

The Anglo-Norman Town Wall in Contemporary Cashel

Timothy Slattery

The purpose of the article is to trace the development of the town wall, the wall upstanding now, the wall destroyed above ground level, the ecclesiastical and institutional buildings within and without the wall. The essay begins with a brief history of Cashel, the Rock, urban settlement, the arrival and foundation of the Anglo Norman town and a description of the ecclesiastical buildings prior to the building of the town wall. The line of the town wall is reconstructed on Ordnance Survey Map 2002 using all records, maps, documentary evidence and fieldwork evidence. Previous studies are examined for what they contained and what they missed.

Early Cashel

The town lies to the south of the Rock in the Barony of Middlethird. Cashel is renowned for its famous limestone outcrop, with its magnificent suite of ecclesiastical ruins. Its early history is poorly documented. Tradition has it was a seat of the Eoganacht Cashel dynasty from around 400AD with kingship passing from one group of Eoganacht to another. Curtis¹ writes that some of its leaders were bishop-kings and that Cashel was taken by the Norse early in the tenth century. According to Curtis², Brian of Dál Cais ousted the Norse and he reigned as King of Munster from 976 to 1014 with Cashel as the capital of his provincial kingdom. Curtis³ relates that Brian's dynasty continued as kings of Cashel until Muircheartach handed over the Rock and Cashel to the Church in 1101 when holding a synod at which most of the bishops agreed to reform the church and establish dioceses.

There are no records of topography or settlement around Cashel in 1100AD. Valante⁴ quotes Doherty who drew attention to twelfth century references to a market place at Cashel. She noted that 'it was probably Uí Briain royal patronage at this important site, not the presence of a monastery, that led to the creation of a market', and Bradley⁵ observes that 'Cashel's foundation can be assigned to before 1218.'

Anglo-Normans

Curtis⁶ writes that King Henry II of England arrived in Waterford on 17 October 1171 and at Lismore accepted the submission of the Gaelic chiefs but they were not granted recognition as feudal vassals and were not given charters to establish towns. The clerical leaders also paid homage to Henry II at the Synod of Cashel in 1171. Lewis recounts that Henry gave Cashel and a large tract of the adjoining country to the archbishop and chapter. Lewis⁷ does not quote his source. According to Curtis⁸, the Papacy granted Ireland to Henry II with the preservation of the rights of the Irish church as one of its conditions. The Gaelic

chiefs put up resistance and began harassing the Anglo-Normans when they arrived in Cashel and they in turn retaliated as according to Ó hInnse⁹, Cashel was plundered by the Gaill in 1178.

O'Keefe¹⁰ relates that because of Cashel's importance as a political and ecclesiastical centre, the Anglo-Normans found it to be of strategic importance. Most of their settlements have the advantage of rivers running through them. While Cashel was 5km from the River Suir, it was very central to Tipperary, Thurles, Cahir, Clonmel and Fethard with routeways running through it and the surrounding hinterland was very fertile. Under the Anglo-Normans the ecclesiastical functions on the Rock were allowed to continue.

Empey¹¹ narrates that in 1192 or 1193 John, Lord of Ireland granted a charter to Archbishop Matthew Ó hÉnní confirming him in possession of the lands of the see of Cashel. It is uncertain when the see lands were organised into manors. Bradley¹² highlights the fact that sufficient documents survive to confirm that the archbishop founded the Anglo-Norman town. Bradley¹³ notes that Cashel was established as a borough, one of seven in the county of Tipperary but only two charters survive: Cashel (1230) and Carrick-on Suir (1366). He¹⁴ also uses the term 'medieval town' to refer to 'a settlement occupying a central position in a communications network...street pattern with houses...burgage plot pattern...market place...church...and at least three of the following, townwalls...cathedral...religious orders...leper house close to the town ...and suburbs'.

The single parish and parish church is a characteristic feature of towns in Ireland. County Tipperary has many such examples. Most of their parish churches are located inside the town wall – some at an angle, as in Cashel and Clonmel, or some just within the wall like Carrick-on-Suir and Fethard. Most of the religious order churches were located outside the town wall, with the Franciscan Friary in Clonmel being the exception. In Cashel the Dominican Friary and Franciscan Friary were in the Parish of St. Patrick's Rock while the medieval church and town were in the parish of St. John Baptist. The parishes are shown on the Down Survey Barony Map of Middlethird 1655. These two Church of Ireland parishes are now joined but have retained their names, with the cathedral being the parish church.

Hore Abbey

According to Harbison¹⁵, the Benedictines founded Hore Abbey 500m (547 yards) west of the Rock at the end of the twelfth century just outside the northwest limits of the borough. They had come from Glastonbury, England supported by Philip de Worcester. Archbishop David McCarwill dispossessed them of the house and lands and brought the Cistercians from Mellifont, Co Louth to found a new Cistercian Abbey there in 1272. These Mellifont monks were in Ireland before the Anglo-Normans and this was their last foundation in Ireland before the Reformation. Harbison narrates that the abbey was well endowed at first but had become impoverished in the fifteenth century. Many of the masons employed in its construction worked in building the cathedral on the Rock that dominates it. It is a cruciform church with two chapels in each transept and an aisled nave with small quatrefoil windows above the nave arcade with subsequent alterations before and post dissolution. Archdall¹⁶ notes that the Abbey was called St Mary's Abbey of the Rock of Cashel and that Patrick Stackboll was the last Abbot and that on 6 April 1541 he surrendered the Abbey, church and steeple, gardens and a large acreage, confiscated under Henry VIII's reformation and suppression of monasteries. The abbey is now a national monument.

The Parliamentary Gazetteer¹⁷ recorded that Sir David Le Latimer, seneschal to Marian,

Archbishop founded a hospital about 1230 with fourteen beds for the sick and infirm poor and it was amalgamated with Hore Abbey. It noted that the ruins of the hospital could still be traced to a field on the road to Cahir. The ruins ('leper hospital') are one mile from the town and are highlighted on Ordnance Survey maps. It is unclear whether there were one or two leper hospitals in Cashel. Bradley¹⁸ writes that this Hospital of St. Nicholas is now remembered in St. Nicholas Street (subsequently Main Street) and 'would appear to have been on the site of Hore Abbey'.

Farrelly¹⁹ writes there are no extant remains of St. Nicholas's Chantry, which was possibly located at the back of houses on Main Street near the Post Office. The chantry was founded in the late thirteenth century for the support of the leper hospital and was attended by the monks of Hore Abbey.²⁰

Dominican Friary

The Friary, 200m south east of the Rock, was founded adjoining the town but not within the liberties of the corporation. According to Farrelly²¹, it was built in 1243 by Archbishop David MacKell who was a Dominican and most of the friary was rebuilt in 1480 by Archbishop John Cantwell after it was accidentally burned. The monastery was suppressed by Henry VIII on 11 April 1540 and the last prior, Edward Brown surrendered the friary. She describes the ruined remains of the friary as a long rectangular church, oriented east-west, with crossing tower at the junction of nave and chancel, a south aisle running off the nave and an aisled transept adjoining the former at its southeast end. There are also remains of a building running east-west adjoining the northern and southern ends of the external face of the east wall of the south transept. There is a graveyard on the property and inside the church there are up to thirty-five gravestones. The friary is now a national monument. The town wall, which postdated it, ran along most of its eastern boundary.

Franciscan Friary

The Franciscan Friary was formerly situated east of Friar Street (marked on OS map) on the site of the present Catholic Church and the former Presentation Convent grounds but there are no extant structural remains. It too was outside the liberties of the Corporation and the town wall which post dated it, ran along most of its western boundary. Its name is preserved in the townland name of St. Francis Abbey. Farrelly²² writes that it is also known as Hacket's Abbey founded around 1265 by Lord William Hacket for the Conventual Franciscans. The Friars of the Strict Observance reformed the Church in 1538 and in same year the Archbishop of Cashel obtained the friary for a small rent. The friary, including gardens and sixteen acres, was seized during the dissolution 1540. Archdall²³ recounts that on the 14 February 1757, the lofty and beautiful steeple fell to the ground and much of the friary had gone to ruin observing that 'in the year 1781, the great east window, and many other parts of the abbey, were pulled down to employ the materials in private buildings'.

Medieval Parish Church

There are no records as to when the medieval parish church of St. John the Baptist was constructed. In general, the Anglo-Normans established the parish church first before setting up the reformed orders and O'Keeffe²⁴ states that St. John's was built early in the thirteenth century. Seymour²⁵ notes 'as far back as 1291 St. John's Church is mentioned', but he does not quote the source. In 1698 a Synod was held in it and he suggests that while it must have

been in a good state of repair it was small and unable to cater for '500 souls'. It was probably after 1758 that the work of demolition was commenced and the first stone of the new cathedral was laid on 23 June 1763. Farrelly²⁶ points out that the first direct reference to the site occurs in the Ormond Deeds for 1463 when 'an assignment was to be paid to the Parish Church of St. John the Baptist at Cashel'.

Town

The medieval town would have developed gradually in a planned way in the thirteenth century with a linear street plan based on a long main street and narrower streets and lanes at right angles to the north and south together with market place and bake house. O'Brien²⁷ recounts that in the twelfth century, European society experienced unprecedented prosperity that reached its climax in the thirteenth century and this was reflected in an increase in population and a rapid expansion of agriculture. Under the Anglo-Normans, Ireland was part of this prosperity and this is reflected in the way Cashel town thrived with the foundation of the two friaries.

Town Wall

The primary purpose of a town wall was the defence of the town and its surrounding area. It also gave the town a boundary and included ramparts, gates, towers and fosse. Gates controlled the movement of named goods into the town so that tolls and taxes could be levied.

Despite its early elevation to borough status, Cashel did not receive a murage grant until 1303-07.²⁸ While the Anglo-Norman lordship developed successfully in the early thirteenth century, it was not always peaceful. In the 1290s Edward I was preoccupied with war with the Scots, Welsh and French.²⁹ Twenty towns received murage grants for the first time between 1260-1310 and from 1310 specific instructions were given in the grants about constructing a stone wall. It was in a phase of wall-building when plenty of masons were working on Anglo-Norman churches. A further twenty towns were added during 1310-1350 with a concentration in south Leinster and east Munster. The Bruce Wars 1315-1318 may have created an urgency to building a town wall as Fryday³⁰ reports 'on Palm Sunday 1316, Edward Bruce of Scotland halted his army and held a parliament at Cashel'. She did not mention if the town (which probably had a well-developed colony) was attacked or plundered. Shortly afterwards, in February 1319, Edward II granted to the bailiffs and good men of Cashel certain murage customs for five years, which referred to a stone wall and attributed to Archbishop W A. FitzJohn during 1317-1326.³¹ In 1378 Cashel was exempt from paying murage and other tolls at Clonmel, possibly because similar tolls were being collected at Cashel at that time.

The irregular heart-shape or irregular rectangular shape of Cashel town wall has been attributed to the need to accommodate the lands of the pre-existing Franciscan and Dominican friaries outside the town wall and an 'extension' to keep the parish church of St. John within the town wall. Often religious houses adjoining the walls were a means of reinforcing them, however unintentionally. Thomas³² regards the parish church section as a forward defence of the approach to the two gates, Friar and John. She believes the irregular outline is surprising because Cashel seems to be an example of a planned Anglo-Norman town. The length of the perimeter of the wall is 1,555m (1,701 yards) and encloses approx.11.33hectares (28 acres). Cashel and Fethard are unusual in being quite irregular in

shape. Most walled towns are generally square and rectangular. Those on major rivers were semi-circular in shape, like Thomastown. Athenry was the most varied with five sides, Kells was circular. There was often a relationship between the number of gates to towers, Kilmallock had six to four, Fethard had five to five and while Cashel had five gates there may have been more than the two known towers.

Thomas³³ narrates that ‘no direct cartographic picture’ is available of an Irish medieval town in the late thirteenth century when the Anglo-Norman settlement had reached its peak. She outlines that it was only in the OS of the 1840s that surveyors were able to map sections of the surviving walls e.g. Cashel, Trim and Tudor Dingle.³⁴ These are the only known maps of their walled circuits. Cashel was a corporate town rather than an estate town, which may explain the deficit of maps.

The OS 1843 (Figure 1) shows most of the extant city/town wall but not the town gates. It also shows the city wall at the southwestern end but it is not there on the OS 1906 (second revised edition of 1903) (Figure 2).



Figure 1: Cashel OS 6" Map 1843.

Figure 2: Cashel OS 6" Map 1906.

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Farrelly³⁵ in 1993 provided an archaeological inventory of Cashel with a detailed description and historical notes on the town wall, Dominican Friary and the site of the Franciscan Friary and highlights the wall on the 1954 OS 1:2500. Due to significant changes to buildings both within and without the wall, Slattery³⁶ has a clearer outline on 2002 OS map. I have outlined the line of the wall on Figure 3. Farrelly's³⁷ reconstruction from corporation records and field work implies that there were five gates in the town wall. She records that half of the wall is standing and in relatively good condition and that half is destroyed along with the five gates. She describes the wall as composed of, 'large rough blocks of randomly coarsed limestone and occasional sandstone' and with limestone rubble and gritty lime mortar. The limestone was probably quarried locally.



Figure 3: Map of Cashel (Reproduced from Ordnance Survey Ireland, Copyright Permit No. MP 007705)

Starting at the north end of the 2002 OS map (sixth revised edition) Figure 3, 'city wall' is clearly marked. The internal face is in the grounds of the Cashel Palace Hotel close to the site of Moor Gate (or Our Lady's Gate) marked 'A' with easy access from the hotel's main entrance and also from the former archbishop's secluded footpath going from the gardens to the Rock of Cashel. On the external side are the gardens of the houses in Dominic Street built in the late 1940s. The wall here is in good condition and 87.50m in length. The palace was built by Archbishop Bolton in 1731 and has extensive gardens. The back of the hotel (facing northwest) was originally the front and it must have been at this time that the town wall at the then front was removed. A plaque on the internal face reads, 'This rampart wall is part of the old city wall of Cashel. It was built under Charter of Edward II between 1319 and 1324'. Continuing east to Moor Gate Farrelly³⁸ and Wyse Jackson³⁹ refer to an eighteenth century stone plaque bearing the inscription Moor Gate inserted in the north east wall of Chapel Lane near St. Dominic's Friary.⁴⁰ The town wall would have continued east and then north east with the grounds of St. Dominic's Friary against the outer face of the wall. A small section of this portion remains, 16m in length and 5m in height (Plate 1).



Plate 1: External view of the extant wall at the Dominican Friary site with an early support. (May 2005)

The site marked 'B' highlights the location of Canopy Gate (or Upper Gate or Dublin Gate) to the northeast in Canopy Street.⁴¹ The road here would have been far narrower and it is still quite steep. The line continues south east on the site of Darcy's Hardware Store to the extant portion marked 'city wall'⁴² (62.5m in length) on Figure 3 at Roselawn Close (see Plates 2 and 3).

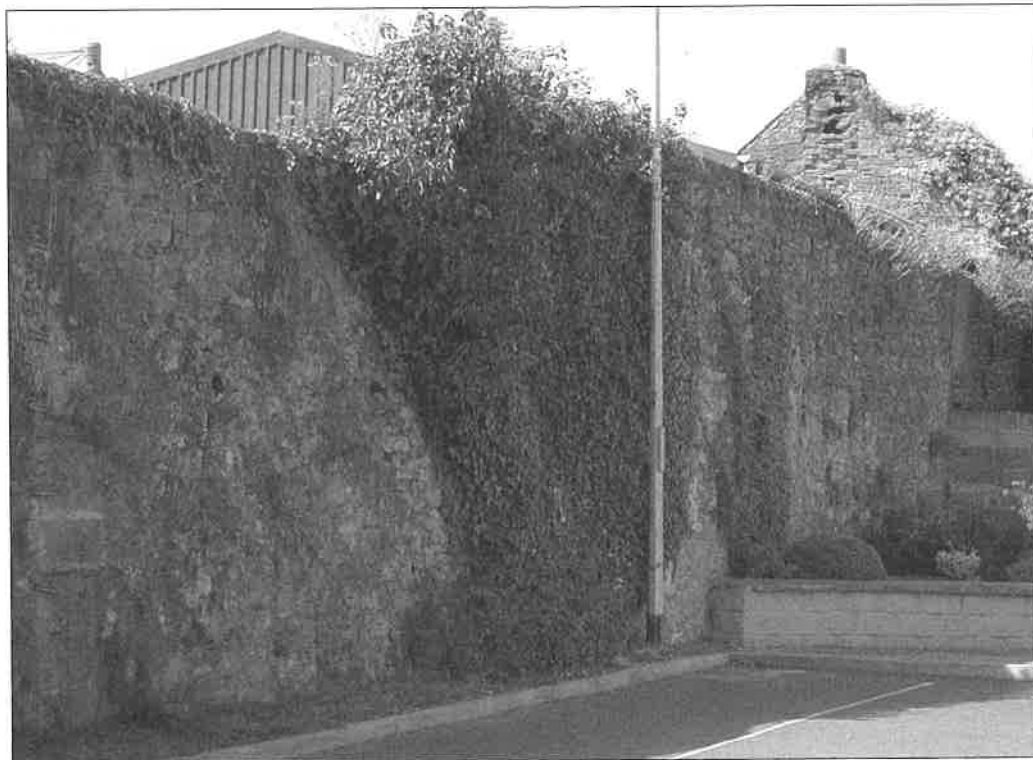


Plate 2: External face of the northeast section of the town wall at Roselawn Close (Friar Street), near Cashel Civic Offices, not far from site of Canopy gate. (August 2003).



Plate 3: Internal face of northeast section of town wall at Roselawn Close (Friar Street). (August 2003).

Within the wall would have been the plots of houses on Friar Street, which appears to be the oldest inhabited part of the town. Here the ground level is far higher than that on the external side. In 1998 O'Donovan⁴³ excavated the eastern side of Friar Street in advance of the construction of the new civic offices and identified inter alia a rectangular house which was constructed between 1280 and 1408. Continuing the line of the destroyed wall, the civic offices are within the wall and the library and Presentation nuns' cemetery outside it. The outline continues in an irregular manner to the front of the Catholic Church on the site of the Franciscan Friary to near the site of Friar Gate marked 'C'. The next continuous line of extant wall (162.5m) is around the cathedral (site of medieval church) and the graveyard at the southeast section. Some of it is marked 'city wall' on Figure 3. Plate 4 highlights the external face of the wall (at the Campus Filling Station) at the very corner of the graveyard and Plate 5 shows the internal corner with the two arches and two Hackett effigies.

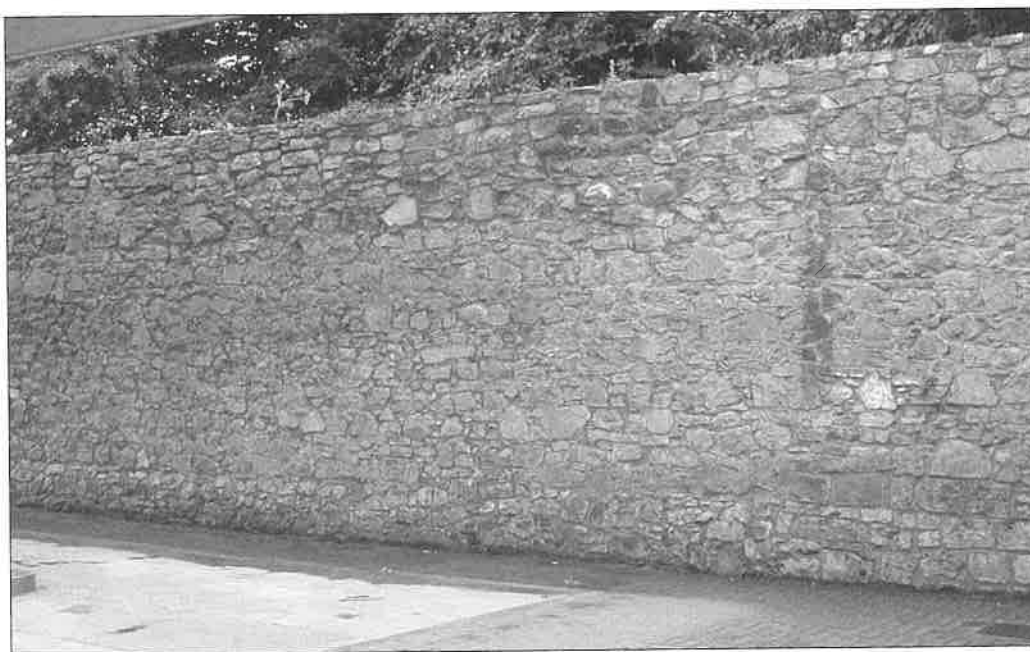


Plate 4: External face of town wall in the SE near the former site of Friar Gate at the junction of Upper Friar St. and Abbey side. The internal face is in the Cathedral graveyard grounds. (July 2003)

This was the site of a tower which on 24 October 1677 the Corporation ordered be pulled down 'the corner ...be firmly built up with lime and stone, suitable to the rest of the city wall'.⁴⁴ The graveyard-level is much higher than the level outside the wall. Plate 6 shows effigies of two Hackett women inserted in the face of the wall behind the Bolton library. In the centre is a sketch of the town wall.

The line continues northwest (the line of the railings) to John street to the generally accepted site of John's Gate marked 'D', outside the gate lodge at the entrance to the Church of Ireland grounds. According to Marnane⁴⁵, the curate, Rev Jones Morris Poole had the railings erected at the street side of the church yard when Richard Laurence was the last Church of Ireland Archbishop of Cashel 1822-1838. According to Farrelly⁴⁶ from here to the



Plate 5: Internal face of the town wall with two Hackett effigies at the southeast corner of the graveyard in Church of Ireland grounds. The corner, built up in 1677, was the site of the demolished mural tower. (May 2005)



Plate 6: Internal face of town wall with two Hackett effigies behind Bolton Library in the Church of Ireland grounds. In the centre is a sketch of the town wall. (July 2003)

southwest corner was the best-preserved section of the town wall, behind the present Our Lady's Hospital. It is clearly marked 'city wall' on the OS map (Figure 3) on the long stretch and on the corner going west.⁴⁷ The opening at the base is 6m and at the top 10m (see Plate 7).



Plate 7: External view of the town wall from the hospital grounds. It highlights the breach in the wall and the new buildings just inside it. (May 2005)

The hospital ground level is circa 2m higher than the internal ground level, which suggests it was built up over the centuries from continuous habitation and debris, including that of the former fever hospital. From the site of John Gate to the breach is circa 103.75m and from there to around the corner 127.75m (as against a previous continuous section of 237.50m). From the internal side the wall is circa 6m high and is supported by strong wooden planks for 11m and a retaining wall 1m high to its right for 10m. Further to the right a timber hoarding protects the remains of an arch 2.5m high with 5/6 pieces of moulded stone at its base. Knightly⁴⁸ is of the opinion that this is the internal remains of the sallyport highlighted by Wyse Jackson⁴⁹ and marked on his sketch, though Farrelly⁵⁰ writes that 'no evidence of this is now visible'. The external part of the sallyport is filled in and forms portion of the back wall of the ambulance station.⁵¹

The next section goes in a north-northwest direction where the wall is destroyed above ground level in the grounds of Indaville – see figures 1 and 2. The next portion of wall upstanding is near the site of Lower Gate marked 'E' on figure 3.⁵²



Plate 8: Internal face of Town Wall, southeast of Lower Gate Square, at the site of a former Co-Op. The hole in the wall on left of mid-picture was made for easier access. (July 2003).



Plate 9: External view of the town wall from the apartments at Lower Gate Square showing a curve in the wall and a gap in it. On the external side of the wall only the upper portion of the original gap is now visible as ground levels for the development are considerably higher than old ground levels. On the internal side of the wall ground levels for the development are at or below the base level of the wall. See Plate 8. (May 2005)

Here the wall height was 6.4m with maximum thickness of 3m. Only the upper portion of the wall can be seen now. The wall measured from the new elevation is 3.5m with a gap (hole) of 1.5m and just west of it the wall curves (Plate 9)

The extant wall at street entrance level was quite low before the building works. The top of it can be seen between the pedestrian walkway and the entrance to the underground car park. The extant portion measures 67.50m.



Plate 10: External face of town wall at Connor's Close on the west side (August 2003)

Going north from Lower Gate Square the line of the destroyed wall runs between houses and behind the back of the former Vocational school. The more interesting section of the extant wall is the section in the northwest corner, which gave Farrelly⁵³ 'the most comprehensive impression of the former composition and structure of the wall'. This section is 137.5m long.⁵⁴ The external height at Connors Close is 7m. (Plate 10).

The inside wall has a pronounced base batter 2.9m high projecting out at least 0.3m. Plate 11 highlights the sally port on the outer side in the livestock mart paddock, it is the only surviving feature of the wall and is very well described by Farrelly⁵⁵. On both sides of the internal wall corner there is a wall walk that is very overgrown. It may have been a later defensive addition to the wall. At this corner is the only extant mural tower (Plate 12).

The total length of the eight extant sections of the town wall is 765 metres.

Town walls would have changed the landscape, given a sense of protection, status, privilege and communal identity to those within it.



Plate 11: Sally port/Postern Gate on northwest corner is the wall's only surviving defensive feature. This external view is from Cashel Mart paddock. (August 2003)



Plate 12: Mural tower at northwest corner. Town wall is on the left. External view from Cashel Mart paddock. (August 2003)

There are no documentary references to a fosse according to Thomas⁵⁶ and no evidence now on the ground. It would have to be wholly artificial in the absence of surface drainage. Henry⁵⁷ found that there was no town ditch outside the town wall following tests 1.5m from the wall at Friar Street prior to the construction of a petrol filling station. O'Donovan⁵⁸ located a ditch (defensive moat) in a trench 4m wide and 1m deep during excavation off Friar street near Roselawn Close and a ditch was located in a trench 3.6m wide near the library.

Previous studies

The first known outline of the town wall was drawn by Wyse Jackson (1949)⁵⁹ and is fairly accurate and is a good foundation for others. He identified the Tower at the northwest but omitted the sallyport near it. Medieval streets, five town gates and the sallyport near the hospital are marked in. His reference to effigies taken from St. Dominick's should read from the Franciscan Friary. He also records that extant Corporation records only date from 1667 and the 'seventeen-hundreds saw the decay of the city fortifications and practically no reference to them exists in the corporation minutes after the middle of that century'.

The cartographer and date of the sketch (Figure 4) on the graveyard wall are unknown although John Knightly⁶⁰ credits this to Dean Wyse Jackson.

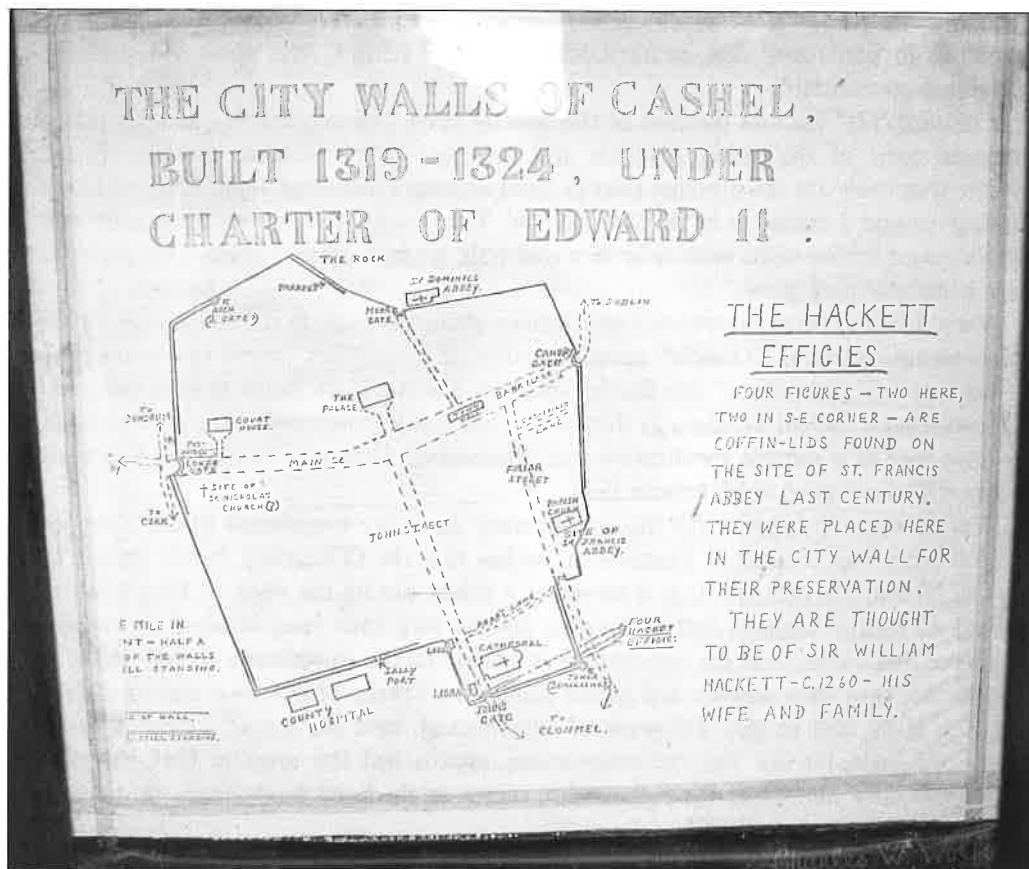


Figure 4: Sketch of Town Wall and description of the Effigies on Town Wall in Church of Ireland graveyard.

This sketch, however, differs from all others in showing John's Gate at the southern corner of the graveyard where the effigies are located and shows John Street running through the Cathedral grounds between the gate lodge and Cathedral. The sketch also shows Friar Gate further down (northwest) Friar Street.

Bradley's (1985)⁶¹ outline is almost the same as Jackson's but he has identified the line of the destroyed walls. His emphasis is placed on the location of features rather than description. He shows the missing wall going further down Friar Street and did not mark in the town gates. According to him the medieval layout of the streets along Main Street and Friar Street is largely intact with a good burgage pattern surviving as sketched.

Thomas (1992)⁶² has two excellent volumes on the walled towns of Ireland. Volume 2 gives a sketch and details of each individual town wall while Volume 1 compares all of them against one another in relation to the site, length of wall, acreage and other features. Cashel featured prominently in both volumes. Thomas's⁶³ sketch is almost identical to Jackson's. She highlights the five gates and the outline of the destroyed wall at Indaville together with the mural tower on the northwest and the sites of the sallyport at the hospital grounds and the site of the destroyed mural tower at the south corner. Thomas⁶⁴ quotes the following extracts from corporation records (1667-8): 'a house over the gate in Conafoy'; (1690) 'fit persons to wait and watch the upper and lower gates of the city'; (1704) 'permission to make a door through the town wall into garden'; (1729) 'Lower Gate to be taken down which seems to be dangerous to passengers'. She quotes Luckombe's 1779 remark, 'two gates still standing of tolerable workmanship'.

Collins (1997)⁶⁵ features sketches of the wall by Wyse Jackson, Bradley and Thomas. She measured most of the extant stretches and describes their direction. She and Farrelly⁶⁶ indicate that there are ten stretches (eleven now) whereas I measured eight. I regard a stretch as going around a corner as in SE, SW and NW. They made no mention of the wall walk in the northwest corner while both refer to a wall walk at the southwest corner. Knightly states there is no wall walk there.⁶⁷

Very little has been documented and written about the town in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. O'Keeffe⁶⁸ notes that most of the activity, 'seems to revolve around the Rock and its archbishops' and Curtis⁶⁹ observes that the Black Death of 1348 reduced the Anglo-Normans limited numbers as they were clustered in towns and villages. The value of the town wall as a suitable fortification had disappeared when gunpowder was first used in Ireland with siege guns at Maynooth 1535.

The relationship between the fifteenth-century six storey towerhouse in the Main Street and the town wall is unclear. MacGowan⁷⁰ writes that the O'Kearney family owned large areas of land in the area and that it served as a prison during the reign of King Edward VI (d.1553). O'Keeffe⁷¹ suggests that its original owners may have been involved in the town's commerce and writes that the towerhouse is similar to the towerhouse on the Rock. This suggests that they were wealthy and would help in the upkeep of the town wall for defensive purposes. From 1641 to 1647 O'Dwyer of Kilnamanagh held the town.⁷² Lewis⁷³ states that when Lord Inchiquin for the Parliamentarians, approached the town in 1647 the citizens opened the gates and fled to the ecclesiastical centre on the Rock. Its defences were breached and most were slaughtered.

White⁷⁴, quoting from corporation records of 27 June 1694 remarked of 'the danger threatened the inhabitants by a great number of Rapparees'. The wall no longer served its

primary purpose of defence of the town when the lower gate was taken down in 1729. Corporation records show that City Hall was built between 1741-1771.⁷⁵ Following completion of the cathedral in 1783 institutions (as figure 3 shows) respected the wall as a boundary and built just within or without it.

Conclusion

The Anglo-Norman political and economic influence had decreased by the end of the fourteenth century. They instituted the parochial organisation of the Church and by their energy built many magnificent gothic churches, some still in the skyline even though in ruins, which was a significant cultural landscape change. They defended their towns with substantial walls. Cashel was no exception and it prospered only to decline from the fifteenth century.

The extant walls have changed over the past seven centuries due to weathering, erosion, hostile attacks, vandalism, gates cut in walls, walls repaired or rebuilt in parts. The wall still acts as a boundary in places and the boundaries of some burgage plots are still respected and ground levels have varied in places. These and the street pattern are the topographic evidence of the presence of the Anglo-Normans. There is a further link with the past with the names of the five gates on the principal streets, Moor Lane, Canopy Street, Friar Street, John Street and Lower Gate Street.

Cashel suffered the major disadvantage of not being situated on a river and the main railway-line bypassed it in the nineteenth century. Nevertheless major building works were undertaken. In the second half of the twentieth century the Rock was marketed as the town's major tourist attraction with an estimated 250,000 people now visiting the site every year. Cashel's second most important relict feature – the town wall – of which only half of the original stands is however largely ignored.

APPENDIX

Charters taken from Municipal Corporation (Ireland) 1835-36. First reports p461/2.

Charter 1216 Donat, Archbishop of Cashel erected the town when he gave burgage holdings to the burgesses.

Charter 1230 Maurianus, Archbishop of Cashel granted and confirmed to the provost and twelve burgesses his town of Cashel.

Charter February 1319 King Edward II granted murage customs for five years (town wall).

Charter from Richard II 1378 which confirmed all the privileges of the corporation.
Roland Archbishop of Cashel by charter 19th October 1557 confirmed the Maurian Charter of 1230.

Queen Elizabeth charter 10th February 1585 confirmed Richard II charter in reward of the corporations good character.

Charter 3rd October 1638 of Charles I ordains that the town or borough be called 'The City of Cashel'. The Governing Charter of Charles I of 2nd June 1640.

Charter 20th December, 5 James II who seized the franchises into the king's hand.

In 1690 King William gave the mayor and corporation a letter restoring their ancient rights and privileges.

The Charter was replaced in Town Commissioners under the Municipal Corporations Act, 1840. The Urban District Council in turn replaced this in 1899 under the Local Government of Ireland Act, 1898. The Cashel Town Council replaced the Urban Council in 2002 under the Local Government Act, 2001 (*Cashel Town and its Environs draft Development Plan 2002, p.3*).

Acknowledgements

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- ⁷Lewis, S. 1837. 'Cashel', *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* (i) London: S Lewis & Co., p.284.
- ⁸Curtis. *A History of Ireland*, p.57.
- ⁹O hInnse, S, 1947. *Miscellaneous Irish Annals* (A.D. 1114-1437), p.67.
- ¹⁰O'Keefe, T. 1985. 'Cashel' in Simms, A., and Andrews, J.H., (eds.) *More Irish Country Towns*, Cork: Mercier Press, p.159.
- ¹¹Empey, C.A.1985. 'The Norman Period, 1185-1500' in Nolan, W., (ed.) *Tipperary: History and Society, Dublin: Geography Publications*, p.84.
- ¹²Bradley. 'The Medieval Towns of Tipperary', p.45.
- ¹³Ibid. p.36.
- ¹⁴Ibid. p.35.
- ¹⁵Harbison, P. 1970. *Guide to the National Monuments of Ireland*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, p.225.
- ¹⁶Archdall, M. 1786. *Monasticon Hibernicum*, London: Robinson, pp.648-50.
- ¹⁷*The Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland 1844-45*, vol.1, A-C, 1846, Dublin, London and Edinburgh: A. Fullerton and Co., p.345.
- ¹⁸Bradley. 'The Medieval Towns of Tipperary', p.45.
- ¹⁹Farrelly, J. and Fitzpatrick, L. 1993. 'Cashel', in *The Urban Archaeological Survey: County Tipperary South Riding*. Part 1, unpublished OPW Report. Dublin, p.54.
- ²⁰John Knightly places it at the end of Dollard lane near the present Credit Union at 61 Main Street. (Personal communication from Knightly, Cashel, 15 March 2005.)
- ²¹Farrelly and Fitzpatrick. 'Cashel' Part 1, p.36.
- ²²Ibid. p.38.
- ²³Archdall. *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p.651.
- ²⁴O'Keefe. 'Cashel', p.161.
- ²⁵Seymour, St. J.D. 1910. 'The Chapter-Books of Cashel Cathedral', *R.S.A.I. Jn, xl*, (pp.336-37).
- ²⁶Farrelly and Fitzpatrick. 'Cashel' Part 1, p.45.
- ²⁷O'Brien, A.F. 1993. 'Politics, Economy and Society: The Development of Cork and the Irish South-Coast Region c. 1170 to c. 1583' in O'Flanagan, P., Buttimer, C.G., (eds.) *Cork History and Society*, Dublin: Geography Publications, p.84.
- ²⁸Bradley. 'The Medieval Towns of Tipperary', p.44.
- ²⁹Thomas, A. 1992. *The Walled Towns of Ireland*, vol. 1, Blackrock, Co Dublin: Irish Academic Press, pp.158-60.
- ³⁰Fryday, B. n.d. *A Tale of Two Cathedrals*, n.k., p.5.
- ³¹Thomas. *The Walled Towns of Ireland*, vol. 2, p.47.
- ³²Ibid. p.48.
- ³³Thomas. *The Walled Towns of Ireland*, vol. 1, p.16.
- ³⁴Ibid. p.20.
- ³⁵Farrelly and Fitzpatrick. 'Cashel' Parts 1 and 2

- ³⁶Slattery, T. 2004. 'The morphological evolution of Cashel, Co. Tipperary. The evidence of the town wall and associated buildings', unpublished BA Dissertation, University College Dublin.
- ³⁷Farrelly and Fitzpatrick. 'Cashel' Part I, p.41.
- ³⁸Ibid. pp.41-2.
- ³⁹Wyse Jackson, R. 1949. 'The Walls of Cashel', N.M.A. *Jn, vi*, p.24.
- ⁴⁰Due to the building of new apartments in 2003/2004 this plaque was removed and has not been replaced to date.
- ⁴¹Opposite the present Miss Noonan's shop which is between Carney, Fogarty, Hunt Auctioneers and Lion Print
- ⁴²Access to part of this internal section is through Darcy's hardware yard.
- ⁴³Donovan, E. et al, 2004. 'Excavations at Friar Street, Cashel; a story of urban settlement AD 1200-1800', *THJ* 2004, p.27.
- ⁴⁴White, J.D. 1876. *Cashel of the Kings, Being a History of the City of Cashel*, Cashel, p.68.
- ⁴⁵Marnane, D. G. 'John Davis White's Sixty Years in Cashel', *THJ* (2001) p.64.
- ⁴⁶Farrelly and Fitzpatrick. 'Cashel' Part I, p.42.
- ⁴⁷Part of the wall and a small building near the mortuary were knocked in 2002/2003 when the South Eastern Health Board erected buildings in the field behind it.
- ⁴⁸Personal communication from Knightly, 5 March 2005.
- ⁴⁹Wyse Jackson. 'Cashel' p.24.
- ⁵⁰Farrelly and Fitzpatrick. 'Cashel' Part I, p.42.
- ⁵¹The left hand side of the face of the internal wall is supported by 14m of steel shuttering and on the outside by gabions to shore up the wall.
- ⁵²In the last three years there have been considerable building developments both within and without the wall here (plate 8).
- ⁵³Ibid. p.42.
- ⁵⁴It is the boundary between the grounds of the Vocational School on the inside and Connors Close and the livestock mart paddock on the outside. It is also the boundary wall between the car park on Main Street and the mart paddock.
- ⁵⁵Ibid. p.42.
- ⁵⁶Thomas. *The Walled Towns of Ireland*, vol. 2, p.48.
- ⁵⁷Henry, M. 'Friar Street, Cashel' in Bennett, I., (ed.) *Excavations 1996: Summary accounts of archaeological excavations in Ireland*, Bray: Wordwell, p.99
- ⁵⁸O'Donovan, E. 'Friar Street, Cashel' in Bennett, I., (ed.) *Excavations 1996: Summary accounts of archaeological excavations in Ireland, Bray*: Wordwell, p.99-100.
- ⁵⁹Wyse Jackson. 'Cashel', p.24. Dots are used to represent the line of the destroyed wall at Indaville but he did not do so at the back of the Cashel Palace hotel, Dominican Friary and along by the Presentation Convent, Catholic Church and the railings at the Church of Ireland grounds.
- ⁶⁰Personal Communication from Knightly, 14 January 2004.
- ⁶¹Bradley. 'The Medieval Towns of Tipperary', p.43
- ⁶²Thomas. *The Walled Towns of Ireland*, vols 1 and 2.
- ⁶³Ibid. vol. 2, p.47.
- ⁶⁴Ibid. vol. 2 p.46-7.
- ⁶⁵Collins, T.E. 'The Medieval Town Defences of Cashel', *THJ*, 1997, pp.124-130.
- ⁶⁶Farrelly and Fitzpatrick. 'Cashel' Part I, p.41.
- ⁶⁷Personal communication from Knightly, 30 July 2005. I did not have access.
- ⁶⁸O'Keefe. 'Cashel', p.163.
- ⁶⁹Curtis. *A History of Ireland* p.110
- ⁷⁰MacGowan, K. 1985. *The Rock of Cashel* n.k.: Kamac Publications, p.51
- ⁷¹O'Keefe. 'Cashel', p.163.
- ⁷²Morrissey, J., *Negotiating Colonialism: Gaelic Irish Reaction to New English Expansion in Early Modern Tipperary, c. 1541-1641*, Historical Geography Research Group, Royal Geographical Society-Institute of British Geographers, p. 135.
- ⁷³Lewis. *Cashel*, pp. 284/5.
- ⁷⁴White. *Cashel*, p.78.
- ⁷⁵Personal communication from Tom Wood (Cashel), 23 July 2003.