

LIST OF CONTENTS

List of figures	4
List of Plates	5
Acknowledgements	7
General Introduction	8
Introduction to Cork city	12
Archaeological and Historical Background	15
Prehistoric and Early Historic Cork	15
Medieval Cork	17
Post-medieval Cork	21
The Topographical Development of Cork	23
Archaeological Inventory	27
Streets and Street Pattern	28
Burgage Plots and Property Boundaries	28
Domestic Houses	28
"Paradise" Castle	30
Roche's Castle	30
Skiddy's Castle	31
Surviving Remains	31
Market Places	34
The Guildhall/Tholsel	35
Quays	35
Industrial Areas	36
Droop's Mill	37
Bridges	38
The Castle	40
Elizabeth Fort	44

Cat Fort.....	45
Town Defences.....	46
St. Finbar's Cathedral & Early Monastic Site.....	52
Parish Churches and Chapels	
Holy Trinity	57
Holy Trinity Chantry College	65
St. Brigid's	66
St. Catherine's	67
St. John's in civitate	68
St. John's, Shandon	68
St. Laurence's	69
St. Mary del Nard	69
St. Mary's, Shandon	70
St. Michael's	73
St. Nessan's	73
St. Nicholas' (Holy Sepulchre)	73
St. Peter's	75
St. Philip's	78
Religious Houses	
Augustinian Priory of St. John the Evangelist (Gill Abbey)	78
Augustinian Friary (Red Abbey)	80
Benedictine Priory of St. John the Evangelist	81
Dominican Priory of St. Mary	83
Franciscan Friary	86
Knights Hospitallers' House of St. John the Baptist	90
Nunnery of St. John the Baptist	92

St. Stephen's Leper Hospital	93
St. Mary Magdalen's Leper Hospital	93
Leper House	94
Frankhouse	94
The Suburb of Shandon.....	94
Shandon Castle	95
The Suburb of Fayth.....	97
Other Suburbs.....	98
St. John's Street	98
The Marshes	98
Other Features.....	99
Archaeological Excavations.....	99
List of Archaeological Stray Finds.....	101
Archaeological Problems and Potential	103
The Problems	104
Archaeological Potential	104
Archaeology, Planning and Development	105
Area of Archaeological Potential	105
Excavation	106
Recommendations	107
References	109

Figures and Plates follow p. 120.

LIST OF FIGURES

- Front Cover: Extract from the Pacata Hibernia map of
Cork City.
- Fig. 1. Cork City: Zone of archaeological potential
- Fig. 2. Cork City: Outline map of principal archaeological
features within the walled area.
- Fig. 3. Cork City: Outline map of principal archaeological
features outside the walled area.
- Fig. 4. Cork City: Elizabeth Fort: ground plan (after O.P.W.)
- Fig. 5. Cork City: Augustine Friary (Red Abbey): ground plan
showing location of the excavation.
- Fig. 6. Cork City: Location plan of excavations.
- Fig. 7. Cork City: Defences. The suburban defences are based
on Goubet.

LIST OF PLATES

- Pl. 1. "Hardiman" map of Cork (c. 1601). Courtesy of Trinity College Dublin.
- Pl. 2. Speed's map of Cork (1610). Courtesy of Trinity College Dublin.
- Pl. 3. Thomas Phillips' map of Cork in 1685. Photo: The National Library of Ireland.
- Pl. 4. Mantle-piece from Skiddy's Castle, 1597.
- Pl. 5. Mantle-piece in Franciscan Friary, 1586.
- Pl. 6. Mantle-piece in Beamish & Crawford's Brewery, 1602.
- Pl. 7. Window head, Wise's Hill, late 16th/early 17th cents.
- Pl. 8. Section of the town wall in Grand Parade Hotel, exterior face.
- Pl. 9 St. Finbar's Cathedral: "chapter house door". 13th cent.
- Pl. 10. St. Finbar's Cathedral: moulded arch with two limestone heads.
- Pl. 11. St. Finbar's Cathedral: sculpted heads.
a) 13th cent. b) and c) 12th cent.
- Pl. 12. St. Finbar's Cathedral: sculpted heads: 12th cent.
- Pl. 13. St. Finbar's Cathedral: font.
- Pl. 14. St. Finbar's Cathedral: Wodcock memorial, 1610.
- Pl. 15. St. Finbar's Cathedral:
a) Wooden mitre
b) Pen and ink holder, 1688.
- Pl. 16. Holy Trinity Church: civilian effigy. 13th cent.
- Pl. 17. Holy Trinity Church: cadaver tomb of Thomas Ronan, 1554.
- Pl. 18. Holy Trinity Church: "Whit" cross slab.
- Pl. 19. Holy Trinity Church: William Coppinger. Late 16th cent.
- Pl. 20. Holy Trinity Church: Cross-slab. 17th cent.

- Pl. 21. Holy Trinity Church: side panel. 16th cent.
- Pl. 22. Holy Trinity Church: achievement of arms, 1634.
- Pl. 23. Holy Trinity Church: cross-slab. 17th cent.
- Pl. 24. Holy Trinity College:
a) Fireplace, 1585, in Crawford Art Gallery.
b) Detail.
- Pl. 25. Dedication plaque from St. Mary's, Shandon, 1693, now at St. Mary's Church (C of I), Sunday's Well.
- Pl. 26. St. Mary's Church, Shandon: font, 1629.
- Pl. 27. St. Nicholas' Church: cross-slab. ?15th cent.
- Pl. 28. St. Nicholas' Church: Walshe and Goughe cross-slab, 1597.
- Pl. 29. St. Nicholas' Church: font removed from St. Peter's Church.
- Pl. 30. Augustinian Priory of St. John the Evangelist (Gill Abbey): arch and heads in the republican Plot, St. Finbar's Cemetery.
- Pl. 31. Augustinian Friary (Red Abbey) from West.
- Pl. 32. Window head, 15th-16th cents. Built into No. 74 Tower Street.
- Pl. 33. 14th cent. ivory figurine in Dominican Church Pope's Quay.
- Pl. 34. Carved stones from Dominican Priory. Private possession.
- Pl. 35. Armorial plaques from Lyons & Co., South Main Street. Cork Public Museum.
- Pl. 36. Rib boss. Possibly from Augustinian Priory ("Gill Abbey") Now at Lapps Court, off Glasheen Road.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

Special thanks are due to Professor George Eogan, Dept. of Archaeology, University College Dublin for his constant support and advice in the course of the survey. The figures and maps have been prepared for publication by Una Lee.

This survey could not have been completed without the help and practical assistance of many individuals and institutions in Cork. In particular we wish to thank Prof. Peter Woodman and the staff of the Department of Archaeology, University College Cork; Mr. Denis Power, director of the Cork Archaeological Survey who walked around the city and gave us the benefit of his expert knowledge; Ms. Sheila Lane, Rose Cleary, Cliona Papazian, Messrs. Dermot Twohig and Maurice Hurley, for information on their excavations prior to publication; Anthony Candon for his help with the early documentary sources; An tUas Aodh O Tuama, Curator of Cork Public Museum, who gave us unstinting help and went out of his way on many occasions to clarify particular problems.

We are grateful to the many individuals who gave us access to the monuments in their care and who patiently answered our queries: Sr. m. Emmanuel Browne of St. Marie's of the Isle; Dean J. M. G. Carey of St. Fin Barre's cathedral; Mr. Kieran Clancy of Beamish and Crawford's Brewery; Mr. Richard T. Cooke for putting his notes on the Holy Trinity slabs at our disposal; Mr. Mick Dwyer; Mr. J. Higgins, Assistant City Manager, City Hall; Mr. C. J. F. McCarthy; Ms. Patricia Mc Carthy, City Archivist; Mr. Tony McDonnell, Planning Dept., City Hall; Mr. T. H. McNeice for permitting entry to St. Peter's Church; Rev. M. H. G. Mayes at St. Nicholas' Church; Fr. Vivien Molloy, Guardian of the Franciscan friary; Mr. E. Murphy, North Main Street; Mr. Peter Murray, Curator, Crawford Municipal Art Gallery; Mr. William F. Reidy, Planning Dept., City Hall; Canon G. A. Salter at St. Anne's, Shandon; Fr. Robert Talty of the Dominican Friary; Dr. and Mrs. J. Young; the manager and staff of the Grand Parade Hotel, and the librarians and the staff of University College Cork and Cork Public Library.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

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

By its nature archaeology is concerned with the past of ordinary people. The fragmentary building remains, pottery shards and scraps of worked stone or wood which the archaeologist discovers cannot be used to reconstruct political movements or great administrative changes. These parts of our past can only be glimpsed from documents, from what people who were alive at the time have observed themselves or heard related. Archaeological data, however, can tell us a great deal about the everyday life of ordinary people and the quality of that life in terms of the technological and economic resources of the particular time and place in question.

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

Development of Urban Archaeology.

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

It was at Novgorod in Russia that the potential of urban archaeology was first revealed. There, organic remains were found in large quantities and it became possible to reconstruct entire streetscapes and to chronicle the changes which happened in them as one generation succeeded the next (Thompson, 1987). Gradually as excavation took place in England and Germany it became apparent that the rich archaeological material in towns was not just a side-light on urban life but it could contribute greatly to our understanding of the archaeology of entire periods and regions. In Ireland, the first scientific excavations were commenced at Dublin Castle in 1961 and excavations were to continue in Dublin for the next twenty years. The interest aroused by the High Street and, later, the Wood Quay excavations was widespread and it created an interest in the archaeology of other towns. To date, excavations have taken place in some twenty-six Irish towns.

Urban sites are important to the archaeologist for a number of reasons. Firstly, in all towns archaeological deposits form the earliest archive. Only a handful of Irish towns are referred to prior to 1200 AD and it is only during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that references become anyway common. Yet the urban life of many towns has continued unbroken since the twelfth or early thirteenth centuries, while the origins of others lie in the Viking, Early Christian and Prehistoric periods. Even when references occur they rarely throw much light on daily life and tend to be more concerned with political and administrative events. Indeed, most individual properties within towns have no

documentation relating directly to them until the late-seventeenth or early-eighteenth centuries. To all intents and purposes, then, individual sites within towns may have remained completely prehistoric, in so far as they have no documentation, until the seventeenth century or later. Accordingly, archaeological excavation is important if one is to gain any knowledge of the initial period of a town's foundation or of how a particular area evolved and was used.

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

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

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

Purpose and Aim of the Present Survey

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

1. "To evaluate critically the archaeological potential, both above and below ground of the listed towns."
2. "To emphasise areas where the archaeological deposits could be preserved by the judicious use of new building techniques and the presentation of open spaces, etc."

3. "To assess the level of destruction of the original townscape."

4. "To measure the effects of urban expansion on originally rural archaeological sites."

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

The identification of sites which were urban centres before 1700 AD. is not without difficulties. In many cases such an identification is dependent on the survival of documentary evidence. However, it was felt that it was better to follow the existing work of Graham (1977) and Martin (1981) rather than impose new criteria. Accordingly the sites which are included here are those for which there is evidence of their status as boroughs prior to 1700 AD.

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

INTRODUCTION TO CORK CITY

Cork is the largest city in Munster. Its history is important not only because it tells us about the development of Cork itself, about its trade, industry and past social life, but also because, without it, it is impossible to understand the history of Munster. The story of Cork is, in effect, a microcosm of Irish urban history. It has taken over one thousand years to reach its present size and, in that time, it has played a major role at every stage of Irish history.

Commencing, on the south bank of the Lee, as an Early Christian monastery in the area occupied by St. Finbar's Cathedral it was seized on by the Vikings as an ideal port town. They moved down into the marshes and adapted the south island into a town. Its axis lay along South Main Street and by the twelfth century. A small suburb had formed opposite it on the south bank of the Lee. The town which the Anglo-Normans entered in 1177 was not a large one but it was important enough to be retained by the crown as a royal city. The Anglo-Normans were great economic entrepreneurs and Cork was expanded by them during the thirteenth century. The north island was reclaimed and the two islands enclosed by stone defences. Suburbs were formed at Shandon on the north bank, and "le Fayth", the area stretching from Douglas Street to St. Finbar's Cathedral, on the south. These suburbs, established during the expansionist years of the thirteenth century, were to decline and fade by the end of the fifteenth. The period after 1550, however, saw an economic revival with expanding overseas trade and the input of English monies as part of the Elizabethan conquest of Ireland. The old suburbs re-emerged and land was reclaimed from the marshes on the east and west of the city. The seventeenth century, despite its wars and the destructive Williamite siege in 1690, was a period of prosperity. Economic improvement continued in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when the city centre took on the shape which it largely retains to this day. The present century has seen the continued expansion of the city on all sides, such that it now occupies an area of almost 40sq km, a far cry from the tiny monastic nucleus established around St. Finbar's.

The city's significance to Irish history may be gauged from the fact that it is one of the few Early Christian monasteries which became the seat of a bishop, the Viking town was one of only five in Ireland, the Anglo-Norman town was one of only four royal boroughs, and the post-medieval town quickly developed into the third largest city in Ireland. The plain facts of the matter are that it is impossible to understand the history of Ireland without studying the history of Cork.

Fate has not been kind to the student of Cork's history, however. The destruction, both accidental and deliberate, of documentary sources has removed much of the evidence for reconstructing the past. True, the documentary sources for the last two centuries or so are reasonably plentiful but for the period before 1700 they are extremely scarce. Yet four-fifths of Cork's history has elapsed by 1700 and it is regrettable that it is this formative period of the city's history which is the most obscure. Much of our knowledge of the overseas trade of Cork during the Middle Ages, for instance, has to be reconstructed from the port books of foreign towns. We lack information on the population of the city prior to 1660. We know next to nothing of the comparative wealth of those who lived within the city or of what that wealth was based on. We do not know how much of the city was built-up and how much open ground in 1300, 1400 or indeed, 1500. We know nothing of the form of the houses in Viking Cork, and next to nothing of their successors in the Anglo-Norman city. We know little of the trades and crafts practiced in medieval Cork. We do not even know the location of many of the churches and great abbeys mentioned in the documents.

This situation of ignorance about our past does not have to continue. The answer to these problems lies beneath the soil of Cork. The artefacts and structures from which the archaeologist can reconstruct the past lie sealed beneath the roads, cellars and yards of the modern city. These archaeological layers are extremely vulnerable, however. They can be ripped out and destroyed by laying sewage pipes, by digging foundations, and by clearing soil down to bedrock. Very often, in the past, these layers have been destroyed through ignorance, because the developer did not realise beforehand that there were archaeological deposits on the site. The purpose of this report is to resolve that problem by outlining those areas where archaeological deposits are likely to survive.

The report is concerned with the archaeology of Cork prior to 1700 AD. It provides an account of the archaeological remains that survive within the city and an assessment of Cork's importance to archaeological research. It outlines the areas within Cork where archaeological deposits are likely to survive and highlights the potential of these areas to increase our knowledge of the development of urban life in Ireland. Finally, recommendations are made as to how this potential can be best realised. The report is accompanied by a map outlining the zone of archaeological potential (Fig. 1) in which the following colour code is used:

Pink: the zone of archaeological potential.
Red: extant archaeological monuments.
Purple: sites of known monuments.

Cork is an expanding town experiencing continued redevelopment. Uncontrolled building will destroy the city's fragile archaeological heritage and it is the hope of this report that the recommended steps will be taken in order to ensure that urban development and archaeological research may go forward together. What is at stake is the evidence of urban life in Cork: once it is gone it is gone forever.

CORK

ARCHAEOLOGICAL & HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Prehistoric and Early Historic Cork.

There is little evidence to suggest that Cork was the scene of much activity in prehistoric times but it is clear that the site of the future city was frequented by man on occasion. Three flat axe heads and one halberd of Early Bronze Age date (c.2000-c.1400 B.C.), have been found within the immediate environs of the city. The best-known archaeological object from Cork is undoubtedly the set of three bronze objects, known as the "Cork Horns", found in 1909 in river mud near the South Jetties, where the Lee meets the sea. The objects formed part of a cap probably made in the first century A.D. All of these are stray finds, however, and none provides evidence for settlement at Cork in the prehistoric period although the possibility should be borne in mind.

The earliest settlement at Cork was the monastery dedicated to St. Finbar or Bairre. Various dates in the sixth and early seventh century have been suggested for its foundation (MacCarthy 1943b, 4; Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 66) but the actual date is unknown. There is no reliable information on the early monastery in the Lives of Finbar and, despite local tradition, little is known of Finbar himself. Indeed O Riain (1977, 69-72; 1985, 4) has suggested that he is a replicate of Finnian of Moville, whose cult he believes was adopted by monks at Cork and given a local flavour by connecting the saint with places in the valley of the Lee. In O Riain's view the cult of Finbar, alias Finnian, was originally a widespread phenomenon also found for instance in Moville, Clonard, Cornwall and Scotland. When the monastery of Cork began to develop and acquire importance within Munster, however, the local character of the saint became more significant. This probably led to conflict with other monasteries, particularly those affiliated to the cult of Finbar and it may explain the battle in 807 between the monasteries of Cork and Clonfert which resulted in "a countless slaughter of ecclesiastical men, and of the noblest of the familia of Corcach" (AU).

Whatever Finbar's identity the monastery was evidently in existence by 682 when Suibne abbot of Cork, died (AFM; AU, A. Tig. s.a. 681). Abbots are subsequently recorded in the annals until the twelfth century, while bishops are noted from the late ninth century. The annalistic references are largely confined to brief mentions of burnings but it is

evident that by the eleventh century it was already one of the most important monasteries in Munster. Cork was plundered by the Vikings on many occasions, the first being in 821 but others are recorded in 838 and 913. The annals continue to record attacks on Cork after the foundation of the Viking settlement but it is difficult to know whether these relate to the monastery or to the Viking town. Such raids are recorded in 960 (AFM), 978 (AI), 1012 (AFM, AI, Chron. Scot.), 1089 (AFM) and 1098 (AFM). The destruction in 1081 of "both houses and churches" (AFM; AI, ALC) may refer to the plundering of both the town and the monastery. In the early eleventh century the monastery came under the control of Brian Boromha for a time but it was in the hands of the local Ua Selbhaig family for most of that century before reverting to Dal Cais domination c.1085 (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 66; Bolster 1972, 54-5). In 1118 Diarmait Ua Briain, King of Munster, died at Cork and the large territory assigned to the diocese of Cork at the synod of Rathbreasail in 1111 is probably a measure of Dal Cais influence. After Diarmait's death this area was re-divided and the diocese of Cloyne and Ross were formed. The monastery suffered during the twelfth century largely because of the power struggles between the Ui Briain of Thomond, the MacCarthaig of Desmond, and the Ui Conchobair of Connacht. After the partition of Munster in 1118, Cork appears to have come under the control of the MacCarthaig Kings of Desmond. The church was burned in 1126 (AFM; ALC) and in 1151 the monastery was pillaged by the Ui Briain (O hInnse 1947, 33). Other burnings are recorded in 1116 (AFM), twice in 1143 (AFM), and once in 1152 (O hInnse 1947, 35) but it is unclear whether these reference relate to the monastery or the town, or both.

Cork was the site of an important Hiberno-Viking town but very little is known about it either from historical or archaeological sources. The Vikings were attracted to Cork initially because of its monastery but the estuarine situation provided them with an ideal haven. The foundation date of the settlement has not been recorded but on analogy with their activities elsewhere in Ireland at this time, a date of c.845 is unlikely to be far wrong. The first reference to their presence at Cork is in 848 when Olchobar, King of Cashel, following up victories at Sciath Nechtain and Dún Maele Tuili besieged the Viking "dún" of Cork (AFM, Chron. Scot.). The Norse settlement seems to have continued, however, because in 867 the death of Gnimhbeolu, "chief of the foreigners of Cork", is recorded (AFM). The nature of this ninth century settlement, whether fortress or trading town is unknown. The entry in the Fragmentary Annals of Ireland recounting the death of Gnimhbeolu (Gnim Cinnsiolaigh) describes Cork as "purt" but this section of the annals was compiled in the mid-eleventh century and it may relate more to conditions at that time rather than in the ninth century (Radner 1978, 125). Nothing further is known of a Norse presence at Cork until the renewed phase of activity in the early tenth century and it may be that 867 marked the end of the first Viking settlement at Cork. In 914 the Norse

plundered the monastery of Cork and this was perhaps the prelude to a renewed occupation by them (AFM; Chron. Scot.). In that year a large Viking expedition arrived at Waterford and three years later Dublin was re-founded by them. It is tempting to think, as the twelfth century author of the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* would have us believe, that it was part of this fleet which plundered Cork and re-settled there (Todd 1867, 31). Unfortunately, because of the absence of documentary sources, little is known of this Viking settlement. The reference to the robbery of Cork by the fleet of the Ladgmans in 960 (AFM) is probably best interpreted as a battle between rival Viking groups. In 1088 an attempted raid on Cork by a combination of the Norse of Dublin, Wexford and Waterford, was repulsed with great slaughter by the local tribe, the *Ui Eathach Mumhan* (AFM). The relationship between the town and the monastery is unknown but it is reasonable to infer from this battle that, like the monastery, the town was also under the control of native Irish dynasties. In 1134 Cormac Mac Carthaig assembled the Gaill of Cork, among others, when preparing to proceed into Connacht (*O hInnse* 1947, 23), and Jefferies (1983, 87) has suggested that Mac Carthaig established a fort at Shandon from where he could dominate the town immediately across the river to the south. The last that is heard of Norse Cork is the account by Giraldus Cambrensis of the sea battle between a fleet of thirty-two ships from Cork, under Gilbert son of Turgesius, and a Norman fleet under Adam de Hereford (Scott and Martin 1978, 137). Although the Norse of Cork were defeated the incident is valuable in that it gives an insight on the size of the town's Viking fleet.

Medieval Cork

The beginnings of Anglo-Norman Cork may be traced to the submission of Diarmait Mac Carthaig, King of Desmond, to Henry II at Waterford in 1171 (Scott and Martin 1978, 83). Giraldus Cambrensis states that Henry placed a royal governor and officials in charge of Cork at this time, but the period 1171-77 is an obscure one in the city's history. In 1173 the city's Viking fleet attacked the Normans at Youghal and this suggests that, despite the appointment of a governor, Cork was not in Anglo-Norman control. In 1176 Diarmait Mac Carthaig was overthrown and imprisoned by his son, Cormac Liathanach, and recalling his oath of fealty to Henry II, he sought help from Raymond le Gros who assisted him and marched on Cork (Scott and Martin 1978, 165). In the following year, 1177, Henry II changed his policy towards Ireland. His ten year old son John was created Lord of Ireland and large tracts of Munster were granted to Anglo-Norman adventurers in order that his son would have the support of a series of loyal barons (Martin 1971, 69). The Kingdom of Cork (Desmond) was granted to Miles de Cogan and Robert FitzStephen, who were also to have custody of the city on behalf of the King (Orpen 1911-20, ii, 32). In the same year de Cogan and

FitzStephen took possession of the city, Giraldus states that they were "honourably received by the citizens and a knight, Richard of London, who at the time was governor of the city" (Scott and Martin 1978, 185), but the Irish annals record that they were taken to Cork, by Muirchertach Ua Briain, son of the King of Thomond, and together they besieged the city and plundered it (AI; O hInnse 1947, 63). Almost immediately, the Anglo-Normans began to colonise and expand the city, and an important series of charters, dating between 1177 and 1185, chronicle these developments (Gilbert 1889, 202, 215; Brooks 1836, 322-5, 335-8).

Henry II's action in 1177 created Cork into a royal city. It probably received a charter of incorporation (see Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 572; Otway-Ruthven 1868, 123) but the earliest surviving charter is that granted by John, as Lord of Ireland, c.1189 (MacNiocail 1964a, i, 158; O'Brien 1985, 49). This confirmed all the land of the city to the citizens of Cork, to be held according to the laws of Bristol. It did not enumerate the city's privileges however, and throughout the Middle Ages, it was Cork's second charter of 1242 which was regarded as the basic charter of liberties (O'Brien 1985, 50). This charter was confirmed and elaborated upon on many subsequent occasions (O'Brien 1985, 50-61).

The government of the city was at first placed in the hands of custodians appointed directly by the crown. Miles de Cogan and Robert FitzStephen were its first custodians and Giraldus Cambrensis states that Raymond le Gros succeeded them after relieving Cork from an Irish siege in 1182. Otherwise, however, nothing is known about the government of Cork during the first 30-40 years of the Anglo-Norman invasion. A reference to the sheriff in Cork in 1211 (AI; O hInnse 1947-89) probably refers to Thomas Bluet, sheriff of Waterford, and husband of Miles de Cogan's heiress, Margarita, who in 1211-12 accounted for monies spent on the walls of Cork (Davies and Quinn 1941, 49). Subsequent royal governors included Thomas FitzAnthony, appointed in 1215 (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 576), Henry of London, archbishop of Dublin, in 1223 (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 1060), and Peter de Rivall in 1232 (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 1972, 1976; Orpen 1911-20, iii, 178-9). De Rivall dismissed in 1234 (Orpen 1911-20, iii, 182), is the last recorded royal governor but the beginnings of municipal government is still unclear. Henry III's charter of 1242 contains an apparent reference to the provost of the city (translated as "mayor" by O'Sullivan (1937, 284) but it is not certain if it indicates the existence of a municipal authority or not. The earliest undoubted evidence is in 1281 when the payment of a fine by the "mayor and commonality of Cork" is recorded (Sweetman 1875-86, ii, p. 382). O'Sullivan suggests that the municipal community of Cork was not fully established before c. 1250.

Cork's wealth in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was based upon its position as the principal port of south-west Ireland (Graham 1977, 41). The custom returns of

Irish ports in the period 1276 to 1333 indicate that Cork was the third most important port of Ireland, after New Ross and Waterford, and it accounted for 17% of all Irish trade (Graham 1877, 39-41). The principal exports were agricultural produce from the Cork hinterland: hides, skins, wool, grain, and beef (O'Sullivan 1937, 38-9). The principal imports were wine, cloth and spices. Trade was conducted primarily with England and Scotland, through the ports of Bristol and Carlisle, and also with France. O'Sullivan (1937, 40) also suggested that most of this trade was conducted by foreign merchants, such as Frescobaldi and Riccardi of Lucca, rather than by the citizens of Cork themselves. The existence of a strong seafaring tradition among the citizens cannot be doubted, however. In 1242 and 1300, for instance, the citizens of Cork were commanded to send ships to aid the King in his military expeditions against Wales and Scotland (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 2532; iv, No. 777).

From about the middle of the fourteenth century this picture of commercial prosperity and wealth begins to decline. Cork appears increasingly as an exposed and embattled outpost in a hostile environment dominated by the resurgent Irish and gaelicised Anglo-Normans. Trade becomes less a profitable commercial venture than a lifeline preserving the city's existence. Contemporary records frequently request remission of the fee farm and other dues because the city was no longer able to pay. The Black Death of 1349 may have been a major factor in Cork's decline because it is immediately afterwards that the first references to serious difficulties occur. The plague had a severe effect. In 1351 the jurors of an inquisition recorded that "in the time of the said pestilence the greater part of the citizens of Cork and other faithful men of the King dwelling there went the way of all flesh" (Otway-Ruthven 1968, 288). In the same year Edward III postponed the payment of the fee farm of the city because the citizens had pleaded inability to pay as a result of the pestilence and attacks by the native Irish (Isaacson 1907, 117-8). In 1354 the King remitted all arrears of the fee farm and halved the amount to be paid for the succeeding five years. In addition to the effects of the "late pestilence" and wars, Cork's impoverishment at this time was also attributed to the fact that one fourth of the city had lately been burned by accident (Isaacson 1909, 87). A further allowance on arrears was granted in 1355-6 because of the city's impoverishment through fires, disease and the cost of defending itself against the enemy but also on account of the city's service in the war against Diarmait Og Mac Carthaig, Lord of Muscraige, in 1352 when the city sent 172 men in the company of the justiciar, Sir Thomas de Rokeby (Tresham 1828, 63: No. 129).

Further remissions of the fee farm were granted in 1376 (Dawes 1916, 309), 1380 (Tresham 1828, 109: No. 78) and 1382 (Tresham 1828, 116: No. 24). In 1376, moreover, it was recorded that the suburbs of Cork had been burned "by an

assault of certain Irish enemies and English rebels" within the previous two years (Dawes 1916, 207). There are indications about this time that the city's food supply was becoming a matter for serious concern. In 1386 and 1387 Richard II granted licences to a number of merchants to buy grain and ship it to Cork because of the barrenness of the countryside surrounding the city (Tresham 1828, 136: Nos. 185, 186, 188, 197). In 1388 the mayor and bailiffs were empowered to command all those who held lands or goods in the city to live there and defend them, and not to leave the city without royal licence to do so (Bird 1921, 521-22). In 1389, however, the King gave the citizens licence to leave the city in order to buy grain to support themselves (Tresham 1828, 142: No. 244). In the same year legislation was passed to protect shipping bringing grain to Cork (Ir. Rec. Comm. 1829, 87), and in 1390 the King granted the citizens of Cork licence to buy grain in any Irish port (Tresham 1828, 146: No. 217). In 1393, John of Desmond, brother of the earl of Desmond, was authorised to provide protection for the hawkers and carriers of victuals and corn from the county of Limerick to the city of Cork (along with Youghal and Limerick), where the inhabitants were unable to support themselves because of the destruction of the neighbouring countryside (Graves 1877, 120-22). In 1400 the King pardoned the mayor and citizens of Cork of ameracements amounting to £200 and four years farm of the city, in order to encourage them to resist the King's enemies, for the safety of the city (Fowler 1903, 400). When a further remission of fee farm and ameracements was granted in 1423, it was recorded that Cork had "for some years past been almost continuously beset by Irish rebels, so that none could go in or out without paying tribute to said rebels" (Hughes 1901, 105-6). In 1450 the Irish parliament passed an act to protect the merchants of Cork, Waterford and other places coming to Dublin, Drogheda and Malahide to buy corn and once again it was noted that because of attacks by "Irish enemies and English rebels", the lands around these cities could not be tilled, resulting in food shortages (Berry 1910, 171, 237-9). In 1462, Edward IV noted that Cork had eleven parish churches attached to the city and suburbs stretching apparently for one mile on either side, i.e. north and south, but that these had been "wasted and destroyed by the rebels for the past fifty years" (Fowler 1897, 214). This would appear to be an accurate summary of the difficulties experienced by Cork since the mid-fourteenth century.

The latest recorded legislation relating to the difficulties experienced by Cork at this period is a licence granted to the citizens in 1463 to buy and sell merchandise to and from Irishmen (Berry 1914, 139-41). This had previously been prohibited but it was recognised that the citizens could not survive without such trade. There are no further records of the cancellation or remission of dues owed to the crown by the city but as O'Sullivan (1937, 51) points out, this is much more likely to indicate that such dues were no longer being paid rather than that no difficulty in payment was being experienced. Towards the end of the

fifteenth century Cork became deeply involved in the cause of the Yorkist pretender, Perkin Warbeck, who landed at Cork on both of his Irish visits, in 1491 and 1497. There is a tradition that Cork was disenfranchised as a result of its support for Warbeck but there is no documentary evidence to support it (O'Sullivan 1937, 59). A possible indication that the normal municipal functions of the city were interrupted at this time comes in the appointment by Henry VII in 1499 of Maurice Roche, William Tirry, Edward Collys and Edward FitzDane Tirry, citizens of Cork, as receivers and collectors of custom in the port, of the profits of the fee farm and land-gavel and all other dues of the King, and to supervise and govern the city (Tresham 1828, 272: No. 13).

Post-Medieval Cork.

For most of the sixteenth century there is little evidence that conditions in Cork were substantially different from those of the preceding century. O'Sullivan (1937, 83-4, 80) has demonstrated that trade with southern England, mainly with Bristol but also with Plymouth, Exeter, Barnstaple and Weymouth, and with France and Spain continued and may have improved. Hides, beef, wood, fish, wool and linen were the main exports while wine, metals, cloths, provisions and grain were the main imports. The city continued to experience difficulties, however. O'Sullivan (1937, 78 and N. 40) has noted the continuing sixteenth century evidence that corn was imported to feed the citizens. The city was also prey to attack. In 1568/9, James Fitzmaurice, Earl of Clancare, besieged Cork (O Laidhin 1962, 117), and the mayor appealed to the Lord Deputy for help. In 1579 the city paid coyne and livery to Mac Carthaig, Lord of Musketry (Brewer and Bullen 1868, 206). In 1580, during the Desmond rebellion, Sir Warham St. Leger reported from Cork that "no messenger can depart half a quarter of a mile out of the town without danger of his life" (Hamilton 1867, 206). In 1582 Cork was affected by plague and famine probably as a result of the Desmond revolt and it was reported that "72, 66 and 62 die in a day in Cork, which is but one street not half a quarter of a mile in length" (Hamilton 1867, 361). In 1599 Hugh O'Neill passed "within musket shotte" of Cork (Wood 1933, 175) and although no direct damage was inflicted on the city, the effects of the war with O'Neill and O'Donnell, as outlined in 1600 by Edmond Tirry, agent for the city of Cork, were disastrous: "the said citizens are brought to extreme poverty, having lost all their cattle, rents, debts and profits of their lands in the country and now driven to live hard upon what they have within circuit of the walls of that city and their poor trade, bearing other great charges for advancement of Her Majesty's service" (Atkinson 1903, 234).

By the end of the sixteenth century, Cork does not appear to have expanded significantly beyond its medieval extent in terms of either size or population. Indeed it is likely that

suburban development had not yet recovered to the level reached in the late thirteenth/early fourteenth centuries (Carberry 1943, 68 and N.6). Cullen (1976, 390) estimates the population of Cork in 1600 as around 2400, smaller than that of Dublin, Galway and Limerick. The estimate ties in well with a report submitted to Sir George Carew in 1601 to the effect that the city of Cork could muster 1000 well armed townsmen (Mahaffy 1912, 91), and tends to support O'Sullivan's (1937, 85) suggestion that the figure of 800 given by the Jesuit, David Wolf, in 1574 refers to the male population of Cork rather than to the total population (Rigg 1926, 159). It is interesting to note, however, that according to Wolf's figures, Cork's population was smaller than that of Waterford and Limerick.

The opening years of the seventeenth century saw a minor crisis when, on the accession of James I, the citizens of Cork refused to proclaim the new King (O'Sullivan 1937, 86 and N. 2; Clarke 1976, 189) and destroyed the recently built Elizabeth Fort. O'Sullivan (1937, 86) suggests that this was used by the crown as an opportunity to limit what they saw as the excessive autonomy enjoyed by Cork and the other major towns, resulting in the granting of new charters. Cork received its charter in 1609 (Erck 1846-52, ii, 622-9) and although it granted a number of privileges requested by the citizens of Cork in 1585 (Mahaffy 1912, 593-4) and 1600 (Atkinson 1903, 234), it restricted the autonomy of the municipal authorities to a certain extent. A new charter was granted by Charles I in 1631 (Charters and By-laws 1813, 81-111; O'Sullivan 1937, 302). The opening decades of the seventeenth century saw a gradual recovery in Cork from the depressed conditions pertaining at the end of the Nine Years' War. O'Sullivan (1937, 101) suggests that a modest revival in trade took place. In 1610-11 the value of Cork's export trade was placed at £20,000 per annum, which was considerably less than that of Dublin and Waterford but equivalent to that of Drogheda and Limerick. O'Sullivan (1937, 102-6) also suggests that "small beginnings" were made in the trade of cattle, provisions and butter to Britain and the continent. Within the city, evidence for local trades and industries is scarce but by 1641 there is evidence for a brewing industry, milling, and tanning, while two forges and a fulling mill are also mentioned (O'Sullivan 1937, 99-100). In 1622 there was a disastrous fire "wherein near 1500 houses in the City and suburbs were consumed, and the whole city put in extremity of danger to be totally burned" (Caulfield 1876, 102, xxi-xxii).

The period from 1640 to 1660 was again one of extensive disruption in Cork. In 1642 Sir William St. Leger, Lord President of Munster. Noted that the city was being subjected to a "loose siege" by Viscount Muskerry, Lord Roche, O'Sullivan Beare and ten to twelve thousand men under Col. Garrett Barry (Hogan 1936, 15). Cork, however, was one of the few Munster towns which remained in government hands (Corish 1976, 295). In July 1644 the royalist commander in Munster, Lord Inchiquin, switched allegiance to the parliamentary

cause (Corish 1976, 309) and a few days later expelled practically all of the inhabitants of Cork city replacing them with English protestants from the suburbs and elsewhere (Murphy 1964, 128; Gilbert 1882-91, iii, 224-30, 237-40; O'Sullivan 1937, 108-9). Some citizens were restored to their properties in 1648-9 (Murphy 1964, 139; Mahaffy 1905, 23) but were shortly afterwards expelled again when the English garrison in Cork revolted and declared for Cromwell (Murphy 1883, 197-206; 243-4). Cromwell himself spent Christmas of 1649 at Cork (Murphy 1883, 243-69) and in 1656 the new Cromwellian settlers received a charter from Cromwell (Caulfield 1876, xii; O'Sullivan 1937, 92; Mahaffy 1905, 25). A census of the city of Cork in 1659 gave the population as 2403, of whom 1048 were English and 1355 were Irish. After the Restoration the original citizens made efforts to regain their properties and in 1660 Charles II actually decreed that they be restored to their lands and corporate privileges (Mahaffy 1905, 23-5). No general restoration of the inhabitants took place, however, and in 1669 the old inhabitants were still seeking the restoration of their lands (O'Sullivan 1937, 112; Murphy 1964, 123; Mahaffy 1910, 647-8).

From about the time of the Restoration onwards Cork witnessed a rapid economic improvement, based largely on the overseas provisions trade (O'Sullivan 1937, 122-21). Returns of customs and excise duties for both 1664 and 1668 indicate that Cork was now the second port of Ireland, after Dublin (O'Sullivan 1937, 308). Both Simms (1976, 452) and Andrews (1976, 474) estimate the population of Cork around 1675-85 at about 20,000. In the aftermath of the "Glorious Revolution", Cork sided with the Jacobites and was besieged in 1690 by a Williamite army under the command of the Earl of Marlborough. After capturing the Cat Fort and other outposts around the town, the Williamites bombarded both the city walls and Elizabeth Fort for three days, at the end of which a large breach was made in the south-east sector of the city walls, whereupon the city surrendered (Simms 1969-70; Caulfield 1876, xxvi-xxvii; Gillman 1892, 137-8). Buildings within the city were considerably damaged by this bombardment and the northern and southern suburbs were burned by the governor of Cork in advance of the Williamite assault (Lunham 1909, 89 N. 37).

THE TOPOGRAPHICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CORK

Practically nothing is known of the physical appearance of the early monastery dedicated to St. Finbar and even its precise location has not been satisfactorily determined. McCarthy (1943, 4) and O'Sullivan (1943, 15) suggest that the later "Gill Abbey", built upon the site of "St. Finbar's Cave" occupied the site. It is far more likely, however, that

the present cathedral of St. Finbar, successor of the medieval building, occupies the site. Romanesque fragments preserved in the chapter house suggest a pre-Norman church on the site and Archdall (1873, i, 114) noted a description of 1644 recording "an old tower, ten to twelve feet in circumference and more than one hundred feet high, which they firmly hold to have been build by St. Barre" at St. Finbar's cathedral. This tower is shown on many early maps a short distance east of the cathedral and was almost certainly a round tower. The presence of a cave suggests that, like Glendalough, the monastery may have been eremitical in origin and moved eastwards later to more open ground where there was room to build. By the twelfth century one has the impression of a string of churches along the south bank of the Lee the Augustinian's at "Gill Abbey", St. Finbar's cathedral, St. Brigid's church, St. Michael's, St. Mary del Nard, and probably the church of the Holy Sepulchre (later St. Nicholas'), while on the north side of the Lee was St. Nessian's church. By this time, of course, the Viking settlement was well established and there are indications of a suburb on the south bank of the river also.

The precise location and extent of the Viking town cannot be determined from historical sources but there can be little doubt about its general area. Brooks (1936, 336-8), Jefferies (1985, 17-21) and Candon (1985, 93-5) have discussed a number of early charters which contain important topographical information about the pre-Norman town. One grant is particularly significant, that which specifies a plot of land bounded firstly, by the curtilages of the burgesses of Cork, secondly, the "the cross of Cameleire upon the water", thirdly, by a "little harbour", and fourthly, by "the way which leads up to the church of St. Sepulchre and the great water". The church of St. Sepulchre stood on the site of the modern church of St. Nicholas and the road leading towards it and on to the "great water" (i.e. the River Lee) may be identified with the modern Douglas Street (or perhaps Cove Street, see Jefferies 1985, 19). The "little harbour" was located near Parliament Bridge, between Sullivan's Quay and Cove Street. The plot of land apparently lay to the west of the harbour, north of Douglas Street, and east of the burgesses curtilages which were probably located on the east side of Barrack Street. This grant indicates that part of the Norse town occupied the area immediately south of South Gate Bridge. The extent of the settlement is unknown, however, and it is unclear whether it was confined to houses flanking Barrack Street or if it extended westwards to Keyser's Lane, as Jefferies (1985, 20) suggests. The large number of pre-Norman churches in this area supports the theory of a populated settlement on the south bank of the Lee at this time: St. Finbar's, St. Michael's and St. Mary del Nard on the west of the settlement, the church of the Holy Sepulchre on the east, and, probably, St. Brigid's on the south. In the Later Middle Ages this area was known as the "Fayth", a name derived from "faithche", which is first mentioned in the twelfth century Aislinge Meic Conglinne. Although usually

translated as "green" this was an area of peace in front of a dwelling, church or town (Doherty 1980, 83). At Dublin, for instance, the faithche lay outside the walls, to the west, and was the place where the margad or oenach was held (Doherty, 1980, 83). It probably had a similar function in Cork. Indeed its existence raises the possibility that the settlement on the south bank of the Lee was on land belonging to the church and was perhaps a lay suburb associated with the monastery. It is worth recalling that in the Anglo-Norman period this area fell within the borough of Faythe and not within the borough of Cork.

The presence of the bridge, first referred to in 1163 as a "droichet" (AFM, A. Tig.), suggests that settlement at Cork was not confined to the south bank. There is no clear-cut archaeological or historical evidence that the south island was settled but two factors suggest that it was the nucleus of Viking Cork. Firstly, it was clearly regarded as the core of the city from the earliest Anglo-Norman occupation (Candon 1985, 95-6). Secondly, the parish church of the south island was dedicated to the Holy Trinity (Christchurch), a dedication that is also found in the Viking towns of Dublin and Waterford. To date, five archaeological excavations have been conducted on the south island and in each case Viking period deposits have been absent. This may be the result of differential survival, however, rather than because the area was not part of the Viking settlement. Most of the excavations have concentrated on the town wall, at the edge of the settlement, on ground which may not have been incorporated within the town until the thirteenth century. The excavations at Holy Trinity College alone examined the street frontage where diagnostic Viking period evidence is most likely to survive. No pre-Norman evidence was discovered here but this does not necessarily mean that it might not survive elsewhere. It is to be expected that the Anglo-Normans caused considerable disturbance to Viking period archaeological deposits. The south island consisted of marshy ground and firm foundations were needed for structures such as Holy Trinity College and Skiddy's Castle, whose construction cleared away all earlier deposits and replaced them with a foundation of wooden piles driven firmly into the mud. It is only when further excavations have been conducted along the frontages of South Main Street, and the evidence from Holy Trinity College tested, that the presence or absence of pre-Norman settlement on the south island will be conclusively demonstrated.

The medieval city was built on two islands in the marshy estuary of the river Lee. The southern island was the older of these settlements because the northern island, known as Dungarvan, was regarded as a suburb. There is evidence to suggest that the south island was enclosed by 1182, and almost certainly before the coming of the Normans. Dungarvan (the north island) was walled by 1299. By 1190 the islands were linked to each other, and to the north and south banks of the Lee, by bridges. The presence of these bridges

indicates that an axial route, that main street of medieval Cork (now North and South Main Streets), had come into existence. A royal castle was built in 1206 and it and its successors guarded the city for the most of the medieval period. In the Later Middle Ages Cork was isolated in an area in which Anglo-Norman settlement was restricted. Defence, and especially the maintenance of the walls, was a constant concern, as frequent murage grants testify.

The number of religious foundations established in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries is a measure of the wealth and urban development of Cork at this time. A house of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem was in existence by 1182; a Benedictine priory was established by c.1191, while the parish church of St. Peter was functioning by 1199. The city had three friaries. The Dominican friary was founded in 1229 on an island west of the town, the Franciscan friary was established c.1229-30 at Shandon, and the Augustinian friary (Red Abbey) in the late thirteenth century near Douglas Street. The hospital priory of St. Stephen was founded by 1277, and a nunnery dedicated to St. John the Baptist c.1297. The church of St. Mary in Shandon was in existence by 1302, and a number of other churches including those dedicated to St. Philip, St. John, and St. Laurence are also recorded about this time. Many of the pre-Norman churches were refurbished and others rededicated: the cathedral of St. Finbar remained as the principal church of the diocese. The Augustinian Abbey of St. John the Evangelist ("Gill Abbey"), continued to function until the Dissolution. The parish churches of Holy Trinity and St. Brigid were continued in use, while St. Nessan's was rededicated to St. Catherine, St. Mary del Nard to the Holy Rood, and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to St. Nicholas. These foundations and rededications show that the Anglo-Normans adapted the pre-Norman churches of Cork as it suited them but they also show that by the early fourteenth century Cork had expanded to include substantial suburbs on the north and south banks of the Lee.

These suburbs appear to have declined during the fifteenth century and in the sixteenth the city seems to have occupied little more than the extent delimited by its medieval walls. It was not until after the Restoration in 1660 that the city began to expand again. Phillip's map of 1685 shows extensive suburbs on the north and south of the walled city, with clearly laid out streets and property boundaries. Building was also beginning to take place on the marshes east of the city at this time (Carberry 1943, 72).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVENTORY

1. STREETS AND STREET PATTERN
2. BURGAGE PLOTS AND PROPERTY BOUNDARIES
3. DOMESTIC HOUSES
ROCHE'S CASTLE
SKIDDY'S CASTLE
OTHER SURVIVING REMAINS
4. MARKET PLACES
5. QUAYS
6. INDUSTRIAL AREAS
7. BRIDGES
8. THE CASTLE
9. ELIZABETH FORT
10. CAT FORT
11. TOWN DEFENCES
12. ST. FINBAR'S CATHEDRAL
13. HOLY TRINITY PARISH CHURCH (CHRIST CHURCH)
14. HOLY TRINITY CHANTRY COLLEGE
15. ST. BRIGID'S PARISH CHURCH
16. ST. CATHERINE'S PARISH CHURCH
17. ST. JOHN'S IN CIVITATE
18. ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, SHANDON
19. ST. LAURENCE'S PARISH CHURCH
20. ST. MARY DEL NARD
21. ST. MARY'S CHURCH, SHANDON
22. ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH
23. ST. NESSAN'S CHURCH
24. ST. NICHOLAS' (HOLY SEPULCHRE) PARISH CHURCH
25. ST PETER'S PARISH CHURCH
26. ST. PHILIP'S CHURCH
27. AUGUSTINIAN PRIORY OF ST. JOHN TH EVANGELIST (GILL ABBEY)
28. AUGUSTINIAN FRIARY (RED ABBEY)
29. BENEDICTINE PRIORY OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST
30. DOMINICAN PRIORY OF ST. MARY
31. FRANCISCAN FRIARY
32. KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS' HOUSE OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST
33. NUNNERY OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST
34. ST. STEPHEN'S LEPER HOSPITAL
35. ST. MARY MAGDALEN'S LEPER HOSPITAL
36. LEPER HOUSE
37. FRANKHOUSE
38. THE SUBURB OF SHANDON
SHANDON CASTLE
39. SUBURB OF FAYTH
40. OTHER SUBURBS
41. OTHER FEATURES
42. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS
43. LIST OF STRAY FINDS

1. STREETS AND STREET PATTERN

The street pattern of medieval Cork was essentially linear based on the north-south axis of Main Street, and having lanes running at right angles giving access to individual properties and to the town wall. In the suburbs the street pattern seems to have followed the line of the existing route ways but it is difficult to be certain whether streets such as Douglas Street actually follow the medieval route or not.

2. BURGAGE PLOTS AND PROPERTY BOUNDARIES

Within the walled city, the burgage plots were probably long narrow strips extending at right angles from the main street to the walls. No contemporary information on the size of these plots is known but there are several fifteenth and sixteenth century references to messuages extending from the main street to the city walls (e.g. Caulfield 1858, 111-13, 116-18, 120).

Excavations at the College of the Holy Trinity, on South Main Street, found that the property units were long narrow strips of ground about 20 to 25 feet in width extending from the Main Street to the town wall. These plots were delimited by post and wattle fences which were later replaced by stone walls. The remains of a probable property boundary was found in the excavations at Grand Parade (Hurley and Power 1981)

3. DOMESTIC HOUSES

Virtually nothing is known of the form of Cork's housing during the medieval period. Part of a landgable roll survives listing the presence of 162 houses in the mid-fifteenth century *Mac Niocaill 1964, 589-95) but, unfortunately, it does not indicate their exact position. The roll is incomplete, however, but the number indicates that late medieval Cork was densely built up. The Survey of 1663-4 enumerates over 350 properties providing many details of their size and construction (Simington 1942, 397-497). Their location, however, is generally given merely by street and is not exact enough for archaeological purposes. It is clear, however, that the seventeenth century town was also densely built-up.

Stone houses were present from at least the fourteenth century but it is not known how common they were. Clear references to stone houses occur in 1306, when John de Wynchedon bequeathed to his sons two stone houses near Holy Trinity Church (O'Sullivan 1956, 79), and 1314-15, when a stone house belonging to Nicholas de la Wythye was taken over by the crown to be used as a prison (39 Re. Deputy Keeper

Public Records Ireland, 51, 71; Tresham 1828, 22: No. 70). The "great stone house", formerly belonging to Walter Reych is referred to in 1442 (Caulfield 1858, 113), and the building known as Skiddy's Castle was constructed around this time. It is likely that many of these buildings were fortified stone houses similar to those which survive in Ardee and Carlingford. An account of 1620 described domestic housing in Cork as "of stone, and built after the Irish forme, which is Castlewise, and with narrow windows, more for strength than for beauty, but they begin to beautify it in better forme" (Buckley 1916, 12).

Fynes Morrison in 1617 contrasted the houses of Cork which were of "unwrought free stone or flint or unpolished stones, built some two stories high and covered with tile", with the timber houses of Dublin and Waterford (Butlin 1976, 161). But this appears to be an over-simplification. A tract of 1622 reproduced by Gibson (1961, ii, 307) noted that Cork had many houses built of stone and covered with slate but that the majority were built of timber or mud-wall, with thatched roofs. In 1622, also, the corporation of Cork ordered the removal of thatched roofs from all houses within the city walls following a disastrous fire in which "near 1500 houses in the City and Suburbs were consumed" (Caulfield 1976, xxi-xxii, 102). A survey and valuation of the city carried out c.1663-4 provides some detailed information on housing at this date (Simington 1942, 397-497). The majority of the houses are slated and were apparently stone-built but there are a number of references to "cage-built" houses (Simington 1942, 419, 432-33, 443, cf. 413 "built Lattice from the ground") indicating the presence of timber-framed houses. A number of three-storied houses, both stone-built and timber-framed, are mentioned (Simington 1942, 419). There are few references to cabins or mud-walled huts within the city walls and virtually all of them occur in Back Lane, just inside the north-west corner of the walls (Simington 1942, 442). By contrast such structures are much more frequently mentioned in accounts of the north and south suburbs (Simington 1942, 453-5, 467-8).

The excavations at Holy Trinity College, South Main Street, uncovered the remains of timber-framed and post-and-wattle houses on the street frontage. These had floors consisting of brushwood, wickerwork matting, or spreads of gravel and were dated to the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. To the rear of these were a variety of lean-to and free-standing sheds, and behind these again was an open area which may have been partially cultivated, although excavation results suggested that it was used primarily as a rubbish dump. From the early fourteenth century the timber houses were gradually replaced by stone-built houses with slate or stone tiled roofs and stone flags, cobbles or timber flooring. At St. Peter's Market excavations by M. F. Hurley uncovered the remains of two houses constructed in the late thirteenth/early fourteenth

centuries. The earlier had a floor of limestone flags while the later was a simple structure with mud walls.

INDIVIDUAL HOUSES OF NOTE

"Paradise" Castle

The earliest reference to this building occurs in 1442 when the mayor and commonality of Cork gave Edmund Tyrry a messuage in Dungarvan (the north island), near the middle bridge, called "Paradise" (Caulfield 1858, 113). This is almost certainly the "small castle called the Parentiz" bequeathed by Edward Roche to his son Morris in 1626 (Caulfield 1858, 113 N.2), and can probably be identified with the "Corner front house or Castle 3 storie high joyneing to ye Key" listed in the survey and valuation of Cork, 1663-4 (Simington 1942, 421). It was then held by Christopher Cappock but it was noted that in 1641 it had been claimed by the Corporation and by "ffra [Francis] Roch". It was apparently restored to Roche and in 1678 his son, Edward Roche of Trabolgan, leased "the small castle called Paradise" to the mayor of Cork, Timothy Tuckey, for 61 years (Caulfield 1858, 113 N.2; MacCarthy 1981). Caulfield also states that the lease was purchased by the Corporation in 1702 and that the Exchange was built on the site of this castle in 1708.

The location of this building for which Coleman (1914, 163) notes the alternative name "Golden Castle", is established by the 1678 lease which notes that it stood to the east of the middle bridge of the city, to the north of the "Key" (i.e. the watercourse between the two islands) and to the south of "the way leading to such Key" (? the modern Castle Street) (MacCarthy 1981). It thus stood on or near the corner of Castle Street and North Main Street. In 1678 its dimensions were given as 22.5 feet (c.6.85 m) east-west and 15 feet (c.4.6 m) north-south (MacCarthy 1981) and these details are confirmed in the survey of 1663-4 (Simington 1942, 421). The *Pacata Hibernia* (c. 1585-1600) and Hardiman Coll. (c. 1601) maps both a form of fortified town house at the north end of the middle bridge which clearly represents this castle.

Roche's Castle

This structure, located in Castle Street, is said to have been built by Edward Roche, a Cork merchant, and is first mentioned in his will of 1625 (Coleman 1914, 162). It was called the Parentiz and gave its name to Paradise Place. It is possibly to be identified with the "corner front house or castle" owned by Christopher Cappock in 1663-4 (Simington 1942, 421).

Skiddy's Castle

This building is said to have been built in 1445 by John Skiddy, bailiff and later mayor of Cork (Lunham 1908, 81) and may be the castle of John Skiddy mentioned in the fifteenth century land gable roll of Cork (MacNiocaill 1964a, ii, 594). It was known as "Skiddy's Castle" at least as early as 1575 (Lunham 1908, 81) and is perhaps the same as "Richard Skiddy's castle" mentioned in 1520 (Candon 1985, 98). During the late sixteenth century and the early years of the seventeenth it was owned at different times by members of the Skiddy and Tirry family (Candon 1985, 98). Subsequently, it appears to have passed to the crown, and was used as a magazine for much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1603 munitions were stored there (Russell and Prendergast 1872, 43, 121) while Phillip's map of 1685 shows the building labelled as "the King's storehouse". Skiddy's Castle is referred to as a magazine for the crown in 1734 and 1774 (Caulfield 1876, 536, 893) but it was demolished shortly after 1770, according to Lunham (1908, 82). A contemporary document quoted by Lunham noted that it had an "arched top", perhaps meaning that it had a barrel vault. The house was clearly a dominant feature of the town and is shown on a number of maps, including the Pacata Hibernia map of 1633.

Excavation on the site in 1974 discovered that the house survived to first floor level and had been built upon a floating foundation formed of an oak raft held in position by vertical timbers driven into the underlying peat (Twohig 1974). It had external dimensions of 12.8 by 10m and was 8.4 by 5.6m internally.

Mantle-piece. 1597. (Pl. 4).

Built into No. 13 North Main St. (Elmes Providers) above the 3rd floor window. Said to have come from Skiddy's Castle. Composed of four pieces of stone. The centre section is decorated with a crescentic arch in high relief over two large stylised ivy leaves in low false relief. The leaf stems form a knot pattern. The left stem ends in an acanthus leaf or trefoil. The side sections also have rope moulding and an acanthus leaf. The lower long panel has the letters 'N G 1597 G S' surrounded by rope mouldings, quatrefoils, roses and triquetras.

SURVIVING REMAINS

It is generally accepted that no pre-1700 domestic buildings survive in the city but it is quite possible that a

number of buildings in the lanes off North and South Main Street have seventeenth century cores. Many of the walls along these medieval lanes are built of roughly coursed blocks of mixed stone and sometimes it is possible to distinguish where later windows and chimneys have been inserted.

Although no complete buildings are present fragments of doors and windows survive, or have been recorded, which provide an indication of the form of Cork's late medieval houses.

Decorated stone. 1590.

Supposed to have come from Shandon Abbey (O'Leary 1931, 67) but the presence of initials suggest that it is from a private house. Now built into a wall near the kitchen of the North Monastery and because it is plastered over it cannot be seen. Illustrated by O'Leary it is decorated with a twisted rope, a rose and a design of acorn stems and oak leaves. It has the inscription [G]LORIA 1590 I.M.

Dims: 80 by 30 cm.

JCHAS 3 (1894), 33.

Mantle-piece. 1586 (pl. 5).

Limestone. On the ground in a lane at the rear of the Franciscan Church off North Main St. Said to have come from a house on the corner of Liberty St. and Cross St. According to O'Leary (1931, 26-27) it was believed to have come from St. Peter's. The lower right hand side is damaged but otherwise it is in very good condition. Decorated in false relief with four inscribed panels surrounding an IHS within a glory. The lettering is in Gothic with Lombardic capitals. On either side of the main inscription are the letters I S and A W (the latter is incomplete) in Roman capitals:

MADE AT CORCKE I ANNO DNI 1586 XX111 JUNE/ THY SagRED N/
AME O LORDE/ ENGRAVE WIT/ HIN MY BREST/ SITH THEIRIN D/
OTH CONSIST/ MY WEAL AN/ D ONELIE REST

Dims: H.39 W. 88-63 T.16cm

Windele 1910, 27.

Window head. Late 16th-Early 17th cent. (Pl. 7).

Built into the wall of Irish Distillers Ltd. On Wise's Hill. At Sunday's Well Road is the upper part of a twin light ogee-headed window with the letters 'S B' and 'M G' in the spandrels. The stone is supposed to have come from the Franciscan Friary but the sets of initials indicate that it is more likely to have come from a private house. O'Leary (1931, 68) says that it marks the site of the Tober Brannaig.

Dims. H.28 W70 (est)

Mantle-piece. 1602.

Reused in the boardroom of Beamish and Crawford's Brewery, South Main Street. In three sections. The two outer panels

are decorated in relief with floral designs and rope mouldings while the centre panel has the date and Roman inscription in low false relief '1602 / W M C R'.

Dims: H. 39 overall W. 132

Lintel. 1602.

Lying on the ground at the west end of St. Nicholas' graveyard is a fragment of a narrow rectangular stone possibly the lintel of a fireplace or a door/window. One side has a shallow recessed panel with a Tudor rose, a fleur-de-lis and the initials W.M. 160[2 C.R.] above a chamfered surface. The missing letters are supplied from O'Leary (1931, 53-4). This lintel and the 1602 mantle-piece probably belonged to the same building.

Dims: L.106 W.25 D.20

Armorial plaque. 1606.

Set into the wall of the Raven Public House, No. 100 South Main St. Grey-green plaque decorated in low relief with a heater shaped shield. The top of the shield is engrailed and it is divided horizontally in three bands. The upper band has three starfish, the middle has three birds and the lower three flowers. The letters IHS are carved above the shield and the right by a rose and the letters 'C F'.

Dims: H.60 W.40 (est)

O'Leary 1931, 114

Central spandrel of a twin-light window. 16th-17th cents.

Removed from a wall at the rear of Nos. 2-4 North Main Street. Now on Kyrl's Quay. A jamb is also present.

JCHAS 2 (1893), 221.

Two heraldic shields. Cork Public Museum. (Pl. 35)

Both are rectangular limestone blocks with heater-shaped shields in relief. They were removed from Lyons & Co., South Main Street, where they were had been used as building stones and were turned into the wall.

1. The shield displays three fishes with three ovals above.

Dims. H. 65 W. 58 T. 28cm

2. The shield displays a large IHS in false relief. The H terminates in a fleur-de-lis.

Dims. H. 70 W. 55 T. 27cm

Missing monuments

Window

O'Leary (1931, 89) recorded a triple window in the front wall of the Queen's Old Castle but it is now missing.

Wooden mantel-piece

O'Leary (1931, 72) records that an oaken chimney piece five feet long, and decorated with figures and arches, was then in the possession of George Martin. Its present whereabouts is unknown.

Windele 1910, 55.

Date stone. 1580.

In 1931 there was a stone inscribed ANNO DOMINI 1580, flanked by two Tudor roses, in Beamish and Crawford's Brewery.

Windele 1910, 53; O'Leary 1931, 54.

Date stone. 1601.

Windele (1910, 24) states that this stone survived in Mr. Pike's house at Hoare Lane.

Armorial stone. 1602.

O'Leary mentions a stone bearing the Skiddy arms, a chevron between three stirrups. Beneath it was an inscription and the date 1602. It was in Holy Trinity church and after the buildings restoration it was placed in the graveyard. It may have come from a domestic house.

Decorated stones

O'Leary (1931, 53-4) recorded two stones in Beamish and Crawford's Brewery which cannot now be seen because the walls have been pebble dashed. They are alleged to have come from St. Laurence's church but it is quite likely that they were removed from a domestic house.

1. Stone ornamented with a geometrical design bordered by a rope moulding. It measured 9" by 18.5" and was in the eastern wall of the brewery leading south to the empty-cask yard.

2. A similarly decorated stone in the north-eastern wall of the yard. It measured 21" by 6.75".

Window head.

Egan (1977, 80-1) mentions that a n ogee-headed window was found in the demolition of the old friary at Liberty Street. It bore the initials I W and A S.

4. MARKET PLACES

There are no direct references to a market place within the medieval city but there can be little doubt that it was anywhere other than in Main Street. The Hardiman (c. 1601), Pacata Hibernia (c.1600) and Speed (c.1610) maps all show a market cross at the southern end of North Main Street. The cross is shown as a Latin cross on a stepped plinth but this need not be an accurate representation because this was one of the standard means by which cartographers depicted them.

The earliest reference to the cross is in 1578.

North of the walled city, in Shandon, the street known as Old Market Place was also named "Old Market Place" on Phillips' map of 1685. It is probably to be identified with the 'Market Greene' referred to in 1663-4 (Simington 1942, 453).

THE GUILDHALL/ THOLSEL

Henry III's charter of 1241-2 stipulated that the citizens of Cork should plead all cases at their Guildhall (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 2552) but no further references are known until 1577 (Brewer and Bullen 1868, 482). The proceedings of the city's court of d'oyer hundred for 1656 and 1657 were also held at the Guildhall (O'Sullivan 1937), 306). References to the Guildhall are few, however, and it is unclear whether it was distinct from the Tholsel or not.

The Tholsel is probably to be identified with the "Theolonius" mentioned in a deed of 1442 (Caulfield 1858, 113), while in 1600 the Tholsel was described as a "court of record" (Brewer and Bullen 1869, 394). In 1620 "the sellors or shops under the Tollsie" were listed among the mortgages of the Corporation (Caulfield 1876, 93-4). The fact that courts were being held in both the Tholsel and the Guildhall in the seventeenth century raises the possibility that they are alternative names for Cork's main civic building.

No definite contemporary evidence for the location of the Tholsel is known but MacCarthy (1981) suggests that the exchange erected in 1708-10 was built on the site of the old Tholsel. There is no reason to doubt this identification and both the Pacata Hibernia (c.1600) and Hardiman Coll. (c.1601) maps show a large building at the southern end of the middle bridge of the city on the site of the later Exchange, which may represent the Tholsel. Its location would seem to have been on the east side of South Main Street, more or less directly opposite Liberty Street.

5. QUAYS

Maritime trade has always been a major factor in Cork's economy. The port is first mentioned in 1207 (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 348), while the murage grant of 1284 included a provision for repairing the city's port, which was described as "so deteriorated that unless a speedy remedy is provided the vill itself will suffer no small detriment" (Sweetman 1875-86, ii, No. 2247). No contemporary documents provide information on the precise location of this medieval port and quays but it is clear that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the port of Cork was the channel of the river flowing between the north and south islands, on the east of the central bridge, and this was presumably the site

of the medieval port also. The present Castle Street, situated immediately north of this channel was originally the quayside serving this port. It is shown thus on the maps of Hardiman (c.1601), Pacata Hibernia (c.1558-1600) and Speed (1610). The Pacata map, indeed, shows two ships berthed in this channel. A number of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century documents refer to the "key" of Cork, situated beside the castle, i.e. the "King's old castle", supporting the cartographic evidence for the location of the quay (16 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 274: No. 5950; Erck 1846-52, ii, 474, 585). On the east the quay was defended by a gate known as the Marine Gate (Caulfield 1876, 38, 74, 89). In 1625, Morrish Roche was appointed to "clean and cleanse the Quay, viz. from the Court House [on the side of the castle] unto the Marine Gate" (Caulfield 1876, 116), and in 1627 Walter Morrough was appointed to the Waterbailiwick of the Marine Gate, on condition that he build a new gate. This quay had ceased to function by the end of the seventeenth century, however, and Phillips' map of 1685 shows the channel filled in with a shambles built over it. References to other quays begin at this time, e.g. Kyrl's quay known as "Robert's (or Kearle's) Key" in 1694 (Caulfield 1876, 237), and "Tuckey's quay" (now on Grand Parade) in 1698 (Caulfield 1876, 272).

6. INDUSTRIAL AREAS

Information on industries and crafts in Medieval Cork is almost totally lacking. The only significant evidence relates to mills of which several are attested in medieval documents. Mills were attached to most of the religious foundations, such as the Augustinian house at Gill Abbey (White 1943, 142), the Dominican Friary (White 1943, 139; shown on both the Pacata Hibernia and Hardiman maps), the Franciscan Friary (11 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 125: No. 184), the Augustinian Friary (White 1943, 140), the Benedictine hospital priory (Bolster 1972, 151-2; Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 1437), and the church of St. Nessan (Gilbert 1889, 205). Prince John as lord of Ireland, held a mill at Cork (Bolster 1972, 151-2), probably the King's mill referred to in a deed of 1177-82, which was apparently situated outside the city to the west (Gilbert 1889, 215).

During the seventeenth century the evidence for trades and industry increases and the survey and valuation of the city in 1663-4 is particularly useful in this regard (Simington 1942, 397-497; O'Sullivan 1937, 99-100). A brewing industry is attested by three "brew houses" and at least twenty "malt houses". Woollen manufacturing is evidenced by the presence of a fulling mill, apparently situated near the Kiln River in Shandon (Simington 1942, 464), and a "deying house" in Martell's Lane in the north-east sector of the walled city (Simington 1942, 430). At least thirteen kilns ("Kill houses") are also mentioned. Interestingly, the kilns,

malt houses and brew-houses are almost entirely confined to the walled city, only two kilns and two malt houses being listed in the suburbs. Three tanneries are mentioned, all apparently located on the south bank of the Lee between South Bridge and the Augustinian Friary (Red Abbey) (Simington 1942, 479-80). Five mills are listed in the suburbs, "Water's mill" on the west side of "Mayallow Strete" (?Shandon Street), two mills on the east side of "Mayallow Lane", "John's Mill" in Church Lane (Church Street, Shandon), probably near the Kiln River, and "little Maurice Roche his mill" near the Augustinian Friary (Red Abbey), in the south suburbs (Simington 1942, 458, 462, 464, 480). The latter may well be the mill shown just north of Red Abbey on Phillips' map (1685) while the mills at Mayallow Street and Lane, may have been built on the stream which Phillips shows running southwards through Old Market Place towards the north (Griffith) bridge.

Cork also had a printing industry in the seventeenth century. Dix (1912-3) listed forty extant pamphlets and books printed at Cork between 1644 and 1699, and twenty-five of these were printed between 1648 and 1650. Many were printed at "the Printhouse at Roche's buildings" which was situated outside South Gate. Roche's Buildings were located close to the river Lee, near Red Abbey, and the "lane leading from the South Bridge to Roche's Buildings" is probably the modern Blackmore Lane (Simington 1942, 480-1). Many other trades are attested in Cork during the mid-seventeenth century when the incorporation of guilds and carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, butchers, tanners, cordwainers, tailors, clothiers, coopers, and bakers is recorded (O'Sullivan 1937, 306-7). It is likely, however, that most of these trades existed, probably as guilds, long before their incorporation took place (Simington 1937, 120-1). Of these trades, the guild of goldsmiths is particularly interesting because many fine examples of Cork's seventeenth century silver plate, both ecclesiastical and secular, are known. The guild of goldsmiths also included silversmiths, saddlers, bridlemakers, pewterers, plumbers, tin- and latten- workers, founders, brasiers, glazers and upholsterers among its members (Fahy 1953, 35). Westropp (1926) lists eighteen goldsmiths or silversmiths in seventeenth century Cork. In most cases it is impossible to state where this trade was practised. Two of those listed by Westropp, however, also appear in the survey and valuation of Cork in 1663-4. John Sharpe, a goldsmith and master of the guild, attested 1656-75, held a "front slated house" in Gallway's Lane in the south-west sector of the walled city, and a two-storied slated house with a kiln house and other buildings on James Ronan Lane in the south-east sector (Simington 1942, 409, 419). John Hawkins, a saddler, attested 1657-1702, held two two-storied houses, one used as a malting house, and other buildings in Dominick Tirry's Lane in the north-east sector of the city (Simington 1942, 424).

Although these references are sparse and tell us nothing

except the name of the individual and his trade, nonetheless they indicate the potential wealth of information on industrial activity in pre-1700 Cork, which lies buried beneath modern ground level.

Droop's Mill

One particular mill stands out in the documentary records because of the frequency with which it is mentioned and because its location within the town can be plotted. In or before 1348 the mayor and the community of Cork granted to William FitzWalter Droup an area of land, 80 perches long and 2 perches wide, in Cork and Dungarvan, extending from the channel of the Lee to the middle bridge of the city, along with the watercourse flowing through that land for the purpose of building a mill. In 1392 the grant was confirmed to Phillip Stone and his wife, Joanna, granddaughter and heiress of William Droup (Tresham 1828, 182: No. 68). Droop's mill is referred to again in 1612, 1624 (Caulfield 1876, 32, 115-6), and in the survey and valuation of Cork in 1663-4, where it was described as a "grist mill called Droops mill", situated on the north side of Mill Street, to which it had presumably given its name (Simington 1942, 410). It was then owned by John Suxbury having previously been owned by Phillip Goold in 1641. In 1714, Mary Harding, widow of John Harding, leased to Edward Fenn a brewer, "two grist mills under one roof and one water wheel commonly called Droop's Mill", while the latest reference to Droop's mill occurs in 1780 (RIA ms. "Southwell papers", 753-6).

The location of this mill is well established. It stood on the north side of Mill Street (roughly corresponding to modern Liberty Street) beside the channel of the river which separated the north and south islands of the city, i.e. the watercourse referred to in 1348. The Hardiman map (c.1601) shows a mill on this channel situated directly beside the western wall of the city, and it seems a reasonable assumption that this represents Droop's mill. The Pacata Hibernia map (c.1558-1601) also shows a mill on this channel situated some distance further east, but it is likely that the Hardiman map is more trustworthy. The O.S. 5' map of Cork city in 1869 shows a flour mill on the site of this mill. It may be noted that the grant of a mill site "between the city of Cork and Dungarvan" to St. Thomas' Abbey, Dublin in 1177-82, may mark the first construction of a mill on this site (Gilbert 1889, 215).

7. BRIDGES

The earliest reference to a bridge at Cork occurs in 1163, when AFM record that Muircheartach Ua Maelseachlainn, son of the King of Mide fell off the bridge (droichet) of Cork and was drowned in the Sabhrann (river Lee). This bridge

most likely connected the south island of the city with the south bank of the Lee, since these are the areas in which pre-Norman settlement probably concentrated. Indeed, it was probably located on the site of the modern South Gate Bridge. The presence of two other bridges, one connecting the north and south islands, and one connecting the north island to the north bank of the Lee, can also be demonstrated before the end of the twelfth century. A charter of Philip de Barry, dated to 1183 by Brooks (1936, 334), granted "two carucates of land next to the bridge of Dungarvan" to St. Thomas' Abbey, Dublin (Gilbert 1889, 205). Between 1223 and 1230 Gerald de Prendergast granted land at Enniscorthy to St Thomas' Abbey in exchange for these same two carucates, which were then stated to be "in the vill of Shandon beside the bridge of Cork" (Gilbert 1889, 186). Thus it would seem that the "bridge of Dungarvan" in 1183 and the "bridge of Cork" in 1223-30 were one and the same. This connected the north island of the city (Dungarvan) to the north bank of the river Lee (Shandon), and was almost certainly on the site of the modern Griffith Bridge.

A grant of John, as lord of Ireland, dating to between 1191 and 1199 granted the Benedictine cell of St. John the Evangelist "two burgages in Dungarvan at the head of the bridge opposite (?the city)" (Bolster 1972, 151-2). This probably refers to a bridge between the north and south islands. A bridge between the city (south island) and Dungarvan (north island) is specifically mentioned in a charter of Richard de Careu. which dates to the early thirteenth century because it is witnessed by Phillip de Prendergast who died in 1229 (Gilbert 1889, 213-4). This bridge, which would have been located roughly at the junction of South Main Street and Castle Street, is almost certainly indicated in the grant of 1191-99, but it may have existed earlier in view of the fact that the other two bridges were in existence by 1183.

Other references to the bridges of Cork prior to the seventeenth century are rare although the murage grant of 1284 (Sweetman 1875-86, ii, no. 2247) made provision for repairs to the bridges which were described as ruinous. The *Pacata Hibernia* (c.1585-1600), Hardiman (c. 1601), and Speed (1610) maps give an indication of the appearance of the bridges in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The north and south bridges are represented as balustraded timber structures, each defended at both ends by two-storied gatehouses. Further defensive outworks are apparently indicated on the north and south banks of the river. This may explain a reference in 1631 to "the old wall or baricado without the North gate, being the defence of the said gate" (Caulfield 1876, 157). The bridge linking the two islands. however, is clearly represented as being stone-built. A deed of 1392, for instance, records that in or before 1348, William son of Walter Droup had been granted land extending "from the channel of the Lee to the furthest part of the stone column of the middle bridge of the city"

(Tresham 1828, 182: no. 68). In the survey and valuation of Cork c. 1663-4, Christopher Rye was noted as holding a three-storied slated house in Mill Street (modern Liberty Street) "over the stone bridge" (Simington 1942, 432), which presumably refers to this central bridge.

By the early seventeenth century the condition of the bridges was giving rise to concern. In 1617 the corporation introduced new taxes to pay for repairs to the city's walls and bridges which were "ready to fall" (Caulfield 1976, 73). Further taxes were levied in 1620 and in the same year Dominic Roch, an alderman of Cork, was granted all receipts of pontage, murage, paveage, etc. for twelve years on his undertaking to replace the present timbered bridges with strong stone-arched ones (Caulfield 1876, 89, 93). Nothing appears to have been done before 1630, however, when it was reported that the bridges had been swept away by floods (Caulfield 1876, 148). In 1634 a jury was appointed to raise taxes to pay for the building of new bridges and to oversee the work (Caulfield 1876, 174). The original plan to replace the old timber bridges with stone was abandoned in 1638 because it was feared that this would endanger the walls and in 1639 it was specified that the north and south bridges should be "substantially built with sound and good timber....well paved over with stone, gravel and sand", while the north and south channels of the river were to be cleared of debris "occasioned by the fall of our late Castles [gatehouses] and bridges" (Caulfield 1876, 191-2; 196-7). The wooden bridges built at this time continued in use for the remainder of the seventeenth century, and it was not until 1711-13, when they were described as "dangerous and tottering" that they were replaced by stone bridges (Caulfield 1876, 353, 364, 746=346?).

During the seventeenth century, other bridges were built connecting the city with the surrounding marshy islands which were being reclaimed gradually for settlement. The Hardiman map of c.1601 shows a bridge leading from a gate in the east wall, just north of the quay, across the river to the fortification in the north-east marsh opposite. The first of the marshes to be reclaimed. Speed's map of 1610 shows causeways of bridges leading across the river from the two towers of the north-west sector of the walls. There are no other indications, however, that the marsh opposite these towers was being reclaimed at this date, and there is no other evidence to support the existence of these bridges. In 1694, the inhabitants of the east marsh of Cork (i.e. the north-east marsh between Paul Street and the north channel of the Lee) were given permission to build a bridge, with a drawbridge to allow for the passage of ships, from the marsh to Kyril's Quay (Caulfield 1876, 237) and in 1698, Capt. Dunscombe was permitted to build a stone bridge, with a drawbridge in the centre, from Alderman Tuckey's quay (on the south-west side of Grand Parade), to the "great marsh" (between St. Patrick's Street and South Mall).

8. THE CASTLE

Caulfield (1876, x) reads John's charter to Cork as confirming to the citizens "all enclosure of land of the city of Cork, except a place in the same city, which he [John] Keeps to make a fortress". Other translations have been offered for this clause, however, and the first definite evidence for the existence of a castle at Cork is in 1206, when the Annals of Inisfallen note that the castle of Cork was built by the foreigners. In 1230 the same annals record the destruction of "cloch Corcaigi" which McAirt (1951, 347) has translated as "the stone castle of Corcach". Accordingly it may be that the castle of 1206 was a stone structure. In 1232 Peter de Rivall was given custody of the castle indicating that if it had been burned in 1230, it was soon rebuilt (Sweetman 1875-86, i, Nos. 1972, 1976). The subsequent history of the castle is obscure, however, although incidental references indicate that it continued to function until the late fifteenth century. The latest reference to a constable of the castle occurs in 1467-8 when Thomas Copner is so-described (Berry 1914, 559).

In his 1537 charter to the city, Henry VIII granted custody of the castle to the citizens of Cork (Gairdner 1890, 351; O'Sullivan 1937, 293). This may reflect a decline in the castle's strategic value and possibly a deterioration in condition also. In 1572 John FitzEdmond FitzGerald requested the fee farm and constablenesship of "the common gaol of Cork, called the King's Castle", which he offered to rebuild, indicating that it was in poor condition (Hamilton 1860, 476). No reconstruction appears to have taken place at this time, however, because in 1608, when he was regranted the "Kinge's castle", it was described as an "olde broken and ruinous castle" (Erck 1846-52, ii, 474). At this point the history of the castle is somewhat obscured by two rather confusing references to the castle on the quay of Cork which may or may not be the medieval ("King's") castle. In 1595, George Sherlock was granted "an old ruined castle in the city of Cork, on the south part, in a place called the key of Cork, near the wall of the city, parcell of the queen's ancient inheritance" (16 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public records Ireland, 274: No. 5950), and in 1609 Marie, baroness of Delvin and Sir Richard Nugent, Lord Delvin, her son, were granted "the old broken and ruinous castle in a certain place, called the Key of Corke, near and upon the wall of the city of Corke (parcel of the ancient estate of the crown)" (Erck 1846-52, ii, 585). The similarity of these references to an "old broken and ruinous castle" situated in the "Key of Corke", "near and upon the wall of the city" strongly suggests that the same castle is being referred to in the grants to Sherlock in 1595, FitzGerald in 1608, and to the Nugents in 1609. There are difficulties in such an interpretation, however. If FitzgGerald held the "King's castle" from 1572 until 1608, when he surrendered it to the

crown and was regranted it, it is difficult to see how it could have been granted to Sherlock in 1595. Similarly, if it was granted to FitzGerald in 1608, it is unlikely to have been granted to the Nugents in 1609. Even more significantly the grant to the Nugents was made some months after the charter of James I to Cork (March 1609) had directed the corporation of the city to build a court house on the lands of the castle "commonly called the olde Kinge's castle" within one year (Erck 1846, ii, 622-9. Accordingly it is unlikely that the castle granted to the Nugents in 1609 was the old "King's castle", and the same is likely for the grant to George Sherlock in 1595. The facts of the matter remain intractable as long as the precise location of the castles remains elusive.

It appears that the clause in James I's charter requiring the construction of a courthouse on the lands of the "olde Kinges castle" marked the end of the medieval castle which was probably ruinous for much of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In January 1610 the corporation ordered that the "old walls and vaults" of the old King's Castle be pulled down to make way for the building of the new courthouse (Caulfield 1876, 15, who incorrectly dates it to 1609). References to the "new Court" in 1612 indicate that the courthouse was completed by this date, and it may be assumed that the medieval fabric of the castle had been largely destroyed (Caulfield 1876, 33-4). References to the "King's Castle", continue to occur after this period, however. In 1625 Alderman Dominic Roch spent £10 in tiling and roofing the King's Castle, while in 1695 the King's Old Castle was leased to Alderman Ballard, who was to repair it, the corporation retaining the liberty to elect a mayor there, as they formerly did (Caulfield 1876, 12, 252). In 1720 it was noted that the County of Cork had pulled down the King's Old Castle about forty years previously and had erected another, "more magnificent" building (Caulfield 1876, 412).

The earliest contemporary evidence for the location of the castle is the FitzGerald grant of 1608 which locates the "Kinges castle, on the s[outh] side of the Key neere and upon the walle of the Cittie of Corcke" (Erck 1852, 474). This suggests the area in the angle between Castle Street and Grand Parade, which is supported by the fact that the courthouse was built upon the site in 1610-12. The courthouse certainly occupied this position and a lane known as Court Lane is shown in the maps of Carty (1726), Smith (1750) and Rocque (1759), while the survey and valuation of Cork in 1663-4 lists a "garden being a yard belonging to the King's old castle" on Court Lane (Simington 1942, 420). Accordingly the structure known as the "King's castle" in the early seventeenth century was situated in the angle between Castle Street and Grand Parade, which is consequently likely to be the location of the medieval castle. The strategic importance of this location was twofold: firstly, it controlled the port of the medieval city. Secondly, assuming that the south island was fully enclosed in the early thirteenth century the

castle would have occupied the north east angle of the city's defences, a pattern which is known from other Anglo-Norman towns (cf. Bradley 1985, 444).

No contemporary representations provide clear evidence for the shape and extent of the castle. The Pacata Hibernia map (c.1585-1600) shows three conjoined mural towers in this area with two conjoined gabled buildings behind, which are significantly larger than the surrounding buildings and on top of which a flag flies. The same arrangement of three conjoined towers is shown on the north side of the channel where the central tower, labelled "Ye Queen's Castell", is particularly large and has a tall conical roof. This title is difficult to explain in view of the documentary evidence which indicates that the royal castle was on the south quay. It is possible that the castle extended across both sides of the channel but there are no contemporary references to such an arrangement. Perhaps this is the castle granted to the Nugents in 1609, and possibly the George Sherlock in 1595. The Hardiman map (c.1601) shows a rectangular mural tower and what looks like a low mound on the site of the "King's Castle". The tower on the north side of the channel, however, is depicted larger than any of the other mural towers, and like the Pacata illustration, it is shown with a conical roof. In addition it is shown protected by a gate or barbican on the east side, and an outwork stretching into the channel on the south. Speed's map of 1610 shows an almost reverse situation, however. The castle on the north side of the channel is shown as a mural tower, while that on the south bank is protected by an outwork extending into the channel. Without excavation, it is impossible to know the facts of the matter.

THE GAOL OF CORK

Although it is nowhere specifically stated it is probable that the medieval gaol of Cork was situated within the castle. From a security point of view the castle was an obvious location and the fact that in the fifteenth century, at least, the constable of the castle was also custodian of the gaol supports this (cf. Tresham 1828, 165: No. 209, p. 206: No. 100).

The construction date of the gaol is not known but in 1269-70 Prince Edward (later Edward I) ordered that the gaol of Cork be rebuilt (35 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 49). The construction of a new gaol was in progress in 1279-80 when over £83 was expended (36 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 44, 51). The royal accounts for the city in 1296-99, include an allowance for repairs to the gaol (37 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 30; Berry 1907, 219) and further rebuilding was apparently in progress in 1326 when Walter de Kerdyf and Cambino Donati were paid £10 expenses (Tresham 1828, 35: No. 54). In 1314-5 a stone

house belonging to Nivcholas de la Wythye was taken over by the crown for use as a prison (39 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 51, 71: Tresham 2828, 2: No. 70). This may indicate nothing more than a temporary need for additional space but taken in conjunction with the fact that the gaol was being rebuilt or repaired in 1326 it may indicate that the gaol built in 1279-80 was no longer functioning in 1314-5.

These accounts of repairs and rebuilding provide the only real information on the medieval gaol but they are enough to indicate that if the gaol was located within the castle it nevertheless occupied a separate building. Little is heard of the gaol in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries but the charter of James I to Cork in 1609 makes reference to the common gaol of the county of Cork, situated within the gaol of the city of Cork, in a place called the "lower room", the context of which again suggests that the gaol was located in or near the "olde Kinge's castle" (Erck 1846-52, 622-9).

9. ELIZABETH FORT (Fig. 4)

During the Middle Ages, Cork's position on two islands in the Lee estuary must have made it virtually impregnable. With the development of artillery, however, the city became vulnerable because it was overlooked by high ground on the south and north. In 1601, Sir George Carew, then president of Munster, described Cork as "one of the weakest places to be defended from an enemy that ever I saw" (Atkinson 1905, 424). He began to construct a fortification on the spur of limestone rock overlooking the city on the south, which became known as Elizabeth Fort. In 1602, Carew wrote that it was "first intended for no other end but a poor entrenchment for a retreat" but was then "raised to a great height....and so reinforced with a strong rampart as a powerful enemy shall not carry it in haste" (Mulcahy, McNamara and O'Brien 1960, 128n. 9). The work was carried out, reluctantly, it seems, by the citizens of Cork (Mulcahy et al. 1960, 128 n.8). This may explain why in 1603, in a dispute between the city of Cork and Sir Charles Wilmot, commissioner of the president of Munster, the townsmen demolished the fort (Mahaffy 1912, 43-56; Russell and Prendergast 1890, 569). They were persuaded to rebuild it shortly afterwards, however, and the restored fort is depicted in a plan in Hardiman map no. 47, at Trinity College Dublin (Mulcahy et al. 1960, 128).

About 1624 the structure was replaced by a stronger more regular fortification (Mulcahy et al. 1960, 128-9) and this is shown in Pynnar's drawing of 1626 as having the basic outline of the structure which survives today. Pynnar's report noted that the fort was then "built almost to the height unto the Parapett which is yet undone, the walls towards the city being in some places 30 foot high founded upon an extreme hard Rocke and 16 foot high at the lowest part of the wall of good lime and stone. The foundation of

the wall is 10 foote thick, and at the top 6 foot thick where the rampart must be made. The rampart is 20 foot thick of earth but not yet fully finished" (Mulcahy et al. 1960, 129, n.15). A list of governors of the fort commences in November 1627 which presumably indicates the commencement of its effective functioning (Mulcahy et al. 1960, 129, n.13). There is a tradition that Cromwell made some alterations to the fort in 1649 (Mulcahy et al. 1960, 129) but by 1677 it was apparently in a decayed condition. A report in that year, almost certainly referring to Elizabeth Fort, although it places it to the west, rather than south, of Cork, noted that the walls and parapets of the fort were "broken and in some places cracked, the gates of the Fort and Raveline defective, the buildings within much decayed" (Caulfield 1876, xxiii). During Marlborough's siege of the city in 1690 the city was bombarded by artillery from Cat Fort, from "Red Abbey" , and from St. Finbar's Cathedral, as well as from the river, and surrendered after four days (Mulcahy et al. 1960, 132, 134; Caulfield 1876, xxvi-xxvii). Thereafter its military functions practically ceased. In 1698 a barrack was erected close to the fort and in 1719 a new barrack was erected within the fort itself (Mulcahy et al. 1960, 130).

Description.

The fort is an irregular quadrilateral in shape with two pentangular bastions on the south corners and two sub-rectangular bastions on the north corners. A demi-oval shaped bastion projects from the centre of the north wall. The masonry consists of regularly coursed limestone blocks lying directly, in places, on the underlying bedrock. The south curtain has been removed and a new wall constructed between the south bastions. The present entrance is through a rectangular extension which was built onto the east side of the fort. The walls are battered externally and survive to an internal height of between 4 and 5 m; above this, they appear to be rebuilt. The height of the wall on Keysers Hill near the north-east bastion is between 8 and 9 m. The wall thickness at the entrance is 2.03 m and part of the original stone surrounds of the gateway seem to be in situ. These are dressed with a section of the stones cut back to give the impression of an architrave surrounding the door. There is a large bar hole in the south wall and a blocked example in the north wall just behind the gate. The two gun-ports in the north wall are of recent origin. Part of the walls of the 1698 barracks stand to a height of 5 m on the south-east side of Elizabeth Fort.

10. CAT FORT

Although Elizabeth Fort was built on relatively high ground overlooking the city, it was itself overlooked by higher ground on the south-east (34 m as compared to about 18

m for Elizabeth Fort). To compensate for this weakness, a smaller outwork, known as "Cat Fort" was erected on this higher ground (Mulcahy et al. 1960, 129, 133). Apparently, this was not a fortification of any great strength and it surrendered very quickly to the Williamites in 1690, for instance, because it had no artillery (Mulcahy et al. 1960, 134). Indeed it is described in 1690 as a "new outwork, still unfinished" (Gillman 1894, 26).

Mulcahy et. al. (1960, 129 n.22) speculate that it was a converted ringfort, perhaps the "Lyscotekyn", apparently in this area, referred to in 1307 (Mills 1914, 375). Phillips' map of 1685 shows that the Cat Fort was located in the angle between Tower Street and Friar Street. There are no surviving remains.

11. TOWN DEFENCES

Historical Background

It is probable that the Hiberno-Viking town of Cork was fortified before the Anglo-Norman conquest, and the fact that FitzStephen and de Cogan besieged the town in 1177 indicates that it was fortified. The nature of the Hiberno-Viking defences remains unknown but there are indications the Cork was walled with stone before the end of the twelfth century. A charter of Miles de Cogan and Robert FitzStephen to St. Thomas' Abbey, Dublin, dating to between 1177 and 1182 grants a "burgage beside the gate (porta) of Cork" (Gilbert 1889, 215). A charter of Margaret, daughter of Miles de Cogan, dated 1217-20, confirms the grant made before 1182 of two burgages in Cork, one within and the other without the walls (White 1936, 227); although the original charter does not survive, it is reasonable to assume that it relates to conditions in 1182 rather than 1217-20.

Clear evidence for Anglo-Norman work on the walls is evident in 1211-12, when £55 5s. 6d. was spent on the walls (Davies and Quinn 1941, 49). In 1218, Thomas FitzAnthony, the King's bailiff of Cork, was assigned three years farm of the city in order to fortify it (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 842). It is not clear whether these monies were spent in repairing or extending the existing walls.

From the fourteenth century onwards Cork became an increasingly isolated frontier town and the upkeep of the walls was a constant concern to the citizens of Cork. Murage grants and records of repairs are numerous up to the late seventeenth century, and repairs were necessary as much as a result of threats from the Irish and Anglo-Irish, as erosion due to the city's position in the tidal estuary of the Lee. In 1284 Cork received a murage grant for years (Sweetman 1875-86, ii, No. 2247). Two years later, in 1286, William le Ware, a citizen of Cork, was permitted to break an opening in the walls in order to bring a ship which he had built within

the city to the water (Sweetman 1875-86, iii, No. 113; iv, No. 520). In 1303 the city received a murage grant for six years (Tresham 1828, 6: No. 80), but its collection continued until 1317. In that year Edward II released the mayor and bailiffs from having to account for all murage collected by them until that date (Ir. Rec. Comm. 1829, 48) and allowed them £30 arrears on account of the expense incurred "in erecting a new wall around the city" (39 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 71). This reference may indicate that there was a major rebuilding of the walls c.1317. By 1368, however, Edward III had to make a murage grant for seven years to the citizens "in aid of the repair of their walls and towers which, because the city is founded on watery soil, are daily penetrated and weakened by the ebb and flow of the sea" (Isaacson and Dawes 1913, 185). It is also likely that at least some of the £40 arrears pardoned to the city by Richard II in 1382 was spent on repairs to the walls (Tresham 1828, 116: No. 24). In 1392, Richard II granted four years fee farm, amounting to £230, to the city in order to pay for repairs to the walls and bridges (Morris 1905, 203), and in 1400 Henry IV extended this concession for an indefinite period (Fowler 1903, 400). In 1423 Henry IV granted the citizens of Cork three years respite of the fee farm payments, and 20 marks per annum for three years out of the "coket", to pay for repairs to the gates and walls of the city which were said to be in urgent need of repair (Hughes 1901, 105-6), a concession which was regranted by Edward IV in 1462 (Fowler 1897, 214).

Little more is heard of the walls until 1613 when the Corporation of Cork agreed to raise a tax of £500, partly intended to pay for "the erecting of the walls of the city, now ruinous and ready to fall except speedily repaired" (Caulfield 1876, 44). In 1614 it was directed that the city's revenue was "only to be disposed towards erecting and making up the ruinous walls and works of the City" (Caulfield 1876, 56). In 1617 the sale of wine to raise funds for work on the walls was authorised (Caulfield 1876, 69). A tax on grain, victuals and merchandise was introduced and an old custom called "poundtadg" revived in the same year, in order to pay for repairs to the walls (Caulfield 1876, 73). At that time it was also noted that some parts of the walls had already collapsed and others were ready to fall. It is not clear how much work resulted from these fund-raising efforts, although references to "the new gate of the city" in 1620 and 1625 (Caulfield 1876, 89, 118) may indicate that substantial reconstruction took place. Work on the walls was not confined to the municipal authorities. In 1624 a citizen, Robarte Browne promised to rebuild a section of the western wall of the city at his own expense undertaking "to lay it over above with fair large stones equal to the rest of the said wall" (Caulfield 1876, 115-16). The floods which swept away the north and south bridges in 1630, however, also seem to have caused some damage to the walls and the North and South Gates seem to have been seriously damaged (Caulfield 1876, 148, 196-7). Accordingly it is not surprising that Charles I's

charter to Cork in 1631 contains a grant of the smaller petty customs of all merchandize to pay for repairs to and maintenance of the city's walls and towers (Charters and By-laws, 81-111). In 1632 a tax of £30 was levied to pay for repairs to the walls (Caulfield 1876, 167). Repairs were clearly in progress in 1638 when they were supervised by Dominic Roche who had been granted all the murage revenues of the city in 1620 for twelve years (Caulfield 1876, 93, 191-2).

From the early seventeenth century the North and South Gates were used as gaols. In 1614 William Tyrry was paid £10 towards erecting the roof of the south gaol (Caulfield 1876, 49), while in 1621 Donoghe Murfield was given custody of "the new gaol...(the north gaol)", which curiously was not yet built! (Caulfield 1876, 49, 99). Both gatehouses were apparently demolished in the floods of 1630. And in 1639 the Corporation ordered that the river at the north and south bridges be "cleared of the rubbish and stones therein contained and occasioned by the fall of our late Castles and bridges" (Caulfield 1876, 196-7). These castles are almost certainly the gatehouses because it was also ordered that money be allotted "towards building of both the Castles, north and south" (Caulfield 1876, 197).

There are indications that Cork may have been protected by earthen defences as early as 1590 (Hamilton 1885, 303) but it is clear that earthen fortifications were constructed around the outer suburbs a century later during the Williamite wars. In 1691 the Catholics of Cork were ordered to remove themselves beyond "the lines of fortifications, lately made without the North and South suburbs of Cork" (Caulfield 1876, 215). These fortifications are not shown on Phillips' map of 1685 which thereby provides a terminus post quem for their construction, Goubet's map of c.1691 shows the city protected by earthen fortifications but it should be borne in mind that some of his maps of other Irish towns show proposed defences rather than existing ones. Accordingly it is difficult to know the exact line of these late seventeenth century defences.

In 1690, Cork was besieged by the Williamites under Marlborough for five days, during which time it was bombarded by artillery on the land, and by ships on the river. This bombardment caused serious damage to the walls. In 1694 the demolition of the worst-affected part of the walls, in the south-east sector, was ordered because the walls were in imminent danger of collapse (Caulfield 1876, 235). Some repairs were carried out in 1695 (Caulfield 1876, 242) but 1690 seems to mark the effective end to the functional life of the walls, and a survey carried out in 1733 shows that many stretches of the wall had been broken down and were built over by that time (Holland 1917b, 199-205).

Description

Contemporary maps and documents yield much information on the appearance of Cork's walls in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, although little can be said with certainty for earlier periods. The most important of these maps are the Pacata Hibernia map of c.1585-1600, Hardiman's (c.1601) and Speed (1610). These show a number of gates and mural towers in the circuit of the walls but unfortunately the maps do not correspond exactly and consequently the location and number of these structures cannot be reconstructed with certainty. There appear to have been sixteen mural towers, however, and at least two gates.

The medieval walls enclosed a sub-rectangular area measuring roughly 645 m north-south and 225 m east-west, an area of roughly 14.5 hectares. The NORTH GATE was the main entrance to the city on the north and was located on the south side of Griffith Bridge. It protected the bridge and is shown by the Hardiman and Pacata Hibernia maps with a fortified outer gate or barbican on the north side of the bridge. In 1631 this is described as an "old wall or baricado without the North Gate being the defence of the said gate" (Caulfield 1876, 157). From North Gate, the walled curved inside Kyril's Quay and Kyril's Street along the line of the Ward boundary, then down the west side of Corn Market Street as far as Castle Street, where the channel lay. There were five towers along this stretch but it is difficult to reconstruct their shapes from the old maps because there was a strong tendency on the cartographer's part to show towers schematically. The Pacata Hibernia map, for instance, shows all towers as circular, even in cases such as Skiddy's Castle, where they are known to have been square. For what it is worth, however, tower 1 appears to have been circular, tower 2 D-shaped, towers 3 and 4 rectangular, while tower 5, the "Queen's old castle" seems to have been either circular or polygonal. The name "Queen's old castle" appears to be of antiquarian origin and is based on the name "ye Queen's castle" shown on the Pacata Hibernia map, the only place it is so called. A curving section of wall at the rear of Nos. 2-4 North Main Street may be part of the wall, or preserve its line, but we were not permitted to examine it. A stone wall at the rear of Elmes Providers has been regarded as part of the town wall. It is c. 70 cms wide and 2 m high. There are no definite features. Its continuation in Dunnes Stores is largely of brick. Excavations at St. Peter's Market uncovered a section of what may be the town wall, running in a north-easterly direction, about 10 m west of the west frontage of Market Street. It was 2.2 m in length, 65 cm high above a stepped stone plinth 30 cm in height, and narrowed in width from 1.1 m at the southern end to 75 cm at the northern end. It was faced with roughly dressed irregularly coursed limestone blocks with a rubble core. The outer face was slightly battered. At the northern end it abutted a second wall running roughly east-west. It was of similar composition and Hurley (1984) has interpreted it as a possible turret. This second wall, however, went out of use prior to the late

thirteenth century and if it was a mural turret its period of use was a brief one.

The MARINE GATE existed between tower 5 and the castle. Initially, this may have been nothing more than a chain across the channel to prevent entry into the port, but it is shown on the Pacata Hibernia map as a portcullis-like feature linked to tower 5 and the castle. The Hardiman and Speed maps, however, do not show any definite structure at the mouth of the channel although the Hardiman map shows a gate with a drawbridge leading across to the island opposite, just north of the channel. A reference to customs taken at the North Gate, South Gate, and Main Gate in 1610 may well be an error for "Marine Gate" which is definitely mentioned in 1612, 1617 and as the "new" Marine Gate in 1618 (Caulfield 1876, 18, 38, 74, 230). The location of this gate is fixed by a commission of 1625 to Morrish Roche to "clean and cleanse the Quay, viz. from the Court House [on or near the site of the Castle] unto the Marine Gate". In 1827 Walter Morrough was granted the waterbailiwick of the Marine Gate, on condition that he build a new gate (Caulfield 1876, 133). It is presumably to be identified with the gate referred to in 1748 as "...a third gate...to the east, with a drawbridge and portcullis...removed to give way to the new buildings on the Marsh" (Jrl. Cork Archaeol. & Hist. Soc. 9 (1903), 70).

On the south side of the channel the wall continued southwards from the castle along the west side of the Grand Parade to the river where it turned west to meet the South Gate Bridge. Apart from the castle, there were five other mural towers along this stretch (towers 6-10), all of which appear to have been rectangular. Tower 6 may be identified with the "little castle next adjoining the King's old Castle on the east side of the King's wall of the city", mentioned in 1630 (Caulfield 1876, 151). Tower 8, known as "HOPEWELL CASTLE" was apparently located at the east end of Christ Church Lane, on the south side. A substantial stone structure was located on the outside of the town wall in Hurley's (1985, 65) excavations but it was removed by Cork Corporation before plans could be made. Earlier excavations at Christ Church Lane, however, uncovered projecting stones on the external facade of the wall which were interpreted as remains of Hopewell Castle (Twohig 1978, 21). In the new Amenity park is a section of wall, 22 m long and 2.2 m wide, which has been excavated by Hurley (1985). The wall is battered externally above a stepped plinth. The masonry consists of dressed limestone and sandstone with a rubble core. It was built at two different periods, the southern end by the late thirteenth century, and the northern end, perhaps in the sixteenth/seventeenth century (Hurley 1985, 71-3). A narrower wall ran east-west for 4.5 m from its southern end. It was built of irregularly coursed limestone blocks and was 1.25 m wide on top. The north face was vertical but the south face was battered. The excavator considers this wall to be earlier than the thirteenth century town wall and suggests that there may have been a dock on its north side which subsequently went

out of use and was enclosed by the later (sixteenth/seventeenth century) section of the town wall. Excavations by Hurley and Power (1981) exposed a further section of this wall, 12 m behind the modern street frontage, extending as far south as Tuckey Street. The wall was 4 m thick at the base and 2.35 m at the top. The outer face was battered above a stepped plinth while the inner face rose vertically from a one-step foundation. A thirteenth century date was indicated (Hurley and Power, 1981, 5). In 1931 O'Leary reported a section of wall 48' long and 16' to 18' high at 59-60 Grand Parade. At the rear of No. 60 where the wall was 2.5' thick she suggests that there was a tower because of two projecting walls which were 4-5' long. This site is now occupied by the City Library where sections of what are supposed to be the town wall are displayed. They do not seem to be on the correct line of the wall, however. A short section of the external face of the wall is exposed in the Grand Parade Hotel (Hurley and Power 1981, 6). The masonry is limestone ashlar, 1.15 m high and 2.6 m long, 1.15 m high and 2.2 m wide on top with an external batter. A possible plinth was noted.

Tower 10, the angle tower, may be that described in 1702 as the "towere or building on the South east Wall of the City of Corke commonly called...the White Tower" (Ireland 1983, 124). The Pacata Hibernia map shows an arched opening in the wall between tower 10 and the South Gate which is probably to be identified with the "east postern gate of the South Gate" mentioned in 1625 (Caulfield 1876, 118). The first edition O.S. 25" map of Cork shows the wall between tower 10 and South Gate set some 10 m back from the river but the evidence for this is unclear.

The SOUTH GATE was protected by an outer gate on the south bank of the Lee. This is clearly shown on the Hardiman, Speed and Pacata Hibernia maps. From here the walls followed the bend of the river to the west before turning north-west to tower 13, at the north end of Hanover Place. An internal wall in Beamish and Crawford's Brewery is pointed out as a possible section of town wall. It is built of regularly coursed limestone blocks with some red sandstone, c.66 cm wide at ground level, and survives in places to a height of 3 m. Two sections of wall are exposed in Dwyer's premises, south of Hanover Street, running in a north-westerly direction. The southern section stands to a height of 3 m, is 71 cm wide and is built of roughly coursed limestone. The northern section is of similar construction and is approximately 4 m in length. In 1882 this stretch was noted as being 50 yards long, 6-8 feet high and 4 feet thick (see JCHAS 87 (1982), 62, n.4). Three towers appear to have protected this stretch of wall (towers 11-13). Tower 12 was rectangular but the others were D-shape or circular. The WATER GATE was located in this area, probably at Hanover Street which was known as Watergate Lane in the eighteenth century (Holland 1917b, 203; Simington 1942, 406-7). Judging from the survey of 1733 tower 12 appears to have been the WATER GATE, which was described as eighteen feet in breadth

(Holland 1917, 203; Simington 1942, 406-7).

From the channel on the north side of Droop's Mill the wall continued northwards along the east side of Grattan Street until it met the Lee's north channel at Bachelor's Quay, where it turned east to link up again with the North Gate. This stretch of wall was protected by three towers (Nos. 14-16), two of which (Nos. 14-15) were rectangular while the third was three-quarters round. Tower 14 also functioned as the steeple of St. Peter's Church (Smith 1815, i, 366). A ten metre stretch of wall was excavated by Power immediately south of St. Peter's Churchyard, on the east side of Grattan Street under the existing pathway. A width of 2.5 m was exposed. It was built of roughly coursed limestone blocks.

12. ST. FINBAR'S CATHEDRAL & MONASTIC SITE

When the diocese of Cork was created at the synod of Rathbreasail in 1111 the church of the monastery of Cork would have been designated as a cathedral. All of the available evidence indicates that the present Church of Ireland cathedral occupies the site of this first and all subsequent cathedrals. The precise location of pre-Norman and Anglo-Norman features is unknown as is the extent of the monastic terminus. The maps of Tuckey (1837, 213), Hardiman, Speed and *Pacata Hibernia*, however, all show a steeple, generally regarded as a round tower, east of the cathedral while the Tuckey and *Pacata Hibernia* maps also show another freestanding steeple to the west of the cathedral (cf. *Jrl. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Ireland* 15 (1879-82), 445-6).

The earliest direct reference to the cathedral of St. Finbar occurs in 1199 (Sheehy 1962, 105-7), but there is no doubt that references in earlier charters to the "church of St. Finbar" actually relate to the cathedral (see Gilbert 1889, 211). Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 66) note that early attempts to install Anglo-Norman bishops proved unsuccessful and that the see remained largely in Irish hands until the fourteenth century. They also note the first references to the cathedral chapter in 1180 and 1248, and the granting of land in Cork for the building of the Vicar's Hall in 1328 (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 67). The number of side-chapels and chantry chapels attached to the cathedral is unknown but there are references to a chapel of St. Clement, on the north side of the nave, between 1580 and 1627 (Webster 1920, 125-6). According to Caulfield (1871, 20) this chapel measured sixteen feet east-west by twelve feet north-south.

The architectural history of the building in the late seventeenth century is unclear. O'Shea (1943, 30) states that a new cathedral was built between 1671 and 1676 but Webster (1920, 127) was of the opinion that there was no substantial rebuilding before 1735. The truth appears to lie somewhere in

between: the church was enlarged and a west tower constructed. In 1674 Archdeacon Packington left £5 in his will towards enlarging the choir and chapel of St. Finbar's, and £5 towards hanging up bells "in the steeple now begun" there (Brady 1863, i, 313). The cathedral was badly damaged in the siege of 1690 and was replaced in 1735. the eighteenth century structure was itself replaced by the present building constructed between 1867 and 1870. Nothing survives of the pre-1700 fabric today but a number of architectural fragments and monuments have been preserved.

Architectural features

'Chapter House' door. 13th cent.

Built into the south-east corner of the graveyard wall. Pointed multi-cusped arch of two orders. Both are rounded but the inner is limestone while the outer is of dundry stone. The shafts are multi-moulded and terminated in moulded capitals with square abaci. There is a consistent tradition that this door was removed from the Dominican Abbey (cf. Day and Coppinger 1893, i, 423; O'Leary 1931, 339).

Dims. H. of inner doorway 186 cm

W. of inner doorway 240 cm

Waterman 1970, 66.

Pointed door. ?17th cent.

Plain pointed arch with threshold, inserted into the south-east corner of the graveyard wall. The stones are dressed and the jambs may have been chamfered but as the doorway is filled in one cannot be certain. O'Leary (1931, 34) states that this door was found in the debris beneath the vestry room of the old cathedral and that it was the door that communicated with the tower.

Dims. H.199 cm W.94 cm

Caulfield 1871, x.

Moulded arch from piscina.

Pointed. Carved from a single block of limestone. Set into a wall in the graveyard, east of the cathedral.

Dims: H.40 W. of niche 77 cm.

Two limestone heads.

Set into the wall below the moulded arch. On the left is a male head with a crooked smile. The hair has a fringe and is swept back over the ears in a curl. The mouth is shown with an incision while the nose, cheeks, and eyes are modelled.

Dims: H.20 W.15 T.45 cm. On the right is a smiling female face with a more accentuated nose and eyebrows and the waved hair is parted in the centre and falls back from the face onto the shoulders. The face is cracked in two.

Dims: H. 17 W. 12 T.23cm.

Two fragments of dundry stone.

Also set into the wall, beside the moulded arch. Both are rounded shafts, perhaps from a niche.

Dims: 1. H.10 W.14 T. 14
2. H.24 W.32 T. 14 cm

Seven sculpted heads.

In Chapter House. Limestone corbels, except for G which appears to be sandstone. All were intended to look down from a height with the exception of A. The shape of the stone suggests that B-G were incorporated into the arch of a doorway. A appears to be of thirteenth/ fourteenth century date, but B-G are of Romanesque character and belong to the twelfth century.

A: Carved in high relief, it depicts a male wearing a fleur-de-lis crown over fringed hair which is cut just below the ears (Pl. 11a). The features are well carved, with slightly overhanging eyebrows, eyes with hollow pupils, a pronounced nose, a slit for the mouth, and a moulded lower lip. Probably 13/14th century.

Dims: H.28 W.22 T.46cm

B: male head with closely cropped, multi-parted, scalloped hair (Pl. 11b). The eyes are oval shaped and staring, the nose is long and damaged, the mouth is an upturned slit and one ear is broken. It bears traces of modern colour.

Dims: H.32 W.17 T.38cm

C: Small male head with closely cropped, multi-parted hair (Pl. 12a). The eyes are small and oval in shape. The nose is partly damaged and the mouth and chin are missing.

Dims: H.29 W.17 T.33cm

D: Male? with hairstyle consisting of rows of small tight curls (Pl. 12b). The oval eyes and arched eyebrows are finely carved, the lower part of the nose is damaged and the downturned mouth and chin have been broken off.

Dims: H.30 W.17 T.46cm

E. Elongated male head, lacking the nose and one side of the head (Pl. 11c). The hair is shown as wavy lines and the eyebrows, eyes (with holes for the pupils), and mouth are shown in low relief. He wears a triangular shaped moustache and a tightly curled beard.

Dims: H.32 W.14 T.35cm

F. Finely carved ?male head with a small face and protruding ears (Pl. 11c). The hair is scalloped onto the forehead, the eyes are oval, the nose is slightly damaged and the mouth is narrow.

Dims: H.28 W.15 T.38cm

G. This head, although carved from sandstone, with its elongated face and multi-parted hair appears to match the style of heads B-F (Pl. 12c). The eyebrows, eyes and mouth are moulded in low relief and the chin is shown with a cleft. The ears stand out over the hair.

Dims: H.33 W.15 T.46cm

Chamfered stone.

Rectangular limestone block at the west end of the south aisle. One chamfered corner decorated with a fleur-de-lis. It may have been the base of a door jamb.

Dims: H.54 W.34 T.30cm

Font. ?Medieval. (Pl. 13)

A square limestone font stands at the west end of the south aisle. Undecorated. Internal and external bevel from top to bottom. The corners have wide chamfers. central drainage hole.

Dims: H.42 W.70 T.70; Depth of basin 32 cm.

Monuments

Bishop Lyons, 1597

Limestone slab set into the floor at the rear of the ambulatory. Damaged gothic inscription in false relief:

I DO BELIEVE ONELI TO BE SAVED BE THE merITES/ OF IHS OUR SAVIOURE/ IOHN iii/ SO GOD LOVED THE WORLDE THAT HE GAVE HIS ONLI BE GOTTEN SONN TO/ THE END THAT ALL BELIEVE IN HIM SHUD NOT PERIS BUT HAVE LIVE/ EVERLASTING THIS HOUSE WAS BVILDED IN ANNO 1588 BY Dr/ WYLLYM LION AN ENGLISHMAN BORN BYSHOP OF CORK CLON AND ROSS/ AND -- THIS TOMB WAS ERECTED IN ANNO DNI 1597 in the HAPPe/ RAINGE OF QUENE ELISABET DEFENDER OF THE ANCENT/ APOSTLIKE FAITHE THE XL YEARE OF HER MAJESTIS RAINGE.

The stone was of poor quality and the inscription was put on avoiding the cracks and flaws in the stone.

Dims: H.28 W.22 T.46cm

Long (1910-12), 23-4.

Wodcock memorial. 1610. (Pl. 14)

Upright rectangular memorial, set close to the wall at the west end of the cathedral. Placed behind a shrub, it is partly overgrown with ivy. Found under the north-west corner of the seventeenth century tower when it was being demolished in 1865 (O'Leary 1931, 35). The upper part is damaged. Gothic inscription in relief:

here lyETH THE body/ oF WODCOCK WHO/ DIED THE 8 DAY OF/ JULY 1610 HIS W/ IEF BEING DIANA/ THE OWNER HEREOF/ THIS WAS DONE THE/ 24 DAY OF AUGUST 1610.

Dim: W.56

Limestone block

Used as a flower stand at the east end of the south aisle. One face has some lettering in false relief: JULY 26/ 18 XX/ TEB.

Dims: H.48 W.25 D.26

Missing Stones

Inscribed slab.

A slab inscribed: DEUS IUEX EST HUNC HUMILIAT HUNC EXALTAT 1590, was in the porch of St Fin Barres in 1854 but was missing by 1931. In 1837 it was in the south wall of the bishop's grounds (O'Leary 1931, 115; Jrl. Cork Hist. & Archael. Soc. 3 (1897), 299). Windele (1910, 44) states that it was dug up to the west of the cathedral near the site of Gill Abbey.

?Cross base

Dean Carey informed us that a holed stone was in St. Fin Barres at one time. It may have been a cross base.

Other Features

Pen and ink holder. 1688 (Pl. 15b)

Kept in the Chapter House. Carved from a soft black stone. It stands on four legs with a rounded moulded underneath. There are two large holes for ink, a smaller hole in the centre and a groove to rest a pen. The front has a rectangular panel with the date 1688 and the side has the letters I.B in false relief. According to O'Leary (1931, 115) it was found when the tower was taken down in 1865.

Dims: H.10 W.20 (est).

Wooden Mitre (Pl. 15a)

Solid wooden mitre, perhaps part of a wooden statue. Said to have been found with the seven carved heads in the early part of the twentieth century (O'Leary 1931, 32). It is carved in relief with diamond shapes to represent jewels, and foliage designs. The piece was gilded but this has mostly worn off.

Dims: H.42 W.24 T.30cm

Burials

Caulfield (1871, xi-xii) noted the finding of three layers of burials when the foundations of the north transept and north-east pier were being dug. At a depth of thirty feet a layer of burials, six feet thick, was present. These were sealed by a stratum of "vegetable matter", mixed with earth and small boulders. Above this was a second layer of burials, seven feet deep, also sealed by a layer of stones and "Vegetable debris", some three feet thick. Above this was a layer of more modern burials, some eight feet thick.

Church Plate

Gilt chalice. 1535-6

The stem and circular foot are ornamented with foliated scroll work.

Dims: Diam. of cup 10.5 cm.

Silver chalice. 17th cent.

Dims: Diam. of cup 9; H. 21 cm.

Paten. 1606-7.

It bears the initials of F Terry, a London goldsmith.

Paten. 1672.

A large paten on a foot with the following inscription: DEO SACRATUM ET ECCLES CATHEDRALI STI. FFINBARRY CORCAG 1672. HIC EST PANIS QUI DE COELO DESCENDIT. QUI MANDUCAT HUNC PANEM VIVET IN AETERNUM.

Paten-Alms Dish. Late 17th cent.

Large paten on foot with a wide flange embossed with doves, olive branches, leaves and fruit. Inscription: AR POMEROY DECANUS CORCAG; D QUID RETRIBAUM DOMINO. It bears the initials R.G., Robert Gobles.

Dims: Diam 33.5cm

Monstrance. 1669.

This shows a mitred St. Barre, and a view of the cathedral with the round tower (O'Leary 1931, 33). Inscription: PATER, FRATER RICHARDUS KENT ORDINIS PREDICATORIUM ME FIERI FECIT PRO CONVENTU CORCAGIENSI, ANNO DOMINI 1669.

Jrl. Roy. Soc. Antiqs. Ireland 15 (1879-82), 445-6.

Silver communion set. 1638.

Two flagons, a cup and paten all bearing the inscription EX DONO T B 1638.

13. HOLY TRINITY PARISH CHURCH (CHRIST CHURCH)

The earliest evidence for the existence of this church comes from a charter made before 1185, written and witnessed by Stephen, parson of Holy Trinity (Gilbert 1889, 214). On analogy with Dublin where the church of Holy Trinity was an eleventh century Viking foundation, it may be suggested that the church of Holy Trinity was the church of the Hiberno-Viking town, although the date of its foundation is uncertain. The church is listed among the possessions of the diocese of Cork in the decretal letter of Innocent III, made in 1199 (Sheehy 1962, 106). In the ecclesiastical taxation of 1302-6 the church was valued at 7.5 marks although elsewhere it was valued at fifteen marks (Sweetman 1875-86, v, 308, 319).

Little is known of its medieval appearance but there were at least two side-chapels. The mid-fifteenth century landgable roll of Cork refers to a Lady Chapel (MacNiocaill 1964a, 592-3), and there was a chapel dedicated to St. James before 1582 (Brady 1863, i, 109; Webster 1920, 134 n.26-7). The Lady Chapel was located on the north side of the chancel (Webster 1920, 134). The Hardiman map (c.1601) depicts the building as a large church consisting of a nave with north

and south aisles and a square tower at the west end. The interior of the seventeenth century church was evidently decorated with wall paintings because the vestry book records the amounts paid for it (O'Leary 1931, 40; Webster 1920, 134).

In 1381 Edmund de Mortimer, earl of March and the King's lieutenant in Ireland died at Cork and was buried in the church (Gilbert 1884, ii, 258). In 1382, Richard II issued an order forbidding the church hierarchy from interfering in his presentation of John Kyngeston to the chapel of Holy Trinity, Cork (Tresham 1828, 118: no. 119). This is the earliest evidence that the church was under royal patronage, which was clearly the case throughout the fifteenth century (cf. Tresham 1828, 205: no. 60). In addition to being a "free chapel royal" Holy Trinity was also a prebend in the cathedral of Cork and is so described in 1458 and 1481 (Berry 1910, 541-5; Twemlow 1955, 144). In 1482, Philip Goold founded a chantry college for eight priests (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 359) and he built a stone college nearby.

By the early seventeenth century Holy Trinity was one of the two parish churches of Cork (Windele 1910, 44), and this situation would appear to have pertained from at least 1575 when Elizabeth I granted the city lands, tenements, and tithes to the value of £40 to pay for the maintenance of Holy Trinity and St. Peter's, at £20 each (Charters and By-laws 74-81; Collingridge 1982, 114-5). In 1617 £3 was paid to bell-founders for casting two bells (Caulfield 1876, 70). Windele (1910, 47) noted that a bell bearing the date 1621, presumably one of those commissioned in 1617, survived within the church. It was inscribed:

ANDREW SKIDDIE, MAIOR/ RICHARD PENNYNGTON MADE MEE IN
THE/ YEARE OF OUR LORDE 1621

but it has been missing since at least 1931 (O'Leary 1931, 39). The church suffered considerably in the bombardment of 1690 and in 1691 the rebuilding of the gallery used by the mayor and aldermen was ordered (Caulfield 1876, 218). By 1694, however, this gallery was still unfinished (Caulfield 1876, 238). By 1691 the church steeple contained a clock which served as the city clock (Caulfield 1876, 220). In 1702 it was ordered that "the Clock in Christ Church steeple, called the Town Clock" be repaired (Caulfield 1876, 296). According to Windele (1910, 46) the church was demolished in 1717 and the present church built in 1720. Webster (1920, 135) and O'Shea (1943, 31), however, substitute dates of 1716 and 1720-6 for its demolition and reconstruction.

Description

Holy Trinity stands on the east side of South Main Street and is now the Cork City Archives. Nothing remains of its pre-1700 fabric with the possible exception of parts of the

crypt but there is a fine collection of burial monuments. The parish registers survive from 1643 (O'Leary 1931, 38).

The Crypt

This consists of one narrow and three wide aisles running on an east-west axis beneath the church. The vaulting is at present less than 2 m above floor level and is less than 1 m under the arches. This is probably because of build-up due to burials. Much of the stone work in the piers is modern and the vaulting is largely brick. The lower coursing of some piers is out of line or uneven in appearance and may indicate that the foundations of an earlier crypt survive.

Monuments in the Church

Thomas Ronan. 1554. (Pl. 17).

Large rectangular cadaver slab mounted against the wall in the front porch. Sculpted in false relief with a skeleton in a shroud, (known locally as "the modest man"), the four evangelists, the sun, moon, a star, a rose, and the letters T.R., J.T. Gothic inscription:

HOC IN TUMULO TEGITUR/ CORPUS GRACIOSO VIRI THOME RONAN
QUO'DA' MAIORIS HU'/ CIVITATIS CORK QUI OBIIT/ IN
CRASTINO SA'CTI LAMBERTI ANNO D'NO 1554 CU' A -/ ETIA
VULT SE SEPELIRI UXOR SUA/ JOHANNA TYRRY QUE OBIT 5
DECE'BRIS Ao D'NI 1569/ QUOR AIAB'S PPICIETUR/ DEUS AMEN
PATER AVE & CREDO DE PROFUNDIS/ MEMOR HOMO/ ESTO Q'NIAM
MORS NO ' TARDAT CUM ENI' MORIR/ HEREDITABIS SERPE'TES &
BESTIAS & VERMES

Dims: L.212 W.118 T.22cm
Roe 1969, 4.

Heraldic achievement. ?Late 17th cent.

Placed above the corporation chair in the gallery. Circular shield with the motto 'DIEU ET MON DROIT'. The supporters are a crowned lion and a unicorn with a crown around his neck. A thistle and rose rest on the motto. The crest consists of a helmet, crown and lion. The shield has the royal arms with an escutcheon bearing three divisions: two lions or on gules, one lion or on azure and a grey horse on argent. In the centre of this shield is a further escutcheon bearing a castle or on argent. O'Leary (1931, 40).

Dims: W.66

Memorials in the Crypt

Civilian effigy. 13th cent. (Pl. 16).

In the south-east corner of the crypt. Coffin shaped slab of yellow sandstone (?dundry) with an effigy in high relief. The figure wears a long round necked unwaisted tunic which falls

in folds at the side of the body. The sleeves end at the elbows and there is a tight sleeved garment underneath. The right hand rests on the hip and may hold the fold of the tunic while in the left hand, wearing one glove, holds the second glove against the left hip. There are traces of plaster in the armpits, along the fingers and the left side of the effigy. The effigy is probably male because of the gloves and the closest comparison is the early 13th century effigy in Christ Church, Dublin (Hunt 1974, Pl. 18).

Dims: H.128 W.66-48 T.17

Slab fragment. Pre 1700.

Small sandstone fragment of a chamfered coffin-shaped slab beside the effigial slab, and may be part of its base.

Dims: L.43 W.38 T.17 cm

Cross-slab. 16th cent.

Partly sunk in the floor of the crypt's centre aisle. Lower half. Decorated with an incised cross on steps and central and corner medallions in the margins. The centre medallions had a chi-rho while the corner ones had an interlace design. The surface is damaged.

Dims: L.122 W.120 T.12 cm

Cross-slab. 16th-17th cents. (Pl. 18)

Lower half of a limestone coffin-shaped slab with bevelled edges. At the west end of the Rogers Mausoleum in the centre aisle. It is decorated with the lower half of an incised cross on the steps with elaborate Roman capitals on the right side of the stem in relief "WHIT..". The lettering may be the result of reuse.

Dims: L.73 W.50 T.12 cm

Cross-slab. ?16th-17th cents. (Pl. 23).

Rectangular slab of pink sandstone lying on its side against the south wall of the crypt's centre aisle. One the end is a truncated triangle and the slab may have been intended as an upright memorial. It is decorated with a fleur-de-lis cross on steps within a plain border. The centre of the cross has a four petalled flower within a square and the knop, which is very worn, is expanded into the letters P G. On either side of the stem, above the base, are the letters G G and C M.

Dims: L.170 W.79 T.12 cm

William Coppinger. Late 16th cent. (Pl. 19).

Rectangular. Lying on the ground at the east end of the crypt's centre aisle. Although defaced by an eighteenth century inscription, 1751, to Capt. Thomas Morris and his one year old son, parts of the marginal Gothic lettered inscription and the head of the eight-armed fleur-de-lis cross are intact. The end of the slab may have been cut off. The head of the cross is embellished with roses and foliage.

Inscription:

HEERE LIETH THE BODDY OF WILLIAM COPP/ IN[GER]
WHICH CAUSED THIS STOANE TO BE CARVED/ OVER THIS

GRAVE....

Dims: L.185 W.120 T.21 cm

Sarah Plover. 1656.

Rectangular slab (?sandstone) on the ground in the centre of the crypt's north aisle. Incised Roman inscription:

HERE LIETH INTERED THE/ BODY OF SARAH PLOVER THE/ WIFE
OF CAPT IOHN PLOVER/ WHO DEPARTED/ THIS LIFE THE 4/ OF
IVNE 1656.

Dims: L.198 W.92

William Hodder. 1665.

Upright sandstone memorial at the west end of the crypt's south aisle. Incised inscription in Roman lettering:

HERE LYETH INTERD THE BODY OF WILLIAM HODER/ OF THE
CITY OF CORKE LAYMAN (alderman) WHO DEPARTED/ THIS LIFE
MAY THE ELEVENTH 1665 SeconND MAYOR/ OF THE SAID CITY
SINCE THE PROTESTANT/ SETTLEMENT OF THAT CORPORAtion
AND/ THE SHERIFF OF THE COVNTY/ OF CORKE SINCE THE HAPPY
RESTORATION/ OF OVR GRACIOVS SOVERAIGNE CHARLES/ SecOND.
AND ALSO HERE LYETH INTERD THE BODY/ OF IOAN HODDER OF
THE CITY OF CORKE/ ALDERMAN WHO departed this life/ THE
THIRD day of May 1673 and the first mayor of the said
citty after the protestant settlement of that
corporation and the year after the high sheriff for the
county of Corke annon domini 1673. Here lyeth interred
the body of Elizabeth Fearines the wife of Captain Henry
Fearines aged 40 years, deceased the 4th day of March
anno 1674. I know that my redeemer liveth.

Dims: H.77 W. 74 T.16 cm

Caulfield 1877, 4; O'Leary 1931, 44

Margaret Hawkins. 1672.

At the east end of the crypt's south aisle. Plain limestone slab with an incised Roman inscription:

HERE LYETH THE BODY OF MARGARET THE/ WIFE OF IOHN
HAWKINS WHO DECESED/ THIS LIFE THE 23 OF AGVST AND 1672

The slab was re-used in 1755 as a grave marker for the Craggs family.

Dims: L.178 W.96 T.10 (min) cm.

Cross-slab. 17th cent. (PL. 20).

Placed in the narrow aisle at the west end of the crypt. Slightly tapering slab decorated in low relief with a ringed eight armed fleur-de-lis cross. The cross stem rests on a pointed panel which encloses a Latin cross, a date and the Roman letters: '16.6 C E C'. The lower part of the slab was used for mixing cement and the lower right corner is broken. A later inscription has been cut into the centre: 'THE BURYING PLACE OF RICHARD FRANKLAND PHYHCIAIN AND HIS FAMILY HE DIED JUNE THE 16TH 1762'.

Dims: L.207 W.84-73 T.15 cm

Memorials in the churchyard

Side panel. 16th cent. (Pl. 21).

Attached to the north wall of the graveyard above a more recent box tomb. Decorated in false relief with arcaded panels enclosing heater shaped shields. Each side has a half panel at either end. The left half panel appears to have had a round arch with foliage design above the arch and a rose in the spandrel. The shield was divided per pale. The second quarter has three lions statant; the fourth quarter three fleur-de-lis, the royal arms. The next panel is flanked by pilarettas with a round pinnacled and crocketed arch. The arch has foliated cusps and the upper spandrels are filled with narrow ogee-headed tracery. The heater shaped shield has a chief indented (?Butler, Le Poer). The next panel has a gabled round arch with foliage design in the spandrels and a foliated cusped internal arch. The shield has three fish for ?Roche. The fourth panel is flanked by sugar barley pilasters and has an arch consisting of flamboyant window tracery above which there is an intertwined bunch of leaves in the spandrels. There are two semi-circles of leaves above the shield which is inscribed with 'W T / E R'. The end half panel has a round foliated arch above which there is a foliage design. The shield is damaged.

Dims: H.63 W.112 T.10 (min) cm.

Tomb fragment. Probably 16th cent.

Lying against the graveyard's north wall. Much of the surface has flaked off and the upper part of the stone is missing. Decorated in low false relief with the symbol of the passion and a marginal inscription. The symbols which can be seen include the pillar bound with ropes, the scourges, the ladder, the lower part of what is probably the spear and lance, a chalice, three dice and the thirty pieces of silver. There were two heraldic shields, one of which appears to have had a rayed sun; this has been identified as the arms of Fagan, a chevron between three covered cups in chief, ermines in base and the crest a lion standing against a tree fructed (JRSAI 15 (1879-82, 342-3). The other shield has a wavy fess with three ?leopard heads erased above. The crest is a winged animal. Fragmentary inscription in Roman capitals:

...aNMIS THOMAS SVB/ MARMORE FAGAN atque
alsonia...sponsa walter...

Dims: L.129 W.83 T.17 cm

David Nash. 1618.

Placed against the north wall of the graveyard. Slaty limestone slab decorated in low relief with a cross on steps. The terminals of the cross have pointed fleur-de-lis and the knop is decorated with horizontal bars. Under the steps of the cross is a lightly incised skull and crossed bones. On

either side of the cross are the sun and moon and the letters 'P N and M C'. Marginal inscription in Roman capitals:

HEARE LIETH THE BODIES Of/ DAVID [NASH AND CATHE] RIN
GOOL LORD HAVE ME[RCY UPON US AMEN] 1618

Dims: L.172 (min) W.82 T.17 cm

Cross-slab. 16th/ 17th cent.

Lying on the ground beside the north wall of the graveyard. Limestone. The surface of the stone is almost totally eroded because of its use for mixing cement. Traces of a cross and a Roman lettered marginal inscription remain: ANO/ TE .. AN .. A L.

Dims: L.200 W.78 T.15 cm

Nicholas Fagan and Catherine Goold. 16th/Early 17th cents.

Rectangular limestone slab set against the north wall of the graveyard. Decorated in false relief with an eight armed fleur-de-lis cross rising from a stepped base. The cross shaft is depicted as a tree trunk flanked by two naked figures, apparently a representation of Adam and Eve. Eve is missing the lower part of her legs and has the left arm raised taking an apple from the tree. Marginal Gothic inscription, now very worn:

HIC JACET/ NICOLAUS FAGAN BALIV COR// CATERINA
GOOLL [QUORUM ANIMABUS PROPICIET DEUS AMEN PATER NOSTER]

Dims: L.169 W.62 T.15 cm

Cross slab. Prob. 16th cent.

Rectangular limestone slab decorated in false relief with a fleur-de-lis cross rising from steps, and set within a plain border.

Dims: L.150 W.73 T.12

Cross slab. 16th-17th cents.

Coffin-shaped slab inverted against the north wall of the graveyard. Decorated in false relief with a fleur-de-lis cross rising from steps. The cross shaft has a barred knop. The letters I.C are on either side of the stem, and a Tudor rose lower down.

Dims: L.130 W.54-36 T.15 cm

Slab fragment. Pre-1700.

Lying against the north wall of the graveyard. Irregular fragment decorated with part of an achievement of arms. A modern incised inscription indicates that it was reused.

Dims: H.86 W.61 T.11 cm

Achievement of Arms. (Pl. 22).

Rectangular plaque lying on the ground. Decorated in false relief with an achievement of arms and a lightly incised inscription. The shield is divided per pale with dexter, three fish (for ?Roche), and sinister, three sheafs of wheat;

in the centre is a crescent. Worn Roman inscription within a recessed panel below:

ANNO 1634 P.... / M....ING. / .HIS WOR . IE / T

Dims: H.111 W.77 T.15 cm

Young. 1699.

Partly set in the ground against the north wall. Round headed tombstone. Incised Roman inscription:

HERE LIETH/ THE BODY OF IO/ HN NICKELAS/ WILLIAM OLI
v/m THA/ T/ WM YOUNG YE/ CHILDREN OF GEORGE/ & MARIA
YOUNG WHO/ DEPARTED THIS LIFE/ MARCH Ye 23 1699

Dims: H.74 W.48 T.13 cm

Tombstone. 17th cent.

Rectangular slab in an upright position against the north wall. Conjoined incised Roman inscription:

HERE/ LYETH THE BODY OF Mr/ RICHARD SLOCOMB/ & LIZABETH
DAUGHTer/ OF ROGER PI.CKNEY.

Dims: H.83 W.66 T.8 cm

Cross-slab. 16th-17th cents.

Rectangular. Fossiliferous limestone. On the ground close to the north wall of the graveyard. It is very worn and the edges are chipped. Decorated in low false relief with a fleur-de-lis cross on steps. The cross head has at least four rosettes between the terminals and there are two ogee-headed panels on either side of the stem of the cross. The left hand panel has 'G S' in the spandrels and the shield shaped panel below has the arms of the Virgin, i.e. a heart pierced. There is a small shield at the base of the panel but later letters 'SI...SIH' are cut over the original design. The right panel has an IHC in the left spandrel and there appears to have been lettering in the right one also. The shield shaped panel below has the emblems of the passion among which one can see a Latin cross, crossed swords and the crown of thorns. Below the shield in the left of the slab is a spray of foliage and on the right a moon/sun. At the foot of the cross there is a shield divided per pale; sinister unidentified markings and dexter three crescents. There is some Gothic lettering on the right side of the slab but only the letters HIS can be distinguished.

Dims: L.194 W.96 T.14 cm

Cross-slab fragment.

Built into the external north wall about 3 m above ground level. Decorated in false relief with a ?fleur-de-lis and an architectural motif.

Dims: H. 30 W.32 cm.

Missing monuments.

Roche Cadaver

A second slab existed in the church in 1831 having a cadaver, sun and moon, and an inscription: HIC JACET DILECTATUS VIR JACOBUS ROCHE QUON J R G S.

Roe, H.M. 1969, 14

Grave slab.

According to O'Leary (1931, 44) there was another stone in the graveyard with a pair of shears, a smoothing iron and the initials IHS E.C. and I.M. The inscription was HERE LIETH THE GRWE OF EDMOINDE C.... VOROVE OF YOURE CHARITE PRAI

Other grave-slabs.

Windele (1910, 46-7) mentions the existence of a slab dated 1494, and others to James Coleman and Anstace McDonnell (1584), Ellinor and Margarite (1624), and Morris Roche FitzJames and Elenor Roche (1634).

Church Plate

Silver Chalice & Paten. 1675.

The chalice is on display in Cork Public Museum and is inscribed PARISH OF THE HOLY TRINITY on the cup. Underneath the foot is an inscription saying that it was made in 1675 when Martine Stokes and William Ballard were church wardens. The paten is in St. Nicholas' church.

Dims: H. 28 Diam of cup 11 cm

Silver chalice. 17th cent.

Flanged octagonal foot with knop. Made by R Goble it is inscribed PARISH OF THE HOLY TRINITY CORK. Cork Public Museum.

14. HOLY TRINITY CHANTRY COLLEGE

In 1482 Philip Goold, rector of Holy Trinity founded a chantry college for eight priests and built a stone college nearby (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 359). An inquisition of 1578 noted that the church of St. Laurence in Cork was among the endowments of the chantry (Archdall 1873, i, 126). In the same year St. Laurence's church and the chantry were granted to George Moore (13 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 111: No. 3519). This may indicate that the chantry survived until 1578 rather than being dissolved c.1548 as Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 538) suggest. The college was in ruins by 1670 (Webster 1920, 137 n.38).

Excavations on the site in 1975 located the fragmentary remains of the College along the south side of Christ Church Lane, south of the present church. It was a rectangular stone building and measured 20 by 8 m. The masonry consisted of cut limestone blocks, and survived to a height of about three

feet above the foundation course. Underneath the foundations were a large number of posts which had been driven vertically into the underlying river mud. No cut stone window or door jambs were found during the excavation (Twohig 1985, 8) but a mantle piece is preserved in the Crawford Art Gallery from the College.

Mantlepiece. (Pl. 24).

Ornamented with seven decorated panels and an inscription in elaborated Roman and Gothic lettering. The frame of the fireplace is dressed and chamfered. The first panel on the left has a male figure in Elizabethan costume, a full knee-length lashed breeches, a neck ruff and a hat with a large feather. He is wearing a sword and is blowing a bugle to which a flag with a cross on it is attached. The panel is also decorated with a branch of a fruit tree. The next panel has a Tudor rose and the letters I F I above. There is a large spray of foliage in the next panel while the fourth panel has another Tudor rose and the date Ao 1585. The fifth panel is similar to the third and the sixth panel has a Tudor rose and the letters M G, while the last panel also has a figure blowing a bugle but with a different spray of foliage. The inscription below the panels is SOLI DEO HONOR ET GLORIA AMEN. O'Leary (1931, 42) identifies the initials as those of James Fitz James and Margaret Goold.
Dims: H. 165 Max W.304 cm.

15. ST. BRIGID'S PARISH CHURCH

Although the dedication may indicate a pre-Norman origin it is first referred to in the decretal letter of 1199 (Sheehy 1962, 106). A reference to "Seynte Bridestrete in the Narde", in 1307, helps to locate the church on the raised ground south of the walled city (Mills 1914, 375). It can be located even more precisely, however, because Bishop Downes states in his visitation of 1699-1702 that "St. Bridget's Church stood where the fort called the Cat is now built" (Lunham 1909, 80). Accordingly the church can be located, on the basis of Phillip's map (1685), in the area within the angle between Tower Street and Friar Street. The church stood on the west side of Stephen Street, where a burial ground is marked on the O.S. map.

The church of St. Brigid is mentioned in the testament of John de Wynchedon, 1306, but otherwise practically nothing is known of its history (O'Sullivan 1956, 78). In 1571 St. Brigid's was described as appertaining to the chancellor of St. Finbar's, and again in 1615, as his prebend. In 1615 the chancel was described as well furnished with books but the nave was in ruins (Lunham 1909, 81, n.33; Brady 1863, i, 294). In 1617 the parish functions of St. Brigid's are described as waste and they were given over to the vicars choral (Brady 1863, i, 254). Bishop Downes notes that it was a parish church and that there was no trace of it to be seen in 1702, although he notes "the ruins did appear before the

last war" (Lunham 1909, 80). Accordingly it would seem that the ruins were destroyed either in the construction of the Cat Fort or the attack on it during the siege of 1690, and that its ruins are those shown on Phillips' map.

Possible remains

Ogee headed window. 15th-16th cents. (Pl. 32)

Built into the wall of No. 74 Tower Street on the corner of St. James' Square, on the Tower Street side. Limestone. Now plastered over.

Dims. L. 80 H.40 cm.

16. ST. CATHERINE'S PARISH CHURCH

This church is first mentioned in a charter of Gerald de Prendergast dated 1223-30 (Candon 1985, 94) in which he granted to St. Thomas' Abbey, Dublin, two carucates of land at Enniscorthy in exchange for two carucates which Philip de Barry and Philip de Prendergast gave to them in the vill of Sendun (Shandon), saving to them the chapel of St. Catherine situated there (Gilbert 1889, 186). Thus while the chapel of St. Catherine had been granted to St. Thomas' Abbey before c.1230, it is not mentioned in the original grant of these carucates in 1183 (Gilbert 1889, 205). This may be because the church was originally granted to St. Thomas' in 1180 by bishop Gregory under the dedication of St. Nessian, If so, the dedication must have been changed to St. Catherine within the first quarter of the thirteenth century. St Catherine's was valued at 10s. in the ecclesiastical taxation of 1302-6 (Sweetman 1875-86, v, 308). In his will of 1306, John of Wynchedon bequeathed 40d. to the "church of St. Katherine of Shendon" (O'Sullivan 1956, 78). He also bequeathed 12d. to the "chapter of the same church" and as Cahalane (1957, 38) points out this presumably relates to St. Thomas' Abbey. Cahalane also notes that William O'Fin was parish priest of St. Catherine's in 1523. At some point prior to 1540 St. Catherine's passed from the possessions of St. Thomas' to the Cistercian Abbey of Chore (Middleton), and the extent of Chore in 1541 includes the appropriated rectory of "Blessed Katherine near Cork", then worth 6s. 8d. (White 1943, 151). The rectory was granted to Gyles Hovynden in the reign of Edward VI (1547-53) and to John FitzEdmond FitzGerald in 1575 (18 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 149: No. 6806; 12th Rep. 161: No. 2696). Lunham (1906, 101) notes that the rectory remained in FitzGerald hands until 1660 but it was forfeited before 1668. The parish of St. Catherine, however, had apparently been annexed to St. Mary's, Shandon, in 1617 (Brady 1863, i, 281-2), which Lunham (1906, 99-100) takes as indicating that the church was then in ruins, if not altogether demolished. According to Brady (1863, i, 281) it was already waste by 1591.

A number of references make it clear that St. Catherine's Church was situated in Shandon, i.e. in the area immediately north of the city (see Gilbert 1889, 186; O'Sullivan 1956, 78). There are also indications that it was situated west of the North Bridge. In 1612, for instance, there is a reference to "lands without North gate, near St. Catherine's Church on the west" (Caulfield 1876, 144), and in 1629 to "a plot of ground without the North Gate extending from the Hospitale on the east [probably Skiddy's Hospital or Almshouse] to the church of St. Catherine on the west" (O'Sullivan 1956, 85). Bolster (1972, 292), Cahalane (1957, 38), Caulfield (1883, 182) and Webster (1920, 155) all locate the church "in or near North Abbey Square" but absolute precision is impossible on the basis of the available evidence.

17. ST. JOHN'S IN CIVITATE

The decretal letter of Innocent III in 1199 (Sheehy 1962, 106) mentions the Church of St. John's in civitate. This probably indicates that it was within the walls since St. Peter's church is similarly described. No other references are known.

Smith (1815, i, 383) records the finding of old tombs near the new Market House, in a street formerly known as Jone's Street, within the city wall. He suggested that these were from the nunnery of St. John the Baptist but since this was located outside the walls it is possible that they came from the Church of St. John. Windele (1910, 64) adds that tomb and window fragments were still to be seen in the neighbouring houses. The survey of Cork (1663-4) lists a St. John's Lane in the south-east quarter of Cork, somewhere between Holy Trinity Church and the Castle (Simington 1942, 418).

18. ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, SHANDON

In 1306, John de Wynchedon bequeathed 40d. to the church of "Sancti Johannis oreinal". O'Sullivan (1956, 78) translates this as "the church of St. John [the Baptist] to the east [of the Magdalen Lazar House]" since it immediately succeeds the reference to the church of St. Mary Magdalen. All of the other churches mentioned in this section of the will (i.e. St. Catherine's, St. Mary's and St. Mary Magdalen's) were situated in Shandon and accordingly it is likely that this is a reference to a church of St. John in Shandon. This could account for the presence of a St. John's Street east of Shandon today. A mill called "John's Mill" situated near Shandon Church (and presumably on the Kiln river) is referred to in 1663-4 (Simington 1942, 464) and, while it is impossible to be certain, it may have taken its name from the church.

19. ST. LAURENCE'S PARISH CHURCH

In 1578 an inquisition found that at some date since 1482, James White had granted the church of St. Laurence with three adjacent messuages, to the chantry college of Holy Trinity Church (Archdall 1873, i, 126). The college was dissolved after the Reformation and both St. Laurence's Church and the messuages were granted to George Moore in 1578 (13 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 111: No. 3519). The earlier history of the church is unknown. The parish of St. Laurence is referred to in 1581 (Webster 1920, 137, n.40) but by 1615 the parish had been amalgamated with Holy Trinity (Windele 1910, 53). Accordingly, it is likely that it is one of the eleven parish churches described in 1462 as having been "wasted and destroyed" for the previous fifty years (Fowler 1897, 214). In 1616 it is described simply as a "waste house" (Webster 1920, 138, n. 44).

Windele (1910, 53) locates St. Laurence's Church on the site of the present Beamish and Crawford's Brewery, on the west side of South Main Street, where St. Laurence's Lane is referred to in 1666. A lease of 1694 suggests that this lane was the one immediately north of the walls (Webster 1920, 138, n.46), in a position in which it is shown on Rocque's map of 1759. In fact, Webster (1920, 138, n.41) is even more precise and locates it within the cask yard of the brewery. Windele (1910, 53) also suggests that an "old chapel at South Gate" referred to in 1969 may be St. Laurence's, while Lunham (1907, 65) locates the church in Collin's Lime Works.

Monuments

O'Leary (1931, 53-4) records a stoup from the brewery which is now in private hands.

20. ST. MARY DEL NARD PARISH CHURCH

Innocent III's decretal letter of 1199 mentions the church of St. Mary in Monte among the possessions of the diocese of Cork (Sheehy 1962, 106). This is clearly the church referred to elsewhere as "St. Mary del Nard", Nard being a corruption of Ir. and ard, "the height". The church had an alternate dedication to the Holy Cross or Holy Rood (Webster 1920, 147; see Jrl. Cork Hist. & Archaeol. Soc. 15 (1909), 180), and the church of "the Holy Cross del Nard" in the city of Cork is mentioned in 1311 (Wood, Langman and Griffiths n.d., 197). This identification permits the location of the church to be pinpointed because Speed's map (1610) clearly identifies the church of "holly Roe" as situated within the newly constructed Elizabeth Fort (cf. Lunham 1909, 81, 180). The earlier Hardiman map (c.1601) also

shows the church within the fort although it is not named. It would seem then that the height from which the suffix "del Nard" was derived is the high ground later chosen for the fort.

The foundation date of the church is unknown. In 1270 Henry III granted the patronage and advowson of the church to the bishop of Cork (Ir. Rec. Comm. 1829, 33) but in 1297 a dispute arose between Edward I and the bishop over the advowson of the church (Mills 1905, 142). In 1441 it was granted to the vicars choral by the bishop (Brady 1863, i, 253). It was still functioning in the 1580's when bequests were made for repairs to it (Webster 1920, 147, n.88). The church was probably demolished in the reconstruction of Elizabeth Fort after 1624. Caulfield (1871, 81), however, states that it was removed in 1643 and no trace remained in 1702 (Lunham 1909, 81).

21. ST. MARY'S CHURCH, SHANDON

The earliest definite reference to this church is in the ecclesiastical taxation of 1302-6, where the church "de Schendona" was valued at six marks (Sweetman 1875-86, v, 3 08). The dedication of the church is first recorded in the testament of John de Wynchedon, 1306, who donated 40d. to the fabric fund of St. Mary of Shandon, 12d. to the parish priest and 6d. to the cleric (O'Sullivan 1956, 78). In the fourteenth century the patronage of the church belonged to the de Rochford family who had inherited the borough of Shandon from the de Prendergasts (Brooks 1950, 140). In 1371 the dower assigned to Johanna, widow of John de Rochford, included the advowson of the vicarage of 'Beaver', (Carrigaline) but excluded the rectories of 'Beaver', Shandon and Douglas (MacNiocaill 1964b, 138-9). Margery, daughter and heir of John de Rochford, married Gerald FitzMaurice, earl of Kildare, who had seizin of her possessions by 1381-2 (Brooks 1950, 141), and through her the advowson passed to the FitzGerald family who held it until Church Disestablishment (O Murchadha 1959, 60 n.20). In 1615, the nave and chancel were recorded as in good repair (Brady 1863, i, 281). The church was demolished during the siege of 1690 (Day and Coppinger 1893, i, 408). In 1693, Henry Sidney, the lord lieutenant, granted a site at the foot of Shandon Street for a new church because the old site overlooked Shandon Castle (Day and Coppinger 1893, i, 408). In 1722, however, St. Anne's Church was built upon the site of the medieval St. Mary's (O'Shea 1943, 33).

Phillips map (1685) shows "Shandon Church" as a long rectangular structure with three transepts of annexes, two on the south and one on the north.

Monuments

The site of the church was cleared in 1930 and is now used as a children's playground (O'Leary 1931, 49). The dedication plaque which was there is now in St. Mary's, Sunday's Well (Pl. 25) but the grave slabs which were supposed to be there are missing. The crypt is said to survive underneath the playground.

The following monuments are preserved in St. Anne's Church.

Font. 1629 (Pl. 26).

Almost square font of green/grey limestone with a circular flat bottomed basin. On the north side of the main aisle. The lower part of the basin has a shallow external chamfer and the corners have concave chamfers. The central hole is blocked and the font is mounted on a hexagonal shaft and base. Running down one side of the shaft is a recessed groove ?part of a drainage channel. Two sides of the basin have an inscription in a mixture of Gothic and Roman lettering and script:

WALTER ELINTON/ AND WILLIAM RING/ 1629/ MADE THIS PANT/
AT THEIR CHAR/ GES.

Dims: H. of basin 30 W. 58 by 55
 D. of basin 15 Diam of basin 46cm.

George Piersy wall memorial. 1635.

Set into the vestry wall. A square framed plaque set on a table with obelisks above on either end. Also resting on the frame is a rectangular stone with an achievement of arms. The black stone plaque has an incised inscription in Roman lettering:

THE BURIAL PLACE OF/ GEORGE PIERSY ESQR/ ANNO DOMINI
1635.

The limestone plaque above has an engrailed heater shaped shield with a chevron and three lions' heads erased. The mantling is elaborate and the crest consists of an arm protruding from a torso wielding a sword.

Dims: Black plaque H.79 W.79
 Arms stone H.42 W.35 cm.

Table tomb. ?17th cent.

On the north-west side of the church, in the graveyard. Rectangular slab on surrounds which appears to have had a white plaster inlay in a centre recess and along the margins. There is only a small amount of the plaster remaining and there is no inscription.

Dims: L.226 W.120 T.11 cm

Heraldic Plaque. ?17th cent.

Set in the pathway along the north side of the church. Square plaque with an heraldic shield in low false relief. The

heater shaped shield is set diagonally and is divided per pale with three fish (?for Roche) in the dexter and three bars with rings and three flowers sinister.

Dims: 69 by 69 cm

Cross slab.

Small coffin-shaped cross slab, probably for a child. On the ground at the west end of the graveyard beside the wall. The upper part of the slab is broken off and the surface is badly damaged. The lower part of an incised cross with fleur-de-lis terminals remains.

Dims: L. 86 W.46-40 T.11 cm

Dedication Plaque

Originally above the door of the old St. Mary's Church at the bottom of Shandon St. Now in the porch of St. Mary's (C of I), Sunday's Well. Incised inscription with traces of gilding:

AD AEDIFICANDUM TEMPLUM/ HOC QUANTULUM EST AGRI DONUM
INCIN/ PAROCHIAE MARIAE DE SHANDON GRATIS/ DEDIT
NOBILISSIMUS DOINUS HENRICUS/ VICECOMES SYDNEY HYBERNIAE
PROREX/ ANN DOM MDCXCIII/ CUJUC MEMORIA IN AETERNUM
FLOREAT.

Dims: H.52 W.91 cm

Missing monuments

Stephen Coppinger. 1681

Grave slab inscribed: IN THIS MONUMENT ERCTED AT THE CHARGES OF ELIZABETH COPPINGER, ALIAS GOOLD LAYETH THE BODY OF HER DEAR HUSBAND STEPHEN COPPINGER CHIEF OF THE NAME WHO DECEASED 28TH DAY OF JULY 1681 AGED 71 YEARS. Day and Coppinger 1893, i, 411.

A tombstone with a Latin inscription and the grave of Thomas Steptoe (1684). Day and Coppinger 1893, i, 411.

Church Plate

Chalice and Paten. 1627.

Undecorated chalice, inscribed: THIS CVP WAS GIVEN TO THE CHVRCH OF ST MARY SHANDON WITHOUT CORKE THE YEARE 1627 BY MARGERIE THE WIFE OF THOMAS HVET. The paten is undecorated.

Chalice. 1633.

The modern cathedral of St. Mary's had this chalice in 1878. Inscribed: DNS RANALDUS HURLY ET DNA EVLINA DE CURCY CONJUGES ME DEI SERVITIO A D 1633 (JCHAS 1905, 105).

Chalice and Paten. 1688.

Undecorated chalice, apart from the inscription on the foot:

THE GIFT OF ELLIN TAYLOR TO THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY SHANDON 1688. The makers initial are RS indicating Richard Smart master of the Cork Guild in 1676. The paten has similar marks and inscription.

The church also has a collection of sixteenth and seventeenth century printed books which appear to have formed part of its original library.

22. ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH.

The decretal letter of Innocent III in 1199 (Sheehy 1962, 106) mentions the church of St. Michael and clearly states that it was situated within the same churchyard (cimiterium) as St. Mary del Nard. No other references are known. It is quite likely that the church was of pre-Norman origin.

23. ST. NESSAN'S CHURCH

This was probably a pre-Norman foundation, dedicated to St. Finbar's successor as abbot of Cork. It is first mentioned in a charter of 1180, when Gregory, bishop of Cork, granted the church of St. Nessian to St. Thomas' Abbey, Dublin (Gilbert 1889, 220). In 1199 it was listed among the possessions of the bishop of Cork in the decretal letter of Innocent III (Sheehy 1962, 106) but thereafter the church fades from the historical record because it was rededicated to St. Catherine (see above).

The church stood on the site of St. Catherine's church described in 1612 as lying without the North Gate (Caulfield 1876, 39). The 1612 grant mentions a mill race west of the church which is to be identified with "the stream flowing from the mill of St. Nessian" mentioned in 1177-83 (Gilbert 1889, 205; cf. Brooks 1936, 341). This stream still flows under North Abbey Square but it is now culverted over.

24. ST. NICHOLAS' CHURCH (HOLY SEPULCHRE)

A charter of confirmation by Reginald, bishop of Cork (Gilbert 1889, 209), states that Roger de Oxford had given the chapel of St. Nicholas in Cork to St. Thomas' Abbey, Dublin, during the reign of Reginald's predecessor Gregory, who died in 1186 according to Brooks (1936, 338; Bolster 1972, 173-5, gives the death as 1182). The chapel was said to be "in the court which belonged to Gilbert, son of Turgarius", the Norse leader killed in the sea battle off Youghal in 1173. In the taxation of 11302-6, the church of St. Nicholas was valued at 10s. (Sweetman 1875-86, v, 308). Nothing further is heard of the chapel until 1569 when the "chapel of St. Nicholas in the suburbs of Corke", which had

been part of the possessions of St. Thomas' Abbey, was leased to John Bathe (11 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 199: No. 1328). It was subsequently re-leased in 1571, 1584, 1589, and 1609 (12 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 26: No. 1668; 15 Rep., 35: No. 4374; 16 Rep., 93: No. 5306; Erck 1846-52, 547). The church seems to have been deserted by 1639 (Brady 1863, i, 295) and in 1702, Bishop Downes noted that St. Nicholas' Church, which stood to the west of Red Abbey, was "ruinous time out of mind" (Lunham 1909, 81). The church was rebuilt in 1720 and in 1752 the parishes of St. Brigid, St. John of Jerusalem, St. Stephen, St. Mary and St. Dominick were united to form the parish of St. Nicholas (Lunham 1909, 81, n.33). A new church was built in 1849-50 when the remains of three earlier structures were discovered in the course of construction (O'Shea 1943, 34; Jrl. Cork Hist. & Archaeol. Soc. 11 (1905), 200).

Brooks (1936, 337-8) suggested that the modern church of St. Nicholas occupies the site of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, granted by Robert FitzStephen and Miles de Cogan to St. Nicholas' Priory, Exeter, between 1177 and 1182 (Brooks 1936, 324-5). The deeds, in fact, record that Gregory, bishop of Cork, had already placed monks of St. Nicholas' in St. Sepulchre's because it was waste (Brooks 1936, 325). This suggestion has much to commend it. The church of St. Sepulchre stood between the "curtilages and burgesses", probably immediately south of South Gate Bridge, and the "court of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem", which stood on the present St. John's graveyard off Douglas Street (Brooks 1936, 336) and was in the vicinity of the modern St. Nicholas' Church. Furthermore, Brooks' (1936, 337-8) suggestion that the dedication to St. Sepulchre was changed to St. Nicholas after it was granted to St. Nicholas' Priory, Exeter, is very plausible, and it is supported by a reference to "St. Nicholas', Cork, and the monks there" in a grant of c.1190 (Brooks 1936, 346). The latest reference to St. Sepulchre's, however, occurs in 1199 (Sheehy 1962, 106) and all of the sixteenth and seventeenth century references to St. Nicholas' Church identify it as having been part of the possessions of St. Thomas' Abbey. Thus it is almost certain that the present St. Nicholas' Church occupies the site of the eponymous church granted to St. Thomas' Abbey by Roger de Oxford and one if forced to conclude either that St. Sepulchre's was situated nearby or that the two churches were in fact one and the same, that St. Sepulchre's changed its name to St. Nicholas' after it was granted to St. Nicholas', Exeter, and was subsequently regranted to St. Thomas' Abbey, Dublin, in whose possession it remained for the rest of the Middle Ages (see Bolster 1972, 119).

Monuments

There is a collection of grave slabs against the west wall of the Church.

Walshe and Goughe. 1597. (Pl. 28)

Rectangular limestone cross slab in two pieces. Decorated in false relief with an eight armed fleur-de-lis cross and shields with the symbols of the passion. The cross is double ringed with a three bar knop and a stepped base. There appears to have been a shield in the base but it has been damaged. Part of a bend can be seen on the left side of the shield and the letters R W and A are on either side of the shield. The letters E W are incised on the left. The four shields with the Passion symbols are on either side of the shaft. The top left has a cross, crown of thorns, cross saltire, ladder, pincers and hammer. There is a Tudor rose below and the lower shield has seven swords piercing a heart. On the right side the upper shield has the seamless garment and the hands and feet showing the nail wounds. Below this is the three-legged pot with the cock. The lower shield has the scourges and the pillar with some lettering above 'INRI ...S'. Marginal inscription in Roman capitals:

HERE LIETHE THE/ GRAVE OF RICH/ ARD WALSH AND HIS/
WIFFE AN GOA/ GHE THE YEARE OF Our lORDE GOD ANO/ DOMINI
1597

Dims: L.190 W.88 T.15 cm

Grave slab. 1629.

Rectangular limestone slab decorated with a tongs and the letters D S/ C F 1629.

Dims: L.151 W.59 T.15 cm

"Adam and Eve" slab.

Rectangular slab in two pieces. The surface is in bad condition. Decorated with a eight-armed fleur-de-lis cross on steps with large figures of Adam and Eve on either side of the stem. Adam appears to be eating an apple and Eve has her right hand raised. The shaft of the cross has a knop and cross bar but the inscription is obliterated.

Dims: L. 158 W.62 T.13 cm

Cross slab. ?15th cent. (Pl. 27).

Coffin shaped limestone cross slab. The cross rises from steps and the head is expanded into a quatrefoil within which there are four heads. The upper part of the slab has foiled niches.

Dims: L.172 W.66-43 T.14 cm

Font (Pl. 29).

Limestone font moved from St. Peter's Church. In three pieces, a basin, shaft and base. Rectangular, chamfered below with widely splayed corners. Circular basin with blocked drainage hole. The shaft and base have similar chamfered sides. The entire surface of the font, column and base are tooled. One side has two recessed panels with the letters RW IN and 1664 in false relief.

Dims: H.35 W.64.5 by 61 H. overall 98 cm

Church Plate

Paten

Thin silver paten inscribed: PARISH OF THE HOLY TRINITY CORK.
Dims: Diam. 20 cm.

25. ST PETER'S PARISH CHURCH

The first reference to this church occurs in the decretal letter of 1199 (Sheehy 1962, 106), but it is not until 1306 that there is a clear reference to it as a parish church (O'Sullivan 1956, 78). In 1270 Henry III granted the patronage and advowson of the church to the bishop of Cork (Ir. Rec. Comm. 1829, 33) but in 1297 a dispute arose between the King (Edward I) and the bishop over the advowson of the church (Mills 1905, 142) in which judgement was apparently given against the bishop (Day and Coppinger 1893, i, 40 n.4). In the ecclesiastical taxation of 1302-6 St. Peter's was valued at 12 marks indicating that it was not quite as wealthy as Holy Trinity (Sweetman 1875-86, v, 319). On the death of the lord lieutenant Edmund de Mortimer in 1381 a council was held in the church at which John Colton was chosen as justiciar of Ireland (Richardson and Sayles 1947, 115-20).

Elizabeth's charter of 1575 to the city provided £20 annually for the maintenance of St. Peter's (Collingridge 1982, 114-5). In 1578, George Moore was granted a "stone house tiled, parcel of the lands of the late church of St. Peter in Cork" (13 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 111: No. 3519). The allusion to "the late church of St. Peter" is puzzling because St. Peter's clearly continued to function as a parish church after the Reformation. It may relate to a chantry which was dissolved. Windele (1910, 49), for instance, suggests that "Goulde's chapel" referred to in a deed of 1609 was a chantry established by Robert Goulde, according to an inquisition of 1578. In 1639 the church was described as ruined (Brady 1863, i, 311). The church seems to have escaped major damage in 1690 and was demolished in 1782. The present church was built in 1785 (Windele 1910, 49; O'Shea 1943, 32).

Nothing survives of the pre-1700 fabric and it is difficult to know what the appearance of the church was like. The Hardiman map (c.1601) depicts it as a single-naved structure without aisles, transepts or tower. St. Peter's, however, apparently had a free-standing tower on or near the city walls, to the west, which was taken down and rebuilt in 1683 (Smith 1815, i, 366). It is indicated in this position on the Tuckey map (1545), but not on the Pacata Hibernia, Speed or Hardiman maps. The church had at least two side-chapels. The Lady Chapel is mentioned in the mid-fifteenth century Landgable roll of Cork (MacNiocaill 1964a, 594), and there was a chapel dedicated to St.

Catherine by the sixteenth century (Webster 1920, 150 and n.94).

Monuments

Several grave slabs were recorded in the 1930s but only a few fragments remain on the left side of the church door. O'Leary (1931, 45) also mentions that fragments of stone in pointed Gothic style were unearthed in 1823 (1931, 45).

Grave-slab. 1638.

Rectangular limestone slab lying in a heap of rubbish on the left side of the church in the front graveyard. Decorated in low false relief with an eight-armed fleur-de-lis cross on steps. On one side of the stem is the date 1638 and the incised letters V H and G W.

Dims: L.136 W.60 T.9 cm.

Cross-slab. 16th cent.

Two fragments of a rectangular cross slab. Decorated in low false relief with an eight-armed ringed fleur-de-lis cross. Only one half of the head of the cross remains and the shaft of the cross was shown like the trunk of a tree with a Tudor rose on the left side.

Dims: a) L.74 W.46 D.14

b) L.86 W.60 D.14

Grave-slab. 16th cent.

Set into the ground as a paving slab. Only the marginal inscription is visible and this was carved in false relief Roman lettering 'R B W E'

Dims: L.40 W. 30 (est).

Wall memorial. 1686.

Rectangular limestone slab., built into the wall of the house at the rear of St. Peter's Church facing into the graveyard. It has a worn incised Roman lettered inscription:

HERE LYETH THE/ BODY OF WILLIAM/ rogers WHO DEC/ EASED
THE X DAY/ OF DESEMBER 1686/ AGED 36 YEARS.

Dims: H. 36 W. 45 cm.

O'Leary 1931, 48

Missing monuments

Stephen Couch. 1693.

On the west side of the church according to O'Leary (1931, 48).

Limestone head.

Formerly on the corner of Grattan St. and Peter St. Said to

be from the church (Windele 1910, 27).

Tombstone.

Formerly on wall of house at the corner of Grattan St. and Philips Lane. Inscribed MISERERI MEI (Windele 1910, 27; O'Leary 1931, 26).

Tombstone.

At the east end of the church. Inscribed: THIS TOMB/ WAS ERECT/ ED AT THE CHARGE OF/ MR WILLIAM MARTERS OF THE CIT(TY) OF CORKE 29TH 1608 (O'Leary 1931, 48).

Church Plate

Chalice. 1627.

Inscribed THIS CUP WAS MADE FOR THE CHURCH OF ST PETERS IN CORK IN YEARE 1627, RICHARD COOKE, WILLIAM POTTER, CHURCH WARDENS. The stem has three knops and the foot is flanged. (O'Leary 1931, 93.)

26. ST. PHILIP'S CHURCH

The only reference to the existence of this church occurs in the will of John de Wynchedon, 1306 (O'Sullivan 1956, 78). It has been suggested that it was located in the same general area as St. Brigid's and St. Stephen's on the south side of the walled city (O'Sullivan 1956, 86).

27. AUGUSTINIAN PRIORY OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST (GILL ABBEY)

This abbey was known by the alternative names of Gill Abbey (after Gilla Aedha Ó Muidhin, its first abbot), de Antro Finbarri ('the cave of Finbar', an allusion to a cave on the site associated with St. Finbar), and Weym or Weem (from Ir. uamh, 'cave'). A charter of c.1173-4, from Diarmait Mac Carthaig, King of Desmond, makes it clear that the abbey was found by Diarmait's father, Cormac Mac Carthaig (d.1138). Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 150) date its foundation to c.1136-7. It was a daughter house of Cong, founded by Cormac apparently as restitution for sacking Cong in 1134 (Walsh and O'Sullivan 1949, 45-6; cf. O Murchadha 1985, 33-5) but it is unclear whether Cork followed Cong in adopting the Arroasian observance (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 150). Diarmait's charter of 1173-4 confirmed and increased the abbey's endowments. In 1196, in what is presumably a reference to the abbey, the Anglo-Normans of Cork burned "the sanctuary of the cave" ('in nemid agus na huama') lest it be occupied by the men of Desmond (AI; O hInnse 1947, 77).

Judging by the surviving abbots' names it remained

largely in Irish hands throughout the Middle Ages (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 167) and in 1315, Donnchad Mac Carthaig, King of Desmond, was buried there (AI). In the ecclesiastical taxation of 1302-6 the temporalities of the abbot de Antro were valued at 10 marks (Sweetman 1875-86, v, 308). In 1470-1, the dedication is given as 'St. Mary's alias St. John the Evangelist's de Antro' (Twemlow 1933, 360), but this is probably an error due to the fact that the mother abbey at Cong was St. Mary's Abbey. The extent of the abbey drawn up in 1541 noted that all buildings on the site were necessary for the use of the farmer, James, earl of Ormond (White 1943, 141-3). The site of the abbey was leased to Henry Davels in 1575 and again in 1579 (12 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 168: No. 2747; 13 Rep., 114: No. 3538), in 1582 it was leased to Elles Rothe, alias M'Worthe, widow of Henry Davels, (13 Rep., 184: No. 4026). In 1589 it was leased to Richard Grenville and in 1591 granted to him (Morrin 1862, 195; 16 Rep., 163: No. 5566). According to Caulfield (1904, 260) the president of Munster chose the abbey in 1596 as the most suitable residence for him in Cork. In 1605-6 the abbey was reported to have suffered great devastation in the preceding three years, amounting to 100 marks, particularly the mill and weir (Archdall 1873, i, 119). The site was purchased by Richard Boyle, earl of Cork, between 1620-40 and used by him to build a mansion for his second son, Lewis (Webster 1920, 31-2). Charles I's charter of 1631 noted that Gill Abbey along with the Franciscan, Dominican and Augustinian friaries were occupied by a range of merchants, traders, craftsmen and artisans who were ordered to be under the government of the officers of the city (Charters and By-laws, 81-111). The remaining buildings of the abbey were demolished in 1745 (Archdall 1873, i, 120; Caulfield 1904, 260). Caulfield (1904, 260) also mentions the collapse in 1738 of "Gill Abbey Castle", about which nothing else is known.

Architectural Remains

The site of the abbey is now a park. Burials were found during clearance work and these, together with some decorated stones, were placed in the Republican Plot in St. Finbar's Cemetery (See Cork University record 1967, 95-6).

Rib-boss. ?15th cent.

Found in 1981 while preparing the site of Lapps Court, near Glasheen Road, for bungalows. It is now on the wall of the courtyard at Lapps Court. Limestone. Hexagonal ribs with a rosette boss. There is a hole in the centre of the flower which is well worn.

Dims: W.38 by 38. Diam of centre panel 17 cm.

Pointed niche. (Pl. 30).

Limestone. Chamfered.

Dims: H.48 W.56 T.24 cm.

Two carved heads. ?13th cent. (Pl. 30).
Set below the niche. Both are damaged. The left one is a male head with a flat hat over a short hair style. Dims: H.14 W.9 T.7 cm.

The right head, on a matching moulding, has a tonsure or very short hair. Dims: H.14 W.9 T.7 cm.

Carved stone.
Sandstone or fine grained granite. Hexagonal at the base with a domed upper surface.
Dims: H.25 W.22 cm.

Latin Cross. (Pl. 30).
Set within the niche. Granite. Decorated with an incised equal armed cross surrounded by a raised moulding in the centre of the transom. Above the cross are two raised circles, the outer one opening downwards onto the top of the incised cross.
Dims: H.40 W. 19(max) T.5 cm.

An anonymous writer in Jrl. Cork Hist. & Archaeol. Soc. 3 (1884), 155 noted a small fragment of wall adjoining Abbeymount (Gill Abbey Lane) and a portion of window mullion preserved in a neighbouring cabin. Built into the masonry at the entrance to a field between the Western Road and the Mardyke at its westernmost end were three old carved stones which are now at the Republican Plot (See O'Leary 1931, 62).

28. AUGUSTINIAN FRIARY (RED ABBEY)

The differing suggestions as to the foundation date of this friary have been discussed by O'Sullivan (1943, 10) and Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 297-8). The earliest definite reference to the friary occurs in the will of John de Wynchedon dated 1306, in which he made bequests to the friars and stipulated that his body be interred in their cemetery (O'Sullivan 1956, 76-7). A late thirteenth century date for the friary's foundation seems likely and the tradition of its foundation in 1420 by Patrick de Courcy, Lord of Kinsale, may preserve the memory of a rebuilding (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 298).

Nothing else is known of the friary until the dissolution when its extent noted that the church, chancel, two chapels and an old dormitory could be thrown down but a new dormitory, a hall, a buttery, a kitchen, a cloister, six rooms, and six cellars were necessary for the farmer (White 1943, 140). The friary was leased to John Coppinger of Cork in 1567 (11 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 172: No. 1155) and to Cormack m'Teig M'Cartie in 1577 (13 Rep., 49: No. 3121). Both O'Sullivan (1943, 11) and Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 298) suggest that the friars continued to

occupy the friary until 1641. Some of the buildings, however, appear to have been used by Cork merchants and apart from the mention in Charles I's charter there is a reference in 1629 to merchants unloading wines from ships into the abbey (Caulfield 1976, 145). Archdall (1873, i, 125-6) noted that much of the church survived in his day including a magnificent east window, thirty feet high and fifteen feet wide but only the crossing tower survives today.

Description

The tower, located on the north side of Red Abbey St., is now free-standing. It was presumably a crossing tower having a chancel on the east, nave on the west and low transepts with stone vaulted roof on the north and south, because the arches are open on all sides, and roof-lines are present on the east and west sides. The lower part of the tower has been refaced and the stone work consists of neatly dressed evenly coursed limestone masonry. The tower is four storied and the masonry above the ground floor arches consists of evenly coursed limestone and sandstone. The ground floor has a barrel vault with a central bell-hole. The supports for the ribs of the east and west arches are carried on chamfered tapering corbels, only two of which survive. The first floor had a stairs and door in the south wall opening from the south transept in the thickness of the east wall. It also has two narrow rectangular windows under the roof line in the east and west walls. The roof line on the east and west walls is continued by a string course on the north and south. The second floor has one narrow rectangular window with dressed jambs and flat lintel on the north wall. There is a further string course between the third and fourth floor level, above which the walls of the tower are set back. The top floor has twin-light round headed windows in the north and west walls with rectangular hood moulding above and single light windows in the east and south walls all with dressed and chamfered jambs. There are large overhanging water spouts just below the top of the tower, four on each of the west, east and south sides, and three on the north wall. It is possible that some walls of the abbey may remain on the north side of the tower in the garage. Windele (1910, 55) mentions that the refectory stood until the nineteenth century.

Well

An old well is covered over in the garage immediately to the north and it is believed that the bell of the church is buried nearby (O'Leary 1931, 72).

Altar Stone

Decorated with four crosses within a circle, IHS, and the date 1648. Now in the parish priest's house at Passage. (Windele 1910, 55; O'Leary 1931, 72.)

Church Plate

Chalice. 17th cent.

Silver. Deep bowl with an everted rim. Hexagonal stem, flattened globular knob with vertical fluting. The foot was added in 1754.

(Buckley 1943, 169.)

29. BENEDICTINE PRIORY OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST

The history of this foundation is somewhat obscure and is further complicated by its proximity to the church of the Knights Hospitallers which was also dedicated to St. John. Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 104-5) note that the cell or hospital of St. John the Evangelist was founded at Cork c.1191, and was endowed by John as earl of Morton between 1191-9 (Bolster 1972, 151-2). In 1226 the prior of Cork complained that Thomas FitzAnthony had dispossessed him of a mill and two burgages granted to him by John (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 1437). According to Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 105) the priory, together with a sister foundation at Waterford were united to the Benedictine monastery of Bath in or before 1204. Royal confirmation of the union of the Waterford hospital with Bath survives (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 220) but there is no direct record of Cork being united at this date. In 1381, however, the prior of Bath was in possession of the Church of St. John the Evangelist in "le Fairgh" at Cork (Tresham 1828, 111: No. 58). In 1284, letters of protection were issued for Brother Richard of Warwick, "custodian of the hospital of St. John the Evangelist of Waterford and Cork" (Sweetman 1875-86, ii, No. 2302), presumably a monk of Bath sent over to administer the two Irish houses. In 1344 the precentor of Cork received a papal mandate to install John de Axebrugge, a monk of Bath, in the priory of St. John the Evangelist, in the diocese of Waterford and Cork, subject to the church of Bath (Bliss and Johnson 1897, 97). Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 105) refer to the removal in 1484 of a Benedictine monk from a perpetual rectory in Cork which belonged to Bath, but in fact this refers to Kinsale (Twemlow 1955, 176). Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 105) gave the date of the hospital's suppression as 1536.

In 1364 it was recorded that the prior of the house of St. John the Evangelist near Waterford had failed to provide for four chaplains performing divine service daily at Cork, for twelve beds for paupers, and for sustenance of two brethren and two sisters there (44 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 30). It is unclear, however, whether these provisions refer to St. John the Evangelist's at Cork, as Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 105) and Bolster (1972, 138) suggest or to Legan (i.e. Monkstown, Co. Cork) where there was

another subject house of Bath (Webster 1920, 195). It is clear, however, that the Cork priory functioned as a hospital. In 1225-6, for instance, letters of protection were issued to "the prior and monks of the hospital of St. John of Cork" (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 1343). In the early fourteenth century it also acted as the focus of an independent manorial settlement (see under suburbs).

A description of the possessions of the priory, apparently dating to the reign of Henry VIII stated that the prior of Bath held at Cork a hospital, a parochial church, the chapel of St. Leonard, and a court for his tenants in St. John Street, drawing a yearly rent of six marks from the city of Cork; the brothers, sisters and sick of the infirmary received corn from the manor of Legan (Webster 1920, 143, n.63; Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 105; Bolster 1972, 139-40). In the visitations of 1591 and 1615 the church of St. John the Evangelist is referred to as belonging to the prior of Bath; the 1615 visitation records it as having no church, chancel or curate (Brady 1863, i, 275).

The priory is generally located in or near Douglas Street on the south bank of the River Lee. O'Sullivan (1943, 11) and Bolster (1972, 135) locate it at the old St. John's graveyard and the South Presentation Convent, on the south side of Douglas Street. It would appear, however, that this is actually the site of the Knight's Hospitaller's house dedicated to St. John the Baptist (see below). A deed of 1323 indicates that the priory of St. John the Evangelist stood to the north of St. John the Baptist's and east of the Augustinian Friary (Red Abbey). Consequently it is more likely to have been located on the north side of Douglas Street, east of the Augustinian Friary but greater precision is impossible. It may be, however, that the church-like structure shown to the east of the Augustinian Friary on the Pacata Hibernia map represents the church of St. John the Evangelist.

30. DOMINICAN PRIORY OF ST. MARY

Most writers agree that this priory was founded in 1229 by Philip de Barry, nephew of Robert FitzStephen (Archdall 1873, 121-5; O'Sullivan 1943, 14; Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 224). A grant of royal alms to the priory is recorded in 1285 (Sweetman 1875-86, iii, No. 97). In 1317 the priory received a special charter entrusting custody of the gate in the walls of Cork nearest the priory to the mayor and bailiffs (Tresham 1928, 24: No. 157; Ir. Rec. Comm. 1829, 48). The gate to which this refers is not known. It was possibly the South Gate or perhaps a smaller gate in the south-western sector of the walls. In 1610 James Murrough was ordered to break down a stone house built by him "being without South Gate, and near the gate leading to St. Dominick's Abbey" (Caulfield 1876, 19). It is possible that the priory precinct was enclosed by

its own walls with a gate opening into the town. In 1381 Edmund Mortimer, earl of March and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, died in the Dominican house at Cork (Richardson and Sayles 1947, 115-20). The fact that he used the priory as his residence seems to bear out the suggestion that the house was wealthy and perhaps the finest of all medieval religious houses in Cork (Archdall 1873, 121-5; O'Sullivan 1943, 14).

The extent of the priory drawn up after the Dissolution in 1541 noted the church, belfry, and two chapels which could be thrown down whereas all the other buildings and houses in the precinct were necessary for the use of the farmer. In 1544 the priory was granted to William Boureman (7 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 70: No. 388); it was also granted to Henry Galwey at some (?later) date in the reign of Henry VIII (7 Rep., 85: No. 533). In 1556-7 William Boureman and John Browne, merchants of Cork, were pardoned for alienating the site and precinct of the priory (Morris 1861, 375). In 1557 an attempt was made to revive the priory. In that year Robert Gogan, the Dominican prior of Youghal petitioned Queen Mary for the restitution of "the Monastery of St. Mary of the Island adjoining to the walls of Cork, now partly thrown down" (Hamilton 1860, 140). In the same year the earl of Desmond asked the Queen to restore the house which was then owned by John Browne and Edmund Gowle, to the Dominicans, noting that it was "not yet all defaced nor plucked down, and that a great part of all the gentlemen and lords hereabouts have their monuments there" (Caulfield 1876, xv). There is nothing to suggest that anything ever came of these requests, however, and in 1571 Edmund Gowle was pardoned for intrusion in the site of the monastery (12 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 50: No. 1837). The church and buildings were granted to Sir John King in 1616 (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 224) and in 1631 the priory was one of the religious houses mentioned in the charter of Charles I as being inhabited by merchants and traders (Charters and By-laws 1813, 81-111). In his will of 1637, Sir Randall Clayton was described as resident at St. Dominic's Abbey, Cork, and he bequeathed his dwelling house of St. Dominic's Abbey to his wife (Jrl. Cork Hist. & Archaeol. Soc. 58 (1953), 39).

Archdall (1873, i, 121-5) and O'Sullivan (1943, 14) record the tradition derived from Ware that the priory held a bronze equestrian statue of the founder, Phillip de Barry, while Archdall and Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 224) record the seizure of the statue of St. Dominic from the priory by the bishop of Cork and its subsequent burning at the city's high cross in 1578. The priory stood on an island immediately west of the city, towards its southern end, and this explains its frequent appellation "St. Mary's of the Isle". It is shown by the Pacata Hibernia, Hardiman Coll., Speed and Phillips' maps in this position.

Description

Nothing survives of this priory except for one possible wall fragment, the chapter house door, now at St. Finbar's Cathedral, and some carved stones.

The wall surrounding the rear gateway into the modern convent is built of roughly coursed mixed stone with an internal batter 2 m high. It is about 5 m high and 1 m in maximum width. The south end is angled to the east and is built of ashlar at this point. The remainder of the wall has two bricked up modern windows and one bricked up archway. The present entrance is through another arch.

Immediately inside the gate, on the left, is a modern grotto in which there is at least four dressed stones, one of which is sandstone with concave mouldings. Two other dressed stones are present in the flower bed immediately outside the gate. There are five carved stones at the home of Dr. and Mrs. J Young, Beech Hurst, Boreenmanagh Road. This house was owned originally by Mr. Heaslip who owns the mill beside the abbey and the location of the stones was recorded by O'Leary (1931).

Four stones have double rounded moulding and may be the jambs of an elaborate window while one has mouldings on both sides and could be part of the internal tracery. The fifth stone with three squared mouldings would appear to be a pillar base or cap of a fifteenth century cloister arcade.

Window mouldings:	1.	H.26	W. 43	T.11 cm.
	2.	H.29	W. 44	T.11 cm.
	3.	H.46	W. 45	T.5 cm.
	4.	H.32	W. 45	T.11 cm.
Cloister fragment		H.18	W. 49	T.13 cm.(across web)

Ivory figurine. 14th cent.

Located in the modern Dominican house, Pope's Quay, where it is exposed for veneration in the south aisle. It is an image of the Virgin and Child said to have been brought to Ireland in 1304 by Maurice O'Carroll, archbishop of Cashel, and to have been buried with him in the Dominican house at Youghal. It was later removed from the grave and became an object of great devotion until the church in Youghal was destroyed in the reign of Elizabeth. It was rescued by a daughter of James FitzMaurice FitzGerald and enclosed in the silver reliquary in which it is at present. The figurine has been at Cork since the end of the 18th century.

The Virgin is enthroned and wears a belted tunic with her cloak draped across her knee. Her right hand is raised in blessing. The Child stands on her left knee. She supports Him by holding His left hand. His right hand points at His Mother. A silver case was made for the figure in the early 17th century. The doors open to form a triptych. The inside

of the left hand door has an engraved foliage design and below this is a crucifixion with INRI above the cross and the skull and crossed bones below. The right door also has a foliage design and the figure of Mary below. There is a small Latin cross on top of the shrine. The inscription is:

ORATE PRO ANIMA ONORIAE FILIAE JACOBI DE GERALINIS QUAE
ME FIERI FECIT ANNO DOMINI 1617

Dims: Fig. H.10 W.4.5 cm.
Case. H.12 W.6 cm.

Church Plate

Chalice and Paten. 1601

Now at St. Maries of the Isle. The bowl rests in a calyx of four sepals. The pierced knop is spherical with Gothic tracery. The hexagonal flanged foot has a crucifixion and two other panels have foliage ornament. Inscribed 7 JUINE 1601. The paten is engraved with the hand of God and the words IESVS NASARENVS IVDEORVM.

Buckley 1943, 30-1.

Silver Chalice. 1632

Originally from Youghal. The cup is gilded externally and has a spherical knop. The bowl rests in a calyx of six sepals, and the flanged foot and every second sepal has a foliage design with cross hatched stems. One flange has an incised crucifixion with Christ haloed, nailed with three nails on a plain Latin cross, INRI on a ribbon above, a spear, a ladder, a skull and crossed bones. The inscription in Roman lettering is + PERTINET AD CONVENTVM DEI/ PARAE GRATIA/ RVM DE EO/ HALL 1632.

Dims: H.23 Diam. of cup 9.5 cm.

Buckley 1943, 54.

Silver Monstrance. 1669.

Inscribed: PATER FRATER RICHARDUS KENT ORDINIS PRAEDICATORUM ME FIERI FECIT PRO CONVENTU CORCAGIENSI ANNO DOMINI 1669. The base is hexagonal with engravings on each panel: the crucifixion, St. Dominick, St. Finbar, SS Peter & Paul, Man of Sorrows, Virgin & Child.

JRSAI 15 (1879-82), 445; JCHAS 1895, 364; O'Leary 1931, 91.

Silver chalice. 1674.

Small chalice with globular knop and a hexagonal flanged foot. Each flange is decorated with a fleur-de-lis and one flange is engraved with a cross, an INRI, the sponge and lance above a heart. The inscription is around the base in script: ORA PRO DNO CORNELIO MIGHANES QUI ME FIERI FECIT ANNO DNI 1674. It also has an added inscription of 1751 and the letters J B for Jerome Burchill who was church warden in 1697 (O'Leary 1931, 90).

Dims: H.15 Diam. of cup 6.5 cm.

JCHAS 1897, 75; Buckley 1943, 110.

Silver Crucifix. 1699.

Small Calvary on four steps. The carved figure of Christ is nailed to the cross with three nails. Below the feet is a skull and crossed bones and above the figure is a diagonal recess for a relic. Small pieces of the true cross with 'crucis' are inserted in a silver container in the recess. The recess is an additional as it defaced the original inscription. Inscription: 'INRI. PATER, FRATER JOANNES RYEGAN OR FINIS PRAEDICATORUM / ME FIERI FECIT PRO CONVENTU CORCAGIENSI ANNO DOMINI 1699.

Dims: H.30 cm.

31. FRANCISCAN FRIARY

The foundation date of this friary and the identity of its founder is uncertain. The Annals of the Four Masters record the foundation of the "monastery of St. Francis at Cork" by Diarmait Mac Carthaig Mór, King of Desmond, in 1229 (cf. Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 246). Other sources, as noted by O'Sullivan (1940, 3-4) suggest 1214, and dates between 1229 and 1240 for the foundation and as its founders, Philip Prendergast, Maurice Prendergast, one of the Burkes or Diarmait Mac Carthaig Riabhach. The friary was in Shandon, where the Prendergasts were lords in the thirteenth century, and accordingly they are likely candidates as founders. In this regard it might be suggested that when Gerald de Prendergast repossessed two carucates in Shandon from St. Thomas' Abbey, Dublin, it was with the purpose of endowing the Franciscan Friary (Gilbert 1889, 186, 205).

The friary was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and is frequently referred to as St. Mary's of Shandon. It was the site of a provincial chapter in 1244 (O'Sullivan 1940, 6) while in 1245 the friars received a grant of royal alms (Sweetman 1875-86, i, No. 2776). In 1291 a general chapter of the Franciscans was held at Cork in which a dispute between Irish and English friars resulted in sixteen deaths (O'Sullivan 1940, 8; Bolster 1972, 213-4). Inter-racial hostilities clearly continued and in 1324 Cork was one of eight Franciscan houses in Ireland whose largely Irish community was ordered to be broken up and distributed through other houses, as it was "gravely suspect and a danger to the King's peace" (Curtis 1933-43, i, 237-9). Nothing more is known of the friary until the Dissolution in 1540, when it was noted that the church and belfry could be thrown down but all other buildings were suitable for the use of the farmer (White 1943, 138-9). The cartographic evidence, however, indicates that the friary church survived to the end of the seventeenth century at least. In 1541 the site of the friary was leased to David Sheghan (7 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 49: No. 176) and in 1566 to Andrew Skyddy (11 Rep., 125: No. 864). In 1627 Andrew Skidie was licensed to alienate the "Abbey of St. Francis, in the city of Cork, to Laurence, Lord Esmond, Baron of Limerick" and others

(Morris 1863, 292) and in the same year it was purchased by Richard Boyle, earl of Cork (Webster 1920, 193). The charter of Charles I to the city (1631) noted that the friary was used for trading and ordered that it be placed under the government of the city (Charters and By-laws, 81-111). A reference to merchants dwelling at St. Francis' Abbey occurs as early as 1618 and again in 1637 (Caulfield 1876, 81, 181). In 1671 the friary was apparently the property of the earl of Orrery but the tenants were Major James Percy, Francis Smith, and Godfrey Howden (MacLysaght 1941, 83). After the suppression the Franciscans apparently maintained a house somewhere in the city itself (Egan 1977, 37). It was raided in 1630 when it was noted that it was "large enough to maintain forty friars" (Mahaffy 1900, 510). By 1672, however, the Franciscans had a house in the north suburbs (Egan 1977, 49). In 1700 Bishop Downes recorded that the friars had built a new chapel "on part of the Abbey, but not where the former chapel stood" (Lunham 1909, 89). He also noted that the abbey was burned in 1690 but that a "good strong steeple remains standing".

The Hardiman map of c.1601 represents the friary church as an apparently cruciform structure with a central square tower, the north and south transepts are roofed but the nave is not visible. Phillip's map of 1685, however, provides a ground plan of the church which suggests that it was a nave and chancel structure with north and south aisles rather than transepts. It also fixes the position of the church quite accurately. It stood on the north bank of the river some distance west of the North Bridge, near the bend in the Lee where St. Vincent's Bridge now stands. It was thus some 100-150 m further west than the site marked on the O.S. 25" map. The extent of the friary is clearly outlined in a confirmation grant by Philip Prendergast in c. 1300 of the land between the burgesses of Shandon, on the east, and "Tubir Brenoke", on the west, and between the rock on the north and the river Lee on the south (O'Sullivan 1940, 14). "Tubir Brenoke" was a well located at Wise's Hill (Holland 1917a, 122) and while the boundary of the lands held by the burgesses of Shandon cannot be precisely located, it was probably somewhere in the region of modern Shandon Street. A sketch by Crofton Croker in 1831 claims to show the last remains of the "North Abbey" on the west side of what is now North Abbey Square, before their removal in 1836 (Holland 1917a, 121). It seems clear, however, that what Croker saw was not the remains of the medieval friary but of the chapel built by the friars in the late seventeenth century, specifically noted as being "on part of the Abbey, but not where the former Chappel stood" (Lunham 1909, 89; Holland 1917a, 121). Holland (1917a, 125) speculates that the remains may alternately have been those of St. Catherine's Church, which is thought to have stood in the area of North Abbey Square until the early seventeenth century. It may be that the late seventeenth century Franciscan chapel made use of the remains of St. Catherine's Church. In 1804, a number of "stone coffins" with inscriptions were discovered during the

construction of houses along North Mall, some of which apparently occurred on ledges cut out of the rock face at the rear of the friary site (Holland 1917a, 23-4).

Archdall (1873, i, 120-1) stated that the MacCarthaigs erected a mausoleum within the friary and Wadding also noted a MacCarthaig tomb, which he said was the founder's, in the choir (Egan 1977, 29). Archdall also adds that "fourteen Knights of Mora, the families of the Barrys and chief nobles and citizens of that county" were also buried there. This statement may relate to records in AI recording the burial there of Ragnailt Ni Bhriain (1298), and Domhnall Rua Mac Carthaig, King of Desmond, (1302). The same annals also note the burial of Cormac Mac Carthaig, King of Desmond, (1359), Domhnall Óg Mac Carthaig (1390), and Tadhg Mac Carthaig (1428), in "the monastery of the friars" at Cork. These references probably relate to the Franciscan Friary but they could refer to the Dominican House.

Well.

Reached by going through the arch of the Well Public House, which has a quoin stone with the date 1688, into Watermans Printers. It is in a stone built well-house close to the cliff face at the rear of the printers. The room is about 2.5 by 2 m. The lower courses are built of large blocks of limestone but the upper courses are of brick. The entrance has a wooden panel with the date in iron numbers 1688. There is a blocked up door in the west wall. There is a second stone built room on the west although the lower parts were partly cut out of the rock. It has a barrel vault, a niche in the south wall and measures 5 m by 3 m. There are supposed to be steps leading from this room or somewhere nearby to the top of the cliff.

Missing tomb.

In 1804 an inscribed coffin lid was found when foundations were being dug for houses in the North Mall. The slab was decorated with the stem of a cross and was inscribed in Lombardic lettering with the words: ALMA HAIT MERCI (New Cork Evening Post, Thursday May 31, 1804).

Church Plate.

In the modern Franciscan Church, north of Liberty Street.

Farrais Chalice and Paten. 1610.

Silver-gilt chalice in a calyx of six sepals alternately engraved with foliage. The flanged foot is hexagonal and one flange has a crucifixion while two others have foliage designs. Inscribed: PRO CONVENTU DE SHANDON PROPE CORCK FIERI FECIT FR. GULIELMUS FARRAIS ANNO 1610. The paten has a similar date.

(O'Leary 1931, 82).

Ferris chalice and paten 1611.

The cup has three round panels with foliage patterns. The knob is in the shape of a rose and two of the panels on the flanged foot have lilies while the third has a crucifixion with the letters INRI. Underneath the foot is the inscription: FR GULIELM FERRIS PRO CONVtv Sti FRANci CORCK ME FECIT FIERI 1611. The paten fits with the chalice to form its cover.

Farraiss ciborium. 1610.

Cork Public Museum. Gilt globe surmounted by a maltese cross with a tapering round stem and circular foot. The base has ball and tongue ornament and the inscription is: PRO CONVENTU DE SEANDON PROPE CORCK FIERI FECIT FR. GULIELMS FARRAIS ANNO 1610.

William Farraiss chalice. 1614.

Inscribed PRO CONVENTU SECANDEN PROPE CORCK FIERI FECIT FR GUGLIELMUS FARRAIS, ANNO DOMINI 1614.

Coppinger chalice. 1627.

Cork Public Museum. It rests in a calyx of sepals engraved with foliage designs, The stem is hexagonal with a spheroidal knob pierced by diamond shaped perforations. There is a small Latin cross on one facet of the stem. The flanged foot has a crucifixion on one foot and foliage designs on two others. Inscriptions: DNA MARGARETA SARSFELDA ME FIERI FECIT PRO FRIBUS MINORIBUS DE SHANDON ANNODOMINI 1627 ORATE PRO EA ET PRO MARITO EJUS WALTRO COPPINGER.

Buckley 1943, 50.

Gould Chalice and paten 1639.

The silver-gilt bowl with everted rim rests on a pierced outer cup of six panels, three have an IHS and the other three panel have a rose. The stem is hexagonal and the flanged foot is decorated with, a crucifixion. the Virgin, St. Anthony, St. Elizabeth, St. Clare and St. Francis. The inscription is: D JOANES COLMANOS CUM CONIUGOE D CATHERINA GOULD ME FIERI FECIT PRO FRATRIBUS MIN DE CORKE ORATE PRO EIS ANO DNI 1639. The paten, which fits on to the lip of the chalice, shows the taking down from the cross. Now in Cork Public Museum.

32. KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS' HOUSE OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

McNeill (1932, 161) and Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 336) note that the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland had a house at Cork which was apparently never a regular preceptory. Other writers, including Webster (1920, 142), O'Sullivan (1943, 12), and Bolster (1972, 134) suggest that this was a guest house, perhaps attached to the preceptory of Mourne, Co. Cork.

Whatever its precise function the house was clearly a very early foundation, older than Mourne. A deed of 1177-82 refers to the "court of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem" (Brooks 1936, 336), and other Cork deeds of the same date are witnessed by members of the Order (Brooks 1936, 323, 339, 358). In 1212, the house of St. John in Cork was among the possessions confirmed to the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland by Innocent III (McNeill 1932, 140; Sheehy 1962, 152). Archdall (1873, i, 126) suggested that the Cork house was a preceptory because of a reference to William le Chaplain, master of Cork, c.1292. Definite evidence for a Hospitallers' church at Cork occurs in 1334 when the chapter of the Hospital in Ireland granted to Adam, son of Adam Reyth a messuage and two crofts east of the church in the street of St. John the Baptist near Cork (McNeill 1932, 51). In the extent of the Hospital compiled after the Dissolution the Cork house is entered as "the hospital of St. John near Corke" (White 1943, 103) and the church is described as "roofed with tiles, ruinous and in decay". The extent also notes the arrears owed by John Coppinger for tithes of St. John's in St. Anne's chapel, in Co. Cork. When in 1558, Philip and Mary reconstituted the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, a list of its possessions included "the preceptory or manor of Corke" and "the late hospital of St. John near Cork" (Giuseppi and Wood 1939, 45).

In 1569 Andrew Skyddie was leased the rectory of St. John the Baptist by Cork and the chapel of St. Anne there, the Master's field and 18d. rent out of a Franke House in Corke for thirty years from 1571 (11 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 206: No. 1385). This lease recites an earlier one of 1539-40 in which the prior of St. John of Jerusalem had leased to John Coppinger, a merchant of Cork, the same rectory and chapel, and all the lands of the Order next the city of Cork. In 1600, presumably on the expiry of Skyddie's lease, Thomas Lynch of Waterford was leased the church of St. John the Baptist, the chapel of St. Anne the Master's field, etc., which were described as "parcel of the possessions of the late monastery of St. John of Jerusalem" (Morrin 1862, 562; 17 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 129: No. 6423). At the same time Lynch was also leased "the hospital of St. John, near Cork" (Morrin 1862, 564). Whether the additional clause also refers to the holding of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, or perhaps the Benedictine hospital of St. John the Evangelist, is not clear. In 1617 the parish functions of St. John the Baptist's were described as waste and it was given to the vicars choral of St. Finbar's (Brady 1863, i, 254).

The latest information on this foundation comes from Bishop Downes. Writing in 1702 he noted that St. John's Church had been ruinous for some eighty years "the side walls are standing but the gable ends are down" (Lunham 1909, 80, 179). St. John's Church and parish, he noted, had belonged to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem and "there was formerly a house near the church where they entertained the Knights of

St. John of Jerusalem on their travels". Downes names Thomas Roberts, Edward Synge and Rowland Davys as incumbents of the rectory in the seventeenth century before it was granted by Charles II to the bishops of Cork, forever, in 1679 (Lunham 1909, 80, n.31; 179).

The grant of 1177-82 which refers to the court of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem (Brooks 1936, 336) indicates that it stood to the east of the church of the Holy Sepulchre which stood on or near the site of the modern St. Nicholas' Church. This ties in well with Bishop Downes' statement that St. John's church stood "a little beyond Red Abbey, to the east" (Lunham 1909, 179). The site of the church has been located by Doran (1893), Brooks (1936, 337) and others as the old St. John's graveyard on the south side of Douglas Street, east of Nicholas Street. Bolster (1972, 133) and O'Sullivan (1943, 11), however, place it further north near George's Quay and in the vicinity of St. Finbar's Presbytery. Information on the location of St. John the Baptist's occurs in a grant of 1323, of land which was bounded by the street of St. John the Baptist, on the south, by the road leading from the church of St. John the Evangelist to the house of the friars of St. Augustine, on the north, by the common way leading from St. John the Baptist's Street to the sea, on the east, and by the curtilages of the said friars on the west (NLI ms. D.25,886). From this it may be deduced that the street of St. John the Baptist was situated to the south of Red Abbey, that the church of St. John the Evangelist stood to the east of Red Abbey and also to the north of the street of St. John the Baptist. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the street of St. John the Baptist was the modern Douglas Street. In 1312, for instance, the lands of the Augustinian friars were stated to be in the street of St. John (PROI RC 8/8, 194-6). Taking into account Bishop Downes' statement that the church of St. John stood to the east of Red Abbey, it seems likely that the church of St. John the Baptist stood on the site of the St. John's graveyard.

McNeill (1932, 156) suggests that the chapel of St. Anne, attached to St. John's church, was in Shandon presumably because of the dedication of the present St. Anne's Church in Shandon. There is no evidence to suggest that the chapel was situated in Shandon, however, although according to Bishop Downes the Hospital of St. John held lands there (Lunham 1909, 80). The chapel is much more likely to have been located beside St. John's Church.

33. NUNERY OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

In 1279 the Justiciar, John Wogan, was directed to enquire whether it would be to the damage of the King if certain lands were granted to Agnes de Hareford, "formerly a recluse of Cork", who intended to build a nunnery at

Cleynboly (Mills 1905, 154). The jurors reported that there was a need for such a foundation "for there is no other house of nuns where Knights and other freemen in those parts may have their daughters brought up or maintained". An inquisition of 1301 found that endowments had been made to "Agnes de Hareford and the nuns in the house of St. John the Baptist of St. John Street, in the suburbs of Cork...[which was] not yet built up nor established according to its rule" (Sweetman 1875-86, iv, No. 801; v, No. 98). Nothing more is known of this convent which seems to have had a brief existence. Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 316) record differing opinions over whether this convent was Augustinian or Benedictine but, in reality, there is no evidence to support either suggestion. It was located in St. John's Street (the modern Douglas Street) where the houses of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist were situated.

34. ST. STEPHEN'S LEPER HOSPITAL

Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 348) date the foundation of this hospital to before 1277 and name John de Callan as warden. Archdall (1873, i, 126) names Edward Henry as keeper in 1295. O'Sullivan (1943, 13) and Cahalane (1957, 43) suggest that it was a foundation of the Order of the Knights of St. Lazarus, but despite the reference to "the master of the lepers of St. Stephen" in 1307 (Mills 1914, 375), there is no evidence to support the claim. While the identity of the order connected with St. Stephen's remains unclear, there is no doubt about its function. In his will of 1306, John de Wynchedon made bequests to the church of St. Stephen and to the "lepers of the same church" (O'Sullivan 1956, 89). In 1388 William Gardener is described as custodian of the infirmary of St. Stephen (Tresham 1828, 138: No. 58).

No Dissolution documents relating to the hospital are known and consequently its fate is obscure. Lunham (1909, 88 n.38) quotes a reference to John FitzJames Barrett as "prior of St. Stephen's by Corck" in 1588, raising the possibility that the hospital may have continued to function after the Reformation. It had passed into the hands of the mayor and corporation of Cork before 1590 and they seem to have maintained it throughout the first half of the seventeenth century (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 348; O'Sullivan 1943, 14; Webster 1920, 146; Conlon 1843, 36). In 1617 the parish functions are described as waste and were given to the vicars choral of St. Finbar's (Brady 1863, i, 254). After the Cromwellian takeover of the corporation in 1656, St. Stephen's was neglected until Dr. Edward Worth, dean of Cork, had his brother-in-law James Cox appointed prior and manager. On Cox's death in 1674 Dr. Worth's son, William Worth was made prior (Conlon 1943, 86; Lunham 1909, 88 n.36). Worth, afterwards a baron of the exchequer obtained a royal grant to himself of the lands of the hospital in 1685 (Conlon 1943, 86). In 1697 an agreement was reached between Baron Worth and the corporation whereby Worth relinquished the priorship; monies were also to be directed towards the building of a new

hospital (Caulfield 1976, 262; Conlon 1943, 86). In 1700 Bishop Downes noted that this new hospital was being built (Lunham 1909, 88). He also stated that no trace of St. Stephen's Church or churchyard were then visible.

The location of the medieval St. Stephen's hospital can be located with a fair degree of confidence. Downes (Lunham 1909, 88) stated in 1700 that it stood on the site of the new hospital of St. Stephen (the Blue-Coat School), in the south suburbs, to be more precise he stated that the "south side of the Hospital Court wall stands upon the foundation of the north side of the church" (Lunham 1909, 179).

35. ST MARY MAGDALEN'S CHURCH AND LEPER HOSPITAL

John de Wynchedon bequeathed 40d. in his will of 1306 "to the lepers of the church of St. Mary Magdalene, Shandon" (O'Sullivan 1956, 78). Nothing further is known of this church although Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 348) state that it was in ruin by 1615. It may have been attached to the church of St. Mary at Shandon.

36. LEPER HOUSE

John de Wynchedon bequeathed 2s. in his will of 1306 to the "lepers residing beside the bridge near the priory of the Friars Preachers" (O'Sullivan 1956, 79). The house would appear to have been situated just north of St. Finbar's Cathedral, beside a bridge leading to the Dominican priory.

37. FRANKHOUSE

The 1541 extent of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, Dublin, includes a reference to a "tenement called a frankhouse held by Thomas Cormeke", in Cork (White 1943, 66).

38. THE SUBURB OF SHANDON

This was situated north of the walled city on the north side of the river Lee. The name is derived from sean dún, "old fort", a fortification which Jefferies (1383, 87) suggests was established by Cormac Mac Carthaig, King of Desmond, c.1130. This could also be the "old castle" referred to in a grant of Philip de Barry to St. Thomas' Abbey, Dublin, c.1183 (Gilbert 1889, 205). The earliest occurrence of the name "Shandon" seems to be c.1223-30 (Gilbert 1889, 138).

Because of its proximity to Cork city suburban development was almost inevitable here during the thirteenth century. Shandon was in fact developed as a separate borough, presumably by the lords of Shandon. The grant of 1183 indicates that Philip de Barry was the first Anglo-Norman lord of Shandon but the de Prendergasts obtained rights to the area shortly afterwards. In 1290, John de Cogan and Maurice de Rochford were lords of Shandon, a position which they clearly inherited as heirs of Gerald de Prendergast (Brooks 1950, 140; Sweetman 1875-86, iii, p. 307). The earliest evidence for the existence of a borough is in a deed of 1223-30 which mentions a burgage in Shandon (Gilbert 1889, 186). Proximity to Cork, however, brought its problems. In 1290 the burgesses of "Schendone", men of John de Cogan and Maurice de Rochford, complained that they were unable to trade as they were wont to because of the citizens of Cork who held the vill to farm (Sweetman 1875-86, iii, p.307). In 1300 the city of Cork filed a suit against the men of Shandon over trespass of liberty (Mills 1905, 313), a trespass which apparently consisted of holding markets in Shandon, in prejudice of the city of Cork (Mills 1905, 334-5). It seems that the burgesses of Cork were using their extensive legal privileges to stifle any commercial competition from the neighbouring borough of Shandon. This must have had an adverse effect on Shandon's development and the borough suffered even further with the Gaelic resurgence and economic decline of the later fourteenth century. In 1376, it was recorded that the suburbs of Cork had been burned within the previous two years by "certain Irish enemies and English rebels" (Dawes 1916, 207), while in 1462 it was noted that the suburbs of Cork "within the space of a mile" had been wasted and destroyed by rebels for the previous fifty years (Fowler 1897, 214). Although Shandon was not mentioned by name it presumably shared the fate of these suburbs.

Under the weight of these setbacks it would hardly be surprising if Shandon, like so many other boroughs, largely collapsed as a functioning unit in the later Middle Ages. In 1371, the dower assigned to Johanna, widow of John de Rochford, presumably the former lord of Shandon, included one third of the profits of the court of Shandon (MacNiocaill 1964b, 138-9), indicating that the borough was still functioning at this time. In 1381, Gerald de Rochford quitclaimed to Gerald FitzMaurice, son of the earl of Kildare, all services of free tenants and their appurtenances in various manors, including Shandon (MacNiocaill 1964b, 137). In 1439 Robert, son of Geoffrey Cogan, and presumably heir to the de Cogan holdings in Shandon, granted all his possessions in Co. Cork, including the manor of Shandon, to James FitzGerald, earl of Desmond (Brewer and Bullen 1871, 362-3). Coleman (1914, 163 n.1), quoting Windele, records that in 1531 John Barry (presumably John Reagh de Barry, Lord Barrymore) granted his castle and manor of Shandon in mortgage to the mayor and bailiffs of Cork. It is not clear how Shandon returned to Barry possession after more than three centuries but that it did is confirmed by the fact that

Walter Galwey, on his death in 1581, is recorded as having held the manor of Shandon "in mortgage of David Oge Barrye" (17 Rep. Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 33: No. 5994). In 1625 David, Lord Barry, was granted the principal manors of his late grandfather (the David Oge Barrye referred to above) including Shandon (Morrin 1863, 28). As late as 1662 Richard, earl of Barrymore, claimed lands in the manor of Shandon on the basis of this grant (Mahaffy 1905, 542-3).

By 1685, when Phillips map was prepared, there were again extensive suburbs in the Shandon area and they are known to have been burnt during the siege of Cork in 1690 (Lunham 1909, 89, n.37).

SHANDON CASTLE

The 1531 mortgage (Coleman 1914, 163 n.1) is the first reference to a castle at Shandon after 1183 when Philip de Barry's grant to St. Thomas' Abbey, Dublin, refers to an "old castle" there (Gilbert 1889, 205). This grant makes it clear that the "old castle" was situated near the stream flowing from the mill of St. Nessian which was located west of Griffith Bridge, in the vicinity of North Abbey Square (see St. Nessian's Church above). Accordingly it occupied a different site to the sixteenth and seventeenth century castle which was located some distance to the east.

The origin's of John Barry's castle of 1531 are obscure. In 1571 the castle of Shandon was held by Andrew Galwey, presumably under the terms of Barry's 1531 grant because Galwey was a former mayor of Cork. In 1581 William Galwey held the castle and manor of Shandon "in mortgage of David Oge Barrye" (17 Report Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 33: No. 5994), while the Pacata Hibernia map (c.1585-1600) shows Shandon Castle labelled "Ye L. Barris Castell".

Collins (1943, 63-4) suggests that Shandon castle in the late sixteenth century became the official residence of the Lord President of Munster. There is no direct contemporary evidence to support this but it is clear that the castle was frequently used by officers of the crown in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The earliest evidence for this takes the form of letters written from Shandon castle by Sir Thomas Norreys, vice-president of Munster in 1588 (Hamilton 1885, 26, 28, 134). In view of Norrey's apparent residence there in 1588 it is all the more surprising to note that Shandon castle was described as ruined on the death of Walter Galwey in 1581 (Morrin 1862, 376). It may be that the castle was rebuilt in the intervening years. In 1599, when Hugh O'Neill by-passed Cork, the castle was garrisoned by Sir Henry Fower (Wood 1933, 175; Atkinson 1903, 19). Sir George Carew, lord president of Munster, appears to have resided in the castle between 1600 and 1602 (Brewer and Bullen 1869, 387-8, 332-2; Brewer and

Bullen 1870, 95, 146, 237, 355, 370). In 1603 Carew's wife, Lady Joyce, took refuge in the castle during the revolt in the city and subsequently Lord Mountjoy based himself at the castle when he arrived to quell these disturbances (Brewer and Bullen 1873, 9-11). Little more is heard of the castle. A garrison of forty men was recommended for it in a report of 1659 (Mahaffy 1903, 687) while it was still functioning during the siege of 1690 when it was occupied by Williamite forces (Collins 1943, 65).

Hardiman's (c.1601), Phillips' (1685) and Storey's (c.1690) maps of Cork show the location of the castle to have been on the north side of what is now Dominick Street, where the Old Butter Market stands. These maps also show that the castle was of Z-plan with a main rectangular block running east-west and projecting towers at the north-east and south-east ends.

The 1663-4 survey of Cork refers to an "old Ivey Castle" measuring 15 feet long and 15 feet broad, situated on the south side of Shandon castle and owned by John Roch (Simington 1942, 465). The Hardiman coll. map (c.1601) shows a small square battlemented tower situated on the south side of the road leading to Shandon castle (now Dominick Street), and a short distance to the west of the castle. This may be the castle described in the survey.

39. THE SUBURB OF FAYTH

On the south side of the city was another suburban borough, known variously as "Faythe", "le Fairgh", "Fayd", which as Bolster (1972, 158-9) notes is probably derived from the "faithche", or green of Cork, mentioned in the twelfth century Aislinge Meic Conglinne (Meyer 1892, 29). In the Anglo-Norman period this name was applied to the feudal manor of the Bishop of Cork, later known as the manor of St. Finbar's (Webster 1930, 178; Bolster 1972, 159). Associated with the manor was a borough, first referred to in 1282 in the royal escheator's accounts for revenues from the bishopric, which makes it clear that the bishop was the patron of the borough (36 Report Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 60).

Earlier references to Fayth occur for instance in 1262 when the account of the city of Cork included, along with the 80 marks fee farm of the city, 6 marks rent from the Fayth (35 Report Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 41). This was a regular payment which Bolster (1972, 159) interprets as a rent paid by the citizens of Cork to the crown for the use of the green from which Fayth derived its name. When in 1376, Edward III pardoned the city of Cork for its rents of that year, the sum of 86 marks was said to include payment for "a hamlet without the walls thereof, called, La Fathe" (Dawes 1916, 309). This suggests that the citizens of Cork held the borough of Fayth to farm as they did the borough of Shandon.

Like Shandon also, Fayth is presumably included in the references to the destruction of the suburbs of Cork in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The complete absence of references to the borough in the later medieval period suggests that it collapsed under the weight of these attacks. The Corporation of Cork were apparently making payments of the fee farm of the "Fahie" or "Fahe" as late as 1609-11 (Caulfield 1876, 12, 14, 16, 25). In 1690 and in 1722 the corporation made enquiries into what rights they held in the manor when it seems they were even uncertain of its precise location (Caulfield 1876, 213, 426).

Bolster (1972, 159-60) discussed the location and extent of the vill of Fayd and suggested that it covered a large area on the south bank of the Lee, from Bishopstown on the west to Douglas and Blackrock on the east. The precise location of the borough is uncertain but it probably lay close to the cathedral and bishop's court, as Bolster (1972, 164) suggests. Both the priory of St. John the Evangelist and the church of St. Nicholas are described as situated in "le Fairgh" (Tresham 1828, 111: no. 58; PROI RC. 7/12, 254).

40. OTHER SUBURBS

St. John's Street

A number of references occur to this settlement on the south bank of the Lee during the early fourteenth century. In 1300 there is a record of a case brought by the citizens of Cork against the men of Shandon and "the Street of St. John the Evangelist of Cork" alleging trespass of liberty (Mills 1905, 313). In 1320-3 Thomas Cogan, provost, and Nicholas Wrench, Bailiff of the street of St. John near Cork are mentioned (42 Report Deputy Keeper Public Records Ireland, 49). The presence of these officers indicates that there was a formal community or borough here. In 1328, Nicholas de Balleyocter of "the tenement of St. John the Evangelist near Cork", owed 3s. 4d. for many contempts (43 Rep., 24). In 1329-32 the "community of Seynjonestret of Cork" owed £5 for the escape of a felon (43 Rep., 52). These references support the suggestion made by Windele (cited by Lunham 1909, 80 n.31) and Bolster (1972, 164) that the Benedictine priory of St. John the Evangelist was the focus of an independent settlement which was exempt from either the jurisdiction of the city or the bishop. Evidence for its existence is confined to the period c.1300-1330 and its earlier and later history is unknown.

The Marshes

Great expansion occurred in Cork during the eighteenth

century when the marshes on the east and west of the walled city were reclaimed (see Carberry 1943, 73-8). This process, however, had begun as early as the end of the sixteenth, or beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Two maps of Cork in the Hardiman collection in Trinity College Dublin, one dated 1602 and the other of roughly the same period (Pl. 1), show evidence for reclamation on the north-east marsh, i.e. the area bounded by Paul Street, Emmet Place, Lavitt's Quay and Corn Market Street, today. The marsh seems to have been enclosed by a wall or bank, while the south-west corner, i.e. the angle between modern Paul Street and Cornmarket Street, is a battlemented structure termed "the Entrance Fort" by Speed (Pl. 2). Otherwise, however, the marsh is devoid of buildings. The Hardiman map also shows a bridge or drawbridge between the fort and the Marine Gate opposite. By 1685, Phillips map shows plot boundaries and possibly buildings along the western side of this enclosure while at the eastern end is the "New Custom House". Apart from a Bowling Green on the marsh immediately south of this, however, there is no evidence for reclamation on any other marshes at this date.

41. OTHER FEATURES

Lion's Head.

From Hammond's Bridge (opposite St. Peter's Church). According to O'Leary (1931, 26) it was built into the gable end of a house in Grattan St. It cannot be located now.

Civic Objects.

Silver Collar. Late 16th cent.

Chain of 99 with two portcullis attached to the terminals and a bird and lion on the closing links. Presented to Maurice Roche, mayor of Cork, in 1577 by Elizabeth I. Cork Public Museum.

42. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

Although archaeological excavation within the walled city of Cork only commenced in the 1970's, a number of earlier reports of the discovery of archaeological objects are known. The earliest of these dates to about 1750 when Smith (1815, i, 383) recorded the finding of old tombs near the Market House on what is now Corn Market Street, but inside the line of the city walls, somewhere near the old St. Peter's Market. Smith attributed these burials to the nunnery of St. John the Baptist, but as we have seen above this nunnery was in fact in Douglas Street. There is also a record that many "stone coffins" were found on the site of the Franciscan Friary in 1804 (Windele 1910, 56-8; Egan 1977, 29). In 1857 Richard

Caulfield recorded an account of the discovery of "a road...boarded with planks of oak", beneath which was a "beautiful pointed Gothic arch....evidently a portion of the ancient church", at a depth of ten feet, during roadworks in South Main Street outside the present entrance to Holy Trinity Church "somewhat at the Tobin Street side of the gate of the church" (Day 1898, 142). In 1920, Canon Power recorded the stratigraphy seen in a shaft "some two or three yards square" and about twenty three feet deep, dug off South Main Street. The uppermost level was a spread of building debris, four to five feet thick; below this was "a band of black mould, three and a half feet thick composed chiefly of decayed timber and brushwood". Near the base of this layer were a series of oak piles "cut and pointed by a metallic implement" and averaging about three inches in diameter. The piles were set about fifteen inches apart, and "around and between them was a mass of vegetable mould, the remains chiefly of decayed brushwood", but unfortunately their configuration was not recorded. Power interpreted this level as a crannog but in view of the modern experience of urban excavation it is obvious that this is ordinary occupation build-up. Below this again was "a layer of river mud of the consistency of old cheese, of varying depth, but nowhere... less than two feet thick"; this was in turn underlain by "a stratum, three and a half feet deep, composed largely of oyster shells. Animal bones, including cow, were mixed into this layer and Power (1920) believed the remains to be those of "a colony of oyster-eaters who had apparently outgrown the age of stone" but who predated "the crannog". Finally, below this was a second stratum of mud, even to nine feet thick, which rested directly on river gravel.

Six shell middens were noted by O'Kelly (1946; 1955), at Washington Street, Fisher's Lane, on the site of the Franciscan Church in Liberty Street, in the area between the southern ends of Grand Parade and South Main Streets, at Red Abbey, and Sunday's Well. Some of these sites yielded quantities of medieval and post-medieval pottery and are probably the remains of casual occupation along the channels of the Lee.

Modern urban excavation commenced in 1974 at Holy Trinity College and later Skiddy's Castle under the direction of Mr. Dermot Twohig. In all, ten sites have now been excavated in addition to many salvage operations where archaeological observations were made in the course of construction work. The excavations may be briefly summarised as follows (Fig. 6):

I. Holy Trinity College.

Excavation recovered the foundations of the college of 1482. It was a rectangular building measuring about 20 by 3 m and portions of the walls survived to a height of about 1 m. It rested upon wooden piles. Most of the street frontage had been destroyed but behind it a series of timber-framed and post-and-wattle houses (6 by 4 m on average), brushwood floors, pathways of wood and wickerwork were present in

thirteenth century contexts. The timber houses were replaced by stone houses in the fourteenth century. A short length of the town wall together with portion of a semi-circular flanking tower was also discovered (Twohig 1975-6).

II. Skiddy's Castle.

The foundations of this structure, said to have been erected in 1445, were discovered surviving to first floor level. It was built upon a floating timber foundation, formed of an oak raft held in position by vertical timbers driven into the underlying peat (Twohig 1974).

III O'Sullivan's Quay.

Excavations uncovered refuse material, almost entirely of post-medieval date.

IV. Tuckey Street/Grand Parade.

Excavations revealed portion of the town wall. This was built almost entirely of local limestone and survived to a maximum height of 2 m. The base was stepped and was 4 m wide, Excavation beneath the wall was difficult because of flooding but it appears to have been built on a base of brushwood and moss laid into the natural gravel bed. A thirteenth century wattle fence abutted the wall at one point and a thirteenth century occupation layer partly overlay the wall footings indicating that the wall is of thirteenth century date (Hurley and Power 1981).

V. Tobin Street.

Excavations uncovered the remains of boundary fences together with refuse of thirteenth and fourteenth century date.

VI. Grand Parade.

Excavations uncovered portion of the town wall, about 14 m back from the modern street frontage. A rectangular stone structure abutted it on the north side. This may have been the base of Hopewell Castle but, regrettably, it was removed by Corporation machinery before scientific examination could take place.

VII. Kift's Lane.

Excavations uncovered portion of the town wall (Hurley and Power 1981).

VIII. St. Peter's Market.

Excavations in 1983 revealed a house and alleyway constructed on the foundations of a square turret that stood within the city walls (Hurley 1984).

IX. Grattan Street.

Excavation uncovered a 10 m stretch of the town wall.

X. Red Abbey (Fig. 5).

A trial cutting in 1977 uncovered a series of burials in what was interpreted as the site of the nave (O'Flaherty 1978).

43. LIST OF STRAY FINDS

1. Flint adze. From garden of Myrtle Hill House, Montenotte, Cork. NMI 1940:74.
2. Bronze/copper flat axehead of Killaha type. From near Cork, Co. Cork. Cat. Day Coll. (1913), 24: lot 183; Harbison 1969a, 26: No. 552.
3. Bronze flat axehead. From near Cork, Co. Cork. NMI 1939:50.
4. Copper flat axehead. From Cork, Co. Cork. Pitt-Rivers Museum Oxford: 1884.119.33. Allen, Britton and Coghlan 1970, 66-7: No. 11.
5. Copper halberd. Type Carn. From Maryville, Blackrock, Co. Cork. British Museum 49.3-1.47. Harbison 1969b, 40: No. 159.
6. Bronze spearhead. Dredged from the Blackrock Reach at Cork, 1879. Cat. Day Coll. (1913), 44: lot 316.
- 7-8. Bronze sword and bronze socketed axehead. From Cork [?city]. Merseyside County Museums 2.10.90.207; 1377, 117.8. Nicholson 1980, 42: Nos. 72, 73.
9. Bronze socketed axehead. Found near Cork. In Day Coll. 1881. Evans 1881, 140.
10. Bronze sword. From near Cork, Co. Cork. NMI W.28. Eogan 1965, 50.
11. Bronze sword. From near Cork, Co. Cork. British Museum 1869,3-1,46. Eogan 1965, 49.
- 12-13. Two bronze purse-shaped chapes. Found near Cork in 1877. Cat. Day Coll. (1913), 49: lot 340.
14. Bronze ring. Found about one mile north of Cork city, 1850. NMI G.A. 1927:100. Dept. of Education Rep. on Nat. Mus. Ireland 1927-8, 14.
15. Three bronze horns. Found in river mud where river Lee meets the sea, south of South Jetties, Cork city. Cork Public Museum. Raferty 1983, 259.
16. Small twisted specimen of penannular silver ring money. From the neighbourhood of Cork. Cat. Bateman Museum (1855), 303.
17. Two silver unclosed rings. Found in the neighbourhood of Cork. NMI 1898: 11, 14.
18. Two Viking coins. One of Anlaf Guthfrithson, King of

Northumbria, deposited c. 945-80, found 1800-50. The other of Eric, King of Northumbria, deposited c.950-80, found 1833. Both from Cork, Co. Cork. Whereabouts unknown. Hall 1973-4, 82.

19. Hoard of English coins, the latest being of Edward III. Found near Cork, Co. Cork in 1837. Lindsay, A view of the coinage of Ireland (Cork 1839), 135.

20. Hoard of English coins, the latest being of Henry IV. Found near Cork, Co. Cork, c.1845. R. Sainthill, An Olla Podrida (London 1853), ii, 167.

21. Hoard of Anglo-Irish coins, the latest being of Elizabeth I. Found near Cork, Co. Cork in 1837. Lindsay, A view of the coinage of Ireland (Cork 1839), 134.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS AND POTENTIAL

The Problems.

Cork is important to Irish archaeological research in all periods since its foundation as a church site c.600 A.D. It was an important early Christian monastery and developed into the seat of a bishop in the twelfth century. It was one of only five Viking port towns, and to date nothing is known of its trade or the form of its houses and streets. It was the largest Anglo-Norman town in Munster and the base for important overseas trade. In the post-medieval period it quickly became the third largest city in Ireland. Accordingly the city offers an almost unique opportunity of studying the changing fortunes of an Irish town from its emergence as a monastic site, through varying periods of expansion and contraction under the influence of different cultures until the present day.

The street pattern of the walled town has remained largely intact since the Middle Ages but the nature of the road surface at various periods is not known. Streets should be examined if at all possible because they also permit the results of excavations on one side of a street to be linked with those on the other. This enables the reconstruction of entire streetscapes in the manner which has proved so successful in Novgorod.

The city's location in the Lee estuary gave its bridges and quays a special significance. There were bridges here from the mid-twelfth century and quays, probably from the Viking period. Yet nothing is known of the form, date or size of the first bridges and their successors, while our ignorance of the form, size and affinities of the quays is equally negligible.

Apart from the excavations at Skiddy's Castle and Holy Trinity College almost nothing is known of the form or size of pre-eighteenth century housing in the city. It is important to know what sort of buildings the medieval inhabitants of Cork lived in and how these changed through time. It is only when houses have been found that assessments can be made of the impact of native Irish, British and continental building techniques on Cork's craftsmen. A great deal of information about changes in building methods and fashions can also be derived from stratified sites in which the remains of successive houses are preserved. In this regard Cork has much potential to allow the comparison of native Irish, Viking, Anglo-Norman and English building styles and fashion.

The castle is recorded from an early date but nothing is known about its extent or shape, or of how it changed through time. It is particularly important as a royal castle, and it would be interesting to compare it with other royal castles such as Dublin and Athlone, which is impossible in the present state of knowledge.

The course of the town defences outlined above needs to be checked by excavation to determine whether it is correct or not, and much remains to be discovered about the periods of construction, the variations in building, and the forms of both mural towers and gatehouses.

It is unlikely that the opportunity will arise to excavate on the site of St. Finbar's Cathedral but the opportunity could occur at the sites of the many parish churches and religious houses of the medieval city. Our knowledge of the location of most of these is vague, and we know very little about their form, size or character. It is important to remember that the architectural features and extent are only one aspect of the archaeology of religious houses and the excavation of a medieval cemetery, such as that conducted at York, can provide otherwise unobtainable evidence about health, disease, diet, and mortality rates.

The extent of settlement outside the walls has not been established but it is clear that there were substantial suburbs in Shandon and in Fayth, on the south bank. Excavation is important here because it will reveal the contrast between buildings within and without the wall, and accordingly provide social information on the people living there.

The group of stray finds indicate that the site was a focus for human activity in prehistoric times but the precise nature of this activity remains unknown.

Archaeological Potential

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

The survey of its archaeology indicates that the site of the town has been the scene of human activity in prehistoric times and of continued settlement in early historic, medieval and post-medieval times. Both documentary sources and the known archaeological remains indicate that the town was occupied continuously from c.600 AD into the post-medieval period. Virtually all of the city's pre-1700 building fabric, however, has been demolished. The only remains which survive above ground are Elizabeth Fort, the tower of the Augustinian Friary [Red Abbey], and portions of the town wall. Although the destruction of buildings above ground has been substantial, the street pattern of the medieval and post-medieval town is largely intact and excavations have shown that archaeological deposits are likely to exist over a wide area of the city. Accordingly there is the likelihood of recovering structural evidence such as house foundations, refuse pits, industrial areas, and workshops, in addition to artefactual and environmental evidence.

ARCHAEOLOGY, PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

It is evident from the foregoing that archaeology is an important means of learning about Cork's past and of understanding the character and detailed form of the town today. This is more than just an academic pursuit because without an appreciation of the factors which have shaped Cork's present character, steps taken to conserve that character will not be wholly effective, or worse, features basic to its unique identity may be unwittingly destroyed.

The protection of buried archaeological evidence presents serious problems for not only is there the pressure of redevelopment and the high value of urban properties with which to contend, but the sites themselves are often difficult to define or evaluate; their full archaeological

potential may only become apparent when an excavation is undertaken in advance of development or by observations made while development is in progress. No part of the city enjoys statutory protection as a scheduled National Monument and because of the difficulties of scheduling urban properties, sites within Cork are unlikely to be given this protection in the future. Only a concerted effort at local and central government level can safeguard Cork's archaeological heritage and it is crucial that this should be initiated immediately. Only then can adequate provision be made for investigating archaeological sites in advance of any redevelopment. This is best achieved by use of planning constraints and by conditions attached to planning consents.

Area of Archaeological Potential

The shaded portion of the accompanying map (Fig. 1) delimits the area of archaeological potential within modern Cork. The excavations within the city have demonstrated the existence of rich archaeological deposits. Cork has witnessed considerable development in recent years and large parts of its archaeological heritage have been removed. The construction of housing estates on the west side of Shandon and on the site of the seventeenth century barracks near Elizabeth Fort, rebuilding at the Franciscan Friary and Dunnes Stores in North Main Street, redevelopment at the Queen's Old Castle and Beamish and Crawford's brewery, the digging of sewer's along Proby's Quay, Bishop Street, and the site of Gill Abbey mill, the clearance of graveyards by bulldozing, such as old St. Mary's (St. Anne's), Shandon, have all removed archaeological deposits, without record, in recent years. Elsewhere, however, while there is less evidence for disturbance in recent years, there is hardly a plot of land within the town which has not experienced some disturbance in the last three hundred years. This disturbance is probably superficial, however, and is confined to the uppermost layers as the many excavations within the city have shown. Indeed it is likely that archaeological deposits exist over the entire area of the walled town, and in the suburbs of Shandon, Fayth, and the Marshes. This area is shaded pink on Fig. 1. Many of the areas within this zone are already ripe for redevelopment. Large parts of the north-west quadrant of the medieval walled town, for instance, function as car parks and will presumably be redeveloped at some future stage. Now is the time to plan for excavation in these areas before the deadlines of building schedules and the threat of delays creates a Wood Quay type situation.

Excavation

Cork is occupied by a living community and this means that its archaeology can only be investigated piecemeal as and when the opportunity arises. Accordingly, the selection of sites must be related to the process of redevelopment as

much as to the needs of research. An effective archaeological programme must weigh up the potential of each site and ensure that certain requirements are fulfilled before selection for excavation.

The site should be one likely to contribute to archaeological knowledge and it should be relatively free from modern disturbance. Those sites which are likely to yield information about all periods of occupation should be given priority and, in general, large sites will yield more valuable results than small ones unless the excavation is designed to answer a specific question or to examine a linear feature such as a street or town wall. Excavation should not be confined to exceptional sites but should also include "normal" sites providing evidence of typical houses or streets which can then serve as a basis for comparison with other towns.

The type of redevelopment proposed for a site must also be taken into account, for some are more destructive than others. Deep foundations can totally remove archaeological layers and piling will fragment them. Total excavation, however, is not necessary with raft foundations when only those layers threatened by the raft need to be excavated.

There must be adequate time in which to excavate. As sites are cleared time must be allowed to permit archaeological investigation to take place. Initially this will be to determine, by small scale test excavation, whether the sites are potentially productive or not. Depending on the results a decision should be taken regarding the conducting of a larger excavation. This order of events should apply to all areas within the zone delimited on Fig. 1. Large-scale area excavations may require from six to eighteen months but once these factors are taken into account at an early stage in the planning process, archaeological excavation can be integrated into the redevelopment programme without causing any undue delay to the contractors.

Wherever excavation is not possible, construction work should be observed by a trained archaeologist. Observation carried out consistently over a number of years can yield valuable results with a minimum of expenditure and without inconveniencing the developer. Observation can provide details of the depth and complexity of deposits and it may help to build a clearer picture of the nature and date of occupation in various parts of the town.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The future of archaeological research in Cork is dependent on the monitoring of development and the inclusion of archaeological work as a matter of routine in the planning process. Accordingly, the following recommendations are made:

1. That the shaded area on Fig. 1 be regarded as an archaeological zone.
2. That the character of the medieval street pattern be respected as far as possible.
3. That the existing monuments within the town should be preserved and maintained.
4. That deep foundation development (1 m plus), including cellars and underground structures, be discouraged within the archaeological zone.
5. That in those instances where it is not possible to apply recommendation 4, all outline planning permissions for such developments should contain a condition requiring the developer to have a report prepared on the archaeological implications, if any, of the proposed development. Such reports, which may include test excavation, should be considered by the planning authority and the Office of Public Works before any full planning permission is granted.
6. That a similar condition to that in recommendation 5 should pertain to all developments involving sub-surface work up to 1 m on or near a known archaeological site or find-place of an archaeological object.
7. That all licences for planning permission involving sub-surface excavation up to 1 m deep should point out the legal obligation to report the discovery of archaeological finds.
8. That the planning authority should notify the Office of Public Works of proposals for any major roadworks or service schemes involving sub-surface excavation greater than 1 m in depth, and be guided by the latter body's recommendations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

Irish Annals

- A. Clon. Annals of Clonmacnoise, ed. D. Murphy. Dublin 1896.
- A. Conn. Annals of Connaught, ed. A. Martin Freeman. Dublin. 1944.
- AFM Annals of the Four Masters, ed. J. O'Donovan. 7 vols. Dublin 1851.
- AI Annals of Inisfallen, ed. S. MacAirt. Dublin. 1951.
- ALC: Annals of Loch Cé, ed. W. M. Hennessey. 2 vols. London. 1871.
- A. Tig. Annals of Tigernach, ed. W. Stokes, *Revue Celtique* 16 (1895), 374-419; 17 (1896), 6-33, 119-263, 337-420; 18 (1897), 9-59, 150-97, 267-303.
- AU Annals of Ulster, ed. W. M. Hennessey and B. MacCarthy. 4 vols. Dublin 1887-1901.
- CS Chronicon Scotorum, ed. W. M. Hennessey. London. 1866.

Journals

- JCHAS Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society
- JRSAI Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
- PRIA Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.

Other Abbreviations

- NLI National Library of Ireland
- NMI National Museum of Ireland
- PROI Public Record Office of Ireland
- RIA Royal Irish Academy

Allen, J. M., Britton, D., and Coghlan, H. H. 1970.
Metallurgical Reports on British and Irish Bronze Age Implements and Weapons in the Pitt Rivers Museum. Occasional Papers on technology 10. Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

Andrews, J. H. 1976.
"Land and people, c.1685" in Moody, T. W., Martin, F. X. and Byrne, F. J. (eds.) A New History of Ireland 3 (Oxford), 454-77.

Archdall, M. 1873.
Monasticon Hibernicum (ed. P. F. Moran). Dublin.

Atkinson, E. G. 1903.
(ed.) Calendar of State Papers Ireland 1600. London

Atkinson, E. G. 1905.
Calendar of State Papers Ireland 1600-1. London

Berry, H. F. 1907.
(Ed.) Statutes and Ordinances and Acts of the Parliament of Ireland - King John to Henry V. Dublin

Berry, H. F. 1910.
(ed.) Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland, King Henry VI. Dublin.

Berry, H. F. 1914.
(ed.) Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland 1-12 Edward IV. Dublin.

Bird, W. H. B. 1921.
(ed.) Calendar of Close Rolls, Richard II, vol 3 (1385-9), London.

Bliss, W. H. and Johnson, C. 1897.
Calendar of.....Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters 3 (1342-62). London.

Bolster, E. 1972.
A History of the Diocese of Cork, from earliest times until the Reformation. Shannon.

Bradley, J. 1985.
"Planned Anglo-Norman Towns in Ireland", in Clarke, H. and Simms, A. (eds.) The Comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe, 411-67. Brit. Archaeol. Reports Oxford.

Brady, W. M. 1863.
Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross. 3 vols. Dublin.

Brewer, J. S. and Bullen, W. 1868.
(eds.) Calendar of State Papers (Carew), 1575-88. London.

Brooks, E. St. John. 1936.

"Unpublished charters relating to Ireland, 1177-82, from the archives of the city of Exeter", PRIA 43 c, 313-66.

Brooks, E. St. John. 1950.
Knights Fees in Counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny: 13th -15th Century. Dublin.

Buckley, J. 1916.
"The siege of Cork, 1642", JCHAS 22, 7-20.

Butlin, R. A. 1976.
"Land and people c.1600", in Moody, T. W., Martin, F. X. and Byrne, F. J. (eds.) A New History of Ireland 3 (Oxford), 142-86.

Cahalane, P. 1957
"Supplement to "The testament of John de Wynchedon of Cork (1306)", JCHAS (1957), 37-45.

Candon, A. 1985.
"The Cork Suburb of Dungarvan", JCHAS 90 (1985), 91-103.

Carberry, E. 1943.
"The Development of Cork City", JCHAS 48 (1943), 67-81.

Cat. Bateman Museum. 1855.
A Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities and Miscellaneous Objects Preserved in the Museum of Thomas Bateman at Lomberdale House, Derbyshire. Bakewell.

Cat. Day Coll. 1913.
Sale catalogue of the Collection of Antiquities of Robert Day of Cork. London.

Caulfield, R. 1858.
"Chartae Tyrryanae relating to Cork and its vicinity", The Topographer and Genealogist 3 (1858), 110-14.

Caulfield, R. 1871.
Annals of St. Fin Barre's Cathedral. Cork.

Caulfield, R. 1876.
The Council Book of the Corporation of the City of Cork from 1609 to 1643, and from 1690 to 1800. Guilford.

Caulfield, R. 1877.
The Register of the Parish of the Holy Trinity (Christ Church) Cork, from July 1643 to February 1668 with extracts from the Parish Books, from 1664-1668. Cork.

Caulfield, R. 1904.
"Dr Caulfield's Antiquarian and Historical notes" [edited by James Coleman], JCHAS 10 (1904), 254-26.

Charters and By-laws. 1813.
Charters and By-laws of the City of Cork. Cork.

- Clarke, A. 1976.
With Edwards, R. D., "Pacification, plantation and the catholic question, 1603-23" in Moody, T. W., Martin, F. X. and Byrne, F. J. (eds.) A New History of Ireland 3: Early Modern Ireland 1534-1691 (Oxford), 187-232.
- Coleman, J. 1914.
"The old castles around Cork harbour", JCHAS 20, 161-75.
- Collingridge, J. H. 1982.
(ed.) Calendar of Patent Rolls Elizabeth, vol 7 (1575-8).
London.
- Collins, J. T. 1943.
"Military defences of Cork", JCHAS 48 (1943), 63-6.
- Conlon, M. V. 1943.
"Some old Cork Charities", JCHAS 48, 86-94.
- Corish, P. J. 1976.
"The Rising of 1641 and the Catholic Confederacy, 1641-5" in Moody, T. W., Martin, F. X., and Byrne, F. J. (eds.) A New History of Ireland 3: Early Modern Ireland 1534-1691 (Oxford), 289-316.
- Cullen, L. M. 1976.
"Economic trends 1660-91" in Moody, T. W., Martin, F. X. and Byrne, F. J. (eds.) A New History of Ireland 3: Early Modern Ireland 1534-1691 (Oxford), 387-407.
- Curtis, E. 1933-43.
(Ed.) Calendar of Ormond Deeds. 6 vols. Dublin.
- Davies, O. and Quinn, D. B. 1941
(eds.) The Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John, 1211-1212. Supplement to UJA 4 (1941).
- Dawes, M. C. B. 1916.
Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III, vol. 16 (1374-7).
London.
- Day, R. 1898.
"Recollections of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Cork"
JCHAS 4, 140-4.
- Day, R. and Coppinger, W. A. 1893.
(Eds.) The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Cork by Charles Smith. Cork.
- Dix, E. R. McClintock. 1912-3.
"A list of all pamphlets, books, etc., printed in Cork during the seventeenth century", PRIA 30 C, 71-82.
- Doherty, C. 1980.
"Exchange and trade in Early medieval Ireland", JRSAI 110,

67-89.

Doran, C. G. 1893.

"The old Church of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Cork", JCHAS 2, 188-50.

Egan, B. 1977.

The Friars of Broad Lane: the Story of a Franciscan Friary in Cork 1229-1977 by Fr. Canice Mooney. Cork.

Eogan, G. 1965.

Catalogue of Irish Bronze Swords. Dublin.

Erck, J. C. 1846-52.

(Ed.) A Repertory of the Inrolments of the Patent Rolls of Chancery in Ireland commencing with the reign of King James I. Vol. 1, parts 1-2. Dublin.

Evans, J. 1881.

The Ancient bronze Implements ... of great Britain and Ireland. London.

Fahy, E. M. 1953.

"The Cork Goldsmiths Company, 1657", JCHAS 58, 33-8.

Fowler, R. C. 1897.

(Ed.) Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward IV, Vol 1 (1461-7). London.

Fowler, R. C. 1903.

Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry IV (1399-1401). London.

Gairdner, J. 1890.

(Ed.) Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, vol 12, pt. 1. London.

Gibson, C. B. 1861.

The History of the County and City of Cork. 2 vols. London.

Gilbert, J. 1882-91.

History of the Irish Confederation and War in Ireland. 7 vols. Dublin.

Gilbert, J. 1884.

(ed.) Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin. 2 vols. London.

Gilbert, J. 1889.

(ed.) Register of the Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin. London.

Gillman, H. W. 1892.

"Notes on the siege of Cork in 1690", JCHAS 1 (1892), 137-40.

Gillman, H. W. 1894.

"Military operations in Cos. Cork and Kerry in 1690 and 1691", JCHAS 3 (1894), 25-30

- Giuseppi, M. S. and Wood, A. C. (eds.) 1939.
Calendar of Patent Rolls, Philip and Mary, vol. 4 (1557-8).
London.
- Graham, B. 1977.
"The Towns of Medieval Ireland", in Butlin, R. A. (ed.), The Development of the Irish Town. London.
- Graves, J. 1877.
A Roll of the Proceedings of King's Council in Ireland, 16 Ric. II. London.
- Gwynn, A. and Hadcock, R. N. 1970.
Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland. London.
- Hall, R. 1973-4.
"A check list of Viking-age coin finds from Ireland", Ulster Jrl. Archaeol. 36-7, 71-86.
- Hamilton, H. C. 1860.
(Ed.) Calendar of State Papers Ireland 1509-73. London.
- Hamilton, H. C. 1860.
(Ed.) Calendar of State Papers Ireland 1574-85. London.
- Hamilton, H. C. 1860.
(Ed.) Calendar of State Papers Ireland 1588-92. London.
- Harbison, P. 1969a.
The Axes of the Early Bronze Age in Ireland. Munich.
- Harbison, P. 1969b.
The Daggers and the Halberds of the Early Bronze Age in Ireland. Munich.
- Hogan, J. 1936.
Letters and Papers relating to the Irish Rebellion between 1642-9. Dublin.
- Holland, M. 1917a.
"The monastery of St. Francis at Cork", JCHAS 23, 121-5.
- Holland, M. 1917b.
"Survey of the town walls of Cork in 1733", JCHAS 24, 199-205.
- Hughes, A. 1901.
(Ed.) Calendar of Patent Rolls Henry IV, vol. 1 (1422-9).
London.
- Hunt, J. 1974.
Irish Medieval Figure Sculpture. Dublin-London.
- Hurley, M. F. 1984.
"Cork city: St. Peter's Market", Med. Archaeol. 28, 254-5.

- Hurley, M. F. 1985.
"Excavations of part of the medieval city wall at Grand Parade, Cork", JCHAS 90, 65-90.
- Hurley, M. and Power, D. 1981.
"The medieval town wall of Cork", JCHAS 86, 1-20.
- Ireland, A. 1983.
"Cork city in the eighteenth century", JCHAS 88, 124-5.
- Irish Record Commission 1829.
Chartae, Privilegia et Immunitates: from 18 Henry II (1171) to 18 Richard II (1395).
- Irish Record Commission 1830.
Irish Patent Rolls of James I. Facsimile ed. Dublin 1966.
- Isaacson, R. F. 1907.
(Ed.) Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III, vol. 3 (1350-4).
London.
- Isaacson, R. F. 1909.
(Ed.) Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III, vol. 10 (1354-8).
London.
- Isaacson, R. F. and Dawes, M.C.B. 1913.
Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III, vol. 14 (1367-70).
London.
- Jefferies, H. A. 1983.
"Desmond: the early years, and the career of Cormac Mac Carthy", JCHAS 88, 81-99.
- Jefferies, H. A. 1985.
"The history and topography of Viking Cork", JCHAS 90, 14-25.
- Long, T. 1910-2.
"Cork Cathedral", Jrl. Assoc. Preservation Memorials Dead Ireland 8, 23-4.
- Lunham, T. A. 1906.
"Historical and Topographical Notes of Cork, compiled chiefly from manuscript sources", JCHAS 12, 99-102.
- Lunham, T. A. 1907.
"Historical Notices of Old Cork", JCHAS 13, 64-9.
- Lunham, T. A. 1908.
"Skiddy's Castle", JCHAS 14 (1908), 81-3.
- Lunham, T. A. 1909.
"Bishop Dive Downes' visitation of his diocese 1699-1702", JCHAS 15, 19-28, 78-90, 126-31, 163-80.

- MacAirt, S. 1951.
(ed.) The Annals of Inisfallen. Dublin.
- MacCarthy, C. J. F. 1943a.
"Saint Finnbarr of Cork", JCHAS 48, 1-4.
- MacCarthy, C. J. F. 1943b.
"The Celtic monastery of Cork", JCHAS 48, 4-8.
- MacLysaght, E. 1941.
Calendar of Orrery Papers. Dublin.
- McNeill, C. 1932.
(ed.) Registrum de Kilmainham. Dublin.
- MacNiocaill, G. 1964a.
Na Buirgeisi XII-XV Aois. 1 vol. in 2. Dublin.
- MacNiocaill, G. 1964b.
(Ed.) The Red Book of the Earls of Kildare. Dublin.
- Mahaffy, R. P. 1900.
(Ed.) Calendar of State Papers Ireland 1625-32. London.
- Mahaffy, R. P. 1905.
(Ed.) Calendar of State Papers Ireland 1660-2. London.
- Mahaffy, R. P. 1910.
(Ed.) Calendar of State Papers Ireland 1669-70. London.
- Mahaffy, R. P. 1912.
(Ed.) Calendar of State Papers Ireland 1601-3. London.
- Martin, F. X. 1971.
"The First Normans in Munster", JCHAS 76 (1971), 48-71.
- Martin, G. H. 1981.
"Plantation Boroughs in Medieval Ireland, with a handlist of Boroughs to c.1500" in Harkness, D. and O'Dowd, M. (eds.) The Town in Ireland (Belfast), 23-53.
- Meyer, K. 1892.
(Ed.) The Vision of Mac Conglinne. London.
- Mills, J. 1905.
(ed.) Calendar of Justiciary Rolls Ireland 1295-1303. Dublin.
- Mills, J. 1905.
(ed.) Calendar of Justiciary Rolls Ireland 1305-07. Dublin.
- Morrin, J. 1861.
(ed.) Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Ireland Henry VIII - Elizabeth. Vol. 1. Dublin.
- Morrin, J. 1862.

(ed.) Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Ireland 18-45 Elizabeth. Vol. 2. Dublin.

Morrin, J. 1863.

(ed.) Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Ireland Charles I. Dublin.

Morris, G. J. 1905.

(Ed.) Calendar of Patent Rolls, Richard II. Vol. 5 (1391-96). London.

Morrissey, J. F. 1939.

(ed.) Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland 12/13 - 21/22 Edward IV. Dublin.

Mulcahy, M. MacNamara, T. F. and O'Brien, B. 1960.

"Elizabeth Fort, Cork", Irish Sword 4, 127-34.

Murphy, D. 1883.

Cromwell in Ireland: A History of Cromwell's Irish Campaign. Dublin.

Murphy, J. A. 1964.

"The expulsion of the Irish from Cork in 1644", JCHAS 69, 123-31.

Nicholson, S. M. 1980.

Catalogue of the Prehistoric Metalwork in Merseyside County Museums. Liverpool.

O'Brien, A. F. 1985.

"The development of the privileges, liberties and immunities of medieval Cork and the growth of an urban autonomy c.1189 to 1500", JCHAS 90, 46-64.

O'Flaherty, B. D. 1978.

"Red Abbey, Cork City", JCHAS 83, 89-93.

O hInnse, S. 1947.

(ed.) Miscellaneous Irish Annals (AD 1114-1437). Dublin.

O'Kelly, M. J. 1946.

"Recent southern archaeological finds", JCHAS 51, 61-8.

O'Kelly, M. J. 1955.

"A shell-midden at Carrigtohill, Co. Cork", JCHAS 60, 28-32.

O Laidhin, T. 1962.

(Ed.) The Sidney State Papers (1565-70). Dublin.

O'Leary, M. A. 1931.

Monumenta Vetera Corcagiensia. Being a Survey of All Antiquarian Remains within and around the City of Cork. Unpublished M.A. thesis presented to the Dept. of Archaeology, University College Cork.

- O Murchadha, D. 1959.
"Where was Insovenach?", JCHAS 64, 57-62.
- O Murchadha, D. 1985.
"Gill Abbey and 'Rental of Cong'", JCHAS 90, 31-45.
- O Riain, P. 1977.
"St. Finbarr: a study in a cult", JCHAS 82, 63-82.
- O Riain, P. 1985.
"Another Cork Charter: the life of Saint Finbarr", JCHAS 90, 1-13.
- Orpen, G. H. 1911-20.
Ireland under the Norman. 4 vols. Oxford.
- O'Shea, J. J. 1943.
"The churches of the Church of Ireland in Cork City", JCHAS 48, 30-5.
- O'Sullivan, D. 1940.
"The Franciscan Friary of medieval Cork", JCHAS 45, 1-14.
- O'Sullivan, D. 1943.
"The monastic establishments of medieval Cork", JCHAS 48, 9-18.
- O'Sullivan, D. 1956.
"The testament of John de Wynchedon of Cork, Anno 1306", JCHAS 61, 75-88.
- O'Sullivan, W. 1937.
An Economic History of Cork. Cork.
- Otway-Ruthven, A. J. 1968.
A History of Medieval Ireland. London.
- Power, P. 1920.
"A crannog in Cork", JRSAI 50, 179-81.
- Radner, J. N. 1978.
(Ed.) Fragmentary Annals of Ireland. Dublin.
- Raferty, B. 1983.
A Catalogue of Irish Iron Age Antiquities. 2 Vols. Marburg.
- Richardson, H. G. and Sayles, G. O. 1947.
(Eds.) Parliaments and Councils of Medieval Ireland. Dublin.
- Rigg, J. M. 1926.
Calendar of State Papers relating to English Affairsin the Vatican, vol. 2 (1572-8). London.
- Roe, H. M. 1969.
"Cadaver effigial monuments in Ireland", JRSAI 99, 1-19.

- Russell, C. W. and Prendergast, J. P. 1872.
Calendar of State Papers Ireland 1603-6. London.
- Russell, C. W. and Prendergast, J. P. 1880.
Calendar of State Papers Ireland 1615-25.
- Scott, A. B. and Martin, F. X. 1978.
(eds.) Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland by Giraldu Cambrensis. Dublin.
- Sheehy, M. P. 1962.
(Ed.) Pontificia Hibernica: medieval papal chancery documents relating to Ireland, 640-1261. 2 vols. Dublin.
- Simington, R. C. 1942.
The Civil Survey A.D. 1654-6: County Waterford, Dublin.
- Simms, J. G. 1969-70.
"Marlborough's siege of Cork, 1690", Irish Sword 9, 113-23.
- Simms, J. G. 1976.
"The Restoration 1660-85", in Moody, T. W., Martin, F. X., and Byrne, F. J. (eds.) A New History of Ireland 3: Early Modern Ireland 1534-1691 (Oxford), 420-53.
- Smith, C. 1815.
The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Cork. Dublin.
- Sweetman, H. S. 1875-86.
Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland 1171-1307. 5 vols. London.
- Todd, J. H. 1867.
(Ed.) Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh. London.
- Thompson, Novgorod the Great. London 1967.
- Tresham, E. 1828.
Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Calendrium Hen II - Hen VII. Dublin.
- Tuckey, H. 1837.
The County and City of Cork Remembrancer. Cork.
- Twemlow, J. A. 1906.
(Ed.) Calendar of the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: 7 (1415-27). London.
- Twemlow, J. A. 1955.
(Ed.) Calendar of the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: 14 (1471-84). London.
- Twohig, D. 1974.
"Cork City", Excavations 1974, 11-12.

Twohig, D. 1975-6.

"Cork City: South Main Street", Excavations 1975-76, 26-7.

Twohig, D. 1978.

"Cork City excavations 1974-77", Bulletin Group Study Irish Historic Settlement 5, 19-22.

Walsh, T. J. 1949.

(And O'Sullivan, D.) "Saint Malachy, the Gill Abbey of Cork and the rule of Arrouaise", JCHAS 54, 41-60.

Waterman, D. M. 1970.

"Somersetshire and other foreign building stone in medieval Ireland c.1175-1400", Ulster Jrl. Archaeol. 33, 63-75.

Webster, C. A. 1920.

The Diocese of Cork. Cork.

Westropp, M. S. D. 1926.

"The Cork goldsmiths, silversmiths, jewellers, watchmakers and apprentices", JCHAS 30, 8-13.

White, N. B. 1936.

(Ed.) Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds from the Ormond Collection. Dublin.

White, N. B. 1943.

Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions 1540-41. Dublin.

Windele, J. 1910.

Historical and Descriptive Notices of the City of Cork [rev. and abr. by James Coleman]. Cork.

Wood, H. 1933.

(Ed.) The Chronicle of Ireland 1584-1608, by Sir James Perrott. Dublin.