Parke's Castle, Co. Leitrim: archaeology, history and architecture

Foley, C., & Donnelly, C. (2012). *Parke's Castle, Co. Leitrim: archaeology, history and architecture.* (Archaeological monograph series ; 7). The Stationery Office, Dublin.

Document Version:
Early version, also known as pre-print

Queen's University Belfast - Research Portal:
[Link to publication record in Queen's University Belfast Research Portal](#)

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Frontispiece—'A true description of the Norwest partes of Irelande wherin is showed the most parte of O'Donnells contre, part of Tirones, part of McGuyres, part of Orowercks: all of the Co. of Slego, part of McWillms and parte of the Co. of Roscomon' by Captain John Baxter, finished by Baptista Boazio, c. 1600 (© National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London).

Parke's Castle, Co. Leitrim:
Archaeology, history and architecture

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Archaeological Monograph Series

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Fig. 1.1—Location of Parke's Castle (© Ordnance Survey Ireland; all rights reserved; licence no. EN0059212).

1. Introduction

Colm Donnelly, Claire Foley, Sarah Gormley and Ruth Logue

'Newtown Castle is romantically situated on the eastern side of Lough Gill: its western wall is washed by the waves of the lake. The lake is entirely surrounded by high and rugged mountains, which gives it an air of wild grandeur'

—Francis Grose, *Antiquities of Ireland* (London, 1791), I, 53.

This monograph details the results obtained during a major programme of archaeological excavation undertaken seasonally between November 1971 and May 1975 at Parke's Castle (SMR Leitrim 010-37-001), also known as Newtown Castle, a National Monument in state ownership in the townland of Kilmore, Co. Leitrim. As noted in Grose's text, Parke's Castle (Pl. 1.1) stands in a highly picturesque setting; it is positioned on the northern shoreline of Lough Gill, approximately 11km east of Sligo town and 5km to the west of the village of Dromahair (Fig. 1.1). The castle comprises a gatehouse, a manor house, two large corner towers (the north-east and north-west corner towers) and associated bawn, and the foundations of a late medieval tower-house were discovered during the excavation programme.

The programme of archaeological excavation was directed by Claire Foley, then of the National Parks and Monuments Branch, Office of Public Works (OPW). Preliminary fieldwork involved monitoring for the insertion of a service pipe in November 1971. The first season of excavation was from April to June 1972, with a further period of excavation undertaken from July to September in the same year. A second season of fieldwork was undertaken from April to May 1973, and a third from April to August 1974. A fourth and final phase of fieldwork was carried out during April and May 1975.

Pl. 1.1—Aerial view of Parke's Castle, looking north–east (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Pl. 1.2 —Thomas Cocking's first engraving of Newtown Castle from 1791. The roofless remains of Cartron Church can be seen on the hillside to the north (after Grose 1791–5, vol. 1; image of courtesy Special Collections, QUB).

Pl. 1.3—Detail of Parke's Castle as depicted by Cocking in 1791, showing a roofless complex and with cottages extending from the south-eastern bawn wall (after Grose 1791–5, vol. 1; image courtesy of Special Collections, QUB).

In 1971 the castle was being used as a works depot and the initial archaeological intervention at the site was to facilitate the insertion of a WC in the south chamber of the gatehouse. The sewer pipe was to run across the bawn to a septic tank inserted outside the bawn wall at the south-west. The monitoring of the excavation of this trench (cutting 1) was undertaken by Claire Foley. When work began at the site, the manor house and gatehouse had been in ruins since at least the eighteenth century (Pls 1.2 and 1.3) and the interior of the bawn was grassed over. There was nothing visible to suggest that the foundations of a tower-house lay hidden under the bawn (Pl. 1.4), or that the complex had been surrounded by a deep, rock-cut ditch. The archaeological excavation retrieved a rich variety of both ordinary and high-quality artefacts associated with the late medieval and seventeenth-century occupation of the castle. As work progressed over the following four years it inspired the OPW to restore the castle as an educational and tourist attraction for the Sligo–Leitrim area.

Some post-excavation work was undertaken in the years immediately following the excavation. Artefact drawings were made, for example, and summary reports were published by the director (Foley 1973; 1974; 1975). The excavation at Parke's Castle was recognised as being of particular importance, as it represented one of only a handful of investigations to have been undertaken at the

site of a medieval Gaelic castle (Loeber 2001, 273), and the site's continued occupation, including the creation of the manor house, also provided a valuable opportunity for new insights into the early seventeenth-century Plantation period in County Leitrim.

It was for these reasons that in 2005 an excavation report for Parke's Castle was prioritised by the National Monuments Service (NMS) of the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government (now of the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht, DAHG), who appointed the Centre for Archaeological Fieldwork (CAF) at Queen's University, Belfast (QUB), to progress the work in conjunction with the excavation director, Claire Foley. As the first stage in this process an assessment of the site archive was undertaken by Ronan McHugh (2005). His review concluded that the excavation archive was in a good condition, with the written and drawn records being largely complete. It was established that the site drawings in particular provided an excellent visual record of the excavation. Some omissions, however, were identified at this stage, most notably among the pottery and animal bone corpus, and it was noted that the whereabouts of much of these assemblages was unknown. McHugh also concluded that the construction of a comprehensive, chronologically phased sequence of development for the site was pivotal to the production of the final publishable report. The excavation director had previously outlined a
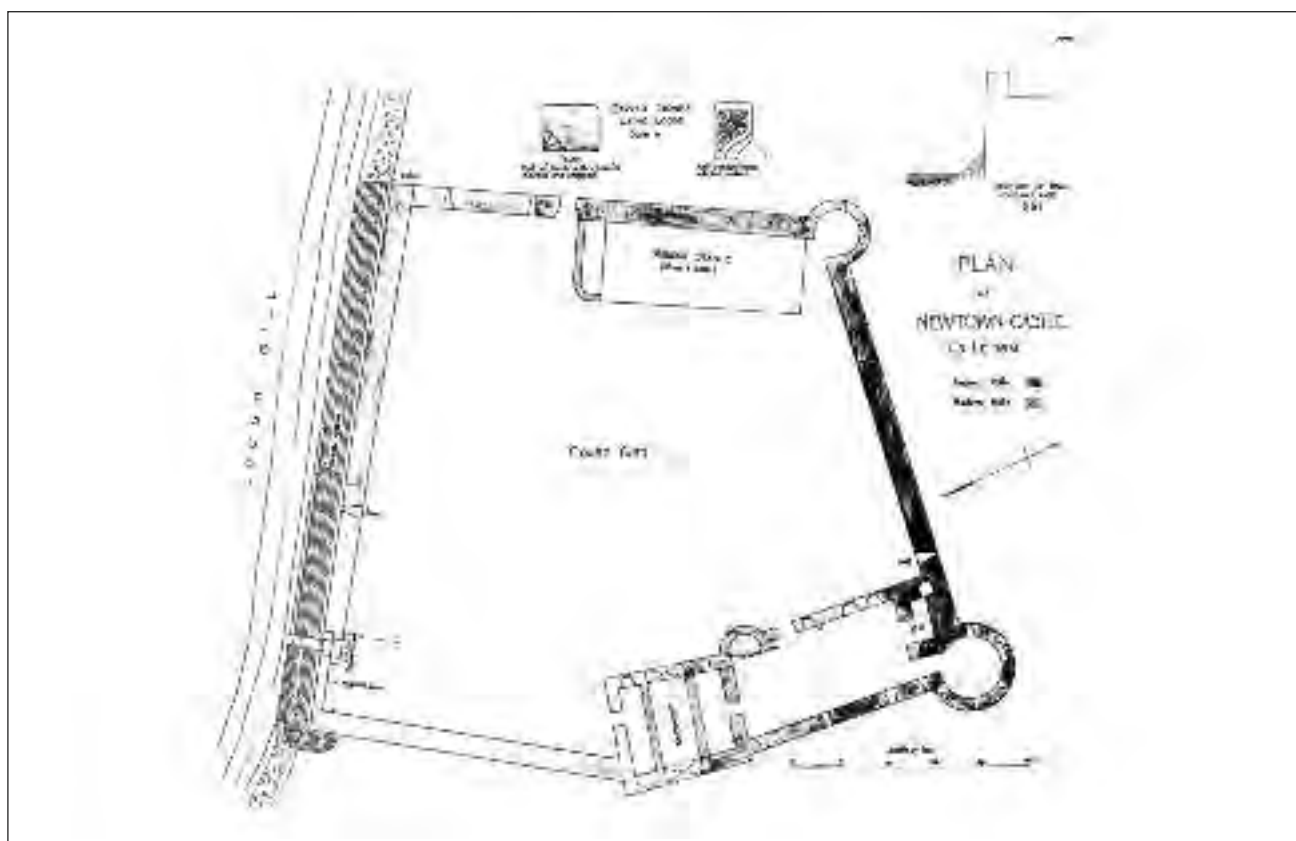
Pl. 1.4—'Plan of Newtown Castle, County Leitrim'. The drawing is held in the architectural archives of the OPW and probably belongs to the early/middle decades of the twentieth century.

broad sequence, which was contained in a notebook within the written archive; it was felt, however, that the absence of individual context numbering and separate context recording sheets would have to be addressed in order to facilitate the development of a full narrative. In addition, the artefact assemblages would have to undergo specialist analysis and the historical, social and economic context for the site would need to be established, at both a local and a national level.

Following McHugh's review, the NMS initiated a tender process for the production of a publishable monograph. The tender was successfully won by the CAF. Initial work on the archive was carried out by Ruth Logue and Sarah Gormley with Claire Foley and resulted in the compilation of a Data Structure Report, completed in January 2009 (Logue *et al.* 2009). This document structured and organised the primary records and presented the context list, Harris matrix, photographic register, drawings register and finds register. The report also identified the work necessary to bring the excavations to publication, and facilitated the commissioning of specialist reports. An archive report complete with full artefact reports was submitted to the NMS in February 2012 (Foley and Donnelly 2012).

Some limitations to the current work have arisen from the time delay between the excavation and the publication of this monograph, the most obvious being the mislaying of much of the pottery and animal bone assemblages, as well as the fact that the excavation was undertaken prior to the widespread adoption of standard context recording methods and the routine capture and analysis of botanical and environmental remains. The quality of the archive and the high standard of recording during the excavation, however, have meant that in spite of these limitations it has been possible to produce the current work on this important site.

Note

For the purposes of this volume, the term *high medieval* is used for the period between AD 1100 and AD 1400, while *late medieval* refers to the period from AD 1400 to AD 1603. The term *post-medieval* refers to the period after AD 1603, the year when the Nine Years War ended and Ireland came under full English rule.

2. Historical context

William Roulston

Introduction

Few castles in Ireland have a more beautiful setting or a more enigmatic history than Parke's Castle, Co. Leitrim. Overlooking the northern shores of Lough Gill, the castle has had several different phases of occupation. Leaving aside the restoration work that has been carried out in more recent times in order to make the site accessible to the public, the building as it now stands has remained largely unaltered since the end of the seventeenth century. It takes its name from Captain Robert Parke, a beneficiary of the Leitrim Plantation scheme, who made it his home some time before 1640. Then it was known as Newtown Castle. The structure, however, is more than simply a Plantation castle such as those found in parts of Ulster. It

was clearly not all built at once, and even during the time that the Parke family lived here important structural alterations were made. The discovery, during excavations in the early 1970s, of the foundations of an Irish tower-house further adds to the story and has repercussions for our understanding of the history of the site.

A further consideration is the fact that a short distance away from Parke's Castle is another castle on a small spit of land jutting out into Lough Gill (Pl. 2.1). The ruins today are fragmentary and heavily overgrown (see Pl. 2.2). It was known by a number of names, including 'The Pinnacle' and more usually Castle Duroy (see Section 3, pp 25–6, for a full discussion of this tower-house). The structure collapsed during a storm in the winter of 1916,[2] and prior to the discovery of the foundations of the tower-

Pl. 2.1—Detail from the 1836 edition Ordnance Survey six-inch map (Leitrim Sheet 10), showing the location of Parke's Castle, Cartron Church and Castle Duroy (© Ordnance Survey of Ireland; all rights reserved; licence no. EN0059212).

Pl. 2.2—The ruins of Castle Duroy, 2012 (Photographic Unit, NMS).

house within the bawn at Parke's Castle it had been assumed that any pre-1600 references to a castle at Newtown were to Castle Duroy. Documentation from the sixteenth century provides few clues regarding the relationship between the two buildings, and we are left with some uncertainty as to which of the two castles is being referred to in contemporary records.

The following discussion of the history of the site begins in the thirteenth century. This is followed by an examination of the historical evidence for the O'Rourke castle at Newtown in the sixteenth century and concludes with an exploration of the relationship between the site and the Parke family in the seventeenth century.

The Anglo-Normans in Breifne and north Sligo

At the beginning of the thirteenth century the leading family in Breifne, an area taking in what are now the modern counties of Cavan and Leitrim, were the O'Rourkes. In the early 1200s the O'Rourkes' hold over Breifne was threatened by Anglo-Norman incursions. The O'Reillys, who had been subject to the O'Rourkes, saw the Anglo-Normans, and in particular the de Lacys, as potential allies in freeing themselves from this yoke. Hugh de Lacy, how-

ever, had his own ambitions to conquer Breifne. By 1211–12 a motte and bailey had been built at the important ecclesiastical site at Kilmore in modern Cavan. In 1221 Walter de Lacy granted the kingdom of Breifne to his vassal Philip de Angulo (Nangle) and agreed that his own half-brother William Gorm de Lacy would 'build three stone castles for the use of de Angulo' in Breifne. Con Manning (1989–90, 22) has proposed that Clogh Oughter Castle is likely to have been one of these. It is possible that Parke's Castle was the site of another of these castles, but there is no written or physical evidence that it was. Nearby, O'Rourke's Hall, by the banks of the River Bonet in Dromahair, is believed to date from the thirteenth century and may be an Anglo-Norman structure (Moore 2003, 203). Regardless of whether there was a presence at Parke's Castle, clearly the Anglo-Normans had some sort of footing, however brief, in the area.

Anglo-Norman power in Breifne was, however, short-lived. In 1224 the king of Connacht complained to Henry III that O'Rourke's kingdom had been seized by William Gorm de Lacy. In the same year Earl William Marshall was sent to Ireland and defeated William Gorm. Soon afterwards some castles in Breifne were restored to the de Lacys, but in 1226 Cathal O'Reilly attacked Kilmore Castle and may have driven the de Lacys out of Breifne. In 1233 William Gorm made one last attempt to regain control of

Breifne, but was defeated by the O'Reillys and fatally wounded. This ended the ambitions of the de Lacys in Breifne. Meanwhile, the O'Rourkes were making a recovery and after the Battle of Magh Sleacht in 1256 they regained control of West Breifne and made north Leitrim the centre of their power (Moore 2003, 203).

The proximity of Parke's Castle to the Sligo–Leitrim border means that the influence of the Anglo-Normans in the former county also needs to be considered. In 1227 Richard de Burgo received a royal grant of the province of Connacht. Part of the province was then divided up among his vassals. Hugh de Lacy received, among other territories, the cantred of Carbury–Drumcliff in that part of County Sligo bordering on Parke's Castle. De Lacy in turn subdivided his lands, with Maurice Fitzgerald receiving Carbury. The Fitzgeralds added further territories, creating what was known as the 'manor of Sligo'. They built Sligo Castle in 1245 and founded the Dominican abbey in 1253 (O'Dowd 1991, 13–14).

The O'Rourkes and Newtown Castle

'Treachery was practised by the sons of Alexander MacCaba against O'Ruairc in his own town, i.e. the *Baile Nua*' (Hennessy 1871, II, 349). With these words, contained in the *Annals of Loch Cé*, the written history of Newtown, later Parke's, Castle begins. The year was 1546 and the O'Rourke in question was Brian Ballagh O'Rourke. Ten years previously he had assumed the chieftaincy of the lordship of West Breifne, having destroyed Castlecar, the stronghold of the previous chieftain, Felim O'Rourke, who subsequently died in captivity. Brian Ballagh's seat of power was centred on Dromahair, but in the years leading up to his takeover of the chieftaincy he had been expanding his power base through asserting his control over a number of sub-chieftains. The early years of chieftaincy were difficult for him, however, and in 1540 the MacDermots, the MacRannells, the O'Reillys and even Brian Ballagh's own son Conn, 'with a large party of the men of Breifne', were at war with him. In the same year Brian Ballagh finished building, or perhaps rebuilding, the castle in Leitrim. The attempt to overthrow Brian Ballagh by this broad alliance was unsuccessful (Maginn 2007).

In September 1542 Brian Ballagh, of his own volition, travelled to Maynooth, Co. Kildare, in order to submit to the authority of Henry VIII. He was thus participating in the Tudor policy known as 'surrender and regrant'. In return for recognising the authority of the king and surrendering to him his lands, a Gaelic chieftain would have these lands returned to him and hold them by feudal charter (Maginn 2007, 439). That Brian Ballagh was a voluntary participant in this is perhaps an indication that he did not want to get left behind in political developments in

Ireland. In 1545 war broke out between Brian Ballagh and the son of O'Connor Sligo. In the same year the O'Rourke chieftain led an attack on the O'Kellys. It is against this background of warfare and the struggle to consolidate his power that we find the earliest reference to O'Rourke's 'own town', Newtown. The very name *Baile Nua* suggests that it was a replacement for an earlier settlement. But where was this earlier settlement? It may have been a replacement for an earlier settlement possibly built up around the church that gives the townland its present name of Kilmore. Another suggestion, and the more likely, is that it was called Newtown to distinguish it from the older O'Rourke settlement at Dromahair.

Brian Ballagh died in 1562 and was succeeded by his son Hugh Gallda ('the Anglicised') O'Rourke. Having spent much of the last two decades living away from Breifne, Hugh Gallda lacked credibility among the O'Rourkes and survived as chieftain for only two years before being killed in 1564. There followed a power struggle between two of Brian Ballagh's other sons, Hugh Boy and Brian, the former having the support of the O'Neills and the latter that of the O'Donnells. In 1566 the O'Donnells killed Hugh Boy and installed Brian as chief of West Breifne. Brian was later to receive the epithet 'na Murtha'—'the destroyer of the castles' or, more usually, 'of the ramparts'. His chieftaincy was marked by almost continuous quarrelling, often spilling over into open warfare, with his fellow Gaelic lords and with the English, whose power and influence in Connacht was increasing. When Connacht was shired in 1576 West Breifne was included in County Sligo. This explains why the following year, in one of a number of short-lived cessations in his disputes with the English, Brian O'Rourke was 'of Newtown in the county of Sligo' when articles were drawn up by which he agreed with Sir Nicholas Malby to pay a rent to the queen (MacDermot 1990, 55). In 1578 his castle at Leitrim was captured by the English, but soon afterwards he came to terms with the Crown forces and in October of that year he was knighted (Lee 1909, 1159). This peace did not last long and by 1580 he was fighting the English once again. In that year Leitrim Castle was dismantled to prevent its capture, while in 1581 the *Annals of Lough Cé* reported that 'O'Ruairc's new town, and Druim-dha-eithiar [Dromahair], ie: O'Ruairc's usual residence, were broken down at the same time by O'Ruairc himself, for fear the Saxons would occupy them' (Hennessy 1871, II, 441; MacDermot 1990, 46). The proximity of the garrison at Sligo to his borders meant that both Newtown and Dromahair were now harder to defend.

The *Annals of Lough Cé* also record that in the following year, 1582, 'Dubhrath was begun by Brian [na Murtha], son of Brian, son of Eoghan O'Ruairc' (Hennessy 1871, II, 453). It is not clear what is meant by this and there is no further comment on Dubhrath in the *Annals*, possibly

because whatever was begun was not completed. The index to the published edition of the annals suggests that Dubhrath may equate with Doora, a village in the barony of Mohill in County Leitrim (*ibid.*, II, 557). Elsewhere it has been identified with Castle Duroy (Uí Ruairc 1993, 15). That Brian na Murtha should have contemplated building a new tower-house on the shores of Lough Gill at this time should be considered in the context of the general instability of the region, and, as noted above, the proximity of a garrison at Sligo, from where the English had relatively easy access to north Leitrim, meant that there would have been little opportunity to build a new fortification without it being interfered with or even stopped. Having said that, the reference in the *Annals* is only to Dubhrath being started.

In 1585 the English government in Ireland embarked on a new strategy, known as the Composition of Connacht, to extend their control over the west of Ireland. Brian na Murtha was a participant in this scheme. An inquisition was held in Dromahair before Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connacht, and Sir Nicholas Whyte on 26 September 1585 to establish the ownership of lands in West Breifne (Freeman 1936, 140). The following day the 'Indenture of Leitrim' was drawn up. The previous June Brian na Murtha had already surrendered the 'whole country of Breny O Roirck' on the understanding that these lands would be restored to him. Included in the surrender were Dromahair, Leitrim, Newtown alias Bellenwet, and Ballintogher (Nicholls 1994, 679). Now under the terms of the 'Indenture of Leitrim' the castles of Dromahair, Leitrim and 'the new towne' were granted to him along with 129 quarters of land, of which 60 quarters were to be demesne lands, rent-free (Freeman 1936, 148).

Although Brian na Murtha had done well out of the arrangement, he soon became disaffected with the government and began to withhold Composition rent. He continued to maintain Scottish mercenaries and in 1588 sheltered survivors of the ill-fated Spanish Armada (Ellis 1985, 298). Newtown has also been identified as the castle visited by Captain Francisco de Cuellar after his shipwreck off the coast of Sligo in 1588 (De Breffny 1977, 186). De Cuellar's own account does not include anything that positively identifies the house of 'Senor de Ruerque' as Newtown (Allingham 1897, 56–59). Professor J.P. O'Reilly ruled out the possibility that this was Newtown Castle on the grounds that it would have been too close to the garrison town of Sligo for O'Rourke to have considered entertaining Spaniards in it (Mac an Ghalloglaigh 1962, 66; O'Reilly 1893). Sir Richard Bingham attempted to capture Brian na Murtha in a surprise raid on his house, which was described as 'being situate on a plot of ground environed about with a great lough'. The raiding party was discovered and O'Rourke fled in a boat across the lough and from there into the 'woods and fastnesses of the country'

(Hamilton 1885, 143). This stronghold has been identified as Newtown Castle (MacDermot 1990, 62; De Breffny 1977, 186), though Dromahair has also been suggested (Mac an Ghalloglaigh 1962, 63). The description of the site of the castle, especially its proximity to the lough, would fit the former better, however.

In the spring of 1590 the government, exasperated by O'Rourke's behaviour, embarked on a determined effort to suppress Brian na Murtha (Ellis 1985, 298). He fled West Breifne, first seeking shelter in Tyrconnell before going to Scotland. Rather than providing him with a safe haven, however, the Scots King James VI surrendered O'Rourke to the English. He was imprisoned in the Tower of London, where he stood trial in November 1591. Found guilty of treason, he was executed at Tyburn. In 1592, in the aftermath of his death, Sir Richard Bingham prepared a report on 'O'Rourke's country' in which he described the baronies of which it was composed. Of the two baronies in the north of this country, Dromahair, known as 'Brenny O'Rourke', was noted as being 'most champaign ground and the best land in all the country'. Here was O'Rourke's 'ancient castle'. On the other hand, much of the barony of Rosclogher was a 'fast country full of bogs and woods', though part of it was 'very fruitful'. Newtown Castle is included in this report but its description is rather curious: 'O'Rourke's house, called the Newton, is in none of these baronies, but standeth upon the border of the country, near to Sligo, and hath belonging unto it 8 quarters of land in demesne called Moyghhellys' (Hamilton 1885, 464). The suggestion is that Newtown Castle and the lands attached to it were in a district all of their own. This may have been Bingham's impression, and later surveys place Newtown in the barony of Rosclogher. It is possible, however, that the castle was in a kind of 'no man's land', a buffer zone between the territory of the O'Rourkes and that of the O'Connors.

Newtown does not seem to have played a major role in the Nine Years War; certainly it does not feature in the various military campaigns. However, a map thought to date from *c.* 1603 (see frontispiece), and entitled 'A true description of the norwest of Ireland ... truly collected and observed by Captane John Baxter. Finished by Baptista Boazio', shows three towers skirting the shores of Lough Gill on its eastern side. One is likely to be Dromahair, while the two others might be Castle Duroy and the tower-house on the site of Parke's Castle. This suggestion cannot be proved conclusively and the map itself may not be entirely accurate, though in many other ways it does give a remarkably precise representation of the north-west of Ireland. All three towers display flags, giving the impression that each was occupied. If the suggested identifications of these castles are correct, then it would seem that Castle Duroy and the tower-house at Parke's Castle were in use at the same time. Nevertheless, this does little to solve the riddle of which of the tower-houses is being

referred to in contemporary documents when Newtown is mentioned. It might well have been the case that both were garrisoned during the Nine Years War because of the particular circumstances of the time, but that one of them had lain dormant for some time before this.

Brian na Murtha's son, Brian Oge, was actively involved in the war and was closely allied to Hugh O'Donnell, chieftain of Tyrconnell, though at different times he also sided with the English. He was the last of the Gaelic chieftains to surrender. He died at Galway in January 1604 (Mac an Ghalloglaigh 1963). The previous September the king had instructed his lord deputy to grant Teige O'Rourke, Brian Oge's half-brother, 'the country or lordship of Breny Irowke and Muinter Eoluis, otherwise called O'Rourke's country' (Russell 1872, 84–5). Teige had found favour with the English officials in Dublin and had fought alongside the forces of the Crown in the final stages of the war. Very soon after Brian Oge's death the grant of the lands that their father had received under the terms of the Composition of Connacht was confirmed to Teige (NAI, Lodge MSS, Records of the Rolls, II, 26–7). This included the 'castles, lordships or manors' of Dromahair, Leitrim and Newtown. He did not live long to enjoy them, however.

Plantation period

In the early seventeenth century, as part of the scheme for the Plantation in Leitrim, Newtown was transferred from O'Rourke possession to British ownership. The Leitrim Plantation 'hung upon the crown's title to the lands' of Brian na Murtha (Treadwell 1998, 140–1), whose seigniory of West Breifne, including his demesne lands of Dromahair, had been passed by letters patent to his son, Teige O'Rourke. On the latter's death in 1606–7 his young son and heir Brian (1599–1641) became a royal ward. Ten years later a jury found Brian O'Rourke and his brother illegitimate on the grounds that their mother had been previously married and her divorce was not valid. In the absence of a legitimate male heir these lands of Dromahair etc. reverted to the Crown. The Plantation of Leitrim has been expertly charted by Brian MacCuarta, who points out that 'the plantation in 1620 of the Gaelic O'Rourke lordship in Leitrim represents a stage in the development of plantation policy' (MacCuarta 2001, 297–8). These state-sponsored plantations were designed to Anglicise Ireland and bring it into closer conformity with the social and economic norms prevailing in England. At a strategic level Leitrim formed part of the Shannon corridor.

There was relatively little opposition to the Plantation in Leitrim. This can be partly accounted for by the lack of local leadership around which opposition to the Plantation scheme could gather (*ibid.*). Brian O'Rourke

was young and inexperienced. He was also absent during the most crucial phase, having been sent to England to be educated. This was to remove him from the scene as much as anything else. In 1620 he was involved in a drunken brawl and imprisoned in London. By this stage plans for the Plantation were well under way. In 1615 inquisitions had been taken into king's title in Leitrim. The surveying of Leitrim and Longford was under way in the summer of 1617. It was convenient for the government that the local native lord of Leitrim was in prison in London just prior to his coming of age, 'while his disputed inheritance was being settled and pending the plantation of his territory'. In the power vacuum the natives submitted to the Plantation before Christmas 1620 (*ibid.*, 298). Brian himself refused to acquiesce in the scheme and was committed to the Tower (Treadwell 1998, 140–1).

Leaving aside bishopric lands and former monastic estates, there were 74,729 profitable acres in Leitrim, out of which was to be deducted land for glebe, land for a corporate town and a free school. This left 69,843 acres to be planted, half of which was to be given to the undertakers (34,921; Treadwell 2006, 674–5). The role envisaged for the undertakers was akin to that for the servitors in Ulster, for they were to live dispersed among the Irish with a defensive role. It was argued that the smaller size of the proportions would mean that more grants could be made and avert the failures of the Ulster scheme (MacCuarta 2001, 299). In total there were to be 48 British undertakers in Leitrim (Treadwell 2006, 674–5). Of these, nine received grants of 1,000 acres or more. The largest grant was made out to Maxwell and was of 5,000 acres. Lord Grandison received 3,974 acres, while James Maxwell, Sir William Irving, Sir Frederick Hamilton and Captain Fortescue each received 1,500 acres. Three estates of 1,000 acres were allotted to Sir James Craig, John Waldron and James Creighton. There was a further grant of 2,500 acres to Lord Balfour, though this was in return for surrendering lands in Scotland and was not subject to the conditions of the Plantation (*ibid.*, 673); these lands were to be held in fee simple rather than *in capite*.

The Plantation was designed to create a new social order based on the model of English rural society. Unlike the Ulster Plantation scheme, where the aim was to establish colonies of British settlers distinct from the native population, the midlands plantations sought the restructuring of native society through their incorporation into the new social order. Provision was made for the incorporation of a town in Leitrim (Jamestown) and the creation of market centres, which led to the transformation of the economy. Only undertakers with more than 1,000 acres were to hold their lands by knight's service (*in capite*). Those holding less than that held their lands by common socage, a tenure that did not require stringent military obligations. This meant that the undertakers with the

largest proportions were to be responsible for the security of the Planter community as a whole (MacCuarta 2001, 304). The government hoped to prevent the consolidation of estates into a few hands—all the more important when British settlement was already thinly distributed (*ibid.*, 306).

As was the case in Ulster, the grantees of lands in Leitrim were required to fulfil certain conditions. These covered building obligations, leasing policy and manorial jurisdiction. As far as the building requirements were concerned, an undertaker of 5,000 acres was expected to build within three years a 'strong castle of stone or brick with lime, of 44 foot in length, 23 foot in breadth, and 30 foot high, with a bawn of 320 foot in compass and 14 foot high of like materials'. An undertaker of 1,000–2,000 acres was expected to erect within three years a 'castle of 30 foot length, 20 foot broad, 25 foot high, the wall to be built with stone or brick with lime, and compassed with a bawn of 300 foot and 14 foot high, of stone or brick with lime'. An undertaker of 600–1,000 acres had to build a 'strong house within a bawn of stone or brick with lime, 200 foot in compass', while an undertaker of less than 600 acres should build a 'house of stone or brick with lime' (Treadwell 2006, 670–3).

Unlike in Ulster, there was no requirement to introduce colonies of British settlers. As Brian MacCuarta (2001, 306) observes: 'A transformation of social relationships, led by the removal of the O'Rourke lordship and its replacement by new-style landlords, was deemed sufficient'. An undertaker of 1,000 acres was required to do no more than create one British freehold containing 200 acres of profitable land, whereas an undertaker of 1,500 acres was to create two British freeholds, one of 200 acres and the other of 120 acres. The freeholder was himself 'to build and enclose within a reasonable time'. Every 1,000 acres granted was to be made a manor with power to create tenures, with a court leet and 400 acres in demesne. The pattern of settlement envisaged was to be along the lines of southern England. Undertakers and natives were to 'build in towns and a *nominae penae* in the patent to restrain such as build dispersedly'. Four markets were to be created in Leitrim and fairs at the lord deputy's discretion. Somewhat optimistically, there was a hope that the new landed élite would be resident on their estates. A covenant in the undertaker's patent stipulated that he should reside except if he had licence to be absent by the lord deputy, in which case he was to provide a 'sufficient agent' to manage his affairs.

Courtiers and royal servants featured among the grantees—a group who were unlikely to make a serious go of the Plantation. Other grantees were Irish officials and junior army officers. A handful had already established a landed base in the county. Henry Crofton had been consolidating his landholding in Mohill barony since 1612.

From the autumn of 1619 Crofton was acquiring the proportions of five local Gaelic landholders, increasing the extent of his property by 700 acres (MacCuarta 2001, 314–15). He was granted 600 acres as an undertaker. By 1617 the settler Walter Harrison was living in what had been the Franciscan abbey of Creevelea; he had thatched part of the roof at his own expense and was charging fees for burials. He was granted 573 acres as a native and 200 as a planter (*ibid.*, 314, n. 55). Robert and James Maxwell, long-standing courtiers, were granted 5,000 and 1,500 acres (Treadwell 1998, 145). These adjacent properties were designed from the outset to form the single domain of Dromahair at the heart of O'Rourke's country. The Maxwells, however, were merely acting as Buckingham's proxies. In September 1621 Robert Maxwell was granted the earldom of Nithsdale. Within a few months the Maxwells' lands were quietly conveyed to Buckingham's agents. Yet it was not until 2 November 1624 that the lord deputy was instructed to make out a new patent to Buckingham, the sealing of the letters patent delayed until 5 January 1627 in England but quickly followed by their enrolment in Ireland. Victor Treadwell has noted that Buckingham took over the core lands of the O'Rourke territory as a compact landholding, a move facilitated by the removal of the O'Rourkes from the scene. This suggests that the scheme was designed from the start for Buckingham's personal advantage and the patronage that the Plantation brought the Villiers family (Treadwell 1998, 145–6).

Initially progress was slow. A report from 1622 on 'The sixth and last plantation of the county of Leitrim, and of the small territories of the King's County, Queen's County and Westmeath etc.' found that only 23 of the British grantees had had their patents passed. In fact, only four of the undertakers were resident, only one of whom, Sir Frederick Hamilton, had not been resident in the county before the Plantation (Treadwell 2006, 675). Furthermore, 'There is no building by any undertaker nor any sign of any. There are not any freeholder made, nor leases, nor anything like a plantation.' The rents of lands assigned to undertakers who had not passed their patents were put towards the fines they were to pay for the building of Jamestown. Unfavourable comments on the poverty of the grantees by Sir Francis Blundell, who drafted the instructions for the Leitrim Plantation, described them as poor men who 'lurk here [England] and Scotland without making any plantation at all' (MacCuarta 2001, 307).

The estate that included Newtown was that granted to Sir William Irving. As noted above, it was reckoned to be 1,500 acres, though this was arable and pasture acreage. In addition there were another 2,086 acres of unprofitable lands. It is unclear whether the estate granted to Irving equated precisely with the manor of Newtown possessed by the O'Rourkes. Irving was a 'gentleman usher of Prince

Charles' privy council'. He was also an 'ale-house patentee', a dubious scheme to raise revenue. According to Treadwell (2006, 84–5), Irving saw this as a 'source of readily available capital' for his other Irish projects. He had little interest in developing his lands and had surrendered them by the spring of 1625. On 25 May of that year Charles I wrote to Lord Deputy Falkland on the matter of the transfer of Irving's proportion to a new owner. The king was 'graciously pleased at the humble suit of Sir William and of our well-beloved Sir John Spotswood' and agreed to the transfer 'in consideration of his faithful service done to us' (*Calendar of the patent and close rolls of Ireland, 1625–1633*, 33; Mahaffy 1900, 13).

Sir John Spottiswood (as his surname was more usually spelled) was a son of John Spottiswood, successively archbishop of Glasgow (1603–15) and of St Andrews (1615–39) (Scott 1915, 176). His interest in acquiring land in Leitrim was probably connected to the fact that his uncle, James Spottiswood, had been bishop of Clogher since 1621 (Leslie 1929, 10–11). Whether Sir John Spottiswood intended to settle on his Leitrim estate or was merely another speculator is not known. One suspects the latter because of the brief period that he actually owned the estate. On 26 July 1627 the process began by which letters patent of denization were to be issued to Sir John Spottiswood and a grant made out to him of 1,500 acres of arable and pasture and 2,086 acres of bog and wood in the barony of Dromahair (*Calendar of the patent and close rolls of Ireland, 1625–1633*, 278). There was a delay, however, in completing this process. On 19 September 1627 the king wrote to the lord deputy: 'We are informed that you have made a stay of the same grant owing to a question of debt. It is highly necessary that people who get undertaker's lands should reside on them. We order you to pass the lands at once to Sir John, and let the Sir James Erskine who is owed the debt obtain remedy at law' (Mahaffy 1900, 271). A month later, on 20 October, Spottiswood was granted a licence to alienate lands in County Leitrim to Sir Roger Jones and Henry Park (*Calendar of the patent and close rolls of Ireland, 1625–1633*, 248). Whether this was the entire estate or only a portion of it is unclear. What is clear is that by 18 November 1628 the estate was in the possession of Robert Parke, to whom a licence was granted to hold a weekly market on a Monday at Newtown and two fairs per annum on 3 May and 4 October (*ibid.*, 393).

The Parke family

The Parke family first appear in Sligo in the early seventeenth century. According to Archdeacon O'Rorke (1889, 461), the Parkes came to Sligo with Sir Roger Jones, who was appointed constable of Sligo Castle in 1606. Another source (NLI MS 8316) has the Parkes originating in

Malmaine in Kent. The identity of the Henry Park to whom Sir John Spottiswood was permitted to alienate certain lands is not clear. There is no further mention of him and the name may have been written in error. The man most associated with the castle was Captain Robert Parke, who was possibly the same as 'Robert Parke de Sligo' who appears as one of the jurors at an inquisition held in Sligo on 24 September 1627 (Wood-Martin 1892, 60). Robert Parke was the son of Roger Parke and his wife Alice Jones. She was the daughter of Griffith Jones of Ruthin in Denbighshire, Wales, and sister of Roger, later Sir Roger, Jones of Sligo. Roger Jones was a prominent figure in Sligo in the early seventeenth century. In addition to being constable of Sligo Castle, in 1612 he became the first provost of the borough of Sligo. Through various transactions he had built up a significant estate by the time of his death in 1635. He was buried in a specially constructed chapel at St John's Church in Sligo; his monument survives, though it is now broken and incomplete. He was married to Mary Smith, daughter of Roger Smith of Crakemarsh in Staffordshire, but they had no children. His will, dated 9 August 1635, mentions his nephews Robert and William Parke, sons of his sister Alice (Smith 2006, 5–6, 362–3).

Robert Parke married Ann, daughter of Sir Edward Povey. The Poveys may have come from the Cheshire/Welsh border. Sir Edward was based in County Roscommon, where he had acquired various lands in the early seventeenth century. For example, in 1632 he was granted the rectories and tithes of a large number of parishes in that county by virtue of a lease for lives, the lives being his sons Allen, Charles and Edward junior (*Calendar of the patent and close rolls of Ireland, 1625–1633*, 601). In 1659 'Allin Pouey Esq.' was a tituladoe in St John's parish, Athlone barony, County Roscommon (Pender 1939, 590). Robert Parke had at least four children: William, Robert, Margaret and Ann. His brother William was the ancestor of the Parkes of Dunally (O'Rorke 1889, 461). The Parke family were clearly well established in the Sligo area by the 1620s and had the connections and capital to venture into the land market created by the Plantation scheme in neighbouring Leitrim. The Newtown estate was ideally placed to allow them to operate simultaneously in both counties.

The lands in Robert Parke's possession at the end of the 1630s were itemised in a grant of 16 June 1639 (NAI Lodge MSS, Records of the Rolls, vi, 306–7). This had been issued by the Commission for Defective Titles established by Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, in the late 1630s to investigate land titles. The lands in question were:

Newtowne, Carrickanurrower & Carrigdrinleagh,
Kilmore, Turboy, Cargen=Ilonys(?), Faaghlougart,
Drisane, Carrigfaddy, Shraghmore, Shraghtawny,
Fawnelyne, Carraghan, Doone als Done, Fanowne,

> Bannagher, Monedoogh, Fawnarry, Lackane, Corquillane, Lyssuane, Cornelaghtaghbegg, Pontanagh, Sprenagh, Cornelaghtaghmore, Moragh & Ballinebole, Glaneige, Leane, Knockskawy & Coouragh, als Coreh in Gortneskeagh, next to Killinny.

Under the terms of this grant, Parke's son William was to inherit the lands on his father's death. Parke's wife, however, was to receive one third of the estate for her own use during her widowhood. Parke was also permitted to set aside another third of the estate for 30 years to provide for younger children and payment of his debts.

The settler community in north Leitrim *c.* 1640

The consolidation of landownership in Leitrim mirrored developments in the Ulster Plantation and took place despite attempts by the government to prevent it. In 1622 there was an injunction that '… no undertakers shall alien their lands to one another without special license, lest the lands should come into the hands of a few and the plantation come to nothing' (Treadwell 2006, 675). By 1641 the majority of the original British grantees had disposed of their lands (MacCuarta 2001, 315). In some cases established landowners were able to extend their holdings. Robert Parke acquired the 400 acres granted to William Barker on the shores of Lough Garadice, while Sir Frederick Hamilton took over the lands originally allocated to William Sydney and William Nesbitt (Mac an Ghalloglaigh 1971, 250). In others, newcomers were able to get a foothold in the county. At Lurganboy, near Manorhamilton, Thomas Abercromby, the son-in-law of the Fermanagh Planter Sir John Dunbar, established a base on an estate he had acquired from James Creighton (MacCuarta 2001, 315, n. 59; Mac an Ghalloglaigh 1971, 250). Resident landowners were also able to extend their holdings through mortgage. Thus Robert Parke had a mortgage of 1,000 acres from Con O'Rourke in Killasnet parish (PRONI, Books of survey of distribution, Co. Leitrim, D/1854/1).

Within a relatively short space of time there emerged a distinct British landowning group that was particularly strong in north Leitrim. Here the settlers were very much orientated towards Fermanagh and Cavan to the north and Sligo to the west. The influx of settlers to Leitrim as a result of the Plantation scheme was small in comparison with many parts of Ulster. Nonetheless, a distinct settler community had emerged by the beginning of the 1640s. The dominant figure in north Leitrim was Sir Frederick Hamilton, a younger son of Lord Claude Hamilton, who had been a prominent supporter of Mary, Queen of Scots.

Three of Sir Frederick's older brothers had received lands in the barony of Strabane as part of the Ulster Plantation scheme. While significant changes were introduced, the area could hardly be said to have been transformed. For one thing, the number of British settlers was probably small. As has already been noted, the requirements to introduce settlers from England and Scotland were minimal. Nonetheless, there were small British settlements in a number of places, such as around Newtown Castle and the garrisons of Jamestown and Carradrumruske. New industries were introduced in the form of ironworks at Lough Melvin and Lough Allen (MacCuarta 2001, 316).

As far as the infrastructure of the region is concerned, several notable castles were constructed and a number of new towns and villages were established. The three most important castles in north Leitrim were Dromahair, Manorhamilton and Newtown, all of which survive as upstanding ruins. The first of these was built on lands acquired by the duke of Buckingham, which were transferred to William Villiers of Brookesby, Leicestershire, in 1628 (Mac an Ghalloglaigh 1971, 248). He was given four years to build a castle with specified dimensions—60ft long, 24ft wide and 32ft high, with a bawn of 400ft encompassed with a stone wall 14ft high. The castle at Manorhamilton was built by Sir Frederick Hamilton, probably in the mid-1630s (Rooney 2004, 37). It included an orchard and gardens (MacCuarta 2001, 317, n. 66). Both of these castles were new builds: there is no evidence of an earlier structure on either site, though the castle at Dromahair overlooks O'Rourke's Hall. Parke's Castle is different, however, in that it incorporates an earlier castle on the site. Parke's task was therefore to adapt an existing structure to fulfil the building conditions of the Plantation and also to provide him and his family with a home.

It is not possible to put a precise date on when Parke moved to Newtown and stamped his own mark on it. Directly over the entrance to the bawn through the gatehouse is a square recess. The present stone set into it is of recent date, but it is likely that a much earlier stone was placed here. This probably featured the Parke coat of arms and possibly even a date of significance in the family's occupation of the site. When John O'Hart was researching his monumental *Irish pedigrees*, he wrote to Roger Parke of Dunally, who had purchased Parke's Castle in 1871, asking him whether he knew anything of the missing stone. Parke replied on 15 November 1886 with the following comments on the stone:

> 'There is some mystery as to the removed stone that was over the newer Castle gate: some say it went to Hazelwood and was (buried) in the garden there; others reckon it was thence removed to Lisadill. I enquired from the deceased Right Hon. John Wynne whether he knew anything about it,

but he told me he had never heard of such a stone. My deceased old Newtown herd, Francis Cunningham, said he heard there was on it '609' (probably '1609'), at which period I would infer said castle was built, from its Tudor architecture' (O'Hart 1892, 675).

A date of 1609 is most unlikely, given what is known of developments in north Leitrim at this time. In the early twentieth century Lord Walter Fitzgerald also investigated the missing stone. He was informed that it had been removed to Hazelwood 40 years previously by the Wynne family and 'buried beneath a bush'—for what reason Fitzgerald could not discover, nor could his informant tell him (Fitzgerald 1912). It would seem that a certain amount of local folklore had grown up about the inscribed stone, but the fact remains that its current whereabouts are unknown.

Although no documentary evidence has been found to determine exactly when Parke moved to Newtown, it was probably around 1630 or shortly thereafter. Certainly he was here by December 1635, when he appears as a creditor in the Irish statute staple records (Ohlmeyer and Ó Ciardha 1999, 131). In fact, Parke appears four times in these records between 1628, when he was still of Sligo and denoted a gentleman, and 1639, when he had risen to esquire. The sums he was lending ranged from £80 to £300. While not huge sums, even by the standards of the day, they do indicate that he had resources to acquire land and build on it.

As was the case on many, though by no means all, settler estates, a small village developed close to Parke's Castle, though very little is known about its population size and social composition. The so-called 'census' of 1659 records 59 poll tax-payers in 'New towne', fifteen (or roughly a quarter) of whom were English, the remainder being classified as Irish (Pender 1939, 567). Whether this was comparable with the situation two decades earlier is not known, but it is possible that prior to the disruption following the outbreak of the 1641 rebellion the population of the village and the proportion of its inhabitants who were English were both greater. The primary purpose of the village was probably to serve as a focus for the redistribution of agricultural produce through the weekly market and annual fairs. Although the occupational structure of the village cannot be retrieved, there seems to have been a small artisan class. A weaver named William Bryan is known to have been living in the village in 1641 (Hammilton and Cole 1645, 81). There was also a mill. This was probably on the slope to the north of the castle and would have been watered by the stream flowing down from that hill into Lough Gill.

As in other planted areas, there was a degree of cooperation between native and newcomer. The newcomers could be on good terms with Irish gentry, sharing local government responsibilities. Sir Frederick Hamilton had been on good terms with the father of Teige O'Connor Sligo, while Walter Harrison's foster-father was Cormick MacRobert MacTernon (MacCuarta 2001, 316). The settler landlords depended on the Irish to tenant their estates. Other Irishmen attained positions of some importance within the management of estates. For example, Mullmurry O'Diggennan was Parke's 'bailiff or husbandman' (Hammilton and Cole 1645, 72). Parke also showed that he had an appreciation for Irish culture in having an Irish harper, Dermond O'Farry. By the beginning of the 1640s Parke was 'a well-established settler on the Leitrim–Sligo border' (Clarke 1999, 224). Archdeacon O'Rorke (1889, 461) wrote that he 'occupied as high a position in the county as any man of his day'. His estate was reckoned to be worth £1,000 per annum and he was 'of very good repute and esteem amongst his neighbours' (Hammilton and Cole 1645, 7). He was a justice of the peace and an MP in 1641, having been returned in a by-election before 28 July 1641, probably for Roscommon and, if so, possibly through the influence of his wife's family (Clarke 1999, 224, n. 140).

The castle during the 1640s and 1650s

The 1641 rising and the ensuing decade of turmoil had a major impact on the fortunes of the Parke family and their castle. The rising began on the evening of 22 October 1641, when several places of importance in east Tyrone were seized by the forces led by Irish Catholic gentry. The disturbances quickly spread and within a few days they had reached south Leitrim. North Leitrim remained relatively peaceful for a further month, but by late November sporadic violence had developed into warfare (Mac an Ghalloglaigh 1965). Parke's Castle is mentioned only once and only in passing in the Depositions for County Leitrim. This was in the deposition of James Stevenson, the minister of Kiltaughtur, who testified that all the native Irish in Leitrim had risen in rebellion with the exception of those in a small number of garrisons, among them Newtown (Trinity College Dublin, MS 831, f. 5). A number of other surviving contemporary accounts show, however, that Parke's Castle played an important role in the conflict in the Sligo–Leitrim area.

In the immediate aftermath of the outbreak of the insurrection the castle proved a place of refuge for many of the local settlers, as well as a few individuals from further afield. The weaver William Bryan was allowed to bring his looms inside the castle by Parke and there worked for the captain and others who would pay him (Hammilton and Cole 1645, 81). Another tradesman inside the castle was Thomas Whitticomb, the black-

smith, though he may have been based there even before the rising. Among those who fled for safety to the castle was Parke's younger brother, William, who had been living in Dromahair Castle. Upon hearing of the outbreak of disturbances, he transferred the goods in his possession to the friars at 'Crimley' (Creevylea), half a mile away, for safekeeping. He then locked the castle gates and left with his wife for Newtown Castle (*ibid.*, 69–70). Others inside the castle included Benjamin Alexander, a clerk who, upon rumour of the rebellion, left Sligo and went to Parke, with whom he remained (*ibid.*, 85). Edward Braxton was another who fled to Newtown, but he remained there for only a short while before moving on to Manorhamilton (Wood-Martin 1892, 198).

Some within the settler community tried to carry on as normal or were prevented from fleeing by the Irish. After William Parke had fled from the castle there, Thomas Powell, a mason, remained at Dromahair for a further five weeks despite being continually harassed and receiving death threats. Eventually he begged the Irish to allow him safe passage to a place of refuge, but was only permitted to go to Newtown, not Manorhamilton. All but one of his cows was taken from him. Other settlers in this area had similar experiences (Hammilton and Cole 1645, 70). In the following months others among the settler community in north Connacht found refuge in the castle. William Murray, a weaver, had been at Kilkenny Castle in County Mayo at the outbreak of the rebellion. He and a fellow Scot, Edward Maxwell, decided to head east towards Manorhamilton, but about New Year's Day (25 March) 1642, when passing by Parke's mill near 'the New-town', the two of them were seized by one of the 'rogues', as Murray described them. The two Scots were advised to go to Newtown, where Murray was employed by Parke in standing sentry, in various duties about the castle and sometimes in working at his trade (*ibid.*, 82).

Although Englishmen found service with Parke—such as William Parkenson, his butler (*ibid.*, 80)—there were also several Irishmen in his employ. Owen Mac O'Bryan was one of his sergeants (*ibid.*, 82). His footman was Loghlan O'Diggennan, son of Mullmory O'Diggennan, Parke's husbandman. Another of Parke's servants was Anthony Collercarway, possibly another Irishman (*ibid.*, 81–2). Thomas Powell claimed that Parke 'kept divers Irish servants', none of whom went to church (*ibid.*, 69). Thus those within the walls were a broad mix of English and Irish, with some Scots and Welsh as well. There is some evidence for an underlying tension between the British and Irish within the castle. One of the British soldiers, Roger Guise, told Revd Benjamin Alexander that he had received a 'box on the ear' from one of Parke's Irish footmen for speaking out against Owen O'Rourke (*ibid.*, 86). The garrison's strength at this time numbered between 50 and 70 men, besides wives and children. In all,

there were perhaps 150 people crowded within the walls by the spring of 1642.

Parke's behaviour during this period was a puzzle for many, both for his own men and those looking on from a distance. Sir Frederick Hamilton viewed Parke with considerable suspicion; at times the Englishman infuriated him with his apparent vacillation and reluctance to take on the rebels militarily. From Parke's perspective, it was vital for his own survival to maintain the goodwill of both the Irish and the English. Mary O'Dowd (1991, 101, 121) makes the point that initially many of the Protestant landlords in the area barricaded themselves into their castles and tried to avoid getting drawn into the conflict. However much this frustrated Hamilton, Parke chose it as his course of action. George Heath, Parke's sergeant, quoted the following statement reputedly made by Parke to justify his inactivity: 'I will do nothing which will provoke the country against me' (Hammilton and Cole 1645, 77).

In conversation with his harper, Dermond O'Farry, Parke said, in response to a claim that the Irish were acting on the king's orders, 'We must all do as the king will have us do, but until the truth of this appear, I will keep myself quiet and meddle as little as I can' (*ibid.*, 78). The Irish in rebellion do not seem to have viewed Parke's garrison as a threat. For example, Thomas Powell testified that on numerous occasions he heard Owen O'Rourke's soldiers 'brag, that the Newtown they held it their own' (*ibid.*, 70). According to Sir Frederick Hamilton, Parke had an understanding with the Irish that they would not interfere with him until Manorhamilton had first been taken (Mac an Ghalloglaigh 1966, 76–7). In the words of one historian, 'His only chance of survival was to steer a course of neutrality as far as possible and hope for the best' (*ibid.*). That he did not flee to Sligo or even to Dublin is interesting and perhaps indicates that Parke thought that the conflict would be of short duration and that normality, or something akin to it, would be restored fairly quickly.

In assembling evidence against Parke, Hamilton took numerous depositions from those who were in the castle in 1641–3. A few examples will illustrate the range of allegations made against him. On the morning of 20 January 1642 Owen Mac O'Bryan was 'brushing his master's cloths' when news of a horseman at the gate arrived. The horseman was O'Bryan's kinsman, Maurice Mac O'Bryan, who had previously been in the service of George Crofton and was now with Captain Brian MacDonaghie. With about half a dozen others, Maurice Mac O'Bryan was on his way to Manorhamilton. Owen Mac O'Bryan would have had them seized, but Parke, who was in his bed, did not interfere. At that time there were 60–70 able men inside the castle ready to fight. Another example of how Parke tried to be as accommodating as possible to the Irish in rebellion can be seen in the way he readily agreed to have Brian

Ballagh O'Rourke's cloth woven inside his castle. George Heath, Parke's sergeant, testified that Brian Ballagh sent to Parke a web of 40 yards of broadcloth to be woven by Parke's weaver, William Bryan (Hammilton and Cole 1645, 73). Bryan in turn employed William Murray to carry out the work (*ibid.*, 81). Parke had no objection to this and instructed Murray to work uninterrupted at the cloth.

In another episode involving Brian Ballagh O'Rourke, the Irishman kept his cows close by Parke's Castle, where 'they daily and peaceably grazed' with three or four herds to look after them. Parke had expressly forbidden his men to interfere in this, even though they and their families were famished from food shortages within the castle. Eventually, in desperation, some of the men clambered over the ramparts and made a nighttime sortie to where the cattle were being kept. Seizing thirteen cows, they brought them back to the castle. Upon learning what had happened, Parke was furious and made them return the cows immediately. The next night the same soldiers made a second raid out into the countryside around the castle and captured some sheep. These were slaughtered as soon as they were brought back to the castle, which, though provoking Parke's ire, meant that he could do little about it (Hammilton and Cole 1645, 73). On another occasion a poor Englishman named Thomas Norman and his wife took and killed one of Brian Ballagh's cows. They and their children had been turned out of the castle a short time before this. Parke reputedly told the Irish to do what they pleased with them for killing the cow (*ibid.*, 84). There were some benefits, however, to having Brian Ballagh's cows grazing close by the castle: Newtown was supplied with milk every day from this herd (*ibid.*, 77). Parke could also see the Irish ploughing from his window but did nothing about it.

On 30 January 1642 Hamilton and the inhabitants of Manorhamilton took refuge inside the walls of the castle. Hamilton felt abandoned by his neighbours, especially Parke and Sir William Cole of Enniskillen, who ignored his appeals for men and supplies (Mac an Ghalloglaigh 1966, 72). The lines of communication between Manorhamilton and Newtown remained open, however. On one occasion Hamilton sent a relieving party to Newtown. As it seemed to the officer in charge of this expedition that the castle was in no danger, he asked Parke to spare him 30 of his men. This Parke refused to do, even though encouraged to do so by his own officers. In response to their entreaties Parke said that 'it was well for him if he could defend himself and his till aid come, without provoking or doing anything to draw the country upon himself' (Wood-Martin 1892, 62). Hamilton was infuriated at Parke's conduct and procured a commission from the lords justices and council in Dublin to remove from the garrison at Newtown whatever soldiers he thought fit. Accordingly, twenty of Parke's soldiers were

redeployed at Manorhamilton. In June Hamilton sent twenty cattle as supplies to Parke, sending a large escort with them, including the twenty soldiers previously removed from Parke's garrison. Though there were strict orders that these soldiers should return to Manorhamilton, Parke refused to allow them to do so and they remained at Newtown, much to Hamilton's chagrin.

Hamilton remained as proactive as ever and at the end of June assembled his troops in preparation for an attack on Sligo, then in enemy hands. Parke's castle was on the way and was a natural stopping place. Hamilton and his men arrived at Newtown shortly before midnight on 1 July 1642. Parke was summoned and the two men spoke for a time. Eventually, 'after some shuffling excuses and delays', Parke opened his gate and Hamilton's troops entered the castle. Parke was ordered to muster his garrison and upon doing so was arrested in front of them for disobedience and 'strong presumption of disloyalty'. Hamilton bolstered his own force by taking twenty of Parke's men and placed one of his own officers in charge of Newtown (Wood-Martin 1892, 64). Parke himself was forced to join Hamilton on his onward march. Hamilton's troops, now numbering 140 men, both horse and foot, marched on to Sligo, where they wreaked havoc, among other things burning the abbey. When he learned that his own castle at Manorhamilton was under threat, however, he withdrew from Sligo, initially to Newtown and then on to his own castle, accompanied by Parke and his soldiers. Close to Manorhamilton there was fierce fighting and some of Parke's men saved Hamilton's life.

In Manorhamilton Parke was imprisoned and his men disarmed. Hamilton then seized Newtown, placing a guard of his own in it. He 'also plundered, and converted to his own use, all his [Parke's] money, place, arms, household stuff, bedding, furniture, and all his other goods whatsoever, which he had then as well without, as within doors' (Hammilton and Cole 1645, 9). Hamilton would not release Parke's soldiers until they took an oath to serve under his command. Parke remained a prisoner in virtual solitary confinement in Manorhamilton for a year and a half until his case was taken up by his father-in-law, Sir Edward Povey, who appealed to the lords justices for his release, offering to enter a bond for £1,000 for his appearance in Dublin. In May 1643 the lords justices ordered Parke's release to Cole or Captain Folliott of Ballyshannon and then his conveyance to Dublin. Hamilton ignored the order and it was only after a second order that Cole secured the release of Parke from Captain Leslie, who was in charge of Manorhamilton while Hamilton was in Derry. Hamilton was furious and denounced Parke as a traitor whom he had arrested for fear that he would join with the rebels. Cole was later to claim that Hamilton's enmity towards Parke was partly driven by his coveting of the latter's lands (Mac an Ghalloghlaigh 1966, 62). The outcome

was that Parke got his castle back, along with his belongings (*ibid.*, 77–8).

How Parke spent the rest of the war is not clear. In 1644 he and his brother William were proposed for sheriff of County Leitrim, but the position went to someone else (Meehan 1908, 384). In the spring of that year Parke was out in arms with his troops, ironically fighting alongside Sir Frederick Hamilton's men against the Irish at Dromahair (Hammilton and Cole 1645, 11). In 1646 Parke's Castle was included among the strongholds in County Leitrim in Sir Robert Hannay's report, 'The state of the Province of Connaught', presented to the 'Committee of Lords and Commons for Ireland' (Hogan 1935, 195). On 10 July 1649 the castle, then held by Parliamentarians (though whether Parke himself was in command is not clear), surrendered to Lord Clanrickarde, acting on behalf of the duke of Ormond and the Royalists. Clanrickarde, writing to Ormonde from 'Sligo Campe' the day before, referred to Newtown as 'a place though not so famous in print, yet of equal strength to this fort' (Meehan 1908, 389, n. 3). The Royalists in turn had to surrender it to Commonwealth troops under the command of Sir Charles Coote on 3 June 1652, when Donough O'Hart was in charge of the castle. The articles of agreement by which O'Hart surrendered make for interesting reading. They reveal, for instance, that O'Hart's soldiers had planted corn near the castle to feed themselves that year and that O'Hart possessed a 'small boat and cotts' on Lough Gill, which he was allowed to retain (Wood-Martin 1892, 61–2). It was only after this that Parke seems to have been able to move back to his castle.

The later history of the Parke family and castle

Restored to his lands and castle, Parke resumed his role as one of the leading figures in the Sligo–Leitrim area. In 1656 he was high sheriff of County Leitrim, a position he held again in 1668 (Meehan 1908, 386). In the former year he was renting from the Commonwealth authorities the tithes of several parishes in the area (O'Rorke 1889, 462). In February 1657 we find him writing to the council in Dublin seeking advice on what to do with two tories who had surrendered to him (Dunlop 1913, 651). He was also in charge of distributing soldiers' allotments in Sligo and Tyrawley. He resumed a political career that had been aborted before it had properly started in 1641. Parke was MP for the united counties of Sligo, Leitrim and Roscommon in Richard Cromwell's parliament of 1659. He was also elected to the General Convention in 1660 as a representative of County Sligo (Clarke 1999, 224). In March 1661 he was appointed by the king to the council of Connacht (Mahaffy 1905, 266). Though little is known

of his political career, it is clear that he was regarded as a key individual in the administration of north Connacht. Parke was ideally placed to take advantage of the subsequent land settlements. On 24 July 1666 he received land grants totalling 2,833 statute acres in the baronies of Carbury and Leyny, Co. Sligo (Wood-Martin 1892, 277). In each of the next three years he was to receive further grants of land in these baronies (*ibid.*).

Parke died in the autumn of 1671. According to his funeral entry in the Genealogical Office, 'Captain Robert Parkes [*sic*] departed this mortal life the 24 November 1671 in the County of Sligoe and was intered there. He left issue one daughter, married to Sir Francis Gore, his wife now living was the daughter of Sir Edward Povey' (Genealogical Office, Funeral Entries vol. 16, p. 316, Parkes–Povey). His prerogative will, dated 7 October 1671, also refers to Charles Parke, second son of his nephew Roger (Betham will abstracts, NAI 1A 44 6). It is not known when Robert Parke's widow died but it may not have been long after his death, as there is no further mention of her. The castle was not abandoned immediately after Parke's death. In 1674 William Parke of Newtown Castle, possibly Robert's brother or perhaps a nephew, was high sheriff of County Leitrim (Meehan 1908, 386). The estate had passed, however, to his only surviving daughter, Ann, wife of Sir Francis Gore. In April 1678 Ann, Lady Gore, by then a widow herself, signed an agreement with her son Robert Gore 'of Newtowne' Esq. which was designed to make better provision for the children of Sir Francis and Lady Gore (NAI, Lodge MSS, Records of the Rolls, VIII, 28–9). Among the lands named in this indenture was the manor of Newtown. Another of the parties to the deed was William Parke of Castlecarr, Co. Leitrim, Esq., possibly the same as the high sheriff of the county in 1674. Ann, Lady Gore, was afterwards married to Percy Gethins Esq. (O'Rorke 1889, 461).

When Tadhg O'Roddy wrote his description of County Leitrim *c.* 1683 he noted that Newtown manor, which he was aware of having been owned by the O'Rourkes, was in the possession of Sir Robert Gore, though he makes no mention of the castle (Logan 1971, 329). 'Newtown' was marked as a tower on Petty's 1685 map of County Leitrim. In 1688 Parke's Castle was garrisoned by local Protestants, as were Manorhamilton and Dromahair, but no particular incident in the war affected the castle (Wood-Martin 1892, 101–2). In 1695 Sir Robert Gore was still 'of Newtown' when he was party to a deed of settlement (NAI, Lodge MSS, Records of the Rolls, IX, 408–9). He died in December 1705. In 1711 his son Nathaniel married Lettice Booth, only daughter and heiress of Humphrey Booth of Dublin. At the time of this marriage Nathaniel Gore was of 'Ardtarmon and Newtown Gore' (Mosley 1999, 1174). The former was a house probably built by Sir Francis Gore near Drumcliff Bay, Co. Sligo,

and was the family's chief residence, certainly from this time onwards. Newtown Gore was probably the name by which Parke's Castle was known at this time. Parke's Castle does not seem to have been occupied by the Gore family from the early eighteenth century onwards. The author of a tract on the O'Rourkes, written in Irish in 1714, refers to Robert Parke having been granted the manor of *Baile Nua* but has nothing to say about the castle as it then stood (Carney 1950, 265).

The castle and estate continued to be owned by the Gore family throughout the eighteenth century, though the castle rarely features in the records. In 1791 Newtown was noted as being the property of Mr Gore and was described as consisting of some twenty houses with an ancient tower on a rock nearby (Ní Chinnéide 1978, 37). The 'ancient tower' was probably Castle Duroy. Both of Cocking's prints of 1791 show Parke's Castle as ruinous, with a number of cottages to its eastern frontage (see Pls 1.2 and 2.3), while the Ordnance Survey memoir of

Manorhamilton Union, compiled in April 1837, identifies the castle as Castle Gore but incorrectly attributes its construction to the Gore family (Day and McWilliams 1998, 52). In the middle of the nineteenth century the castle and most of the townland of Kilmore were in the possession of Burton Phibbs. Griffith's Valuation and the subsequent Valuation Revision Books (Valuation Office, Dublin: Valuation Lists No. 21, Books 1–5, County Leitrim, Sramore electoral division, Kilmore townland) record the cottage at the front of the castle as Property 4a, occupied during the period 1858–80 by Francis Cunningham, with Valuation Revision Book 4 noting that John Cunningham was the occupier during the period 1880–90. By this time the property was in the ownership of Roger Parke of Dunally, a descendant of Captain Robert Parke's brother William (O'Hart 1892, 675), who had purchased the property in 1871. The caption for the illustration drawn by William Wakeman and included in Wood-Martin's book (1892, fig. 6; Pl. 2.4) states that the castle was the property

Pl. 2.5—Photograph of Parke's Castle (after Kilgannon 1926; image courtesy of Special Collections, QUB).

of 'Major Roger Parke, 3rd Dragoon Guards', while the thatched cottage also depicted in his drawing is the house occupied by the Cunningham family. Valuation Revision Book 4 records that in 1890 Property 4a became separated, with John Cunningham retaining possession of the house and its offices but with the land reverting to the Parke family. John Cunningham would seem to have remained in the house until 1915, when his name is crossed out in Valuation Revision Book 5, and it is noted that the house is 'down' at the time of the 1916 inspection. This might explain why the house is not clearly evident at the front of the castle in the photograph included in Kilgannon's book (1926, 182; Pl. 2.5). In 1914 the Congested Districts Board had acquired the Newtown property from Benjamin William Parke of Dunally for division among the surrounding tenantry. The castle was placed in the care of the Commissioners of Public Works. Today, following extensive restoration work, the castle is one of the most popular visitor attractions in the region.

Conclusion

While the historical documentation relating to Parke's Castle is not superabundant, enough has survived to provide a broad overview of the main developments on the site. There remain, however, a number of unanswered questions. One is whether or not there was an earlier Norman castle on the site. Another is the relationship between Castle Duroy and the tower-house foundations found at Parke's Castle. The written record cannot answer these questions satisfactorily and some doubt must remain. Either way, what is apparent from the records of the sixteenth century is that Newtown was part of the personal possessions of the ruling O'Rourke lord. His castle here, whichever site it was on, was in a strategically impor-

tant location and, though it may never have been his chief residence, was his home on different occasions. In the early seventeenth century, as part of the Leitrim Plantation scheme, Newtown was acquired by the Parke family (in the late 1620s), having passed through the hands of two previous Scottish owners. Captain Robert Parke, from an English family with connections to one of the leading settler families in Sligo, established his home at Newtown. He founded a village there and introduced a small settler element to the area. Parke was to play a prominent role in public affairs in north Connacht in the mid-seventeenth century. He was involved in the wars of the 1640s and in the land settlements that followed in the 1650s and 1660s. He was also an MP. On his death in 1671 the castle and estate passed to his daughter Ann, who had married Sir Francis Gore. The castle may have been occupied by the Gores for another 30–40 years but seems to have been abandoned in the early eighteenth century and allowed to fall into ruin. Within a few generations it had been reduced to an object of antiquarian interest.

The church at Parke's Castle

Some 200m to the north of Parke's Castle, on a south-facing slope in the townland of Cartron, are the remains of a small church (see Pls 2.1 and 2.6). The *Archaeological Inventory of County Leitrim* describes what survives as a rectangular stone structure, 12.1m by 5.9m, built of coarse, mortared limestone masonry with dressed quoins. There were plain limestone grave-markers within the church but no evidence of burial in the adjoining rectangular field to the north (Moore 2003, 173). As the compilers of the *Inventory* surmise, this was probably an estate church attached to Parke's Castle. This was certainly Lord Walter Fitzgerald's view in 1912, when, noting that it was marked
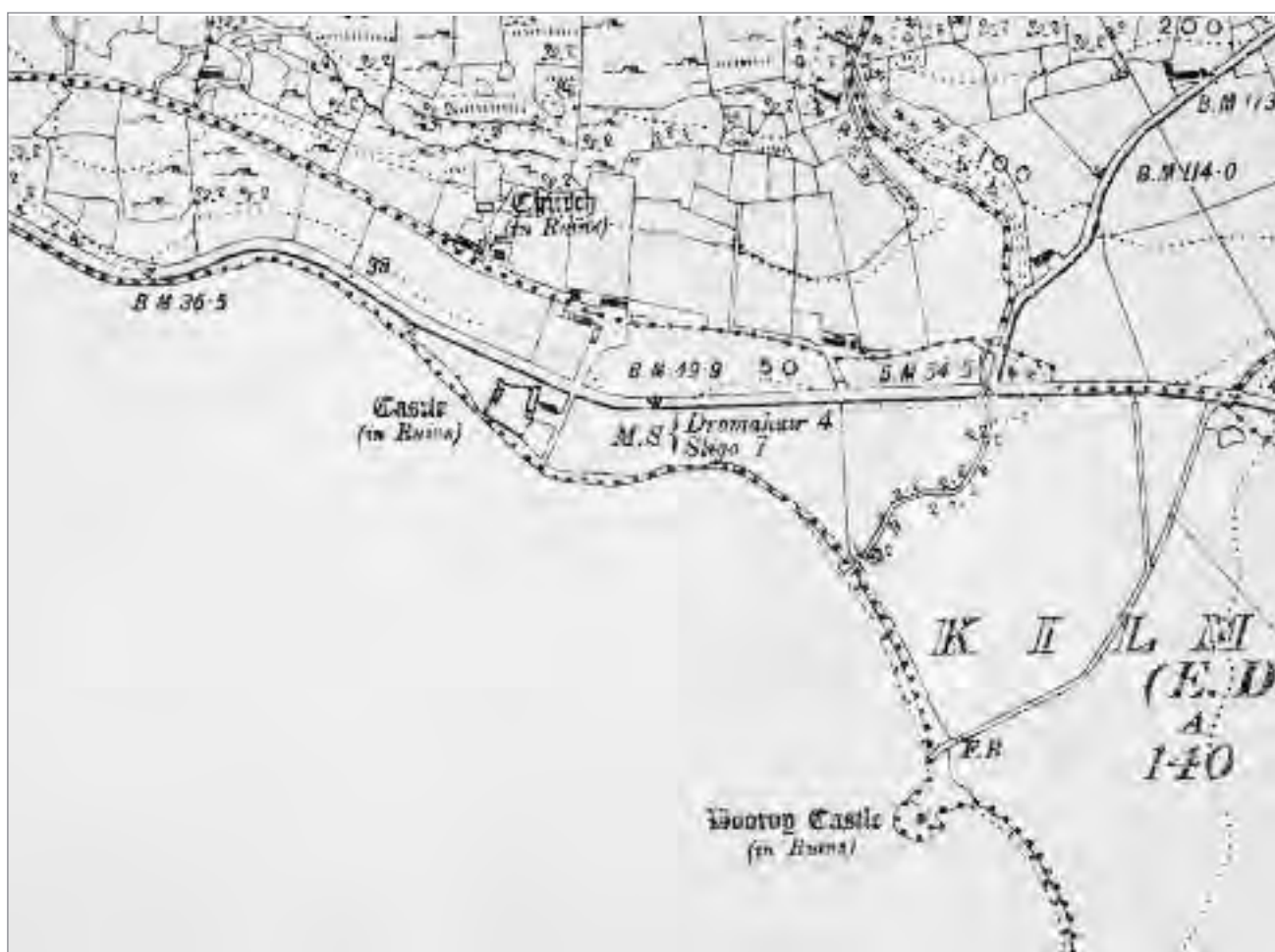
Pl. 2.6—Detail from the 1910 edition of the Ordnance Survey six-inch map (Leitrim Sheet 10), showing Parke's Castle and Cartron Church (© Ordnance Survey of Ireland; all rights reserved; licence no. EN0059212).

on Ordnance Survey maps as a 'Church', he wrote that it was 'in reality a private mortuary chapel' (Fitzgerald 1912). The purpose of the building in its latter stages certainly seems to have been as such.

Other suggestions as to the origins of the church have also been made. Revd Owen Traynor (1924, 251) drew attention to F.J. Bigger's suggestion that the church dated back to the twelfth century. He based this idea on the fact that in the Register of Clonmacnoise there is mention of a church called *Magh Anaile* near Lough Gill which O'Rourke offered to Clonmacnoise in payment for a burial plot in the soil of St Ciaran (O'Donovan 1856–7, 451). In various documents there is mention of the church of Moynealy down to the seventeenth century. While it is possible that the church in question was that in Cartron, it is also possible that it was at Carrickatemple in Shriff townland near Dromahair. If these suppositions are correct, Parke may have repaired or rebuilt an existing chapel. It was certainly not the site of the parish church, which was about half a mile south-east of Dromahair (O'Connell 1937, 132).

Revd Owen Traynor, who made a thorough examination of the building in 1930 and 1953, noted a hole at the

north-western end of the church which was called '*Poll a Phonta*', or 'pound hole'. He also wrote that carved stones from Castle Duroy were supposed to be in the church. The walled-in garden to the north of the ruined church was a cattle pound. There were formerly two fairs held on the road between Parke's Castle and the church. The Whytes, a local landed family, changed the venue of the fairs to Newtown Manor, and later on they were changed to Lurganboy. The Cartron fairs were held on 11 May and 5 December.

At one time there was a slab inside the local church commemorating two children of Robert Parke. The memorial has been of interest to antiquarians since at least the 1880s. When, on 15 November 1886, Roger Parke of Dunally responded to John O'Hart's enquiries about Parke's Castle, he noted that in the church there was a tombstone dated 1677 commemorating Robert and Maggy, children of Captain Robert Parke (O'Hart 1892, 675). Twenty-six years later Lord Walter Fitzgerald (1898–1900) included the inscription in the *Journal of the Association for the Preservation of the Memorials of the Dead in Ireland*. He noted that the Parke memorial was a flat slab within the walls of the church. It was the only one then visible,

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though it was said that three or four others were covered by debris. The inscription was lightly incised and was then almost illegible and could only be read with some difficulty. Fitzgerald gave the inscription as follows:

> HERE LYETH THE BODYES OF ROB
> ERT AND MARY CHILDREEN [*SIC*] TO
> CAP. ROBERT PARKE
> 1677

Though the inscription was difficult to decipher, it was still possible for a Mr Dowling to read almost exactly the same wording when he visited the church in the winter of 1940–1: 'Here lye the bodyes of Robert and Mary, children to Capn Robert Parke, 1677'. There is now no trace of this memorial; it was noted as missing in the *Archaeological Inventory of County Leitrim*. Revd Traynor's rough sketch-plan of the church showed the Parke memorial alongside the north wall. Traynor also found a stone inside the church marking the grave of a Protestant postman and another marking the grave of a Protestant child, and he noted that bones were sometimes dug up. It would appear that after the Parke family had ceased to be associated with the area the church continued to be used as a place of burial for the local Protestant inhabitants.

Various explanations have been offered to account for the existence of the memorial and the context in which it was erected. Owen Traynor suggests that the children were probably twins who died in infancy, though there is no other evidence for this. Certainly the memorial could not have been erected by the father of the children, as Robert Parke had died in 1671. Given Lord Walter Fitzgerald's difficulty in deciphering the stone, it would be tempting to conclude that the date was read incorrectly. Nevertheless, the fact that it was read as 1677 on three occasions—by Roger Parke, Fitzgerald and Dowling—tends to suggest that the year is correct. The date, however, need not necessarily be the year in which the children died. The inscription itself does not indicate this and it is more likely to be the year in which the memorial was erected. As Robert Parke was dead by 1677, the memorial may have been commissioned by his daughter Ann (Lady Gore) in remembrance of two deceased siblings. Nothing has been found to substantiate the facts contained on the family tree on display in the castle that Robert died aged sixteen and Maggie [*sic*] aged fourteen in 1677. Since Robert Parke's will of October 1671 made no mention of these children it is likely that they were already dead before then.

Notes

1. According to Revd Joseph Meehan (1912), the castle derived its name from one Durach O'Rourke, but there is no evidence that Durach O'Rourke ever existed. Revd Owen Traynor took the view that the true name is 'Black Fort Castle', derived from a prominent oval fort on the hill east of the castle overlooking Lough Gill (correspondence between Fr Traynor and Claire Foley).

2. Notes by Revd Owen Traynor in OPW files. Fr Traynor wrote that Colonel Whyte of Newtown Manor kept a boathouse at this castle up until 1914, when the Congested Districts Board took over this part of the estate for division among the tenants. Col. Whyte then took away the boat and boathouse, leaving the castle exposed to the fury of the waves, which undermined the structure until it fell in 1916. A contributory factor was the removal of stones from the site, which were used to build many of the CDB houses erected after 1914. Carved stones were taken from Castle Duroy to Parke's Castle in modern times for preservation.

3. Notes from files contained within the excavation site archive.

4. Notes written by Fr Owen Traynor to Claire Foley.

5. Ballintogher was in what is now County Sligo and O'Rourke's ownership of it had been challenged by O'Connor Sligo, but unsuccessfully (Maginn 2007, 450). This is the only instance of the name 'Bellenwet' being applied to Newtown; its significance is not known.

6. He and about twenty Spaniards gathered at the house of Señor de Ruerque hoping for food, but departed when they heard of the arrival of a Spanish ship able to take them home. Robert Crawford, who wrote the introduction to Allingham's edition, believed that the village belonging to O'Rourke, referred to by de Cuellar (Allingham 1897, 57, 59), was Glencar.

7. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, MS p49 (7).

8. It is also possible that the three castles were Dromahair, either Castle Duroy or the tower-house on the site of Parke's Castle and Harrison's Castle near Dromahair.

9. *In capite* is a form of tenure whereby land was held directly from the king with various military and other obligations.

10. This has been rejected by a more recent member of the family with a strong interest in the family's history, Miss Anstice G. Parke, who worked for three years in Kent and found no connection. She believed that the Richey MS (NLI MS 8316) was probably prepared for an entry in Burke's *Landed Gentry* or the like but never published. Miss Parke was also of the opinion that Richey was accurate but that William Parke of Clogher House, Drumsna, Leitrim, who was commissioning

the work from him, struck out as 'died' young people who survived, including her own ancestors. Miss Parke's views are contained in a letter to J.K. Blackwood, Architectural Research Assistant, OPW, dated 13 July 1989 (OPW file on Parke's Castle).

11. Other sources name him as Robert Parke (O'Dowd 1991, 100).

12. Anstice G. Parke to J.K. Blackwood, Architectural Research Assistant, OPW, dated 13 July 1989 (OPW file on Parke's Castle).

13. 'Tituladoe' is a term used in the so-called census of 1659 to refer to title-holders, not necessarily landowners, but freeholders as well.

14. A family tree on display in Parke's Castle contains a number of errors.

15. Sir Roger Jones built a 'strong stone house slated with a bawn' on the Leitrim/Sligo border (MacCuarta 2001, 317). Archdeacon O'Rorke also suggests that Sir Roger Jones may have had a hand in building Parke's Castle.

16. It is also true that another branch of the Gore family had a house in County Mayo with this name. A monument in the Church of Ireland cathedral in Killala commemorates Sir Arthur Gore, older brother of Sir Francis, who was of Newtown Gore, Co. Mayo, when he died in December 1697 (Fitzgerald 1898–1900).

17. Memorandum from J.L. Browne, 18 February 1941, OPW files.

3. Landscape and architecture

Colm Donnelly

Historic landscape

The historic elements of the landscape in the immediate vicinity of the castle include a ruined church some 200m to the north in the adjoining townland of Cartron (SMR Leitrim 010-36; see also this volume, 'The church at Parke's Castle', p. 18) and the site of a second castle—Castle Duroy (SMR Leitrim 010:43; see also pp xxxxx) –0.5km to the south-east and set on a narrow peninsula jutting out into the lough. The locations of the three monuments are noted on the first-edition Ordnance Survey six-inch map of 1836 (Pl. 2.1), which also appears to show traces of the landscape associated with the seventeenth-century manor house of Robert Parke. The old main road skirting its way around the shoreline lies to the north of the castle, and a lane funnels its way down from the road to the front of the complex. A number of houses cluster around the roadside and the entrance to the lane, while there is a house depicted immediately east of the castle. We might view these houses as perhaps being nineteenth-century dwellings on the sites of houses that comprised the seventeenth-century village associated with the castle. Two fairs were held each year, on 11 May and 5 December, in the road between the castle and the church, the latter reached by a lane on the northern side of the road and located up a steep path. While it is possible that this was the site of an earlier ecclesiastical centre, it is more probable that the church represents the ruins of a chapel of ease constructed for the Parke family (see p. xxx).

The map provides little by way of detail concerning the castle, although the basic outline of the complex is visible; the enclosing bawn wall is shown, as is the north-west corner tower, while a shaded rectangle denotes the location of the gatehouse, the manor house and the north-east corner tower. It is on the revised edition of the six-inch map of 1888 that we can begin to note changes that have been made to the castle, and also to its hinterland. The most obvious of these is the insertion of a new road set closer to the lough's shoreline and to the castle, thereby leaving the monument divorced from its historic hinterland. Also of note is the presence of a long rectangular building set against the inner face of the bawn's western wall. This is evidently the stable depicted in an early to mid-twentieth-century plan of the castle held in the archives of the NMS (Pl. 1.4), the foundations and cobbled surfaces of which were encountered during the excavation programme within the bawn in the early 1970s (see Section 4). The six-inch map of 1910 (Pl. 2.6) denotes that the house to the east of the manor house, in the area now laid out as lawn, was still in occupation at that time. Historical research (Section 2) has identified that this was the home of the Cunningham family, tenants who occupied the building from at least the mid-nineteenth century through to 1915, when the house was abandoned, being demolished by 1916. The bawn, however, continued to be used as an enclosed farmyard well into the mid-twentieth century.

Historical research (see Section 2) has indicated that Parke's Castle may have been abandoned by the early eighteenth century, and the earliest antiquarian views that we have of the complex, dating from 1791, would tend to suggest that this was indeed the case, since the castle is shown in a ruinous condition. The two drawings were made by Thomas Cocking, servant to Francis Grose (then compiling his *Antiquities of Ireland*) and a very fine illustrator in his own right. The first drawing (Pl. 1.2) has been made from among the ruins of Castle Duroy and looks in a north-westward direction along the shoreline towards Parke's Castle in the distance. When Parke's Castle is viewed in detail it becomes apparent that all of the principal elements of the complex are present; Cocking has depicted the roofless shell of the north-east corner tower, the manor house, the gatehouse and the south and south-east stretches of the bawn wall (Pl. 1.3). The drawing also suggests that there was a second row of three thatched cottages close to the shoreline and to the south of the house depicted on the 1836 six-inch map; indeed, it is possible to distinguish what may be the roof line of this house to the rear of the three cottages.

Cocking's second drawing (Pl. 2.3) provides more detail on the castle, viewed from the road and showing the eastern and northern aspects of the roofless complex, with a cottage to the east of the manor house and possibly the cottage depicted on the 1836 six-inch map sheet. What is also of note is the fact that all of the crenellations along the north wall's parapet are in place. By the end of the nineteenth century this was no longer the case. A line-drawing by William Wakeman (Pl. 2.4), executed from

almost exactly the same position as the 1791 view of the castle, is included as an illustration in Vol. 2 of Wood-Martin's *History of Sligo* (1892). On the whole, not much significant deterioration has occurred to the fabric of the gatehouse, the manor house or the north-east corner tower over the course of 100 years, the exception being the western end of the north bawn wall, which has been damaged and has lost four of the merlons that were depicted in 1791. It would also appear that the north-west corner tower has lost some of its wall.

Wakeman's illustration also provides a clear view of the rear of the cottage depicted on the first-edition Ordnance Survey map of 1836 (Pl. 2.1). The building has an east–west alignment, is one storey in height and has a thatched roof. Most noticeably, it has a bed outshot projecting from the rear wall. This is an architectural feature associated with vernacular houses found in Antrim, Donegal, Derry, Tyrone, Sligo, north Fermanagh and north Leitrim (Gailey 1984, 156), the projection being used to house a bed in a corner of the kitchen beside the hearth in which, traditionally, the senior occupants of the house would sleep (*ibid.*, 151). As is the case with the cottage shown in Wakeman's drawing, the outshot would usually be roofed by continuing the thatched roof over the main body of the house downwards to cover it. A smaller thatched building at the western end of the cottage was probably an outhouse.

A photograph of the castle much invaded by ivy was included in Kilgannon's book *Sligo and its surroundings* (Kilgannon 1926, 182; Pl. 2.5), but the date when the image was taken remains unknown; given, however, that the cottage to the east of the manor house does not appear in the photograph, and that this cottage had been demolished by 1916 (see above), it can be suggested that the image was taken at some time within the decade before 1926. By this date the monument is clearly in very poor condition, with what appear to be political graffiti along the exterior face of the northern bawn wall and with thick vegetation on the upper levels of the bawn wall, the gatehouse, the manor house and the north-east corner tower. Given its condition in the early twentieth century, the survival and restoration of the castle in the 1980s is all the more remarkable. When, however, the complex was formally placed in the care of the OPW through a Vesting Order dated 17 April 1940, these processes of decay were arrested.

Solid geology and soils of the site

Stephen Mandal

Parke's Castle is located in an area of complex geology, with a wide range of rock types varying in age from Proterozoic (Precambrian; > 580 million years old) to Middle Carboniferous. The stratigraphical sequence in the area of the site is shown in Table 3.1 below. The site is in an expansive area of Middle Carboniferous (Asbian) Age massive cherty calcarenite and wackestone known as the Dartry Limestone Formation. Calcarenite is essentially a coarse-grained limestone (with sandstone-sized grains), while wackestone is a form of limey mudstone with carbonate patches. Within this formation occur undifferentiated areas of polymud limestones.

The oldest rocks in the area are of Dalradian and older age, consisting of metamorphosed sediments: psammites, pelites, schists and quartzites. Igneous rocks, including volcanic and intrusive, also occur in this area in an upland faulted block running from north-east to south-west to the south of Lough Gill. To the south-east of the Proterozoic formations and also to the north-east of the site occur further Carboniferous sediments, consisting of conglomerate, sandstone shales, siltstones and variable limestones, including oolites. The limestones dominate the area.

The Proterozoic (Dalradian and older) rocks represent a complicated geological history dating back over 1,700 million years. The source rocks which today are represented by psammites and other metamorphosed rocks were sandstones deposited in a shallow sea. Over the next 1,400 million years these rocks were subjected to various episodes of uplift and intrusions. The Carboniferous sequence, which makes up much of the midlands of Ireland, represents the northward return of the sea at the end of the Devonian, *c.* 360 million years ago, owing to the opening of a new ocean to the south, called the Palaeo-Tethys, in what is now central Europe.

Bedrock is not generally exposed in the area, although it is present in various upland areas and lakeshore sections relatively close to the site. The area around Parke's Castle is covered with deposits of boulder clay, which frequently include drumlins (Aalen *et al.* 1997, 11). The soils of the area generally consist of peats and peaty gleys, but the variation in soils is as complex as, and related to, the underlying geology, and the castle is located in an area of surface-water and groundwater gleys (EPA), with podzolics, acid brown earths and Aeolian soils all occurring within a few hundred metres of the site.

Table 3.1—Geological stratigraphical sequence (see MacDermott *et al.* 1996).

Age		Formation
Carboniferous	Brigantian	Carraun Shale Formation (CN); grey/black shale with minor limestone
	Asbian	Dartry Limestone Formation (DA); massive cherty calcarenite wackestone
	Holkerian	Glencar Limestone Formation (GC); cyclical limestone, calcareous shale
	Holkerian	Benbulben Shale Formation (BB); calcareous shale with minor calcarenite
	Arundian–Holkerian	Mullaghmore Sandstone Formation (MU); sandstone, siltstone and shale
	Arundian	Bundoran Shale Formation (BN); calc-shale, calcarenite, fossiliferous
	Chadian	Dargan Limestone (DG); bioclastic argillaceous limestone, oolite
	Chadian	Moy Sandstone Formation (MO); sandstone, pebbly conglomerate, siltstone
	Arundian–Asbian	Bricklieve Limestone Formation (lower) (BKL); bioclastic cherty limestone
	Arundian–Asbian	Lisgorman Shale Formation (LG); thin-bedded calcareous shale, limestone
	Chadian–Asbian	Oakport Limestone Formation (OK); dark crinoidal calcarenite and shale
Proterozoic	Dalradian	Lake Formation; Curraghnagark Member (LKcu); schist, aluminous politic schist
	Dalradian	Liscarragh Formation (LS); psammite, quartzite, marble and volcanics
	Dalradian/older	Psammitic Paragneiss (SWQ); granoblastic quartzfeldspathic psammite
	Dalradian/older	Pelitic and Semi-Pelitic Paragneiss (SWK); granoblastic kyanite-pelite/semipelite
	Dalradian/older	Cregg House Formation (CZ); psammitic paragneiss
	-	Serpentinite (S); serpentinite
	-	Metabasite, variably altered (Mb); garnet-plagioclase-clinopyroxene
	-	Ballygawley Tonalitic Gneiss (BgTo); tonalitic gneiss, foliated
Undifferentiated	-	Mudbank Limestone (mk); polymud limestone (within Dartry Limestone Formation)
Undifferentiated	-	Area of fine-grained metabasite pods (bas); garnet-clinopyroxene or -amphibole

Architectural introduction

The historical references to an O'Rourke castle in this vicinity might be ascribed to the ruins of Castle Duroy (see Pl. 2.2), further along the shoreline. It could be suggested that Parke had established himself in the vicinity of this old seat of power but had opted to construct a new residence for himself on a new site nearby. The excavation programme, however, put an end to this story, for the discovery of the great ditch surrounding the monument and the foundations of a tower-house within the bawn indicated a more complex tale and hinted that this was the site of a major power centre before Parke arrived. From an architectural perspective, it now means that we have to integrate the ditch and tower-house into our narrative, and this in turn has implications for our interpretation of the various elements of the complex and how the monument evolved over time. In an effort to resolve the building sequence, this section will review each architectural element present at the site in detail. A consideration of how they may have interacted chronologically with each other is then provided in Section 6. The current section commences, however, with a discussion of the second castle in the immediate area of Parke's Castle—Castle Duroy.

Pl. 3.1—Left: Castle Duroy, *c.* 1926 (after Kilgannon 1926; image courtesy of Special Collections, QUB). Right: Castle Duroy, *c.* 1930 (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Castle Duroy

As has been noted, the discovery of the foundations of a tower-house within the bawn at Parke's Castle during the excavation programme in the early 1970s was an unexpected development. It had been thought that references such as that in the *Annals of Lough Cé* under the year 1546 (Hennessy 1871, II, 349) to an O'Rourke settlement at *Baile Nua*, or Newtown, were perhaps directed towards the castle located nearby along the shoreline of Lough Gill and marked on the first-edition Ordnance Survey map sheet (see Pl. 2.1). It was from this building, Castle Duroy, that Thomas Cocking, Francis Grose's servant, drew his illustration of the ruins of Parke's Castle in 1791 (Pl. 1.2). Unfortunately, it is hard to distinguish any details of the architectural form of Castle Duroy as depicted by Cocking, while little information can now be discerned from the stump of masonry that survives at the site today (Pl. 2.2). Two photographs from the early twentieth century (Pl. 3.1), however, do provide enough evidence to determine that this was indeed a tower-house. The first of these is an image included on page 181 of Kilgannon's *Sligo and its surroundings*, published in 1926 (hereafter referred to as the Kilgannon photograph), while the second photograph is curated by the Photographic Unit of the National

Monuments Service and has been dated to *c.* 1930 (hereafter referenced as the NMS photograph).

Roulston (see Section 2) has noted that the building collapsed during a storm in the winter of 1916, following stone-robbing episodes and the undermining of the monument by the waves of the lough. It would seem to be the case, therefore, that both photographs show what survived at the site after this episode. What both images display is a tall pinnacle of mortared masonry, representing the remains of one of the corners within what was originally a rectangular or (less likely, given the general morphology of tower-houses) square building. As can be seen in Pl. 2.2, the area surrounding Castle Duroy today is heavily overgrown, but this was evidently not the case in the early twentieth century. From the clues provided in both of the photographs it is possible to estimate the orientation of the building. In the NMS photograph the shoreline retreats behind the castle, while the background is framed by a line of hills. It can therefore be suggested that the photograph was taken from the south-west side of the peninsula on which the castle is located and that it is looking eastward into what was originally the interior of the building. The Kilgannon photograph reaffirms this orientation, for here the camera is positioned to the north-east of the monument and looks towards the south-

west, with the lough visible behind the castle.

The architectural detail depicted in the Kilgannon photograph is limited to a single loop positioned in the northern side of the building, and it is the NMS photograph that provides us with insight on the building's composition. The latter photograph looks into the internal north-east corner of the building and shows the northern wall, or side wall, containing the springing arch for a barrel vault, and the east wall, or end wall, housing two window embrasures. At ground-floor level there is a single-storey stone shed with a single-pitched roof constructed along the external line of the east wall and built of masonry of similar type to that of the castle, suggesting that the latter may have been the source of the material used in the construction of the shed. It should be noted that this shed is not present in the Kilgannon photograph. While the date of its publication (1926) is close to that when the NMS photograph was taken, it should not be assumed that the former image was actually made in 1926. Given this, the shed may have been constructed from the rubble of the tower-house at some point after 1916, after the Kilgannon photograph was taken but before the NMS photograph.

The NMS photograph shows that the ground-floor and first-floor chambers lay under a barrel vault. There is a common misapprehension that the vaults over main chambers in tower-houses were always located over the ground-floor level in a building; this is not the case. The study of the building series in County Limerick (Donnelly 1995, I, 157), for example, identified seven tower-houses where the lowest vault in the main chamber covered the first-floor level in the buildings. The ground-floor level in Castle Duroy lay under a wooden floor and the tell-tale sign is the presence of a putlog hole in the northern side wall next to the north-east corner; this would have housed a timber beam, running from north to south, which would have supported the floor. The first-floor chamber was under a stone barrel vault; although the vault has long since collapsed, its springing line is visible along the run of the northern side wall. What looks to be another putlog hole is located in the eastern end wall next to the north-east corner, directly below the level of the vault's springing line. It can be suggested that this was a putlog hole for a beam that supported the temporary timber supports that would have been required during the construction of the vault. In the eastern end wall at first-floor level the northern side of a window embrasure can be seen, and it would seem that the eastern jamb of the light associated with this embrasure is still *in situ*.

The second-floor level in the building was located over the first-floor vault. There is a window embrasure in the eastern end wall, while in the northern side wall the stonework suggests that there was a doorway (the western jamb has fallen with the rest of the building at this point)

leading into a mural passage with a flat stone-slab roof located in the thickness of the wall and leading into the north-eastern corner of the building. The Kilgannon photograph shows a narrow loop in the northern side wall at this floor level, indicating that this was a small ope lighting the mural passage in the north-east corner. At third-floor level the only architectural feature that remains is a mural passage in the eastern end wall, with a flat stone-slab roof, that leads into the north-eastern corner of the building.

The evidence displayed within both photographs indicates that this was once a substantial building, at least four storeys in height and of good-quality construction.

Parke's Castle

Approaching Parke's Castle along the shore road of Lough Gill, it appears that its builders sought a strategic balance between a location that would provide for water transportation and one that was overlooked to the north by high ground. From the roadside the main elements of the complex are in view (Pl. 3.2): the south-east turret on the south-eastern stretch of bawn wall, the elegant gatehouse with its semicircular arched entrance, three storeys in height plus reconstructed gabled attics under a cruciform roof, the manor house, the large circular north-east corner tower, the north bawn wall and the circular north-west corner tower. Each of these elements of the castle will be examined for what they can tell us about the development of the complex that we see today. In addition, consideration will be given to the foundations of the tower-house discovered within the bawn during the programme of archaeological excavations that took place here during the early 1970s.

A starting point for any consideration of the architectural history of the complex is the plan entitled 'Plan of Newtown Castle, County Leitrim' stored in the OPW archives (Pl. 1.4). The document is undated but presumably belongs to the early to middle decades of the twentieth century. This plan, in conjunction with the pre-conservation photographs curated by the NMS, provides us with a view of how the castle appeared in the decades before the major programme of conservation that was undertaken in the 1970s and 1980s and enables us to identify the historic condition of the complex prior to the initiation of that work. Before excavation it might have been thought that the entire complex belonged to the seventeenth century, with perhaps two phases of activity: the creation of the bawn wall, complete with the north-east and north-west towers, and a gatehouse, followed by the later insertion and erection of the manor house in the space between the gatehouse and the north-east tower. This first phase of building work might be viewed as the work undertaken by Robert Parke when he took possession of his new estate, with the

Pl. 3.2—Parke's Castle, Co. Leitrim, from the north-east (C. Donnelly).

erection of the new manor house an expression of his increased wealth and status as time went by and he became more established on his property.

The gatehouse

For visitors to Parke's Castle, the current presentation of the monument holds that the gatehouse was a small structure in the sixteenth century, contemporaneous with the tower-house, and that it was then enlarged by Parke, who took up residence within, presumably before the construction of the manor house. While it is possible that there was some form of gatehouse or gateway associated with the tower-house, what evidence exists to suggest that any of the fabric of such a building became incorporated into the gatehouse that stands today? One might perhaps expect that the entrance passageway at the ground floor would be under a stone-vaulted roof if this was the lower level of a gateway that pre-dated the construction or reconstruction of the upper floor levels in the seventeenth century, but there is no evidence in the form of a cut-away springing line for such a vault within the side walls of the passageway. The only feature present to suggest the modification of an earlier structure is the stone pieces forming the archway of the entrance on the building's external east façade, where the six stones that make up the right-hand side jamb are different in complexion from the six that make up the corresponding left-hand jamb and jamb arch. This might be used as evidence that the right side of the doorway was part of the original medieval gateway and that the remainder of the arch was rebuilt in the seventeenth century, and hence the apparent difference in the stonework. Alternatively, however, the stones on the right side could have been taken from elsewhere within the complex by Parke's masons and reused and inserted here, with new stones cut and dressed to match them for the other parts of the doorway that they were constructing. To conclude, the evidence that the gatehouse has elements of medieval fabric is not strong and one can suggest that the building we see today was constructed by Parke, perhaps in the initial phase of his occupation of the site, when it served either as his primary residential unit or as ancillary space to a timber house that was placed where the current manor house is located and where he was residing until the latter's demolition and the construction of the manor house, itself fully integrated into the space contained within the gatehouse.

The complex is entered through the gatehouse at the east side (Pl. 3.3). This is a very elegant construction, three storeys high with an attic level under a restored cruciform roof. The entrance is framed by a large, semicircular-headed doorway, with peck-decorated jambs and lintel pieces at ground level, that leads into a passageway providing access to the interior. Above the doorway's arch is a heraldic device, inserted here during the restoration programme but set within an original niche, and each floor in the building above this level is marked by very fine windows. The example at the first floor has a hood-mould and is double-mullioned, while the second-floor window is also double-mullioned but lacks a hood-mould. A pre-conservation photograph (Pl. 3.4) and an image of the conservation work in progress (Pl. 3.5) indicate that the attic gable had been demolished in antiquity and that this level in the wall was rebuilt with a mullioned window during the OPW's programme of work. A final feature of note on this façade of the building is the presence of three rows of putlog holes (Pl. 3.3). The first row, comprising three putlog holes, is located at a level just below that of the heraldic device, while the second row, consisting of four holes, is located immediately below the level of the hood-mould over the first-floor window. The third row, with another four holes, is set at sill level below the second-floor window. It should be noted that these rows of putlog holes are all original features and can be seen on Pls 3.5 and 3.6, and

Pl. 3.3—The eastern façade of the gatehouse (Photographic Unit, NMS).

they indicate the location of the timber scaffolding that was in place when the gatehouse was constructed.

Pl. 3.4—View of the external eastern façade of the gatehouse, the manor house and the north–east corner tower, *c.* 1950 (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Pl. 3.5—The external eastern façade of the gatehouse and manor house during conservation (Photographic Unit, NMS).

The early twentieth-century plan of the complex (Pl. 1.4) indicates that the passageway was framed by side walls, stippled and marked as 'modern' on the plan. Whether these walls were constructed on the footings of earlier side walls within the passageway must remain a moot point, but doorways have now been inserted to provide access into the manor house and the modern ticket office to the right, and to a new building added by the OPW to the left of the gatehouse that now provides staff space and offices. Plate 1.4 indicates an opening in the southern wall of the gatehouse at ground level, providing access to the space behind the modern wall on the south side of the passageway. This doorway is now the means of communication with the OPW staff building. A metal spiral staircase in this new space leads up to an attic area, where a doorway in the south wall of the gatehouse provides access to the first-floor chamber within that building. On first inspection, this might be considered to be a twentieth-century insertion, an opening punched through to provide access to the refurbished gatehouse at this level from the attic in the new OPW building. Close inspection of the pre-conservation photographs, however, indicates

Pl. 3.6—View of the eastern façade of the gatehouse, the south-east bawn wall and the south-east turret, *c.* 1950 (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Pl. 3.7—The gatehouse and manor house from inside the bawn, *c.* 1950 (Photographic Unit, NMS).

that this was not the case. Plate 3.7 shows that there was already a large opening in the south gable wall at first-floor level, although whether this was a window or a doorway cannot be discerned. If it were the latter, one might surmise that it was required to enable entry into a building—now demolished—that once adjoined the south side of the gatehouse, and this may very well have been the case, given that there was also a large opening at ground level in the south wall directly below this first-floor opening, shown on the early twentieth-century plan (Pl. 1.4) and in Pl. 3.7. It can be suggested that these openings provided access to the kitchen building, structure 3, the footings of which were revealed during the excavation along the interior line of the south-eastern bawn wall (see Section 4), while a double gable mark that was visible on the external south wall of the gatehouse prior to the restoration programme (C. Foley, pers. comm.) was also probably associated with this building.

Plate 3.7 also indicates a third opening in the south wall of the gatehouse, located to the east of the other opening at the first floor and seemingly leading out onto the wall-walk of the south-eastern stretch of bawn wall. This opening now has a new arch-headed doorway of dressed stone and allows visitors to exit the first-floor chamber within the gatehouse onto the same section of bawn wall today. It becomes clear, however, from looking at the pre-conservation photographs that other architectural details in the south wall have been inserted during the conserva-

Pl. 3.8—The south and east gables of the gatehouse (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Second--loor plan

First-floor plan

Ground-floor plan

0   10m
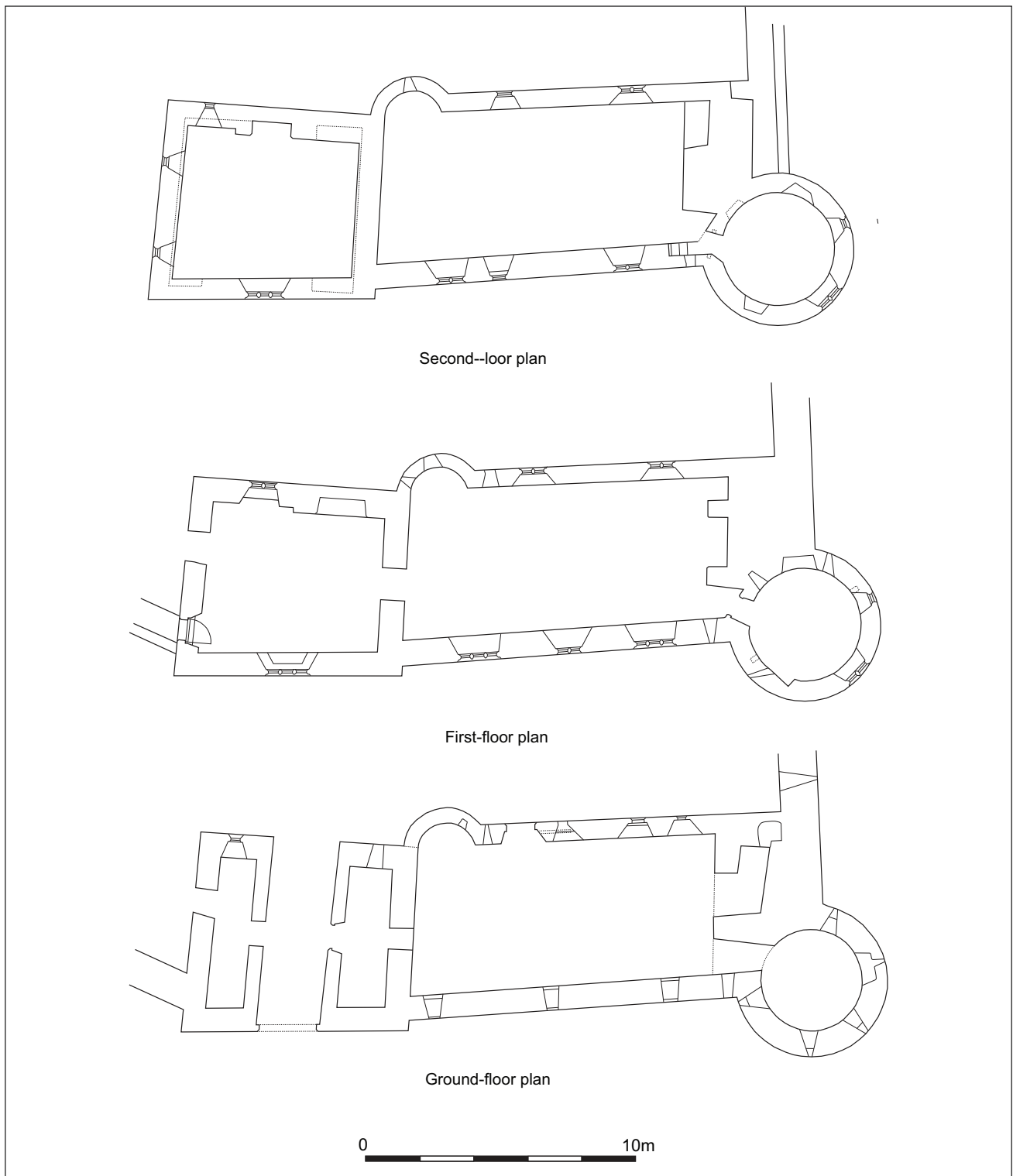
Fig. 3.1—Floor plans of the gatehouse, manor house and north–east corner tower (Office of Public Works).

tion work on the gatehouse (compare Pl. 3.7 with Pl. 3.8), including one (if not both) of the windows at second-floor level and the mullioned window at attic level.

The western façade of the gatehouse is quite plain (see Pl. 3.9), with most of the space dominated by the flue and chimney-stack, for the fireplaces located on the first and second floors within the building, and crowned by a double-diagonal chimney-shaft. Two small lights flank the

gateway at ground level, while at first-floor level there is a small mullioned window, offset southwardly owing to the presence of the first-floor fireplace within the building, and there is a small semicircular-headed window at the second floor, near the south-west corner of the building (Pl. 3.10). The pre-conservation photographs (see Pl. 3.7) show that all of the features described in the western façade are authentic.

Pl. 3.9—The western façade of the gatehouse (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Pl. 3.10—Interior view of small round-headed window at second-floor level in the gatehouse (Photographic Unit, NMS).

The manor house

Located to the north of the gatehouse and to the south of the great circular north-east corner tower is the manor house. A comparison of the architecture of these three elements as shown on historic drawings and photographs (see Pls 1.3, 1.4, 2.4 and 2.5) and in the OPW's pre-conservation photographs (see Pl. 3.4) indicates little, if any, change in their condition over the course of 200 years. In Cocking's first drawing of 1791 (Pl. 1.3) the castle is a background feature, but it is still possible to distinguish that the southern and eastern gables of the gatehouse have already been demolished and that the chimney-shaft crowning the western gable was still in place. A similar situation is depicted in his second drawing (Pl. 2.3), with the manor house and the north-east and north-west corner towers roofless ruins, and a similar view is captured in Wakeman's drawing of the castle in the late nineteenth century (Pl. 2.4). We can conclude, therefore, that the complex became a ruin after its abandonment by the Gore family, probably in the early years of the eighteenth century (see Section 2), and that its process of ruination had been completed by the end of that century. The manor house, however, would seem to have been the last element added to the complex in the seventeenth century. As will be dis-

Pl. 3.11—Mullioned window in the eastern façade of the manor house, showing that the pieces have been reused from an earlier structure; note the presence of a bar-hole on the uppermost jamb stone to the left, and another set in the left side of the mullion (Photographic Unit, NMS).

cussed later in this section, the excavations revealed that the eastern end wall of the tower-house had been demolished to its lowest foundation courses, and the robbed-out masonry that remained was labelled 'the E-shaped wall' by the excavators. The plan of the excavated castle in relation to the manor house (Fig. 4.3) indicates that this was probably done to enable the easier construction of the western façade of the new manor house. It is also possible, however, that the last remaining vestiges of the old tower-house were used as a quarry for Parke's building programmes, including his new manor house. In the eastern façade of the manor house at second-floor level there is a mullioned window (Pl. 3.11) with a small hole in its uppermost jamb stone to the left, and another small hole set in the left side of the mullion. These features can also be seen in the pre-conservation view of the window (Pl. 3.12), indicating that they are original to the fabric of the window in the manor house, and it can be suggested that the small holes are bar-holes associated with window bars and that the stone pieces were taken from the tower-house. In addition, when we look at the western façade of the manor house we find that a sill stone, probably from a window within the tower-house, has been used as the lintel for a small window at ground level (Pl. 3.13).

In addition to the reuse of the old fabric of the tower-house for the construction of the new manor house, we also have evidence that the seventeenth-century builders incorporated the eastern stretch of bawn wall into the eastern façade of the new house. It has been noted by Con

Manning (pers. comm.) that four of the merlons of the bawn wall are still *in situ*, with their shot holes still visible, in the façade (see Pl. 3.14); the three first-floor windows present in the wall have been placed in openings that were punched through the bawn wall. The eastern façade has three openings at ground level, with a gun loop located next to the north-east corner tower. It is possible that these three windows were original features of the eastern bawn wall before it became incorporated into the manor house. Alternatively, they may have been gun loops widened to form windows for the new house, although—as we shall see later—gun loops are not a common feature at ground level elsewhere in the bawn wall. Given the evidence with regard to the first-floor windows, however, it would seem more probable that these openings were also punched through the bawn wall to enable light to enter the ground-floor room within the manor house.

As previously noted, three windows were inserted into the bawn wall at first-floor level, comprising a single-mullioned window flanked on either side by double-mullioned examples with inserted relieving arches. The single-mullioned window is set directly below the line of three of the merlons, with the opening for this window punched through the fabric of the bawn wall at this point. The insertion of the two double-mullioned windows, however, necessitated the taking down of the bawn wall and hence the addition of the relieving arches when the wall above each window was rebuilt. The fourth surviving merlon is located to the immediate right of the more northerly

Pl. 3.12—Pre-conservation view of the exterior eastern façade of the manor house (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Pl. 3.13—Window in western façade of the manor house with a window-sill from an earlier building reused for the window lintel (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Pl. 3.14—Eastern façade of the manor house, showing evidence of the incorporation of the bawn wall into its fabric. Shading has been used to highlight the earlier bawn wall (S. Gormley).

double-mullioned window. It is clear that the builders made an effort to provide some measure of symmetry in the positioning of the windows at first-floor level. Such concerns are not replicated at second-floor level, however, where there is a rather poorly composed mullioned window (with a hood-mould added during the conservation programme) created from stone pieces that may have originated in the tower-house (Pl. 3.11); there is a small window directly beside it, and then a blank stretch of wall before a second single-mullioned window is encountered close to the north-east corner tower and now reconstructed under a small dormer, along with a small window located next to the corner tower. Plate 3.12 indicates that these are all original features.

The western façade (Pl. 3.15), located within the bawn, is no more pleasing in its composition. The semicircular outshot to the rear of the manor house that contained the spiral stairway within the building has four small windows lighting the way from ground floor to second floor. To the left of the outshot is a semicircular-headed doorway of dressed stone pieces leading into the ground-floor chamber within the manor house. This level in the building has three small windows but at first-floor level there are two double-mullioned and transomed windows with hood-moulds. These are very fine features and,

taken in conjunction with the corresponding windows in the eastern façade, mark this level as the most significant area within the building and probably the area that contained the main hall. It is no surprise, therefore, to find that a large fireplace is located in the northern gable of the first floor within the building, although it has to be noted that the chimneypiece is plain, lacking the heraldic devices and decoration that one might expect to find associated with a building of this date and status. At second-floor level the western façade contains a small window and a large window reconstructed as a single-mullioned window under a dormer (compare Pl. 3.16 with Pl. 3.15). There is no evidence of a fireplace in the north gable but in the south gable is an opening that leads into this floor level within the gatehouse, while located above this doorway in the apex of the gable at attic level is another doorway which would also have provided access to the gatehouse. It has not been possible to verify from the photographs held within the NMS archive whether these features were present here prior to the onset of the conservation programme, but there is no reason to suspect that they are not original. The interior of the manor house has been extensively reconstructed during the conservation programme but it is clear that there were no vaults present within the building. Nor, however, are there any stone cor-

Pl. 3.15—The western façade of the manor house and the gatehouse (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Pl. 3.16—Pre-conservation view of the interior of the bawn, showing the western façade of the manor house (Photographic Unit, NMS).

bels to support the timber floors that would once have been present within the seventeenth-century house, and it must be concluded that the ends of the timber flooring beams were embedded into the walls using putlog holes.

The north–east corner tower

As has been noted above, the manor house was constructed in the space between the gatehouse and the north-east corner tower and utilised the eastern stretch of bawn wall for the eastern façade of the building. The implication, therefore, is that the corner tower was in existence before the construction of the manor house, and this is confirmed by architectural evidence visible within the tower. At first-floor level in the manor house in the north-east corner is an arch-headed doorway that provides access to the tower. Immediately to the left on entering the tower there is a blocked gun loop that would originally have provided a view out into the bawn. In similar fashion, a plain doorway in the north-east corner at second-floor level within the manor house provides access to the tower at this level, and on entering the tower there is another blocked gun loop. Evidently both of these loops were closed by the construction of the manor house.

If we are correct in considering the manor house to have been the last major building work carried out at the complex during Parke's occupation of the site, what date might we place on the construction of the north-east corner tower, given that it must have been erected prior to the construction of the manor house? Is this a late medieval tower that belonged to the O'Rourkes, or does it belong to an earlier phase of Parke's occupation of the site in the seventeenth century? As we will see when we come to consider its architectural evidence, the bawn is provided with few gun loops but well provisioned with shot holes placed in the merlons at wall-walk level. Both the north-west and north-east corner towers, however, have gun loops and it can be suggested that these were used to provide flanking fire along the exteriors of the western, northern and eastern stretches of bawn wall. The construction of the north-east corner tower must then be considered to relate to a period when firearms were in common use. Added to this is the fact that the interior of the corner tower has timber floors. One might expect such a construction to have a conical or barrel wicker-work-centred vault at ground- or first-floor level if the building had been erected during the late medieval period. Given all this, we might consider the tower to have been built during the first phase of Parke's occupation of the site. It can also be suggested that the tower post-dates the construction of the northern stretch of bawn wall since the former's masonry has not been bonded into the fabric of the bawn wall at the point where they meet (Pl. 3.17).

Pl. 3.17—The lack of bonding evident at the point where the north-east corner tower meets the northern bawn wall (Photographic Unit, NMS).

It can be suggested, however, that the tower commenced its life as a defensive construction and, together with its counterpart at the north-west corner of the bawn, provided defensive strength to the landward side of the complex, overlooked as it is by the high land to the north. When the manor house was erected the tower was incorporated as additional living space for the new house, a process that required modifications to be made to its fabric, including the blocking of redundant gun loops. The presence of a fine arched doorway into the tower at first-floor level from the manor house reminds us that this is the level in the latter building that has the best windows in both its western and eastern façades. The arched doorway provides further evidence that the first floor was the most prestigious space within the manor house, but it also intimates that the chamber within the corner tower at this level had become integrated into this high-status level within the manor house. This process, however, required alterations to be made to the fabric of the tower, including the insertion of fireplaces with their associated flue and chimney-stack on the west side to provide heat for the chambers at first-floor and second-floor levels. The tower has a large single-mullioned window and a second window, both looking out to the north at first-floor level, with a similar arrangement of windows present at second-floor level (see Pls 3.2, 3.18 and 3.19), and it can be suggested that these features were also inserted, perhaps where gun

Pl. 3.18—The architectural features at the merging point of the north-east corner tower, the northern stretch of bawn wall and the northern gable of the manor house (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Pl. 3.19—Pre-conservation view of the north-east corner tower and the northern bawn wall (Photographic Unit, NMS).

loops once existed, during this programme of renovation to provide the chambers within the tower with greater light. That the building was allowed to retain a degree of defensive capability, however, can be deduced by the fact that the ground-floor area retains five gun loops, all of which appear to be original features.

Access to the wall-walk of the northern bawn wall is provided by a doorway in the west side of the tower at second-floor level, leading out to what is the least aesthetically pleasing part of the complex. The wall-walk is dominated to the immediate south by the large, blockish chimney-stack in the north wall of the manor house; the embrasures associated with the wall-walk's first three merlons have been blocked (presumably to provide additional cover for those exiting the tower at this point), and the corner tower's chimney-stack looms above to the east (see Pls 3.18 and 3.19). All of this makes for a disorderly mixture of architectural features, a result of the alterations that were required when the manor house was constructed amid the architectural elements already present within this corner of the complex.

The north–west corner tower

The north-west corner tower has undergone significant rebuilding during the restoration programme, with new sections in Leitrim sandstone added to its historic fabric. The resulting work, however, has been neatly executed (Pl. 3.20); the tower stands to first-floor level under a conical slate roof, with new access doorways leading out onto the wall-walk of the western bawn wall and a wooden stairway that leads up to the wall-walk of the northern bawn wall. At ground-floor level a doorway under a fine relieving arch has been included, with the latter feature supporting the weight of the tower's wall above this opening. Within the tower there are four gun loops piercing the walls at ground-floor level, with a further four gun loops present at first-floor level and serviced from openings placed below a series of dovecot boxes. There is no evidence to suggest that these features, particularly the examples on the ground floor, were inserted into the fabric of a pre-existing building and they betray the primary function of this tower—to provide protection to the exterior of the western and northern bawn walls. The presence of gun loops at castles and bawns is tied to the proliferation in the use of firearms in Ireland from the mid-sixteenth century onwards and can be taken as proxy-dating evidence that the corner tower is of mid-sixteenth- to mid-seventeenth-century date.

The tower certainly bears little resemblance now to the ruinous structure depicted in one of the images contained within the NMS archive and dating from 1950 (Pl. 3.21). The photograph, focused on the north-west corner of the bawn, shows the north-west corner tower as roofless and barely surviving to first-floor level and reveals that the

Pl. 3.20—View of restored north–west corner tower (Photographic Unit, NMS).

rear of the tower lay open to first-floor level. As noted above, the modern reconstruction work has opted to close in the rear of the tower in masonry—hence the need for the relieving arch to support the weight of this building work. It is to be presumed that something similar was in place during historic times but that the original rear wall collapsed after the site was abandoned. The absence of a rear wall in the photograph from 1950 does, however, enable the viewer to look into the interior of the tower and the dovecot boxes are clearly visible. It is not the case, however, that the presence of these boxes indicates an episode of later modification involving their insertion into the historic fabric of the tower. A dovecote provided the occupants of a castle such as this with access to a ready supply of fresh meat during the seventeenth century and the presence of such a feature within a corner tower or flanker is not unique to Parke's Castle; a similar arrangement, for example, is to be found in one of the flanking towers at the grand Plantation era castle at Monea in County Fermanagh.

The photograph also shows that the wall-walk and merlons of the western bawn wall were still in place but that the northern bawn wall has been reduced in height and its merlons thereby removed, although the wall-walk is still visible. Cocking's view of the northern bawn wall in 1791 (Pl. 2.3) indicates that the western end of the northern bawn wall still retained its merlons at that time,

Pl. 3.21—Internal view of the north-west corner of the bawn, *c.* 1950 (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Pl. 3.22—Pre-conservation view of the northern bawn wall and north-west corner tower (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Pl. 3.23—Pre-conservation view of the western bawn wall next to the north-west corner tower (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Pl. 3.24—External view of the north-west corner tower and the western bawn wall following conservation (Photographic Unit, NMS).

while the walls of the roofless north-west corner tower were relatively intact. Wakeman's late nineteenth-century illustration (Pl. 2.4) shows, however, that there had been a deterioration of the fabric of the bawn wall at some point after 1791, with four of the most westerly merlons removed and the upper levels of the tower's wall also damaged. This information is further corroborated by the contents of the pre-restoration exterior views of this section of the complex (Pls 3.22 and 3.23), but it is only when a comparison of the detail contained in these three images is set against modern views of this part of the castle (Pls 3.20 and 3.24) that it becomes apparent just how much restoration work was required to stabilise the corner tower and its associated section of the northern bawn wall. This is a point worth remembering when we see that the gun loop at first-floor level that provided a view over the western wall's flank has been blocked (Pl. 3.25). If this blocking had happened in the past, it might be used as evidence to suggest that the corner tower was in place before the erection of the bawn wall, with the gun loop blocked by the construction of the wall. Given the sheer scale of the rebuilding work that has occurred in this corner of the complex, however, it is more plausible to suggest that the gun loop's blocking is not historic and that it occurred during the restoration work undertaken in the 1980s.

Pl. 3.25—Blocked gun loop at first-floor level within the north-west corner tower (Photographic Unit, NMS).

The plan in the OPW archive (Pl. 1.4) had marked the location of a 'Modern Stable' along the inner line of the western stretch of bawn wall near the entrance to the north-east corner tower but the photograph shows no trace of this building, suggesting that the plan pre-dates 1950. The excavation, however, again revealed these foundations, but much of the area where this stable was located has now been reused for the construction of a visitor facility. Access for the modern visitor was required to the wooden stairway leading up onto the wall-walk of the western bawn wall and also into the ground-floor area within the corner tower. To facilitate this access, therefore, the OPW took a decision to step back the northern gable of the new visitor facility from the line of the original gable, with the foundation of the old gable being marked out on the ground surface.

The tower-house foundations

Prior to its discovery during the excavation, the tower-house had become completely forgotten in local tradition. Its northern wall ran parallel to the bawn's northern wall, while its eastern end shows evidence of having been totally demolished to the point that only the lowest of its foundation courses had survived, and the ragged line of robbed-out masonry was labelled 'the E-shaped wall' by the excavators. This destruction was probably necessitated by the seventeenth-century builders in order to clear space for the construction of the western façade of the manor house. The foundations associated with the other walls of the building, however, survive to such an extent that it is possible to provide ground-floor dimensions. In total, the building was 16m long (east–west) at its greatest surviving length (along the northern side wall) by approximately 9.5m wide (north–south), with two thick side walls on the north and south, each some 2m in thickness. These side walls would have supported the vault over the eastern chamber in the building, partitioned off by a 0.9m-thick stone wall from a smaller western chamber with access gained from the main eastern chamber by a stepped entrance, the paving and sill stone of which were found *in situ*. The western end wall was some 1.5m thick, while the western chamber measured 2.5m east–west by 6.5m north–south. The larger eastern chamber was 7.2m in length (east–west) by 4.5m in width (north–south).

The eastern end of the tower-house is of particular interest, since a definite break in the masonry demonstrates that this end of the building was constructed separately from the western section, thereby providing evidence from which it can be suggested that this was an example of a sectionally constructed tower-house (Donnelly 1998). Why this construction method was used by medieval masons is not clear. It may reflect work achieved in separate building phases, with one section

Pl. 3.26—Ballinalacken, Co. Clare, an example of a sectionally constructed tower-house (Photographic Unit, NMS).

constructed in one phase of building activity and the other in a separate and later building programme. Alternatively, it may have been for structural reasons, with the division of the building designed to absorb stress created as the tower-house 'settled' after construction.

As noted above, the eastern wall of the tower-house had been totally demolished to the point that none of its foundations survive. The E-shaped plan of this end of the building (see Fig. 4.8) and comparative information from standing buildings (Pl. 3.26), however, provide enough evidence for us to speculate as to the original ground-floor plan in this part of the building. The entrance would have been at ground-floor level in the middle of the eastern end wall and would have provided access into a lobby area. To the southern side of the lobby would have been the spiral staircase (now utterly destroyed) providing access to the upper floor levels in the building. On the northern side of the lobby would have been the doorway into a small subsidiary chamber (the foundations of its western wall survive, revealing that some form of chamber existed at this point in the building), while to the west of the lobby would have been a doorway leading into the main chamber of the building.

The bawn walls

The bawn is five-sided in shape, with walls 4.5m in height except on the south-eastern side, which is about 1m shorter. The historic documents indicate that the bawn wall has changed little since the late eighteenth century and had retained its circuit in full into the twentieth century, although the loughshore wall to the south has been rebuilt and is now an estimated 2.4m lower than in its original state. What is of particular note, however, is that there are relatively few gun loops piercing the walls of the bawn (Fig. 4.3), with only single examples along the length of the northern and southern walls and two examples set along the western wall, all at ground level, and a further example located in the wall next to the steps leading up to the wall-walk on the northern wall. This suggests that the complex may not have been intended to be defended by firearms, and strengthens the view that the main body of the bawn wall belongs to the late medieval period and was constructed to provide a strong enclosure for the tower-house.

The wall-walk, however, has been provisioned with stepped merlons, each one with a central shot hole, thereby indicating that the bawn's crenellation belonged to a period when guns were to be used in the defence of the complex. Finding a direct parallel for the form of the merlons constructed along the bawn wall at Parke's Castle is not without its difficulties. This is because in many cases the bawn walls associated with early seventeenth-century manorial buildings have been either demolished entirely, as at Castle Caulfield, Co. Tyrone, or reduced to foundation level, as at Monea Castle, Co. Fermanagh. Where a bawn wall does survive it is usually now lacking its merlons, as at Tully Castle and Portora, both in County Fermanagh; in those rare instances where merlons do

remain in place, their form does not correspond to those at Parke's Castle, as is the case at Faugher Castle, Co. Donegal, where the merlons have a rounded form and are not pierced with shot holes (Lacy 1983, 367–8). That so few merlons have survived at the monuments of the period is not unexpected, given that they tend to be thin-walled constructions perched at some height on the outer edge of a wall-walk and are therefore susceptible to destruction through stone-robbing, vandalism and natural forces. A general parallel, however, for the form of the merlons used at Parke's Castle is to be found along the surviving northern stretch of bawn wall at Blarney Castle, Co. Cork, where each merlon is perforated with a shot hole (Samuel and Hamlyn 2007, 83; Lyttleton 2011, 39–42), but ascribing a specific date to the construction of these merlons is not without its problems. While Lyttleton (2011, 118) considers that the bawn wall at Blarney Castle belongs to the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century and was probably constructed by *c.* 1600, Samuel and Hamlyn (2007, 83) suggest that the wall may have been reinforced and modified by the MacCarthys in the 1640s. Another parallel is to be found at the small tower-house of Lissamota, Co. Limerick, one of the very few buildings in the county to retain its parapet, possibly because the building remained inhabited until the end of the eighteenth century (Westropp 1907, 225). Each of the eight merlons guarding the circuit of the parapet has a shot hole through its centre, but the form differs from those at Parke's Castle in that they are stepped Irish Gothic merlons (Donnelly 1995, II, 146–8).

Additional defensive strength was afforded by the construction of the two circular towers at the north-east and north-west corners, augmented by the south-east and south-west corner turrets, all of which were also furnished

Pl. 3.27—Pre-conservation view of the exterior eastern façade of the south-eastern bawn wall (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Pl. 3.28—Pre-conservation view of the exterior of the south-east turret and the south-eastern bawn wall (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Pl. 3.29—Exterior view of the south-eastern section of the bawn wall (C. Donnelly).

with gun loops that would have enabled flanking fire to be concentrated along the external wall faces. The increased use of firearms in the defence of castle complexes is a development of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the dependency on such weapons for defence at Parke's Castle can therefore be used as proxy-dating evidence to suggest that the original late medieval bawn had been re-edified for use with firearms during Parke's occupancy of the site. The implication from this is that Parke had to repair and re-edify the old bawn wall. The bawn wall appears to have been breached in several places, most notably along the south-eastern stretch of wall, where one of the pre-conservation photographs (Pl. 3.27) suggests that a section of patching was required

at some stage in the past. A breach is not evident in Cocking's illustration of *c.* 1791 (Pl. 1.3), nor in any of the photographs showing the site before any conservation work had commenced (e.g. Pl. 3.6). The possibility therefore exists that this patching represents repair work undertaken on the bawn wall by Parke's builders. To this we might also add that the eastern stretch of bawn wall that was remodelled as the eastern wall of the manor house (see above) is of a thinner build than the other stretches of bawn wall, again hinting that perhaps the eastern wall was reconstructed during Parke's initial occupation of the site, complete with merlons of a type similar to those found elsewhere on the bawn's parapet.

A comparison of Pl. 3.28 with Pl. 3.29 will indicate

how significantly the south-eastern bawn wall was renovated during the conservation programme; only the four merlons closest to the south-east turret are original, and the remaining seven examples are all reconstructions. We have already noted that Wakeman's late nineteenth-century illustration (Pl. 2.4) showed that four of the merlons at the western end of the northern wall had been demolished by that time. The NMS photographs (Pls 3.19 and 3.22) indicate that only five merlons were still *in situ* before conservation work commenced at the site. A further three merlons next to the north-east corner tower had their embrasures walled up, presumably to provide additional cover for individuals as they entered or exited the tower. We do not have pre-conservation photographs for the entire stretch of the western bawn wall, but from the images that we do have (Pls 3.21 and 3.23) it would seem that the merlons were best preserved along this stretch of wall, with eight examples visible in Pl. 3.21 and six in Pl. 3.23.

A note included on the early twentieth-century plan of the complex (Pl. 1.4) states that there was 'a gable here' along the interior of the southern bawn wall, near to the south-east corner, indicating that a building was once located in this space, while Wakeman's drawing (Pl. 2.4) also seems to depict a gable at this point. A pre-excavation photograph of this corner (Pl. 3.30), however, does not indicate any architectural signature for this building, other than a sloping section of masonry that may represent the last vestiges of the gable in question. It is probable that this gable was associated with the kitchen building, structure 3 (see Section 4), revealed during the excavation along the interior line of the south-eastern bawn wall (see Fig. 4.2b and Pl. 4.25), and that the openings in the south

wall of the gatehouse at ground- and first-floor levels (see Pl. 3.7) may have been doorways into this building, particularly when it is remembered that a double gable mark was visible on the external south wall of the gatehouse prior to the restoration programme (C. Foley, pers. comm.).

While the bawn's northern wall appears to be more robust and higher than the other walls within the complex, this is largely illusory, for the southern wall is equal in scale; the difference in level between the cobbled surface in the interior of the bawn next to the southern wall and the base of the same wall on the lakeshore is some 2.9m, a fact that was recorded by the draughtsperson who drew the plan of the castle in the early twentieth century (see detail provided in Pl. 1.4). Nor is there anything in the architectural record to suggest that the northern wall was constructed at an earlier date than the other stretches of bawn wall and, with the exception of the eastern bawn wall, it is the same in detail and in thickness (around 1m) as the other walls.

A flight of stone steps in the south-east corner of the bawn leads down below the bawn's southern wall to a sally-port leading out to the lough shore. The exterior of the southern wall was provided with defensive cover by the south-east and south-west corner turrets. The south-east corner turret has had its upper levels rebuilt and has been re-roofed during the conservation programme (compare Pl. 3.31 with Pl. 3.28 to gauge the amount of restoration work that was undertaken at that time), while the example at the south-west corner of the bawn remains roofless (see Pl. 3.32). The south-east corner turret has two gun loops at first-floor/wall-walk level, providing flanking cover to the eastern and southern bawn walls respectively. The south-west corner turret is similar, providing flanking

Pl. 3.31—The south-east corner turret, restored with conical roof (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Pl. 3.32—The south-west corner turret, roofless and unrestored (Photographic Unit, NMS).

cover to the western and southern stretches of bawn wall. Strangely, however, there is no loop in either turret looking out onto Lough Gill. Neither turret displays the Scottish-style stepped corbelling to be found at Plantation period castles and fortified houses such as Castle Balfour, Co. Fermanagh, but they are similar in appearance and design to the smooth, plastered, corbelled-out turrets at

Tully Castle, also in County Fermanagh, which Waterman (1959, 123) viewed as an architectural signature of Irish masons who had been employed in the construction work at that site. It can be suggested that something similar may have occurred at Parke's Castle, and that the construction of the south-east and south-west corner turrets was undertaken by Irish masons.

4. The excavation

Claire Foley, Sarah Gormley and Ruth Logue

Methodology

A team of twelve local men were hired as labourers and three professional archaeological assistants were appointed to help with the supervision and recording on site. The work was conducted using small-scale grid and trench excavation at a time before the general adoption by archaeologists of a standard context recording system. The primary excavation record, therefore, was compiled in a series of eight notebooks. In addition to their factual detail, the contents of these daybooks, numbered sequen-tially from 1 to 8, provide an insight into the day-to-day progress of the excavation and its associated manage-ment. Features and layers were described as they were encountered. Details of how the contexts were excavated and the resulting interpretations were also noted. The daybooks included drawings of features, notes on arte-facts, partial catalogues and finds drawings. Daily atten-dance of crew members and weather conditions were also noted. A number of other notebooks were used to record information and interpretative ideas that surfaced during the course of the excavation.
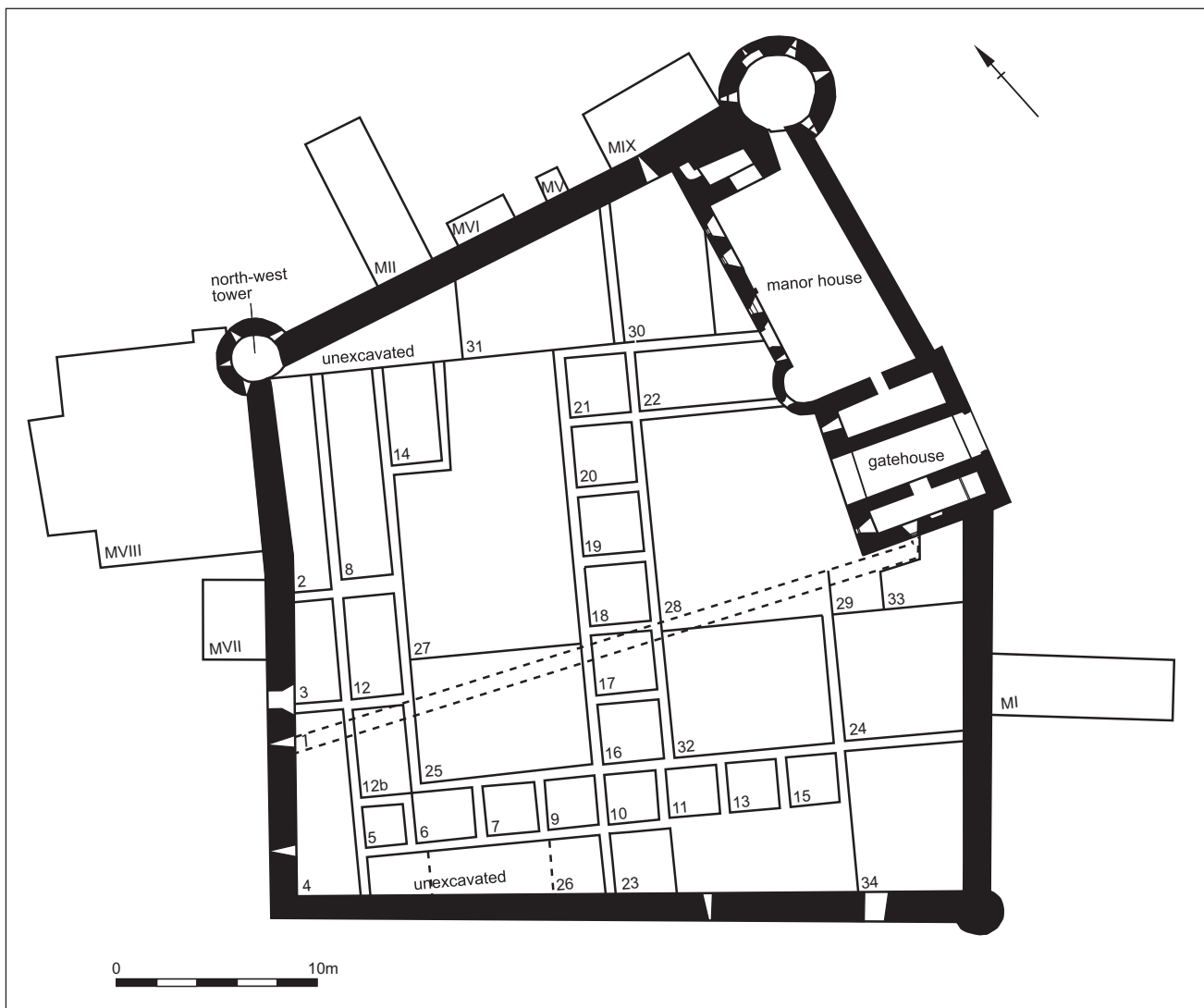
Fig. 4.1—Plan of excavated area, showing layout of cuttings during the early part of the excavation.

Pl. 4.1—The excavation area divided into small cuttings. General view looking northward from the southern bawn wall, showing cuttings 2, 3, 8, 12 and 14 (Photographic Unit, NMS).

The interior of the bawn was divided into a series of 'cuttings' of varying size and shape, numbered from 2 to 34 (Fig. 4.1; Pl. 4.1). Cutting 1 (dotted on Fig. 4.1) was the evaluation trench monitored in 1971 that ran between the window in the south wall of the gatehouse and the doorway in the western bawn wall. It continued on this trajectory across the top of the rock-cut ditch and terminated at a septic tank in the flat ground beyond. As the excavation progressed and baulks between cuttings were gradually

removed (see Pl. 4.2), some cuttings were referred to in different ways and other cutting numbers were ignored. For example, as work in cutting 18 progressed southwards it encroached into cuttings 16 and 17, and these two units became cutting 18 south; therefore cutting 16 is only recorded in its own right down to the layer of cobbling (C.1603), while cutting 17 is recorded in its own right down to the layer of gravel (C.1703) below the cobbles.

Cuttings were opened on the outside of the northern, eastern and western sides of the bawn (Fig. 4.2) but not outside the lakeside wall. A cutting was started to the exterior (east) of the manor house, but it was closed when it became apparent that the area had been disturbed by the later house. These cuttings, which lay beyond the bawn walls, were referred to as 'moat cuttings' and were labelled sequentially from MI to MXI. Cuttings MI, MII, MIII, MVII, MVIII and MIX were specifically opened to investigate the rock-cut ditch, while cuttings MIV, MV and MVI were opened to investigate the base of the bawn wall (see pp xx–xx). Cuttings MI, MII and MVIII were left open and their sections consolidated after their excavation in order that sections of the rock-cut ditch might remain visible for visitors to the site to appreciate. It should be noted, however, that the exact locations of MIV, MX and MXI could not be determined during the post-excavation programme as they were absorbed into the larger moat cuttings.

Numbers were given to the buildings and structural features on site and were used in the daybooks, on drawings and on photographic descriptions. The structure numbers allocated are as follows and are shown on Figs 4.2 and 4.3.

Pl. 4.2—View looking northeast, showing tower-house foundations at centre after some of the baulks dividing the area into small cuttings had been removed (Photographic Unit, NMS).
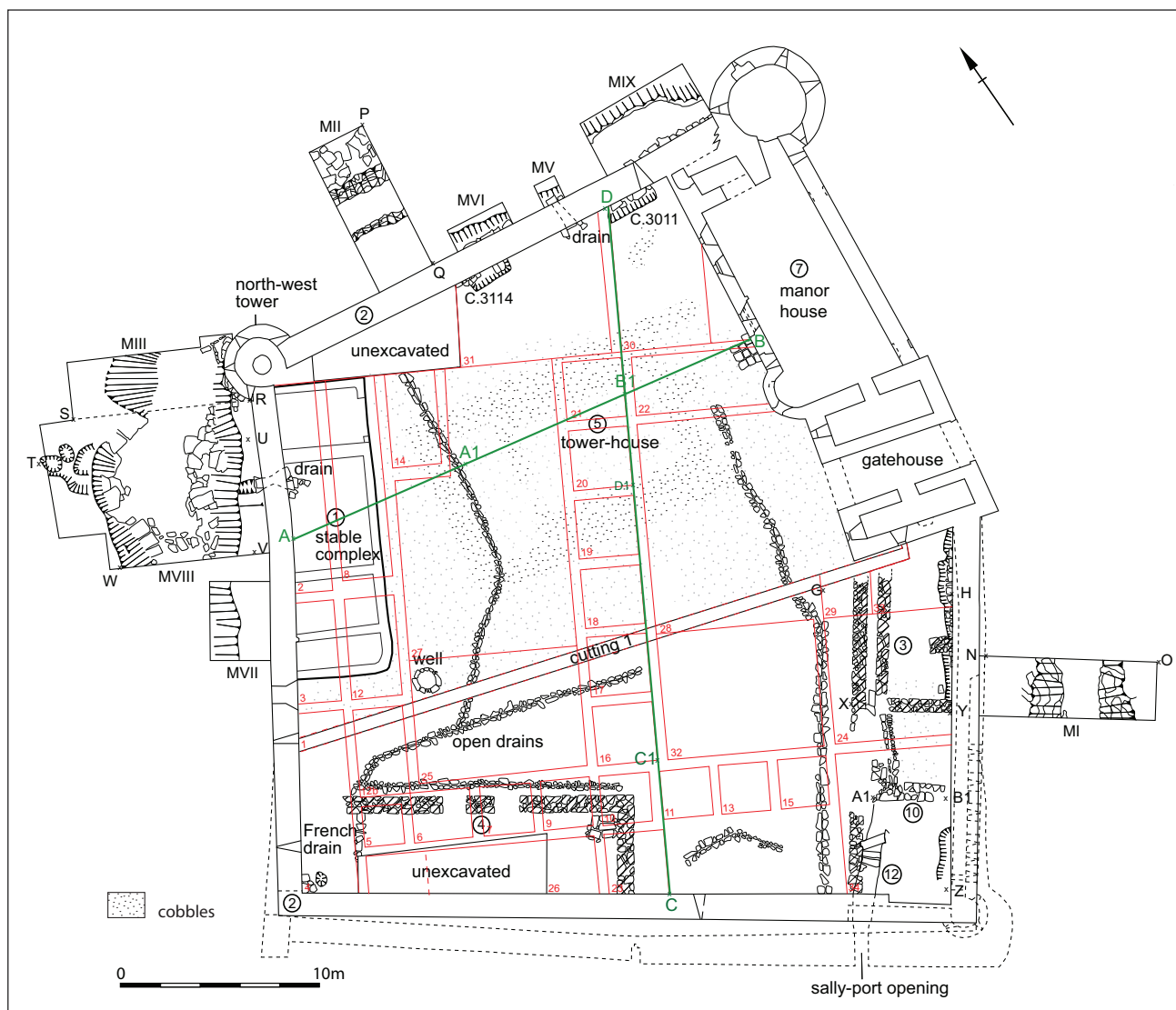
Fig. 4.2a—Plan of upper levels of structures and features inside the bawn and excavated ditch cuttings. The individual numbers given to the structures are shown; the letters indicate the position of section lines. Cuttings are shown in red (see Fig. 4.1); sections through bawn are shown in green (see Figs 4.9 and 4.11).

1. Nineteenth-century stable complex
2. Bawn walls and gatehouse
3. Buildings along eastern bawn wall south of gate tower
4. Seventeenth-century stable
5. Tower-house
6. Structure built into 'trench' adjacent to tower-house
7. Seventeenth-century house (and flanking tower)
8. Wall built across trench in southern bawn (furthest from tower)
9. 'Structure 6' built across cutting 2S
10. Wall in southern bawn between cuttings 34N and 34S
11. Wall in southern bawn in cutting 26
12. Sally-port
13. Wall in southern area of the bawn

As outlined in the Introduction (p. 3), a review of the archive material was carried out in 2005 by Ronan McHugh. This began the process of bringing the primary excavation archive through to publication. The review acknowledged that the identification of the stratigraphic sequence of development was crucial and that individual context numbering would be vital for this. In order to facilitate the analysis of the archive, therefore, context numbers were given to features, layers and deposits as described in the daybooks. The context identification given was 'C.', followed by an abbreviation of the name of the cutting and a number running sequentially from 01 (e.g. cutting 1 numbers ran from C.101 to C.115, and moat I numbers from C.MI01 to C.MI15). Details of photographs, slides, drawn illustrations (both field drawings and final inked drawings), finds (both individual and bulk finds) recovered, samples taken and pieces of dressed stone recovered were recorded in registers (see Logue *et al.* 2009).

Context numbers have, where possible, been included in the finds and samples registers. It was not
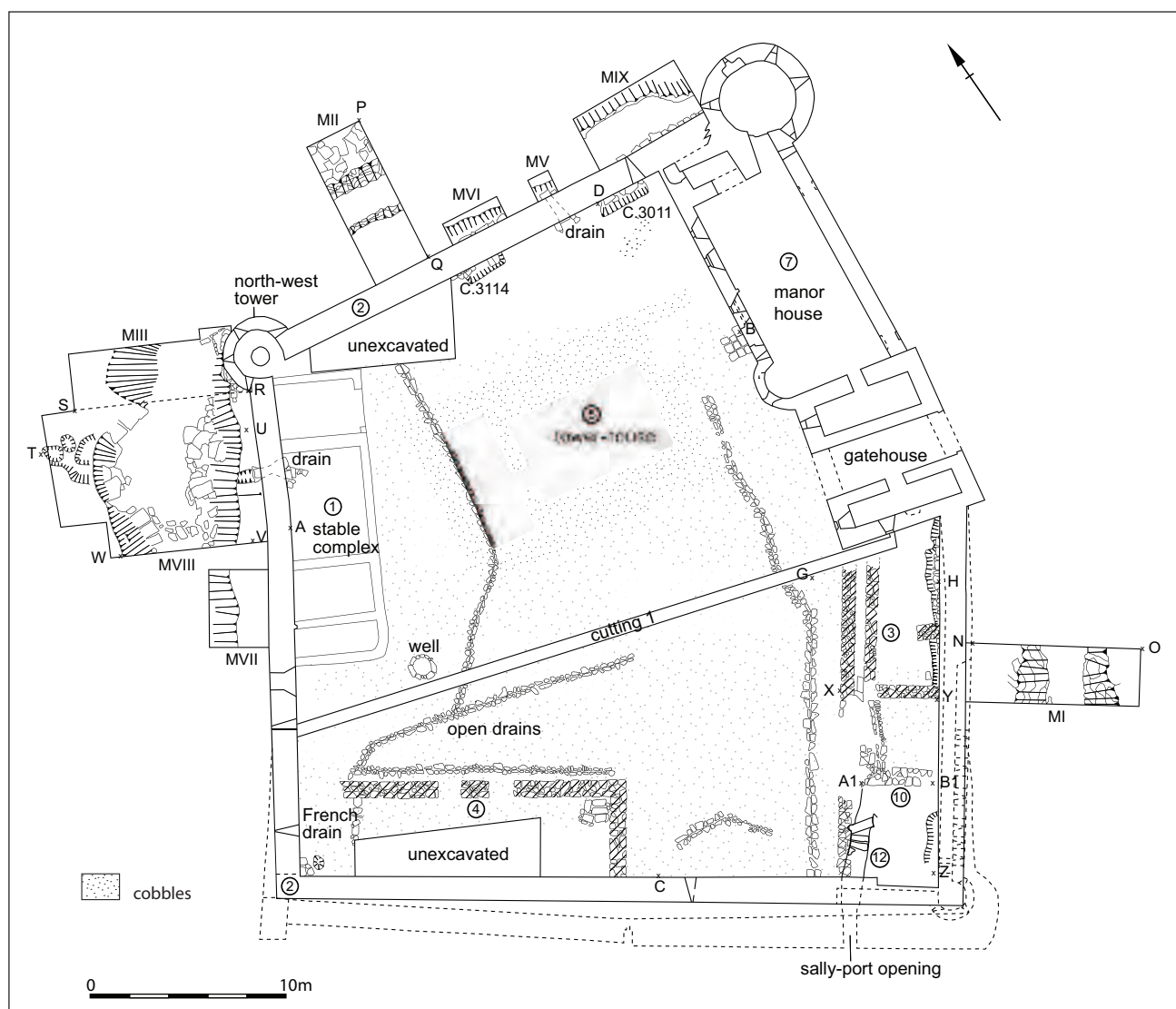
Fig. 4.2b—Plan of upper levels of structures and features inside the bawn and excavated ditch cuttings. The individual numbers given to the structures are shown; the letters indicate the position of section lines.

always possible to allocate a find to a specific context owing to the information given: for example, sometimes the location of a find was recorded as a measurement in depth or distance (find no. 541: 2 (south), '39cm deep; N-30cm, E-5cm'); at other times the information was too vague for a find to be consigned to a specific context number (find no. 551: 24, 'east side of wall in house'). It was not possible, therefore, to integrate all of the artefacts into the stratigraphic sequence.

Initial monitoring work

Cutting 1 was set out in advance of the insertion of a WC in the south chamber of the gatehouse and its excavation by machine was monitored by Claire Foley in November 1971. The cutting was 0.61m wide, 0.6m deep and 31.5m long, running from the southern wall of the gatehouse to

the western wall of the bawn. The line of the cutting extended westwards beyond the western bawn wall and this section of trench was named the 'septic tank cutting'. The archaeological potential of the site, revealed during the course of this monitoring work, prompted the subsequent four seasons of excavation.

The sod and topsoil layer (C.101) were removed to reveal a layer of loose flattish stones mixed with blackware, oyster shells and burnt stones (C.102). In places this was underlain by a mortar spread (C.105). Below this loose material (C.102) and the mortar spread (C.105) was a layer of edge-set (or pitched) cobbling, which extended the whole length of the trench. This layer (C.103) was later revealed to continue across most of the bawn and dated from the seventeenth-century occupation of the manor house.

When the pitched cobbles and associated gravel were removed, a number of contexts were apparent. An
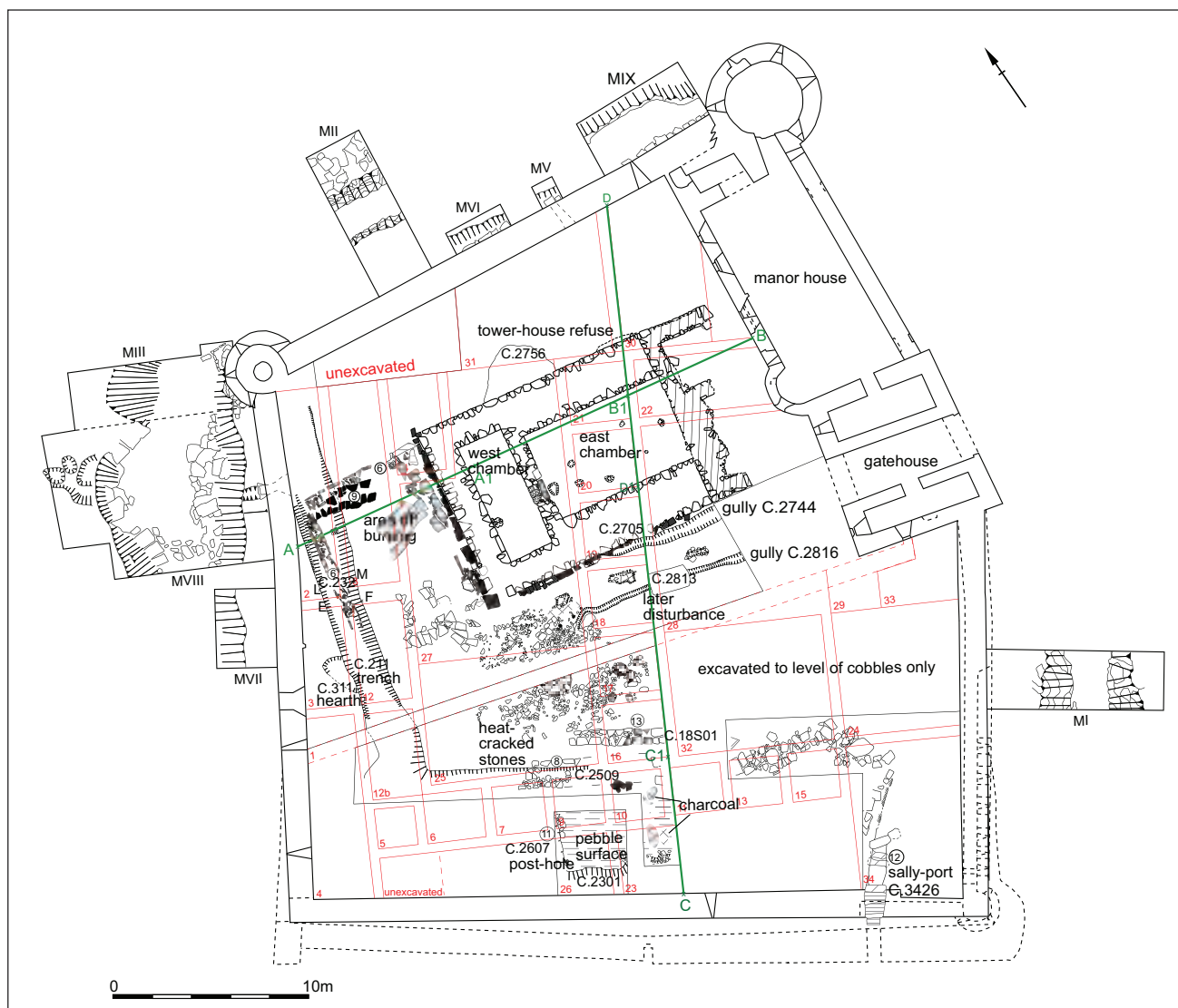
Fig. 4.3a—Plan of upper levels of structures and features inside the bawn and excavated ditch cuttings. The individual numbers given to the structures are shown; the letters indicate the position of section lines.

area of flat flags (C.108) was revealed, as was a layer of gravelly soil (C.107). This gravel in turn overlay two mortar spreads (C.106 and C.109). When the gravel and mortar were removed, a grey sticky layer (C.104) with charcoal flecking was exposed: this is possibly the same as a habitation layer (C.207) associated with the tower-house, which was later revealed in cutting 2.

Towards the western end of the trench, features were apparent below the grey sticky layer (C.104), including one that was interpreted as a ditch or pit (C.114) cut into boulder clay. This feature was filled with a dark, loose earth and stony material (C.115), which also contained some bone and shell. It was picked up in the section of the cutting and may be the same feature as the trench (C.211) that was uncovered in cutting 2 during the later excavations. The fill (C.115) may be the same as the wet black material with bone and shell (C.235) or the stony fill with dark charcoal and debris hollows in between (C.229), which are both fills of the trench (C.211).

A wall (C.110) was uncovered in the middle of the feature (C.114) described above, 5m from the western bawn wall. At the time of the monitoring work, this wall was thought to be associated with the stable building (structure 1: nineteenth-century stabling in north-west corner of bawn). It became apparent during the further excavation work, however, that cutting 1 lay beyond the limit of the stable and so the wall (C.110) was not associated with that structure. No further sections of this wall were uncovered in the cuttings subsequently excavated to the north and south of cutting 1, and so the nature of the feature remains unclear. Also uncovered at this level was a small stone-lined socket (C.111) for a post-hole (C.112); it was filled with a brown sticky substance and charcoal (C.113).

The cut for the septic tank was located in line with cutting 1 outside the western bawn wall, running across the ditch and continuing westwards. The original plan was to put the septic tank just outside the western bawn wall; this was changed when the rock-cut ditch was recog-

Fig. 4.3b—Plan of structures inside the bawn beneath the cobble layer. The individual numbers given to the structures are shown.
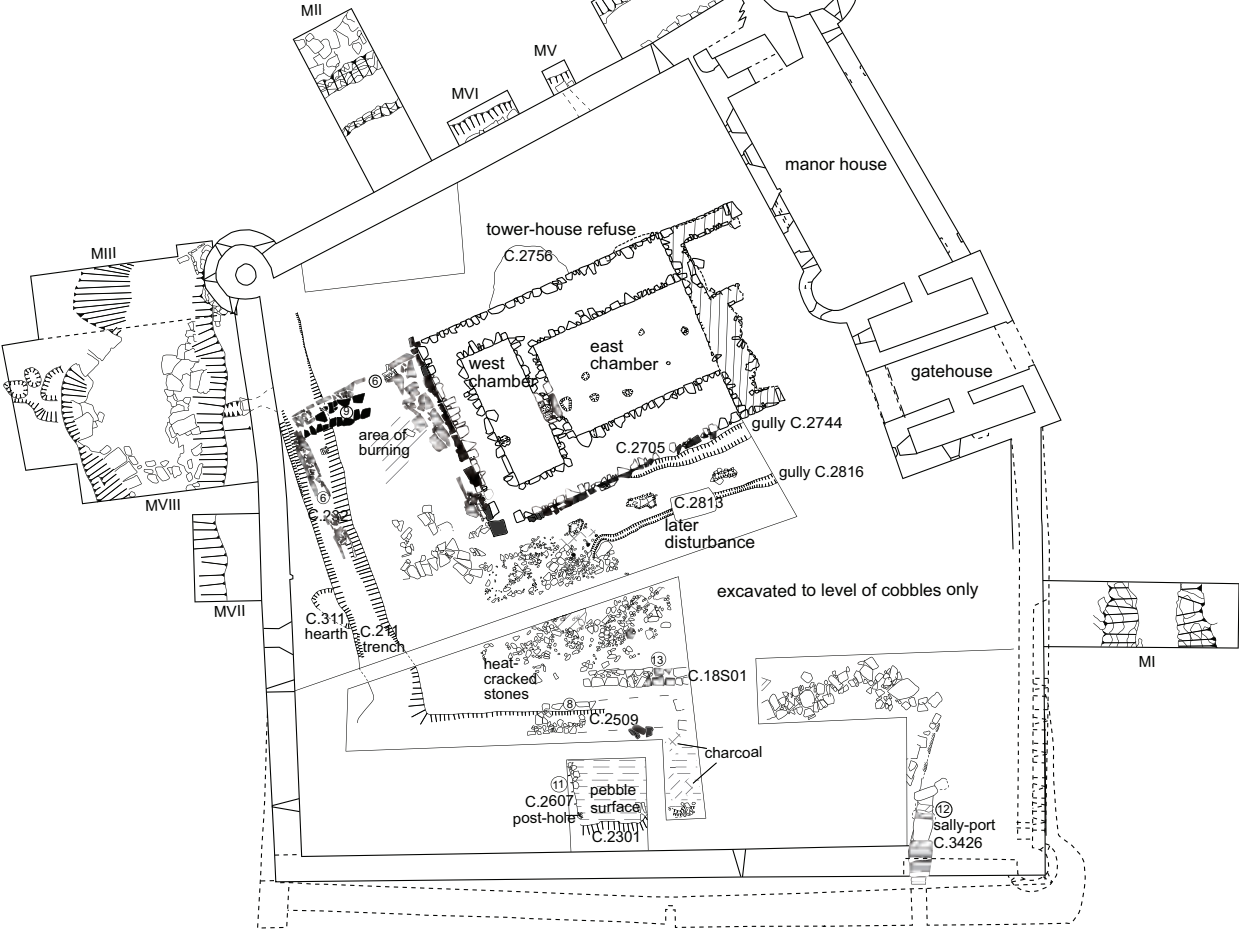
nised. The actual cut for the tank was made into boulder clay west of the line of the ditch. In trenching across to the new septic tank position, the upper profile of a ditch emerged. It showed a 'platform' 1m wide between the top of the ditch and the bawn wall. The upper levels of the ditch were filled with a loose dark soil mixed with large stones (C.ST02), which also contained bone and shell.

The excavation

The initial monitoring work described above had uncovered the previously unknown multi-period aspect to the site and directly led to the four seasons of excavation carried out between 1972 and 1975. During this time an extensive investigation of the interior of the bawn and ditch was completed and the foundations of a tower-house and several other broadly contemporary structures were discovered. The structures and features encountered dur-

ing the course of this work are detailed below by broad chronological phase, beginning with the earliest, including the tower-house and rock-cut ditch, and finishing with the features associated with the later phases of occupation, such as the seventeenth-century manor house and the nineteenth-century stable block.

The rock-cut ditch

Five cuttings (MI, MII, MIII, MVII and MVIII; Figs 4.1–4.3) were opened to investigate the rock-cut ditch, which was discovered outside the bawn wall during the monitoring work in 1971. It was found to underlie the north-east and north-west corner towers, and geophysical investigation in 2011 outside the east wall of the manor house and the south-eastern bawn wall suggests that it may originally have formed a curvilinear enclosure within which the tower-house was constructed (see McHugh, this volume). Cuttings MIII and MVIII were subsequently amalgamated into one. Three further cuttings (MIV, MX and MXI) were

Pl. 4.3—Cutting MVIII in 2008, looking south-west (R. Logue).

mentioned in the daybooks, but it has not been possible to establish the location of these cuttings or to recover any further information about them. They were probably cuttings that were later joined with the larger ditch cuttings, taking on those numbers that survive. On completion of the excavation, cuttings MI, MII and MVIII were consolidated as part of the conservation of the castle (Pl. 4.3).

The stratigraphic sequence in the five ditch cuttings was generally similar. There was a layer of silt at the bottom, which was more pronounced on the western side, where it was as much as 0.3m thick, possibly reflecting prevailing rainfall patterns in that area. The next layer consisted of masonry and mortar and indicates the destruction of some building, perhaps the tower-house. Layers of habitation debris made up the uppermost layers in the ditch. The excavation of the individual ditch cuttings is detailed below.

Cutting MI (Fig. 4.4; Pl. 4.4)
This cutting to the south-east of the gatehouse originally measured 3m by 4m land was extended south-eastwards by 3m to take in the entire ditch profile, and later by another 2m; its final dimensions were 3m by 9m.

The cut for the ditch was made into the boulder clay and the bedrock. In this area it was 3m deep, 4m wide at

Pl. 4.4—MI: north-east-facing section (Photographic Unit, NMS).
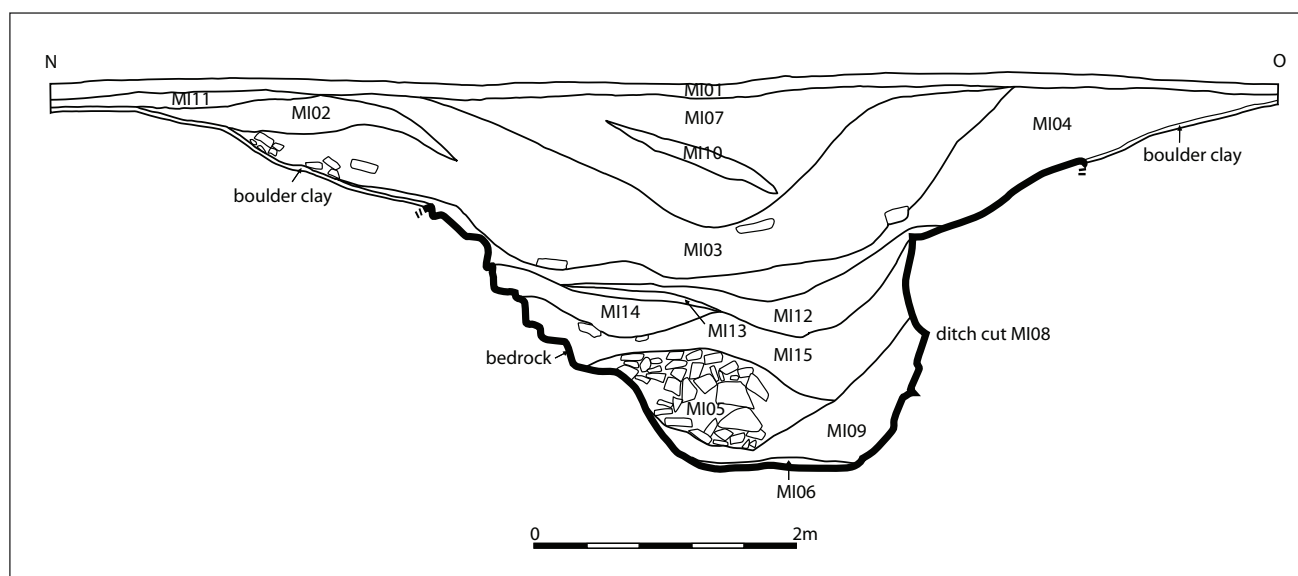
Fig. 4.4—South-west-facing section of MI.

the top and 1.5m wide at the base. At the base of the ditch was a compacted layer of silted boulder clay (C.MI06), which lay on bedrock. Above this was a brown silty soil (C.MI09) containing lumps of boulder clay. This context seems to have accumulated from the outer edge of the ditch. Above it was a layer of stone, rubble and mortar (C.MI05), which had been introduced from the west (or interior). It was noted during the course of the excavation that mortar taken from this layer and visually examined was not like the seventeenth-century mortar used on the site and was instead similar to the mortar adhering to the tower-house and structure 6 (described below). Mortar samples taken during the course of the excavation were analysed to see whether this assertion could be substantiated, but the results were inconclusive (see Curran 2012).

Above the rubble layer (C.MI05) were five successive layers of habitation debris and clays (including C.MI15, MI14, MI12 and MI04). These layers appear to have been introduced from both the east and the west. A stone and gravel layer (C.MI03) was interpreted as being a deliberate fill that sealed the successive layers of intensive occupation debris below. The final fill (C.MI07) below topsoil was a brown sticky soil with shell, bone and charcoal and was laminated with stony layers running down from west to east (e.g. C.MI10). A sherd of reddish stoneware with dark glaze (E104:59) was the only artefact attributed to this trench and it has not been possible to assign it more closely to context.

Cutting MII (Fig. 4.5)
Cutting MII was aligned roughly north/south with one short side against the outside of the northern bawn wall.
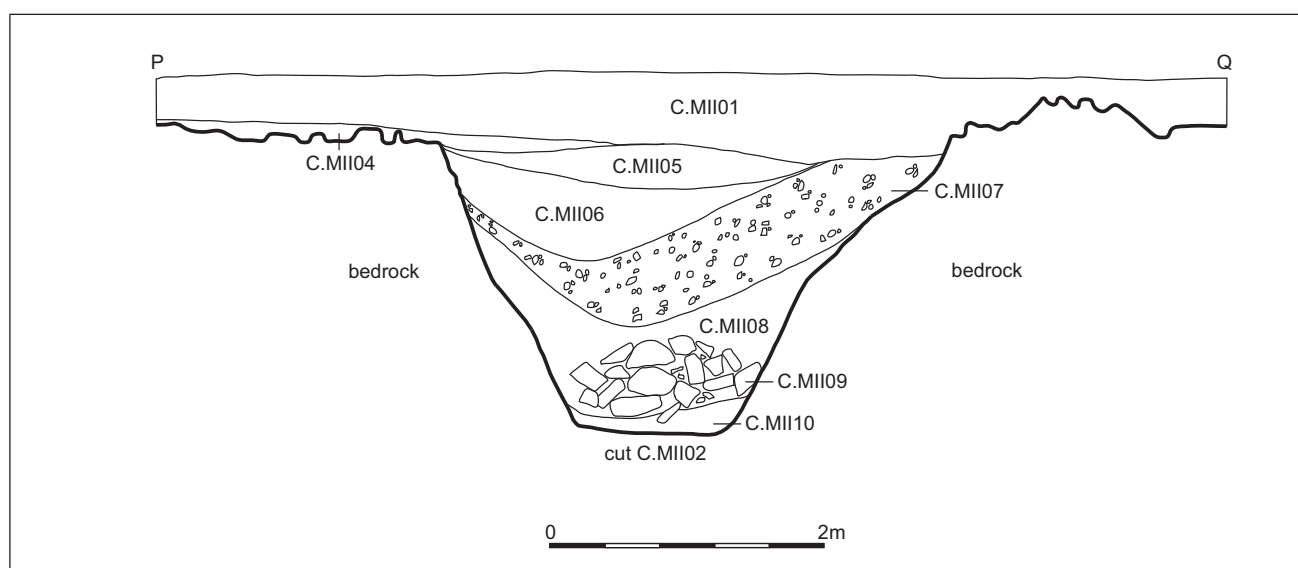
Fig. 4.5—West-facing section of MII.

It measured 3m by 8m and was 5m from the north-west tower. The ditch cut (C.MII02) in this area was made into bedrock and was a maximum of 2.2m deep. It was steep-sided (particularly at its northern edge) and flat-bottomed.

As in cutting MI, it was found that a sandy soil (C.MII10) lay at the base of the ditch on the bedrock, below a dump of masonry and mortar (C.MII09) which appeared to have been tipped into the ditch from the interior of the enclosure and was similar in coarse components and position to C.MI05. Above this dump a series of habitation layers were uncovered, comprising C.MII06 and C.MII08, which were separated from each other by a light stony soil (C.MII07). Above this was a sandy soil (C.MII05) containing some mortar, which lay beneath a thin layer of soft 'mortarish' material (C.MII04) and topsoil (C.MII01).

Cuttings MIII and MVIII (Fig. 4.6; Pls 4.5–4.7)

Cutting MIII was laid out around part of the north-west tower. It was 3m wide and 9m long on its eastern side, extending to just beyond where the tower met the western bawn wall (i.e. the north-east-facing section), and the western side was 8.2m long. A small extension, measuring just 0.5m by 1.6m, was later made to the cutting at the corner where it met the north side of the north-west tower to investigate a linear stone feature (C.MIII04). At a later stage in the excavation cutting MIII was amalgamated with cutting MVIII, which was also situated along the western bawn wall. Originally a baulk of just less than 2m had been left between these two cuttings. Cutting MVIII initially measured 6m by 8m, with one of its short sides along the bawn wall. The cutting was later made larger by an extension, 2.4–2.7m wide and 5.8m long, to follow the

Pl. 4.5—MVIII: north-east-facing section (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Pl. 4.6—MVIII: south-west-facing section (Photographic Unit, NMS).
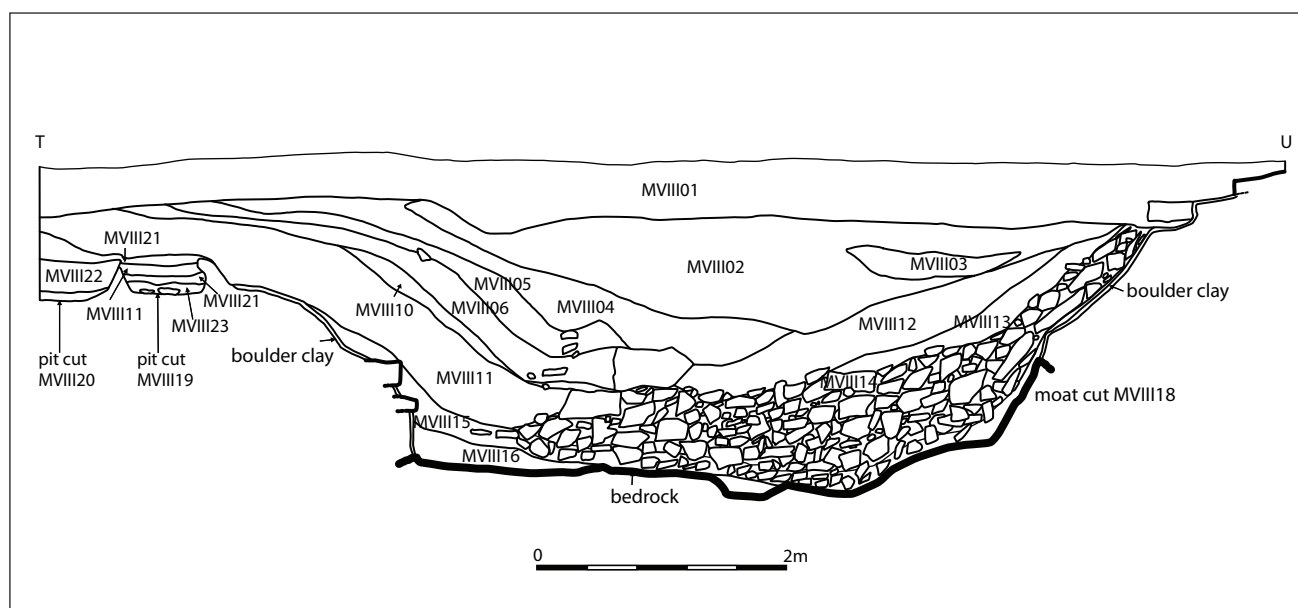
Fig. 4.6—South-west-facing section of MVIII.

outer edge of the ditch. Around the same time the baulk between cuttings MVIII and MIII was removed. The ditch cut (C.MVIII18) had been made into boulder clay and bedrock and it was quite steep-sided, particularly on the side nearest to the bawn wall. Again, in this ditch cutting the basal stone fill (C.MVIII14 and MIII09) appeared to be a deliberate infilling of masonry, and the perception during the excavation was that this was rubble from the demolished tower-house that had been dumped in the ditch.

In cutting MIII the stratigraphic sequence was similar to that in the other ditch cuttings. The ditch cut (C.MIII12) was around 2.3m deep at this point and re-deposited boulder clay (C.MIII11) was found at the base. Above this was a silty soil (C.MIII10) containing habitation debris. Again a thick layer of masonry and mortar (C.MIII09) was uncovered, and above this were two layers of habitation debris (C.MIII06 and C.MIII08) separated by a mortar and sand layer (C.MIIII09). Above these ditch fills were some ephemeral features. A stone linear feature (C.MIII04) ran north-east/south-west, with one larger stone at a right angle to this. In the extension a further line of stones was exposed running roughly east–west; it appeared to be too insubstantial to be a stone foundation but its function was unresolved. Also uncovered below topsoil (C.MIII05) was a 1m scattering of sandy mortar (C.MIII01) and a circular depression (C.MIII03) cut into the boulder clay; it was questioned at the time whether this might be part of a palisade trench. The depression had a charcoal fill (C.MIII02).

The fills within cutting MVIII varied between the two section faces; most notably, the rubble and mortar fill was less evident in the north-east-facing section (Pl. 4.5). The layer of stone rubble and mortar (C.MVIII14) in this

Pl. 4.7—MVIII: drain through bawn wall (C.MVIII30) and layer 3 (C.MVIII04), looking east (Photographic Unit, NMS).

section (as in the other cuttings) lay above a grey silt (C.MVIII15), which lined the base and sides of the cut above bedrock and boulder clay. It was noted, however, that in this section the stone rubble layer was very thin, at a maximum of around 0.45m. In the south-west-facing section (Fig. 4.6; Pl. 4.6), however, the layer of rubble and mortar (C.MVIII14) was up to 1m deep and again lay on the layer of grey silt (C.MVIII15). In patches between the grey silt and bedrock was hard-packed, redeposited boulder clay (C.MVIII16). Above the rubble and mortar in the south-west-facing section of the trench were a layer of sandy soil containing animal bone (C.MVIII11), a grey sandy soil with some mortar (C.MVIII12) and a grey sandy

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soil which was similar to C.MVIII12 but which contained more mortar (C.MVIII13). Along with the rubble and mortar (C.MVIII14), these two layers (C.MVIII12 and C.MVIII13) have accumulated in the ditch from the interior of the enclosure. The sandy soil layer containing animal bone (C.MVIII11) and a number of layers above it (C.MVIII10, MVIII06, MVIII05 and MVIII04) were all tipped from the outer edge of the enclosure. Above these layers and below the sod and topsoil and humus layer (C.MVIII01) was a layer of building rubble and mortar (C.MVIII02).

Within this rubble (C.MVIII02) was a band of habitation debris (C.MVIII03). One of the contexts tipped from the outer edge of the ditch, a black layer (C.MVIII04; Fig. 4.6), yielded a relatively large quantity of artefacts (in comparison to other ditch fill contexts). Descriptions in the daybook note that this context smelled like a fresh drain and that it was dense with animal bone and charcoal, as well as containing occasional oyster shells. Unfortunately none of this particular animal bone is now available for analysis. This context also contained what would appear to be evidence for the destruction of a structure, possibly the tower-house. A quantity of window glass dating from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century was recovered, as were quantities of 'H'-shaped window cames. In addition, clench bolts were recovered, which are likely to be from a wooden door. The context also contained pottery sherds, including Spanish olive jar fragments, glazed red earthenware sherds dating from between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, medieval coarse pottery, which was in use from the mid-thirteenth century until the early seventeenth century, and a sherd of a Bellarmine jug dating from between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Sherds from a glass spirit bottle dating from the eighteenth century and a seventeenth-century drinking glass were found, as well as a 'Jew's harp' frame of postmedieval date and a decorative mount likely to be from a horse harness of probable sixteenth- to seventeenth-century date.

Artefacts were also recovered from a thin, dark brown fill in significant quantities (C.MVIII08) which is harder to place stratigraphically, although it is described in the daybooks as lying above a layer of sandy soil containing animal bone (C.MVIII11) and a grey sandy soil with some mortar (C.MVIII12). Dress artefacts, such as a flat-backed buckle frame dating from the seventeenth to eighteenth century and a lace-chape of probable sixteenth- to seventeenth-century date were recovered, as was an English silver groat dating from 1483. Coarse medieval pottery and glazed red earthenware sherds were also recovered.

Below the topsoil and the ditch fill (C.MVIII11) on the outer edge of the ditch were two pit cuts (C.MVIII19 and C.MVIII20; Fig. 4.6). The pit (C.MVIII19) nearest the

edge of the ditch was the smaller of the two (0.9m long and 0.7m wide). The basal fill was a grey soil with large deposits of charcoal (C.MVIII23), with redeposited boulder clay (C.MVIII21) on top of it; this layering was then repeated again. Immediately adjacent and to the west was a larger pit (MVIII20), 1.1m long and 0.85m wide. The lowermost fill in this pit was a soft mortar (C.MVIII24); above this was a dark soil with charcoal, bone and shell (C.MVIII22); the uppermost fill was redeposited boulder clay (C.MVIII21), also found in the other pit (MVIII19).

Also uncovered in this area was a drain (C.MVIII30; Pl. 4.7) that had been cut through the bottom of the western bawn wall, running between cutting 2 on the interior and MVIII on the exterior of the bawn wall. The drain was filled with a soil (C.MVIII31) containing oyster shells and animal bone. A run-off channel for this drain was cut into the side of the ditch.

While excavating this ditch cutting (MVIII), a 'kick out' at the western edge, corresponding roughly to a kink in the eastern edge, was noted. This slight change in alignment was located just south of the present north-west corner tower, and the possibility that an earlier tower existed was considered. This theory could also explain the large amount of collapse in this area of the ditch. There is, however, no other evidence of another tower and so it would seem more plausible that the collapse in the ditch is destroyed tower-house material. Mortar found on the removal of the baulk between MIII and MVIII appeared to be similar to that used in the tower-house and the same as mortar from the bottom of MVIII—although, again, this visual observation could not be substantiated by thin-section analysis (see Curran 2012). It would appear, therefore, that the filling in of the ditch began with the destruction of the tower-house. It would also seem that this had been completed by the time that the flanking tower in this area was built, as the excavation showed that its foundations in this area were constructed out over the fill of the ditch.

Cutting MVII
This cutting was opened outside the western bawn wall. It measured 3m by 4m and was laid out lengthways along the wall. The purpose of the cutting was to test the relationship of the edge of the ditch at this point to the western bawn wall. The sod and topsoil (C.MVII03) were removed to expose the inner edge of the ditch cut (C.MVII02), which was found to run reasonably parallel with the bawn wall in this area. Habitation debris (C.MVII01) appeared to some extent under the bawn wall. This may be the same as the habitation debris (C.207) associated with the tower-house, which is also possibly the same as the habitation layer (C.104) encountered in the bawn interior. As this habitation debris (C.MVII01) was running under the western bawn wall it was clearly earlier than the bawn wall construction, at least in this area.
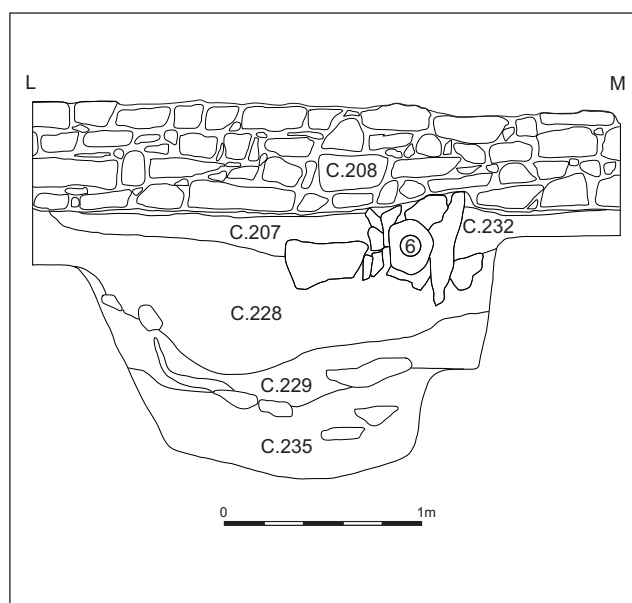
Fig. 4.7—South-west-facing section (L–M) through the trench (C.211), with superimposed later structures.

Pl. 4.8—Cutting 3: trench and hearth (C.211 and C.311), looking west (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Cutting MIX

Cutting MIX was located along the northern bawn wall beside the north-east flanking tower and was also opened to test the line of the inner edge of the ditch. The cutting was laid out as 3m by 4m, with a longer side lying along the bawn wall. Soon after this cutting was opened it was extended by 2m to the west. The sod and topsoil (C.MIX01) lay above a sandy, stony layer with mortar (C.MIX02). Below these was a context described as a 'slate layer' (C.MIX03), which appeared to represent a layer of roofing material collapsed or deposited into the ditch. At least two other contexts were excavated; although they are not described in the daybooks, labels on finds bags note a 'superficial black layer' (C.MIX04) and another described as 'layer 8' (C.MIX05). Nothing is known of the stratigraphic relationships of these contexts.

This cutting was not fully excavated, but the inner edge of the ditch was located 1–2.25m from the bawn wall, running roughly parallel to the wall in the western side of the cutting but then turning to run in a south-easterly direction. It was observed that the ditch ran under the north-east tower, a further indication that the filling up of the ditch pre-dated the construction of the flanking towers. This cutting was filled in on the completion of its excavation. A quantity of window glass was recovered during the excavation of this cutting, both from the 'slate layer' (C.MIX03) and from the 'superficial black layer' (C.MIX04). A perforated roof slate was recovered from the 'slate layer' (C.MIX03), and a pottery sherd which was dated during the course of the excavation to the fourteenth–fifteenth century was recovered from the black layer (C.MIX04). Also recovered from the slate layer (C.MIX03) were a seventeenth- to eighteenth-century

drinking glass and an eighteenth-century glass phial.

The bawn interior

Linear gully (C.211) (Fig. 4.3; Pl. 4.8)

Uncovered below the nineteenth-century stabling, in the area west of the tower-house, were the remains of a gully feature that was early in the stratigraphic sequence at the castle. It was not possible to relate the gully directly to any of the other main structures or features on site and determining its function is difficult. It was a ditch-like feature (C.211) running roughly north-east/south-west for over 19m before turning north-west/south-east, running through cutting 25 for over 8m (Fig. 4.3). It was cut into boulder clay and had a number of fills (C.228, 229, 238, 235, 236 and 237). It was over 2m wide in places and over 1m deep. No finds were recorded as coming from this trench feature; although the daybooks mention that a quantity of animal bone was recovered from the fills, this bone is no longer available for analysis.

The gully (C.211) lay beneath the habitation debris associated with the tower-house and below structure 6 (C.232) (Fig. 4.7), and also seemed to pre-date the construction of the bawn wall. During the excavation within the north-west tower, although the area was too small to identify conclusively the northward continuation of the gully (C.211), it was felt likely that the soft fill on which the tower was built was the likely continuation of that feature. It seems, therefore, that the fills encountered (C.NW06, NW07 and NW08) were fills of the cut (C.211). The trench was also stratigraphically earlier than hearth C.311, which was also cut into boulder clay and was filled by C.312 (Pl. 4.8). The nineteenth-century stable wall (C.1203) overlay this hearth.

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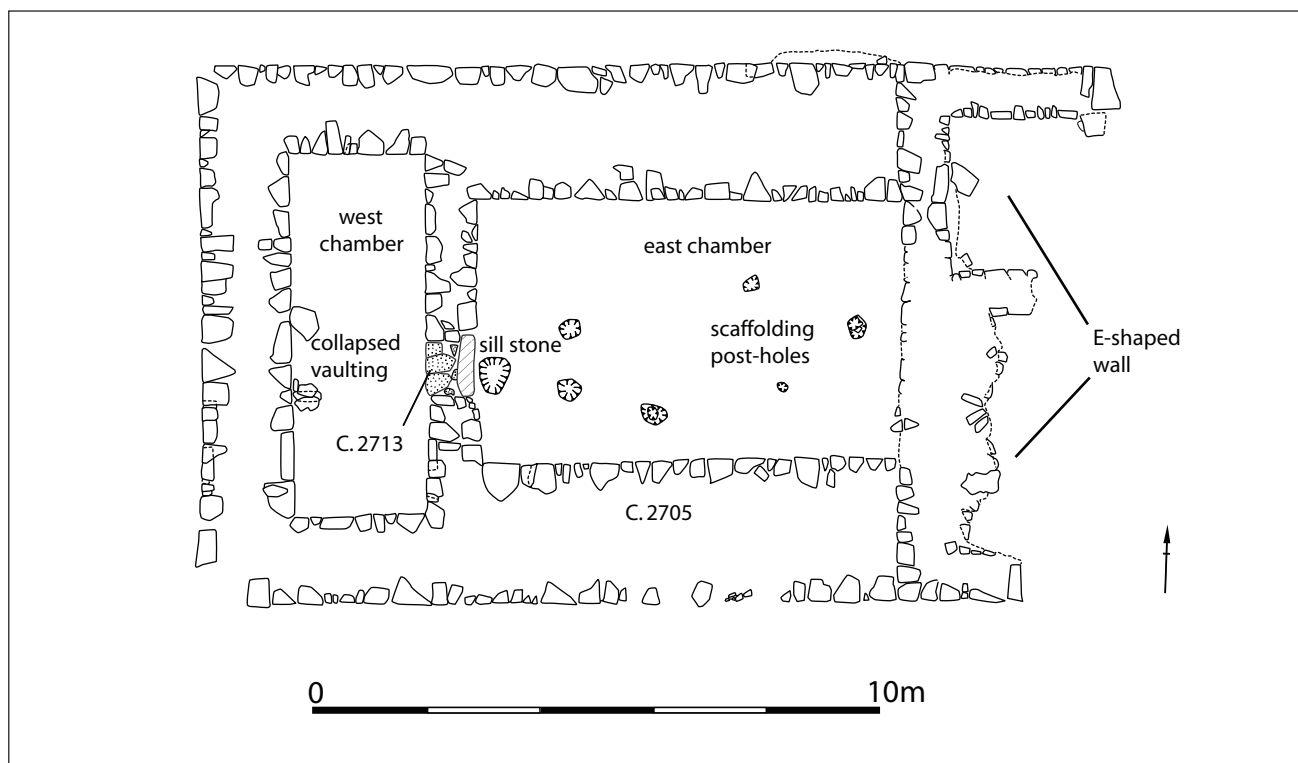
Fig. 4.8—Plan of tower-house.

The tower-house

The foundations of a hitherto unknown tower-house were discovered on removal of the seventeenth-century cobbles (Fig. 4.8; Pl. 4.9). Located in the northern area of the bawn, the tower-house's north wall (C.2705) ran parallel to the northern bawn wall. The foundations of the eastern end of the building had been comprehensively removed, leaving a feature named the 'E-shaped wall' (C.2806; Fig. 4.8), and it can be suggested that this was done to clear space for the construction of the western façade of the manor

house in the seventeenth century. The main body of the building contained two chambers of unequal size, divided by a partition wall and sill with steps descending from the eastern chamber into the western, the latter containing collapsed debris that suggested that its ground floor had been under a vaulted roof (Pl. 4.11). Following the excavation, the wall footings of the tower-house were built up to present the foundations above the level of the replaced cobbles (Pls 4.9 and 4.10).

Pl. 4.9—View towards the south-west corner of the bawn interior, showing the foundations of the tower-house as displayed following completion of the conservation work (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Pl. 4.10—Northern bawn wall and tower-house in 2008, looking north (R. Logue).

Western chamber (Fig. 4.8; Pl. 4.12)

Located within cutting 27, the western chamber is the smaller of the two rooms within the building, measuring 2.5m by 6.5m. The doorway between the eastern and western chambers of the tower-house led to two steps up to the eastern chamber (C.2713), with a sill stone still *in situ* on the upper step. Within the western chamber the boulder clay had been dug out to create a lower floor level (Fig. 4.9). A rubble layer (C.2727) had been laid on top of the clay and the walls of the western chamber were constructed on this surface. Above this rubble, a sandy daub (C.2720) and pebbled surface (C.2718) were identified as the possible historic floor level within the tower-house. This floor surface was overlain by a dark charcoal and animal bone layer

Pl. 4.11—Depth of surviving levels of the partition wall within the interior of the tower-house as revealed during the excavation, looking towards north-west corner of the eastern chamber, with sill stone *in situ* (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Pl. 4.12—Western chamber of tower-house, with a step at the doorway leading into the eastern chamber on the middle right of the image, looking north (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Pl. 4.13—Eastern chamber within the tower-house, looking north-eastward towards the western wall of the manor house (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Pl. 4.14—The north-east corner of the eastern chamber in the main chamber block, showing its abutment against the wall of the building's subsidiary chamber section (Photographic Unit, NMS).

(C.2717), which was uncovered below a well-packed stony surface (C.2716). These layers were sealed by a context that was interpreted as possibly an old sod layer (C.2712) in the northern end of the chamber, indicating that there was a time-lapse between the destruction of the tower-house and the cobbling which sealed it. A layer of collapsed masonry (C.2715) overlay these contexts inside the western chamber and was interpreted as the remains of collapsed vaulting. Some iron nails and other unidentified iron pieces were recovered from among this rubble, as was a possible sherd of a Staffordshire slipware press-moulded vessel of late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century date. The rubble layer was in turn overlain by the gravel bedding (C.2710) for the seventeenth-century cobbles.

Eastern chamber (Pl. 4.13)
Exposed within cuttings 20, 21, 22 and 28, the eastern chamber is the larger of the two rooms within the tower-house at ground-floor level and measures 4.5m north/south by 7.2m east/west. The internal partition wall between the eastern and western chambers is 0.9m thick. The boulder clay had not been cut away in this area as it had in the western chamber, and seven post-holes (C.2723, C.2728–C.2732 and C.2734) were found cut into the surface and associated with a skin of hard mortar (C.2733) that covered the interior of the chamber and packed the tops of the post-holes (Fig. 4.8). It is possible that the post-holes once housed a timber framework to support the wicker-centring over this chamber during the construction of a vault. Such a suggestion receives supplementary support in the form of the mortar spread that lay on the clay floor and which might represent mortar that fell on

this surface from the underside of the vault when it was being constructed. Also at this level, just inside the doorway, between the two chambers there was a roughly circular depression (C.2725) with a fill of stones (C.2726). A copper-alloy decorative bar (possibly from a box or chest) was recovered from one of the post-holes (it is not possible now to identify which post-hole) located to the east of the entranceway in the eastern chamber.

Only five of the seven post-holes in this area were fully described in the daybooks and it is not possible to relate them to those depicted on the plan (Fig. 4.8). They are described as being irregular in shape. Three are described as roughly circular in plan. The first of these post-holes sloped from the east and had a diameter of 0.66m and a depth of 0.34m. The second example had a diameter of 0.4m and a depth of 0.15m, while the third had a diameter of approximately 0.26m and a depth of 0.2m. Two of the post-holes are described as being subrectangular in plan. The first of these measured 0.27m by 0.2m, had straight sides and was 0.335m deep, while the second had a roughly rectangular opening, 0.23m by 0.22m, below which lay a shelf some 0.011m down which then opened into a circular hole, 0.21m in diameter and a further 0.51m in depth. Overlying these post-holes was a layer of undisturbed habitation debris (C.2722), which was found over most of the interior of the eastern chamber but concentrated in the centre. A rubble collapse layer (C.2757) overlay this and was directly below the gravel bedding for the seventeenth-century cobbles (C.2102).

E-shaped wall
The foundations of the eastern end of the tower-house had
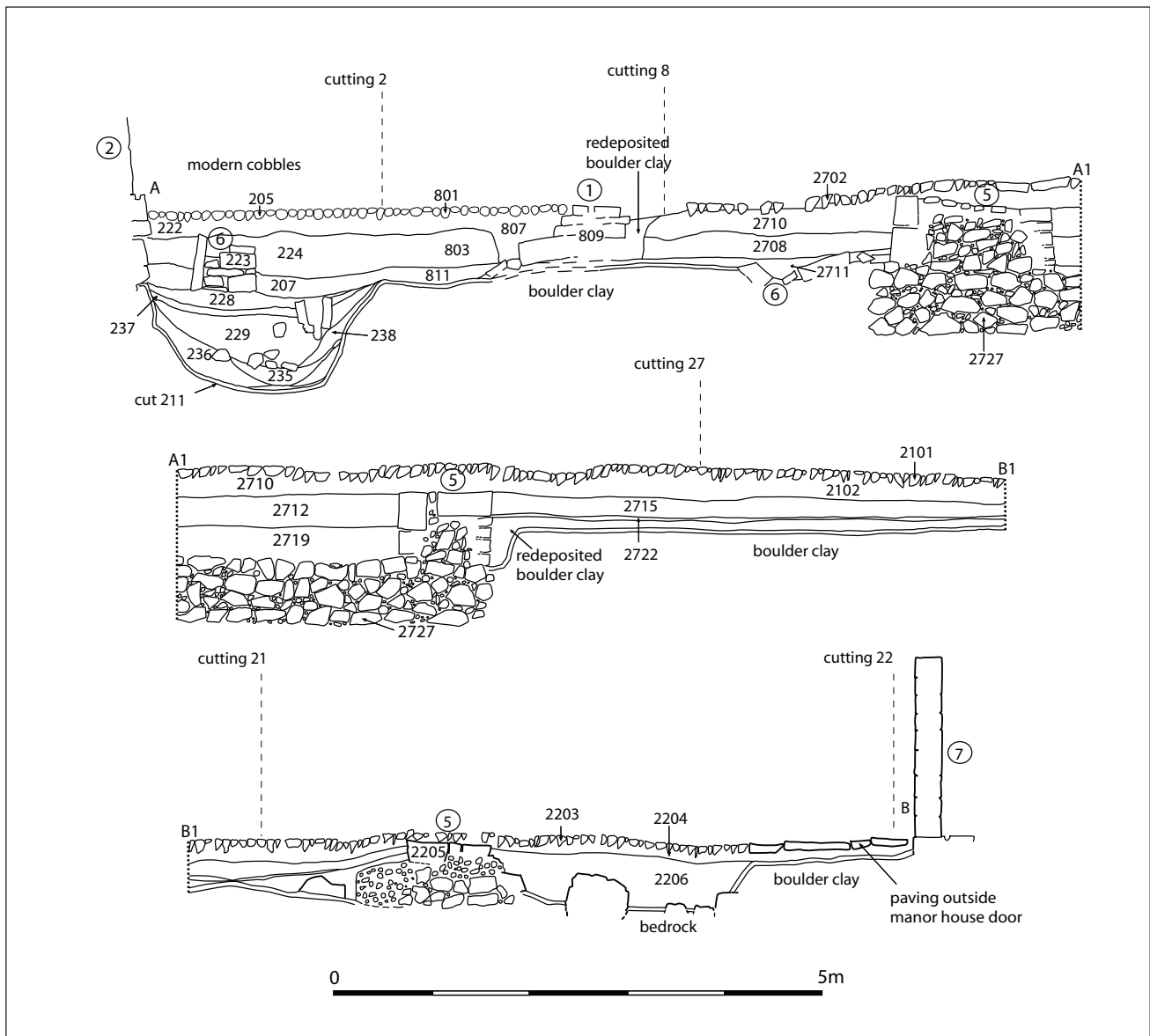
Fig. 4.9—South-facing section (A–B) through interior of bawn.

been removed down to the last course of masonry, and it is assumed that this demolition was undertaken to provide space for the construction of the west wall of the manor house. As a result of the appearance of this remnant of foundation when revealed during the excavation, the eastern end of the tower-house was referred to as the 'E-shaped wall' (Fig. 4.8). This eastern section of the building (C.2806, C.2205 and C.3002) was constructed on a rubble foundation (C.2809), which in turn lay on the boulder clay.

Excavation of the south-east corner of the eastern chamber (Pl. 4.14; Fig. 4.8) revealed that there was a straight joint running from north to south between the eastern chamber and the 'E-shaped wall'; from this evidence it is now possible to extrapolate that this was an example of a sectionally constructed tower-house (see Donnelly 1998; this volume). Based on the analysis of upstanding examples of tower-houses constructed in this

manner, it would appear that the eastern end of the tower-house (the 'E-shaped wall') would originally have contained the main entrance, the lobby, a spiral staircase and subsidiary chambers, and that it would have been constructed as a separate, although interlinking, unit from the main chamber block to the west.

Features excavated to the north, south and west of the tower-house

Areas of the bawn were excavated to the north, south and west of the tower-house, and were found to contain the remnants of a number of walls, gullies cut into the boulder clay and some areas that were scattered with small natural stones (perhaps intentionally metalled). Several areas of burning were also revealed. The entire working surface was covered in a dark humus layer that contained habitation debris, including animal bone, shell and charcoal. Covering this was a layer of collapsed masonry (the same

as that encountered within the tower-house) containing several dressed stones. The gravel bedding and its associated cobbling of seventeenth-century date had then been laid over this rubble layer.

Area to north of tower-house

A layer of mortar (C.3003) uncovered to the north of the tower-house was judged to be contemporary with the construction of the north wall. Bedrock was apparent in places below this mortar layer. Against the northern stretch of tower-house wall was a context described as 'tower-house refuse' (C.2756; Fig. 4.3) that contained significant amounts of bone and shell and also produced an iron arrowhead of probable pre-1500 date (see Courtney in Section 5). It was thought at the time of excavation that this material might represent the remnants of general refuse that had been ejected from within the building via a garderobe chute that opened at this point on the exterior of the tower-house wall. Above this layer of material was a deposit of small stone chippings (C.3106), while a layer of sand and gravel (C.3105) was also present in places. Stratified over this was a layer of habitation debris (C.3104) containing shell, animal bone and charcoal. An iron knife with a whittle tang was recovered from this layer (C.3104) and is likely to be sixteenth-century or earlier in date (see Courtney in Section 5). On top of the tower-house wall remained a lens of what was described as a 'sticky white soil' (C.3112). All of these layers were positioned below the seventeenth-century cobbling and its associated gravel bedding.

Area to south of tower-house

Many features were uncovered in the area to the south of the tower-house (Fig. 4.3), including gullies, walls, areas of burning and the remains of various surfaces. Unfortunately, however, it has not been possible to establish how the features relate to one another stratigraphically, except to say that they all pre-date the pitched cobble layer, and it has only been possible to establish a general stratigraphic sequence for this area. The earliest stratigraphic features were cut into or immediately overlay the boulder clay. A linear feature (C.1813) that was cut into the clay and ran from east to west across cutting 18 may have been either a wall trench or a gully. The feature was found to contain a fill of loosely packed stones (C.1814) and a charcoal layer (C.1816), although it is unclear now which of these fills was deposited first. Also uncovered in this area was a strip of charcoal and burnt earth (C.2741)—possibly the remains of a burnt timber—lying parallel to the south wall of the tower-house but 1.7m to the south of it. Two post-holes were also uncovered (C.2742 and 2743), in addition to a drain or gully (C.2744) that ran through cuttings 27, 18 and 28 and seemed to avoid the post-holes.

Pl. 4.15—Looking eastward, with 'structure 8' in the foreground and 'structure 13' in the background (Photographic Unit, NMS).

A shallow linear gully (C.2816) cut into the boulder clay close to and parallel to the southern wall of the tower-house (see Fig. 4.3) may have been a feature created by the construction of the wall or it may have been a drain leading away from the base of the wall. It ran from east to west for 6m and had a grey sticky basal deposit containing charcoal and shell (C.2818); the upper fill was a mixed rubble and humus layer that was rich in habitation debris (C.2817).

The remains of a wall were encountered near the south-east corner of cutting 25 (Fig. 4.3; Pls 4.15 and 4.16), some 10m from the south wall of the tower-house. Designated as 'structure 8' (C.2509), the wall overlay the shallow trench (C.211) and an area of darker clay (C.2512) and was located roughly parallel to another section of walling, 'structure 13' (C.18S01) (see Fig. 4.3; Pls 4.15 and 4.16). This stretch of wall was approximately 1.4m wide and 3.2m long; there was a scatter of small stones around it, apparently caused by its collapse or demolition, and it was covered by a dark turfy clay (C.2527) containing animal bones. Both 'structure 8' and 'structure 13' were located below the seventeenth-century levels, but the exact nature of their relationship to each other could not be discerned. Although apparently not stratigraphically related to the two walls, the spread of heat-cracked stones (Fig. 4.3) to the north-west of 'structure 13' was interpreted during the excavation as an area where metal hoops may have been added to cartwheels by a blacksmith. Other layers that are mentioned in the daybooks as having been encountered in this area of the bawn interior include a shell layer (C.18S11) and a layer of collapsed stone (C.18S10), but their exact location and place in the strati-

Pl. 4.16—Cutting 25 east: looking westward, with 'structure 8' in the centre of the photograph and 'structure 13' to the right (Photographic Unit, NMS).

graphic sequence are not now known. A layer of habitation debris (C.2815, C.2508 and C.1817) containing a fragment of window glass was uncovered close to the south wall of the tower-house. This type of window glass had become rare by the sixteenth century (see Moran in Section 5) and it can therefore be judged that it probably originated from a window within the tower-house.

The habitation debris in cutting 28 was covered by a layer of boulder clay and a pebble mantle comprising small water-rolled stones that displayed evidence of having been burnt. This layer (C2808) had been disturbed during mortar-making in the seventeenth century (see below). In the southern area of the bawn, below the level of the seventeenth-century stables (C.2301), cobbling (C.701) and gravel (C.704), was a layer of habitation debris (C.705) mixed with boulder clay which contained fragments of glass, nails, stone and roof tiles. Below the habitation debris was a stony fill (C.706) containing some bone and shell that was interpreted as a platform that had been added to provide a level surface in the area around the tower-house.

A fragment of wall ('structure 11'; C.2607) some 2.4m in length was revealed running roughly from north to south in the southern area of the bawn (see Fig. 4.3). Only the eastern face of the wall was uncovered, while its western side lay within an unexcavated area and a post-hole was positioned at its southern limit. To the east of this wall a surface of boulder clay studded with pebbles (C.2608) was revealed (similar to the pebble cobbling (C.2524) uncovered to the south of 'structure 8') that had a number of burnt patches on its surface, including the possible remains of a hearth (C.2609) and a possible fire-pit

(C.2610), while traces of a further two hearths (C.2315 and C.2316) were uncovered to the east, *c.* 3m apart. An area of 'paving' (C.2611) was identified to the east of 'structure 11' (C.2607) but it was not possible to establish the stratigraphic relationship between the wall, the paving and the pebble cobbling. The pebble cobbling ended abruptly at its southern edge and would appear to have been truncated by a trench (C.2321), possibly the foundation cut for the bawn wall.

The footings of an L-shaped wall, presumably representing the foundation courses of a demolished stone building ('structure 10'; C.3401; see Fig. 4.2), were discovered below the seventeenth-century cobbles in the south-east corner of the bawn. While most of the corner of the wall was missing, what remained comprised an east/west section, 0.78m wide and approximately 2.97m long, joined to a north/south section, 0.58m long and 0.7m wide, which terminated about 0.3m short of the eastern bawn wall. The removal of the wall revealed that it overlay a layer of mortar and mortar-rich sand (C.3411), below which was a black charcoal floor (C.3410) that had areas of red burnt clay and ash. During the excavation this layer was referred to as both 'the burning floor' and 'the burning complex'. This area, and another large area of ash close by, may represent the remains of hearths, and a considerable amount of bone was found in association with them. A barbed iron arrowhead that would appear to date from before 1500 was recovered from the charcoal floor, while a worm for cleaning guns and three lead shot were discovered nearby in cutting 33 north, although none of these four artefacts were recorded as from particular contexts within this trench (see Courtney in Section 5). To the south of 'structure 10' the stratigraphic sequence was described in the daybooks as having been complex, and the relationships between the layers encountered in this area remained unresolved during fieldwork, although an Irish groat, dated to 1557 (see Kenny in Section 5), was recovered from a sandy black layer (C.3415) in this area.

The above account has highlighted that a range of significant archaeological layers and features were present in the area to the south of the tower-house. While it has not been possible in all cases to establish their stratigraphic relationships, it can be suggested that they represent evidence of the economic and social use of the site prior to the levelling up for and laying down of the seventeenth-century cobbled yard on its associated gravel bedding (C.1804 and C.2505). In particular, it can be suggested that the sections of wall uncovered (structures 8, 10, 11 and 13) represent the remains of buildings which were contemporaneous with the tower-house or which belonged to the first phase of Parke's occupation of the site after 1628 but before his main phase of building work commenced and the cobbled yard was laid down. The archaeological record, however, hints at a phase of aban-

donment at the site before Parke took up residence, for beneath the cobbling was identified an old sod layer (C.2810 and C.1808) that overlay the habitation debris (C2815 and C.2508). In a number of areas it was also noted that collapsed masonry (C.2807, C.1809 and C.2506) lay on top of this sod layer, with the implication being that this material had originated from the demolition of the tower-house. Artefacts recovered from amidst the collapsed masonry (C.2506) included sherds of pottery that are possibly from a sixteenth-century northern French vessel, and a spur buckle that dates from the later sixteenth to the first half of the seventeenth century.

Area to west of tower-house

The area to the west of the tower house had been significantly disturbed during the construction of the nineteenth-century stable block, which had resulted in the displacement of the seventeenth-century cobbles and the deposition of a layer of collapsed stone mixed with stray cobbles and brick (C.2708). Despite the activities of the nineteenth-century builders, however, evidence of activity that pre-dated the laying down of the cobbled surface survived *in situ*. At the south-west corner of the tower-house a layer of habitation debris (C.2711) was uncovered, containing part of a knife blade that is likely to be of fourteenth- to sixteenth-century date (see Courtney in Section

Pl. 4.17—'Structure 6', looking north-west (Photographic Unit, NMS).

5), while the stone footings for a three-sided structure ('structure 6'; C.232, C.812 and C.1405) were discovered to the west of the tower-house. The eastern side of this structure ran parallel and adjacent to the exterior of the west wall of the tower-house, and the remains of the northern

Pl. 4.18—The manor house exterior and gatehouse, before the excavation and conservation work, looking south–west (Photographic Unit, NMS).

and western walls were also recorded (Fig. 4.3; Pl. 4.17), the former cut by a linear stone feature ('structure 9'; C.816 and C.241), running eastwards, which had its principal stones set vertically and which resembled the sides of a drain; both of these stone features overlay the earlier trench feature (C.211; Fig. 4.7) described above.

Also located to the west of the tower-house were a number of small stake-holes (C.2738), which were cut into the boulder clay. These stake-holes were inclined and filled with charcoal (C.2739) and had an average depth of 0.12m; it was suggested that they may have been used to support containers set over a fire. Several areas of burnt red earth (C.2740) were also present on this boulder clay within the area of 'structure 6' (see Fig. 4.3), while the daybooks describe the stake-holes and areas of burnt red earth as being located together. It can be suggested, therefore, that this structure was contemporaneous with the tower-house and that it was probably a kitchen.

The manor house and associated structures
Prior to the excavation, Parke's Castle was known as an early seventeenth-century monument. The bawn walls, manor house and gatehouse were all standing, although roofless (Pls 4.18–4.20), but the excavation was to reveal further evidence of seventeenth-century occupation, including kitchen and stable buildings and a sally-port leading to the lough.

The bawn wall
The bawn wall
A number of cuttings were opened to investigate the foundations of the bawn wall. The exact location of cutting MIV is now unknown but was recorded as being at the east side of the north-east corner tower, to investigate its relationship to the bawn wall. The north-east tower foundations were 0.6m below the sod/topsoil (C.MIV01) line. There was a clay and stony fill (C.MIV02) under the topsoil. Below C.MIV02 was a loose stony fill (C.MIV03) that ran underneath the tower foundations. It became apparent during the excavation that the ditch (C.MIV04) occurred in the area of this cutting and that the foundations (C.MIV05) of the north-east flanking tower lay on top of its fill. Cutting MV was located against the northern bawn wall and measured 1.1m wide and 1.2m long. Its purpose was to test the relationship between the northern bawn wall drain and the ditch. The cutting was therefore directly opposite the drain in cutting 31 (C.3113) on the outside of the bawn wall. There was no further information on this cutting.

Cutting MVI was between MII and MV outside the northern bawn wall; it was 1.2m wide and 3.1m long and its purpose was to investigate the nature of habitation debris found under the northern bawn wall. The sod/topsoil (C.MVI03) was removed. The bawn wall foundation trench (C.MVI01) was exposed and found to be cut into bedrock. It was apparent that part of the foundations on

Pl. 4.19—The manor house and gatehouse from the bawn interior, prior to the excavation and conservation work, looking north–north–east (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Pl. 4.20—The bawn interior, prior to the 1970s excavation and conservation work, looking north (Photographic Unit, NMS).

the exterior of the bawn wall had been replaced at some stage. The material in this location was different from the adjacent underpinning. The fill of the wall foundation trench was loose mortar mixed with dark clay (C.MVI02) containing charcoal, shell and bone. As the foundations in this cutting were rather loose, the excavation work was discontinued for health and safety reasons.

The foundation trench for the bawn wall was also encountered in the course of excavating the bawn interior. In the area of cutting 24, for example (Fig. 4.3), the foundation for the eastern bawn wall was uncovered. The edges of what was possibly the southern bawn wall foundation trench (C.2321) were uncovered when excavating the wall (structure 11; C.2301) in cutting 23 and cutting 26. This cut feature ran roughly parallel to the southern bawn wall and appeared to be dug into a layer of redeposited boulder clay (C.2322); its fill, a grey soil mixed with yellow, contained charcoal (C.2324 and C.2622). Near the edge of the trench on the eastern side of the cutting two post-holes were found (C.2319 and 2320), and presumably these were also cut into the redeposited boulder clay. This redeposited boulder clay was removed to reveal a clay layer containing charcoal and with an area of burning and ashes (C.2328); this layer overlay more boulder clay. A section of the bawn wall foundation trench (C.3429) was also uncovered in the south-west corner of the bawn, where a length of approximately 2.7m was revealed. It seemed to have been cut through the redeposited boulder clay (C.3419) and was filled with a black clay with some mortar (C.3420).
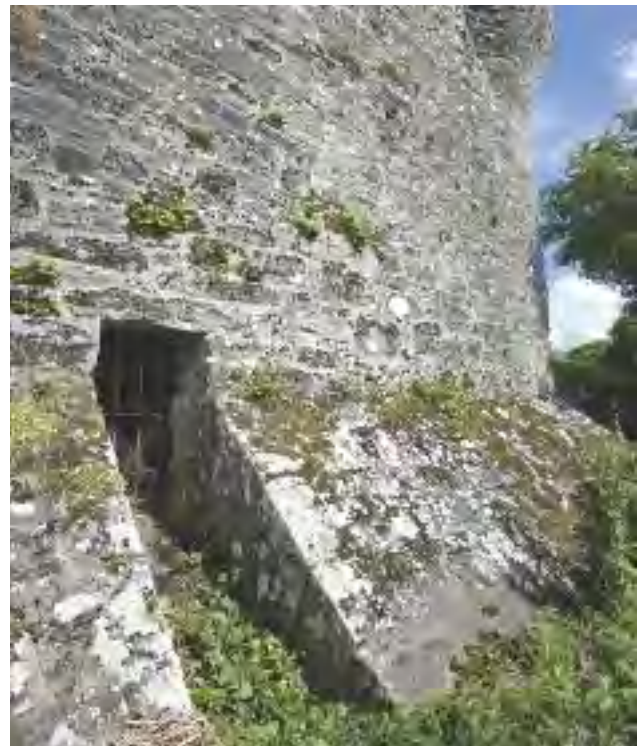
Pl. 4.21—The sally-port opening through the southern bawn wall and later wall batter, looking north-east from the lough shore (Photographic Unit, NMS).

The north-west corner tower
The interior of the north-west corner tower of the bawn wall was investigated during the course of the excavation. The subcircular area that was excavated measured an aver-

age of 2.5m in diameter. The sod/topsoil in this area was removed (C.NW01) to expose light brown mortar-rich clay (C.NW02). A layer of loose yellow mortar (C.NW03) overlay a humus layer (C.NW04) that was thought to be an old sod layer. Some large flat stones were protruding through the humus and were found to be part of a stony fill (C.NW05). Boulder clay, with an edge, began to show up on the north-western side of the area, while on the south-eastern side a dark brown soil (C.NW06) was appearing. A sticky clay (C.NW07) was removed and there were stones (C.NW08) at the bottom. The area was taken down to bedrock. As noted above, it was felt that these layers (C.NW06, NW07 and NW08), encountered within the tower, were in fact fills of the northward continuation of the trench/gully (C.211). Although the area was too small to make a definitive identification, it was felt likely that the soft fill on which this tower was built was the continuation of that gully. Although it was observed from the outside, within MIII, that this corner tower oversails the inner edge of the ditch, no further details on this stratigraphic relationship could be discerned on the inside owing to the thickness of the tower wall.

The sally-port

A sally-port (C.3426) in the southern bawn wall was uncovered in cutting 34, aligned north-east/south-west (Pls 4.21 and 4.22), and appears to have been a later insertion in the wall. Three lintels of the roof of the sally-port remained *in situ*. The southernmost two were close together and on the same level; the third was set at a slightly different angle and its surface is 0.5m higher than the other two. Excavation around the lintels soon became

Pl. 4.22—The northern end of the sally-port, looking south-west (Photographic Unit, NMS).

dangerous, and a support structure was installed below them so that work could continue (Pl. 4.22). On clearing rubble and loose material out of the sally-port, six steps were uncovered (Fig. 4.10). A number of collapsed building stones were found at the base of the steps. These were

Pl. 4.23—Exterior of restored manor house from inside bawn, looking east (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Pl. 4.24—Mortar-souring pit after excavation, looking west (Photographic Unit, NMS).

removed to reveal a clay floor at the bottom of the sally-port. Stones set within it were interpreted as the remains of informal cobbling.

A further three fills were uncovered in the sally-port. A top black layer (C.3427) was encountered above a loose fill (C.3428), with a second black layer below (C.3430). The daybook notes that a considerable amount of bone was contained in the fills in the sally-port; unfortunately this bone is no longer available for analysis. Sherds from wine bottles dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see Scully in Section 5) were recovered from the loose fill (C.3428), as well as eleven sherds of post-medieval blackware and glazed red earthenware.

The manor house phase

The manor house at Parke's Castle occupies the north-eastern side of the five-sided bawn (Pl. 4.23). A cutting (cutting A) was set out along the interior south wall of the seventeenth-century house during the course of the excavation. It was cleared of loose rubble and mortar to reveal bedrock (some bedrock was actually protruding prior to excavation). There were no significant finds in the cutting and only modern material was uncovered. As the interior had been cleaned out and gravelled earlier in the twentieth century by the OPW, it was assumed that any archaeological layers had been removed.

The mortar pit

A large area of mortar (Pl. 4.24) was uncovered during the excavation and extended through cutting 28 (C.2812) for about 4m (it was also encountered in cuttings 18 and 25). A pit (C.2813) was dug through the mortar and filled with large stones (C.2814). This rectangular feature lay under the seventeenth-century cobble gravel bedding (C.2811) and was aligned roughly south-east/north-west, measuring 2m by 1.1m; some brick was found at its bottom. The pit had a gully running out from each of its short ends but it was unclear which feature came first, or indeed whether they were contemporary. It seems likely that this feature may have been a store for the maturation of lime mortar during a building phase before the laying of the cobbles.

Kitchen building: structure 3

A building was uncovered along the line of the south-eastern bawn wall (Fig. 4.2; Pl. 4.25). The structure (structure 3) only exists now at foundation level, but a double gable mark on the south wall of the gatehouse, observed during excavation in the 1970s, must reflect its outline. During
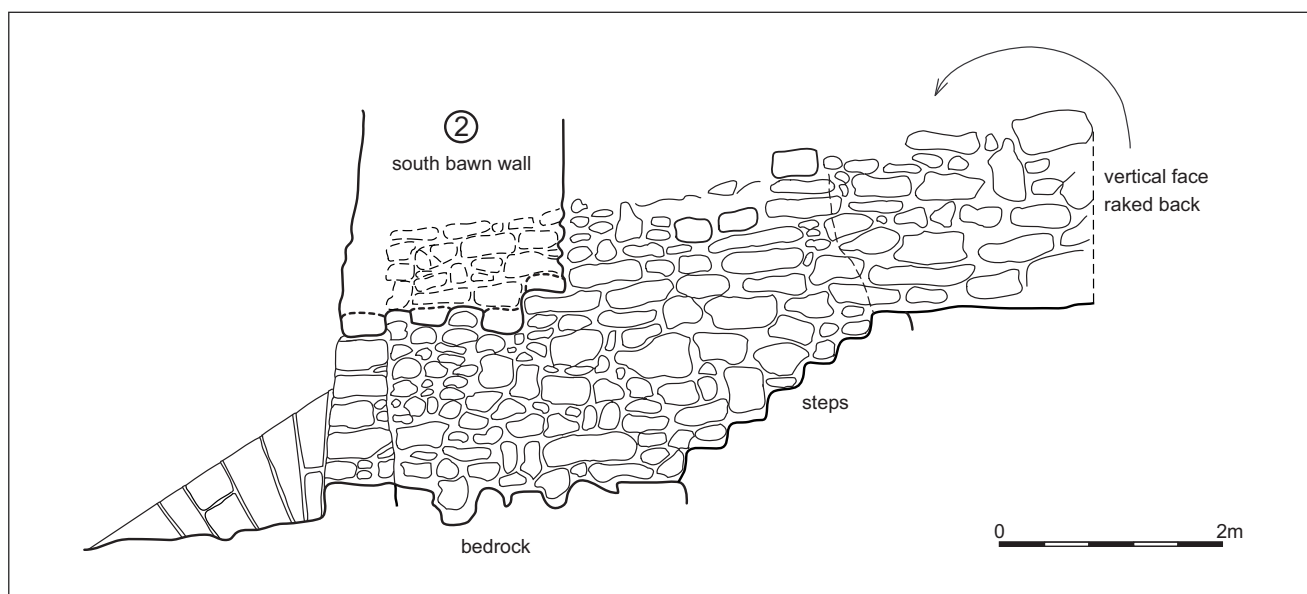
Fig. 4.10—Western elevation of sally-port wall.

the course of the excavation this building was interpreted as a kitchen and it seems likely that there were two phases of construction, with a second parallel wall 1m to the west reflected in a second gable mark observed on the gate-house wall.

When the sod/topsoil (C.2401, C.2901 and C.3301) was removed, a layer of stone debris, clay and mortar (C.2402, C.2902, C.2903 and C.3302) mixed with modern ceramic and brick was uncovered. A lot of mortar and plaster was recovered from these top layers, and the two parallel walls defining the structure were exposed. The external dimensions of the building are 5m by 8m and the walls are 0.7m thick. The inner wall (C.2404 and C.2905) runs parallel to the bawn wall from the south gatehouse wall and returns at right angles (C.2406) to join the bawn wall. This range of buildings seemed to continue south-wards towards the southern bawn wall, although this area was heavily disturbed, with patches of burning and re-deposited clay similar to those found within the kitchen structure. The north-east/south-west wall (C.2404 and C.2905) was found to be partially built on the seventeenth-

Pl. 4.25—Cuttings 24 and 34: the kitchen structure in the upper part of the picture against the south wall of the gatehouse and eastern bawn wall, looking north-east (Photographic Unit, NMS).
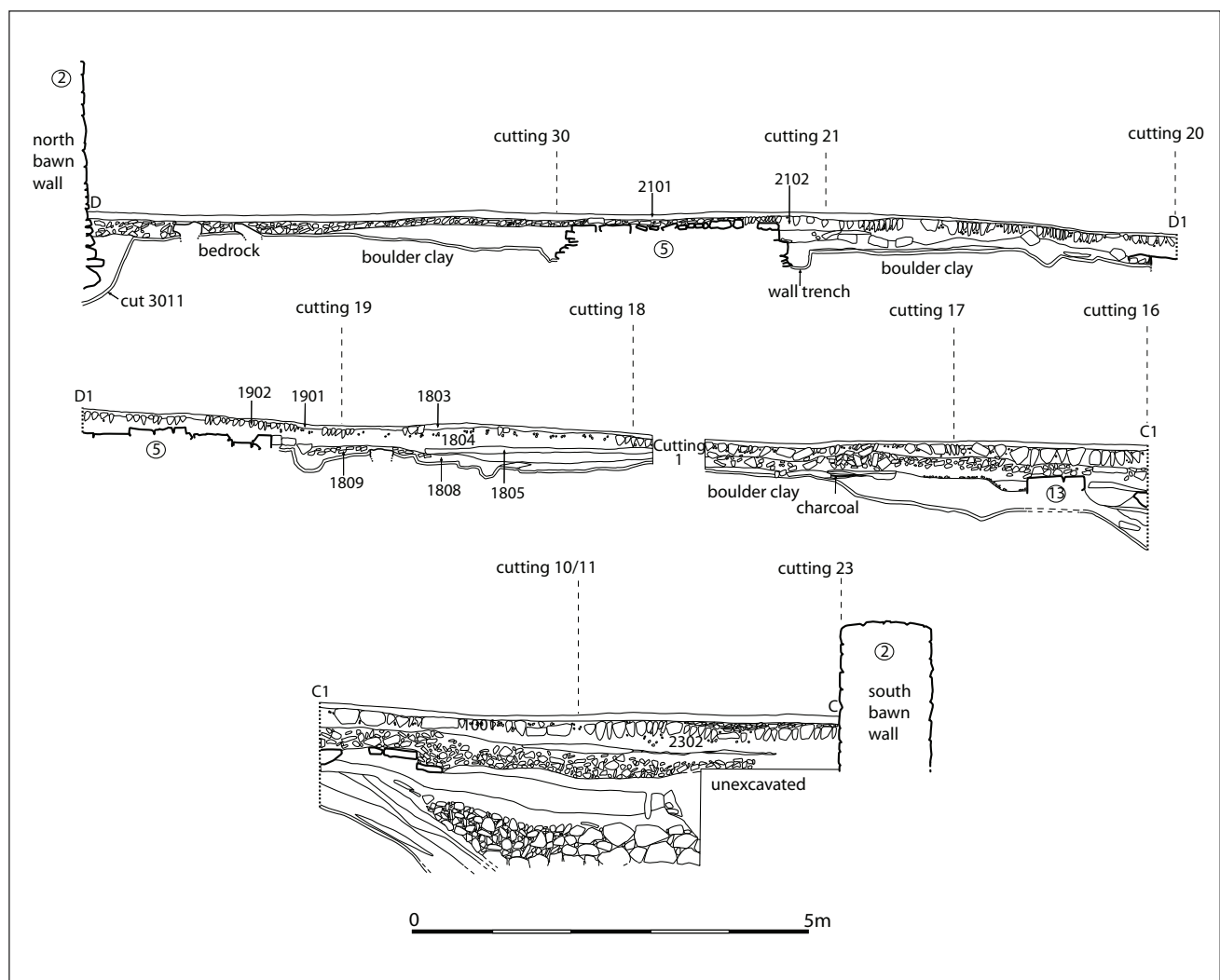
Fig. 4.11—North-west-facing section (D–C) through interior of bawn.

century cobbles in cutting 29, and so it seems likely that this phase of the kitchen building was constructed after the bawn area was surfaced with cobbles.

The area between the two walls was filled with rubble, masonry, brick, mortar and sand (C.2407). A possible corner doorway was identified at the junction of the two walls; it was about 0.7m wide and was paved with limestone wedges (C.2409). A wall (C.2408 and C.2906) parallel to, and 0.6m to the east of, the external wall (C.2404) of structure 3 was exposed at this stage. This presumably earlier wall (C.2408 and C.2906) indicates that this kitchen building had two phases of construction. Not only were these two parallel walls (C.2404 and C.2408) uncovered but the remains of two separate gable marks on the external south wall of the gate tower could also be seen. A free-blown blue glass bottle was uncovered to the east of the westernmost wall of the kitchen building. This bottle may be as early as the seventeenth century in date (see Scully in Section 5). Within the kitchen area, against the bawn wall but not bonded to it, was a setting of stones (C.2410; Pl. 4.25) projecting out into the kitchen space for 1.2m and measuring 0.8m wide. Adjacent to the gable wall (C.2406) and inside the structure was a flat flagstone (C.2411) beside a setting of cobbles (C.2412) that ran up to the junction of the two walls.

There was a concentrated area of burning (C.2415) on what was taken to be the floor level (C2413, C.3303) in structure 3. There were also traces of burning on the northern edge of the setting of stones (C.2410). These areas of intensive burning, particularly skirting the eastern bawn wall, may suggest the position of an oven or simple cooking range, which would explain the intensive heat. It is also possible that the building was burnt down at some time. There were a number of other contexts and patches of burning within the building, above the floor surface (C.2413 and C.3303), but it is not possible to establish with certainty their stratigraphic relationships. Beside the eastern wall (C.2408 and C.2906) a layer of charcoal-spattered clay (C.2418) was removed to reveal a patch of red earth (C.2419), presumably a floor hearth. Also in this area and running under the easternmost of the parallel walls (C.2408) was a grey sandy substance (C.2422), which was removed to reveal a grey soil with lots of charcoal (C.2421). This was in turn removed to reveal a second area of red earth (C.2420). Also on the floor level of structure 3, within cutting 33, were three hearths (C.3304, 3305 and 3308). A number of post-holes were uncovered: one was square, measuring 0.09m by 0.09m and 0.16m deep (C.3306), and was packed with flat small stones (C.3307); one was roughly circular, had three major packing stones and five smaller ones, and measured 0.3m deep by 0.16m in diameter (C.3309); a double post-hole with two large packing stones measured 0.15m by 0.1m wide by 0.17m deep and 0.4m wide by 0.3m deep (C.3310); and a square post-hole

Pl. 4.26—Cutting 25: an open drain and associated cobbling, looking east (Photographic Unit, NMS).

with one packing stone set on end measured 0.18m by 0.18m by 0.34m deep (C.3311). It may be that these post-holes were supports for a dividing wall. Six stake-holes (C.3312) were discovered between two of the post-holes (C.3309 and 3311) and slightly to the north. No measurements for the stake-holes were found in the excavation record. Patches of pebble cobbling (C.3313) were uncovered to the south of the line of post-holes.

A clay layer flecked with charcoal (C.2413 and C.3303), which was taken to be a floor level, overlay a layer containing a lot of charcoal, some bone and fragments of window glass (C.2414). This context was removed to reveal the boulder clay. A pottery sherd was recovered from the floor layer (C.2413) and is described in the daybooks as having light orange fabric, yellow-orange glaze on both sides and rilling on the outside. A fragment of window glass was recovered from the layer (C.2414) below the floor (C.2413), which contained a lot of charcoal and some bone. This could relate to the earliest phase of this building. It is likely that a new clay floor would have been laid down from time to time.

Stable building: structure 4

Structure 4 (Fig. 4.2), which is interpreted as a seventeenth-century stable or farm building, was uncovered in the south-western area of the bawn. It was built at the same time as the laying of the cobbles, with an open drain running outside and parallel to its northern wall, possibly to catch roof water. The building may originally have been bonded to the bawn wall, but as the bawn wall has been rebuilt in this area it is no longer possible to be sure of this. An area of weathered plaster on the inner face of the west-

ern bawn wall suggests that structure 4 may have extended this far, although the foundations stop *c.* 2.5m short of it now. The open drain to the north converged with another (Pl. 4.26) running westwards across the bawn, and their combined effluent flowed under the wall of structure 4 to be fed into a soak-hole in the south-west corner of the building.

The cobbled surface

When the excavation commenced, the whole of the bawn interior was covered in grass and only the outline foundations of the relatively modern stables were visible as a raised sod-covered footing. Under the grass, a layer of rubble had been used to level the sloping cobbles. One of these stones bore evidence of blasting, suggesting that small charges were placed to demolish the nineteenth-century stable block.

Cobbling survived in the courtyard to within 9m of the northern bawn wall beside the manor house and to within 3m of the north-west corner, where it was probably disturbed during the construction of the nearby nineteenth-century stable buildings. The cobbles consisted of rough limestone wedges set on edge into about 0.2m of coarse sand. Over time, they had sunk into the sand with use and were wedged solidly together. It is interesting to note that differences in the ground level under the cobbling were reflected on the surface; when the north wall of the tower-house was uncovered, it was possible to trace the remaining walls in the rise and fall of the cobbling. This type of pitched cobbling has been recognised elsewhere, e.g. at Tully Castle, Co. Tyrone, Castlederg, Co. Tyrone (Newman 1992), and Cahir Castle, Co. Tipperary (J. Reynolds, pers. comm.), and is recognised as a distinctive seventeenth-century style of cobbling.

The coarse sand layer under the cobbles contained many artefacts, but since this material was imported, probably from the adjacent lakeshore, these objects must have been discarded in domestic rubbish in the period of occupation before the manor house was constructed. A total of 195 pottery sherds were recovered from this context, including large quantities of glazed red earthenware, some stonewares and blackwares. A stem fragment from a clay pipe that is possibly seventeenth-century in date was found (see Norton in Section 5). Clench bolts from wooden doors, a key, window lead and glass, lead shot, harness fittings and pins, fragments of wine bottles and drinking glasses were all recovered from this layer (see Courtney, Moran and Scully in Section 5).

Two open drains were designed to take the run-off from the cobbles and direct it into a soak-hole in the south-west and probably through a drain towards the eastern end of the southern wall that has been masked in the later rebuilding of this wall. The surface of the drains is formed of slightly inclined flags of stone set edge to edge to form
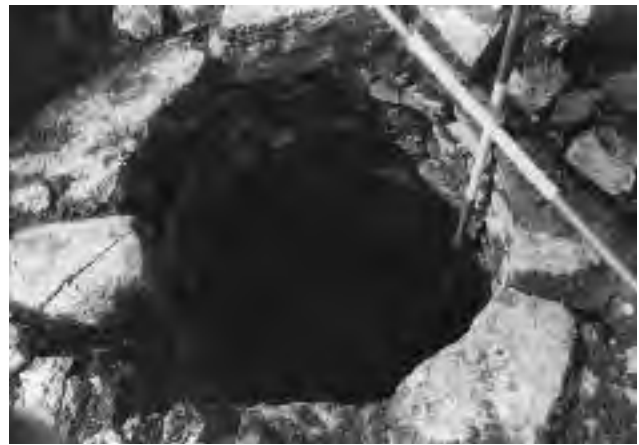
Pl. 4.27—Cutting 25: the well (Photographic Unit, NMS).

a central shallow gully. The soak-hole (C.402) had been cut into the cobbled surface in the area of cutting 4 and its fill (C.403) contained a lot of animal bone, shell and charcoal. In the vicinity of the tower-house the drains tended to run along the outside edges of the buried walls, in a conscious effort, perhaps, to provide a deep soakage for any water that did not run off.

The well

A well, of drystone construction (C.2503), may have been dug at the same time as the cobbles, or at least finished with a ring of large stones flush with the surface of the cobbles (Pl. 4.27). The daybook does not record dimensions for the well, but it can be established from the plan (see Fig. 4.2) that the well shaft was approximately 0.85m in diameter and the overall stone setting approximately 1.4m in diameter. Again, little can be gleaned from the daybooks about the nature of the fill of the well (C.2526), although five roof slates (see Gormley and Gardiner in Section 5) and a 'finely dressed stone—like a door jamb' are recorded as having been recovered.

The nineteenth-century use of the site

The seventeenth-century cobbles were found to be disturbed in some places, particularly in the area of a nineteenth-century stable block against the western wall but also in the northern half of cuttings 21, 22 and 27, and some of the cobbles in the centre of cutting 28 had been removed at some stage. To the south of the gatehouse the cobbles had been disturbed by a relatively recent horse burial. A second horse burial was uncovered in the south-east corner of the bawn.

The nineteenth-century stables

The remains of a nineteenth-century stable complex lie along the western bawn wall. Constructed at some time between 1836 and 1888, based on the evidence contained in the Ordnance Survey six-inch map sheets, the stable

Pl. 4.28—The cobbles of the stable floor, looking north towards north-west tower (Photographic Unit, NMS).

ered from the gravel below the cobbling in the stables, including glass vessels ranging from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth century in date (see Scully in Section 5), a variety of nineteenth-century clay pipe fragments (see Norton in Section 5), a cannon ball and a possible candle-snuffer of eighteenth- or nineteenth-century date (see Courtney in Section 5).

The ditch and the 2011 geophysical survey of the area outside the eastern façade of the manor house

Ronan McHugh

belonged to the phase when the complex was being used as a farmyard by the Cunningham family (see Section 2), who resided in the thatched cottage to the east of the castle. John Cunningham was the last named occupant of this house in 1915, when his name is crossed out in Valuation Revision Book 5, and it was noted that the house was 'down' at the time of the 1916 inspection. The demolition of the stable may have occurred at around this time as well, since the local tradition is that it was destroyed to foundation level in the twentieth century to provide stone to build local houses. There was certainly much stone rubble—presumably associated with this episode—strewn across the bawn interior, below the topsoil and overlying the seventeenth-century cobbled layer.

There were four separate areas in the stable complex: a coach-house, a stable proper with three stalls, and two other small areas, one of which may have been a cow byre and the other for storing hay or tackle. This latter area was paved with irregularly shaped flags and measured 1.05m by 4.25m. The south-east corner of this room is of curved construction. The stable walls average 0.45m in thickness and had clearly cut through the seventeenth-century levels in this part of the bawn.

The coach-house and stall area were paved with rounded granite cobbles set into sand. Two 'spud stones' to receive partitions were set into the bawn wall, clearly dividing the stable into three stalls, each of which would have had a wooden partition; a break in the cobbles opposite each spud stone attests to this. A drain running north–south outside the stalls was laid with beach-rolled cobbles (Pl. 4.28).

This stable complex covers an area of 15m by 4.05m. The walls are bonded to the bawn wall, with a lean-to roof extending to the wall-walk. Broken slates formed a large part of the debris of destruction that lay scattered in the area of the stable. A large number of artefacts were recov-

The excavations revealed a deep, rock-cut ditch outside the northern, western and south-eastern sides of the castle complex, and three sections of this ditch have remained open to enable visitors to see these defences. The trenches opened on the eastern side of the complex were abandoned, however, owing to later disturbance in that area. In order to establish whether the ditch was indeed located in this area, a geophysical survey was carried out in 2011.

A small-scale geophysical survey was undertaken on the lawn immediately to the east and south-east of the castle on 21 October 2011. The lawn is divided into two sections by a cobbled path that provides access to the main entrance into the castle through the gatehouse. Both of the lawns are fenced, as they form part of the curtilage of the castle, and are relatively flat, although there is a gradual but appreciable south-western slope from the road down towards the shoreline of Lough Gill. During the excavation programme in the early 1970s a trench (cutting MI) opened to the south-west of the gatehouse revealed a deep, rock-cut ditch, 3m deep, 4m wide at the top and 1.5m wide at the base, along the external façade of the south-eastern bawn wall; this ditch remains open and visible to visitors to the castle. This was the only excavation trench to locate the ditch on the south-eastern and eastern side of the complex. The daybooks record that other trenches were opened to the front of the eastern façade of the manor house, but these were abandoned in their early stages owing to modern disturbance of the area. The other cuttings that were opened around the external circumference of the bawn (MIII, MVII and MVIII on the west, and MII, MVI, MV and MIX on the north) also revealed sections of the deep, rock-cut ditch. The objective of the geophysical survey was to detect whether the ditch extended along the eastern side of the manor house and whether the turn in the bawn wall at this point was built to respect the pre-existing ditch.

The technique employed for the survey was electrical resistance, and the survey was undertaken with a

Pl. 4.29—General view of the bawn during excavation (Photographic Unit, NMS).

Geoscan RM15-D resistance metre with a MPX15 multiplexer. A parallel twin (4-probe) array was used, with a probe spacing of 0.5m. The traverse interval was 1m, and the sample interval 0.5m. Data were processed using Geoplot 3.00 software.

The lawn sections were treated as discrete survey areas. Area 1 consisted of a single, partial 30m by 30m grid in the lawn to the front of the south-eastern wall of the bawn, while area 2 was slightly larger, comprising two partial 30m by 30m grids in front of the eastern façade of the manor house. The location of the survey in relation to the castle complex is depicted in Fig. 4.12. Figure 4.13 is an interpretative diagram showing the location of the main anomalies detected during the survey.

The ditch is visible in area 1 as a curvilinear anomaly (Fig. 4.13: anomaly r1.1) with a maximum width of approximately 6m. It extends on a broad south-west/north-east alignment across the area surveyed, although the course of the survey was interrupted by the exposed section of cutting M1. The ditch continues into area 2 (Fig. 4.13: anomaly r2.1), to the north of the cobbled path, where its course arcs northwards. This means that it remains broadly parallel to the bawn wall throughout the survey area, although at its northernmost extreme it appears to extend beneath the circular north-eastern corner tower. For most of its course definition of the ditch is

relatively poor, considering the dimensions of the feature as revealed in the cuttings opened during the excavation programme. This may be due to the depth and character of the overlying soil. It is also worthy of note that the character of the ditch seems to vary; for most of its course it is detected as a series of high-resistance readings of varying strength, which display a mottled appearance. This is characteristic of a stone and rubble fill. To the south of the exposed section in cutting M1 in area 1, however, the ditch appears as a low-resistance band, perhaps indicating that the fill is of a different nature in this area, possibly comprising clay or soil.

In area 2 the definition of the ditch is further obscured by a rectangular zone of linear anomalies, of both moderately high and low resistance (Fig. 4.13: anomaly r2.2), measuring approximately 17m north-west/south-east by 11m north-east/south-west in total. While the definition of most of these anomalies is vague, it is possible to determine that they are all less than 1m in width and that some of them appear to intersect to form regular corners, suggesting that they follow a deliberate design and layout. Such readings are not inconsistent with building foundations, and it is likely that these anomalies represent a response to the remains of the farmhouse and its associated outbuildings as depicted on the Ordnance Survey six-inch map sheets of 1836, 1888 and 1910, and in

Fig. 4.12—Location of geophysical survey grids in relation to the castle.

the antiquarian illustrations of the castle by Cocking (Pl. 2.3) and Wakeman (Pl. 2.4). The daybooks note that the trenches opened in this area encountered modern disturbance.

Also in area 2, and on almost the same alignment as some of the anomalies of r2.2, is a distinctive curvilinear anomaly of low resistance that extends for 13m and is up to 3m wide (Fig. 4.13: anomaly r2.3). While it is of a similar alignment to the house foundations, the definition of this anomaly is much clearer, and it is also broader than the individual foundations. This anomaly coincides with the eastern edge of the ditch and it is possible that it is related to it, perhaps representing part of the ditch edge that has been infilled by clay. Alternatively, this anomaly may simply be an area of low resistance that has been delineated by the higher-resistance ditch to its west and the linear house foundations to its east.

Other than the ditch, the only significant anomalies in area 1 are two intersecting linear anomalies of relatively high resistance, to the east of the ditch, which are partially enclosed by a curvilinear anomaly of similar character (collectively labelled anomaly r1.2 in Fig. 4.13). These may represent the remains of a shed or building surrounded by a fence. Although no buildings are shown in this area on any of the Ordnance Survey six-inch map editions, Cocking's illustration of 1791 (Pl. 1.3) seems to indicate a second row of thatched houses to the south-east of the castle and located close to the shoreline. Evidently these buildings had been demolished by the time the first edition of the Ordnance Survey six-inch map was prepared in 1836 (Pl. 2.1), but anomaly r1.2 may represent their signature.

To conclude, the geophysical survey has shown that the ditch did indeed extend along the eastern side of the
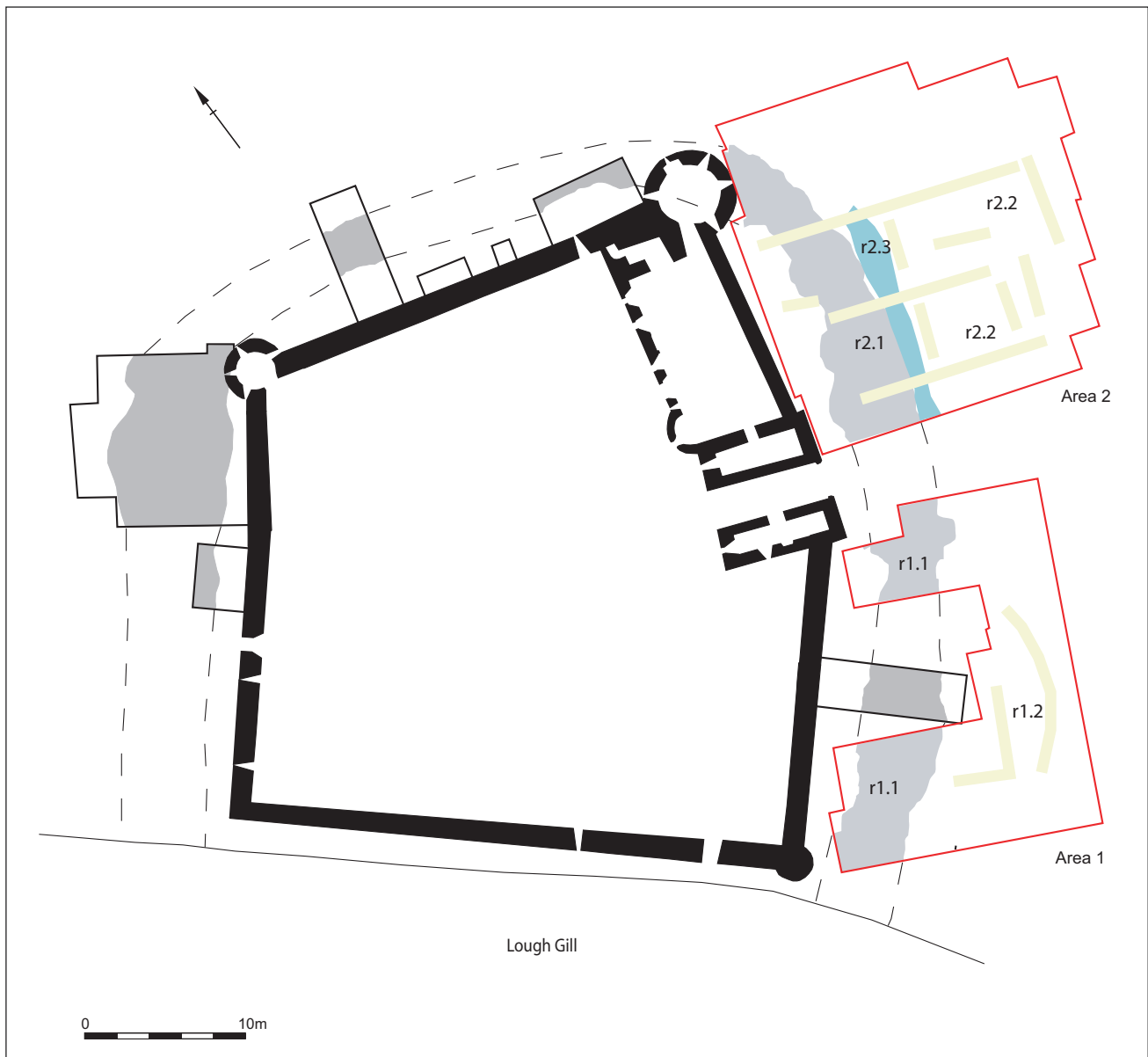
Fig. 4.13—Geophysical survey: interpretation of the data.

manor house. The survey has also indicated that the ditch curves around the south-eastern and eastern side of the site (see anomalies r1.1 and r2.1 on Fig. 4.13), and hints that it may originally have formed an almost circular enclosure within which the tower-house was constructed (see anomalies r1.1 and r2.1 on Fig. 4.13). This might also explain why the bawn wall was not square or rectangular in form but had to be constructed in five stretches to accommodate its construction within the boundary formed by this circular ditch. That the O'Rourkes chose to surround their tower-house with a rock-cut ditch echoes the statement made in 1584 by Richard Stanihurst, who noted that Gaelic lords 'have courtyards surrounded by great ramparts and ditches, and hedged around with thorn-bushes and shrubbery. They thrust their cattle into these confined and protected compounds when the need arises to guard them from the attacks and stratagems of robbers' (Lennon 1981, 147). This statement finds visual support in Richard Bartlett's pictorial map of Dungannon Castle, painted in 1602, which depicts the damaged ruins of O'Neill's medieval tower-house, surrounded by deep, rock-cut ditches (National Library of Ireland, MS 2656, v). It can therefore be suggested that the primary defence around the O'Rourke tower-house was a ditch, but that a bawn wall was then constructed to provide added protection to the complex. It can further be suggested that the stone removed from this ditch during its excavation may have been used as building material for the medieval tower-house and the bawn wall.

5. The finds

Introduction

During the course of the excavation a total of 2,226 entries were made on the finds list, which was kept in three notebooks: 'Finds Books 1, 2 and 3'. Subsequently 224 entries were removed, in most cases because they were deemed to be non-archaeological or modern in date. The remaining entries are made up of artefacts of bone, pottery, metal, glass and stone, as well as coins, clay pipes and roof tiles. Soil and mortar samples were also recovered during the course of the excavation, as was a quantity of animal bone. The artefacts recovered were individually numbered using the National Museum of Ireland prefix E104: 'Finds Book 1' contained numbers 1 to 750, from the 1972 excavation, with one find from the 1971 monitoring work; 'Finds Book 2' contained numbers 751 to 1254, again from 1972; and 'Finds Book 3' contained artefacts numbered 2000 to 2949, which were recovered during excavation work undertaken in 1973, 1974 and 1975. In this section, the individual find number is given, prefixed by the site registration number (E104). Measurements are given in millimetres (mm).

The recovery of animal bone from certain contexts was noted in the daybooks. From these notes it is possible to determine that not all of the animal bone uncovered during the work is now available for analysis. The animal bone analysed, therefore, is not a complete assemblage. In addition, of the material that is available much was assigned only to cutting and not to individual context. The location of a considerable quantity of the pottery noted on the finds list is currently unknown. As a result, the pottery report has been compiled using the detail provided in the finds list and is limited as a consequence.

Despite the limitations outlined, significant assemblages of artefacts were recovered during the excavations, reflecting the use of the site during the occupation of both the tower-house and the manor house. Artefacts dating from the use of the ruins for agricultural purposes in the nineteenth century were also recovered.

Metalwork

Paul Courtney

Introduction

It is over 30 years since the assemblage of finds from Parke's Castle was excavated. The bulk of the finds comprise iron objects, many in a poor state of preservation and which have undoubtedly deteriorated over the years. Some of the more diagnostic finds were preserved by lacquering, though without manual cleaning. This now-defunct method has the disadvantage of hiding the actual material. Given the problems of preserving iron, mass X-raying followed by cleaning of selected objects would now be the preferred methodology. About 650 of the registered small finds consisted of nails and nail fragments. Of these about 75 were horseshoe nails of fifteenth-century or later date. An examination of the records suggested that the nails were distributed widely throughout the limited stratigraphy with no obvious patterning, and further analysis of distribution was likely to be both time-consuming and unrevealing.

Analysis was carried out on 245 small finds and 23 samples (mostly of iron from topsoil contexts), which were recorded in an Access database. Sixty-five objects were then selected for more detailed cataloguing based on their diagnostic features or good stratigraphic context. Stratigraphy was limited but some material can be assigned to the tower-house, while the seventeenth-century cobbles form an important stratigraphic marker. Another important group of material was from the excavation of ditch section MVIII, which seemed to have been used as a midden for household rubbish. Many finds from the castle were clearly residual in later contexts, however. Owing to this factor, along with the small and mixed nature of the stratified assemblages, it was decided that it would be more informative to illustrate and discuss the finds by functional category.

There were relatively few clearly medieval finds, though this probably reflects the lack of medieval stratigraphy and the disposal patterns of rubbish. One can point to the two arrowheads (E104:2756 and E104:1199) and the small copper-alloy strap fitting (E104:1254) as being probably pre-1500, based on parallels. A number of the more

functional (and often fragmentary) iron items such as simple buckles, horseshoes and bolsterless knives could be medieval, though they continued in use through to the sixteenth or early seventeenth century. A notable find was a wooden-handled knife with copper-alloy decoration (E104:2774), which dates from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. It was presumably an import from London or the Low Countries, given the concentration of similar finds in those localities. Another notable find is the pewter spoon with a female ('Aphrodite') knop (E104:498), which can be dated to *c.* 1590–1640 on the basis of silver parallels and was probably imported from the West Country of England.

The ditch in MVIII, especially layers 04, 08 and 25, produced a number of household objects, such as a jew's harp (E104:2412), small copper-alloy pins, large iron pins possibly for cloaks (E104:2424), a lace-chape (E104:2696), a horse-bit and a spur (E104:2507 and E104:2402), but also structural remains like window cames and several iron clench bolts (E104:2811). Some of the clench bolts from elsewhere on the site appear to be stratigraphically linked with the tower-house phase, but it is possible that the ditch finds represent redeposition of midden material rather than direct disposal of rubbish from the domestic quarters.

Overall interpretation of the site's material culture is hampered by the lack of published late medieval and early modern assemblages from Ireland. It should be noted, however, that stratified fifteenth/sixteenth-century material is also elusive in Britain (though see Goodall 1979 and Egan 2005 for groups of this period). Overall, the assemblage cannot be said to be distinctively Gaelic, with the exception of the three harp tuning pegs (and these may belong to the

seventeenth-century occupation of the site, given that we know that Parke had an Irish harper within his household) and a small assemblage of iron pins (E104:513, E104:2002, E104:2926, E104:2190 and E104:2424), perhaps used to fasten cloaks. The assemblage is far from comprehensive, however, and it is difficult to say whether the absence of certain items (e.g. few sixteenth/seventeenth-century dress fittings) is due to cultural or depositional biases. Isolation may also have promoted recycling of material, especially in certain periods. The publication of more finds from other Irish post-medieval sites will hopefully enable the material to be better understood.

Weaponry

E104:2765: Cutting 34N. Context (black soil with charcoal; ?C.3410). Fig. 5.1.1.
Iron barbed arrowhead. Jessop (1996) type H3 hunting arrowhead with mostly mid-thirteenth-century parallels in the United Kingdom. L 22mm.

E104:1199: Cutting 27. Context 2756 (tower-house refuse). Fig. 5.1.2.
Iron bodkin arrowhead with blunted point; traces of mineralised wood in socket. Jessop (1996) type M5 military arrowhead (short bodkin), also with mostly mid-thirteenth-century parallels in the UK. L 54mm.

Serdon's (2005, 291–300) extensive study of arrowheads in western Europe uses a different typology but also suggests a thirteenth-century or perhaps fourteenth-century date for both arrowheads. They are also distinct from the two arrowhead types illustrated as typical late medieval Irish by Halpin (1997, fig. 4).

Table 5.1—Lead shot (* denotes mould incompletely filled during casting).

Find	Cutting	Ctxt	Context description	Fig.	Diam. (mm)	Wt (g)	Bore
232	MIIA	01	Topsoil	-	17	31	12
654	2 south	-	-	-	17	32	12
2740	34N	3423	Black soil	5.1.3	14	20	18
2669	34N	-	Dark soil beside E bawn wall	5.1.4	15 *	19	18
2246	25	2505	Gravel under cobbles		15	20	18
2581	34	3403	Gravel under cobbles		15	21	18
2705	34N	3409	Brown stony layer	5.1.5	15	22	18
2668	34N	-	Soil beside E bawn wall, under cobbles	-	15	22	18
2225	-	-	On cobbles	-	15	22	18
2228	3	228	Trench/pit, surface of fill	-	5	-	-
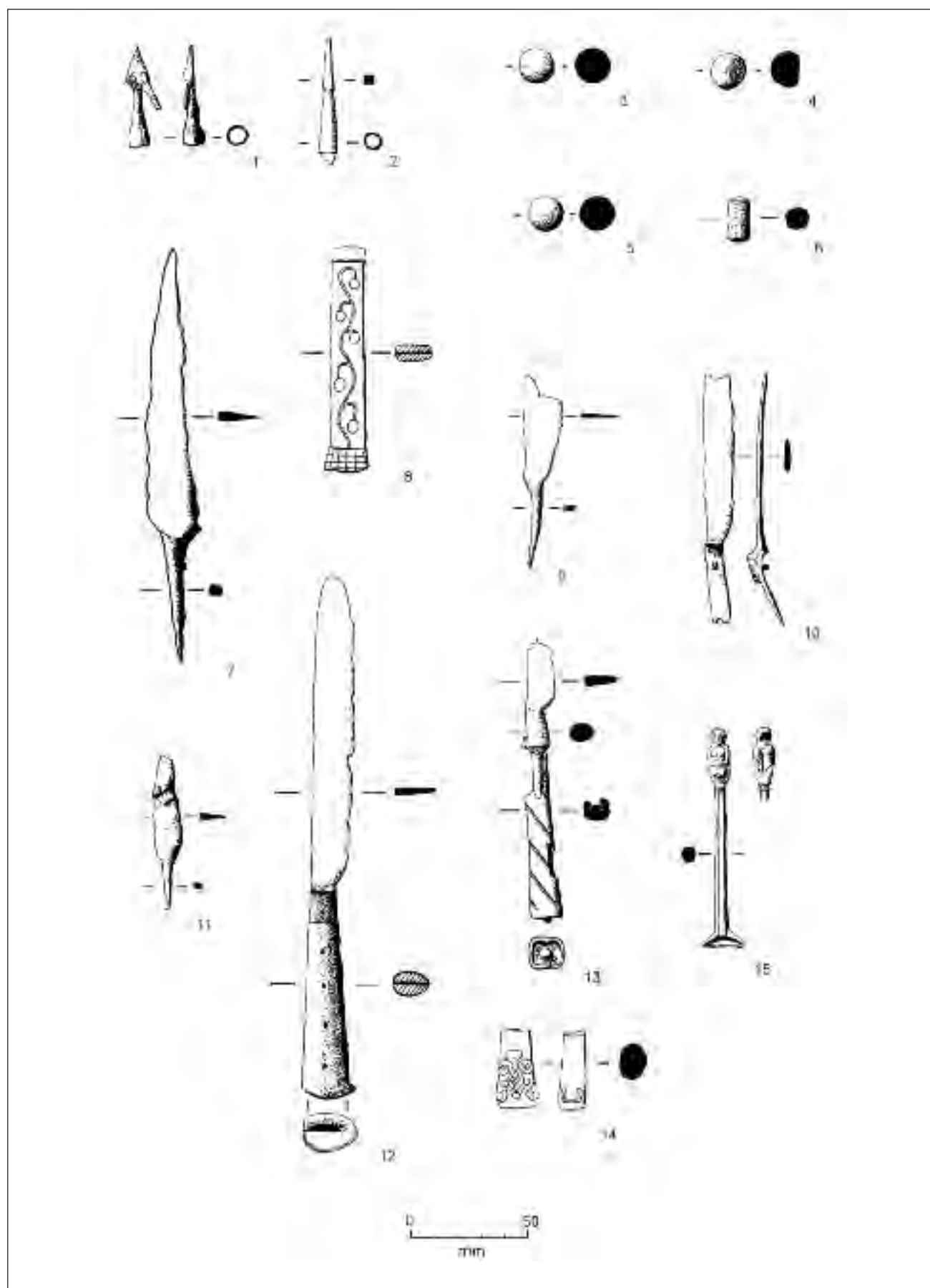
Fig. 5.1—1 Iron barbed arrowhead, E104:2765. **2** Iron bodkin arrowhead with blunted point, E104:1199. **3** Lead shot, E104:2740. **4** Lead shot, E104:2669. **5** Lead shot, E104:2705. **6** Lead rod, E104:2226. **7** Iron knife with whittle tang, E104:1248. **8** Scale handle from iron knife, E104:2774. **9** Fragment of knife blade, E104:2839. **10** Part of knife blade, E104:1062 and E104:1063. **11** Fragment of blade, E104:755. **12** Iron table knife, E104:928. **13** Polished bone handle, E104:2845. **14** Fragment of bone handle, E104:1015. **15** Handle from cast pewter spoon with fragment of bowl, E104:498.
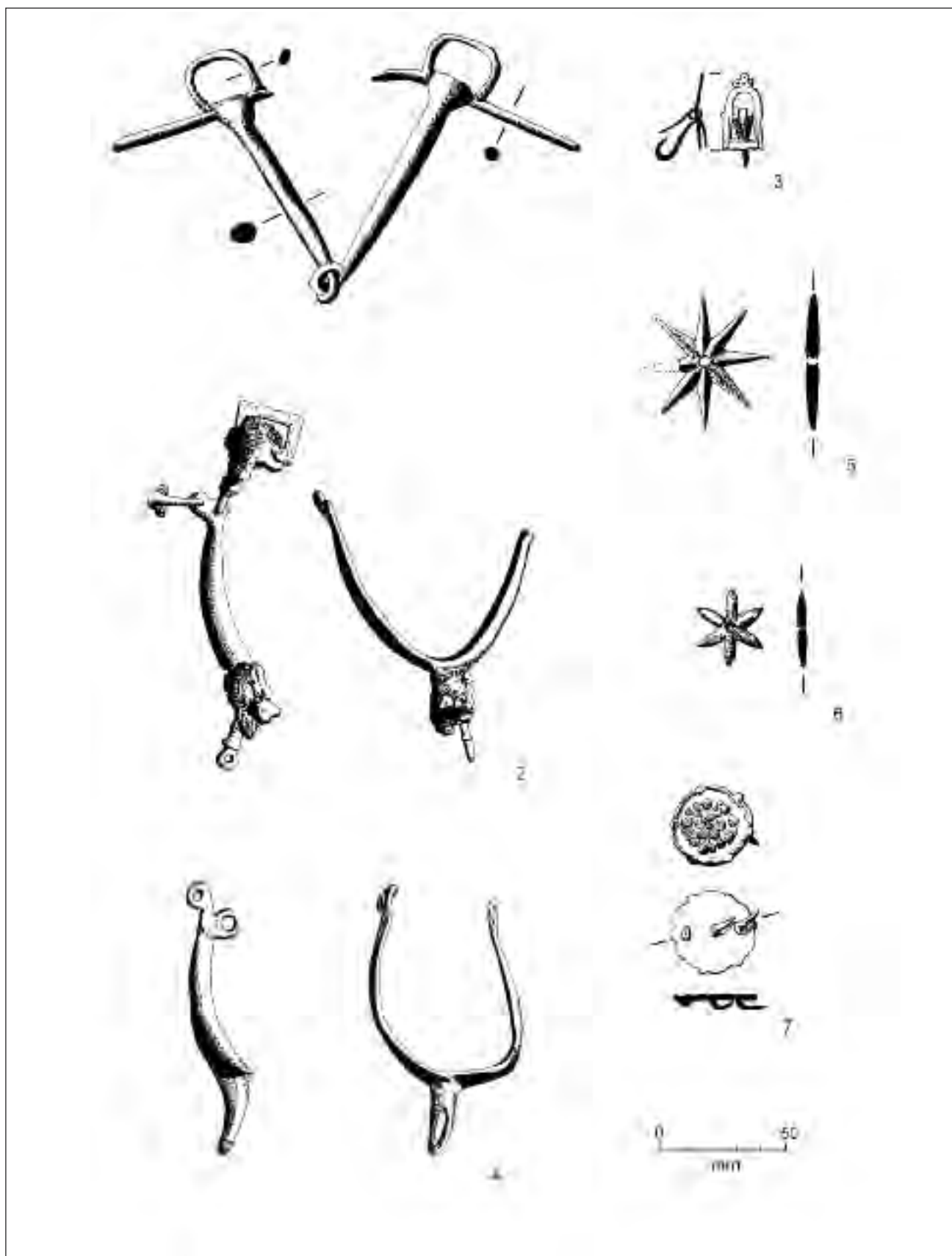
Fig. 5.2—1 Snaffle-bit (iron), E104:2507. **2** Iron rowel spur, E104:2402. **3** Copper-alloy waisted spur buckle with spur linkage, E104:2755. **4** Iron spur, E104:114. **5** Copper-alloy rowel from spur, E104:2749. **6** Silvered or tinned five-point iron rowel from spur, E104:2038. **7** Copper-alloy cast rosette harness fitting, E104:2229.

Lead shot

Most of the lead shot showed mould marks from having been cast in a two-part mould, while several also had parts of their casting sprues remaining. The lead shot fell into two sizes, equivalent to 12 and 18 bore (number of shot per lb). Bores of guns varied considerably in the early modern period and the lack of dating makes it difficult to suggest the exact types of weapon with which these shot were used. However, 12-bore shot was commonly used for muskets in the mid-seventeenth century and 18-bore shot could have been used in smaller-bore muskets, carbines (short-barrelled guns for cavalry) or fowling pieces used for hunting. The 4mm and 5mm shot could have been used as case-shot for a cannon or in a blunderbuss or shotgun.

E104:2226: Context (on cobbles). Fig. 5.1.6.
Lead rod, 18mm by 11mm and weighing 18g. Similar lead castings have been found at English Civil War sites like Montgomery Castle and Beeston Castle (Knight 1993, 209 and fig. 18; Courtney 1993, fig. 109: 34–6). Evidence for shot-casting in the dovecote at Montgomery Castle suggests that they were an intermediate stage in converting scrap lead to round shot cast in a bullet mould. Alternatively, such pieces could have been used for firing from cannon as case-shot, as 18g does not correspond to any of the round shot recovered from the site. Given the lack of close dating, however, a purely non-military function is also possible, for instance as a convenient way of carrying lead for repairs.

E104:2013: Cutting ?. Context (in debris immediately under nineteenth-century stable cobbling).
Cast-iron cannon-ball, approximately 90mm (3.5in.) in diameter, weighing 2.366kg (5.22lb). The surface is corroded, so its weight will have changed slightly. Calibre tables of the early seventeenth century suggest that this size of shot would have been fired from a size of cannon that was known in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as a 'small saker' (Blackmore 1976, 391–8). Given the known history of Parke's Castle, the shot is likely to be seventeenth-century in date.

E104:2933: Cutting MVIII. Context: ?ditch fill.
Iron chape (corroded), probably from the terminal of a sword scabbard. Traces of mineralised leather survive inside the chape. L 37mm.

E104:2758: Cutting 34N. Context: black soil.
A corroded iron object that appears to have a screw thread at both ends. L 58mm.

This object may possibly be part of a worm for cleaning guns. This cutting (34N) also produced a barbed arrow-head and three lead shot. The narrow end with its screw thread, the stop and the bulbous body correspond closely to depictions of seventeenth-century worms and finds from archaeological sites. The screw thread at the narrow end would have screwed into the ramrod, while the broader end would have had a spiral prong to remove wedged bullets from a barrel. The diagnostic spiral point is missing, however, and the screw thread at the broad end has no clear function, so the identification remains tentative. An English Civil War example from Beeston Castle in Cheshire is illustrated in Courtney 1993 (fig. 109: 31, 157). An early illustration of a worm (fig. 5b), much copied in later works, appears in Johann Jacob von Wallhausen's *Kriegskunst zu Fuss* ('The art of war on foot') of 1615 (figure after p. 154).

Cutlery
Knives
Bolsters (a round or faceted thickening between the blade and the handle) were introduced in the sixteenth century and dominated table cutlery by the early seventeenth century, as indicated by colonial sites like Martin's Hundred, Virginia, datable to 1619–22 (Noël-Hume 2001, II, figs 44, 66 and 75), and English Civil War sites like Sandal Castle (I.H. Goodall 1983, figs 68–84). Nine knife blades with no bolster and whittle tangs were recovered, many fragmentary. Of these, six came from contexts that represent material pre-dating the bawn in the seventeenth century: one came from under the cobbles, one from the northern bawn wall trench and four from the tower-house habitation debris. The remaining three were probably residual.

E104:1248: Context 3104, bottom of tower-house habitation debris. Fig. 5.1.7.
Iron knife with whittle tang. L 182mm. Probably sixteenth-century or earlier.

E104:2774: Cutting 34, loose dark clay in northern area. Fig. 5.1.8.
Scale handle from iron knife with surviving wooden scales (protected by copper-alloy corrosion products), solid copper-alloy cap. It lacks a bolster but traces of a copper-alloy stop or guard can just be seen emerging from the iron corrosion. Both sides of the handle are decorated with inlaid copper-alloy sheet, possibly attached by adhesive, as rivets are not visible. This takes the form of a vine with stylised 'fruit'. L 99mm.

This knife belongs to a group with decorated caps dating from the second half of the fifteenth century to the first half of the sixteenth century by comparison with excavated examples from Amsterdam (Moore 1999, 71; Baart *et al.* 1977, 330–1). Other excavated finds in the Netherlands include several from 's-Hertogenbosch (Janssen and Thelen 2007, 197–201), while Brown (2001, pls 21–2) illustrates other mudlark finds from the Thames foreshore. Moore (1999, 71) suggests that the style derives

from the Low Countries and that they were produced in the Billingsgate area by immigrant craftsmen on the basis of a concentration of 'excavated finds'. These appear to be metal-detected finds from the waterfront, however, so the geographic concentration may reflect depositional and other factors. No manufacturing evidence has yet been found in either London or the Low Countries (G. Egan, pers. comm.) and therefore the place of origin should be regarded as unresolved, given the strong trading and cultural connections between these two areas in the early modern period. Both the cap and the inlay of the Parke's Castle knife appear so similar to an unprovenanced (?London) knop illustrated by Moore (1999, pl. opp. p. 93, top right) as to suggest that they are from the same workshop. Handles, however, may have been completed in separate workshops (Brown 2001, 12–13).

E104:2528: Cutting ?. Context: on flagged floor of south chamber of gate tower.
Short iron blade with minimal bolster and whittle tang. A corrosion mass around the tang may represent mineralisation of an organic handle. Late sixteenth–seventeenth-century. L 95mm.

E104:2839: Cutting 35. Context: under cobbles. Fig. 5.1.9.
Fragment of knife blade with whittle tang but no bolster. Sixteenth-century or earlier. L 82mm.

E104:1062 and E104:1063: Cutting 27. Context 2711, under collapse in black layer. Fig. 5.1.10.
Part of knife blade with no bolster and narrow scale tang in two fragments with terminal (iron) cap. Fragments of mineralised bone scales are attached by iron rivets. Use of scale tang without bolster suggests fourteenth–sixteenth-century date. L 147mm.

E104:755: Cutting 17. Context 1702, on cobbles. Fig. 5.1.11.
Fragment of blade with short whittle tang and no bolster. Sixteenth-century or earlier. L 68mm.

E104:928: Cutting 34. Context: debris amongst disturbed cobbles. Fig. 5.1.12.
Iron table knife with bolster and polished bone or antler scale handle. The scales are held in place by four rivets on each side. L 225mm.

Surviving prints from X-rays taken in 1977 by the Institute of Archaeology, London, show a cutler's mark comprising a heart and an adjoining reversed 'R' on the blade. Late sixteenth–seventeenth-century; eighteenth-century table knives are more scimitar-shaped (Moore 1999, 195–222).

Handles
E104:2845: Cutting 35, clay under cobbles. Fig. 5.1.13.
Polished bone handle (broken) made from sheep's metatarsal with carved spiral decoration. An iron whittle tang extends to the terminal, which has presumably lost a metal terminal. L 55mm.

The context suggests a medieval–early seventeenth-century date. It resembles a handle found in the ?late fifteenth/early sixteenth-century moat fill of Fastolf Palace in Southwark (Egan 2005, fig. 76:364).

E104:1015: Cutting 28. Context 2811, gravel under cobbles. Fig. 5.1.14.
Fragment of bone handle, probably from knife, with iron whittle tang *in situ*. L 107mm. Context suggests medieval–early seventeenth-century date.

Spoons
E104:498: Cutting 2 south. Context 242, habitation debris under the nineteenth-century stables. Fig. 5.1.15.
Handle from cast pewter spoon with fragment of bowl. The shaft is hexagonal and the knop is of a female bust. L 98mm.

Silver and pewter spoon knops comprising merely the head and shoulders or upper body of a woman are normally grouped as the so-called 'Maidenhead' spoons (Homer 1975, 36–7; Snodin 1982, 24). Some of these appear to represent the Virgin Mary (presumably pre-Reformation in England) but others are clearly secular. The earliest examples may date from the fourteenth century and they occur into the early seventeenth century.

The Parke's Castle figure has a stylised face (nose, eyes and mouth) and bosom with the arms folded across the body. Comparison with a silver example (probably the model for pewter copies) suggests that a horizontal line beneath the arms of the mouldings represents the top of a skirt (with the body being nude above), and the bumps below are possibly a poor representation of the acanthus leaves on the silver spoons. The rear of the pewter example shows stylised ribs. This form of knop is paralleled by a pewter example found in the City Mills hoard at Exeter in 1925. This collection of seventeen pewter spoons dating from between *c.* 1500 and *c.* 1650–75 has been interpreted as a scrap collection intended for remelting (Homer 1991). A pewter spoon with an even more stylised and crudely executed female knop, showing head, breasts and rounded belly, has also been excavated in Southwark with ceramics datable to *c.* 1580–1600 (Egan 2005, fig. 104: 549).

Homer (1991) noted the resemblance between the Exeter spoon and a marked silver example produced in Barnstaple, which Snodin (1982, pl. 9) had tentatively assigned to John Quick. More recent work by Kent (1992, 17–19; 1995, 12–15) has defined a group of eleven Barnstaple 'Aphrodite' spoons manufactured by the same workshop in the period *c.* 1590–1630, and probably in the latter half of that period. In addition to these spoons, pos-
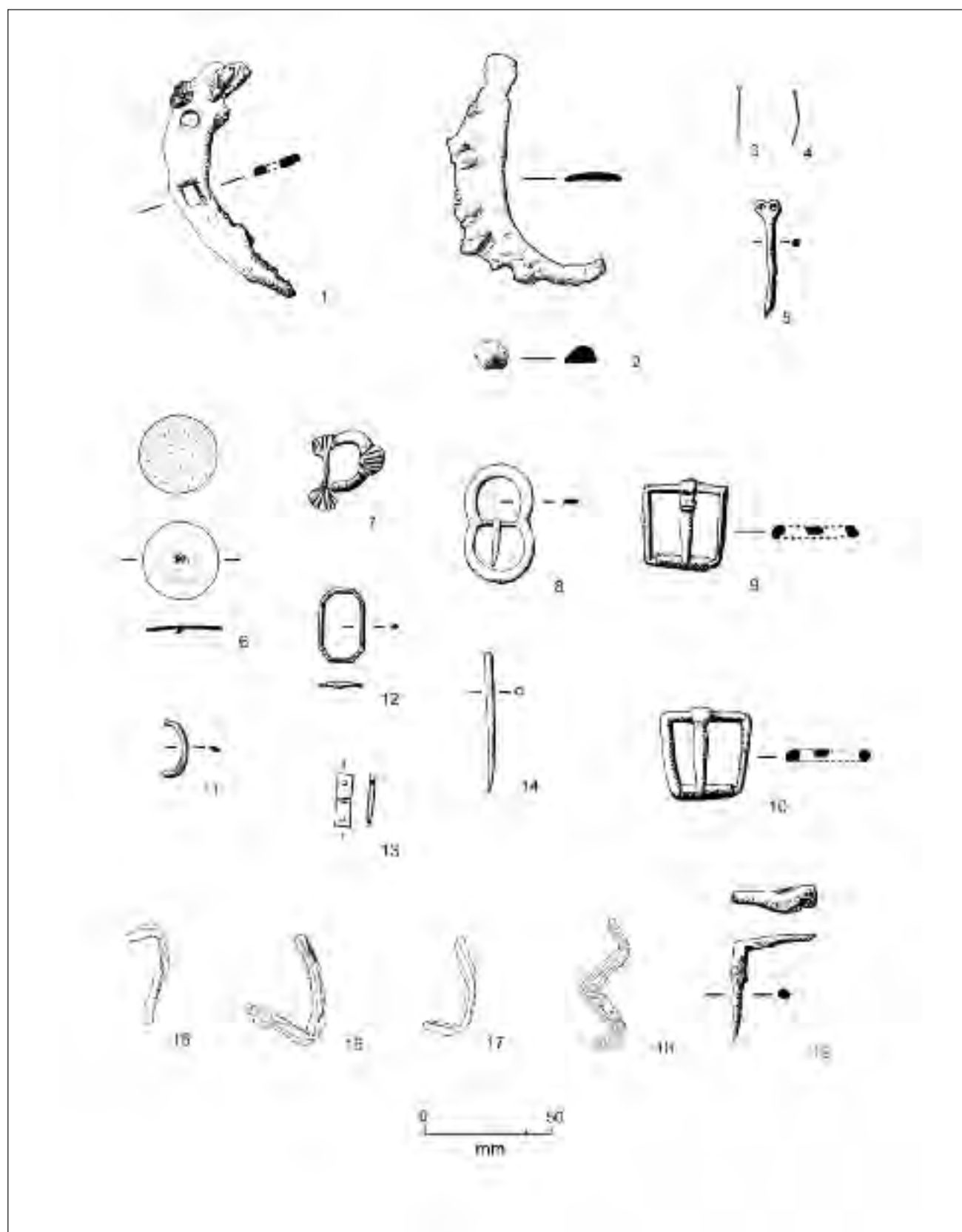
Fig. 5.3—**1** One arm of iron horseshoe, E104:1234. **2** One arm of iron horseshoe, E104:2340. **3** Copper-alloy pin. **4** Copper-alloy pin. **5** Iron pin, E104:2926. **6** Disc button, E104:1109. **7** Copper-alloy buckle, E104:2584. **8** Copper-alloy double-oval buckle with pin, E104:2302. **9** Iron subrectangular buckle with roller and pin, E104:2173. **10** Iron subrectangular buckle with roller and pin, E104:2016. **11** Curved fragment of cast copper-alloy, flat-backed buckle frame, E104:2544. **12** Copper-alloy cast octagonal shoe-buckle, E104:2004. **13** Copper-alloy strap fitting, E104:1254. **14** Copper-alloy lace-chape, E104:2696. **15–18** Five fragments of H-shaped window cames. **19** Iron (corroded) L-shaped 'tenterhook', E104:2573.
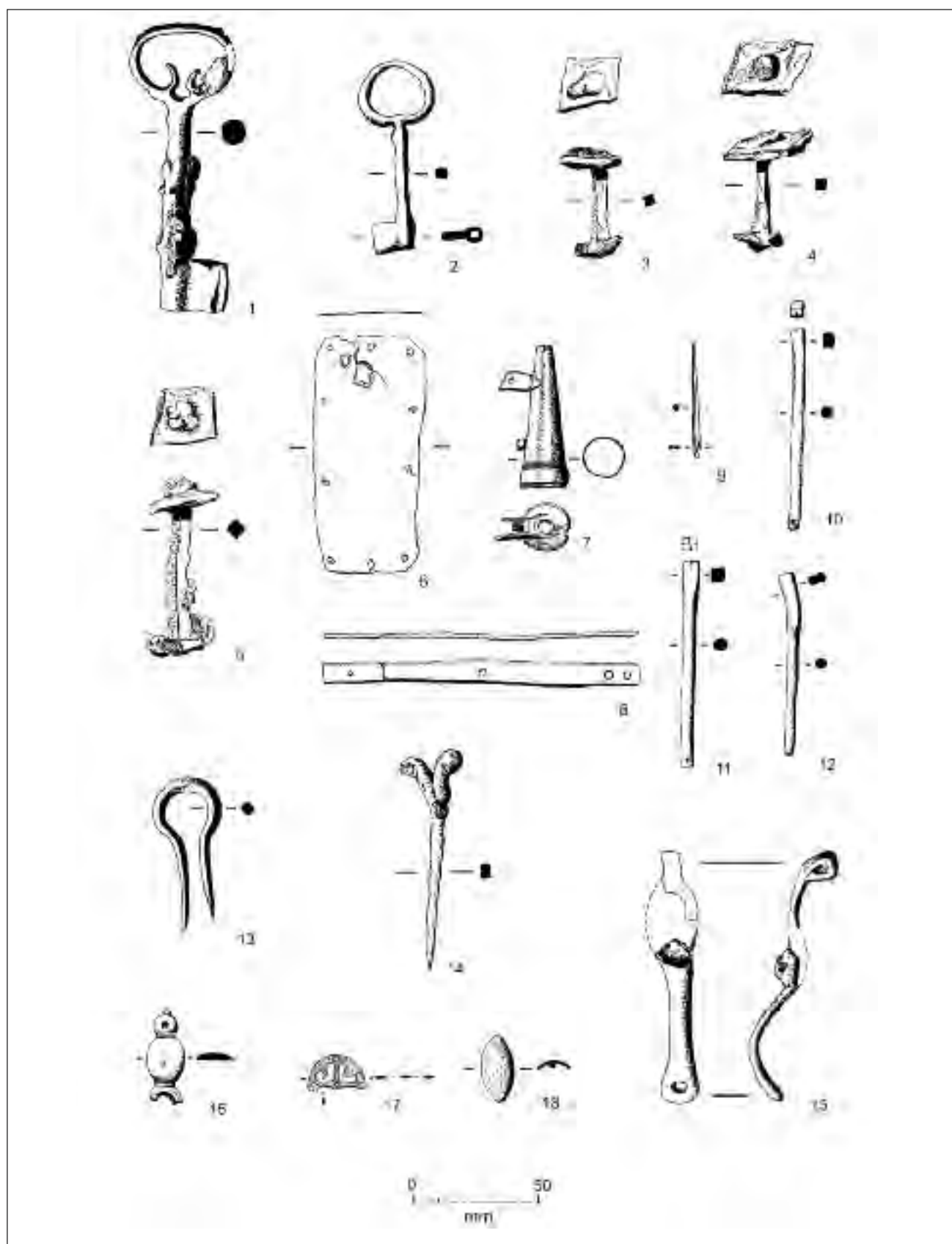
Fig. 5.4—**1** Iron key, E104:2280. **2** Iron key, E104:522. **3–5** Clench bolts. **6** Copper-alloy sheet repair patch, probably from kitchen pot, E104:1086. **7** Copper-alloy sheet object, probably a candle-snuffer, E104:528. **8** Copper-alloy decorative bar, E104:1181. **9** Iron needle, E104:2917. **10** Copper-alloy tuning peg, E104:368. **11** Copper-alloy tuning peg, E104:369. **12** Copper-alloy harp peg, E104:324. **13** Iron jew's harp, E104:2412. **14** Iron spike, E104:2001. **15** Iron handle, E104:2695. **16** Copper-alloy cast decorative mount, E104:2532. **17** Semicircular copper-alloy sheet mount, E104:2542. **18** Copper-alloy cast decorative mount, E104:2421.

sibly the product of the goldsmith John Quick, a variant example of *c.* 1625 is known from John Parnell of Truro. Kent (1992, 18) is almost certainly right in seeing their inspiration in Renaissance design forms rather than in medieval religious symbolism. Certainly the West Country had strong trading links with Ireland in this period, as evidenced both by documentary sources and by the North Devon ceramic wares shipped out of Barnstaple and Bideford. The Parke's Castle spoon shows slightly more detail than the Exeter example and bears an even closer resemblance to the Barnstaple 'Aphrodite' spoons. This strongly suggests that it was a copy of a similar silver spoon. Homer (1991) dated the Exeter example to the sixteenth–early seventeenth century. The closeness of the silver 'Aphrodite' spoons suggests, however, that the Parke's Castle spoon was modelled on such an original within the same period, or shortly after. The originals were fashionable *c.* 1590–1640, probably in a West Country pewter centre such as Barnstaple, Bristol or Exeter (Homer 1989; 1993; 1995).

Horse gear

E104:2507: Context MVIII04. Fig. 5.2.1.
Iron snaffle-bit. This type of bit is found in both medieval and post-medieval contexts but, according to Noël-Hume, was discarded by *c.* 1730 (Clark 1995, 46–7; Noël-Hume 1969, 241). A half-bit of similar form was also recovered from ditch cutting MI (unknown context: E104:72). L 210mm. B 110mm.

E104:2402: Cutting MVIII. Context MVIII32. Fig. 5.2.2.
Iron rowel spur with curved sides and downturned neck. It is missing the rowel and has one complete and attached buckle link. Also present is a detached iron spur-buckle (encased in corrosion debris), similar in form to the copper-alloy example (E104:2755) from cutting 25W. Similar spurs have been found in English Civil War contexts (1640s) such as Sandal Castle (Ellis 1983, fig. 11: 4–6) and Montgomery Castle (Knight 1993, figs 32–33). See also a Basing House spur from the occupation of *c.* 1540–1645 (Moorhouse 1971, fig. 21:84). These probably date from the first half of the seventeenth century (Ellis 1983, 254). L 120mm. B 85mm.

E104:2755: Cutting 25W. Context C.2506/2518 (sod and collapse under gravel). Fig. 5.2.3.
Copper-alloy waisted spur-buckle with spur linkage. Compare with E104:2402 and with English Civil War examples from Beeston Castle (Courtney 1993, fig. 100:4) and Montgomery Castle (Knight 1993, fig. 32:44). Probably from the late sixteenth–first half of seventeenth century. L 30mm. B 16mm.

E104:114: Cutting 4; rubble near southern end; near surface of cobbles. Fig. 5.2.4.

Iron spur with curving sides and downturned neck, minus its rowell. First half of seventeenth century (as E104:2402). L 105mm. B 57mm.

E104:2853: Cutting 34N: western extension, brown soil between stones.
Fragment of spur with short, straight or slightly downturned neck and its rowel *in situ* (heavily corroded). Probably late sixteenth–seventeenth-century. L 105mm. B 57mm.

E104:2749: Cutting 34N. Context 3423, black layer. Fig. 5.2.5.
Copper-alloy rowel from spur. D 54mm.

E104:2038: Cutting 34S. Context: on drain in cobbles. Fig. 5.2.6.
Silvered or tinned five-point iron rowel from spur. D 31mm.

E104:2229: Cutting 32. Context 3202, gravel under cobbles. Fig. 5.2.7.
Copper-alloy cast rosette harness fitting with three fused, protruding attachment spikes (one broken). D 32mm. Probably sixteenth–seventeenth-century (Noël-Hume 1969, 240–2; Courtney 1993, fig. 101:55).

E104:1234: Context 2711/2722 (concentrated habitation area). Fig. 5.3.1.
One arm of iron horseshoe with three nail holes (one partial) and no calkin (thickening) at terminal. Similar horseshoes with and without calkins date from the fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, when the keyhole shape was introduced (Moorhouse 1971, 43; Noël-Hume 1969, 237–9). Similar shoes are known from English Civil War sites like Beeston Castle (Courtney 1993, fig. 99: 130–1) and sixteenth-century contexts at Montgomery Castle (Knight 1993, fig. 34:57–63) and Hafod y Nant Criafolen (Denbighshire) (Goodall 1979, fig. 12:20–7). Context suggests a mid-seventeenth-century or earlier date. L 98mm. B 20mm.

E104:2340: Cutting 32, floor under rubble fill. Fig. 5.3.2.
One arm of iron horseshoe with no calkin at terminal. Probably three nail holes with remains of nail heads *in situ*. Dating as E104:1234. L 100mm. B 20mm.

Dress

Copper-alloy pins (Fig. 5.3.3–4)
Pins were used both for fastening clothing and for dressmaking in the early modern period. Eleven copper-alloy pins with treadle-stamped globular heads (under 2mm in diameter) made of wound wire were recovered. These varied from 20mm to 40mm in length, and three were tinned or silvered. Four, including one silvered/tinned example,

Table 5.2—Buttons (all copper alloy except E104:519).

Find	Cutting	Context	Diam. (mm)	Type	Back mark
2309		Unstratified	21	Back of two-piece button, disc-shaped	
845	29	2902, over cobbles	21	Disc with chequered fabric design, slightly concave	
768	28	Between cobbles	19	Disc with decorated back	
109	13	1302, cobbles	17	Black enamelled disc with sunken centre and two thread ho les	
453	2	222, gravel under stable cobbles	18	Disc button	EXTRA RICH FINE COL^P
605	12A	?	14	Part of disc-shaped button, probably two-part	
1255	20	2002, on cobbles	12	Disc button	STANDARD
377	24	2401, topsoil	19	Disc button, slightly concave	Illegible
1109	27	2747, rubble NW of tower-house	30	Disc button with lathe marks on underside (Fig. 5.3.6)	
2128	MVII	Below topsod, 36cm deep	20	Disc button, gilt-stamped, chequered fabric-like surface	SUPERIOR
2224	?	On cobbles	14	Disc	?
519	24	2403, on cobbles	17	Pewter disk, Cu-alloy loop in cone of pewter/amalgam; circle of punched oval dots on front	

came from the ditch layer MVIII04. Two pins came from contexts described as 'under cobbles', suggesting a mid-seventeenth-century or earlier date, while the rest came from contexts not easily datable. All the pins pre-date the introduction of one-piece stamping, patented in 1824 (Noël-Hume 1969, 254).

Iron pins

Several iron pins were recovered from the site. These may have been used to fasten cloaks or other woollen clothing. They are perhaps an evolution of the often-decorative copper-alloy stick-pins, which have a long history in Ireland and the Scottish uplands. Several simple iron stick-pins have been published from Clontuskert Priory, Co. Galway, where they may have been clothing-fasteners or shroud-pins (Fanning 1976, figs 13 and 138).

E104:513: Cutting 2S. Context 222, gravel and sand under nineteenth-century stable cobbles.
Iron pin with circular cross-section except for flattened terminal; broken point. L 65mm.

E104:2002: Cutting 25. Context 2505, gravel under cobbles.
Iron pin with circular cross-section except for flattened terminal; broken point. Context suggests a medieval–seventeenth-century date. L 69mm.

E104:2926: Cutting 34S, from north baulk. Fig. 5.3.5.
Iron pin with circular cross-section and twin pierced loops at flattened terminal, presumably for attachment, perhaps to a cord. L 46mm.

E104:2190: Cutting 18S. Context 18S03, gravel layer beneath cobbles.
Iron pin with circular cross-section but rectangular at head; broken point. L 125mm (unfolded).

E104:2424: Cutting MVIII. Context 04, ditch fill.
Bent iron pin with round cross-section, becoming rectangular at head. L 141mm (unfolded).

E104:2424: Cutting MVIII. Context 08, ditch fill.
Iron pin (corroded) with round cross-section, becoming rectangular at head. L 114mm (joining two fragments, uncertain whether complete).

Buttons (Fig. 5.3.6)
A number of die-sunk circular copper-alloy buttons, mostly one-piece, were found. These date from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with those with back marks belonging to the latter century (Luscomb 2006, 17–18). All except E104:109 had soldered loops for attachment. Some were plain but various forms of decoration were noted:

gilt/silvering or tinning/punched and engraved decoration. A single pewter disc button was also found decorated with a punched circle of dots and with a copper-alloy back loop fused by a cone of lead or amalgam.

Dress/harness buckles

E104:2584: Cutting 34N. Context 3403, gravel, under cobbles. Fig. 5.3.7.
Damaged double-oval copper-alloy buckle with scallop-like motifs. This general type of buckle dates from the fourteenth century onwards (Egan and Pritchard 1991, 82–8), though examples with scallop decoration seem to be seventeenth-century (though they may extend back into the sixteenth); compare with examples from the *c.* 1540–1645 occupation at Basing House (Moorhouse 1971, fig. 25: 169–70) and Jamestown (Cotter 1958, pl. 87), where they must post-date 1607; see also Whitehead 2003, 65. L 32mm. B 29mm.

E104:965: Cutting 28. Context C.2811, gravel under cobbles.
Fragment of buckle. Seventeenth-century context. L 23mm. B 18mm.

E104:2302: Cutting 33. Context 3301, topsoil. Fig. 5.3.8.
Copper-alloy double-oval buckle with pin, fourteenth–eighteenth-century (Whitehead 2003, 52; Egan and Pritchard 1991, 82–8). L 47mm. B 30mm.

E104:2173: Cutting 18S. Context 03, gravel under cobbles. Fig. 5.3.9.
Iron subrectangular buckle with roller and pin. The frame has a circular cross-section. This may have been used on a belt or harness. Fourteenth–seventeenth-century (Whitehead 2003, 26–7; Egan and Pritchard 1991, 95–101). L 35mm. B 33mm.

E104:2674: Cutting 34N. Context 3404, black layer under cobbles.
Part of D-shaped iron buckle with pin, heavily corroded but probably round cross-section. Fourteenth–seventeenth-century (Whitehead 2003, 26–7; Egan and Pritchard 1991, 90–4). L 37mm. B 25mm.

E104:2016: Cutting 34. Context: rubble over cobbles. Fig. 5.3.10.
Iron subrectangular buckle with roller and pin. The frame has a circular cross-section. Fourteenth–seventeenth-century. L 36mm. B 35mm.

E104:2544: Cutting MVIII. Context MVIII08, ditch fill. Fig. 5.3.11.
Curved fragment of cast copper-alloy, flat-backed buckle frame with file finishing and silvering/tinning. Probably seventeenth–eighteenth-century. L 22mm. B 10mm.

E104:2004: Cutting 28. Context 2803, on cobbles. Fig. 5.3.12.
Copper-alloy cast octagonal shoe-buckle frame with flat back and missing centre pin (made as a separate piece). Eighteenth-century. L 29mm. B 18mm.

Other dress fittings

E104:1254: Cutting 31. Context ?C.3008, brown stony soil alongside northern bawn wall. Fig. 5.3.13.
Copper-alloy strap fitting made from two pieces of sheet with two rivets *in situ*. Probably of fourteenth- to fifteenth-century date (Egan and Pritchard 1991, 226). L 21mm. B 6mm. D 2mm.

E104:2696: Cutting MVIII. Context MVIII08, ditch fill. Fig. 5.3.14.
Copper-alloy lace-chape (aiglet) with closed end. L 48mm. Probably sixteenth–seventeenth-century, though these are found as early as the thirteenth century (Egan and Pritchard 1991, 281–90).

Four other lace-chapes, ranging in length from 21mm to 66mm, were also found from poorly datable contexts.

Structural

Five fragments of H-shaped window cames were found (Fig. 5.3.15–18): two from ditch layer MVIII04, two from cutting 25 from gravel under the seventeenth-century cobbles and one from cutting 22 (context 2203), seventeenth-century cobbles. These, however, could belong to the construction phase of the manor house or the demolition of the tower-house. The cames were not opened but appear to be milled rather than cast. Milling was being used in London by at least the fifteenth century (Egan 2005, 68). Cutting MIXC01 (topsoil) also produced what appeared to be lead flashing attached to the heavily corroded remains of iron bars of uncertain form, probably from a window. A few fragments of hinges were excavated in pre-seventeenth-century cobble deposits but were poorly preserved.

E104:2332: Cutting 28. Context: upper stones, from between 'E-shaped walls'.
Lead spout. This is crudely made and is perhaps a drainage overflow. L 47mm. B 41mm.

E104:2573: Cutting MVIII. Context MVIII08. Fig. 5.3.19.
Iron (corroded) L-shaped 'tenterhook', perhaps used for hanging fabrics from a wall (cf. Noël-Hume 2001, fig. 67:15–22, for examples from Martin's Hundred dated 1618–22). L 40mm. B 32mm.

E104:2280: Cutting 25. Context C.2505, gravel under cobbles. Fig. 5.4.1.
Iron key. Context suggests a mid-seventeenth-century or earlier date. L 76mm.

E104:522: Cutting 24. Context: 'structure 3', east side within wall. Fig. 5.4.2.
Iron key. L 115mm.

E104:2811: Cutting 2 south. Context: 'trench fill layer'.
Clench bolt, an iron diamond-shaped plate or rove and nail. L 73mm. B 30mm.

This is one of thirteen such objects excavated (based on the roves), of which eleven were complete (e.g. Fig. 5.4.3–5). Such bolts were classically used in boat construction for joining overlapping planks but were also widely used on medieval doors using a double thickness of timber for support. The nail was hammered through so that the point projected on the other side. A pierced plate was then placed over the point and the point hammered back (i.e. 'clinched'). At Parke's Castle they probably represent use on one or more doors, including in the tower-house. The thickness between bolt and rove mostly varied from *c.* 30mm to 35mm but hewn timbers could vary considerably in thickness. Two clench bolts with larger gaps of *c.* 50mm and *c.* 58mm came from a ditch fill (MIII08) and from over the seventeenth-century cobbles in cutting 6 respectively.

Six clench bolts came from contexts below the seventeenth-century cobbles and one from amongst them, suggesting that they may have derived from the tower-house. In addition, one came from a context above the cobbles and three from ditch contexts (MIII08 and MVIII04) but these are perhaps residual. The prevalence of complete clench bolts suggests that they had been removed either by decay or perhaps by burning of the timber. Illustrated examples include those from Norwich (Margeson 1993, fig. 108:1098–1133) and Aberdeen (Stones 1982, fig. 108, 76–7).

Household items
E104:1086: Cutting MIII. Context: ditch fill, 2.25m deep. Fig. 5.4.6.
Copper-alloy sheet repair patch, probably from a kitchen pot, with twelve rivet holes. Could be anything from medieval to seventeenth-century in date on the basis of type. L 95mm. B 45mm. D ‹1mm.

E104:528; Cutting 2 south. Context: under stable gravel, 0.38m deep. Fig. 5.4.7.
Copper-alloy sheet object, probably a candle-snuffer. The top of the cone is open, so it may have lost a globe-like embellishment or a handle, although it has a pair of vertical projections on the side with matching holes. This looks more likely to have been for attaching a (?folding) handle, though some brass and silver examples have an L-shaped or other fitting here to allow the snuffer to be attached to a candle tray (e.g. Michaelis 1978, 132–3, pl. 195). A copper-alloy screw penetrating into the cone's interior seems to be an unusual feature. A second hole, of similar size to that holding the screw, exists towards the rim (cutting the decorative lines), and a third may be directly opposite it but has been partly lost in an area of damage. These are probably secondary adaptations, perhaps to limit upward movement of the candle and to prevent it from becoming jammed, or else to adapt the object for an altogether different secondary usage. Another possible, if unlikely, interpretation might be that this is the spout of a powder flask with a sprung lid, but the degree of taper would encourage jamming. Probably eighteenth–nineteenth-century (this context produced a nineteenth-century button). L 58mm. B 19mm.

E104:1181: Cutting 27. Context: east chamber, post-hole east of entrance. Fig. 5.4.8.
Copper-alloy decorative bar in two joining fragments with four rivet holes and traces of mineralised wood on underside, perhaps from a box or chest. L 125mm. B 10mm. D 3mm.

E104:2152: Cutting 16. Context 1603, on cobbles.
Iron foot (broken end) from cast cauldron with hexagonal cross-section. Cast cauldrons were a side-product of blast furnaces and gradually replaced cast copper-alloy versions but were not common until the eighteenth century (Everleigh 1986, 15–17). L 52mm. B 42mm. D 8mm.

E104:2150: Cutting 28. Context 2812, mortar under cobbles.
Cast-iron handle from shoulder of cauldron. The handle would have had a horizontal cross-piece joining the vessel below the rim. See E104:2150 above for dating. L 60mm. B 30mm.

E104:2917: Cutting MVIII. Context MVIII34 (ditch fill). Fig. 5.4.9.
Iron needle. L 46mm.

E104:2525: Cutting 2 north. Context: trench; 0.85m deep.
One of three fragments of flat-bottomed and vertically sided cast-iron pot found in this trench. Similar fragments were also found in topsoil contexts. Probably eighteenth–twentieth-century. L 63mm. B 79mm.

Musical items
Three copper-alloy tuning pegs were recovered from the site, two from the gravel under the cobble layer and one from topsoil. Their size and form suggest that they are

probably from Gaelic harps. They would have been used to tighten bronze or brass strings. The three oldest surviving harps date from the fifteenth century and were manufactured in the western Highlands of Scotland. Two, the Lamont and Queen Mary harps, are on display in the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh, while the third is housed in Trinity College, Dublin (Armstrong 1904; Rimmer 1964; 1969). The tuning pegs are about 100mm long on the Lamont harp and around 80mm long on the two smaller harps (Rimmer 1969, 40).

Three copper-alloy pegs from harps have been found at Finlaggan Castle in the Scottish Isles. Two excavated examples in thirteenth–fourteenth-century contexts include a complete example only 52mm long which might be from a lyre or harp. A surface find has been interpreted as an unfinished peg, indicating production on the site (D.H. Caldwell, pers. comm.). A possible harp peg, 57mm long, was found in a fourteenth–fifteenth-century context at Castle Sween in Argyll and Bute (Ewart and Triscott 1996, 535, fig. 11:7). Both metalwork fittings and metal pegs from a harp were excavated in the late nineteenth century at the crannog site of Ballinderry, Co. Westmeath. These objects, dated to the later sixteenth century, are now on display in the National Museum of Ireland in Dublin (Rimmer 1969, 33–7; Lawson 1994). In Ireland, excavated examples also come from Clontuskert Priory, Co. Galway (64.5mm) (Fanning 1976, fig. 10: 252), and Shannon Airport, Co. Limerick (74mm) (Rynne 1964, fig. 11: 269). Neither of the last two finds comes from a well-dated context. All these pegs had rectangular-sectioned heads and are described as rectangular, though the Shannon and Ballinderry examples are not far removed from square.

The pegs from the Trinity College and Ballinderry harps, and all but four from the Lamont harp, have quatrefoil decoration on the heads (Rimmer 1964, 40 and pl. 7; Armstrong 1904, 162 and pl. 11). This form of decoration is also found on the pegs of the seventeenth-century Kildare harp in the National Museum of Ireland and on some of the pegs of the Downhill harp, made in 1702. All of these pegs are square-sectioned (Rimmer 1964, pl. 7; Evans 1997, 122–4 and fig. 2). Twenty-four matching pegs (102–105mm in length) with complex quatrefoil heads were recovered from post-1649 demolition rubble at Montgomery Castle during clearance work in 1967 (Knight 1993, fig. 11: 45; Lawson 1994, 197–8). Amongst casual finds in Ireland are two copper-alloy pegs recorded from Doonagore Castle, Co. Clare (106mm and 110mm in length) (Rattigan 2006), and one from Toomullin Church, Glasha More, Co. Clare, measuring 95mm (Rattigan 2007). It would be unwise on the basis of current data to suggest a date for the Parke's Castle pegs on the grounds of typology. Quatrefoil decoration on the heads is recorded from at least the fifteenth to the early eighteenth century,

although square-sectioned heads may be a later feature. While the artefacts may belong to the O'Rourke occupation of the site, it should be borne in mind that Parke had an Irish harper within his household—Dermond O'Farry (see Section 2)—and that the pegs may also have derived from the seventeenth-century use of the site.

E104:368: Cutting 22A. Context 2204, gravel under cobbles. Fig. 5.4.10.
Copper-alloy tuning peg, probably for a harp. Round cross-section except for squared head, which has been given a slight quatrefoil effect, probably produced by filing the terminal after casting. L 80mm.

E104:369: Cutting 22A. Context 2204. Fig. 5.4.11.
Copper-alloy tuning peg, probably for a harp. Round cross-section except for squared head, which has been given a slight quatrefoil effect (as in E04:68), though this is partly obscured by corrosion. L 82mm.

E104:324: Cutting 24. Context C.2401, topsoil. Fig. 5.4.12.
Copper-alloy harp peg with bent (post-manufacture) head. The wire hole near the lower end of the peg is partly obscured by corrosion. The peg has a mostly round cross-section, though the head differs from the previous two in being nearly rectangular rather than square in cross-section. The flattened terminal also has slightly raised edges, which may represent damage from pincers, perhaps when a tuning key was lost or the pegs were extracted for scrap. L 78mm.

E104:2412: Cutting MVIII. Context MVIII04, black layer within ditch. Fig. 5.4.13.
Iron jew's-harp frame of diamond cross-section. It is missing the tongue, which was made as a separate component. L 61mm. The rounded head suggests a post-medieval date (Egan 1998, 284–500). The arm of another similar instrument was excavated from context 2811 (gravel under cobbles) and may be of seventeenth-century date.

E104:2459: Cutting 28. Context 2803, on cobbles.
Fragment from a cast copper-alloy rim. Diameter uncertain. This probably comes from a bell rather than a vessel. T 14mm (maximum).

See CCCBR website slide on 'Variety of bell profiles' (middle profile) for a similar profile (http://www.cccbr.org.uk/prc/pubs/bellsAndBellringing.php). A bell is reported from Montgomery Castle in Wales (Knight 1993, fig. 19:36; Lawson 1994, 197).

Miscellaneous

E104:2001: Cutting 27. Context: habitation debris under cobbles near stable wall. Fig. 5.4.14.
Iron spike with square cross-section and bifid head, per-

haps used as a wall-mounted hanger. Context suggests a seventeenth-century or earlier date. L 89mm.

E104:2427: Cutting MVIII. Context MVIII04, ditch fill. Probably an iron fish-hook, with spade tang and broken point. Compare with an early seventeenth-century example from Martin's Hundred in Virginia (Noël-Hume 2001, fig. 60:14) and sixteenth-century examples from Southwark (Egan 2005, fig. 154:818–19). L 43mm.

E104:2695: Cutting MVIII. Context MVIII08. Fig. 5.4.15. Iron handle (incomplete).

E104:2532: Cutting MVIII. Context 08, ditch fill. Fig. 5.4.16. Copper-alloy cast decorative mount with two rivet holes (one rivet partially *in situ*). The upper surface is silvered or tinned. Probably seventeenth–eighteenth-century. L 38mm. B 16mm. D 3mm.

E104:2542: Cutting MVIII. Context MVIII33, ditch fill. Fig. 5.4.17.
Semicircular copper-alloy sheet mount. Probably post-medieval. L 22mm. B 13mm.

E104:2421: Context MVIII04, ditch fill. Fig. 5.4.18. Copper-alloy cast decorative mount with remains of attachment prong on inside, perhaps from harness. The outer surface has been finished with a file. Probably sixteenth–seventeenth-century. L 28mm. B 13mm. D 5mm.

Coins

Michael Kenny

Of the three coins examined, two are silver and one is copper. One of the silver coins, an English groat of Edward IV (Pl. 5.1, E104:2545), is of considerable significance in that there has been much discussion and disagreement over the years on the question of whether it was issued under Edward IV or Edward V. Regardless of which monarch issued it, however, the date suggested by numismatists is quite precise: 1483. Edward IV died in April of that year and was succeeded by the twelve-year-old Edward V. His reign only lasted for less than three months, however, before his uncle and 'protector', Richard, Duke of Gloucester, seized the throne and banished the young prince and his brother to the Tower. They were never seen again. This provides a very precise cut-off point of summer 1483 for coins containing the name EDWARD in the title inscription.

The second coin is a base silver Irish groat of King Philip and Queen Mary. It is extremely worn and in poor condition. The date, which appears beneath the crown on

Pl. 5.1—Silver English groat, probably Edward IV, issued in 1483 (E104:2545).

the obverse, is unclear but is possibly 1557. This particular issue, with shillings dated 1555 and groats dated 1555, 1556 and 1557, is the first to carry the date according to the Christian calendar and in Arabic numerals. At only 25% silver, these coins were produced in considerable numbers and hoards are numerous, especially in Ulster.

The copper coin is an Irish halfpenny and is extremely worn. There are a few elements of design still visible on the reverse, including a few strings of the crowned harp and an outline of the 'Maid of Erin' design on the forepillar.

E104:2545: Context MVIII08; black layer, ditch fill.
Groat, silver, English. Probably Edward IV, type XXII, February–April 1483. Mint: London.
Obverse: Crowned bust facing, within a tressure of nine arches. Fleurs on cusps of arches. Pellet below bust. Around EDWARD DI GRA REX ANGL Z FRANC. Saltire stop after GRA. Mint mark: sun and rose.
Reverse: POSVI DEVM ADIVTOREM MEVM.

E104:2824: Context 3415.
Groat, base silver, Irish. Philip and Mary, possibly 1557. Mint: London.
Obverse: Facing busts below a crown. Legend worn. Date, worn, on either side of crown.
Reverse: Faint outline of crowned harp, extremely worn. Date, 15 - 5(7?), to left and right of harp. Legend worn.

E104:2815: Context 3301; topsoil.
Halfpenny, copper, Irish, late seventeenth century.
Obverse: Faint outline of head and some lettering, worn.

Reverse: Outline of front of crowned harp and some strings. Faint trace of date to right of crown. This suggests the period Charles II–William III. On the eighteenth-century halfpennies of the Georges the date is to be found at the base of the harp.

Pottery

Sarah Gormley

Introduction

A total of 1,054 pottery sherds were recovered during the excavations at Parke's Castle. Unfortunately, however, much of the assemblage cannot now be located. The finds list from the excavation comprises 894 entries, and of these a total of 557 are missing. This leaves 337 sherds from the list that are available for analysis, and an additional 160 blackware sherds (all from topsoil) which were not included in the finds list. Of the 337 sherds that have been located, the majority (330 sherds) are of glazed red earthenware, but also represented are a sherd of stoneware, a single North Devon gravel-tempered sherd and some modern sherds.

A fairly comprehensive finds list was kept during the course of the excavation and 44 illustrations were made, most of which are reproduced here. So, although they are currently unlocated, it has been possible to draw some conclusions about the nature of the missing 557 sherds from the entries made on the finds list. Occasionally, for example, the descriptions are quite specific: 'sherd of North French 16th cent. Green glazed, creamy fine ware (E104:2185)', or 'rim sherd, cooking pot, Crannog Ware (E104:2526)'. More often, though, the entries simply describe the sherd: for example, 'pot sherd, white stoneware; white glaze both sides (E104:1135)', or 'pot sherd, red fabric with yellow flecks; black glaze both surfaces (E104:2175)'. Although they do not assign the pottery to a ware, these entries are often sufficiently descriptive to allow decisions to be made about the probable type and date of the pottery. Other entries on the list are less informative: for example, 'pot sherd, orange fabric; no glazing (E104:574)'.

This report therefore discusses the 337 sherds from the finds list that have been located, the 557 sherds which are on the finds list but are now missing and the 160 sherds of blackware from the topsoil which are not on the finds list. Inevitably, trying to analyse the composition of an assemblage largely from a finds list is a fairly limited exercise. It has been possible, however, to summarise the main attributes. Therefore, despite the fact that a large part of the assemblage was not available for analysis, a basic interpretation of the composition and distribution of the whole assemblage was undertaken. As a result, this report has been largely compiled from the finds list and the notes made during the excavation. There are obvious limitations with the analysis of the pottery from Parke's Castle as a result. Clearly the finds list was not compiled with the intention of its forming the basis of a pottery report, but it is to the credit of the excavator that sufficient notes were kept during the excavation to enable a summary of the pottery finds to be made, despite the absence of the majority of the assemblage.

The composition of the assemblage

The majority of the pottery recovered (*c.* 945 sherds) would appear to date from the occupation of the manor house and consists for the most part of glazed red earthenware (412 sherds) and blackware (212 sherds). Other wares typical of the period (North Devon gravel-tempered pottery, two sherds; stonewares, 36 sherds; tin-glazed earthenware, fifteen sherds; slipwares, 21 sherds) were also represented but to a much lesser degree. A large number of entries (247 sherds) on the finds list could only be recognised as likely to be post-medieval in date and it was not possible to draw any further conclusions with regard to these sherds.

A considerably smaller portion of the assemblage (24 sherds) can be shown to be contemporary with the tower-house occupation; it includes locally produced pottery (Medieval Ulster Coarse Pottery, nine sherds), imported wares (Tudor Green, one sherd; Northern French wares, four sherds) and glazed jugs (ten sherds) that may have been made locally or imported from elsewhere in Ireland or further afield.

Glazed red earthenware (described by the excavator as 'local red ware' and also known as 'brown ware'; Fig. 5.6.2–7) was the most frequently encountered pottery found during the excavation (412 sherds). It is generally assumed that the production and distribution of this domestic pottery, including table- and kitchenwares, was local in scale. It is found in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century contexts across Britain and Ireland (Ennis 2001, 18; McCutcheon 1995, 95; 1997, 94). The lack of inclusions within the fabric of these earthenwares makes the identification of clay sources difficult (Meenan 1995, 149), however, and the source (or sources) of the wares from Parke's Castle has not been established with certainty. Glazed red earthenwares seem to have served the lower end of the market and it has been asserted that trading over wide distances would have been unlikely (McCutcheon 1995, 95; Frazer 2009, 115). A kiln producing earthenwares was excavated at Tuam, Co. Galway, and, although precise dating was not possible, it seems that it had gone out of use by 1778 (Carey and Meenan 2004, 44). Kiln furniture, saggers and wasters from the production of glazed red earthenware in the eighteenth century were excavated at Red Abbey Yard in Cork city (McCutcheon and Meenan 2004,
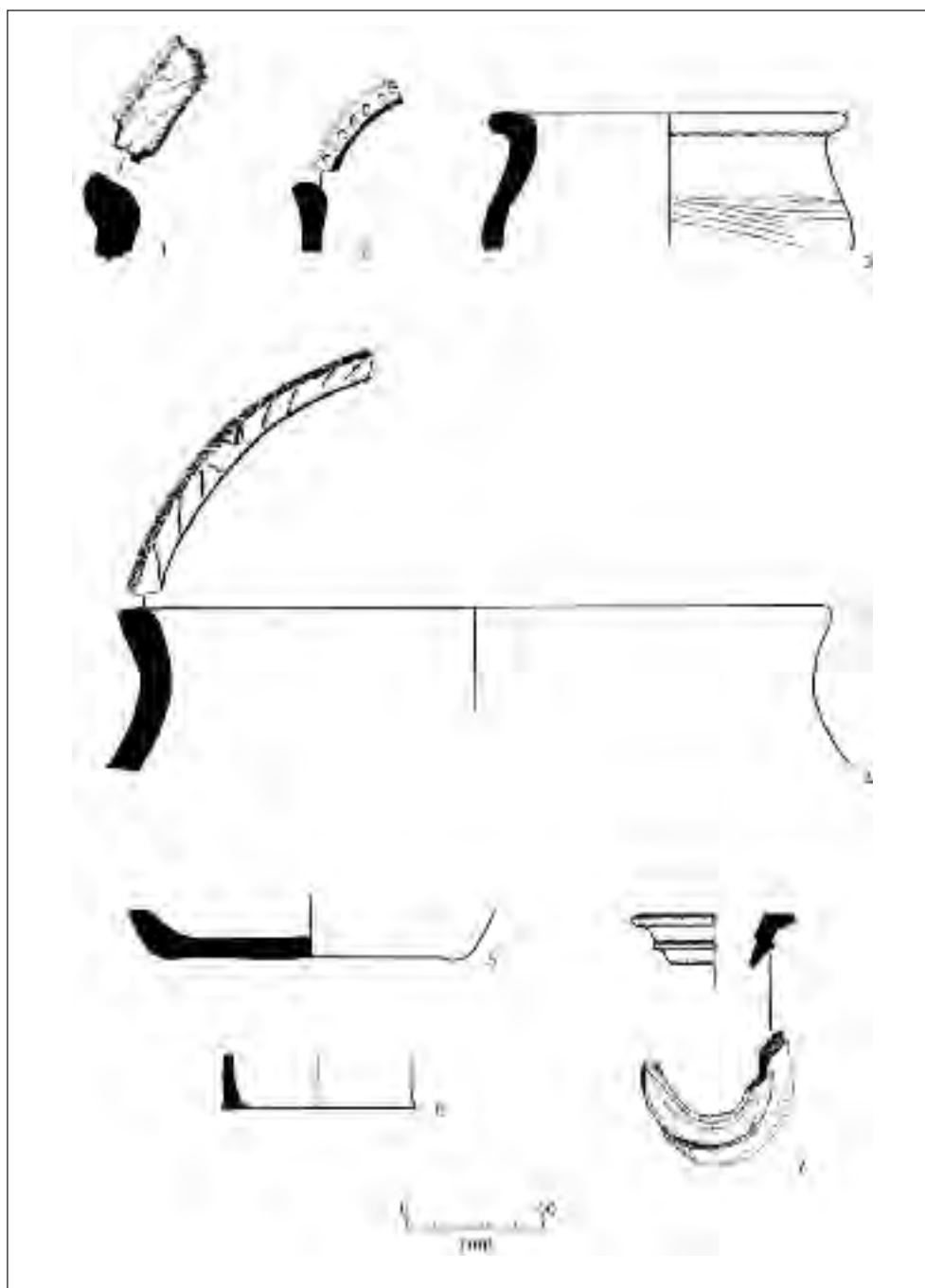
Fig. 5.5—**1** Medieval coarseware, E104:2526. **2** Medieval coarseware, E104:2390. **3** Medieval coarseware, E104:2012. **4** Medieval coarseware, E104:2422 and E104:2445. **5** Medieval coarseware, E104:2734. **6** Tudor Green, E104:989. **7** North French, sixteenth-century, E104:1212.

22), while an unpublished excavation undertaken by Harold Leask at Askeaton Castle, Co. Limerick, is also believed to have uncovered the remains of a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century earthenware kiln (*ibid.*, 25). Frazer (2009, 126) has argued for a production centre located at Dublin's Liberties and documentary evidence would suggest that a number of potters were producing earthenware in Dublin (*ibid.*, 124). It is apparent, therefore, that this pottery type was being produced by a number of different kilns across the country, and it may have been the case that the vessels from Parke's Castle were sourced in Sligo. The possibility that this pottery was produced in the immediate hinterland of the castle cannot be ruled out, however, as documentary evidence from Cork shows that earthenware pottery was also being produced in rural settings (Ennis 2001, 47). The likelihood that these vessels were hawked as well as sold at markets has been highlighted by Ennis (2001, 51). It seems, therefore, that although the exact distribution pattern of glazed red earthenware must remain speculative without the location of further kilns, it can be assumed that the vessels found at Parke's Castle were made within the immediate region and were purchased from markets or from potters hawking their wares.

Glazed red earthenware vessels are also occasionally decorated in the slip-trailed and sgraffito style, and it is likely that some of the slipwares and sgraffito sherds recovered during the excavation were locally produced
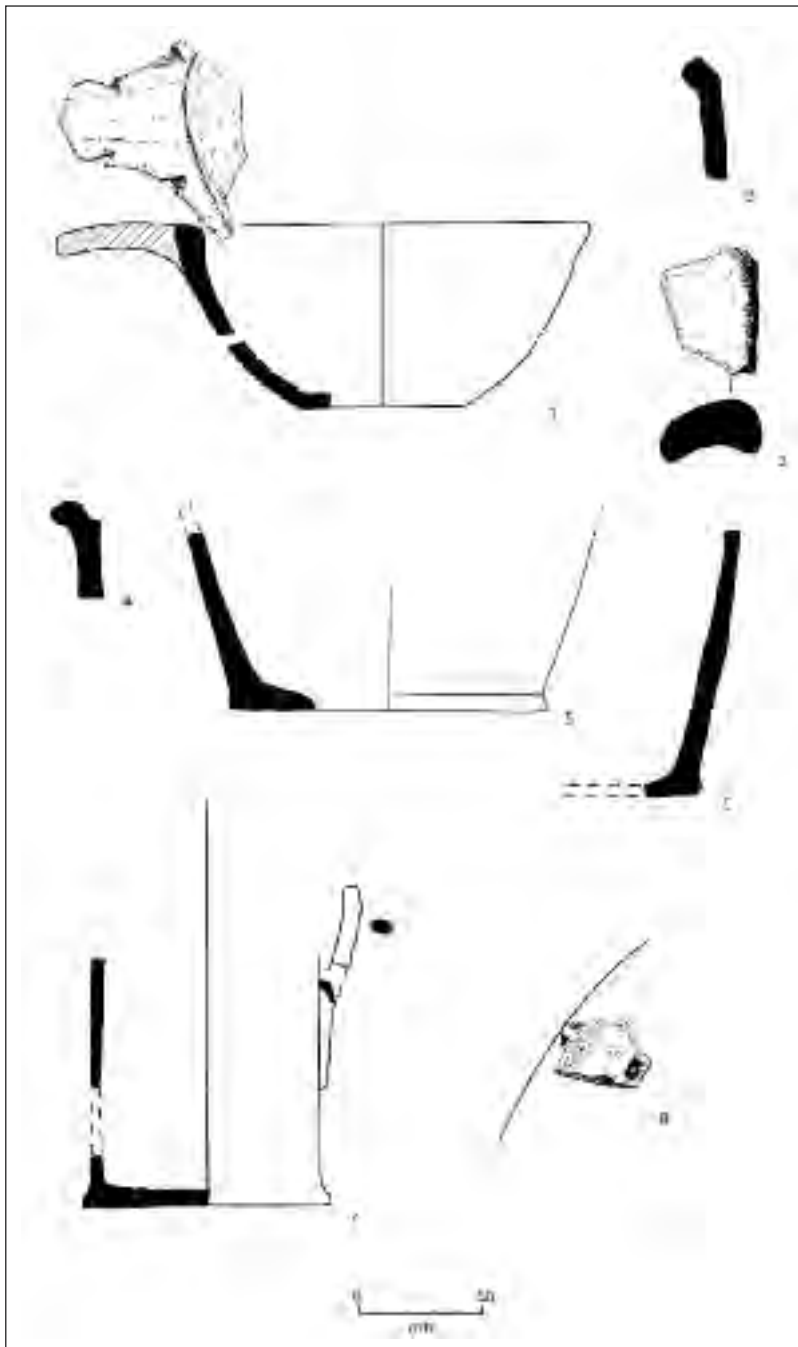
Fig. 5.6—**1** North French, sixteenth-century, E104:2313. **2** Glazed red earthenware, E104:2898. **3** Glazed red earthenware, E104:398. **4** Glazed red earthenware, E104:198. **5** Glazed red earthenware, E104:710. **6** Glazed red earthenware, E104:816. **7** Glazed red earthenware, E104:2030. **8** Staffordshire slipware, E104:1078.

glazed red earthenwares. Some of the slipwares were imported, however, and the finds list notes the recovery of sherds from Staffordshire (E104:1078; Fig. 5.6.8). Staffordshire slipwares were made in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (McCutcheon 1997, 94).

Blackwares were also commonly found (212 sherds) during the excavation at Parke's Castle. Both wares likely to have been produced in Ireland (Fig. 5.7.3–4) and examples made in the Buckley region of north-east Wales (Fig. 5.7.5–7) were uncovered, usually taking the form of large storage vessels. Blackwares were produced in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (McCutcheon 1995, 95; Ennis 2001, 79; Meenan 1997, 129).

Also noted on the finds list were sherds of tin-glazed

earthenware (fifteen sherds, also described as 'delftware' on the finds list; Fig. 5.7.1). These wares were made in England from the sixteenth century and were produced throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries before being replaced by creamwares in the late eighteenth century (McCutcheon 1997, 91). Tin-glazed earthenwares were also produced in Ireland (Gahan and Twohig 1997, 145).

Although pottery from North Devon was exported to Ireland in large quantities in the seventeenth century (particularly the latter half of the century) and is a common find in contexts of this date in Ireland (Meenan 2007, 398), only two sherds of gravel-tempered ware were recovered during the course of the excavation (Fig. 5.7.2). This
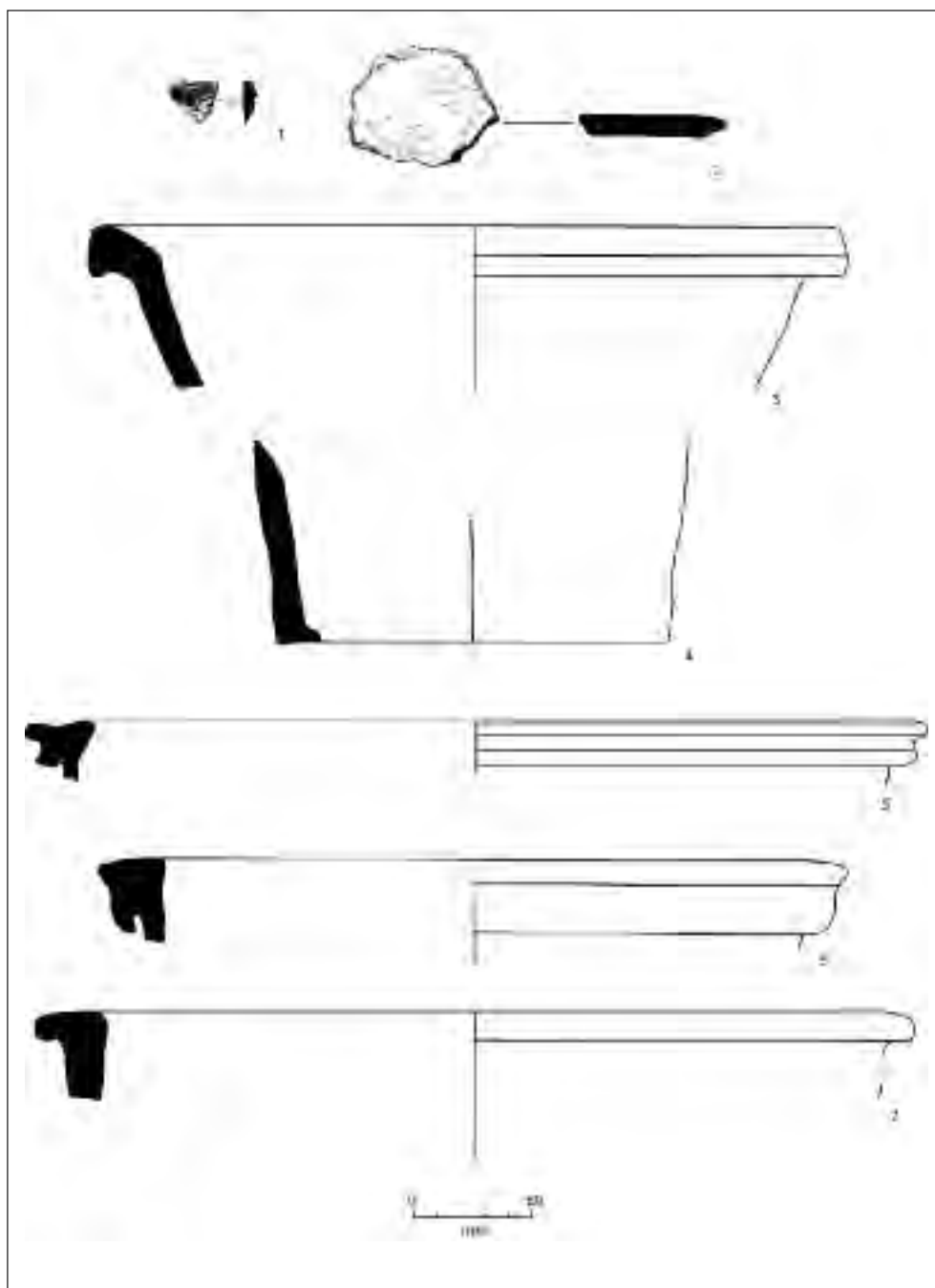
is perhaps a reflection of the reliance on locally produced domestic pottery (i.e. glazed red earthenware) at Parke's Castle.

The recovery of stonewares (36 sherds; Fig. 5.8.3–5) was noted on the finds list and five of these were listed as being from German Bellarmine jugs (e.g. E104:2420), which have a currency between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

A small amount of what was noted on the finds list as Crannog Ware was recovered during the course of the excavation (nine sherds; Fig. 5.5.1–5). This pottery type has also been known as Everted-Rim Ware and has recently been revisited by McSparron (2007; 2009), who has suggested that 'Medieval Ulster Coarse Pottery' is a more accurate and

suitable terminology for this pottery type, which has been found distributed throughout the northern part of Ireland (primarily Ulster) from the mid-thirteenth into the seventeenth century (Millar 1991, 149). This coarse pottery is the most numerous amongst the very small assemblage recovered from Parke's Castle that is likely to date from the O'Rourke occupation of the site. Also potentially dating from the O'Rourke occupation is a base sherd (E104:989; Fig. 5.5.6) listed as coming from a Tudor Green vessel. Tudor Green pottery was produced in the Surrey region and was widely distributed by the fifteenth century, falling out of use by the late sixteenth century (Gahan and Twohig 1997, 140). Four sherds that may have been imported from northern France in the sixteenth century were also noted
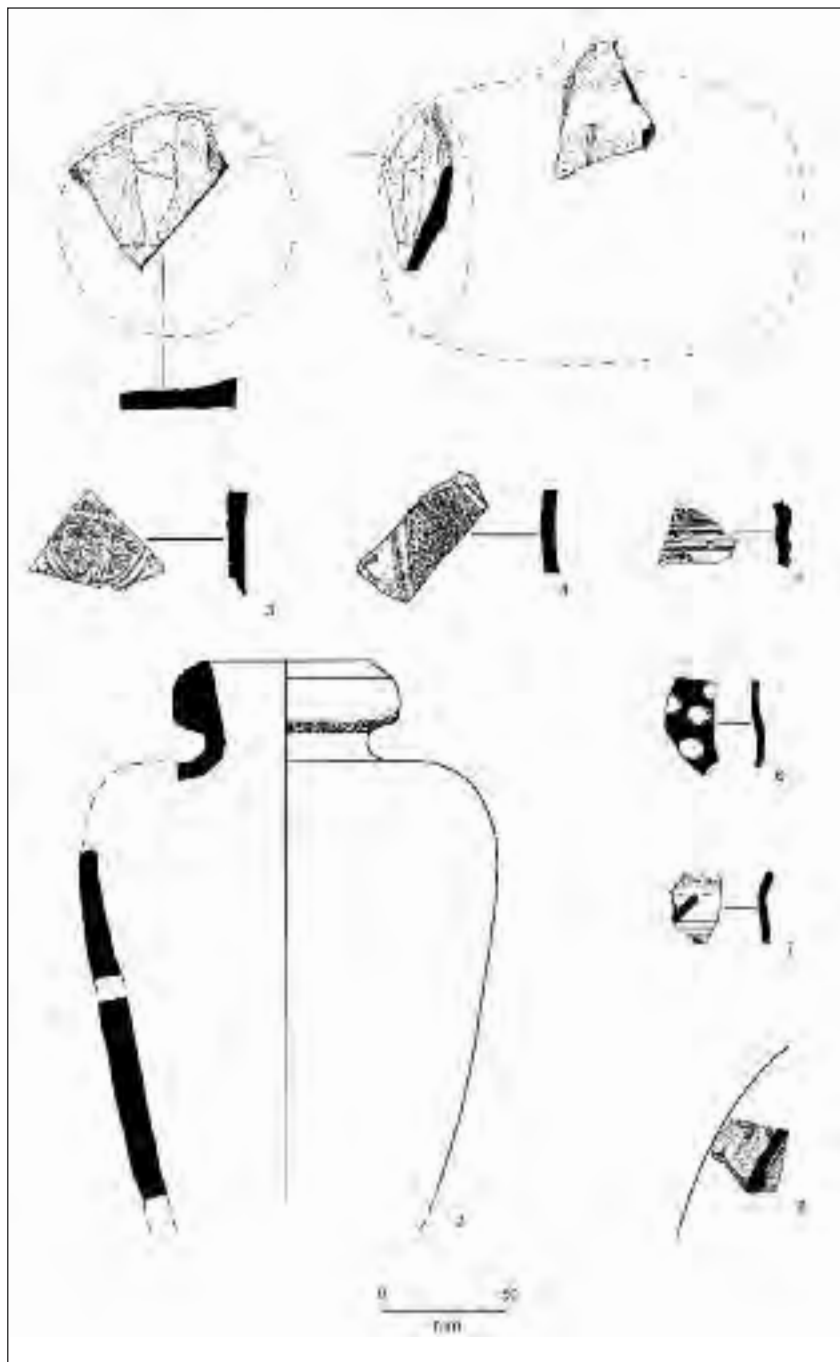
Fig. 5.8—**1** Barrel costrel, E104:279 and E104:2448. **2** Spanish olive jar, E104:2501 and E104:2936. **3** Stoneware, E104:1202. **4** Stoneware, E104:2785. **5** Stoneware, E104:2180. **6** Seventeenth-century posset pot, E104:2027. **7** Sgrafitto slipware, E104:2897. **8** Staffordshire slipware, E104:2354.

on the finds list and include sherds from a green-glazed candlestick-holder (E104:1212; Fig. 5.5.7) and a handled bowl (E104:2313; Fig. 5.6.1). Ten sherds that may be from green-glazed jugs were included on the finds list. One of these was identified by D. Sweetman during the course of the excavation as being fourteenth–fifteenth-century in date.

The distribution of the assemblage
Tower-house contexts

Twelve sherds of pottery were recovered from contexts associated with the tower-house.

Five sherds came from the tower-house collapse (six-teenth-century north French vessel, two sherds, E104:2312,

E104:2313, Fig. 5.6.1; slipware, one sherd; Staffordshire slip-ware press-moulded vessel, one sherd, E104:1078, Fig. 5.6.8; creamy white fabric with white glaze on both sides, one sherd). Two sherds (E104:1214, E104:1217), possibly of glazed red earthenware, were recovered from above the remains of the east wall of the tower-house.

Two sherds were recovered from the tower-house floor level. One (E104:1093, pot sherd, fawn fabric, clear glaze on inside, green and blue pattern glaze on outside) was recovered 0.15m above the step, just inside the east chamber. A second (E104:1099, pot sherd, red fabric, golden brown glaze on inside only) was recovered from the west chamber, on the floor level, under fallen masonry. Three further sherds were recovered from habitation

debris associated with the tower-house, including a further sherd identified as North French sixteenth-century pottery (E104:2185; Fig. 5.6.1), a rim sherd which may be from a large platter (E104:2182) and a body sherd of creamware, with shiny brownish black glaze inside and outside (E104:2050).

Ditch fills
Thirty-four sherds of pottery were recovered from the fills within the ditch and are detailed below by cutting.

MI. A single sherd (E104:79) was recovered from MI and was listed as stoneware, although no context was recorded.

MII. A sherd (E104:1236), likely to be post-medieval in date (fine red ware, glazed brown inside and out), was recovered from MII, although no context was recorded.

MIII. Six sherds were recovered from the fills of MIII, with no specific context information. All are compatible with a post-medieval date (two are likely to be glazed red earthenware sherds).

MVIII. The majority of the pottery recovered from the ditch was found in cut MVIII. Twenty-four sherds were recovered from these fills, including those which were identified during the excavation as the neck of a Spanish olive jar (E104:2936 and E104:2501, Fig. 5.8.2), six sherds of glazed red earthenware, five sherds of Medieval Ulster Coarse Pottery (E104:2390, Fig. 5.5.2; E104:2445, E104:2422, Fig. 5.5.4) and a Bellarmine sherd (E104:2420), which were all recovered from C.MVIII04. A sherd of Medieval Ulster Coarse Pottery (E104:2526, Fig. 5.5.1) was also recovered from C.MVIII08, and a glazed red earthenware (E104:2939) fragment was found in C.MVIII15.

MIX. A single sherd (E104:2747) was recovered from the ditch cutting MIX. It was found in the dark layer (MIX04) and was identified by David Sweetman during the course of the excavation as dating from the fourteenth–fifteenth century.

Seventeenth-century cobbles
A total of 195 sherds were recovered from contexts described as beneath the seventeenth-century cobbles (for example, within the seventeenth-century cobbles gravel or below). A quantity of glazed red earthenware (97 sherds, 91 of which are located) was recovered, along with 65 sherds which, from their descriptions, seem likely to be post-medieval in date at the earliest. It was difficult to tell from the description of five sherds whether they were medieval or post-medieval in date. In addition to these there are seven stoneware sherds (e.g. E104:2785, Fig. 5.8.4,

and E104:2180, Fig. 5.8.5), including a fragment of a Bellarmine jug (E104:2670), five sherds likely to be blackware (e.g. E104:2124, E104:2201), five slipware sherds (E104:2227, E104:961) and a base fragment described as being from a Tudor Green vessel (E104:989, Fig. 5.5.6).

Sally-port
Eleven sherds were recovered from the fills uncovered within the sally-port. Two sherds of blackware (E104:2567, Fig. 5.7.4) and four sherds of glazed red earthenware were identified, along with five other sherds likely to be post-medieval in date.

Post-seventeenth-century cobbles
A total of 600 sherds post-date the seventeenth-century cobbles and are described as being 'on cobbles' (193 sherds), in a soak-hole (five sherds) or in topsoil (397 sherds), while for two the context is described as 'modern' and three sherds are from gravel beneath topsoil. It is difficult to be certain as to the exact type of pottery of many of the sherds, but from their descriptions it would appear that 131 entries are post-medieval or later, with a further 183 blackware sherds (including the 160 sherds from topsoil which are not included on the finds list) and 193 sherds of glazed red earthenware.

Two sherds are described on the finds list as seventeenth-century wares. A sherd of the top of a posset pot (E104:2027, Fig. 5.8.6) has a fine creamy fabric. The outside is brown with yellow dots and the inside is yellow. The finds list describes it as mid- to late seventeenth-century. Barrel costrel fragments (E104:279, Fig. 5.8.1) are also assigned to the seventeenth century and are described as having a greyish white fabric, with pink (stippled) and green glaze, from the Saintonge area. Fourteen sherds are slipwares, one with sgrafitto decoration (E104:2897, Fig. 5.8.7) and one described as a Staffordshire slipware (E104:2354, Fig. 5.8.8) with an impressed decorative border, whilst two (E104:2355, E104:2395) are described as possibly being of local origin. In addition, there are possible creamware sherds (e.g. E104:716), stoneware sherds (including three Bellarmine sherds, E104:2093, E104:2350, E104:2375), china (E104:50) and porcelain sherds. Also described as coming from these contexts are a North Devon gravel-tempered sherd (E104:2353, Fig. 5.7.2), tin-glazed fragments, including some from a chamber-pot (E104:2372), and sherds described as modern.

There is one sherd (E104:490) from this stratum which may be medieval. It is described as 'pot sherd, fabric of layered colours (grey and orange) with grains of sand throughout; yellow/brown glaze on outer surface'. Although it is not certain, it is conceivably earlier in date.

Beneath nineteenth-century stable cobbles
Fourteen sherds are described as coming from beneath the

nineteenth-century stable cobbles or in the gravel of the nineteenth-century stable cobbles. All of the descriptions are compatible with the material being glazed red earthenware sherds, except for one tin-glazed earthenware sherd (E104:2071).

Context not stratified

Thirty-eight sherds of pottery were recovered from contexts which it is not possible to fit into the stratigraphic sequence. The majority are likely to be at least post-medieval in date, with eleven sherds of glazed red earthenware, one sherd of possible blackware, four stoneware sherds, a tin-glazed sherd, a sherd described as sixteenth-century North French pottery (E104:2344), three Medieval Ulster Coarse Pottery sherds (E104:2012, Fig. 5.5.3, and E104:2754, E104:2762), and a sherd which is described as 'Spanish ware' (E104:2538) with no indication of date.

No context

A total of 144 sherds have no contextual information. The descriptions of nineteen are compatible with their being blackware sherds, while 73 may be glazed red earthenware. One sherd (E104:2734, Fig. 5.5.5) is the base of a Medieval Ulster Coarse Pottery vessel with an estimated diameter of 105mm. A sherd that may be of North Devon gravel-tempered ware, a sherd of slipware and stoneware sherds were all recovered. From the descriptions of a further 38 of the sherds it is possible to tell that they are likely to be post-medieval at the earliest, although it is not possible to assign these more closely. Five of the sherds are likely to be modern, at least nineteenth-century in date.

Discussion

The analysis of the pottery recovered during the excavation has been limited by the loss of much of the assemblage, but despite this it has been a useful exercise. The pottery can be summarised generally in three groups. There is a small assemblage of locally produced coarse-wares (nine sherds), possibly locally produced glazed wares (ten sherds) and imported glazed wares (five sherds) that most likely date from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and are associated with the occupation of the tower-house by the O'Rourkes. This assemblage is very small and suggests one of two possibilities. Either this is not the complete ceramic assemblage (i.e. midden material was removed from the site periodically or originally dumped elsewhere in the vicinity) or, alternatively, the occupants of the O'Rourke tower-house did not rely heavily on pottery and instead were using vessels of other materials as tablewares. Wooden vessels have been recovered in medieval contexts from a number of sites. The base of a wooden mug and a lid from a wooden vessel were recovered from mid-thirteenth- and fourteenth-century contexts at Trim Castle (Sweetman 1978, 184), while

lathe-turned vessels are described as a 'ubiquitous' find on medieval Dublin excavations, with wooden vessels of all types (including bowls, plates, platters, buckets and barrels) having been recovered from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century contexts (Wallace 1981, 258; O'Sullivan and Deevy 2000, 162). Wooden vessels are also found in later contexts and a lathe-turned bowl was recovered from a late sixteenth- to early seventeenth-century context during the Patrick, Nicholas and Winetavern Street excavations in Dublin (Walsh 1997, 159). The Ulster Museum has a fine collection of wooden, leather and metal vessels on display dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the majority from the northern half of the island, and those items highlight the range of materials which were employed to make tableware and kitchenware vessels in the late medieval period. Of particular note are a wooden bog-butter vessel found near Portadown, Co. Armagh, a wooden mether, provenanced only to Ireland, and a leather bottle found near Ballymoney, Co. Antrim, all dating from the fifteenth/sixteenth centuries. Also on display are a range of bronze vessels, including a chafing dish, provenanced only to Ireland and dated to the sixteenth century; three bronze tripod cauldrons from Lough Oughter, Co. Cavan, dating from the fourteenth–sixteenth centuries; a number of basins, including a particularly impressive example dating from between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries from Altdrumman, Co. Tyrone; and a bronze mortar inscribed with the date 1595, provenanced only to Ireland. No vessels of wood, leather or metal were recovered during the excavation at Parke's Castle, but this is perhaps not unexpected, given that wood and leather artefacts would be unlikely to survive, while vessels of bronze are unlikely to have been discarded. A range of materials and artefact types, however, were evidently in use during the late medieval period in the north of Ireland alongside pottery vessels, and it seems likely that this was also the case at Parke's Castle. It is difficult to establish whether the size and composition of the pottery assemblage from Parke's Castle are typical for a medieval Gaelic site of this type, as comparable excavated examples are few, although a fairly small (less than twenty sherds) ceramic assemblage was also found to be associated with the late medieval Gaelic tower-house occupation at Castlederg (Newman 1992, 20). This assemblage was dominated by Medieval Ulster Coarse Pottery, although a sherd of sixteenth-century Beauvais double sgraffito indicates that the O'Neills also had access to imported wares (*ibid.*, 41). On present evidence, therefore, it would appear that the O'Rourke occupants of the tower-house at Parke's Castle had access to fine imported pottery and were using glazed jugs and earthenware cooking pots, but that this assemblage of vessels was likely to have been complemented by items made from wood, leather and bronze.

The largest portion of the assemblage, dating from the seventeenth century, is dominated by the presence of glazed red earthenwares and blackwares to a lesser degree. A range of other pottery was also present, including imported wares. The occupants of the castle in the seventeenth century clearly had access to the main imports, although it would appear that locally produced earthenwares dominated their consumption. This dominance of local wares might be expected away from the main trading centres, where a greater variety and a greater proportion of imported wares are usually encountered (e.g. Gahan and Twohig 1997, 137).

Finally, a small number of sherds, found in contexts above the seventeenth-century cobbles, attest to activity within the unoccupied castle in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The recovery of porcelain, creamwares and 'modern' sherds is noted in the finds list.

Vessel glass

Siobhán Scully

Introduction

One hundred and fifty-six sherds of vessel and bottle glass were recovered from the excavations at Parke's Castle. All of the glass is post-medieval in date and includes wine, spirits, soda/mineral water, poison and utility bottles as well as phials, wide-necked bottles, drinking glasses, a possible salt-cellar, flat glass and possible glass slag. There are no complete glass artefacts and some of the sherds are very fragmented. Not all of the vessel glass was given a small-find number during the excavation. Some pieces were assigned a sample number (e.g. S1) and others had no identifier and have been assigned one for the purposes of this report (e.g. U1). Table 5.3 presents a breakdown of the types of glass artefacts represented in the assemblage.

As can be seen from Table 5.3, all the glass dates from between the mid-seventeenth century and the early twentieth century. All the glass before the early nineteenth century is free-blown—that is, it was shaped on the end of a blowpipe without the use of a mould. The glass-blower judged the shape of the bottle, which means that they are usually asymmetrical and no two are exactly the same. Free-blown bottles had a long iron rod called a pontil attached to the base while the lip, rim or mouth was being formed, and when this was detached a scar was left behind on the base. Two (E104:468, S76K) of the phials, for example, have glass-tipped pontil scars on their bases. One of the wine bottle bases (E104:151) has a polished pontil where the base of the bottle has been polished to smooth out the scar left when the pontil rod was removed. Other features indicative of free-blown glass are also visible in the assemblage, such as bubbles which were introduced

Table 5.3—Types of glass vessels present in the assemblage.

Glass type	No. of shards	Date range
Wine bottles	85	Mid-17thC–19thC
Spirits bottles	3	18thC
Soda bottles	4	19thC–E20thC
Phials	5	17thC–E19thC
Wide-necked bottles	2	18thC–E19thC
Poison bottles	3	19thC
Utility bottles	31	17thC–20thC
Drinking glasses	4	17thC–18thC
Salt-cellar?	1	18thC?
Flat glass	11	Unknown
Unidentified	6	17thC–18thC?

into the glass as it was being blown (e.g. E104:624, E104:2237, E104:2547, E104:2555, E104:2871, E104:2622, E104:2625) and striations around the necks of a number of the bottles which were produced when the neck was being formed (e.g. E104:176, E104:1005, S81A, U12). From the early nineteenth century glass bottles began to be blown in moulds but still had to have their lips applied by hand, for example the soda or mineral water bottle (S77A) which had an applied tapered lip with a collar. By the late nineteenth/early twentieth century the entire bottle could be manufactured in a mould.

Most of the glass sherds from Parke's Castle are covered in a patina, formed since they were deposited in the ground. The patina varies: sometimes it is just a light iridescent covering, sometimes it is milky white and cloudy, but occasionally it is quite heavy, forming a thick brown or black crust on the glass. Many of the glass sherds from Parke's Castle have crizzled surfaces, caused by an instability in the glass as a result of a lack of lime in the batch.

The glass is discussed according to function and dated according to shape, features and method of manufacture. Bottle identifications and dating were made by reference to Noël-Hume's *A guide to artifacts of Colonial America* (1969), Van den Bossche's *Antique glass bottles* (2001) and the Museum of London's on-line glass collection catalogue (http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/ceramics/pages/glass.asp). A full catalogue of the glass finds is included in the archive report (Foley and Donnelly 2012).
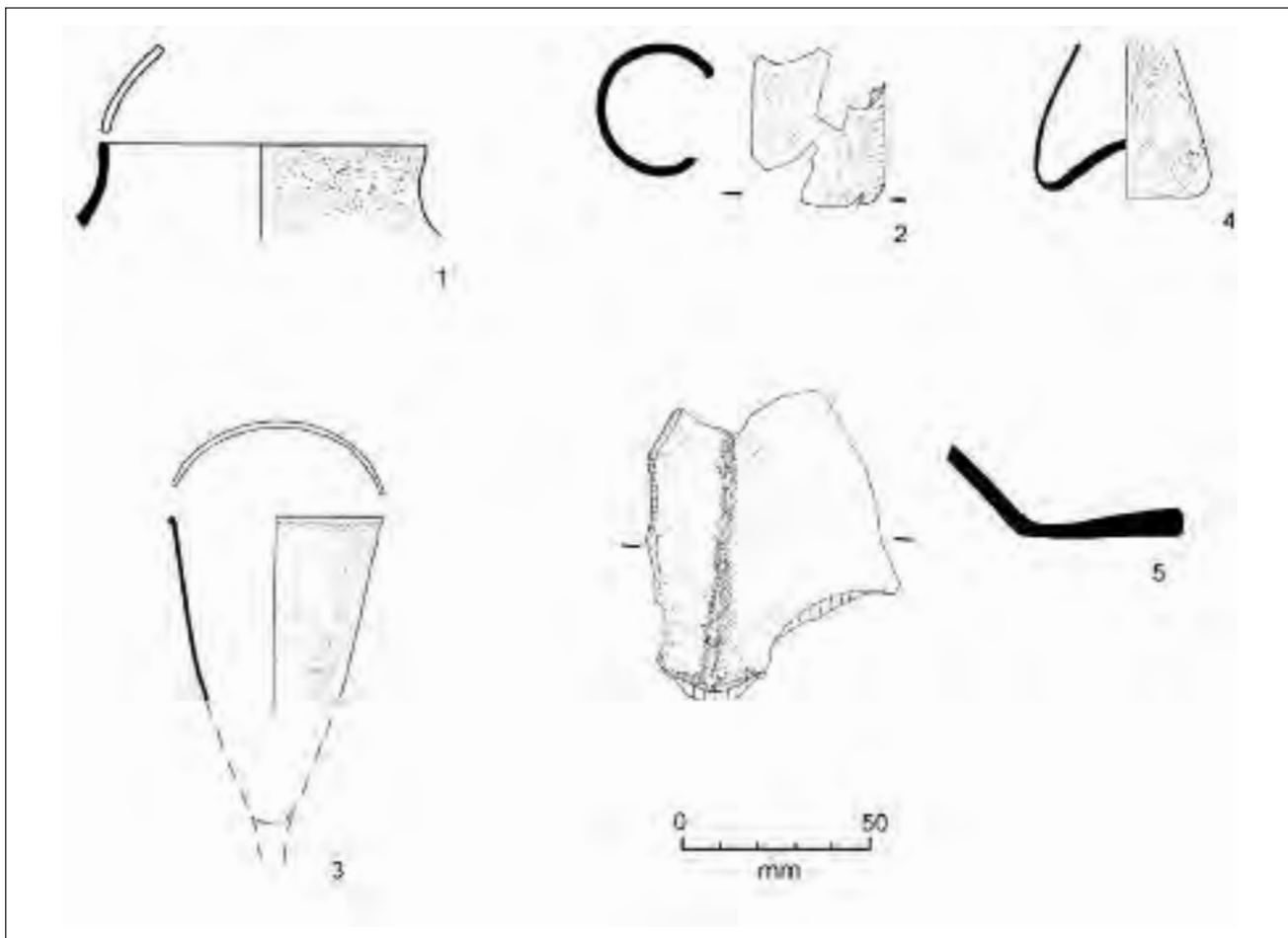
Fig. 5.9—**1** Wide-necked bottle, E104:561B. **2** Phial, E104:2876A. **3** Drinking glass, E104:2514. **4** Phial, E104:2622. **5** ?Salt-cellar, E104:2816.

Wine bottles

It did not become common to use glass bottles as containers for wine until the early seventeenth century. Before this, wine was stored in casks and customers carried their wine away in leather or stoneware jugs (Hedges 2002, 7). The earliest glass wine bottles were 'wanded' bottles, which had rounded bases and were held in baskets. Around 1650 a new type of bottle was introduced which was globular in shape, had a long neck and could stand upright on a surface. These bottles also had a rim of glass applied to the neck so that the cork could be held in place with a string (*ibid.*; Fletcher 1975, 46). There are two sherds from Parke's Castle that are probably from these 'shaft-and-globe' bottles. One is a kick fragment (E104:2394) from the narrow bases typical of these bottles, and the other is a body sherd (E104:2552)—consisting of seven fragments which refit—with the characteristic globular body shape.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century wine bottles became squatter with shorter necks. These 'onion' bottles continued in use until the early eighteenth century, when wine bottles began to have a more cylindrical shape and longer necks (Fletcher 1975, 46–7). There are two base sherds (U8, U11) and one body sherd (E104:49)

which may come from either the earlier shaft-and-globe bottles or early onion bottles. Both base sherds have shallow kicks and one (U11) has a distorted pontil. Seven lip and neck sherds (E104:624, E104:2108, E104:2232, 2265, 2292A, 2310, 2672) are from the squat necks of onion bottles and date from the 1680s to *c.* 1715. All of these sherds have applied string rims and everted lips where the lips are present. There is one kick fragment (E104:2369) which is probably also from an onion bottle. There are nine body sherds that date from the late seventeenth century to the eighteenth century and are probably from onion bottles.

The shape of wine bottles began to take on a more cylindrical form towards the end of the eighteenth century. Following a trade agreement signed between England and Portugal in 1703, wine imported into England from Portugal incurred less duty; as port needed to be matured in the bottle rather than the cask, bottles needed to be stored on their sides to keep the cork moist and the bottles airtight. The globular shape of the seventeenth-century bottles was unsuitable for this purpose, and so wine bottles became more straight-sided with a cylindrical body and longer neck (Fletcher 1975, 46–7). The earliest of these cylindrical bottles are called 'mallet' bottles. There is one

lip and neck sherd (E104:176) from Parke's Castle which may be from a mallet bottle. It has an applied string rim and an everted lip. One kick fragment (S76E) may be from an onion bottle or a mallet. This fragment is also blue in colour, probably from glass-gall being added to the end of the pontil rod (Van den Bossche 2001, 394). By the end of the eighteenth and the start of the nineteenth century wine bottles had taken on a more slender, cylindrical, long-necked form that is still in use today. There are seven base sherds (E104:151, E104:177–8, E104:317, E104:332, E104:337, U1) and two kick fragments (E104:331, E104:335) which date from the end of the late eighteenth century to the nineteenth century. One of the base sherds (E104:177–8) has a high kick, and one of the kick fragments has a polished pontil. There is also one lip and neck sherd (S81A) with an applied single collar below an inverted rim that is eighteenth-century in date.

There are a large number of small body sherds from wine bottles that could not be closely dated. Twenty-eight body sherds and one base of a neck (E104:645) can be dated to between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by their colour and shape. Four body sherds (E104:122, E104:202, E104:247, E104:615) and one neck sherd are from late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century cylindrical bottles. These tend to be much darker in colour and have straight sides. Two body sherds are nineteenth-century in date. Fifteen sherds can only be given a general date of between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. All of these are free-blown, however, so they do not date from any later than the late nineteenth century.

Spirits bottles

Three body sherds (E104:2419, E104:2494–5) from Parke's Castle are from straight-sided bottles which may have held spirits. The drinking of gin was popular during the seventeenth century and especially during the eighteenth century. Gin was transported in crates of twelve, and the bottles were square in shape to fit better into the crate. These bottles were blown in wooden moulds (Fletcher 1975, 47–8). The three sherds from Parke's Castle are all of clear glass and are all probably eighteenth-century in date.

Soda/mineral water bottles

Four glass sherds are probably from soda or mineral water bottles. One lip and neck sherd (S77A) of aqua green glass has an applied tapered lip with a collar and dates from the late nineteenth century. The body of this bottle was probably blown in a mould and the lip applied afterwards. The aqua blue base of a soda bottle was also blown in a mould and dates from the end of the nineteenth or the early twentieth century. There are also two body sherds (S77B, S77C) of aqua green glass that are nineteenth-century in date; the glass in the former is quite thick and may be from an egg or torpedo bottle.

Phials

There are five phials from Parke's Castle. One small, simple rim fragment (E104:1120) may be from a phial or wide-necked bottle of light olive green glass dating from the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Three phials are eighteenth-century in date: one base sherd (E104:2622, E104:2625; Fig. 5.9.4) of clear glass has a shallow kick, one kick fragment of light olive green glass has a glass-tipped pontil and four body sherds (E104:2876A; Fig. 5.9.2) from the same bottle are of clear glass. One heavy base sherd (E104:468) from a clear glass, narrow, cylindrical bottle with a shallow kick and a glass-tipped pontil probably dates from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century.

Wide-necked bottles

In addition to the wide-necked bottle or phial (E104:1120) mentioned above, there are two other possible wide-necked bottles from Parke's Castle, both dating from the eighteenth or early nineteenth century. One (E104:561B; Fig. 5.9.1) is a fragment of a simple everted rim of clear glass and the other (U7) is a lip sherd of clear glass.

Poison bottles

There are two body sherds (E104:2127, E104:2148) and one base sherd (S77D) of a small, cylindrical mould-blown bottle which are of blue glass and are probably from poison bottles, as this colour was commonly used for this purpose during the nineteenth century.

Utility bottles

These are bottles that may have been for a number of uses, such as food, medicine, soda or liquor bottles, but not enough remains of them to identify them further. There are 31 sherds of bottle glass from Parke's Castle that could not be identified to a particular type of bottle. Six body sherds are from free-blown bottles that may be as early as seventeenth-century in date. Five of these (E104:696A–C, E104:708, unnumbered) are of blue glass; the first four may be blue owing to a excess of sodium sulphate when the glass was blown or the result of glass-gall having been added to the end of the pontil rod (Van den Bossche 2001, 394), while the fifth sherd appears to have come from a bottle of blue glass. One body sherd (E104:2181) of 'black' glass dates from the seventeenth or eighteenth century. There is another body sherd (E104:2606) of cobalt blue glass which is probably eighteenth- or nineteenth-century in date but is from a bottle which is bigger than poison bottles usually are. One base sherd (E104:616), one kick fragment (E104:39) and one body sherd (E104:2827) of olive green glass probably date from the eighteenth or nineteenth century. There are fourteen sherds of clear glass, most of which were probably blown in a mould or machine-made, although some sherds (e.g. E104:2209, E104:2279, U12) appear to have been free-blown and may
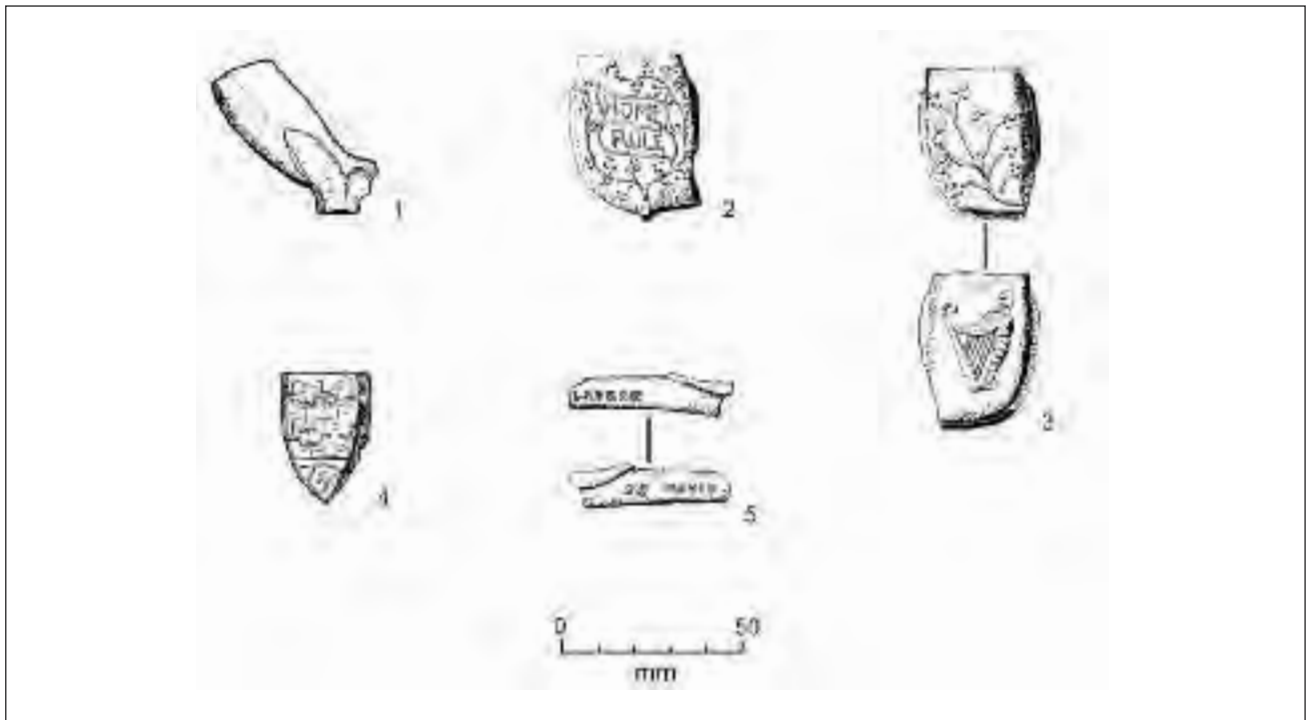
Fig. 5.10—Clay pipes.

date from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. They are all body sherds except for one lip and neck sherd (U6) that was blown in a mould and then had a lip applied. It dates from the late nineteenth century. There are eight remaining sherds which are of aqua green, emerald green or light olive green glass; they all date from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century and are either blown in a mould or machine-made.

Drinking glasses

Four fragments of drinking glass were recovered from Parke's Castle. There are two simple rim sherds: one sherd (E104:2514, Fig. 5.9.3) from a glass with a wide bowl which may be seventeenth-century in date, and one smaller sherd (E104:2728) which is possibly seventeenth- or eighteenth-century in date. A small body sherd (E104:2623) of thin clear glass may also date from the seventeenth or eighteenth century. A small fragment (E104:1022) of the foot of a drinking glass which has a folded edge probably dates from the seventeenth century.

Salt–cellar?

One glass vessel (E104:2816, Fig. 5.9.5) which is in two fragments may have been for serving salt at the table. It has a flat base with a pontil scar, straight sides and a wide everted rim with a rolled edge. It is made of clear glass and possibly dates from the eighteenth century.

Flat glass

There are eleven sherds of thin, flat, clear glass from Parke's Castle. They are all between 1mm and 1.8mm thick and most have a slight patina. Most of these are probably from window glass but as they are all so small it is possible that some may also be from straight-sided bottles.

Unidentified

Six small glass sherds could not be identified. Most of these were so small that it is difficult to tell whether they are vessel or bottle glass. Three sherds of clear glass (E104:2068, E104:2149, unnumbered) and one sherd of 'black' glass (E104:2033) are probably seventeenth- or eighteenth-century in date. There is also one small sherd of clear glass (E104:882) and one of olive green glass (E104:1059) which could not be dated.

Glass slag?

There is one small piece of glass slag or heat-affected glass (E104:1066). It is a small, subrectangular blob of 'black' glass. This could be a by-product of glass-making or, as it was recovered from a charcoal layer, it may be a fragment of glass that has been exposed to heat.

Clay pipes

Joe Norton

There are 113 clay pipe items, 94 stems and nineteen bowls. All the bowls with one exception (E104:143) are nineteenth-century.

Seventeenth–eighteenth-century pipes

E104:143 (Fig. 5.10.1) is the bowl of a slender, forward-sloping, flat-heeled pipe of *c.* 1690–1715 from context 404 (cobbles). Apart from some stem fragments (E104:303, E104:599) of mid-seventeenth-century date, plus a few others, this was the only pipe found of the period 1600–1800.

Nineteenth-century pipes

There are fifteen complete bowls and three bowl fragments of this period. There are two 'Repeal' pipes: E104:234, with 'Repeal' on the back in a semicircular frame and 'shields' on the spur in the Dutch fashion; and an unnumbered bowl with 'Repeal' over a harp on the bowl back. Both date from *c.* 1830–50.

There is a complete 'Gladstone' bowl (E104:22) and two stems from 'Gladstone' pipes, with the mould numbers 98 (E104:508) and 107 (E104:497) respectively. Both these pipes are to be found in the Davidson's of Glasgow catalogue of *c.* 1880 (Gallagher and Price 1987, 124).

Other stamped bowls include a 'Derry' of *c.* 1880–1900 (E104:5), a 'Home Rule' pipe with an elaborate scroll-work of shamrocks, *c.* 1880–1910 (E104:76, Fig. 5.10.2), and a 'Harp and Shamrock' bowl, the harp fronted by a female figure, also dating from *c.* 1880–1910 (E104:2935, Fig. 5.10.3).

There is a small bowl fragment with a 'Basket' design (Fig. 5.10.4), similar to no. 388 in McDougall's price list of *c.* 1900 (Gallagher 1987, 147).

The remaining bowls are plain spurred types of *c.* 1860–1900, typically Irish in form and style.

The stems are mostly small, plain fragments of seventeenth- or nineteenth-century date (Fig. 5.10.5). Some few pieces are marked. One is stamped 'Dennis McAvoy L'Derry' (E104:805); he was working at Fahan Street *c.* 1845–70. Stems E104:81 and E104:82 are stamped 'Derry' and were possibly also made by McAvoy. One Scottish maker is represented by a small stem fragment of orange clay marked 'McDougall/Glasgow' (E104:61); McDougall's were in business from 1846 to 1967.

The pipes are almost entirely nineteenth-century in date, probably originating from Derry but with some Scottish examples also. They are typical of the commonplace pipe of the period—mostly large, thick-walled, spurred types.

Bone artefacts

Fiona Beglane

Introduction

A number of bone artefacts were recovered from the excavation, and one further artefact was noted among the faunal remains: a toggle or 'buzz bone'. One dog ulna, from a black layer (C3423?) in cutting 34, designated as find E104:2904, did not appear to be worked. It is likely that this was mistakenly included as a find by the excavator, as three of the four pins also came from cutting 34 and an ulna is a long, thin bone, similar in shape to a pin.

Toggle or 'buzz bone'

Pig metatarsal 3, right side. Greatest length 62.4mm, SD 12.5mm. Fused proximal and unfused distal end. Projecting portion of proximal articulation chopped off. Subcircular to slightly rectangular hole *c.* 6.8mm in diameter in distal end, running into the length of the shaft. Subcircular to slightly rectangular hole *c.* 4.5mm in diameter through the middle of the shaft, running dorso-ventrally. No signs of wear on any of the holes. Similar examples have been identified in Dublin (Hayden and Walsh 1997, 142–3; McMahon 2006, 70), Cork (Hurley 1997, 259–60; Hurley, Carroll *et al.* 2003, 337–8) and Waterford (Hurley, McCutcheon *et al.* 1997, 674–6), dating from the twelfth to the fourteenth century, and have been described as toggles or 'buzz bones', but these do not have the hole running from the distal end. The presence of this hole may have been to maximise the noise produced if used as a buzz bone. Found in cutting MI.

Buttons

E104:19: Button, D 19mm, T 2.9mm. Recessed central area with scored outline, D 8.4mm. Four perforations have broken to form a single large perforation. Bevelled edges. Context MI01. Similar buttons with four perforations, found in Galway (Hurley, McCarthy *et al.* 2004, 468) and Kells Priory (Hurley and McCarthy 2007, 423), have been dated to the first half of the nineteenth century, but a similar example from Cork was found in a seventeenth-century context (Hurley, Carroll *et al.* 2003, 338–9).

E104:2005: Button, D 17.2mm, max. T 3.2mm. Bowl-shaped with a recessed centre, 7.9mm in diameter, and a thin rim of edge thickness 1.2mm, with four perforations. Context 2803. Post-medieval.

Pins

E104:2339: Pin head (Fig. 5.11.1). Overall length 26.8mm. Subrectangular bulbous top, 7.4mm by 7mm and 6mm deep, cylindrical section, length 13mm, tapering from 4.9mm to 4.5mm in diameter. Finely carved 'grape-bunch' or 'thistle' decoration, D 7mm, L *c.* 7mm, broken. Context 2525.

E104:2775: Pin (Fig. 5.11.4). Modified pig fibula. Head 13.7mm by 4.6mm. L 80mm, tapering to a point. These are found over a long time-span. Context 3414.

E104:2875: Pin (Fig. 5.11.3). Modified pig fibula. Head 9.7mm (slight chip) by 5mm. L 89.2mm (broken). These are found over a long time-span. Cutting 34N.
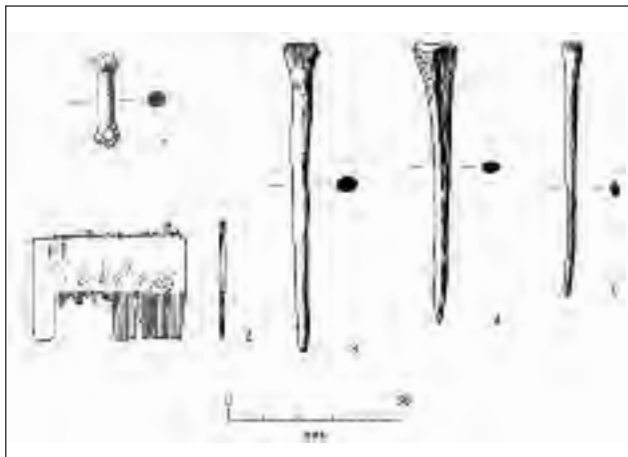
Fig. 5.11—**1** Pin head, E104:2339. **2** Comb, E104:2931. **3** Pin, E104:2875. **4** Pin, E104:2775. **5** Pin, E104:2927.

E104:2927: Pin (Fig. 5.11.5). Carved and highly polished, possibly ivory. Subrectangular head, 6.1mm by 5.8mm, tapering to a circular cross-section, D 2.8mm. L 73.7mm (broken). This simple design is found over a long time-span. Cutting 34.

Comb

E104:2931: Comb (Fig. 5.11.2). Single-piece, double-sided comb, 43.7mm by 32.8mm (broken). Eleven teeth per 10mm on one side and thirteen teeth per 10mm on the other, with a tooth length of *c.* 14mm. Similar to Dunlevy's class J combs but, like a find from Galway (Hurley, McCarthy *et al.* 2004, 469), both sides have fine teeth. Class J combs are found from the thirteenth century through to the modern period (*ibid.*). A small fragment of comb, 19.8mm by 6.1mm, with no teeth was also found with this comb. Cutting MVIII.

Container

E104:95:1206: Barrel-shaped container. Highly polished, possibly ivory. L 23.1mm; max. D *c.* 28mm; T 4mm, tapering to 1mm. About 20% of the circumference is present. Lathe-turned with slight turning marks on concave surface. Convex surface highly polished, with a raised and rounded rim at the thicker end. Also at this end the concave surface has a screw thread of five grooves and four ridges to fit a lid or base. This object is almost identical to that described by Hurley (1997, fig. 107, 270) from post-medieval levels at Cork, which was interpreted as a possible snuff box, wax box or cotton barrel. Unprovenanced.

Chipped flint and stone

Eimear Nelis

Introduction

A small assemblage of six flint and chert chipped stone artefacts was presented for analysis. The context of recovery was unknown for many of these pieces, but E104:2890 was found in topsoil and three were found in the northwestern area of the bawn (E104:621, E104:688 and E104:2702). The assemblage has been stored as 'Illustrated flint and chert objects' and it is therefore possible that additional artefacts were excavated but have since been lost.

Assemblage composition and summary

The artefacts mainly consist of flint and chert gunspalls/gunflint, which vary significantly in form and (to a lesser extent) size; these include three possible gunspalls—E104:1091, E104:2890 (Fig. 5.12.1) and E104:2941—and one possible gunflint, E104:621 (Fig. 5.12.2). The remaining artefacts include a flint strike-a-light (E104:2702), which may have had a function unrelated to firearms, and a chert bipolar flake (E104:688). The chert gunflint (E104:621) and chert bipolar flake (E104:688) are in a fresh condition, but the remaining artefacts have been weathered and are heavily patinated (E104:27052, E104:2890, E104:2941) or abraded (E104:1091).

The origins of gunflint may be found as early as the late sixteenth century (de Lotbiniere 1984), but during the seventeenth century advances in firearm technology saw the ignition system shift in focus from the matchlock and wheel-lock to flintlock (Logue and O'Neill 2007). During these early stages of development little effort or skill was used in the production of the gunflint, and consequently great morphological variability can be found in the resulting spalls (or 'gunspalls') at this time (*ibid.*, 69–71; Noël-Hume 1969, 219–20). A more standardised morphology was developed during the eighteenth century, particularly by the prolific English and French industries, which respectively mass-produced prismatic types on dark grey flint and round-heeled or D-shaped types on honey flint. More analysis is needed of Irish gunflint industries, but for the most part it appears that the majority were produced locally, and a relatively haphazard and functionalist approach to gunflint production appears to dominate the industry throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Logue and O'Neill 2007). Most of the chipped stone artefacts are technically unrelated and are clearly the product of separate knapping episodes; the chert gunflint (E104:621) and bipolar flake (E104:688), however, are of similar-quality chert and have similar dimensions. While these pieces do not conjoin, it is probable that they are technically related and derive from a single knapping
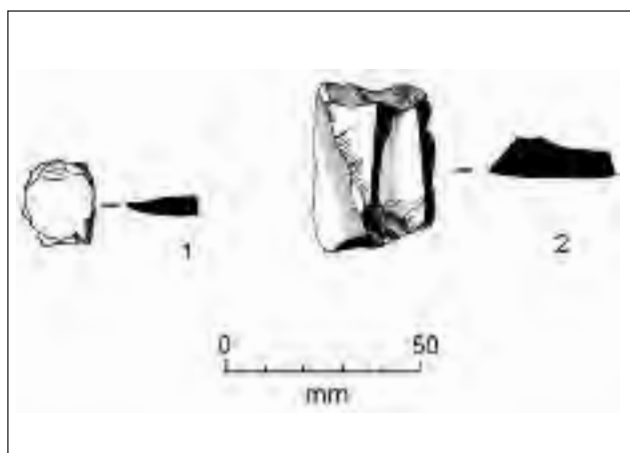
Fig. 5.12—**1** Gunspall, E104:2890. **2** Gunflint, E104:621.

episode; indeed, it is probable that E104:688 (which survives as a bipolar flake) is débitage related to the production of gunflint and may in fact be a fragment of a broken or unfinished gunflint, suggesting that gunflint was both produced and used within the area of Parke's Castle.

It is to the earlier 'gunspall' group that most, if not all, of the Parke's Castle gunflint belongs (i.e. E104:1901, E104:2890 and E104:2941), and this accords with the lead shot assemblage, which includes examples from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century weapons. These gunflint examples are also similarly proportioned (ranging from just 18mm to 23mm in length); the remaining piece (E104:621) is significantly larger and more thoroughly worked (with a length of 42mm). This variation in gunspall/flint size suggests that firearms of different calibres were in use, and this is endorsed by the presence of both 12- and 18-gauge lead shot. It is not clear, however, which types of firearms the gunspall/flint assemblage served, and the lack of clear dating for the finds hinders a further analysis of their chronological context.

Roof slate

Sarah Gormley and Mark Gardiner

Introduction

The terminology used below to describe the characteristics of the roof slate has been taken from Holden's (1989) paper on slate roofing in medieval Sussex. The term 'roof slate' here is taken to include roofing materials of slate and other types of stone.

The assemblage is made up of nineteen roof slates (of which three are made from slate) and a clay ridge tile (dimensions of each slate are given in the archive report; Foley and Donnelly 2012). Entries within the daybook kept by the excavator suggest that this assemblage of twenty does not represent all of the roof slates that were uncovered. A daybook entry for 30 August 1972, for example, states: 'well [C.2503] being cleared—one red sandstone roof-tile—many potential roof tiles being stacked at stable area'. Although the note states that many potential roof tiles were excavated from this fill, only five are present in the assemblage. Further, a daybook entry for 11 June 1974 describes a 'slate layer' (C.MIX03) within the ditch; although there is no further elaboration, this description would suggest that more slates were uncovered during the course of the excavation than were retained. As a result, it is not possible to determine fully the character of the roofs because there is insufficient slate for detailed study.

It is probable that the slate was laid in diminishing courses, the usual method for dealing with stone slates of irregular size. The longer, wider slates were placed nearer the eaves, where they would have carried a greater quantity of rainwater, as they were better able to resist water penetration than the short, narrow slates set near the ridge. Diminishing courses also produce a more visually satisfying appearance, and ensure that the heavier slates are better supported nearer the eaves.

Roof slates
Shape
All of the slates are broken to some degree, although only one (from a layer above the seventeenth-century cobbles) is very weathered. It is not possible to determine the original shape of nine of the nineteen examples, as only small portions survive. The remaining ten vary somewhat in size and shape. Five of the roof slates have rectangular heads; a further three have rectangular heads but with one or both top corners taken off (shouldered), a common practice in stone slate roofs in Britain. In one example the head had been roughly rounded and in another the head was not present.

The tails of the roof slates appear to be more irregularly finished than the heads but in general are roughly rectangular in shape and, where it is possible to tell, they generally narrow from the tail towards the head. This is more marked in some cases.

Size
Two of the roof slates were fairly complete. The first measures 110mm across at the shoulders, widening to 138mm at the tail, and is 170mm in length. It ranges from 11mm to 15mm in thickness. The second measures 160mm across at the head, widening to 250mm at the tail, and is 240mm long. It is 10mm thick. These are the only two slates of which a length measurement (170mm and 240mm) can be taken.

As well as the two slates mentioned above, five other roof slates from Parke's Castle survive to their full width—87mm, 89mm, 128mm, 130mm and 268mm respectively.

The roof slates vary considerably in thickness, ranging from 4mm to 24mm (Table 5.4). The thinnest examples are those three made from slate, which are 6mm, 4mm and 6mm thick respectively. The roof slates made from other stone types vary from 9mm to 24mm in thickness.

Table 5.4—Thickness of the roof slates.

Thickness (mm)	Number
4	1
6	2
9	1
11	1
13	1
14	3
15	2
16	2
18	3
19	1
20	1
24	1

The size and shape of the roof slates from Parke's Castle are comparable to those found elsewhere. A large body of data has been analysed in relation to roof slates from Sussex and it has been found that medieval roof slates tend to range between 121mm and 380mm in length, with the majority (63%) between 160mm and 220mm (Holden 1989, 79). They have been found to range from 51mm to 230mm in width and from 5mm to 20mm in thickness (*ibid.*). Similar size ranges have been found in assemblages excavated in Ireland. It was found that those recovered from Kells Priory, for example, are all in excess of 200mm, ranging between 208mm and 270mm in length (McCutcheon 2007, 432), while the maximum length of roof tiles recovered during excavations at Cork City was 235.8mm (Carroll and Quinn 2003, 315). The widths are also comparable with those recovered from Kells Priory, generally ranging from 100mm to 187mm (McCutcheon 2007, 432–3), while the maximum width of those recovered from Cork City was 170.7mm (Carroll and Quinn 2003, 315). The thicknesses also tend to fall within similar size brackets.

Fixing

Twelve of the roof slates are perforated with a single fixing-hole. One of the slates is broken across the fixing-hole and it is not possible to measure its diameter, but the remaining eleven examples range from 3mm to 10mm in diameter (Table 5.5). The hole would have facilitated the fixing of the slate with a wooden peg over the lath or batten, which was nailed to the rafters (Holden 1989, 79). The small size of the holes is notable. This made it quicker to drill the holes but put a considerable strain on small-diameter pegs, which could have been little larger than twigs. In actuality, pegs with a square section made of seasoned wood were probably used. Iron nails were not employed, as there is no evidence of rust-staining on any of the slates. The peg holes seem to have been prepared in a common manner. A depression was made in one side of the slate by chipping the stone. The hole was then deepened by drilling and finally was hammered through, producing a spall on the far side of the slate. A tool for all these actions was probably similar to the bill and helve traditionally used for preparing Collyweston slate in England. This was a pointed, square-sectioned iron rod (the bill) set at one end of a handle (the helve). This allowed the bill to be used both for hammering to start the hole and for boring to complete a circular aperture.

Lime mortar is present on fourteen of the nineteen roof slates. In six cases it survives on both faces. Three of the roof slates have mortar on the back face only. The back face is determined according to the side from which the fixing-hole is drilled or punched. When the hole is made, flakes will fall off from the 'back' face, conveniently leaving a depression to accommodate the head of the peg or nail (Holden 1989, 79). Two of the slates have lime mortar surviving on the bed face only. On three further examples the fixing hole is not present and therefore, although the lime mortar survives, it is not possible to tell on which face. The roof slates were bedded in a layer of mortar, with the bed face of each slate being bonded to the back face of the one below. This makes the roof better able to withstand the ravages of wind and rain (*ibid.*, 80) and prevents 'rattle', which occurs in uneven slates. No patterns were discerned in the mortar on the slates from Parke's Castle that would provide any information on the distance between the slate courses.

Laying roofs of stone slates was a task for skilled workers, and the use of traditional methods for preparing and laying the roof at Parke's Castle suggests that those employed there had experience of the craft.

Ridge tile

A single ridge tile fragment was recovered during the course of the excavation. It is stamped 'The Somerset Trading Co. Bridgwater'. Bridgwater was a centre for brick and tile manufacture and export in the late nineteenth century. The tile was found on the seventeenth-century

cobbles and it is likely that it was used to roof the nineteenth-century stable block.

Table 5.5—Diameter of fixing-holes.

Fixing-hole diam. (mm)	Number
3	1
4	2
5	1
6	4
7	1
8	1
10	1

Distribution of the roof slates

Eight of the roof slates were recovered from the surface of the seventeenth-century cobbles or from sod and topsoil contexts. Three of these were the slate examples, which were found on the seventeenth-century cobbles, in the topsoil/sod and just below the sod respectively. The remaining five were stone roof slates and were found on the seventeenth-century cobbles or in stratigraphically later contexts.

Five of the roof slates were recovered from C.2526, the fill of the drystone well C.2503. The well would appear to be associated with the seventeenth-century cobble layer and was found to be filled with masonry rubble (C.2526). The source of this masonry is uncertain. It seems likely that the well would have been filled in after abandonment, possibly when the site was being used as a stable in the nineteenth century. It may be, therefore, that the material came from the seventeenth-century manor but it could also be derived from an earlier building, such as the tower-house.

A fragment of roof slate was recovered from a 'brown sandy fill north of wall' (C.3008). This context is only known from information on the finds bag and is not described in the daybooks. No further information on this context or its stratigraphic sequence is known.

A roof slate fragment was recovered from the fill of a drain (C.3110) that runs under the northern bawn wall.

One roof slate comes from a layer in the ditch (C.MIX03). This context is described without explanation as a 'slate layer' in the daybooks, although the excavator does state that this might represent a layer of collapse into the ditch.

One slate fragment was recovered from a layer of habitation debris (C.705) that lay under the seventeenth-

century cobbles gravel. Directly below this context (C.705) was a stony fill, which the excavator interpreted as being a built-up platform for the original tower. It may be possible to suggest, therefore, that this roof slate was from the tower-house.

Window glass

Jo Moran

A collection of 119 fragments of window glass was recovered during the excavations. Two fragments are pot-metal (coloured glass) but the remainder are white glass (clear glass with a pale yellow or green tint). The white glass is very thin (0.05–2mm); many of the fragments have a slight surface weathering, and some are almost opaque, with a brown/black surface weathering. The opacity of the glass is likely to reflect small compositional or chemical differences between batches of glass from the glassworks, and to a lesser extent variation in the aspect of different windows and in soil conditions where the fragments were discarded.

Pot–metal

The term 'pot-metal' derives from the manufacturing process of medieval coloured glass. Metallic oxides of copper and cobalt and others were added to the molten glass in clay pots, to create a consistent colour in the glass fabric. Pot-metal was becoming rare in the sixteenth century.
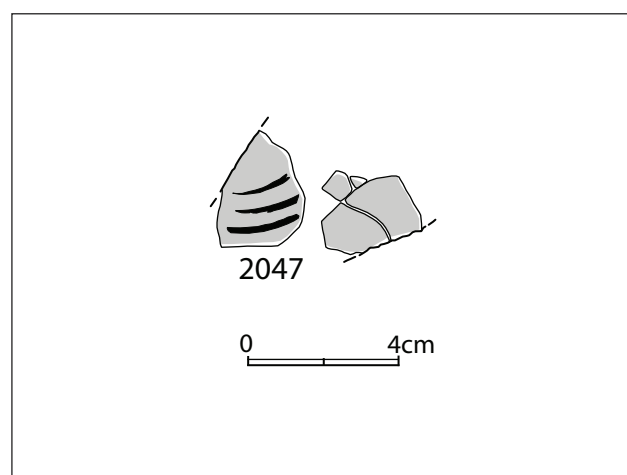
Fig. 5.13—Green pot-metal glass fragment, E104:2047 (1:2).

Two fragments of pot-metal, yellow (E104:2010) and green (E104:2047), were identified. These fragments are thicker than the recovered white glass (E104:2047 is 3mm thick, while the white glass has a maximum thickness of 2mm). Fragment E104:2047 has a trace of a painted pattern on one side, apparently three curved lines, and has two
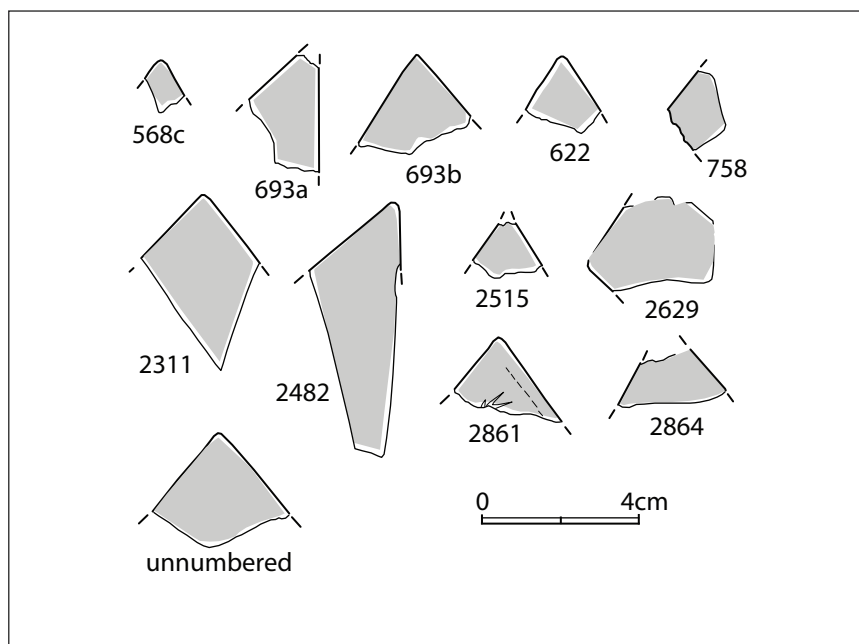
Fig. 5.14—Diamond quarry fragments (1:2).

grozed edges. The grozed (nibbled) edge was popular during the high medieval period but became less popular with the introduction of the diamond cutter in the late sixteenth century (Brown and O'Connor 1991, 56).

White glass

Thirteen fragments of white glass appear to be from diamond-shaped or lozenge quarries. The fragments were too small to indicate the size of the quarries. The edges were clean-cut for the most part (scored with a diamond), but a few fragments have grozed edges (e.g. E104:758, E104:1218). Diamonds were used to cut glass from the late sixteenth century onwards (Brown and O'Connor 1991, 56).

Seven of the thin glass fragments have muff (rounded) edges (see Fig. 5.15), suggesting that the glass was manufactured by the cylinder or muff method. The rounded or melted edge occurs when the blown cylinder is cut along its length, reheated and flattened into a sheet on an ash-covered table. Cylinder glass has elongated bubbles and has one gloss and one matt surface, the matt side roughened by contact with the ash. Fragment E104:691 has one matt and one gloss surface and a muff edge. Glass of this type was manufactured in England and on the Continent but also on a small scale in Ireland. There are references to the setting up of glasshouses in Ireland in the late sixteenth century (Westropp 1920, 20), and the glasshouse at Shinrone, Co. Offaly, was producing window glass with a pale green tint in the early seventeenth century (Farrelly and O'Brien 2000).

The variation in the tint of the glass derives from the iron content of the ingredients, and can partly derive from furnace temperature (Hold in Cramp 1997). The Parke's Castle clear glass has pale yellow, pale green, yellow green and brownish amber tints.

A lead shadow 4mm wide is visible on two of the quarry fragments (E104:2861 and E104:2864), demonstrating that at least some of the quarries were assembled into lead lattices in windows and were broken and discarded sometime later, rather than during the glazing process.
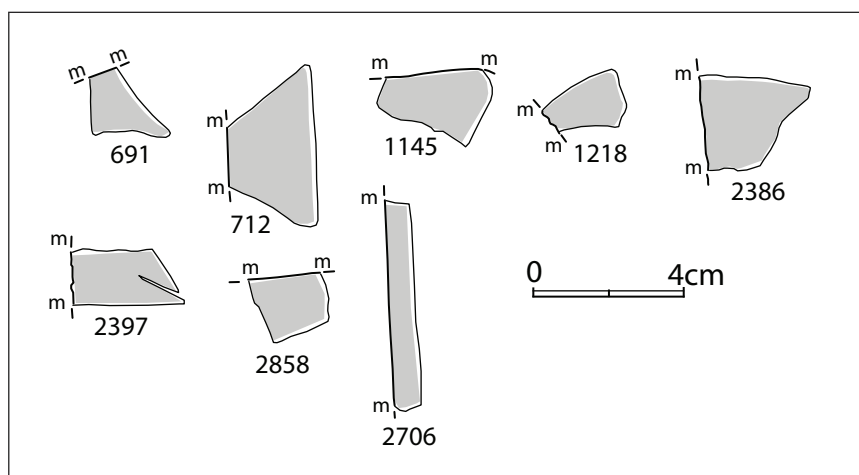
Fig. 5.15—Glass fragments with 'muff' edges (1:2).

Conclusion

Nearly all of the glass recovered from Parke's Castle is of distinctively late medieval or early seventeenth-century type. It is thin white (clear) glass, harder, brighter and less susceptible to weathering than earlier high medieval potash glass. Many of the fragments are diamond-cut, from lozenge or diamond quarries set in a lead lattice. Similar quarries were recovered from excavations at Barryscourt Castle, Co. Cork, and are believed to have come from the reglazing of the castle in 1581 (Moran, forthcoming a). Excavations at Kilcolman Castle, Co. Cork, recovered glass of a similar type and it has been associated with renovations to the castle in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century (Moran 2005, 145). Many estate maps of the mid-sixteenth to seventeenth century depict buildings with diamond-quarried lattice windows, for example Raven's map of Captain Doddington's house and garden at Dungiven, Co. Derry, dated 1622.

The diamond-cut edges suggest that much of the window glass from Parke's Castle is no earlier than the late sixteenth century. The grozed edges on five of the glass fragments (e.g. E104:758, E104:1218) suggests a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century date for at least some of the glass (Kerr 1982). Based on this dating evidence it can be suggested that the window glass recovered from the excavations is associated with the late use of the tower-house or the construction and early use of the new seventeenth-century manor house.

The green pot-metal (E104:2047) is almost certainly earlier, associated with an original window in the tower-house, or an earlier window still. From what is known of the glazing of manor houses of the period in England, coloured glass was generally found in the chapel and hall and often confined to coats of arms or roundels set within plain glazed lights.

Glass was a precious commodity throughout the medieval period and only the highest-status non-ecclesiastical buildings would have been glazed. There are several references to elaborate glazing at Dublin Castle, and excavations at Adare Castle have produced a small number of fourteenth- to fifteenth-century painted and stained glass fragments (Moran, forthcoming b). The Calendar of Ormond Deeds, dating from 1548–9, states that Sir William Whelane was to construct a 'tymbre castell glased and covered with a sclate'. These references and glass remains are rare; Katherine Simms (2001, 249), in her survey of Irish praise poems composed about a patron's house, remarks that the size of windows is repeatedly singled out for praise, but it is not until the seventeenth century that she finds the first definite reference to glass.

Stone objects

Ruth Logue, Mark Gardiner and Stephen Mandal

Introduction

The stone artefacts recovered during the course of the excavation have been categorised by type, with a list of the relevant artefacts after each type description. A number of stone roof slates and flint and chert objects were also recovered but are discussed in separate reports.

Whetstones

The assemblage includes three whetstones and one possible whetstone, used to hone or whet blades. Two of the whetstones were reused water-rolled cobbles, E104:2738 (Fig. 5.16.1) and E104:2739, while another was manufactured from quarried stone, E104:2780 (Fig. 5.16.2). E104:2524 has a smooth surface that may indicate use as a whetstone.

E104:2738: No context number. Fig. 5.16.1.
Whetstone, made from elongated water-rolled cobble. Some parts ground smooth and slightly bevelled in centre, which is consistent with use as a whetstone. Both ends show signs of abrasion; unidentified black material on part of surface. L 87mm. W 37mm.
Sandstone: medium-grained, quartz-rich, parallel-bedded, stained red.

E104:2739: No context number.
Part of whetstone, broken; probably made from water-rolled cobble. Smooth; evidence of blade marks in two directions. L 84mm. W 63mm. T 26mm.
Limestone: fine-grained, dark grey.

E104:2780: C.3416/3418. Fig. 5.16.2.
Whetstone, rectangular; smoothness of polished surface is evidence of use/wear. Linear scrapes on one end. L 103mm. W 22mm. T 19mm.
Mudstone.

E104:2524: No context number. Fig. 5.16.3.
Possible whetstone—original function unclear and no evidence of reuse. Damaged smooth surface; originally not any wider, as smoothing goes around two edges. L 94mm. W 68mm. T 14mm.
Sandstone: greywacke, medium-grained, micaceous, parallel-bedded.

Mortars

Stone mortars, as Gerald Dunning (1977, 321) observed, may often be found in later contexts than might be expected, since they are remarkably durable objects. Even when broken they can be used as building material. This
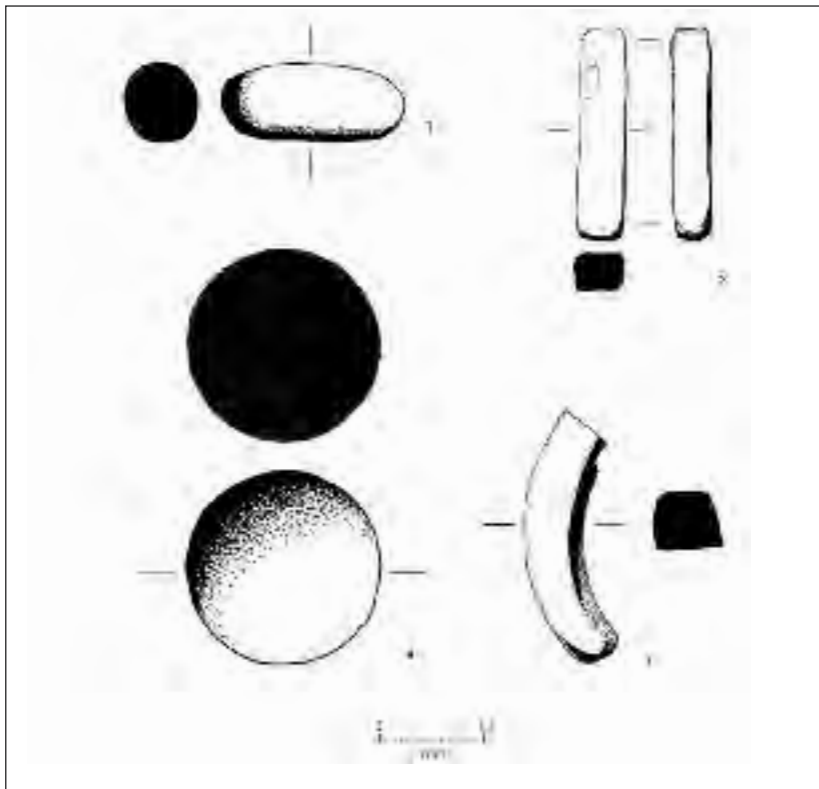
Fig. 5.16—**1** Whetstone, E104:2738. **2** Whetstone, E104:2780. **3** Whetstone, E104:2524. **4** Cannon-ball, E104:1252.

appears to have been the fate of one of the two mortars found near Parke's Castle, since it bears slight traces of lime mortar (no find no.). The second fragment of a stone mortar, E104:2499, may also have found a further use, since the break on one of the ends is somewhat rounded.

The larger of the two pieces of mortar was found on the lakeshore beside Parke's Castle and it is reasonable to assume that it was from that site. It cannot be dated, either from its context or its shape, and does not conform to any of the medieval types recognised by Dunning (1961; 1977) made from English or north French stone. It was clearly used and has a greasy mark on one side of the projecting lug, though this might be from handling since its discovery. The exterior surface is roughly shaped, apparently with a claw chisel. The interior face is worn smooth with wear. After it was broken, it was carefully cut across the diameter, although for what purpose is not clear.

The second fragment is a small piece of the rim of a different mortar. The interior face has been polished smooth from wear. There are no features by which it might be dated.

No find no.: No context number.
Piece of mortar; worked/dressed stone. H 135mm. W 170mm.

Limestone: oolite, grey.

E104:2499: C.MVIII04.
Part of a mortar: curved fragment of stone object, smooth surface inside. Rim fragment—straight break at one end but other end rounded, indicating that it was reused in some way. L 143mm. W 28mm. T 28mm.

Quartzite: conglomerate.

Stone balls

There are two stone balls, E104:no find no. and E104:1252 (Fig. 5.16.4). Although their function is unclear, they were probably projectiles.

E104:1252: No context number. Fig. 5.16.4.
Stone ball, probably a cannon-ball. Original stone modified by precision pecking/hammering. D 92mm.

Dolerite: dense, green, medium-grained, igneous.

No find no.: No context number.
Stone ball, function unknown—possibly missile from ordnance/gun, large marble or gaming piece. D 32mm.

Limestone: white, chalky, oolitic.

Discoid object

Discoid objects are common finds on medieval sites in Britain, where they are usually identified as gaming pieces. They are made from antler and later bone, from sherds of pottery broken to shape and from stone. Bone was the most common material because it could be easily decorated with simple ring-and-dot motifs. They are generally dated to between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. The most detailed study of the English bone discoid counters by Riddler (1994) shows that they varied in size

from 32mm to 58mm in diameter, with a modal size of 47mm.

The stone object from Parke's Castle is formed from a piece of mudstone 51mm in diameter and 4mm thick. The laminar nature of the stone provides flat surfaces to the top and bottom faces. The edges have been carefully broken to form a well-made circular disc. Its size suggests that it, like the British examples, served as a gaming piece.

No find no.: No context number.
Probable gaming piece: flat disc with edges flaked to give circular shape. Unidentified black material on part of surface. D 51mm. T 4mm.

Mudstone: fine-grained, dark grey, parallel-bedded.

Miscellaneous
No find no.: No context number.
Broken off a larger piece; keying for mortar, presumably to put on a wall. Some plaster/mortar still present, one original edge with traces on. L 139mm. W 95mm. T 22mm.

Sandstone: coarse-grained, grey/creamy, fossiliferous.

E104:228: C.MIIA01; SC13(82).
Possibly a mason's marker; more wear at one end than the other. L 38mm. W 5mm.

Limestone: grey, fine-grained.

Potential sources
It is likely that the sources for all of the stones are local. There are abundant sources for all of the rock types close to the site. It is, however, important to note that these objects were probably not sourced from bedrock but from secondary sources, such as from lakeshore deposits and in the glacial tills/subsoils at the site.

Typically, quartz-rich rock types (sandstone and quartzite), which are relatively hard rock types with good erosive qualities, are used in the manufacture of hammerstones/whetstones/grinding stones. These rock types are ideal for actions such as grinding and hammering. Here limestone cobbles appear to have also been used as whetstones; whilst this is not unprecedented, it is unusual.

Conclusion
While it is not possible to determine a definitive source for these artefacts and stones based on macroscopic examination alone, it can be stated that these rock types are available locally in outcrop and within the lakeshore deposits and glacial tills/subsoils. It is therefore highly probable that the material was sourced in the immediate vicinity of the site.

Animal bone

Fiona Beglane

Methodology
This report details the faunal remains recovered during the excavation of Parke's Castle. Contexts were grouped on the basis of the information supplied in the Data Structure Report (Logue *et al.* 2009). Unfortunately, since the excavation was carried out prior to the introduction of a standard context recording system, much of the faunal material could be identified only to cutting rather than to context, so that only broad patterns could be analysed.

Mammalian faunal remains were identified using comparative collections and by reference to Hillson 1992 and Schmid 1972. Remains were quantified using a method modified from that described by Davis (1992), using selected skeletal elements where at least 50% of the diagnostic feature is present. This avoids the possibility of counting the same element on multiple occasions. Ribs and vertebrae (apart from the axis and atlas) are not included, since these can be difficult to identify to species. Elements quantified were as follows: antlers and horn cores where these join to the cranium and at the distal end, parietal cranium and cranium at the maxilla if at least two teeth are present, mandibular hinge or tooth row if at least one tooth is present, and loose teeth, atlas (VC1) and axis (VC2), scapula at the glenoid process, pelvis at the ilium or ischium of the acetabulum, patella, calcaneus and astragalus, ulna at the olecrannon process and long bones where at least 50% of the proximal or distal articulation was present. The number of identified specimens (NISP) was calculated for each species based on these identifications. Owing to the lack of provenance for much of the material the minimum number of individuals (MNI) was not calculated.

Sheep and goat bones were separated where possible, using Boessneck 1969, Kratochvil 1969, and Payne 1969 and 1985. Rabbits and hares were separated on the basis of size and cranial differences by comparison with reference material. Sexing was carried out using the shape of canine of pigs (von den Driesch 1976) and the presence of developed canines in horses. For cattle the distal breadth (Bd) of the metacarpal (McCormick 1992) was used, as was the form of the pelvis, which was also used for deer (Greenfield 2006). In the case of goats, sexing was based on horn core shape (Stampfli 1983).

Fusion data were based on Silver 1963 and Reitz and Wing 1999, 76. For cattle and pigs, tooth wear was recorded as per Grant 1982 and Higham 1967 after Silver 1963. Tooth wear in sheep was examined using the method described by Payne (1973; 1987). Equids were aged as described by Levine (1982); dogs were aged using the data shown in Schmid 1972.

Table 5.6—Translation of common names to Latin.

Common name	Latin name
Cat	*Felis catus*
Cattle	*Bos* sp.
Horse	*Equus* sp.
Pig	*Sus* sp.
Red deer	*Cervus elaphus*
Sheep/goat	*Ovis/Capra*

Measurements were carried out to an accuracy of 0.1mm as per von den Driesch 1976, Boessneck 1969, Payne and Bull 1988, fig. 1, Payne 1973, 296, and Davis 1992, fig. 2. Estimated withers heights were calculated for cattle using Fock 1966 and Matolcsi 1970, cited by von den Driesch and Boessneck (1974).

Evidence for chopping, cutting and sawing was recorded, as was gnawing by carnivores and rodents. Burnt material was classified as 'singed' for bone with only partial blackening, 'burnt' for blackened bones or 'calcinated' for those bones that were predominantly white/blue-grey in colour. For non-countable fragments these aspects were only recorded where obvious on a cursory inspection. Where pathologies, developmental defects and non-metric traits were identified on bones, these were examined and recorded in further detail.

Throughout the text the common names for species have been used. A translation of common to Latin names is shown in Table 5.6, based on Schmid 1972.

Results

Species present

The assemblage contained 1,183 fragments of bone, but unfortunately only 138 of these fragments could be assigned to a single context with some degree of certainty,

Table 5.7—Distribution of mammal species by context.

	Total	Cattle	Sheep/goat	Pig	Horse	Dog	Cat	Red deer	Rabbit	Bird	Total	LM ribs	MM ribs	SM ribs	LM	MM	Marine/ lacustrine resources
Context 1502	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Context 1702	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Context 2203	58	8	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	6	12	0	4	2	
Context 22A01	68	5	2	12	0	0	0	1	0	0	20	11	0	0	2	0	
Context 2408	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Context 2518	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Context 2719?	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1 vert. & 1 other fish; 1 + 6 frags of oyster; 1 frag. of mussel
Context 2901	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Context 3423?	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	
Context 234	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Context 2752	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Context M103	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Context M110	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Context M112	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Table 5.8—Distribution of mammal species by cutting.

	Total	Cattle	Sheep/goat	Pig	Horse	Dog	Cat	Red deer	Rabbit	Bird	Total	LM ribs	MM ribs	SM ribs	LM	MM	Marine/ lacustrine resources
Cutting 2	**236**	24	7	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	**36**	34	13	0	12	1	
Cutting 22	**126**	12	4	16	0	0	0	1	0	0	**33**	17	12	0	6	2	
MI	**454**	77	33	18	Inc	0	1	3	1	2	**13**	56	18	2	13	7	
MII	**106**	25	11	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	**39**	2	3	0	3	1	
Other/ undefined locations	**261**	41	12	30	0	0	0	1	0	2	**86**	32	5	1	6	4	4 + 2 frags of oyster and 1 cockle; 1 vert. and 1 + 6 frags of oyster; 1 frag. of mussel
Site-wide total	**1183**	**178**	**67**	**70**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**5**	**2**	**5**	**329**	**14**	**511**	**3**	**40**	**15**	**As above**

nc = non-countable fragment only

and only 34 of these could be fully identified to species. Nevertheless, 941 of the fragments could be tied to a single cutting and it was therefore decided to carry out analysis by cutting as well as by context, since this raised the possibility of identifying broad patterns in the distribution of the material. Since much of the material was identified only by cutting, and since the reuse of the site has led to mixing of deposits, it was decided to include topsoil/sod remains in the analysis, although it must be remembered that these may well be of recent origin.

The mammal species present on the site were cattle (54.9%), sheep/goat (20.7%) and pig (21.6%), as well as small numbers of elements from horse, cat, dog, deer and rabbit. Five bird bones, two fish bones and a number of fragments of oyster and mussel were also recovered from the assemblage. Results by individual context are summarised in Table 5.7, by cutting in Table 5.8 and as a percentage for major cuttings and contexts in Table 5.9.

Cutting 2 contained 66 countable fragments, with cattle dominating the material at 64.9%. For cattle, all

Table 5.9—Percentage results for mammal species.

	Cattle	Sheep/goat	Pig	Horse	Dog	Cat	Red deer	Rabbit
Cutting 2	64.9	18.9	13.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.7
Cutting 22	36.4	12.1	48.5	0.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	0.0
Moat MI	57.9	24.8	13.5	0.0	0.0	0.8	2.3	0.8
Moat MII	65.8	28.9	2.6	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other/undefined locations	48.8	14.3	35.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.0
Site-wide total	**54.9**	**20.7**	**21.6**	**0.3**	**1.5**	**0.3**	**1.5**	**0.6**
Context 2203	61.5	7.7	30.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Context 22A01	25.0	10.0	60.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.0
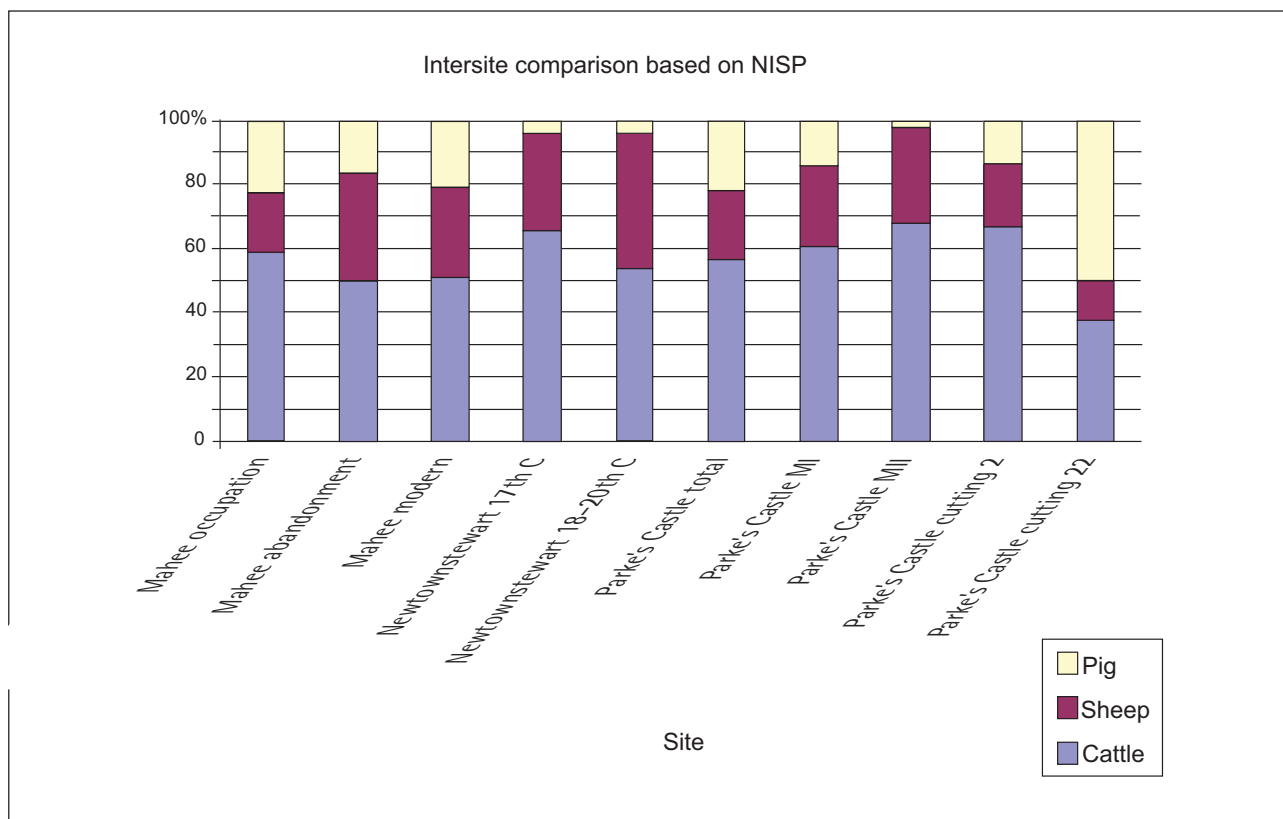
Fig. 5.17—Intersite comparison based on NISP.

parts of the body were present. The majority of bones were fused and so from adult animals, although the radius of a young calf was also identified. With both sheep and pig a range of body parts were represented, and a single rabbit bone was also present (Tables 5.8 and 5.9).

At 48.5% pig dominated cutting 22, and in this case fifteen out of sixteen elements were from the head or neck, with only a single humerus present. There were twelve cattle elements (36.4%), and eleven of these were head and foot elements, with some coming from the topsoil layer (C.22A01) and some from the cobbles (C.2203). The four sheep and one deer element were from a range of body parts. In cattle, head and foot elements are removed during the initial stages of butchery, often as part of skinning, and a high proportion of these elements are therefore associated with butchery and tanning waste. By contrast, for pigs the feet were usually retained as part of the edible portion to provide pigs' trotters or *crubíní*, and with both species the heads were disposed of after removal of the cheek and tongue meat. The majority of elements in this cutting came from the topsoil (C.22A01), with the remainder from a layer of seventeenth-century cobbles (C.2203), so it is likely that these head and foot elements all belong to a single post-medieval period. This was probably after the castle fell out of use, since it would be unlikely that butchery waste would be left to rot in the courtyard area immediately outside the manor house if this building was still occupied. The historical evidence suggests that the site fell out of use

in the eighteenth century (Roulston 2009), so it is possible that butchery or hide-processing took place in the courtyard once the buildings became uninhabited.

MI, located to the south-east of the bawn wall, yielded the largest number of elements from a single cutting. Cattle elements made up 57.9% of the material and included a range of body parts. Two pelvis fragments from female cattle and several elements from young calves were identified. These calf bones are discussed further below. As well as sheep, this cutting contained two goat elements, which are discussed in greater detail below, and for both sheep and goat a range of body parts were present. A range of body parts were also present for pig, representing 13.5% of the material. This cutting also included bird, cat and a number of red deer elements.

MII, located to the north of the bawn wall, yielded 39 elements, again dominated by cattle (65.8%), some sheep (28.9%) and one bird and one horse element. This cutting was notable in yielding only one pig bone, a maxilla or upper jawbone. For cattle and sheep a range of body parts were present, and in the case of cattle the bones included two elements from a young calf as well as the horn core of an old adult, probably a bull.

The results of this excavation were compared with those from Newtownstewart Castle, Co. Tyrone, and Mahee Castle, Co. Down (Beglane 2005; 2007). Mahee Castle is a ruined tower-house located on Mahee Island, Strangford Lough, Co. Down. After the period of occupa-

Table 5.10—Details of butchery marks.

Context	Cutting	Species	Element	Comments
		Cattle	Astragalus	Cut-marks on dorsal surface at distal end
	MI	Cattle	Astragalus	Cut-marks on dorsal surface at distal end
	MI	Cattle	Astragalus	Cut-marks on dorsal surface at distal end
	MI	Cattle	Axis (VC2)	Chopped through to remove processes along LHS at caudal end
22A01	22	Cattle	Mandible	Chop-mark on lingual side
		Cattle	Pelvis	Acetabulum chopped through to separate ilium and ischium
		Cattle	Pelvis	Acetabulum chopped through to separate ilium and ischium
22A01	22	Cattle	Phalanx 1	Cut-marks across dorsal surface
	2N/2S/ M1/M2	Cattle	Scapula	Blade chopped through from medial side
		Large mammal	Long-bone shaft	Series of cut-marks across shaft
22A01	22	Large mammal	Poss. pelvis	Chop-mark
2203	22	Large mammal	Rib frag.	Chop-mark
	MI	Large mammal	Scapula	7+ saw- or possible chop-marks on medial side of blade, all running at right angles to blade
	MI	Large mammal	Vertebra	Chopped through to form side of meat
	MI	Medium mammal	Long-bone shaft	Chopped through to form side of meat
2203	22	Medium mammal	Lower lumbar vertebra	Chopped through to form side of meat
22A01	22	Medium mammal	Pelvis part of pubis	Chop-mark
	MI	Medium mammal	Vertebra	Chopped through to form side of meat
	2 south	Sheep	Humerus	Cut-mark across distal articulation
22A01	22	Sheep	Humerus	Several cut-marks and one chop-mark close to distal end on lateral side
	MI	Sheep/goat	Scapula	Chop-marks from cranial side

tion in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the building was abandoned and used as a shelter for animals. Newtownstewart Castle is a seventeenth-century Plantation period castle, later used as a grocer's shop and yard (Ó Baoill 2005).

Not surprisingly, cattle, sheep and pig were also the main species present at both Newtownstewart and Mahee. At all three sites cattle make up approximately 60% of the bones identified from the three main species (Fig. 5.17). At

Mahee Castle a high proportion of pig was consumed during the occupation period. In this phase pig made up 21.7% by NISP and 31.8% by MNI and was the most commonly occurring species by MNI. This is similar to the overall proportion of pig bones at Parke's Castle, but the majority of the pig bones came from cutting 22 and appear to post-date the use of the castle. Pigs and pork have been associated with castles and military provisioning by McCormick and Murray (n.d.), so that the relatively low

Table 5.11—Details of burnt bones.

Context	Cutting	Sample	Species	Element	Burning	Notes
			Large mammal	Long-bone frag.	Burnt	
			Large mammal	Long-bone frag.	Calcinated	2 fragments
			Large mammal	Long-bone frag.	Calcinated	
			Large mammal	Scapula frag.	Burnt	
			Large mammal	Scapula frag.	Burnt	
			Pig	Metatarsal 3, right	Burnt	
		213	Large mammal	Long-bone frag.	Calcinated	
		241	Medium mammal	Rib frag.	Burnt	
		241	Medium mammal	Ulna frag.	Burnt	
		241	Medium mammal	Long-bone frag.	Calcinated	
	2 south		Large mammal	Long-bone frag.	Calcinated	2 fragments
1702	17	203	Large mammal	Long-bone frag.	Burnt	
2408	24		Large mammal	Long-bone frag.	Calcinated	
2719?	27	229	Unidentified		Burnt	Sent for ^{14}C dating
2752	27	245	Unidentified		Burnt	Sent for ^{14}C dating
2901	29	211	Large mammal	Humerus, proximal end	Burnt and calcinated	Humerus head and long-bone frags; could all be from a single bone

proportions of pig bones in MI and MII are slightly surprising. As at Parke's Castle, small numbers of deer bones were identified at both Newtownstewart and Mahee. Deer-hunting was the preserve of the aristocracy and so these species were expected. While Mahee Castle lies on the shore, so that the presence of shellfish was expected, their inclusion in the assemblages at both Parke's Castle and Newtownstewart was interesting, suggesting that there was a deliberate attempt to vary the diet by importing foodstuffs from further afield, so demonstrating the affluence of the inhabitants. Shellfish can be kept alive for several days, even without refrigeration, by covering them with wet cloths or sacks to keep them cool. Nevertheless, in both cases they would have had to be transported a considerable distance.

Butchery

A number of bones showed signs of butchery. These included nine cattle and five large mammal bones, three sheep bones and four bones of medium mammal. Results are summarised in Table 5.10.

Skinning and the removal of the feet are part of the first stage of butchery. In this case, three cattle astragali or anklebones had cut-marks on the dorsal surface at the distal end. These marks are typical of those left in removing the feet of the animal. There were also two cattle first phalanges or toe bones that had cut-marks on the dorsal surface, probably a result of skinning, suggesting that in these cases the animal was dismembered further down the foot.

Having skinned the animal, the next stage is to dismember it into joints suitable in size for cooking or storage. Owing to their size, large mammals need to be dismembered to a greater extent than smaller animals. Two pelvis fragments from cattle and one possible pelvis fragment from a large mammal were found with chop-marks on them. A cattle axis and a large mammal vertebra bore chop-marks from dismemberment. The large mammal vertebra and two medium mammal vertebrae had been chopped completely through to form sides of meat, whereas the cattle axis had been chopped through only on the left side at the caudal end. Siding an animal becomes more common in the post-medieval period (Maltby 1979,

Table 5.12—Details of gnawed bones.

Context	Cutting	Sample	Species	Element	Part present	Gnawing	Comments
22A01	22		Cattle/deer	Humerus	Distal shaft	Carnivore	Probably calf but possible deer
22A01	22		Pig	Humerus	Distal	Carnivore	
2	north/2 south/M1/M2		Large mammal	Long bone	Shaft	Carnivore	
2	north/2 south/M1/M2		Deer	Antler tine	Distal	Rodent and carnivore or possibly deer	
		226	Sheep/goat	Metatarsal	Shaft	Carnivore	
	M1		Large mammal	Tibia	Shaft	Carnivore	
	M1		Cattle	Metatarsal	Shaft	Carnivore	
	M1		Sheep/goat	Metacarpal	Shaft	Carnivore	
			Sheep/goat	Humerus	Shaft	Carnivore	
	2 south		Cattle	Tibia	Shaft	Carnivore	
0 XVI			Sheep/goat	Tibia	Shaft	Carnivore	
			Large mammal	Humerus	Proximal	Carnivore	
	M1		Cattle	Pelvis	Proximal and distal	Carnivore	
	M1		Cattle	Humerus	Distal	Carnivore	
	M1		Cattle	Calcaneus	Proximal and distal	Carnivore	
	M1		Sheep/goat	Radius	Proximal	Carnivore	
			Cattle	Humerus	Distal	Carnivore	
			Cattle	Calcaneus	Distal	Carnivore	

39). It requires a stout beam from which the animal can be suspended by the hind legs and is associated with professional butchery rather than with the *ad hoc* slaughtering of individual animals. It is likely that the individual whose axis was recovered was also sided, but that by the time the axe reached the neck of the animal its direction had slewed off, so that this particular vertebra received only a glancing blow. Two sheep humeri bore signs of disarticulation at the distal end. This is the point where in modern cutting the shoulder of lamb is separated from the shank.

One large mammal long bone showed signs of the final stage of processing: defleshing or filleting. Removal of meat from the bone can occur during butchery, or at any time up to and including the table. This large mammal long-bone fragment had a series of cut-marks on the shaft, showing where the meat was removed with a knife.

Burning
Sixteen pieces of burnt bone were found in the assemblage (Table 5.11). Only one of these, a pig metatarsal or foot bone, could be identified fully. These bones probably represent incidental waste disposal into fires. The small number of burnt bones and the lack of detailed information on their provenance limits the information that can be gleaned from them.

Gnawing
A total of nineteen bones with signs of gnawing were identified in the assemblage, the majority of which had been

Table 5.13—Cattle mandible data.

Location	Element	Side	dp4	P4	M1	M2	M3	MWS	Age (months)
MI	Loose mandibular tooth	U	j	o	o	o	o	8–29	15–30
MI	Loose mandibular tooth	U	o	o	o	o	j		50+
MI	Loose mandibular tooth	U	b	o	o	o	o	3	1–4
MI	Loose mandibular tooth	U	b	o	o	o	o	3	1–4
MI	Mandible	L	o	a	k	h	X	39–40	40–50
MI	Mandible	R	o	c	k	j	e	39	38
2 north	Mandible	L	o	a	k	k	X	42	40–50

gnawed by carnivores such as dogs (Table 5.12). This contrasts with the single dog bone found in the assemblage and demonstrates that dogs were kept at Parke's Castle. The bones may have been deliberately given to dogs or may have been left uncovered and scavenged. A deer antler tine showed linear striations similar to those produced by rodents, as well as rounded gnaw-marks similar to those produced by dogs. Antlers are shed in the spring, and rodents, carnivores and even deer often gnaw shed antlers as a source of minerals (Elbroch 2007, 89; Prothero and Schoch 2002, 78).

Stained bone
A small, triangular piece of flat bone measuring 27.4mm by 18.4mm by 2.3mm was stained green over an oval-shaped area measuring 11mm by 7mm. This is likely to have been caused by contact with copper. The piece came from context 2518.

Cattle data
Three cattle bones could be used to calculate estimated withers heights. Two bones from MI gave values of 114cm and 110cm, while a bone from MII also gave a value of 114cm. These figures are typical for medieval and post-medieval cattle, but by contrast a modern Holstein cow will typically have a withers height of 144cm and 160cm in the male, while Charolais have typical withers heights of 140/150cm (EAAP–AGDP 2009).

A number of bones and teeth of young calves were identified in the assemblage. There were eight calf elements in MI, two in MII and one in cutting 2 south, as well as a further five elements that could not be provenanced. The presence of three right ulnae in MI means that these represent at least three individuals. Two cattle dP4 deciduous premolars from MI were at wear stage 'b', from individuals aged 1–4 months which, assuming a spring calving, would have been killed in late spring or summer. These bones and teeth were from individuals

that would have been much younger than the age at which cattle are generally slaughtered for meat. They may have died from injury or disease or been culled for their hides to produce high-quality vellum. Other cattle mandibles and teeth were from individuals aged 15–50 months, suggesting animals killed for prime meat (Table 5.13).

Several cattle elements could be sexed (Table 5.14). Metacarpals were identified as four female and one male. The females were from MI, MII, context 2203 and unprovenanced, while the male came from MI. Two cattle pelvises from MI were from females. Two horn cores were from an old bull (unprovenanced) and an old adult, probably a bull (MII).

Table 5.14—Cattle sexing data.

Source	Male	Female
MI	1	3
MII	1?	1
C2203		1
Unprovenanced	1	1

Sheep and goat data
Of 67 sheep/goat elements recovered, two were identified as goat and twelve as sheep. The goat elements were a horn core from a female and a radius, both found in MI.

Three particularly small sheep bones were noted in the fill of MI. These were a metatarsal, a calcaneus and a radius, all from adults and found within the same bag, while one unprovenanced sheep humerus was notably large. This supports the assertion that the assemblage contains material from a range of periods, since modern sheep have been selectively bred to be much larger than their medieval forebears.

Table **5.15**—Sheep ageing data.

Location	Species	Element	Side	dp4	P4	M1	M2	M12	M3	MWS	Age
MI	Sheep	Mandible	R	17L		9A	E			C	6–12mths
MI	Sheep	Mandible	R	13L		2A	X			C	6–12mths
MI	Sheep/goat	Mandible	U	20L		9A	4A	C			1–2yrs
MII	Sheep/goat	Mandible	R		4A	9A	8A		2A	E	2–3yrs
2 south	Sheep/goat	Mandible	L		8A	9A	9A		5A	E	2–3yrs

Ageing sheep/goats by their mandibles, two sheep in MI were 6–12 months and one was 1–2 years at time of death. These are relatively young for slaughter and suggest either prime meat or a lack of fodder necessitating the killing of excess livestock before the winter. By contrast, an animal from MII and one from cutting 2 south were killed at 2–3 years, which would optimise meat production with unimproved stock (Table 5.15).

meat or as a response to a lack of food to maintain the pig herd over the winter (Table 5.16).

Ten canine teeth and one mandibular alveolus could be used to identify the sex of pigs at Parke's Castle (Table 5.17). As is typical of assemblages, the number of males was greater than the number of female, since very few males would be retained into adulthood and instead were generally killed for meat.

Table **5.16**—Pig ageing data.

Context	Element	Side	C	dp4	P4	M1	M2	M3	MWS	Age (months)
2203	Mandible	L	M		b	g	c	V	22	17–19
2203	Mandible	R		e		a	C		7	9–10
22A01	Loose mand. tooth	U						a	26–29	21–23
22A01	Loose mand tooth	U					a		15-18	17-19
22A01	Loose mand. tooth	U					c		22–29	19–25
MI	Mandible	L	P		e	A			33–38	21–27
MI	Mandible	R				g	c	V	22	17-19
MI	Mandible	R				P	E		10–12	10–11

M = male, P = present, a–o = wear stage, C = crypt, V = visible, E = erupting, A = alveolus.

Pig data

Fifty out of a total of 70 pig elements consisted of teeth, mandibles and maxillae, and these were concentrated in cuttings 22 and MI. Elements from these two cuttings were therefore examined in more detail to determine age and sex. In all cases the pigs were juveniles, with the majority being between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 2 years of age, so that, assuming a spring farrowing, they would have been killed in their second winter, the optimum time for slaughter to maximise meat yield. Two mandibles were from individuals in their first winter, so these may have been slaughtered owing to a desire for good-quality meat, a need for

Table **5.17**—Pig sexing data.

Source	Male	Female
22A01	1	
2203	2	
MI	1	1 (alveolus)
2 south	1	1
Unprovenanced	2	2

Horse data

A single horse tooth was recovered from MIII C.01, a scattering of sandy mortar. This was a mandibular second premolar from an animal aged 10–11 years at the time of its death, so that while it would not have been an aged individual it may have been at the end of its working life, or may have died from injury or disease. In addition, a fragment of the proximal end of a left horse metatarsal was identified in material from MI.

Dog data

A single dog ulna was identified in context 3423. This had been assigned the find number 2904. A number of bone pins had also been found in cutting 34 but, although appearing shiny in places, there is no evidence for working or polishing of the bone, so it is likely that the long, narrow shape of the ulna was mistaken for an artefact.

Cat data

A single cat mandible was identified in the fill of MI.

Deer data

A number of deer elements were identified, with all those identified to species being from red deer. MI yielded a proximal tibia, a pelvis and a first phalanx; based on measurement data, all were likely to have come from a large male red deer, potentially a single individual. Context 22A01 yielded a pelvis which, based on form and metrical data, was from a female red deer. Two unprovenanced elements were a further first phalanx, from a large male red deer, and the antler tine described above, which could not be determined to species but which must have come from a male.

Rabbit data

A rabbit pelvis was identified in cutting 2 north and a humerus in MI. Since rabbits are burrowing creatures, these could be incidental inclusions or may represent food waste. Rabbits were introduced into Ireland by the Anglo-Normans (McCormick 1999) and became naturalised over time, so that what had been a rare, high-status food species in the Anglo-Norman period had become a pest by the twentieth century.

Pathologies and developmental defects

Seven elements showed pathological changes, all from cattle. This is equivalent to 2.1% of the identified elements (Table 5.18). Three out of a total of four proximal metacarpals in the assemblage had a lesion on the medial side of the proximal articulation. This degenerative change is very common and may be associated with age or with the use of animals for traction. A first phalanx from 22A01 had a large growth of new bone on the medial side of the shaft, close to the proximal end (Pl. 5.2). This may have been caused by ossification of a soft tissue injury of the toe (Roberts and Manchester 1997, 66–7). Another first phalanx can best be described as having a distorted distal end. This may have been a developmental defect or may have been caused by injury early in the growth of the individual (Pl. 5.3). A cattle metatarsal had severe new bone growth around the proximal articulation. This is similar to the damage caused by spavin, an osteoarthritic change whereby the tarsal bone fuses to the metatarsal, resulting in lameness. It is possible that the damage was caused by heavy work if the individual was used to pull carts or ploughs (Pls 5.4 and 5.5). A cattle incisor with a twisted and dented surface is likely to have been damaged during the early phase of development (Pl. 5.6).

Table 5.18—Summary of pathological changes.

Source	Species	Element	Side	Comments
22A01	Cattle	Phalanx 1	U	Severe new bone growth
MI	Cattle	Phalanx 1	U	Distal end distorted
MII	Cattle	Metatarsal	R	Excessive new bone growth around proximal end; gravely distorted
2203	Cattle	Loose mand. tooth	U	Twisted and with a dent in the labial surface; ~4.5mm diam., ~0.5mm deep
	Cattle	Metacarpal	R	Lesion on medial side of proximal articulation
MII	Cattle	Metacarpal	L	Lesion on medial side of proximal articulation
MI	Cattle	Metacarpal	R	Lesion on medial side of proximal articulation

Pl. 5.2—Cattle phalanx with severe new bone growth.

Pl. 5.5—Cattle metatarsal with excessive new bone growth—proximal view.

Pl. 5.3—Cattle phalanx with distorted distal end.

Non-metric traits

Pl. 5.4—Cattle metatarsal with excessive new bone growth—side view.

Pl. 5.6—Cattle tooth with depressed surface.

Non-metric traits are genetic peculiarities that have no effect on the well-being of the individual but that, when studied across populations, can shed light on breeding practices. In this case two pairs of pig mandibles, one from context 2203 and one from MI, both had the first premolar genetically absent, equivalent to a frequency of 4/19. An unprovenanced right cattle mandible had a greatly reduced third cusp on the third molar. This was one-fifth of the third molars present.

Discussion
This assemblage was not large and much of the material was unprovenanced or was provenanced only to cutting rather than context. Given the lack of context information available, it has not been possible to assign the bulk of the assemblage specifically to either the tower-house occupation or to the use of the manor house. Nevertheless, some useful results have emerged when analysed by cutting.

Cattle generally dominated the assemblage, with sheep as the second most common species except in cutting 22, which contained a very high proportion of pig bones. The assemblage from cutting 22 was recovered from the sod (C.22A01) and from the cobbles (C.2203).

Food animals at Parke's Castle were generally killed and eaten as prime meat. For cattle, the evidence suggests that they were aged 15–50 months, with two teeth from young calves. Sheep mandibles in MI were aged between six months and two years, with slightly older animals in MII and cutting 2. Pigs throughout the site were killed as juveniles, with two mandibles from animals under a year old and the remainder generally between 1^1/2 and 2 years. This lack of aged animals is indicative of good-quality meat. The older animals, at the end of a lifetime of breeding, traction or production of secondary products such as wool and milk, would have produced poor-quality meat. Their bones may have been disposed of elsewhere on site, or the meat eaten by lower-status individuals in the hinterland of the castle. Despite this, the pathological evidence does suggest that some cattle were killed when they had developed conditions that would have resulted in lameness. This could have been due to hard work or to old age, so that all the bones on site evidently did not come from prime meat animals.

There is evidence that both medium and large mammals were butchered by being cut into sides of meat, and the presence of elements from the head and feet suggests that butchery took place on site, rather than meat being brought to the castle as prepared joints. Moat cutting MI contained a number of butchered foot elements and vertebrae, so that this may have been where butchered bones were disposed of during the occupation of the castle. Cutting 22 contained a large proportion of head and foot elements from cattle and head elements from pig, so this may have been the location of post-medieval or modern butchery on the site. Since this cutting was in the central courtyard and these elements overlay the seventeenth-century cobbles, this butchery probably took place after the castle fell out of use in the eighteenth century and may indicate one of the uses to which the abandoned building was put.

Wild foods were of relatively minor importance at Parke's Castle, but the presence of deer bones does indicate hunting. The remains of at least one large male red deer were identified in MI and a female red deer in the sod layer (C.22A01). There were also two rabbit bones, from cutting 2 north and MI, although these could be incidental inclusions. Two fish bones are discussed by Hamilton-Dyer, below. Oyster and mussels were also identified. These must have come from the sea, which is closest at Sligo, 10km to the west.

Two horse elements, one dog bone and a cat bone bear witness to the presence of non-food animals at Parke's Castle, as does the presence of bones that had been gnawed by carnivores. Despite the small numbers of bones, the importance of these species should not be underestimated, since they played useful roles in riding and traction, guarding, hunting and vermin control.

Conclusions

This assemblage, though limited by lack of stratigraphic information, has provided a valuable insight into the diet and animal-based economy of Parke's Castle. The fact that much of the assemblage is missing or without context information has regrettably meant that differentiating between the manor house and tower-house economies has not been possible. There is evidence that animals were butchered on site, both during the period of occupation of the castle and after it fell out of use. The age distribution of the animals shows that the inhabitants primarily consumed high-quality prime meat, with a range of both domestic and wild species, and shellfish being imported from the coast.

Bird and fish bones

Sheila Hamilton-Dyer

Results

Hand-collected bird and fish bones from the 1970s excavations were submitted for analysis. The material has been identified using the modern reference collections of the author. There are four bird bones and two of fish.

All four bird bones are of fowl (or probably so in the case of the immature bone). One bone can be confirmed as being from a hen that died within or just before the laying season, as it contains a thick medullary deposit (Driver 1982). The two fish bones are probably from the same individual, a salmon of between 50cm and 60cm in total length.

Clearly, such a small sample gives limited information, but it can be observed that domestic fowl bones usually dominate Anglo-Norman and later assemblages (Hamilton-Dyer 2007). While salmon is one of the fish native to Ireland and often mentioned in the law-tracts (Kelly 1998), it is not commonly found in archaeological material (Hamilton-Dyer 2007). This is at least partly taphonomic, as their bones do not seem to survive as well as those from some other fish, but they are also highly regarded and are more likely to occur at high-status sites than in most assemblages.

6. Discussion

Colm Donnelly and Claire Foley

Introduction

The archaeological excavation at Parke's Castle in the 1970s provided the OPW with information that could be used for the interpretation of the site, its presentation to the public, and the restoration of the complex as a tourist and educational facility for north-west Ireland. Previous sections in this volume have provided insight into the historical context for the use of the site, an assessment of the architectural evidence and what it can tell us about the development of the site, the excavated evidence and the associated artefact assemblage. In the current section these strands of information will be used to piece together the development sequence of the complex from the late medieval period through to the nineteenth century, while placing the excavated evidence into its historical and architectural context. The section will also review the evidence for architectural parallels for the buildings constructed at the site during the seventeenth century. The text, however, commences with an attempt to resolve the issues associated with the curious fact that at Newtown there were two tower-houses in very close proximity to each other on the eastern shoreline of Lough Gill during the late medieval period.

The tower-houses of 'Newtown'

Prior to its discovery during the excavation, it is evident that the tower-house within the bawn associated with Parke's manor house had become completely forgotten in local tradition. One is reminded at this point of the statement made by the Sligo antiquary Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh *c.* 1650 that 'I myself have seen within sixteen years [i.e. since *c.* 1634] high castles, all limed, built of mortared stone, and today, when they have fallen, nothing of them remains but a moat of earth, and a person ignorant [of the locality] would scarcely recognise that buildings had existed there at all' (translated from the Irish; Ó Muraíle 2002, 43). The destruction of the tower-house at Parke's Castle must have been so complete that within a short space of time all memory of it had been lost, and all historical references

to an earlier castle at Newtown were considered to refer to Castle Duroy, 0.5km to the south-east on a peninsula of land jutting out into Lough Gill (see Section 3). Evidently Newtown's story in the late medieval period was more complicated than previously thought. It certainly altered long-held perceptions of Parke's Castle as being only a seventeenth-century monument, while raising questions regarding the relationship between the 'new' tower-house and Castle Duroy.

These questions centred on the date when the two buildings were constructed and whether they were both in contemporaneous use. Such a situation would not be unheard of in the southern half of the country, where two tower-houses of similar date might be found very close to one another (e.g. the tower-houses at Caherelly East and Caherelly West in County Limerick), and we might judge this to be associated with the proliferation of minor lordships that occurred in the late medieval period in this part of Munster (Donnelly 2001, 326–7). The distribution of tower-houses in the northern half of Ireland is much sparser, however, and they seem to have been primarily used as the residences of only the highest levels within Gaelic society, a situation hinted at by Sir John Davies when he wrote in 1612 that the Irish had only 'erected some few piles for their captains of the country' (Morley 1890, 292), although it is not inconceivable that a powerful individual such as O'Rourke might have had multiple castles; other Gaelic lords—like the MacCoghlans, for example, in west Offaly (Loeber 2001, 307)—had direct control over several castles. Loeber (2001, 301–3) has also noted that other important individuals within a lordship, such as the tanist or members of the professional classes, might reside within a castle. Perhaps, therefore, one of the two tower-houses on the shoreline of Lough Gill was the residence of important members of the O'Rourke family other than the *taoiseach*, or perhaps of one of the professional families associated with the lordship.

An alternative proposition that needs to be considered, however, is that one of the castles was a replacement for the other. It is possible that Castle Duroy was abandoned or became of secondary importance when a new tower-house was constructed nearby.

Pl. 6.1—Oola Castle, Co. Limerick (C. Donnelly).

Establishing a date for the construction of the tower-house at Parke's Castle based only on its foundations is a difficult task, however, although there are some other clues that we can use. The early twentieth-century plan of the complex includes depictions of two carved stones that were 'lying loose' (see Pl. 1.4). The second of these is described as a 'half window head with leaf pattern' and represents half of an ogee-headed late medieval window head. Provided that the stone was not brought here from some other medieval building in the vicinity (e.g. Cartron Church—see pp 18–20 above), this window head is of a classic Irish Gothic style and, as such, might belong to a tower-house constructed between 1400 and 1550. Stronger proxy-dating evidence, however, lies in the fact that it has now been recognised that this was a sectionally constructed tower-house (see Donnelly 1998). This building method is seen in tower-houses of fifteenth- to mid-sixteenth-century date (see Pl. 3.26) but it is not one associated with the last flourish of the building series in the period from *c.* 1550 to 1650, when greater provision of heat and light, married to Renaissance concepts of symmetry, was incorporated into the traditional building form to create a new tower-house paradigm, as expressed at buildings such

as Oola, Co. Limerick (Pl. 6.1), Ballyshanduff, Co. Tipperary, or Derryhivenny, Co. Galway.

If we accept that the tower-house at Parke's Castle was not constructed after *c.* 1550, the existence of a second medieval tower-house so close to it becomes all the more remarkable—unless, of course, it is Castle Duroy that was a late sixteenth-century replacement for an early tower-house. Close study of the two photographs of the castle (Pl. 3.1) has enabled us to confirm that it is indeed the remnants of a tower-house, but there is no diagnostic architectural evidence on view to indicate a definitive date for its construction. It could be argued that the presence of a vault over its first-floor chamber would suggest that this too was a tower-house of the period *c.* 1400–1550, since the use of vaulting within the later tower-house series had generally—but not universally—been dispensed with. Of seven late tower-houses surveyed during fieldwork in counties Limerick and Tipperary, for example, it was found that two—Gortnetubbrid, Co. Limerick (Pl. 6.2), and Loughlohery, Co. Tipperary—had been provisioned with vaults over their first-floor main chambers (Donnelly 1995, I, 158). It could therefore be suggested that the tower-house at Parke's Castle was actually the older of the two buildings, perhaps abandoned when a new tower-house was constructed at Castle Duroy.

We might remind ourselves at this point of the entries in the *Annals of Lough Cé* for the years 1581 and 1582. The first reference noted how O'Rourke had 'broken down' his residences at Newtown and Dromahair for fear that they might fall into the hands of the English (Hennessy 1871, II, 441). This report recalls one of the ways in which a Gaelic lord might deal with the threat of attack from the English, which was to abandon his castle and disappear into the safety of the local fastnesses (McAuliffe 1991). Just how significant the damage done to a tower-house by a lord—or, indeed, by an enemy—might be, however, needs to be tempered by reflection on other northern castles and their stories as told in the annals. Dungannon Castle, the primary seat of the O'Neills of Tyrone, for example, was reported as 'demolished' in the *Annals of the Four Masters* under the year 1500 (O'Donovan 1856, IV, 1255), and yet in 1504 it is reported that the castle was taken by the O'Hagans (*ibid.*, V, 1281). The castle was again 'demolished' in 1517 (*ibid.*, V, 1341) and 'broken down' in 1532 (*ibid.*, V, 1413). Either we are to believe that the tower-house at Dungannon was rebuilt three times within 30 years, presumably in the aftermath of each of these attacks, or it may be the case that the damage inflicted and reported in the annals was of a superficial nature, with the building returned to a habitable state once the danger had passed.

Pl. **6.2**—Gortnetubbrid Castle, Co. Limerick (J. Lennon).

We might therefore envisage that Brian O'Rourke did something similar, by his own hand, to his castle at Newtown in 1581, thereby rendering it uninhabitable to the English, perhaps by removing the internal timber floors within the building, before leaving for the Leitrim hills. It is, however, the reference within the *Annals of Lough Cé* to what happened in the following year, 1582, that is perhaps of more relevance to our story, for we are informed that 'Dubhrath was begun by Brian [na Murtha], son of Brian, son of Eoghan O'Ruairc' (Hennessy 1871, II, 453). As Roulston has noted (see Section 2), the index to the published edition of the annals suggests that 'Dubhrath' may equate with the village of Doora in the barony of Mohill in County Leitrim (*ibid.*, II, 557). The placename 'Doora' may derive from *dubh rath*, 'the black fort', but it may also have originated from *dúire*, 'black oak-wood' (Placenames Database of Ireland), while—as stated by Revd Owen Taynor (see Section 2, note 1)—Duroy may also have derived from *dubh rath*, 'the black fort'. The placename evidence is thus sufficiently inconclusive, and the 'Dubhrath' mentioned by the annalists in 1582 may have been a reference to the site that we now know as Castle Duroy. It may even be the case that this is a reference to a new castle being constructed by Brian to replace the old building that he himself had slighted the previous year. Perhaps rather than re-edify the old tower-house he had opted to construct a new building on a new site close by; it can even be hypothesised that the old tower-house may have been the quarry from which the new castle was being constructed!

In advancing such a theory, however, we need to remember that Roulston (see Section 2) has noted that any such plans by Brian for the construction of a new castle on the shores of Lough Gill at this time would have been almost inconceivable, given the English presence in Sligo. This supposes, however, that Brian had some premonition that his days of power were about to end. Clearly he did not, and—given the assistance he provided to the Spanish survivors of the Armada in 1588—he had no interest in playing the role of a lapdog to the English Crown. Indeed, it would be another ten years before the English finally managed to get rid of him. The 1585 Indenture of Leitrim makes mention of Brian's property of Newtown (Freeman 1936, 140) and the 1592 account by Bingham mentions 'O'Rourke's house, called the Newtown' (Hamilton 1885, 464), both indicating that Newtown remained a focal point for O'Rourke. These terse references, however, only reveal that Brian was still residing in a settlement at Newtown; they offer no clear view on the nature of that settlement and it is possible that Brian was now living in a new building—Castle Duroy—at Newtown. Likewise, Roulston (see Section 2) has noted the English map, thought to have been compiled *c.* 1603 (frontispiece), depicting three castles along the eastern shoreline of Lough Gill, and he makes the reasonable suggestion that these buildings may be Dromahair Castle, Castle Duroy and the tower-house at Parke's Castle. As he has also suggested, however, Harrison's Castle near Dromahair in the townland of Sradoon could be a candidate for one of the castles depicted on the map. This building is classified as a fortified house in the county's archaeological inventory (Moore 2003, 214), but it is possible that it was built on the site of an earlier O'Rourke castle (Uí Ruairc 1993, 13). The map may therefore depict Dromahair, Castle Duroy and Harrison's Castle.

If we accept the theory that Castle Duroy was in fact the later of the two tower-houses at Newtown and

Table 6.1—Development sequence for Parke's Castle

Date	Structural elements	
15th century		Tower-house Rock-cut ditch Kitchen (structure 6) Bawn wall
? Late 16th century		Tower-house demolished Rock-cut ditch filled in
17th century	Stage 1	Possible rebuilding of eastern section of bawn wall NE and NW corner towers added to bawn wall SE and SW turrets added to bawn wall Addition of merlons with gun loops to bawn wall Sally-port inserted into bawn wall Gatehouse Cobbled courtyard Kitchen (structure 3) Stable building (structure 4) ? Possible construction of a timber house at location where manor house was later constructed
18th century	Stage 2	Manor house
		Site abandoned
19th century		Stable block associated with the use of the bawn as a farmyard

a replacement for the older building whose foundations were revealed during the archaeological excavation, why did Robert Parke not make Castle Duroy the centre for his new settlement when he came into his lands *c.* 1630? This would surely have made good sense, since it takes resources to construct a new house and very often it was the case that financial constraints ensured that new settlers would occupy and renovate an older building, perhaps with the addition of a new wing to make the old building fit for habitation. We can see this process in action at Donegal Castle, Co. Donegal (McNeill and Wilkins 1999), at Enniskillen Castle, Co. Fermanagh (Hunter 2004), and at Dungannon Castle, Co. Tyrone (Donnelly *et al.* 2008), where in each case the old tower-house became incorporated into a new seventeenth-century complex. In answer to this question we might make the suggestion that, as highlighted by Roulston, Brian may have commenced work on the construction of a new tower-house in 1582, but that does not mean that the work was ever completed. Contrary to this is the fact that it would appear that something substantial was indeed erected, since the

photographs of the building (Pl. 3.1) indicate that it was at least four storeys in height and had a barrel vault. Perhaps it was the case, however, that Castle Duroy had been destroyed in some unrecorded military episode during the Nine Years War and that it too was a ruin by the time that Parke took up residence in Newtown. We might add to this by noting that the site of the older tower-house may have been a more attractive location for Parke, given that it was surrounded by a great rock-cut ditch and probably still had most of the circuit of its stout bawn wall relatively intact, while the lower floor levels of the ruinous old tower-house may still have survived and been viewed by him as a tempting quarry for his own construction plans for the site.

A development sequence for Parke's Castle

While the historical record might hint at the possibility of Anglo-Norman activity in the immediate Sligo area (see Section 2), there is very little to suggest that the massive rock-cut ditch that surrounds the complex and which was revealed during the excavation belongs to the thirteenth century, or that it was the work of Anglo-Normans. In addition, the artefact evidence for pre-1400 activity across the site is restricted to two iron arrowheads that might be of thirteenth-century date (see Courtney in Section 5). The first of these—a barbed example probably used for hunting (E104:2765)—was retrieved from a black charcoal-rich floor (C.3410) that displayed patches of red burnt clay and ash and was associated with structure 10 in the south-eastern corner of the bawn, a structure that was discovered below the seventeenth-century cobbles. The second example (E104:1199) is an iron bodkin-type arrowhead found in a midden (C.2756) containing bone and shell that lay against the northern wall of the tower-house. It is unlikely that either of the deposits in which the arrowheads were found is earlier than fifteenth-century in date. As such, either the arrowheads may be considered old artefacts that had been in circulation for perhaps centuries or—more probably—these types of arrowhead continued in use through to the late medieval period, for, as Courtney has noted, our interpretation of the site's material culture is hampered by a lack of published late medieval and early modern assemblages available for comparative purposes. The presence of a portion of a shallow rectilinear ditch, 2m wide and over 1m deep (C.211), cut into the boulder clay within the bawn to the west and south of the tower-house and pre-dating its habitation layers, might suggest some earlier activity, but no artefacts were recovered in association with this feature and it may simply represent a shallow ditch dug during or in advance of the construction of the tower-house.

Given the weakness of the evidence, it would seem more plausible to suggest that significant occupation of the site commenced in the fifteenth century with the erection by the O'Rourkes of a tower-house (Table 6.1; Fig. 6.1). The stone excavated from the rock-cut ditch was perhaps used to build this castle, with the ditch, some 3m deep, at first providing a defensive enclosure, similar to the 'great ramparts and ditches' referred to by

Fig. 6.1—Reconstruction drawing showing the late medieval phase of the site's occupation, c. 1550 (P. Manning).
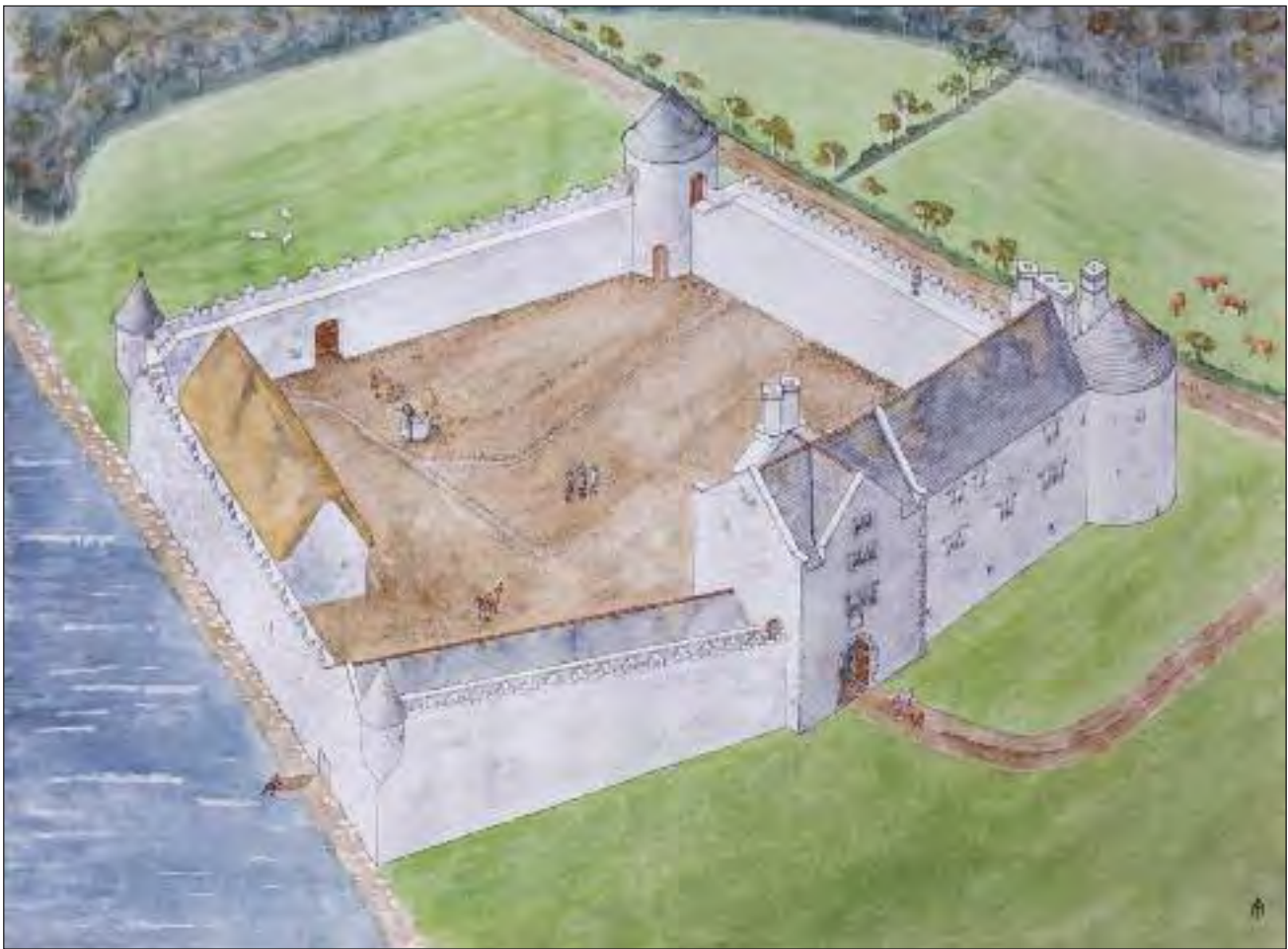
Fig. 6.2—Reconstruction drawing showing the site in the mid-seventeenth century (P. Manning).

Richard Stanihurst as being present at other Gaelic castles of the late medieval period (Lennon 1981, 147). The ditch was revealed through excavation on the exterior of the western, northern and south-eastern walls of the bawn (see Fig. 4.2b), but no excavation was undertaken in front of the eastern façade of the manor house. A geophysical survey at the eastern and south-eastern front of the castle, however, has now revealed a large anomaly (see p. 72 above) that can be interpreted as the ditch, positioned directly in front of the eastern wall of the manor house. The geophysical survey has also indicated that the ditch at this part of its circuit has a curving shape; this can be extrapolated to suggest that the original enclosure may have been almost circular, and that the bawn wall was constructed in five stretches to enable it to fit within the boundary formed by the run of the ditch.

The earliest deposits encountered during the excavation of the rock-cut ditch were layers of silt at the base, lying on boulder clay or bedrock. The lack of refuse material in the bottom of the ditch is noteworthy and suggests that it was kept relatively clean during the late medieval occupation of the site. The silt layers in

turn were covered by deposits of mortared masonry, with some tipping lines extending from the interior edges of the ditch, suggesting that the bawn wall had been breached in places. Indeed, the wall shows several places where it was patched after breaches, most notably at the south-east (see Pl. 3.27). The rubble material that fills the ditch may have come from these breaches or from the demolition of the tower-house, or perhaps it was the case that the original late medieval parapet had been thrown down into the ditch. This might represent evidence of the event of 1581 when Brian O'Rourke had the castle 'broken down'. When Robert Parke took up residence—perhaps some 30–50 years after the old castle had been abandoned—some remains of the tower-house may still have been standing, although in a ruinous state, while it can be suggested that its replacement—Castle Duroy—was in no better condition, perhaps a victim of the destruction that took place across the Irish countryside during the Nine Years War. The archaeological evidence certainly indicates that there was a period between the abandonment of the tower-house and the reoccupation of the site by Parke, since a sod layer (C.2518 and C.2712) had

built up within the castle, subsequently to be covered over by the laying down of a gravel layer and its associated cobbled surface as part of the seventeenth-century occupation of the site.

What is of note is the fact that the eastern stretch of bawn wall—which was to be incorporated as the front wall of the manor house—is of thinner construction than the other bawn walls. While this may simply be a quirk of its original medieval design, it can also be suggested that this wall had to be rebuilt by Parke when he first took up residence at the site. Perhaps it was the case that the east front of the tower-house had been carelessly torn down or else it had collapsed following its abandonment. The tower-house frontage would have been significantly close to the bawn wall—perhaps within 6m or 7m of it—so that when it fell it may have come crashing down onto the east wall and broken it down. When the eastern bawn wall was rebuilt by Parke it was given gun loop merlons, similar to those that were being added elsewhere around the circuit of the bawn wall as it was recrenellated for defence with handguns from the wall-walk. Added to this phase of new construction work we might include the cobbling of the bawn's courtyard and the construction of the gatehouse (with an adjoining kitchen—structure 3—to the south), the north-east corner tower and the north-west corner tower (Fig. 6.2). The fact that the geophysical survey indicates that the ditch runs nearly under the walls of the north-east corner tower (see Fig. 3.4), which oversail the ditch, something that was also noted during the excavation programme in cuttings MVIII and MIX, indicates that the ditch must have been well filled in by this stage and that evidently no defensive importance had been placed on it by the site's new occupants. It is interesting to note that neither of the corner towers have wickerwork-centred vaults, which one might expect if these were constructions of late medieval date. Nor is there anything to suggest that the gatehouse is anything other than a seventeenth-century construction. While this may have been the location of the gateway into the late medieval bawn, it is highly unlikely that a large gatehouse formed the entranceway into the O'Rourke castle, especially when it is considered that access to the doorway of the tower-house in its east wall would have been reduced to an inconvenient narrow passageway between the western wall of the gatehouse and the south-east corner of the tower-house.

A final element in this first phase of Parke's building activity at the castle was the addition of the corbelled turrets at the south-east and south-west corners of the bawn. These features are of seventeenth-century type and are similar to those found at Tully Castle, Co. Fermanagh, with their smooth plastered corbels,

suggesting that Parke had employed Irish masons to do the building work. This should come as no great surprise, however, given that the historical evidence presented by Roulston (Section 2) indicates that the mid-seventeenth-century community at Newtown comprised both British newcomers and Irish natives. The source for this material for Parke's building programme is unlikely to have been the ditch, but there is nothing to say that his builders did not simply open a quarry in the hillside to the north of the castle and obtain their stone from there, or that they did not just reuse the stone from the last vestiges of the old tower-house or the neighbouring tower-house at Castle Duroy. The last phase of Parke's work at the site (stage 2) was when he opted to add a new masonry manor house in the area between the gatehouse and the north-east corner tower, reusing the exterior façade of the by-now-rebuilt eastern bawn wall as the eastern façade of his new house. Whether this was to replace a timber house that had stood in this position during the first phase of his occupation of the site must remain a moot point, but it can be speculated that he, his family and his retainers would probably have required more accommodation within the castle than could be offered by the gatehouse and the two corner towers.

The O'Rourke Castle: the excavated evidence

The excavation in the areas of the bawn to the south and west of the tower-house (Fig. 4.3) revealed gullies cut into the boulder clay, with the clay studded with small natural pebbles in places. This was interpreted as the operational surface for the occupation of the site during the late medieval period. Several areas of burning were also noted, while sections of stone walling were uncovered in the area to the south of the tower. These walls, however, had been robbed out to level the area prior to the setting down of the seventeenth-century cobbling and, as a consequence, their extent and the functions of the buildings that they represent must remain unresolved. The entire surface was covered in a dark humus layer that contained habitation debris, including bone, shell and charcoal. Lying on this was a layer of disturbed masonry from the tower-house demolition, which included several dressed stones that had been used as a general fill to provide a base for the gravel underneath the cobbled layer.

Within the tower-house the floor of the eastern chamber had a layer of humus-rich habitation deposit and charcoal, beneath which was a layer of hard-packed mortar into which some small post-holes had been cut.

This layer probably belongs to the construction phase of the building and the post-holes may have held the timbers used to support a wickerwork-centred vault over the ground-floor chamber while the vault's mortar set. While the foundations of the western chamber were laid on a rubble layer, the eastern chamber was built directly on the boulder clay and bedrock where it protruded; the chambers were at two different levels, necessitating the stepped doorway that enabled access between them.

Abutting the western wall of the tower-house were the footings of a less substantial structure (structure 6), which was associated with the late medieval occupation horizon at the site. The eastern wall of this structure lay close to and parallel to the western end wall of the tower-house. The area of burning within its interior and the inclined stake-holes, perhaps for holding pots over an open fire, indicate that it may have been used as a cooking or small industrial area. Richard Stanihurst wrote in 1584 that the Irish lords possessed 'castles which are strongly constructed and fortified with masses of stone. Adjoining them are reasonably big and spacious palaces made from white clay and mud. They are not roofed with quarried slabs or slates but with thatch. In the palace they hold their banquets but they prefer to sleep in the castle rather than the palace because their enemies can easily apply torches to the roofs which catch fire rapidly if there is but the slightest breeze' (Lennon 1981, 146).

While it can be appreciated that Stanihurst is making a generalised statement, his work does indicate that we should expect to find evidence for important 'soft' buildings within the confines of bawns. Tabraham's (1988) research on Scottish sites has suggested that the concept of the tower-house as the sole element of a complex, free-standing and self-contained, may not always have been the case. The evidence that he used to support this view was obtained from excavations at Smailholm Tower and Threave Castle. At the former site a substantial residential unit comprising an outer hall and chamber was discovered within the barmkin (Tabraham 1988, 268), while at Threave Castle the excavation had unearthed two substantial buildings, which were also judged to be contemporary with the tower-house and interpreted as having served as residential buildings.

'Certainly, the tower house still stands at the heart of the complex, the chief residential unit and the most secure in troubled times. But it can no longer be viewed as an isolated dwelling house, surrounded by mere "farmyard attachments". As at Threave, the home of his master the earl of Douglas, so at Smailholm the Pringle

laird, albeit in a more humble manner, had a residence somewhat more elaborate than we had hitherto imagined' (*ibid.*, 275).

Stanihurst's text (Lennon 1981, 146) might suggest that a similar situation existed at Irish tower-house sites, with ancillary units within the bawn providing additional residential space for the complex, and the excavation programme at Barryscourt Castle, Co. Cork, has revealed the presence of a large timber hall of sixteenth-century date in the western side of the castle's bawn (Pollock 2007). While there was nothing that we might interpret as a residential unit or a 'palace' within the bawn at Parke's Castle, the various structures that were encountered do provide an indication of the social and economic life that went on around the tower-house, most notably in the form of a kitchen unit that stood outside the main building.

The material culture associated with the late medieval Gaelic occupation of the site is rather meagre. What survives, however, can still provide some insights into life within the O'Rourke castle. For example, the two fragments of pot-metal coloured glass (E104:2010 and E104:2047) may be fifteenth-century or early sixteenth-century in date and are possibly from a stained glass window (see Moran in Section 5), while all of the glass window sherds are likely to relate to the tower-house phase since they were manufactured using methods that were becoming rare in the sixteenth century. From this evidence we can suggest that the O'Rourke tower-house had glass windows, a point emphasised by the discovery of five fragments of H-shaped window cames, which may have originated from the tower-house. The majority of the roofing slates that were recovered from the site are of seventeenth-century date and, as such, belong to the roofs associated with Parke's occupation of the complex. There was, however, one slate fragment (E104:2188) that was recovered from the layer of habitation debris (C.705) that lay under the seventeenth-century gravel used to bed the cobbled yard. This layer was above a stony fill (C.706) that was interpreted as being the platform on which the walls of the tower-house were constructed. The slate fragment therefore offers a tantalising hint that perhaps the tower-house had a slated roof rather than thatch or wooden shingles. Finally, six of the clench bolts retrieved during the excavation came from contexts that lay beneath the seventeenth-century cobbled yard and probably originated from one or more of the timber doors that hung within the tower-house.

The other elements from the artefact assemblage that can be associated with the late medieval use of the site include the two coins, a groat dating from 1483 (E104:2545) and a groat of Philip and Mary of about

1557 (E104:2824), which were found in redeposited contexts but would be compatible with the occupation period of the tower-house, while the bone comb (E104:2931) was of a type in currency from the thirteenth century onwards. We might also add the small assemblage of iron pins (E104:513, E104:2002, E104:2926, E104:2190 and E104:2424), perhaps used to fasten cloaks, to this phase of the castle's use. Medieval Ulster Coarse Pottery has been found distributed throughout the northern part of Ireland; dating from the period from the mid-thirteenth century through to the seventeenth century, this native Irish pottery is the most numerous component—albeit comprising a very small corpus of nine sherds—amongst the pottery that might be assigned to the pre-seventeenth-century period at Parke's Castle. It may have been the case that there was more of this material on site in the late medieval period but that midden material was removed and dumped elsewhere in the immediate vicinity. Alternatively, much of this material may have been removed when the soil matrix in which it lay was dug away during the construction phase of the seventeenth century. This explanation is problematic, however, given that a layer of sod appears to have developed over the site after the O'Rourke abandonment. That this sod layer was evidently not removed when Parke's workers commenced their activity—rather it was covered over in gravel and then cobbled—undermines the notion that the late medieval soil horizons, and their associated artefacts, were removed. A more satisfactory conclusion might be that there was never much Medieval Ulster Coarse Pottery on the site to begin with and that, as Gormley (see Section 5) has suggested, the O'Rourkes used a mixture of both imported and coarseware pottery, heavily augmented by wooden, metal or leather vessels and utensils. A similar small assemblage of coarseware pottery—twenty sherds—retrieved from late medieval contexts during the excavation programme at the comparable site of Castlederg, Co. Tyrone, would also suggest that pottery, while present, did not form a significant element within the household accoutrements associated with a Gaelic lord. The five sherds of imported pottery that were also discovered remind us, however, that the O'Rourkes undoubtedly had trade and communication connections external to their lordship. This material includes the base sherd of a Tudor Green vessel (E104:989; Fig. 5.5.6), produced in the Surrey region of England and of a type that was falling out of use by the late sixteenth century. Other pottery from the castle may have originated from sixteenth-century northern France and included sherds from a green-glazed candlestick-holder (E104:1212; Fig. 5.5.7) and a handled bowl (E104:2313; Fig. 5.6.1).

The faunal remains have offered us some insight into the role played by meat—primarily beef—in the diet of the people who lived within Parke's Castle during the late medieval period and the seventeenth century, but the discovery of two salmon bones—a rare find—from a secure late medieval context within the western chamber of the tower-house in cutting 27 provides a wonderful glimpse of the diet associated with the high-status society of the Gaelic lords of West Breifne. On a more prosaic level, the parts of four quernstones found during the excavation also remind us of the important role played by cereal in the Irish diet. The quernstones are noted in Finds Book 3 but were not present with the artefact assemblage when McHugh (2005) undertook his preliminary assessment. The information in the Finds Book, however, indicates that these were fragments of rotary querns and that they were found in two cuttings; two of the fragments were from cutting 34S and came from within context 3419, a layer of redeposited boulder clay in the south-east corner of the bawn and dated to after the abandonment of the tower-house but before the laying down of the cobbled yard during Parke's occupation of the site. Given that the quernstones were broken and that a coin of Edward IV was found in an associated context (C.3415), it can be argued that the fragments were associated with the late medieval occupation of the site. The role of cereal in the medieval Gaelic diet has tended to be underplayed; meat, offal and milk products have been given prominence, largely as a consequence of commentaries produced by foreigners, but it is evident that tillage was also taking place and that cereal was a component of the diet in Gaelic areas of the country (Clarkson and Crawford 2001, 14). A further two fragments of quernstone were retrieved from cutting 34N and reported in the Finds Book, but no context was ascribed to them.

Robert Parke's Castle: the excavated evidence

The seventeenth-century cobbling and its bedding gravel (0.1–0.4m deep) had been laid down directly over the layer of collapsed masonry and discarded dressed stones associated with the demolition of the tower-house. This cobbling remained in the courtyard to within 9m of the northern bawn wall beside the manor house and to within 2m of the north-west corner of the bawn; it would appear to have been disturbed further north, or perhaps some timber structures or a hay store stood here but have left no evidence. The cobbling was also absent in the areas of structures uncovered along the eastern and southern bawn walls, indicating that

they were contemporaneous, and had been disturbed in other places by later activity (e.g. the mortar-souring pit). The coping for the top of a well appeared to be also contemporary with the cobbles and was an important infrastructural element of the seventeenth-century occupation. The cobbles consisted of rough limestone wedges that were set on edge into between 0.1m and 0.4m of gravel (also referred to as coarse sand). These sank into the gravel with use and became wedged solidly together over time. The gravel layer under the cobbles contained many small pieces of iron, nails and some sherds of pottery, but as this was an introduced layer it may be prudent to regard these items as re-deposited from elsewhere in the castle or its environs. There was considerable wear on the upper surfaces of the cobbles, indicating their use over a relatively long period, and this surface remained serviceable until abandonment in the eighteenth century. A system of open drains in the courtyard cobbles converged on soak-holes along the southern bawn wall. This style of cobbling has been found associated with seventeenth-century occupation elsewhere, notably at Castlederg, Co. Tyrone, and Tully Castle, Co. Fermanagh.

Buildings arranged along the interior of the eastern and southern bawn walls appear to have serviced the manor house in the seventeenth century. The first of these (structure 3) lay along the eastern bawn wall and may originally have been bonded to the south-west corner of the gatehouse. It is possible that this building served as a kitchen for the manor house. Areas of burnt clay provided evidence of intense burning in this area, particularly along the bawn wall, and this may have been the position of an oven. The possible kitchen structure had two phases of building, evidenced by the remains of two parallel western walls and by two separate gable marks on the external southern wall of the gatehouse.

The second building (structure 4) would appear to represent the foundations of a stable constructed at the same time as the laying of the cobbles. The wall may have been bonded to the original southern bawn wall, which was rebuilt in this area in the early twentieth century; an area of weathered plaster on the interior of the western bawn wall suggests that this building ran to meet it. An open drain in the cobbles parallel to and north of this structure probably took the roof water. This drain converged with another and their contents would have flowed into a soak-hole at the south-west corner of the bawn.

Gillespie (2009, 43) has commented that the Plantation period in Ireland witnessed 'a materially impoverished world flooded with imported commercial goods that transformed the lives of its inhabitants'. The material culture associated with the seventeenth-

century occupation of Parke's Castle certainly provides insight into this process, with new consumption patterns being reflected in the artefact assemblage. As has been noted, a small assemblage of nine sherds of Medieval Ulster Coarse Pottery was found at Parke's Castle and would seem to have been associated with the O'Rourke occupation of the site (see Gormley in Section 5). This pottery type continued to be used in the north of Ireland into the seventeenth century and has been found on sites associated with the Ulster Plantation (McSparron 2009, 14). At the abandoned early seventeenth-century village of Movanagher, Co. Derry, for example, the excavator (Horning 2001, 388) encountered almost equivalent numbers of coarseware sherds and imported English pottery sherds in and around the site of a Gaelic house constructed within the Plantation settlement. It would seem, however, that no sherds of this pottery were present in the seventeenth-century phase of occupation at Parke's Castle. The new inhabitants used some imported wares but, as Gormley has noted (see Section 5), the assemblage is dominated by regional pottery types; the regional pottery they used was glazed red earthenware and blackware, however, rather than the old coarseware. This may have been due to changes in fashion and in what was viewed as an appropriate pottery type for a lordly household of the mid-seventeenth century, but it may also be a reflection of the fact that by the time Parke took up residence at the site the old medieval pottery tradition was well on the wane, unable to compete against the new glazed earthenware vessels. The presence of Medieval Ulster Coarse Pottery alongside new imported pottery at sites like Movanagher, which belongs to the early decades of the century, may represent the transitional phase in this process of change in material culture that was to be further played out as the century progressed.

If wine made its way to the site during the O'Rourke phase of occupation, it would presumably have been transported in wooden casks or barrels. The two sherds of shaft-and-globe bottles (E104:2394 and E104:2552; see Scully in Section 5) not only indicate the changes that had occurred in the transportation and storage of wine during the seventeenth century but also provide clear evidence that wine was indeed present on the site during this time. The artefacts associated with the consumption of the wine are manifest as well, in the form of a rim sherd of a glass vessel with a wide bowl (E104:2514) and the foot of a glass vessel (E104:1022), both of probable seventeenth-century date (see Scully in Section 5). Another new seventeenth-century introduction that is reflected in the material culture of the site is artefacts associated with the consumption of tobacco. While the majority of the clay pipe fragments encountered during the excavation date from the nine-

teenth century, presumably from the use of the site as a farmyard, the presence of some mid-seventeenth-century stem fragments (E104:303 and E104:599) do indicate the use of tobacco there at an earlier time (see Norton in Section 5), as does the barrel-shaped container (E104:95:1206) of probable ivory that—on the basis of a similar item discovered in Cork—may have been a snuff box (see Beglane in Section 5).

That Parke's Castle had a martial element to its history in the seventeenth century—and one that is supported by the historical evidence—is reflected in the accoutrements of war among the artefacts uncovered during the excavation: the lead shot, the chape from a sword scabbard (E104:2933), the possible gun worm (E104:2758) and the cannon-balls, of both cast iron (E104:2013) and stone (E104:1252). Although there is no mention of artillery in the available historical sources for the 1640s (see Section 2), the castle continued to be involved in the war of that decade beyond the early years of the conflict in 1641 and 1642, with Parke reported to be on active service in 1644 and his home noted as a stronghold in 1646. It was surrendered by a Parliamentarian garrison in July 1649 and was occupied by the Royalists until 3 July 1652. The cast-iron cannon-ball was for use with a saker (Pl. 6.3) and it is probable that artillery was brought to the castle in the company of its Parliamentarian or Royalist garrisons. The saker could fire balls of between four and seven pounds in weight; while it could inflict damage on a building, it was not capable of smashing down walls (Hutton and Reeves 1998, 205). It could also, however, be used as a defensive weapon, firing case-shot (tin canisters filled with musket balls) at attackers. Even allowing for transport across rough terrain, the saker was a fairly manoeuvrable artillery piece, weighing between 1,500 and 2,500 pounds, and it is estimated that it could have been drawn by five horses or oxen, or dragged by a team of 24 men (Ross 1887, 35, 42; Haythornthwaite 1983, 53–4).

One final small assemblage of artefacts must also be discussed at this time: the three harp tuning pegs (see Courtney in Section 5). The excavation archive states that two of the pegs (E104:368 and E104:369) were discovered in 'a depression between projecting walls'. The context in which they were found, however, was the gravel underlying the seventeenth-century cobbles (C.2204). A review of the stratigraphic sequence (Fig. 4.9) shows that this layer ran over the top of the surviving foundation course (C.2205) of the eastern end (i.e. the subsidiary section) of the tower-house. It may therefore have been the case that the pegs were found just beneath the cobbles, where the gravel layer thinned out to reveal the top stones of the tower-house wall. The context, however, is not secure enough for us

Pl. 6.3—An early seventeenth-century saker (J. O'Neill).

to state that the pegs belonged to the occupation of the tower-house or that they belonged to the period when Parke had taken up residence and the cobbled surface was being laid down. The discovery of the third peg (E104.324) in the topsoil associated with cutting 24 (C.2401) is even less satisfactory.

Harp-playing, however, is known to have been a pastime and an accomplishment among the nobility in the seventeenth century. In 1644 a French traveller in Ireland, François de la Boullaye le Gouz (1623–68), noted that 'they are fond of the harp, on which nearly all play' (Croker 1837, 41). The editor of this text, Thomas Crofton Croker, elaborated on this statement in an appendix, where he noted that an unpublished history of Ireland dating from 1636 and held in the Royal Irish Academy stated that 'The Irish are much addicted to music generally, and you shall find but few of their gentry, either man or woman, but can play the harp; also you shall not find a house of any account without one or two of these instruments, and they always keep a harper to play for them at their meals, and all other times, as often as they have a desire to recreate themselves, or others which come to their houses, therewith' (*ibid.*, 132). It can be presumed that this association of the harp with Ireland's nobility was similarly in vogue during the late medieval period and that what these authors are recording is the continuation of an earlier practice. The discovery of harp tuning pegs on a high-status site such as Parke's Castle should therefore come as little surprise to us, regardless of whether they belong to the O'Rourke period of occupation of the site or to Parke's residency. The latter may or may not have played the instrument himself, but through his patronage of a harper—Dermond O'Farry—as a member of his household he was continuing a lordly tradition of having harp music in his home, as befitted his new station in Leitrim society.

Parke's Castle: architectural parallels

The evidence suggests that the O'Rourke tower-house may once have been a very fine building, complete with glass windows and a slate roof. Conversely, for all its genuine charm, the building work undertaken by Parke at Newtown from *c.* 1630 is rather understated in its execution. The fact that he did not opt to reoccupy the old tower-house and have it as the central feature of his new home, as Basil Brooke did at Donegal Castle in the aftermath of the Ulster Plantation (McNeill and Wilkins 1999), may be related to the fact that the old O'Rourke tower house was in a terrible condition when Parke took up residence—abandoned for perhaps some 30–50 years, and both derelict and dangerous—so that the only option open to him was to use its stone as a quarry for an entirely new programme of construction work, but one that made use of its bawn. The architectural composition of this new building activity is also somewhat muted when compared to that of other houses of comparable date to be found in Ireland, such as at Burntcourt, Co. Cork, Killaleigh, Co. Tipperary, and Ballycowan, Co. Offaly. Nor can it even be argued that his was the most elaborate building within Plantation

Leitrim, for both Manorhamilton and Dromahair, its contemporaries, are more grandiose constructions, their U-shaped floor plans finding better parallels in Sir Toby Caulfield's fine manor house at Castlecaulfield, Co. Tyrone. If we are to begin our search for parallels for what Parke accomplished at his new manorial complex we need to look to those areas from where he may have drawn his inspiration, for—as Roulston has noted (see Section 2)—the British landowning group within north Leitrim orientated itself towards Sligo in the west, and towards Fermanagh and Cavan in the north.

Parke's decision to build within the bawn of an old O'Rourke castle mirrors what occurred at Castlederg, Co. Tyrone, a house and bawn belonging to Sir John Davies, the attorney general for Ireland and a leading figure in the Ulster Plantation. Davies had constructed an oblong house across the northern side of a rectangular bawn, with square flankers at each corner of the enclosure (Waterman 1960, 89). Excavation in 1991 by Conor Newman (1992), however, revealed the southeast corner of a late medieval tower-house in area 3. This was a castle located at a strategic fording point across the River Derg, which acted as the boundary between the lordships of the O'Neills and the
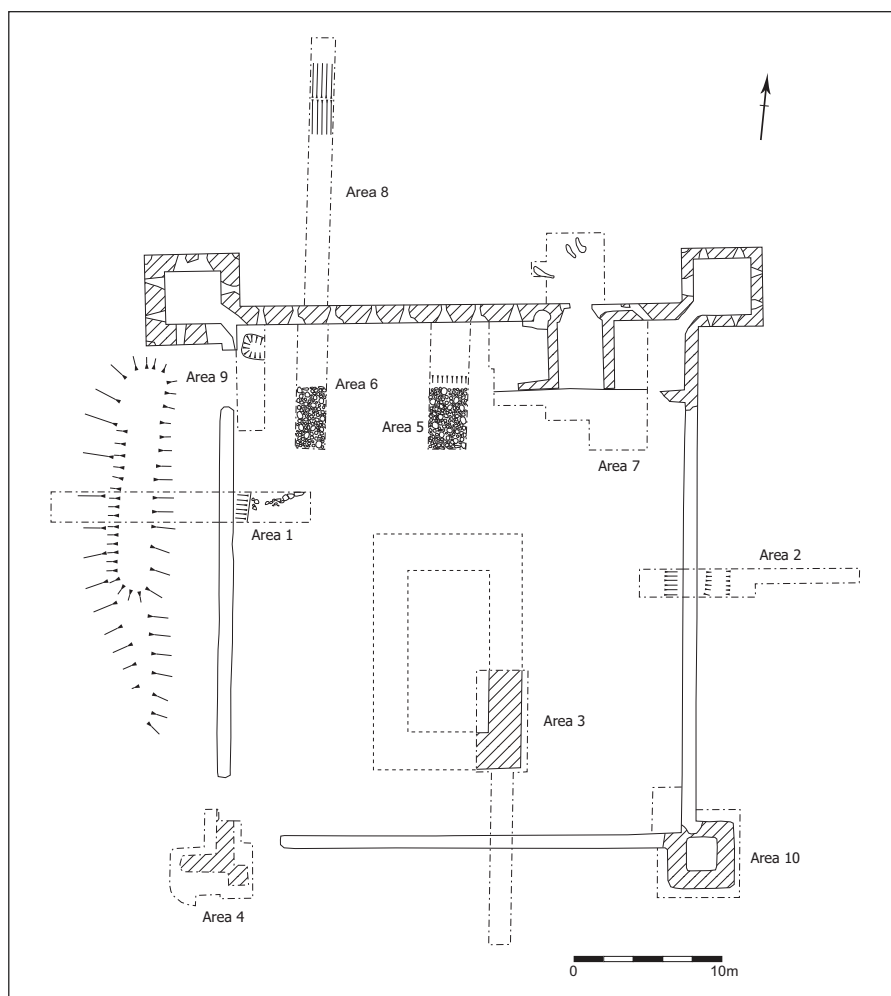
Fig. 6.3—Excavation plan of Castlederg, Co. Tyrone, showing location of trenches and the tower-house foundations (after Newman 1992, fig. ii).

Pl. 6.4—Portora Castle, Co. Fermanagh (Northern Ireland Environment Agency).

O'Donnells in the late medieval period. The tower-house was located almost in the centre of the bawn and its foundations were discovered under a cobbled surface set down during the early seventeenth-century reoccupation of the site. We cannot be sure of the overall dimensions of the tower-house, but the fact that none of its walling was observed during the excavations in area 1 (to the west of the area enclosed by the bawn) and area 5 (to the north of the area enclosed by the bawn) indicates that it lies within the central area of the bawn (see Fig. 6.3). A review of the external dimensions (including base batter) of other tower-houses demonstrates that the larger examples from County Limerick measure 16.1m long (side wall) by 10.4m wide (end wall) at Ballinahinch, 15.4m long by 10.85m wide at Bourchier's Castle, and 14.15m long by 9.4m wide at Garraunboy (Donnelly 1995, I, 138). Moving northward, at Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh, the Maguire tower-house measures 16.9m long by 11.7m wide (R. McHugh, pers. comm.), while the foundations of the tower-house at Parke's Castle measure 16m in length by 9.5m in width. The space available within the bawn enclosure at Castlederg (approximately 900m²) could have generously accommodated a large building of similar dimensions—perhaps something in the

vicinity of 16m long by 10m wide. What is also of interest, however, is the fact that the excavation revealed that the tower-house beside the River Derg had been set within an enclosure defined by a fosse, echoing the arrangement at Parke's Castle, where the rock-cut ditch surrounded the O'Rourke tower-house, and this brings to mind again the statement made in 1584 by Richard Stanihurst that Gaelic lords 'have courtyards surrounded by great ramparts and ditches', used as 'confined and protected compounds' for their cattle (Lennon 1981, 147).

Although it is now in a fragmentary condition, Waterman (1960, 89) noted that the fortified house that Davies constructed at Castlederg was 'a strictly utilitarian structure', despite his elevated position in Ulster society. One might equally apply this to what Parke achieved at Newtown; his manor house is a functional building, slotted into the space between the gatehouse and the north-east corner tower at one side of the bawn. This incorporation of the house into one side of the bawn is reminiscent, however, of a number of the Plantation-era fortified manor houses constructed in Ulster in the early seventeenth century. Portora Castle, Co. Fermanagh (Pl. 6.4), for example, was built around 1614 by Sir William Cole on the south bank of the River

Pl. 6.5—Manor houses and bawns of the City of London estates in Ulster: a selection of images by Thomas Raven, *c.* 1622 (image courtesy of the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library).

Erne. The monument comprises a bawn with circular flankers at each corner (the north-eastern of which has now been demolished) and a two-storey house located across its interior western side, the front wall of which has collapsed. In 1622 it was reported that two timber-framed buildings had been constructed within the bawn, evidently to supply the complex with additional residential space, but an excavation in 1997 (Brannon and McSparron 1998) failed to identify any evidence for these houses and it would seem that the interior of the bawn had been cleared and levelled in the nineteenth or early twentieth century. The house within the bawn at Portora was undoubtedly a fine building but it is now a ruin, and thus it can be difficult to gauge exactly what it would have looked like upon its completion.

We can come closest to experiencing just what these buildings might have looked like when first constructed by reviewing the work of Thomas Raven, who in 1622 undertook a series of pictorial maps of the properties that had been assigned to the London livery companies by James I as part of the Ulster Plantation in County Derry. The first thing to note is the fact that the principal houses associated with each of the London companies show a remarkable variance in styles. There is clearly no single plan being followed and, as a consequence, the houses vary from the Ironmongers' squat red-brick castle at Agivey (now demolished), with its massive circular corner towers, to the quaint bay-windowed house of the Merchant Tailors at Macosquin, with its red-brick chimney-stacks and dormers (Pl. 6.5).

What is common to all, however, is the location of the houses within a bawn, thereby providing the new settlement and its population with a retreat in times of trouble—something that resonates, perhaps, with Parke's decision that his home would be placed within the stout walls of the old O'Rourke bawn.

As has been noted, it was common in Ulster for the principal house to be positioned within one side of a bawn, often connecting directly with a circular flanker at one corner of the enclosure. We can see surviving examples of this at Salterstown and at Brackfield Bawn, both in County Derry (Pl. 6.6). With regard to the latter monument, as Brannon (1990, 8) has noted, the principal tenant of the Skinners' Company lands, Sir Edward Dodington, was resident at Dungiven Bawn, and the property at Crosalt may have been occupied by a lesser tenant. Raven depicted a one-and-a-half-storey house in the southern corner of the bawn, with dormer windows, a slate roof and three red-brick chimneys, communicating with a large circular flanker to the south-east and with a small turret located to the immediate north-west. Brannon's study of the site, however, has indicated that there are differences between the structure as depicted by Raven (Pl. 6.7) and the surviving architectural remains, since the house occupies the entire south-western side of the bawn. It may have been the case that the house was extended across the length of the bawn after 1622, although there was nothing to suggest that the foundation trench for the front wall of the house (revealed during the excavation in
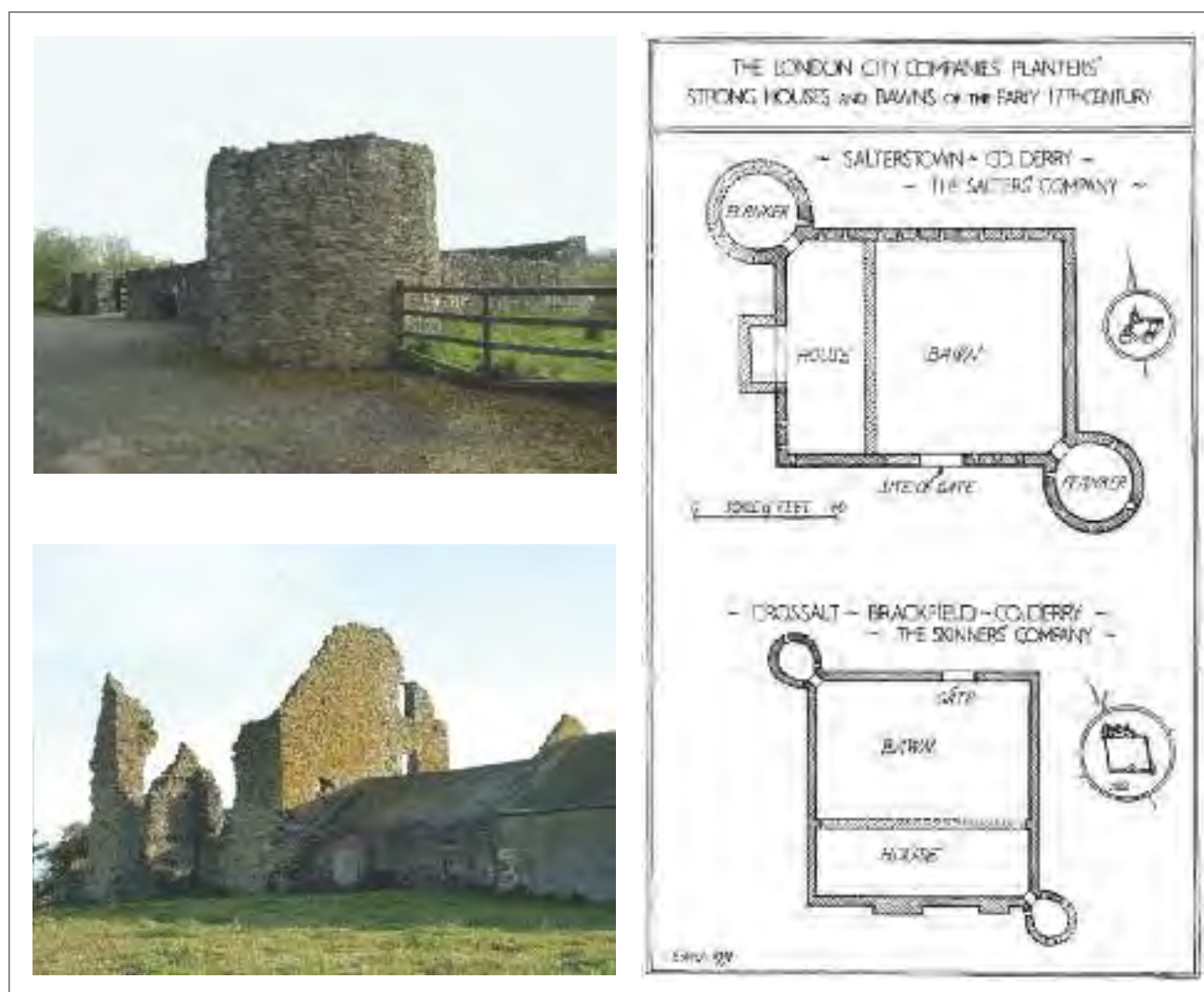
Pl. 6.6—Salterstown and Brackfield Bawn, Co. Derry: Martyn Jope's plan of both sites (C. Donnelly; after Jope 1960, 113, fig. 14).

Pl. 6.7—The Skinners' Company (Brackfield Bawn, Co. Derry) by Thomas Raven, *c.* 1622 (image courtesy of the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library).
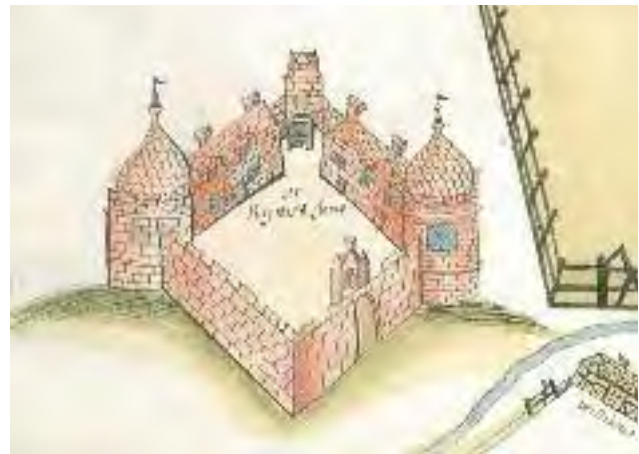
Pl. 6.8—The Grocers' Company (Eglinton, Co. Derry) by Thomas Raven, *c.* 1622 (image courtesy of the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library).

Pl. 6.9—The Vintners' Company (Bellaghy, Co. Derry) by Thomas Raven, *c.* 1622 (image courtesy of the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library).

1983) belonged to anything other than one phase of construction work.

What is of note is the fact that Raven's depiction of the house at Brackfield Bawn tallies with the surviving architectural evidence as regards the connection between the house and a circular flanking tower, and this reminds us again of what occurred at Parke's Castle, where the new manor house was integrated with the large north-east corner tower. It is a composition that we also find at the Grocers' property at Eglinton (Pl. 6.8), where the manor house—demolished in the 1820s (Curl 1986, 157)—is depicted by Raven in one corner of the bawn and as directly incorporating a circular flanking tower with conical slated roof into its fabric. The house is two storeys in height, of four bays, with a slated roof and three red-brick chimneys; the main entrance on the ground floor is positioned in a projecting tower with its own slated roof, and with a large window at first-floor level, flanked by dormers and with a second, seemingly projecting tower or bay window symmetrically positioned to balance with the flanker, and a small window placed in its crowning dormer. Although now demolished, this image of the house at Eglinton bears a marked similarity to the architectural arrangement that we find at Parke's Castle.

The circular flanker at Eglinton was depicted by Raven as having been two storeys in height, and the perspective utilised in his drawing might suggest that this was as large a tower as the example at the north-east corner of the bawn at Parke's Castle. That such large towers were indeed constructed can be seen from the standing remains at Bellaghy Bawn, Co. Derry. Raven depicts the bawn belonging to the Vintners' Company with two two-storey houses, the first positioned along the interior of the southern wall and the other along the line of the western wall (Pl. 6.9). Each house is attached to a large circular flanking tower, at

the south-east and north-west corners of the bawn respectively, each one with a parapet and curiously slated roofs. Excavation by Nick Brannon (2010) in 1989 and 1990 revealed the foundations of the western house, built of red brick, which was a two-roomed structure, with the rooms separated by a large H-plan chimney-base. The southern house now lies under an eighteenth-century replacement building, but its associated tower at the south-east corner of the bawn still stands; constructed of handmade red brick and three storeys in height (Pl. 6.10), it is of comparable scale to the tower at Parke's Castle.

If we look westward to County Sligo we discover another seventeenth-century building that may have been the inspiration for—or, indeed, inspired by—the work undertaken by Parke. Ardtermon Castle, or Castle Gore (Pl. 6.11), was the home of another Planter family, the Gores. A description and plan of the complex was completed by Waterman (1961), in the first detailed overview of the building, while the site was also included with a new plan in a book on Irish medieval


Pl. 6.10—The south-east corner tower at Bellaghy Bawn, Co. Derry (Northern Ireland Environment Agency).

castles by Sweetman (1999, fig. 168), who classified the building as a 'stronghouse'. The main house is a long, low building of two storeys over a semi-basement and, as such, does not have the proportions associated with the Leitrim castle, but there is a general similarity of appearance; it should be borne in mind at this point that these seventeenth-century houses have a direct family connection to each other through the marriage of Robert Parke's daughter Ann to Sir Francis Gore. The exact date for the construction of Ardtermon is not certain—Waterman (1961, 267) viewed it as belonging to the first half of the seventeenth century—and we cannot be sure of the date of construction of Parke's manor house, other than presumably sometime in the 1630s. We cannot say for certain, therefore, whether Ardtermon is earlier or later, but the incorporation of the corner towers at the north-east and south-east corners of the bawn into the fabric of the house and the

stair-tower of semicircular plan along the western façade of the house within the interior of the bawn are reminiscent of the arrangement of the architectural elements at Parke's Castle.

Conclusion

By the eighteenth century Parke's Castle had been abandoned. The final phase of building work, prior to the modern phase of conservation and restoration, took place in the nineteenth century, when a stable complex was constructed along the interior western wall of the bawn at some time between 1836 and 1888, based on the evidence from the Ordnance Survey six-inch maps. With a footprint some 15m in length (from north to south) by 4.05m in width (from east to west), this stable block was demolished to foundation level during the early twentieth century to provide stone to build local houses, but the surviving remnants of the building indicate that its walls averaged 0.45m in thickness and that their construction had necessitated cutting through the seventeenth-century levels in this part of the bawn. The excavation also retrieved material culture—clay tobacco pipes, horseshoes and buttons—associated with the use of the bawn as a farmyard in the early modern period. The excavation programme of the 1970s, however, triggered a restoration programme that has brought the old castle back to life again as a major tourist attraction on the shoreline of Lough Gill. The monument is now a fitting testament to 600 years of Leitrim's past, with a history that encompasses its origins as a Gaelic stronghold of the O'Rourkes, its rebirth as a manor house for a new English settler in the seventeenth century, its abandonment in the eighteenth century, when it was left to fall into decay as a ruined but romantic monument, and its reuse as a working farmyard through to the twentieth century.
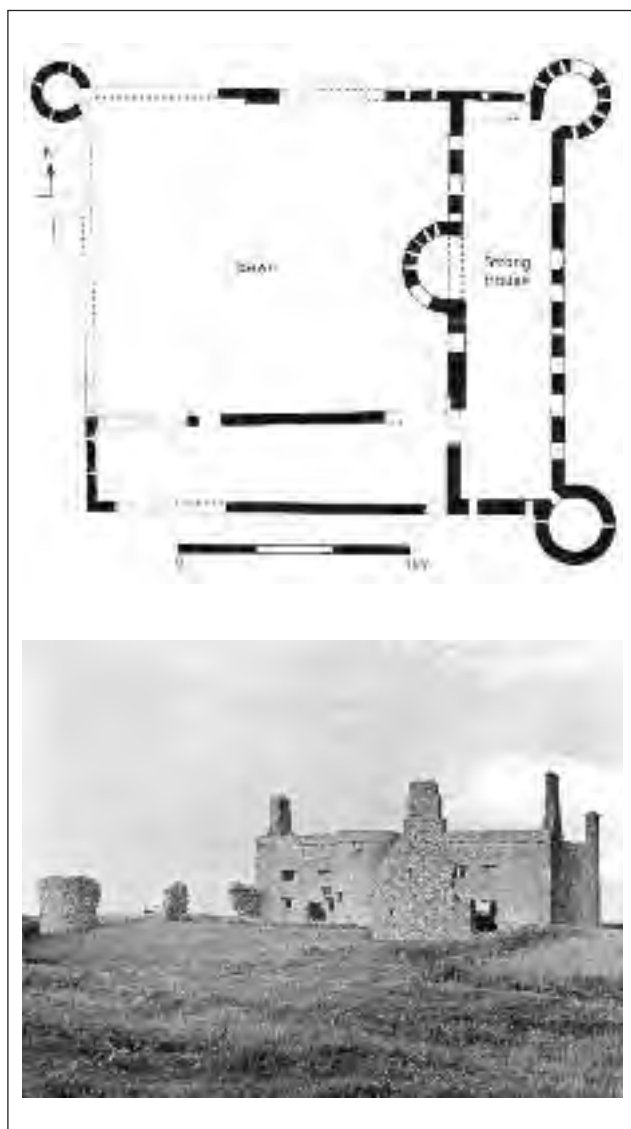
Pl. 6.11—Ardtermon Castle, Co. Sligo: ground-plan (after Sweetman 1999, 196, fig. 168) and pre-restoration photograph (Photographic Unit, NMS).

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Abbreviations

JCHAS *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*

JGAHS *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*

JIA *Journal of Irish Archaeology*

JKAHS *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society*

JRSAI *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*

PPS *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*

PRIA *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*

PSAS *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*

UJA *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*

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