Though accounts both of individual examples and of groups of Irish castles have appeared from time to time in antiquarian journals and other publications, no serious attempt has yet been made to collate and review the material available or to treat of the subject as a whole.

It would be impossible, of course, within the limits of a single paper of reasonable length, to deal adequately with the whole span of Irish castle building from its beginning in the 'motte and bailey' fortresses of the Anglo-Norman invaders to its close with the strong houses of the seventeenth century. Both of these types, and some others belonging to the two centuries up to 1600, would require separate and detailed treatment and, on that account, it is not proposed to include them in this study which is confined to the buildings of the period roughly co-terminous with the thirteenth century. While it is true that 'motte-and-bailey' building, and the erection of palisaded earthworks of other forms, continued into this period also, the building of stone castles appears to have begun with Carrickfergus in or about 1180. Between this date and circa 1310 many such castles were built but, in the course of the next hundred years, building activity in Ireland—military as well as ecclesiastical—waned greatly and did not revive in any volume till about the middle of the fifteenth century. Thus the military architecture of the thirteenth century stands in isolation and can be studied as a separate whole. Yet even here we are handicapped by the fact that the material at our disposal, in books, MSS., and journals, while considerable in quantity, is far from being comprehensive or complete. Some of it, indeed, is full and accurate but much—particularly that to be found in the
earlier publications—is unreliable and often contradictory in its nature. Documentary records also, in State papers and the like, are scarce—in many instances lacking altogether—and are not often helpful for dating purposes. The most serious deficiency in the material, however, and one which I have not been able to supply completely, is the paucity of accurate plans and other illustrations. Nevertheless, despite this lack, there is now a sufficient body of reliable information available to make it possible to present a general, though not definitive, study of the subject.

Many of the castles of the period have disappeared and none remain complete or unaltered. Most of them have suffered so severely through active destruction or partial re-building, by gradual decay and the removal of features, that it is often difficult to trace their plans and original extent or to define their dates closely on the architectural evidence. Still, the thirty-nine examples described hereafter—which include all the more notable extant erections and some which have disappeared—are sufficient in number and variety of plan to provide a reasonably accurate picture of Irish military architecture during its most important period: that which saw the first great expansion of the English lordship in Ireland.

Before taking up the consideration of the subject in detail something must be said regarding the general lines which will be followed in treating of it. Since close datings for many of the buildings must be conjectural, a strictly chronological treatment is not possible; it would not, in any case, be so convenient for purposes of comparison and study as a classification or grouping by plan types. Such a grouping, under five main headings, is here adopted. The order of the first four groups happens to agree, though only in a broad and general way, with the time-order, but the fifth group—of castles whose varied plans do not fit readily into the main general classifications—includes buildings of all dates (both early and quite late) within the period. While within all the groups themselves the arrangement is roughly chronological the more important structures (those in 'D' especially)
receive first preference or are grouped together. The groupings are as follow hereunder:

A. Castles with rectangular keeps; (a) isolated within a ward or, (b) forming part of the mural defences.
Examples:—
Carrickfergus (b), Trim (a), Adare (a), Maynooth (a), Athenry (a), Rinnduin (b), Green castle, Down (a), and Greencastle, Donegal (b).

B. Castles with cylindrical keeps; (a) or, (b) as above.
Examples:—
Dundrum (a), Shanid (a), Nenagh (b), Castleknock (destroyed) (b), and Athlone (a).

C. Castles with rectangular keeps provided with a round tower at each angle.
Examples:—
Carlow, Ferns, Lea, Terryglass, Enniscorthy and Wexford (destroyed).

D. Keepless castles having curtains (with gate-buildings, angle and mural towers) enclosing areas generally, but not invariably, rectangular or nearly so.
Examples:—
Dublin, Limerick, and Kilkenny (city castles); Roscrea, Castleroche, Quin, Castlegrace, Roscommon, Ballymote, Ballintubber, Lis carroll, Dunluce, Ballyloughan, and Ballylahan.

E. Castles of other plan types.
Examples:—
Carlingford, Dunamase, Swords, Clonmore, Cloughouter, and Ballymoon.

(These lists are not completely inclusive; fragments of other castles of the period are known or are reputed to exist but, since they have never been critically examined, they are omitted from consideration. A partial list will be found in the appendix.)
A. RECTANGULAR KEEPS

1. Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim (Pls. 1 and iiA, and Fig. 1). The precise date of the foundation of this important castle is unknown but there can be little doubt that it must be ascribed to the period between 1180 and 1205 and either to John de Courcy, first of the Anglo-Norman invaders of Ulster, or to his successor, Hugh de Lacy the younger. In 1210 King John invested it, and a constable is mentioned for the first time in 1215. The great keep, nearly square in plan and 90 ft. in height, is the only Irish example—with the exception of that of Trim—at all comparable, in dimensions and form, to the massive twelfth-century erections of Norman England. There are bold projections from the rectangle at the two southern angles, carried up originally as turrets above the roof, but the typical broad and shallow Norman pilasters are absent. As certain of the windows—round-headed lights in pairs beneath a semicircular enclosing arch—are of twelfth-century form, the probability is that the building was begun by John de Courcy, 'Conquestor Ultoniae,' when he had firmly established himself in this corner of Ulster. His rapid conquest began with a victory at Downpatrick in 1177, and it is not unreasonable to assume that by 1185, if not earlier, he was in a position to raise this great fortress.

Carrickfergus is probably the earliest great castle of stone to be erected and is, at the present day, the most complete. Rather more space, therefore, must be given to it than can be allotted, in this summary account, to the majority of the other buildings to be described.

The curtain walls, much altered in various periods but probably founded on and, in places, incorporating the original work, enclose the whole of a very irregularly-shaped peninsula of rock on the N. shore of Belfast Lough. The keep adjoins the W. curtain at the northern angle of the small inner ward and thus commands both wards and a section of the shore below. It measures 58 ft. from N. to S. and 56 ft. from E. to W. The walls of the main storey are
CARRICKFERGUS CASTLE: GENERAL PLAN

(By permission of Ministry of Finance, Northern Ireland, from the official survey plan)
8 ft. in thickness while those of the ground storey below it are thicker; that to the north being actually 12 ft. thick. Originally the keep had four storeys, the topmost of which was later raised, either to gain greater height or to provide a fifth stage. The lowest storey has two vaulted rooms separated by a thick wall and was originally approachable only from the floor over by a winding stairs in the S.E. angle, communicating also with all the floors and the roof. In
the eastern vault was the well, which could be used both from this level and from the floor overhead. To the round-headed entrance doorway, which is at the level of the first floor near the S.E. angle of the E. wall, there was a small fore-building, the form of which cannot now be determined, while the lobby or porch within the doorway had a second door.

There are two apartments on this level also, from the first of which the principal stairs already mentioned rises and descends. There is also a mural staircase in the S. wall leading upwards, from the embrasure of the door between the rooms, to a double garderobe in the S.W. turret. The next storey, the third, is also divided into two rooms by an inserted wall, pierced at the S. end by a door with a segmental-pointed arch of thirteenth-century date. On the fourth storey is the principal room, perhaps the hall, with a large fireplace and well lighted on all sides by windows of which the largest are to the S. and E. Three of these, now round-headed single lights, were at first of the same form as the surviving window over the entrance doorway, i.e. of two round-headed lights but, unlike it, were set in a deep round-arched external embrasure. This room or hall was originally lower than at present and is spanned from N. to S. by a great segmental arch supporting the roof. That this arch is an insertion is obvious since its southern abutment is built in, and almost completely fills, the embrasure of the central window. Its date is uncertain, however, but it may be a sixteenth-century work. Since the arch and the dividing walls—excepting that of the lowest storey—are insertions, the manner in which the floor joists were supported is a matter for speculation; some central support for them—the spans are about 37 ft.—would be essential and this may have been provided by timber pillars and beams on the N.-S. axis of the building. The keep and the older parts of the castle are built of red sandstone in roughly coursed rubble, while the quoins and other dressings are of a yellow sandstone with an axed finish.

At the narrow, landward, end of the castle is the round-arched entrance gateway between two towers
A. CARRICKFERGUS CASTLE: VIEW FROM S.W.
(Photo: H. G. Leask)

B. BALLYMOON CASTLE: VIEW FROM S.
(Photo: H. G. Leask)
A. WEST GATE

B. VIEW FROM SOUTH

TRIM CASTLE

(Photos: Nat. Museum of Ireland)
originally nearly circular in plan. Though the segmental-pointed arch ribs which span the gate passage are later insertions, the window details of the room—known as the chapel—in the E. tower appear to belong to the early part of the thirteenth century. There are two of these windows, round-headed and set in a wide embrasure in the E. wall. Their jambs are chamfered externally and splay inward to three engaged-columns which have square abaci and simple volute-form leaves. The shafts are banded at mid-height and rest on bases of the water-holding form. As the embrasure shows indications of widening, these windows and their shafts may be insertions. The gate towers are conceivably of the twelfth century but it is possible, of course, that they are later and that the window dressings are not good criteria for dating them. The towers have undergone so many modifications in later times, however, to fit them for heavy ordnance, that analysis is very difficult. A deep rock-cut fosse across the neck of the peninsula, and now partly filled in, isolates the castle from the mainland.

Swanson, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. v, p. 3.

2. *Trim, Co. Meath* (Pls. iii and ivb, and Figs. 2 and 3). The first castle at Trim, founded about 1172 by Hugh de Lacy, first of the Anglo-Norman adventurers of the name, and burned in the following year, was of the motte-and-bailey type. When this active fighter was struck down by a youthful Irish avenger in 1186 he was actually directing or assisting in the erection of a motte castle at Durrow, in Offaly, and it is indeed doubtful if any stone castles can be attributed to him in the sixteen warlike years of his career in Ireland.

Trim is the largest Irish castle. Its walls—some 1,500 ft. in total length when complete—enclosed an area of over three acres in extent. In this, in an isolated and almost central position, stands the unique keep, a structure about 65 ft. square with a lesser rectangular tower projecting from each of its faces. Three of these towers still stand, but of the fourth, that to the north, only the bondings with the
main wall remain. In the E. tower, which served as a fore-building, there was a chapel in the storey over the entrance floor. There are rooms in the ground storeys of the other towers but these parts of the fore-building and the main structure are filled up solid, a fact which suggests that the keep—besides being founded on the site of the original motte—may actually enclose part of it. Stairs, and mural passages approached from the window embrasures, connect all the various apartments and floors. These, with the roof structure, were of timber. The main building, built in limestone roughly coursed, is three storeys in height above the entrance level: about 10 ft. over the present ground surface. It is divided internally by a thick wall which rises to the offset of the second floor. In the internal faces of the N. and S. walls, between the first floor level and that of the second
FIG. 3. TRIM CASTLE: KEEP
floor, there are the flashing courses of roofs, from which it appears that the keep, in its first form, was of the hall type, the E. room being the hall and the W. room—which has a fireplace and several aumbrys—the chamber. Similar traces of roofs remain in the towers at levels much below their present heights. Since there is no apparent difference in the character of the masonry in the lower and upper parts of the walls it is probable that the building was raised to its present height at an early period; it is even possible that the lower roofs were never erected. Two pointed arches—insertions perhaps of 1326 when considerable works were carried out—spanned the E. division of the keep near its S. end. One of these supported the second floor and the other, springing from the offset of that floor, carried part of the main roof. At each angle of the keep the walls were carried up in the form of turrets, the tallest of which now rises to a height of about 76 ft. over the ground. The parapets, however, have been destroyed. Of the original external openings only some narrow loops and small windows, together with parts of the segmental-headed entrance doorway and a similar doorway from the fore-building to the hall, remain. The dressings of these doorways, and of the round-arched window embrasures of the hall and chamber, are of red sandstone with bold roll-mouldings. The keep may reasonably be assigned, on the evidence, to circa 1190-1200.

The curtain walls, the five remaining mural towers and one of the two gate towers appear to belong to about 1220, in which year ‘... the castle of Trim was built by William Peppard, Lord of Tabor’ (Lambeth MS. quoted in Statistical Survey of Meath). Parts of the E. curtain and almost the entire length of that towards the river to the north have disappeared. The S. gate-tower or Dublin gate (traditionally the residence for a time of the boy prince who later became Henry V) is a very interesting building and is unique in Ireland. It is nearly circular in plan and of three storeys in height above the ward level. Two crenellated wing-walls, carried by arches over the fosse, connect it to a small barbican tower and carried
between them a counter-balance drawbridge. There are pointed arches at each end of the gate passage with a portcullis between the outer pair and, on each side of the passage, are chambers with exterior loops. The upper rooms, which are irregularly octangular, have fireplaces and garderobes and are lighted by small segmental-headed windows.

The approach from the town was by the W. gate which is rectangular below and six-sided above and had a portcullis and a barbican which has been destroyed. Its vault and arches are semicircular and it is possible that it somewhat antedates the S. gate. To the N. of this gate, along the E. and N. curtains, were two ranges of buildings now much defaced. These, perhaps, are ‘the hall, rooms and chambers’ occupied by Walter de Lacy in 1224 and repaired in 1326. The hall was probably the building along the N. wall now represented by the fragment of walling, with segmental-pointed rough arches, which remains on that side and has a vault beneath it. In the N.W. corner are the remains of a square building, with a projection towards the river, which may have housed a garderobe or a sally-port and—E. of the hall—is a fragment of a small mural tower.

There are many references to the town, castle and manor of Trim from the fourteenth century onwards to about 1690 but none of them possess much importance in relation to the structure now remaining.


3. Adare, Co. Limerick (Fig. 4). References earlier than 1226, when Geoffrey de Marisco was granted the manor and fairs of Adare, are lacking, but it is evident from the buildings themselves that some parts of them are of earlier date. The castle stands on low ground on the right bank of the river Maigue at what was probably the first fordable place in its lower course. There are two wards, of which the inner and smaller, occupying the north-western portion of the enclosure, appears to be sited on an
Irish ring-fort. The Maigue flows along the base of the southern walls and there was a fosse on the remaining sides, connecting with another between the wards, while crenellated walls surround both. There is only one flanking tower, of half-round form and open on the inner face; it is in the W. curtain which is the wall of the inner ward. South of this tower a gate-

building, of rectangular plan, gives access to the outer ward which has a gate in the N. curtain also, and in the S. wall of the inner ward there is another gate-tower—similar in form and dimensions to that at the main entrance—fitted for a drawbridge spanning the inner fosse.

The keep, a plain building, probably of early thirteenth-century date, is incorporated in the W.
IRISH CASTLES: 1180 TO 1310

The wall of the inner ward. It is about 40 ft. square and has slight, pilaster-like, projections at the angles but on the E. and W. faces only. Only the N. wall remains to its full height. The entrance doorway was at the first floor level in the destroyed S. wall and seems to have had a small fore-building approached by a curving flight of steps of which there are remains.

Of the southern building the most westerly is the original hall, on the first floor over a basement. The wing projecting from it into the river contained a garderobe and is of the fifteenth century, on the evidence of its window, but the remaining original windows of the hall—round-headed lights in pairs, surrounded by bold roll-mouldings, all in sandstone—are of circa 1200 and very similar in detail to the west windows of Monasternenagh Abbey, another ancient foundation on the banks of the same river. A space, originally occupied by a kitchen, separates the early hall from a larger hall built later in the century. It has buttressed walls and a porch and was aisled. Three groups of the original windows, pointed lights in pairs, remain. Eastwards was a buttery and beyond this again there were kitchens, etc., in an enclosed yard which has a small doorway of doubtful date in the E. curtain close to the river bank.

Proceedings of Royal Irish Academy, vol. xxvi, p. 164.
Dunraven, Memorials of Adare (Oxon.), 1865.

4. Maynooth, Co. Kildare. Only a small part of the curtain of this castle remains but it appears to have had two wards. Isolated in the inner of these stands the largest building, a rectangular keep, reputed to be as early as circa 1200, but probably later, 72 ft. long (from N. to S.) by 62 ft. wide, with walls 6½ ft. in thickness. In the centre of three of the wall faces are broad but shallow pilaster-like projections which, on the upper floor, mark the positions of small mural chambers. The entrance doorway, 20 ft. over the ground level, is in the E. wall and had a vaulted fore-building of which but small traces remain. In the lowest storey are two vaulted rooms on either side of
its longer axis, the dividing wall and the vaulting it carries being apparently insertions. The upper floor was also divided—probably by a timber partition with a central stone pillar—into two rooms, each 55 ft. by 21 ft. From the western apartment a doorway in the N. wall gave access to a bridge connecting the keep with the wall-walk of the N. curtain and other doors lead to the small mural chambers, two of which have fireplaces. The winding stairs, which connects the eastern room with the vaulted room below, is of uncertain date. In the E. wall of the eastern room is the entrance doorway and another which led to the southern part of the fore-building.

Only one corner turret, similar to those at Trim, remains, and beneath the wall-walk there is a vaulted mural gallery, in the walls of which—at the floor level—are openings for the beams of a *hourd*. The simple rectangular gate-tower of the inner ward, of three storeys in height, remains to the S.E. of the keep but the buildings on the eastern side of the ward are mainly of the seventeenth century and mark the site of a hall of some two centuries earlier. At the N.E. angle is a small turret containing a postern gate.

*Journal of Kildare Archaeological Society*, vol. i, pp. 223 ff.

5. **Athenry, Co. Galway** (Pls. iva and vi, and Figs. 5 and 6). This castle is said to have been erected in 1238 by de Bermingham, one of the Norman barons who invaded Connacht with Richard de Burgo’s host in 1235. It is doubtful if the castle, as it stands to-day, can be of the reputed date; it is more probably assignable to *circa* 1250.

The much ruined curtains, surrounding an irregular polygon, have disappeared altogether at the S.W. side, along with the gate-tower there which was still standing at the end of the eighteenth century. A small circular tower at the N.E. angle of the ward has almost entirely disappeared but the greater part of the S.E. tower remains. Though circular internally and of half-round form without it is square towards the ward.

The well-preserved keep, a rectangular building measuring 55 ft. by 35 ft., is isolated near the western
NENAGH CASTLE: KEEP AND GATE-BUILDING
certain. It has three storeys of which the lowest is covered by inserted segmental-pointed vaults carried by three square pillars on the N. to S. axis. The original floors were of timber. There is a slight batter to the walls rising from a bold base-batter. The crenellated parapets, pierced by narrow cross-form loops in the merlons, remain, and there are high-pitched gables, unusual features in early castles. It
is, indeed, possible that the upper storey and the gables are of later date than the rest of the building but the present heavy growth of ivy upon it prevents the close examination which might determine the facts. There was something in the nature of a small forebuilding to the entrance doorway which is on the first floor. This doorway is pointed and has angle shafts, while it and the embrasures of the windows of the main apartment to which it leads, have moulded back-arches of pointed form springing from ‘banded’ engaged angle-shafts with caps and bases. The capitals of all the shafts are of slender proportions and some have surface ornament reminiscent—in its delicacy and low relief, though not in its decorative forms—of the Irish Romanesque conventions of the previous century. Three of the trefoil-pointed windows which lighted the main room remain and a doorway, at the N.W. corner, leads to what appears to have been a garderobe projecting from the W. wall. (It has been suggested that there was a bridge from this doorway to the wall-walk of the western curtain but the relative levels of the doorway and the wall top
ATHENRY CASTLE: PLAN
make this view untenable.) There is a wall tower of small projection in the curtain at this point.

Parker, Archaeologia, vol. xxxviii, p. 165.  

6. Rinnduin or Rindown, Co. Roscommon. About 1227, de Marisco, the Justiciary, founded a castle at Rinnduin—a peninsula of the Connaught shore of Lough Ree, 8 miles to the N. of Athlone—commanding the navigation of the lake at a narrow point midway in its length. The considerable sums expended on repairs and construction between the years 1273 and 1302, and the walling of the vill there in 1251 are indications of the importance of the place.

On the N.E. side of the peninsula, which extends for about a mile in a south-easterly direction into the lake, there is a small bay or harbour and upon the S. shore of this bay stands the castle, insulated by the two branches of a deep and wide fosse which extends across the narrow isthmus to its S.W. side. The curtains enclose an area, roughly triangular in shape, based upon the S. side of the main fosse. The partly destroyed rectangular keep, barrel vaulted in its lower storey, is incorporated in the N. curtain and commands the gateway, which has a round-headed arch and grooves for a portcullis. On the counterscarp of the fosse, guarding the drawbridge, there appears to have been a barbican, while close to the keep on its N.E. side and against the curtain, are some remains of a rectangular building, perhaps the ‘new Hall’ built circa 1300. To the S. of the castle, some 250 yards away, is a small cylindrical tower standing in a circular earthwork and to the N.W., in the space between the fosse and the neck of the peninsula, is the site of the vill raided by Phelim O’Conor in 1236. It was protected by a wall—still existing and doubtless that for which tolls were ordered in 1251—extending in a straight line from shore to shore. Central in it is a gateway and projecting from its outer face are three square turrets.

7. Greencastle, Co. Down (Fig. 7). The earliest extant reference to Greencastle is contained in the Treasurer's accounts of 1261 (see also Carlingford) where the sums expended on lead for its roof are recorded. It consists of some (doubtful) fragments of the outer walls and an isolated keep, a rectangular building—about 70 ft. long by 40 ft. wide—of two storeys in height, with small square turrets at the angles. The lower storey contains three vaulted apartments and a partly-vaulted staircase. Occupying the whole of the upper floor is a large apartment, apparently the hall, 28 ft. wide and 59 ft. 6 in. in length, well lighted by four large windows which are probably widenings of the original openings. It has a fireplace and there is a garderobe chamber in the N.E. turret. At a level of 19 ft. over the hall floor is the wall-walk, which is continuous, rising by steps to the turrets. There are gables, flush with the inner faces of the walls, at the narrow ends of the building.
and, outside them—beneath the raised wall-walks between the turrets—are narrow mural galleries.

Lawlor, Ulster, p. 132.
Plan is from copy made by Anc. Mmts. Dept. Ministry of Finance of Northern Ireland from original lent by Mr. C. H. Crawford, Downpatrick.

8. Greencastle, Inishowen, Co. Donegal. Called New Castle by the Irish, and also known as Northburgh, this castle stands on the northern shore of Lough Foyle. The annalists record its building by Richard de Burgo, the 'Red' Earl of Ulster, in 1305 and the place was a port of supply for English armies in Scotland in the early part of the fourteenth century.

The site is a knoll ending in a low cliff at the southern, seaward, end and descending to a marsh on the north. A roughly oblong area, some 280 ft. from E. to W. and 100 ft. in the other direction, is enclosed by the walls which are not very massive, except to the E. of the keep, which projects about 36 ft. northwards from the N. curtain. It is a rectangular tower, apparently of an earlier date than 1305, with walls 12 ft. in thickness, and has a well in an embrasure of the W. wall. In the centre of the lowest apartment there is a peculiar hollow pillar. The main entrance to the castle was in the narrower end towards the W. between two towers, polygonal towards the field, projecting from a now much-ruined gate-building. The eastern parts of the castle were much modified in the last century by the formation of a battery.


B. CYLINDRICAL OR POLYGONAL KEEPS

9. Dundrum, Co. Down (Fig. 8). This is one of the few Irish castles in which the keep is cylindrical in form and is isolated within the ward. It is recognised by scholars as the castle of Rath, besieged by John de Courcy in 1205, and visited by King John in 1210. In the State accounts for the latter period there is mention of the wages paid to quarriers, ditchers and carpenters who were engaged in repairing the damage to Rath done by Hugh de Lacy and, because there is
no reference to masons in these accounts, it has been argued that the stone castle was not in existence in 1210. This may be so but, as the isolated cylindrical keep seems to have gone out of fashion early in the thirteenth century, the Dundrum example probably ante-dates King John's visit, while the towerless curtains are also obviously of early date.
The space enclosed by the curtains is an irregular polygon, surrounded by a rock-cut fosse on three sides. On the fourth side was a double-towered gate-building, with a drawbridge, leading to a large outer ward. The keep—four storeys in height—is about 45 ft. in external diameter above the base-batter, which slopes boldly, and of about the same height, measuring from the present ground level to that of the wall-walk the parapets of which have been destroyed. The sill of the restored entrance doorway is now but 3 ft. over the ground level which, originally, must have been much lower. It is also possible that there was a fosse around the base of the building. In the wall of the upper storey, 8 ft. in thickness, there are continuous mural chambers.


10. Shanid, Co. Limerick. Shanid is first mentioned in 1230 but the structure appears to be of earlier date. A motte, about 35 ft. in height, 500 ft. in circumference and 63 ft. in top diameter, surrounded by a fosse and outer rampart, supports a polygonal keep, circular within, of 22 ft. internal diameter. Only the western section, with its parapets, remains to the full height. Its walls are 11 ft. thick and its height is about 35 ft. Nearly concentric with and close to the keep, on the W. and S., are parts of a battlemented and loopholed curtain, 5 ft. in thickness and 16 ft. high, slightly curved in plan; while to the east, on lower ground, is a D-shaped bailey surrounded by a rampart and fosse.

Westropp, *Proc. R.I.A.*, vol. xxvi, pp. 243-4. (Westropp was of opinion that, in this case, the castle builders raised a pre-existing Irish earthwork but founded the keep upon the earlier mound.)
Orpen, *J.R.S.A.I.*, vol. xxxix, p. 34.

11. Nenagh, Co. Tipperary (Pl. v and Figs. 9 and 10). The castle, which stands in the town of Nenagh and is much obstructed by modern buildings, appears to have been erected between 1200 and 1220 by Theobald Walter, the first of the Butlers. Originally it was five-sided in its plan with the keep at the apex
of the pentagon, the twin-towered gate-building forming its base to the S. Considerable remains of the western curtain and its mural tower were standing in 1840 but have since disappeared. On the E. side there is a fragment of a circular tower and some traces of the curtains, while the gate-building still retains one of its vaulted towers. The area enclosed was small in comparison with the size of the main buildings and it may be that the castle was but the nucleus of a much larger fortress all traces of which have disappeared. Nenagh 'Round,' the cylindrical keep, the largest of its type in Ireland, is incorporated in the curtain and is sufficiently remarkable and perfect to deserve description in some detail. It is built in
limestone rubble, irregularly coursed, and measures about 55 ft. in diameter at the base and 75 ft. in height to the level of the wall-walk, some 25 ft. below the top of the modern masonry (circa 1860) which now crowns the whole. The walls batter throughout but more strongly at the base; from a thickness of about 16 ft. at the level they are reduced by the batter and internal floor offsets to about 11 ft. in the topmost storey of the old work. The entrance was at the first floor level and there was a fore-building, but it, with the doorway and the outer wall of the stairs over, were shattered in an attempt to destroy the castle in 1760. Restorations (about 1860) further changed the form of the doorway and of the winding
stairs, the outer wall of which originally projected slightly from the tower face. On the first and second storeys the only windows are long and narrow loops, extending downwards below the floor levels, and set in deep embrasures, but the third storey room was lighted by four larger windows, with pointed heads, of which one is still complete. The jambs, sills, and arches are of sandstone, set back from the outer wall faces, in embrasures with rough segmental-pointed arches. The arch forms of the inner embrasures of the window vary in each storey; they are round in the first floor, bluntly pointed—with one exception—on that over, and generally segmental in the uppermost room. The exception, the southern window on the first floor, is a fine, chevron-ornamented round arch in sandstone. It is of ‘Transitional’ character and datable to circa 1200. One of the embrasures of the third storey has angle shafts, with caps and bases, and a moulded back-arch of segmental form, all of early thirteenth-century character and in sandstone. Two much-damaged hooded fireplaces, of the same period, also in sandstone, remain. That on the second floor is plain but the upper one has columned jambs, with moulded bases and capitals, carrying the corbels of the hood. The floors and roof were of wood, supported by heavy beams on the N.—S. diameter of the tower. A passage and doorway from the western window embrasure on the second floor gave access to the wall-top of the N.W. curtain and a machicoulis on the storey over, similarly approached, commanded the junction of this curtain with the keep.

The gate and its two towers appear to have been part of the original enciente and the two-storeyed building behind them, which had a large room on the upper floor (perhaps the hall), seems to be later in date. Its windows are much ruined but their sandstone, segmental-pointed back-arches remain, together with some fragments of one pointed window.

Gleeson, History of the Territory of Ely O’Carroll (Dublin), 1915, pp. 104 ff.

12. Castleknock, Co. Dublin. The great thirteenth century castle of the Tyrrells at Castleknock has almost
disappeared. A sketch, made by Francis Place in 1689, is extant and shows that the large keep was polygonal—perhaps twelve sided—and formed the eastern end of the structure, which was apparently erected on a motte.


13. Athlone, Co. Westmeath. The ford of the Shannon at Athlone, at the S. end of the great expansion of Lough Ree, possesses a natural strategic importance, not only as the key to the communication between Connaught and Meath but because of its central position in the country. A *tochar* or under-water causeway was made here in 1000 and the erection of at least five bridges—probably *cliath-dhroichet* (wicker bridges)—is recorded in the Annals between 1120 and 1159. These records also tell that Turlough O'Conor, king of Connaught, built not only a bridge but a castle at Athlone in the summer of 1129. This, one of the seven recorded pre-Norman castles, was probably of wood for it ‘was burned by a thunder-bolt’ in 1131. Another destruction is recorded in 1155. The site of O'Conor’s castle is not known but, since the purpose of his bridge was that he might have ready access to take the spoils of Meath, it seems most probable that it was a bridge-head erection on the Westmeath shore. For the Norman invader, however, coming to the conquest of Connaught from the eastwards, the conditions would require a fortress on the western shore and we learn that in 1200, Geoffrey de Costentin was granted a cantred in Roscommon adjoining Athlone. He probably erected the first motte castle but, in 1210, John de Grey, Justiciar, constructed a bridge and castle, which, the Annals of Clonmacnoise tell us, was of stone (*caislean cloiche*) and had a stone tower. This tower, according to the same entry, fell in 1211 killing Richard Tuite and eight Englishmen with him.

The form of the present castle, a small plateau elevated some 20 ft. above the river bank, bearing an isolated keep and revetted and curtained on its six (originally seven) sides with masonry, suggests that it
was in the first instance a motte castle. In its earliest form it may have been entirely artificial but it is equally probable that a natural esker was utilised; Athlone town stands on one such and the fortifications of the Napoleonic era crown another on the Connaught side.

There was, and is—but much altered and re-built in its upper parts—a polygonal keep isolated within the ward somewhat to the W. of the centre. Its base seems to be original. The castle was repaired about 1251, and between 1273 and 1279 considerable sums were expended. To this period the three-quarter-round towers at the angles of the river frontage may, perhaps, be assigned but the structure has undergone some much alteration—notably in the early nineteenth century to accommodate heavy ordnance—that it is not now possible to analyse satisfactorily the process of growth and change. There are in existence, however, an interesting plan and view, dated 1685, which show that the entrance at that time—and perhaps also at earlier periods—was situated near the S. end of the E. curtain and at its base. From it a flight of steps led upwards through the eastern buildings, now gone, to the level of the ward. The present entrance (by sloping ways and provided with a drawbridge) and the northern walls are modern and it is also clear that the S. curtain has been entirely re-built, on a new line, since 1683.

Phillips, MSS. Report on Fortifications of Ireland (1685) in Nat. Liby. of Ireland.

C. TOWERED KEEPS

14. *Carlow* (Fig. 11). The remains of this castle stand upon high ground on the left bank of the river Barrow, near the bridge and earlier ford, and N. of the confluence of the small river Burren with the larger stream.

Tradition ascribes its erection to Hugh de Lacy. He almost certainly raised a fortress at Carlow but it, like others of his building, was most probably of
the motte-and-bailey type. The first definite reference
to a castle at Carlow is in the Patent Roll of 15
Henry III (1231), but there can be little doubt that
a stone castle was built before that date. Its erection
may be ascribed to either of the Earls Marshall,
William the elder or his son, also William, at some
period between 1207 and 1225. Though the keep is
of the same form as that of Ferns—also doubtfully
ascribed to the Marshalls—and of Lea, in Offaly, it is
smaller than either and its details are less advanced,

![Diagram of Carlow Castle: Plan](Public Works, Saorstat Éireann)

facts which make an early date for it probable.
William Marshall the elder spent the period from
1207 to 1213 wholly in Ireland and it is at least likely
that he built the castle.

References of circa 1300 show that there were at
Carlow a hall, roofed with shingles, a palisade, a kitchen
and a prison, but no traces of these buildings or of
curtain walls are now to be seen. Only a portion of
the keep still stands. It was a rectangular building,
three storeys in height, with a strong three-quarter-
round tower at each angle. Two of these and the
W. wall uniting them remain, together with small pieces of the N. and S. walls. There were staircases in the thickness of the W. wall throughout its height. These and the inner two-thirds of the wall itself were removed in the early part of the nineteenth century during a drastic re-modelling which caused the collapse of more than half of the building. The walling is of coursed limestone rubble and the only undamaged openings remaining—except the pointed doorway, on the first floor at the N. end of the N. wall—are simple loops set in wide embrasures. Two garderobes, one at each end of the W. wall, project over the base-batter. The topmost storey of the N.W. tower is of fifteenth- or sixteenth-century date and the present battlements are modern. There is no sign of vaulting in any part of the building but certain chases and beam holes in the walls suggest that the floors and roof were of timber.

J.R.S.A.I., vol. xxii, pp. 52-60.

15. Ferns, Co. Wexford (Pl. vii, and Figs. 12 and 13). There was at Ferns another of the seven recorded pre-Norman castles but nothing is known of its nature or even of its site; it was demolished in 1166. The earliest reference to the Norman castle appears in 1232 when, among the villae offered as dower for Johanna, widow of William Earl Marshall the younger, by Earl Richard Marshall, the manor and castle ' of Fornes ' is mentioned. Hore, the historian of Wexford, infers that the castle was built either by William Marshall the elder, during his sojourn in Ireland from 1207 to 1213, or, more probably, by his son William, Justiciar from 1224 to 1226. Certain of the details, however,—notably of the chapel in the S.E. Tower, to be described later—are not in harmony with so early a date but may belong to the middle of the century when the castle was in the possession of William de Valence, by virtue of his marriage with the Marshall heiress.

Parts of a rectangular keep, almost square in plan, with a large three-quarter-round tower at each angle,
PLATE VIII.

To face page 171.

A. VIEW FROM N.W.

B. VIEW FROM N.E.

ROSCOMMON CASTLE
(Photos: H. G. Leask)
remain. All traces of the ward, its curtains or other buildings, have disappeared, and though the relation of the keep to the enciente is consequently uncertain, the absence of any large openings in its N. wall—such as are to be seen in the two other walls remaining—suggests that it was more exposed to attack than they and may have been in line with or near to the curtain.

The W. wall, N.W. tower and half the S.W. tower have gone. It is not certain that the whole of the interior was roofed over, as was the case in the similar keeps at Carlow, Lea and Enniscorthy (the area to be covered is large, some 80 ft. by 60 ft.) but it is obvious that there were buildings of three storeys, the full height, within the E. and S. walls, as is evidenced by the windows. Some of these are perfect
but others have been closed by later alterations. In form they are trefoil-pointed lights, single or in pairs, set in external embrasures, which have pointed arches where the lights are single and round or trefoil-pointed arches where the lights are, or were, in pairs. The tympana are pierced with plain or foiled circles.

The S.E. tower, which lacks its parapets but is otherwise almost perfect, has a low conical vault over the ground storey and a groined vault beneath the roof. On the first floor level is a circular chapel lighted by two trefoil-pointed windows and covered by a vault with six moulded ribs springing from corbels which are in the form of capitals with truncated shafts. Several of these capitals are foliated and, with the other details, are of mid-thirteenth-century type.

There are curious variations in the masonry of the walls; in the lowest third the stones are generally small in size while in the middle section they are larger but in the upper third much larger stones are used. That these variations are indications of considerable differences in date is doubtful, since the
window forms, which are similar in all the storeys, do not show any parallel changes.

\[J.R.S.A.I., \text{vol. xxii, pp. 55 ff. and vol. xi, pp. 297 ff. and 360–1.}\]
\[Hore, \text{History of Co. Wexford, vol. vi, p. 5.}\]
\[Ord. Survey Letters, \text{vol. i, p. 77.}\]
\[Royal Irish Academy and Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland Collections (sketches).\]

16. \textit{Lea, Leix} (Fig. 14). The State Papers of the thirteenth century preserve many references to Lea under various forms of the name and there is much regarding its later history in other documents, but the first definite reference to a castle there is dated 1203. In that year the King commands the Justiciary (Meyler Fitz Henry) to cause to be delivered to William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, the castles of Lega (Lea) and Geisil (Geashill) whereof Gerald Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald (1st Baron of Offaly) was seised in his demesne as of fee at the time of his death and the heir of the latter. Neither this nor—with one doubtful exception—any of the subsequent references are helpful in dating the buildings but they show that the castle had a stirring history and was held for several centuries by the Fitzgeralds under different, but generally absentee, overlords. Its frontier position, on the borders of Leix and the English land, guarding a ford on the river Barrow, was one of considerable importance. A small town, with burgesses and commonalty, grew up in its shelter but appears to have been destroyed in the early fourteenth century.

Lea is the only castle with a keep of the Carlow and Ferns type which still possesses wards or courtyards with their curtains and gate-buildings. It is regrettable, but not surprising, that no accurate plan of the whole of the ruins has yet been made; a survey is rendered particularly difficult by the confusion of the masonry of part of the keep, blown up in 1650, and the overgrown state of the rest of the ruins. Much clearance and some excavation will have to be done before an accurate plan can be produced; the sketch plan shown must be viewed as no more than an approximation to the facts.
Of the two wards the smaller, which contains the keep, is at the higher level and was apparently nearly circular in form. Sections of its curtain remain, of which one part, on the E. side towards the lower ward, is provided with a wall-walk carried on arches which are supported by corbels projecting from its inner face. The keep is rectangular in plan with a three-quarter-round tower at each angle. Two vaulted chambers, divided by a heavy wall on the long axis of the building, form the basement and above this were two storeys floored and roofed with timber. The remaining openings in the curtain and the keep are simple loops with the exception of one perfect window of larger size at the second storey level of the keep on the N. side. It is of two lights with trefoil-pointed
heads and is like the Ferns examples but has not the external embrasure and enclosing arch. The entrance doorway—now marked by a ragged gap—is at the first floor level on the E. side and close to the N.E. tower, to which it gives access by a mural passage. From this passage a stairway in the thickness of the N. wall branches off, leading to the upper floor and the roof as at Carlow. On the evidence of the window described a date about 1250 seems to be indicated for the keep. This date would coincide with the occupation of Lea by Maurice Fitzgerald (the 2nd Baron of Offaly) who obtained seisin in 1216 and died in 1257.

The extensive outer ward lies to the E. It has, in the S. wall, a gate-building of the usual form, a rectangle with twin half-round towers towards the field, a structure perhaps assignable to the year 1297 when the State Papers record some expenditure in fortifying 'Leghe.' At some later time this building was altered from its original purpose and made wholly residential by the closing up of the gateways, and by additions, another gate being formed in the curtain immediately to the W.

There is a small inner gate structure, incomplete and of doubtful date, in the curtain between the wards, and within it there is an isolated piece of wall standing in close proximity to and parallel with the E. side of the keep. It is not clear whether this wall is a part of the gate-building or a fragment of a fore-building to the keep.

Sandby, Views in England, Scotland and Ireland.

17. Terryglass, Co. Tipperary. Close to the eastern shore of Lough Derg stand the remains of another keep of the Carlow-Ferns-Lea plan but of much smaller dimensions than any of them. The few extant references indicate that it was erected in the thirteenth century by the Butlers—whose head castle was at Nenagh—or by one of their feudatories. Only one storey of the building remains, rising above a strongly battered base. The staircase is in the N.W. tower and the entrance doorway is close by, as at
Carlow and Lea, in the N. wall. Access to the N.E. tower was from the upper floor, as at Ferns, and the interior of the castle is divided into two apartments by a cross wall. No traces of courtyards remain but the presence of some bond stones in the W. wall and a wall beside the S.E. tower suggest that curtains abutted on these sides.


18. Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford. The castle in Enniscorthy, assigned by some writers to the period 1227–1240 when the de Prendergasts held the place, is also of the Carlow–Ferns plan but much smaller in its dimensions and of lighter construction. Another point of difference is that one of the angle towers—or rather turrets, since they are not comparable in size to those of Carlow, Ferns or Lea—is not circular and is not carried down to the ground level but rises from an angular mass of masonry. The main walls are but 5 ft. in thickness and none of the visible details are assignable to the thirteenth century but appear to belong to circa 1586 when the castle was thoroughly restored by Sir Henry Wallop. It is unlikely, however, that he would have used this singular and obsolete plan unless led to do so by the existence of old walls or foundations.

Flood, J.R.S.A.I., xxxiv, p. 380 ff.
Du Noyer, R.I.A. and R.S.A.I. Collections (sketches).

19. Wexford (destroyed). The stone castle of Wexford is mentioned as a siegitorial castle in 1231 (Pat. Roll. 15 Henry III, m.4). According to the records it had four towers and, as its site is very circumscribed, the probability is that in form it resembled Ferns and Carlow.


D. KEEPLESS CASTLES

20. Dublin. The Royal Writ for the building of the castle of Dublin was issued in 1205 and Archbishop
Henri de Loundres, the Justiciar, is credited with the completion of the work in 1213. According to one authority, however, only the main walls had been erected by 1228, the towers being built after that date. The site of the castle, on rising ground within the south-eastern angle of the city, possessed a natural defence in the small river Poddle which flowed—and still flows, but underground—along its S. and E. sides on its way to the ‘Black Pool’ which gave the city its name and served as a small harbour close to its walls. The city walls ran northwards and westwards in line with those of the castle, which was separated on its inner sides from the city itself by a wide and deep dry ditch. Five-sided, but approximating to a parallelogram in shape, the castle had heavy curtains and four strong cylindrical towers, one at each angle. On the city side, about the centre of the N. curtain, was the gateway with a portcullis and drawbridge between two semi-towers, while on the S. side there was one small tower, or possibly two, at or near a bend in the S. curtain, which did not run in a straight line between the corner towers.

The buildings of the present castle are largely of the eighteenth century but some fragments of the original work are incorporated or embedded in them. The only visible ancient work and the most considerable fragment is the Record Tower at the S.E. angle. It was known in earlier times as the Wardrobe and later as the Gunner’s tower and is a massive cylindrical structure of limestone rubble masonry, about 56 ft. in diameter, crowned by a heavy machicolated parapet erected in 1819 when the building was converted to its present use. At the other end of the S. curtain, and forming the S.W. angle of the enclosure, stood the Bermingham tower. Of the original structure, ‘the statliest, strongest and highest tower of the whole’, (Harris) only the battered base remains; it is hidden by modern buildings, the present visible upper part being a re-building begun in 1775. About 100 ft. of the old S. curtain still stands and forms the S. wall of St. Patrick’s Hall and the apartments under it, which are probably on the site of the original
hall of the castle. This wall is about 11 ft. in thickness at the ground floor level and over 16 ft. thick in its heavily battered lowest part. The Cork tower and the Storehouse tower, at the N.W. and N.E. angles respectively, were both demolished in the eighteenth century along with the eastern tower of the gateway which stood midway in the N. curtain between them. The western tower of the gateway is absorbed in the eighteenth-century building which now houses the Office of Arms.

Harris, History of Dublin (1766).
Ware's Annals, quoted J.R.S.A.I., vol. liii, p. 34, note.
Whitelaw and Walsh, History of Dublin, pp. 468 ff.
Rocque, Map of Dublin (1756).

21. Limerick (Fig. 15). Though Prince John is credited—by Stanihurst, who does not mention his authority—with the foundation of an 'egregium castellum' and a bridge at Limerick it is very doubtful if any part of the existing structure can be referred to so early a date. The Irish Annals speak of a 'bawn' at Limerick in 1200 and 'a castle there' in 1202, indications of the existence of a fortified enclosure at least. In 1216 the castle required repairs, and in 1226 Richard de Burgo held it for the King when all other castles were held against him. From these references it appears that the building can be ascribed to the early years of the thirteenth century. Numerous later references in State Papers, presenting but a long tale of neglect and frequent repairs, are singularly unhelpful towards an analysis of the structure, while its use as a garrison barrack since the end of the seventeenth century has been the cause—by alteration and re-buildings—of the obliteration of much evidence which would be valuable to our study.

The castle was intended primarily as a fortification against Thomond (Clare) and stood on the bank of the Shannon within the north-western part of the city. In the city wall, close by to the N.W., stood Thomond Gate from which Thomond Bridge spanned the river to its barbican gate on the Clare shore. In
plan the castle was five-sided; the longest side being along the river bank, the shortest at the north-eastern angle. Four strong, almost cylindrical, towers defended the angles but only three remain; two at the ends of the river front and one to the N.E. The fourth tower, that to the S.E., was removed about 1611, when a large bastion was built in its place to overawe the city. The bridge tower, now much truncated, and the S.W. tower—also altered in its upper part—are probably the oldest buildings, and are alike in dimensions. All the towers are vaulted and have plain narrow loops with sandstone dressings. In the
N. curtain is a fine double-towered gateway. There are visible in the river wall a number of narrow windows—with chamfered jambs, in sandstone—which lighted rooms or a gallery, now filled up, beneath the level of the present courtyard. Old prints show, in addition to a small square tower projecting into the river, a long narrow building on this side of the castle, and incorporated in a modern building on this site there is a fragment of medieval stonework. It is perhaps part of the hall or chamber built in the last quarter of the thirteenth century.

Pacata Hibernia, Pls. 8 and 15.
Speed, Map (1610). T.C.D., Map no. 57 (1590).

22. Kilkenny. Erected early in the thirteenth century, probably on the site of the motte fortress built by Strongbow, this castle has continued in occupation as a nobleman’s residence up to 1935 and has undergone many alterations, notably in 1660 and in the early part of the last century. It was described in 1307 as ‘a castle in which are a hall, four towers, a chapel, a mote and divers other houses.’ The motte and one tower, that to the S.E., have quite disappeared but the other three towers remain though much altered by the insertion of large windows and the addition of modern battlements. The core at least of the range of buildings between the northern towers is of early date. In plan the castle is wedge-shaped with the narrower end towards the N., facing the city. As no accurate plan is available any attempt to analyse the structure would be unprofitable.

J.R.S.A.I., vol. xxxix, p. 316 and lxiv, Pls. x, xi, and xii.

23. Roscrea, Co. Tipperary (Pl. ix). Of the early history of Roscrea castle little is recorded. One of its towers, that to the S.E., is traditionally ‘King John’s Castle,’ and to him the whole erection is popularly attributed, but that any part of the structure is so early in date is doubtful; it is more probable that the greater part is not earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century.
The castle consists of a large, irregularly shaped courtyard, the curtains of which are still entire except for a short length on the S. side and are inadequately flanked by the two three-quarter-round towers at the main S.E. and S.W. angles. In the N. curtain is a fine rectangular gate-building, erected about 1280, the gate openings of which are now built-up. It has a pointed groined vault, of three bays, over the large apartment on the first floor in which, in the S. wall, there is a large hooded fireplace. The picturesque topmost storey, with its roof, chimney stacks, and crow-stepped gables, was added in the seventeenth century and altered in the last century.


24. Castleroche, Co. Louth (Fig. 16). In the Close Rolls there is an entry, dated 1236, which tells us that Rohesia de Verdun had fortified a castle in her own land against the Irish, 'which none of her predecessors was able to do.' It is the first reference to this important border castle which commands a pass leading through the hills of south Armagh into the rich lands of Louth. Rohesia died before 1247 and was succeeded by her son, John de Verdun, whose death is recorded in 1274. He it was, probably, who built the structure to be seen to-day.

Its site is a plateau-like outcrop of limestone with steep slopes to the N., W., and S., where they are crowned by small cliffs formed by quarrying. To the E., and on part of the same plateau, was a large bailey, apparently once walled, which is separated from the castle by a rock-cut fosse. The main approach seems to have been through the bailey from the N.E. where the slope is easy. The curtain walls, which are nearly complete and retain many of their crenelles, enclose an irregularly shaped area, measuring about 220 ft. from N. to S. and 130 ft. in maximum width, about the centre, from E. to W. At the narrow N. end there is a curious, low, D-shaped projection containing a vaulted chamber entered from the castle. It is not carried up as a tower and is, in fact, external to the curtain, which, however, has openings in its upper
FIG. 16. CASTLEROCHÉ : PLAN
(From survey by H. G. Tempest)
part looking inwards to the courtyard. This puzzling feature may be the base of an early tower upon which a later structure, now vanished, was raised. The S. end of the castle is occupied by a large two-storeyed building, probably the hall and its basement. All traces of the floor or vaults have disappeared, but high in the S. wall are three windows—with window seats and segmental-pointed rear-arches in sandstone but otherwise ruined—lighting a fine apartment, nearly 60 ft. long and over 40 ft. in width, which can hardly have been other than the hall of the castle. A once fine gate-building, now much ruined on the inner side, adjoins the hall in the north. It has two half-round towers, slightly flattened on the outer faces, flanking the gateway and there is a mural passage, at the first floor level of the gate-building but in the E. wall of the hall, doubtless giving access to the wall-walks and the hall roof.

*Grose, Antiq. Ire.*, vol. ii, Pl. 53.

25. **Quin, Co. Clare** (Fig. 17). This castle was built by de Clare in 1278-80 and was destroyed by Cuvea Macnamara eight years later. It lay in ruins until about the middle of the fifteenth century, when a Franciscan Friary was erected upon and within it; a remarkable and very interesting transformation. The church of the friary occupies the southern portion of the castle and the cloister, with its buildings, covers almost the whole of the remaining space. Though rectangular in plan and provided with three-quarter-round towers at the angles, and thus bearing a superficial resemblance to the keeps of Carlow and Ferns, it is much larger than them in area and is not, in fact, a keep, but a roofless symmetrical structure composed of curtains and towers; an Edwardian castle in its simplest form.

The 11 ft. thick curtain forms the S. wall of the church choir and is pierced by window openings, widely splayed inwards and outwards. The bases of the E. curtain and the towers on that side remain and on the W. there is a part of the S.W. tower, but the N.W. tower has disappeared along with all traces
of any other military buildings. On the N. side the foundations of the curtain are traceable.


26. Castlegrace, Co. Tipperary. Records and the annalists are completely silent regarding this castle,
situated on the southern borders of the county in the ancient feudal barony of Kiltenenan, but it is conjectured that it owes its erection to one of the de Wigornias or Worcesters, descendants of the original grantee, or to a later de Bermingham owner who obtained the barony by marriage with a de Wigornia heiress late in the thirteenth century.

The building is rectangular in plan, measuring within the walls—which are 6 ft. in thickness above the base-batter—60 ft. by 86 ft., the longest dimension being from E. to W. Of the four corner towers one, that at the N.W. angle, is square, while the others are of the usual three-quarter-round form. More than half of the S.E. tower, the greater part of the N. curtain, including the gateway which was on that side, and the E. and S. curtains are almost completely destroyed. The main buildings appear to have been within the W. curtain in which there are several windows. In the short remnant of the S. wall, adjoining the S.W. tower, there is a window of two trefoil-pointed lights under a round arch, with a quatrefoil in the tympanum. It bears a close resemblance to the windows of Ferns castle, and, together with an arrow slit also of the Ferns type, suggests a date about 1250 for the structure.


27. Roscommon (Pls. viii and x, and Fig. 18). The present castle, the successor of several fortifications of lesser strength, twice destroyed by Aedh (Hugh) O’Conor, king of Connaught, was erected about 1280 by Robert de Ufford, the Justiciary. It was a royal castle and appears to have been held effectively by a well-found garrison—of Welshmen—until about 1308. From that date until the time of Lord Deputy Sydney, who made a hosting into Connaught in 1569, Roscommon appears to have been more often in Irish, or Anglo-Irish, hands than in those of the government, but, about 1578, it was granted to Sir Nicholas Malbie who carried out large works of alteration and new building. The chequered existence
of the castle, as a place of strength, closed in 1652 with its surrender to the Cromwellian, Reynolds.

The site, in level country N. of the town, is not remarkable for its strength but was protected on the W. side by a lake. In plan the castle is a keepless quadrangle with a tower at each angle, a large double-towered gate-building in the E. curtain and a rectangular gate-tower near the S. end of the opposite wall. The courtyard, within curtains of from 8 to 9 ft. in thickness, measures 162 ft. by 130 ft. The four corner towers, which are half-round in plan externally but flat at the sides and on the inner faces, remain almost intact. Each has, or had, a mural stairway in the left-hand wall (looking from within) leading to the upper storey and the wall-walks, and two towers,
To face page 186.

PLATE X.

ROSCOMMON CASTLE: PLANS

SITE OF BUILDINGS, 1580

SCALE:

PENDENTIVE

100 FEET

/Public Works, Saorstat Éireann/
C and D on the plan, were vaulted at the roof level. In tower C the vault remains and supports the walls of a circular tower of small diameter not unlike the topmost storey of the keep at Pembroke. B, the S.E. tower, was floored and roofed with timber. Both of the northern towers A and B, the gate-building towers, the N.E., and the N. curtains (the latter now largely destroyed) were greatly altered about 1580; continuous vertical gaps were cut in the original walls and large mullioned windows, of two lights in width with transomes, were inserted, the jambs of the inner embrasures being re-faced. (A similar operation is described and illustrated in V. le Duc’s Dictionnaire, tome iii, pp. 188-9.) Tower A had at this period an upper storey within the wall-walk with a conical roof of tiles.

It is evident that the buildings of 1580, for which the window alterations were made, occupied the whole N. end of the castle and joined up to the gate-building. This was raised and two rows of wide windows were inserted between the towers over the gateway. The W. gate-tower, which projects considerably, is vaulted and has a pit beneath the gate-passage to accommodate a counter-balance drawbridge. This building is not set at right angles to the curtains on each side which also are not in line, obliquities in setting out which suggest that the tower may be an early structure belonging to a period when the castle was palisaded. Garderobes are plentiful and are generally placed in the re-entrant angles between the towers and the curtains and are carried on squinch arches. Few of the original loops remain.

Orpen, ibid. xxxvii, pp. 275-6.

28. Ballintubber, Co. Roscommon. Historical references to this large castle, ten miles N. from Roscommon, are scanty and particularly unsatisfactory in regard to the date of its foundation, which is not recorded. That it was erected before 1315 appears to be certain, however,—a death is recorded as having occurred in the castle in that year—and its superficial
likeness in plan to Roscommon, combined with the form of its towers, suggest a date about 1300. It is described in an Inquisition of 7th Edward III (1333), as ‘an old castle surrounded by a stone wall’ and ruinous buildings, ‘a hall, a chamber, a kitchen and other houses worth nothing’ are also mentioned. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it suffered many partial destructions, burnings and restorations, and in 1627 the N.W. tower was partially re-built.

Nearly square in plan, its large ward and curtains measure, overall at the centre, about 250 ft. from N. to S. and 275 ft. on the other axis. At each angle there is a strong tower of polygonal form, presenting from five to seven faces to the exterior and two faces to the ward. The towers are longer than they are broad and are not regularly disposed with their axes on the diagonals of the ward; the axis of the N.E. tower is, in fact, parallel with the east curtain and that of the N.W. tower inclines strongly to the N. Each tower projects as far into the ward as beyond the curtains. There is a double-towered gate-building in the E. curtain, as at Roscommon, but of smaller dimensions. The curtains are about 6 ft. thick and (now) 25 ft. high, while the towers were more than double this height. A ditch, now partly filled in, surrounded the whole.

The castle appears to have been held for a long period by the O'Conors and may have been built by them; an Irish copy of the near-by Roscommon?


29. Ballymote, Co. Sligo. This castle was built about 1300 by Richard de Burgo and, except for the destruction of parts, remains little changed from that time. It is a very symmetrical erection, almost a perfect square in plan, measuring about 125 ft. each way internally. At each angle there is a three-quarter-round tower, flat towards the ward, and, in the centres of the E. and W. curtains, there are half-round, or rather D-shaped, towers nearly equal in bulk to those at the angles. Central in the N. curtain there is a double-towered gate-building. Its inner wall is
flush with the inside face of the curtain and is still standing but the towers, except for their foundation courses, have been removed. Opposite it and projecting from the S. curtain there was a small rectangular tower which, perhaps, covered a postern gate. All these towers and the gate building rose to some height over the curtains which are about 10 ft. in thickness and contain mural stairways. These rise from the doorways leading to the E. and W. mural towers and give access to the wall-walks. The ditch has been filled in.

No accurate survey has yet been made of the ruins which are much overgrown.


30. Liscarroll, Co. Cork (Pl. xi). Historical records regarding Liscarroll castle are few in number and nothing is definitely known as to the date of its erection. It is attributed—probably correctly—to the de Barrys, who obtained a footing in this part of Munster at an early date. Its form, a large rectangle with the usual three-quarter-round towers at the angles, is typical of the later part of the thirteenth century, but it is not so strongly defended by wall towers as, for instance, Roscommon.

There is a gate-tower, of oblong plan, in the centre of the S. curtain and a smaller rectangular tower projects from the face of the opposite wall of the enclosure. The gate-tower, which was raised in the fifteenth century by the addition of two storeys, appears to have had buildings on each side within the S. curtains which are now much broken down. It is curious that there are no intermediate towers on the E. and W. sides; those at the angles seem to be quite inadequate as flankers to the lengthy curtains.


31. Dunluce, Co. Antrim. This most picturesque structure, crowning a semi-isolated, peninsular rock of the N. Antrim coast, is built, as the name signifies, on the site of a large Irish fort or dún. From the historical evidence, which is scanty and unhelpful, it would appear that the castle was built about 1300, perhaps
by Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, but the architectural evidence of the oldest parts remaining is not opposed to an earlier dating. These remnants, two cylindrical towers and part of the S. curtain, show that the original castle consisted of a courtyard enclosed by strong walls flanked by towers at the angles. Within the S. curtain there were buildings, now represented by a row of pillars which divided a long apartment on the ground floor, parallel with the curtain, and supported an upper floor, but the other extensive and interesting buildings within and northwards of the limits of the early castle are of various dates from the fourteenth century onwards to about 1600.

Lawlor, Ulster (Belfast, 1928), p. 133.
Bigger, ibid., pp. 154 ff.

32. Ballyloughan, Co. Carlow. The remains of this castle, which never seems to have been of great military importance and regarding which little is known, consist of a gate-building, with three-quarter-round turrets on each side of the gateway, a small quadrangular tower at the S.W. angle and a fragment of another small building at the opposite corner of the courtyard. All the curtains have disappeared, except for short lengths adjoining the gate-building and the S.W. tower, leaving only faint traces of their courses; they were about 5 ft. in thickness. The 1840 edition of the Ordnance map shows a ruined building on the N. side but this is no longer to be seen. In the upper storey of the south-western building there is a pair of pointed windows of thirteenth-century type.


33. Ballylahan, Co. Mayo. This small castle, attributable to the Mac Jordans (descendants of Jordan d'Exeter) and to a date about 1260, is in a very ruinous condition. It is an irregular polygon in shape and had a building with two towers, of half-round form, flanking the gate. The foundations of some buildings are visible in the ward but have not yet been examined.

FIG. 23. LISCARROLL CASTLE: PLANS

(Public Works, Saorstat Eireann)
E. CASTLES OF OTHER PLAN TYPES

34. Carlingford, Co. Louth (Fig. 19). King John visited Carlingford in 1210 and is credited, by tradition, with the building of the castle though a fortress probably existed there at an earlier date. While some parts of the remaining buildings may be attributed to the early part of the thirteenth century, or earlier, there is evidence of drastic alterations which are
IRISH CASTLES: 1180 TO 1310

The Rock of Dunamase, Co. Leix (Fig. 20). The Rock of Dunamase, a striking outcrop commanding a pass in the low hills which divide the Leix plain E. of the modern town of Maryborough, was an Irish stronghold from the earliest times. By some writers it has been identified with the Dunum of Ptolemy’s map but it is more probable that Dinn Righ, an impressive
earthwork on the river Barrow, is the real Dunum. When the Anglo-Normans arrived the fortress of Dunamase was held by Dermott MacMurrough, king of Leinster, at whose invitation they had come. Subsequently it passed to Strongbow with Dermott’s daughter, and later to William Earl Marshall, who had married one of Strongbow’s heiresses. William de Braos, Lord of Brecknock, re-built and enlarged the castle about 1250 and Roger de Mortimer is also credited with building works there. The numerous historical references, however, are not more helpful in a study of the buildings than are the remains themselves which consist, for the most part, of shapeless masses of masonry, the debris of the very thorough dismantlement by the Cromwellian generals, Hewson and Reynolds, in 1650.

No accurate survey or close study of the ruins has
yet been made and the plan, based upon the Ordnance map and some personal observations, is to be regarded only as a sketch diagram. The inner ward fills the summit—a terraced plateau—of the rock, which is steep on the S. side and has cliffs on the N. and W. Within this ward are the remains of an isolated oblong keep with a small tower or turret on its W. face. There is a break in the S. curtain which appears to have masked a sally-port, and in the E. curtain is a much-ruined rectangular gate-tower, beyond which lies the small outer ward, triangular in shape, sloping outwards towards an almost level bailey. The gateway of the outer ward is in the face of a half-round projection of the wall; a doubtful tower. Around the bailey there is a fosse with an external bank on its S. side and double banks at the entrance, which is towards the E.


36. Swords, Co. Dublin. The episcopal castle of Swords, begun about 1200 by the then reigning archbishop of Dublin on his manor, is not a strong defensive work; it is manorial in character and is the most complete specimen of its kind in the country. An acre and one third in extent, and irregularly pentagonal in shape, it has a square tower of three storeys at the N. angle and buildings of various dates, including a chapel, by the gateway which is in the S. wall. A small square turret projects from the W. wall near the S.W. angle and there is a larger tower, also square, in the E. wall, marking the centre of a range of buildings which stood there. The presence of the frame of a two-light intersecting-bar tracery window with cusps (circa 1290) in this wall suggests that the hall was situated on the upper floor of one of these buildings. Crennelations, of the Irish stepped type common in the fifteenth century, remain on some parts of the curtain walls which are complete. The gatebuilding belongs to the middle of the thirteenth century but seems to incorporate earlier work, while the chapel is somewhat later in date.

37. Clonmore, Co. Carlow. There are several references to Clonmore in the early part of the fourteenth century but some of its details, notably pairs of trefoil-pointed lights under segmental-pointed arches, suggest that parts of the buildings belong to the later part of the previous century. The castle is nearly square in plan—about 170 ft. in each direction—and was, in 1830, still surrounded by a deep fosse. There were rectangular towers at each of the southern angles of the walls and smaller turrets at the other two angles. The southern wall, which probably contained the gateway, has been destroyed and the fosse has been filled in but is still traceable at the N. side. Considerable remains of the principal buildings fill the eastern side of the courtyard and present a very irregular outline to the field.

Grose, Antiq. Ire., vol. i, Pls. 2 and 3.

38. Cloughouter, Co. Cavan. This cylindrical tower, which stands upon what appears to be a stone crannog in Lough Oughter, is first mentioned in 1326 but is probably of earlier date. It had five, rather low, storeys and is 35 ft. in internal diameter, the walls being 7 ft. in thickness. The floors were of wood and a machicoulis at the parapet level commanded the round-headed doorway which was on the first floor.


39. Ballymoon, Co. Carlow (Pl. iiB). This castle has been attributed to the Knights Templars and appears to have been erected about the end of the thirteenth century or within the following decade, a few years prior to the suppression of that Order. Modern research has not substantiated a Templar origin and tradition says that the building was never inhabited.

A plan and description appeared so long ago as 1793 in Anthologia Hibernica and G. V. Du Noyer, the Irish antiquary, who examined the castle about 1860 and sketched some of its details, read a description and presented his drawings to the Royal Irish Academy in that year. The following summary description is based upon these accounts and a recent, but hurried, personal visit.
The walls, which are of granite and about 8 ft. in thickness, are 17 to 20 ft. in height and have many recesses and chambers. They enclose a space about 115 ft. square, within which—on all sides, but not continuously—there were ranges of buildings. Two fireplaces in the N.E. wall and a large double fireplace at the upper floor level in the N.W. wall indicate that there were living apartments on these sides. The entrance, a gateway with segmental-pointed arches and having grooves for a portcullis, is in the S.W. wall near to its northern end and, projecting from the S.E. wall, there is a rectangular tower which rises to double the height of the curtain walls and is vaulted over each of its two storeys. In prolongation of the S.E. wall at its eastern angle there is a square turret with loops and containing a garderobe, while, near the centre of the N.E. wall, there is another divided into two narrow chambers. These turrets, and another of larger size in the N.W. wall—also housing a garderobe—appear to have been of about the same height as the curtains. Segmental-pointed arches span the larger embrasures, and the doorways to the turret chambers have flat lintels carried on corbels (the ‘Caernarvon arch’). The cross- and long-bow loops are beautifully formed and resemble those at Ferns but are unlike them in having the widening of the wings within the wall face and not at its exterior.

*Anthologia Hibernica* (1793), vol. ii, p. 274.

Some conclusions may now be drawn. It is obvious, in the first place, that castle development in Ireland followed the same general lines as in England: from the keep castle, with its usually towerless curtains—as at Carrickfergus and Dundrum—to the keepless fortress, provided with a strong gate-building and flanking towers, best exemplified by Roscommon. The keeps show a development from the square forms of Carrickfergus, Trim and Adare, and the cylindrical examples at Dundrum, Shanid and Nenagh—which are all early—to the oblong rectangles found at
Athenry, Rinnduin and Greencastle (Down), belonging to the middle of the century. The keep at Maynooth is possibly an early and exceptional instance of the oblong form. The more elaborate keeps of group C—the roofed-in rectangles with massive circular or three-quarter-round towers at the angles—seem to be peculiar to Ireland or, at least, without coeval parallels in either England or France. Carlow is apparently the earliest, being assignable to about 1210 or 1220, but Ferns and Lea belong to about the middle of the century. The first two are connected, directly or indirectly, with the Marshalls but Lea is a Fitzgerald castle and the small keep of the same form at Terryglass was in Butler territory. The influence of any one great noble seems, therefore, to be inadmissible but it is conceivable that the group represents the work of one military engineer whose name has not come down to us.

In one important characteristic most of the castle architecture of the period differs from the native buildings, both lay and ecclesiastical, of earlier and later times: in the absence of the wall batter which is so noticeable and pervasive a feature of all native Irish architecture. The military walls and towers, while they are almost invariably battered strongly at the base in the usual way, are usually carried up quite vertically from that level. It may be noted also that in the thirteenth-century cathedrals and churches of the English Pale the battered wall is seldom found and it is not unreasonable to infer that neither their builders nor the builders of the castles were, in all cases, native masons. Such a conclusion would not be surprising since the castles were built by or for English feudal lords who, doubtless, brought with them their own military engineers and perhaps lesser artificers.

The other features of the castles may be dealt with briefly. There seem to have been no fore-buildings on the English scale but traces of minor works of the kind remain at Carrickfergus, Maynooth, Athenry, Nenagh and Lea. The simple square form of gate tower found at Trim (W. gate), Maynooth,
Carlingford (a fragment only), and Dunamase seems to be early as also do the double-towered forms at Carrickfergus, Limerick and Nenagh, but the large gate-buildings, with half-round towers towards the field, are, as in England, associated with the keepless castles built after 1260. Where one occurs, as at Dundrum, in conjunction with a keep of early form and a towerless curtain, it is obviously an addition to the original structure. Only one round gate-tower remains, the S. gate at Trim, which may be dated with reasonable certainty to about 1220; it is unique in retaining its barbican. Isolated halls are known to have existed at several castles and were probably present in most of them but few now remain; the two halls at Adare are remarkably complete but there are only fragments visible at Trim, Rinnduin, Dunamase, and Swords.

I have pleasure in acknowledging indebtedness to the Ministry of Finance of Northern Ireland which, through Dr. D. A. Chart, has permitted me to make use of the official plan of Carrickfergus Castle. My thanks are also due to the Controller, H.M. Stationery Office, for permission to copy the keep plans of the same castle; Mr. C. H. Crawford, Downpatrick, for the plan of Greencastle (Down); the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland for the plans of Nenagh; the Director of the National Museum for the photographs of Trim and Nenagh and to Mr. H. G. Tempest, Dundalk, for the survey plan of Castleroche. Other illustrations are based upon various sources of all dates checked, in as many cases as possible, by personal examination of the buildings. In eight instances the plans are prepared from official surveys of National Monuments in the care of the Commissioners of Public Works of Saorstát Éireann with their permission.
APPENDIX

Incomplete lists, with notes, of castles of thirteenth-century foundation not yet adequately studied or of which only fragments remain.

MOTE CASTLES WITH LATER STONEWORK

Castlekevin and Newcastle, Co. Wicklow.

STONE CASTLES

Ardfinnan, Co. Tipperary (1200 ?); ruin of donjon attributed to King John, remainder late Edwardian, partly converted into a modern house.

Ardrahan, Co. Galway (circa 1250); a fragment with few features, standing in extensive earthworks.

Arklow, Co. Wicklow; part of one tower remains.

Askeaton, Co. Limerick; part of thirteenth-century hall embodied in 'Desmond's Hall' (fifteenth century).

Ballinamantain, Co. Galway (circa 1250-1300); extensive remains, much shattered.

Bruree, Co. Limerick (1200 ?); circular courtyard with three mural towers.

Castleconnell, Co. Limerick (circa 1250); part of castle and also of its rock foundation blown up in 1691, structure shattered and overgrown.

Clonmacnoise, Offaly; parts of a square tower on a motte (?) and earthworks.

Glanworth, Co. Cork; reputed to be of the period but present remains are of doubtful date.

Granagh, Co. Kilkenny; the curtain towards the river and its flanking towers are possibly of the period; the rest is later.

Grenan, Co. Kilkenny (1229 ?); a rectangular keep, 66 feet by 44 feet and three storeys high.

Kiltinane, Co. Tipperary (circa 1250); a quadrangular courtyard with angle towers of which three remain, two incorporated in a modern house. (Perhaps similar to Castlegate.)

Parkavonear, Aghadoe, Co. Kerry; a small round keep of doubtful date, like Cloughouter but with mural stairways; traces of earthworks.

(There were castles, certainly of stone at:—Bunratty (Clare), Coleraine (1213-14), Sligo (1245), Inch Manor, circa 1287 (like an Irish caher in form), Castlecomer (Kilkenny).)

(In the above lists only examples which have been seen by me or which have come to notice during researches for the preparation of this paper are included.)