

## In Search of Medieval Nenagh

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The probable size and precise location of the medieval town of Nenagh is reassessed, using the documentary evidence and the results of ten years of excavation work. It is argued that it was much smaller than the area suggested by the Tipperary Urban survey. The date of the foundation of Tyone priory is also likely to be later than usually stated.

### Introduction

In the early 1990s the Tipperary Urban Survey<sup>1</sup> attempted to define the extent of the medieval town of Nenagh. There was little evidence to go on. No town wall survives. The only extant medieval buildings, the castle and the Franciscan friary, are monument types that are equally at home within or without a walled town.<sup>2</sup> It is not clear if the street pattern of the town is medieval in origin, while the few historical references are of very little use in defining the town's boundaries. The area that was eventually defined is quite extensive for what appears, from the historical sources, to have been a very modest medieval town. In her work on the walled towns of Ireland Thomas<sup>3</sup> estimated the town to be between 10 and 15 hectares, depending on whether the Franciscan friary was inside or outside the wall. The upper limit seems excessively large, greater for instance, than the Englishtown section of Limerick (14ha) which was, undoubtedly, an altogether more important medieval town. Englishtown itself consists of a walled core of Viking origin and a northern extension enclosed in the high medieval period. Even the lower estimate of 10ha is greater than that of a significant medieval town such as Fethard (7.5 ha). Thus there are reasons to suggest that the area defined by the Survey may be too large. The following is an attempt to reassess the medieval town in light of the diverse archaeological work carried on around the town in recent years.

### The Archaeological evidence

As noted above, the Tipperary Urban Survey defined the limits of what its compilers believed to be the medieval town. A buffer was then drawn around the core and this larger entity, known as the Zone of Archaeological Potential (ZAP), acquired legal status in 1998 when it was entered into the Record of Monuments and Places (RMP). All proposed work within the ZAP must be reported to the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, which advises the Town Council. As a result most development sites have archaeological requirements written into their planning permissions. In some cases testing for the presence of archaeological material is required before the full grant is given while on other sites the archaeological monitoring of groundworks is deemed to be sufficient.

Over the last decade or so a large volume of archaeological work has been carried out within the town. Appendix 1 lists all licensed excavations to early 2006, together with reference to published summaries in the *Excavations* series.<sup>4</sup> The same appendix also contains a few monitored sites where licenses were not required. This second part of the list does not claim

<sup>1</sup> Unpublished, OPW 1994.

<sup>2</sup> In Limerick, for example, the Dominican Friary is within the walls, the Franciscan outside: King John's Castle was freestanding in the northern suburb and only later became part of the circuit of the walls.

<sup>3</sup> Avril Thomas, *The Walled Towns of Ireland* (2 vols, Dublin, 1992) 2, p. 173.

<sup>4</sup> *Excavations*, edited by Isabel Bennett and currently published by Wordwell of Bray, is an annual publication containing summaries of all licensed archaeological work on this island. Recent work should appear in the same series in due course. In most cases, where nothing was found, the summary in *Excavations* is deemed sufficient publication. One site has received further publication, see B. Hodkinson, 'Excavations in the gatehouse of Nenagh castle 1996-97', *Tipperary Historical Journal* (1999) pp 162-82.



to be exhaustive because there is no requirement to publish in *Excavations* so there may be some hidden sites. It can be assumed, however, that if any sites are omitted then nothing of significance was found because, had archaeological material been uncovered, the site would have upgraded to a licensed excavation. The various excavations are mapped on Plan 1.

The finding from all this archaeological work is remarkable. To date no medieval material at all has been found, except in the areas of the castle and friary which are known medieval monuments. Caveats have to be issued about some sites. One site can best be described as keyhole archaeology (23), while on a couple of sites (22 & 27) the base of the foundation trench was well above the level of subsoil. Another site (26) had a cellar at the front, while the ground at the rear seemed to have been stripped to subsoil in the past. A site near the castle (31) had also been stripped of all potential archaeological material when it was levelled to form a yard, probably in the early-19th century. The remaining sites are well spread about the town, especially the western side, and vary from extensive trenching to complete stripping of sites. Probably the most significant result came from the Kenyon Street car-park site (6), which straddles the supposed line of the town wall. If this were the line of any defensive features, then one would expect to see some indication, such as a ditch or remains of an embankment. In the event nothing was found and the stratigraphy was found to cross the supposed boundary line without interruption. Another assumption was that the churchyard at the southern end of Kenyon Street was the probable site for the medieval parish church, which would have had a surrounding graveyard. A small site (11) next to the bell-tower revealed no skeletal remains. Three sites excavated at the end of 2005 and early 2006 revealed features cut into the subsoil. In one case (30) the feature was dateable to the post medieval period, but the features on the other two (28 & 29) failed to produce securely stratified material with which to date them. There is no reason, however, to believe the features are medieval and even if they are then they stand in isolation with no habitation connected to them.<sup>5</sup> In short there is, as yet, no archaeological evidence for the existence of the medieval town of Nenagh, though there are sufficient documentary references to be certain that it did exist.

### The Historical Evidence

Appendix 2 is a collection of the historical references that throw light on the medieval town. It excludes references specific to the castle, friary and Tyone priory, so anyone requiring a detailed history of these is referred to Gleeson's articles, written in the 1930s, which are still the standard texts.<sup>6</sup> The choice of Nenagh as the *caput* of the Butler lordship was not by chance. It is clear from the early references that Nenagh was a focal point prior to the advent of the Normans. The name itself means 'fair' in the sense of a market. It is unlikely that there was any permanent settlement that could be identified as a town. It was normal practice for the Normans to head for established centres, take them over and fashion them in their own image. The town, the castle and nearby priory are all Norman foundations.

The castle seems to have been built c 1215-16.<sup>7</sup> Several authorities state that there is evidence of earlier Butler activity in the area, with the foundation in c1200 of Tyone priory just outside the town.<sup>8</sup> It is, however, unlikely that the town was founded at such an early date; it is more reasonable to believe that it came into existence together with, or slightly later than, the castle that afforded it protection. As a seigneurial foundation the town received its charter of privileges from the Butler lords. It was the freedoms and privileges granted in this charter which would have acted as the inducement for settlers to come to the town from England and Wales. Although the charter no longer survives and its terms are unknown, there is adequate evidence

<sup>5</sup> On site discussion with the director in the case of 28, personal observation for 27.

<sup>6</sup> Dermot Gleeson, 'The Castle and Manor of Nenagh', *JRSAI* 66 (1936) pp 247-69; idem, 'The Priory of St John at Nenagh', *JRSAI* 68 (1938) pp 201-18.

<sup>7</sup> Hodkinson, 'Nenagh castle', p. 178.

<sup>8</sup> Sir James Ware, *The Antiquities of Ireland* (Dublin, 1705) p. 106; Gleeson, 'Priory of St John', p. 202.



for its existence. The mention of a prepositus / reeve in the 1307, 1399-1400 and 1432 documents indicate some form of corporate government, as does the 1297 reference, which shows that the town could act collectively. Burgess status is mentioned in the 1305 & 1338 documents and is usually taken to be another indicator of a corporate body, i.e. a self-regulating group permitting entry by recognised routes, such as birth, apprenticeship or marriage. Recent research has, however, modified this view somewhat and suggests that burgess status could, in some cases, be awarded by a lord to an individual, rather than by the usual manner of qualification.<sup>9</sup> The 1307 grant by Edmund Butler, of the freedom of Nenagh to Roger Hervey and his wife is a possible example of this.

The 1297 and 1322-23 references mention murage, which raises the question of whether or not Nenagh was walled. Normally murage involved the diversion of local tolls/taxes to build the wall, but the context here seems to relate to the repayment of money already received from the Exchequer. There is an element of doubt whether the grant actually applied to Nenagh;<sup>10</sup> if it did then no wall has been identified to date. Even if the grant did apply to Nenagh that does not necessarily mean a wall was built: there are documented examples elsewhere where murage money was misappropriated.<sup>11</sup> The only document to actually mention walls is the 1654 Civil Survey and this probably relates to walls recently erected around the newly refounded town. Here it should also be remembered that in many places the town enclosure was little more than the wall or fence at the bottom of a burgage plot.

Nenagh seems to have led an unremarkable existence through the 13th century and does not seem to have been overly affected by the Bruce Wars in the first part of the 14th century because by 1322-23 it was able to pay into the exchequer. While the 1332, 1338, 1347 and 1353-54 references suggest encroachment by the native Irish was beginning to be felt, the amercement of the reeve and community in 1399-1400 demonstrates that the town was sufficiently vibrant to survive the transfer of the Butler *caput* from Nenagh to Gowran and later Kilkenny in the second half of the 14th century. It may be that the presence of the Franciscan friary<sup>12</sup> was a factor in the survival as the town may have provided some services to it. The 1432 reference to the reeve and community of Nenagh is the last indication of corporate activity. After that it is unclear exactly what happened. The 1663 references demonstrate a tradition within the Butler family that the town survived to the time of the English Wars of the Roses in the mid/late 15th century whereupon it fell to the local Irish. The 1564 reference is to an attempt to refound the town which does not appear to have been successful. The Civil Survey references of 1654 suggest a recent building phase which possibly represents another and ultimately successful refounding of the town. The gates and walls mentioned in the Survey are presumed to belong to this refounding phase and have nothing to do with the medieval period.

## Discussion

As stated above the failure of archaeological excavation to locate the medieval town is remarkable. Most recent work has, however, been development led without any overall research framework, so it can be argued that no excavation has been deliberately targeted towards finding the town. Two factors can be put forward to counter this idea. Firstly, despite the lack of a research programme, the large number and spread of sites within the town might reasonably have been expected to reveal something somewhere. Secondly there is no history of chance discoveries of artefacts in back yards or in the various service-trenches excavated around town over time.

<sup>9</sup> Kieran O'Connor, *The Archaeology of Medieval Rural Settlement in Ireland, Discovery Programme Monograph No 3* (Dublin, 1998) p. 42.

<sup>10</sup> Thomas, *Walled Towns 2*, p. 174.

<sup>11</sup> Oliver Creighton and Robert Higham, *Medieval Town Walls: an Archaeological and Social History of Urban Defence*, (Stroud, 2005) p. 87; Michael Potterton, *Medieval Trim* (Dublin, 2005) p. 133.

<sup>12</sup> The date of foundation is unknown but it was in existence by 1291; some authorities state the founder was one of the Butlers, others the Kennedys, see A. Gwynn & R. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses Ireland* (2nd edition, Dublin, 1988) pp. 256-7.





So where was the town? It is unlikely that later developments have obliterated all traces of it. There are three possibilities. The first of which is that there was in fact no nucleated settlement at Nenagh.<sup>13</sup> It used to be assumed that high medieval rural settlement in Ireland was in nucleated villages at manorial centres, similar to those in the English Midlands. This model has had to be modified in recent years. In Ulster, for instance, McNeill demonstrated that in the Earldom of Ulster settlement was dispersed across the manor. The reason for this seems to be the result of a failure to attract enough English settlers to the area. Most of the tenants were of Irish stock, who seem simply to have carried on farming as before except they now paid rent to a Norman rather than Irish lord. The Earl himself does not seem to have practised demesne farming so manors there were largely administrative with no need for the complex of buildings associated with a working farm. While the Ulster model cannot be applied to the whole country, it does demonstrate the possibility that there was a range of settlement patterns across the country. In a Nenagh context, however, the evidence points more towards the English model than the Ulster one. There can be little doubt that the 1299 inquisition describes a nucleated settlement though it gives no indication as to the size of it.

The second possibility is that we must look for the town elsewhere than in the ZAP. It should not be assumed that the medieval town has to lie under the present town centre. For one reason or another, town and village centres can migrate around over time; the Georgian new town in Limerick being a good example of this. Here again we come up against a complete lack of archaeological evidence. Many of the recent large-scale housing developments outside the ZAP have been or are being monitored with no result. The only possible indicator for a different location is the 1299 mention of a road to the east of the castle that suggests that settlement could have been somewhat north of the ZAP in the Summerhill area.

The third possibility, that the town is hidden within the ZAP, merits close consideration. According to Barry, 'many of the smaller boroughs were really only villages that were given borough status to attract settlers to them'. He continues, 'perhaps the best approach is to take the pragmatic view that if there is any doubt about a particular nucleated settlement it should be regarded as a rural borough unless it can be shown to have had economic specialisation within its boundaries as well as evidence of involvement in more than purely local trade.'<sup>14</sup> By that yardstick Nenagh is clearly a rural borough, since there is neither any evidence for economic specialisation nor external trade. If we accept this premise then it is necessary to seek comparative material as to the likely size and population of the town because the historical references given below contain little useful information on the matter. A 1289 manorial extent of Newtown Jerpoint shows there were 22 burgesses in the village and a further 30 free tenants of the manor. Using Barry's multiplier of 5 would give a population of c 250,<sup>15</sup> but it is probable that the true figure was considerably lower if, as is likely, many free tenants were scattered across the manor on their holdings. The Co. Cork borough of Kilmaclenine, established by the bishop of Cloyne had 27 burgesses in the middle of the 14th century and, according to Glasscock, 'must have been primarily an agricultural settlement.'<sup>16</sup> Kinsalebeg in Co. Waterford had 24 burgesses rendering 34s 4d in 1348.<sup>17</sup> An extent of Grean (Pallas), Co. Limerick in 1331 shows there were 20 burgages that had been destroyed by the Irish and felons.<sup>18</sup> A maximum of c 100-150 inhabitants is therefore likely for some of the smaller towns, a number surprisingly few to modern ears.

<sup>13</sup> This section is based on the discussion of rural settlement in O'Connor, *Med. Settlement*, pp 41-8.

<sup>14</sup> T. B. Barry, *The Archaeology of Medieval Ireland* (London, 1987) p. 118; see also O'Connor, *Med. Settlement*, p. 42.

<sup>15</sup> Barry, *Med. Ire.*, p. 80.

<sup>16</sup> R.E. Glasscock, 'The Study of Deserted Medieval Settlements in Ireland (to 1968)', in M. Beresford and J. Hurst, (eds) *Deserted Medieval Villages* (London, 1971) pp 279-301: 288.

<sup>17</sup> *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, 9, p. 131.

<sup>18</sup> G. Mac Niocaill (ed.), *The Red Book of the Earl of Kildare* (Dublin, 1964) p. 120.



If the population is small then the area of the town is also likely to have been quite small.<sup>19</sup> At Kilpeck in the Welsh marches, the embankment around the town measures c.180 x 280m, giving provision for about 44 burgage plots, while the enclosure at Castle Acre measures 200 x 250m.<sup>20</sup> The area of these examples is c. 5 hectares, or one half and one third of the minimum and maximum suggested sizes given above in the introduction. Towns could be even smaller.<sup>21</sup> If Nenagh had 50 burgage plots then this is the equivalent to 25 facing each other across a road. Using a local example of Limerick's Englishtown, a run of 25 plots occupies a maximum street frontage of 170m.<sup>22</sup> In a Nenagh context this would fit snugly between the castle and Franciscan friary and more readily so if the number of burgage plots was fewer and there was a cross street as the 1299 reference hints. This is just the area of town where there has been no great coverage by excavations and what has been done is the subject of the caveats issued above. It is therefore suggested that O'Rahilly Street (Bachelor's Walk) and Friar Street, joining the castle to the friary, represent the main street of the medieval town. In which context it is worth noting that Bradley has indicated potential surviving burgage plots at right angles to Friar Street.<sup>23</sup>

As noted above the town seems to have had no specialisation and there is no indication it acted as more than a local market. Nor is there a record of a grant of a market or fair in Norman times despite the derivation of the place name. It is highly likely therefore that the main economic activity of the burgesses lay in agriculture. This is demonstrated by the 1338 inquisition which shows that the burgesses held 18 carucates of land as well as having held pasturage that had been lost to the Irish.<sup>24</sup> A carucate is the area that a team of oxen could plough in one year. Clearly this was a variable measure because of differences in conditions, but nominally it was 120 acres, which would give a notional, 2160 acres for Nenagh. This is a substantial area and must have taken up much of the manpower of the town. It is also likely that the castle and later the friary played some part in the economic activity of the town. In fact it is the presence of the latter, which grew in importance as the head of the Irish Franciscan custody,<sup>25</sup> that may have helped the town to survive the departure of the Butlers to Kilkenny. Given the size of the town, it is likely the few local craftsmen would have catered to the need of a basic agricultural community and would not have been producing the luxury goods one expects to find in a larger town.

The 14th century saw a gradual drift from tillage into pasturage throughout Ireland. This is usually put down to a combination of climatic deterioration and the more unsettled conditions of the Gaelic resurgence. The only evidence for this change comes towards the end of the period under discussion. In 1595 the chief rent was paid in cattle, a sure sign that the local economy was then based on pastoralism.

The full effect of the Gaelic resurgence on the town is difficult to assess. Certainly the personal names given in the early references are Anglo-Norman but the absence of names in the latter period makes it difficult to see if there is any change over time. It is interesting to record that gradually all the local religious institutions fell into Irish hands. The friary may have always been an Irish house, but it was definitely so from the time when it was created the head of the Irish custody of Western Ireland in the 14th century. By 1414 Tyone had an Irish prior, Dermot Ohatach, contrary to the rules of the house,<sup>26</sup> while the O'Kennedys, as noted

<sup>19</sup> It is not always the case that a small population equals small area: the Irishtown of Limerick is a nearby example, where the inhabitants were concentrated on the Y-shaped main street and the remainder of the enclosed space was mostly orchard and garden.

<sup>20</sup> O.H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes* (London, 2002) pp 168 and 160 respectively.

<sup>21</sup> See comparative plans of town sizes, in Creighton and Higham, *Castles*, pp 23-7; Kidwelly cannot be much more than 3 hectares.

<sup>22</sup> Information taken from Claire Lane's unpublished mapping of the *Civil Survey* of 1654.

<sup>23</sup> John Bradley, 'The Medieval Towns of Tipperary' in W. Nolan (ed.), *Tipperary: History & Society* (Dublin, 1985) p. 51.

<sup>24</sup> Nenagh was not unique in this respect: at Trim, for instance, the burgesses each held three acres of arable land with their burgage, Potterton, *Medieval Trim*, p. 131.

<sup>25</sup> While the earliest contemporary mention is 1291, it may have been founded somewhat earlier.

<sup>26</sup> Gwynn and Hadcock, *Med. Rel. Houses*, p. 214.



below, had control of the parish church by 1423 at the latest. In such circumstances it seems reasonable to ask how English the town was by, say 1400. Had the descendants of the original settlers given up and left to be replaced by Irish tenants, or had the English simply become integrated with the Irish? A definitive answer can never be given, but it was possibly a mixture of both. Some names given below, such as Harvey and Wallace, are still to be found in the area.<sup>27</sup> The town had ceased to function as a corporate body by the mid-15th century but that does not necessarily mean that it was totally abandoned. It probably continued in a shrunken form before being refounded. The description of the town as a hamlet in the description of the bounds of the Earl's estate of 1589-94, is a probable indicator of this reduced status, while the 1593 and 1595 references also suggest small-scale settlement.

The location of the medieval parish church is unclear, though the references in Appendix 2 show quite clearly that one did exist. Continuity of location from medieval into early modern times, if not to the present day, is by no means unusual, so the church may well have lain in the graveyard at the southern end of the Urban Survey's town. The church remains and tower on site today are post medieval in date. Two factors hint that the graveyard may not be medieval. Firstly the house on Site 11 was built against the bell tower of the later church, obscuring its first floor entrance door. As such it is not unreasonable to assume it was built over part of the graveyard, but no burials were noted under the floor. Secondly the Ordnance Survey Letters contain a reference to the discovery of the foundations of a building, the description of which sounds like an apsidal church, which lay between the existing graveyard and the abbey ruin.<sup>28</sup> If this was the parish church then it fits with the theme of a smaller compact town.

Tyone priory, the house of the *Fratres Cruciferi* that lies just outside town, is traditionally dated to c. 1200. The date originates with Ware and has never been seriously challenged, even though he gives no authority for his assertion.<sup>29</sup> The original foundation charter does not survive except for a recitation of it in a bond given by the prior to observe the terms of the charter.<sup>30</sup> The only dating feature contained within the charter section is the name of the founder, Theobald Walter. Curtis puts a date of 1200 on this, but Gleeson points out that the bond itself has to be later because of the witness names which include M. Archbishop of Cashel and R. bishop of Killaloe. Curtis expands the initial M to be Marian O'Brien and Gleeson expands R to be Robert Travers. There is a problem with this, as Gleeson noted,<sup>31</sup> because, Marian O'Brien was archbishop from 1224 to 1238 and Robert Travers was bishop from 1216 to 1221 when he was deprived of his see.<sup>32</sup> According to Cotton, Robert's successor is not known, but a bishop J is recorded elsewhere in 1222.<sup>33</sup> Robert, however, continued to occupy the position until 1226 when Pope Honorius III ordered the bishop of Limerick and Marian of Cashel to remove him from office.<sup>34</sup> While there was an M, Matthew O'Heney, at Cashel in 1200 there was no corresponding R at Killaloe, so the only period where M and R coincide is the period 1224-1226 which has to be the date of the bond. There is no inherent reason why the bond and charter cannot be near contemporary with each other. The only dating evidence in the charter is, as noted above, the name Theobald which is assumed to be the man who died in 1206. However, his son, who achieved his majority in the early 1220s, was also Theobald and there is no good reason why he could not be the Theobald of the charter.

<sup>27</sup> The father of Theobald I was Harvey Walter, which may give rise to the local use of the name.

<sup>28</sup> Rev. M. O'Flanagan, Letters containing information relative to the antiquities of the County Tipperary, collected during progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1840, vol. 3, p. 99 (Typescript 1930).

<sup>29</sup> Gwynn and Hadcock, op. cit..

<sup>30</sup> Gleeson, 'Priory of St John', pp 202-03: the charter is also printed in Newport White, (ed.), *The Red Book of Ormond* (Dublin, 1932) pp 85-6; the bond is in Edmund Curtis, *Calendar of Ormond Deeds 1, 1172-1350* (Dublin, 1932) p. 10.

<sup>31</sup> Gleeson, 'Priory of St John', pp 204-05.

<sup>32</sup> Henry Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae; the succession of the prelates and members of the Cathedral Bodies in Ireland* (Dublin, 1845) pp 87 and 397.

<sup>33</sup> H.S. Sweetman, *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland 1171-125* (London, 1875) no. 1041 p. 160.

<sup>34</sup> Maurice P Sheehy, *Pontifica Hibernica; Medieval Papal Chancery Documents Concerning Ireland 640-1261* (Dublin, 1962) pp 266-67. Newport White, *Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds* (Dublin, 1936) pp 227-9 discussing this same bond, gives the end date for Robert as 1231, without explaining why he does not accept 1221.



The re-dating of the castle from the time of Theobald I to that of Theobald II means that if Tyone was truly founded c1200 then it was constructed well before the castle. Since Tyone was founded as a house for English friars, it is highly unlikely that Theobald I would have been able to inject such a priory into an area not yet under his control. A later date between 1215 and 1226 is, therefore, more plausible, with the priory being established alongside the castle and new town of Nenagh.

In conclusion then, a much smaller and compact town is proposed in contrast to the sprawling one of the Urban Survey. Whether or not this smaller entity was walled is debatable. If such a wall does still exist then there is a good chance it will be identified because the Town Council has now wisely started to request fabric surveys of standing walls prior to demolition.

## Acknowledgements

My thanks to Eoghain Grant of DOEHLG for providing a list of Nenagh licences and Isabel Bennett, editor of *Excavations*, for providing summary of findings of some of the more recent sites. Also I would like to record my gratitude to Anne Carey (Connolly), Dominic Delany of Dominic Delany & Associates, Avril Hayes of Aegis Archaeology and Kate Taylor of TVAS (Ireland) who all provided information to make this article possible.

## Appendix 1

### List of sites in Nenagh ZAP

a) Licensed work. Listed by licence number, address, licence holder and entry number in *Excavations* (to 2003). NB. Nos. 10 & 11 did not take place in their licence year. The former should appear in the 2003 volume, the latter was reported but does not seem to have found its way into the relevant *Excavations*. No. 28 should appear in the 2006 volume. The street names below are those used on the planning applications; some of them have alternative names e.g. Connolly Street and Silver Street are one and the same.

1)	96E341	Abbey Street (The Friary)	S. Desmond	96/373 & 97/549
2)	96E312	Church View	B.J. Hodkinson	96/374
3)	96E228	The Castle	B.J. Hodkinson	96/375 & 97/553
4)	96E017	Pearse Street/Abbey Street	D. Delany	96/376
5)	97E044	Abbey Lane	B.J. Hodkinson	97/548
6)	97E422	Kenyon St. car park	B.J. Hodkinson	97/550
7)	97E239	16-17 Connolly Street	B.J. Hodkinson	97/551
8)	97E229	19 Lower Sarsfield Street	B.J. Hodkinson	97/552
9)	98E0535	54 Pearse Street	A. Connolly	98/619
10)	99E0134	Glebe Place	B.J. Hodkinson	*
11)	99E0685	40 Kenyon Street	B.J. Hodkinson	
12)	01E0890	95 Silver Street	B.J. Hodkinson	01/1228
13)	02E1048	Main Drainage	N. Gregory	02/1747
14)	02E0810	John's Lane	A. Hayes	02/1748
15)	02E1428	Keating's Place	B.J. Hodkinson	02/1749
16)	02E0006	Martyrs Road	B.J. Hodkinson	02/1750
17)	02E1706	15-18 Sarsfield Street	A. Hayes	02/1752
18)	02E0488	52-55 Silver Street	A. Hayes	02/1753
19)	03E1418	9 Pearse Street	B.J. Hodkinson	03/1795
20)	03E0259	20 Silver Street	Sheila Lane	03/1796
21)	03E0279	52a Silver Street	A. Hayes	03/1797
22)	04E0616	Bachelors' Walk	B.J. Hodkinson	n/a



23)	04E1322	Bachelors' Walk	B.J. Hodkinson	n/a
24)	04E1568	Hotel Site, Pearse Street	Linda Clarke	n/a
25)	05E0684	Kenyon Street (Widows)	B.J. Hodkinson	n/a
26)	05E0700	31 Pearse Street	B.J. Hodkinson	n/a
27)	05E0961	19A Pearse Street	B.J. Hodkinson	n/a
28)	05E1389	12-13 Silver Street	B.J. Hodkinson	*
29)	05E1410	Silver Street/Kenyon Street	K. Taylor	n/a
30)	06E0018	St John's Car Park	B.J. Hodkinson	n/a

b) Unlicensed monitorings, with planning reference where not in Excavations.

31)	1992 -	92/170	Pearse St., Castle Hypermarket	B.J. Hodkinson
32)	1998	N32/2731	24 Mitchell Street	B.J. Hodkinson
33)	1998	N32/2738	21 Connolly Street	B.J. Hodkinson
34)	1999	N32/2897	25 Sarsfield Street	B.J. Hodkinson

## Appendix 2

### Historical Sources for the town.

This is not intended as a comprehensive listing of sources for Nenagh. Only references that throw some light on the medieval town are included. Thus material relevant only to the history of the castle or friary is omitted, as are documents whose sole interest is that they were signed at Nenagh.

#### Abbreviations

AFM	Annals of the Four Masters
CCBH	Calendar of Carew Manuscript, Book of Howth
CDI	Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland
CIPM	Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem
CJR	Calendar of Justiciary Rolls
COD	Calendar of Ormond Deeds
CPR	Calendar of Papal Registers
CS	Civil Survey of Co. Tipperary, Vol. 2
CSPI	Calendar of State Papers Ireland; Elizabeth
DGMR	The Dublin Guild Merchant Roll c 1190-1265, ed. Philomena Connolly & Geoffrey Martin, Dublin 1992
EE	Edwards, D. & Empey, A, 2004. 'Tipperary liberty ordinances of the 'Black' earl of Ormond', in Edwards (ed) Regions and Rulers in Ireland 1100-1650, pp 122-45. Four Courts Press.
IEP	Irish Exchequer Payments, 1270-1446, Vol. II, ed. Philomena Connolly, Irish Manuscript Commission, 1998.
RBO	Red Book of Ormond.
RDKPRI	Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records of Ireland
SStM	Annals of Ireland, appendix in, Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey Dublin, ed. J. Gilbert, Vol. ii 1884

**994** 'Maelseachlainn burned Aenach-Thete and plundered Urmhumhain and routed before him Brian and the men of Munster in general' (AFM)

**1057** 'A plundering expedition was made by Diarmaid, son of Meal-na-mbo into Ulster; and he burned Dun-mic-Ninguir, Oenach-Tete and Dun-Furudhrain'. (AFM)



- 1217-21** 'Brother William Abbott of Wothney and the convent there- on a plea in the court of the king of Limerick as regards the advowson of the church of Nenagh, between Theobald Walter, Butler of Ireland, their advocate petitioner and their tenants,- quit-claim to the said Theobald and his heirs one moiety of the advowson of the said church, retaining the other moiety'. (COD 1, No 43)
- 1250-57** Reginald de Nany de Drokheda, Walterus de Nanak de Haverford and Walterus de Nouok de Hereford, entered into Dublin Guild Merchant Roll (DGMR pp. 90, 91, 97)<sup>35</sup>
- 1296-97** Reference to a like account for murage of the Nanagh, after an entry for the villate of Fethard. Listed as a villate giving a subsidy towards the king's Scottish Wars. (RDKPRI 38, 92)
- 1298** An extent of the lands of Thomas FitzMaurice lists as free tenants, Philip FitzRalph and Adam de Portesbury who hold 24 acres in le Nanagh, rendering 16s but not paying suit (CDI 4, p.257).
- 1299** The petition was heard of Theobald le Butteiller that he might divert a highway which leads through the midst of his wood of the Nenagh, and prepare another road for it, below the said wood towards the south, and maintain it at his own expense; and that he might enclose the wood and make a park of it. The Sheriff was directed to summon a jury to make known whether it be to the damage of the King or of others that the King should grant this. And John son of Robert, Dionysius de Mariscis, Nich. Crok, Hugh son of Robert, Geoffrey Techeseye, Ph. Laghele, Ric. De Mariscis, Ric de Barwe, Ph. Le Blund, Henry Golefre, Rob. Goer.... Trauers and Will Shorthals, jurors, say that it would not damage any but those who dwell in Theobald's town of the Nenagh in the street below the castle towards the east, viz. Rob. son of David and his neighbours dwelling in that street; and it is to their hurt if the way is diverted, because it would oblige them in going to their lands on the other side of the wood to make a circuit of four furlongs. And they estimate their damage at 40s. (CJR 1, p. 234).
- 1302** The taxation of the Diocese of Cashel, lists two places identified as Nenagh; Enaghmore value 10s and the Church of Enconagh value 8 marks taxed at 10s 8d (CDI 5, pp 300 & 301)
- 1305** mention of Ralph le Waleys, burgess of the Nanagh (CJR 2, 108)
- 1307** Charter granted by Edmund le Botiller to Roger Hervy and his wife of the freedom of Nenagh. They are pardoned 2s in amercement from the time when Philip Blund was Edmund's prepositus. (RBO, 117).
- 1313** William Don, charged that he by night feloniously burned the house of Roger Hervy in the town of Nanagh and his goods in the house to the value of forty marks, comes and defends etc. Nicholas Archer, Thomas Archer, John Hopper, Richard Galbeg, Richard Custos, Maurice Goer, Philip Galle, John le Whyte, Robert Bechlan, Peter de Hale, eleven jurors say William is not guilt of the charge and is not suspected of any other misdeed. Maurice le Archer the twelfth juror says that William is guilty..... (CJR 3 p. 273)
- 1322-23** 'The villate of the Nanagh accounts for £64 for remitting the account of murage. Paid half a mark to the said H. the sheriff & it owes £63-23s-4d.' (RDKPRI 42 p. 42)<sup>36</sup>
- 1332** Item, obsides ceperunt castrum similiter de Nenagh et ejusdem parten combusta recuperatum est, obsidibus reservatis. (SStM, p. 378)
- 1338.** 'Nenagh or Le Nanagh. The manor with the grange of Clonleyn (extent given with names of tenants) including a castle surrounded with 5 towers, a hall, a house beyond the gate and a kitchen with stone walls roofed with shingle, 40 acres pasture called Clonmayn & a wood called le Dirre held of the king in chief. .... Le Dirr by Nannagh. A pasture which the burgesses of Le Nanagh used to hold & render 13s 4d yearly but now nothing because near the Irish'..... The burgesses hold eighteen carucates of land in their burgages for £11 14s...and each does suit at the hundred there (CIPM 8, pp 121-22).

<sup>35</sup> For identification of place names with Nenagh, see the book's index.

<sup>36</sup> This entry is repeats in subsequent years, RDKPRI 42, p. 70, RDKPRI 45, p. 33 and RDKPRI 47 p. 24.



**1347** Also the town of Nenagh and all the country thereabouts was burned by Irishmen, a St. Stephen's day. (CCBH, p. 165)

**1353-54** James le Botiller, earl of Ormond, the king's kinsman, granted to him by the consent of the justiciar and others of the king's council in Ireland, considering the urgent necessity at this time for the maintenance and custody of his castle of le Nynagh situated in the marches near the Irish enemies and rebels of the king, to make purveyance of victuals for the castle, because of the constant war being waged by the said enemies and other rebels for a long time past £20. (IEP, p. 454)

**1394** ... notwithstanding that he holds his said perpetual benefice called in lay fee and has recently had from the pope the void parish church of Nenach, in the same diocese value 15 marks... (CPR 4, p. 476)

**1399-1400** A fine roll lists an amercement of the reeve and community of Nenagh (COD 2, p. 244)

**c1408** Manors and towns of Nenagh O'Brian in Ormond (COD 4, p. 177)

**1423** Mandate to collate and assign to Maurice Ocennedi, clerk of the diocese of Killaloe the parish church of Naenach in the said diocese, value not exceeding 15 marks, void because Donald Ocennedi held it for more than a year without having himself ordained priest and without dispensation. (CPR 7, p. 268)

**1432.** Reeve and community of Nenagh; in list of Tipperary Towns (COD 3, p. 95)

**1548** O'Carroll burned Nenagh upon the Red captain, both monastery and town from the fortress out (AFM)

**1564** Item to make burgeygses in the nenagh and a portref and cause the both Ormond and Arra come to ther market onles ther be market in lora and euest Ormond to com ther as in old tyme ther was and make burgeyges in Thurles and ortreff viz. 1 in the Nenagh xxiiii burgeyses and to every burgeys xxiiii acr' arable land and beside ther comon pastur and iii yers fre without rent and xii£ chef rent a yer with sut of corte and other service customes worke and cariage reservid and to be fre and frank for all other thingsd, and to buyld houses and walse etc the rest of the land of the town and Coulmok to be in demayne to the castell and to have both Ormonds and Arra holden of the manor as by ryght they be. (EE, p. 138)

**1580** Nenagh and twelve more of Ormond's towns burned by John Fitzgerald and the Seneschal of Imokilly. (CSPI, Elizabeth 1574-85, p. 213)

**1589-94** in a description of the bound's of the Earl of Ormond's estates. The manor of Nenagh; the old castle hamlet or place called Cloughterred and the lands belonging called Shessereghdiravogher and Shesseregh Clonmock. (COD 6, p. 120)

**1593** Indenture of May 1 between Thomas Earl of Ormond and Rory O'Cleary of Nenagh, husbandman, appointing him serjeant of the manor of Nenagh, granting him the serjeants house and land with all other freedoms and perquisites (COD 6, p. 54)

**1595** Indenture of May 16<sup>th</sup> 1595 between Thomas, Earl of Ormond, and John Butler fitz Edmund Roo of Nenagh in Ormond and his wife Johan Smithson. The Earl in consideration of a fine of £20 grants to the said John and Johan the manor of Nenagh, the friary of the same, the towns of the Grange and Ballynvillane near Nenagh and all the castles, messuages, lands, services etc. belonging to the same (excepting the serjeants place in Nenagh with the houses and lands belonging thereto); also such houses and lands as James O'Curryne and John Bretnagh Shott at present possess, together with such pasture as said serjeant and Shott were heretofore accustomed to have upon the lands of Nenagh for their cattle, and reserving to the said Earl all game. To have and to hold all the premises to the said John and Johan, their executors and assigns, for a term of 21 years at annual rent of £18-13s-4d, 14 summer sheep, 8 poundage hogs, 12 good capons, the Earl's chief rent [of beeves] commonly called 'martierly' which is usually paid out of the premises, and the moiety of all heriots etc., keeping hospitality for the Earl and for his horses and horse-boys. Further, if the Earl appoint any masons, carpenters or other



workmen to work for him upon said manor, the feoffees shall provide them with sufficient meat and drink during their abode there (COD 6, pp.78-79)

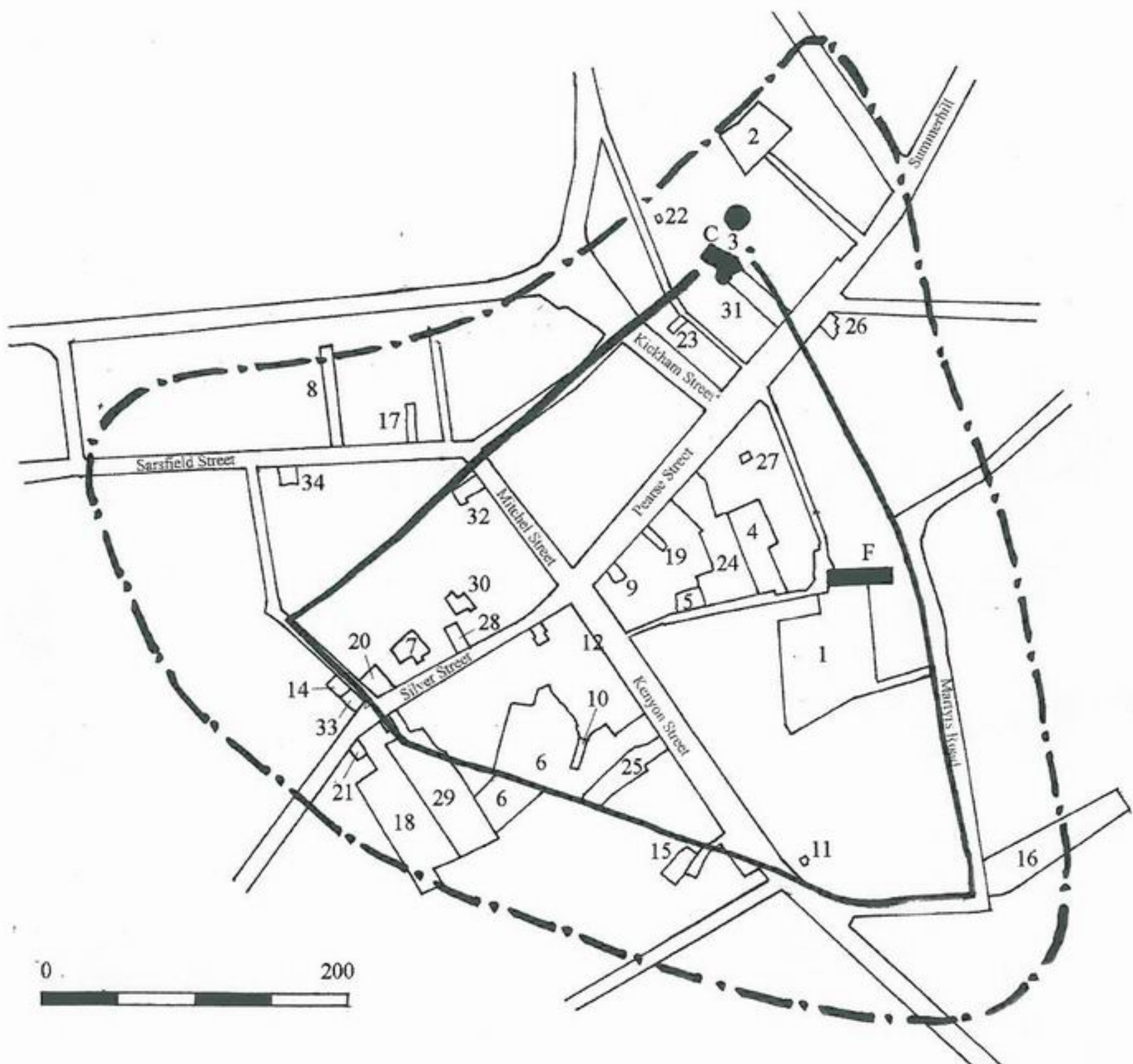
**1654** And Lower Ormonds and the Territory of Arra, ffrom the sd Well of Tobburstracona to the highway coming from Bellacahill to a gate in the Walls of Nenagh called Sparragibba bounded on the south east with the lands of Tyone in Upp Ormond from the said Sparragibba by the walls side on the oute side by a ditch leading to the River Geagh.....

&  
Uppon the sd pt of the sd. Mannor stands a large stronge castle wth sixty cottages & thatch houses lately built & the castle lately repayred by Collonell Abbott  
(CS p. 259)

**1663** Upon acquainting the English inhabitants of Nenagh with the Lord Lieutenant's purpose of fixing and English plantation there, they seem to infer from it a purpose to drive them thence.  
(Bodleian Library, MS Carte 32, fol.243)

&  
If the Irish of Ormond use all their industry to hinder the planting of English among them, they do but what they have learned from their forefathers. The territory was once planted with English by the Duke's ancestors; ... but, when one of them was drawn to assert, in the civil wars, the title of the House of Lancaster, he took with him most of his able English; of which advantage was taken by the Irish to destroy the rest. (Bodleian Library, MS Carte 49, fol.155)





**Plan 1** Map of the Nenagh ZAP showing the location of sites mentioned in the text. The solid line is the boundary proposed by the Urban Survey, the dotted line is the buffer zone around this.

C= Castle F= Friary. Site 13 is not shown because it was a series of trenches through some of the main streets of town.