Ballyremon and Upper Calary areas prone to snow and drifting.

The archaeological evidence from Behy indicates that a sophisticated system of land management was in operation and was possibly practised on the Vartry plateau. Caulfield²⁸, on the basis of findings in North Connaught, theorises that one livestock unit per hectare is not unreasonable and that family farms of 25 ha. were feasible. Using this calculation for the plateau north of the exit of the Vartry river there are approximately 60 square kilometres under 300m which could have supported around 200 families. This compares with one family per 50 square kilometres during the Mesolithic hunter/gatherer phase²⁹

Bronze Age

The Bronze Age is represented in Ballyremon Commons and Glasnamullen where fulachta fiadh around settlement sites are to be found³⁰, these are dated to the middle of the last millennium³¹. A bowl barrow at the former has been dated to 2,100-1,500 BC³². Bronze age artefacts so far discovered and reported include a flat bronze axe from Brockagh/Camaderry and a leaf shaped sword from Knockatemple³³. Other archaeological remains are standing stones from Ballinastoe, Laragh East, Cullentragh, and Parkmore. Rock art has been discovered in Baltinanima, Seven Churches³⁴ and Drummin³⁵, and are thought to mark route-ways and boundaries but may also be

²⁸Caulfield Seamus, Neolithic Settlement in North Connaught, *Irish Landscape Archaeology*, Reeves-Smyth, Terence & Hamond Fred, London, 1984, pp. 203-4

²⁹ibid. p. 204

³⁰Stout, op. cit. p.22

³¹Stout Geraldine and Stout Matthew, Early landscapes from Plantation to Prehistory, *Atlas of the Irish Rural Landscape*, Ed. Aalen F.H.A., Whelan Kevin, Stout Matthew, Cork, 1997, p. 37

³²Grogan Eoin & Hillary Tom, *Guide to the Archaeology of County Wicklow*, Wicklow, 1993, p. 8

³³Stout (1994), op. cit. p. 34

³⁴ibid. p. 36

³⁵Grogan, (1997) op. cit. 28

associated with Passage Grave art³⁶. Map 2 shows the distribution of Pre-Christian sites as recorded by the Archaeological Inventory of County Wicklow³⁷ and Stout³⁸.

Agriculture in this period was probably swidden based with tillage being based adjacent to the settlement and pastoral activities being conducted further away in outfields and mountains³⁹. This type of agriculture is based on the intensive use of land with regular manuring and seasonal fallow adjacent to the settlement with longer fallow periods the further away the inhabitants lived. The investment of labour-time determined land use and productivity⁴⁰. Evidence of cereal farming continues though without the sharp decline of woodland (especially oak and ash) noted elsewhere. The relationship between tree, bush and ferns remains cyclic indicating woodland clearance followed by abandonment and the growth of secondary woodland. In general hazel and birch are stable while alder and oak slowly decline.

Iron Age

The transition of the late Bronze Age to Early Iron age (c.1,200-600BC) has proved to be difficult to interpret in the Archaeological record⁴¹ and the record is poor in Ireland.⁴² This may be related to the decline in weather associated with the very short width of tree rings in the dendrochronological record⁴³. It is possible that natural climatic trends coupled with over-cultivation and increasing podzolisation contributed to pressure on agricultural land⁴⁴. There was a large amount of bog oak in the

³⁶O'Kelly Michael, *Early Ireland*, Cambridge, 1989, Cambridge, p. 242

³⁷Grogan (1997). This source, while being a good basic source, has its limitations. The literature search is incomplete, i.e. it does not include all monuments listed by Stout (1994) and Lynch (1994). The maps are basic and include townland boundaries but not contours. It is not clear why the modern road system is included. There is a gross mapping error with the placement of Lough Dan.

³⁸Stout (1994), 1-26

³⁹Aalen, op cit. pp. 67-9

⁴⁰Carlstein T. *Time resources, Sociology and Ecology*, London, 1982, pp. 215 & 256

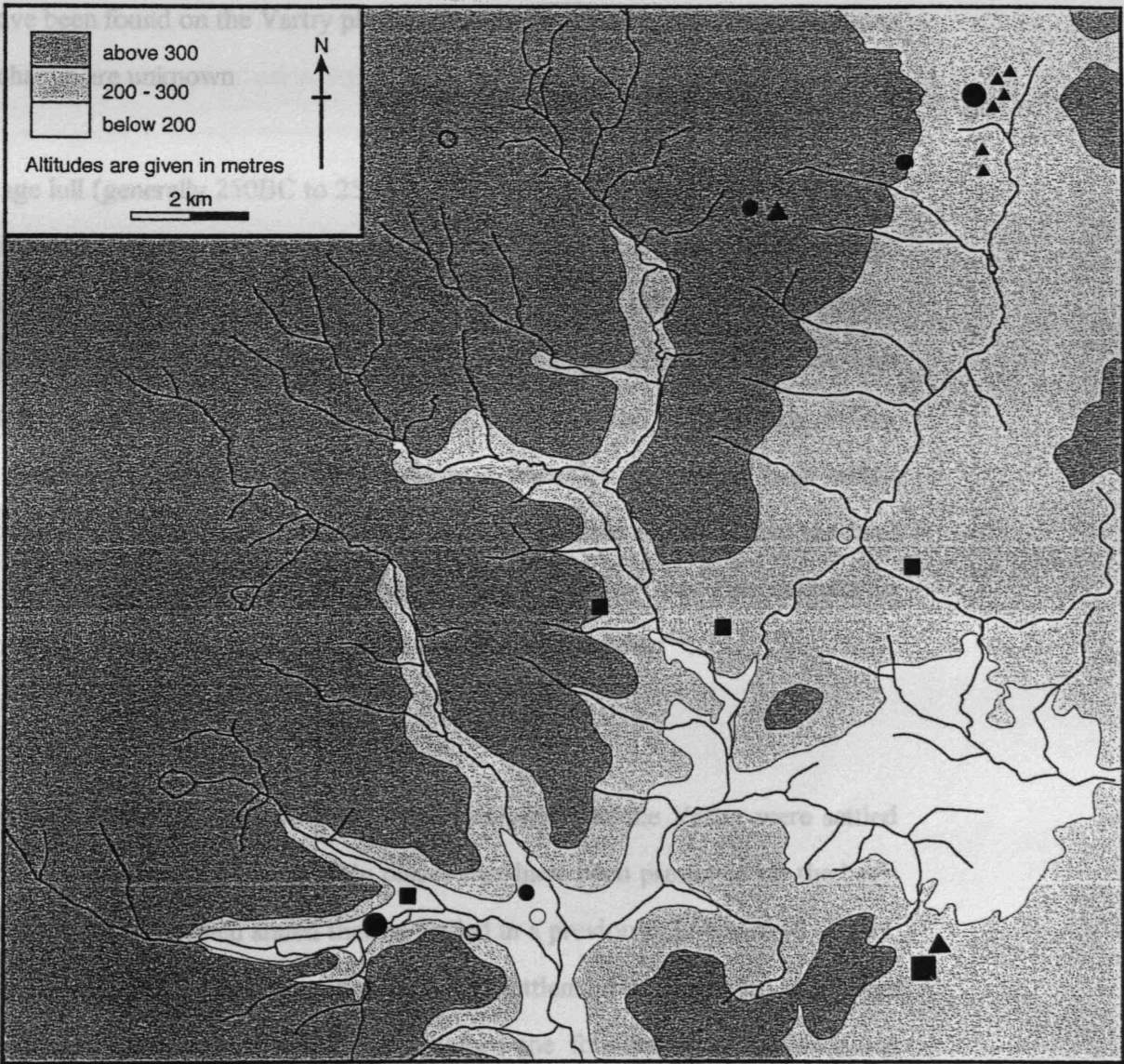
⁴¹Rafferty Barry, *Pagan Celtic Ireland*, London, 1994, pp. 35-6

⁴²ibid., pp. 245 & 297

⁴³Mitchell & Ryan, p. 221

⁴⁴Rafferty, op. cit. p. 36

Map2 Pre-Historic archaeology



Legend

- Megalith
- ▲ Cairn
- ▲ Fulachta Fiadh
- Rock Art
- Standing Stone
- Finds
- Settlement Centres

Inchivore valley, which survived until the 19th century before being mostly dug out for fuel in the pre-famine period⁴⁵, which may date from peat formation. The evidence suggests a turbulent period with the first appearance of hilltop fortifications in West Wicklow, Coolegad and Downhill⁴⁶ being typical in Ireland. No archaeological finds or sites have been found on the Vartry plateau or associated valleys, so the implications of social change are unknown.

The Iron age lull (generally 250BC to 250AD) that appears in pollen diagrams is not in great evidence in Glendalough but around 385 BC⁴⁷ there was a significant, though short-term, phase of clearance particularly of oak, yew, ash and alder which may reflect more intensive use of iron technology in clearance and ploughing. Grasses also increase sharply at this time. However this period was of short duration. Interestingly willow starts to become significant which may indicate a transition to damper soils which would have become increasingly podzolised. Another possible reason is that the lake edge had now reached the sample site. An increase in heather may also indicate an increase of peaty podzols on higher altitudes with poorer soil cover⁴⁸.

Summary

The above analysis, (Map 2), show that the Glendalough and the Vartry were settled and farmed and were not the inaccessible places that have been presumed on the basis of the lives of St. Kevin which stated that he settled in a previously uninhabited *desert*. The pollen diagram is the first concrete evidence of settlement in the region which has been in existence for at least 2,000 years before the foundation of ecclesiastical settlement. However there is an interpretative problem in combining the pollen diagram from Glendalough and the Archaeology from the Vartry plateau. It may be that they reflect two different settlement histories and on the basis of present knowledge one

⁴⁵Malone J.B., *Walking in Wicklow*, Galway, 1964, p. 78

⁴⁶Stout, op cit. p. 19 & 38

⁴⁷Beta Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory, No. Beta-122061, 1998, see Appendix I

⁴⁸Stout G, op. cit. p. 4

must be careful in interpreting them as one settlement pattern. From the late Neolithic the northern part of the Vartry plateau has been an important settlement centre and may have controlled the plateau. Glendalough's position may have been significant in controlling the pass over the Wicklow Gap. There is evidence of prehistoric trackways connecting the west of the mountains to the eastern coast⁴⁹ which became the basis of later ecclesiastical communication networks.

⁴⁹Price Liam., *Placenames, The Historical Background*, p. v

CHAPTER 2

LATE IRON AGE AND EARLY MEDIEVAL

Transition and Settlement

The late Iron age was a period of intense political change which led to a militarised and hierarchical society⁵⁰. This had major implications for settlement patterns which, according to Early Irish Law tracts, were based on the *Tuath*. These were petty 'kingdoms' and were subdivided into levels of power, status and land holding controlled by the *Rí*⁵¹. This developed into a dispersed type of settlement which is epitomised by the Rath whose size and morphology reflected the position of the resident in his local *tuath*. The vast majority of raths, so far dated by excavation, were built between 400-1000AD⁵². None of these dates come from County Wicklow so it is unclear whether rath builders in mountain areas followed the same pattern of land exploitation and settlement.

In the transitional period before the arrival of Christianity, 200BC-400AD, there was a slight increase of tree pollen and a declining amount of charcoal which indicates that settlement was probably slackening. Price argues that there were placenames from this period, for instance, Lough Dan may come from the name of a river goddess *D. vona*⁵³. It is also possible that *Gleand De* is Pre-Christian⁵⁴ and it may be that the river was named after a pre-Christian Goddess. Also worth noting is the port *Inber De* which is believed to be the old name for Arklow.⁵⁵ Another example may be Vartry (Fertir) which may correspond to the Old Welsh *gwerthyr*, a fortress⁵⁶ which he thinks

⁵⁰O' Croinin Daibhi, *Early Medieval Ireland*, London, 1995, pp. 41-7

⁵¹Stout M. *The Irish Ringfort*, Dublin 1997, pp.110-1

⁵²ibid. p. 29

⁵³Price, op. cit. p. 30

⁵⁴Long William Henry, *Medieval Glendalough*, Ph.D. T.C.D., 1996, p.165

⁵⁵Etchingham, *Evidence of Scandinavian Settlement in Wicklow*, *Wicklow*, p. 114 has the most recent discussion.

⁵⁶Price, op. cit., pp. 50 & 52

may be Downemore in Glassnamullen but may also be at Ballyremon Commons. Price tentatively suggests that Djouce and Gravale mountains may have originally been Digais and Drobel; the former had two daughters Malu and Cappa and one mountain near Djouce is called Maulin and nearby is Glencapp⁵⁷.

In the Glendalough Valley, the rock cave on the southern cliff face is believed to predate the Christian period and this is based on the *Vitae* of St. Coemgen⁵⁸ who is reputed to have used but not built it. It has been variously argued that it is a prehistoric rock-cut tomb⁵⁹ or an exploratory mine adit⁶⁰. Price's supposition⁶¹ of a travelling Bronze Age merchant being buried there may be somewhat fanciful but a ritual purpose may be more correct as the geology would argue against mineral ores at that location.

Price⁶² argues that there were prehistoric routes leading over the Wicklow Gap (Wicklow - Rathnew - Carrick Mountain - Parkmore - Wicklow Gap - Athgreany) and Sally Gap (Newcastle - Stoney Pass - Sally Gap - Kilbride) and it is possible that a trade route also came from Arklow, via the Wicklow Gap, to Aillean, one of the most important ritual royal centres in Leinster⁶³ as well as via Aughrim and Rathvilly. The possible discovery of a Roman coin of Gratian (367-387AD)⁶⁴ at Derrybawn also suggests the use of the Wicklow Gap as a trade route. The importance of *Inber De* as a port is likely given the traditions that both Palladius⁶⁵ and Patrick⁶⁶ used it and it is

⁵⁷ *ibid.* p. 53

⁵⁸ Plummer C. *Bethada Naem n-Erenn*, 2nd vol. Oxford, 1922, p.131

⁵⁹ Price, *op. cit.*, p. 41

⁶⁰ Barrow L., *Glendalough and St. Kevin, Dundalk*, 1984, p. 16-7

⁶¹ Price, Forward, O'Nuanain P., *Glendalough*, Wicklow, 1984, p. 14

⁶² Price, *op. cit.* Historical Background, p. x & Smyth, *op. cit.* p. 46

⁶³ Rafferty, *op. cit.* p. 71-4

⁶⁴ O'Riordain S. P. Roman Material in Ireland, *R.I.A.*, Vol. LI., Sect. C., 1947, p. 74

⁶⁵ Bowen E.G., *Saints, Seaways and the Settlements in the Celtic Lands*, Cardiff, 1969, p. 122, though this a tradition only

⁶⁶ Etchingham, *op. cit.* p.114

possible that routes such as these were the routes by which conversion to Christianity took place.

Early Christianity - A Hypothesis

Any discussion of Christianity of the area has to take into account the possibility that early Christian leaders were subsumed into the St. Coemgen legends, like St. Patrick⁶⁷, and their lives relegated to the shadow lands of mythic history⁶⁸. Christianity arrived in Ireland by 400 and since St. Coemgen did not 'found' Glendalough till the latter part of the 6th century it is possible that the area was already christianised by that date.

There is a concentration of Early Christian sites around the Arklow area on the Wicklow-Wexford border which may have been founded by hermits, or refugees, from Britain⁶⁹. This fits in with the cultural pathways pointed out by Bowen⁷⁰ who mapped dedications of 'The children of Brychan' of South Wales, and include saints such as Cairpe and Mochonoc, who have Wicklow connections. This concentration is strongly associated with Glendalough in the later period up to the beginning of the 12th century according to the maps of Mac Shamhrain⁷¹.

Early Christian settlement is associated with circular enclosures, usually greater than 30m in diameter⁷². These started off simply but developed along different lines depending on their histories and locations and not all developed into monastic settlements⁷³. Within the study area there are eight such enclosures at Glendalough, Derrylossary, Knockatemple, Ashtown, Glasnamullen, Roundwood, Tomdarragh and

⁶⁷O'Croinin, op. cit. p.22

⁶⁸de Paor, *Peoples of Ireland*, London, 1986, p. 55

⁶⁹Price, op. cit. Historical Background. p. xvii

⁷⁰Bowen op cit. 118-142

⁷¹Mac Shamhrain Ailbe, *Church and Polity in Pre-Norman Ireland: The case of Glendalough*, Maynooth, 1996, pp. 194, 197 & 202

⁷²Swan L., *Enclosed ecclesiastical sites and their relevance to settlement patterns of the first Millennium AD*, *Irish Landscape Archaeology*, Reeves-Smyth & Hamond, Oxford, 1983, pp. 275-6

⁷³ibid. p. 277

Knockadreet (*Cnoc a' droichead*); the last seven have not previously been classified as Early Christian church sites⁷⁴. The following table shows the diameter, possible Christian links and aspects of ritual site continuity. These relationships are shown on Map 3.

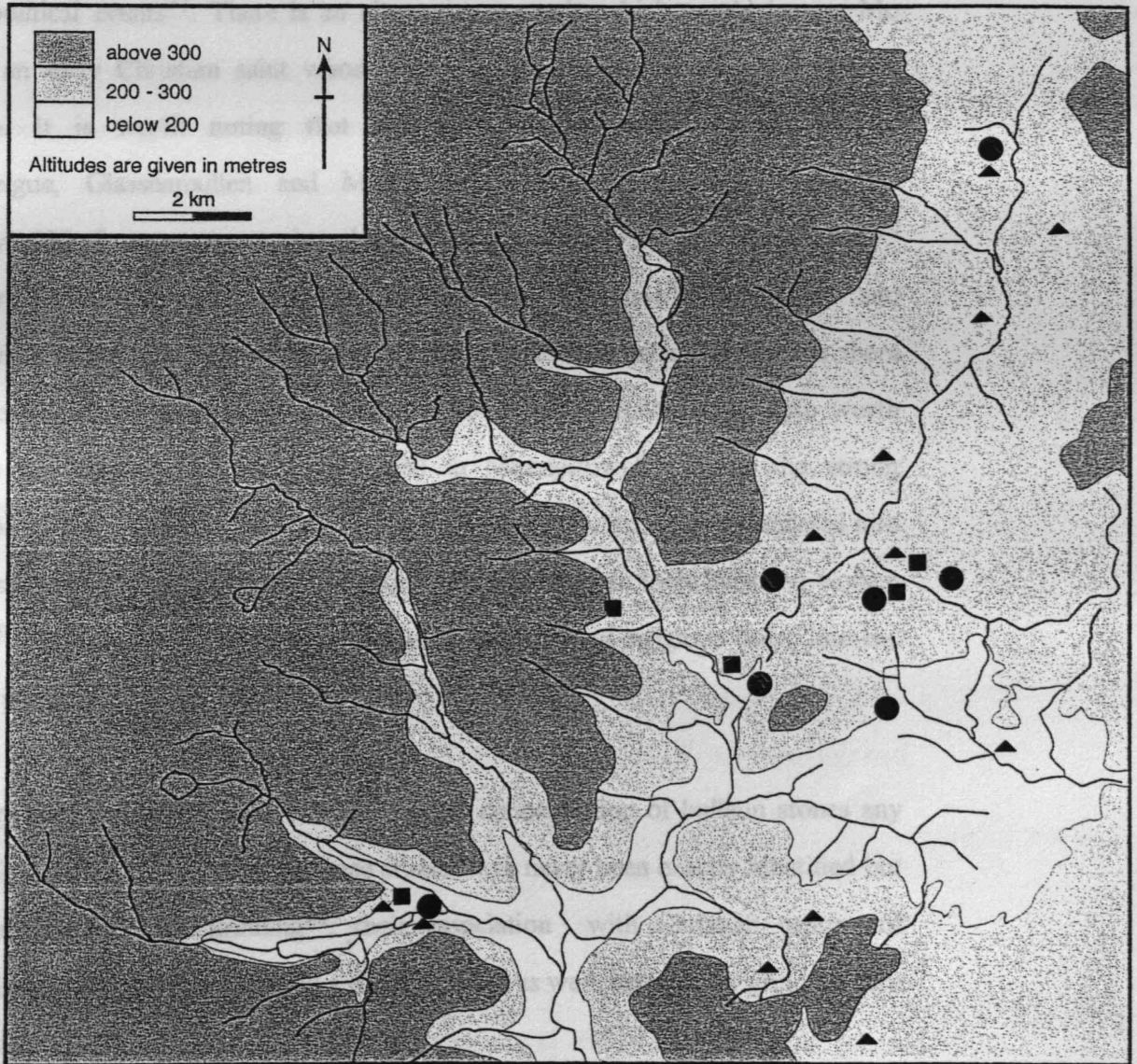
	Rock Art	Holy Well	Bi- vallate	Bullaun	Church	Diameter
Glendalough	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	300-100m
Derrylossary	Y		Y	Y	Y	100m
Knockatemple	Y	Y		Y	Y	no
Ashtown		Y		Y	Y	40-50m
Glassnamullen		Y			Y	100-200m
Roundwood		Y		?		80-90m
Tomdarragh						98-102m
Knockadreet						75m

A caveat needs to entered here on two of the church sites. The first, Glasnamullen, is within a rectangular enclosure but is around three quarters of a kilometre to the south. Likewise Knockatemple is within a rectangular enclosure of 40m by 60m and Knockadreet is about a mile to the south east⁷⁵. What the relationship between the enclosures and church sites are unknown.

Of these Glendalough is the best known and documented because of its association with St. Coemgen but the others may have been of equal importance in the early Christian period, though without archaeological excavation we simply don't know whether Glendalough was the 'mother' house or not.

⁷⁴Stout M (1987), p. 101, after Swan, op. cit. & Ordnance Survey (1979) & de Paor, op. cit. p. 61
⁷⁵Grogan (1997), nos. 829 & 868

Map3 Early Christian Archaeology



Legend

- Enclosures
- Rock Art
- ▲ Holy Wells

What is worth noting is the continuing concentration in the Glassnamullen and Ballyremon area. In discussing the origins of the former Price⁷⁶ notes a connection with St. Moling, of St. Mullins, Co. Carlow, in the saint's *Vita*, where he is reputed to have succeeded St. Coemgen. Mac Shamhrain associates this episode with 10th century political events⁷⁷. There is an alternative scenario which would have a Mo Luan as an early Christian saint whose cult was assimilated by his more famous namesake. It is worth noting that the three almost adjacent townlands of Mullinaveigue, Glassnamullen and Muillinreamon (now Ballyremon) have the possibility of Mo Luan as a root, though Price translates the first⁷⁸ and third as Mill⁷⁹ (*Muileann*). This may be possible as Ballinastoe, between Mullinaveigue and Glasnamullen had a mill in the 19th century but it is difficult to judge whether there would have been sufficient water pressure to run a mill at Ballyremon. Also worth noting is the presence of St. Luin's well in Moneystown⁸⁰. Given the strong association of Holy Wells as pre Christian fertility centres, which were assimilated into folk Christianity⁸¹ by use as places of baptism and dedicated to midwifery and women in labour⁸², the eleven wells is suggestive of a continuity of religious belief into the Christian period.

The valley and surrounding area has the highest concentration of bullaun stones anywhere in Ireland⁸³. The function of these stones have never been exactly identified but were probably used for grinding⁸⁴, their association with Christian centres of settlement may indicate that they had a ritual purpose as well, perhaps for grinding corn for offerings.

⁷⁶Price, op. cit. p. 52

⁷⁷Mac Shamhrain, op. cit. p.138

⁷⁸Price, op. cit. p. 53, Quoting O'Curry, O.S.L. Wicklow, folio. 203

⁷⁹ibid. p. 304-5, Remon, or Raymond, is an intrusive 12/13th century Frank name

⁸⁰Kenna, M., St. Luin's Well, *R.D.H.F.J.*, No. 1, 1988, p. 5

⁸¹de Paor, op. cit. p. 57

⁸²Rodgers M. & Losack M. *Glendalough A Celtic Pilgrimage*, Blackrock, 1996, p. 118

⁸³Long op. cit. p. 173

⁸⁴ibid.

The above hypothesis of Christianity arriving in the area before St. Coemgen can never be proved due to the lack of sources though it is possible that archaeological excavation may expand our knowledge in the future. This period belongs to the, little known, early Christian conversion of areas outside the Roman Empire when evangelisation was uncommon and the role of Rome was solely the provision of Bishops to communities who requested them⁸⁵. We therefore know little of what people were converted from or converted to as in Christianity, Arian and Pelagian creeds were the competing with Rome⁸⁶. It was at this time Palladius, first known Bishop of Ireland, was ministering in Leinster⁸⁷ and whose influence may have been the background to Glendalough's most famous saint, St. Coemgen.

St Coemgen and the Hagiographies

According to the Irish Annals St. Coemgen died either in 618 or 622, aged 120 years, which Mac Shamhrain suggests is due to uncertainty in computation⁸⁸. If it is presumed that he lived an average age of around 60 years than he would have founded Glendalough in the 580s. This would have been after the ecological collapse associated with the 542 event⁸⁹ which is believed to be the precursor of the Justinian Plague about which the Irish Annals pithily say that two-thirds of the world died⁹⁰. Whether this had the effect of influencing people towards monastic life is unclear.

The main source for the life of St. Coemgen comes from various surviving *Vitae* in Irish and Latin. These hagiographies can not be taken as biographies as they reflect the concerns of the compilers who were writing from around 800⁹¹. These concerns mirror the agendas of the compiler when he was writing as well as later copyists. These

⁸⁵Fletcher Richard, *The Conversion of Europe*, London, 1997, pp. 25 & O'Croinin, op. cit. p. 40

⁸⁶*ibid.*, pp. 6-9

⁸⁷O'Croinin, op. cit. pp. 20-23

⁸⁸Mac Shamhrain, op. cit., pp. 2-3

⁸⁹Baillie M. *A Slice through Time*, London, 1995, pp. 93-5

⁹⁰Cantwell I, *Climate Change and the Gaelic Annals*, (1998) p. 26

⁹¹Mac Shamhrain, op. cit. has a valuable discussion on the dating of the various *vitae*, pp. 4-10

include the creation of a saintly aristocracy⁹², the advertising of Glendalough as a place of pilgrimage and learning, the establishment of rights over daughter houses and lands, and changing dynastic interests, the latter two which can change over time. As a result the end result is a stratified layer of legends and motifs⁹³. These motifs come in the form of heroic sainthood based on conception, birth, boyhood deeds, adult adventures and death with their associated miracles.⁹⁴

The only accepted fact on St. Coemgen is that he probably was a member of the Dal Messin Corb and that he may have come from Tipperkevin, Co. Kildare⁹⁵. His *Vitae* states that he came to Glendalough initially as a hermit which is believed to be the modern Glendalough valley. It is worth considering the possibility that, presuming it is accurate, that he first settled in the Clohoge valley as this also topographically is a valley of two lakes. There are five small circular hut sites on the western flanks above Lough Tay⁹⁶ which may be the remnants of a hermitage. O'Hanlon, in 1855, collected a tradition that St. Coemgen had lived in the valley and some ruins on the eastern side of the river, near the confluence with Lough Tay, were pointed out⁹⁷.

After the death of St. Coemgen his cult spread widely in Leinster and into Munster and Ulster and Dal Riada, via Bangor. This can be seen in it's political context: many monastic leaders were members of ruling dynasties and therefore shared the same agendas and channels of expansion⁹⁸. It is possible to overemphasise political links at the expense of spiritual links as in the 6th and 7th centuries it can be seen that a community of interests were at work in the spread of Christianity. In a sense the spread

⁹²O Corrain D., *Legend as Critic, The Writer as Witness*, ed. T. Dunne, Historical Studies, XVI, 1987, p. 27

⁹³Doherty Charles, *The Irish Hagiographer*, in *ibid.* p. 13

⁹⁴*ibid.* pp. 12-13

⁹⁵Mac Shamhrain, *op. cit.* pp. 111-2

⁹⁶Grogan et. al. (1997), nos. 746-50

⁹⁷O'Hanlon John, *Lives of the Irish Saints*, Vol. VI, Dublin, n.d., pp. 36-7

⁹⁸Mac Shamhrain, *op. cit.* p. 171

of cults mirrors the ideology and practice of the *Peregrinatio*. Map 4⁹⁹ shows the overall spread of Coemgen's cult outside Leinster into the further reaches of Dal Riada kingdom¹⁰⁰. This was a two-way process with cult diffusion (i.e. Mo Chonnoc and Petroc of Cornwall) being transmitted in both directions and the overall picture shows that Glendalough had wide ranging contacts with Munster, East Ulster and Britain¹⁰¹.

It is not the purpose of this paper to cover Glendalough's political or archaeological place in Ireland as these have been well covered by Mac Shamhrain and Long in the works previously cited. The purpose will be to try and highlight some of the settlement consequences for the valley and plateau.

Glendalough: Settlement and Economy

From the first century the lithology of the Lower lake in Glendalough changes from gleys to predominantly peat deposits which are likely to be the secondary deposition from upland bogs. Sedimentation is happening at a faster rate probably due to the loss of tree cover. In the middle of the 5th century the pollen diagram shows another short-term clearance phase of mostly oak and birch which coincides with an increase of grass pollen and charcoal deposits. This does not appear to be sustained as there is later regeneration of both tree species. In the middle of the 7th century there is another clearance phase of oak and hazel with no great change in grass pollen but an increase of ferns which may indicate clearance for wood but not for agriculture as both grass and cereal values remain low. It is difficult to interpret this as the sources for Glendalough are few with three references (excluding the death of St. Coemgen) for the century¹⁰². It may be that after the founding of the monastery there was a decline but one cannot over interpret the pollen data as the economic linkages with the rest of Leinster may mean that agricultural produce was imported.

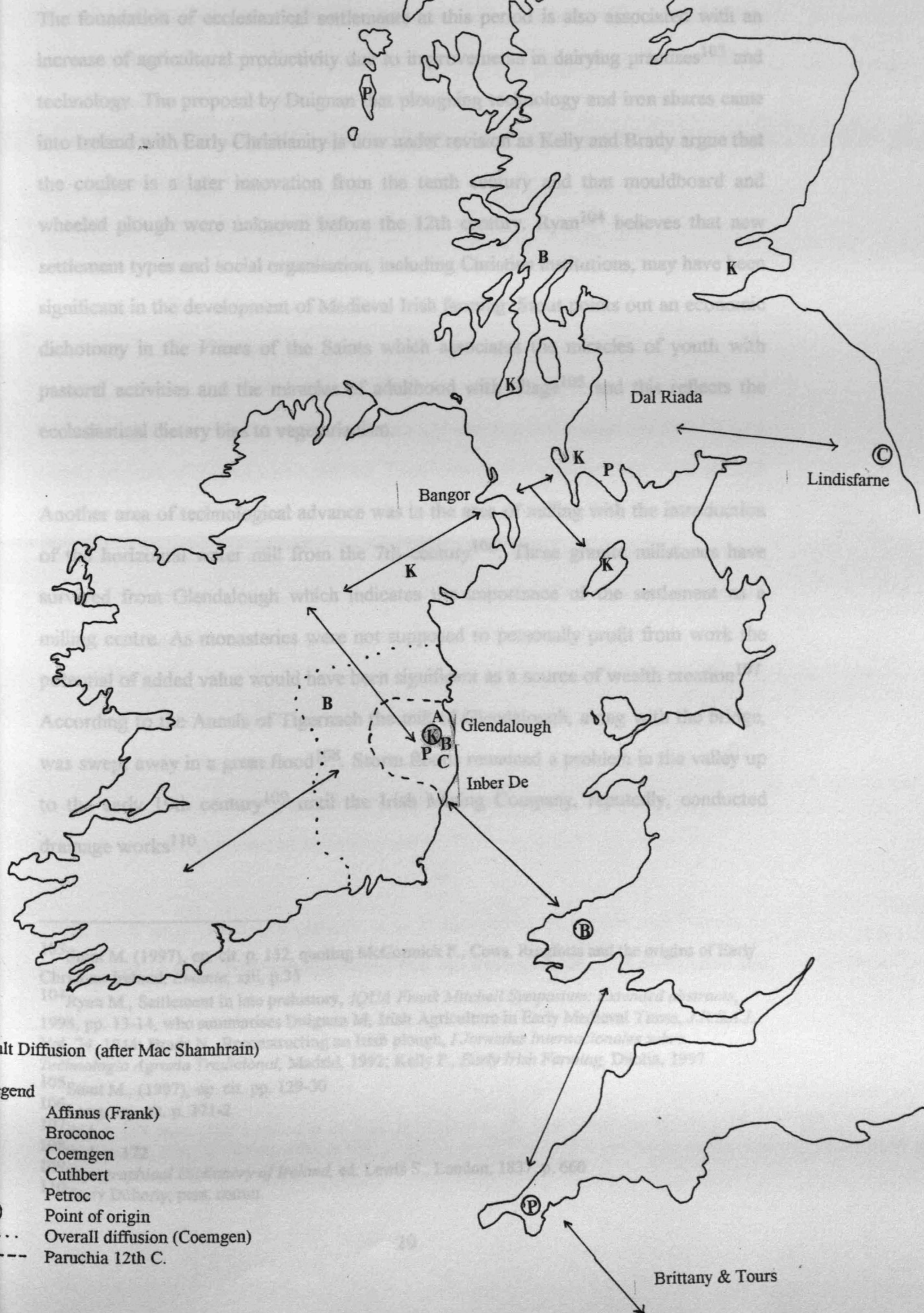
⁹⁹ibid.

¹⁰⁰ibid. p. 67-9

¹⁰¹ibid. p. 122-5

¹⁰²ibid. p. 112

Map 4 Diffusion of Selected Saints



The foundation of ecclesiastical settlements at this period is also associated with an increase of agricultural productivity due to improvements in dairying practises¹⁰³ and technology. The proposal by Duignan that ploughing technology and iron shares came into Ireland with Early Christianity is now under revision as Kelly and Brady argue that the coulter is a later innovation from the tenth century and that mouldboard and wheeled plough were unknown before the 12th century. Ryan¹⁰⁴ believes that new settlement types and social organisation, including Christian institutions, may have been significant in the development of Medieval Irish farming. Stout points out an economic dichotomy in the *Vitae* of the Saints which associates the miracles of youth with pastoral activities and the miracles of adulthood with tillage¹⁰⁵ and this reflects the ecclesiastical dietary bias to vegetarianism.

Another area of technological advance was in the area of milling with the introduction of the horizontal water mill from the 7th century¹⁰⁶. Three granite millstones have survived from Glendalough which indicates the importance of the settlement as a milling centre. As monasteries were not supposed to personally profit from work the potential of added value would have been significant as a source of wealth creation¹⁰⁷. According to the Annals of Tigernach the mill of Glendalough, along with the bridge, was swept away in a great flood¹⁰⁸. Storm floods remained a problem in the valley up to the early 19th century¹⁰⁹ until the Irish Mining Company, reputedly, conducted drainage works¹¹⁰.

¹⁰³Stout M. (1997), op. cit. p. 132, quoting McCormick F., Cows, Ringforts and the origins of Early Christian Ireland, *Emania*, xiii, p.35

¹⁰⁴Ryan M., Settlement in late prehistory, *IQUA Frank Mitchell Symposium: Extended abstracts*, 1998, pp. 13-14, who summarises Duignan M, Irish Agriculture in Early Medieval Times, *J.R.S.A.I.*, Vol. 74, 1944; Brady N., Reconstructing an Irish plough, *I Jornadas Internacionales sobre Tecnologia Agraria Tradicional*, Madrid, 1992; Kelly F., *Early Irish Farming*, Dublin, 1997

¹⁰⁵Stout M., (1997), op. cit. pp. 129-30

¹⁰⁶Long, op. cit. p. 171-2

¹⁰⁷*ibid.*

¹⁰⁸*ibid.* p. 172

¹⁰⁹*Topographical Dictionary of Ireland*, ed. Lewis S., London, 1837, p. 660

¹¹⁰Terry Doherty, pers. comm.

From around the ninth century Glendalough starts to become better documented which has to be seen within the political context of a transfer of power from the Uí Mail to the Uí Dunlainge¹¹¹. The Annals of Ulster, 790, record the tour of relics of St. Coemgen and Mo-Chua moccu Lugedon¹¹². Then there is the well known quotation by Oengus of Tallaght¹¹³:

Emain's burgh it hath vanished

Save that it's stones remain

The *ruam* of the west of the world's multitudinous

Glendalough

It must be noted that Tallaght was within the secular and ecclesiastical polity of Glendalough (A Daniel was an abbot of both Glendalough and Tallaght in 868¹¹⁴) so a certain amount of bias may be expected. Since there is also evidence that royal sites of the Iron Age, such as Emain, had lost their importance before the large scale establishment of Christianity¹¹⁵ the triumphal tone should not be taken as accurate history. Glendalough appears to have benefited from the *Celi De* reform movement and a poem of the 9th century gives some idea of the conditions ascetic pilgrims endured¹¹⁶:

The wind over the Hog's Back moans

It takes trees and lays them low

And shivering monks over frozen stones

To the hours of night time go

There are a large number of platform sites in the vicinity of Reefert and Temple na Skellig and recently it has been discovered that more are to be found in Derrybawn and

¹¹¹Mac Shamhrain, op. cit. pp. 70-6

¹¹²Long, op. cit. p. 172

¹¹³ibid. p. 168, from Stoke's edition, p. 24, lines 193-6. Date c. 830, Mac Shamhrain, op. cit. p. 19

¹¹⁴O'Dwyer P., *Celi De*, Dublin, 1981, p. 33

¹¹⁵O'Croinin, op. cit. p. 45

¹¹⁶O'Dwyer, op. cit. pp. 98-9

Brockagh, though there is no complete survey. Healy in one excavation¹¹⁷ came to the provisional conclusion that they were charcoal burning platforms but Long has classified them into two types, Charcoal burning platforms and hut sites of either stone or wattle¹¹⁸.

Between 800 and 1,000 there is further evidence of woodland clearance of oak, birch and alder with a rise of grasses and ferns. This period has to be seen as a major expansion phase within the valley that can be seen in the wider context of the development of Dublin as a major trading city. As recent archaeological evidence has shown the city imported agricultural produce, especially cattle, from the hinterland¹¹⁹ and Glendalough with its control of a significant number of *paruchia* would have economically benefited. Also under its control would be the provision of raw materials, such as horn, leather, timber, fur. A hoard of Anglo Saxon coins¹²⁰, deposited c. 980, reflects the fact that the *Civitas* was integrated into the Viking maritime cash economy. The foundation of the Parish of St. Kevin in Dublin city, sometime after the conversion of the Norse kings to Christianity after 940¹²¹, also indicates links with the possibility of a Parish market. From an architectural viewpoint Scandinavian artistic influence can be seen on the 12th century market cross¹²² which is appropriate to commercial links. These linkages can be seen as a counter to the perception that Vikings only raided the *civitas* of Glendalough. This is not to deny that they did but of all recorded instances of raiding: five were carried out by them as against six by Irish.¹²³

¹¹⁷Long op. cit. p. 25 quoting Healy P. *Supplementary Survey* ..., unpublished, 1972, pp. 140-1

¹¹⁸*ibid.* p. 26-7

¹¹⁹McCormick F., Dairying and beef production in Early Christian Ireland: the faunal evidence, *Irish Landscape Archaeology*, Reeves-Smyth and Hamond, Oxford, 1983, p. 261

¹²⁰Dolley R.W.M., A hoard of tenth-century Anglo Saxon coins from Glendalough, *J.R.S.A.I.*, Vol. 90, 1960, pp. 41-7

¹²¹Fletcher, op. cit. pp. 380-1

¹²²Long, op. cit. p. 175

¹²³*ibid.* p.174

Glendalough: Political context

During the 9th and 10th centuries the Ui Dunlainge came under pressure from the Osraige and Dublin Norse kingdoms and though there were periods of intensified dynastic control of Glendalough¹²⁴, though in the long term this had little impact on its power or property holdings. From then the Ui Muiredaig became the leading Leinster dynasts until 1042 when they came under the control of the Ui Chennsalaig under Diarmait mac Mail na mBo. This period is seen as politically confusing as the Ua Briain and Ua Conchobair were competing for the High-Kingship of Ireland. From 1132, after a period of dynastic dissension, Diarmait Mac Murchada gained control of the Ui Chennsalaig and he became the significant Leinster leader until his death in 1172.¹²⁵

This competing polity had major implications for Glendalough as the regional ruler of Leinster usually dominated the appointment of Abbots and Bishops thus giving them control of the lands and revenues. The evidence would suggest that Glendalough was also had a high status as a place of burial for regional rulers and as a place of pilgrimage; Derbforgaill, mother of Muirchertach Ui Briain, died on pilgrimage there in 1098. Royal patronage also provided for architectural improvements and educational advancement¹²⁶.

It however should not be argued that such ecclesiastical settlements were proprietary on the Anglo Saxon model¹²⁷. It is evident that while the upper echelons of monastic elites were under the control of the regional dynast but the interests of lower levels in the ecclesiastical hierarchy created an inertia of interests that had to be assimilated into the overall agenda of the foundation. There is also evidence of political independence as when, Mac Shamhrain argues, an *oentad* (unity) was negotiated between

¹²⁴Mac Shamhrain, op. cit. pp. 76-9

¹²⁵ibid. pp. 81-104. This is a highly simplified summary of a very dynamic political history.

¹²⁶ibid. pp. 223-6

¹²⁷Barlow F., *The Feudal Kingdom of England*, London, 3rd. ed., 1971, pp. 29-30

Glendalough and Clonmacnois as a reaction to unwelcome political interference from the Osraige¹²⁸.

Glendalough: City or *Civitas*

Recent discussion has attempted to place such settlements into a urban hierarchy but little consensus has been achieved. The general opinion is that such settlements are not urban because they do not fit into modern functionalist typologies and definitions such as proto-urban complexes, important monasteries, larger monasteries, pre-urban centres, incipient towns, proto towns¹²⁹ monastic towns,¹³⁰ and town at monastery¹³¹. Long, in a passionate discussion on the issue, has stated that such definitions are inappropriate as they read history backwards and calls the debate a 'pseudo-historical proto-urban farce'¹³². He suggests that the definitions and criteria used should be contemporary with the period in question and as *Civitas* is most commonly used in this period, in a spiritual and secular context, than city is the most appropriate term¹³³. Using *Expugnatio Hibernica* and *The Song of Dermot and the Earl* he further shows that the definitions used are *Civitas* or *Urbs* and suggests that this acceptance, by the authors, of cities in a European context reflects reality¹³⁴.

While this author has sympathy for this point of view, especially on the point that modern secular *academia* generally ignores the impact of spirituality on human behaviour, there is doubt whether the term 'city' is an adequate translation of the term *Civitas*. The translation of Latin terminology and definitions into modern English tends to lose their Medieval contexts and silently take on 20th century values and ideologies. It may be argued that past commentators are not necessarily the best guides to

¹²⁸Mac Shamhrain, op. cit. p. 230

¹²⁹Inhabited by proto-urbanites

¹³⁰Long, op. cit., p. 161

¹³¹ibid. p. 186, quoting Graham B. J., Settlement as an indicator of Economic and Social Transformation, *Historical Geography of Ireland*, ed. Graham B.J. & Proudfoot L.J. 1993, pp.19-57

¹³²ibid.

¹³³ibid. 186-7

¹³⁴ibid. pp. 181-3

understanding medieval ideologies, however the fact that *urbs* and *Civitas* are widely used in Irish and European literature should not be ignored.

Glendalough: Archaeology, an indication of wealth

Increasing wealth from economic activities, pilgrimages and educational training led to the development of the *Civitas* as can be seen from the intense building activity from the 10th century. From 950 there are increasing references to stone buildings in Ireland which may be seen in the context of defence against enemies¹³⁵; this also includes the building of the *clochthech* (bell-house). Rebuilding of the Cathedral and other churches in the valley in Romanesque style from the 1070s indicate the links Glendalough had with European Church developments¹³⁶. A *civitas* such as Glendalough was probably a mix of high status stone churches with wooden buildings being used for residential, education and craft industries. Long believes, in the context of lack of references to types of building in Glendalough, that it probably fits into the patterns of building developments in the rest of the island.¹³⁷ In an costing analysis, based on the law tract *Uraiceacht Becc* and T.C.D. Ms. H.3.17, Long has shown that it is possible to say how much each building cost to build in *bo* (cows)¹³⁸. Trinity Church, with a shingle roof, would have cost 59 *bo*, the Cathedral (single chamber) 55 *bo*, and the Round Tower 74 *bo*¹³⁹. A *bo* in the medieval period usually indicated a milch cow with a calf and taking the modern value of a milch cow (IR£1,000) then the modern costs of the Cathedral, Round Tower, and Temple na Skellig would be IR£55,000, IR£74,000 and IR£30,000 respectively, though obviously caveats have to be entered in relation to currency fluctuations, costs of materials, transport etc.¹⁴⁰. Given the annual rent of a *boaire* (strong farmer) was one *bo* per annum then the monastery would need the rent of 30

¹³⁵ *ibid.* pp. 121-2

¹³⁶ *ibid.* p. 34

¹³⁷ *ibid.* p. 125

¹³⁸ *ibid.* pp. 141-6

¹³⁹ *ibid.* pp. 211-5

¹⁴⁰ *ibid.* p. 151

strong farmers for a building such as Temple na Skellig.¹⁴¹ According to the law texts the farm size of a *boaire* was 27.8 ha.¹⁴² which gives a total of 834 ha. needed to provide the price of this church. The price of the Cathedral (single chamber) and Round Tower would take an annual rental income of 1,529 and 2,057 acres respectively. There were other sources of income other than farm rentals which would have included tributes from daughter houses, commercial supply of agricultural produce and raw materials to the Norse ports of Dublin, Wicklow and Arklow, fees from corn milling, donations from pilgrims and students, etc. It is impossible to say what the income of Glendalough was at any one time but it must have been considerable. Expenditure is also unknown but would have included wages and salaries to lay employees and contract craftsmen as well as supporting the poor, weak and handicapped and providing refuge to other victims of famine, war and plague.

As a place of learning it was one of the most important in Leinster. Between 932 and 1106 the obituaries of five *Fer leigim* (head of monastic school) are recorded in the Annals¹⁴³. Recent research has indicated that the Drummond Missal and the 'Glendalough Schoolbooks' containing fragments of *Ars Grammatica*, attributed to Clemens Scottus, and *De Abaco* of Gerbert of Aurillac come from Glendalough. Keating, in the 17th century, speaks of one of the 'chief books' of Ireland, the Book of Glendalough, which is thought to be the Manuscript known as Rawlinson B. 502¹⁴⁴. This was a two way process, not only was there the import of learning but the export as well which is typified by the appointment of Gilla-na-naemh Laignech (obit. c.1160), former Bishop of Glendalough, as head of the *Schottenkloster* (Irish monastery) of Wurzburg¹⁴⁵.

¹⁴¹ibid. pp. 151-2

¹⁴²Stout M (1997) p. 111

¹⁴³Long, op. cit. p. 178 & n. 226

¹⁴⁴ibid. p. 177

¹⁴⁵ibid. & n. 223

Glendalough: Abbey and Bishopric

In the above discussion it has been assumed that the *civitas* of Glendalough was one organisation. This is unlikely to be completely accurate as the valley held both an abbacy and bishopric. The evidence of charters and grants around 1200 indicates that they were in fact separate organisations with separate administrations and land holdings. What the sources don't indicate was the division of land within the valley though it is reasonably good on holdings of each in Leinster (Map 5¹⁴⁶). The Monastic City contains both the cathedral and associated buildings but it is unclear whether the Abbot or Bishop controlled it or maybe it was jointly controlled. It appears that the Bishopric controlled little else in the valley or in the neighbourhood unlike the Monastery who directly held three monastic estates: Fertir, Magmersa and Umail.¹⁴⁷

Magmersa has not yet been identified but is possibly in West Wicklow as the prefix *Magh* (plain) is only found west of the mountains. It may be south of Umail in Uí Muiredaig territory¹⁴⁸. Umail is the old name for the Glen of Imaal and it was connected to Glendalough by a 3m wide road made up of irregularly sized slabs. It was estimated that the 17.7 km road would take nine years to build based on 25 men working a six day week for eight months in the year. Though wide enough for wheeled vehicles the current irregular surface is thought to preclude this¹⁴⁹.

Fertir: a Monastic Estate

The Rath (or ringfort) has been shown to be the main type of settlement for the majority of farmers in the early Christian period up to the 12th century. The morphology, distribution and farm size has been recently analysed by Stout¹⁵⁰. In his discussion on distribution¹⁵¹, he states that the Barony of Ballincor North is an area of

¹⁴⁶Mac Shamhrain, op. cit. pp. 194 & 197

¹⁴⁷*Alen's Register*, ed. McNeill C., Dublin, 1950, pp. 2 & 21

¹⁴⁸Mac Shamhrain, pers. comm.

¹⁴⁹Long, op. cit. p. 178

¹⁵⁰Stout M (1997), op. cit.

¹⁵¹ibid. pp. 48-93

The map shows the Dublin region with the following features:

- Geographical Features:** The coastline of Dublin is outlined. Major rivers like the Liffey and Dodder are shown. Three specific locations are labeled: Fertir, Glendalough, and Umail.
- Sampling Sites:**
 - Black Dots:** Represent sites where *Calluna vulgaris* was not found. There are approximately 15 dots scattered across the region, with a notable concentration along the western coast.
 - Black Triangles:** Represent sites where *Calluna vulgaris* was found. There are approximately 25 triangles, mostly located in the central and eastern parts of the region, particularly around Glendalough and Umail.
- Scale:** A scale bar at the bottom right indicates distances of 10km and 5m.

Legend

low density which he explains by the inhospitable environment¹⁵². While much of the mountain area does fall into this category, Map 6¹⁵³ shows that on the plateau, which is artificially divided by a Baronial border on the Vartry river, there is a high density of raths. Within the 60 square kilometres of the northern part of the plateau there are approximately 40 raths giving a density of 1 rath per 1.5 square kilometres which compares with others areas of high density¹⁵⁴.

It can be seen from map 6¹⁵⁵ that there are three zones of settlement: the valley system and the plateau north and south. The valley systems was probably used primarily as summer pastures and a source of timber and wild food. Even though rath builders preferred slope locations on hillsides¹⁵⁶ it is likely that these valley slopes were too steep for successful settlement. Environmental conditions such as heavy soils and bogs would also have made such sites unsuitable for permanent settlement. The one enclosure in the valley system has not been recorded before and is to be found on a grassy islet in the middle of the Inchivore river, where it is in its rapids phase, and is about 7m in diameter. The southern plateau has few raths which is probably due to its original marshy environment but would have been used as pasturage and a source of light timber for wicker building materials and containers. Its damp environment probably made the area a useful source for moss which was used heavily in Dublin.

There is a significant difference between the distribution east and west of the river on the northern end of the plateau. The eastern part representing a secular distribution and the west a monastic estate distribution which does not appear to have been previously noted anywhere else in Ireland. Before discussing it in detail it must be noted that map 6 represents settlement by the end of the 12th century and without excavation it is not

¹⁵²*ibid.* 59 & 61-2

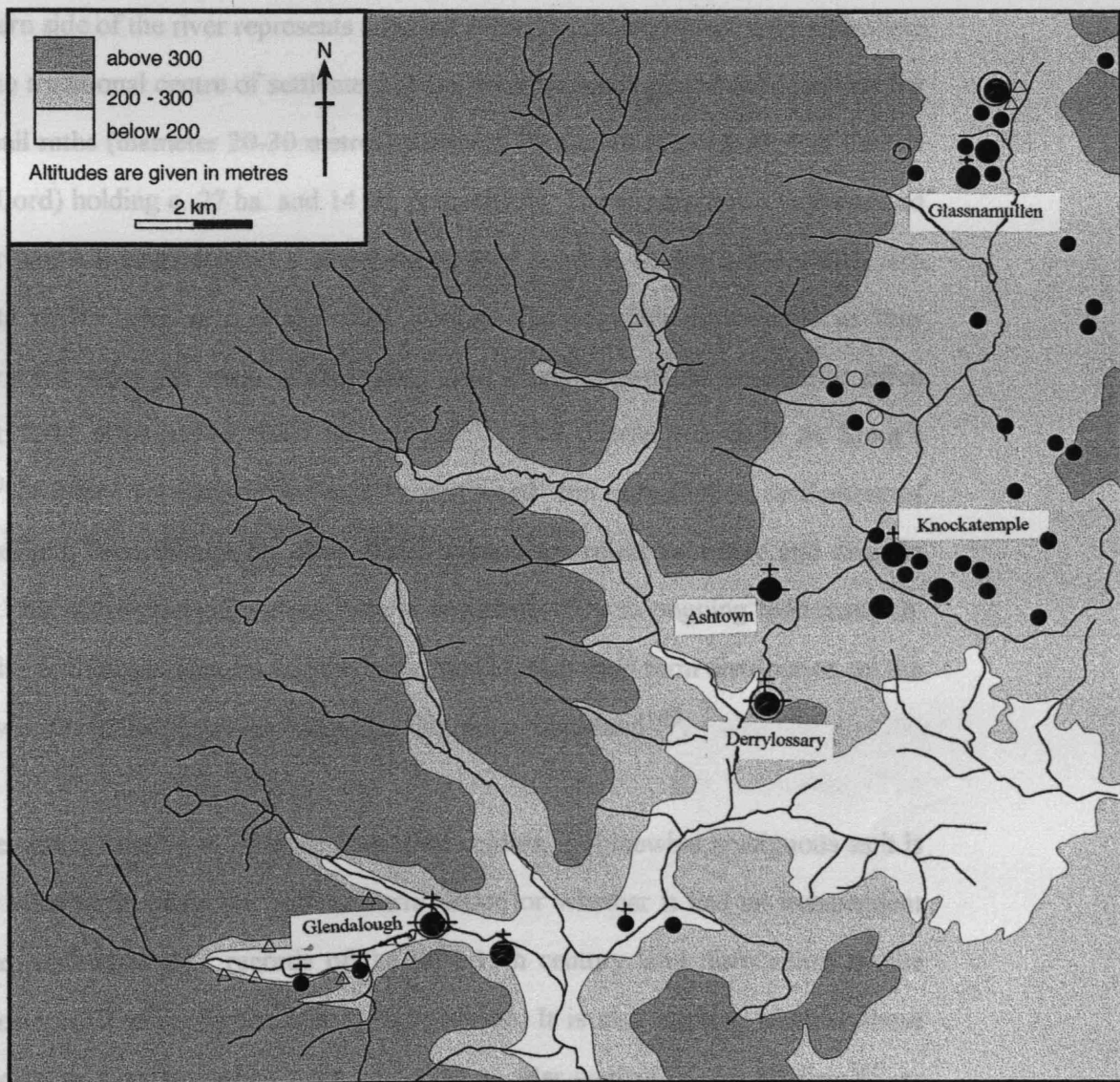
¹⁵³Grogan, 1997 for location, size and associations

¹⁵⁴Stout M., (1997), p. 76-92

¹⁵⁵The key assumption is that all over 20m in diameter are raths and all under are enclosures

¹⁵⁶Stout M., (1997) pp. 106-7

Map 6 Distribution of Rath and Enclosures - C. 1200



Legend

- <20m diameter
- 20-35m diameter
- >60m diameter
- Bivallate
- ✝ Church
- Bullauns
- △ Hut Sites

known how well this represents continuity from the 5th century. Two factors that need to be considered are the impacts of climatic warming from the beginning of the 11th century and the growth of Dublin with its agricultural needs as discussed above.

The eastern side of the river represents a typical hierarchy of settlement with a bivallate rath at the traditional centre of settlement at Ballyremon which probably controlled the many small raths (diameter 20-30 metres) occupied by *Boaire* (Cow lord) and *Ocaire* (Young Lord) holding c. 27 ha. and 14 ha. respectively. The former was a freeman and the latter was a leaseholder but it is not necessarily possible to determine which rath represents which class as it is not clear whether the townland boundaries as they presently exist were the same at that time, even though townland boundaries often represent farm organisation from this period¹⁵⁷. The distribution does fit Stout's model¹⁵⁸ of inter-relationships between ringforts and the ecclesiastical settlement of Knockatemple, even though his other distribution maps relate to valley and drumlin systems. This distribution of plateau raths is complementary to ongoing field research. Overall the distribution appears to mirror the modern dispersed farm distribution on the plateau which is in keeping with findings in the rest of the island¹⁵⁹.

Knockatemple in relation to other ecclesiastical centres, is somewhat ambiguous as it is not clear whether it was a part of the Fertir estate or whether it had an independent status and, unfortunately, records of the post 13th century land distribution by the Archbishopric of Dublin do not clarify the position. It is also unclear whether these lands, excluding Knockatemple, were under the secular control of the *Ui Teig*¹⁶⁰ or was part of the monastic lands leased to this sept¹⁶¹.

¹⁵⁷McErlean T., Irish townland system of landscape organisation, *Irish Landscape Archaeology*, Smyth-Reeves & Hamond, Oxford 1983, p. 337

¹⁵⁸Stout M. (1997) op. cit. p. 124

¹⁵⁹ibid. p. 107

¹⁶⁰Smyth, op. cit. p. 42 & Simpson L., Anglo Norman Settlement in *Ui Briuin Cualann*, 1169-1350, *Wicklow*, p. 192

¹⁶¹Price op. cit. p. 401

The distribution of raths on the western side of the Vartry river is, so far, unique. Its distribution pattern reflects a directly controlled monastic estate as distinct from monastic lands leased to secular tenants. At its core there are five large circular enclosures of Derrylossary (Ballincorbeg), Ashtown, Roundwood, Glassnamullen and Tomdarragh which may be the oldest parts of the estate. However the lack of archaeological excavation and literature sources means that we have no idea how the estate developed or how and when Glendalough came into control of it. All that can be assessed is the cumulative distribution.

These large raths appear to have been farms in their own right but the Law tracts do not appear to cover farm size within an ecclesiastical framework, unlike in the secular context¹⁶². It is impossible to say what the farm size may have been though topographical boundaries, such as rivers and ridges, probably predominated.

There are two sets of rath concentrations in Shraghmore (a sub-denomination of Mullinaveigue that became a townland during the Ordnance Survey mapping of 1830s) and Glassnamullen. The former has four enclosures of around 15m diameter and the latter one. These appear to be *bailes* and probably housed farm employees. The appearance of settlement clusters are unusual in a landscape predominated by dispersed settlements,

Derrylossary, a bivallate rath of about 150m in diameter, was probably the most important and in the post reform period became the parish centre. It is unusual for an ecclesiastical centre to be bivallate, the reasons for this are unknown. It may have had a village (*baile*) and mill attached, though the sources for these come from the 16th century. The division into the townlands of Ballincorbeg and Raheen may have been in the 13th century or later. According to the 1841 census Raheen townland was in the

¹⁶²Stout M., (1987), p. 111

Parish of Glendalough in the 1821 Census¹⁶³ and is the only townland east of the Avonmore river that was in the Glendalough parish. As there is no discernible reason for this in modern history this may be an artefact of a late medieval boundary between Abbey lands (Glendalough parish) and the Manorial lands of Castlekevin (Derrylossary parish). The only reason that Glendalough may have retained Raheen is that it was an important economic centre. However, the archaeological surveys and reviews has no reference for Raheen.

Ashtown¹⁶⁴ has a ruined church and granite font¹⁶⁵, it's doorway is possibly pre-Norman, according to Price¹⁶⁶. It may have been in charge of the *baile* in Shraghmore. The centres of Roundwood and Tomdarragh may have been purely farm centres without ecclesiastical functions. The rath of Roundwood was surveyed in 1998 by members of the Roundwood Historical Society¹⁶⁷ (see figure). This, in a very basic description, is called an enclosure by the Archaeological Inventory¹⁶⁸. The surveyor, however, missed a number of features, the most important being the foundations of a *clochan* by the causeway in the south east¹⁶⁹. The surveyor further states that the walls are modern but apart from the facing there are two dry-stone contemporary walls at the causeway and on the western side. There are also indications of old foundations to the north which were not surveyed. One of the two glacial erratics, which may have a bullaun, was used as a Mass Rock and there is a Holy Well nearby. Tomdarragh and Knockadreet have never been properly surveyed but there is a local tradition of a souterrain in the former.

¹⁶³Census enumeration districts were based on parishes and baronies in 1821 and 1831

¹⁶⁴An alternative name is Ballinafunshoge

¹⁶⁵Grogan op. cit. no. 787

¹⁶⁶Price, op. cit. p. 27

¹⁶⁷Cantwell I., Diamond Hill, R.D.H.F.J., No. 10, 1988, pp.

¹⁶⁸Grogan, (1997), op. cit. no. 666

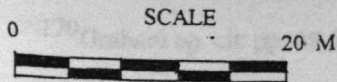
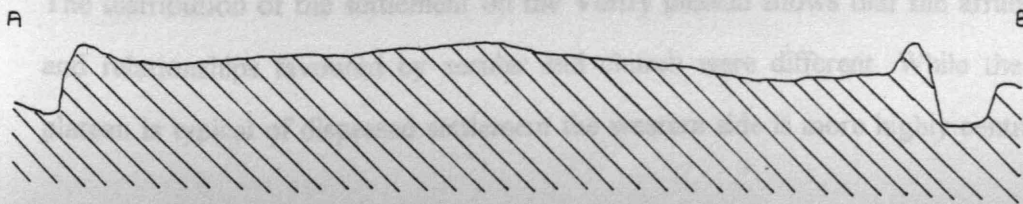
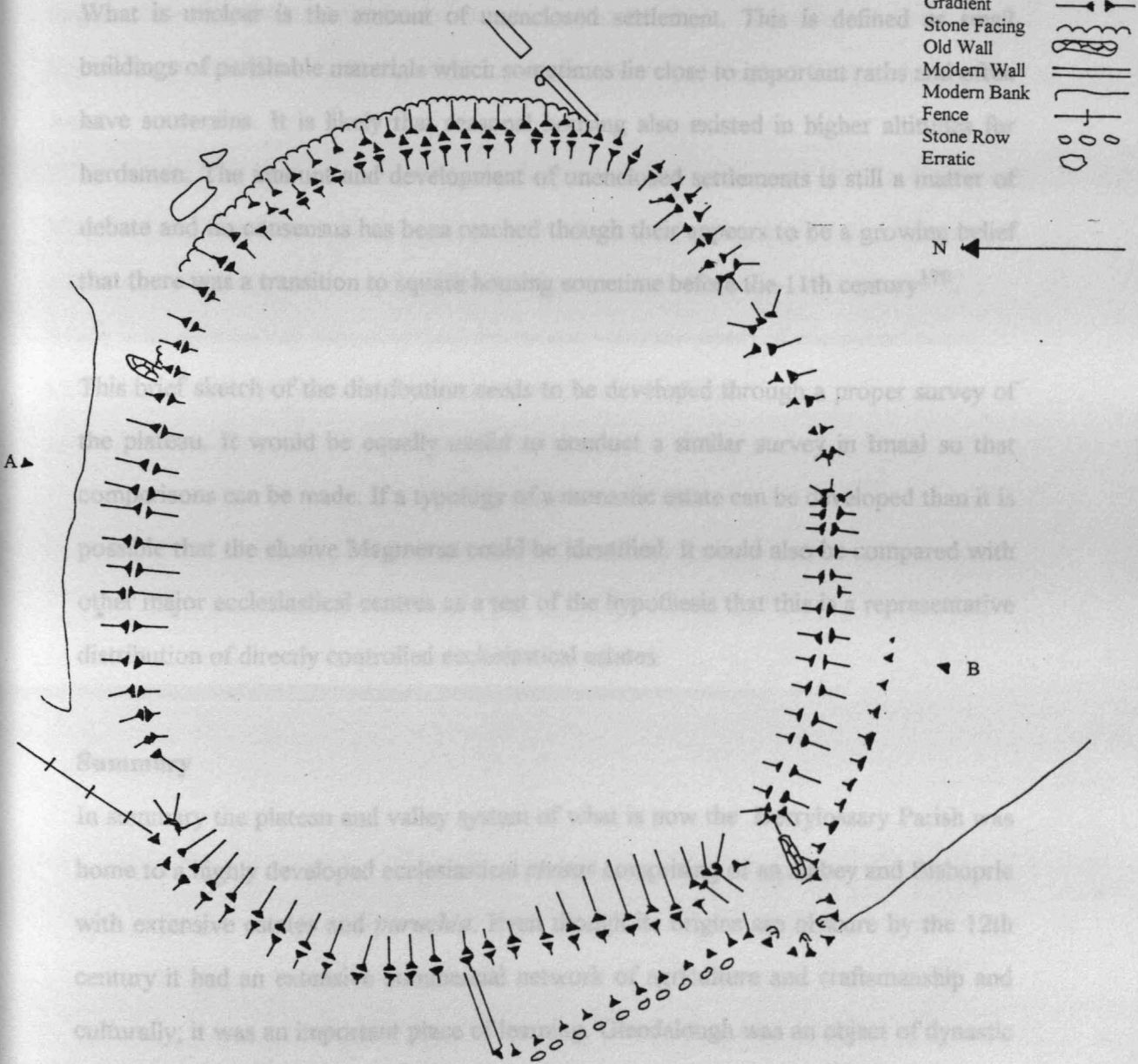
¹⁶⁹Stout M. (1997), p. 18, notes that this is the most common position for an entrance

RATH: DIAMOND HILL, ROUNDWOOD T/L

LEGEND

Gradient	↑
Stone Facing	⌋
Old Wall	⌋
Modern Wall	⌋
Modern Bank	⌋
Fence	+
Stone Row	o
Erratic	o

N



What is unclear is the amount of unenclosed settlement. This is defined as small buildings of perishable materials which sometimes lie close to important raths and often have souterrains. It is likely that seasonal housing also existed in higher altitudes for herdsmen. The amount and development of unenclosed settlements is still a matter of debate and no consensus has been reached though there appears to be a growing belief that there was a transition to square housing sometime before the 11th century¹⁷⁰.

This brief sketch of the distribution needs to be developed through a proper survey of the plateau. It would be equally useful to conduct a similar survey in Imaal so that comparisons can be made. If a typology of a monastic estate can be developed then it is possible that the elusive Magmersa could be identified. It could also be compared with other major ecclesiastical centres as a test of the hypothesis that this is a representative distribution of directly controlled ecclesiastical estates.

Summary

In summary the plateau and valley system of what is now the Derrylossary Parish was home to a highly developed ecclesiastical *civitas* comprising of an Abbey and Bishopric with extensive estates and *paruchia*. Even though its origins are obscure by the 12th century it had an extensive commercial network of agriculture and craftsmanship and culturally; it was an important place of learning. Glendalough was an object of dynastic struggle and it passed through the hands of all of the main Leinster rulers in the Early Medieval period. This, must have been destabilising at certain periods but through its own resources it survived and prospered.

The distribution of the settlement on the Vartry plateau shows that the arrangements and relationships favoured by secular and church were different. While the eastern plateau is typical of dispersed settlement the western side is more highly centralised in

¹⁷⁰Graham op. cit. pp. 49-50

larger units. This latter distribution appears not to be found, yet, elsewhere and is, hopefully, a contribution to the developing settlement history of Early Medieval Ireland.

Mumford, in 'The City in History', stated that "Contrary to the convictions of census statisticians, it is art, culture and political purpose, not numbers, that define a city"¹⁷¹; which is an appropriate way of ending this period when the winds of change belonging to the High Medieval were beginning to become a major influence.

¹⁷¹quoted in Long, *op. cit.* p. 176

CHAPTER 3

THE IMPACT OF REFORM

Early Reform

In Glendalough monastic reform was first introduced, in 1163, when the Augustinian Canons (Arrouasian) took over St. Saviours which had been founded the previous year.¹⁷² This is the most richly decorated Romanesque church in the valley and the inclusion of a round tower makes it unique in Ireland¹⁷³. It is possible that the masonry of St. Saviours and Baltinglass (Cistercian) came from the same workshop¹⁷⁴. It does not appear to have had significant land holdings as compared to the Abbacy and Bishopric but no land charters have survived. The introduction of this order provides the main thread of continuity in Glendalough from the election of Lorcan Ua Tuathail as Archbishop of Dublin in 1162 to the Gaelic resurgence of 1270. Its main aim may have been to lead by example but this may not have been completely successful as it has been argued that Abbot Thomas was survived by a son and grandson¹⁷⁵.

The amalgamation of the Diocese of Glendalough by the Archdiocese of Dublin is part of the stock in trade of the Medieval historian but as Mac Shamhrain rightly points out the separate histories of the Bishopric and Abbacy are not properly covered¹⁷⁶. The process of amalgamation took approximately thirty years and probably dates from the submission by Prince John, in 1185, who said they should be amalgamated due to the poverty of Dublin as compared to the wealth of Glendalough¹⁷⁷. The final confirmation of the amalgamation came in the 3rd Lateran Council, 1216, by a Bull of Innocent III¹⁷⁸.

¹⁷²Gwynn & Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses of Ireland*, Blackrock, 1988, p. 177

¹⁷³Long, op. cit. p. 35-6

¹⁷⁴ibid. p. 40

¹⁷⁵Mac Shamhrain, op. cit. p. 164

¹⁷⁶ibid.

¹⁷⁷Gwynn A., *The Irish Church in the 11th and 12th centuries*, Dublin, 1992, p. 269

¹⁷⁸Mac Shamhrain, op. cit. p. 161

The charters of confirmation to the Abbey and Bishopric of Glendalough, between this period, are seen as attempts by Irish church struggling to preserve their status and lands¹⁷⁹. This may be correct though it may over-interpret their significance. Charters were a recent introduction into Ireland and their use may reflect modernisation using this new administrative tool which is what could be expected in a reform church when formal chanceries were being organised¹⁸⁰.

Amalgamation of the Bishopric

One of the more notorious statements of this period came from Felix O'Ruadhain, erstwhile Archbishop of Tuam, who stated in 1216, that Glendalough was waste (*speculam locurum*) for forty years and a den of robbers and thieves¹⁸¹. This has been subject of critical comment from McNeill who noted that this 'evidence' was not available in 1192¹⁸², i.e. 25 years earlier, to Warren who noted that O'Ruadhain had been maintained by the King's Exchequer after his expulsion from Tuam¹⁸³.

Felix O'Ruadhain first appears as the abbot of the Arrouasian monastery of Saul in Co. Down and was appointed Archbishop of Tuam in 1202¹⁸⁴. His time there was tempestuous and as a result of conflicts with Maeliosa Ua Conchobar was imprisoned in chains¹⁸⁵. On being released he retired to Dublin and was maintained by the King's Exchequer before attending the 3rd Lateran Council in 1216. He returned to Tuam afterwards and retired in 1235. He died in 1238 at the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary's in Dublin where he was a benefactor¹⁸⁶. It is worth noting that in 1216 the monastery and lands of the Patrician foundation of Aughagower, under the comharbs of the

¹⁷⁹ibid. pp. 161-2

¹⁸⁰Bartlett, op. cit. pp. 285-6

¹⁸¹*Alen's Reg.* pp. 40-1

¹⁸²ibid. p. 41

¹⁸³Warren W.L., *King John and Ireland, England and Ireland in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. J. Lydon, Dublin, 1981; p. 38

¹⁸⁴Gwynn & Hadcock, op. cit. p. 198

¹⁸⁵Gwynn op. cit. p. 268

¹⁸⁶Frye E.B. et al, *Handbook of British Chronology*, London, 1986, p. 374

Archbishop of Armagh, was amalgamated with the Diocese of Tuam and become an Episcopal manor¹⁸⁷ of Tuam; so there may have been some undocumented arrangement. On the basis of the continuing Arrouasian investment in Glendalough he can be seen as acting against their interest and this probably explains why he ended up with the Cistercians.

Abbacy to Priorate

The original grant from Richard Fitzstephen to the Abbey was in the period 1172-6 when he granted the Abbey, with all appurtenances around the *Civitas*, and lands to Abbot Thomas in 1172-6¹⁸⁸. This indicates that the Abbot had made fealty and homage to the Earl perhaps under the influence of Lorcan Ua Tuathail. There is a somewhat ambiguous reference that may be significant when Diarmait Mac Murchada and his son-in law visited Glendalough in 1171 to plunder an unnamed O'Toole for refusing to parley and took spoils without violence¹⁸⁹. A further plundering raid took place in 1176¹⁹⁰ but the circumstances are obscure. This grant was confirmed by Prince John in 1192¹⁹¹ and Innocent III in 1198¹⁹².

This last grant is noteworthy as it includes the Cathedral, the Abbey Churches including St. Kevin's Hermitage, with his cell and scelic as well as the Abbey Lands. This appears to indicate that the Abbot has control of the Cathedral in place of the Bishop. This is curious as the then Bishop, William Piro, appointed in 1192¹⁹³ and seen as a caretaker Bishop until the amalgamation of the two Diocese, may have been expected to protest. This Bishop is seen as a glorified archdeacon¹⁹⁴ but as Archbishop of

¹⁸⁷Keville J., Aughagower, *Cathair Na Mart*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1983, pp. 4-5

¹⁸⁸*Alen's Reg.*, p. 2

¹⁸⁹*Song of Dermot and the Earl*, ed. Oren G.H., Oxford, 1982, pp. 67-9

¹⁹⁰Leask, H.G., *Glendalough*, Dublin, n.d.

¹⁹¹*Alen's Register*, ed. Charles McNeill, Dublin, 1950, p. 21

¹⁹²*ibid.* p. 23-4

¹⁹³Mac Shamhrain, *op. cit.* p. 162

¹⁹⁴Gwynn, *op. cit.* p. 146

Dublin, John Cumin, was in exile 1197-1206¹⁹⁵, Piro may have had more influence than is thought. Mac Shamhrain has an interesting theory that the stone relief above the Priest's House is a statement that puts the Abbot as the prime leader as the bishop and hooded cleric (prior of St. Saviour's?) kneel before him¹⁹⁶. He may have been the subject of the lines from the 2nd *Vitae* of St. Coemgen which bemoans the fact that there are more outsiders than native born erenachs and that they have more concern with fine clothes than holiness¹⁹⁷.

By 1216 the Abbey does appear to have lost independent control of its possessions as the Archbishopric is now in the position to be making grants and by 1229 was receiving grants of disafforestation from Henry III¹⁹⁸. Some of this land appears to have come via the grant that was made between Richard Fitzstephen and Abbot Thomas (1172-6) as the former's heir, William Marshall is found granting coinage and pannage of the woods of Samae Kevin to Holy Trinity and the Archbishop of Dublin in 1213-28¹⁹⁹.

In 1216-28 Henry of London, Archbishop of Dublin, granted the 'island' of Holy Saviours to All Hallows, an Arrouasian foundation, so that they would be under the control of one house as they were, apparently, not under strict rule²⁰⁰. It appears at this stage this abbey had overall control of all foundations, though the 'great Church of Glindelache' still had its own prior in the late 1250s and early 1260s²⁰¹. From this period the abbacy was a priorate subject to Holy Trinity²⁰².

¹⁹⁵ *Alen's Reg.* p. 110

¹⁹⁶ Mac Shamhrain, op. cit. p. 163

¹⁹⁷ Simms K, *Frontiers in the Medieval Irish Church, Colony and Frontier*, London, 1995, pp. 196-7

¹⁹⁸ Mac Shamhrain, op. cit. p. 165

¹⁹⁹ *Alen's Reg.* p. 54

²⁰⁰ *ibid.* p. 54-5

²⁰¹ *ibid.* 110

²⁰² Mac Shamhrain, op. cit. p. 165

Settlement and Economy

While this period of assimilation of the *civitas* of Glendalough was going on the economy was developing. The Arrouasian investment is explored in detail by Long who has explored their input into the rebuilding of St. Mary's, the Cathedral, and the Priest's House²⁰³. He concludes that there was a major rebuilding phase spanning the years 1170-1220 concentrated in the core ecclesiastical *Civitas*²⁰⁴. Of particular interest is the use of Dundry Limestone which is first recorded as being used in Christ Church, Dublin, in 1181. While it may have come to Ireland via Dublin, Wicklow or Arklow, the Bristol-Dublin route seems the most likely²⁰⁵. Its use reflects the architectural transition from Romanesque to Gothic. This investment, using the most modern methods of building, is a useful counter to those who see the demise of Glendalough as a result of conquest and colonisation²⁰⁶.

A recent rescue archaeological investigation by the Office of Public Works, prior to the building of a car park, uncovered the remains of an iron smelting works close to Holy Trinity Church²⁰⁷. This was vaguely dated to this period by the discovery of Santoigne pottery in the charcoal trenches, though it was a pity that radiocarbon dating was not also utilised. Tree pollen values show a large drop around this time, among the species of birch, oak, hazel and willow. There is an increase in charcoal and grass values which also implies agricultural clearance.

In 1225-6 Archbishop Henry was granted a weekly market at his vill at St. Kevin²⁰⁸ which presumably is Glendalough. Archbishop Fulk granted the Priory and canons of the 'Great Church of Glendalough' pasture in the mountains at 2d per beast and also the fallen timber by view of his forester, The canon's men also had right of pasture but

²⁰³Long op. cit. p. 60, 64-6, & 73-4

²⁰⁴ibid. p. 82

²⁰⁵ibid. p. 112

²⁰⁶ibid. p. 82

²⁰⁷Manning C., *Excavations in Glendalough, J.K.A.S.*, XVI, 1984, pp. 342-7

²⁰⁸*CDI*, vol. 1, nos., 1351 & 1354

must pay for the wood²⁰⁹. This grant is insistent that the grant is made by grace rather than by right which implies some conflict.

As mentioned above forestry was an important economic asset and a source of rivalry between the King and the Archbishops of Dublin. This dispute over Forest Law was part of a wider dispute between King, Church and their respective subjects which formed part of the Magna Carta charter of 1215²¹⁰. This conflict is reflected in the dispute between Archbishop Luke, who believed that the Church was exempt from English Forest law, and Thomas Fitzadam, *custos*, of the King's Forests in Ireland who was maintaining the King's rights. When Fitzadam arrested a man for poaching and then refused to hand him over to the Archbishop's bailiffs he was excommunicated. He appealed to Henry III but was sacked as the King wished to avoid further conflict. This is believed to be the background to the disafforestation grant of 1229²¹¹. Further grants of Forest lands and rights indicate that the Archbishopric was very keen to maintain its privileges. The main forest lands were in Glendalough, Fertir and Coillach (in west Wicklow)²¹².

Pilgrimages were probably still an important source of income but now with the possible inclusion of relics of St. Lorcan. It was reported that 'French Calvinists', in 1562, carried off the shrine, that held his canonised bones, and his own chalice which was melted down.²¹³

Castlekevin

The devolution of these lands to the Archbishop of Dublin is undocumented but appears to have happened by 1216 when Archbishop Henry of London is granted the

²⁰⁹*Alen's Reg.*, p. 142

²¹⁰Barlow op. cit. pp. 428-9

²¹¹Neeson E., *A History of Irish Forestry*, Dublin, 1991, pp. 40-2

²¹²*ibid.* pp. 295-6

²¹³Ronan M, *Miscellanea, JRSAL*, Vol. lxxv, 1945, p. 257, quoting C.P. Meehan, *O'Tooles of Fercullen*, Dublin, 1869, p. 4

Manor of Swords as an aid to construct a castle at Castlekevin with the proviso that it revert to the Crown if not made or maintained²¹⁴. What is clear is that the Fertir estate is administered separately from the Abbey lands and the centre of administration is Castlekevin. Traditionally the motte and bailey castle is seen as a tool of conquest along with cavalry and crossbows²¹⁵ until the introduction of the trebuchet, a siege engine which worked on the tip-cat principle, at the end of the 12th century²¹⁶. These mottes were widely used in some areas of conquest and colonisation in Ireland²¹⁷ and often used strategic pre-existing military sites such as 'platform raths'²¹⁸.

Castlekevin does not appear to fit into the general pattern as this area was never conquered in the secular sense. The first reference to anything actually happening there is in 1253²¹⁹ when an agreement was signed between Archbishop Fulk and the canons of Dysert Kevin and as there is a reference to a *castrum* there in his reign (1230-1255)²²⁰ it must have been built sometime around this period. It is likely to have been built as an administrative and legal centre for the manor with the basic palisade rampart.

The first and still the best survey of the motte and bailey is Oren²²¹ but further comments have been made by Simpson²²², Grogan and Hillary²²³, Grogan and Kilfeather²²⁴ and McNeill²²⁵. The site has never been properly surveyed and there appears to be omissions and mis-interpretations. The first omission is the lack of reference to the causeway from the northern end of the bailey to the river which

²¹⁴Barlow op. cit. p. 161

²¹⁵Bartlett, op. cit. pp. 65-70

²¹⁶Barlow, op. cit. p. 431

²¹⁷Barry T.B., *The Archaeology of Medieval Ireland*, London, 1994, pp. 37-44

²¹⁸ibid. pp. 44-5

²¹⁹Orpen, G.H., *Castrum Keyveni: Castlekevin, J.R.S.A.I.*, 1908, P. 20

²²⁰ibid

²²¹ibid. pp. 17-27.

²²²Simpson L., op. cit. pp. 199-200 & 203-4

²²³Grogan and Hillery, op. cit. pp. 42-3

²²⁴Grogan and Kilfeather, op. cit. p.176

²²⁵McNeill T., *Castles in Ireland*, London, 1997, p: 140

appears to be the continuation of the road to Newcastle McKynegan and which comes from Glendalough. Below the road there is a small mound but its age and purpose is unknown. Simpson²²⁶ describes the ditch going north from the motte as a leat, i.e. a mill race. This is probably modern as it continues over the road and therefore must post date it. It is unlikely that the water pressure was ever sufficient to run a mill at this spot. McNeill calls the motte a strongly defended moated site²²⁷ but without considering the bailey. The two Archaeological surveys give adequate descriptions though add nothing new. The photograph in Orpen's article shows the destruction of the gate house, on the eastern side of the motte, in the 20th century and there may have been more as in the early 19th century there is a reference to foundations²²⁸. Map 8 puts the castle in its local context.

In the vicinity are medieval hedgerows to the west of the motte and on the old road from Glendalough to Castlekevin²²⁹. The road is first mentioned in the sources, in 1309,²³⁰ when Piers de Gaveston is given great credit for opening a pass between the two²³¹.

What is intriguing about the site is what is not there, there is no church, burgage plots or obvious settlement. This raises questions as to why it was built there rather than at an established settlements on the plateau. It appears to be because that Castlekevin only took over the administration of the Fertir Estate but did not restructure it: though we don't know what the original plan was. There was some colonisation as the jurors of an inquisition, of 1257-63, had an ethnic breakdown of thirteen English surnames

²²⁶Simpson, op. cit. p. 199

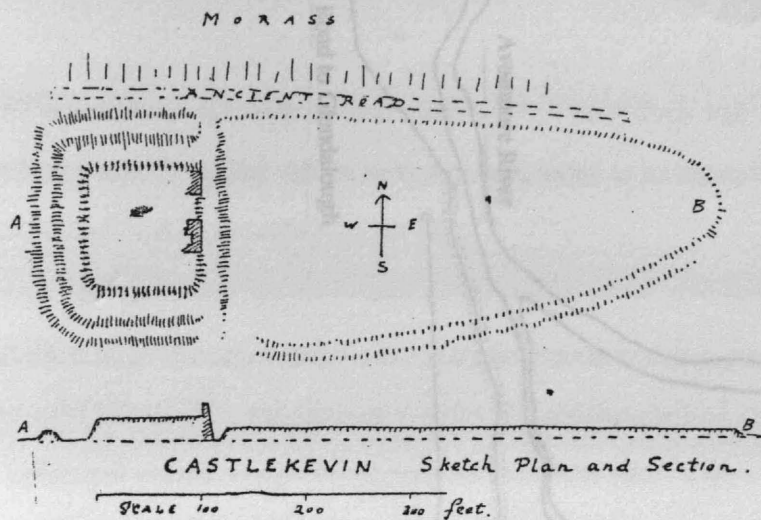
²²⁷McNeill, op. cit. p. 140

²²⁸*Topographical Directory of Ireland*, op. cit. p. 30

²²⁹Identified using a variant of Hooper's rule (one species of tree/bush per 30 yards equals 100 years of age which appears to be an ecological coincidence in the SE England) which by experience shows that 2-4 species per 30 yards is post 17th century and 5-7 species is medieval. Field work by author

²³⁰Lydon, *Medieval Wicklow - 'A Land of War'*, Wicklow, pp. 169-70

²³¹Probably overstated, the author cut back ten years of growth over 1km in eight hours (1990)



The site is on a ridge overlooking the marshy floor of a stream valley to the north.

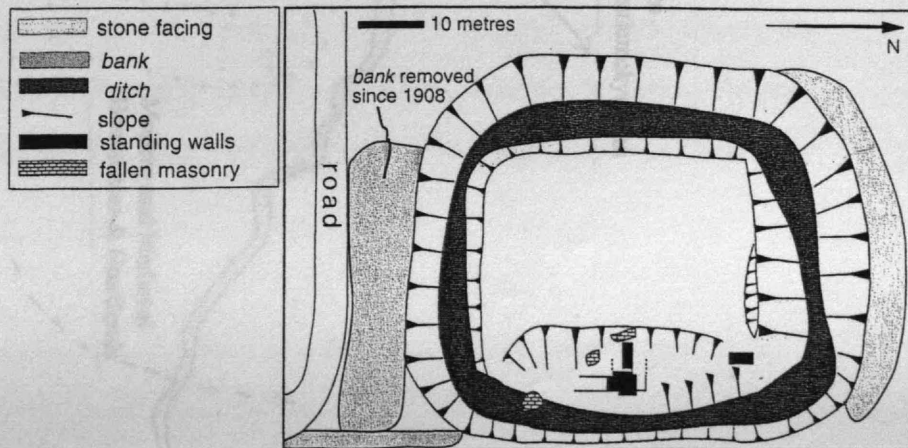
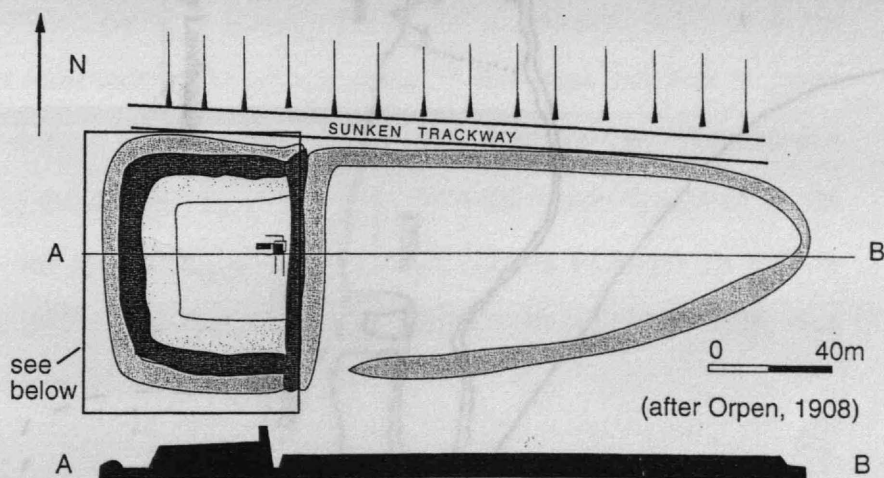
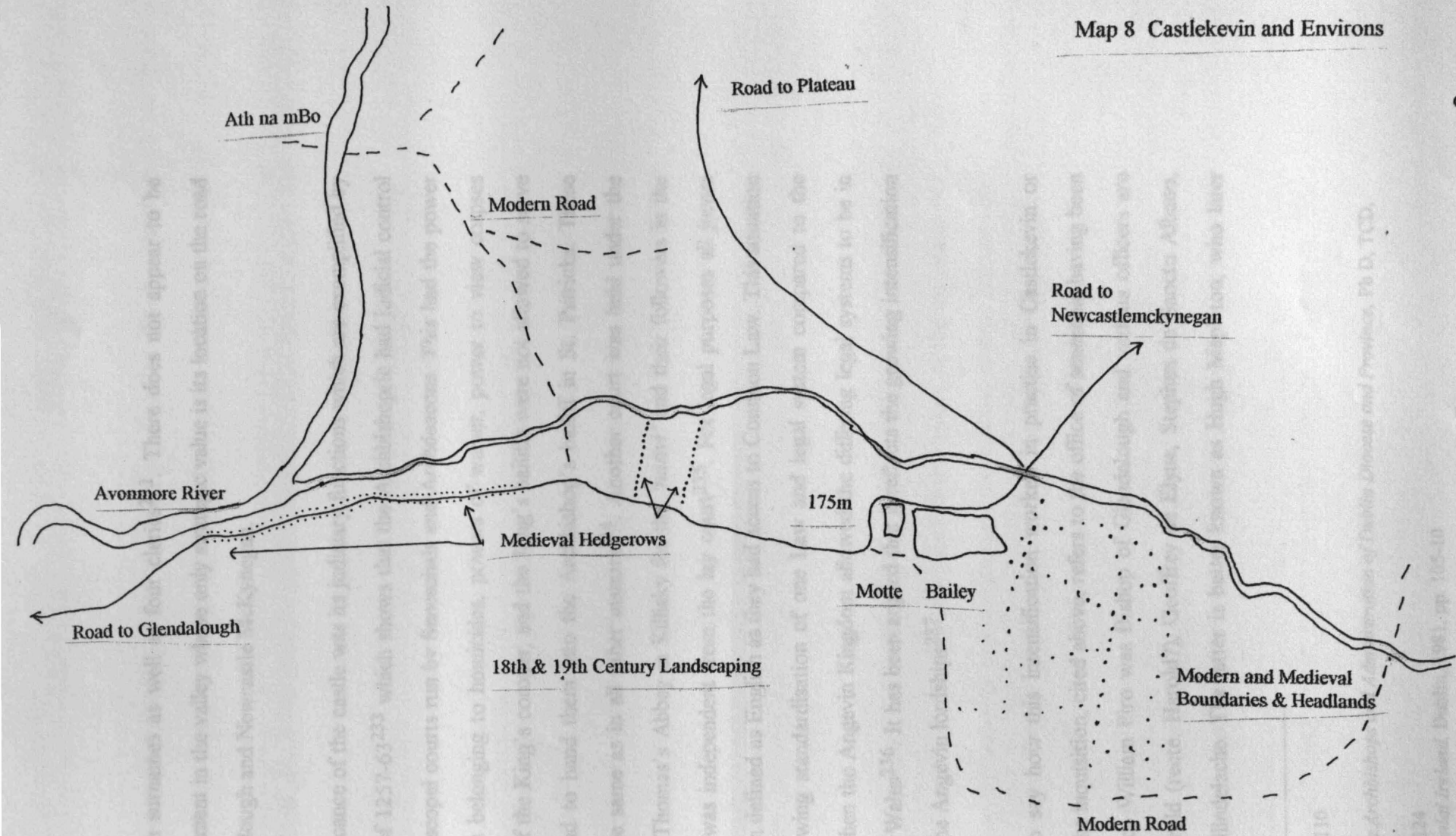


Fig. 40 Plan of the motte/castle at Castle Kevin

Map 8 Castlekevin and Environs

N
↑
6" = 1 mile



and twelve Irish surnames as well as four clerics²³². There does not appear to be associated settlement in the valley whose only strategic value is its location on the road between Glendalough and Newcastle McKynegan.

The main significance of the castle was its judiciary functions which are exemplified by the inquisition of 1257-63²³³ which shows that the Archbishopric had judicial control through the Episcopal courts run by Seneschals and Archdeacons. This had the power to take in lands belonging to homicides, powers of waiver, power to view corpses independently of the King's coroner, and the King's bailiffs were not allowed to serve warrants but had to hand them into the Archbishop's bailiff in St. Patricks. These powers were the same as in all other manors²³⁴. Another court was held under the auspices of St. Thomas's Abbey in Killisky for the '*nativi*' and their followers in the mountain' that was independent from the lay court²³⁵. For legal purposes all jurors would have been defined as English as they had access to Common Law. This situation reflects the growing standardisation of one Law and legal system compared to the earlier period when the Angevin Kingdom allowed the differing legal systems to be in place such as in Wales²³⁶. It has been argued that it reflects the growing intensification of Lordship in the Angevin lordships²³⁷.

It is difficult to say how this intensification worked in practise in Castlekevin or Glendalough. The inquisition, cited above, refers to the office of seneschal having been in existence since William Piro was Bishop of Glendalough and various officers are named: Elias Orolde (recte. Harold?), Geoffrey de Elyne, Stephen de Sancto Albano, and Hugh de Glindelache. The latter is better known as Hugh Mapleton, who later

²³² *Alen's Reg.* p. 110

²³³ *ibid.* 110-2

²³⁴ Murphy M. *The Archbishops and Administration of Dublin Diocese and Province*, Ph D, TCD, 1987, p. 285

²³⁵ *Alen's Reg.* p. 124

²³⁶ Frame R., *Colonial Ireland*, Dublin, 1981, pp. 105-10

²³⁷ Davies R.R., *Domination and Conquest*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 105-7

became Archdeacon of Glendalough and was then promoted to the Bishopric of Ossory. This indicates that Glendalough and Castlekevin were integrated into the system of Church advancement and promotion.

Castlekevin Manor

There is no information as to the organisation of the Estate as there are no extents which would have given an indication as to tenurial or service arrangements. Lyon argues that it had higher than normal of free tenants which is consistent with Manors in Marcher territories²³⁸. Their only tenurial obligations appears to have been the payment of money rents. However it is not until later in the century that it became Marcher land so it is perhaps due to other circumstances. The valuation of the Estate c.1272 was £100/17/9²³⁹ and the demesne lands £24²⁴⁰ which made it the fifth highest held by the Archbishopric and was within £5 of the Manors of Finglas and Clondalkin, third and fourth respectively²⁴¹.

Of those whose lands can be identified one belonged to a William Anglicus who held Lickeen and Moneystown for 2 marks, 16.5 acres with pasture of the mountains and woods of Glasdrey for beasts for him and his men, housbot and heyber, firewood and his own swine in both forests²⁴². He may have been the builder of the polygonal structure at Moneystown²⁴³. Other references are vague but the implication of the lists of feoffees and wax rents²⁴⁴ under Castlekevin is that it administered Church lands outside the Fertir estate, possibly *paruchia* which were integrated into the manor. Feoffees listed are from Arklow, Killadreenan, etc. though many of the placenames are

²³⁸Lyons M., *Manorial Administration and Manorial Economy, c. 1200-c.1377*, Ph D Thesis, 1984, TCD, vol. 2, pp. 197-8

²³⁹ibid. vol. 2, p. 36

²⁴⁰ibid. vol. 1, p. 105

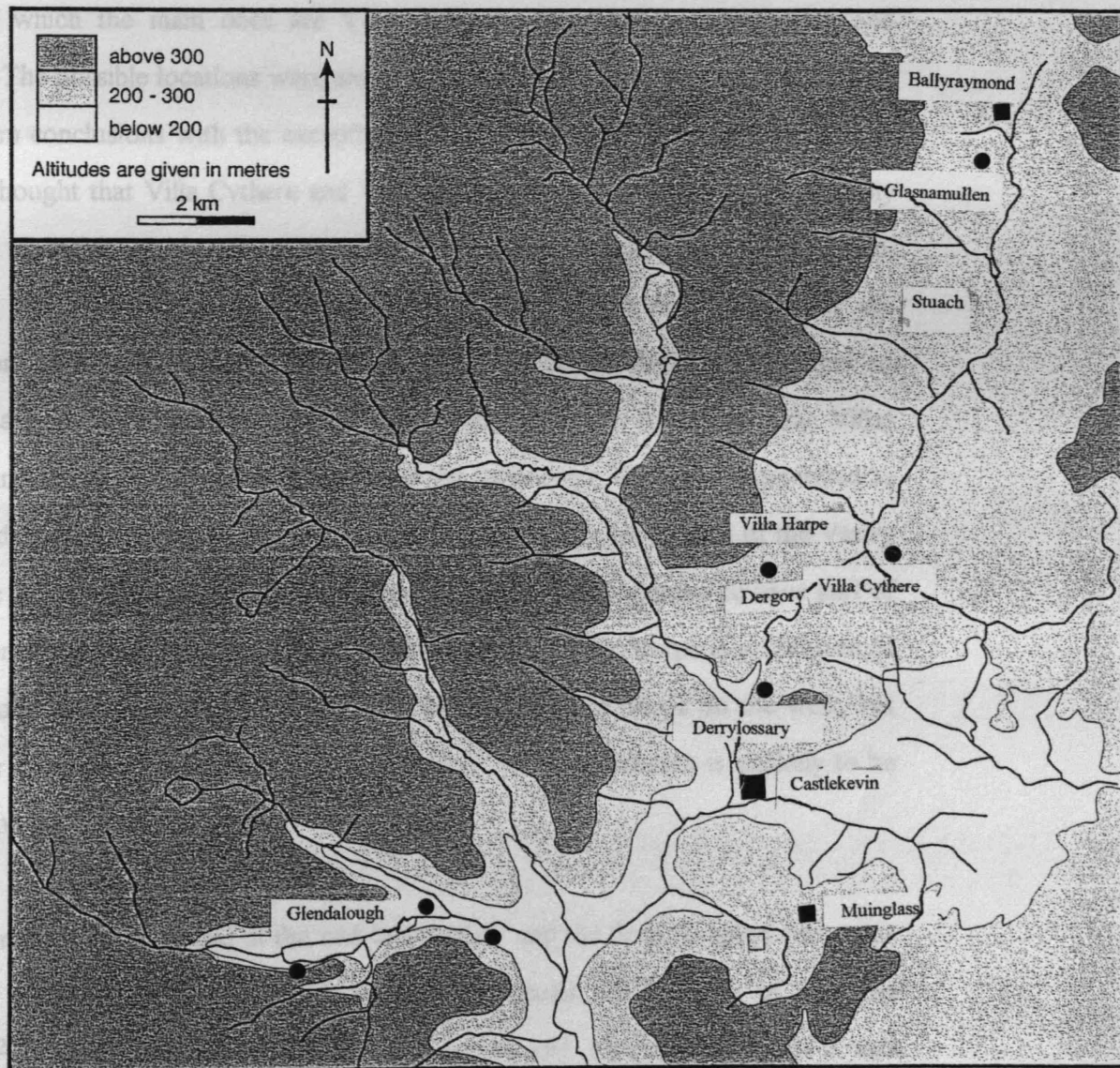
²⁴¹ibid. vol. 2, p. 36

²⁴²*Alen's Reg.* p. 123

²⁴³Price op. cit. pp. 426-7

²⁴⁴*Alen's Reg.* 123-8

Map 7 Reform Settlement - C. 1270



Legend

- Motte & Bailey
- Church
- Secular site
- Moated site

obscure and even the great expert, Price²⁴⁵, was unable to identify them. Wax Rents came to the manor from as far away as Lusk, Co. Dublin.

From this period references to the Church settlements, see Map 8, on the plateau are found of which the main ones are Villa Cythere, Villa Harpe, Derrylossary and Dergory. The possible locations were analysed by Price²⁴⁶ but he was unable to come to any firm conclusions with the exception of Derrylossary²⁴⁷. Following Archbishop Alen he thought that Villa Cythere and Villa Harpe were the same place and possibly could be identified as Knockatemple which means that Dergory was in Ashtown. However the identification of Dergory with Ashtown does not fit in with the description of it being adjacent to Glencapp²⁴⁸. It does appear as a chapel to Derrylossary in the 16th century²⁴⁹ as does Villa Harpe²⁵⁰. It may be that Villas Cythere and Harpe should not be identified as the same place, the latter is described as in the land of the O'Byrnes in the 16th century which would place it east of the Vartry river. The Townland of Knockraheen and its sub-denomination appears to have part of the Manor up to 1650 at least. Another possibility is that Villa Harpe is a variation of Coolharbour. It may be that Cythere is east of the river and Harpe on the west, but otherwise adjacent. This confusion, on the basis of surviving sources is unlikely to be easily resolved.

Knockatemple was excavated in the mid last century and the finds included two coins of Henry III (King of England 1216-72) and Alexander the II (King of Scotland 1214-49)²⁵¹ which indicates it was still used in the mid 13th century when it was

²⁴⁵Price is the source of notes on placenames in *Alen's Reg.*

²⁴⁶*ibid.* pp. 27 & 401

²⁴⁷*ibid.* pp. 27-8

²⁴⁸*Alen's Reg.*, p. 79

²⁴⁹White Newport B., *Reportorium Viride, Analecta Hibernica*, no. 10, 1941, p. 204

²⁵⁰*Alen's Reg.* p. 65

²⁵¹Frazer W., On a bronze bell, sculpted head of stone and other antiquities found in the church of Knockatemple, *RIA Proc.* Series 2, vol. 2, 1879-88, pp. 12-14

leased by the Bealing family from the Archbishopric c. 1228-44²⁵². Other finds include a stone head, portion of a glass patina, button core of mica schist, fragment of copper and wood (possibly part of a book binding), bowl of a brass spoon, polished elongated bead of bone or ivory, bronze clasp of fish hook shape with a bronze tongue, and a bronze bell 12" high and 6" by 8" square. Also found were skeletons in distorted positions and broken pottery²⁵³. The skeletons may not be contemporary as the graveyard was used during the 1798 Rebellion and 1832 cholera epidemic²⁵⁴.

Summary

The description of the church stated that it was made up of undressed field stones and the windows and doors appear to have been dressed with freestone. The use of the term freestone in the 19th century often means Dundry limestone and the combination of the undressed stone and freestone is very similar to the rebuilding of the Cathedral at Glendalough in the early 13th century. In the Archaeological Inventory there is a note to the discovery of a chamfered stone from a pointed arch. It therefore appears that this church was rebuilt by the Archbishopric of Dublin in the Romanesque/Gothic Transition architectural style to serve the Vartry plateau²⁵⁵. It is also noted that the head is carved from freestone and its style appears to be consistent with the 13th century.



²⁵²Alen's Reg. pp. 69-70
²⁵³Frazer op. cit. pp.12-14, some of the pottery is in R.I.A. museum
²⁵⁴Timmons M., Knockatemple Church, RDHFJ, no. 3, 1990, p. 21
²⁵⁵I am indebted to Harry Long for his comments

Glassnamullen was hived off from the Fertir Estate and became part of the deanery of Bray with Stagonil and Glencapp²⁵⁶. A subrectangular basin survives that could be the base of cross or a font²⁵⁷. Simpson maps a destroyed medieval settlement site²⁵⁸ on Calary but without discussion and these may refer to rectangular foundations and a deserted settlement listed by the Archaeological Inventory²⁵⁹. It is probably from this time that the name Ballyremon came into use²⁶⁰.

Summary

Glendalough and its estates in this period show aspects of continuity and change on four different levels: Ownership, tenurial practices, estate management and judicial management. There were major changes as control passed from the *Civitas* and regional Leinster rulers to the Archbishop of Dublin. Estate management changed in terms of tenurial relationships though the ethnic Irish maintained a significant and powerful presence. The introduction of the Augustinian Canons in the late 12th century provided a focus of continuity as the investment in buildings and iron works indicate. Major settlement changes do not appear in the Archaeological record and the relative isolation of Castlekevin supports this. The main change appears to be in the practice and management of Law as the evidence would suggest that Common Law predominated and Brehon Law was superseded.

Overall the evidence suggests that the transition was relatively smooth and the area was a successful manor integrated into the Archbishopric of Dublin. This is in stark contrast to much of the rest of Ireland where there was a major power struggle between the Gaelic Irish and the subjects²⁶¹ of the Angevin Empire. The history of this incomplete

²⁵⁶Timmons op. cit. p. 203

²⁵⁷Grogan (1997), no. 829

²⁵⁸Simpson, op. cit. p. 192

²⁵⁹Grogan & Kilfeather, op. cit. nos. 730-2

²⁶⁰Price op. cit. pp. 304-5

²⁶¹Called by modern historians Norman, Anglo-Norman, Cambro-Norman, Anglo-French, Anglo-Franks and English. Between 1100-1300 they called themselves Norman, Francorum, Anglicorum, Engles and finally English. The Irish called them Saxon, Frank and 'Foreigner'.

conquest, colonisation, intermarriage, alliance, acculturation and uneasy relationships tends to overshadow the fact that some transitions were smoother with greater levels of continuity. Much of this was abetted by the influences of Gregorian reform which had been introduced from the 1160s. However this started to change from 1270 as rebellion developed in the mountains.

CHAPTER 4

CONQUEST AND SECULARISATION

Political Background

The Gaelic Resurgence of the late 13th century is a matter of ongoing debate. It can be seen as the reaction of the Gaelic Irish Lords to an incomplete conquest or as a failure of the Angevin Empire to assimilate the Irish into the kingdom by isolating them from the administration of power and by refusing them access to Common Law, though this intensification of Lordship only dates from the mid 13th century. There were regional conflicts of interests and accommodations between local magnates and Irish dynasties which created tensions locally and nationally. These hampered the attempts of the King's Administration of Dublin to govern the island as one Lordship and it did not help that the Angevin Kings were focused on their European power struggle with the Capetian monarchy. The result was the breakdown of central Administration and Law and the development of regional powers. The most important of these regional rulers were Anglo-Hibernici based in the fertile lands south of Ulster and the dynasts of Ulster. On the peripheries local Gaelic dynasts gained varying levels of control over their lands and their polity was based on accommodation and conflict depending on their strategies of survival and advancement. There was no unified response by the Gaelic Irish and each region responded to national and local factors in their own way²⁶². One such region was the Wicklow Mountains.

In the 19th century there were two schools of history: the traditional English school that based its ideology on the superiority of the British Empire and a new school of Irish historians who argued that the Gaelic civilisation was a golden age until conquest by England. One of the exponents of the latter school was Rev. Christopher Meehan who wrote extensively on Irish monastic orders and under the pseudonym, 'P.L.

²⁶²There is a large literature on this subject of which the works by Frame, Lydon, Duffy and Simms for Ireland and Duby, Davies and Bartlett for the rest of Europe stand out, see bibliography.

O'Toole' wrote about the Wicklow chieftains, particularly the O'Tooles²⁶³. He probably developed his ideas from his time when he was curate in Rathdrum in 1834-5²⁶⁴. His work is a eulogy of a clan who could do no wrong and whose only fault was to trust the perfidious English. He argues that they were an independent small kingdom who bravely survived until overcome by Cromwell in the mid 17th century. Naturally their Catholicism was exemplary especially during the Reformation and Counter Reformation. This is now recognised as hopelessly naive and not an accurate picture of events. However he did have an accurate historical framework and he conducted plenty of research in primary sources in Dublin and London before they were either published or destroyed in the Public Record Office fire of 1922.

An echo of this argument can be found in Smyth's ambitious historical geography of Leinster²⁶⁵. He argues that the chieftains of the mountains were 'Lords of the Wilderness'²⁶⁶ and lived, with the exception of trade, an independent existence. This is supported by his belief that the Anglo-Norman impact has been over-estimated in the mountains (exclusively settled by the Gaelic Irish over 600') and that the mountains were so densely wooded and impenetrable to be impossible to the English to control.

There is one error of fact in that he describes the area of north east Wicklow as unconquered²⁶⁷. As the discussion above has shown this area was primarily church territory that went through a process of change of ownership and this has to be seen within the context of church history rather than the secular conquest. There is also sufficient evidence to indicate that it was not a wilderness though of course it may appear like that to visitors, like Creton in 1395, who had there own cultural biases. This is not to argue that there were not areas of wild forest in existence, especially in

²⁶³Meehan C.P., *History of the Clan O'Toole and other Leinster septs*, Dublin, 1890

²⁶⁴O'Brien C., *The Byrnes of Ballymanus, Wicklow*, p.322

²⁶⁵Smyth A.P., *Celtic Leinster*, Dublin, 1982

²⁶⁶*ibid.* pp. 106-9

²⁶⁷*ibid.* p. 150

Glenmalure, but the fact that descriptions come from such areas is because that was where the Irish had military superiority.

Frame in discussing this viewpoint in his study of the Mic Mhurchadha²⁶⁸ says that while it is a useful argument it can be taken too far because while there was conflict there was also a good deal of co-operation. He argues that the Dublin Administration 'caught the Irish leaders in a web of practical Lordship spun over and beyond the increasingly fragmented law and government'²⁶⁹. In general he sees the Irish in continuous competition with the government, who responded by mounting regular military expeditions of varying success and conducting endless diplomatic negotiations. These resulted in short term submissions, the handing over of hostages, payment of fines, acceptance of bribes and gifts (the difference is not always clear). But also because the Irish were also in competition with each other military alliances against neighbours also featured.²⁷⁰ He argues that the Government response was a function of the geography of the Wicklow mountains which was certainly the case though one has to be careful with such *post-hoc* reasoning. The clan ritual of continual cattle raiding was an outlet for youth full of adrenaline and hormones and had the advantage of giving them the military training useful for the clan's security. The overall political context shows that the O'Tooles were surrounded by the O'Byrnes, Earls of Kildare, Earls of Ormond, Dublin Pale families, Dublin Administration, and Archbishopric of Dublin. Their strategies of survival depended on the course of these relations and over time their fortunes fluctuated. Death by violence was common result of this polity.

Rebellion

It is not the purpose of this study to chronicle the rebellions and expansion of the O'Byrne and O'Toole chieftains but to provide a summary of the main features.

²⁶⁸Frame R., *Two Kings in Leinster, Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland*, ed. Barry et. al. op. cit. p. 172

²⁶⁹ibid. p. 175

²⁷⁰Frame (1998), pp. 250-72

Trouble began in 1270 when unnamed O'Byrnes and O'Tooles started raiding Church and Crown properties in the county. The origins of this revolt is unclear. Price suspected that it was activities of Archbishop Fulk who attempted to regularise the Episcopal ownership of lands up to his death in 1271²⁷¹. Another possible factor was the activities of royal officials who administered the temporalities of the Archbishopric (1271-9) after Fulk's death²⁷². Lydon also thought the weather may have had something to do with it as there were heavy falls of snow reported in the Annals in early 1270²⁷³. The last is possible as the latter half of the 13th century is a time when the Medieval warm period is coming to an end with an increase of storms²⁷⁴ and continental snowstorms. Famines were a factor from a slightly earlier period as they are reported in the Annals in the period 1222-27 as well as 1236 and 1261. There was an intensification of bad weather and resultant famines later on in 1281, 1287 and 1294-6²⁷⁵ which would have had the cumulative effect of making marginal land uneconomic to farm. Tenants under such pressures would have been more likely to be unruly especially if there was no control to keep them in check.

O'Byrne²⁷⁶ argues that the loss of strong local control came after the death of Meyler (Moriertagh) O'Toole by 1264 when the overlordship becomes unclear. On the basis of proven links he argues that this family acted as secular overlords of the Episcopal manors for much of the 13th century. At this period there are a number of O'Toole families emerging but a caveat must be entered as it is also clear that the use of the surname Ui Thuathail (descended from the Ui Muiredaig who were descended from the Ui Dunlainge²⁷⁷) is becoming popular after the canonisation of Lorcan Ua Tuathail in 1226.

²⁷¹Price op. cit. pp. xlviii-ix

²⁷²Lydon, op. cit. p. 158

²⁷³ibid.

²⁷⁴Lamb H.H., *Climate, History and the Modern World*, London, 1982, p. 155

²⁷⁵Cantwell, op. cit. p. 27

²⁷⁶O'Byrne E. The O'Tooles: The Family of Castlekevin, *RDHFJ*. No. 10, 1988, p. 14-17

²⁷⁷ibid. p. 13

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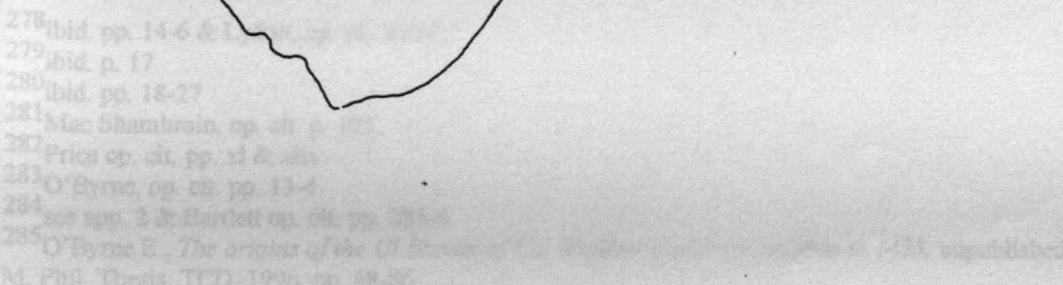
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79 Ibid. p. 17



O'Toole origins

There appear to have been three separate O'Toole septs active. The first whom O'Byrne designates the McLorcan O'Tooles were loyal officers and tenants of the Archbishopric in east and west Wicklow²⁷⁸. These are likely to have been kin of St. Lorcan and may have come into prominence during the period when he was attempting to reform the Church. The second are a group who are settled in Glenmalure (Glyndelory) who were early rebels but between 1292-1312 they disappear when control of the valley passes into the hands of Murchadh O'Byrne²⁷⁹. The third group were settled in Imaal and their genealogy is covered by O'Byrne²⁸⁰. It is possible that they were a military family who survived through the defeat of Dunlang Ua Tuathal and the conquest of the Ui Muiredaig territory in Kildare in 1178²⁸¹.

Price²⁸² argued that the survivors of this defeat flocked to Glendalough where they were given refuge in the lands of Glenmalure which was granted to the Priory of the Desert of St. Kevin before 1180. O'Byrne²⁸³ further adds that MacFhaelains were banished from the kingdom of Ui Faelain in 1170 and suggests that the mountains in the period 1170-80s were swamped with refugees. There is unfortunately no evidence of this and the grant perhaps only signifies the use of charters as the new administrative tool of the Roman Reform Church²⁸⁴.

It is from the Imaal branch in West Wicklow that the O'Toole chieftanship developed and they in tandem with the O'Byrnes²⁸⁵ gained control of much of the modern day county. Map 9 shows the conquest of the county by the two chieftanships.

²⁷⁸ibid. pp. 14-6 & Lydon, op. cit. 156-7

²⁷⁹ibid. p. 17

²⁸⁰ibid. pp. 18-27

²⁸¹Mac Shamhrain, op. cit. p. 105

²⁸²Price op. cit. pp. xl & xlv

²⁸³O'Byrne, op. cit. pp. 13-4

²⁸⁴see app. 2 & Bartlett op. cit. pp. 285-6

²⁸⁵O'Byrne E., *The origins of the Ui Bhroin of Co. Wicklow and their lordship to 1435*, unpublished M. Phil. Thesis, TCD, 1996. pp. 48-86

Castlekevin under siege

The impact on Castlekevin and its manor was significant as the castle begins to be fortified and the stone revetment probably dates from this period. Orpen²⁸⁶ believes that walls were built round the foot of the mound. These gaps between the walls and mound slope were filled with earth possibly from the top of the mound and there were possibly projecting towers at the angles. Since his survey more stone has disappeared and there has been deterioration of the fabric. Accounts for the rebuilding appear in 1277 and 1309 and it was destroyed in 1308, possibly in 1311 and before 1339 and again in 1343²⁸⁷. The fortification, rebuilding and manning was from the 1270s the responsibility of Royal Officials and sponsored by the Archbishopric, for instance in 1309 the Archbishop-elect gave £100 as an aid.

In 1277, £344 was spent on military wages, £154 on workmen's wages, and supplies of bread, beer, wheat, oats, cows, hogs, iron, salt, nails, boards, canvas, ropes etc. cost a further £348. In 1309 £50/13/9 was spent on overseers, masons, carpenters, quarrymen, transport of lime, the making of a lime kiln, for the period 4th may to 23rd June.

The profitability of the Manor declined in the 1270s because of the disturbances and by 1306 it had ceased to be self-sufficient in food²⁸⁸. The custodian of the castle, Thomas Chaddesworth, owed £609/9/1 for the years 1272-7 but was allowed it all for the payment of security. In 1281 it produced nothing on account of war and in 1326 is not even listed²⁸⁹. By the middle of the 14th century it passed in to the control of the O'Tooles.

²⁸⁶Oren op. cit. pp. 21-2

²⁸⁷bid pp. 21-24

²⁸⁸Lyons, op. cit. p. 98

²⁸⁹Simpson, op. cit., p. 209

Little other Archaeological remains can be dated to the period after the beginning of the 1300s. It appears that the Gaelic Irish utilised existing settlements and no Tower Houses, fairly common adjacent to the Wicklow mountains²⁹⁰, are found. There is one reported moated site (now destroyed) in Trooperstown²⁹¹ and is one of six recorded in north east Wicklow. Simpson argues, that due to their relative lateness in the chronology, there are only a few because the settler colonists had been driven out by the 14th century²⁹².

Glendalough

Glendalough appears to have fared no better and one of the few reference is to the payment of tax in 1322. This was based on a valuation of 53/4 and tithes of 5/4. Regles was valued at 5L and tithed at 10s.²⁹³ Around 1350 the *civitas* was taken over by the O'Byrnes and while presumably monastic functions continued they are completely undocumented. The archaeology would suggest that Temple na Skellig was occupied until the late 14th-15th century until destroyed by landslides²⁹⁴ so presumably other buildings were still in use. This can be supported by the reports in the Annals of Clonmacnois and Connaught, 1398, of the burning of Glendalough, possibly in revenge for the defeat and death of the Earl of March earlier in the year near Carlow²⁹⁵.

Obscurity in 14th century

The period of 1300-1500 is a period of obscurity for Glendalough and Castlekevin and they appear rarely in documentation until the Tudor period. It is therefore difficult to say how settlement was organised but presumably it was done through traditional Gaelic practises. The decline in weather and rebellion probably was conducive to the

²⁹⁰Barry T., op. cit. p. 187

²⁹¹Simpson op. cit. pp. 217-8

²⁹²ibid. p. 216

²⁹³CDI, vol. 5, p. 241

²⁹⁴Long op. cit. p. 15

²⁹⁵Long, H., Three Settlements of Gaelic Wicklow, 1169-1600, *Wicklow*, p. 254

transition from grain to pastoral agriculture²⁹⁶. Under the Irish the main denomination of land in Wicklow was the 'cowland' which unlike other parts of Ireland does not appear to have been subdivided by partible inheritance into smaller units²⁹⁷.

The severe climatic deterioration of the 1315-17 has been called the Great European Famine²⁹⁸ and had a major impact on Ireland as the sources attest²⁹⁹ but the consequences are unknown in the mountains. Likewise the effects of *Yersinia Pestis* better known as the bubonic plague or Black Death are unknown though there was the contemporary belief that the native Irish suffered less. It may be that they survived better being more used to surviving on marginal land. Lyons argues that the impact varied and that for instance in the Royal Manors of Dublin abandonment came later in the 1260s. Areas such in Ulster recovered quickly while in Connaught the situation was more volatile. She hypothesises that areas that were well settled than remoter regions though she acknowledges this is could be a function of the sources³⁰⁰.

Recurrence of plague is regularly reported in the Annals and the climate further worsened. This period was not as severe as in Europe when the Second European Famine struck in 1433-9³⁰¹ and was the cause of further abandonment of land there. In Ireland the evidence is ambiguous though it is worth noting that the 15th century was a time when the Gaelic Irish were investing in new monastic foundations, so not withstanding the fact that land was going out of production and population had plummeted there was considerable wealth creation among the elites. However the period does contain years, 1224-7, 1315-23, 1461-70 and 1487-98 when the 'misery index', defined by a combination of a run of bad weather and plague, is high³⁰². It must

²⁹⁶ *ibid.* pp. 360-1

²⁹⁷ McErlean, *op. cit.* 319-20

²⁹⁸ Jordan W.C., *The Great European Famine*, Princeton, 1996, p. 8

²⁹⁹ Lyons M., *Weather, Famine, Pestilence and Plague, Famine, the Irish experience*, ed. Crawford

E.M., Edinburgh, 1989, pp. 62-3

³⁰⁰ *ibid.* pp. 44-6

³⁰¹ Lamb H. H. *Climate, Past present and Future*, London, 1977, p. 590

³⁰² Cantwell I. *op. cit.* p. 29

be presumed that life in the marginal mountain lands was not secure and undocumented suffering a fact of life.

In the mountains we have no information though the indications are that land did go out of production as tree values increased sharply especially of birch, hazel, willow and alder. Grass values stay low though charcoal values remain high. One aspect of the values shows that while oak increases sharply in decreases equally fast which implies that by the mid 16th century it was being utilised heavily which is supported by the sources discussed in the next chapter.

Summary

The loss of Castlekevin and its lands to the O'Tooles can probably be put down to the fact that the Archbishops of Dublin did not have the recourses to control there territory against sustained military aggression. Their resource base declined with the climatic deterioration from the late 12th century and the impact of viruses and bacteria that effected populations, livestock and crops. They depended on the Government to control the mountains after 1265 but the latter were also victim to declining incomes due to the same factors as well as the lack of Royal investment of money and lordship into the country.

The fragmentation of power led to a long term series of ad hoc solutions which were exploited by Irish leaders such as the O'Tooles who were able to consolidate and defend their conquest until about the 1450. The decline started with the rise of the Earls of Kildare

CHAPTER 5

DECLINE, RESURGENCE AND EXTINCTION

Political decline

From about 1450 the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes start to decline in influence. This is due to a number of factors. The Ui Dunlainge O'Byrnes expansionary drive lost momentum and their hegemony unravelled with the growth of competition between various groups within the family³⁰³. The rise of the Earls of Kildare in this period is significant and they absorbed the O'Toole chieftains, as military clients, and took over Powerscourt³⁰⁴ (including Glencapp) and Castlekevin in the 1480s.

The annexation of the latter took place in 1484 after the resignation of the Archbishop of Dublin, John Walton and Gerald ('The Great'), 8th Earl of Kildare, took over the Manors of Ballymore and Castlekevin³⁰⁵. The take over of these manors gives rise to the intriguing hypotheses that the Earls were attempting to encircle Dublin from the south and gain independent access to the sea through Bray or Newcastle. During the height of the Earl's power no counter measures were undertaken and it was not until his death in 1513 that the Archbishops of Dublin took the matter to court and they decided in favour of the Archbishop in 1514. However this decision had no effect and it was not until 1521 that they regained control of their manors.³⁰⁶

English Church and Irish Chieftains

This episode highlights the fact that the Archbishops of Dublin kept up their interest in their lands and it may be they had more input and control than the documentary

³⁰³ Emmett O'Byrne, pers. comm. Detailed discussion will be found in the history of the Gabhal O'Ranelagh O'Byrnes, ed. Conor O'Brien, Wicklow, 1998 but published too late for consideration.

³⁰⁴ Price L., Powerscourt and the Territory of Fercullen, *JRSAL*, Vol. 53, 1953, pp. 117-32

³⁰⁵ *Alen's Reg.* p. 262

³⁰⁶ *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniae*, London, 1828, Vol. 2, part 5, p. 35

evidence would suggest. Another link is indicated with the appointment of a Theobald O'Toole, whose parents were 'royal', to the Archdeaconary of Glendalough in 1465³⁰⁷. This may indicate a change in the policy of the Archbishops as the previous five archdeacons had been O'Byrnes.

In 1473 the 'corbonate' was ordered to be abolished and the clerks, vassals, betagh (*ascriptus*) and others of the vill and whole lands of Glendalough were to be notified that Tadeus Oskolly, clerk, was to be the new custodian. Another example of continuing Dublin interest is when Glendalough when the O'Byrnes attempted to re-establish an independent bishopric of Glendalough which culminated in Denis White, a Dominican Friar, holding the office for the period 1481-97 until it was suppressed by Rome under pressure from the Archbishops of Dublin³⁰⁸. He was at this time 80 years old, broken down by age and illness and had begun to have a guilty conscience³⁰⁹. There are no other documented links between the Dominican Order and the O'Byrnes.

Little is known about the religious organisation among the O'Tooles except for a couple of references, one of which was the pardon of two chaplains of Castlekevin in 1549 with Luke and Morgan O'Toole, with their horsemen and kern³¹⁰. The other is a note in the second Irish *Vitae* of St. Coemgen which stated that it was copied in Castlekevin in 1536. In the 15th century pilgrims from the marches and enemy territory were allowed to visit Dublin.³¹¹ It is curious that the area, and Wicklow generally, has so few references in the Papal Registers unlike parts of Ireland³¹² where 'Rome running' was common, maybe reflecting more control of the Dublin Archbishopric.

³⁰⁷*Calendar of Papal Registers*, Vol. 15, 1978, p. 342

³⁰⁸Long (1994) op. cit. p.255

³⁰⁹*Alen's Reg.* pp. 253-4

³¹⁰*Irish Fiantis for Tudor Sovereigns*, Edward VI, no. 354

³¹¹Undocumented reference

³¹²*Calendar of Papal Registers 1190-1603 & Simms* op. cit. p. 190-7

Resurgence - The political background

The weakness of the Leinster clans is indicated by Baron Finglass who wrote, in 1515, that the 'Kavanaghs, Byrnes and Tooles were feeble in regard of the strength that they had in former times' and he suggests that the area be settled by freeholder Englishmen.³¹³ This indicates that the ideology of completing the conquest was still part of Government policy but it was not until the fall of the Earls of Kildare in rebellion and their subsequent decline of power in the 1540s that the Tudor Kings attempted to rule Ireland full-time directly through the office of Lord Deputy.

Around this period the brothers Turlough and Art Og Mac Art O'Toole transferred their centre of power from Imaal to Powerscourt and entered government service in opposing the Fitzgerald rebellion until 1536. They benefited by unravelling the Kildare annexation of their traditional territories³¹⁴. From this period they dealt directly with the Dublin Administration and developed links with the Old English Pale families in Co. Dublin. This caused a split in the O'Toole clans between east and west with the latter remaining as clients of the Earls of Kildare. The first immediate effect of this was the murder of Turlough by Turlough Mac Shane O'Toole, of Imaal, in 1542³¹⁵.

The first sign of this new relationship was the submission of the brothers to Henry VIII, after negotiations with St. Leger, in 1540. They surrendered their lands to the King and were granted them under a number of conditions, among which were that they had to obey Common Law, keep their castles in good order and roads free, not to keep kern or levy 'black rents'³¹⁶; Turlough receiving Powerscourt and Art Og Mac Art Castlekevin. However as the lands of Castlekevin were held by the Dublin Archbishopric St. Leger organised that they surrender these lands to the king first³¹⁷

³¹³ *Carew Papers*, Vol. 1, 1515, p. 6

³¹⁴ O'Byrne (1998) op. cit. p. 23

³¹⁵ *ibid.* pp. 23-4

³¹⁶ *Calendar of patent and close rolls of chancery in Ireland, Henry VIII to 18th Elizabeth*, ed.

Morrin J., Dublin, 1861, pp. 80-1

³¹⁷ *Calendar of Inquisitions, Co. Dublin*, ed. Griffith M., Dublin, 1994, Henry VIII 146/40

and this ended any further Church interest in the Manor of Castlekevin. This grant became the prototype of further agreements between the King and Irish chieftains and are now known as surrender and regrant agreements. As part of the integration process Brian, of Powerscourt, was made sheriff of County Dublin³¹⁸ which he 'executed the same right well according to such knowledge he had'³¹⁹. Feach Mac Art Og, son of Art Og Mac Art, also served as a sheriff³²⁰.

The political relationships between the Dublin administration and Irish (irrespective of ancient ethnic origin) in the 16th century fluctuated. Military strategies and conciliatory integration were both attempted but these policies were complicated by factional competition in the English royal court. By the 1550s the polity in Ireland under Lord Deputy Sidney was breaking down and he was forced to implement a military strategy. In Wicklow Jacques Wingfield was appointed to command the Marches of South Dublin in 1556³²¹. This was unsuccessful and he was replaced by Francis Agard in 1566³²².

Between 1566 and 1600 the area was captained by him, until he died in 1577, and his son-in-law, Henry Harrington³²³. These Captains owed their place through the patronage system and were often more loyal to faction than to the Lord Deputies. They carved out personal fiefdoms and their meddling in local politics and competitions with neighbouring captains added a layer of complexity to political relationships.³²⁴ Harrington got control of land all over Wicklow³²⁵ including a 31 year lease of Cella Sancti Salvatoris (Glendalough) from 1589³²⁶. None of this stopped the ritual raiding

³¹⁸Wicklow was within Dublin county until created a separate county in 1605

³¹⁹Ellis S., *Tudor Ireland*, London, 1985, p. 169

³²⁰O'Byrne (1998) op. cit. p. 24

³²¹Crawford J., *Anglicising the Government of Ireland*, Dublin, 1993, p. 447

³²²ibid. p. 441

³²³ibid. p. 165

³²⁴Brady C., *The Chief Governors*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 275-81

³²⁵*Calendar of Inquisitions*, op. cit. James I 20/17

³²⁶*Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, ed. Gilbert James, Vol. 2, p. 225

of the lowlands of the Pale and the bureaucrats of the Dublin Council were equally busy in the ritual of issuing pardons.

To the Nine years War

Within this political competition the Gabhal Ranelagh were developing a major power base in Glenmalure and they, under the leadership of Feach Mach Hugh O'Byrne, became a major threat to the security of Ireland especially when they developed links with the O'Neills and the O'Moores in particular though their influence can be found as far away as Connaught. There are also indications that they had links with the Spanish monarchy.

There were strong marital links between these O'Byrnes and O'Tooles. Feach Mac Hugh's mother was an O'Toole and his second wife was Rose O'Toole of Castlekevin. Two of her sisters, Katherine and Owny married two of Feach's sons (by a previous marriage), Redmond and Phelim. Their brother, Barnaby (1560-97), was politically neutral until about 1596 when he joined Feach in Glenmalure where he died of fever in 1597³²⁷.

In the Nine years war the Powerscourt and Castlekevin branches were allied to the O'Neills unlike the Imaal branch who were initially allied to the Government until two of them were summarily hanged by Capt. Lee in Kildare while on there way to join Capt. Montague in Kells in 1598. This caused major dispute, that was not resolved, in the Dublin Council; Montague argued that this would be 'seen as a cause for revolt when they inclinable to her Majesty'³²⁸. This reflects the factions on both the Irish and English sides and is a warning to the acceptance of a direct relationship between ethnic origin and political orientation. Eventually the Wicklow clans were defeated but were mostly pardoned between 1601-3.

³²⁷ O'Byrne (1998) op. cit. pp. 25-6

³²⁸ *Calendar of State Papers*, March 1598

Under Pressure

After 1600 the O'Tooles remained came under threat from the 1603 Act to Regularise Titles introduced by James I. A new breed of discoverers were able to exploit technical breaches of the Surrender and Regrant agreements in the courts and thus receive grants of the lands themselves. Powerscourt³²⁹, Castlekevin and Imaal were granted to Wingfield, John Wakefield and Chichester, respectively. Wakefield, about whom nothing further is known, received lands all over Ireland and he leased Castlekevin back to that family.

In 1636 it was stated³³⁰ that 'the castle of Castlekevin is, and for the space of (blank) years last past hath been, waste and in utter decay'. It has been assumed from this that the castle was therefore deserted. This is not correct as Alan Cooke, who visited it in the same year, wrote that there was a 'fair civate' in the bawn of the castle. This he says is 20 foot high and 50 yards square, it probably had palisades as when he visited 'they shut the gates against me'. He recommended that a manor house be built there because of its strength³³¹. The reason that the description of the castle being down was publicised was because it was a breach of the surrender and regrant agreement which allowed discoverers to claim it in the court under the above mentioned Act.

The Castlekevin O'Tooles were quiet during this period and while they were occasional rumblings, Wentworth had the county under control. The Castlekevin lease came under scrutiny and it was granted to Sir John Coke, Master of the Rolls in Dublin, in 1636³³². However he wanted Wentworth to transport the O'Tooles to Connaught before he took possession, but Wentworth refused to do so. This is the first 17th century reference to transportation to Connaught³³³ which may indicate developing ideas

³²⁹Included Glencap which was disputed by Sir William Flowers post 1660

³³⁰Oren op. cit. p. 27

³³¹Coke MSS, *H.M.C.* vol. 12 app. 2, 1888, pp. 132-3

³³²*ibid.* p. 157

³³³*ibid.*

which were put into execution in the Cromwellian period. Coke appears to have played by Civil Service rules and refused to use more adventurous methods³³⁴.

Confiscation

Under this continuous pressure there was little doubt which side the O'Tooles would take in the 1641 Rebellion. They chose the Confederacy and after defeat, the most important emigrated to France, others went to Wexford³³⁵ and some minor members appear to have become small farmers in Castlekevin and Ballinastoe³³⁶.

The only archaeological finds from this period are three copper cauldrons found in the vicinity of Castlekevin of which two were found before 1838. The first was described as an enormous Camp Kettle, big enough to hold a sheep, and standing on its tripod about 5 feet from the ground which was broken up on excavation and the pieces sold for £7. The second, which may have been used for brewing, was 'lately' in the collection of the Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral³³⁷. Around 1975 another was found of similar dimensions to the first and has been lodged in the National Museum. It had been repaired with a piece of metal with Irish script on it.³³⁸

Acculturation

There is an intrinsic bias in the Tudor and Early modern sources which can give a picture of continuous conflict between the O'Tooles and the Dublin Government. There were however powerful forces of acculturation at work among the O'Tooles. This can be seen on the levels of marriage, wardship, leases and economic trade.

³³⁴ *Dictionary of National Biography*, John Coke

³³⁵ Meehan op. cit. genealogical chart, endpiece

³³⁶ Cantwell I., unpublished research

³³⁷ D'alton John. *The memoirs of the Archbishops of Dublin*, Dublin, 1838, I am indebted to martin

Timmons for this information

³³⁸ Pers. comm. Joe Timmons

The draft family tree³³⁹ in appendix 3 shows marriages of Phelim to a Mary Talbot of Belgard and Garret to the daughter of the White Knight, both were of the Powerscourt line. Perhaps the most intriguing is the marriage of Feach Mac Art Og (often known as Luke), of Castlekevin, to Rice who was the daughter of Rev. Edward Basnett, Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral, whose family lived in Deanrath. This marriage, before 1560, to a cleric of the developing Reformation Anglican Church is an indication that attitudes had not yet hardened as they were to do later in the century. It shows that strategic marriage alliances were not dominated by religious observance but by the continual development of spheres of influence. The fact that the Basnetts had extensive land interests in the county, including the Franciscan Monastery of Wicklow town³⁴⁰, is also suggestive of the importance of land interests. When Feach died in 1578, her claim to the widow's third was recognised in the courts³⁴¹ which indicates that the O'Tooles were being integrated into Common Law and it was used by them as it suited them. However many of the marriage partners of the family are unknown, which suggests that many were being married under Brehon Law. This can be seen in the papers relating to the dispute between Arthur O'Toole of Powerscourt and his uncle Phelim³⁴² in the 1580s.

Wardship was an important part of the Government strategy of integrating the Irish into English way of life. Two examples are Arthur of Powerscourt and Barnaby of Castlekevin. Arthur spent much of his life fighting in Elizabeth's European Wars³⁴³. He became a Court pensioner and remained loyal, even if he 'did moche importune her Majesty'³⁴⁴. Barnaby was made a ward of Sir Henry Harrington in 1578 when he was 18 years old and was sent to the London Royal Court³⁴⁵ but it appears that he

³³⁹Now superseded by O' Byrne (1998) op. cit. pp. 13-27

³⁴⁰O' Byrne (1998) op. cit., p. 24

³⁴¹*Calendar of Inquisitions*, Eliz. 118/79

³⁴²Small mercy, *RDHFJ*, No. 10, 1998, pp. 6-7

³⁴³Meehan, op. cit. p. 293

³⁴⁴*Acts of the Privy Council*, 1599, pp. 162-3

³⁴⁵*Irish Fiants of Tudor Sovereigns*, Eliz. no. 3356

succumbed to the Gaelic Dream when he joined Feach Mac Hugh O'Byrne in Glenmalur around 1596.

Leases between the O'Tooles and south Dublin families can be found in the sources and were probably more common than is realised. Rents appear to have been a mix of money, stock and services. One example is a 1560 mortgage to Edward Archbold of Glasnamullen of these lands for 25 marks, 3 good Welsh kine, 3 calves and 3 garrons. He was to hold it for nine years after repayment at a yearly rent of four nobles and his part of O'Toole's swine, sheep and other such stock according to the 'custom of the country'³⁴⁶. The same source also shows that O'Tooles were living in Co. Dublin, presumably having migrated at an earlier period. A rental of Glencapp of the early 1540s, when the Fitzgeralds apparently still had it, states that Patrike Archepoll (recte. Archbold) leased it for 1d for every cow, he also had to provide one horse load of wood every quarter for every house having a 'cabill'. At Michaelmas he paid a further 4d for every cow, and per town, a mutton, one pork and a 'dim' gallon of butter. Finally there was a custom day to 'ripp, bind and draw'³⁴⁷.

Glencapp is also interesting for a court case between Lucas O'Toole of Castlekevin and Phelim O'Toole of Powerscourt, in 1595, as to which had the right of 'spending' (taxing) the place. However the freeholders argued that they were 'at the commandment of the Lord Deputy' since Sir Edward Poyning's time and paid in wood, carriage and other duties: they won their case.³⁴⁸

There is little direct evidence of trade but it is likely that agricultural produce and timber predominated. One 1603 reference refers to the sale of butter from the Marches

³⁴⁶*Calendar of Inquisitions, Eliz.*, 235/158

³⁴⁷Mac Nicaill G., *Crown Survey of Lands, 1540-1*, Dublin, 1992, p.

³⁴⁸*Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry to Eliz.*, op. cit. p. 328

and O'Tooles country being sold in Butter Lane in Dublin 'in ould tyme'³⁴⁹. The leases referred to above show that livestock and timber were part of the economic links.

The above discussion has focused on the Manor of Castlekevin as Glendalough, under the control of the O'Byrnes is not well documented. There is evidence that both the Archbishops of Dublin and Dublin Corporation had interests there. During the dissolution of the Monasteries the lands of All Hallows were granted to the Lord Mayor and aldermen of Dublin in 1539³⁵⁰ and this explains their involvement. In 1586 they sent John Lennan and Nicholas Ford to explore their interests in the rectory and lands of Rathdrum, the lands and rectory of Sylva Sancty Salvatoris (St. Saviours, Glendalough), and rectory of Rathmakne.³⁵¹ In 1589 they leased St. Saviours, Rathdrum and Kyllaghe to Henry Harrington for xli sterling³⁵². In 1602 St. Saviours is leased to Henry Stanihurst, arrears of rent were to be levied at 50% to him and 50% to the city indicating that the Nine Year War had taken its toll on the rentals³⁵³. The following year it was re-let to Nicholas Keon, the King's Escheator, for £11 p.a. for 21 years³⁵⁴. In 1604 the Tithes of St. Saviours were let to Robert Caddell and he was offered a 50% rebate if he let and set the lands.³⁵⁵ Obviously the Corporation had problem leasing out their Wicklow holdings in the aftermath of the War. There are no further references to their interest and they may have made it over to the Church of Ireland Archbishopric of Dublin. Their own land interests is indicated by a lease they made to Nicholas Walsh of the lands and heriditaments of Glendalough in 1597³⁵⁶. The lease details are not given but it appears that there was some controversy over it as some of the Chapter refused to sign the lease when it was first discussed the previous

³⁴⁹*Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, op. cit. Vol. 1, p. 193

³⁵⁰Gwynn and Hadcock, op. cit. p. 172

³⁵¹*Calendar of Ancient records of Dublin*, op. cit. Vol. 2, p. 203

³⁵²*ibid.* p. 225

³⁵³*ibid.* p. 398

³⁵⁴*ibid.*

³⁵⁵*ibid.* p. 423

³⁵⁶*The First Chapter Act of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, 1574-1634*, ed. Gillespie R. Dublin 1997, pp. 103-4

year. However it was agreed and confirmed by the Chapter of St. Patricks on the basis that Walsh would not claim, by virtue of the lease, that which belonged to the Church.

Settlement

The first indication of settlement organisation appears in the middle 16th century. An inquisition of 1541³⁵⁷ gives the following breakdown of land use in acres, (map 10):

Vill	arable	wood	pasture ³⁵⁸	value
Castlekevin	60	20	200	26/8
Tomriland	60	20	200	26/8
Ganmonstown	60	20	200	26/8
Leitrim	60	(20)		20/-
Glasnamullen	60	(20)		20/-
Tullaghgory	60	(20)		20/-

Obviously the acreages are estimates but if the proportions are taken to be roughly accurate than the land use works out as 33% arable, 61% pasture and 6% woods. This compares with Glendalough (not broken down into denominations) in 1538³⁵⁹ which had 23% arable, 61% pasture and 28% wood and Imaal around 1603³⁶⁰ which had 21% arable, 56% pasture and 23% wood. It can be seen that arable acreage is higher than is often presumed on the basis of cattle culture and agrees with Nicholls argument³⁶¹. It appears that between a fifth to a quarter of land was for the growing of cereals. A water mill was to be found in Raheen in 1598³⁶². Whether these figures reflect a three field fallow system is not clear as it is not stated whether the acreage of the arable lands is the total or the amount under crops at the time of the inquisition.

This list is repeated in 1578 without the acreage or values and with some minor changes of placenames. These were Castlekevin, Tamralin, Gannaston, Littrin,

³⁵⁷*Calendar of Inquisitions*, op. cit. Henry VIII, 146/40

³⁵⁸Described as meadow, moor and pasture

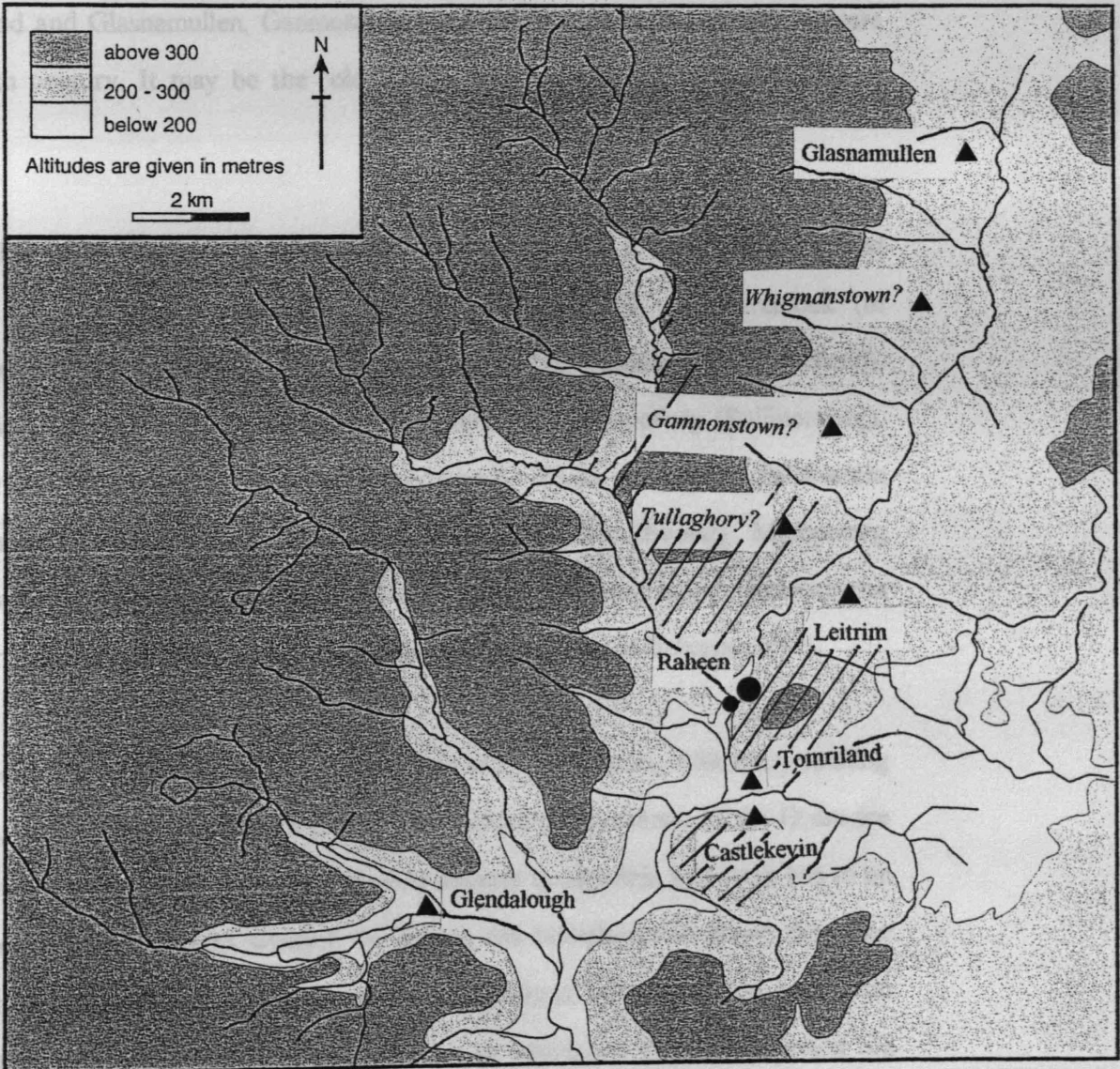
³⁵⁹ibid. Henry VIII 133/62

³⁶⁰Meehan op. cit. p. 561

³⁶¹Nicholls K., *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages*, Dublin, 1972, p. 116

³⁶²*Calendar of Inquisitions*, op. cit. Eliz. 235/158

Map 10 Settlement 1550-1650



Legend

- ▲ Vills
- Village
- Mill
- /// Woodland (Castlekevin)

Whigmanstown, Glasmollin and Tollaghghowry for which the O'Tooles were liable for knight service and £3/6/8 per annum. Whigmanstown appears then to be a new ville. Price tentatively identifies it as Tramonawigna in the Clohoge Valley near the Sally Gap³⁶³. It is more likely that it was on the Vartry plateau, perhaps between the modern Roundwood and Glasnamullen. Ganmonstown's location is unknown, it only appears in the 16th century. It may be the 'old village' that is recorded in Baltinanima in 1739³⁶⁴.

The first list of placenames as, presumably farms, comes in 1598³⁶⁵, map 11, and mentions the following: Castlekevin, Myngles (Moneystown), Cowlecremock (in Trooperstown³⁶⁶), Littlefertir (?), Bolenenalghé (?), Tomerane (Tomriland), Knockrahin (Knockraheen), Twodarragh (Tomdarragh), Ballencorbeg (Ballincorbeg), Colenebur (Coolharbour³⁶⁷, now in Roundwood), Rahin (Raheen), Ballananyrn (Baltinanima), Ashtown (same), Letrim (Leitrim, now Roundwood), Molenemeg (Mullinaveigue), Ballynistoy (Ballinastoe), Glassnivolin (Glasnamullen), Boleneherna (Boleyhorrigán, now in Ballinastoe), Luggelagh (Luggela, now in Ballinastoe³⁶⁸).

These land divisions appears to be the basic one and these names, with many spelling variations, pass on into the modern period and became the backbone of the Ordnance Survey townland structure. The age of them is difficult to ascertain and there has to be a fundamental question as to whether the names and boundaries remained the same over the medieval period. It is possible that the majority of boundaries may have been stable as they follow topographical features such as ridges and streams. However the economic size of a farm is what matters and given the changing climate and developing agricultural technology there may well have been fluctuations in farm sizes.

³⁶³Price, op. cit. p. 51

³⁶⁴ibid. p. 28

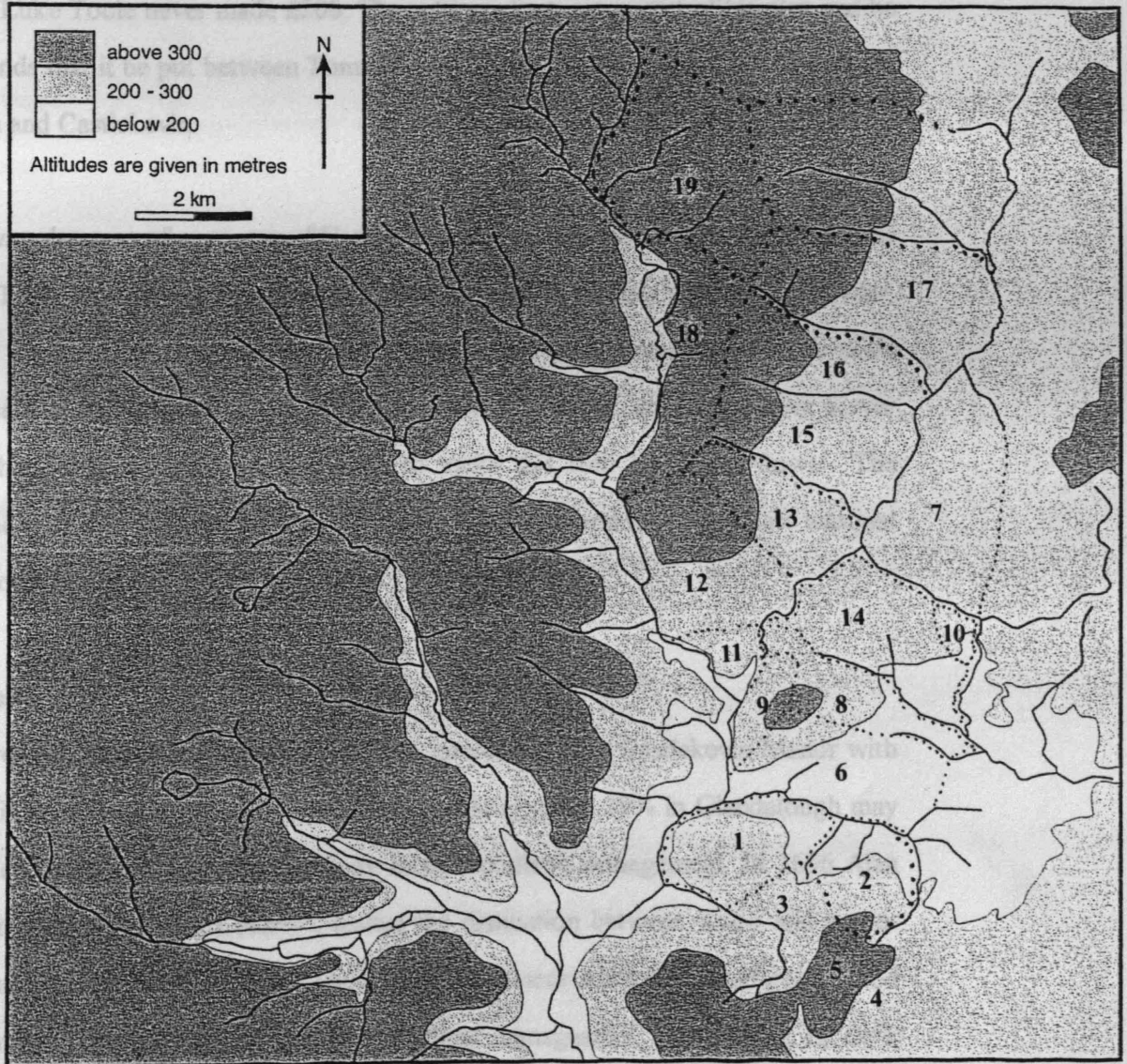
³⁶⁵*Calendar of Inquisitions*, op. cit. Eliz. 235/118

³⁶⁶Price op. cit. p. 23

³⁶⁷ibid. p. 42. He believes that there was a traveller's shelter here in medieval times

³⁶⁸There was an amalgamation of the denominations of Ballinastoe and Luggela c. 1650

Map 11 Townland structure 1600-1650



Townland Code

1 Castlekevin	2 Muine	3 Cowlecremok?	4 Littlefertir?
5 Bolenenalghe?	6 Tomriland	7 Knockraheen	8 Tomdarragh
9 Ballinacor	10 Coolharbour	11 Raheen	12 Baltinanima
13 Ashtown	14 Leitrim	15 Mullinaveigue	16 Ballinastoe
17 Glasnamullen	18 Luggela	19 Boleyharrigan	

By 1636 there is a well utilised landscape. Cooke in describing the area had one plan in mind; which is when Coke gets his grant he want to rent it out and plant it with settlers. He describes the area as wholesome and dry with a coach way to Dublin. He values the land income (10,000 acres of fit land) from corn and grazing at £500 per annum although Luke Toole never made £200. The setting of a town is part of his plan and he recommends that it be put between Tomriland and Tomdarragh as the most convenient to Dublin and Castlekevin.

Fishing was also part of economy of Castlekevin and salmon are specifically mentioned in 1636. There was competition from the Lord Esmond in Arklow who had set a weir. This may not have been legal as Cooke says that he caused a 'Presentment to be made unto myself, as being Judge of the Vice Admiralty of Leinster; and whatsoever power the law hath shall be put into execution to make this weir be pulled down'. The competition for rights between the New English was rough and ready and Law was just another tool.

Woodland

The figures for land under woodland are also interesting. The Castlekevin Manor with only 5% is an indication that wild woodland was long gone. 28% in Glendalough may be as much to do with mountain ecology as to woodland management. In 1636 Alan Cooke, in a letter to John Coke³⁶⁹, makes the distinction between wood and timber saying that Castlekevin, Tomriland, Tomdarragh, Ballincor and Leitrim had good wood but no timber. This appears to indicate woodland management, Castlekevin, he says, has 'very fine young oaks'. Another block of woodland around Baltinanima, Carrickroe and Balilasm had 'a very good wood'. Brirne O'Toole writing to his father in London two days later says that Mr. Cooke was very angry to see the woods of Baltinanima spoiled until it was explained to him that it was done in Mr. Barnewall's time.

³⁶⁹Coke Mss. op. cit. pp.

The Down Survey lists woodlands in the county and the following places are given³⁷⁰:

Place	Description	acreage
Kildalough	Arable and woody pasture	1,680
Killafin	do.	297
Castlekevin	do.	685
Tomriland	do.	790
Leitrim	do.	626
Ballincorbeg	do.	137
Clonbreen	wood	141
Baltinanima	plantation	c.103

The pollen diagram for this period shows a dramatic fall in trees values. This is explained not only by the woodland exploitation of the previous century, particularly oak whose values fall before the others, but also reflects the woodland wipe-out that took place in the county during the late 17th and very early 18th century³⁷¹. Pine, birch, oak, elm, ash, hazel, yew and holly all fell prey to the demands of the charcoal makers. Charcoal burning platforms can be found in Glendalough³⁷² and there was an iron smelting works in the Manor of Knockrath erected in 1677 at a place called Furnace³⁷³.

Summary

The O'Tooles though of Gaelic origin were on the frontiers of two competing cultures. They chose their strategy on the pragmatic basis of survival and development through Gaelic, Old English, New English factional and economic networks. In the late 16th century they were becoming anglicised and gentrified as they became integrated into the Pale. This strategy probably would have succeeded but for the greater political agendas around them as they evolved over the previous two centuries. Their

³⁷⁰Kelly-Quinn M., *The evolution of forestry in County Wicklow from Prehistory to the present*,

Wicklow, p. 830

³⁷¹pp. 829-32

³⁷²Long (1996) *op. cit.* pp. 24-26

³⁷³Price *op. cit.* p. 23

integration into English and European politics had a high price and they ultimately became one of history's losers.

The proximity to the Pale linked them economically and culturally to the modernising influences of agriculture and economic trade and by the 1650s the agriculture was probably as sophisticated as any in the more traditional Old English areas. This is not to minimise the importance of the cattle culture which was still ecologically the most suitable for the mountain lands. It however appears that the later 17th century plantation, with the exception of the foundation of villages, had little immediate impact on the landscape.

EPILOGUE

Ownership

Ownership changes from 1650 are difficult to trace exactly. Castlekevin appears first to have gone to a Ld. (Lord) Conway³⁷⁴ and not a Lt. Conway which is sometimes stated in literature, A Lord Conway was in correspondence with Sir John Coke at this period but there are no references to a Lieutenant Conway being active in Ireland. In the Restoration period these ended up with the Temple family but it is unclear whether they were granted to John Temple, Master of the Rolls in Dublin, or his son William. William Temple spent most of his time as a diplomat in Flanders but was in Ireland for a couple of years, and received lands, around 1680³⁷⁵. The answer may be in the 1669 restoration of lands to John Temple by Charles II³⁷⁶. The first surviving lease is from William Temple to James Farrell for the lands of Ballinastoe in 1682³⁷⁷. All 18th century deeds give William address as Farnham in Sussex which he bought around 1680.

The lands of Moneystown, now that part of Derrylossary Parish in the Barony of Newcastle, were granted to the Bacon family. They also resided in Farnham and were related by marriage to the Temples³⁷⁸ and the Chamneys³⁷⁹, the latter being associated with the exploitation of the Shillelagh oak woods. Glendalough came under the sole control of the Church of Ireland Archbishopric but it is not clear how they gained the interest of Dublin Corporation.

³⁷⁴*Books of Survey and Distribution, Co. Wicklow, National archives, M/F 2/3*

³⁷⁵*Dictionary of National Biography, John and William Temple*

³⁷⁶Ms. 5393, National Library of Ireland, currently undergoing restoration

³⁷⁷*Hayes Manuscript sources for the history of Irish Civilisation, Names Index, Temple*

³⁷⁸*Calendar of the Temple Papers, Sussex Record Office*

³⁷⁹Kelly Quinn, op. cit. p. 830

Settlement

The Hearth Money Rolls of 1669³⁸⁰ gives the first list of householders. The breakdown of surnames shows that of the 253 names about 40 (16%) were of planter English origin and were mostly concentrated in the new villages. Very few old Norman names are to be found and the exceptions probably are due to migration rather than 13th century colonisation. An unexpected entry is of a Turlough Byrne listed as Constable in Glendalough.

The main villages founded were at Annamoe, Roundwood, Laragh and Moneystown. Annamoe, 12 households of English surnames, was the most important probably due to its strategic siting but declined thereafter. A Robert Meldrum was minting copper pennies there in the 1660s³⁸¹.

There were two houses with three hearths in Annamoe and Moneystown, occupied by English. The seven two hearthed houses were divided into four English (Cronybyrne, Annamoe, Drummin and Roundwood) and three Irish (Ballinastoe³⁸², Mullinaveigue and Tomriland). Of the one hearthed houses the vast majority were of Irish, if not Wicklow, origin. The one exception is a cluster of surnames in the Avonmore valley in the townlands of Clohoge and Carrigeenshinnagh which has a cluster of Bradys, Reillys, Sheridan, Teevane and Crowley and who probably are from South Ulster. They may have been granted lands for military service under the O'Byrnes or refugees from earlier Ulster wars and plantation.

By 1700 the area had become integrated into the English model of landlord and tenant. Village markets and a more intensive agriculture were being introduced, the wolf was extinct, and the modern period may be said to have begun.

³⁸⁰ National Archives, research based on unpublished data base and article Derrylossary, (RDHFJ no. 3, 1990, pp. 31-4 by the author)

³⁸¹ Seaby, *Catalogue of Coins of Ireland*, London, 1970

³⁸² A Laurence Toole, descended from the Castlekevin lineage?

CONCLUSIONS

The main aim of this study was to write a regional study of Glendalough and the Vartry. This has proved to be a fascinating area of study as society and settlement were explored, the themes identified, and its complex uniqueness through periods of integration and conflict identified. These are summarised on a temporal and thematic basis.

In terms of its early environmental history it appears to be typical of a mountain topography and even though the arrival of man is late the cycles of clearance, abandonment and long fallow follows the patterns found elsewhere on the Europe.

Liam Price in his watershed study of the pre-historic period of 1934 argued as that eastern Wicklow Massif was never as extensively settled as the western side. This has been born out in more recent surveys by Stout and Grogan et. al.. These latter conclusions were reached on the basis of recent archaeological surveys. This study agrees with the general argument but adds the caveat that the Vartry Plateau and Glendalough do not necessarily fit the pattern and there are variations within the locality. The pollen core shows that the area was settled earlier than previously thought, though it might not have left the richness of material culture as found elsewhere.

By the early Christian Period the area appears to have been well settled and may have been seen the activities of early Christians, such as Mo Luan, before the arrival of St. Coemgen and foundation of the Monastery. While the early history of Glendalough is obscure it became one of the premier Ecclesiastical *Civitas* of its day. Its holdings were extensive and the Abbey held three estates, one of which is examined in the study. The distribution of the raths in this estate indicate that an ecclesiastical estate

can be organised differently to a secular *Tuath* or to lands leased by an ecclesiastical foundation to lay clients.

The economic power of Glendalough and its estates would have been significantly boosted by the integration into the Viking maritime economy and this can be seen in the extensive rebuilding that took place around the 10th-11th centuries.

It is often incorrectly argued that Wicklow was never conquered by the subjects of the Angevin Empire in the late 12th century. Conquest was not an issue as these were predominantly church lands which moreover were under the control of one of the most important reform clerics of Ireland, St. Lorcan Ua Tuathail, who had a European reputation. The issue was who should control and develop the reform after his death and naturally the choice fell on curialist clerics appointed by the Angevin kings for reasons that had as much to do with their secular agendas as well as the desire to keep good relations with the Papacy.

The mediators of reform in the locality were the Augustinian Canons for the period 1160-1260 and they provided the investment for the development of industry and modernisation of the church and its buildings. The administration estate system was re-organised with the church lands being allocated to new tenants. Even though this allocation was often under pressure many of these lands found their way back into the church by way of grant or bequest. In Castlekevin the lack of the classical manorial settlement of Motte, church, burgesses, and nucleated settlement indicates that the new order had no significant impact on the overall settlement structure. The main effect was that the judicial system was completely in the hands of the Archbishop and was organised through the manorial court complete with seneschal. Over all it appears that the transition was smooth notwithstanding the occasional grumbling from the traditionalists.

The first conquest of the county came in the late 13th and early 14th century when the O'Tooles of Imaal gain control, though they lost Glendalough to the O'Byrnes around 1250. Relations between these Gaelic Chiefs and Dublin was a complicated dance of intrigue, war, hostage taking and diplomacy but the actual impact on the settlement of the area is obscure. This state of affairs changed with the rise of the Earls of Kildare who conquered the north eastern mountain lands in the 1480s. When they fell from power around 1540, the O'Toole Chieftains transferred to Powerscourt and a new polity began.

The evidence indicates that there was a close relationship between the O'Tooles, the Pale families and the Dublin Council. Processes of anglicisation and gentrification were transforming this Gaelic family though many of their traditions remained strong. Most, however, were to die by violence. Marriage is an area where they lived in both worlds as they chose brides from both Gaelic and English families and religion was not a bar. They however fell prey to the aggrandisement of the New English and to a European power struggle that was out of their control and they finally disappeared after 1650. They are of interest due to the fact they were on a cultural frontier and the processes of acculturation indicate that the division into two separate nations is not an accurate interpretation of history in this period.

The settlement at this period is nucleated on a hierarchical basis with vills controlled mostly by the O'Tooles and their family. Agriculture was mixed and though cattle predominated cereal production was important. The evidence indicates that the landscape was well developed. There was not much woodland and what survived was managed. These last woodlands disappeared during the intense exploitation of the second half of the 17th century. Glendalough probably followed the same pattern but the documentation is not as extensive.

Over the period there are various pieces of mis-information that needed to be tackled and exposed for the propaganda that they were. The first is the assertion in the *Vitae* of St. Coemgen that Glendalough was a *disert* with the implication that it was uninhabited before the arrival of the saint. The second was that it was a *speculem locurom*, a waste inhabited by robbers and thieves, that was promulgated by Felix O'Ruadhan in 1216 and the third was that the Castlekevin was waste and utter decay in 1636. The research has shown that these are inaccurate and they follow the pattern of the 'New Order' criticising the 'Old' for the purposes of degenerating them and gaining control of lands and power. It represents the familiar pattern of the utilisation of cultural and political propaganda for conquest and domination. However propaganda, especially by the perceived winners, is not history and the reality is more complex.

Over the long term as the political power of the various elites waxed and waned daily agricultural life continued. Overall the evidence is that agriculture was well organised and developed, within the context of the reigning agricultural technology, from pre-historic times. Factors that influenced the structures of agriculture and land use were various. The most important were the introduction of new technologies and markets; changes in the organisation of society from family to individual (mediated by church or secular landlords); and Climate change. These are reflected in the landscape as artefacts though many of them, such as field boundaries, are not recoverable except by intensive landscape surveys and the various archaeological sciences.

The temporal scope of this study was ambitious and did not allow for the intensive examination of any one period. Further research is certainly required to do justice to this regional study. The areas recommended are: A proper landscape study with sample excavations based on non-intrusive archaeological techniques and Pollen analysis from any suitable sites in the Vartry plateau using radiocarbon and tephra

dating methods. There is a very growing selection of literature on the area, from such authors as have been quoted in the study, however there are further contexts to be explored. These are Glendalough in its local and national context; the Augustinian Canons and Archbishopric of Dublin and their impact; The Gaelic Conquest and their subsequent history to the Plantation. To make sense of what was happening this type of study has to be meshed with the political narrative for a complete picture.

It is hoped that the study over this time frame gives a picture of Glendalough and the Vartry with some of the cultural and settlement continuities through the various agricultural, cultural and political changes as they developed on the island or were transmitted from Europe. One objective was the identification of common themes that highlight the uniqueness of this area that has attracted, and continues to attract, a multiplicity of peoples over many thousands of years. If this study is found to be useful by the future researchers of Glendalough and the Vartry than it will have fulfilled its purpose.

APPENDIX 1

POLLEN RESEARCH IN GLENDALOUGH

In 1985 Javier Maldano took a pollen sample of c.17 metres from the western end of the Lower lake in Glendalough and analysed the lithology, pollen and charcoal and radiocarbon dated four samples from the earlier deposits as part of further investigation into the transition between the end of the Midlandian glaciation, through the Younger Dryas, into the Holocene. This work is still incomplete as a parallel core taken in 1987 is part of the project but the results are not yet available. The purpose of this core is to determine stomata density on leaves as a guide to CO₂ levels in the atmosphere but will include radiocarbon data.

The pollen analysis was conducted on the complete core which made it suitable for analysis of anthropogenic factors or the human influence on the environment. The first two diagrams are the result of this work. In the dating of the complete core a notional date of 5000 BP was taken for the Elm decline. For the purpose of this dissertation a sample was sent for dating at c. 4.25 metres. The choice of this level was determined by two factors. The first was that above four metres the deposits have a high proportion of peat which would be largely secondary deposition and thus any date accrued would be fraught with problems of interpretation. Secondly this level is a period of clearance and it was interesting to see where it fitted into the pattern of development within the valley.

Due to financial constraints only one sample was obtained. Ideally three would have given a better balance as this would have made it easier to identify rogue dates due to secondary deposition. It would have been useful to get dates for the first Neolithic impact, as noted by the increase of charcoal, and the introduction of cereals. Research in Queen's University is developing the possibility of extracting tephra samples from lacustrine cores which would help to give dates in the medieval and early modern

periods. However this would have to be treated with caution as there would be problems of interpretation due to the vagaries of deposition in a lake environment as well as the known problems of turbidity.

The date received was 385BC, see enclosed report, which indicated a clearance phase associated with the Iron Age. A second date of 1650 was added to the diagram as the dramatic fall in tree pollen is diagnostic of woodland destruction associated with charcoal production for iron smelting. 1650, as a date, is not accurate as this is right in the middle of the Crommwellian War but was chosen as a reasonable average between the heavy exploitation of woodland prior to 1650 and the above mentioned woodland destruction. The incorporation of these dates gave the third diagram which was used as an environmental guide.

There are many known problems in pollen analysis in lacustrine and peat environments and these are well covered in the literature. One problem is the question of regionality. A rough guide is that any one sample will cover 20 sq. km. Within a mountain environment this is likely to be distorted for topographical reasons. Another factor here is the fact that the prevailing wind direction is west to east with a tunnelling effect being prevalent. This may over-represent west Wicklow at the expense of East Wicklow which may be important as the west had earlier and more intense development in the pre-historic period. The pattern of wind direction, after exiting the mouth of the valley, is northwards which may under-represent the plateau. This is not thought to be a major factor in cereal pollen which, due to its relative weight, does not travel far.

In general the analysis is an average of the environment. Within a mountain topography this average encompasses a number of different ecologies from river valley to mountain top which for Glendalough represents an altitude difference of around 500m.

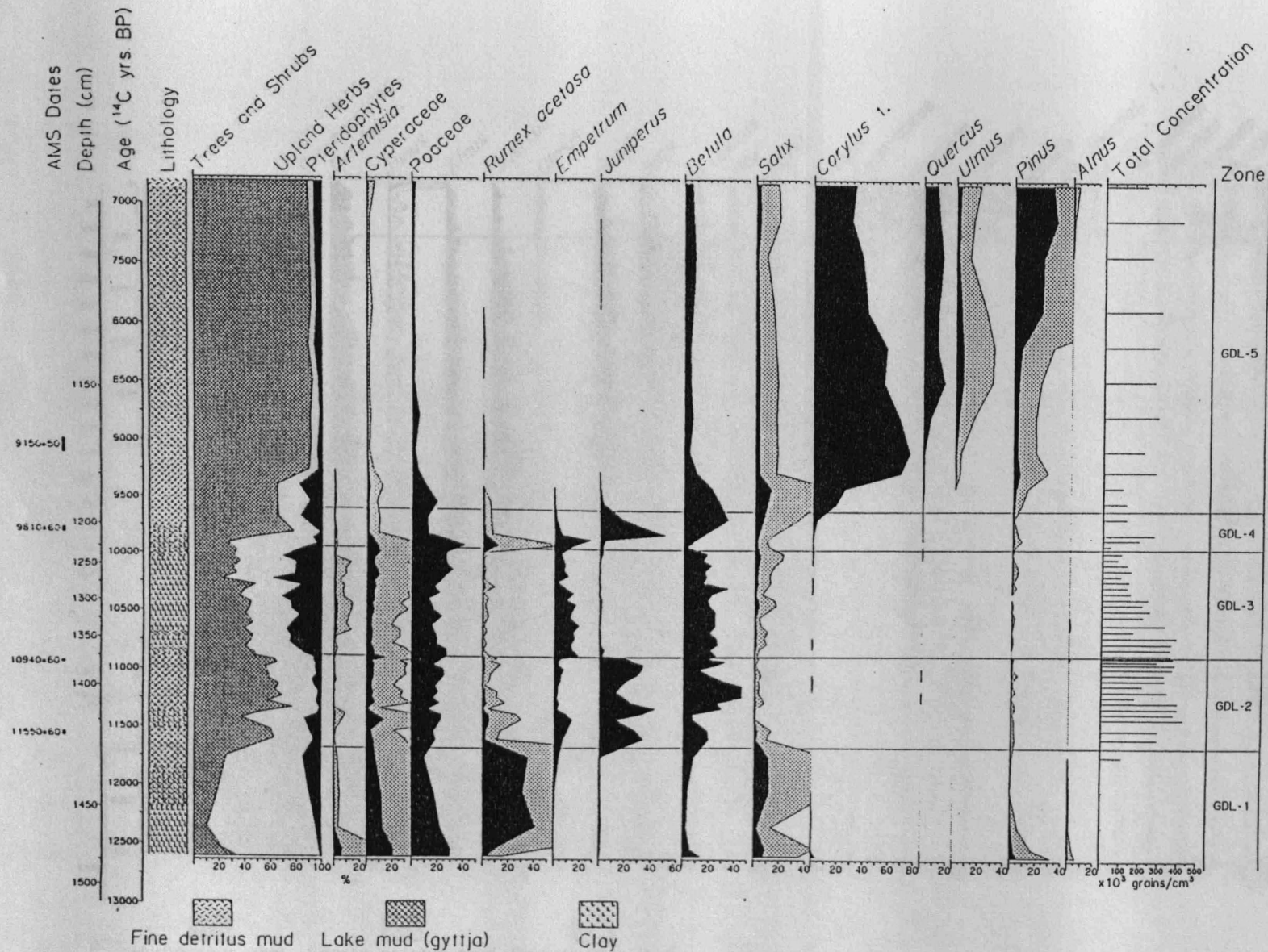
Notwithstanding the problems of interpretation the use of pollen analysis in this study has been a major benefit as it has provided additional and complementary data for the study of settlement in the area.

Further research is being carried out in the Wicklow Massif though mostly from an environmental point of view. Complementary cores could be taken from the lacustrine sediments at the mouth of the Inchivore river as this has seen less human interference. The one advantage and disadvantage here is that bog oak would provide sample dates but could provide problems in sample collection.

A core in peat could be taken in the Vartry plateau if a suitable site could be found. The Sally Gap is an alternative but may, because of its location may provide more of an average between east and west Wicklow which provides more interpretative problems

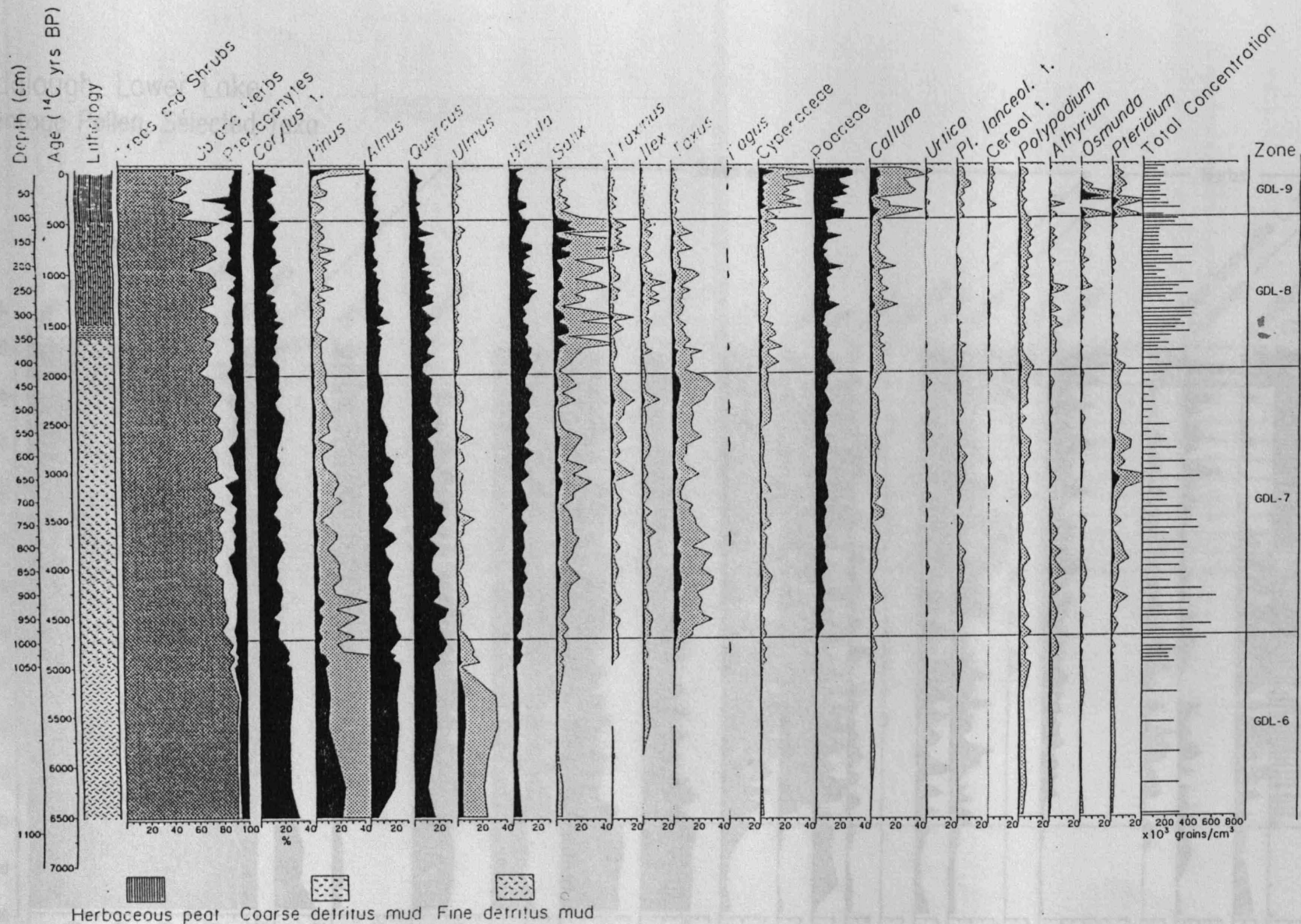
I would like to thank Javier Maldano for allowing me access to his work and to Dr. Frazer Mitchel who organised the sample, the dating and who generously redrew the diagrams and advised on approach and sources

Pollen Percentage Diagram. Selected Taxa

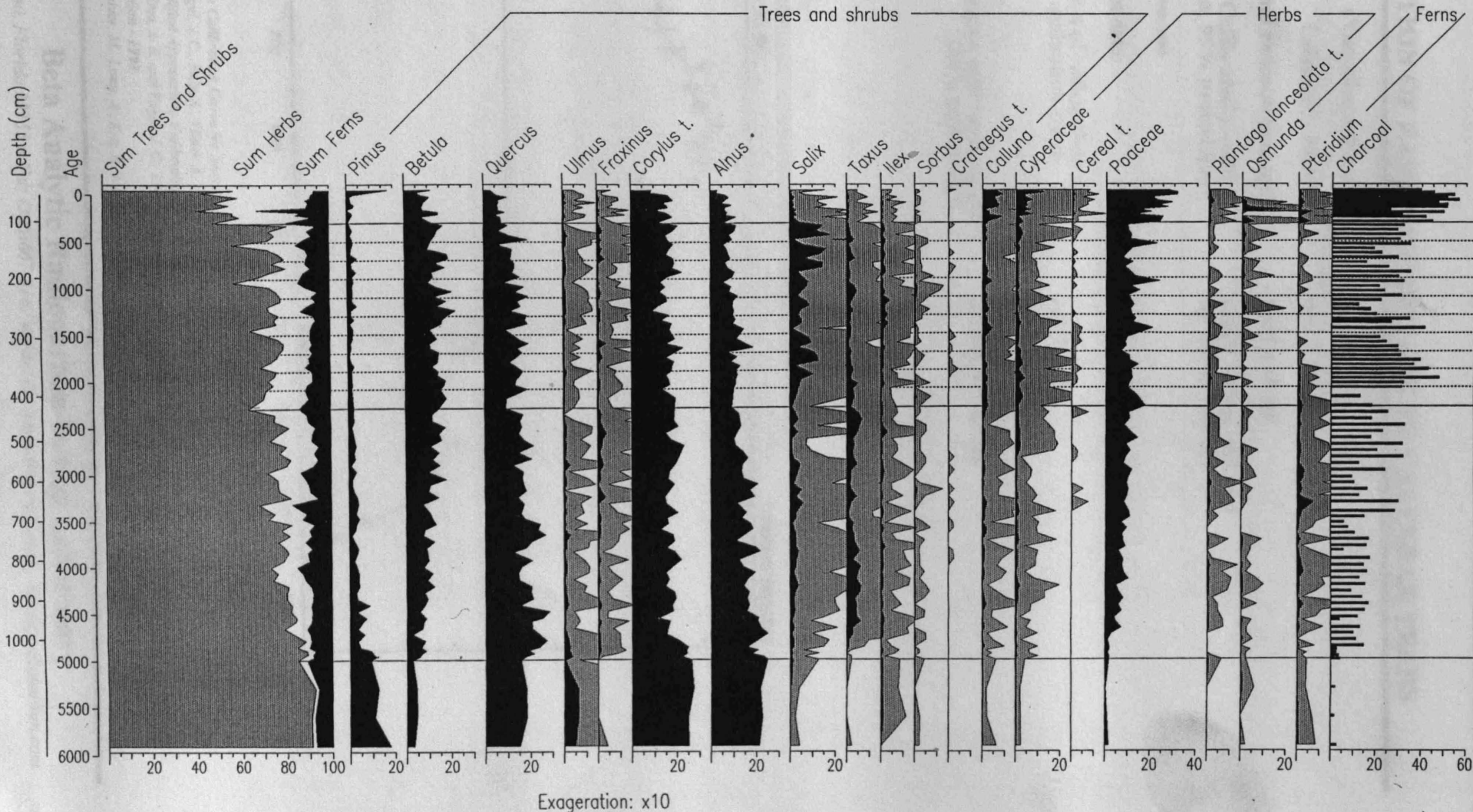


Glendalough, Co. Wicklow

Pollen Percentage Diagram. Selected Taxa



Glendalough, Lower Lake
Percentage Pollen, Selected Taxa



CALIBRATION OF RADIOCARBON AGE TO CALENDAR YEARS

(Variables: estimated C13/C12=-25:lab mult.=1)

Laboratory Number: Beta-122061

Conventional radiocarbon age*: 2310 ± 60 BP

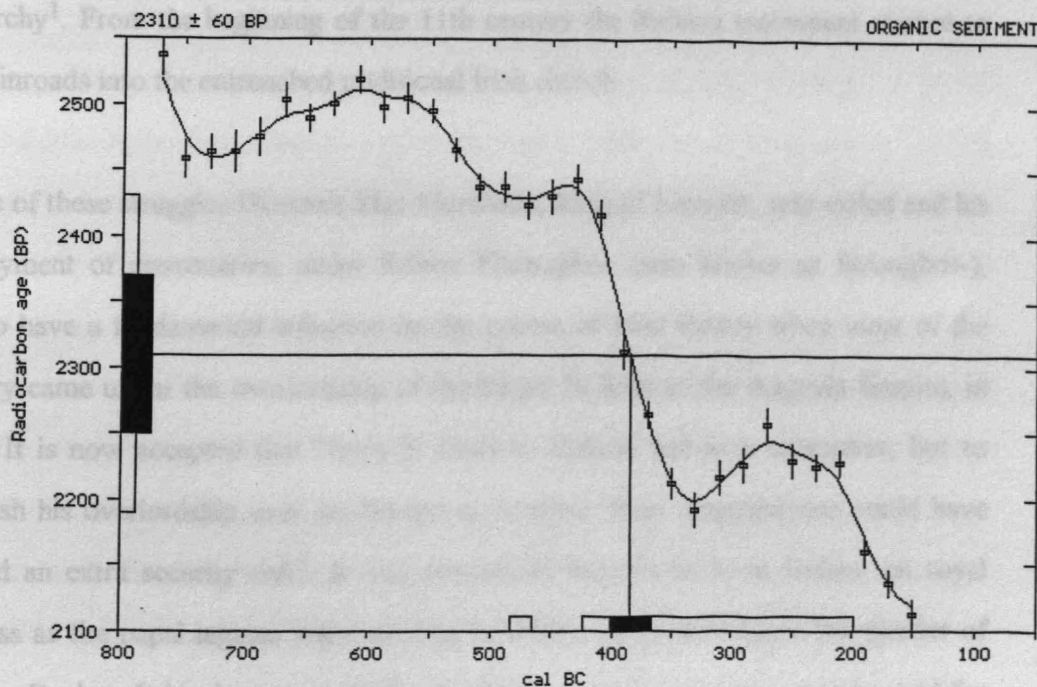
Calibrated results:
(2 sigma, 95% probability) cal BC 485 to 465 and
cal BC 425 to 200

* C13/C12 ratio estimated

Intercept data:

Intercept of radiocarbon age
with calibration curve: cal BC 385

1 sigma calibrated results:
(68% probability) cal BC 400 to 365



References:

Pretoria Calibration Curve for Short Lived Samples

Vogel, J. C., Fuls, A., Visser, E. and Becker, B., 1993, *Radiocarbon* 35(1), p73-86

A Simplified Approach to Calibrating C14 Dates

Talma, A. S. and Vogel, J. C., 1993, *Radiocarbon* 35(2), p317-322

Calibration - 1993

Stuiver, M., Long, A., Kra, R. S. and Devine, J. M., 1993, *Radiocarbon* 35(1)

Beta Analytic Radiocarbon Dating Laboratory

4985 S.W. 74th Court, Miami, Florida 33155 ■ Tel: (305)667-5167 ■ Fax: (305)663-0964 ■ E-mail: beta@radiocarbon.com

APPENDIX 2

GREGORIAN REFORM AND IRELAND

Europe in the High Middle Ages, 1050-1250, went through fundamental cultural, political, religious and settlement changes. Ireland, on the geographical periphery of the mainland, was deeply influenced as these changes rippled out from the core. In general Europe went through a period of political intensification as the Roman Church was asserting its independence and laying down new standards of conformity. In tandem there was an expansion of internal and external settlement with the conquering and colonisation of lands outside the core areas of France, Germany and Italy.

Politically Ireland went through a major phase of power struggles as the concept and ideology of High Kingship supplanted the fragmented regional polity with an evolving monarchy¹. From the beginning of the 11th century the Reform movement started to make inroads into the entrenched traditional Irish church.

In one of these struggles Diarmait Mac Murchada, King of Leinster, was exiled and his employment of mercenaries, under Robert Fitzstephen (also known as Strongbow), was to have a fundamental influence on the course of Irish history when most of the country came under the overlordship of the Henry II, king of the Angevin Empire, in 1172. It is now accepted that Henry II came to Ireland, not as a conqueror, but to establish his overlordship over his Barons as to allow them independence could have created an extra security risk². It was convenient for him to be in Ireland on royal business as the papal legates were arriving in Normandy to investigate the murder of Thomas Becket. It has been argued that his Irish 'Crusade' was the price he paid for the forbearance of Pope Alexander III³ during this period. It was certainly to his

¹O'Croinin, *op. cit.* p. 272

²Barlow, *op. cit.* p. 335

³*ibid.* p. 303 & Watt, *op. cit.* pp. 37-8

advantage to be able to return to the papal legates with the acceptance of the Irish Church and his sponsorship of the Synod of Cashel, 1171-2. With the underlying causes of his struggles with the papacy concluded Henry II received papal confirmation of his overlordship over Ireland⁴.

In recent years there has been a revision of Irish history that has been led by historians who have shown that the period 1170-1250 was a time of political integration into the Angevin Empire on the European model. However most of this writing has concentrated on secular history and developments within the church have not received the same attention. With the exception of several essays the main source is still Watt⁵, unlike the period before 1200 which is well served by church historians. The Reform movement had the most influence on the study area in terms of society and settlement and therefore the background is important.

The Gregorian reforms had a significant effect on Church-State relationships in the High Middle Ages. The main aim of these was to develop an independent Church hierarchy which until then was in the hand of the king through the practice of lay investiture⁶. This long drawn out process ultimately led to the Primacy of the See of Rome⁷ though on a local level it was recognised that an *etente* between Church and State was the best method of achieving the agendas of both. England provides a good example when during the reigns of Henry II and John issues that sometimes led to bloodshed and papal interdict were usually sorted out through negotiation and compromise.⁸ The close working together of Kings and Archbishops can be deceptive and within an Irish context the divided loyalty of the clergy between the King and Rome⁹, is not often recognised. This can lead to statements by historians, such as

⁴ *ibid.* pp. 335-6

⁵ Watt J.A., *The Church and two the Nations in Medieval Ireland*, Cambridge, 1970

⁶ Fletcher, *op. cit.* pp. 441-2

⁷ Bartlett, R., *The making of Europe*, London, 1995, pp. 243-44

⁸ Barlow, *op. cit.* pp.290-308, 402-7 & 416-19

⁹ Murphy M., *Balancing the concerns of Church and State: The Archbishops of Dublin, 1181-1228*,

Duffy, who says that Archbishopric was an instrument of Royal policy¹⁰. This is overly simplistic and does not recognise the complex relationships in play as from the Roman point of view the monarchy was an instrument of Papal policy. As Frame has noted, in his discussion of nomenclature and identity, 'We should not deny medieval man complex layers of identity and the ability to live with inconsistencies that we take for granted in ourselves'¹¹. How then more complex is the identity of churchman loyal to Church and State. This is not to say that the agendas of conquest and conversion did not coincide and from the point of view of the conquered it amounted to much the same thing especially among the non-Christian populations. This pattern can be seen in the Frankish drive to the East in the 8th century¹² and continues to the present day. However once the aim of conquest and colonisation was complete there was continuous competition over their respective rights. The lesson appears to be that one needs to be cautious in allowing political historians to set the historiographic agenda

Another major focus of reform was the imposition of uniform rites and clerical celibacy. Ireland was often criticised by such reformers for 'barbaric' habits and this has been taken as an indication that the Irish Church was in a state of 'near chaos'¹³. However it is important to note that such propaganda was found all over Europe. In Normandy, for instance, the monastic clergy of Fecamp and St. Evroul were criticised by reformers for being married with families and for drinking cider. Fletcher¹⁴ notes that it was such low profile clerics who were the main pastoral agents of evangelisation of the Norse inhabitants and that this pattern was much the same all over Europe. Reformers, with their idealistic standards, denied the worth and value of the basic structure of traditional church administration. It was not until the mid 12th century that

Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland, ed. Barry T., et. al. London, 1995, pp. 41-2

¹⁰Duffy S., *Ireland in the Middle Ages*, Dublin, 1997, p.107

¹¹Frame R., *Ireland and Britain, 1170-1450*, London, 1998, p. 149

¹²Fletcher op. cit. pp. 193-227

¹³Watt, op. cit. p. 2

¹⁴Fletcher, op. cit. pp. 389-91

reformers such as Lanfranc of Pavia and Anselm of Bec (or of Aosta) restructured the churches and monasteries in Normandy and England¹⁵.

Bitel¹⁶ has pointed out that the propaganda of the reform movement is a poor indication of the state of the Irish Church who she sees as well organised and capable of holding their own in the changing political climate. There is also an assumption that reformers were against the Irish Church when in fact they were only criticising current practise. It is evident the new monastic orders in charge of reform had a deep respect for the Early Irish church leaders who had founded many important monasteries after the collapse of the Roman Empire. This respect can be seen in the works of Giraldus Cambrensis. For instance he called St Coemgen a 'Great Confessor of the Faith, distinguished for his life and sanctity'¹⁷. It may be argued that he stated that Irish saints were more vindictive¹⁸ but perhaps he was reacting to the miracles that his countrymen had suffered from for sacrilegious activities¹⁹.

Giraldus is often criticised for his negative comments about the Irish such as his tales of sexual misconduct with animals in Wicklow²⁰. This is seen as part of the typical colonial degeneration of conquered people and while there is some truth to this argument this is also a common motif of urban-rural ritual good-humoured insults. This is as common now as then, though these days sheep are the supposed 'object of desire' which indicates the change from cattle to sheep in the modern pastoral economy.

Religious condemnation was not unanimous in England. William of Canterbury, writing in the late 12th century about a certain Theobald who had been wounded in the Irish wars, said that '...it served him right, or so those thought who saw no reason for the

¹⁵Barlow, op. cit. pp. 103-4

¹⁶Bitel L., *The Isle of the Saints*, Cork, 1995. pp. 235-6

¹⁷Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographica Hibernica*, ed. O'Meara J.J., Dublin, 1982, p. 77

¹⁸ibid. p. 91

¹⁹ibid. pp. 88-90

²⁰ibid. pp. 115-6

disquieting of a neighbouring nation, who, however uncivilised and barbarous, were remarkable and noteworthy practisers of the Christian religion'²¹. Davies has pointed out that the reforming excuses put out by the invaders have a guilty *post-hoc* feel to them and are an attempt to mask greed with noble crusading endeavour²².

One of the main channels of early reform was through the Archbishop of Dublin, Lorcan Ua Tuathail, who was elected in 1162. Notwithstanding the political background of his appointment²³ his main focus was the reform of the Irish Church which consisted of the development of dioceses and parishes on the Roman model which had been the focus of the reform councils of the 12th century²⁴ and the reform of the monastic orders under Augustinian Canons and Cistercians. He is associated with many Augustinian foundations of the Arrouasian observance and in Dublin many foundations, such as Christ Church, and the Priory of All Hallows assumed the Arrouasian rule²⁵. It is believed that in fact native reformers were completely in tune with European Church policy²⁶. It was these Augustinian Canons that provide the framework of continuity in area outside the field of conquest.

Lorcan Ua Tuathail played an important mediating role between Dublin and Diarmait Mac Murchada during the siege of Dublin in 1170 and was Robert Fitzstephen's uncle by marriage. He was appointed papal legate in 1179²⁷ and mediated between Ruaidri Ua Conchobar, High King of Ireland, and Henry II during the Treaty of Windsor. His diplomatic career continued until he died on one such mission in the Arrouasian monastery of Eu in Normandy in 1180.

²¹O'Croinin, *op. cit.* p. xi

²²Davies, *op. cit.* pp. 109-11 (his title, *Domination and Conquest*, reflects one historiographic agenda)

²³Mac Shamhrain, *op. cit.* pp. 154-9

²⁴Watt, *op. cit.* pp. 12-7

²⁵Long, *op. cit.* p. 40

²⁶Murphy *op. cit.* p. 47

²⁷Gwynn A., *The Irish Church in the 11th and 12th centuries*, Dublin, 1992, p. 135

His canonisation is an excellent example of the integration of Irish reform clerics in the Europe. The Arrouasian canons at Eu immediately promoted their monastery as a pilgrimage centre and the Office dedicated to him and composed on his canonisation in 1226 survived until 1758²⁸. They organised petitions from the leading clerics of the day including the Archbishops of Rouen. One of the more interesting petitions came from John Cumin²⁹, Archbishop of Dublin and Lorcan's successor, while he was in exile in Normandy. His nine year exile was due to his conflict with the Justiciar, Hamo de Valognen, over lands in Co. Dublin³⁰. His links with this order, who were also the canons of Christ Church, is significant. His successor was Henry of London who is seen as the epitome of a 'curialist bishop' and in the pocket of the king³¹. Murphy argues that while this is true where Royal and Church agendas coincided³² he, after 1216 when Henry III succeeded John (who had appointed him), followed a more independent line. His church policy is especially seen in his offer to Innocent III of the Kingdom of England and Lordship of Ireland as papal fiefs. This was accepted for a tribute of 1,000 marks of which 300 were for Ireland³³.

The charters of confirmation to the Abbey and Bishopric of Glendalough are seen as attempts by the Irish church struggling to preserve their status and lands³⁴. This may be correct though it may over-interpret their significance. Charters were a recent introduction into Ireland and their use may reflect the modernisation using this new administrative tool which is what could be expected in a reform church when formal chanceries were being organised³⁵. These charters therefore can be seen as the integration of the Irish Church into the Roman administration rather than local initiatives.

²⁸Ronan M., St. Laurentius, Archbishop of Dublin, *I.E.R.*, 5th series, vol. 28, p.475

²⁹*ibid.* vol. 27, 1926, p. 349

³⁰Murphy *op. cit.* p. 45

³¹Barlow, *op. cit.*, p. 413

³²Murphy *op. cit.* p. 56

³³Barlow *op. cit.* p. 417

³⁴Mac Shamhrain, *op. cit.* pp. 161-2

³⁵Bartlett, *op. cit.* pp. 285-6

In the long term however the integration failed as ethnic divisions, reflected in the secular world, took hold in the church administration in Ireland which became increasingly divided. Dioceses became either Irish or English and came under the control of the local magnate or dynast. The main function of Rome was for arbitration who appeared to recognise the divided church. One effect of this was the survival of ancient practises such as hereditary control of church lands and vernacular religion. There was nothing specifically Irish in the survival of folk belief and these could be found all over Europe such as Brittany and Catalonia³⁶. In one sense reform is always in conflict with vernacular religion³⁷ whose diversity reflects local cultural traditions. In the modern day local ritual can be found all over the recently christianised world and is now accepted practise. This diversity is not the privilege of radical reformers but part of the fabric of the Church³⁸.

It raises the fundamental question. What makes a Christian? This is reviewed by Fletcher³⁹ by considering conversion and conquest, comparing articulate ideology and inarticulate practise, and by analysing reform, but he comes to no real conclusion as the experience and reaction to conversion varied widely over space and time. Fernandez-Almesto and Wilson considering the ideology and impact of reform say that, at its best, it is a spiritual movement that re-invents the Church but at its worst it becomes a cynical exercise of control where religion becomes a substitute for spiritual experience⁴⁰. Much of their work explores the conflict of uniform practise and individual experience which is reflected in the conflict between universal uniformity versus the individual conscience which results in the splitting of religions into minor and marginal sects.

³⁶Fletcher, op. cit. pp. 510-1

³⁷Fernandez-Almesto F. & Wilson D., *Reformation*, London, 1996, p. 17

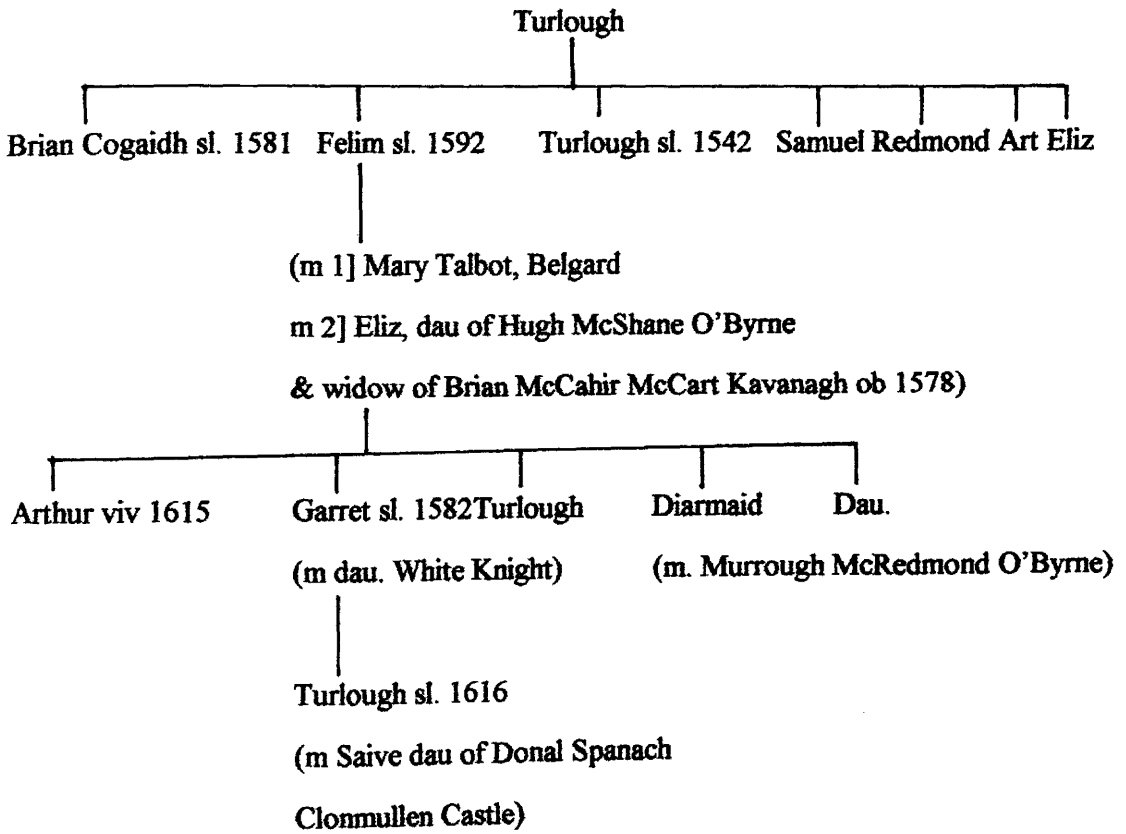
³⁸ibid. p. 21, quoting Carl Jung

³⁹Fletcher op. cit. 508-22

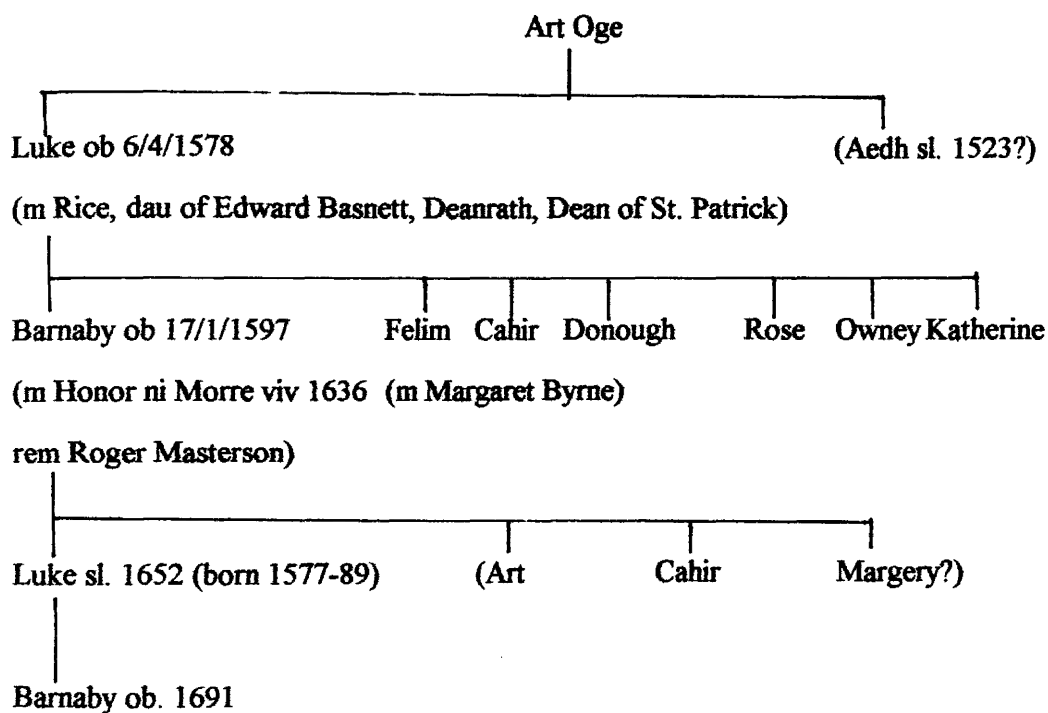
⁴⁰op. cit. pp. xi & 49

In conclusion the history of the Church is not solely the history of religion but also religious practise and experience. These undefinables impact on human behaviour in ways that are beyond academics grounded in intellectual traditions. To ignore them is to miss part of the totality of how life has been organised on an individual and collective level.

Powerscourt line



Castlekevin Line



Notes: Rose, daughter of Luke married Feach McHugh O'Byrne. Her sisters Owney and Katherine married Phelim McHugh and Redmond McFeagh, sons of Feach McHugh O'Byrne. Fanny Archbold and a Boya (O'Choy?) are also related, the latter having Cathir (McEdath?) by a son of Turlough, Burghley's notes are somewhat difficult to interpret here.

{Genealogical Sources: O'Cleirigh genealogies no. 1745-7; Mac Shamhrain, *Church and Polity*, Maynooth, 1996, p. 156; C. P. Meehan, *Clan O'Toole*, Dublin 1890, frontispiece; Calendar of State Papers of Ireland; Calendar of Carew Papers; Dublin Inquisitions, (Margaret Griffith, Dublin 1994); Irish Fiants for Tudor Sovereigns; Coke Mss., (Historical Manuscripts Commission); Williamson and Burghley's pedigrees c. 1615, (Carew Papers, Lambeth Library, Ms. 626, p. 168, NLI m/f pos. 1704); Conway Papers addenda (State Papers of Ireland, Eliz I - Geo III, 63/213, p. 203, NLI m/f pos. 3125); Public Record

Office, London, Burghley's marginal notes in State Papers of Ireland, O'Toole petitions, 1581 63/92 (pp.207-13) and 1591 63/158 (p. 72); Kenneth Nicholls, Kavanagh Pedigrees, *Irish Genealogist*, 1971, vol. 5, no. 4, p. 445. I am indebted to Emmett O'Byrne and Brian Donovan who advised me on 16th century marriages with O'Byrnes and McMurrough Kavanaghs}

APPENDIX 4

SELECTED DOCUMENTS

Inquisition at Castle Keiryn, 1257-63

Names of the jurors sworn at Castlekevin to tell the truth upon the articles exposed to them: Thomas, Prior of St. Saviour's of Glendalough, (blank) prior of the great church at Glindelache, Donoho, Prior de Rupe by Glindelache, Sir William Anglicus, Gilbert de Bevso, Richard de Lailes, Thomas Lailes, William Doggett, John de Horseye, Richard de Cesterham (or Chesterham), Elias Othothel, Simon Othothel, Molawelyne McDuille, Thomas Chapman, Richard Mihaue, Philip Miave, John Wilens, John Lukere, Robert Lukere, Rubtus Oclonir (or Oclouir), Richard the clerk, John Crumpe, Molkale Omaille, Padyne Regane, Adam Hille, Aleuanne Obiguanne (?), Molleuch Orothegane, Molia' Omolegane.

Sworn and questioned they say that no one waived by the king or the Lord Edward was received within the archbishop's tenement. If any persons waived in the Archbishop's court were received and found in the tenement they are detained, and they are delivered by the archbishop's bailiffs. In the time of William Pirron, bishop of Glindelach, it happened that Elias Borbatus and Brubarbatus, Englishmen, were all waived for stealing nags and cows and for killing Caym Otonyn's daughter, whom they killed, and they returned afterwards to the peace of the said William bishop of Glindelac' for their monies which they gave him before Richard Nocte, then seneschal. Gerard son of Maurice, an Englishman, was waived in Bishop William's tenement and in the king's court in King John's time, and by the judge of said court he returned to the peace of the Lord W. for his money, which he gave him before Meiler, son of Henry, then justiciary. Donohoe Magillemeholmoc slew Richard son of Gilbert an Englishman and the said bishop W. took redemption thereof in the said seneschal's time.

In Archbishop Henry's time Doneult McDeneult and Convyne Mac Deneult killed Walter son of Hugh Lawless, and Englishman, and were waived in the archbishop's court for that offence, and they returned afterwards to the Archbishop's peace for their monies, which they paid him before Elias Drolde, then seneschal.

In Archbishop Luke's time, Walter Garnan, an Englishman, was waived for theft and afterwards returned to the archbishop's peace before Geoffrey de Eleyne, then seneschal. In David the clerk's land in Likin and Myneglas robbers were often received, and one Walter, David's brother, was in their company; Richard de Carricke and his following lay in wait for those robbers, killed them and beheaded them, and brought their heads to the castle; but Walter, David's brother, escaped along with a woman (*cum una*), fled and was waived, and afterwards he returned to Archbishop Luke's peace for his money, which he gave to him in the time of the said seneschal; and for that offence, David's land remained in the archbishop's hand as his escheat. These were Englishmen, and the king did not set his hand to that land, and the archbishop gave it after wards to William English (*Anglicus*), who now holds it. William Carricke, an Englishman, was waived for theft, and afterwards he returned to archbishop L's peace for his money which he have him in said seneschal's time. Elias Mihave was waived for theft and returned to archbishop L's peace, *ut supra*.

Questioned also whether the archbishop's bailiffs always made view without the king's coroner, of persons killed, whether dead or drowned and made inquests and buried the dead, they say yes. In Archbishop Luke's time Walter Wylens, an Englishman, was drowned at Inuerchelle, and as inquest having being held as usual the archbishop's bailiffs buried him. Stephan de Sancto Albano being then seneschal and Elias Othoel serjeant of the country. Richard son of Ralph, Pelletar by (sur)name, an Englishman was drowned at Cestricronin; inquest being held as above, he was buried. An Englishwoman, by name Couilda, was killed in a sandpit (*in quodras foramine Sallanis*), because a great quantity of earth fell on her, and inquest being held as above, she was buried; and the king's coroners never made view of the persons killed, whether dead or drowned.

Questioned also if any bailiff of the king was accustomed to make summons or attachment in the archbishop's tenement, they say no; only at St Seplechure' where an attorney of the archbishop is deputed to receive from the king's bailiffs, in writing, the names of those to be summoned or attached before the judges. It happened once, in Archbishop Luke's time, that one of the king's serjeants,

Herbert by name, came to Boherrir to Richard de Carricke's house to serve a summons on the part of the king. Archbishop Luke had sentence passed on him at one, and the said H. was accordingly removed from his office, and he had to give satisfaction to the archbishop besides, in the time when Geoffrey de Marisco was justiciary.

Questioned whether the predecessor of Archbishop F., who then was Luke, always had a duel of felony and homicide, they say yes; and that all his predecessors, bishops and archbishops, always had such a duel.

Questioned whether any fugitive to the church was watched by the archbishop's tenants and delivered by his or by the king's bailiffs, they say not by the king's bailiffs, but always by the archbishop's. Peret Dridorenas (Oridorene) wounded an Englishman, and for that he put himself in the church of Kilmoholmoch in the time of Archbishop Luke, by whose tenants he was watched and before whose bailiffs he abjured his tenement, Master Hugh de Glindelache, afterwards Bishop of Ossory, being then seneschal. William the Mason fled to the church of Dergory because he had wounded his mate Roger, and he was delivered as above. The like often happened, and the king's bailiffs never put a hand to it.

Questioned if the predecessors of Archbishop F., who now is, pleaded all pleas except the four pleas of the crown, they say yes, and that all his predecessors, bishops and archbishops, always by their own bailiffs pleaded all pleas except the four pleas of the crown.

Questioned if the archbishop's bailiffs immediately took into his hand as his escheat the lands of homicides and felons or thieves, they say yes, and the king or anyone in his place never set hands to them, as appears above.

Source: Alen's Register, pp. 110-2

Names of Feoffees by deed in the tenement of Castle Keyne, 1256-66

Sir William English (*Anglicus*) has to him and his heirs the land of Lakyn and Muneclas with appurtenances for 2 marks; 16.5a. with pasture of the mountains and woods of Glasdrey for beasts of him and his men dwelling in that land, 'housbot' and 'heyber' for him and them, firewood and his own swine in both forests, 25s. a year, all the land that Dirimpimus mc Theynes, chaplain, held, 3 mks; custody of the lands Theobald Butler (*pincerna*) held in parts of Arclo with all appurtenances (saving advowsons of churches to the archbishop) 2 mks a year. Richard English has for life the land of Kiladreny with appurtenances, which John Laules held, and disposal of it for 12 years at his death and 'husbot' and 'heyber' in the wood of Balliloranth by view of both foresters, 100s a year and half a mark increment. John Doget has to him and his heirs 2 carucates of Kiltorech with appurtenances (saving advowsons and tithing of tithes), 4 mks a year; what he has in Ballidunly and Lismorothbas 3 carucates with appurtenances (saving as above), 16/8 a year; in Kerichery 2 carucates (saving as above), 4 mks, The abbot and monks of St. Mary's near Dublin have in free alms for ever the land of Rostulli which William OScolly held. Richard le Arth has to him and his heirs 2 carucates in Clentoly Ernanekan, which lie between Henry de Taulagh's land and Sconagh and go on to the Great Water, with a pasture of the woods of Monone(?) to him and his heirs, whilst however the pasture (corrupt), 20s. a year (saving as before). Yvo Patrik has to him and his heirs 2 carucates in Delaster and Clonbo in the said tenement, *recentor(?) memore* (in the wood) of Leytron and 20s. in Arclas near those 2 carucates on the south with a pasture for beasts of him for and his men dwelling in said lands, both in the mountain and in the archbishop's forest and 'hys' and 'he infen' and with pannage, 10s. a year and 40d. of increment. The abbot and the convent of St. Thomas near Dublin have in perpetual alms all the land of Killwisk with the villeins (*nativi*) and their following there in the mountain at the time of their concession, 'and that they have a court for their own men and disputes which belong to the lay court, and that the bailiffs do not molest the said canons nor cause them to be molested'. William de Belinges has for life five score 13a. in Carbouth for 5s. a year and 20d (als 20s) of increment; 5 carucates in Ballinloch, Ballydergory, Ballyonmochay, Ballyoseran with appurtenances and 'husbot' and 'heybot' and firewood by view of the foresters, 3 mks. (In margin: Five carucates of land in Stagonil and Lislogan are held by the Archbishop of Dublin for 13/4 of yearly rent as of his manor of Castelke' as in the White Book fo. 17)(In margin: Delaster seems a chapel formerly under Villa Cethir' [Harpstown])

Source: Alen's Reg. pp. 123-4

Letter of Alan Cooke to John Coke, 8 August 1636

I went to view the lands of the Vartry, where I stayed all last week, and I observed every parcel thereof, for which I was beholden to Sir Edward Winkfield, who is your new neighbour. The names of all the towns are as following: Castlekevin, the town where the Castle doth stand. This hath a goodly wood but no great timber, but very fine young oaks. Tomolan, a pretty wood but no timber, Tondarragh and Balincor, a very goodly wood but no timber. Rahin, a very small village, no wood, Baltomane, Carrickro and Bolelin, the largest town in the Vartries, a very good wood, by which runneth the great river. Leitrim joins the river of the Vartries, a very pretty wood but no timber. Molenbige and Bolinas, a town hath no wood. Bahinto, where Mr. Masterson doth dwell; he is friend to Mr. Toole's mother, he hath this and the above town. This town hath no wood. Glasmolin, joining to the Manor of Powerscourt, no wood. All the whole lands very dry, and very wholesome air (it is all coach way). It is all in length six miles and in breadth a mile of good lands, it is all entire within itself. Castlekevin is the fittest place to build a Manor house, because of its strength; the Bawne is very good, very near 20 foot high; all the castle is down, and the bounds are nearly 50 yards square. A fine small river running at the back of the castle, half a mile from the same, runneth the great river, which did afford a (blank) of salmon, which did come out of the sea to spawn, but the Lord of Esmond hath set a weir upon the river. I have caused a Presentment to be made unto myself, as being Judge of the Vice Admiralty of Leinster, and whatsoever power the law hath shall be put into execution to make the weir be pulled down. Between Tomolan and Tondarragh is the best place to set the village (facilities for timber and lime [from Dublin] enumerated). There is a very fair civate within the Bawne of the Castle, which will serve to dwell in until the town be built, and very secure. Let me give you this encouragement to plant, because I shall be able to plant it had you twice as much land, and with most able tenants of good worth and quality. Castlekevin will be a fit place for a man of good fashion to live in, which must defend the tenants until they be fully settled, which being built I will take, giving as much as anyone for the same. I will presume there will be 10,000 acres of land which will be fit for corn or grazing both winter and summer, which cannot yield less than £500 per annum, although Luke Toole never made £200 per annum. I would wish that your grants were passed and the land surveyed. The furthest part of your land is but 14 miles from Dublin, and the next 8 miles.

When I came to the Castle they shut the gates against me, but in the end, after they made a great cry, they used me very kindly. When I had conference with the eldest son of the said Toole, who is a very modest gentleman, he seemed to be very well contented to part of the land. He carried me into a room where he showed me 16 more children of the said Toole, all of which he affirmed, must beg, unless your Honour were gracious unto them in seeing them provided for elsewhere. I cannot learn that any one hath interest in any part of the land but his mother, in the two towns of Molenbige and Bahinto, which is her jointure. Mr. Luke Toole's eldest son requested me to send these inclosed unto his father, one unsealed, by which I presume he adviseth his father to make your favour. I beseech you get me a reference on my petition.

Source: Coke Mss. HMC, vol. 12, app. 2, pp.132-3

Brinne Toole to Mr. Luke Toole in London, 10 August 1636

Much respected father, I know my brother Barnaby writes to unto you of Mr. Cooke's coming to view the Farderye, but if the matter goes to the worst I hope in God you can agree with Secretary Coke, who I understand had the land passed unto. Robert Dowling denied the key of the trunk was left with him. He did not use you well in not sending the Earl of Antrim's letter, who was given unto him three or four weeks ago. You are not to blame me for your nag, for my brother Barnaby would suffer not me to handle him. Alan Cooke was mightily displeased when he saw the wids of Baltimany so spoiled, until my brother and I followed him to Powerscourt, and there qualified part of his anger by telling him that most part of the wid was destroyed in Mr. Barnewall's time. My mother is in good health and so is all the children, your mother and all your friends. I go daily to comfort my mother, according to your direction to me. Your daughter, my wife, remembers her duty unto you. My love and serving unto Sir Donagh

Source: *ibid.* p. 133

APPENDIX 5

PLACENAMES AND INTERPRETATION

The main source of placenames in County Wicklow is the well known and regarded 'Placenames of Co. Wicklow' by Liam Price¹ and this study has used this work extensively.

Periods of cultural change create new settlement situations which effect the use of placenames with settlement inertia representing continuity and change represented by the new order. Topographical features tend to survive better in placenames than those that represent settlement.

There are a number of periods that are represented in the place names of the study area. Topographical placenames from the late Iron Age appear to survive for some mountains and valley systems and these are discussed in the text. The second phase represents the impact of Christianity which provided ecclesiastical names of foundations and lands. The third phase comes in the early 13th century with the impact of Reform associated with the Angevin Lordship. These new leaders and colonists would have written in Latin and spoken either French, Anglo-Saxon or some early version of English. By and large they appear to have used the existing placenames though their phonetic variations give major problem of interpretation. Their sole input appears to have been the introduction of the word Park and the prefixes Castle and Ville. The last period to be considered is the late Tudor and Early modern which appears to have generally used existing placenames though some of the Vill names are late 16th century creations.

¹Dublin, 1945-67

In the Study area the main element of names is topographical with the names of descriptive features such as *Druim* for ridge, *Lug* for hollow, *Cnoc* for hill, *Gleann* for Glen pre-dominating. Those names that describe vegetation such as *Doire* for Oak, *Fuinneog* for ash, *Moin* for bog, *Tom* for scrub often represent previous landscapes. The most important of settlement names belong to ecclesiastic foundations in the Glendalough region and can date from the 6-7th centuries and show the continuity of tradition².

In dealing with settlement names from the 11th century onwards the meaning of the term *Baile* is matter of ongoing debate. Price lists four different possibilities:

- 1) A piece of land held by family groups as used in 12th c. ecclesiastic charters
- 2) Individual land holdings, post 1170
- 3) A farmstead, frequently described by its situation. This appears to have developed from the 13th century onwards with the Latin and English cognates of the prefix *Vill* and suffix *town*. The sense is of nucleated farm hierarchical settlement which then developed into the modern meaning of village.
- 4) Town, but not found in Wicklow

Further complicating the issue, especially in a mountain area, is the similar *Buaille* for summer pastures used for seasonal transhumance. Other possibilities are *Bealach* for pass or road, associated with mountain and wooded lands; *Bothlach* for place of huts; and *Balla* for wall³.

Difficulties in interpretation are to be found in other instances i.e.. *Tom* or *Tuaim*, bushy place or mound and *Coill*, *Coll*, *Cuil* or *Cul* for wood, hazel, corner and back part (hill) respectively are typical for the area. Nouns and adjectives beginning with vowels provide a different challenge.

²ibid. p. 2-8

³ibid. pp. 495-6

Place name evidence is thus fraught with difficulties as the ones that have survived have been through linguistic transmutation at a number of different periods. Loss of memory and traditions corrupt original meanings; so that the 14th and 15th century Gaelic conquest and the efforts of well meaning 19th century antiquarians (which feeds back into the locality⁴) add layers of complexity. Whether it is possible to identify the stratification of place names through identifying the dates of addition and deletion of prefixes and suffixes⁵ is unclear.

Further study into origins and stratification may give insights into Church settlement of the 7th-13th centuries, especially in the delineation of the 13th century transition from monastic estate to episcopal manor. The later 16th and 17th centuries may also help in the transition from Gaelic settlement through Plantation into the modern period.

⁴ibid. p. 43, Glendalough guides of the 19th century were renowned for distorting traditions for the entertainment of visitors who did not always appreciate it or them as many travellers attest

⁵Flanagan Deirdre & Laurence, *Common Elements of Irish Placenames*, Dublin, 1994, I am indebted to Mark Hennessy for this reference and discussion of the issues

ABBREVIATIONS

Alen's Reg.: Calendar of Archbishops Alen's Register

C.D.I.: Calendar of documents relating to Ireland

J.K.A.S.: Journal of the Kildare Archaeological Society

J.R.S.A.I.: Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries

Placenames: Placenames of County Wicklow, see Price

R.I.A. proc.: Royal Irish Academy Proceedings

R.D.H.F.J.: Roundwood & District History and Folklore Journal

Wicklow: Wicklow, History and Society, see Nolan & Hannigan

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