THE TOWER HOUSES OF WEST CORK

APPENDICES

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A Phd Thesis
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APPENDIX I

Gazetteer of tower houses in the Survey region
(including known and probable sites)

It has been necessary to mention many Co. Cork sites both inside and outside the Survey region in the text; to aid the clarity of the text, their National Grid References are separately listed in the gazetteer. Sites outside County Cork are qualified in the text with the county name, but the NGR is not given.

This gazetteer attempts to provide a definitive list of all the tower houses and probable tower house sites in the Survey region. It is apparent that tower houses were much more common than now appears. The process of destruction has been steady since the Seventeenth Century and in some cases the site is only approximately known (i.e. Derrynivaldane, Inispyle, Castletowne). It is hoped that this gazetteer will provide the basis for detailed fieldwork which will locate their sites.

The exact number of tower houses existing c.1600 in the Survey region will never be known. Documentary evidence points to the existence of many probable examples that have been entirely destroyed. It has been suggested that the term 'castle' (among others) was occasionally included in legal documents to cover all types of property that might be on a particular parcel of land, if details were lacking to the surveyor (Healy 1988, 178). This does not seem to be the case in the Survey region; existing tower houses are always called 'castles' in seventeenth-century grants, inquisitions, and other documents. The implication is that the 'castles' only known from such references certainly existed and were usually tower houses.

The numbers below are based on the author's own observations, but also rely on local surveys of variable accuracy from Healy (1988) to the Archaeological Inventory of Cork (1992). Legal documents in publications of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century have been particularly important, as has the Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society.

Doonendermotmore, Bawnlahan and Rathbarry are fortified sites where tower houses seem never to have existed; the reference to a tower house's past existence is given, where known.

No tower house in the Survey region has escaped ruination. Sixteen exist as complete shells while 7 others stand to their full height, at least in part. Remnants of 26 others survive varying from the truncated to small fragments. The general level of survival is considerably better than in Kerry, where only twenty substantial stone ruins exist of nearly two hundred tower houses that were allegedly once extant in Kerry (McAuliffe 1991, 196).
Notes on terminology

A detailed inspection of English language documentary sources shows a variety of terms used to cover similar strongholds. This raises the question of what the Irish called tower houses (a useful neologism) or if such a term existed. It has been recently asserted that the use of the word ‘peel’ is proof of the Scottish origin of tower houses in the Pale (Davin 1982, 123). In English seventeenth-century sources of the Survey region, the term ‘pile’ (peel) appears only once (O’Donovan 1849, 95). This suggests that Scottish influence played no part in the adoption of the tower house in the Survey region.

The use of the term Caistél (RIA 1990, 98:Co.52, anglicised ‘castell’) in conjunction with place-names of seventeenth-century coining, i.e. Castle Donovan, suggests that it was used for strongholds of mortared stone rather than earthen forts.

The term dún is usually applied to the residence of a chief or dignitary. It consisted of an earthen or (more rarely) a stone rampart, inside which the house or houses were built (RIA 1990, 256: c0.449). However Dún in late medieval Munster seems definitely to have meant ‘tower’ or ‘castle’. This is supported by the comparatively recent coining of the names of tower house strongholds such as Dún na sead, Dún na long, Dún na ngall (Kenneth Nicholls, pers.comm.).

In Co. Cork, the Irish may also have used the term daingean to denote what is now called 'tower house'. Daingean has several meanings that all relate to its essential meaning of ‘firm, fast, strong, solid’ (RIA 1990, 175:co.27). However, the word seems to have carried a slightly different meaning from Dún; a seventeenth-century lament bewails the fate of a MacCarthy chieflain dispossessed by the English... Ní Tadhg an Dúna t-ainm, Acht Tadhg gan dún gan daingean ... ‘... Tadhg of the fort is not my name, but Tadhg without fort or 'daingean'...’ (O Murchadha 1985, 56). Although this is no more than poetical alliteration, it does indicate the slightly different sense of the two words. This interpretation is supported by an occurrence of a compound name Dundahnione (Caulfield 1879, 391) which was given to the name of a castle built on the lands of Butingsfordtown on Cork Harbour. The name was clearly a new coining when the castle was built in the early Sixteenth Century, and it has been suggested that 'donjon' is a more probable second element to this name than daingean (Kenneth Nicholls, pers.comm.). A confusion of the Norman loan word ‘donjon’ (tower keep) and the Irish term daingean seems to have taken place by the Seventeenth Century. A reference in the Annals of Ulster (Lucas 1989, 118) suggests that daingean may refer either to a tower house or bawn, since cattle are driven into it.

The Middle English word curt ‘yard, enclosure’ (OED) was hibernicised as Chuirt and it was used to denote not only seventeenth-century defended houses but also at least one tower house Oldcourt [16]. The name, which is contemporary with the stronghold indicates that an enclosure surrounded by
buildings existed by the beginning of the Seventeenth Century. This 'old' court was presumably a medieval bawn. The name also occurs at Garancort (Par. Kilgariff) recorded in the 1659 Census (Pender 1939, 220) and may signify an otherwise forgotten stronghold. A gcúirte cloch (′their stone courts′) is used in the Elegy of Donal O′Sullivan Beare (Bretnac'h 1955, 174).

The name forms given are those shown on the Ordnance Survey where this was recorded. The earliest occurrences of each name known to the author are also given.

Place-names obey no phonetic rules. This means that different interpretations of the same word are frequently possible. The place-names of tower houses can be important in identifying the kind of stronghold or settlement that was often the tower house′s predecessor. The place-name can also give clues about the role of tower houses (ie. long ′ship′) and the environment (ie. Doire ′Oak grove′). Those translations given are mostly based on determinations in O'Donoghue (1986) and Healy (1988). An attempt has been made by the author, in so far as his ignorance of Irish permitted, to introduce consistent translations of important nouns such as Dún, Rath, lios, Baile, Caistle/Caislen (RIA 1990). Names checked by Kenneth Nicholls of UCC are not given a reference. Scholarly translations of all the place-names of County Cork would be of great aid to the general researcher.

A list of fortifications, buildings and other sites mentioned in the text includes is provided, divided into several categories:

- Tower houses in Co. Cork outside the Survey region
- Other Irish tower houses and castles mentioned
- Anglo-Norman strongholds
- Plantation houses
- Ringforts

**KEY TO GAZETTEER**

The tower houses numbered 1 to 36 are those described in greater detail in Appendix II.

- P. = Civil Parish of ...
- T. = Townland of ... (only given where it differs from the stronghold′s name)
- 6° 141: = 1842 6°:1 mile Ordnance Survey sheet 141
- 25° CXVI:7 = 1901 25°:1 mile Ordnance Survey sheet 7
- NGR W = National Grid Reference
- {3016} = Archaeological Inventory entry
# ALPHABETICAL LIST OF NUMBERED TOWER HOUSES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alternative name</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<td>Timoleague</td>
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<tr>
<td>Togher</td>
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1) **Name:** Carriganass, Kilmacamoge P.  
6° 106, 25° CVI:1  
NGR W 0481 5659 [3063]  
CARRAIG AN EASA 'rock of the waterfall'  
'Carriganaas Castle' 1657 (Down Survey)  
**Condition:** One wall is gone; the rest is well-preserved.  
**Visited:** Yes  **Described:** Yes

2) **Name:** Togher Fanlobbus P.  
6° 93, 25° XCIII:15  
NGR W 1963 5717 [3095]  
AN TOCHAR 'causeway of wood over a bog'  
'Togher' 1590 (Lyons 1895, 488)  
**Condition:** Fully preserved, except parapet.  
**Visited:** Yes  **Described:** Yes

3) **Name:** Ballynacarriga, Ballymoney P.  
6° 108, 25° CVIII:15  
NGR W 2875 5080 [3058]  
BAILE NA CARRAIGE 'the townland or settlement of the rock'  
'Belanecarigehin' c.1613 (Hurley 1906, 81)  
**Condition:** Complete except for parapet.  
**Visited:** Yes  **Described:** Yes

4) **Name:** Castle Donovan, Drimoleague P.  
6° 119, 25° CXIX:9  
NGR W 1134 4955 [3068]  
'Castell O'Donyvane' 1614 (O'Donovan 1851, 2442)  
CAISLEN UI DHONNABHAIN 'O'Donovan's castle'.  
Also: 'The Castle of Suoagh, Sowagh or Suagh' (ibid, 2443) SAMACH 'swampy place'  
**Condition:** One corner has collapsed; the rest is well-preserved.  
**Visited:** Yes  **Described:** Yes
5) **Name:** Ballinvard, (also known as Rossmore) Kilmeen P.

6° 121, 25° CXXI:8

NGR W 3118 4712 {3060}

BAILE AN BHAIRD 'the townland or settlement of the bard'

*Condition:* Complete except for parts of parapet.

*Visited:* Yes  *Described:* Yes

6) **Name:** Coolnalong (Rossmore) Durrus P.

6° 130, 25° CXXX:8

NGR V 9229 4097 {3093}

ROS MOR 'large headland'

*Condition:* One half survives, less parapets and gables.

*Visited:* Yes  *Described:* Yes

7) **Name:** Dunbeacon, Schull P.

6° 130, 25° CXXX:15

NGR V 9034 3895 {3073}

DUN BEACAIN 'The chief [or dignitary] Beacan's fort'

'Downebekon' 1614 (Copinger 1884, 42)

*Condition:* Half of one wall survives to its full height.

*Visited:* Yes  *Described:* Yes

8) **Name:** Castle Salem (formerly known as Benduff) T. of Benduff, Ross P.

6° 134, 25° CXXXIV:14

NGR W 2687 3860 {3062}

BEANN DUBH 'black turret'

'Banduffe' 1642 (O Murchadha 1985, 87)

*Condition:* Truncated, three storeys survive.

*Visited:* Yes  *Described:* Yes
9) **Name:** Downeen, Ross P.
6° 143, 25° CXLIII: 7
NGR W 2898 3460 {3072}
DUININ ‘Chief’s [or dignitary’s] small fort’
‘Downings’ 1642 (Gillman 1895, 4)
‘Downen’ 1659 (Pender 1939, 219)
**Condition:** Half survives to its full height.
**Visited:** Yes  **Described:** Yes

10) **Name:** Glandore [Cloghanstradbally] T.Aghatubrid More, Kilfaughnabeg P.
6° 142, 25° CXLI:8
NGR W 2225 3540 {3055}
CLOCH AN TSRAID BAILE ‘the stone building of the street town’
**Condition:** Truncated and rebuilt as an eighteenth-century house.
**Visited:** Yes  **Described:** Yes

11) **Name:** Castle Ire, T. Listarkin, Myross P.
6° 142, 25° CXLII:11
NGR W 20 34 {3088}
CAISLEN IOMHAIR ‘Ivor’s castle’
‘Castell Ivire’ 1607 (O’Donovan 1851, 2441)
**Condition:** Mostly destroyed, but north-west corner stands to second-floor level. Base of east wall survives with returns.
**Visited:** Yes  **Described:** Yes

12) **Name:** Raheen Myross P.
6° 142, 25° CXLII:15
NGR W 1930 3201 {3091}
RATHIN NA NGARRAIDHTHE ‘little earthen-ramparted chief’s residence of the gardens’
‘castle, town and lands of Rahine’ 1615 (O’Donovan 1851, 2444)
**Condition:** One wall has gone, otherwise well-preserved but unstable.
**Visited:** Yes  **Described:** Yes
13) **Name:** Glenbarrahane T. Castlehaven, Castlehaven P.
6° 151, 25° CLI:2
NGR W 1743 3013 [3070]
GLEANN BEARCHAIN ‘St. Berchane’s glen’
**Condition:** Collapsed, but the bottom of the north and east walls survive.
**Visited:** Yes  **Described:** Yes

14) **Name:** Dunmanus T. Dunmanus West, Schull P.
6° 139, 25° CXXXIX:9
NGR V 8460 3314 [3077]
DUN MAGHNUIS ‘The chief [or dignitary] Manus’s fort’
‘Doonmanus’ 1614 (Copinger 1884, 42)
**Condition:** Complete, except for parapets and gables.
**Visited:** Yes  **Described:** Yes

15) **Name:** Kilcoe Aughadown P.
6° 150, 25° CXL:12
NGR W 0192 3282 [3084]
CILL COICHE ‘church of St. Coch’
‘Kilcoe’ c.1602 Pacata Hibernia (O’Grady 1896, 117)
**Condition:** Complete except parapet and gables.
**Visited:** Yes  **Described:** Yes

16) **Name:** Oldcourt, Creagh P.
6° 141, 25° CXLI:14
NGR W 0831 3195 [3090]
SEAN CHUIRT ‘old court’
‘Auldecourte’ 1612 (Copinger 1884, 39)
‘Shane-Court’ c.1608 (O’Donovan 1849, 99)
**Condition:** Intact except for parapets and gables, but very overgrown with ivy. Extensive but undated bawn remains.
**Visited:** Yes  **Described:** Yes
17) Name: Ardintenant, Schull P.
6°149, 25° CXLIX:1
NGR V 9495 3106 {3634}
ARD AN TSAIGHNEAIN 'height of the beacon',
ARD AN TENNAIL (i473) 'height of the beacon' (Hennessy 1871, 175)
Condition: Complete except for parapet and gables.
Visited: Yes  Described: Yes

18) Name: Rossbrin Schull P.
6°150, 25° CXL:14
NGR V 9785 3140 {3092}
ROS BROIN 'Bron's headland'
'Rosse bren' 1659 Census (Pender 1939, 227)
Condition: Very ruinous, base and one corner intact.
Visited: Yes  Described: Yes

19) Name: Rincolisky T. Whitehall, Aghadown P.
6°149, 25° CXLIX:4 {3096}
NGR W 0174 3035
RINN CUIL-UISGE 'point of the back water'
'Rinecoolecusky' 1614 (Copinger 1884, 40)
'Rinekullisky' 1659 Census (Pender 1939, 226)
Condition: Truncated, first two storeys survive.
Visited: Yes  Described: Yes

20) Name: Castleduff, Schull P.
6°149, 25° CXLIX:1
NGR V 9594 2978 {3064}
CAISLEN DUBH 'black or dark castle' (Mr Caverley, Ardintenant farm, pers.comm. 1975)
Also known as OILEAN CAISLEN 'Island of the castle'
'Castle Isle' Down Survey 1657 (O'Mahony 1909, 23)
Condition: Truncated and the east wall lost; two floors partially survive.
Visited: Yes  Described: Yes
21) Name: Dunlough, Kilmoe P.
6° 146, 25° CXLVII:12
NGR V 7297 2709 {3076}
DUN A'LOCHA 'The chief's [or dignitary's] fort of the lake'
'Duneloghy' 1659 census, (Pender 1939, 228)
Condition: Complete, except for parapets and gables.
Status: Definite Visited: Yes Described: Yes

22) Name: Leamcon, T. Castlepoint, Schull P.
6° 148, 25° CXLVIII:10
NGR V 8692 2782 {3635}
LEIM CON 'hound's leap'
'Leamecon' 1614, (Copinger 1884, 42)
Condition: Complete except for parapets and gables, but crudely converted into holiday home.
Visited: Yes Described: Yes

23) Name: Dunalong T. Farranacoush, Tullagh P.
6° 149, 25° CXLIX:16
NGR W 0274 2596 {3080}
DUN NA LONG 'Chief's [or dignitary's] fort of the ship'
'Downelong' 1608 (O'Donovan 1849, 103)
Condition: Truncated, remains survive to second-floor level.
Visited: Yes Described: Yes

24) Name: Cloghan, T. Glannafeen, Tullagh P.
6° 150, 25° CL:7
NGR W 0984 2847 {3082}
CLOCHAN 'Stone built settlement'
Also: 'Ballyilane' 1608 (O'Donovan 1849, 102) BAILE AN OILEAIN 'Stronghold of the island'
Condition: The south-west corner stands to the level of second floor.
Visited: Yes Described: Yes
25) Name: Dunanore, T. Ballyieragh North, Tullagh P.
6° OS 153, 25° CLIII:9
NGR   V 9467 2169 [3061]
DUN AN OIR 'Chief's [or dignitary's] fort of gold'
Condition: Upper part of north-east corner destroyed.
Visited: Yes Described: Yes

26) Name: Derrylemlary, T. Castlederry, Desertserges P.
6° 109, 25° CIX:14
NGR   W 3638 5075 [3067]
DOIRE LEIM LAOGHAIRE 'oak grove of Leary's jump'
Condition: Complete, but obscured by ivy.
Visited: Yes Described: Yes

27) Name: Farranamanagh, Kilcrohane P.
6° 129, 25° CXXIX:16
NGR   V 8309 3786 [3081]
FEARANN NA MANACH 'monks' lands' or 'Castle Negeahie'? (Copinger 1884, 58)
Condition: Ground floor survives.
Visited: Yes Described: Yes

28) Name: Ballinoroher, Kilnagross P.
6° 122, 25° CXXII:16
NGR   W 4253 4434 [3059]
BAILE NA URCHAR: The townland [holding] of the missiles or BAILE AN RUATHAIR: The
townland [holding] of the attack
Condition: Complete
Visited: Yes Described: Yes

29) Name: Kilgobbin, Ballinadee P.
6° 111, 25° CXI:15
NGR   W 5891 4999 [3086]
CILL GHOBAIN 'St Goban's church' (O'Donoghue 1986, i17). Kilgobane Down Survey (1657)
Condition: Complete 5-storey tower
Visited: Yes Described: Yes
30) Name: Kilcrea, Desert More P.
6° 84, 25° LXXXIV:{na}
NGR  W 5100 5800 {na}
CILL CHERE 'St. Cere's church' (O'Donoghue 1986)
Condition: Complete
Visited: Yes  Described: Yes

31) Name: Cloghda, Kilmurry P.
6° 83, 25° LXXXIII:{na}
NGR  W 4250 6550 {na}
CLOGH DHAITH: Daithi, David or Diarmuid's stone house;
CLOCH ATHA: The Stone House at the Ford (Healy 1988, 42).
Condition: Well preserved, four storeys high, restored in 1844.
Visited: Yes  Described: Yes

32) Name: Carriganacurra Inchigeelagh P.
6° 81, 25° LXXXII:{na}
NGR  W 2550 6660 {na}
CARRAIG NA CURAD 'the Rock of the Homestead';
CARRAIG NA CORADH 'the Rock of the Weir' (O'Donoghue 1986, 245);
‘Carignecoreh' 1633 Pacata Hibernia
Condition: Substantial remains, five storeys high.
Visited: Yes  Described: Yes

33) Name: O'Crowley's Castle, T. Ahakeera, Fanlobbus P.
6° 94, 25° XCIV:10
NGR  V 2750 5864 {3056}
CAISLEAN CHRUADHLAIOCH 'Crowley's castle' (Healy 1988, 280)
Condition: Fragmentary remains, one wall survives to first-floor level
Visited: Yes  Described: Yes
34) **Name:** Timoleague, T. Castle Lower, Timoleague P.
6° 123, 25° CXXII:14
NGR W 4723 4406 {3063}

**TIGH MOLAGE** 'The house or church of St Molaga'

*Condition:* Two-storey tower now remains, was four-storey with gables and chimney stacks at beginning of this century

*Visited:* Yes  *Described:* Yes

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35) **Name:** Monteen, Kilmoloda P.
6° 122, 25° CXXII:8
NGR W 4307 4699 {3089}

**MOINTIN** or **AN MOINTEAN** 'small stretch of moorland or bog' (O'Donoghue 1986, 109);

*Condition:* Small tower standing to three storeys, probably truncated 'refuge tower'

*Visited:* Yes  *Described:* Yes

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36) **Name:** Reenavanny, Kilmacamoge P.
6° 150, 25° CV:14
NGR V 9743 5083 {3636}

**RINN A'BHAINNE** 'point of the milk'

*Condition:* Collapsed, but substantial parts of ground and first floors survive

*Visited:* Yes  *Described:* Yes

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37) **Name:** Carrig Dermot Oge, Dunisky T, Killmurray P.
6° 83, 25° LXXXIII:{na}
NGR W 3700 6800 {na}

**CARRAIG DERMOT OGE** 'The stone house of young Dermot' (Healy 1988 25)

*Condition:* 'only a few scattered stones mark the site.' (ibid., 27)

*Visited:* No  *Described:* No
38) **Name:** Castlenalact, Templemartin P.

6° 96, 25° XCVI:7

NGR W 4839 6090 {3028}

CAISLEAN NA LEACHT - 'Castle of the memorial stones' (O'Donoghue 1986)

**Condition:** 'Rectangular mound of rubble' (Power 1992a); 'remains of an O'Mahony castle' (O'Donoghue 1986).

**Visited:** No  **Described:** No

39) **Name:** Clogh M'Ulick, T. Grange, Athnowen P.

6° 85, 25° LXXXV:{na}

NGR W 5625 6875 {na}

CLOGHIN M'ULICK: The little stone house of the son of Ulick (Barrett), or possibly, Son of the Coll’s (Healy 1988, 43)

**Condition:** Remains incorporated into later house, subsequently partly demolished (ibid., 45).

**Visited:** No  **Described:** No

40) **Name:** Dunmanway T. Dunmanway North, Fanlobbus P.

6° 107, 25° CVII:12

NGR W 2277 5247 {3038}

DUN MEADHON-MHAGH 'The chief’s [or dignitary’s] fort of the middle plain'

**Condition:** No visible surface trace (Power 1992a, 319).

**Visited:** No  **Described:** No

41) **Name:** Castletown, Kinneigh P.

6° 95, 25° XCV:13

NGR W 3420 5768 {3029}

Condition: 'No visible surface trace' (Power 1992a, 318).

**Visited:** No  **Described:** No

42) **Name:** Castlelands (Enniskane) Kinneigh P.

6° 109, 25° CIX:1

NGR W 345 5507 {3026}

**Condition:** Site (Healy 1988, 260).

**Visited:** No  **Described:** No

235
43) Name: Phale T. Phale Upper, Ballymoney P.
6° 108, 25° CVIII:12
NGR W 3337 5272 {3054}
FIODH-AILL: 'woody cliff'
'castle, town and lands of Fiall' 1614 (Copinger 1884, 44)
'Pheal' Down Survey map 1654, tower indicated
Condition: Site (O'Donoghue, 1986).
Visited: No  Described: No

44) Name: Castle Bernard, Ballimodan P.
6° 110, 25° CX:2
NGR W 4743 5442 {3066}
Condition: 'Poorly preserved remains of rectangular tower...incorporated into Castle Bernard House'
(Power 1992b); 'Ruins of Castle Mahon' (O'Donoghue, 1986).
Visited: No  Described: No

45) Name: Carrighnassig, T. Knockroe, Innishannon P.
6° 113, 25° CXI:{na}
NGR W 5649 5464 {3047}
CARRAIG AN EASA 'Waterfall rock' (Healy 1988, 235)
Condition: 'No visible surface trace' (Power 1992a)
Visited: No  Described: No

46) Name: Knocknagappul, Ballinadee P.
6° 111, 25° CXI:{na}
NGR W 5812 5092 {3046}
Condition: 'No visible surface trace' (Power 1992b)
Visited: No  Described: No

47) Name: Dunboy, Kilaconenagh P.
6° 128, 25° CXXVIII:1
NGR V 6680 4401 {3074}
DUN BAOI 'Baoi's fortress' (O'Donoghue 1986)
Condition: 'Only the ground floor survives' (Power 1992b)
Visited: Yes  Described: No
48) Name: Földarrig, Kilaconenagh P.
6° 115, 25° CXV:10
NGR W 6805 4617 {3041}
FAILL DEARG 'Red cliff' (O'Donoghue 1986)
Condition: 'No visible surface trace' (Power 1992b)
Visited: No Described: No

49) Name: Scart, T. Ardrah, Kilmacamoge P.
6° 118, 25° CXVIII:15
NGR W 0048 4517 {3020}
SCAIRT 'thicket or shubbery'
'Skart' Census 1659 (Pender '939, 225)
Condition: 'partially overgrown mound' (Power 1992, 317)
Visited: No Described: No

50) Name: Baurgorm, Kilmacomoge P.
6° 118, 25° CXVII:12
NGR W 0327 4690 {3023}
BARR GORM 'blue (deep green?) [hill]top'
Condition: Site (O'Donoghue 1986); 'No visible surface trace' (Power 1992a).
Visited: No Described: No

51) Name: Fahancowly T.Kilmeen, P. Kilmeen
6° 121, 25° CXXI:8
NGR W 3252 4732 {3044}
FAITHCHE AN CHABHLAIGH 'lawn in front of the old ruin'
Visited: No Described: No

52) Name: Aghamilla, Kilgarriff P.
6° 135, 25° CXXXV:2
NGR W 3601 4262 {3017}
ATH A'MHUILLINN 'the ford of the mill'
Condition: '..Small remnant of the foundation..' (O'Donovan 1849, 92). 'No visible surface trace'
(Power 1992a)
Visited: No Described: No
53) **Name:** Coyltes Castle, Kilgarriff P.  
6° 125, 25° CXXV:7  
**NGR** W c.3850 c.4150 {na}  
- **COILITE** 'woods' (O'Donoghue 1986)  
**Condition:** No trace remains (Nicholls 1993b, 179)  
**Visited:** No  **Described:** No

54) **Name:** Castle Inch, Athnowen P.  
6° 73, 25° LXXIII:{na}  
**NGR** W 5400 7175 {na}  
- **CAISLEAN NA hINSE** 'Castle of the River Inch' (O'Donoghue 1986)  
**Condition:** '..ruins...now submerged...in the River Lee' (O'Donoghue 1986).  
**Visited:** No  **Described:** No

55) **Name:** Cloghgriffin, Templequinlan P.  
6° 136, 25° CXXXVI:1  
**NGR** W 4394 4210 {3031}  
- **CLOCH CHROMHTHAIN** 'Griffin's stone house' (O'Donoghue 1986)  
**Condition:** 'mound of earth and stones... with remains of mortared stone wall' (Power 1992a)  
**Visited:** No  **Described:** No

56) **Name:** Burrane, Kilmoloda P.  
6° 123, 25° CXXIII:10  
**NGR** W 4692 4631 {3024}  
- **BORRAN** 'swelling in land, low hill'  
**Condition:** 'No visible surface trace' (Power 1992a)  
**Visited:** No  **Described:** No

57) **Name:** Kilbrittain, Kilbrittain P.  
6° 124, 25° CXXIV:1  
**NGR** W 5318 4777 {3083}  
- **CILL BREATAIN** 'Church of Britan' (O'Donoghue 1986)  
**Condition:** Some remains visible, but incorporated into later building (Power 1992a)  
**Visited:** No  **Described:** No
58) Name: Coolmain, Ringrone P.

6° 124', 25° CXXIV:[na]

NGR W 5433 4361 [3071]

CUIL MEIN 'Hill-back of the cleft or opening' (O'Donoghue 1986)

**Condition:** Original tower mentioned in the Nineteenth Century was incorporated into house which was abandoned leaving 'no visible trace of tower' (Power 1992a)

**Visited:** No  **Described:** No

59) Name: Aghadown, Aghadown P.

6° 141', 25° CXLI:9

NGR W 0468 3314 [3016]

ACHADH AN DUN 'field of the earthern ramparted fort of the chief [or dignitary]'; 'Aghadown' 1659 Census (Pender 1939, 225).

**Condition:** Demolished in 17th century to provide stone for defended house? alleged site marked on 1842 OS.

**Visited:** Yes, no remnants apparent.  **Described:** No

60) Name: Donegal T.Donegal East, Creagh P.

6° 150', 25° CL:1

NGR W 0579 3000 [3035]

DUN NA NGALL 'fort of the foreigners'

'Downegall' 1608 (O'Donovan 1849, 102)

**Condition:** Site, with visible robber trenches.

**Visited:** Yes  **Described:** No

61) Name: Lissangle or Cloghan castle Caheragh P.

6° 132', 25° CXXII:11

NGR W 1022 3988 [3633]

LIOS AINGLE 'O Haingle's curtilage'

'Cloghane' 1594 (Copinger 1884, 33)

'Cloghanmore' Down Survey map 1654 (tower depicted)

**Condition:** No visible surface trace (Power 1992, 407)

**Visited:** No  **Described:** No
62) **Name:** Gortnaclohy Creagh P.  
**NGR W 13 33 (3042)**  
GORT NA CLOCHE ‘field of the stone building’  
‘Gortnycloghy’ 1659 Census (Pender 1939, 224)  
**Condition:** Site (OS, 1842).  
**Visited:** No  
**Described:** No

63) **Name:** Lettertinlish Castlehaven P.  
**NGR W 1518 3386 (3049)**  
‘Castle of Letterinless’ Pacata Hibernia 1601 (O’Grady 1896, 210)  
LEITIR A'TSEIN LIOS ‘hillside of the old curtilage’  
**Condition:** Heavily overgrown corework of base of south wall? Possible area of bawn to south of it.  
**Visited:** Yes  
**Described:** No

64) **Name:** Castle towne or Slew-Teige  
T. Castletownshend, Castlehaven P.  
**NGR W c.1850 3150 (na)**  
‘Castle Towne’ Census 1659 (Pender 1939, 224)  
‘Slew-Teige’ Down Survey map 1654  
SLIOCHT TAIDHG ‘Teige’s sept [of O’Driscolls]’  
**Condition:** ‘O’Driscoll castle once stood here’ (Healy 1988, 176).  
**Visited:** Yes [site]  
**Described:** No

65) **Name:** Kilfinnan Kilfaughnabeg P.  
**NGR W 2293 3490 (3085)**  
‘Kilefinane’ 1614 (Copinger 1884, 40)  
CILL FIONNAIN ‘church of St. Finnan’  
**Condition:** mid-late 16th C?, truncated and masked by modern cement render  
**Visited:** Yes  
**Described:** No
66) **Name:** Dirrynivaldane or Dirrinyvanlane T. Derry?, Ross P?

6° 143, 25° CXLIII:14

NGR c.2800 3700? {N/A}

'...castle, town and lands..' (Copinger 1884, 40);

identified with the modern townland of Derry, (Kenneth Nicholls, pers.comm.);

'Derryland' 1659 Census (Pender 1939, 219).

**Condition:** provided stone for house of Townsend family?

**Visited:** No  **Described:** No

67) **Name:** Donoure, Rathbarry P.

6° 144, 25° CXLIV:9

NGR W 3366 3273 {3036}

DUN UABHAIR 'Chief's [or dignitary's] fort of pride’

**Condition:** Small fragment, mostly destroyed by cliff erosion

**Visited:** Yes  **Described:** No (rectilinear structure shown on 1902 25” OS)

68) **Name:** Dundeady, Rathbarry P.

6° 144, 25° CXLIV:9

NGR W 3392 3151 {3075}

DUN DEIDE 'Deady's fortress or fortified headland' (O'Donoghue 1986)

**Condition:** Ground floor survives, as well as curtain wall and mural tower (Power 1992a)

**Visited:** Yes  **Described:** No

69) **Name:** Dunowen, Ardfield P.

6° 144, 25° CXLIV:10

NGR W 3634 3231 {3040}

DUN EOGHAIN 'Owen's fort'

**Condition:** Tower mentioned in Nineteenth Century (Westropp 1914, 106); complex revetting walls around cliff-girt promontory, includes part of west base batter of tower house?

**Visited:** Yes  **Described:** No
70) Name: Dunncove, Ardfield P.
6° 144, 25° CXLIV:10
NGR W 3825 3437 [3078]
DUN UI CHOHBTHAIGH: 'O'Cowhig's fortress' (O'Donoghue 1986)
Condition: North-east angle of base-batter visible
Visited: Yes  Described: No

71) Name: Duneen, Ardfield P.
6° 144, 25° CXLIV:3
NGR W 3875 3651 [3037]
DUININ: 'Little fortress or fortified headland' (O'Donoghue 1986)
Condition: 'No visible surface evidence' (Power 1992a) Not shown on OS map.
Visited: No  Described: No

72) Name: Donaghmore, Lislee P.
6° 136, 25° CXXXVI:13
NGR W 4490 3824 [3034]
DOMHNACH MOR: 'Large church' (O'Donoghue 1986)
Condition: 'solitary square tower of very rude character; it has no windows, but two entrances, one
from the ground and the other at some height above it' (Lewis 1837 cited in Power 1992a). No
visible remains.
Visited: Yes  Described: No

73) Name: Lissycrimeen, Lislee P.
6° 136, 25° CXXXVI:14
NGR W 4726 3808 [3087]
LIOS UI CHRUIMIN: 'Cremen's fort' possibly connected with the MacCarthy Clann Crimeen
(O'Donoghue 1986); also known as Rock Castle or Rock Cottage
Condition: 'two-storey remains of rectangular tower' converted to farm building (Power 1992a)
Visited: Yes  Described: No
74) Name: Dunworly, Lislee P.
6° 136', 25° CXXXVI:3
NGR W 4799 3584 {3079}
DUN MHURTHUILE: 'Murthuile’s fortress’ Murthuile was a forebear of ‘Eidirscel, progenitor of the O'Driscolls.' (O'Donoghue 1986)
Condition: A rectangular tower and traces of a curtain wall (Power 1992a)
Visited: No  Described: No

75) Name: Lissagriffin Kilmoe P.
6° 147', 25° CXLVII:13
NGR V 7653 2658 {3052}
LIOS UI CHRIOMTHAIN ‘Griffin’s curtilage’
‘Lissegriffin’ 1659 census (Pender 1939, 228)
Condition: ‘Site of castle’ (OS, 1842).
Visited: No  Described: No

76) Name: Castle Mehigan, Kilmoe P.
6° 147', 25° CXLVII:15
NGR V 8002 2612 {3027}
CAISLEN UI MHAOTHAGAIN 'O’Mehigan’s castle'
‘Castlemeghegane’ 1659 Census (Pender 1939, 228)
Condition: 'square foundations...remain' (Healy 1988, 173), 'no visible surface trace' (Power 1992, 318).
Visited: No  Described: No

77) Name: Crookhaven Kilmoe P.
6° 147', 25° CXLVII:15
NGR V c.8020 2540 {3033}
AN CRUACHAN 'little round hill'
Only known from mention in 1700 (Power 1992a, 318)
Condition: Site (Ó Murchadha, 1985).
Visited: No  Described: No
78) Name: Ballydivlin or Ballydevlin, Kilmoe P.
   6° 147, 25° CXLVII:7
   NGR V 8174 2829 {3632}
   BEAL ATHA DUBH LINN 'ford of the black pool'
   'Bealedilline' 1659 census (Pender 1939, 228)
   Condition: Site (OS, 1842)
   Visited: No Described: No

79) Name: Innyspicke [two sites are equally possible] T. Spanish Island, Creagh P.?
   T. Inisbreg, Aughadown P.?
   6° 149. 25° CXLIIX,? 12?
   NGR c.W 0350 2700?; c.W 0600 3100? {N/A}
   INIS BHREAC 'spotted or striped island'?
   INIS PICH 'Pict's island'? (Nicholls, pers.comm.)
   'Inish Bregge' 1659 Census (Pender 1939, 224)
   'Castle and lands of Innyspicke' 1608 (O'Donovan 1849, 103)
   Condition: 'No trace remains' (Donoghue 1986, 19).
   Visited: No Described: No

80) Name: Ardagh or Castlenard, T. Ardagh South, Tullagh P.
   6° 150, 25° CL:6
   NGR W 0775 2793 {3019}
   ARD ACHADH 'high field'.
   CAISLEN ARD 'high castle' (Healy 1988, 175)
   'Ardagh' 1659 (Pender 1939, 225)
   Condition: Part of the corework of the base remains.
   Visited: Yes Described: No

81) Name: Ballyburden, T. Ballyburden More, Kilnaglory P.
   6° 85, 25° LXXXV,na
   NGR W 5850 6800 {na}
   BAILE AN BHURDUNAIGH 'Burdon's homestead' (O'Donoghue 1986)
   Condition: 'has quite disappeared' (Healy 1988, 18)
   Visited: No Described: No
Other sites mentioned in the text

Tower houses in Co. Cork outside the Survey region
Ballinamona, NGR R 6450 0555
Barryscourt, NGR W 8200 7750
Belvelly, NGR W 7900 7950
Blarney Castle, NGR W 6075 7525
Carriganamuck, NGR W 4800 7500
Carigaphououca, NGR W 2900 7300
Castlemartyr, NGR W 9583 7317
Conna, NGR W 9294 9360
Doonmacpatrick, Dún Cearmna, Old Head of Kinsale, NGR W 6250 4100
Dundanier, NGR W 5350 5650
Dunmahon, NGR R 7700 0500

Other Irish tower houses and castles mentioned
Ard East, Co. Galway
Askeaton, Co. Limerick
Aughnanure, Co. Galway
Ballindoney, Co. Tipperary
Ballybur, Co. Kilkenny
Ballycowan, Co. Offaly
Ballykeerogue, Co. Wexford
Ballymalis, Co. Kerry
Ballyportry, Co. Clare
Ballysonan, Co. Kildare
Bargy Castle, Co. Wexford
Bourchier's Castle, Co. Limerick
Bunratty, Co. Clare
Carrigafoyle Castle, Co. Kerry
Castle Cove, Co. Kerry
Castlepark, Co. Galway
Clara Castle, Co. Kilkenny
Glounmines, Co. Wexford
Clounmelane, Co. Kerry
Derryhiveny Castle, Co. Galway
Dunsoghly, Co. Dublin
Fiddaun, Co. Galway
Galey, Co. Roscommon
Garraunboy, Co. Limerick
Knockgraffon, Co. Tipperary
Knockelly Castle, Co. Tipperary
Lemaneagh, Co. Clare
Loughmoe, Co. Tipperary
Ross Castle, Killarney, Co. Kerry
Srah, Co. Offaly

**Anglo-Norman strongholds**
Ardea, Co. Kerry
Athenry, Co. Galway
Ballincollig, NGR W 5875 6975
Ballyderown, Co. Cork, NGR R 8470 0070
Buttevant [or Castle Barry], Co. Cork, NGR R 5400 0800
Carrigrohane, Co. Cork, NGR W 6150 7169
Carlow, Co. Carlow
Castlemore, Co. Cork, NGR W 7200 7450
Glanworth, Co. Cork, NGR R 7600 0400
Greencastle, Co. Down
Grenan, Co. Kilkenny
Mullinahone, Co. Tipperary
Moylough, Co. Galway
Templars' Castle, Thurles, Co. Tipperary
Templemore, Co. Tipperary

**Plantation Houses**
Baltimore, Co. Cork, NGR W 0468 2649
Coolnalong Castle, Co. Cork, NGR V 9290 4212
Coppingers Court, Co. Cork, NGR W 2605 3590
Reenadisert Court, Co. Cork, NGR W 0012 5307
Garanecort, Co. Cork, NGR W c.3200 3800

**Ringforts**
Knockeens, Co. Cork, NGR V 8475 3356
Ballyyourane, Co. Cork, NGR W 0776 4166
CARRIGANASS CASTLE
Townland of Carriganass, Kilmacamoge Parish

6° 10' 16", 25° 34' CV1:1
NGR W 0481 5659
SMR (3063)

The site: Carriganass is surrounded on three sides by mountains which isolate this part of the Survey region from the gentler terrain to the south (Fig.c). The remains of the tower house overlook a stone bridge that spans the gorge of the Owvane River. The south side of the tower directly overhangs the north side of the torrent which has cut a gorge through the hard rock. The topography has probably changed very little since the Sixteenth Century because the north wall of the bawn follows the edge of the ravine.

The ravine formed a natural southern defence to the O’Sullivan nation. The stronghold also guarded the route to the pass of Keimaneigh. This allows passage through the Shehy Mountains to the north and was the gateway to northern Cork and the rest of Ireland.

The castle is bisected at 45° (Fig.1,i) and the eastern half has fallen and been removed for its stone. It is unprotected and unconserved and continues to be prey to stone-robbers. Part of one ground-floor embrasure in the east wall was removed between the author’s first visit in 1989 and second in 1992. One wall fell long ago. The upper parts of the building are inaccessible, what remains is heavily encumbered with ivy. The exact form of the north wall, in particular, is impossible to see. All trace of the east wall has vanished. Only the west wall is complete. The original dimensions of the plan and much else is therefore uncertain. Almost all the openings were robbed of their dressings before the fall of the east wall and vaults. Despite difficulties, the essential layout can be understood by reference to similar tower houses that survive.

The Archaeological Inventory gives the only published description of this structure (Power 1993a, 323) It is an essentially accurate but brief report.
The name: The name of this stronghold is Carraig an Easa ('rock of the waterfall') (O'Donoghue 1986, 298).

The history: Carriganass was apparently built by Dermot O'Sullivan (Ó Murchadha 1985, 303-4) for the potent O'Sullivan Beare clan. This chieftain was 'a man of great renown'. Carriganass was subsequently the home of Owen O'Sullivan, Dermot's son, in the last years of the Sixteenth Century (ibid., 194). He is described as 'of Carriganass' in 1604, but seems to have subsequently taken up residence at Berehaven (ibid., 304-309 passim).

Numerous pardons dating from the period immediately before the battle of Kinsale confirm that the Carriganass area was also inhabited by Harringtons (O Hiongardail) as well as O'Regans (ibid., 194, 267) who were followers of O'Sullivan.

The tower house was still inhabited as late as 1632, when O'Sullivan More's 'strong and defensible castle' was mentioned (in the context of defences against piracy) in a letter by the Lord President St. Leger in a letter to the Lord Justices (Smith 1893 edn., 253). The tower house is depicted intact on the Down Survey with a large attached wing to the east. It is not known when it fell into ruin but this cannot have been long after.

The description of the tower house

The masonry: Old Red sandstone was quarried for the main fabric, and an unidentified freestone used for dressings. The exterior was highly finished with large carefully-cut blocks forming a 'random ashlar'; the finish of the internal wall faces is significantly rougher. The internal finish of the masonry seems to improve with height, and is notably fine in the facing of the third floor.

The mortar is brown, earthy and not very hard, although its quality varies. There are no putlog holes and no internal rendering is apparent.

The setting-out: The exterior of the tower house seems to have been carefully set out. The blocked northern loop may be central to the ground-floor chamber. If correct, the restored length of the chamber would respect a 2:3 ratio.

The pronounced base-batter terminates probably at first-floor level, but the upper part of the tower is also battered, if less sharply. The outer faces of the tower are apparently battered without observable changes in pitch from the foundation to the battlements. It seems that the pitch of the base, slight
though it is, gradually reduces with height.

The window embrasures in the west wall are large and uniform in size, despite the apparent variation in size of the openings. They share a common vertical and central alignment in the wall. No evidence of fireplaces is apparent. Its original plan area is uncertain, but comparison with the similar Kilrea [30] suggests a 3:4 ratio was used.

The ground floor: The original level of the ground is not certain, but it does not seem to be deeply buried. The internal wall faces have suffered robbing, particularly of the quoins and scoinsons of the openings (Fig.1.1,b).

Two asymmetrical embrasures (one partially destroyed in 1989-91) stood the height of the chamber. These openings had asymmetrical plans; the west opening was apparently flush with the wall face but the southern opening was deeply sunk, and it is probable that the lost external dressings were heavily chamfered to create an 'hour-glass' plan (Fig.1.1). These embrasures were for a bowloop and the kinks in the right-hand of the embrasures were probably to allow space for (right-handed) archers to draw their bows. Analogy with Kilrea suggests the offset southern opening was balanced by another in the east part of the wall.

The south opening was narrower than the other two and did not apparently serve a defensive role. It was later blocked. The form of the opening may indicate that the north side of the tower house was enclosed while the other sides were exposed to view when the tower house was first built.

For unknown reasons the west wall is thicker on the north side of the embrasure than to the south. To accommodate this inequality at first-floor level, the south wall is jettied inwards at c.3m height above the present ground surface. This makes the internal wall face continuous at second-floor level.

The change of wall thickness at the east end of the north wall may mark the position of the entrance passage. Direct evidence for the entrances is missing but analogy with Kilrea shows the possible arrangement (Fig.1.1). This suggests that the chamber was entered through a dog-leg passage in the north wall, while a stair ascended to a spiral stair in the south-east angle.

The ceiling of the chamber was approximately three metres above the ground. The timber floor seems to have been supported by wall plates resting on a sparse supply of corbels. The ends of the joists were also embedded in the north and south walls for additional strength. All stairs must have been in the vanished east wall.
The first floor: This chamber has similar surviving dimensions to the ground-floor chamber. It was probably entered from an intramural passage in the lost east wall (Fig.1,ii) and was covered by a shallow barrel vault. The vault was penetrated by a window in the south springing.

The west embrasure contained a loop which was blocked and whose dressings were removed during the later history of the tower house. This perhaps occurred at the same time as the blocking of the ground-floor north loop. The blockings were presumably security measures.

A door at the surviving east end of the north wall leads into an intramural passage that apparently runs the length of the north wall. It has not been examined but probably leads into the north-west intramural chamber. A small square press is set into the west corner.

The chamber was poorly lit and was unlikely to have served any domestic role, being primarily a storeroom. It was therefore below, rather than above the fireproof barrel vault. The 'press' in the north-west corner was probably a recess for a lamp. The past existence of fireplaces in the south wall cannot be ruled out.

The first-floor west intramural chambers: The west embrasure leads to intramural chambers in the western angles. The intramural passages are lintelled over with flat slabs in the vicinity of the embrasure. They lead to small chambers within the western angles covered by low wicker-turned vaults. Only the southern of these two chambers was entered by the author. The north chamber probably has two low loops with rounded heads, while the southern has only one loop. These are gunloops for short hand-guns, and the low splayed embrasures are therefore very different to the large asymmetrical embrasures of the ground floor. These hand-gun chambers are paralleled at Kilcrea, where they are second-floor features.

Analogy with Ballynacarriga, Carriganacurra and other Cork tower houses suggests that a defensive passage overlooked the main entrance. The character of the first floor was therefore primarily defensive.

The second floor: The west wall, much of the north wall and a little of the south wall survives (Fig. 1,iii). The north wall is obscured by vegetation at the eastern break and further invisible details may well survive in that area. There is some evidence for a reduction of wall thickness at the eastern break (Fig.1,iii).

Two tall embrasures robbed of their dressings subdivide the west and north walls; the reveal of another survives in the southern wall. At the top of the west window, part of a finely cut square
chamfered window head and jamb survives, with the label stop of a hood.

Two rough floor corbels project from the north wall. Their upper surfaces are level with the west window's rerearch.

The second floor has two presses in the north and south walls, against the west corners. (Pl.1,i). These surviving features identify this chamber as the principal chamber.

The number and size of its windows were required to provide necessary light and air to the most intensively employed chamber in the tower house. The square-headed windows were probably three lights wide with transoms. They were likely to have been glazed although a more detailed inspection of the surviving fragment would be necessary to confirm this. The chamber had another three-light window in the centre of the partially destroyed south wall of which the west reveal and casement splay survive. It was therefore symmetrical. The presses may have stored plate for a north-south table at the west end of the chamber.

The haunches of the vaulted floor were probably infilled with gravel or earth to create a floor surface level with the bases of the embrasures. The semi-elliptical barrel vault must have been strikingly shallow in relation to its width. It is possible that the apparent narrowing of the north wall (Fig.1,iii) marks the site of a wall fireplace. A central hearth was ruled out by the presence of a floor over. The principal chamber probably extended the full length of the floor. The unusual uniformity of chamber required that fenestration was the only distinction between chambers. The large embrasures effectively increased the volume of the principal chamber by other means.

If a rendering was present, it must have been an insubstantial plaster coating that has long since washed away. The chamber had a timber ceiling formed by the third floor. The wall plates rested on corbels projecting from the north and south walls. The joists would have therefore spanned the short axis of the chamber. Defensive features were apparently absent at this level.

The third floor: Its internal wall faces are continuous with the second-floor chamber for only a short height. Like the first-floor chamber, the north and south facings give way to the springing of a fallen segmental barrel vault.

The windowless north wall is obscured and may contain an unobserved intramural passage or chamber, but the broken south wall terminates with a carefully built reveal that formed part of the vault. An inaccessible intramural chamber can be observed to the west of this reveal (Pl.1,i) which extends an unknown distance into the south-west angle (Fig.1.iv).
A window embrasure divides the west wall. It is slightly narrower than the second-floor embrasure below it but is otherwise similar. A finely dressed and near-intact light runs the height of the embrasure. The exterior of the moulding is chamfered and the elegantly pointed ogival head (now on the verge of falling) is dressed from a single block; the spandrel fields are plain rather than sunken.

The chamber was the same size as the principal chamber below but was covered by a second semi-elliptical barrel vault limiting head room to the north and south. The timber floor was level with the embrasure of the west window. The skewbacks of the vault formed the north and south sides of the chamber. The very rough underside of the vault was probably thickly plastered or wainscotted. The purpose of this vault was to protect the interior of the tower house if the roof was set on fire, it is only paralleled at Monteen [15]; the positioning of such a high level vault would tend to weaken a tower house.

The position of this chamber indicates that it was probably the 'solar' of the tower house, provided to act as the private apartment of the O'Sullivan chieftain. The minimal window provision for the Solar can be paralleled at other tower houses such as Oldcourt [16]. The door through the south haunch of the vault may have been illuminated by another opening. The chamber was presumably entered from the east wall, perhaps from the vanished putative spiral stair in the south-east angle.

The battlement level: As at Raheen [12], the lack of access has protected the parapet from utter destruction, although the only part free of vegetation is on the west side. Little can be said about the internal face of the parapet and wallwalk, but the presence of gutter holes with separate projecting slabs beneath them is typical of the Survey region, as is the continuity of the parapet face with the wall face below (Fig. 1.v). The parapet very probably consists of sloping slabs of slate overlain by saddle stones; these would subdivide the wallwalk into a series of water channels emptying through holes in the base of the parapet above the visible projecting slabs. The parapet does not seem to stand much above waist-height relative to the wallwalk; its upper edge is ragged but approximately level, and it is probable that the merlons were overthrown prior to the collapse of the spiral stair, a level coping may however be indicated.

Comparative evidence from Raheen, Ballymacariga [3] etc. indicates that at Carriganass, a western gable, now fallen, stood at battlement level. No direct trace is visible from below, but the probable position is shown in Figure 1,v (N.D.O.). The putative fourth floor was therefore no more than an attic chamber, presumably entered from the east. An east gable supported the other end of a pitched timber roof.

Two well-preserved machicolations on the north-west and south-west corners are supported on blunt wedge-shaped corbels. The machicolations are rectilinear but the meeting of the two sides is
'chamfered' so that it rests on the angles of the tower below (Fig.1,v).

The 'chamfered' corners of the machicolations reduced the size and usefulness of the openings below, but gave defenders a diagonal line of fire 45 degrees between the main runs of the parapet. In all probability, the north-eastern corners were similarly embellished to balance the skyline of this once-magnificent tower house. The wallwalk was evidently at a uniform level on the west, south and north sides, but the possibility it was raised one storey on the east side, as at Ballynacarriga, cannot be ruled out. The putative presence of a south-east spiral stair implies that, at the minimum, there was a turret at the south-east corner.

The sconce: Carriganass boasts the most well-preserved and coherent set of external defences in the Survey region (Fig.1,i,a). The brief description here can only give a general idea of this remarkable fort or sconce. The bases of the walls and the interiors are visible, but the wall tops are densely overgrown.

The plan of the enclosure is nearly a double square with internal dimensions of 48m x 26m (Power 1993a, 323). It follows the same alignment as the tower house. There is a polygonal bastion at each corner. The thinly-built wall stands approximately 4m high with slightly higher bastions at each corner. The wall seems to survive to its full height except where part of the southern stretch has fallen into the ravine. Random rubble construction was used throughout. The south wall and the east part of the north wall show extensive rebuilding and the entrance is apparently modern.

Rows of closely-spaced openings perforate the north and west walls and the bastions at breast-height. Their oblong and lintelled splays are wide rather than high. The exterior of each opening was made with edge-set slabs pierced by a small round hole. The Down Survey map shows that the eastern part of the enclosure was occupied wholly or in part by a domestic range. The term 'bawn' (ibid.) is a misnomer in this context because there was little open space in the fort.

The polygonal bastions were entered through doorways set in the angled corners of the enclosure. Horizontal rows of oblong sockets for floors can be seen in the interior of the bastions c.2m above the present ground level; the south-east turret also has a fireplace in the west wall. The interior of the upper part of the south-west turret (above the rows of sockets) is covered with a 'chequer' pattern of sockets forming a dovecote. The north-east turret is obscured by recent conversion into an outhouse of the nearby farm.

The sconce apparently is later than the tower house (ibid.) and there is no surviving evidence of any defences contemporary with the tower itself but the position of the tower's defences indicate nothing lay to the west of it. If these existed, they were swept away when the sconce was built. No historical
evidence for the date of this structure is apparent. Circumstantial evidence suggests that the sconce was built during the Nine Years War, probably before the Munster rising of 1598. The use of timber door frames in the bastions supports this late date or a seventeenth-century date.

The weakness of tower houses against cannon rapidly made Carriganass obsolete. It was probably the younger Owen O'Sullivan More who added the surrounding defences. The lozenge-shaped bastions can be compared to gun-based fortifications employed by the English settlers, such as the fort probably built by one Mr Salmon at Castletownshend prior to 1632 (Smith 1750, 253). This form of bastion is descended from the 'Italian' style of bastion that spread rapidly across Europe after 1540 (Morley 1976, 36). Guns sited in the flank of one bastion could give complete coverage across the long faces of its neighbours. The builders of the Carriganass sconce do not seem to have appreciated the theoretical thinking behind the design and the flanking faces are not utilised in several cases; the distribution of gunloops being very uneven due to the presence of the east domestic range. The bastions were of little strength against cannon as they were not filled with earth.

The opportunity was taken to use the hollow bastions as stores, dovecotes and dwellings and they were provided with first floors to house the large ward of gunners necessary for the sconce's defence.
Figure 1.1
Ground floor
Figure 1.ii
First floor (S)
Figure 1.iii
Second floor (S)
Figure 1.1v
Third floor (S)
Figure 1.5
Wallwalk (S)
Plate 1,i
Carriganass: the interior seen from the east
The site: North of Dunmanway, the landscape opens up into a wide, shallow vale with hills forming the horizon. The large fields are generally given over to pasture, creating a park-like landscape. Through the centre of this landscape flows the wide Bandon river. A rounded ridge of rock runs intermittently along the lowest part of the valley. Togher Castle is founded on this ridge and dominates the view from far around.

The great tower house is well-preserved, largely due to the efforts of an antiquary in the late Nineteenth Century, who re-roofed it with corrugated iron.

It is possible that the river, now about 100 metres away, once ran close to the tower along the side of the ridge, which formed an excellent natural causeway, giving the tower house its name. The ridge is perhaps a band of hard rock, tipped close to the vertical, and left standing proud after the removal of softer rocks by glacial action. Its 'streamlined' shape is caused by direct contact with a moving ice sheet. Deep alluvium has filled in the hollows around the ridge since the end of the last glaciation.

The structure was described comprehensively and its history reconstructed in a paper published in 1895 (Lyons & Gillman). The present description is based on a 1989 survey. The Victorian researchers seem to have used the occasion of re-roofing as an opportunity to study parts of the interior now inaccessible. These measurements and the two published and somewhat inaccurate plans have been used in preparing the series of plans, but the first floor was directly measured by the author. A photographic survey was also used to help prepare the plans. Of particular interest are the traditional names of some chambers. Local folklore seems to have remembered the use of the interior, probably because it had not long been abandoned in the 1890s.

The name: TOCHAR 'footpath consisting of a line of hurdles laid over a marsh' (Lyons & Gillman 1895, 491).

The history: The stronghold seems to have been an entirely new foundation although there is an unfounded tradition that it incorporates the foundations of an earlier structure (O'Donoghue 1986, 72).
Recent examination showed no trace of this; it is without doubt a single homogenous build.

The MacCarthy Glenacroim sept that built Togher held a wide region whose geographical centres were Togher and a demolished stronghold at Dunmanway. The northern part of their territory corresponds closely to the watershed of the Bandon's source (Gleann an Chroim). Togher commanded a view of this whole area.

The building was built not long before the collapse of the clan system. The sequence of events whereby the clan disintegrated follows the usual pattern. In the best traditions of tanistry, the eventual builder of the tower house, Tadhg an Fhorsa ('of the force'), gained control of the clan after his brother slew the 'official' tanist. Although his brother had to die for this murder, custom dictated that the succession now passed to his next of kin by right (Lyons & Gillman 1895, 487). His accession occurred just before the Earl of Desmond's uprising, in which he took part, but was pardoned. Tadhg an Fhorsa was nearly attainted, and the pardon makes ominously ambiguous reference to his lands and goods. Meanwhile, the son of the slain 'official' tanist was petitioning the Queen to restore him to the chieftainship (MacCarthy 1922, 133). To strengthen his position Tadhg an Fhorsa opted for 'surrender and regrant' and the Queen transferred the entire clan pobal into the private ownership of Tadhg and his heirs. Lyons & Gillman pointed out that the fiant makes no mention of a castle at Togher, although the townland is listed in the grant. It is probable that Tadhg constructed the tower house to consolidate his hold on the clan. It must therefore have been commenced soon after 18th July 1590 (the date of the grant) (Lyons & Gillman 1895, 488). Such a large tower house may have taken five to ten years to build. It was certainly complete by 1602, when it was apparently occupied by the English (see below).

Tadhg's role as landlord was apparently accepted by the remainder of the clan. He was in rebellion during the Nine Years War, but did little and in 1599, Tadhg, his wife and adult son were among those pardoned so long as he submitted and gave security (Lyons & Gillman 1895, 489). Numbers of his followers in Dunmanway and Togher were pardoned, suggesting that the tower house was the nucleus of a settlement. After the defeat of the Spanish in 1602, the Lord President instructed the Earl of Thomond to take the castles of 'Ranal Duffe' and 'Teg Onorsie' (probably Ballynacarriga and Togher) as wards 'but do not let your intent bee discovered untill you be possesed of them' (O'Grady 1896, 283). This is the only certain evidence that the tower house was complete by that date.

The duration of the English occupation of Togher was probably brief. By June 1615 Tadhg seems to have been back in the tower house with his family. He took the precaution of again going through the process of surrender and regrant and lived until about 3rd July 1618. His will split the property between his two sons, the younger gaining Togher and the elder, Tadhg an Dína (of the fortress), the chieftainship; he probably occupied the Dunmanway castle. MacCarthy (1922, 133) believed that Tadhg an Dína directly occupied Togher Castle.
When the next Irish rebellion reached Munster early in 1642 Tadhg an Dúna was the second in command of the county's 'rising out'. The sept was dispossessed in the aftermath. Tadhg an Dúna's son succeeded in regaining some of the sept lands from Charles II, but the tower house and its surrounding estate of 1,419 acres (574 hectares) was granted to the Hoare brothers.

The lands regranted to Tadhg an Dúna II were again confiscated in 1691, while his son fell at the battle of Landen 1693. A contemporary poet described the condition he was left in.

Ni Tadhg an Dúna t-ainm
Acht Tadhg gan dún gan daingean;
Tadhg gan bó gan capall
I mbotháinín lseal deantaigh
Tadhg gan bean, gan leabh.

Not Tadhg of the Dún thy name,
But Tadhg without dún, without daingean,
Tadhg without cow, without house,
in a low smoky little cabin,
Tadhg without wife, without child
(MacCarthy 1922, 137)

Charles Smith remarks that '... more easterly is Togher Castle; it belonged to the MacCarthy of Glawnacrime, which is still a wild desolate tract, except a little tolerable land near the castle, where the soil is brown and deep and produces corn and fruit (1774, 278).

It seems that the Hoare family may have occupied the tower house for many years. The survival of much internal plasterwork and some apparently original timber fireplace lintels suggests that this tower house may have been one of the last in the Survey region to be abandoned, perhaps remaining in occupation into the Nineteenth Century.

The description of the tower house

The masonry: The stone is presumably quarried nearby, the technique of stonelaying is fairly homogeneous, being rough and functional, rather than skilful. The interior was rougher than the exterior. The mortar is durable though not outstandingly hard. The walls were originally pointed smooth with mortar, at a later (eighteenth-century) date they were slate hung. The interior was extensively rendered and rough stone-laying acted as a key for plaster. The windows are finely dressed with hard Cork limestone.
The setting-out: The plan is regular, the east and west (short) sides are apparently the same, but the north wall is c.10cm shorter than the south wall. The proportions of the plan are very close to a ratio of 3:5. The dimensions of the ground-floor chamber seem to correspond to the square root of two (1:1.414). Unusually, the base-batter extends to second-floor level.

The entrance and lobby: The interior of the tower house is divided into two unequal cells by a partition wall running the full height of the tower, so each floor is divided into two sets of chambers.

The entrance is a large featureless opening with an arched head. It has been rebuilt in the Nineteenth Century. Its sides are continuous with the walls of the lobby behind it. The door is greatly widened from its original form; it probably resembled the surviving doorway at Ballinoroher [28].

Both doorway and lobby are coated with smooth modern plaster, obscuring any features or different builds that may exist behind it. Immediately to the right of the entrance is a coat of arms on the wall, modelled in stucco or a similar material; it has undergone some recent damage but reads Mac Cartaig an onra with below the motto, or warcry, lam laidir a buad ‘Victory to the strong hand’ (O’Donovan 1986, 6). In the centre is their coat of arms and over it an ‘IHS’. The plastering of the lobby behind and the coat of arms were almost certainly placed there in the 1890s.

The two openings in the southern and eastern walls to either side of the south-eastern angle of the tower were very probably finished as musket loops. The blocking within the eastern loop probably dates from after the 1650s, presumably after the tower house ceased to serve any military purpose. In 1895, the loops were ‘ornamented’, but they have now lost their dressings.

The large doorway into the ground-floor chamber is also altered. In its final form, it held a timber architrave and door which would have swung into the ground-floor chamber against one of the splays. Both doors were probably originally massively dressed in stone.

The first-floor chamber above is considerably larger. The joists of the first floor rested on northern and southern offsets.

The ground-floor major chamber: The chamber is very large (8.45 x 6.05m) and has an earthen floor; no form of paving is now visible. The internal face of the chamber is covered with thick hard render, still largely intact. Unlike the entrance passage plaster, this pre-dates the decay of the floors.

Openings remain in the centres of three walls (Pl.2,i). The northern and southern openings are enlarged into windows. The west opening has been enlarged into a door, but external relieving arches
reveal they are based on original loops.

In the north-eastern corner of the chamber is a lamp press. The upper edge (or ceiling level) of the chamber is marked by the margin of the render.

This room was never intended to serve a domestic role. It probably acted as a storeroom for food and fuel throughout the building's life. Legend (MacCarthy 1922, 134) suggests it may have been built to act as a wine cellar.

The hard mortar render may be an Eighteenth Century solution to rising damp, contemporary with the slate cladding on the outside of the building.

The spiral stair: A door leads directly onto a very wide stone spiral stair (Fig. 2, i). Unusually, this has a massive central newel built up from small stones and then roughly rendered over with mortar. The steps are built up from small stones and capped by treads of grey slate. The stair well is covered by a rough spatter of mortar which would have provided a keying for a thick coat of plaster.

The stair runs anti-clockwise without interruption to the level of the wallwalk. There are sixty-four steps (Lyons & Gillman 1895, 483). Illumination is provided by alternating loops to either side of the north-eastern angle. These are fairly uniform, with sharply splayed embrasures and slab lintels. Now robbed they probably held single freestone lights. These windows were probably glazed and shuttered in the same manner as their large counterparts, the stair well was therefore relatively well-lit compared with other tower houses. The spiral stair reaches all the major chambers through doors in its west side which vary in size and detail.

To the left of the first steps is a narrow doorway to a 'hideous black hole' embedded in the masonry with no lighting other than the doorway. Its name was remembered in 1895 as the chambrin a chodaigh ('The tyrant's little chamber') (Lyons & Gillman 1895, 483). The true role of the chamber was probably to secretly house defenders who could take from behind any attacker who had ascended the stair.

The first-floor major chamber: This is entered by a short lintelled passage off the stair (Fig. 2, ii). The entrance is embellished with an arch built up with plaster concealing the right angle between the lintel and reveal; this is an original feature, preserved by its sheltered position. The sheltered interior of the passage also preserves a smooth coat of plaster over the render and false arch. It is probable that all parts of the interior, now bare, were thickly rendered and smoothly plastered.
The door from the spiral stair may have had a freestone northern jamb but this has been removed. The door fitted into the recessed wall of the passage when open. A vertical gap in the plaster marks the position of a secondary timber framed door at the point where the passage meets the chamber.

The window embrasures of the first floor can accommodate a standing man. The two southern embrasures are robbed of their dressings but are apparently original.

The northern openings may have been eighteenth- or nineteenth-century insertions. They contain the decaying remnants of timber sash windows which probably date from the nineteenth-century consolidation. The windows lack the raised sill.

The chamber's windows were rather smaller than those higher up, probably as a defensive measure; it was however well lit. The openings suggest that the south windows were a single light wide.

The projections of the fireplace-surround support a smoothly rendered-over timber lintel above which the wall face oversails the wall of the first-floor chamber. The small opening in the side of the fireplace is probably a bread oven, identifying this chamber as a kitchen. Immediately below the opening is a small block of masonry forming a 'shelf' for resting loaves on.

Impressions of thin timbers in the render on the south wall from battening to which panelling was attached. The date of this feature is unknown. Comparative evidence suggests that the chamber formed a wardroom as well as a kitchen, in effect being a 'low-status hall'.

The first-floor minor chamber: Directly south of the fireplace is the passage and door to a small oblong chamber covered by a shallow roughly constructed barrel vault. The position of the door architrave is marked by the impressions of vertical timbers at either side of the sharply splayed passage. The vault acted as a firebreak but the chamber's proximity to the kitchen suggests it may have been a larder or buttery.

There are two windows: the eastern has a cuboid embrasure with splayed sides, it was evidently a finely dressed square opening, two lights wide and covered by a hood moulding. The dressings have been removed. The other window in the south wall, now blocked, was a musket loop, probably blocked in the Eighteenth Century.

The second-floor major chamber: This is entered through a passage and door from the western side of the spiral stair (Fig. 2,iii). Offsets in the north and south walls separate it from the chamber below. The joists would have run north-south. Unlike the chamber below, the walls are bare of render. The
render on the chamber below was applied after the floor's construction, and its margin shows the position of the floor.

Four windows light the chamber, the western pair being much larger than the pair to the east. The large oblong embrasures of the pair of west windows stand the full height of the chamber. Although window seats do not survive, the ledges at the sides of the western embrasures would have supported timber box seats. The windows on this floor seem to have been enlarged, probably in the Eighteenth Century. The dressings were removed and replaced with timber-framed windows. Despite this, there is good reason to suppose the west windows were very large in their original form.

The originally timber-lintelled embrasures of the west windows are covered with flat relieving 'arches'. The timber lintels apparently rotted in situ.

Some plasterwork survives in the vicinity of the fireplace. There is a shallow arched chimney breast. A spine wall, apparently of separate build, bisects the fireplace and gives additional support for the arch. This dividing wall probably marks the position of an inserted partition of timber in the chamber. The dividing wall created a fireplace for each chamber.

The great fireplace and lavish windows suggest that the chamber was the principal chamber. This is quite in keeping with the apparent role of this floor in other unvaulted GE tower houses.

At the south eastern corner of the chamber, a narrow entrance passes through the eastern wall into the minor chamber.

The second-floor minor chamber: In 1895, this chamber still bore the name *chambrin na banaltran* ('the little chamber of the nurse': Lyons & Gillman 1895, 483), and it may have been a nursery. This is a slightly counter-intuitive role for a chamber so near to the principal chamber.

Its floor is of stone, formed by the barrel vault below. The rotted timber floor of the chamber above would have formed the ceiling. The chamber has a single two-light window and a fireplace (Fig. 2,iii). The walls of the chamber retain much of their render.

One light of the window is blocked, but the window head and hood survive. The Cork limestone used for the window mouldings is very fresh and highly finished. A 'claw-tool' was used for the dressing of the window elements. The window has a crisply cut square hood of triangular section, with kinked label stops. The moulding is sharply chamfered inside and out, with an external glazing rebate, immediately behind this, at the centre of each light are square sockets for astragals. These are 'rotated' 45 degrees, as is usual, the angle being the only point of contact with the glass rebate. At the
centre is the stooling for the lost central mullion. Set into the upper stooling below the head is a very precisely cut square mortice. Standard sized windows were used throughout the tower house, varying only in the multiples of lights.

The fireplace retains its original timber lintel and has a relieving arch. This is the only original timber surviving in a tower house in the Survey region. The use of oak is implicit.

The third-floor major chamber: The chamber is the same size as the chamber below, because the floor was not constructed on an offset. Rows of large oblong sockets in the north and south walls denote the floor level. Fourteen heavy joists ran north-south to support the floor. These joist sockets show that the timber floors ran into the embrasures.

The four uniform-sized windows of the chamber were provided with shutters hanging on iron pintles, these were secured by drawbeams, unlike the modified windows below which probably had transoms, these intact windows are only one light high.

The chamber's small and oddly-positioned fireplace's flue runs to the south of the concentration of flues within this wall. It projects from the wall. Its opening is dressed with soft freestone. The southern end of a finely carved mantelpiece survives with a curved hood-mould; the surviving south end is embellished with a label stop. When complete, this probably resembled the published fireplace at Castlepark (Leask 1951, 95). A projecting hearth oversailed the vanished timber floor.

The wall has no render or surviving plasterwork; negative evidence that the chamber was panelled. The intermediate scale of the fireplace and windows suggest that this chamber was a less public area than the room below, perhaps the apartment of the chieftain; a place of private entertainment and administration.

The third-floor minor chamber: This small chamber is only accessible from the stair. The decaying remains of a timber stair inserted here in the 1890s can still be seen. The chamber is plastered and has two windows. The central mullions of the windows are knocked out but the windows are otherwise well-preserved and indistinguishable from those of the larger chamber. The attic chamber over is smaller than this one. A sharp horizontal jetty is supported by a tall straight sided corbel. This feature is also present at Ballinoroher.

Although the chamber was unheated, it was well lit. It is possible that it was intended to house some household activity such as weaving.
The fourth-floor major loft chamber: Rows of oblong joist sockets in the north and south walls mark the level of this floor. It was entered in the normal fashion from the spiral stair, but the passage to the chamber is open to the sky (Fig. 2,v). The east and west sides of the chamber are formed by the western gable and the eastern side of a great oblong chimney stack. The north and southern sides of the chamber are very low, rising only c.1.27m from the tops of the sockets (Lyons & Gillman 1895, 484). The incongruous and very substantial corrugated iron roof that Lyons had built over the interior does not follow the lines of the original roof. There are no features in this chamber, and the walls are unrendered.

The absence of a fireplace indicates that the room was normally uninhabited. Although there are no windows, it is possible that there were dormer windows in the roof. The substantial floor was built in the same manner as the third floor and it is likely, as Lyons & Gillman suggested, that this loft chamber was used as a storeroom. The floor also eased repairs to the roof.

The fourth-floor minor loft chamber: A narrow door and passage to the south of the chimney stack gave access to this small, featureless chamber. Its eastern side is formed by the eastern gable of the main roof. The reduction of the chamber size allowed the gable to be of the correct thickness.

This can also be regarded as dead space, whose existence derives from the design of the tower house; nonetheless, it could be reached if necessary through the cramped passage directly below the slope of the south roof.

The gable and chimney stacks: These are intact; only the central stack (an upwards continuation of the dividing wall) contains any live flues, the chimneys on the east and west gables are entirely decorative. The main stack is offset to the south of the roof-ridge. The lower part of the stack is skirted by a weather-coping, formed by overlapping slates. Though built to imitate the appearance of a multitude of diagonally set stacks, it is actually a single mass of masonry. Each stack is capped with slabs roughly trimmed to form pyramids.

The weather coping and gables below the chimneys clearly show the steep roof pitch, but little evidence for its constructional details. The couple-close technique of braced rafters may have been employed. Purlins would have rested in the peculiar 'zig-zags' of the stepped inner margin of the gable. The use of overlapping slates to form the weather copings implies that the roof was slated. The roof line was presumably broken by a small turret with a door in its eastern side onto the wallwalk. This may have been roofed by a domed vault supported on the robust newel, the turret must have nearly blocked the north wall-walk (Fig. 2,v).
The eastern and western dummy chimneys are of similar design to the main stack but somewhat higher. The smooth coating on part of the main stack is Victorian. The western gable was partially rendered over in the 1890s.

The dummy chimneys on the gables are skirted by prominent weather copings. The edges of the gables are rough but were probably originally dressed with freestone.

The wallwalk, parapet and machicolations: The spiral stair halts at the level of the wallwalk (Fig.2,y). The walls of the stair well are truncated at this level. The wallwalk is level and continuous. It follows the typical pattern: large saddle stones with gaps between them form channels which pierce the foot of the parapet. The saddle stones are laid over the joints of a continuous row of slabs below them, which form the base of the channels. All slabs are sharply canted towards the outer face of the tower. The saddle stones are ridged. The relation between the north and south wallwalks and the interior of the tower is obscured by the modern roof. The east and west wallwalks run along the feet of the gables. The runoff from the roof was ejected from the wall-face by a virtually continuous string of projecting slabs.

The parapet survives to its full height on the west side, being in almost exactly the state recorded in a published photograph of 1895. A peculiar iron ring that connects the western gable and parapet is not ancient; its purpose was to retain a huge flagpole placed on the tower in the 1890s.

The surviving parapet is remarkably high (c.3.6m) and is crow-stepped; its great height served to make the building look considerably taller than it actually is. It is barely possible to see over the crenellations at their lowest points. The surviving stretch of parapet is pierced at waist height by gunloops formed from a single slab of freestone pierced and set on edge. These openings are internally widely splayed. The tops of the internal splays slope sharply, but the floors are flat.

Defence was entirely reliant on guns. Two great corner machicolations are set over the angles, and the angles are chamfered. The chamfered face of the machicolation on the well-preserved northwestern example is pierced by a row of musket loops which command the ground to the north-west. The decorative crow-steps are created with copings which slightly overhang the outer face of the parapet. Only small stones were used to build this parapet. Its internal face was roughly finished.

The form of the musket holes allowed a gunner to shoot fire down at more than 45 degrees.

The bawn: Lyons & Gillman stated that there was no trace of a bawn indicating that they were aware that the tower house was unlikely to have always been isolated. A wall runs roughly parallel with the
northern side of the tower house at some distance from it. This wall displays the scars of walls against its south face and probably acted as the north wall of a farmyard building. It stands to a height of c.2m, but may have been taller originally. Set in this wall is bread oven with a flat floor and a domed ceiling. The interior has been repaired in brick. Immediately to the east is the torn stub of an integral masonry structure probably the back of a fireplace at 90° to the main wall. There are re-entrants at both ends, showing that the wall was originally part of a larger circuit.

The tower house was very probably surrounded by a continuous circuit of walls, built integrally with courtyard buildings backing onto it. The south wall of the house has been destroyed. The bread oven implies that there was a large fireplace housed in a partition wall that ran south. The bawn wall probably owes its local survival to the need for a field wall at this point.

The wall may also have survived a general demolition of the bawn because it formed part of an occupied house. The area to the south of the wall would probably prove fruitful for excavation. It is probable that the tower house formed the nucleus of a large farm, perhaps already acting in this capacity prior to the Cromwellian forfeitures and evidence probably survives below the turf which seems to have escaped recent ploughing.
Figure 2.1
Ground plan (after Lyons & Gillman 1896)
Figure 2.ii
First floor
Figure 2, iii
Second floor (S)
Figure 2,iv

Third floor (S)
Figure 24
Wallwalk/attic (after Lyons & Gillman 1896)

TOGHER: WALLWALK & ATTIC
SKETCH PLAN AFTER LEONS & GILLMAN 1896
Plate 2.i

Togher: the southern facade
Plate 2, ii

Togher: the central chimney stack
BALLYNACARRIGA CASTLE
Townland of Ballynacarriga, Ballymoney Parish

6° 108, 25° CVIII:15
NGR W 2875 5080
SMR 3058

The site: The tower house overlooks a roadside village of old houses and new suburban bungalows. The rock (probably originating as a roche moutonée) overlooks a road junction. A cleft between the hills to east and west forms a natural route. To the north, the River Bandon runs from east to west in a great swathe of marshy land a mile wide, creating a natural barrier. The tower house stands to the south edge of this flood plain, commanding the route through the hills to the south.

The name: Two different interpretations are given; Beal na Carriga (Mouth of the rock) (Hurley 1905, 76) or Beale aíthe na Carraige (Ford mouth of the rock) (O’Donoghue 1985, 90). The mouth is presumably the gap in the hills, in which the rock stands isolated.

The history: The chief source for the history of Ballynacarriga and the relationships of the Hurleys who lived there is a stream of pardons made by the English government towards the end of the Sixteenth Century. As Ó Murchadha puts it, the Hurleys and their equally warlike neighbours, the Crowleys, ‘gave frequent cause for pardoning’.

Ballynacarriga is first mentioned in 1584 when Randal O’Hurley of Ballynacarriga was pardoned, in the company of two sons of Cormac O’Crudhdlaioich (Crowley). The tower house (which has a datestone of 1585) was just then approaching completion, and there can be little doubt that Randal built it. He married Catherine O’Cullinane, daughter to the physician of the MacCarthy Reaghs (Hurley 1905, 26). Because ‘Randal’ was the traditional first name of the Hurley chieftains, the unravelling of the family’s history is not easy.

Ten related Hurley warriors were simultaneously, if ineffectually pardoned, just before they engaged in renewed battle with the English at Kinsale (Ó Murchadha 1985, 252). The Hurleys apparently survived the aftermath of Kinsale with intact estates. Nevertheless, the way had been opened to mortgagees and speculators. The pobal became an estate in 1615, when Randal Og of Ballynacarriga and Florence MacDonell MacCarthy of Benduff ‘got a grant of extensive lands in Carbery. These included their own lands, plus those of several O’Crowleys of Killtallowe (Ó Murchadha 1985, 110). The patent roll describes the two chieftains as ‘gentlemen’ and assignees of Sir James Simple, Knight.
Through a stroke of the pen, Ballynacarriga became a 'manor with demesne and privileges' (Hurley 1905, 81).

Randal Oge (no doubt the son of the Randal who built the tower) died in 1631 and was succeeded by his son. In 1641, this Randal was one of the first Irish chieftains to support the Crown. As a result, Randal's estate was forfeited by Cromwell's government at Youghal in 1642. It passed into the hands of no less than six different proprietors, all (to judge by their names) of English descent. Although the Hurleys no doubt continued to eke out a living in the vicinity as titulados (ibid., 78), the tower was abandoned and soon fell into decay.

Hurley's paper gives only a sketchy description of the tower house, most attention was paid to the interesting carvings in the windows. Gillman's ground plan and survey notes were also published. Good photographs were published in the same article. The existing description is based on visits by the author in 1970, 1987 and 1997. The Board of Works has made some repairs and the principal chamber is now barred off to protect it from vandalism. With the exception of the ground plan, the plans are based on photography and written notes, including Gillman's notes. On the plans (Figs 3.i-viii) certain areas which were not directly observed (N.D.O) have been conjectured.

Description of the tower house

The masonry: Ballynacarriga is mostly built from a very hard bedded sandstone; an unidentified freestone was used for dressings. The exterior (Pl.3,i) is carefully faced with slabs laid in their quarried state, except for one face, dressed to form the wall face. Although there are a great variety of sizes, few blocks are greater than a man's burden. The blocks are random coursed with intermittent horizontal lifts, indicating seasonal breaks in construction.

Large areas of mortar harling obscure the stonework. Internally, the stones of the ground floor have not been face-dressed and the walls are neither straight nor vertical. A sagging and bulging wall face was the result. Where the walls would be more conspicuous, standards were higher, for example in parts of the interior such as the top floor. The implication is that the tower house was hurriedly constructed.

The setting-out: The external faces are regular, being straight in plan. Opposing walls (measured at the top of the base-batter) differ by about 5cm. The (averaged) length of the short sides is 0.7405 of the long sides, nearly a 3:4 ratio.

The lengths of the long sides of the ground-floor chamber differ by 30cm and because the exterior is
not correspondingly irregular, each wall varies in thickness over its length (Fig.3,i). This was presumably a mistake for it is impossible to see any advantage this conferred.

Crisply finished edge-bedded blocks form the external quoins. A marked base-batter terminates at the first floor.

The entrance: The badly robbed entrance is in the east wall; it has recently been heavily consolidated in a manner that bears no relation to the original, which was probably a fine-recessed two-centred entrance of the sort that survives at Cloghda [31]. Only the north internal splay is original (Fig.3,i). In its east (torn) edge is a channel which housed the drawbeam; this did not run the full width of the door, but braced only the lock side. To the south of the entrance lobby is a small very irregular chamber which contains a small cuboid niche at waist height. A diagonal channel runs from the chamber to the door jamb, its outer part has been reconstructed. The torn scar of a dividing wall between the small chamber and the lobby survives in the ceiling. The lobby is crudely corbelled over in a manner reminiscent of a neolithic chambered tomb.

A doorway robbed of its dressings is to the north of the entrance; this leads to a wide stair ascending into the north-eastern corner to meet a spiral stair that runs the height of the tower house. The spiral stair is formed from triangular slabs of slate; there is no defined central newel. When open, the door to the stairs fitted into the recess at the side. Like all the robbed doorways in the tower house, the casement originally had good freestone dressings. The passage behind the door is slightly splayed. On the east side, there is a round hole in the ceiling of the passage immediately behind the robbed doorway, this took the stile of a timber door.

The ground-floor chamber: The doorway into the ground-floor chamber is now a shapeless hole. The relieving arch of the lost door can be seen within the chamber. The chamber does not seem to have been intended for domestic use; as today, its floor was probably trampled dirt.

The level of the first-floor threshold indicates the ground-floor chamber's ceiling was not much above head height. Of the two unglazed loops (Fig.3,i), the one in the south wall has lost its dressings and has been consolidated as a crude slit; the west loop retains its freestone sill; the internal rebate is a small socket with a raised surround. Pivoted timber shutters, admitting light and air, closed the loops, which are ill-adapted for defence. The chamber, the largest of its type in the Survey region, is otherwise featureless.

The first-floor: The direction of the stair flight (Fig.3,i), allows it to meet the spiral stair while keeping
the entrance wall as thin as possible. At the ninth tread is a doorway to the intramural passage which leads to the first-floor major chamber door (Fig. 3, ii). The embrasure is very large in relation to the size of the opening.

About 0.60m below the level of the first-floor threshold, rows of corbels project from the north and south walls of the interior. The chamber shares the large dimensions of the chamber below. Its size suggests it may have been partitioned. A mortar render (whose lower limit marks the floor level) covers its walls.

A two metre wide fireplace indicates the chamber's domestic role. The lintel has been reconstructed in reinforced concrete but it clearly once had a massive overmantel. The sides of the fireplace are formed from huge vertical undressed slabs. A large robbed window, probably a two-light transomed window (Fig. 3, ii) is close to the south-west corner. The two-centred embrasure is arched with radiused and tightly fitted freestone voussoirs which are textured by point dressing. A frontal view of a clothed woman is carved on one of the voussoirs. Near her are three rosettes in a row and another two above. Hurley suggested that the woman carved in the embrasure arch was Catherine Cullinane and that the five flowers represent her children; sets of twins and triplets. This unusual feature suggests that the chamber was built to serve as the apartment of the chieftain and his wife.

The two openings directly over one another in the west wall are another odd feature of this floor. The upper loop has an ogival head, is lintelled and triangular in plan with flanking gunloops. Prior to consolidation, the lower opening had been extensively robbed, creating a deep ragged hole delving below the level of the internal splays. A defender prone on the floor could also fire through the lower loop, an unusual arrangement. There are two presses of different sizes in the west wall.

In the south-east corner, a door leads into an inaccessible intramural chamber. Two robbed gunloops for firing at attackers around the entrance were balanced by a third loop off the spiral stair. This intramural gallery over the main entrance seems to have held the windlass for a portcullis, although recent repairs have obscured its relationship to the entrance below. A 'portcullis groove' is shown on the 1905 plan, but is no longer visible from below.

There is a wide arched rectilinear embrasure in the northern wall of the major chamber for an ogival loop. It has an arched head and the actual ogival light is in a triangular sub-embrasure.

**The spiral stair:** The spiral stair is lit by four loops, two in each face of the tower, the robbed openings probably contained chamfered oblong loops, provided with shutters.

From the first floor, the stair completes a full turn to arrive at the level of the second floor. A door
from it leads directly to the chamber which is entered at the north end of its east wall (Fig.3,iii). A door immediately north of it led into a long passage leading to the only garderobe in the tower house. This passage is lit by two robbed loops of intermediate size; they were probably tall lights rather than short loops. The passage reaches a 'bartizan' that projects from the south-eastern corner (Pl.3,i).

The 'bartizans': Internally, these inaccessible features consist of small L-shaped rooms within the angle of the tower house. The outer wall is supported by rough corbels in each face and a third projects diagonally from the corner. These support heavy stone lintels separated from the wall-face by wide slits. These allow a vertical view of the corner below. The lintels support the thin outer walls; these are separated from the face of the tower by narrow loops which look along the wall faces of the tower. The sloping roofs of the bartizans overhang the walls.

The south-east bartizan was entered directly from the second-floor chamber. Each face of the bartizans has a small central opening. An intact example is externally a small round hole.

As well as raking the entire face of the tower house with shot, defenders could use the bartizans to drop stones upon attackers.

The second floor: The entrance to this poorly-lit chamber below the barrel vault is ventilated. The chamber appears unsuited for domestic occupation. Its floor is represented by rows of corbels projecting from the north and south walls. The large west embrasure (whereby the north-west bartizan is reached) is rectangular in plan and arched over; there are signs of plank centring. A doorway leads off to the north-western bartizan (Fig.3,iii). The window is robbed, but the surviving seatings indicate a single light of the sort that survives below it.

The entrance to the south-east bartizan is well-preserved and never contained a door. There are single large centring corbels immediately under the springings of the barrel vault.

Above the second-floor threshold is the entrance to the intramural garderobe passage (Fig. 3,iv). Two small robbed loops light the ends of this passage with its flat-lintelled ceiling. The garderobe is parallel to the passage against the outer wall in a slight recess.

The barrel vault: The extremely large, slightly pointed vault runs along the long axis of the plan and spans the great void formed by the disappearance of the timber floors. Only part of it is a 'true' vault, because the north and south walls are corbelled inwards c.1m to form skewbacks which eased construction by reducing the size of the 'true' vault and its centring to a minimum.
The east intramural mezzanine passage: Just below the level of the vault apex, there is a further intramural chamber in the east wall (Fig. 3,iv). It has a single defaced loop slightly off-centre from the main entrance below. It has a small press in the west wall at the end and it is covered by a pointed barrel vault. It is presumably a bed-chamber.

The third floor minor chamber: A further turn of the spiral stair arrives at the level of the stone third floor, supported by the great vault (Fig.3,v). A massive slop outlet marks the termination of the spiral stair.

A substantial wall resting on the vault divides the upper part of the tower into two unequal parts. The east part forms a long rectangular chamber with a disproportionately large fireplace in the west wall. It has a cobbled floor which may be original, it would have been covered by a timber floor supported on corbels. There are three openings.

The chamber’s large window probably had two lights. This and the east aspect ensured that the room was light. The very large fireplace indicates that this was a kitchen with a slop aperture for waste. The chamber’s only other feature is a cuboid press.

The third floor major chamber: A ragged gap marking the site of a door passes through the party wall (Fig.3,v). The chamber is roughly square, a stone bench, showing that the chamber was intended to accommodate many people, runs along the west wall.

The windows are directly opposite one another and are close to the west end of the chamber; the robbed openings indicate that the windows were up to four lights wide. The fine carving of the two embrasures is relatively famous. The embrasures are rectangular in plan and covered by semi-circular arches of freestone. The voussoirs are very thin and serve no structural role. Their purpose was to take the bas-relief carving. The south window is the better preserved, retaining the splayed freestone surround of the lost lights. It is separated by a large rebate from the embrasure. The carvings were tailored with walls of equal thickness in mind. As it happened, the walls turned out to be of different thickness and the south window had therefore to be sunk in a rebate.

Each separate block has a different set of motifs and there is little co-ordination. Some of the borders are edged with a braided pattern which fails to match up from panel to panel showing that the panels were dressed before fitting and little attempt was made to co-ordinate their subject matter. The reliefs depict figures, apparently in religious scenes and a mass of uncoordinated minor objects and emblems such as the Instruments of the Passion imply a visually symbolic knowledge of the New Testament on the part of the observer. Despite scenes such as the Crucifixion, the role of the carvings
is obscure. The human figures are crude, doll-like and frontal, with disproportionately large heads and protruding oval eyes, in the Gaelic style. As in medieval England, religious subject matter could be used as decoration in a secular setting (i.e. the Great Chamber of Longthorpe Tower) but it is possible that the principal chamber also doubled as a chapel. In the north window is an Arabic numeral '1585', which gives the date and presumably indicates that completion was imminent. Below it are the letters 'R.M.C.C.', plausibly explained by Hurley as 'Randal Murrily, Catherine Cullinane' ('Murrily' was one of the early forms of Hurley).

The windowless west wall supports a tall gable which is jettied inwards by two pointed blind arches. Beneath are three sockets, one below the south arch and two below the north which probably supported the centring. The junction between the two arches is supported by an unworked corbel. The principal chamber was covered by a large pitched roof and the survival of the gable gives constructional clues. At the apex of the gable, there was a ridge post and, about midway up either side of the gable, two purlins supported the rafters. Despite the great span of the roof, there are no corbels to support hammer beams and the carpentry was probably sturdy rather than sophisticated. The edge of the gable was originally dressed with freestone. The opposite end of the roof tucked under an overhanging rebate in the east part of the upper wallwalk.

Presses are sunk into the western corners; these may have displayed fine plate. In the south wall is a fireplace more than two metres wide, its flue rises up to the wallwalk. The two large windows may have lit the ends of an north-south table.

Opposite the fireplace, a robbed loop lights the doorway in the north wall which opens onto an intramural stair ascending to the east into an area of the tower house that has been largely quarried away for stone. The stair now halts at the spiral stair well, horizontal scars left by work around the stair well extend to wallwalk level. Between the north window and the doorway to the stairs is a rectangular press now heavily restored.

The third floor mezzanine: This chamber shares the dimensions of the chamber below and had a timber floor of standard corbel, wall-plate and joist construction. The chamber has a single tall robbed opening in the east face. Corbels indicate the presence of another floor above this chamber. The exposed flue of the great cooking fire is sharply sloped to make the flue central. No clue as to the purpose of the room survives.

Less well-lit than the room below, it may have been a bed-chamber and the spiral stair loops outside its door was equipped with a convenient slopstone.
The major/lower wallwalk: This occupies the entire west wall and much of the north and south (Fig.3, vii). The eastern side was occupied by a further unfenestrated chamber on a similar plan to the third floor mezzanine below.

The wallwalk is composed of large oblong slabs laid side by side, sloping gently towards the outside of the tower, the joints between them are covered by saddle stones. A continuous string is formed by the overhanging slabs that threw rainwater clear of the outer face of the tower. The wallwalk slabs have been robbed from the north wall and the parapet has vanished except at the south-west corner. Part has recently been rebuilt. The south wallwalk is obstructed by the base of a destroyed chimney, forming an outlet for the first- and third-floor flues. It too has been partially reconstructed (Fig.3, vii). As there was only one entrance onto the north wall walk from the (destroyed) spiral stair, it was necessary to retrace one's steps on reaching the end of the wallwalk.

The upper wallwalk: To the east of the party wall, the tower rises above the level of the west wallwalk to form an elevated block (Fig.3, viii). Its north end was occupied by the partially destroyed spiral stair well; the north-west corner of the block has also been robbed and this part of the tower house is now inaccessible. The party wall is lower than the west gable which must have abutted the destroyed parapet of the upper wallwalk.

As stated, the roof of the chamber below formed the flat floor of the upper wallwalk and was presumably leaded over. In the east parapet was a machicolation overlooking the main entrance below. A chimney in the party wall housed the cooking fireplace's flue.

The termination of the spiral stair and have supported a raised look-out post, but this is destroyed.

A fragment of parapet survives on the south-east corner, apparently to its full height of over three metres. Further to the north (directly over the main entrance below) are the two surviving corbels of the machicolation roughly a metre apart. North of the corbels, three slabs project from the foot of the parapet.

The external sculpture: High in the east side of the tower, over the entrance, is a Sheilagh na gig (Sheila of the paps). She may have been a lucky charm to divert the evil eye from the tower house. This is the only recognised occurrence of this feature in the Survey region.

The outworks: The level area to the east of the main entrance is slightly smaller than the area of the tower house. This area was occupied by the forebuilding or 'sconce', which was built later than the
tower house; the difference in date was probably not great. A wall c.1 metre thick abuts its north wall at the east end. Another wall joining the south side of the tower balanced the surviving length of wall. Elsewhere, little survives of the original work. Hurley knew that there had originally been four circular turrets (1905, 76) and part of the north-west tower survives. The sconce seems to have been a symmetrical oblong enclosure with a bee-hive shaped turret at each corner. Hurley recorded a single musket loop (subsequently lost) between the remaining wall and turret.
Figure 3.1
Ground plan
Figure 3.ii
First floor (S)
Figure 3.iii
Second floor (S)
Figure 3.iv
Second floor mezzanine (S)
Figure 3.v
Third floor (S)
Figure 3.vi
Third floor mezzanine (S)
Figure 3,vii
Main wallwalk (S)
Figure 3, viii
Upper wallwalk
Plate 3.i

Ballynacarriga: the north-western angle
The site: Castle Donovan is situated well above the 60.96m (200') contour line, at just under 152m (500'). It stands in an inland valley surrounded (except to the south) by barren, rocky hills; the two minor peaks of Mullaghmesha and Dereenacrinnig are to the north. The floor of the valley is ill-drained, allowing only sedges to grow. The tower house stands near a small river, whose bridge forms an important road junction. The present day road between Dunmanway and Bantry skirts the south of the long east-west ridge of hills and mountains and is a natural path of communication. The amphitheatre of hills forms a watershed for this source of the Ilen River, which flows to the west of the tower house.

The tower house stands on a long bed of Old Red sandstone of particular hardness. This runs across the valley trapping water to the north and impeding drainage. The bed is dipped almost vertically; the north side of the ridge is almost sheer, but is probably artificially remodelled. The other side of the ridge slopes more gently and irregularly. The softer rocks surrounding the bed were scooped out by glacial action, leaving the more resistant bed projecting.

This was the northern part of the O'Donovan territory and has changed little since the tower house's construction, being described in 1607 as 'a barren unfertile soyle, full of bogges, rockes and wood' (Ó Murchadha 1985, 125). This marginal area was held by the lord of Clann Chathail (Fig.c). Despite its large size it was almost devoid of tower houses. The imbalance in distribution is real and not an artefact of survival (Chapter 5:e).

The name: Castle Donovan was built by Donnell I O'Donovan (commonly called Domhnall na g:Croicenn, ‘Donnel of the hides’) (O'Donovan 1851, 2441). The first mention is made of it in 1577, when a pardon was issued to Domhnall (among the other Carbery chieftains) (Ó Murchadha 1985, 126). Castle Donovan was also known as Sowagh, a name that also applied to the district; both names were used in the Seventeenth Century. (Sowagh – 'Samhach' a swampy place, O'Donoghue 1983, 67).

The history: 'Inserted in the northern wall of Castle Donovan is a limestone block, inscribed in raised letters 2 & 1/2 inches deep, 'IHS : MARIA : DO'D:IC. 1626:DO'C' (Coleman 1922, 65). The
The significance of this stone as dating evidence will be considered below. This does not seem to exist in the north wall now; it may in fact have been the west wall, most of which fell after 1922. Circumstantial evidence suggests that the datestone was not accurately read; it is tempting, if specious, to suggest what the date really was.

*Domhnall na g-Croiceann* died in 1584 and his son (another Domhnall) succeeded him, being presented with the traditional white rod of office by MacCarthy Reagh.

In 1615, Domhnall finally regularised his personal estate through 'surrender and regrant', together with chief rents from the rest of the clan *pobal*. His two tower houses of *Raheen* [12] and Castle Donovan became 'Manors' with the right to hold fairs at Raheen, Bawnlahan and Drimoleague. He was twice married and died in 1639 leaving at least seven sons (Ó Murchadha 1985, 128). Castle Donovan was described as a 'manor' in an inquisition taken in 1607 before William Lyon, Bishop of Cork, to determine the extent of Domhnall's 'poble or cantred'. In the inquisition they recognised him as the 'lawfull heyre'. Among his extensive territories, the first listed was Castle Donovan, implying that it was his chief residence. It contained 'seven quarters of land or twenty and one half ploughlands' (in reference to Irish clan territories, 'ploughland' seems to have been more of a legal unit than any exact measure of area).

His son obtained livery of seisin on 13th February 1639-40, a fateful date. As a strict loyalist, he fought for Lord Castlehaven; as a result, his lands were wasted by the Cromwellians in 1650. Two castles were blown up with gunpowder (almost certainly Raheen and *Castle Ire* [11]). The partial collapse of Castle Donovan is a relatively recent event. Although the *Clann Chathail* was attainted, it is possible that they were not evicted from the castle until 1666. In 1666, Charles II confirmed Castle Donovan, Seehanes etc, (1,465 acres in all) to a Cromwellian officer. Castle Donovan probably fell into decay after 1666. Remarkably, its timber door survived into the Nineteenth Century (Donovan 1876, 159).

The tower house was briefly described by Daniel Donovan (1876) and Coleman (1922); the latter published a photograph showing the intact south-west corner. The tower house has never been surveyed or thoroughly described.

**Description of the tower house**

**The masonry:** The tower house is built of local Old Red sandstone. The main lines of the tower house are regular, with straight walls and an even batter, but the interior (with the exception of the major chambers) is coarsely and irregularly detailed. This is particularly noticeable in the passages and spiral stair, where the corners are rounded and ill-defined.
The very hard mortar was used with abandon, allowing the stones to be casually laid. Where it was not likely to be visible (such as the backs of the parapets) more mortar was used than stone; there, the stones are erratically laid, tilting far from the horizontal, and even slipping out slightly from the wall face before the mortar set. Much of the north side is still harled with this mortar. The tower house was held together by the rigidity of its mortar rather than the close fit of its stones. Solid fragments of the south-west corner lie below the rest of the tower house today.

The window dressings were carved from a hard freestone of unknown source that has resisted weathering.

There are no putlog holes on the exterior. The mortar harling on the north and east sides varies greatly in its condition ceasing abruptly at third-floor level (Pl.4,ii) but reappears on the external face of the parapet.

**The setting-out:** The trapezoidal plan was highly irregular. The marked imbalances in wall length occur on both axes. The plan is unusually long in relation to its width; averaged (see below) the short axis is 0.6011 of the long axis. The plan is divided into two cells by a partition wall; the internal wall is not far from the centre of the building and divides the interior into two sets of chambers. The plan was trapezoidal and is unique apart from Carriganacurra [32] and, it seems, Coolnalong [6]. The base is battered sharply, the superstructure less so.

**The ground floor:** The floor is cut into solid rock on the spine of the ridge. The south-east corner falls well below the rest of the base due to the uneven site. To the north, the wall is flush with the sheer rock face. The base of the tower house is sharply battered, terminating well below the level of the first floor.

**The ground-floor chamber:** The dark dank chamber is irregularly floored with rock and covered by a roughly constructed barrel vault running on the long axis of the plan. There are no north and south walls, the vault commencing its springing at ground-floor level. The chamber is entered from the west and is lit by openings in the east and south walls. The arched embrasures gave onto loops, now knocked out. The absence of a north loop implies that no threat was likely from that direction (defended by a sheer wall of rock rising from the marsh).

**The main entrance and lobby:** The north and east sides of an entrance 'lobby' survive, the rest was destroyed in the fall of the south-west corner (Fig.4,i). There may have been a guard chamber to the
south of the main entrance as at other contemporary tower houses. Part of a robust jamb moulding survives on the north side. An inner jamb (square in profile except for a slight chamfer on the outer lip) is set within a deep rebate in the wall surface (this also meets the wall surface with a slight chamfer). In the upper bed of the surviving moulding is the channel for an iron hinge. The door swung on iron pintles, which implies timber construction reinforced with iron bands incorporating hinges.

The spiral stair: To the north of the main entrance is the first tread of the spiral stair; this ascends clockwise without variation the height of the tower house. Some treads have been removed, preventing access to the battlements. The stair is generously proportioned with a gentle rate of ascent. The treads are coarsely cut from bedded slate and only lightly embedded in the wall of the stair well; this, too, is crudely finished with a spatter of mortar over roughly laid small irregular stones, perhaps to provide a key for smooth plaster. There is no defined central ‘newel’, each tread tapering to a point.

The spiral stair is lit by alternating robbed loops with crude hoods formed by slabs in the north and west walls. The loops have deep narrowly splayed embrasures with sharply sloping floors. The coarse nature of the construction means that there are no defined corners between the sides and floor of the embrasure.

Ground floor mezzanine/The gallery over the lobby: The major and minor chambers are accessible from the spiral stair with the exception of the first floor minor chamber. The first minor chamber was above the entrance lobby at an intermediate level between the ground and first floors (Fig. 4,ii). Little survives of it, the wall fabric on all sides below is broken away, revealing that it had a barrel vaulted floor, now almost entirely fallen. The chamber’s position over the entrance suggests that it gave access to a murder hole.

The first floor: This is entered from the spiral stair (Fig.4,iii). The door moulding (now robbed) was flush with the stair well. In the south side of the splay is a deep drawbeam socket; the chamber could be barred from within. The barrel vault formed the chamber’s floor. The chamber is now carpeted with grass concealing any paving that may exist.

The east wall is slightly thicker than the north and south walls. The north and south windows were single light; the wider east window had two lights. The embrasures are sufficiently tall to take a standing man, their floors are raised c.0.5m above the floor of the chamber to act as benches. Inset in the sides of the embrasures at shoulder height are square openings that tunnel into the walls; these
gradually reduce in width, terminating at the wall face as small round gunloops. The paired musket loops flanking each opening were positioned to allow a gunner to stand in the embrasure with the gun comfortably supported at shoulder height. While allowing little independent movement of each gun, the splayed openings allowed the entire circumference of the castle to be sprayed with shot. The openings level the guns at the surrounding hillsides, implying the use of powerful weapons with a long range. The north window has a slopstone on the base.

Under the crude relieving arch of the chimney breast is the oblong impression of a timber chimney lintel; this was supported on corbels projecting from the wall face below. All the fireplaces in Castle Donovan were lintelled with timber. The west wall is highly irregular to accommodate the variety of features it houses, showing how the masons opportunistically solved problems of detailing as they arose. The back of the fireplace is strangely angled to make way for the drawbeam socket of the chamber door (Fig.4,iii).

High in the north and south walls of the first-floor chamber are rows of small, irregular corbels marking the level of a timber floor.

The presence of a fireplace 2m wide suggests that this chamber was a kitchen; the small opening in the bottom of the north window was for the slops.

The first-floor lesser chamber: To the south of the main chamber fireplace is one side of the splayed doorway, leading out of the main chamber into a small room whose timber floor level was level with the floor of the main chamber. The room was covered by a north-south barrel vault, part of which survives. This room was perhaps a larder or cold store.

The second floor: The principal chamber was entered from the spiral stair (Fig.4,iv). This generously windowed chamber was floored and ceiled with timber and was much lower than the chamber below.

The north and south windows are displaced to the east. The transomed south window had six lights, the north window four but the mullions and transoms are gone. They are finely dressed from freestone; the heads have hood mouldings and dropped label stops. The glazing was attached to vertical iron astragals of square section. There is no evidence to suggest that the windows were inserted later.

In the west wall, the north side of a fireplace survives. The tower house split and collapsed along the concentration of flues in the partition wall. A massive corbel projects from the surviving part of the fireplace. In the north wall was an oil lamp niche.
The second-floor lesser chamber: To the west was a smaller chamber or passage entered by a surviving door from the spiral stair having no direct contact with the main chamber. It was floored by a barrel vault. Its purpose is unknown; it may have housed a convenient ‘close stool’.

The third floor: The door into the third-floor chamber occupies the normal position (Fig. 4, vi), but the mass of masonry forming its south reveal is separated from the main fabric of the castle to the south by a vertical joint in the masonry which rises past the level of the fourth-floor door, forming one side of its embrasure. This implies that parts of the tower house were built at different dates, possibly only a brief pause in construction. It appears that the chimney was built as a free-standing structure in advance of the surrounding fabric. The north side of the tower house shows a clear change in the mortar composition at third-floor level. Whether this represents a pause in construction or the level of a temporary wallwalk is hard to determine; the former is more probable as there are no internal constructional joints between the third and second floors.

One single light window survives intact in the north wall, half of the south window survives; the jamb is lost but there can be little doubt it was the same size. Despite the smaller openings, the embrasures follow the pattern of the windows below.

A well-preserved fireplace has corbelled sides for a long-decayed timber lintel. A relieving arch and the strength of the mortar has prevented the chimney breast from collapsing. The back of the fireplace is slightly sunk into the wall of the chamber.

The low ceiling and large fireplace evoke an air of comfort, rather than the desire to impress. This was probably the private apartment of the chieftain.

The third-floor minor chamber: As below, the north end of an intramural chamber, entered from the spiral stair survives.

The treads of the spiral stair have been torn out above third-floor level making it impossible to proceed further. The stairs originally continued to the wallwalk and the top of the turret. This is formed by a continuation of the tower that rises above the general level of the wallwalk. The north part is virtually intact, but the southern part has fallen.

The attic: A door from the spiral stair slightly higher than the door onto the wallwalk led into the loft chamber (Fig. 4, vi). Its floor is indicated by rows of corbels about a metre below the top of the north and south walls.
The east side of the chamber was formed by the gable. The west side was formed by the north-west turret. The flue of the third-floor fireplace below projects into the chamber. The flue diminishes in width as it rises. To do this, there are a series of steps between the chimney breast and flue on the north side, these allowed observation to be made through the more northerly of two windows in the east gable. There is a single large step on the south side.

The wallwalk, parapet and gables: These are relatively well preserved (Pl.4,ii) and the part now destroyed was photographed in 1922 allowing a fairly complete picture of their original appearance to be formed. The 1922 photograph shows that the wallwalk ran around the top of the tower house without alterations in level (Fig.4,vii). Large oblong slabs were laid to form a surface sloping towards the outside of the tower. Slightly smaller slabs cover the joints between the large slabs.

There were four separate machicolations, of which two survive. A machicolation was placed directly over the entrance, close to but separate from the south-west machicolation. The corner machicolations were each supported by three rough corbels. The north-east machicolation survives to its full height. In the centre of each face are small gun holes. This machicolation had a capping of slabs.

The east parapet is nearly intact. It has two crenellations separated by a single merlon; its coping is formed by pitched slabs like roofing slates. A further merlon survives on the south wall. The 1922 photograph shows four merlons along this wall. Another door in the east wallwalk leads back into the turret; only the point where the wallwalk met the turret survives.

The east gable consists largely of a chimney, which no longer stands to its full height. A coping of rough stones at the apex of the gable marks its base. The rough margins of the gable are not apparently original, and it may have been trimmed with freestone. Little evidence survives of the roof construction, there are no sockets for purlins. Of the opposing west chimney, only the north part (integral with the turret) survives. It contained two separate flues, divided by a thin barrier of slabs set on edge. Although the roof must have abutted it, the east side of the turret shows little provision for the roof.

The north-west turret: This complex structure is inaccessible. Directly over the north wallwalk door is a parapeted platform.

The turret seems to have two levels (Fig.4,vii). In the south side of the turret is a well-preserved door which lead into the wallwalk. Immediately below it, at the main wallwalk level is a ‘service’ door. An intramural chamber seems to have existed below a southern extension of the turret, now fallen. This
could be the ‘broad balcony, on which guns could be mounted’ (Donovan 1876, 159). As well as providing access to the ‘balcony’ the turret served as a look-out point, enriching the skyline of the tower house.

**Outworks:** The hummocky area to the west of the main door hints at structures lost and robbed. Over 9m to the west of the tower house are parts of a north-south wall which still acts as a revetment separating the raised enclosure from the ridge that falls away to the west. An east-west wall runs a short distance towards the south-west corner of the tower house and meets the north-south wall at the south-west corner of the enclosure to the west of the main entrance. In 1876, there were ‘redoubts, breastworks and a bakehouse the ruins of which can still be seen near the main tower’ (ibid., 159), but these are now obliterated. The R.I.A. drawing shows that a single great block, essentially a continuation of the tower house to the west, once existed. This may have been considerably reduced in the decades separating the Ordnance Survey from Donovan’s description.
Figure 4.1
Ground plan (S)
Figure 4.ii
Ground floor mezzanine
Figure 4.iii
First floor
Figure 4.iv
Second floor (S)
Figure 4.7
Third floor (S)
Figure 4.vi

Main wallwalk and attic
Figure 4.vii
Upper wallwalk
Plate 4.i

Castle Donovan, general view from the south
Plate 4.ii

Castle Donovan: general view from the north-east
The site: In one of the valleys that dissect the gently undulating land north of Rosscarbery stands a little known but finely preserved tower house. The building stands at the bottom on a dry rocky rise between two fingers of marsh (Pl.5,i) amongst old hawthorns. The land rises to the north and gently falls to the south where streams gather strength as sources of the Argideen river. The sheltered valley is used for rough pasture.

The name: The tower house takes its name from the townland; this name, Baile an Bhaird, means 'holding of the bard' and is probably much older than the tower house (Donoghue 1986, 93).

The history: '...little is now known of its history.' (Coleman 1924, 47); this may be partially accounted for by the lateness of its construction and the speed with which it became obsolete. Ballinvard is supposed to have been built by the same Randal Og Hurley who built Ballynacarriga [3] nearby and completed by 1585, according to its datestone. It differs considerably from the much greater Ballynacarriga, and this may reflect a difference in date. Ballinvard was definitely in existence in 1641, when it was occupied by William mac Randal Hurley, who made his will in that year leaving it to his son. This William was a substantial landowner (by this time the Hurleys had regularised their estates on the English model), leaving substantial bequests to his many sons and daughters, with the exception of a disinherited son (Ó Murchadha 1985, 253). They were all to be disinherited in the wholesale confiscation of land that followed the Civil War. In the Down Survey, Ballinvard was described as arable and pasture (Hurley 1906, 30).

There is no direct evidence for the date of Ballinvard's construction, but it is perhaps worth noting that it is not mentioned in a Patent Roll of 1615 in which Randal Og and Donell MacCarthy of Benduff (Castle Salem) jointly surrendered their pobals to James I (Hurley 1906, 81). Because Ballynacarriga is mentioned specifically, one might expect the nearby Ballinvard to be mentioned, especially since surrounding townlands are named, but there may be other reasons for this silence. In layout it closely resembles Castle Donovan, a structure in existence by 1577 (Chapter 5:e).

The tower house and the adjoining lands were granted by Charles II to the Archbishops of Dublin
(Coleman 1924, 47). It is probable that the tower house fell into decay from this date. Its remoteness and durable construction mean that, apart from the loss of the timber parts, it is one of the best-preserved tower houses in the Survey region. The only previous description of this tower house is that in Coleman's 'The Old Castles of South-West Cork' (1924), where a photograph was published. There is no sign, however, that Coleman personally visited the tower house, because another party took the photograph. The building is very much as it was then is vulnerable to ‘townie’ vandalism, and the farmer has barred the entrance with a gate.

Description of the tower house

The masonry: It is built out of unworked slabs of local hard, bedded Old Red sandstone which has resisted weathering. One side of each facing block has been trimmed flat, or simply cracked in half to provide two flat faces. The range of stone sizes is very wide, but few are longer than c.0.5m. Much of the exterior is still covered with a coating of mortar, which would have concealed the masonry, but there is otherwise no obvious difference in the quality of the outer and inner finishes. It was probably built without pause. The very hard mortar allowed the stones to be laid with quite wide joints.

The setting-out: The plan is irregular, the south wall being c.0.3m longer than the north; this allowed the lobby to be ‘skewed’ so that it pointed to one side of the spiral stair. The plan is divided into two cells by an internal partition wall. Only in the lesser chambers does some irregularity occur. The base-batter is tall, but unpronounced, terminating at the base of the first-floor windows. The remainder of the tower is probably very slightly battered to the top, but this has not been measured.

The entrance and ‘lobby’: The absence of floors allowed only a ground-floor plan (Fig.5,i) to be conveniently measured directly and the other plans are ‘reconstructed’ from the photographic survey and written notes. The entrance is in the east face. The moulding is ‘two-order’ with an outer chamfer that slopes with the base-batter, and vertically set inner jambs, also slightly chamfered. A square rebate separates the two. The pointed arch is formed from two large curved blocks.

The entrance’s defences included a musket hole in the jamb of the door. The door dressings project from the general plane of the wall face by c.2cm. This indicates that the tower house was originally covered by a coat of render or harling.

Immediately behind the southern jamb is a wide drawbeam socket extending nearly 1.5m south of the jamb. The door probably hung on iron pintles in the southern jamb.
A roughly finished barrel vault covers the lobby. In the northern side, a small door leads to a dark, vaulted guardroom. On its walls are traces of whitewash, and a small lamp recess in the west wall is lined with a smooth render, which has been preserved by its sheltered position. The musket hole consists of a small square opening on the east side which runs diagonally south-east, tapering slightly, to pierce the jamb of the main entrance. This may also have been used to take the chain of a yet but conclusive evidence in the form of external iron pintles was not observed.

Within the sharply splayed embrasure behind the door jambs at waist level are narrow sockets, thus the guard room could be barred from within. Towards the top, the jambs and head of the door are broken away, but a relieving arch survives above them.

The lobby is a small oblong chamber. Its south end leads, by two treads, into a comfortably proportioned spiral stairway in the south-eastern corner. Directly opposite the main entrance in the west side is a loop directed from the ground-floor chamber to surprise anyone who broke the door down.

The ground floor chamber: So as to reduce its vulnerability the door into the ground-floor chamber is not directly opposite the main entrance. The door is technically similar to the main entrance, it is only splayed on the southern side (Fig.5,i) with a deep drawbeam socket at waist height, and no corresponding socket in the opposite side.

The floor is now buried, although probably not very deeply. An offset c.3m above the floor marks the ceiling level. A single narrow defensive loop in the west wall has a distinctive ‘hour-glass’ plan to increase the field of fire. The dressings at the ‘waist’ have been robbed. There is a single pivot hole and drawbeam for a shutter. The west face of the tower is very overgrown, making inspection of the loop’s exterior impossible.

At either end of the north wall at waist height are two rectangular lamp presses, wider that they are high.

There is some evidence for a thin wall sub-dividing the lobby between the two surviving doors. This has been removed but an east-west scar is visible on the underside of the vault. A door must have intervened between the two surviving doors as an additional security measure.

The spiral stair: The internal face of the stair well is roughly rendered over crude masonry. The treads are broad and shallow, being dressed from bedded slate that has deteriorated badly. It ascends the height of the tower, without changing its position in relation to the plan, and is lit at the south side by
tall narrow loops, all of which have been robbed of their freestone dressings.

The first-floor minor chamber: The floor of this chamber is formed by the barrel vault over the lobby below, all other floors in the tower house were of timber and have long since decayed. The chamber is entered through a small door in the north side of the spiral stair, next to the door into the main first-floor chamber (Fig. 5, ii). The doors probably swung into the chambers rather than into the stair well.

The chamber has an extremely large fireplace in the dividing wall. The sides project from the wall face, to form tall straight-sided corbels. An oblong gap marks the position of the decayed timber lintel. The large flue is contained within the dividing wall and the size of the minor chamber over is correspondingly diminished. In the east wall, directly over the main entrance is a large robbed loop within an arched embrasure. The chamber may have been a kitchen, explaining the anomalously large fireplace and the good provision of presses.

The first-floor major chamber: The chamber is significantly larger than the chamber below. The offset reduces the wall thickness. The floor rested on this offset. The floor would have required heavy joists over seven metres long. The height between the offset and the floor of the embrasures shows the joists were perhaps 0.5m thick. The floor boards would have run east-west.

There are two arched window embrasures of intermediate size (Fig. 5, ii). Within these are narrow robbed openings that were probably single lights. In the corner of the embrasures at breast height are narrow channels pointing outwards diagonally. These taper to round holes where they pierce that outer face of the tower house. These are musket loops, capable of receiving shoulder-borne guns.

The ceiling level of the chamber is marked by tall narrow corbels that project only slightly from the wall.

The concentration and type of gunloop is directly paralleled at Castle Donovan. Here, the chief difference is the placing of the kitchen fire in the minor chamber. It is possible that the main chamber was a ward room or arsenal, set aside for the ward's use.

The second-floor minor chamber: It is entered from the spiral stair through a narrow door with a lintel and a surrounding rebate (Fig. 5, iii). Its sole feature is an opening in the east wall almost completely concealed by ivy. It seems to be a narrow loop like the one below, probably also robbed of its dressings.

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The timber floor would have been supported by wall plates and corbels in the east and west wall. It may have contained a close stool.

The second-floor major chamber: This chamber like all the main chambers is entered directly from the spiral stair (Fig. 5, iii). Its floor was below the level of the minor chamber’s floor and there was no connection between the chambers. The chamber’s two windows are towards the west end of the chamber. The coping was formed from a rough slab though, rather than a dressed square hood. Their embrasures are significantly wider than those of the floor below, and although the dressings are lost the spaces are large enough to have taken three light openings, presumably mullioned and transomed. The embrasure arches are of segmental form.

There are two oblong presses in the west wall and another in the north wall. In the north-eastern corner is an inaccessible splayed opening, now observable only in part perhaps for a slopstone. The floor of the opening is lower than that of the nearby recess, supporting this interpretation.

The fireplace in the centre of the eastern wall originally had a massive timber lintel, now surviving as a 'ghost'. The chimney breast above it (which is flush with the wall) is intact, probably because almost directly over it is the hearth of an even greater fireplace. This chamber, on analogy with Ballinoroher, would be the principal chamber of the tower house, but the loss of the windows means that there is little to distinguish it from the chamber over it. It was smaller and less well fenestrated and it may therefore be surmised that the usual relationship was reversed, making this the chieftain’s apartment rather than the principal chamber.

The floor was supported on corbels. The surviving corbels supported surprisingly narrow wall plates.

The third-floor minor chamber: Identical to the chamber below in its proportions, it was only entered from the spiral stairs (Fig. 5, iv). Inside the chamber the narrow door is surrounded by a heavy square rebate, which presumably contained a timber architrave. The main feature of the chamber is a window embrasure, like the window below, directly over the main entrance; there may have been a glazed single light window.

The third-floor major chamber: A wide offset marks the floor level of this chamber which is, as a result, almost square in plan and larger than the chamber below it (Fig. 5, iv). An extremely wide fireplace in the east wall identifies this as the principal chamber. The chimney breast is partially destroyed, but the 'ghost' of a timber lintel and part of the relieving arch over it can be seen at the north end. All flues in the partition wall lead to the chimney stack on the eastern gable.
Large robbed windows are in the north and south walls probably held three-light mullioned and transomed windows. The south window has projecting slabs at knee height (in relation to the floor of the embrasure) which may have supported timber benches. These slabs are apparently absent from the north embrasure. The lower part of that embrasure is separated from the exterior by a low wall. A long unworked projecting coping stone overhangs the robbed southern opening (Pl.5,i).

In the western wall is another tall (man-height) embrasure with an arched head and a single light, intensely overgrown, but apparently robbed. Musket loops can be seen at either side of the loop and the sill of each loop projects further into the chamber than the head. Common to all the window embrasures but particularly clear in this one are the grooves that separate the relieving arch from the sides of the embrasure. These were caused by the centring. A heavy board of timber laid flat presumably supported further timber supports on which the curved arch was turned. These may well have been left in position after the completion of the tower.

Each wall of the chamber has a press apart from the eastern wall. The ceiling level of the chamber is marked by rows of corbels in the north and south walls.

The fourth-floor minor chamber/passage: The chamber is essentially a passage running north-south (Fig.5,v) that provided access to the main chamber from the stair. Unlike the chambers below it the major chamber is reached through a door in the northern end of the partition wall. The southern end of the passage is covered by a small corbel table.

The chamber is now open to the sky. It seems to have been covered by a lean-to hipped roof that rested on the inner margin of the eastern wall walk and sloping up against the chimney stack. The surviving weather coping on the east side of the chimney kept the joint watertight. The doorway into the chamber must have been nearly shaped like a right-angled triangle.

The fourth-floor major chamber: This shares the dimensions of the well-appointed chamber below it, but is much more spartan with only a single window (Fig.5,v). The timber floor was about 1.5m below the eaves. The single light south loop is well preserved; the intact dressings are rather crude. The exterior is heavily chamfered. Over the head is a coping stone formed from a rough slab, and above is a small relieving arch. The lintel of the embrasure doubles as the wallwalk over.

The chamber was entered through a narrow door at the north end of the eastern passage. The west side of the chamber rises to form a gable. The eastern gable function was supplied by a chimney stack with a turret to the south of it. These supported the roof but there was no single gable as such on that side.
The chamber was covered by the pitched timber roof and occupied, in part, the roof space. There is no evidence as to its role, but the lack of domestic provision indicates it was probably for storage.

The wallwalk: The spiral stair eventually emerges onto the much overgrown wallwalk (Fig.5,vi). The surrounding fabric of the stair well rises above the general level of the wallwalk but it has been truncated, originally it would have had a slabbled roof.

The eaves of the roof rested on the inner margins of the southern and northern wallwalks. Apart from the south-east turret the wallwalk surrounds the top of the tower without a change in level. It is formed from large oblong slabs of closely bedded slate with ridged upper surfaces; these cover the joints between flat gutter slabs. At the outer end of these gaps, square holes pierce the foot of the parapet, unworked slabs below them threw the water clear. The surface created was therefore uneven, especially as the slabs slope down slightly outwards. The eastern wallwalk must have been very thin.

The parapets and machicolations: Compared with other tower houses in the Survey region, the parapet and machicolations are relatively well preserved. They are coarsely constructed with large amounts of mortar, with which they were thickly coated; the concealed inner faces being uneven and mortar splattered. The north and south parapets have been largely overthrown, but the east and west parapets are almost perfect. The parapet is tall. A surviving crenellation can be seen on the eastern side, and two others survive on the western parapet to either side of the central machicolation.

There are no less than four machicolations; two overhang the north-east and south-west corners (Fig.5,vi), the east wall machicolation is apparently not directly over the entrance as one would expect. The intermediate machicolations are very narrow, with single openings between heavy corbels. The external lintels are well below the wallwalk level. This constricted view greatly improved a defender's chance of successfully dropping a stone on an attacker who strayed into the field of view. Vertically set slabs separate the wallwalk from the chutes. The corner machicolations are apparently supported on double corbels and the corners are slightly chamfered, but the chamfers are much less pronounced than at Togher [2] and Carriganass [1].

The gables and chimney stack: The western gable is very tall; the outer face is rendered with hard mortar. The gable was originally coped with slabs, now robbed, but is otherwise intact. The trusses rested on the north and south walls, just inboard of the wallwalks.

As stated above, there is no eastern gable and its purpose was largely performed by a large unadorned square chimney stack, which appears to survive to its full height with a coping of rough slabs. The
north side has fallen away, exposing the multiple flues. The eastern part of the roof must have taken
the form of a half-pyramid, with only its northern pitch continuous with the main roof.
Figure 5.1
Ground floor
Figure 5.ii
First floor (S)
Figure 5.iii
Second floor (S)
Figure 5.iv
Third floor (S)
Figure 5.v
Fourth floor (S)
Figure 5.vi
Wallwalk (S)
Plate 5.i

Ballinward: general view from the north
Plate 5.ii
Ballinward: general view from the south-west
COOLNALONG CASTLE
Townland of Rossmore, Durrus Parish

6° 130, 25° CXXX:8
NGR V 9229 4097
SMR 3093

The site: Coolnalong Castle overlooks the calm landlocked waters of Dunmanus Bay. Between the long promontories of Sheep's Head and Mizen Head it forms a natural harbour. At the easternmost tip of the bay a roughly oblong stretch of water is largely closed off by a small headland on which the tower house stands. The bay is surrounded by ridges of hills falling gently towards the waters' edge. A low cliff separates the tower house from the water, but the shore is easily reached. The site is not strongly defensible: the tower house stands level with the surrounding terrain, except where it falls away to the south (Pl.6,i).

The name: The tower house derives its place-name - Cu! na long - 'Hill-back of the ship' from the nearby harbour.

The history: The stronghold is improbably supposed to have originated as a possession of the O'Mahonys and to have later been occupied by the MacCarthy Muclagh sept (O'Donoghue 1986, 58) of whom little is known, except that they were a sept of the Clann Taidhg Rua na Sgairte (Ó Murchadha 1985, 57) who held the destroyed castle at Scart [49] (Fig.b) 10km to the east. In its turn, this was an offshoot of the MacCarthy Reaghs. The subdivision occurred hundreds of years before the tower house was built. On the map showing clan territories, the name of the clan is anglicised Clan Teige Roe (Fig.c).

There is tentative documentary evidence that Coolnalong was built in the 1570s. A pardon was granted to 'Donald Oge McDonnell McCartie' of the townland of Brahellis, which probably then included the townland of Rossmore in which the tower house stands (Ó Murchadha 1994, 38). This was independently researched after the author dated the structure to the 1570s on comparative evidence.

Since the tower house is unlikely to be earlier than 1570, there is little probability that it was occupied by O'Mahonys and MacCarthys in succession. There is no mention of Coolnalong as an O'Mahony stronghold in the published sources (O'Mahony 1908). The tower house stands within sight of an O'Mahony stronghold (Dunbeacon [7]) and it is possible that their pobal once extended this far. This
must have been long before Coolnalong was built. O'Donoghue gives no source for his assertion. The absence of any above-ground fortifications pre-dating the tower house suggests that it may be no more than hearsay, despite its plausibility.

There is no mention of Coolnalong in the *Pacata Hibernia*. It is perhaps this lack of historical interest that caused the ruin to be neglected during the Edwardian surveys carried out by members of the *JCHAS*. The tower house has never been described in any detail.

The description is based on two visits in 1989 and 1996. The reduction in ivy between these two dates revealed some important features that had been invisible in the first visit. Although the building is orientated at almost 45 degrees to the cardinal points, the south-west wall is called the west wall, the north-west is called the north, and so on.

**Description of the tower house**

**The masonry:** The fabric is built from rough slabs of the local hard, bedded Old Red sandstone. Dressing of these slabs was minimal; where possible, they were split to form a flat face which was used to form the wall surface. Only the quoins show signs of additional dressing (Pl.6,i). The stones were tightly packed in the wall core. There is no obvious difference between the internal and external facing. The stones used apparently diminish in size towards the top. The largest blocks (at the base) are over 50cm in length, but the vast majority are far smaller. A very hard white mortar consisting of c.75 per cent coarse rolled sand was used lavishly to make up for the indifferent standards of masonry.

Most of the freestone dressings have gone, but the surviving main door is finely worked from a hard pale grey limestone. The tooling on the arch shows short bands of parallel striations indicating the use of a 'claw tool'.

The entrance dressings project c. 2cm from the wall face which shows that the builders applied a thick coating of plaster, traces of which can be seen to the north of the door arch. The dressings would therefore be flush with the harling. The tower house would have served as an important landmark to boats navigating their way up Dunmanus Bay, and it would probably have been whitewashed.

The absence of putlog holes and the concentration of large blocks towards the base suggest that only a light scaffolding was used. Within the tower house the floors lay on wall plates resting on corbels.

**The setting-out:** The site is level with the terrain to the north and the structure is firmly founded on a platform of rock laboriously cut down to form a level surface. The orientation precisely follows the
strike of the rock. The western part of the north wall sits directly on the rock, but to the east, large blocks were used to create a level footing for the base of the wall. These blocks would have originally been buried.

The southern wall has been destroyed but the position of the ground-floor entrance allows the wall’s position to be predicted (Fig. 6, i). If, as is common in the ground entrance tower houses, it was displaced away from the spiral stair, the lost south-western angle at Coolnalong was nearer to the entrance than the north-western. The large first-floor eastern window was probably in the centre of the wall, supporting this interpretation.

The east and west walls were therefore much shorter than the north and south, creating an elongated plan. The lost south wall would almost certainly have been the same thickness as the surviving north wall.

Because the structure was measured with tapes, certain assumptions had to be made about the uniform thickness and straightness of walls. Nonetheless, walls were regular in construction. However, the east and west walls are not parallel, converging slightly as they run south. This irregularity means the south wall was significantly shorter than the north. This trait is also observed at Castle Donovan [4].

The ground floor: The base is slightly battered. At neck height, a row of square sockets runs along the northern face (Pl. 6, i) these are not an original feature, but would have supported the first floor of a later lean-to building along this wall. Towards the eastern end of this face is a square garderobe opening, now seriously damaged at the point where it meets the face. The floor of the opening (where it survives towards the back) slopes down towards the outside. Above the opening, a square shaft rises in the thickness of the wall a short height. It stops abruptly with a ceiling of slabs. It was carefully blocked up with masonry during the life of the tower house, perhaps to enhance its security.

The main door is well preserved but is partially obscured by the south wall of a nineteenth-century building. The jambs are formed from shallowly embedded blocks, but the pointed head is formed from two great blocks whose flat exteriors stand proud of the general wall face. There are two 'orders' of moulding. The outer moulding slopes with the base-batter. Its chamfered lip diminishes steadily with height, disappearing entirely towards the top. A square rebate separates the inner from the outer order; it too diminishes with height. The inner jamb is vertical and of a deep section and has a chamfered outer lip. The rear of the jambs is concealed by a partial blocking of the entrance passage which is covered by a heavy lintel with a relieving arch over it. There is probably a buried sill, but no external iron pintles for a yett were observed.
The relationship between the tower house and the building to its west is uncertain. The building’s appearance and blocking of the entrance rules out the possibility it was built soon after the tower house. However, the existence of what is clearly an old farmhouse joined onto, and sharing the same alignment as, the tower house suggests that some form of settlement has continuously existed at this site since the tower house was built.

Immediately to the north of the entrance passage a doorway would have led directly onto the initial treads of the spiral staircase (which ascended clockwise). The ground-floor chamber was entered by a door that apparently fitted under the ascending stair treads (Fig. 6,i). The projecting scar of masonry for this door’s lintel survives and the northern wall formed its north side. The southern side is entirely destroyed. The implied position of the internal cross wall shows that the tower house was divided into major and minor chambers.

The entrance area: To the south of the entrance passage, the eastern side of the west wall runs c.2.0m before terminating at a broken edge (Fig. 6,i). To the south of the passage there appears (in a photograph) to be a low opening or channel in this face, running into the interior of the wall. This was missed during the on-site survey, but is probably a gunloop. This feature is usually encountered in this position and indicates that there was a guardchamber to the south of the entrance.

The lobby seems to have been covered by a timber ceiling, there is no evidence of a barrel vault.

The ground-floor chamber: The chamber was floored with mortar, beaten earth or paving; its ceiling was of timber and it seems to have been only just over 2.0m high: three rough corbels, now much battered, project at c.1.75m above the present ground surface.

There are no openings in the north wall and its face has been partially destroyed; there may have been no windows in the southern wall either. Little survives of the eastern wall, but against the north-east corner there is a low square press the back of which is mostly destroyed, creating a passage through the wall. It may have given access to a musket loop or a slopstone. Its position suggests that it may have been balanced by another in the southern corner.

The spiral stair: The stair well runs the full height of the surviving ruin without interruption, but its upper margin is missing. It gave access to the first and second floors through doors in its eastern wall. At first-floor level it is c.2.4m across. The first few treads were founded on solid masonry. Commencing immediately to the north of the entrance passage, a scar in the face of the wall rises anti-clockwise where the treads were cantilevered out from the wall of the spiral stair. They were
weakly embedded and most have fallen out while leaving the wall of the stair intact. There was no central newel. About 5m up three stair treads can be seen in position. These are each formed from a single slab of an apparently soft slate.

The great thickness of the western wall precluded the provision of stair lights in that wall. The stair well is separated from the northern face by only a thin wall, now largely broken away, creating a great featureless ragged hole, probably marking the site of an opening. The surviving jamb of a door indicates that doors through the southern wall gave access to minor chambers.

The size of the stair window opening at second-floor level (Fig. 6,iii) suggests that it was dressed with freestone (now robbed). A destroyed loop above it had a sill at the point where the two sloping overhangs of the 'inverted V' met. There was an overhanging horizontal opening immediately below it, like the surviving example in the main second-floor chamber. This allowed defenders to fire down vertically through the apex of the overhang.

The first-floor minor chamber: Within the western wall there is a tall splayed embrasure containing a robbed opening (Fig.6,ii). It is covered by a stout stone lintel. Immediately above it the western wall is destroyed. This first-floor chamber was separated from the spiral stair by a door of which the western reveal now survived; a gap shows the door was once dressed with freestone jambs.

To the west of the vanished dividing wall, the spiral stair gave access to a minor chamber at first-floor level. The western side of this door still survives. In other late tower houses (such as Togher) the first floor seems to have been a kitchen, so this chamber may have been an annex to the kitchen. The presence of a door from the spiral stair suggests that there was no direct communication between the two chambers because they would have been at different levels.

The first-floor chamber: Only the northern wall survives (Fig.6,ii). The window was a single light opening, originally dressed with freestone and apparently identical to the spiral stair windows. An inaccessible opening in the centre of the wall probably leads to a garderobe, later removed and blocked whose shaft may be seen in the northern face. The recess is covered by a stone lintel projecting slightly from the wall face. There is a flat relieving arch over it.

The north-eastern corner of the chamber is undercut by a curious press, square in plan. Its corner position may have been intended to provide the chamber with a diagonal light-source which would light the chamber more evenly. The broken eastern wall is overhung by the northern side of a large round arch, destroyed to the south. The window would have been comparable in scale to the surviving second-floor window.
It can be assumed on analogy with Castle Donovan that this chamber was the kitchen with a fireplace in the western (partition) wall. The presence of a garderobe is unusual.

The surviving north side of the north doorway shows that, like the floor below, the chamber was directly entered from the spiral stair.

The second-floor main chamber: This is densely obscured by vegetation on both sides, and even its height is difficult to see. The floor level seems to be marked by an offset a considerable height (c.1.5m) above the tops of the first-floor openings, there was presumably a similar offset in the lost south wall, enabling a floor to be laid resting directly on this without corbels and wall plates.

Analogy with Castle Donovan and other ground entrance tower houses shows this was the principal chamber and a very wide window embrasure pierces the northern wall (Fig.6,iii); it is covered by a semi-circular arch; both splay sharply towards the interior. The underside of the arch is smoothly mortared over. Some of the window dressings remain in situ, these include half of a sill and the stooling. These indicate that the window was three lights wide. Part of a hood mould and the western label stop also survive. This is finely cut, with chamfers above and below, terminating with a 'dogleg'. Above the hood is an external flat relieving arch. The window was three lights wide. There may have been a similar window directly opposite in the southern wall.

The window overlooks but is displaced to the east of an ‘inverted V’ recess with a wide flat aperture at the apex. This has been blocked with a slab. It is not clear if the slab is a permanent blocking or not. The window is flanked by two finely cut gunloop holes to allowed the north to be enfiladed by fire. Each hole is formed from a pair of freestone blocks. Half of the gunloop channel was cut into each block and the two were then joined together. There is a striking contrast between the execution of the window and gunloops, and the crude ‘inverted V’ recess below them. The lost partition wall probably contained a fireplace.

The second-floor minor chamber: Nothing now survives of this chamber, but its past existence is implied by the remnant of an ‘inverted V’ recess in the west wall. No doubt the chamber also gave onto a third ‘inverted V’ recess in the destroyed southern wall, balancing the one in the northern wall (reached from a loop in the spiral stair). The chamber was apparently floored with timber, there seem to have been no vaults in this tower house.

The roof, gables and wallwalk: At no point does the full height of the tower house survive. No trace of a wallwalk is visible under the thick vegetation: comparative evidence strongly suggests that there
was another floor, now destroyed; this may have followed a similar layout to the extant example at Castle Donovan. The lost floor, in this case, served as the private chamber of the lord of the tower house. Coolnalong, in that case, would have fallen into the socially segregated category of unvaulted ground entrance tower house. The form of the roof, gables and wallwalk can be conjectured in the same way from related tower houses, such as Ballinward and Castle Donovan.
Figure 6.1
Ground plan
Figure 6.ii
First floor (S)
Figure 6.iii
Second floor (S)
Plate 6.1
Coolnalong: general view from the north-west
The site: This fragmentary ruin is built on a ridge of extremely hard and dark-grey Old Red sandstone. A long sharply forked promontory runs out into Dunmanus Bay. The higher (northern) 'tang' forms the site of the tower house. To either side of the prongs, there are small steeply sloping gravel beaches. The ground immediately inland is poorly drained, a seasonal stream draining into the south beach. To the north and south of the promontory, the land shelves gently into the bay. The view encompasses the whole of Dunmanus Bay, permitting the entire 20km coastline of the Sheep's Head peninsula to be scanned. As a result, the site is very exposed, contributing to the piecemeal destruction of the tower house.

The name: The tower house stood within the area of the O'Mahony Fionn clan (Fig. c). Its name - 'Beacan's fortress' (O'Donoghue 1986, 9) implies that it was built within a pre-existing round fort. A shell midden observed early in the century (Westropp 1915, 282) may date from that period. An extensive wave-cut platform to the west of the promontory may well be the site of a ringfort destroyed by the waves.

The history: The majority of the O'Mahony tower houses in Ivagha were built by or for the sons of Conchobar Cabach. Dunbeacon castle was allegedly built by his brother Dohmnall. This seems to be a traditional rather than documented attribution. Because this Dohmnall had no surviving issue, it is recorded that a subsequent chieftain of the clan donated the vacant sept territory to his own son (O'Mahony 1909, 125). Such a re-apportionment of vacant clan lands was entirely proper (Westropp 1915). Because the unnamed occupant's son was still alive in 1600, the transfer must have happened in the Sixteenth Century.

If it is assumed that Dohmnall was born c.1400, he may have built the tower house at any date during his adult life (c.1420-c.1470). Despite its poor preservation, the ruin preserves construction details and techniques that can be compared with other tower houses.

The head of the Rossbrin family joined the Desmond rebellion but the chieftain did not, as he had to look to the interests of the clan. The pobal was threatened by the pro-English Owen O'Sullivan
(O'Mahony 1910,9) who held the Beara peninsula (Fig.b). He exploited the holes in the O'Mahonys' defences. Dohmnall of Rossbrin was probably joined by the lord of Dunbeacon, which guarded the northern shore of the peninsula from land forces. O'Mahony pointed out earlier this century 'A long peninsula such as Ivagha might be raided in remote parts by marauders, who could retreat before the clansmen could be concentrated.' (O'Mahony 1910, 9) O'Sullivan invited the younger brother of the Earl of Desmond to carry out quick raids into O'Mahony territory. It is probable the Dunbeacon cattle were taken and the tower house ignored. Such raiding was obsolete among the southern chieftains, but was still the practice of the House of Desmond.

The pedigrees preserved in the British Museum record that the occupant of Dunbeacon at this time was Dohmnall, son of Finghin of Crookhaven, a first cousin of the chieftain (O'Mahony 1910,9). The tower house and four ploughlands were confiscated, and passed into the possession of an English settler who probably built a timber house to the east. The O'Mahonys did not attempt to reconquer the lost part of their pobal; instead they contented themselves with attacking and burning the tower house, an event recorded in a letter written by an English judge in 1588. The tower house probably remained a ruin.

In 1592, the chieftain, Conchobar Fionn III, successfully obtained a 'surrender and regrant' of the remaining O'Mahony Floinn lands (Ó Murchadha 1985, 235). The Dunbeacon estate seems to have partially reverted to his heir as a 'chiefrie' or rent. When the chieflancy (or lordship) passed to this heir in 1602, his inheritance included the castles of Ardintenant [17], Dunlough [21] and Ballydivlin [78] (destroyed) with chiefries from the occupiers of the other castles. Evidently he held part of the Dunbeacon lands (though not the tower house); for he was stripped of them in 1616. Then, ignoring his now-legal title, a royal grant was made of much of his lands, including part of Dunbeacon, to Dominick Roche of Kinsale (Ó Murchadha 1985, 235). Like much of Carbery, the 'castle, town and lands of Downebekon, 3 car. [ ucates] (c.360 acres), viz Downebekon, on which the castle is built' fell into the hands of Sir Walter Coppinger (Copinger 1884, 42) and is mentioned in his regrant of 1614. Like many tower houses of this period, it was no more than a pawn in a property battle between rival settlers; being mentioned simply to distinguish that part of the townland held by Coppinger from the part still held (though not for long) by the O'Mahony.

Another land-acquiring Englishman, Sir William Hull, seems to have acquired the townland from the Coppingers in the intervening period, for he was living there at the time of the 1641 revolt. He acquired much of the O'Mahonys' traditional lands by acquiring leasehold interests from impoverished landholders (O'Mahony 1910, 22). The clan therefore used the opportunity of the revolt to eject Hull and his followers from the peninsula. The clan was virtually dispossessed by systematic forfeitures and the O'Mahony connection ceases after this date.

The mention of a 'town' in Coppinger's regrant is intriguing but misleading. The use of 'town'
elsewhere in the regrant implies the term was used to cover any settled population in the townland. The townland’s population was by no means all O’Mahonys: in 1577, a Harrington (termed ‘gent’) was pardoned; among those pardoned in 1601 was a Coughlan and an O Herlihy, both ‘husbandmen’. All lived in Dunbeacon (Ó Murchadha 1985, 75, 89, 193) illustrating that the control of a territory by a clan does not mean that the population were all members of it.

O’Mahony gave no description of Dunbeacon in his account but published a photograph. This records the western half of the south? or north? wall standing, as a separate fragment, to nearly its full height. Westropp made a few laconic observations while carrying out his pioneering survey of forts five years later. Other than this, the structure has never been surveyed or analysed. The visible part of the ground floor is nearly featureless.

Description of the tower house

**The condition:** The tower house has collapsed in neat vertical segments. The separate vertical strips must have fallen, one by one, without disturbing the remainder. As a result, the remaining fragment of the east wall has a remarkable chimney-like form.

**The masonry:** Long thin slabs were used to build the walls. The stones closely respect the horizontal and there are no clearly defined lifts.

At the base, mortar was used lavishly and the facing stones are irregular. Towards the top of the tower, they are more tightly laid, presenting a smoother surface. The stones in the wall core are smaller and more irregularly laid. The mortar is relatively soft and consists largely of beach sand and worn sea-shells from the nearby shore; c.25 per cent of the volume of the mortar consists of the ‘coral’ sand Lithonamium.

The surviving corner is sharply defined. The openings would probably have been dressed in freestone.

On the eastern face four horizontal rows of putlog holes are each separated by the height of a man (c.1.8m). The sockets form vertical, rather irregular rows. Above first-floor level the upper part of the fragment is bare of sockets. More sockets survive in the stump of the northern wall.

The fragment is not founded directly on the rock; instead, a platform foundation (separated by a slight offset) was built from large square slabs which are now exposed beneath the north-eastern corner (Fig.7,i). Thus, despite the irregularity of the site, the fragment rests on a flat base. The foundation
was defective. The mortar's lack of strength meant there was little to counteract the walls' tendency
to separate along lines of windows and fall outwards.

**The setting-out:** The surviving fragment shows signs of settlement. The eastern batter is more
pronounced than the northern. The upper part of the northern wall is apparently vertical, but its
eastern counterpart slopes significantly. The kink in the surviving angle is probably the result of
settlement.

The position of the surviving first-floor corbel allows an estimate to be made of the north-south
dimension. The chamber was c.7.13m long. If it is assumed that the southern wall was the same
thickness as the northern wall, the external length was c.10m, making this a relatively small tower
house, perhaps resembling Ardintenant.

**The ground floor:** This is mostly filled in from the collapse of the other parts of the tower. Only the
north-eastern corner and a featureless length of the eastern face are now visible (Fig. 7,i). The north-
south orientation of the long axis is unusual. The northern wall appears too thin to have contained
the necessary intramural staircase for an entrance suggesting that the entrance was in the long axis,
but this is uncertain.

The 1908 photograph records a tall oblong loop, robbed of its dressings, in the centre of the lost
southern or northern wall. The single corbel projecting from the eastern face marks the chamber's
ceiling level. Immediately below the corbel are two deep (c.61cm) sockets (Pl.7,i) probably used in
construction. Comparative evidence indicates that the ground-floor chamber was a byre.

**The first floor:** The position of the surviving reveal suggests the eastern window was two lights wide
(Fig. 7,ii). It is likely to have been dressed with freestone and its embrasure was large enough for
people to stand in.

The chamber possessed at least two openings in the vanished northern? southern? and eastern walls.
The vanished opening was not central, it may have been as large as the eastern window. This
provision suggests domestic usage.

Set against the north-eastern corner, is a cuboid? press.

**The second floor:** The vertical continuation of the western wall face and the survival of a battered
corbel (just above the first-floor window reveal) are the only remaining indications of this floor (Fig. 7, iii). The wall face rises about a metre above this corbel before ending raggedly. Comparative evidence shows this to be the skewback of a typical RE second-floor barrel vault. Analogy with other O'Mahony tower houses indicates it lacked stair access and was very poorly lit but this is pure supposition.

Evidence for a single loop may exist in the 1908 photograph.

The third floor: Above the vault the eastern wall is greatly diminished in thickness; the scar of the north wall is correspondingly thin (Fig. 7, iv). Although the top of the ruin is fairly flat, there is no obvious capping. The most noticeable feature is a tall (c. 2m) oblong opening with a flat lintel. This is an insertion. It probably held a large timber-framed window and was later partially blocked. Such enlargements are also seen at Dunlough [21] and Dumanore [25].

To the south, the fragment's west face terminates with a vertical reveal dressed with edge-set slabs. This was a central eastern window, probably with two lights. The reveal is separated from the eastern face by a vertical gap, caused by the removal of large stones.

An unusual feature of the western face are the four horizontal slots between the surviving and destroyed windows. These ascend, alternating from left to right and were probably driven into the wall to take the timber (or stones) of a partition wall, constructed between the inserted eastern window and the original.

The ruin's flat top suggests that it survives to just below the level of the wallwalk. The third floor was over twice the height of the chambers below; the reduced wall thicknesses also made it longer and wider. This was the principal chamber, again a standard feature of the RE tower houses.
Figure 7.1
Ground floor
Figure 7.ii
First floor
Figure 7.iii
Second floor (S)
Figure 7.iv
Third floor (S)
Plate 7, i

Dunbeacon: the west (internal) side
CASTLE SALEM

Townland of Benduff, Ross Parish

6° 134. 25' CXXXIV;14
NGR W 2687 3860
SMR 3062

The site: Castle Salem stands on a ridge of rock running along the bottom of a deep valley. To its south, a small and overgrown stream runs to the estuary of Rosscarbery 2km to the south west. The site is 45 metres above sea-level; the south side of the valley rises gently to 91 metres, but to the north it is overlooked by a steep hill, 183 metres high: the situation is very sheltered. A belt of lush meadow, probably once a marsh, separates the ridge from the steep slope. The siting of the tower house had little strategic significance other than the isolation and concealment provided.

The name: The original name of the tower house was Beann Dubh (Benduff), which means the 'black peak' (Coleman 1922, 68). This probably refers to the hill rather than the tower house.

The history: The Annals of the Four Masters record that Catherine, the daughter of the Earl of Desmond, built this tower house (Ó Murchadhá 1985, 54). She was married to Finghin MacCarthy Riabhach who claimed the overlordship of the whole of Carbery. He had an army of 1000 foot and 30 horsemen and demanded a yearly rent of all the clans settled in the region (Butler 1904). His domain lands were mostly around Kilbrittain in the east of the Survey region and the Benduff ploughiands were an outlying holding, administered from the tower house. Catherine died in 1506.

Brief mentions of the misdemeanours of subsequent owners confirm that it was held by the MacCarthys until the English Civil War. The tower house seems generally to have been held by a member of the senior family, but not the chieftain. In 1615, Florence MacDonell MacCarthy obtained a grant of extensive lands, including his own ancestral domain (Ó Murchadhá 1985, 129). This must have been one of the last instances in the Survey region of an Irish lord regularising his estate on the English model.

The peacetime relationship between the Anglo-Norman citizens of Rosscarbery and the surrounding chieftains remained delicate for centuries. Twenty-seven years after the regrant the same Florence (Fineen) was accused by Arthur Freke (in his account of the siege of Rathbarry Castle) of taking 'away all my corne stacked by Rosse, on my lands called Downings, and every night stole my cattle and sheepe from Rathbarry' (Ó Murchadhá 1985, 129). As a result, Florence was attainted and his estate
forfeited. It passed to an ex-officer of the New Model Army, William Morris, a Welsh Baptist who had incurred Oliver Cromwell's displeasure by turning Quaker (De Breffney & Ffolliot 1975, 75). Morris removed the upper part of the tower house, replacing it with a slated roof. He was an intimate friend and correspondent of William Penn, the Quaker founder of Pennsylvania (Coleman 1922, 68). It was probably Morris who renamed the tower house 'Salem'. His son Fortunatus built a new house after his father's death in 1681 (De Breffney & Ffolliot 1975, 75) but there is reason to suppose part of the extension pre-dates 1641.

Though Coleman mentions the tower house it has never been surveyed or described except in the briefest manner by D. Donovan (1876) and the recent archaeological inventory (Power 1992a, 321).

Description of the tower house

The masonry: The long axis of the plan follows the strike of the rock and therefore the tower house has a similar orientation to other rock-founded tower houses in the Survey region. The local slate is used (a disused modern quarry nearby indicates long-established exploitation of the rock); the stone-laying is average by the standards of the region. There is a clear change in the masonry; long, thin slabs were used in the base, they were dressed only on the side that was to form the face and quoins. At second-floor level, short squarish blocks indicate that a different source of stone seems to have been used. Above this level, the quoins are formed from carefully dressed large slabs set on edge, in contrast to the lower work. A freestone was used for ogival loop dressings. The south wall is rendered observing the masonry techniques used. The ground, first and second floors survive; a barrel vault implies the past existence of further floors. The interior finish is slightly inferior to the exterior and no putlog holes are now apparent inside or out.

The north-west angle rests on a crude foundation that has been exposed by erosion of the surrounding deposit.

The setting-out: There is no batter either of the base or the superstructure. The plan has slight irregularities and the east (entrance) wall of the tower house seems to be 10 cm longer than the west wall, but it is difficult to make direct measurements. Verticality and definition of quoins and corners is slightly 'blurred'. The south and east walls are obscured by later buildings (Pl.8.i), making it impossible to make direct measurements of these aspects.

The timber floor was of conventional tower house design, with wall plates supported on the corbels; upon these rested the large floor joists which supported the floorboards.
The ground floor: The ground-floor chamber has a modern cement floor, apparently at the original floor level. There are now three entrances; the original east entrance is under a seventeenth-century newel stair (Fig.8,i). There is an entrance at first-floor level above it. The ground-floor entrance has been narrowed from its original generous width. The near semi-circular head and jambs are intact but the door has been narrowed. Vertical joints in the masonry about 0.38m from the inner face of the wall indicate that the east wall has been thickened. This must have occurred almost immediately (see below).

The chamber is now entered through a timber-framed door set in an oblong opening in the west wall and a south entrance, both are inserted. The west door may have marked the site of a loop. The door is flanked by two large presses against the western re-entrants which probably held lamps.

The south entrance now leads into the eighteenth-century scullery but its east reveal is original work, with a socketed splay at the south edge some distance from the external face of the tower house. The length of the splay shows that the south loop differed from the intact north loop which has a hour-glass plan (Fig.8,i); the clearly defensive form was suitable for the short Irish bow or the crossbow.

The ceiling is formed by a timber floor that rested directly upon large rough corbels c.o.3m long in the north and south walls. There are three in the north wall, but only one of the south corbels is missing.

Apart from the rough hourglass loop, the only external feature is a large triple-chute garderobe outlet, divided by a central pillar.

The chamber seems to have served no domestic role because it was separate from the rest of the tower house. The size of the door suggests that prize beasts could be herded into the basement at times of unrest. The timber door is apparently modern.

The east wall's build is too thin to support the intramural passages in the walls above. A thickening was therefore applied against the inner face of the wall; the problem was recognised when the first-floor level was reached.

The first-floor entrance and intramural passage: The east wall contains an intramural passage, entered through the outer door, and was made slightly thicker than the walls to accommodate it (Fig.8,ii). The door is displaced towards the south-east corner away from the door into the first-floor chamber. This entrance was probably reached from a timber ladder whose off-centre position prevented it from obstructing the ground-floor entrance. The first-floor inner chamber could not be forced from the outside. The external entrance could be barred by a short drawbeam which slid into
a deep socket in the north reveal when not in use. The door may have been of 'cross-ply' construction, with the inner layer of planks against the back of the jambs and the outer layer following the line of the reveal and soffit. Two bowloops, now blocked, flanked the raised entrance, but there is no sign of a murder hole.

The passage leads to a doorway. Inside the north-east corner of the tower house there is a garderobe chamber with rendered walls. The miniature press in the wall was probably for grass or some other medieval equivalent of lavatory paper.

The garderobe retained a timber double seat until recently, which was a post-medieval replacement of the original. The chamber is lit by a small loop (the dressings are lost). The timber door frame in the rebates to the south is probably a modern feature.

The first floor: This chamber has undergone several major adaptations. The door into the chamber lacks dressed stone jambs. There are three openings: the west is a perfectly preserved ogival loop within a splayed embrasure of triangular plan (Fig. 8,ii). A miniature shutter pivot hole is in the freestone sill, behind the south jamb; a miniature drawbeam socket, set back 3cm (the thickness of the shutter) from the rear of the jamb, is halfway up on the opposite side of the embrasure. A slopstone channel leading from the floor of the embrasure to the outer wall face is under the sill. The simple window moulding is heavily chamfered; the head (formed from a single block) is of ogival form with plain spandrels. Glazing was absent. The north ogival loop is identical but the splay was later enlarged to make a large and irregular square embrasure. Enough of the original embrasure survives to show that, like the west loop, it was originally of triangular plan. An external slopstone slab projects from below the sill of the partially blocked opening.

The south window embrasure was enlarged at the same time. The ogival loop was removed to insert a sash window. This second alteration probably occurred long after the enlargement of the embrasure.

Presses are positioned against the corners of the chamber in the north and south walls. Neither is cuboid and the south press is unusually twice as high as it is wide.

The chamber is plastered; the upper limit of plaster forms a horizontal margin on the west wall showing that it was applied while the timber second floor still existed. It is applied over the enlarged embrasures showing it to be post-Cromwellian. The existing timber first floor is not original. The timber second floor is missing but the plaster indicates that it survived until a late date.
The second-floor intramural passage and garderobe chamber: The masonry surrounding the narrow spiral stair protrudes into the south east corner (Fig. 8, iii). An intramural passage in the east wall serves the same role as the passage below. It gives access to a central door in the chamber's east wall. A tall blocked embrasure is directly opposite this door in the passage probably conceals a ogival loop at the centre of the east wall.

The passage turns through 90 degrees in the north east corner to form a garderobe chamber. The timber seat over the slate-lined loop has vanished; the garderobe is placed about 50cm further to the west than the one below, and has a separate chute. A small loop in the north wall is devoid of its original dressings. The provision of garderobes on all floors is an unusual refinement.

The second floor: An ogival loop survives in the west wall, this was blocked until recently (1991); it is displaced markedly to the south of the second-floor loop below (Fig. 8, iii). The blocking must have been carried out while the timber floor existed. Its embrasure is lintelled by a single massive slab. The standard form of the ogival loops and embrasures is unusual at this tower house. The uniform embrasures and door/window drawbeams imply a rapid construction but the change in the treatment of the quoins at second-floor level and a complete alteration in the form of the corbels between the first and second floors indicated a protracted pause in construction.

The widely-spaced corbels on the north and south faces of the chamber are completely different from the corbels that supported the first floor; they consist of slabs of slate cut to a quadrant and set on edge.

There is another widened sash opening in the south wall where a creeper swathes the inaccessible summit of the tower house. The enlarged window implies that this chamber was used well into the post-medieval period, while the sixteenth-century floor survived. It is not clear if it marks the site of an earlier opening, but its position under the vault skewback argues against this.

An intact north fireplace confirms the domestic nature of this chamber. The fireplace does not project into the chamber, and the back is deeply recessed to permit sufficient hearth area. The two sides corbel in to form the narrower flue above, and the chimney back slopes away, to shift the flue in the wall face. A massive oblong slab of slate, now cracked, was placed on edge to form a chimney breast, above it is a small relieving arch, and there can be little doubt that this is an original feature, one of the earliest in the Survey region.

A pointed barrel vault runs along the long axis of the tower and covers the chamber at a comfortable head height from the vanished floor. The spiral stairs ascend two metres beyond the second floor and meet a rough blocking. A third shaft rises through the corner of the vault and the past existence of a
chamber above the vault cannot be disputed.

The third floor: The top floor or principal chamber of the tower house was removed by William Morris towards the end of the Seventeenth Century (Coleman 1922, 69). Many reasons can be advanced for this truncation but its native Irish connotations and the need for stone in the extended wing prompted the complete removal of the principal chamber down to the upper edge of the barrel vault. A slate roof was built directly over the vault. This survived until the 1960s, but the present penetration of damp, worsened by the removal of ivy, threatens the integrity of the structure (1989).

The floor of the lost principal chamber corresponded with the apex of the barrel vault. Something of its layout can be reconstructed from the ‘services’ that lead into it. Like most of the tower houses in the Survey region, the entrance to the principal chamber was in the south east corner. The spiral stair probably continued to rise uninterruptedly to the wallwalk as at Oldcourt [16]. The garderobe chamber was in the north-east angle and was reached from an intramural stair above third-floor level. The essential layout resembles Kilcrea [30] which gives an indication of the possible appearance of the destroyed principal chamber. It can be reasonably assumed that there were no additional floors above what was probably a tall chamber with a pitched roof above it.

The seventeenth-century extension: This wing is built against the east wall of the tower house obstructing all the earlier openings; it is two floors high and is of L-shaped plan. The continuation of the north and south walls of the tower house is probably the older, pre-Cromwellian part of the building. The massive chimney crowning a projecting haunch on the north side, is oblong and heavily corniced with projecting weathering courses in the east and west sides. It is reminiscent of chimneys used at an early seventeenth-century house nearby, Coppinger’s Court commenced in 1606 (Copinger 1882, 38). This indicates that the northern part of the extension dates from the pre-Cromwellian period.

The original extension was probably of simple oblong plan, extending the north and south walls of the tower house. A similar extension can be seen at Kilcrea and formed an open court. The Castle Salem wing may have originated in a similar manner being roofed and heightened later. A timber stair probably formed the precursor of the existing stair. Fortunatus Morris re-used the shell of the old extension when building his new house. This was completed by the time he made his will in 1686 (De Breffiny, FFolliot 1975, 75).

Other subsidiary structures: A roughly-built revetted terrace to the north-east of the tower house has a noticeable batter. Mortar was used and there are traces of a harling. The revetment seems to be the basis of a demolished curtain-wall. An extension of this wall to the east is unbattered and is of dry
construction. A southwards return may therefore be marked by the joint. This would have enclosed an outer ward.

The slope to the south of the tower house has two large east-west terrace walls separating poorly-drained meadows above a stream now choked with vegetation. These terraces can be identified as the site of seventeenth-century formal gardens that were still remembered in the Nineteenth Century (Donovan 1876, 123).
Figure 8.i
Ground floor
Figure 8.ii
First floor
Figure 8.iii
Second floor
Plate 8, i

Castle Salem: close-up view from the north-west
DOWNEEN CASTLE
Townland of Downeen, Ross Parish

6° 143, 25° CXIII 7
NGR W 2898 3460
SMR 3072

The site: Downeen Castle is situated 1km south of Rosscarbery, Co. Cork. It stands on an island separated from the mainland by a crevasse; no ready form of access now exists. The island is less than 50 metres long and 25 metres wide and is surrounded on three sides with an amphitheatre of cliffs. Extensive jagged wave-cut platforms are revealed at low tide. The situation is very exposed, and there is no present-day settlement within sight. The tower house directly overlooks the open ocean.

The name: Duinin means 'little fort'.

The history: Except that it is now alleged to have been held by the O'Cowhigs, virtually nothing is known of the history of this minor stronghold (Donovan, 1876). This family were dynasts (or chief lords) of the territories now known as Barryroe East and West; Barryroe corresponds to the area of coastland between Clonakilty and Timoleague. They originated as a sept of the O'Dnscoll clan who held the south-west part of Carbery (Burke, 1910, 28). It is possible that Downeen was connected with the Duggans. Butler's map (Fig.c) indicates whoever lived there was a member of the MacCarthy Reagh family, or one of their tenants. In 1577, Donald O'Dowgan of 'Downyn' (a gallowglass and a MacSweeney follower) was pardoned on two separate occasions by the English authorities (Ó Murchadha, 1985, 134). Ó Murchadha guesses that this is 'Doonens' in Drishane parish, Muskerry, but the distinctive spelling in the document suggests it could refer to Downeen. An authority upon the history of the area is uncertain of its attribution (Coombes, 1972, 44) and one must conclude that the fact is not of great importance, other than to know it was built for a minor family.

The only published description of this site (Westropp, 1914, 111) is chiefly concerned with the earlier earthen fort.

The stronghold of Downeen, like Dunanore [25], has been cut off from the mainland since the Sixteenth Century. The Pacata Hibernia mentions a timber drawbridge 'resembling the seat of Dunluce in Ulster' which presumably met some sort of gate structure several metres north of the present edge of the island. This stronghold 'the Downynges' is convincingly identified with Doonendermotmore by Coombes, a fort near Toe Head (Fig.b) but could refer to Downeen.
Description of the tower house

The masonry: Although the north wall has been destroyed by the erosion of the cliffs, the east and west walls partially survive, the latter being better preserved, while the south wall is intact. There is no base-batter, the walls being apparently vertical. The local bedded limestone is employed with a durable mortar, and the construction is of high quality, revealing the hand of an accomplished mason. Roughly quarried slabs were used with one side cut flat to form the wall face. More extensively cut slabs were used to form the corners, but no freestone was used for the mouldings. The individual slabs were horizontally bedded in random coursing, small chips of rock were used to plug the gaps between the tightly fitted slabs. They are as densely packed at the core as at the face of the wall.

The setting-out: The plan is very regular and wall thicknesses are equal (Fig.9,ii). Computer analysis of dimensions shows that a unit of 26.68cm was used and several whole dimensions were employed. It therefore seems that the tower house was designed in some detail.

The ground floor: The pointed door in the south wall is constructed without freestone. In the north edge of the shallow recess is another small square niche which accommodated the door’s inner handle, allowing the door to lie flat against the wall.

The floor is soil directly on the rock. There is a large cuboid lamp press in the south corner of the west wall, but no surviving openings. Access to the upper floors was gained through a raised entrance in the east wall, part of which survives. In the south-east corner is a sloping oblong shaft through which it is possible to climb. Bulky provisions could be hoisted directly into the first-floor chamber through the sloping shaft. The chamber probably served as a storeroom.

Over the chamber is a pointed barrel vault running north-south. Oblong vault centring corbels project from the east and west sides of the chamber. A corresponding wall plate socket below the level of the head of the door embrasure, shows that the corbels could not have supported a floor.

It is possible to predict the length of the ground-floor chamber from the regular spacing of the surviving corbels in the west wall; the chamber is assumed to have three corbels on either side.

The west wall is torn away at a finished face, marking a garderobe chute. This face runs up, past the barrel vault, to the first floor.

The first floor: The reduced thickness of the walls made this chamber significantly larger than the
one below. Its walls are smoothly rendered with mortar. In the south wall is a twin-seated embrasure
with a small robbed loop (Fig.9,iii). The generous concave embrasure permitted a wide field of vision.
Just behind the jamb are paired drawbeam sockets. To relieve weight on the flat lintel of the
embrasure a void was built over it, in its turn covered by another slightly smaller lintel.

The south side of the raised entrance survives in the east wall. Like the intact door below, the arch is
neatly turned from local Old Red sandstone. The side of the square embrasure rises vertically from
below the apparent floor level and it seems the door was two or three steps below the floor. There is
no trace of a window in the opposite wall.

This chamber was probably the principal chamber, distinct from the ground-level hall. The size of
the chamber fits in with the interpretation of Downeen as the home of a minor family.

The south-east and south-west corners of the chamber are 'chamfered' creating offsets upon which
the second floor rested. In the west wall are two small presses rendered in mortar, probably for
storing plate. In the south-east corner of the chamber is a large cuboid lamp press. In the north-west
corner there was probably an intramural garderobe chamber, the vertical shaft discharging at the base
of the tower house.

The spandrels of the barrel vault, now visible in section, were infilled with soil to create a level floor
surface. The apex of the barrel vault is capped by a large slab, underpinned by smaller slabs to either
side of the barrel vault keystone.

The second floor: This chamber was the same size as the one below, but has square corners (Fig.9,iv).
The floor was supported by the corner offsets and intermediary corbels. The mortar render also
covers this chamber and appears to have been applied before the floor timbers were placed on the
offsets and corbels.

The south wall is penetrated by a ragged hole (Pl.9,i), the site of a small robbed loop. Above it a
succession of horizontal overhangs supported a gable, now fallen. By widening the top of the wall,
they permitted it to co-exist with a wallwalk and parapet. Another gable would have stood on the
opposite wall.

The south side of a window embrasure survives in the east wall. It is less finely finished than the first-
floor embrasure below. The head of the embrasure was 'stepped' by a succession of narrow flat
lintels. This may be an inserted window.

A chamber above the principal chamber seems incompatible with the presence of a central hearth.
The second floor was probably used as a bedchamber or solar.

The wallwalk and parapet: The inaccessible wallwalk is apparently built from cut oblong slabs that overhang the internal face of the west wall by about 20cm. Externally, the foot of the parapet is marked on the west and south sides by an irregular string of thin projecting slabs. On the east side, there are regularly spaced separate slabs. Sloping slabs carried rainwater off the roof and through the openings at the foot of the parapet where it was thrown clear by the projecting slabs. The string does not run around the corners of the tower house.

The parapet appears to survive to its full height on the south-west corner of the tower house, where it is capped by a string course. One side of a splay survives in the side of the merlon. The parapet at Downeen seems to have consisted of very wide merlons separated by narrow splayed crenellations.

It is probable that an intramural stair or turret in the north wall gave access to the wallwalk (Fig. 9,v) and that the parapet otherwise ran uninterruptedly around the top of the tower house.

No evidence for the roof survives, other than it was presumably of pitched timber construction.

The earthwork: Immediately to the east of the tower house, a low bank runs north-west; it survives most clearly where cut through by the north cliff, a section shows it to be entirely built from earth or puddled clay. This may be the remains of a ringfort. At its best-preserved point it is about 1.0m high, but to the south it peters out imperceptibly (Fig. 9,i). The name of the castle strongly suggests that the earthen defences pre-date the tower houses by centuries.

The west segment of the rampart is invisible, if present, beneath long grass. It was probably about 10m to the west of the tower house. The old land surface originally rose gently towards the west.

The crevasse that separates the site from the mainland is recent; the tower house bears witness to the enormous volumes of rock eroded by the sea in the post-medieval period. It was evidently ruinous before the destruction of the north wall, as robbing took place of the now inaccessible second-floor south window, the gable and parapet. Throughout the life of the stronghold, the island was still part of the mainland, connected by an isthmus of rock. This supports Coombes' contention that this is not 'the Downynges' referred to in Pacata Hibernia (see above).

The surrounding masonry structures: A single side of a building is c.1.0 metre in height, and is apparently of dry-stone construction. The wall represents the south side of a square or oblong
structure, with a door in its centre. The east and west sides are visible for short lengths, the west wall re-emerging briefly to the north. The author measured this by triangulation, confirming that the walls have the same orientation as the tower house. The wall is probably the south end of a ground-floor hall which seems to have extended beyond the present north edge of the island. What remains suggests that the building stood against the west wall of the tower house; it was nonetheless an independent structure, rather than a lean-to. The absence of masonry scars on the tower house (and the inferiority of construction) suggest it was constructed separately, almost certainly later.

On the south extremity of the island is another fragment of masonry, a short right-angled corner, from which the walls still extend short distances. The wall was built as a revetment against the side of the island. This is the last visible trace of a curtain-wall that may have joined up with the south-west corner of the building. The east course of the curtain-wall has been destroyed by erosion; it probably skirted the edge of the peninsula.

Two other stretches of possible wall are visible and hint at the presence of well-preserved archaeology under the turf.
Figure 9.i
Plan of island, showing auxiliary structures (1:200)
Figure 9.ii
Ground plan
Figure 9.iii
First floor (S)
Figure 9.iv
Second floor (S)
Figure 9.v
Wallwalk
Plate 9.1
Downeen: general view from the north
The site: This greatly altered structure occupies an excellent defensive site, which is formed by a projecting spur between two deep cut gullies. The ground falls away sharply on all sides except the north where the land rises gently. The contrast between the flat site and these sharp slopes suggests deliberate landscaping. To the south the land slopes sharply into the harbour of Glandore. The tower commanded a view of the entire haven and the open sea.

A complex of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century buildings now stands behind the tower. The interior is still inhabited and access is not possible. The base of a large tower of oblong plan forms the shell of a house which re-utilises the old walls to about half the height of the original tower. The entrance wall seems to have suffered most extensive destruction. The ragged edge of the original fabric visible in the east face indicates that the tower house collapsed, rather than being intentionally demolished.

The name: The castle was originally known as Cloch an tsraid baile ‘the stone fortress of the street town’ (Kenneth Nicholls, pers. comm.).

The history: The head of the Barretts of Munster, a Cambro-Norman family, built some form of fortress here in the Thirteenth Century on the ‘mote’-like site, and perhaps dug out the gullies to enhance this. This fortress was destroyed by the Irish in 1260 (Coleman 1922, 45). In the mid-Sixteenth Century, the cloch came into the possession of Dohmnal Óg Cartan O’Donovan, who was the head of a sub-sept of the O’Donovans (Clann Lochlainn) junior to the Clann Chathail who built Raheen [12]. Dohmnal died in 1580 and his son Dohmnall Oge became chieftain. This was four years before the succession of the Clann Chathail chieftain who allegedly built Raheen. Dohmnall Oge probably razed what remained of the Norman structure and built an entirely new tower. Glandore and Raheen are ‘siblings’ which must be very similar in date and are the work of the same team of masons.

Dohmnall Oge surrendered and obtained a regrant of his lands in 1615, with power to empark the manor of Cloghetradbally, plus the customs and royalties of the port of Glandore (Ó Murchadha 1985, 128).
The income from the harbour probably aided the construction of the tower house. Dohmnall Oge died in 1629, and his heir, Murtagh became head of the sept. Murtagh was declared an outlaw in 1643, as was his son Daniel. The Clanloughlin lands were confiscated and the castle fell into disuse (ibid., 127).

Description of the Tower house

The masonry: Only the east side is unobscured by render and it can be seen to be built out of random rubble with freestone dressings, now much weathered. The south wall is sixteenth-century. The east side retains the lower part of an ‘inverted V’ like those surviving at Raheen and documented at Glenbarrahane [13].

The setting-out: The structure is of oblong plan, and the dimensions of the base are (above the base-batter) 12.56m x 9.48m. Not enough survives, or is accessible enough, to comment on the regularity of execution.

Glandore’s short side is 75.47 per cent of the long side, 6cm in excess of a perfect 3:4 ratio. The oblong plan was probably determined by this simple ratio. Too few independent measurements survive to allow the determination of the unit, but the tower house must originally have been one of the larger ones in the Survey region.

The exterior: The south wall is coated with roughcast cement, and an inserted recess runs its entire height. The recess forms the porch for an early nineteenth-century door set back 0.93m in the wall face (Fig.10.i). It is flanked by large sash windows with deeply splayed embrasures inserted (see below). The west and north walls are hidden by abutting modern buildings.

Until recently, a ruinous masonry structure of unknown date adjoined the west face and it was possible to see that the west wall was (apart from nineteenth-century battlements) of medieval date. The masonry structure has been demolished and this face is now obscured by a new extension. The north face is concealed by an early nineteenth-century house, with a turreted porch in the ‘gothick’ taste.

The ground floor: Both the south and east faces have perceptible batters, the latter sloping in 14cm from the present ground level to the point where the ‘inverted V’ commences (Fig.10.i).
At the north-east angle, the base-batter and the upper part of the tower are flush. However, commencing from the corner, the slight overhang of the ‘inverted V’ steadily deepens, while sloping upwards to pass over the top of the blocked loop. It is formed from long thin slabs deeply embedded in the wall; these cantilever to support the overhanging wall face. At 2.5m from the north-east corner it is broken off at the ragged edge. The layout of the tower house probably resembled Ballynacarriga [3] in its essentials, but it was a more carefully-built and sophisticated building, as is witnessed by its ‘sibling’ Raheen; a structure which is smaller and lacking its eastern wall.

Only the lower part of the east face is original fabric. The joint with the later rebuild is ragged and far from horizontal. The visible east wall would have formed the outer skin of a double wall. This inner wall was completely removed when the ruin was converted into a house.

The sixteenth-century fabric survives to its highest point in the north-east corner (c.6m) but falls gradually to the south. The original fabric probably survives to its greatest height in the south-west corner, and falls brokenly to the south-east corner which only survives to a height of approximately 2.5m.

A blocked doorway exists at ground level, it is not quite central, but is displaced 0.41m towards the north-east angle from the median line. It is dressed from large blocks of weathered freestone; the pointed head being formed from two curved blocks. The moulding consists of a simple chamfer and rebate which form a large outer order. Within this is an inner jamb which apparently had a simple square profile which may have originally been slightly chamfered. The entire external casement slopes with the base-batter. In the apex of the door at the junction of the two voussoirs is a round channel about 10cm across, sloping from the interior of the tower. This is a dual purpose feature, acting as either a gunloop or the chain hole for a ground-pivoted yett of the sort also used at Ross Castle, Killarney.

The first floor: A small loop survives at first-floor level, near the north-east angle; it is intact but has been blocked from within. It is formed from four dressings, comprising the sill, the two jambs and the head, the external moulding being a heavy chamfer. The ogival head has a distinctive ‘flattened’ form. Triangular cut-outs form the spandrels. This loop would have illuminated an intramural passage at first-floor level. It probably extended the entire length of the east wall, and would have had lancet windows at both ends. The passage probably contained a windlass for the yett chain. A murder hole may have existed over the entrance lobby as at Carriganacurra [12].

Archaeologically, the site is of considerable interest because it is the only case of a tower house built directly on the site of a Cambro- or Anglo-Norman stronghold in the Survey region: only archaeology could confirm if this was a mote.
Figure 10.1
Ground plan

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CASTLE IRE
Townland of Listarkin, Myross Parish

6° 142, 25° CXLII:II
NGR W 20 34
SMR 3088

The site: The shapeless remains of this tower house can be seen in the profile of a hill above Union Hall. The castle stands at the brink of a sharp slope to the south, and is built out over the edge of it. The panoramic view is extends from Galley Head to Toe Head.

A gently sloping ploughed field about 100m wide lies to the north of the building; it is below the rock platform on which the tower house stood. The strip of land is overlooked by a rocky scarp. The rock face forms part of an excellently preserved minor ringfort. The ringfort has steep ramparts of orange-brown fine earthy matter. The interior is flat; due to the lie of the land, the walls of the ringfort increase in height to the south-east, but the north side is partially formed by (and sheltered by) the small scarp. There are no ditches but a gate with a surviving stone jamb interrupts the rampart.

The name: CAISLEN IOMHAIR 'Ivor's castle'; an early occurrence of the name is 'Castell Ivire' 1607 (O’Donovan 1851, 2441).

The history: Collins of Myross (an unpublished eighteenth-century antiquarian quoted ibid., 2439) recorded the tradition that Ivor was a celebrated trader and he stated that it was built in 1251; details of the masonry (see below) indicate that this tower house is in fact broadly contemporary with the other RE tower houses of the Survey region.

Collins (extensively quoted in Cronnelly 1864, 259) indicates that the castle was long held by a small O’Donovan sub-sept, a collateral branch of the ruling sept called the Slíocht Iomhair (Ó Murchadha 1985, 126). One ‘Ire Donovan’ supported the candidature of Diarmuid An Bhairc 'from being bred at sea' (Cronnelly 1864, 259) who seems to have derived from this sub-sept. The sub-sept was overthrown by Dohmnbh II after he killed their candidate for the Clann Cathail chieftainship in 1560; their castle was then allegedly ‘...partly broken down...’. It is known that the Cromwellians blew up two O’Donovan castles ‘...with powder...’ (O’Donovan 1851, 2448). The specific mention of ‘...the Castell...of Castell Ivire...' in a 1607 inquisition (see above) implies that the eighteenth-century Collins, ignorant of the facts, used the earlier account to account for the tower house's destruction. Raheen [12] was undoubtedly burnt (author's observation) by Cromwellian forces and the only other
Clann Cathail tower house, apart from Castle Donovan [4], was Castle Ire. The damage to Castle Donovan is quite recent and it seems that Castle Ire was the second tower house blown up in 1650.

Collin's account (which O'Donovan relied upon) indicates that it was only as late as 1584 that Donnell II gained complete control over the ancestral 'customs, royalties, dues and privileges' in the ports and bays of Castlehaven, Squince and Blind Harbour (O'Donovan 1851, 2445). These small bays indent the coastline east of Castlehaven and the implication is that the original Iomhair sept controlled these havens from Castle Ire.

After its capture, Castle Ire may have acted as the watch-tower of the Clann Chathail. By 1607, the tower house was an insignificant part of the possessions of the Lord of the Clann Cathail who is recorded as residing at the more sheltered tower house of Raheen in 1629 (ibid. 2446). It presumably was intact until 1650. Apart from the Archaeological Inventory description (Power 1992a, 328) no description exists. The author's description is based on a comprehensive triangulated survey carried out in 1983.

Description of the Tower house

The survey reveals that the structure was probably not technically a tower house, being longer than its height. It is included due to doubt on this score. It may have originally resembled Nendrum Castle, Co. Down (Jope 1966, fig.160); although the similarity is striking it is presumably coincidental.

The masonry: Two discrete masses of masonry are visible above the turf. The north fragment is founded directly on solid rock and stands to a height of 6.32m. It incorporates the north-west angle and has recognisable storeys which are described in succession. The south structure is the remains of a battered eastern end, and incorporates remnants of both eastern angles. The two are separated by a sharp fall in the terrain with no evidence of masonry (Figs. 11, i & ii).

A 'random rubble' coursing was used for the superstructure, but this name belies the skillfulness of the masonry. The large rounded facing blocks were laid with a very hard white mortar mixed with a coarse slate beach sand. Lifts are not apparent. The surviving openings are dressed with split slabs of sandstone and their internal embrasures are lintelled over. Cut quoins of Old Red sandstone were used in the surviving north-west angle and it is therefore sharply defined.

The exterior of the north wall is perforated by a rectilinear arrangement of putlog holes. These are typically 0.17m in scantling and 0.37m deep (Fig.11, iii) and four are visible in the north face (Pl.11,i).
They supported cantilevered putlogs deeply embedded in the walls. It was therefore necessary to cut them off; the sockets were subsequently revealed when the sawn-off timbers rotted away.

The setting-out: There is a pronounced and constant base-batter of 0.26m on the north and west faces which terminated at first-floor level. The surviving remnant of the west wall is vertical above the base-batter but the north face has a discernible batter of 7cm over its surviving height of 4.3m. The tower house seems to have been better preserved in 1842, because the Ordnance survey shows a shaded-in rectilinear structure with a clearly defined eastern wall.

If the upper level of the base-batter is assumed to be horizontal, it is possible to reconstruct the short axis as c.6.7m wide at the top of the base-batter. The same projection of the southern base-batter allows the long-axis dimension to be reconstructed as c.14.9m at that level.

Other clues to the original width survive in the north wall. If it is assumed that the first-floor loop and the putlog hole below it were central in the wall the short axis would have been 6.5m at the top of the base-batter. This measurement is probably the more accurate of the two.

Despite the fragmentary nature of the north structure, it incorporates eleven surviving independent dimensions that permit a statistical calculation to be carried out; this reveals that the unit was only 0.23cm shorter than the statute foot; however the reconstructed north-south axis dimension subdivides as 49.25 units, which (taking the impression of the ‘projection method’ into account) suggests that it was in reality 50 feet. The short-axis dimension bears no regular relation to the long axis.

The north and south walls are parallel to the strike of the rock and the entire complex is therefore orientated roughly north-north-west to south-south-east.

The ground floor: The interior of the building is filled up to the top of the ground floor with the collapsed remains of the upper part of the building. Little survives of the ground-floor (Fig.11,i & ii) it is featureless except for an hour-glass loop in the north face. The angle of the base-batter is severely robbed, but the outline can be traced at ground level. A slab with an oblong hole carved through it was set on edge in the north west corner (Fig.11,i) at the level of the lintelled head of the north opening. The west wall is 9cm thinner than the north wall at the top of the base-batter.

The internal floor level is presumably level with the bottom of the north-west angle. This indicates that a depth of 1.4m of rubble fills up the ground-floor chamber immediately behind the surviving loop. The presence of a barrel-vault (see below) indicates that an east-west party wall existed at a
distance more than 3.2m from the north wall. If it is assumed that the eastern wall was of the same thickness as the west wall, the northern ground-floor chamber can be reconstructed as c.3.96m long and c.3.2m? wide. No visible evidence survives of the ground floor to the south of the putative party wall, but comparisons with similar structures outside the Survey region, allow the probable form of the ground floor to be reconstructed (see below).

The first floor: A simple single splayed loop directly pierces the north face (Fig.11,iii). The lintelled embrasure is stepped inward (Fig.11,i). The internal face of the north wall is corbelled inward a short distance, before meeting an irregular break. Above that point the broken margin of the barrel vault terminates at a regular wall face.

The ceiling of the first floor was formed by the barrel vault that ran east-west. The first-floor loop embrasure bisected the north springing of the vault and the highest surviving lintel of the embrasure (Fig.11,iii) probably marks the level of the vault apex. The remainder of the vault would have been supported by a party wall (see above). The spandrels of the vault were infilled with solid masonry.

The timber floor may have rested on wall plates that ran east-west. The peculiar pierced-slab socket (Fig.11,i) may have held one end of these wall plates. The absence of corbels to support the north wall plate is a problem with this interpretation. An oblong socket is set in the corner of the west wall above the lower slab socket. This regular socket supported one corner of the barrel vault centring and is a normal constructional feature. The lack of headroom ruled out the re-employment of the socket to support the floor. The crudely inserted pierced slab may have been added after their impracticality was recognised. Even then, headroom was restricted to c.1.6m.

Second floor: The torn core of the vault rises for some height on both north and west walls, but then stops abruptly at a horizontal line, above which is the careful facing of a second-floor chamber (Fig.11,iv). Short lengths of wall meet at a surviving north-west re-entrant; the west wall is significantly thinner than the north wall, but little remains of either, and the maximum surviving height is 1.18m above the internal offset (Fig.11,iv). There is no evidence of any features.

If it is assumed that the surviving thickness of wall was typical this chamber would have been markedly more spacious than the rooms below. The slightness of the walls suggests that there were no additional floors above the second floor.

The second-floor chamber may have formed a north-south principal chamber running the length of the long axis. The north wall was probably thicker than the west wall because it had to support a gable for a north-south pitched roof.
The south end: The land falls c. 3.7m over the length of the long axis. The angles are severely robbed (Fig.11,ii). The south wall seems to have been thinner than the north wall, and projection indicates it was only c.0.78m wide at the top of the base-batter. This supports the probability that the tower house was not very tall. The width of the long-axis walls at the south end cannot be determined without excavation, but the west wall appears to be thicker than the south wall.

The surviving southern wall probably acted as a revetment for dumped material upon which the northern floor level was laid.
Figure 11.i
Longitudinal section
Figure 11,ii
Ground plan
Figure 11,iii
First floor
Figure 11.iv
Second floor
Plate 11,i

Castle Ire: the north face.

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The site: Raheen Castle stands on the eastern shore of Castletownshend Bay, 6.5km east of Skibbereen. The tower is built upon a rock outcrop on the south-west shore of Castletownshend Bay. The ground on the east (landward) side of the tower is relatively flat but falls irregularly to the south and west. A small level area lies to the north of the tower. The low-lying field to the south may have formed a small inlet when Raheen was built.

The name: Rathin na nGarraidhte means ‘little earthen-ramparted chief’s residence of the gardens’ (O’Donoghue 1986,42). One early occurrence of the (anglicised) name is ‘castle, town and lands of Rahine’ 1615 (O’Donovan 1851, 2444).

The history: Raheen Castle is said to have been built by Dohmnall II O’Donovan of the O’Donovan senior branch, Clann Chathail, who succeeded his father in 1584 (O’Donovan 1851, 2441). A manuscript history by a local school-teacher and poet is the sole evidence for this otherwise unknown date. It is more probable the tower house is a generation earlier than 1584 judging by the architecture (see below).

Roughly 22 small ragged holes concentrated below the west window. Small iron cannon balls are still embedded in two of these. The damage may date from an incident in the Nine Years War when at the end of 1600, the fleet of Sir Richard Levison came to attack the Spaniards at Castletownshend (Glenbarrahane [13]) (Coleman 1922, 67). One of the vessels must have sailed far into the bay to carry this out. Alternatively the bombardment may have been carried out by a Cromwellian ship (see below). Robbing of now inaccessible features indicates that the fallen east wall was not destroyed in the Seventeenth Century, although the interior was burned then.

In 1607 an inquisition in the Rolls Office, Dublin, states that Raheen was the head of a manor containing two ploughlands (O’Donovan 1851, 2441), presumably in the immediate vicinity. Two half ploughlands, each containing another castle also formed part of the manor. The name of one castle is lost, the other is Castle Ire [1].
In 1629, Dohmnall made his will at Raheen which was apparently his normal residence. He had eleven sons and the eldest Dohmnall III O'Donovan succeeded him in 1639-40 (ibid., 2447) when he obtained livery of seizin from the King. Dohmnall II had taken the precaution of surrendering his lands to the Crown and having them re-granted under English tenure in 1615 (ibid., 2443). This was a very late surrender and regrant compared with other lordships in Cork.

Dohmnall III was a strict loyalist who actively supported Lord Castlehaven in 1641 in the captures of Mallow and Doneraile (ibid., 2448). A certificate by the Earl of Clancarty states that he raised two companies of foot, at his own charge (the tradition of 'rising out' at the chieftain's call probably still had some effect). He was therefore a target for Parliamentarian vengeance, for in 1650 'the Usurped Power fell then immediately on all the castles, houses and lands of the said O'Donovan, burning, killing and destroying all they could come by, and have blown up with powder two of his said castles, &c.' (ibid.).

Description of the Tower house

The tower house stands approximately 20.5m high. All timber parts have vanished. The east wall is missing with half of the north wall.

The masonry: The tower is constructed from Old Red bedded sandstone. Edge set slabs form the quoins. Much of the outside is still covered with a mortar render that largely conceals the underlying stonework (Pl.12,i). No putlog holes or distinct lifts are apparent. The windows were dressed in freestone. No stone in the tower is greater than a man's burden.

Excavation would probably reveal the lowest part of the east wall of the ground floor. This wall probably failed due to inherent structural weakness.

The purple, glazed and cracked appearance of the inner wall face of the chambers below the vault are the result of intense heat caused by the burning of the floors, probably in 1650 (see below).

The setting-out: The south wall is longer than the intact west wall. The tower house was therefore rectangular in plan but the full length of the plan does not survive (Fig.12,i). The plan can however be reconstructed. The long axis coincides with the strike of the rock. The missing east wall was probably provided with an 'inverted V' recess like the three surviving walls (Pl.12,i). The position of the east face can be restored if it is assumed that the apex of the 'inverted V' recess (in the south wall) is central. From this it is apparent that the east wall was considerably thicker than the west because
the position of its internal face is known. This is of importance in understanding the layout of the tower, because the wide or 'double-skin' entrance wall probably contained intramural passages and chambers.

The short axis of the first-floor chamber is 5.13m wide and 6.19m long. The ground-, first- and second-floor chambers shared its dimensions.

The southern foundation commences two metres below the foundation of the north side because the tower house was built on a highly irregular site. The north west corner displays the top course of a foundation offset and c.1.7m of rubble conceals most of the ground floor chambers.

The ground floor: The base-batter stops at first-floor level at the corners of the building but then the inverted "V" shape recesses deepen as they run towards second-floor level. Two surviving loops face downward at the apices. The overhangs are supported on a continuous course of cantilevered slabs, carefully shaped and set.

The square opening in the west base-batter is the external outlet for garderobes and overhangs a sharp slope (Fig.12,i). Paired shafts above the opening indicate the past existence of two separate latrines.

No evidence of an entrance survives in the existing sides, indicating that it was in the east wall. The entrance to the chamber was in the south-east end of the destroyed east wall. The door (when open) lay against a shallow recess in the south wall. The implication is that the spiral stairs were contained in the south-east angle, directly behind the door, as at Carriganacurra Castle [32].

The ground-floor chamber must have been dark and poorly ventilated, with only one loop on the south side. The large internal embrasure commanded a wide field of fire to the south.

The exterior on the west side shows a very large patch of masonry filling what must have been a huge demolished hole in the wall. The garderobe outlet with two flues is set below a simple blocked loop. These indicate the past existence of an intramural garderobe chamber which was completely destroyed by the robbers. Any remaining evidence for the garderobe chamber was hidden when an unknown benefactor had the hole filled up long after the tower house was abandoned.

The pattern of burning reveals how the tower house was burned. The ground floor is much more severely damaged than the second floor; so much so that the entire outer surface of the wall has flaked off. The internal face of the first-floor chamber is less severely affected, but the entire interior is discoloured. The internal face of the ground-floor chamber is partially lost, exposing the wall core; what remains of the facework has an unusual purple/pink colour, with a smooth glassy appearance.
it is severely crazed, where it has not spalled away entirely.

The collapsed half-burnt timber floors piled up in the ground floor, completing their combustion after several days of smouldering. The loss can be distinguished from the results of later stone robbing.

Two wall plates rested upon the rows of projecting corbels. The corbels were originally larger, but all that survives are shattered stumps. The ends were embedded in the west and east walls. Thick joists rested upon the wall plates. The corbels were therefore well below the floor surface indicated by the original sill level of the first floor west embrasure (see below).

The first floor: The internal face of the south side is largely destroyed, due to the destruction of the inner wall of an intramural passage. The passage was entered from its east end by a doorway (Fig.12,ii). Behind this door the east splay of a window embrasure survives. The passage extends into the south west corner of the tower, where it is illuminated by a short loop, complete except for the east jamb. It has a square head and simple chamfered moulding. The passage ends abruptly with an irregular masonry blocking that impinges into the splay of the loop.

The west window has an arched internal embrasure. The lower third of this embrasure was blocked. The surviving half of a freestone window sill retains a pivot hole for a shutter. The stooling on the sill shows a chamfered jamb and there is no glazing groove or other evidence for glazing. The room was also provided with a corner press.

A modern masonry repair abuts an original reveal in the north wall.

The east limit of the south wall terminates with a vertical rebate where the entrance from the spiral stair was. The door swung into the rebate when open.

The timber floor and shuttered openings made the first floor rather more suitable for domestic use than the chamber below. In its primary form, a person could stand in the large west embrasure. Although this window probably had a defensive role, the light is not specifically adapted to that purpose. The opening was probably rectilinear like the surviving blocked opening.

The southern passage originally led to a garderobe chamber in the west wall, later completely filled with masonry. Another central opening with an embrasure perforated the north wall. The east wall probably contained an intramural passage with a murder hole (Carriganacurra) over the lobby, and a gunloop pointing into the apex of the entrance (Glandore).

The raising of the sill of the west window occurred during the life of the building. It created a window seat.
The second floor: The chamber is ceilinged by a partially destroyed barrel vault. The south haunch of the vault contains a small irregular intramural chamber, lit by a central ogival loop (Fig.12,iii). Beneath it a downward-pointing loop looks into the apex of the 'inverted V' recess on that side. The loop is flanked by two round gunloops. A further small opening can be seen at this level near the angle which suggests that the south intramural chamber once extended as far as the south-west angle. The opening probably acted as a ventilator for a third garderobe. This passage was filled in in response to the structural reasons which plagued this tower house (see below).

Though much of the north springing is destroyed, enough survives to show that the north side was the mirror image of its southern counterpart. Externally, the west side follows the same pattern as north and south sides. A very large blocked embrasure in the west wall contains a small blocked door. There is a blocked loop with a square head decorated with pecked ornament; this too is flanked by two small round gunloops. When the west side of the tower began to give signs of structural failure further support was provided by building a wall across the large embrasure, converting it into an intramural chamber; the door into it being as small as possible. This was not the end of the problem and the chamber was filled in with masonry. The first- and second-floor garderobe chambers were probably filled in at the same time.

A small press, much smaller than the one in the first-floor chamber is in the south west corner of the chamber.

The intramural chambers were purely defensive: they gave access to the overhanging apertures, from which complete command of the wall foot was possible; 'dead' areas in which attackers were safe were eliminated by this device. An archer could take aim on distant marks through the central openings; it was however impossible to take aim once a gun was inserted into the loop. That aiming was not important implies they loaded with fine shot which scattered over a wide area in a short distance. The gunner would presumably first glance through the hole to determine the general direction of the enemy.

The barrel vault: The collapse of the east half of the tower clearly shows the construction technique of the barrel vault in section. It was pointed but only the upper part of the apparent vault is a true arch, with extensive corbelling commencing at the level of the thresholds of the second-floor doors to form a skewback c.2.5m high. The voussoirs diminish, reducing the thickness of the arch as it approaches the apex; the irregular upper surface of the vault was not buried in mortar or earth but was left exposed. The burning of the lower three floors demonstrates that the vault was a fire barrier.

Internal offsets level with the apex of the top of the vault indicate that a timber floor was immediately over but otherwise unconnected with the vault.
The high corbelled skewbacks of the barrel vault reduced the 'true arch' and minimised the centring, the skewbacks also reduced sideways thrust. The timber floor allowed further weight reduction because the spandrels of the vault did not have to be filled up to create a floor.

The third floor: This was the largest in the tower. Its pre-eminence is emphasised by the three large windows, one in each wall (Fig.12,iV). The north and south windows were positioned against the west corners and have been robbed of their dressings and internal embrasures; only the west window survives sufficiently well to hint at its original size. The impressions of the dressings imply a twin-light window probably with a square hood-mould, it is however very difficult to see the internal features of this chamber from the ground and it is quite inaccessible.

One side of an embrasure or door survives in the broken edge of the south wall. This probably marks the position of the door into the third-floor chamber from the vanished spiral stair. This door was in the south-east corner of the castle like the first-floor entrance.

The window embrasures are overhung by a horizontal jetty that runs all the way around the surviving part of the chamber increasing the thickness of the wall above it; there are two opposing rows of beam holes just above this offset. Two more jetties corbel the gable substantially inwards, permitting space for a wallwalk and parapet in front of it on the western wall (Fig.12,iii).

The main chamber of the tower formed its social and organisational heart. Cooking was probably carried out on a large fireplace in the east wall, or in a separate eastern chamber as at Ballynacarriga [3].

The fourth floor: The technique of timber flooring differs from the subvault floors because the joists were set directly into the wall as in a modern building. A single loop survives in the gable indicating that the attic chamber was inhabited and perhaps used as a bedchamber (Fig.12,v).

The battlements: The wallwalk runs around the surviving part of the tower and consists of large slabs gently sloping towards the outer face. The slabs slightly overhang the inner face of the wall. The parapet is pierced by rainwater outlets at regular intervals, slabs projecting under these allowed run-off from the pitched roof to be thrown clear of the wall face. A south-western machicolation is supported by corbels (Fig.12,v). The corbelling is in two stages; the initial support is provided by three quadrant-shaped corbels of freestone well below that of the wallwalk; angular supports above these hold the lintels.
The parapets are carefully constructed from small stones. Two or three gunloops piercing the parapet can be discerned from below. At least three more are concentrated on the machicolation, one at the angle and the other two in the re-entrant where it joins the main parapet. It is probably that a level coping of dressed stone has been robbed as there is no evidence of merlons and gunloops seem to have pierced the parapet at regular intervals.

The gable throws some light on the construction of the roof although it is largely hidden by ivy. The edge is deeply rebated and is coped with dressed freestone. Four sockets in the inner rebate held 'stub' purlins which laterally braced timber wall plates on which the trusses must have been seated. The purlins were parallel with the edge of the gable. The depth of the gable's step implies that the common rafters were of deep section. The roof may have been stone tiled or slated.

The spiral stair would have probably emerged from a turret in the south-east corner and the general balance of the design suggests that a machicolation over-sailed the north-east corner. A gable would have stood on the east wall opposite the survivor.
Figure 12,i
Ground floor (S)
Raheen Castle: Raithin

Figure 12.ii
First floor
Figure 12.iii
Second floor
Figure 12.iv
Third floor (S)
Figure 12.v
Wallwalk and attic (S)
Plate 12,i
Raheen: the north-west angle
The site: The tower house stands on the west side of Castlehaven Harbour, just over one kilometre south-west of Castletownshend.

The approach road runs along a wooded glen with a small stream. On the north side, the ground rises continuously to a high ridge that shelters the site from the north. The site is to the south of a small gravel beach flanked to north and south by extensive wave-cut platforms. The stream is now culverted under a cement fishing quay that divides the beach from a burial ground, in which stands the surviving gable end of a medieval church.

Only a fragment of this tower house survives, but photographs, depictions and descriptions allow it to be described.

The name: Gleann Bearchain 'St. Berchane's glen'

The history: The tower house of Glenbarrahane is first heard of in connection with Donnchadh O'Driscoll, head of the Sliocht Thaidhg O'Driscoll in 1601 (Ó Murchadhá 1985, 179). Comparative evidence with documented tower houses allows it to be closely date (see below).

The tower of Glenbarrahane was certainly in existence by 1601 when it was the witness of an important series of events in the Nine Years War. On 6th December, 1601, Don Pedro De Zubiaur led a small Spanish squadron of six supply vessels into Castlehaven harbour. Donnchadh Mac Conchobair was there to welcome them and hand over Glenbarrahane (Coombes 1972, 40).

The tower changed hands between the Spaniards, English and Irish in a succession of counter-moves. The lands of Donnchadh were finally forfeit after his exile to Spain. The tower house escaped damage became the property of the Audley family (Donovan 1876). George Touchet (Lord Audley) was created first Earl of Castlehaven in 1616, and he may have lived in the tower house. The title was enjoyed by the Audley family until 1777, when it was abolished.
Glenbarrahane is known to have been occupied for many years, it was used as a Protestant rectory, after the Reverend Thomas Somerville took it over in 1732 from a tenant of Lord Audley, and he is reputed to have lived 'in state, in tapestried rooms with handsome brass fireplaces surrounded by blue dutch tiles' (Somerville-Large 1973).

Description of the tower house

The visible remains: The structure was still entire if tottering in 1876 (Donovan). Photographs show that the west (entrance) wall had fallen by the 1900s (see below). Two low stretches of walling, apparently at right angles, survive: the north side is longer than the east (Fig.13.i). The north side sits on a steep rocky outcrop; only at the east end does it survive to an appreciable height. Only the outer face of this north wall is visible. It can be traced westward 11.33m at which point it is destroyed. The approach road runs down this side of the castle, falling very steeply towards the beach. It forms a hollow-way that cuts within 2.5m of the surviving west end of the wall and clearly marks the position of the lost N.W. angle. This indicates a length at the base of c. 13.5 - 14.0m

The north-east angle has been robbed of most of its quoins, but still stands to about 2.85m high. Within this height it slopes ('batters') 22cm. A square garderobe outlet pierces the wall near the angle. The east wall can be traced for a minimum of 8.46m but the south-east angle is completely destroyed above ground level.

An external reveal in the east wall marks the site of an opening, perhaps defensive (see below; Fig.13.i).

Significant remains of the ground floor are concealed under a sloping mound of rubble piled highest inside the surviving corner. South-west of the dense undergrowth that covers the pile of rubble there are two meadows, one lower than the other and separated by a terrace wall. Incorporated in this rubble wall is a stretch of good masonry, probably part of an associated house or other ancillary structure.

Documentary evidence: The tower house can be reconstructed from documentary sources. These include a brief description published in 1876 and a water-colour in the author's possession of about the same date. It depicts the north side of a virtually intact, though roofless, tower house (Fig.13.ii). An unpublished photograph shows the tower after the west wall had collapsed in the mid-Nineteenth Century but before its final collapse in 1924 (Somerville-Large 1973).

The views show a typical tower house which had at least four floors and a pitched roof. Only the north
face is visible. The visual records indicate that this lost tower was strikingly similar to Raheen Castle [12]. Both possessed the inverted 'V' overhangs on all sides. All records, written and drawn, confirm the essential similarity in internal arrangement of Raheen and Glenbarrahane. The orientation of the plan was different and apparently even larger than another (fragmentary) 'inverted V' tower house nearby at Glandore [10]. On that score, this tower house was apparently a near replica of Glenbarrahane. The use of a 3:4 plan at Glandore indicates that the basal dimension of Glenbarrahane was c.14.0 x 10.5m.

The ground floor: Donovan’s account (1876) describes Glenbarrahane as having a ‘spacious and nicely cut hall door of freestone’ which stood in ‘the south-west corner’ of the west wall. It no doubt resembled the surviving example at Glandore which is more central. A ‘long chimney shaft that runs the whole length of the wall from top to bottom’ is also mentioned but this could be a garbled reference to the spiral stair. At face value, this can be interpreted as meaning that multiple flues served fireplaces on all levels, including the ground.

Donovan also mentions ‘an arched floor of stone’ that ‘divided it into two storeys’. This doubtless refers to the vault below a third-floor principal chamber; he failed to recognise the past existence of timber floors.

Part of an ancillary building could still be seen adjoining the west wall in the watercolour. On the photograph, a single loop illuminating the ground floor is visible, displaced towards the north-east angle.

The first floor: At first-floor level, the watercolour depicts two oblong twin-light windows with stone mullions and transoms, which symmetrically flanked the centre of the north face. Comparison with Raheen suggests that whatever the material, these were not original. They probable post-date any military role for the tower house. The west window was subsequently destroyed in the collapse of the west wall, and by the time of the photograph, the east window had been robbed of its freestone dressings, but the photograph indicates the openings were smaller than the depiction in the watercolour and are conceivably original features.

An inverted ‘V’ shaped recess is depicted in the north face and it can be safely assumed they were also present on the other faces. The floor of the east half met the north-east angle, but its counterpart in the west stopped well short of the north-west angle. The apex of the triangle was flattened off. Above it was a large oblong opening. To the east of it, a small loop is visible. To the west, in the corner of the tower, there was another oblong opening raised appreciably above the level of the central window. The offset nature of the ‘inverted V’ is a good clue that the entrance wall (west) was thicker than the
others to accommodate, amongst other features, a spiral stair.

The third floor: Comparative evidence shows this was the principal chamber. One large oblong window was located in the extreme west of the north wall. A horizontal line just above the head may be interpreted as part of a square hood moulding. At this level, the only other aperture was a small loop to the west, probably illuminating a spiral stair in the north-west angle.

The roof: A level wallwalk can be seen in the pencil and wash view. The gable, on the east wall, had a sharp border. A corbel jutted from below the south-east angle of the wallwalk probably to support a machicolation on the north-east corner. All the parapet had been overthrown except for a fragment on the south wall.

The north-west corner formed a turret about 3.5m higher than the general level of the wallwalk (judging by the scale of the figures in the foreground). The turret was pierced by a tall loop in the north face; below it was a further oblong window (again with part of a possible hood moulding) which dips below the level of the wallwalk to the east of it. This would have lit the spiral stair as it opened on the north wallwalk.

It is clear that the Raheen tower house, dated to after 1584, is the closest analogue to this tower house. It is therefore probable that Glenbarrahane was built at about the same time (Chapter 5e).
Figure 13.1
Site of ground floor
The site: This tower house stands on a platform of rock overlooking a small inlet on the southern shore of Dunmanus Bay. Like many sites selected for forts and tower houses, the rock was scraped bare in the Ice Age. It is surrounded by undulating land falling from high ground (150m O.D.) to the south. Glacial drift deposits to the south of the tower house are now primarily used for dairy farming. Although a road now skirts the rock from the sea, the rock originally shelved directly into the water. A shallow inlet immediately to the south of the platform is now crossed by a road bridge. To the east is the harbour of Dunmanus Bay.

The name: Dun Maghnuis 'The fort of chief Manus' indicates that this tower house was built on the site of an earlier fort. The name 'Manus' is Danish (O'Donoghue 1986, 7).

The history: Dunmanus was an O'Mahony stronghold; the family probably became wealthy from exacting customary dues from the continental fishing fleets (Appendix III). In addition they were probably involved in trade. Tradition relates that Dunmanus was built by Donogh More of the O'Mahony An Fionn Fartharach ('of the Western Land') during his long wait as tanist to the O'Mahony chieftainship. This lasted from 1427 when his brother succeeded until his own succession in 1473. He lived only two more years (O'Mahony 1909, 125).

Although the later history of the O'Mahony Fionn is well documented, the castle escapes further mention until after the Disaster at Kinsale in 1601 when the Irish mostly submitted to Carew. The O'Mahony Fionn continued to hold out, and they garrisoned two of the strongest tower houses on the coast of south-west Cork, Leamcon Castle [22] and Dunmanus (O'Mahony 1910, 16). On the 26th May (new style) while the Earl of Thomond was besieging Dunboy, he despatched a raiding party to Dunmanus which succeeded in bringing off a 'prey of threescore and six cows with a great many Garrans [working horses]'. On 4th June, a body of soldiers 'went to Dunmanus Castle, which was held and guarded by rebels, which they surprised and kept the same, killed four of the guard' (ibid., 17).

Dunmanus was eventually recovered by the O'Mahonys. 'Fynine mac Thaddeus Gankagh O'Mahony' died there in 1643, leaving an heir, also Thaddeus (Ó Murchadha 1985, 235). The castle, like much of
West Carbery, underwent a spell in the estate of Sir Walter Coppinger, being listed in his 'regrant' of 1614. (Coppinger 1884, 42). It is possible that as well as arranging mortgages with the impoverished chieftains, he also (at a price) acted as a 'front' for the outlawed and technically dispossessed.

The planter William Hull occupied the nearby Dunbeacon Castle [7], and by acquiring leasehold interests from impoverished O'Mahony landholders, greatly encroached on the clanlands. In 1642, the entire O'Mahony Fionn clan besieged him and his retainers at Crookhaven, forcing his retreat by sea. In his depositions, he mentions as 'chief robbers' - 'Great O'Mahowone alias O'M Foone (Fionn) of Kilmoe, in the Barony of Ivagha, gent., Denis Ruadh O'Mahowone, Lord of the Castell of Dunmanus, gent., and others.' (O'Mahony 1910, 22). After Hull and the other planters had been driven out, the members of the clan helped the insurrection in other localities, and as a result the entire ruling class of the O'Mahonys was outlawed. This could not be enforced until the triumph of the Commonwealth, when the family of Dunmanus lost 1,600 acres (647 hectares). At the time of the Down Survey (1657) (O'Mahony 1910, 23) nearly all the O'Mahony castles were untenanted and described as ruinous.

A conflicting source states that in 1636, Daniel Mac Carty (alias Mac Carty Reagh) held 'Dunmeanus' Cal. Carew MSS, under date) and in 1655, Dermot na Buolly and others held it, eventually settling it with 200 acres to one Emmanuell Moore; 754 acres were eventually sold to Sir William Petty (Westropp 1915, 280). It is not known if Dermot na Buolly (of whom nothing else is known) was a member of the O'Mahony family. If so, this may have been a ruse to gain some benefit from the property before the enforcement of forfeiture.

As overlord of the O'Mahonys, Mac Carthy Reogh (Riabhcich) was still the ultimate owner of the O'Mahony estates. It was, perhaps his ancient interest that was sold in 1636. The term 'Dunmanus' may then, as now, refer to the townland as well as a stronghold, hence the confusion.

Smith described Dunmanus as being fortified by walls and flankers in the Eighteenth Century. (O'Mahony 1909, 73). Of these, no trace now remains. Apart from remarks by Westropp and O'Mahony, this castle has not been fully surveyed or studied but is briefly described in the Archaeological Inventory (Power 1992a, 326) and is mentioned by Ó Laoghaire (1981) in his article on O'Mahony tower houses.

Description of the tower house

The masonry: The tower house is built from the local Old Red sandstone. The rock splits readily into very thin slabs, and as even the smallest stones were used, little stone was wasted. A wide range of sizes were used, the largest blocks being sparsely scattered through the fabric, 'floating' among a
mass of much smaller stones. The side of each stone was straightened, but otherwise there was no
dressing. The largest stones are more common towards the bottom. The quoins are large blocks
dressed on two sides but otherwise unworked. A very hard mortar was used and mortar render
survives in the more sheltered areas. This external coat of mortar is probably not an original feature,
but was applied instead of a limewash late in the history of the tower house.

There are clear variations in the stonework; generally neatly horizontal, there are points where it is
much more loosely and erratically laid. The masonry was not ‘brought to courses’.

With the exception of the principal chamber windows, all openings were roughly dressed with slabs
of bedded limestone. The principal chamber windows were finely dressed from a very hard dark
blue/grey stone with veins of quartz. The texture is coarse and rather gritty.

The setting-out: The main entrance is in the east face, and the long axis of the plan is parallel to the
strike of the rock. There is a turret of exactly square plan at the south-west corner of the tower house
which is over a third of its area (36.6 per cent); both stand upon sharply battered bases. The batter is
offset in the east face due to the sharp fall of the rock to a hollow way immediately to the south of the
tower house (Fig.14,i). The base-batter therefore continues up to first-floor level on the north side, but
terminates at a much lower level on the south side and turret. The superstructure is gently battered
on the east and west sides, but the north and south walls are apparently vertical. The turret has a very
slight batter. Differentials in opposing wall lengths are very slight and while right angles are not
perfect, the inaccuracies are invisible to the unaided eye.

The walls are straight, with sharply defined corners. With the exception of the lesser faces of the
turret, all walls are covered by a regular pattern of putlog holes, formed by two vertical rows of sockets
on each face, close to the corners of the building. They stop below the tower house second floor. The
putlog holes probably derive from the construction of the building and were originally blocked by the
sawn-off stumps of putlog beams.

The tower house is well preserved (Pl.14,i) apart from the loss of the parapets. All timber elements
vanished hundreds of years ago through biological decay; there is no sign of burning.

The ground floor: This is entered from the east face; the north side of the entrance passageway is
separated by a rebate from the north wall of the chamber (a characteristic feature of these tower
houses). The door is neatly built with Old Red sandstone jambs. The arch is turned with thin slabs
and a sharply pointed head set within a recess. The base-batter causes this recess to deepen towards
ground level. It is unusual for such a ground-floor door arch to survive. A spudstone survives in the
foot of the rebate behind the east jamb. There is a drawbeam socket immediately behind the jamb on the south side, separated from the north jamb by a narrow gap.

The ground floor (Fig. 14, i) is lit by a tall loop in the south side, with a simple. The loop is flanked by two square lamp recesses. The east recess is perfectly cuboid (0.78m), but the west recess is slightly shallower. The ground-floor chamber is approximately 3.7m high from the rock to the first-floor door sills and was unconnected to the remainder of the tower house; the height of the chamber made it difficult for attackers to break through to the first floor, should they succeed in gaining access to the chamber.

This chamber was probably used as a cattle byre in periods of unrest and it was floored with mortar, periodically renewed.

On the west side of the tower is the outlet for a garderobe shaft. The two sides of the opening meet the head with a gentle curve. Much masonry has sagged and fallen away, but it was in the same state when Westropp described it over seventy years ago.

The west side of the turret is pierced by a ragged hole revealing a four-sided cistern under a barrel vault. A square opening passes through the vault (Fig. 14, ii). Concealed by rubble, the four sides continue to an unknown depth. The well must be driven through solid rock, and represents a considerable undertaking, but it was certainly an original feature of the tower house. The hole punched through the side of the cistern is probably not an act of 'slighting' carried out after the 1601 capture. Since the tower house was inhabited after this date, the hole is probably the result of later stone robbing.

A succession of barrel vaults running east-west form the turret floors. Apart from the first floor of the tower, there were no timber floors. The turret floors do not correspond in level to the tower floors.

The first floors of the tower and turret: The main entrance is set high in the east wall and is completely dissociated from the ground-floor entrance. It is possible, considering the great height of the raised entrance, that a forebuilding or other permanent stair was built to reach the raised entrance, although no evidence survives for this. The entrance is narrow with jambs carefully built up from small stones indistinguishable from those used in the wall fabric. The head, of which half survives, is turned from thin coarse slabs and was of semi-circular form. There is no trace of any provision for access.

The entrance gives direct access to the first floor. Rows of three corbels in the north and south walls project inwards c.0.26m. The chamber was lit by tall loops in the south and north walls (now
The triangular plan embrasures have projecting square jambs of split Old Red sandstone and are covered by lintels. There is an entrance to a small intramural garderobe chamber within the west wall; it lacks pivot holes or bolt sockets.

The garderobe is not accessible for inspection, but it is no doubt directly over the southern of two shafts. The north shaft falls from the third-floor garderobe (see below). The two are separated by only a thin partition formed by slabs set on edge.

The south wall entrance gives access to the first floor of the turret, via a downwards flight of steps (Fig.14,ii). A rebate behind its jambs is deeplysocketed in the west jamb and less deeply socketed opposite. A vertical bolt notch is above the west socket.

The turret chambers are fairly uniform, but the shaft in the first-floor turret chamber is unique to this chamber. Two very thin tall loops are plainly dressed with internal splays and extremely thick jambs cut from Old Red Sandstone. They therefore command a very restricted view. The west loop is perfectly preserved; the south one retains the upper parts of its jambs.

This 'well-head' chamber was accessible from the remainder of the building via the first floor. Should attackers break into the major first-floor chamber, the east door of the turret passage could be barred from within.

The tower second floor: This is externally marked by a short loop in the first-floor chamber of the tower, over the first-floor entrance, which lit an additional floor immediately under the vault. The chamber is covered by a pointed barrel vault, aligned on the tower's long axis but, apart from the splayed embrasure of the single loop, it has no other features (Fig.14,iii). Two small corbels project on either side (south and north) immediately below the vault springing. Sockets are against each re-entrant of the chamber in the east and west walls; their lower border is level with the upper edge of the corbels. The rows of corbels supported centring for the construction of the vault, but was re-utilised to support a floor. This additional floor had no door, and was reached by a timber ladder or stair within the first-floor chamber.

The barrel vault was intended to act as a fire barrier and unlike a timber floor could support a central hearth. The vault could to some extent serve to heat the chamber below by conduction, though whether this was intentional is hard to judge.

The intramural stair: An intramural flight of stairs rises from the south side of the raised entrance. At the south-east corner of the tower it meets a spiral stair. It is lit by four loops that alternate from
face to face on the corner of the tower: two survive intact.

The turret second floor: This small oblong chamber differs from the one below in having an additional loop in the north face. This is much shorter than the other loops. The north loop is intact; the others retain part of their jambs.

The tower third floor: The large and very tall principal chamber is now open to the sky (Fig.14,iv). The walls reduce greatly in thickness above the barrel vault and this chamber is very much larger than the one below. Typically its most remarkable features are three windows, finely dressed from an unusual stone, elaborately moulded and unusually uniform; the best-preserved window being in the south wall. The central positioning of the east and north windows is unusual and the equally unusual positioning of the garderobe chute means there is no window in the west wall.

The unglazed windows were of two lights set within an oblong surround. The heads were trefoiled with pointed cusps and deeply cut spandrels. The casement reveals were therefore set back slightly from the outer wall face (Pl.14.ii). The mullions are lost but the sills retain the mullion stooling; internally, the two lights were separated by a projecting axial roll on the inside of the mullion.

The south and north windows are set in square embrasures with pointed rerearches turned from slabs of a softer stone than was used in the body of the walls; internally, the windows are flanked by splays each the width of a single light. The east window is gently curved in plan, so that the lights and embrasure blend together; although the lower part of the embrasure is heavily robbed, the curved sides terminate some distance above the floor level of the principal chamber. Under the foot of the north window is a large opening from the floor of the embrasure to the outer wall face. The floor of the south embrasure is raised and does not have this feature.

The floors of the embrasures could have acted as seats, although their additional use as slop stones can hardly have encouraged such a use. The urine would flow out through the openings under the sills.

There are four cuboid lamp recesses, two in the north wall, another smaller niche is in the north side
of the housing of the spiral stair and a fourth is in the west wall over the stair into the second floor.

Two separate flight of stairs lead away from the chamber. In the west side of the north window, a straight intramural flight gives access to a garderobe chamber in the west wall, which is illuminated by a neat oblong loop. This chamber overhangs the west end of the third-floor chamber. It is supported by a large semi-circular arch spanning the end of the larger chamber. The western garderobe has particularly fallen away along the line of the crack (see above). A small cuboid niche is in its east wall.

The spiral stair is divided into two sections; the lower spiral stair terminates at third-floor level. A separate door in the east wall (Fig.14.iv) enters a straight flight leading back into the spiral stair housing where it meets another spiral stair, allowing access to the wallwalk. None of the stairway entrances had drawbeam sockets or other signs of timber doors.

Stairs lead down to the second floor of the turret. Oddly these commence their descent within the principal chamber. The third floor is entered through the south-west angle of the principal chamber.

The absence of wall fireplaces indicates that a central hearth was used which also allowed food to be dressed, cooked and eaten in this chamber. The height of the chamber permitted the smoke to rise and the roof was elevated to protect it from the heat. There may have been a central louvre, or if the smoke may simply have seeped out through the roofing slates.

**The turret third floor:** To approach this chamber it is necessary to step over the curving stair that descends to the second floor of the turret below. The chamber is approximately level with the third floor of the tower. A small loop in the east face of the turret illuminates the entrance passage. The doorway is internally rebated and has a deep drawbeam socket behind the projecting part of the jamb, suggesting that the chamber might be used by people with a desire for or a right to privacy. It was presumably for domestic occupation and benefited from the warmth of the principal chamber, although it lacked its own fireplace.

The oblong chamber has three large corner presses; one extends westwards into the fabric of the wall. There seems to have been an optimum size for recesses, as they are no smaller than those in the principal chamber. The lavish provision of corner presses suggests that some were intended for the storage of personal belongings. In the north wall is a low loop. The tall west loop has paired drawbeam sockets of unequal depth behind the jambs. A single pivot hole is in the sill slab. Externally, the turret loops are uniform; the embrasures are triangular in plan.

A door in the east side of the south window embrasure leads into an intramural stair.
The turret third-floor mezzanine: The intramural stair ascends into a small lobby lit by a neatly dressed, short, oblong opening in the east face of the turret, distinct from two small broken holes in the outer wall adjacent to it (Fig.14,v). This chamber, unlike the two below, has no trace of barrel-vaulting, and is now open to the sky; it probably had a pyramidal timber roof. Of the three tall loops the west and south examples have lost their dressings, the north loop is more complete and retains a simple round head dressed from a single block. All have simple rectilinear jamb profiles and are dressed from Old Red sandstone. The splayed embrasure is flanked by two corner presses. The chamber was presumably used for domestic occupation. Its remoteness from the 'public' parts of the building suggests that it may have been the personal chamber of an important person or persons. Access to this chamber could be controlled through the chamber below and it is possible that, given its relatively generous illumination, it was reserved for spinning, weaving, writing or some other sedentary occupation.

The parapets and wallwalk: The east-south angle above the third-floor level incorporates a cramped spiral stair, crude and functional and lacking a central newel. Each tread is built up from several slabs. The stair emerges at the east end of the south wallwalk and the cylindrical stair well continues above wallwalk level, but the internal corner of the stair housing is robbed to below the wallwalk level (Fig.14,vi). A turret stood on this corner over the stair. It no doubt supported a look-out post. The turret had two doors, permitting a circuit of the wallwalk but this arrangement was less than perfect; on reaching the south end of the east wallwalk, the user would have had to jump over the stair well to reach the top tread of the spiral stairs that ascends to the opposite threshold. The turret wallwalk was a direct continuation of the tower wallwalk.

The parapet only survives on the east side of the tower, reinforced by the outer wall of the stair turret.

The wallwalk was of conventional form, with the characteristic sloping slabs and saddle stones. What remains of the wallwalk is mostly concealed beneath grass. Its slabs remain on the south and north sides of the tower. The east and west walks are level with the north and south walks and the former is cantilevered inwards c.0.14m by a course of projecting slabs. The foot of the east parapet is pierced at regular intervals by square holes over the wallwalk slabs to allow water to flow away. Projecting slabs threw the water clear of the wall-face. At a higher level, two large sockets originally pierced the parapet. These were later blocked, rendered over, and are not externally visible. They supported a timber hoarding outside the parapet. The beams probably projected from both sides of the parapet, internally supporting a flat timber wallwalk, and externally, the hoarding. What form the crenellations took is unknown.

The roof was probably of hipped form and never seems to have had gables. At the east end, the overhang widened the top of the wall, permitting room for the eaves and wallwalk. Because the
opposite wall was already widened by an arch supporting an intramural garderobe chamber, any further widening was unnecessary. The better preserved wallwalk at Kilcoe Castle indicates that the Dunmanus saddle stones (now robbed) stopped short of the inner wall face, leaving a flat surface for wall plate timbers in which the long axes of the roof rested. The ends of the saddle stones counteracted any tendency for the roof to spread the wall plates outwards.

A carved stone face (said to represent the builder, Donogh) allegedly exists at the top of the south wall (O'Mahony 1909, 125). Because this was unknown at the time of the survey, no attempt was made to pin-point this. It may be a round stone visible in the photograph just above the south window, but no face can be defined. Healy believes that this stone was recently removed (1988, 194).
Figure 14.11
First floor (S)
Figure 14.iii
Second floor (S)
(14) Dunmanus: Dun Maghnuis
Third floor plan

Figure 14.iv
Third floor
Figure 14.5
Third floor mezzanine (S)
Figure 14.61
Wallwalk
Plate 14.1
Dunmanus: the west wall and turret
Plate 14.ii

Dunmanus: oblique view of the north-east angle
KILCOE CASTLE
Townland of Kilcoe, Aughadown Parish

6° 150, 25° CXL:12
NGR W 0192 3282
SMR f3084

The site: Kilcoe Castle stands on a small, tidal island in Roaring Water Bay, which is sheltered from the waves of the Atlantic. The coasts and islands to the south and west are low and gently rolling, the land only gradually rising to the south to the great ridges on Cape Clear and Toe Head. A spine of low mountains along the peninsula of Ivagha to the north is dominated by Mount Gabriel. On clear days, the higher mountains of Kerry can be seen beyond them. The square stump of Rincolisky [19] castle is plainly visible across the quiet water on the low southern shore of the bay. On the rising land to the north is a small ruined church.

The strike of the rock is roughly east-west. The island and a small peninsula to the east form a resistant spine of ice-ground rock, tipped vertically to form a series of low ridges. A thin soil has formed to the north of the outcrops. Low ragged cliffs of hard rock surround the island. Mainin Island lies to the south-west, a short distance away.

The muddy-bottomed bay is no more than 5 m deep near the island at high tide. The island is attached to the mainland at low tide. It is divided into two parts connected only by a narrow isthmus. A bare incline of rock separates the tower house from the lower, much larger part of the island to the south, a wide expanse of gorse, brambles and ferns. The rocky and uneven island rises sharply from the water. Only small areas of unbroken ground surround the base of the tower.

The northern part of the island is roughly triangular in form and no more than 50 m wide. It is separated from the mainland by a channel less than 15 m wide; the eastern margin is a series of stepped outcrops and vertical rock faces cut across the bedding. A gentle ramp slopes down to the mainland at one end and runs up the north side to the entrance. A drawbridge may have originally connected the island to the mainland. Its most probable position was at the north-east tip of the island where a bridge was built several hundred years later.

The name: The stronghold derives its name from the nearby church Cill Coiche - 'Church of St. Coch' (O'Donoghue 1986, 23). It is spelled 'Killicogh' in a pardon of 1601 (Ó Murchadha 1985, 187).
The history: The *Pacata Hibernia*, an account of the 'pacification' after O'Neill's uprising in 1600, records what little is known of Kilcoe's history prior to 1610. This allows the strategic and social role of the tower to be extrapolated backwards by analysing the apparent role the stronghold was playing at the beginning of the Seventeenth Century. As the most elaborate and well-preserved of the local tower houses, it provides a 'snapshot' of social requirements and aspirations current at the time of its construction. Therefore, in very different 'formats' we have information about the beginning and the end of this tower house, but the intervening period remains shadowy.

The Clan Dermonde *pobal* stretched in a great crescent from Roaring Water Bay to Castle Haven. The *Slieocht Diarmuid Reamhair* sub-sept inhabited the townland of Aughadown; their ruling family (Coleman 1927, 97) lived in Kilcoe Castle. The *Clann Chartaigh Chlochain* was the larger part of the sept; holding four castles, all now destroyed: Cloghan, Ballyourane, Lissangle and Lettertinlish (Figs.b and c). The English were most familiar with the latter sub-sept and their accounts implies it was tightly knit. By the time Kilcoe is first mentioned, Cloghan Castle had already been lost to Walter Coppinger (a Cork merchant). The approximate original extent of the Clan Dermonde lands were reconstructed by W.F.T. Butler (1904).

The clan Dermonde chieftain presumably had the advowson of the rectory of Kilcoe, and the existing church ruins must represent their patronage. In 1633 the Archdeacon of Rosscarbery received the rectorial share (half) of the tithes of three plowlands - presumably the three plowlands of episcopal land in the parish (Nicholls 1971, 84) and a strong family link is known to have existed between the sept and archdeaconry not long before (see below). A MacCarthy inquisition of 1636 held in the Royal Irish Academy gives an accurate idea of the Clan Dermonde lands (O'Donovan 1849, 112-136). Originally, the territory was probably continuous but much had already been lost: the good lands in particular. Kilcoe's individual territory was bounded to the north by Mount Kid. It must be remembered that the lands belonged to the clan rather than any one individual, but a degree of tenurial stability is implied by the castle's construction.

Sir Henry Power the English commander gave orders to Captain George Flower to 'burn and spoil all such as would not come in' after the English defeat at the Yellow Ford (McCarthy Glas 1867, 241). Sir Henry Power ordered the raid in April 1600 after learning that some representatives of the western sept of the O'Mahony's (Fionn) (O'Grady 1896, 261) had visited O'Neill at his camp at Inishcarra. Captain Flower's account runs:

> 'From Rosse, we marched over the Leape into O'Donovan's Country where we burned all those parts [?] and had the kylling of many of their charles and poor people, leaving not therein any one grain of corn wthin ten myles of our way wherever we marched; and toke a prey of 500 cows wch I caused to be drowned, for that we would not trouble ourselves to dryve them in that
journey. Beyond the Leap, we stayd three dayes; in which time we borned and spoyled all the sept of the Clan Dermontes...'.

The *Pacata Hibernia* records how Kilcoe suffered a second raid in September of the following year. A Cork merchant, Walter Coppinger guided the garrison of Kinsale, under the command of Sir Richard Percy, to the remote stronghold: '... coming suddenly to Kilcoe, they took there a prey of 300 cows' (Coleman 1927, 98). Coppinger was probably smarting from the loss of his estate at Cloghan (Lissangle) to its traditional owners.

During the O'Neill uprising, one of the O'Driscolls succeeded creating a united force to resist the reconquest of the West. As part of his strategic design, he installed a ward at Kilcoe Castle presumably with the co-operation of the Kilcoe chief. As the English recognised, this stronghold was a 'place of great strength'. In May or early June 1602, Carew, on his way to attack Dunboy Castle, camped at Rincolisky 'near unto Kilcoa [where] ... the Rebell Cnogher, eldest sohn to Sr. Ffnynie O Driscoll, Knight, held a ward' (Ó Murchadha 1985, 180).

In February 1603, Flower captured 'Kilcoa, being a place of great strength and the only castle in the Carbery holding out in rebellion (Coleman 1927, 97). By now the rebellion was a lost cause. Some Kilcoe family members were still alive in the following years. Given what we know of Flower's character, this implies that there was little or no resistance to him. Kilcoe's good condition is additional evidence of a 'paper bullet' siege and what damage there is can be attributed to 'slighting' and subsequent vandalism/stone-robbing.

A family tree of the 'McCartie of Clan Teg roe' preserved in Lambeth Palace Library (Carew MSS, vol.635, p.134 in Ó Murchadha 1994) preserves some interesting details c. 1602. The 'owner of Kilco' was 'Cormake (Cormac) Mc Donell Cartie' and his brother (?) Donoghe Mc Donell Cartie was Archdeacon of Rosscarbery, although this did not deter him from marriage.

The *Pacata Hibernia* records that on the 7th of July, 1608 'the two brothers Dermond Mac Connor and Dermond Mac Connor Oge of the Cartys of Kilcoe set sail for Spain'. They were more likely to have been father and son than brothers (Coleman 1927, 98). In their new life in Spain (probably in the army), they seem to have not only put down roots, but to have retained some social standing. Their descendants retained a claim to the lordship of the 'Clann Dermot'; the title occurs nearly a hundred years later in a Sicilian funerary inscription (Coleman 1927, 98).

The subsequent fate of the stronghold is obscure, but a 'Daniell [McDonnell] Oge Carthy' is recorded as the titulardo of the 'West ploughland of Killoe' [sic] in the 'census' of Ireland, c.1657 (Pender 1939, 226); the 'East Plowland' was held by one Honora Carthy, the widow of Daniell Carthy. Despite the Cromwellian confiscations, the population (36) of both ploughlands remained entirely Irish, and
these individuals may still have retained some sense of their sept identity.

Archaeology (see below) and the 1842 Ordnance Survey reveals that the tower house's surrounding bawn was continuously occupied until the Famine. This may have been poor people exploiting the shelter of an abandoned but solid ruin (shortly before the Famine, every scrap of land was occupied). The sept apparently held their land in 1636 according to their overlord MacCarthy Riabhach's inquisition.

The tower house remains virtually unpublished apart from Coleman's brief description (1927) and the archaeological Inventory entry (Power 1992a, 328).

Description of the tower house

Kilcoe Castle is a tower house with a large turret, 5.5m taller than the tower, attached to one corner. The main tower has a tall third floor where the turret has two storeys; the turret lacks a separate entrance and ground floor. For descriptive clarity, the structure is therefore subdivided into seven levels. The varying elements of the tower and turret at each level are then described under subheadings.

The main fabric is well-preserved, although vulnerable features such as window-jambs, parapets and gables have been damaged and timber elements have vanished.

The masonry: Kilcoe Castle is built from very hard, bedded dense and finely-grained Old Red sandstone. The stone was probably quarried from the channel to the east and the island would have been connected to the mainland prior to construction. A sharp scarp was cut while a roadway was cut along the north side of the tower house.

Roughly oblong blocks of stone as well as elongated slabs are used. Only the side used to form the wall face is dressed. The stones vary greatly in size and shape; very large blocks up to a metre and a half long are tightly embedded among small flat stones (PL15,ii). The masonry was carefully laid to create an even wall face.

With height the stones become smaller, more elongated and uniform. Slight variations in the quality of the laying can be seen. There is no real difference between the internal and external finish of the tower. In the turret interior the stones are smaller, more roughly laid and irregular. Mortar was more generously used than in the tower. Many discontinuous horizontal courses are visible, but there are no continuous lifts indicating breaks in construction. However, the stronghold was probably built
only during the warmer months. The strength of the walls relied upon the strength of the mortar, which is hard, white and fine grained. It is liberally mixed with beach sand and sea-shells. Where the wall core is exposed the mortar content is much higher, and the stones were simply dropped into position, though still laid to bed. The stones were closely laid to hold together while the mortar dried. The masons did not build to courses, or wait for the mortar to set, but relied on it to set at about the same rate as they were building. The absence of technical or stylistic change in the manner of construction suggests that Kilcoe was built in an unbroken building campaign.

The oblong slabs used for the passage ceilings, wallwalks etc. are dressed from slate. Like the freestone, this stone was imported from a distant quarry. Most, though not all, surviving window dressings are cut from a soft grey freestone, veined with iron, and weathered to varying degrees. The ground-floor entrance and quoins of the base-batter are dressed with very large blocks of Old Red sandstone.

All reveals and scoinsons for doors, window embrasures etc. are quoinéd with large edge-set oblong slabs but arches were only used in the second floor principal chamber.

The base-batter quoins are dressed from stones laid 'on bed' but the quoins above are 'edge-set' slabs. The dressings of the principal chamber window embrasures are cut and fitted with greater precision than elsewhere. Most embrasures and reveals are lintelled over; as are the intramural passages. Scoinsons of the turret window embrasures are dressed from freestone.

On the sheltered south side the original finish survives, the tight joints between the flat faces of the stone are grouted flush creating a continuous surface, representing the original exterior finish in which the edge-set quoins would have been virtually invisible; their purpose was to provide sharper corners than would have been possible otherwise. The masons took great care to create a precise finish to the walls, and emphasised the meeting of planes.

The setting-out: The construction is regular. In the main tower the opposing north and south walls of the ground level chamber are exactly the same length (7.85m) and the walls are straight and parallel, showing that some means of measuring was used. The ground floor was set out on an exact square root of two. The external dimensions of the tower were set out at a ratio of 4:5, but the dimensions are not in whole units of 'Gaelic feet'. Nevertheless, the corners are not perfect right angles (the diagonal measurements varying by c.20cm). The masons also used certain set measurements for recurrent features (e.g. the cuboid presses) and this was the clue that a unit was used. The 'Gaelic long unit' (21 x 0.264m) was used for the short axis of the ground-floor chamber. The long axis was presumably determined by a numeric formula.
Precision was maintained as construction progressed: the principal chamber was a near-perfect oblong box whose north-south dimension at the mid-point of the chamber varies by only three centimetres at top and bottom, although the two measurements are separated by a height of six metres.

Despite being separated by over eight metres, the east and west wallwalk levels differ by less than a centimetre. The north and south wallwalks differ in level by only two centimetres.

The details of the turret's interior are precisely constructed but the overall impression is highly irregular. The chambers vary in size and occupy different positions in plan. Between the chambers of the fourth and fifth levels, the 'rotation' between chambers is particularly marked. They are nearly all oblong in plan and their opposing walls closely correspond in length. Only the fourth level chamber is square. Although the external appearance of the turret windows is fairly consistent, the internal embrasures vary greatly in design. None can be called 'typical'.

Kilcoe's turret was probably conceived and commenced as an isolated structure comparable to Monteen [35]. Above the level of the first floor of the main tower the two were certainly built in tandem but the uncomfortable angle of the turret and its many internal irregularities indicate clearly that each part was separately thought out during construction; problems being solved as they arose. This contrasts with the tower which is built in a decisive manner drawing on precedent.

The turret and tower both have sharp base-batters. Due to the irregularity of the site, the turret base-batter commences and stops at levels well below that of the tower. The tower base-batter terminates at a level well below the first floor. The upper margin of both base-batters is horizontal and well-defined.

Nine metres separates the sills of the third level windows from the top of the base-batter. Over this height, the tower batters in five or six centimetres; the pitch being identical on all sides. This batter continues to the wallwalk level. It is probable the total batter on each face is c.10cm.

The sides of the turret away from the tower are sharply battered; the north (c.0.38m) and eastern faces (c.0.30m). The two faces that abut the tower are less sharply battered. The south face is apparently vertical, while the western face is gently battered (c.0.26m). The turret significantly diminishes in size from bottom to top as a result of this batter. The wall batters and levelling show the skills of the masons, combined with rigorous surveying and checking.

The lower halves of the two towers are covered by clear patterns of putlog holes. There are twenty in five rows on the western face of the tower, including one across the base-batter. Although the rows are neatly horizontal, they straggle irregularly in the vertical plane. The putlog holes on the turret are
almost entirely restricted to the lowest quarter of its height. Some sockets occur in odd positions, but are also restricted to the lower half.

Standardisation of details is notably absent. There are no hard and fast rules for the handedness of, for example, shutter drawbeam sockets. The right-handed sockets were more common, as one would expect. There were constant slight variations in the profile of dressings.

**The ground-floor entrance:** The entrance leads directly into the ground-floor chamber (Figs 15,i,a & 15,ii,a). The lowest part of the door is nearly intact and its entire plan survives on the eastern side.

A sloping rebate separated the base-batter and door causing the door to be sunk into the base-batter.

Three great oblong slabs, integral with the surrounding fabric pave the entrance passage (an unusual survival). A cylindrical block with a flat upper surface has a round socket c.10cm wide but only 2.5cm deep to take the stile of the vanished door. The open door fitted into a recess in the side of the entrance passage. The upper pivot spudstone is missing, perhaps an act of 'slighting' after the 1602 capture.

The deep drawbeam socket is separated from the back of the jamb and has a worn and rounded opening. The wear on this socket was caused by the worn beam sagging before being inserted into the opposite shallow socket. Immediately above the socket is a worn vertical oblong mortice, the rebate for a flat-tongued bolt.

The recess shows the door may have had two-ply construction. The outer thickness of planks fitted against the jamb while the inner thickness lay behind it. This would have made it difficult to insert a lever between the door and the jamb.

The entrance passage is covered over by a shallow barrel vault turned on small planks. A square socket below the western springing, where it meets the chamber wall is probably to support the centring. On the opposite side, a rough groove separates the vault from the wall. There is a semi-circular cut-away 13cm deep where the floor meets the chamber.

**The ground-floor chamber:** An outcrop of rock is visible on the northern side. No evidence for the original floor survives; it was probably built up to the level of the entrance passage. The surface may then have been periodically mortared, as at Oldcourt. Rows of corbels in the north and south walls are 3.5m above the original floor level.
The chamber's few features include a single light facing the mainland (Fig. 15.i) of 'hour-glass' plan, for defensive purposes and ventilation. The loop could be sealed by a removable timber shutter held in place by three small drawbeams. The base of the embrasure is a metre above the original floor.

Two presses set at chest height against the corners of the chamber are identical in size (0.805m wide, 0.84m high and 0.785m deep). They may have been whitewashed to reflect light out into the chamber and could therefore have been provided as resting places for oil lamps.

Putlog holes are distributed over the walls. Three irregular vertical rows are apparent on the south face and one central row on the north although there is no obvious pattern. The sockets tend to be horizontally concentrated below the corbels, in two cases being directly below them.

This chamber had no direct access to the remainder of the building. It was probably intended to protect prized cattle or horses during raids.

The turret at the first level: The lowest part of the turret is hollow and the damaged opening of a square garderobe shaft pierces the southern face (Fig.15.i). At the base of the shaft is a slab that slopes down and outwards. The eastern side of the opening is intact. Below the opening set in the face of the base-batter is a small oblong recess lacking any apparent function. This may have been the original garderobe outlet provided prior to the commencement of the main tower.

The base of the turret rests on an irregular plinth of large stones from this rises the base-batter proper. At the top of the base-batter the walls are two metres thick and they surround a square cistern shaft with vertical sides covered by a barrel vault running east-west. The vault stops 0.46m short of the west wall. The south part of the gap is lintelled over, but the north part was left open to form the opening of a hatch. A deep drawbeam socket runs into the masonry, 12cm below the floor of the chamber on the west side of the damaged opening. A timber beam supporting the hatch cover was housed in the long socket west of the hatch. A pulley may have been attached to one of the floor beams in the ceiling. Ventilation of the cistern was via a long opening in the south wall. This was blocked at an unknown date.

The cistern is probably fed by the mainland water table. Its depth is unknown because it is partially filled with rubble probably since the capture of the tower house in 1602. If it has remained waterlogged with depth, the cistern may contain environmental archaeological evidence.

Putlogs indicate that a temporary floor was used by the workmen who constructed the vault. Additional putlogs held wall plates to support the feet of the centring trusses.
The pointed barrel vault is separated from the top of the eastern wall by a narrow but deep gap, the curved top of the wall being free of mortar. The vault was turned over a bed of wattle hurdles. A ridge beam was used as well as trusses. The hurdles were entombed in the mortar grouting and left to decay, leaving a well-preserved pattern of impressions.

The ventilation opening pierces the south springing and runs through the entire wall; falling towards the interior. Its roof and east side have been removed by robbing that has also greatly damaged the external chute.

The raised entrance: This is centred on the ground-floor entrance below. The door is robbed but probably resembled a surviving example at Rincolisky. The internal reveal is similar to, though smaller than, the reveal of the ground-floor entrance below. Drawbeam sockets and a lock (?) mortice survive.

The door was pivoted in a timber lintel below the stone lintel and lay against the west wall when open. Like the ground entrance, the door was normally secured with a flat iron bolt, which perhaps formed part of a lock. If required, the door could be reinforced by a heavy drawbeam.

A timber stair or ladder was probably used to enter the tower house. Damage to the exterior has removed any provision that might have been made for it in the masonry.

The intramural stair: This stair runs the length of the southern wall of the tower; ascending twenty-eight steps to the principal chamber (Fig.15,ii). Each tread is formed from, or capped by, a single block. The passage is roofed by equally carefully cut oblong slabs, set edge to edge, to form the sloping roof of the stair passage. The roof of the passage is slightly kinked at its midpoint, above it, the ascent of the stair was slightly steeper than below. This adjustment may indicate that the masons only knew the ultimate floor level of the principal chamber at a quite late stage in construction. Only at the point where the stair enters the principal chamber does its course deviate slightly.

The intramural stair is notably precise in execution; the width of the passage varying by only two centimetres over its length. It is unlit, except for a small, robbed oblong window about halfway up which was provided with a hinged timber shutter held in place by a drawbeam. Small beams ran across the ceiling of the intramural passage at regular intervals. These were perhaps shaped to form handholds (Jeremy Irons: pers. comm.).

The first-floor chamber of the tower: A door four steps above the raised entrance gave entry into this
chamber (Fig.15, ii). The door surround was robust with a deep rebate. The shallower of the two drawbeam sockets is 5cm from the back of the rebate. The door of the chamber gave access, via the tower chamber, to the two lower floors of the turret. It therefore housed a door as strong as the outer door, with a drawbeam of similar proportions.

A door in the northern wall, at the level of the lost timber floor, led to the second level of the turret, while the eastern door, a step above the floor, leads up a staircase up to the turret third level. The two entrances also light the chamber as they did not have doorleafs.

The two openings are very different. The eastern opening (0.16m wide) is set in a sharply splayed embrasure; it retains a chamfered freestone sill, head and part of a jamb. Both corners of the moulding are chamfered, the outside being more heavily chamfered. The elegant ogival head is formed from a single block (0.19m). The sill block is dressed from a single block of freestone and had a wide internal shelf. Two small holes indicate that two slender shutters lay against both sides of the embrasure when open; when closed they fitted into the internal rebate in the head. A channel passes below the wide sill to the wall face. A drawbeam received the shutter. The other single-light windows in the castle are essentially similar but were more efficiently sealed by single shutters. The shutters could pivot on a timber lintel directly below the stone lintel or a small spudstone was used instead.

The northern loop was a simple oblong opening dressed with split Old Red sandstone. The loop had a detachable shutter. Unusually, there is little difference in the depth of the sockets.

A large slop opening lowers in a series of steps. Three small openings are visible from the exterior but without access it cannot be told if these form part of the slop recess.

The internal wall faces rise from the ground to the first floor without interruption. Six heavy corbels project 0.25m from the wall face and are spaced directly opposite one another. They were carefully dressed from single blocks; the undersides are roughly rounded off. The floorboards rested on joists, supported in their turn by two wall plates that rested on the corbels. The ends of the wall plates were locked by sockets into the east and west walls. A heavier beam spanned the middle of the void. The west socket for the central joist was made deeper and higher than its opposite number, this made it easier to manoeuvre the joint into position.

The two cuboid presses occupy different positions in the plan to the chamber below, probably to prevent a concentration of voids in the wall. One is partially filled with stones, this must have occurred before the decay of the floor (Jeremy Irons: pers. comm.).
The passage to the first-floor turret chamber: The northern door enters a straight intramural passage with a paved floor and lintelled ceiling (Fig.15,ii). A blocked southward spur of the passage apparently led to the slop recess in the major chamber.

The lintelled ceiling of the turret passage falls gently to the east. A metal bolt and a drawbeam secured a low door from the passage into the first-floor chamber.

Prior to the stone-robbing that has removed so much the ceiling of the east part of the passage was separated from a vertical chute by a thin partition. The end of the passage was widened to form a small intramural garderobe chamber. A garderobe was in the east end of the passage. A timber plank with one or more round holes must have formed the seat.

The first-floor turret chamber: The chamber is very nearly square in plan. The stone floor was covered by a mortar floor. The hatch into the chute below has been the focus of severe robbing. There are loops in all walls but the southern one. The floors of the embrasures slope sharply towards the outside. The floor and head of the embrasure slope equally. The east windows of the turret all seem to have had ogee heads, probably because this side was visible to the land. The loops in this east wall were all vertically aligned for the same aesthetic reasons. The loops vary greatly in detail. The western embrasure was more carefully built than the other two revealing the hand of a different mason.

Slopstones were, as ever, lavishly provided in all three windows and the sharp slope of the floors prevented rainwater from getting into the tower. The embrasures would also have made effective urinals for both sexes.

The walls of the chamber all lean in equally. The top of the chamber is 6cm narrower from east to west and 4cm narrower from north to south. The floor offset between this chamber and the one above it was slightly widened as a result. The walls terminate at an offset, far from level, that marks the ceiling. The southern offset is much wider than the others and has suffered extensive robbing.

The tower barrel vault: A barrel vault covered the first floor. The arch reaches its pointed apex c.3m above the springing and c.5.5m above first-floor level. Pairs of corbels project from the north and south walls just below the springing, these supported timber wall plates upon which the trusses of the centring rested. The centring was less heavy than a floor and the corbels are correspondingly smaller and fewer. This is a surprising economy considering the great weight of the freshly constructed vault.
The vault commences c.0.40m above the corbels. Its underside is covered in mortar and the impression of wattle hurdles. The framing of the centring was covered over by hurdles of hazel that could not be removed, once the mortar had set. It is probable that they were rendered over after the removal of the centring. Subsequent decay has forced the rendering away, exposed the coarse-textured casts of the hurdles. This created a narrow gap between the tops of the east and west walls and the vault.

The first-floor mezzanine turret chamber: Access was through the east door of the second-level tower chamber. A narrow intramural stair ascends northwards eleven steps to a passage. The top of the stair is lit by a low robbed loop, and a trapezoidal door at right angles to the passage opens into the chamber which was barred from within. The drawbeam was not parallel with the door allowing it to have a progressive ‘wedging’ action.

The chamber is roughly oblong in plan and larger than the chamber below because the walls are thinner. It has three loops. The northern, eastern and western offsets are of roughly uniform thickness. The irregular offset consists of individual broken-edged slabs, bedded into the wall. Three beams ran north-south to support the floor of stone slabs, probably covered by a mortar floor. The south-eastern corner is ‘chamfered’ to make room for the garderobe behind. This rules out any possibility of the chamber having been retained from an earlier ‘Monteen-type’ structure.

A row of indents in the mortar below the southern springing shows where the masons embedded the feet of the five centring trusses directly into the south wall. A wall plate timber could not be used due to the proximity of the door. Carefully shaped and squared timbers 0.14-0.18m wide were used. The vault’s underside is covered with the impressions of wattle hurdles.

A ridge beam braced the trusses. The north feet of the centring rested on a heavy (0.24mx0.22m) wall plate embedded in the east and west walls.

The second floor: This chamber is an oblong, taller than wide. North and south walls are the same thickness. The south wall contains doors from both the descending stairs to the entrance and from the ascending stairs to the upper part of the turret (Fig.15,iv). The chamber is described under ‘fourth’ and ‘fifth level’ headings.

The edges of the barrel vault keystones project from the floor. The highest point is 14cm below the sill of the lowest window, which represents the thickness of the paving, the floor was probably level with the floor of the south window embrasure. The vault spandrels are infilled with loose finely broken stone, the surface of which was stabilised with a layer of pink clay. This formed the basis for a bed of rough slabs but this has not survived.
The windows are larger than any other openings in the castle and vary greatly. All are devoid of their dressings but the lights were probably of similar proportions to those surviving in the turret. Transoms probably divided the lights at the level of the drawbeams. The windows at Learmcon are rather better-preserved and throw some light on the form at Kilcoe.

Little survives of the south-eastern corner entrance. The long intramural stair reaches it at a slight angle and is lit by two openings. A small intact loop in the southern wall was closed by a shutter that pivoted upwards and inwards and fastened under the lintel. The damaged opening in the eastern wall was probably ogival. It retains a fragment of chamfered freestone jamb 0.16m deep. It was closed by a shutter like the other freestone loops.

The door into the principal chamber is destroyed but the recess for it when open gives its size. Next to the recess is a small square press at chest height whose position suggests it may have been intended to hold the door key.

The eastern window seems to have been three lights wide. It is covered by the gallery (see below). An external relieving arch may have framed tracery surrounded by a hood with label stops similar to those surviving in the south window.

The east window probably had two shutters which, when open, lay against the embrasure. The shutters were 1.5cm thick. There is a horizontal slot in the southern splay which may have received the shutter handles. A small fragment of the south jamb survives; it is 19.5cm deep and heavily externally chamfered. There is a slight internal chamfer. A horizontal drawbeam socket survives.

A simple doorway with no doorleaf leads to the turret. The broken outer wall has removed any trace of original opening. A slop in the west side of the doorway lowers and narrows by a series of overlapping lintels to form a small opening through the outer wall in the side of the chute. The slop may have been connected with cooking. A similar feature is seen in the much later Ballynacarriga.

A timber door at the end of the passage separated the turret chamber from the principal chamber.

The north window seems wide enough to have held two lights, separated by a central mullion. Although the splays suggest the presence of shutters, there is no evidence of a drawbeam.

The west wall and adjacent corners contain an array of recesses. The northern is higher than the southern (Fig.15,iv) shelf and 'overcut' into the corner of the chamber, the southern is cuboid. The west window is flanked by 'shelves' at different levels. Their widths (0.80m and 0.82m) parallel the cuboid presses of the two floors below. The concentration of features at that end of the chamber suggests a table could have run along it.
The principal chamber had a central hearth, now vanished. The great height of the chamber allowed
the smoke to rise from the central hearth to a louvre in the pitched roof.

The robbed west window, the narrowest of the four, probably resembled the ogival chancel loop at
Kilcoe church. Seats flank the western window embrasure below concave mortar-coated splays. The
base of the embrasure slopes outwards towards the exterior and has a slop opening. In the robbed
northern jamb a drawbeam socket runs parallel to the outer wall face. The notches below the west
embrasure arch took the arch centring which may have been locked in position after the mortar of the
arch set.

The southern window has the largest embrasure and is more highly finished than the other windows.
The arch was turned over timber planks.

The window was two lights wide and probably had a dividing transom at the level of the drawbeam.
The twin lights were shuttered. There is a small socket in the western reveal of the embrasure.

The window seems to have had a square hood, in this case decorated with anthropomorphic label
stops, the only figurative sculpture in the building. The damaged opening is flanked by two human
heads dressed from freestone. They are crude depictions of bearded heads, with gaping mouths and
prominent lozenge-shaped eyes. The bared teeth suggest that these may depict disembodied heads.
As such it could represent a very old pre-Christian tradition of head hunting. The noses are no more
than flat triangles, but the nostrils are indicated. The carved heads closely parallel label stops in the
idiosyncratic traceried east window of Cahir Abbey (Co. Tipperary). They reflect a remarkably
homogeneous ‘Celtic’ sculptural tradition. Above the eastern head, part of a freestone label stop
survives.

The door to the highest part of the castle was probably covered by a pointed arch formed from two
curved dressings. A timber door pivoted in the floor behind the west jamb; it lay against the east wall
when open. The doorway is lit by an oblong window opening in the south wall. The window’s shutter
pivoted in the sill and a timber below the lintel. It was closed by a drawbeam.

East of the entrance, the chamber wall diverges slightly from a straight line because the main
intramural stair behind it is not parallel to the chamber. The descending and ascending stairs are
separated by a sloping course of slabs visible from within the chamber.

The second-floor turret chamber: The floor of the turret is one step higher than that of the principal
chamber, a heavy door separated the two chambers (Fig.15.iv). The algae-coated walls are rendered
but the composition of this render is unknown.
The three windows are a little more uniform than those in the chambers below. The eastern loop is the largest.

Two square sockets flanking the eastern embrasure probably supported a construction surface. The west ends of the two timber beams were supported by a single north-south beam spanning the chamber. The depth of the sockets for the north-south beam allowed the timber to be removed by pushing it in at one end and dropping it out at the other.

The second-floor mezzanine: The walls rise a further three and a half metres above the top of the south window embrasure. The north and south walls each have a row of large sockets and another row of smaller sockets above them. There are an equal number of large sockets on either side of the principal chamber but they are unevenly spaced. The three large western sockets and the two eastern sockets are separated by a wide gap on both walls. The upper rows of putlog sockets are more regularly spaced than the larger sockets below; they are undoubtedly constructional. The south putlog sockets are regularly spaced, but the north row is interrupted by a large gap, like the constructional sockets below. The north row is slightly higher than the south. The sockets are not properly opposed and it seems that they could have carried cantilevered galleries that left a wide gap for the smoke to escape. Alternatively they were a purely constructional feature.

The roof had to span a void 8.3m x 6.25m, a task requiring sophisticated carpentry (Chapter 3:e,iv). Trussed construction must have been used.

There is a single row of four evenly-spaced constructional putlog sockets in the western wall but none in the eastern wall. These share the level of the south putlog sockets and are displaced towards them.

The intramural gallery at the eastern end of the principal chamber a shapeless hole in the centre of the wall. The impression of lost dressings can be seen in the side of the hole but its exact purpose is unclear. It could have provided access to the putative cantilevered galleries but the lack of the corbel support argues against this.

A corbel table consisting of three arches is supported by two corbels in the west side of the principal chamber. The corbels on the west wall widened the top of the wall, permitting space for the gable, wallwalk and parapet. Stones were carefully dressed and fitted together with knife-edge joints to form this feature. The ‘double-chinned’ corbels are each formed from two blocks. Triangular blocks rest on them to form the skewbacks for the arches. This feature supported the destroyed western gable.
The second-floor mezzanine intramural stair, passage and garderobe: The intramural stair in the south wall ascends to the south-east corner of the tower. A door pivoted in a small block at the foot of the east wall at the junction between the landing and passage. A short timber drawbeam was probably attached to the door which inserted in a socket in the west jamb. The top of the passage is lit by a wide robbed opening in the south wall (Fig.15,v). The blocked embrasure of another opening is visible in the east wall against the north-east angle. This landing was originally lit by two rectangular windows to either side of the angle. A crack must have prompted the blocking of the east window.

Some rough paving slabs integral with the walls remain in position in the gallery. At one point, these are covered by a small patch of level mortar. This is a remnant of the mortar floor which originally entirely concealed the rough slabs. All intramural passage floors were of mortar. Only embrasure floors were paved. Two small openings lit the gallery.

The L-shaped passage connects the tower and turret. The corner between the two is rounded-off and a doorway leads from the passage to the turret chamber.

A garderobe marks the end of the passage which widened to form a small intramural chamber with a door. A step separates the raised opening of the garderobe chute from the surrounding walls; a timber seat rested on this, perhaps with two holes. The base of the seat is formed by a single slab of slate set on edge. The chute drops thirteen metres vertically to the outlet. As it falls, the long axis of the chute gradually widens by eleven centimetres, while the short axis remains constant. The gradual widening with the depth in the size of the chute was a clever ploy preventing fouling of the sides.

The second-floor mezzanine turret chamber: The chamber originally had a timber ‘double floor’ and is square in plan and smaller than the one below it (Fig.15,v). The south door swung into the chamber where it could be barred with drawbeams.

The chamber has well-preserved windows in the north and east walls. Although both have triangular embrasures the windows differ in other respects. The east ogival opening is partially blocked with drystone. A nail, now broken off by rust, is driven into the north splay of the embrasure. Large putlog holes in the wall flank the embrasure.

The short rectilinear north window has a wide oblong void above its stepped lintel to relieve weight.

A pointed barrel vault rests on the north and south walls. Two wide oblong sockets pierce the corners of the east wall just below the springing. Because there is a door in the north-west corner a corbel projects from the north wall close to the door to support the wall plate for the centring.
A door leads to the base of an intramural stair ascending to the south. A small damaged loop overlooks the landing. The west doorway leading to the wallwalk probably had a freestone pointed arch formed from two blocks.

The timber floor consisted of three heavy beams 0.24m thick ran east-west. Additional joists laid upon them, brought the floor up to threshold level.

**The tower wallwalk and parapet:** This is mostly hidden by an accumulation of earth and vegetation covering all but the highest parts. The wallwalk is overthrown at the south-east corner (Fig. 15, vi). The north wallwalk is largely buried but apparently intact.

The wallwalk runs around the top of the tower without interruption. A lobby within the south-west corner of the turret gives onto the wallwalk. The threshold is one step above the saddle stones; a pivot for a door can be seen in it. The wallwalk is built from two courses of slate. The lower course of slabs were butted edge-to-edge forming a continuous weather-proof covering and they project inwards. The shelf on the south wall is more pronounced. Although the slabs vary in width and spacing, this apparent irregularity is virtually symmetrical on the north and south wallwalks.

Outside, the slabs project to throw rainwater clear of the wall. Separate rough slabs also seem to have been used for this purpose.

The joints between the larger slabs are covered by narrow 'saddle stones'. The upper edges of these slabs are chamfered and the outer ends are embedded in the parapet. On the north and south walls, the saddle stones stop 29cm short of the lower slabs. The lower slabs thereby formed a flat shelf.

The east and west wallwalks are exactly 30cm higher than the north and south. There were presumably steps between the two.

The lower courses of the parapet survive on the north wall. The east parapet survives to a local full height of 1.17m where it is bonded into the turret. The parapet is consistently 0.41m thick. The base is pierced by rainwater channels between the saddle stones which open onto the external projecting slabs. The holes are crudely finished and vary in level.

Gables stood on the inner margins of the east and west wallwalks. The roof rested on the inner margin of the wallwalk. Overhangs on the north and south walls supported heavy timber wall plates 0.29m wide which formed the seating of the trusses. The saddle stones prevented the weight of the roof pushing the wall plates outwards.
Clearance of soil from the floor of the principal chamber revealed at least 46 complete shale roof tiles (Fig.11). They were drilled with holes for timber pegs and varied greatly in size, some had two or even three holes. The arrangement of holes on these tiles shows that the additional pegs went under the batten. The pegs clamped the tiles, preventing the wind from blowing under them or rotating them on the main peg. The spacing of the holes shows that the battens were about 4cm thick.

There were no clear cut size categories. There was also much flexibility in the relationship between length and breadth. A few tiles were longer (c.10cm) than all the others of their width. Occasionally, tiles were very long and thin; these perhaps closed awkward gaps between the end of each row of tiles and the gable ends.

The eaves overhung the north and south wallwalks. Rainwater flowed off the roof and into the channels between the saddle stones. The sloping slabs led the rainwater through the channels at the foot of the walls.

The exposed ends of the slabs on the east and west walls were originally embedded in the gables. The slightly higher level of the east and west wallwalks may have been intended to strengthen the gables. The gables of the contemporary church indicate a pitch less than 45° (see above). No evidence for the crenellation survives, but it was probably capped by low crow-stepped merlons, as at the broadly contemporary Timoleague Abbey. No evidence for timber hoarding survives, although evidence for this feature exists at Rossbrin to the north-west and Kilgobbin.

The turret chamber: The highest chamber in the castle is reached by a flight of seven steps. The head of the stair is lit by an oblong opening in the east wall which may have been ogival to match the other windows in the east face of the turret (Fig.15,vii).

A thick bed of earth and plants hides the floor of the chamber. The walls are of uniform thickness (0.86m) and the windows are centrally positioned. The walls are smoothly coated in mortar. The windows are relatively similar. The east embrasure is slightly wider (0.94m) than the other two (north 0.92m, west 0.88m). There is a 12cm variation in the level of the embrasures' sills. The window dressings have been mostly removed.

The east window retains its ogival head. The west window retains its upper spudstone for the shutter. The door could be barred from within the chamber by a heavy drawbeam.

The lost mortar floor of the chamber was probably level with the south threshold. The hard mortar render of the walls is unusual. It may have formed the basis for a vanished plaster coating. Its absence elsewhere implies plaster renders were absent because such undercoats would need to
survive. The fourth-level turret chamber is the only other chamber with evidence of a render.

The north window was probably square-headed like the other loops in the north face of the turret. In the north and east windows, the shutters pivoted in timber lintels, but a projecting block served this purpose in the west window. Two beams, or boards, spanned the chamber during its construction and supported a work surface used by the carpenters of the turret roof. The function of the lower sockets is less clear.

The room seems to have been a relatively comfortable private chamber. A louvre in the roof would have allowed it to have a central hearth but there is currently no evidence of this.

The top of the turret had a compact wallwalk technically indistinguishable from the much larger tower wallwalk (Fig.15,viii).

The stair and housing: A timber door sealed the weather from the stair up on to the wallwalk. The width of the recess that it lay in when open shows it was very narrow. The door pivoted in a spudstone above the threshold and in a hole in the ceiling.

The cut-away in the north side of the stair housing accommodated the eaves of the turret in the pyramidal roof. The rebate around the top of the chamber held a wall plate timber 0.20m square. The south eaves fitted under a sloping overhang. A projecting drip channel runs off from the roof to the south wallwalk.

The top of the look-out point was reached via three projecting steps. An iron handle to the right of the central step allowed additional purchase. The top was parapeted with two gutter holes at the base. A look-out point commanded a view out to Fastnet rock, twenty-one kilometres away. The mountains of Kerry are also visible.

The turret wallwalk and parapet: A square unadorned cornice runs around the top of the chamber except the south wall. Where well-preserved it forms a continuous ledge behind a rebate. A narrow wallwalk survives with the stump of the parapet only surviving on the north side (Fig.15,viii). The parapet is thinner than on the tower. Five rainwater slabs project from the north wall.

The parapet survives to a maximum height of 1.5m where it abuts the stair shelters but there is no evidence of a coping. The south wallwalk is much wider than the others. The internal overhang widened the top of the wall to also accommodate the seating of a pyramidal roof.
The parapet on the look-out point would have been open on the north side to permit access from the projecting steps.

The bawn: In 1970 the traces of wall were all below the turf; some have been laid bare by the author. These are distributed around the tower house. The uneven topography has to be borne in mind in interpreting what appear to be straightforward enough enclosures on plan.

Two fragments of wall have been exposed by erosion on the west edge of the island. They are built from large irregular blocks, apparently set in mud. A short discontinuous length of wall-face runs 2.25m north-south. Immediately to the north, another wall 1.13m thick can be seen in section and runs eastwards but is deeply buried. There may be good archaeological preservation here but the bulk of the deposits seem to derive from the wall's destruction.

A well-cut quoin projects from the turf west of the tower. The south face points westward to the wall visible in section (see above). The east face runs north a few centimetres before disappearing without trace. A robber trench or rather scarp shows that this ran west to the wall in section.

The ground is fairly level in the vicinity of the entrance. The south face of a wall runs roughly parallel to the tower. It acted as a revetment to the south edge of the island. A short length, free-standing to waist height, is 1.89m long and 1.15m thick (shown in solid black). It is regularly built from flat slabs set in lime mortar (now deteriorated with burial).

There is a cobbled surface south of the main entrance. Excavation has revealed an oblong area of rough paving bounded by the revetting wall and poorly-built walls on the north and east sides. A western wall is robbed down to the level of the paving, but its eastern face can be traced. It is at right angles to the revetting wall and appears similar in construction. The roughly-built north wall can be traced for a length of 5.13m. Only the south side has a proper face. The west end is destroyed, but the east end has a southern return 1.32m long. This again returns due east for 1.37m, beyond which point it meets the living rock. A rectilinear structure is thus defined.

The paving is formed from irregular slabs lain without pattern. The one regular feature is a straight 'curb' of slabs set on edge (not shown) dividing the paving into two levels, the west part being lower than the east. When excavated in 1971, there was a layer of ash which lay on a thin layer of compacted grey clay, overlying the paving. Four tobacco pipe bowls were found in the ash. These have a broad date range of 1650 - 1690 but they do not seem to derive from known kilns (Kieron Heard; pers. comm.). Many pieces of North Devon gravel-tempered ware were found (c.1650-1750). Fragments of a Staffordshire White Slip trail plate and a Sgraffito ware harvest jug were also present (Alan Vince, pers.comm.). Both date to the later part of the Eighteenth Century.
The 1842 6" Ordnance Survey (No.150) records an intact wall around, and abutting, the south and east sides of the tower house. The entire circuit was not bonded into the tower house and is apparently later. The depiction does not show any walls to the west of the tower house, which must have been destroyed before that date. A north-south wall is shown along the eastern face. This was probably founded on the upper edge of the quarry face, but no trace of it survives.

The 1842 survey and the large scale 1901 ordnance survey both depict an enclosed rectilinear court to the south of the tower house. The father of the present farmer recollected in 1972 that this was sold and demolished in 1910. Excavation in this area has revealed the south and west sides of the rectilinear structure to the south. The two north-south walls were not bonded into the masonry of the tower (see above). Buried evidence may survive to indicate if this area was a roofed forebuilding or an open court. Fortunately, archaeological deposits below the seventeenth-century paving are undisturbed and meticulous excavation may reveal much.

The drystone walling formed the north wall of a peasant cottage. The finds lying on the paving suggest that the building was occupied from c.1650 to c.1800. The two levels suggest that people and beasts lived in the same building as was the case in this area to the present century. An elaborate key found on the paving suggests, however, that the building, surprisingly, had a locking door. None of the finds dates from the pre-Cromwellian period. The crudity of construction and the build-up of an occupation surface shows the poverty of the occupants. The Devon ware suggests direct trade with that part of England. The occupation seems to have lasted from c.1660-1800.

The cobbled pathway to the ground-floor entrance may be contemporary with the heyday of the tower house. The tower house entrance was reached, as today, by a path round the north side of the tower house (not shown). To improve this path, rocks to the west of the tower were cut back to a straight edge.
Figure 15.1
Ground plan
Figure 15.ii
First floor
Figure 15.iii
First floor mezzanine
Figure 15.iv
Second floor
Figure 15.5
Second floor mezzanine (S)
Figure 15, vi
Main wallwalk
Figure 15.vii
Turret chamber
Figure 15.viii
Turret wallwalk
Plate 15.1

Kilcoe: from the south-west
Plate 15.11
Kilcoe: from the east
The site: The tower house is built on a sloping rock, forming the end of a low rocky promontory in the tidal lower reaches of the River Ilen. In the medieval period this was probably an island. The south-west corner of the tower house has been washed away exposing rock that slopes directly into a muddy beach to the south. The land to the south is a flat field elevated only slightly above the high water mark. Low tide exposes a mudflat dissected by sinuous channels. The steep north side of the promontory is washed by the river except at the lowest tides.

The tower house was sited as near to the river as possible, which at high tide is almost directly below its entrance. The entrance has an unusual westward orientation directly overlooking the mudflats (Pl.16,i) where boats were probably moored.

The outline of Oldcourt's substantial bawn remains, though it is now encased and obscured by later building. Much of what was shown on the 1901 25" Ordnance Survey has since fallen or been demolished. There is however no certain evidence that any of the ancillary structures are of medieval date.

The stronghold became the focus of settlement, encouraged by the fertile, low-lying surroundings and the ease of communications. This tower house is intact except for parapets and gables, but much overgrown. The south-west corner gives cause for concern, due to its unstable condition.

The name: The place-name 'Auldecourte' (Copinger 1884, 39) indicates that an enclosure surrounded by buildings existed by the beginning of the Seventeenth Century. This 'old' court was presumably a medieval bawn, or enclosure, presumably perpetuated by the eighteenth-century rebuilding.

The history: Oldcourt was a small stronghold of the O'Driscolls. It was probably built to house a junior member of the leading family of the clan and had its own lands. Its close association with the senior family is supported by the fact that by the early Seventeenth Century, it had passed into the estate of Sir Fineen O'Driscoll (O'Donovan 1849, 102). Remarkably, it was still occupied by a senior member of the O'Driscolls in the early part of the Eighteenth Century (Coleman 1925, 45). Not surprisingly,
the stronghold bears signs of having been occupied and modernised down to that date

Subsequently known as 'Creagh Court' it was inhabited by the Becher family, before they moved into Creagh House further to the west (Kingston 1985, 91).

As was probably always the case, the tower house estate originated as clanlands inviolably attached to the tower house and allocated to the tanist for the duration of their tenure. By 1612, they are described in a mortgage as part of the contested property of Sir Florence (Fineen) O'Driscoll and Sir Walter Coppinger (Copinger 1884, 39); the document also mentions a ‘hall and town’ as well as the 'castle' (tower house), suggesting that a number of clan members had probably made their homes around the tower house.

The Pacata Hibernia records that the Earl of Thomond and Sir Richard Percy ‘lodged two nights’ at Oldcourt with their regiments on the 27th April 1602 during the Nine Years War (Coleman 1925, 45). This alone implies that many other buildings other than the tower house existed at that date.

Description of the Tower house

The masonry: The standard of construction is efficient rather than excellent, the masonry finish is of a rather low standard. The building was faced with a mixture of very large, irregular blocks and much smaller stones, creating an untidy effect. The loops were dressed with simple slabs split from the Old Red Sandstone. The first and second floors are more irregularly faced than the ground-floor chamber. There were few stones of intermediary size and the large blocks appear to be ‘floating’ (Pl.16,i); they are particularly noticeable in the west face of the first floor. There are few putlog holes, but the presence of very large stones at all levels indicates that a crane was used, both to raise the largest stones up and to position them as required. The entire building was covered by a shell harling, which would have concealed the stones.

The outer surface was pointed flush with mortar, which would have made the deficiencies in stonelaying less apparent. Traces of the shell harling survive on the sheltered east face. The normal mortar consists of 80 per cent rough gravel and sand (not beach sand), the binding lime is hard, greyish pink and translucent; it is full of air spaces.

The vertical foundation built at the south-west angle, upon which rests the lime-mortared base-batter, is a peculiarity of this tower house. Undermining by the river action has removed the facing and revealed that the foundation was built of rough slabs embedded in an orange-cream, fine-grained mortar apparently made from an impervious mix of mud and clay. The masons built the foundation from a different material to the superstructure because this part of the base was liable to saturation
from the tide. They do not seem to have believed the mortar could survive saturation, and they instead used a puddled clay in such circumstances. The builders switched to the lime mortar for the superstructure 1.5m above the natural rock.

The setting-out: The lengths of the opposing walls of the ground-floor chamber differ by several centimetres. Comparison with nine other RE tower house (Table 3) indicates that only Dunalong [23] and Rossbrin [18] had more irregular plans.

There is a pronounced base-batter that terminates at a uniform level, apparently horizontal. The height of the base-batter and the degree to which it projects vary greatly due to the irregularity of the site. The superstructure is very slightly battered.

No unit can be detected through computer search, presumably because few whole units were used. Comparison with the unit used at the very regular tower house of Dunmanus [14] (26.43cm) indicates that a similar unit might have been used at Oldcourt. The long-axis of the ground-floor chamber is 20 GF long (26.25 cm) while the first floor is 25 GF long (26.28 cm). The Oldcourt unit was apparently 1.6mm shorter and its identification must remain tentative.

The ground floor: A good mortar floor apparently survives in its entirety; where it is broken away at the entrance several layers of mortar, separated by dirt, can be seen. This unusual survival of what was probably general practice is because the chamber has escaped use as a cattle byre. The highest floor screed is level with the surviving part of the stone threshold.

The door in the base-batter has an unusual feature: there are two arches, turned from rough slabs, separated by a gap (Pl.16,i). The north reveal of the outer recess is separated by a slight but irregular offset from the remainder of the face of the base-batter (Fig.16,i). The south reveal is separated from the rectilinear door jamb by a vertical groove 9.5cm wide. This has been blocked with fragments of brick. The slit rises vertically to meet the gap in the fabric overhead. The ground chamber was therefore originally defended by a portcullis let down from a chamber above, as well as the normal door, a unique feature in the Survey region. The exterior of the north reveal was destroyed by attackers, perhaps in 1602, who removed the portcullis by these means. When the entrance was repaired, no attempt was made to reinstate the portcullis and the new reveal lacked a groove. The opposing groove was probably blocked up at a later date when brick was available.

The door embrasure is splayed and a deep drawbeam socket with a corresponding shallow socket on the opposite side is 5.5cm (the thickness of the door) behind the north jamb rebate. The door swung on a hole in a timber lintel behind the inner arch of the door. Two amorphous hollows to either side of the arched door-head form a cast of this lintel.
An 'hour-glass' loop in the north wall, would have admitted a short Irish bow or hand-gun and commanded the river view, but there is virtually no other provision for active defence of the building and the defender was trapped in the chamber.

Two large corbels project from the north and south walls below the springing of an east-west barrel vault. They are off-centre to the chamber and are below the level of the head of the north loop. A permanent wall plate would have obstructed the head of the north loop and it seems that no floor was ever built on the corbels (see below). Two oblong sockets, level with the corbels are set against the corners of the east wall. These supported the centring wall plate of the barrel vault.

The barrel vault: A barrel vault over the chamber is separated from the west wall by a regular gap, which is covered by overlapping lintels. The covering diminishes, terminating before it reaches the north wall. At this point, there is now an oblong opening (Fig.16, iii). This was a 'service' chute beyond the west end of the vault which allowed provisions to be hoisted directly into the principal chamber.

The corbels in the north and south walls are set at the mid-point of the barrel vault and were provided for temporary wall plates for the centring of the vault. The impression of vertical timbers (the trusses of the vault centring) set at regular intervals can be seen in the springing of the vault providing unusual evidence for the structure of the centring. These diminish in depth with height and disappear well below the apex of the vault. The absence of western corner sockets shows that the centring stopped short of the west wall. The section of the vault is parabolic but slightly pointed; the underside is coated in mortar. The impressions of wattlework, over which the vault was turned, are clearly visible.

The lack of support for the centring, particularly at the west end, may have been recognised when it was too late to provide additional support for the wall plates. The decision was therefore taken to embed the centring trusses directly into the springing as well as resting them on the wall plates.

The raised entrance, intramural chamber and stair: The raised entrance is nearly central and allowed a ladder to be used without obstructing the ground-floor entrance. The entrance has been extensively repaired with hard purple brick but retains its original pointed arch of rough slabs. A drawbeam hole has been blocked by brick; above it, an inserted brick has been drilled to take an iron door bolt. The raised entrance was damaged at the same time as the ground-entrance and the repairs are probably of eighteenth-century date.

When the portcullis was not in use, it was hoisted into the intramural chamber, lit by a small loop, to
the south of the raised entrance (Fig.16,ii). A timber windlass was presumably used, but no sign of it is present. The loop allowed observation, but was not a defensive feature.

The solidly built stair, trimmed with slabs of local Old Red sandstone, is lintelled over with oblong slabs of a soft grey shale which follows the slope of the stairs. The curve in the stairs is lit by a small splayed loop.

The first floor: This was the principal chamber, which was the only regularly occupied part of the tower house apart from the solar above it. The build-up of soil on the first floor conceals any trace of the original floor. A depression surrounds the oblong opening in the east wall; this reveals the coarse rubble, probably quarry waste, that was used to fill the vault spandrels.

The spiral stair is housed in a rectilinear housing; the thin outer wall has been destroyed at the point of entry (Fig.16,iii).

Unusually in an RE tower house there was no central hearth because of the solar above. The wall fireplace, and the fireplace over, were apparently inserted by gouging a great channel in the wall and then building the chimneys and flues into the channel. The principal chamber fireplace has a roughly rounded fireback (Pl.16,ii); corbels project to either side of the opening. It seems that the solar was 'inserted' at the same time as the fireplaces, but there is no obvious sign of this in the masonry.

Two irregular arched embrasures dressed with rough edge-set slabs are in the north and south walls with wall seats; these were lit by narrow loops no more than one light wide; drawbeam sockets penetrate the reveals. The chamber was plastered over and whitewashed because it was only dimly lit.

The large arch spanning the west end of the chamber is flush with the east side of the spiral stair housing. The sheltered wall below this arch is covered with smooth plaster. The oblong opening penetrating the east wall was cut through it. This inserted door implies the existence of a lost building to the east (see below).

The second floor: The floorless second-floor chamber is slightly shorter than the chamber below it and was lit by a single intact east loop (Fig.16,iv).

A small, well-preserved, fireplace (Pl.16,ii) retains a slab on edge to form a chimney breast. An irregular discontinuity in the wall face forms the east edge of the opening. The fireplace and the wall face above it are set back slightly from the wall face to the east of the discontinuity. This fireplace and
the first-floor fireplace have separate flues almost as wide as the fireplaces themselves.

Plaster on the south wall terminates at the level of the foot of the fireplace, following the surface of the chamber’s lost timber floor (Pl.16,ii), c.0.2m above the corbels. The timber floor was very inadequately supported with only single corbels, the north example not even being central in the wall. There are no sockets for the wall plates. Such poor provision may be connected with the apparent insertion of the solar.

The spiral stair rises to an intramural passage with a slabbled ceiling in the west wall over the great western arch. A rebate in the west side of the passage indicates a door closed here. The passage led to a garderobe in the south-west angle, screened by the timber door in the passage; a chute is visible below the broken edge of the floor and it descends within the south-west angle to an opening high in the south wall. The south end of the passage has fallen away, but a very small loop survives in the west wall. The passage also provided access to the solar chamber, which probably served as a bedchamber. The door in the north-west corner of the solar led directly to the spiral stairs, which continued uninterrupted to the wallwalk.

There is no evidence of centring supports observed by the archaeological Survey (Power 1992a, 329) for a second vault over the ‘third’ floor.

The wallwalk: No evidence for roof construction is visible because the whole wallwalk is densely overgrown with bushes. Nothing remains of the stair’s junction with the wallwalk, but it was probably sheltered with a small turret (Fig.16,v). The wallwalk may well survive beneath the vegetation, but the complete absence of any surviving parapet or water outlets raises the possibility that the top of the tower house was deliberately flattened in the post-medieval period, perhaps to permit the construction of a hipped roof. This level probably does however represent the original wallwalk level or a point immediately below it.

Description of the bawn

The masonry: The thin walls that abut the north and south walls of the tower house are only c.0.62m (two statute feet) thick. The lack of bonding between the bawn and tower house walls confirms their non-contemporaneity. The walls were built with small stones set in a weak mortar and vertical joints divide the masonry of the north wall; this use of small stones also differs entirely from the tower house.
The north wall: This is fairly well preserved and ornamental 'gothick' niches, an eighteenth-century antiquarian caprice, are set into the central stretch of the wall; the base of another niche can be seen in the west return that meets the north side of the tower house (Fig.16,i). The north wall does not seem to survive to its full height because the upper edge is irregular. The presence of joints in the masonry raises the possibility that earlier work is incorporated in the eighteenth-century walls, but a more detailed examination is required of this most complex and enigmatic site.

The interior: The 1901 25" Ordnance Survey shows a complete oblong bawn to the east of the tower house. Ranges of buildings, apparently ruinous, abutted the inner faces of the east and north walls. Since then, the south and east circuits of the wall have been removed. Most of this building was presumably associated with Creagh Court.

The inserted door in the first-floor of the tower house indicates that a building, perhaps the documented hall (Copinger 1884, 39), abutted the east side of the tower house. The entrances in the west wall directly overlook the water's edge and are unsuitable for a bawn to the east; it seems that the tower house was built to function virtually in isolation. When the tower house became, in effect, a turret in a larger system of defences access from the interior of the enclosure was required and the first-floor door was inserted.
Figure i6.i
Ground floor
Figure 16.ii

Ground floor mezzanine (S)
Figure 16.iii
First floor
Figure 16,iv
Second floor (S)
Figure 16,v
Wallwalk (S)
Plate 16.ii

Oldcourt: the fireplaces of the principal chamber and solar
The site: Ardintenant stands slightly inland from Roaring Water Bay. There is a panoramic view from the top of the tower. Castleduff [20] is clearly visible on Castle Island.

The bedrock is deeply covered with glacial 'head' deposits and the terrain rolls gently down to the sea. The situation favours settlement: a ringfort, a tower house and a farm all testify to this (Pl.17,i).

The name: The name of this tower house was described by one authority as 'the crux of our etymologists' (O'Mahony 1909, 72). It is given as ard-an-Tenail in the Annals of Loch Cé (Hennessy 1871, 175). O'Mahony convincingly translates this as 'the height of the beacon'.

The history: The tower house is embedded in the rampart of an earthen ringfort. The earlier history consists of fitful gleams: the first mention is in 1473. O'Mahony argued that 'Ardintennanne and Rosbrin castles may be considered to have been built not earlier than A.D. 1310' (ibid., 1909, 123). This argument is based on a reference to Rossbrin in that year. That the tower house is this old is unlikely in the extreme; the reference can only be to earlier forts, subsequently obliterated at Rossbrin and retained at Ardintenant.

Ardintenant was several times the chief stronghold of the O'Mahony Fionn sept, a cohesive polity that held the Ivagha peninsula for several centuries. Dermot Rantach (the Reliable) succeeded in 1400; his life and the lives of his sons spanned the Fifteenth Century. He was celebrated as a 'truly hospitable man, who never refused to give anything to anyone' (Ó Murchadhda 1985, 233). His son Conchobar Cabach died at Ardintenant in 1473 after 'a victory of penance.' Conchobar probably built the tower house, as he is known to have built Learmon [22] for his second son, Finin Cad (the Slender) (O'Mahony 1909, 126). O'Mahony suggested that his nickname Cabakc (of the exaction) referred to a heavy tax for castle building. Tempting though O'Mahony's interpretation is, Westropp argued that this nickname means the 'talker' or 'capewearer' (Westropp 1915, 268).

Donnchadh succeeded on the death of his brother Conchobar and the chieftainship was transferred to the nearby Rossbrin, when Donnchadh died. For a hundred years there is silence, until, as a result
of the Desmond rebellion, two O'Mahony tower houses, Dunbeacon [7] and Rossbrin were confiscated and passed into the hands of the English settlers. Ardinentant remained the headquarters of the clan until 1607 when Ballydivlin took on this role, when Dohmnall O'Mahony, then a minor, let Ardinentant (see below).

The steady increase in pressure from English settlers meant that in 1592 the O'Mahony chieftain 'bowing to the inevitable' adopted the policy of surrender and regrant, becoming hereditary owner of Ivagha (O'Mahony 1909, 12).

Ardinentant was probably surrendered to Captain Roger Harvy's forces after the Sack of Dunboy. On 13th July, 1602, Sir George Carew reported that Harvy had taken several castles 'strongly seated upon rocks and necks of land' among them, the nearby Leamcon. However, Ardinentant seems to have been soon re-occupied by the O'Mahonys; its inland situation was perhaps considered too weak to pose a threat. Just before the Siege of Dunboy, in March 1602, Donogh O'Mahony of Ardinentant, the heir to the chieftaincy, died and was succeeded by his brother Dohmnall, also a minor. The boy's wardship had been granted to Sir George Carew (O'Murchadha 1985, 235). This Dohmnall subsequently let Ardinentant and ten ploughlands (presumably originating as the personal demesne of the Ardinentant tanist) to one Thomas Hollander (O'Murchadha 1985, 235). Dohmnall chose to go and live some 15 km to the west in Ballydivlin Castle (now destroyed). Before 1616 the demesne passed through the ownership of no less than three English adventurers. These men were doubtless interested only in the land and allowed the tower house to fall into dereliction. However, so solidly was this tower house built that despite four hundred years of neglect the shell is essentially complete. Another miniature tower stands at the opposite side of the ringfort (Fig. 17, i).

A brief description and the publication of a photograph (O'Mahony 1909, 72 and 120) shows that it is virtually unchanged since the Edwardian period. It was recently surveyed by P. O'Laoghaire (1981) and is mentioned in the county inventory (Power 1992, 407). The author has prepared a fresh survey based on direct measurement of the ground and third floors. Sketch plans of the other floors are based on photographic survey and O'Laoghaire's survey.

Description of the tower house

The masonry: Ardinentant was built from the local closely-bedded Old Red sandstone. The stone is hard to work, although it breaks conveniently into long slabs. The face of the slabs was dressed to form a fair wall face. The wide variety of sizes were 'random-coursed', but carefully fitted so that the beds were always horizontal. Very large blocks occur at all levels. An example nearly 1.5m long can be seen in the north wall of the first floor. The mortar is of intermediate hardness, intermixed with a very high proportion of coarse rolled beach sand and debitage. A bare minimum of lime was used.
The absence of lifts suggests there were no seasonal breaks in construction.

Large blocks were sometimes tooled on more than one face for specific purposes; for example, a spiral stairwell was assembled from curved blocks. Jambs and embrasure scions were formed from single long slabs 'edge-bedded'. The heads of the ground-floor loops were dressed from a soft pale grey freestone of unknown source.

The lower two-thirds of the tower house is perforated inside and out by a regular pattern of sockets. On the exterior they form a grid on the north and south faces four across and six high. On the east and west faces there are no clear grids. These are 'putlog holes'. The presence of very large blocks at all levels of construction indicates the use of a crane. Such apparatus would have required a solid mounting. The edge of the foundation is visible at the south-east corner, showing that the base of the tower house is not buried to any significant depth.

The setting-out: This was performed with a precision comparable to that of the stone-laying. The opposing walls of the ground floor are exactly the same length; however, the corners are not 90 degrees, although the error is imperceptible to the eye. The end wall external faces vary by 1cm in length, an error probably caused by the incorrect angles. The north and south walls are approximately 0.3m thicker than the east and west walls. The external dimensions at the top of the base-batter are 4:5. The lengths of the walls differ slightly but averaged out, the external dimensions are 40 x 32 GF (0.264m). The internal long dimensions is 27 GF. Only the short axis is an irregular dimension.

The walls are regular with crisply defined corners. These are dressed with oblong edge-bedded quoins. The ground-floor wall is sharply battered, the remainder of the wall more gently so. The break between the two pitches forms a horizontal and sharply defined line.

The ground floor: In the east face is the outlet for a garderobe in an intramural chamber above, at first-floor level (Fig.17,ii). The excrement fell directly into the ringfort ditch.

All the corners of the base, except the south-east, have been robbed. The large ground-floor entrance is severely damaged, but enough survives for the width of the passage to be determined. By analogy with Kilcoe it may be assumed that the entrance at Ardintenant was dressed with massive vertical jambs of square profile with an external rebate that slopes with the base-batter. Like the surviving raised entrance (PLA), the head was probably arched.

The surviving drawbeam sockets are clues as to the position of the door. The beams must have been c.1.6m long. The door was recessed c.0.46m into the wall.
No original floor surface is now apparent in the ground-floor chamber. The north corner of the west wall contains a cuboid recess for a lamp, its floor is at waist height. Two simple loops are placed off-centre in the east and south walls. The south is the better preserved and has an embrasure floor at waist height. The jambs survive at the semi-circular head, where the embrasure splays continue to the outer face without a break. Although heavily robbed the east loop was clearly the same as the south loop. The constricted form of these loops suggests that their purpose was for ventilation. They could be bowloops but the archer would have had a very restricted view.

There was probably a hatch through the timber first floor connecting this chamber to the one above. The very high ceiling would hinder an attacker’s attempts to break through or burn the floor. The chamber allowed the protection of a small number of cattle during a raid.

The raised entrance: Also robbed, though less severely, this is directly above the ground-floor entrance (Pl.A). The arch, turned with roughly dressed slabs, survives and a large keystone fills the soffit. At the springing line, the entrance arch is shoulder wide (Fig. 17,iii).

The first floor: Three large corbels project from the north and south walls (Fig.17,iii). Sockets against the corners of the chamber indicate that square section timber wall plates, their ends embedded in the east and west walls, rested on the corbels. The wall plates supported an unknown number of joists. Floorboards probably created a surface level with the door and window thresholds.

The intramural stair: The entrance lobby floor is demolished, alongside much of the entrance passage barrel vault below. The broken hole in the outer face of the intramural stair marks the position of an intermediary loop. The stair ascends to the right of the entrance, to run the length of the south wall. Each tread is formed from a single regularly dressed block. Uniform oblong slabs fit edge-on to form the sloping ceiling of the stair passage (Pl.B). A removable timber ladder must have provided access to the raised entrance.

The first-floor chamber: This chamber is entered from the intramural stair. The door jambs are dressed with large blocks of square profile. Deep rebates, containing opposing drawbeam channels of unequal length, face into the chamber, showing that it was closed from within.

The north, south and east loops of this chamber were larger than those of the floor below. The north embrasure doubles as a door to a passage which leads to the garderobe (see below). The chamber loops appear to have rebates between the jambs and embrasures, allowing them to be closed with
shutters. The loops are triangular in plan, with lintels rather than arches.

The intramural garderobe chamber is lit by a small loop dressed with two heavy blocks. O Laoghaire’s survey records that a small niche for grass or some other material is present. Remarkably, the flue is bisected and a flue goes up in the thickness of the wall, but apparently stops without reaching the third floor (ibid., 20). Sockets are sparsely scattered about the walls below the third-floor barrel vault, but form no coherent pattern.

The second-floor chamber and barrel vault: This additional floor has a single loop in the east wall like the one below it (Fig. 17, iv). In the north and south walls are pairs of corbels, less substantial than those below, and with correspondingly reduced sockets in the east and west walls. These initially supported a vault-centering frame. Subsequently floor joists were laid upon the wall plates. The reduced corbels imply that the floor was of lighter construction than the first floor.

The east and west walls form seatings for the ends of the barrel vault; they were first built as triangular ‘gables’ with wide gaps between them and the underside of the vault. These gaps eased the removal of the centring trusses and the centring hurdle mat. They were then filled in. The underside of the vault is therefore bare of mortar, so that the rough slabs used for its construction are clearly visible. These is no access to this chamber from the intramural stair; the chamber can only have been reached through a hatch in its floor. Apart from the loop, it is featureless, suggesting storage rather than domestic use.

The third floor: There is a gaping rent in the south (external) side of an otherwise well-preserved stair (Pl. 17, ii). At the top, the stair turns through ninety degrees before entering the third-floor chamber (Fig. 17, v). The four bare walls have vertical rows of constructional putlog holes. There is an oblong recess in the east wall into which the door of the chamber swung. The spiral staircase within the south-east angle leads to the top of the tower house. The small loops in the spiral stair had shutters that hinged upwards, a feature that also occurs at Kilcoe Castle.

Unlike the loops of the lower floors, the man-high embrasures are arched. In the east windows the voussoirs are smoothly pointed and the whole chamber was probably flush pointed. The windows had shutters secured by drawbeams.

The windows are ragged holes, but their original size can be estimated from the embrasures. The east window was the largest with three lights; the south window probably had two lights, while the north window had one. Like the blank west wall this variation was functional, reflecting the prevailing wind strength from each quarter.
The irregular hole in the north wall of the chamber is probably a later alteration to insert some timber feature, such as a press.

The height of the chamber allowed smoke to rise; it would have escaped either through a central louvre or by seeping through slates. The walls seem too thin to support gables, wallwalks and parapets. It must be assumed that extensive jettying, now robbed, provided seating for such features. Alternatively, they were never present. Thick vegetation covers the tops of the walls concealing their exact nature, but the relatively level wall top may simply be the result of systematic robbing rather than the presence of a wallwalk.

Whether there was a wallwalk or not, it is probable that the east and west walls supported gables, and that a simple pitched roof ran from east to west. Unlike O'Laoghaire's reconstruction (1981, 2) there is no reason to suppose it was sunk below the tops of the walls.

The wallwalk: The spiral stair now emerges into a featureless walltop cloaked in a thick layer of cliff vegetation and soil (Fig.17,vi). There has been robbing below the general level of the walltop in the area of the stairwell. The present upper edge of the tower house may be just below the putative wallwalk level. The stair exit at the south-east angle was probably covered by a turret. Alternatively, if there was no wallwalk, it may have continued upwards to form a look-out post.

The ringfort: The tower house and its single turret are planted in the inner rampart of a pre-existing ringfort (Fig.17,i). The ringfort seems to have comprised two continuous circular ramparts with a water-filled ditch between them. The western part of the ringfort is very well preserved. Immediately to the north of the perimeter, a hollow-way hugs the edge of the remains of the outer rampart before entering the east side. The present east entrance probably marks the position of the original entrance.

The ramparts were probably revetted drystone walling, some of which remains. Three-quarters of an inner rampart circuit survives; above the hollow-way the rampart is drystone faced; the remainder was apparently a simple earthen rampart. The visible drystone facing in the north-east quarter of the circuit (Fig.17,i) is of uncertain date. O'Mahony thought the inner rampart was replaced by a curtain-wall of stone and lime, subsequently thoroughly robbed (1909, 72), but there is no conclusive evidence that this ever existed.

Part of an outer rampart survives on the west side, barely projecting above the level of the surrounding fields (Pl. 17,i). Thorn bushes grow over the western ramparts, and these may well have been planted as quickset hedges forming part of the defences of the ringfort.
The turret: This owes its survival to its solid construction, similar to that of the tower house, suggesting that it is of similar date. The turret consisted of three small timber-floored chambers, 2.71 x 1.27m in size. Only the highest had loops or an entrance. It seems that the turret was entered from the top and that the two lowest floors were refuge chambers entered by hatches from above.

The turret is oblong in plan and is obscured by dense ivy. The north-east angle and much of the north wall is lost at ground level; the north-west and south-west angles have also lost their quoins. The damage to the west side of the turret could have been caused by the removal of an integral curtain-wall and is the sole evidence of its past existence. The absence of such scars on the tower house show that the putative curtain-wall would have been later.

The floors were constructed in the same manner as the first floor of the tower house, being supported by large single corbels in the north and south walls and with corresponding sockets in the other walls.

All sides of the second-floor chamber, except the west, have small loops of triangular plan. These are not central, and hug the corners of the chamber. The chamber was entered from the west. A door pivot block projects from the north-west corner. There is now no evidence for the means of access to the second floor, but this was probably gained through a door in the west side of the turret from the putative wallwalk. As there can have been no access to the curtain-wallwalk from the interior of the tower house the implication is that another turret, containing a stair, existed. The existing turret has traces of a corbelled 'pepper pot' spiral stair on its north-west angle, commencing at the second floor.

The second floor is covered by a small barrel vault, which suggests that the spiral stair led to a further floor. Where the mortar on the underside has not fallen away, it preserves a cast of ?hazel hurdle centring.

The probable chamber above was timber-roofed and was reached from the spiral stair. The level of the upper surface of the wall is grass-covered and no trace of this chamber survives.
Figure 17.1
Plan of the ringfort (S)
Figure 17.ii
Ground plan
Figure 17.iii
First floor (S)
Figure 17.iv
Second floor (S)
Figure 17,v
Third floor
Figure 17.vi
Wallwalk (S)
Plate 17, i

Ardintenant: view of the ringfort
Plate 17.ii

Ardintenant: general view from the north-east
The site: Rossbrin Castle is situated 5km east of Schull, on the north coast of Roaring Water Bay. It stands on a rocky bluff overlooking the west shore of a narrow inlet. In plan this inlet is funnel-shaped and opens onto a small harbour, at low tide now mudflats, but perhaps open water in the medieval period. The bluff is formed by a projecting rock. Like many of the projecting hard rocks selected for the sites of tower houses in Cork, it probably originated as a *roche moutonée* in the Pleistocene glaciations. This rock, like other such rocks in the region, is formed from a layer tipped almost vertically by crustal folding, and is therefore much longer than it is wide. The long axis of the tower house was therefore in line with the local crustal folding.

On the west side, the land is ‘drift’ covered and slopes gently, but on the other three sides it falls away sharply to the sea. The view from ground level encompasses the whole of Roaring Water Bay; from the battlements, it would have overlooked the islands that obstruct the ground level view. It would have been both possible to scan the Atlantic to the south-west and Kilcoe Castle, which could be seen to the south-east over the top of an intervening hill. Ardintenant, Castleduff (on Castle Island) and Rincolisky would also have been visible.

The siting strongly suggests that the tower house was intended to overawe the small haven. This haven may well have sheltered the small sea-force necessary to collect duties from foreign fishing vessels. Archaeological examination of both the mudflats and the surrounding shore could reveal traces of boathouses, quays and other harbour installations. The anaerobic conditions of the tidal mudflat would preserve the remains of boats buried in it.

The area north of the tower house probably retains the ephemeral remains of the insubstantial buildings that stood within the bawn (see below).

The tower house survived as a complete shell until 1903, when the upper part of the west wall was thrown down by lightning (O'Mahony 1909, 72). A central crack probably appeared in the east wall at this time. The tower house remained in this condition for many years, until the destruction of the south half in a storm (1974). Fortunately, this half was photographed shortly before this happened. The description is of the tower house in its pre-1974 condition. The remains are in a very fragmentary, dangerous state and the central vault has fallen since 1975.
The name:  *Ros Broin* 'Bron's headland' also called 'Rosse bren' in the 1659 Census (Pender 1939, 227).

The history:  *Diarmuid Runtacii* was the lord of the western sept of the O'Mahonys, *An Fionn lartharach* in the early Fifteenth Century; he was a 'truly hospitable man who never refused to give anything to anyone'. On his death in 1427, he was succeeded by his son Conchobar *Cabaicc* (of the exactions) who seems to have built Ardentenant Castle. *The Annals of Loch Ce* make the following entry, 'O'Mahon of the Western Land [Conchobar]...died after penance, in his own castle of Ard en Tennail, AD 1473.'(Hennessy 1871, 173). He also built Leamcon for one of his sons. His brother, Donogh More, became chieftain on his death and a third brother, Finn of Rossbrin, then became tanist (O'Mahony 1909, 126).

The unpredictable nature of the succession meant that Rossbrin was sometimes the personal stronghold of the O'Mahony *Fionn* chieftain's tanist (ibid.). A list of forces compiled by Carew in the 1570s shows that the tanist actually commanded a force greater than that of the chieftain (MacCarthy 1867, 9) although this probably reflected a division of responsibility rather than active rivalry.

It is not clear from the documentary sources when the tower house of Rossbrin was first built, for (like Ardentenant) there was probably an earlier stronghold on the same site. A chief who died in 1327 left 'Rossbrin and 18 ploughlands at its foot' to his sons (O'Mahony 1909, 123). O'Mahony understandably reasoned that the expression 'at the foot' meant that the tower house must have existed by that date. However, the expression could apply equally well to the bluff on which the tower houses stood. No visible trace remains of the earlier fort that crowned it.

After his death Rossbrin had an eventful and well-documented history which is inextricably linked with the fortunes of the O'Mahony *Fionn* sept at large (Appendix III). 'Daniel Mac Conagher O'Mahowne of Rosbrin Castle, gentleman' was attainted and sentenced to death for his part in the Desmond War, but he probably escaped to the continent (O'Mahony 1910, 11). In 1584 a lease from Queen Elizabeth conveyed his 'Castle and desmesne of Rosbrin, containing half and acre of land, surrounded by a wall, with edifices therein' to one Oliver Lambert.

Description of the tower house

The masonry:  The corners of the tower house were crisply defined, being made from flat slabs set on edge, the slabs alternating from face to face. This was concealed by the smooth mortar finish. Large areas of the north face are still covered by a tough mortar render (this permanent finish that utilised a mortar more resistant than that used for the building of the tower house, could be a later adaptation).
The masonry was of high quality; relatively small stones were tightly fitted together in even and horizontal random coursing. There were no constructional 'lifts' or other evidence of pauses in construction. The walls were very straight, both in plan and section.

**The setting-out:** Rossbrin is of trapezoidal plan, the short axes were, in length, less than 75 per cent of the long sides, and therefore fall slightly short of a 3:4 relationship. The base was sharply battered up to a horizontal break at first-floor level. Above that point it gave way to a much gentler batter. The short axes differ in length by c. 0.1m., the 'end wall' being the shorter of the two. The 'short axis' walls are very slightly thicker than the 'long axis' walls. Bare rock was probably concealed by a mortar floor.

**The ground floor:** Rossbrin had entrances at two levels, the ground level entrance gave access only to the ground floor and was massively dressed from the same hard limestone used for the walls (Fig. 18,i). The surviving north jamb was vertical and therefore sunk deeply into the sloping base-batter. The door swung against the south side of the entrance passage. When closed, it fitted behind the tough limestone jambs which were of very deep profile to prevent them being broken away. Behind the jamb was a large and deep socket with the peculiarity of not being parallel to the back of the jamb. A large drawbeam slid out to reinforce the closed door. Instead of passing behind the door, it apparently slid within it, implying the door was of layered construction.

The ground-floor chamber was a near-featureless oblong box, with a single thin loop in the south wall that originally had chamfered freestone dressings (now lost). The internal embrasure was very narrow in relation to its depth, giving a restricted field of vision from within the chamber. The loop was probably intended simply to admit a little light and air into the chamber and was unsuitable for any defensive role. Any defender utilising the single loop would be cut off from the remainder of the tower house. The main threat was evidently perceived as coming from the seaward side.

In the east wall was a large square recess for a single lamp, one side of it formed by a continuation of the north wall. Above the ground floor, there were rows of widely spaced corbels along the inner faces of the north and south walls. These survive on the north side.

**The first floor:** The remainder of the tower house was reached by a door centred over the ground-floor entrance. To the right of the entrance, a flight of intramural stairs ascended to the upper floors communicating with the rest of the building. Three steps up, a door in the side of the stair of the passage opened into the first floor (Fig.18,ii).

Because the internal wall faces rose uninterrupted, this chamber shared the dimensions of the
ground-floor chamber. It had short loop windows, originally with chamfered freestone dressings, lintelled embrasures and sloping internal walls. High on the north and south sides of the chamber were further rows of corbels, like those below.

There was a timber floor of standard tower house form, where the lesser joists rest upon large wall plates supported by stone corbels.

The ease of communication with the rest of the tower house and the presence of at least two windows implies that this was an inhabited chamber. A garderobe chamber probably was entered through a door in the south wall, but photographic evidence is missing for this area.

The second floor: The east loop was at a much higher level than the other two. There were rows of substantial corbels just below the springing of a barrel vault that covered over the lower half of the tower house’s interior, but while they could have supported a floor, but they were in any case were necessary to support the centring upon which the barrel vault was built. The upper chamber was probably reached by ladder from the first-floor chamber. The dark, sub-vault space was probably used for storage (Fig.18,iii).

The voussoirs were unhewn slabs that sprang directly from the north and south sides of the chamber, without the intervention of ‘joggles’ (a corbelled seating for the first voussoir). The infill of the vault was apparently of beaten earth or clay, built up to the level of the next floor.

The third floor: The straight intramural stair meets a spiral stair in the north-east angle below the second-floor level. The door surround projected slightly into the north-east corner of the principal chamber (Fig.18,iv).

Above the barrel vault, the walls reduce in thickness to create the largest and tallest chamber in the tower house. Its windows were also the largest in the building, these were provided with generous embrasures. There were probably four large windows, one in each side of the chamber; all were robbed of their dressings in 1974. The east window was probably the largest; the width of its embrasure shows that it originally had three lights. The embrasures were arched, but had flat lintels; the splays of the north embrasure were straight, but those of the south window were slightly concave, a form associated with window seats in other tower houses.

Two presses were sunk into the north and east internal wall faces of the third-floor chamber. This was probably for the storage of plate and drinking vessels connected with the ceremonial function of this chamber (Chapter 6:c).
Above the eastern window a large arch spanned from the north to the south wall, making it possible for the wall to support an intramural passage at fourth-floor level. Rows of corbels ran along the internal face of the north and south walls to support the fourth floor (Pl.18,i).

In the northern splay of the eastern window, there is a narrow door to an intramural stair, that (like the stair below) ascends into the north-east corner of the tower house, which contains a spiral stair. This gave access to the fourth floor via an intramural passage within the eastern wall (Pl.18,i). The passage also led to a garderobe in the south-eastern corner of the tower house and a chute ran down through the angle to join the first floor chute below (only the outlet still survives).

In other tower houses the barrel vault supported a central hearth. The additional floors rule out the possibility of such a hearth and there was presumably a conventional fireplace in the part of the tower house that fell in the 1900s.

The fourth floor: The fourth floor chamber was slightly smaller than the one below (Fig.18,v). The solar chamber had a single window in the north wall similar to those on the floor below; a trace remained of a corresponding window in the opposite wall (Pl.18,ii). The north window retained part of an ogival head and the embrasure was oblong in plan; it was built from neatly dressed and fitted ashlars. In the north-east corner was a square press. The garderobe shaft ran down the interior of the south east angle and the surviving outlet (at the bottom of the east wall) was a plain oblong opening.

The spiral stairs were illuminated by a single small chamfered loop at the level of the garderobe passage.

There is another small chamber over the garderobe passage in the thickness of the east wall (Fig.18,vi). The floor was formed by large lintels. A low door in the south-east corner of the solar chamber lead to the chamber (Pl.18,i). The door was about 2m above the timber floor of the solar. The intramural chamber was probably a ‘secret chamber’ and the door was somehow concealed or camouflaged. The intramural chamber was lit by only one very small loop.

The roof: A simple pitched roof ran along the long axis of the plan. Stone gables stood on the short-axis walls. Both gables have vanished without record, but analogy with Leamcon suggests the western gable would have been corbelled inwards from the wall below it. This was not necessary on the east side, because the intramural passage made the wall sufficiently wide to support the gable as well as the wallwalk parapet. The trusses rested upon wall plates that ran the length of the north and south walls. They rested upon jettied overhangs provided on the internal wall faces. This kept as much as possible of the top of the wall free for a wallwalk.

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The wallwalk: A wallwalk ran around the top of the tower house, except where it was interrupted by a lost turret that sheltered the stairs onto it (Fig.18,vii). The access to the wallwalk has been blocked off for safety reasons and the form of access must be conjectured. The wallwalk was broken by a small raised entrance in the corner of the solar chamber, an original arrangement and not the result of damage. The relationship of the door to the wallwalk is difficult to understand without access.

Very little survives of the parapet. This remnant consists of the lowest course immediately above the wallwalk; enough remained to show that it was very thin in relation to its original height. Along the foot, slabs jutted out from the face of the tower house, at regular intervals. Immediately above these slabs were small holes; rainwater from the roof passed through the foot of the parapet via the regularly-spaced holes. This was the usual arrangement in RE tower houses. The projecting slabs threw it clear form the exterior of the tower house.

On the east side of the tower house can be observed unusual larger holes spaced at wider intervals. These evidently penetrated the parapet, but were separated from the outlets at the foot by only a single course of masonry. The sockets may have supported a timber hoarding, roofed and boxed in to protect defenders while they leaned over the parapet.

The vanished turret that sheltered the stairs probably supported a look-out post.

The bawn: Documentary evidence of a ‘half-acre of land surrounded by a wall, with edifices therein’ prompts one to try and identify a bawn, although nothing now stands above ground. The probable position can, to some extent, be predicted from the surrounding topography of the tower house.

The rock projects only slightly above a fairly level area of ‘drift’ to the north. A faint but discernible ridge in the turf runs north from the west corner. This may represent the site of the curtain-wall; hummocks, to its east, could indicate traces of buildings beneath the turf.

On the east side of the tower house, some distance beyond the entrance area, the natural ridge has been quarried away to create a level surface beneath a vertical rock face. This may have been intended to enhance the defensibility of the tower house; a curtain-wall may have stood upon the artificially smooth rock. The raised area beneath the castle entrance could be easily reached from the flat area to the north. An alternative explanation is that it represents the laboriously cut site of a building with a flat rock floor.

To the north, the land falls away gently, but is uneven, with no ‘drift’ cover. It was probably outside the area of the bawn. To the west, the land was sufficiently flat to be within the bawn, but no evidence survives to clarify its status, without excavation.
Rossbrin Castle: ground floor

Figure 18.1
Ground floor
Figure 18.ii
First floor (S)
Figure 18.iii
Second floor (S)
Figure 18.iv
Third floor
Figure 18,v
Fourth floor (S)
Figure 18. vi
Fourth floor mezzanine (S)
ROSSBRIN CASTLE: WALL WALK

REVERSE HATCHING INDICATES FABRIC EXISTING 1973

Figure 18, vii
Wallwalk (S)
Plate 18.1

Rossbrin: general view from the north prior to storm damage in 1974.
Plate 18, ii
Rossbrin: view from the west, prior to 1974 storm damage.
showing the lost south-east parts of the principal chamber and solar
The site: The tower house stands in pastureland overlooking a low cliff on the southern shore of Roaring Water Bay. It is near an isthmus between the mainland and the peninsula townland of Cunnamore and has intervisibility with Kilcoe Castle [15]. This proximity is unusual in the Survey region and other factors beside the purely practical may have influenced the siting of both tower houses (Chapter 5:b).

A gully to the east of the tower house allows access to the top of the low cliff from the narrow and continuous beach. The gully skirts round the south side of the platform on which the tower house stands. To the west, the tower is easily approached over pastureland.

The tower house seems to have been located to defend the isthmus between Cullamore and the mainland; the isthmus would ease the defence of herds of cattle (Chapter 5:b) and it is possible that some form of occupation may have existed before the construction of the tower house. The defensive strength of the site seems to have been deliberately enhanced by the quarrying required for the tower house’s construction (Pl.19,i). The scarp faces eastward, perhaps because attack from this direction was expected.

There is no evidence of piers, quays or slipways, but the strand below the tower house is a convenient landing place for small vessels and the sheltered bay has few hazards other than the Skeams rocks to the north of the tower house.

A low truncated block about 10m high is all that remains of a tower house, it stands alone on a raised platform of rock, slightly raised above the level of the field. Other structures are absent, but a ruined wall, reputedly part of the eighth-century friary of Cill Cillin (St Cillin’s church) stands 1km to the east. This structure is more probably of medieval date and the relative proximity of the two structures implies that the south shore of the bay was a focus of permanent or seasonal settlement (Chapter 5:b). The ‘town’ known from documentary sources (see below) probably reflects this relatively greater density of population.

The name: Rinn Cuil Uisce was originally the name of the townland (now known as ‘Whitehall’) and
is best interpreted as the 'point of the back water'. The name presumably refers to the narrow inlet to the south and not Roaring Water Bay.

The history: The tower house is supposed to have been built in 1495 (Lewis 1837) but no authority is given; comparative evidence does support this date. Lewis's source may have derived from a local oral tradition, now lost. All known documentary evidence derives, as is often the case, to the events surrounding the Nine Years War and its aftermath. The circumstances leading to its construction as well as the early years of its history can be conjectured, from what else is known about the O'Driscoll Clan (Appendix III). It was apparently a stronghold of the O'Driscoll Oge sept rather than a stronghold of the senior Mór branch (Butler 1904, 360).

It is possible that Rincolisky is the '...Recaranalagh, near Kilcoa, being a castle whence the rebel Conogher, the son of Sir Fineen O'Driscoll, Knight, held a ward [29th April 1602]' (Pacata Hibernia quoted in Coleman 1925, 47). It is possible that during the Nine Years War, the tower house (and by implication, much of Collybeg) passed to Finghin O'Driscoll's son (Pacata Hibernia quoted in Coleman 1925, 47). Perhaps Conogher used the disturbances of the time to annex the tower houses of minor septs for strategic reasons, allowing the strongholds to be used more effectively against the English.

Its height meant that the tower house commanded a great view over all the surrounding waters, including the navigable roads to the west of the Skeams. The strategic role of the tower house implied in the Pacata Hibernia was completely unintended at the time of its construction.

The castles and lands evidently passed to Walter Coppinger after Conogher's attainder for treason. In 1614, 'half of the castle, town and half quarter of Rinecoolcusky, containing three ploughlands' were part of his estate (Copinger 1884, 40). The 'town' must have undergone severe depopulation, for by 1659 only twenty-two people, all Irish, lived in the three ploughlands of 'Rinekullisky' (Pender 1939, 226). In 1663, the castle is mentioned in a decree of innocence for James Coppinger of Cloghan (Healy 1988, 209). By that stage, it was presumably no more than the truncated landmark it is today.

Description of the Tower House

The masonry: Although definite evidence is lacking, it is very probable that the Old Red sandstone from which the tower house was built was quarried from the scarp immediately to the east of the tower house. Split slabs of this stone were used to dress openings; the ceiling of the staircase seems to have been lintelled with a more slate-like stone, that could be split into thin slabs. The mortar has not been inspected in detail, but is implicitly of good quality.
The 'random rubble' coursing used for the superstructure respects usual practice and lifts are not apparent. The fit of the stones and the flushness of the external faces is good to excellent. The masonry was not however entirely homogenous and a change to larger stones can be seen above a horizontal break c.7.7m up the north face.

The absence of lifts suggests that building was carried on continuously, with only one break visible in the surviving fabric.

The exterior of the tower house is perforated by rectilinear patterns of putlog sockets spaced at horizontal intervals of c.1.6-1.7m and vertical intervals of c.1.1m. The pattern is unusually complete and clear. There are five rows of four holes on the narrow west face and the same number, more widely spaced, on the north face. The highest row is c.7.1m above foundation level at a level corresponding to the springing of an internal barrel vault (see below). The walls are featureless above that height, the top of the tower house was truncated at the level of the apex of a second-floor barrel vault. This rested on a typical barrel vault.

The setting-out: The ground-floor chamber's diagonal measurements vary by c.0.25m; right angles were not achieved. The wall thicknesses vary only slightly (see below) and each wall is apparently of constant thickness.

The plan does not respect any rational or irrational proportion such as the square root of two or the Golden Section. The width of the ground-floor chamber (5.535m) is a dimension repeated, apparently not by chance, at two other tower houses.

The ground floor: The exterior of the base is sharply battered. This batter is of unusual height, terminating at a clear-cut horizontal break c.3m above the foundation. The orientation of the base is typical of the Survey region (Chapter 3.f,ii).

The exterior of the ground-floor entrance is entirely robbed (Fig.19,i). The embrasure is covered by a shallow barrel vault. The solitary loop is recognisably of 'hour-glass' form but the plan is oddly asymmetrical as well as being very narrow.

The ground floor chamber probably had a mortar laid over the irregular surface of the virgin rock; the surface of the timber first floor was at a level of c. 4.03m above this surface and the ground floor was cut off from the remainder of the tower house. The door was barred from within by a heavy baulk of timber that was housed in the deep channel. The door probably resembled its counterpart above, but was wider. A surrounding recess in the base-batter would have been provided for the vertical door.
jambs, but no trace of this remains.

The single bowloop embrasure's asymmetrical plan was probably to allow the archer greater space for the (left) bowhand. The field of vision was however very restricted.

The internal overhang was probably provided to make the ground floor as large as possible rather than being the result of a miscalculation. Two presses for lamps were provided.

The raised entrance and stair: The entrance above the remains of the ground-floor entrance has lost its jambs, threshold and adjacent floor, but the apex of its pointed arch survives 5.84m above the rock platform. The arch is turned from two blocks of square profile with a correspondingly pointed rebate on their reverse. The door is very narrow (0.68m wide). A simple lintelled door into the first floor is directly behind the external door (Fig. 19,ii). The lower margin of the walls of the 'landing' are 4.03m above the rock; stone robbing has created a large hollow in the fabric and the floor can only be distinguished by the cessation of the fair face below that level. The floor level was apparently also conformed to by the first floor. This is an atypical feature as the raised entrance was usually set some height below the first floor.

The stair passage has a sloping ceiling formed from oblong slabs of slate fitted edge to edge (see above). The lintelled ceiling of the 'lobby' behind the raised entrance is level. The stairs are not dressed from single blocks but are each built up from several carefully fitted rough stones. Within the south-east angle, the stair turns through 180 degrees before leading out onto the grass grown 'roof'.

The timber door fitted into a reveal on the reverse of the pointed arch of the raised entrance. The timber door into the first-floor chamber seems to have hung on blocks of wood; the impression of one such block survives just under the inner lintel.

There is no trace of a forebuilding or permanent stair leading to the raised entrance.

Comparison with other tower houses indicates that the intramural stair led into a second-floor chamber over the barrel vault; the steep stair was lit by a small loop halfway up, but it was quite unsuitable for the elderly and infirm. This major disadvantage could have discouraged the full-time occupation of the tower house if alternative domestic buildings were available.

The first floor: The horizontal overhang referred to above reduced the area of the first-floor chamber relative to the ground floor (Fig.19,ii).
The crude, heavy corbels projecting from the internal faces of the north and south wall are c.3.5m above the present internal ground surface. The square sockets in the corners of the east and west walls are a stone-course higher than the large corbels, as are the additional pairs of narrow corbels (one broken off) projecting from the east and west sides of the chamber; these latter corbels are anomalies.

The intramural chamber (not accessible to the author) was entered through a narrow door in the north wall. The wall widens locally, diverging from the plane, as if to accommodate the chamber, causing the internal wall to slightly overhang. Two garderobe shafts in the thickness of the wall descend to the opening, separated by a thin barrier made from vertically-set slabs of slate. One of the shafts probably rises into the chamber as illustrated where a small loop provides light (Fig.19,ii) the other shaft is truncated, which indicates that a garderobe served the destroyed part of the tower house. The intramural garderobe chamber is set above the level of the first floor, and is presumably reached by a short flight of steps although these are now inaccessible. The raised position of the chute opening was probably to discourage attackers from forcing an entrance up the chute.

The north loop retains crude square jambs of split stone.

The floor was constructed from timber, probably oak and use the typical corbel/wall plate technique. The floor joists were too slim for the width they had to span and the floor must have sagged. Additional slight corbels were inserted under the joists at the east and west ends in an effort to counter this.

The variation of the loops in the first floor indicates that clear roles were envisaged for the two types of loops. Only the hour-glass loop was wholly defensive; the two triangular loops were apparently splayed to help light the chamber. The paucity of defensive features is typical of this type of tower house.

The barrel vault: The barrel vault is pitched along the long axis of the plan and is slightly pointed. It conforms entirely to the form of barrel vault most often encountered in the RE tower houses. There are three slight corbels below the vault springing on either side of the chamber, but no openings in the abutments of the vault. There can be little doubt the corbels were purely constructional features and did not support a floor.

The upper surface of the vault is approximately level but is covered by a deep mat of grass that conceals almost all features that may survive at this level. It no doubt corresponds roughly to the level of the second floor. Although only the chute and the point of entry survive, their positions conform to the positions of such features in the principal chamber at other better-preserved tower houses.
Comparison with Kilcoe indicates that the wallwalk level was approximately 17m above the ground; this rests on the assumption that the vanished principal chamber was of similar form. The tower house therefore stands to slightly more than half its original height.
Rincolisky Castle: ground floor

Figure 19.1

Ground floor
Rincollsk Castle: first floor (sketch plan)

Figure 19.ii
First-floor (S)
Plate 19,i
Rincolisky: the entrance (east wall)
The site: This fragmentary tower house stands on a low island, with a smooth rolling ice-sculpted terrain, in Roaring Water Bay. Within sight stands Ardintenant Castle [17] on the mainland to the north. The island is hour-glass-shaped in plan; the tower house commanded the narrow neck between the two halves. The situation is very open, commanding a superb view of Roaring Water Bay, Cape Clear Island and the Atlantic beyond. The building stands on a promontory and, except to the south, is surrounded by low cliffs. On the north coast of the island is a modern stone quay, which the tower house overlooks. Although the tower house is now uninhabited, the 1842 6" O.S. indicates that this haven was the main nucleus of settlement on the island. The island (Mean Mis) is between two other islands (Fig.b).

The name: Caïlen Dubh 'black or dark castle' (Mr Caverley, Ardintenant farm, pers.comm. 1975); also known as Oilean Caïlen 'Island of the castle'; 'Castle Isle' Down Survey 1657 (O'Mahony 1910, 23). It is possible that this name should correctly apply to Leamcon Castle.

The history: Castleduff is identified an O'Mahony stronghold (Ó Murchadha 1985, 232), although the authority on which this assertion is based is unknown. There is no mention of the tower house in published contemporary sources and it has never been described or surveyed apart from a mention in the Archaeological Inventory (Power 1992a, 323).

Its small size, rough construction and the lack of historic reference suggests that it was not built by a tanist, or other member of the leading family of the O'Mahonys. Even its correct name is uncertain, Castleduff was the name told to the author when visiting it as a boy. The name also seems to have been applied to Leamcon [22] by Smith (quoted in O'Mahony 1909, 72), but Smith's account suggests he may have confused Leamcon and Castleduff. Ardintenant was the 'white castle' (ibid.) while Castleduff - Caïlen Dubh - was the 'dark castle' (author's observation).
Description of the tower house

The masonry: The standard of construction appears rough, but this is slightly misleading. Small stones were used and, on the north side, the wind has raked out the joints, causing the wall to appear more roughly constructed than was the case. Much of the tower house is covered by a mortar harling; putlog holes cannot be seen.

The setting-out: Working on the assumption that Castleduff was an RE tower house, its smallness is striking. The surviving ‘end wall’ makes possible a reasonably accurate estimate of the plan’s original length. It is assumed that like its neighbours, its plan had a length-to-breadth ratio of 3:4 to 4:5; the ratios suggest a length of 7.96-7.46m (measures above the base-batter). The surviving north wall probably represents the full length of the ground-floor chamber.

The ground floor: The building is no more than a fragment of its original self. The ground floor is the best-preserved part (Fig.20,i). The west wall is complete; the incomplete north wall is significantly longer but its east end is broken. The west end of a corresponding wall survives to the south. The walls are of similar thickness. No trace of an east wall survives. The marked base-batter stops sharply at the level of the first floor; above it it is hard to tell whether the walls are either very gently battered or vertical. No trace of an entrance survives but the lost east wall would probably have been the ‘entrance wall’.

The surviving part of the ground floor has no opening or lamp recesses. The absence of loops implies that the ground-floor chamber was an uninhabited, general-purpose storeroom. There may have been a loop in the destroyed south wall, a feature present at the nearby Rossbrin [18]. The chamber probably had its own entrance at one end of the chamber east wall. One side of the entrance passage would have been continuous with the north or south side of the chamber.

The first floor: A row of corbels along the south (internal) face of the north wall marks the level of the first floor. The floor was of normal wall plate-on-corbel construction and was reached from the upper entrance in the lost east wall. The entrance to the first-floor chamber would not be directly opposite the upper entrance, but would be two or three steps up.

The internal face of the chamber is flush with that of the ground-floor chamber with no internal offsets. As was usual in the earlier tower houses, this chamber and the one below it shared common dimensions. Like the floor below, there are no openings in the west face and only a simple loop exists in the north wall. This is the only surviving opening in the structure. At other O’Mahony tower
houses such as Dunmanus [14] this chamber may have served a quasi-domestic role. The presence of a loop supports this interpretation.

The west wall of the first-floor chamber survives to its full height, but is destroyed above the level of the putative second floor. There is no evidence for a vault.

The lost upper floors: In the surviving RE tower houses, a large barrel vault was always present, orientated on the long axis of the tower house and springing from the north and south walls. Some trace of the vault would have survived on the north wall, had it been at second-floor level. Its absence suggests that the second floor was also of timber and that the vault was at third-floor level. This tower house must have therefore been of similar height to Ardintenant, and was correspondingly more slender. Alternatively, it may have been an unvaulted GE tower house (implied by the very thin walls).

Outworks: The siting of the tower house made full defensive use of a slight promontory. The tower house is surrounded by smooth turf; no trace survives of any surrounding structures, with one exception. This is the stub of a substantial mortared wall abutting the exterior of the west wall. It is not bonded into the fabric of the tower house and is implicitly of a later date. The curtain-wall was probably flanked by a matching wall to the east. In all probability, the curtain-wall originally enclosed the promontory to the north. Erosion of the cliff edge has removed most of this circuit. Archaeological traces of more ephemeral buildings may survive beneath the smooth turf of the promontory.

The jetty is modern, but the beach that it is laid upon was the best natural landing point on the island, well sheltered from the Atlantic swell. The landing clearly determined the siting of the tower house and was an important resource to the family that built the tower house. It is tempting to see a direct continuity between the recent settlement and a settlement around the tower house. Only excavation could determine if this was the case.
Figure 20.1
Ground floor
DUNLOUGH CASTLE
Townland of Dunlough, Kilmoe Parish

6° 146, 25° CXLVII:12
NGR V 7297 2709
SMR 3076

The site: The stronghold stands in a valley in an unpopulated and remote location at the west end of the Ivagha peninsula (Fig.b). The valley probably originated as a belt of soft rock, differentially scoured out by the great ice sheets that periodically covered this area. This valley has been filled by a deep lake overlooked to the north and south by a landscape of ice-scrubbed Old Red sandstone, one of the few occurrences of this sort of landscape in the Survey region. A thin coating of boggy turf in the crannies between the rocks gives way to an area of pasture at the south end of the lake where the land rises slightly. This is abruptly truncated to the west by a huge cliff. The stronghold runs parallel to this low pasture, occupying the foot of the sharply rising land to the north. No roads approach the stronghold.

Dunlough acted more as a frontier than an enclosed stronghold; it therefore took the form of a curtain-wall with towers running between the enormous cliffs over the inlet of Coosnaronety and the lake (Dunlough). The combination of natural and artificial defences was cleverly utilised (Fig.21,i) to cut off the entire north-western part of Three Castle Head, barring the narrow gap between the lake and the soaring cliffs of Coosnaronety to create a huge enclosure bounded to the west and north by cliffs. This headland enclosure was probably for the sept’s herds.

The stronghold occupies the site of a older fort now largely removed but still clearly visible in the 1900s. The plan (Fig.21,i) reflects the layout of this fort (Westropp 1915, pl.XXIV). The later castle did not follow the line of the old promontory fort but cut across it (Westropp 1915, 268).

The tower was placed high above the remainder of the castle on a knoll which slopes very sharply to the east and south. There is a level area behind the tower house, beyond which rises the hill above Three Castle Head.

The dún was described in detail at the beginning of the Twentieth Century (Westropp 1915). A brief description was published alongside an imperfect survey of the masonry structures; publication being on a very small scale. Another survey, again on a very small scale, was published by Salter recently (1993). The degree of deterioration that has occurred in the intervening period has been relatively slight. This description concentrates on the mortared stone late castle. Some of Westropp’s and Salter’s observations have been included in the description, where features not apparent to the author are mentioned.
The name: The modern name is usually given as Dunlough or Dunloch which unambiguously translates as dún a'locha 'fort of the lake'. The name indicates the existence of a fort here before the construction of the existing tower house.

The history: 'The history is very brief' (Westropp 1915, 276) and this remains the case. The foundation date of the stronghold is uncertain. It was long believed that the Annals of Innisfallen recorded the foundation of this castle in 1207 (O'Mahony 1910, 70). The consensus is now that the name refers to Dunloe near Killarney (Kenneth Nicholls, pers.comm.). It is likely that the stronghold whose traces were recorded by Westropp (1915, 274 passim) pre-dated the Fifteenth Century.

Dunlough was a minor stronghold of the O'Mahony Fionn sept. Dermot Runtach (the Reliable) succeeded in 1400 and was succeeded by several of his sons during the Fifteenth Century. The present tower house is sufficiently similar to the better-documented Learcmcon [22] to show it was rebuilt during that century. The stronghold was completely rebuilt, probably with the stone of the earlier fort (Westropp 1915, 274).

The first definite mention of the stronghold is when Conor Finn O Mahony, made chief in 1496, gave 'Dunlougha' and eight ploughlands to his fourth brother, Dermot. Conor died in 1513, but Dermot only succeeded to the chieftaincy after the turn of another (third?) brother, Finghin Caol (ibid., 276). The small size and remote location of Dunlough are what a junior of the ruling family could expect. The stronghold is not mentioned in the Pacata Hibernia, perhaps indicating no attempt was made to hold it.

In the Seventeenth Century, the impoverished sept gradually lost its lands. In 1616, Dominick Roche of Kinsale got a royal grant of Ardintenant, part of the lands of Dunbeacon and chief rents out of Ballydevlin, Dun Locha and other lands (Ó Murchadha 1985, 235). This was presumably at the expense of Dohmnal O Mahony Fionn who occupied the now-vanished tower house of Ballydivlin. In 1627, Dohmnal leased the castle of 'Dunlogh' with the ploughlands of 'Dunlogh, Kildunlogh and three other's to one Dermot mac Teige Coghiane. After the Cromwellian wars, Dunlogh and other lands of Dermod Coghline went to Richard Boyle, the Earl of Cork (ibid., 75).

The Census of Ireland shows that the three ploughlands of 'Dunloughy' still held a population of 44 Irish in 1659 (Pender 1939, 228) but the final desertion of the stronghold is unknown. A tradition implies that it was occupied by bandits in this period (Healy 1988, 192), a fate probably shared by other semi-ruinous tower houses in remote locations. Note that for the purpose of description, the entrance wall is conventionally treated as the east wall; strictly speaking it should be called the NE face. This simplification is used for the towers and turrets (Fig. 21,i).
Description of the tower house and subsidiary structures

The masonry: The exterior of the tower house is mostly faced with thin slabs of similar size. Occasional large stones are also visible embedded in the face. The stones frequently tip far from the horizontal. The fit of the stones is very tight but the general effect is untidy with corners visibly out of plumb. The lower half of the exterior of the tower house is perforated by a regular system of putlog holes.

A proper lime mortar, quite hard, white and capable of adhering to the stones was used in the base-batter. However, at second-floor level, the mortar was little more than earth and the building stands entirely by virtue of the careful laying of the stones. The unusual drystone construction (Pl.21,i) gives it a 'vernacular' air which is a peculiarity of this stronghold. Remarkably, the tower is still substantially complete although the south-east corner has recently (since 1987) begun to crumble alarmingly.

A well-preserved expanse of curtain-wall to the west of the tower house shows four zones of masonry (Pl.G), suggesting it was built slowly by different teams of masons, with breaks in construction. A mud mortar was used. The bottom lift is of mediocre and irregular character. This gives way to a lift of evenly sized small, carefully fitted but sloping stones, over which is a lift of coarse, poorly dressed and poorly laid blocks. The final lift is well laid with horizontally bedded stones that vary greatly in size. The rough rubble core and the facing were insufficiently bonded and the intermediate stretches of wall are leaning out where they have not already fallen.

The two turrets seem to be built with a sounder mortar and the quality of stone laying is notably superior to that used in the curtain-wall. In contrast, a gatehouse at the east end of the castle is of drystone construction and is of irregular execution. It is clearly a later addition.

No dressed freestone is apparent anywhere in the castle. Arches were used in a ground-floor entrance and a barrel vault; the window embrasures however were spanned by an intriguing mixture of corbelling and lintels in which a single lintel is supported on cantilevered slabs at each end. An airspace over the lintel relieves weight.

The setting-out: The plan of the tower house is irregular. The interior is rotated slightly in relation to the exterior so the wall thicknesses vary along their length.

The ground floor: The base of the tower house is slightly battered. This terminates at waist-height on the north side, but extends downwards on the south side, due to the sharp slope on that side.
Unusually, the tower house's two entrances survive perfectly (Fig.21,ii). The ground-floor entrance leads straight into the ground-floor chamber and was massively dressed from the same hard sandstone used for the walls. The ground entrance is covered by a pointed arch turned from unworked slabs. The jambs have an unadorned square profile. The whole door frame, including the arch, is sunk into an oblong recess in the base-batter which also covers the arch with a horizontal lintel. The passage behind the arch is also lintelled. Oddly, the recess for the entrance is of unequal depth, so that the door jambs are not parallel to the external wall face. A drawbeam socket is let into the rebate behind the north jamb. A corresponding shallow socket can be seen in the opposite reveal.

No sign of the original floor surface is apparent, it was probably mortar laid over the irregular surface of the rock. The had 'hour-glass' loops in each wall except the east. The third loop in the north wall is now only marked by a ragged hole.

A slit built into the north-east corner runs the height of the chamber; this is an unusual feature that forms a funnel to a single small hole in the exterior of the east wall; it may be a urinal. A small square press in the north wall is the only other feature of the chamber.

The chamber could have sheltered a few head of cattle during a raid, but was effectively cut off from the remainder of the tower house.

Six widely spaced corbels project from the north and south walls above the ground floor and four sockets are let into the re-entrant angles of the east and south walls. The lower lips of these sockets are level with the upper surfaces of the corbels. These features supported a floor of conventional corbel and wall plate construction.

The raised entrance and stair: The raised entrance is an intact rectangular opening smaller than the ground-floor entrance, but centred over it (Fig.21,iii). No provision for any complex timber stair is apparent in the masonry and it is likely that it was built for use with a removable timber ladder which could be withdrawn into the first-floor chamber through the inner door. A forebuilding was subsequently built and this may have housed a permanent timber stair.

The entrance wall contains a straight intramural stair which rises to a second-floor principal chamber over the barrel vault. The entrance to the first floor is directly opposite the raised entrance. The chamber's door swung into a recess in the chamber.

The first floor: This chamber is directly below the barrel vault (Fig.21,iii). It has the same dimensions as the ground-floor chamber. It has no windows and was featureless. The floor would probably have
been oak: the wall plates may have been continuous lengths of timber, but it is more probable that two or four lengths of timber were used, butted on the corbels. This would allowed easy replacement of decayed sections. The ends of the wall plates were embedded in the walls. Joists rested on the wall plates, and floorboards took up the remaining clearance to the threshold of the door. Since the chamber was unlit it was probably built to serve as a storeroom.

The barrel vault: Two free arches were built from rough slabs to span the chamber from north to south. They resemble 'slices' of a barrel vault and have the impressions of wattle hurdling in the white mortar on their soffits. Gaps approximately a metre wide separate these arches from the short-axis walls and from each other. The gaps were bridged over with large overlapping slabs. There are three oblong impressions of centring trusses beneath the foot of each arch. These were directly embedded in the wall.

The central slabs of the vault have been removed, creating a skylight into the chambers below.

The 'economy' vault was less demanding to build than a complete barrel vault and would have weighed far less. It formed a fire-barrier between the second-floor principal chamber and the lower part of the tower house. The central hearth in the second-floor principal chamber would also have required a fireproof floor to rest on.

The second floor: The principal chamber is a stone box with a window in each wall. It was entered through the north-east re-entrant angle (Fig.21,iv), where a loop lit the head of the stair from the raised entrance below. The south and west windows (Pl.21,i) are comparatively well-preserved, although the jamb dressings have been knocked out. They were apparently single loops. The south embrasure retains low stone window seats in its splayed sides. The unusually simple windows indicate that this O'Mahony sept had limited resources.

The wall surfaces of the chamber 'undulate' from the vertical, a point particularly noticeable at the corners.

The chamber was presumably heated by a central hearth. The principal chamber was very tall in relation to its width allowing the smoke from the hearth to rise above eye-level. More than two-thirds of the chamber's volume was dead space, above head-height.

The robbed opening in the east wall was not covered by lintels, but was instead gradually corbelled over in steps, until the full width of the wall was restored at wallwalk level (Pl.21,ii). The north reveal contains the entry to an intramural stair that rises to the wallwalk in the north-east corner.
The tops of the east, west and north walls are internally jettied to thicken the walls above. This widened the tops of the walls sufficiently to carry wallwalks and the seating of the roof.

Two presses are set into the north-west and south-west corners of the chamber. The latter is inset and incorporates a slopstone that pierces the outer face of the tower house. The northern press is not inset.

The north window appears to have been enlarged, perhaps to take a timber frame; this is the only evidence of later occupation.

The wallwalk: The wallwalk is completely concealed by a thick, spongy bed of cliff vegetation. All that is visible is the base of the overthrown parapet, which does not seem to survive higher than c.20cm. Rough slabs project a short distance from the base of the parapet at intervals of about a metre. The projecting runoff slabs imply that the wallwalk was built using the saddle stone technique observed on other RE tower houses, such as Kilcoe. A small turret, now destroyed, presumably housed the stair onto the wallwalk.

At the south-east angle a rough corbel projects diagonally from the corner of the tower house. This shows that this small tower house had a machicolation (Fig.21,v). The machicolation was restricted to either side of the south-east corner. The tower house was not provided with doors onto the curtain-wallwalk, (Pl.21,i); such doors were presumably judged too vulnerable, a telling instance of the priorities of the builders.

The subsidiary structures

The tower house was the westernmost of three towers. All were built more or less simultaneously (see below). The gatehouse and a small forebuilding against the entrance of the tower house were additions (Fig.21,i). These features are described, commencing at the tower house.

The forebuilding: A short wall truncated to a height of c.1.5m high abuts the entrance wall at an acute angle but is not bonded into it (Fig.21,ii).

Another low truncated wall fragment runs at right angles to the short wall. Westropp's plan, which is not reliable in its details, shows a doorway between the two walls (Westropp 1915, pl.XXIV). The south end runs into the main curtain, but the junction between the two is destroyed or buried.
The forebuilding and the intact entrances of the tower house (Fig. 21, ii) are important survivals. This forebuilding also provided extra defence for the vulnerable ground-floor door. It probably also provided access from the raised entrance of the tower house to the curtain-wallwalk.

The curtain-wall: This very long wall has certain general characteristics. Despite the differences in construction technique between the curtain-wall and tower house, the two are bonded together. The tower house, the intermediate turret and the gatehouse turret are connected by a single wall that varies in thickness and in build quality. The variety of techniques used in the western length adjoining the tower house is unparalleled (Pl. S). Due to the weakness of the mortar, the wall has collapsed except at those points where it meets the other buildings.

The wall runs to the cliff edge (not shown) where Westropp recorded a return running along the cliff-edge (ibid., 274). The wall seems to have three distinct orientations. Nearest the tower house, it is very thin, but it increases in thickness further down the sharp slope to the east. A 'bulge' or kink in the south face marks a point where it changes orientation, to turn slightly northwards. After a short distance it meets the intermediate turret, where the wall survives to its greatest height of approximately four metres.

The west wall survives to near its full height of c. 4.0 m where it meets the tower house (Pl. S) but it is ruined further to the west. There seem never to have been any turrets to the west of the tower house. A thin vertical slot in the west face of the tower house indicates the position of the parapet. Westropp records a double ditch to the south of this wall (ibid., pl. XXIV).

The intermediate turret: The small intermediate turret was connected to the tower house’s tall curtain-wall. The author did not gain access to the interior. The base was entered through a small door that can only be reached by ladder (Pl. 21, ii). The chamber contains a garderobe (Westropp 1915, 275). The first floor lacks openings. It was probably intended to be a refuge, but has a garderobe in the base. Salter shows a spiral stair rising in the north-east corner of the turret (1993, 130). This provides access to the upper floors.

The wallwalk passed by the turret without interruption and its parapets were bonded into the corners of the turret. Cantilevered timbers probably widened the wallwalk at this point where it would otherwise have been dangerously narrow. The second-floor chamber was reached from the wallwalk by a door in the north wall.

The chamber has loops in the south and east walls. The north-east corner of what may be a parapet or a third floor survives, but this area is not easily accessible. The wallwalk and parapet which
presumably capped the turret have both vanished.

Irregular joints in the curtain-walls where they meet the turret emphasise the more skilful construction of the latter. They show that the north corners of the turret were keyed to provide purchase for the ends of the curtain-wall. This indicates that the turret was built first, although turret and curtain were part of the same building campaign. The curtain-wall has subsided slightly, opening up this joint.

The curtain-wall continues eastward to meet the gatehouse. There is a sharp northern deviation. The central part of the wall is almost entirely destroyed.

The eastern turret: Again, the upper floors have not been internally recorded, due to access difficulties. The curtain-wall continues east with no further change in orientation to form the rear (north) wall of a substantial square turret next to a large arched gate, now partially buried in debris from the collapse of the gatehouse behind. The turret has the features of an RE tower house in miniature.

The turret seems to have four storeys. The ground-floor doorway has a drawbeam socket in the reveal behind deeply sunken jambs. A spudstone is set in the base of the west side of the door. A solitary loop in the ground-floor chamber overlooks the gateway to the west. There are no stairs to the upper floors but a trapdoor in the vault was observed in the 1900s (Westropp 1915, 275).

The first-floor chamber has a barrel vaulted floor and a raised entrance in the north wall that overlooks the remains of the later gatehouse. Small loops pierce the south east and west faces. The second-floor chamber probably had a timber floor and clearly served an important defensive role; a loop pierces each wall. The gatehouse probably provided a permanent means of access to the raised entrance.

The third-floor chamber was entered from the curtain-wall, probably via a small bridge of timber leading to a door in the west wall of the turret. The floor of the third-floor chamber was level with the curtain-wallwalk. A small cylindrical turret on the north-west corner of the turret was entered from the wallwalk. It provided access to the fourth floor, but is now almost entirely destroyed.

A barrel vault formed the floor of the partially destroyed fourth-floor chamber. This retains a small opening in the east side overlooking the lake. No evidence for the original upper termination of the turret survives but it may have had a narrow wallwalk around the roof.
The gatehouse: The gatehouse was built against the 'back' (north) of the east turret (Fig. 21,i) and consisted of a roofed-over gate-passage and guardroom. The gatehouse does not survive higher than c.3m on its west side, but its truncated ground floor otherwise survives well. The gate in the curtain-wall leads into the gate passage which is now largely filled with rubble. The north end of the passage terminates with a large, well-preserved segmental arch gate turned with rough slab voussoirs. The apex of the gate is now only a short height above the present ground level. A door in the east side of the gate passage leads into a rectangular (double square) chamber that runs along the north side of the gate turret, this was probably a guardroom. The first floor was presumably of timber and covered both the guardroom and the gate passage. The superstructure has been robbed.
Figure 24.1
Plan of the tower house, curtain wall, forebuilding, turrets and gatehouse

DUNLOUGH: Dun a'locha
The tower house, curtain wall, forebuilding, turrets and gatehouse

- = primary build
= secondary builds

Surveyed March 1987. The masonry structures are established by intersection, the relief hachures are sketched in.
Figure 21.ii
Ground floor
Figure 21.iii
First floor (S)
Figure 21.iv
Second floor (after Salter 1993)
Figure 21,v
Wallwalk (S)
Plate 21,i

Dunlough: the tower house from the north-west
Plate 21,ii

Dunlough: the two curtain-wall towers from the north-west
The site: The western part of the Ivaigha peninsula (Fig.c), the territory of O'Mahony Fionn, is now sparsely populated. Away from the formidable Mizen Head, the ice-sculpted land meets the sea with low, rocky cliffs. In this part of the Survey region, the strike of the rock is almost south-west/north-east, the layers being tipped close to the vertical, the shore tends to be sculpted into long peninsulas and islands running along the strike. Exposed to the Atlantic, it is a wild treeless shore. The fields once densely farmed prior to the famine, are now mostly given over to pasture.

The tower house stands far from any road at the west end of a long narrow peninsula. Erosion has nearly severed the tip of the peninsula; only a precarious natural bridge, now reinforced with concrete, joins it to the mainland. The island is large, the ruins cover only a small fraction of its area (Fig.22,i). The tower house stands towards the island's east end at its highest point. The promontory is for the most part gentle in relief, being covered by grass-grown 'drift' deposits.

The name: 'Leamcon' means the 'leap of the hound' (O'Donoghue 1987, 10). The name suggests a forgotten legend concerning a great leap by a hound was told about the gully that separates the island from the mainland. Such legends were 'a great favourite at similar sites' (Westropp 1915, 266). Leap, near Glandore, owes its name to a similar legend.

The history: When the English captured Leamcon in 1602 after the siege of Dunboy (Fig.b, west border) (Westropp 1915, 268), Leamcon was apparently held by the grandson of Finghin Caol. The length of time separating the two (circa 130 years) suggests that a generation or two was mislaid in the genealogies.

Sir George Carew reported, on 13th July 1602, that his lieutenant, Captain Roger Harvy, had taken several castles strongly seated on rocks and necks of land. All were so 'near unto the sea where ships may safely ride, and fit places for an enemy to hold as, namely Leamcon, Donnegall' and others. The decision was taken to burn these tower houses (Westropp 1915, 268). Conor, the head of the sept, received quarter with his men and migrated to Spain immediately afterwards. He was subsequently pardoned (Ó Murchadha 1985, 233) but seems never to have returned. It is difficult to distinguish
from the sources if 'of Lymcon' means the stronghold or simply the townland; the former is assumed.

The order to burn Leamcon seems never to have been implemented. After being used as a Crown barracks until as late as 1612, the buildings seem to have passed back into the hands of Conor's relatives. Meanwhile, all or part of the septland was granted to Captain William Hull, who as late as 1612, petitioned to be recompensed 'and his tenants not abused' while the King's services required the tower house. Hull built a fortified house eastward and inland of the tower house; nothing now survives of this, but the townland's straight east boundary may be a vestige of an enclosure associated with it. On the departure of the soldiers (perhaps due to the pardon?), the O'Mahonys seem to have regained possession of the tower house and septland; but by mortgage and sale, it soon returned to Hull. In 1622, Conor's agents leased ploughlands in the vicinity to Hull, but the family seems to have remained in occupation as tituladoes.

In 1641, the O'Mahonys joined forces to capture the castle at Crookhaven and eject Hull, who narrowly escaped by sea. His lengthy and bitter deposition implicated virtually the entire clan. Conogher was outlawed and the septland of 1,244 acres forfeited in 1643 (Ó Murchadha 1985, 236). The Caol sept seems to have been very tenacious, for a 'Florence O Mahon, Leamcon' described as 'gent' was outlawed in 1690 after supporting James II. The stronghold was abandoned from this date, if not before.

Two descriptions published early this century (O'Mahony 1909, 72-73, Westropp 1915, 266-270) show the stronghold to have changed very little in the subsequent eighty years. However, since the survey below was undertaken, the tower house has been converted into a holiday home.

The description of the tower house

For greater clarity, in this report, the 'east' means 'north-east', 'west' means 'south-west', 'north' means 'north west' and 'south' means 'south east'.

The outworks: Extensive remains of ancillary buildings survive due to the remote setting. Although the walls are fragmentary, it is possible to see where structures were due to the unevenness of the ground (Fig.22,i). A rectilinear enclosure connected the tower house to a complex of structures grouped by the natural bridge. Westropp's 1915 description is applicable today (down to the 'clumps of Seapink' on the masonry).

The masonry: At Leamcon, the construction was evidently rigidly controlled. The blocks used were
of random size, neatly squared and tightly fitted (with little need of 'galleting'). The wall face was smoothly finished to a plane. The quoins were sharply dressed with thin oblong slabs of freestone, edge-bedded and alternating from face to face. The high finish represents the zenith of a local masonry technology sustained by the demand for tower houses and churches.

The facing stones were not prepared in advance; instead the mason carefully selected and trimmed the stones, from those that were hoisted up to him. The beds between the lifts are irregular and discontinuous, showing that individual masons worked their own lengths of wall with little regard for what was going on elsewhere. Attention was instead paid to the straightness and pitch of the wall faces. The individual shaping and test-fitting of each block must have been very time-consuming. The close-jointing and minimal use of mortar meant there was no need to bring the stone to courses and await the setting of the mortar. The narrow joints were pointed to create a smooth wall-face (some pointing survives on the north face). The high finish was therefore 'maintenance-free'.

Because the execution varies, it is possible to differentiate separate 'builds' by the appearance of the courses of masonry. Courses of large oblong blocks give way to perceptibly cruder lifts, employing smaller, less highly finished stones, each course presumably reflects the hands of different masons.

The window dressings are of a grey-green fine-grained freestone, veined with iron. The interior of the building does not have the exterior's high finish and the faces of the large blocks were left relatively rough. Perhaps the final smoothing of the face was carried after the completion of the walls. Below the third-floor vault, the facing-stones were laid in clearly defined horizontal lifts. The interior of the third-floor above the vault seems to have been faced with freestone rather than the more intractable sandstone used for the internal facing.

The setting-out: The tower house is built with precision and slight differences in the opposing dimensions of the plan are probably the result of errors in the author's survey (damage to the corners hindering direct measurement). Wall thicknesses are constant and the base-batter terminates at first-floor level giving way to the more subtle batter of the superstructure. Constructional putlog holes are mostly confined to just above the base-batter; there is no 'grid' of sockets. Much of the facing of the base has been removed and the presence of further putlogs cannot be ruled out.

The principal chamber north window was directly over a first-floor light; apparently intentional, this sort of alignment was not attempted elsewhere in the building.

The plan of the third-floor principal chamber closely corresponds to the square root of two ratio. Because the width of the principal chamber seems to be a standard dimension also used at Kilcoe [15], the length of the chamber was calculated from the width and is an irregular dimension. It will be
appreciated that the mason would have had to have determined the size of the principal chamber prior to beginning construction as all the other dimensions of the plan follow on from it. This clearly indicates the use of a design rather than the use of *ad hoc* solutions.

**The ground floor:** The width of the entrance passage is identical to that of Kilcoe, which (taking into consideration the many other similarities) suggests Leamcon's entrance had a large external casement that sloped with the base-batter (Fig. 22, ii). Within it, there would have been a smaller vertical door with a pointed arch.

Robbing has destroyed the large drawbeam socket that would have existed in the south reveal and the receiving socket opposite. Analogy with Kilcoe indicates that the door probably pivoted in massive cupped blocks in the rebate behind the north jamb.

The passage is covered by a low barrel vault. Vertical grooves have been cut in the passage sides. These probably held an inserted timber gate, allowing the ground floor to be used as a cattle byre. They are probably quite recent.

The tall chamber lacks any evidence of its original flooring. There are no openings. Four large flat-floored presses at waist height were probably provided to rest lamps in. They may have been whitewashed to reflect light into the chamber.

Rows of floor corbels project from the north and south faces, high above the present earthen floor. Heavy angular blocks with bevelled undersides were used for this purpose. The western wall is offset approximately 30cm above the level of the corbels. The square opening at the east end of the north wall was a latrine outlet. The base of the opening slopes to eject the excrement. The shaft divides into two flues a short height above the opening.

The ground-floor chamber was inaccessible from the remainder of the interior. The height of the chamber would have made it difficult for attackers to break through or set light to the timber first floor. Lacking both light and air, the chamber was certainly not for humans and cattle would have suffocated after a short time. The function of the chamber is unknown, but if it was truly functionless, separate access would not have been provided.

**The first floor:** The entrance to the remainder of the tower house is centred over the lower entrance three metres above the ground (Fig. 22, iii). The dressings have been robbed but their impressions indicate that, like Rincolisky, two curved blocks formed a simple two-centred head (Pl. 22, i). A removable timber staircase provided access. It is possible the two flanking sockets held it in place. Later, a forebuilding was added, presumably with a permanent stair (see below).
The raised entrance allowed people to enter 'one at a time'. The chamber is entered from the long straight intramural flight that ascends to the left of the raised entrance.

Due to the offset in the wall, the first-floor chamber is slightly longer than the chamber below (Fig. 22, iii). Its lights in the south and west walls are relatively well-preserved. The low lintelled embrasures are of oblong form, but the freestone lights are embedded in splayed reveals. The oblong lights lack glazing rebates but were probably closed by pivoted timber shutters. A closer inspection of the inaccessible embrasures could confirm this. Wall plate timbers, probably a series of discontinuous lengths of timber, rested on the corbels in the north and south walls. These wall plates supported the floor joists. The boarded floor surface was level with the offset and the floor of the embrasures. The door to the chamber could be barred from within.

To someone standing at the level of the offset, the embrasures would be at waist height, but they are now inaccessible. Although unheated, the relatively well-lit first-floor chamber seems intended for domestic occupation.

The first-floor passage: A door in the northern wall of the chamber leads to the intramural passage, lit by a light in the north wall which has lost its dressings. The loss of floors means that this part of the tower house is not readily accessible. The external loops indicates that it runs the length of the north wall but it has not been possible to directly inspect it. The passage contains a garderobe. From outside, next to the central opening, there is an aperture for a slopstone. The inaccessibility of the passage means the presence of these features can only be detected indirectly.

Two loops flank the central loop. The easternmost loop is the same width as the tall lights and is correspondingly broad; the other opening was robbed but was clearly identical. A short robbed loop in the western wall indicates that the intramural was presumably defensive, although the loops show no obvious adaptation to this role. The robbed central opening was probably the same as the other two main lights that lit the chamber.

The barrel vault: The vault runs along the long axis of the plan and is of catenary section without a defined point. The ends of the voussoir slabs are visible, and can be seen to be unworked slabs embedded in generously grouted mortar. Much of the underside of the vault remains obscured by this mortar. By vertically directing the thrusts, the tendency of the barrel vault to kick out the walls was minimised. With a gradual process of experimentation, the masons had arrived at an optimum arch form by the time Leamcon was built. The gap between the underside of the vault and the east and west walls was caused by the rotting of the wattle centring over which the vault was turned.
The second floor: An intact loop in the western wall indicates that another chamber was fitted into the space under the vault (Fig.22,iv). Its floor was supported by surviving rows of corbels, almost immediately below the springing of the barrel vault in the long sides which were first used to support the vault centring. After its removal a floor was laid on them. The corbels are smaller than the corbels of the floor below. The chamber must have been reached through an aperture in the ceiling of the first floor, accessed either by a ladder or a stair; no evidence survives. This peculiarity may have been at first a makeshift solution but became customary in the O'Mahony fionn tower houses.

The western embrasure floor is level with the vault springing line. Although similar to the light below, the well-preserved light is shorter and wider. Externally, the two can be seen to be slightly staggered (Pl.22,ii). The single loop and the low vaulted ceiling suggest this chamber was used for storage. However, warmth from the hearth over the barrel vault may have heated it to provide a sleeping area.

The third floor: The stair from the raised entrance ascends into the south-eastern angle and its curving upper part was lit in the south corner of the east wall by a short robbed loop like those of the garderobe passage. The stair then doubles back to enter the third floor over the barrel vault (Fig.22,v). The presence of a floor has allowed this chamber to be surveyed.

A large cup-shaped pivot block is embedded in the foot of the entrance into the chamber, indicating the presence of a heavy, defensive door. It does not seem to have fitted into a rebate but simply lay against the wall face; the door lay in the shallow recess when open in the east wall. The cuboid press by the jamb at waist height provided a resting place for a lamp. A square socket is beneath this, directly over the pivot block. The door's drawbeam would have fitted into this. An oblong recess is separated from a window embrasure to the north by an edge-set slab (now broken away).

The third-floor chamber is approximately four metres tall. Its four large windows are technically similar, but of varying size. A large shallowly-pitched arch, which supported a destroyed garderobe passage, spans the eastern end of the chamber, and the eastern window embrasure. This embrasure widens sharply at waist height to form broad shelves. The robbed opening is a regular oblong and it was probably the largest window in the tower house, with three lights? A drawbeam indicates the past existence of shutters but like the other windows, it was probably unglazed. It probably had a square head and chamfered hood mould, resembling in this respect the southern window. The shelves at either side may have held items of display.

The north window is relatively well-preserved and typical of the four windows of the chamber, which varied only in the number of their lights. Its arch was carefully turned from freestone. The splays frame a single light headed with an ogival head cut from a single block. The external spandrels are
sunk. The embrasure reveals were dressed with edge-bedded oblong slabs, now largely removed. The light was unglazed and provided with timber shutters but damage to the lower part of the opening has removed the drawbeam.

Three wide presses at waist height were perhaps used for storage of plate and drinking vessels. Their position implies that a table ran parallel to the northern wall.

The narrowest window embrasure is in the centre of the western wall. The seating of the robbed dressings indicates a single tall light, like that in the northern wall.

The southern window retains only its jamb mouldings but was originally two lights wide. The drawbeam socket is flush with the interior of the jamb, apparently leaving no clearance for a shutter. The timber (?) drawbeam was apparently made thinner than its socket, so that when the shutters were closed, it pressed firmly against them and the back of the socket. Small spudstones, now gone, held the upper pivots of the shutters, while the vanished sill probably was socketed from the lower pivots.

The intact square hood is chamfered with dropped label stops. These terminate at the top of the jambs with small dog-legs and as Westropp commented are of sixteenth-century appearance (1915, 268). The tall lights were unbroken by transoms. A thin slopstone now much broken, projects from the foot of the window to carry waste fluids clear of the tower wall face.

The west wall of the chamber is jettied on three arches, c. 3m above the floor supported by carefully dressed corbels. Each is skilfully cut from two blocks with rounded undersides. Triangular blocks resting on the corbels acted as skewbacks for the arches. The jetty widens the wall at wallwalk level. Its ragged upper margin indicates that this was the site of the west gable.

This was the principal chamber. The windows show this single chamber was the only one in the tower house with unambiguous evidence of full-time occupation. It takes up nearly half the volume of the building and was heated by a central hearth where food was cooked. The high chamber allowed smoke from the central hearth to rise above the occupants and escape either by a louvre, or by simply seeping out between the roof slates. The chamber served the usual principal chamber functions.

The small entrance to the wallwalk stair had no timber door. The stair ascends into the south-eastern angle, where it meets a spiral stair. This ascended to a doorway to an intramural passage supported by the great arch over the principal chamber. Only the north end of the intramural passage existed in 1976.

Third-floor mezzanine: A large shapeless hole in the north-east angle probably marks the site of a loop (Pl.22,i). A short length of the eastern wall survives to its full height, precariously supporting a
fragment of a slabbled ceiling of the passage at the north; the slabbled ceiling formed the basis of the eastern wallwalk (Fig. 22, vi).

Comparative evidence indicates that the passage gave access to a garderobe at the north end. If anything remains of this, it is concealed by a mat of vegetation beneath. The hidden chute descends to the base-batter. Three loops were symmetrically disposed along the length of the intramural passage very much as at Kilcoe Castle.

The roof and wallwalk: The damaged spiral stair probably met the eastern wallwalk (Fig. 22, vii). The upper margin of the spiral stair well is broken away as well as the small turret that would have sheltered it.

The Leamcon parapet is destroyed, but much of the wallwalk apparently survives below the vegetation. Comparative evidence indicates the parapet was c. 40 cm thick with regularly spaced rainwater outlets in the foot. Interrupted only by the turret, the parapet ran around the top of the tower. The slabs threw rainwater clear of the wall face. Sloping slabs paved the wallwalk; the joints between are covered by saddle stones to channel the rainwater towards the gutter holes.

The west wall was widened by the arcading to support a wallwalk and a gable. No arcade was necessary on the opposite wall, because it was already widened by the garderobe passage below. The overhanging slabs in the north and south walls probably supported timber roofplates for the trusses. Analogy with Kilcoe suggests that the internal ends of the saddle stones stopped c. 30 cm short of the larger slabs below them; the saddle stones ends prevented the roofplates from being pushed outwards by the weight of the roof.

Unfortunately, no fifteenth-century tower house gables survive in the Survey region. The roof was probably pitched at an angle less than 45 degrees like those of contemporary parish churches. As with Kilcoe, the wallwalk behind the gables was c. 20 cm higher than the wallwalk on the north and south sides. This strengthened the gables. The roof was not of hammerbeam construction. No doubt, bulk and consequent rigidity made up for any lack of sophistication in its carpentry. The roof was probably slated (slates have been excavated in Kilcoe’s principal chamber). There was probably a central louvre.

The outworks: Two heavily buttressed and solidly constructed wall faces are slightly set back from the edge of the gorge; the buttress runs down the edge of the cliff. The two wall revetments flank a hollow way behind the natural bridge. They do not survive to their full height and the north and southern ends disappear below the turf. Their western faces are buried. A large opening bisects the northern wall. The skewbacks of a destroyed arch survive on the reveals. The opening is backed by
a wall, two metres back (west) of the wallface. A large grass-grown mound of debris is revetted by the northern wall fragment (Fig.22,i) and much more must survive underground. Westropp recorded that to the 'south of the gate is a small lodge for the porter, defaced, overgrown, and filled up' (Westropp 1915, 267). No sign of this is now visible. The gate opening can be seen to have been partially infilled to raise the threshold level, because the reveals run down to the cliff-top.

The 'bawn' enclosed the summit of the promontory. This enclosure may have gradually grown from modest beginnings (a point excavation could determine). Walls unmentioned by Westropp ran towards the tower house in 1976 partially surrounding it. A substantial wall also ran from the tower house towards the cliff-side then but has since been demolished. It continued the line of the tower's north face and was over one metre thick. The west end disappeared into a mound against the tower house (see below). The east end disappears and its relation with the cliff-side structures is lost or buried. It is probable that the wall formed the north side of an enclosure.

The disconnected lengths of wall south of the tower, only visible as lines of raised turf may have formed a small "trace" around the tower house base.

There is a low irregular mound (Fig.22,i) beneath the eastern face of the tower house. Within this disturbed area no walls are now visible. The mound appears to mark the site of a destroyed building added against the tower house (there are no scars in the tower's fabric from its removal). It appears to have extended the plan to the east; in this respect resembling the existing domestic wing at Castle Salem [8] or the forecourt at Kilcrea. Without excavation it is impossible to tell if the structure was an open court or a building.

To the north of the surviving walls, the smooth contours of the promontory are interrupted by a long low cliff. This follows the strike of the rock and, as a result, is very regular; this is probably a quarry. Although not shown on the sketch plan, further disturbed ground is visible immediately to the north of the tower house (Pl.22,i), and the entire area between the tower house and bridge is a long falling strip of buried buildings, but only excavation can make sense of the plan.

The natural bridge must have been broader and more solid than today, but the buttresses show that the cliffline has eroded remarkably little in several hundred years. Westropp suggested that the large partially blocked opening in the north wall (away from the bridge) was a gate. He commented that a drawbridge may have been used, rather than the natural bridge. It is possible that the entrance offset from the head of the natural bridge for defensive reasons. The gatehouse was, to judge from its destruction mound, comparable in scale to the tower house.

Originating as an isolated tower house, the stronghold must have become a formidable spectacle. As well as the tower house, bawn walls and gatehouse, there seems to have been several other buildings
and Leamcon must have been a significant centre of population. Although 'ships may have safely ridden' near Leamcon (see above), the promontory has little to recommend it as a haven. Trade and fishing seem to have been secondary considerations in determining its siting, which was one of the strongest in the Survey region.
Figure 22.i
Plan of the bawn (S)
Figure 22.ii

Ground plan
Figure 22.iii 
First floor (S)
Figure 22.iv
Second floor (S)
Figure 22,v
Third floor
Figure 22, vi
Third floor mezzanine (S)
Figure 22,vii
Diagramatic reconstruction of wallwalk layout (S)
Plate 22,1

Learncon: general view from the north-east
Plate 22, ii

Leamcon: the south-west angle of the tower
DUNALONG CASTLE
Townland of Farranacoush, Tullagh Parish

6° 149, 25° CXLIX:16
NCR W 0274 2596
SMR 1080

The site: The tower house stands on the east shore of Sherkin Island. A small cliff-girt promontory projects into the sheltered harbour of Baltimore. The rock shelves into the bay on the east side; the only approach to the tower house is from the west. A low hill to the west overlooks the tower house.

The name: Dún na long 'chief's [or dignitary's] fort of the ships', 'Downelong' 1608 (O'Donovan 1849, 103)

The history: The Franciscan Friary on Sherkin Island opposite the town of Baltimore was allegedly built by the same Florence O'Driscoll who built Dunalong Castle (Donovan 1876, 35) which stands a short walk to the north of it. The Friary was probably not commenced until the 1460s (Power 1992, 350). Comparative evidence (see below) suggests a probable construction date between 1470 and 1500 (Fig.1).

The O'Driscolls were bitter rivals of the traders of Waterford and Wexford. In 1537 the O'Driscoll strongholds were 'cast down, razed to the earth and thrown in the sea' by the citizenry of Waterford (Westropp 1914, 109) after the O'Driscolls, tempted beyond endurance, plundered several Portuguese wine-ships sheltering in the harbour of Baltimore. What remains at Dunalong is almost certainly pre-1537 (see above), but the account suggests that the tower house was severely damaged. It is not known whether the truncation of the structure occurred then or at a later date.

One of the O'Driscoll tanists held Sherkin Island opposite Baltimore harbour. Dunalong was one of a series of island tower houses in the pobal of the O'Driscolls. The Report made on the County Cork (quoted in Coleman 1925, 32) to Lord Burghley in 1586 stated:

'By reason of an Abbey and Castle on Inisherkin, in Baltimore harbour, which may be made to flank from one end of the harbour to the other with small charges, ships cannot ride there safely'

This implies that the O'Driscolls had cannon by that date and the stronghold was fortuitously sited.
for the purpose of enfilading the harbour. The O'Driscoll chieftain's control of the harbour and the surrounding waters provided his chief form of income (O'Donovan 1849, 103).

The castle was handed over to the Spanish by Finghin O'Driscoll before the siege of Kinsale in 1601, and they handed it over to the English soon after (Coleman 1925, 27).

The castle became a pawn in disputes between Finghin and English settlers, after which it underwent successive re-occupations and alterations, being finally abandoned after 1769 (Westropp 1914, 112). The stump of the tower house underwent many repairs and alterations, further obscuring its original form. It now has a timber floor and a corrugated iron roof. A farm occupied the promontory until quite recently, but the buildings are now rapidly decaying. The date of the buildings, which must incorporate earlier work, is unknown.

Description of the Tower house

The masonry: The masonry laying of this tower house was of good quality, although obscured by patchings, repointings, various renders etc. It seems however to have been inadequately founded and a mortar of poor quality was employed. Settlement and distortion of the foundations has occurred, the effects being particularly apparent in the first-floor north embrasure rerearch. Deliberate demolition may have been carried out as a consequence of the 1537 raid. Deliberate strengthening of the ground floor (see below) suggests that the instability of the tower house manifested itself before the upper floors were destroyed. Alternatively this was an attempt to strengthen the tower house against cannon fire.

The mortar has tended to weather out, leaving the walls looking rougher than intended. The quoins are sharply dressed and tightly jointed, but are no larger than the other stones used (Pl.23,i).

The setting-out: Basic measurements of the first-floor chamber indicate an irregular plan. The diagonal measurements of the chamber differ by 24cm and the walls of the short axis are 10cm different in length. The errors are sufficiently minor to suggest that a trapezoidal plan was not intended. The oblong plan more closely approaches a square than is usual in the Survey region. A unit of 0.265m was used, but whole units are largely absent.

The entrance was sited in the west face, presumably to ease access, since at Dunalong it pointed to the mainland entrance of this promontory stronghold.
The ground floor: The dressings and masonry surround have been entirely removed on the exterior and the wall face rebuilt, making the door externally invisible. The present north entrance, a ragged hole punched through the wall, is a later insertion, probably through an original loop (Fig.23,ii).

The north-west re-entrant of the chamber is occupied by an intramural recess of rectilinear plan. It has a roughly arched ceiling and penetrates south well beyond the re-entrant. Heavy north-south lintels have been placed below the arch but these have cracked. This was the original ground-floor entrance. The door probably resembled its counterpart at Dunmanus and a surrounding recess in the base-batter would have been provided for the vertical door jambs.

The eastern loop is round headed and set within a large arch embrasure. A large but shallow arched embrasure surrounds the smaller embrasure, and a joint is apparent in the masonry between the two. This joint between the inner and outer part of the embrasure is also clearly apparent in the south opening, which has lost its dressings. This wall-thickening is a peculiar feature reducing the size of the chamber; it was may have been intended to overcome the problems of structural movement. It incorporates corbels which project from the north and south walls of the chamber, indicating that it is certainly pre-1600.

This chamber probably had a mortar floor. The reconstructed ceiling (now decaying) correctly employs wall plates. There is an internal offset at first-floor level.

The chamber could have sheltered perhaps as many as ten head of cattle during a raid, but was effectively cut off from the remainder of the tower house. No communication with the upper floors was possible except by leaving and re-entering the tower house. The ground floor was used for the defence of the tower house, and the three narrow bowloops differ entirely from the more ornate and chamfered loops at first-floor level.

The first-floor passage: The intramural passage in the west wall has a lintelled ceiling; the south end widens to allow an easy view out of an intact angle loop with a sloping external weathering (Pl.23,i). Although unusual in the Survey region, loops of the kind found here are widespread elsewhere in Ireland (Section C:1). The corner loop enfilades the cove to the south-west.

Each step in the spiral stair is built up from several stones, but the walls are carefully faced with shaped curved stones. The surrounding masonry of the stairwell projects slightly into the north-western re-entrant of the first-floor chamber. The floor of the passage is deeply buried but slopes upwards appreciably from the raised entrance to the first visible step suggesting that no more than three or four steps separated the door from the spiral stair in the north-west angle. The spiral stair would have continued to the level of the third-floor principal chamber and it may, as at Oldcourt, have
risen uninterruptedly to the wallwalk.

The raised entrance, directly opposite the internal entrance to the chamber has been completely destroyed and rebuilt; it is edged by the impression of a timber door frame. The west wall sags outwards to the north of the raised entrance and the masonry appears very 'jumbled', particularly in the vicinity of the raised entrance. The similarity of the masonry and mortar, original and rebuilt, makes it very difficult to distinguish what has been replaced, but it probably occupies the same position as the existing modern opening.

There is about one metre of masonry between the ceiling of the first-floor intramural passage and the existing upper edge of the tower house. The present horizontal termination of the west (entrance) wall probably marks the floor level of a second-floor intramural passage.

The first floor: The embrasures of the south and east openings (Fig.23,iii) have pointed rearches. The loop of a small intramural chamber has, like the other openings, been enlarged into an oblong hole. The south opening does however retain its eastern jamb and an ogival head with indented spandrels; a soft pale grey freestone with resistant veins was used for the dressings. The splay of the east loop survives at the top. These survivals show that the three openings were ornamented with chamfered ogival openings. These were 12cm wide; too wide to be safely used by an archer, indicating the chamber's domestic function.

The intramural chamber lacks dressings, and has a small recess in the west wall. It may have housed a close-stool as there is no chute.

The major chamber is generously provided with presses. Two are set directly against corners, the third, significantly narrower than the other two, is more centrally placed. This one was probably provided for storage while the others (the more common tower house form) were intended for lamps (Fig.23,iii).

The entrance to the chamber is exactly central to the west wall; the east side is intact but the west side is badly damaged, removing all clues as to its original width.

The first-floor chamber retained its original dimensions when the lower chamber was reduced in size, an alteration that required the replacement of the first floor by a smaller floor.

The second floor: The lost second floor was probably directly under a barrel vault, but no vault skewback is apparent even though the north and south walls rise above the level of the second-floor.


corbel. The implication is that the tower was once approximately twice its present height if allowance is made for a third-floor principal chamber.

The bawn: Dunalong's defences were described in some detail by Westropp (1914, 109-10). These exist much as he saw them, including the immensely thick ivy except for the gate which has since fallen (see below) (Fig.23,i).

The only important defence was the landward wall which still runs the width of the promontory. The builders had to terrace a difficult site. The north and south sides of the promontory have been revetted in stone, this is probably, but not certainly of medieval date. The revetments did not support large curtain-walls on the south side. Westropp makes clear that the landward wall was 'far stronger and loftier' than the other walls (ibid.,110) and it seems that no other 'true' curtain-walls ever existed (see below) although low walls probably capped the revetments.

The landward wall contained a raised intramural defensive gallery (Fig.23,i). At the south end the wall stands to what is probably its full height of several metres. It is narrow at the end, gradually widening to the north. Its two sections are now separated by a wide gap marking the site of the gate; the top is now heavily overgrown.

The wall to the south of the site of the gate lacks a base-batter but was substantially constructed with a facing of large stones. The weakly mortared outer face has fallen away, destroying the gate. Further south, a single robbed loop pierces the wall at ground level.

At its narrow southern end the wall contains the south termination of a raised intramural defensive gallery; this is finely constructed and has a lintelled ceiling. A wide loop with lost dressings lit the end of the passage and a smaller intact oblong opening overlooks the enclosed area to the east. There is no trace of a west-facing opening in the surviving part of the passage. The wall was a free-standing barrier whose foundations run down the cliff side to the beach.

The passage ran the entire length of the west wall and may have housed the windlass for a drawbridge. A battlemented wallwalk was immediately over the passage. In its complete state with crenellations it would have presented a formidable spectacle to attackers.

The wall to the north of the gap is c.87cm wider than at the southern end. A deep opening set low in the wall north of the gate may have served as a gunport. This seems to be a later addition, indicating reconstruction of the northern part of the wall, perhaps after the 1337 raid (see below). The presence of a window in the east side of the passage confirms that the landward wall was built as a free-standing structure. It is not known how the defensive gallery and wallwalk was reached.
A narrow continuation of the wall is broken away by the edge of the northern cliff. The north part of the wall now forms the west end of a derelict house, probably of nineteenth-century date. The wall to the north seems to be faced with smaller flatter stones. The differences in masonry indicate that the north part of the west wall was rebuilt, perhaps after the attack of 1537.

The ground before the gate falls away steeply on either side. When the Citizens of Waterford captured Dunalong in 1537, they entered the castle 'by the bridge gate' (Westropp, 1914,109) which may well refer to a timber bridge or drawbridge over a large ditch. This ditch, now entirely filled up, is probably a cause of the wall's instability.

The gate was described by Westropp as '7 feet [2.13m] wide with square injured jambs and a round arch poorly built' (ibid.,110). The north side of the gate is set back 1.37m from the outer (west) face of the wall. The embrasure is slightly splayed to the east and all dressings have been removed. The north springing of the arch (turned from thin rough slabs) survives.

The gate originally occupied a deep recess in the western face of the wall. The doors swung into the interior of the stronghold and the gaps once occupied by massive jambstones can still be seen. It is likely that the 'poorly built' arch seen by Westropp was in fact no more than the relieving arch. The voussoirs of dressed freestone had probably been robbed by 1914.
Dunalong: Dún na long

(a) THE LANDWARD WALL (Sketch plan)

- Tower house
- Modern buildings
- Landward wall
- Wall recorded by Westropp
- Revetment of uncertain date

(b) Surviving south end of defensive gallery

0 10 m 0 2 m
Figure 23.ii
Ground plan (S)
Figure 23.iii
First floor
Plate 23.1

Dunalong: general view from the north-west
The site: Erosion along a fault may account for the phenomenon of Lough Hyne, a tiny rectangular sea lough of incredible depth (44m) (Whittow 1975, 225). Although a shallow rock-cut channel connects the lough to the sea, fierce tides raging up and down it preclude its use as a harbour. High land surrounds the lough, rising sharply above the west shore to a height of 200m. The sheltered lough is thus secluded from both sea and surrounding hinterland.

The small abandoned, bracken covered island on which the tower stood at the east end can only be reached with a small boat.

The island rises a few metres above the water level. The tower house collapsed in the mid-Nineteenth Century (Donovan 1876, 126) allegedly due to the shaking it received from the barking of a ghostly black hound that haunted it. Whatever the cause, only a part remains to be examined but much more must survive under the rubble.

The name: The castle is called Clochan on the 1842 Ordnance Survey; this translates as 'stone built settlement' (Kenneth Nicholls, pers.comm.). In the Seventeenth Century, the 'castle, town and lands of Ballylane' are mentioned in a 1609 inquisition of Sir Fineen O'Driscoll's possessions (O'Donovan 1849, 102). Baile an Oileain means 'settlement of the island' (Kenneth Nicholls, pers.comm.); this is the townland name to the east of the lake.

The history: Little is known of Cloghan's history. The stronghold is known to have been an O'Driscoll castle (Fig.c) and there is a local tradition that Sir Finghin O'Driscoll (who entertained both Spanish and English fleets in the O'Neill rebellion) died there (Ó Murchadha 1985, 183). Cloghan is unlikely to have been built especially for Sir Finghin. Finghin was apparently living in this secluded spot when in 1629 he made his futile attempt to regain his mortgaged estates from Sir Walter Coppinger (Copinger 1884, 46). The implication is that the townland originated as the septland of the tower house. He had previously lived in a much larger hall house in Baltimore. The tower may have originated as the stronghold of an O'Driscoll More tanist. Sir Finghin and his family presumably had to make this their home after he had leased Baltimore to Sir Thomas Crook (ibid., 48); the unknown
sept may already have fallen into poverty and lacked the incentive to retain a stronghold. The tower house was probably abandoned after Sir Finghin’s death in the 1630s, there is certainly no further mention of it.

Apart from a brief account at the turn of the century (Day, 1926) and the entry in the Archaeological Inventory (Power, 1992a, 327) Cloghan has never been archaeologically described. The legends connected with it were recorded in a topographical book of the 1870s (Donovan 1876, 122-5).

Description of the tower house

The masonry: This building was constructed from the local Old Red sandstone, a hard fine-grained rock. The stone was quarried in small irregular blocks. The laying is coarse, creating a rough wall face. The mortar was poor andlavishly used; the poor quality caused the eventual collapse of the tower house. A single surviving loop in the buried ground floor is crudely dressed with unworked stones. The quoins show signs of shaping, but they are otherwise the same as the other stones. There is no noticeable difference in the quality of the masonry inside or out. Traces of a harder whitish mortar render persist on the south face; this may have formed the basis of a plaster coat.

The setting-out: The orientation is indicated by the barrel vault and floor joist sockets. These invariably occupied the long axis. The 1842 6" OS shows an oblong elongated plan orientated SW-NE. Although the north-western angle is lost, clues allow the short axis to be accurately estimated (Fig. 24,ii). It is likely that the west opening was central in the wall. The north side of a partially buried three-sided structure was apparently in line with the north side of the tower on the 1842 6" OS. The surviving north wall of this structure is probably in line with the lost tower house north wall. These strands of evidence suggest that the tower house was c.8.5m wide. If it is assumed that the commonly employed 3:4 ratio was used the implication is that the long axis was c.11.4m long. No complete or independent dimensions survive and a unit search is not possible.

The method of construction: There is no base-batter. The west and south walls are approximately the same thickness, but not enough of the plan survives to comment on the quality of its laying-out. The long axis was parallel with the strike of the rock. There is no evidence of putlog holes. The small size of the stones (none greater than a man’s burden) suggests that lifting tackle was not used to position stones.

The ground floor: No trace of an entrance can now be seen. Analogy with tower houses such as
Castle Salem [8] suggests that the entrance was in the east wall, traces of it may yet survive below the destruction mound. There is no evidence to show if this was an RE or a GE tower house.

Little can be said about the chamber: the single feature is a crude splayed loop at the west end of the south wall (Fig.24,i). This could have been used for defence, but was probably intended to supply a minimum of light and air to the ground floor. Immediately beneath the loop is a projecting slopstone, a sign of intended occupation. Within, the embrasure is almost buried, but can be seen to be of a simple triangular plan.

The first floor: In the south wall of the chamber are a series of large oblong sockets, varying in width but not depth. The floor was supported by heavy joists of oblong section; their scantling varying from 0.20-0.40m. The spacing of the joists was c.0.625m. The joists were in position before the masonry sealed them in place. There were probably eight joists spanning the width of the ground-floor chamber.

In the west wall is a heavily robbed opening (Pl.24,i; Fig.24,ii). The west loop may have been no larger than the ground-floor loop. Like that of the ground floor, the embrasure is narrow and sharply splayed. There is no surviving evidence of the chamber’s role.

The barrel vault: The south-west corner is sheltered by part of a large vault which springs from the south wall. The first floor was covered by this barrel vault that sprang from the north and south walls. The barrel vault was probably intended to act as a fire barrier, but its chief role was to support an additional floor, now lost. The tower house was therefore at least three storeys high. No trace of this floor survives, but the principal chamber usually had a barrel-vaulted floor.

The outworks

The fine walling: The destruction mound slopes down from the tower house remains to a complex of fragmentary walls (Fig.24,i) projecting from the slope. Two types of masonry can be distinguished. To the north-east of the tower house, the walls make a southern return. It is only here that both sides of the structure are visible to a short height above the turf. Many closely fitting small stones, tightly interleaved between more occasional large blocks, were used. Although only a poor mortar was employed, the masonry is superior to that of the tower house.

In the north face is the splayed east reveal of a window. To the west, the wall is destroyed to below the level of the sill; the window originally seems to have had freestone dressings. The added wing
seems to have had windows of a sort conspicuously absent from the tower house.

The 'eastern extension' was built against the pre-existing entrance wall of the tower house and was probably intended to provide additional accommodation. Alternatively, its sole purpose may have been to provide access to a raised entrance; a good analogy is the forecourt at Castlemartyr (Salter 1993, 106).

The drystone masonry: Although almost overwhelmed by bracken, grass and brambles, two short lengths of further walling are visible and it is possible that other traces escaped attention. These walls are of poor drystone construction and hint at the past existence of ephemeral buildings grouped around the central block. The northern stretch abuts the north face of the three-sided structure at right angles; it is clearly a separate build, indicating how further structures were erected after the eastern extension. An additional length of drystone wall was observed to the south, some distance from the remainder of the walls (Fig.24,i), its relative position is only approximately known. Its relationship to the other masonry is unknown.

The stronghold underwent enlargement and adaptation over a long period. The walls may be the remnants of an outer circuit of walls. Although the island may well have been occupied prior to the tower house, only excavation can determine this. The condition and apparent absence of systematic stone-robbing indicate an excellent survival of archaeological deposits.
Cloghan Castle
(Lough Hyne) Sketch plan showing visible remains and conjectured plan. Much fabric may survive beneath the rubble.

- Tower house (surviving fabric)
- " " (conjectured)
- Added wing (surviving fabric)
- " " (conjectured)
- Drystone walking
- " " (conjectured)

0 10 M

Figure 24.1
Visible remains and conjectured plan
Cloghan Castle (Lough Hyne): an Clochán

Plan of first floor of tower house (see topographic plan for hatchings key) the conjectured dimensions are based on the commonly-employed 3:4 plan ratio

Figure 24.ii
First floor
Plate 24.i

Cloghan: remains of the west wall
DUNANORE CASTLE
Townland of Ballyieragh North, Tullagh Parish

6° OS 153, 25° CLI:9
NGR V 9467 2169
SMR 3061

The site: Dunanore stands upon a small island, now separated from the mainland off the north side of Cape Clear Island. Steep cliffs over five metres high surround it. At low tide, the rocky floor of the gap is exposed, making it possible to climb down from the mainland and up to the island. But as this cannot be recommended, the site is virtually inaccessible, although it can be closely observed from the mainland.

The name: Dún an oir 'chief's [or dignitary's] fort of gold'.

The history: This was the most westerly of the strongholds of the O'Driscolls. The Spanish had been lent several castles by the O'Driscolls, which they had subsequently surrendered with 'Spanish Gravity' to the English. Dunanore is mentioned in the Pacata Hibernia:

'While these things were on doing, Captain Roger Harvy sent a party of men to Cape Clear, the castle whereof being guarded by Captain Tirrell's men, which they could not gain, but they pillaged the island and brought thence three boats; and the second day following the rebels not liking the neighbourhood of the English, quitted the castle, wherein Captain Harvy placed a guard. At this time Sir Finnin O'Driscoll came to Captain Harvy and submitted himself.'

The daughter of Richard Coppinger married Tadgh Carrach O'Driscoll. Richard bequeathed the Castle and lands of Dunanore to his grandson by this marriage, in 1651 (Ó Murchadha 1985). Richard was the brother of Sir Walter, who acquired large tracts of O'Driscoll territory after the Nine Years War.

The castle has only once previously been described in an account by Robert Day (1908), but has also recently been briefly described in the Archaeological Inventory (Power 1993a, 322).
The description of the tower house

The stronghold was originally approached by a narrow neck of land. The erosion of this in the 1830s has helped to protect the peripheral structure from demolition. The ‘bawn’ is therefore exceptionally well-preserved, if deeply buried in a thick mat of grass (Fig.25,i, Pl.25,i). Indirect evidence (see below) shows some of the buildings were originally much taller but the sketch plans, made in haste, cannot be regarded as a definitive record. The floor plans are based on a combination of the author's 1974 sketch plan (ground floor), Power's description and recent photography by the author.

The masonry: The castle was built out of small stones, probably locally quarried, rather roughly laid and the irregularity is noticeable, particularly in the principal chamber and its covering arch in the north wall. It is implicit that a very hard mortar was used because large fragments of the tower are still lying where they have fallen.

Surviving corbels and sockets suggest the use of wall plates and secondary joists, the former were aligned on the long axis according to usual practice.

The setting-out: The building has an essentially oblong plan, but the south face has a projecting turret formed by a continuation of the east wall. The north and west walls are complete but most of the turret has fallen alongside much of the adjacent east and south walls.

The ground floor: The east entrance gives access to the poorly lit ground-floor chamber which has two presses in the east wall (Fig.25,ii). The chamber was lit by two loops; the one in the south wall has a small embrasure indicating that it was intended to command the entrance.

The curving stair within the projecting turret climbs only a short distance before curving back into the main body of the tower, which it enters with a sharp turn to meet a straight intramural stair that ascends into the south-west angle. The first-floor chamber is entered at this level. A door in the north side of this flight leads into the second-floor chamber. At its head, the stair curves within the south west angle; it terminates at the third-floor level where it enters the chamber.

The destroyed stairs that ascended to the wallwalk probably commenced at the south east corner of the third-floor chamber as restored. The final stage of this stair as restored survives on the south west angle (see below).
The first floor: This has the same dimensions as the ground-floor chamber, and is entered from a
doorway set at an angle over the south-east corner (Fig.25,iii). The chamber has one, largely
destroyed, loop in the east wall. It was originally of 'hour-glass' plan, indicating a defensive function.
Simple loops were used in the north walls because no threat was perceived to exist from the sea.

The second floor: This floor is roofed by three east-west arches. The gaps between them are bridged
with slabs. The chamber was entered from a door now exposed to the sky halfway up the intramural
stair (Fig.25,iv). There is a single loop in the north wall.

The third floor: There is a small mutilated loop at the point where the stairs enter this chamber
(Fig.25,v). In the west wall, one jamb of the door into the chamber survives. A large embrasure with
a flat lintel in the centre of the west wall has been enlarged to form a door. The north side of a third
window can be seen in the surviving half of the east wall.

At the level of the third floor, the walls are greatly reduced in thickness, increasing the size of the
principal chamber and gables. The chamber was very high, it probably had a pitched roof with gables
supported by large arches that spanned the north and south ends of the principal chamber: only the
north example survives. The arches allowed the top of the wall to be kept clear to form a wallwalk
(Fig.25,vii). A large fragment of the south arch still lies beneath the tower and it originally supported
a passage whose lintelled ceiling supported the wallwalk above.

The internal face of the west wall is overhung by a row of slabs about 0.5m below the wallwalk. The
roof-plates rested upon the overhanging part of the slabs. The run-off from the roof would have
flowed down the slabs of the wallwalk (which are gently canted towards the outside of the tower), and
passed out through the small holes at the foot of the parapet.

There was probably a spiral stair giving access to the passage from the third-floor chamber in the lost
south-east corner of the tower. At the end of the passage, a surviving additional flight turns through
90 degrees to emerge at the south-west angle (Fig.25,vi). A small turret would have sheltered the stair.
The exit onto the wallwalk was sheltered by a door on its north side.

The wallwalk and parapet: The internal arches and jetties provided a spacious wallwalk. Their
general character can be observed from below although this part of the tower is no longer accessible
(Fig.25,vii).

It is probable that the wallwalk consists of large oblong slabs laid at right angles to the wall. The
The parapet wall is very thin, but apparently survives to its full height in the north-west corner. At that point a tall merlon dressed with freestone survives. Small square rainwater outlets are on the outer foot of the parapet are openings, spaced at regular intervals. A small slab projects beneath each of these.

The outworks: Dunanore has relatively well-preserved surrounding defences and subsidiary buildings. A coherent plan is clear despite the dismissive statement in the Archaeological Inventory (Power 1992a, 322).

The structures that surround the tower house are not bonded in but were added, probably in succession. The sketch plan made in 1974 (Fig.25,i) shows the general nature of the structures. At no point do they survive to their full height but their degree of preservation is very varied.

The bawn: The tower house overlooks a western bawn enclosure that would have comfortably accommodated a large herd of cattle; it may however have contained ephemeral buildings. The large quadrangular enclosure to the west of the tower house was approached through a gatehouse (Pl.25,i). The southern revetting wall is of massive construction, in part shallowly buried under the springy turf. Its south edge corresponds with the cliff that forms the south side of the island. The west end dies away blow the turf before it reaches the edge of the cliff.

The continuous and well-preserved north wall of the bawn terminates to the west with a return that runs a short distance north before being broken away. This is the inner face, a turret with gunloops which defended the bawn. The curved outer wall enfiladed the mainland with three widely splayed gunloops.

The author recorded in 1974 that a single building stood against the west face of the tower house. The west window of the tower house principal chamber was enlarged to form a door. This implies that the attached structure must have been at least three floors high. A similarly enlarged tower house principal chamber window can be seen at Oldcourt [16] but no trace of the attached ‘wing’ survives there.

Part of a structure separated from the rest of the complex survives on the east side of the tower and respects its orientation. The north wall, the north-east corner and part of the east wall remain. The north-west corner has a solid mass of masonry with a bread oven within it. Its roof is formed by a corbelled dome (Fig.25,i); this was a kitchen reached by a door cut through the south wall of the tower house. The surviving north wall was implicitly the back of a large fireplace but the east side of the fireplace is completely destroyed.
The interpretation of the ruins east of the tower house is more difficult. Erosion has removed the
easternmost part of the defences. Two separate walls on the east side of the tower diverge from its
orientation; running approximately due east they seem to have formed the north and south walls of
a smaller enclosure containing another building. At the west end, the north wall meets a wall (the
junction is destroyed) with a gate which abuts the north face of the tower. The robbed jambs of a large
gate survive on the east face of the wall and indicates that the gate swung inwards to the west where
another enclosure presumably existed. A deep drawbeam is visible in the south jamb. This gate now
leads almost directly into a deep ravine. A fair-weather landing stage may have once existed on this
side of the island but it would have rarely have been safe to use.

The gate passage leading into the bawn ran through an oblong building on the south side of the tower.
The south jamb of a large door or gate survives; the north jamb is lost. There is no evidence of
windows or other openings.

The present ground surface inside this structure is considerably higher than the surrounds; the
internal wall faces are buried, presumably because of the collapse of the building. This gatehouse
provided additional defence for the tower house entrance and was at least two floors high, as is
demonstrated by a garderobe chute opening in the east wall. The lost south window of the principal
chamber may, like the north and west windows, have been modified to form a door into the upper
chambers of this building. It is possible that the 'doors' cut into the walls of the principal chamber.
Figure 25.1
Sketch plan of ground floor and bawn
Figure 25.ii
Ground floor (S)
Figure 25.iii
First floor (S)
Figure 25.iv
Second floor (S)
Figure 25.5
Third floor (S)
Figure 25.vi
Third floor mezzanine (S)
Figure 25.vii
Wallwalk (S)
Plate 25.i
Dunanore: view from the south
Derrylemlary Castle
Townland of Castlederry, Desertserges Parish

6° 109, 25° CIX:14
NGR W 3638 5075
SMR 3067

The site: Unmarked on all but the largest scale maps, the remote situation of this tower house makes it hard to find. It stands well inland, in the extreme east of the Survey region (Fig. b). The tower is at the bottom of a small, poorly-drained valley. Just visible from the main road as an ivy-covered stump, it is approached by a boreen that now leads to a nearby farm on the upper edge of the valley, and continues towards the tower house. The rock-based site is dry, the ground on the opposite side to the entrance falls to a small rocky brook.

To the north, the land falls gently towards the Bandon River. To the south the land rises. The gently rolling terrain has little exposed rock and is now principally used as pasture.

The name: Doire leim Laoghaire means 'oakwood of Leary’s jump' (O’Donoghue 1986, 87). This peculiar name probably developed in two stages, rather than referring to a single event. The name 'Leary’s jump' (probably deriving from a legend) seems to have been applied to the area, and then to distinguish the local oakwood. It is a reminder that until the Seventeenth Century, large tracts of the Survey region were covered by forest.

The history: This ‘daingean’ (the name seventeenth-century Irish used for tower houses, Ó Murchadha 1985, 56) belonged to the sept of the MacCarthys called the Clan Crimeen (Sliocht Inghine U Chruimin). No mention of it survives, but it stands in their known territory (Butler, 1904-5). The sept were descended from an ancestral MacCarthy, Diarmaid great-grandson of Domhnall God, who ousted the O’Mahonys from East Carbery in 1232 (Ó Murchadha 1985, 56). After this victory, the MacCarthys began their remarkable process of spread and subdivision, becoming, in effect, several quite separate clans. They also had castles at Castlederry and Ballinoroher (which survives), but these are outside the Survey region.

Because of its lack of history, its remoteness and inconspicuousness, this tower house has almost entirely evaded attention. Mention is made of it by Donoghue in his study of place-names. A more detailed description is given in a recent tourist guidebook, alongside a rough sketch, and its essential similarity to such late tower houses as Togher [2] correctly recognised. It is, however, too brief to give any real idea of the building.
The description of the tower house

Derrylemlary seems to have undergone two separate existences, firstly as a tower house and then as a quite different sort of building. A considerable period, in which freestone dressings were robbed (and by implication the building derelict, if not ruined) must have elapsed between the two uses.

The masonry: The exterior is largely concealed by centuries-growth of ivy. The walls are built from carefully fitted small stones set in a good solid mortar. As far as can be determined, they are skilfully built with a sharp base-batter to (at the entrance) head-height. The remainder of the tower probably shares the same stone-laying as the visible parts. There was no separate harling, the face of the tower was however apparently smoothed over with the constructional mortar as work progressed. The builders seem to have thought this an adequate weatherproofing.

The exterior is much more carefully finished than the interior. This had the benefit of shedding water much more easily than a rougher surface. Naturally, if effort needed to be expended on a high finish, there was no point in going to such lengths, except where it was visible. The interior was intended to be heavily rendered, and it was therefore actually more practical to provide a rough finish to key it.

The external base follows the uneven contours of the rock outcrop. Within, the ground surface seems to have been built up to create a level surface.

The setting-out: The walls and angles are all untrue, opposing walls being of markedly different lengths; the long sides of the plan (for example) being different in length by as much as 20cm. No measuring instruments seem to have been used in determining the length of the walls. It is possible that when the base of the tower was first being 'set out', the surveyor, after laying out one side, simply estimated the angles of walls perpendicular to it, assuming that (so long as the angles were correctly judged) the opposing wall would be of the same length.

The entrance: The door casement is small with a pointed arch (Pl.26,i). There are no freestone dressings, small rough stones being used to form the jambs and turn the arch. A drawbeam socket runs behind the jamb (seen from the outside) at chest height (Fig.26,i). It is very probable that the original door casement was dressed from a minimal number of large freestone blocks. The surviving door at Ballinvard [5] nearby shows how the door may have appeared, the arch being formed from two curved blocks. The jamb profile was probably 'two-order'. The outer larger door sloped with the base-batter, while (within it) there was a slightly smaller door, separated from it by a rebate. Its jambs would be vertical so that its distance from the sloping outer casement reduced with height. The dressings were robbed after the tower house ceased its primary use. Oddly, the rebuilders (largely oblivious to the
cultural context of the tower) chose to rebuild the door with a stylistically compatible pointed arch.

The large lobby, covered by a wide shallow arch, is coated with a well-preserved render. This has an undercoat of grey-white lime mixed with pebbles, the final skim appears to be built up from several coats of whitewash. The render is separated from the ground-floor render by the impression of a vertical timber where the two spaces meet. This impression continues more faintly along the underside of the arch. The render is apparently absent from the interior of the door dressings; elsewhere, weathering has removed the final skim and only the rough under-render survives.

The masonry of the wall on the left side of the lobby is peculiarly rough beneath the render and the rusted stumps of iron fixtures protrude from it. Their function can only be guessed at.

The 'lobby' must have been extensively altered from its original form. One side of this passage is strangely indented and would have housed the timber door when it was open. It is possible that the north side of the passage has been cut back by 10-20 cm. It seems to have been further altered to house a timber partition separating it from the ground-floor chamber.

The ground floor: The ground-floor chamber has rendered walls and is peculiarly tall, being exactly twice the height of the first-floor chamber over it. Only the lower half of this chamber is the original ground floor. The chamber as it currently exists is two floors 'knocked together'. The two windows are very tall and have no stone dressings (Fig.26,i). The site of the casement is indicated only by the absence of render which stops and laps up against a sharply defined vertical line about 0.20m in from the exterior of the tower. There are no mortar casts caused by the loss of stone dressings. The windows held timber casements or sashes and the internal render of the chamber was probably applied after the timber frames were installed.

The original ground-floor chamber was illuminated only by the loop at the east end. The tall windows were probably created by cutting down from the sills of the (original) first floor. Externally, the sides of the window continue vertically down from the current sills of the windows. The sill's masonry is therefore separated from the remainder of the fabric by this discontinuity. The interior of the sill slopes sharply, so that where it meets the wall of the chamber is roughly level with the bottom of the external joints in the masonry. When first created, these tall windows appear to have run down to waist height. This seems to have been judged too close to ground level. They were therefore partially blocked up, creating the sharply sloping internal sills. It seems that in its secondary use, the tower was still expected to serve a defensive role.

The fireplace is very small, suggesting that it was intended to be coal-burning. The masonry in its immediate vicinity is unrendered and apparently separated from the rendered masonry around the
window embrasure by an irregular discontinuity in the fabric. The fireplace has clearly been inserted; the space for it and its flue having been carved out of the solid wall.

The loop’s opening is thickly rendered, the render runs over the regularly built internal part of the splay and the more roughly constructed opening which is built up with small stones. A clear joint separates it from the other integral masonry. When first constructed, the loop may have had fine freestone dressings like those that survive higher in the tower. These were evidently robbed and the present form is a rebuild, probably narrower than the original. Clearly the ground floor was originally dark and unheated. It is therefore unlikely to have been used for anything other than storage.

The interior of the ground-floor chamber is almost completely covered by a rough mortar render. This conceals other alterations and separate builds that may be present. The flattened stumps of the corbels that supported the original first floor are probably underneath the render. Only where the first floor abutted the wall was there no render. Two infilled gunloop embrasures are partially visible internally and their round openings can be seen in the north wall. The features they covered have evidently been blocked and rendered over. On the external face of this side can be seen two round openings. These are c.3cm wide, the width of a musket barrel, they are formed by paired edge-set slabs into whose sides have been cut small semi-circles to form the holes.

High in the ‘entrance side’ of the chamber can be seen an oblong patch of rendering against the corner. The other side of the patch is butted against a neat vertical discontinuity separating it from the fabric of the tower house. This patch mirrors the first-floor entrance directly over it.

The original first floor had large two-light windows in the north and south walls (these were subsequently extended downwards; Fig.26,ii). The windows in the north and south walls all occupied the same position at different floors, and they are subsequently directly above one another. To the west of the north window were two arched embrasures for the musket loops that are visible externally. The original form of the south wall is less certain. Comparative evidence shows Derrylemlary was certainly originally equipped with fireplaces. Considerable pains seem to have been taken to remove and replace them with much smaller ones. These were technically more advanced, the small openings and narrow flues allowing them to draw with greater efficiency. To reduce the task of cutting out new flues, it is probable that, as far as possible, the refurbishers of the tower built the new chimneys in the position of the old ones. A large fireplace may have existed at the centre of the south wall of the old first floor. This was obliterated, but a new flue was carved downwards to supply a fireplace to the previously unheated ground floor. It seems that there were therefore no loops in the south wall (although the removal of the ivy would probably reveal further lost examples). The first floor was therefore a fairly comfortable chamber, being heated and almost as well-windowed as the chambers over. It was entered from the spiral stair at the north-west corner, and the blocking of its door is clearly visible.
The spiral stair: The indent in the side of the passage leading to the stair housed the timber door; it suggests that the ground-floor entrance to the spiral stair is in its original position (Fig.26,i). The interior of the stair well is roughly constructed. Each tread is built up from small stones and much mortar and is capped with a slab of slate. The stair well (including the undersides of the steps overhead) is thickly rendered to form a smooth surface. The underside of the spiral stair is 'streamlined' to form a continuous surface. There is no obvious distinction between the under-render and the mortar. A smooth screen formed from many coats of whitewash covered the rough surface of the under-render, some of this survives. The stair is unaltered. It is possible that the tower house was built with timber-framed doorways, as contemporary tower houses such as Togher undoubtedly were.

The spiral stair is lit by short broad loops. There are no stone dressings surviving, and the openings are neatly oblong. It is probable that the spiral stair loops were originally dressed with freestone. These were probably robbed during the tower house's first period of ruin. When it was re-occupied the loops seem to have been replaced with miniature timber-framed windows.

The lower intramural chamber: Directly over the stone-arched lobby and passage to the spiral stair is a small oblong chamber, which survives in pretty much its original form (Fig.26,i). Its floor, presumably floored with mortar, is at a level corresponding to about half the height of the ground-floor chamber. The door is in one side of the spiral stair and is plainly lintelled. In its jambs are the impressions of vertical timbers. The floor of the chamber is formed by the vault below. It is lit by a narrow splayed loop directly over the entrance. Between this and the door a thin channel like an inverted cone points diagonally outwards away from the loop and piercing the outer face of the tower. The loop's position suggests that it served a defensive role; the channel to the north of it is a musket loop. As is generally the case in the Survey region, guns seem to have intended to generally spray the surrounding area, as there was no means of aiming them (the gun would have blocked the view).

Opposite the spiral stair door, the end of the chamber is overhung by a shallow arch. The upper surface of the roughly constructed arch forms the floor of a niche in the intramural chamber over (Fig.26,ii). The back of this arch is divided into two separate builds by an irregular vertical joint. It is possible that there was a blocked window at the south end of the chamber. The chamber was originally an annexe to the first floor, which was not reinstated when the tower house entered its second period of occupation.

Rows of corbels project from the long sides of the intramural chamber. Their upper surfaces are level with the lintel of the loop embrasure. Preserved in the ubiquitous rendering are the impressions of the long horizontal timbers that rested on these corbels. Above these timbers (whose grain was evidently parallel with the long sides of the chamber) are further impressions of the square butt ends.
of lighter timbers that evidently rested on them. Five such impressions, of the joists that rested on the wall plates can be seen on the wall. A long thin groove runs horizontally along the top of the square impressions. Its three sides are clearly defined and the width is 0.03m, suggesting that the floorboards were of that thickness. The horizontal groove is a considerable height above the corbels.

The timber ceiling of the chamber can be accurately understood from the sharp impressions in the render. It is not the original floor, but the replacement floor probably closely followed the lines of the original. The wall plates were of very deep section, the lower edge of the west one being level with the lintel of the opening.

The opposite side of the oblong patch in the ground-floor chamber locally forms part of the side of the spiral stair. The upper edge of the patch is level with the intramural chamber door lintel.

The first-floor chamber: This was originally the second-floor chamber (Fig.26,iii). Its walls are continuous with those below and it therefore shares the dimensions of the ground-floor chamber. Rows of well-preserved corbels run along the long walls of the chamber, showing what the lost corbels of the original first floor looked like. Originally these would have supported wall plates upon which the floor joists rested, when the tower was rebuilt, the reconstructed floor seems to have had the joists morticed into, and level with the new wall plates, created a much thinner floor than would have originally been the case. This would have increased the headroom in the reconstructed chamber over it. The thick renderings of the ground-floor chamber halt abruptly at a horizontal line corresponding with the upper surfaces of the corbels. The surviving render all dates from the tower's rebuilding. Further impressions associated with a timber floor are visible.

The fireplace in this chamber is even more meagre than the one below. It is an insertion, suitable for burning coal, which probably occupies the site of a much larger one in which wood was burnt. It forms part of a build that seems to have a slightly different alignment to the wall to the east. The western build butts up against a broken edge that clearly suggests the eastern fabric is original and the western a rebuild. The discontinuity is continuous with the apparent joint visible on the ground floor.

In the long north wall (apparently all one build) is a fine Elizabethan window with two lights. The central mullion is lost, but its stooling in the freestone head is visible. To either side of the stooling can be seen a glazing rebate and square glazing iron sockets. These are set diagonally to the rebate rather than being parallel. The exterior is completely hidden by ivy. Just discernible in the centre of the chamber's east end is an intact single light following the same pattern as the two light window. It is set high in the wall of the chamber. There seems never to have been a south window, but the large glazed windows in the north and east walls would have created a relatively well lit room, no doubt intended for domestic occupation.
The upper intramural chamber: The door is level with the door of the first-floor chamber, the two chambers respect a common floor level. The intramural chamber is featureless except for an oblong niche at the south end and a single small square loop, probably a musket loop, in the west wall (Fig.26,iii). The floor of the niche, which is finely plastered, is formed by the overhanging arch described earlier. It can only be seen from the spiral stair and its exact nature is uncertain. It may have housed a close-stool. If the ‘first’ floor chamber was a bedroom, the chamber would have been conveniently positioned. The tower house lacks ‘plumbing’ in the form of garderobe chutes.

The eastern wall now terminates at a horizontal line at the level of the original ceiling. It would probably have originally risen the full height of the tower house, terminating as a gable. It would therefore have separated the original third (now second) floor over into a larger and a minor chamber, as in the floors below. The door into the chamber has no freestone dressings, but is framed with the impressions of timbers c.o.065m in scantling. It was probably originally surrounded by a timber architrave which was directly replaced when the tower was rebuilt, with no need to alter anything. The original door was implicitly much the same as a modern door.

The second floor: Originally the third floor, the floor shared the dimensions of the lower chambers (Fig.26,iv). It ran the length of the plan, apparently oversailing the part of the interior occupied by intramural chambers at a lower level. However, a stub wall projects from the south side of the chamber on the alignment of the party wall below. The south wall’s western half has been virtually rebuilt. To what extent this is a complete rebuild, rather than a cutting back and refacing, cannot be told without stripping the outside of its ivy. The stub wall and the small oblong niche, with a floor at waist height, to the west of it, both appear to be part of this rebuild.

The opening in the east wall, now heavily overgrown, appears to be an intact oblong window, dressed with freestone and identical to the window below. Two further large windows, also heavily overgrown and occupied by rooks, have embrasures of the same width as the two-light window below. The chamber was originally lavishly windowed (by the standards of tower houses). The two-light windows in the north and south walls may well be intact. They are vertically set over the windows of the floor below. It seems that the tower originally had its north and south faces embellished by vertical rows of identical two-light ‘Elizabethan’ windows with (now concealed) square hoods. The windows were finely glazed, and the tower house was implicitly quite modern in its internal fixtures. There is no doubt another single light window in the east wall identical to the visible one below it.

The domestic chamber would have had a fireplace. Enough survives of the south wall to rule out the possibility it was in that wall. It is more probable that it was in the destroyed upper part of the internal dividing wall.
At the first floor level further corbels project from the north and south walls. The chamber had a timber floor of the same form as the floors below.

The wallwalk: The spiral stair continues upwards into a small turret on the north-west corner: its outer faces are simply continuations of the tower’s wall. The turret is lintelled with stone. Cut into its ceiling is a neat round hole. Considerable effort seems to have gone into drilling this hole as it is c.0.87m long and 0.12m wide.

The wallwalk is entirely concealed by vegetation. The parapet is mostly lost, except (it seems) at the west end. Along that wall, it appears to rise as a low triangle, but the vegetation makes it impossible to determine its exact nature. Its outer face appears to be flush with the west face of the tower. The wallwalk is entirely invisible but there is a masonry projection at the south-west corner (Fig.26,v). Only a single course survives, but appears to overhang both the south and west faces.

This is the part of the tower house most altered in the rebuilding. There is every reason to suppose that the wallwalk was originally much the same as at the nearby Ballinvar and would have run around the top of the tower house. The stones that project from the south-west corner are probably the lowest course of a projecting corner machicolation. There may have been additional machicolations at the north-eastern and south-eastern corners; traces may yet survive below the ivy. The turret seems to survive in an unaltered form, suggesting that the original wallwalk was a single level feature, rather than the two-level wallwalks that occur at such related tower houses as Castle Donovan [4] and Ballymacarriga [3]. There is only a single exit from the turret. Were there a blocked door in the south wall of the turret, this would suggest a more complex two-level wallwalk. The hole in the ceiling of the turret seems to date from the rebuild and was made to hold a flagpole.

The roof of the tower house would have originally have been supported on gables on the inner edge of the thick east wall, and occupying the full thickness of the now truncated partition wall. The gable on the partition wall probably incorporated a chimney stack like the one surviving at Ballinvar. The lost parapet may have been crow-stepped like the better preserved parapets at Togher and Castle Donovan.

When the tower house was rebuilt, the original roof was not replaced on its old gables. Instead, the gables were removed, and new low-pitched gables were built on the outer edges of the old wallwalks, flush with the outer face of the tower house. It seems, however, that the north and south wallwalks were reinstated, although the south would have lacked any means of access. It is possible that no new gable was ever built onto the eastern wall, the new roof being simply hipped at that point. There may have been an attic floor and chamber below the roof space in the tower’s first use, like at Castle Donovan.
The chimney in the gable was replaced by a chimney on the old south wallwalk. Because fireplaces were absent from the (surviving) part of the partition wall, it seems that there was such a chimney on the south wallwalk, despite the obstruction it would cause, in the tower house's original form. Such a wallwalk chimney survives at the nearby Ballynacarriga.
First floor musket loops blocked in the 19th century

Casement windows formed by enlarging and lowering first floor windows

Inserted fireplace

Derrylemlary: Doire leim Laoghaire

Ground plan

19th century (?) alterations are indicated by the lighter hatching

Figure 26.1

Ground plan
Figure 26, ii
Original first floor (S)
Figure 26.iii
Original second floor (S)
Figure 26.1
Interpreted plan of wallwalk (S)
Plate 26.1

Derrylemlary: the rebuilt entrance
FARRANAMANAGH CASTLE
Townland of Farranamanagh, Kilcrohane Parish

6° 129, 25° CXXIX:16
NGR V 8309 3786
SMR {3081}

The site: The fragment stands on the southern shore of the Sheep's Head Peninsula. An area of gently rolling rough pasture is surrounded on all sides by rising land. To the east the land rises sharply to form a hill or headland projecting southwards into Dunmanus Bay. The pasture overlooks a narrow lake fringed with bulrushes which is cut off from the sea by a bar of shingle. The pasture forms an approximately level area of soil c. 100m long next to the lough and the fragment stands on the east edge of this area c. 100m from the lake's edge and several hundred metres from the nearest road.

A featureless mass of brambles, ferns and gorse is the only external indication of the truncated base of a tower house. It survives to a maximum height of about 2.3m high. The north side is level with the field, but the south side rests on a distinct mass of rock, which seems to closely dictate the dimensions of the structure. There are no visible remnants of any other occupation; if any traces survive underground, these are probably below the level area to the north. Recent agricultural improvement of the surrounding soil has probably destroyed much, if not all, of the archaeological evidence that may have survived.

The name: FEARANN NA MANACH 'monks' lands' (Kenneth Nicholls, pers.comm.). The name may be evidence of an otherwise-unknown monastic site but has no particular relationship to the fragment. It is probable that this is the tower house referred to in a regrant to Sir Walter Coppinger (Copinger 1884, 58) as 'Castle Negeahie' where it is named alongside several neighbouring townlands.

The history: The parish of Kilcrohane was the home of the leading family of the Muintir Bhárie sept (Appendix III) of the Daly bardic clan; the head of the sept lived in a house at Dromnea nearby (Ó Murchadha 1986, 117). No specific mention of the tower house is known to exist and the association with the Dalys is based on the historical association of this sept with the Sheep's Head peninsula. This strong association identifies it as the only known tower house erected by this sept.

The tower house in its complete form would have commanded a great view over Dunmanus Bay and
the line of hills beyond. The lough would have formed a small harbour prior to the formation of the bar; these were presumably important factors in the siting of the tower house.

Description of the Tower House

The masonry: Although definite evidence is lacking, it is very probable that the stone from which the tower house was built was quarried from the sides of the outcrop on which the tower house stands. The foundation type is not visible. Small unshaped stones are used for the external facing and the quoins are neither shaped nor larger than the other stones. The internal facing seems to employ somewhat larger stones with galleting of small stones between them. There is no evidence that this was a decorative finish. The internal and external faces were irregular and little attempt was made to create flush surfaces. The external face was somewhat neater than the internal face, an effect perhaps intentionally created by the use of more uniformly-sized stones.

The mortar is very hard and resists efforts to break off small pieces. It is mixed with beach sand, sea snail and limpet shells.

Not enough survives of the external facing to determine if putlog holes were present. One possible example may exist in the east face.

The setting-out: Dense undergrowth prevented measurements of any of the walls of the ground floor or diagonal measurements. The internal dimensions have an approximate 4:5 ratio but no unit can be recognised.

The loss of the external facing hinders any attempts to accurately determine the external dimensions of the tower house.

The ground floor: The exterior was battered sharply, a batter of 0.21m being measured over a fall of 1.30m. At no point is the base of the batter visible or the upper termination surviving; but it was almost certainly restricted to the base of the tower house, terminating at a level approximating to the highest surviving point of the fabric.

Enough survives of all the walls to indicate that the entrance was in the north wall (Fig. 27,i). Its position is indicated by a gap in the masonry. A fragment of the eastern reveal of the entrance passage is the only surviving trace of the entrance. The masonry in this position is very much dislodged by root growth and the reveal has probably shifted 10-20cm west of its original position; enough survives
to show that the entrance was fairly central in the wall, but the width of the entrance passage is unknown. The reconstruction is based on the assumption that the door was central.

The thickness of the north and south walls could not be measured with any precision but they seem to be significantly thinner than the east and west walls.

No trace of any stair can be recognised in the surviving fabric and it is probable that access to the destroyed superstructure of the tower house was gained via a raised entrance.

The splayed western reveal of an opening in the south wall is the only other feature of the ground-floor chamber. A gap in the wall marks the site of this opening, which has otherwise been destroyed. It was probably a defensive loop.

The floor of the chamber is probably deeply buried. No sign of provision for a first floor exists in the visible part of the west wall.

Enough survives of the tower house to indicate that it was not a small house or other type of building; the pronounced base-batter confirms this. The plan has several peculiarities, perhaps forced on it by the very small size of the tower house. The thick short-axis walls and thin long-axis walls were highly unusual. Inequalities of wall width were invariably connected with the presence of a barrel vault. Normally, tower house builders would have sought to minimise the width of the arch but in this tower house even the long-axis span was only 6.045m. The builders may have chosen to build the barrel vault at ninety degrees to its usual relation to the plan. If a barrel vault was present, it was not at first-floor level.
ARRANMANAGH: GROUND FLOOR SKETCH PLAN

Figure 27.1
Ground plan
BALLINOROHER CASTLE

Townland of Ballinoroher, Kilnagross Parish

6° 122, 25° CXXII:16
NGR  W 4253 4434
SMR  (3059)

The site: The near-intact tower house stands in the Argideen valley on a level terrain of deep soil. Rising land overlooks the tower house c.1km to the north. The south side directly overlooks a modern road. The entrance of the tower house faces an abandoned farmyard. There is no external evidence to suggest that the derelict farm house occupying the long side of the yard is earlier than the Nineteenth Century or that any earlier structures are incorporated in its fabric. A ruined building extent in 1980 (Healy 1988, 223) adjoined the south-western angle of the tower house but this has since been demolished without record.

Healy (ibid., 224) suggested that the siting of the tower house was to defend the old ford of the Argideen River where the road bridge now is as this '...was the only pass between Bandon and the south-west[sic] part of the country'. The tower house stands over 250 metres away from this ford, which can hardly be said to be heavily defended. It may however originally have been sited to exact dues from travellers, but the presence of a defunct farm implies that this spot has long been occupied by farmers, only recently falling victim to rural depopulation. It is however difficult to demonstrate continuity from the meagre historical information.

Evidence within the tower house shows that it was only abandoned in the Nineteenth Century (see below), but all traces of original timberwork have long since vanished. It is elaborate, well-preserved (with the exception of the parapets) and it has largely escaped alteration; its internal arrangements are exceptionally rich in information about the needs it was built to meet. An ancient growth of ivy, now thankfully killed off, has prised apart the northern wall along the windows and another crack runs down the windows in the west wall.

The name: BAILE NA URCHAR: the townland [holding] of the missiles or BAILE AN RUATHAIR: the townland [holding] of the attack (ibid., 222).

The name is given as Ballianurogher on the Down Survey (Bibliothèque Nationale). It is presently known as Castleview.
The history: The tower house was built by a sub-sept of the MacCarthys; the Sliocht Inghine Ul Chruimín (Clan Crimeen). Their castles were at Derrylemlary [26] (also called Castle Derry) and Ballinoroher. The latter's plan occupies almost twice the area of the former and it may be regarded as the Clan Crimeen's headquarters.

The tower house seems to have existed by 1601, when a fiант of May 1601 pardoned Dohmnall of Baile an Ruathair; this indicates that the Clan Crimeen fought with O'Neill at Kinsale. His son Dermot, who succeeded him in 1611 (Healy 1988, 224), married the daughter of the O'Hurley chieftain resident at Ballynacarriga [3] about 15 km to the north-west (O'Donovan 1986, 6).

Ballinoroher and its lands were forfeit after the execution of its last owner, Dermot mac Daniel MacCarthy (alias Mac-ni-Crimen) after the arrival of the Cromwellians in Cork in 1652. His tenant Burrowes, an English sheep-farmer, put himself under Dermot's protection, but Dermot eventually took the Burrowes family to the Irish encampment at Killavarrig Hill where they were hung, allegedly upon his orders. When examined by the Commissioners Dermot denied any direct involvement but believed that they deserved their fate because they had treacherously sent communications about Ballinoroher's weakness to the Bandon planters (McCarthy 1922, 127). The Down Survey indicates that the townland to the west later called Lackanalooha (209 acres) formed part of the demesne lands of the Crimeen chieftain and that only the western part of the modern townland was under the control of the chieftain.

Description of the Tower House

The masonry: This area is poor in good stone outcrops and it may be assumed that the stone was transported further than is usual in the Survey region as no possible quarry site is apparent. Some of the stones used were extremely large (see below) and may be glacial erratics. A specially quarried Carboniferous or Old Red sandstone was presumably used for the fabric while freestone of unknown source was used for the dressings.

All windows and doors were very finely dressed from freestone and the former were glazed with the exception of the small ventilation loops of the close stool closets and the ground-floor defensive loops. All the glazed windows, regardless of size, were supplied with square hood moulds (Pl.T). A peculiar (English?) Oolitic limestone label stop shelters the head of the main entrance. A slate was used for the steps of the spiral stair.

The tower house was built from small unshaped slabs of sandstone laid regularly but with little regard for their 'horizontality'. The embrasures of all but the largest windows were covered by arches which run through the wall so that they are externally visible as relieving arches; even the presses within the
tower house are covered by small relieving arches.

The exposed northern foundation was built out of large blocks. There is a slight offset between the superstructure and these blocks that diminishes to the east. A very large block which must weigh at least a ton was squared off to form the base of the north-western angle; this technique does not seem to have been used for the other angles and probably indicates opportunistic reuse of a glacial erratic or an megalith.

The depth of the subsoil must have presented particular problems to the builders as the consequent settlement has caused a slight twist and cracking of the west wall. Leaching of the soil probably caused a more recent collapse of the road surface immediately outside the tower house (Healy 1988, 222). The orientation of the tower house shows that the builders went to considerable pains to ensure that the long-axis of the plan followed the strike of the deeply-buried rock.

The mortar is of the typical very hard composition used in the unvaulted tower houses (Chapter 4:e). The exterior is covered with a render of the same mortar; this only survives in any quantity above the level of the second floor, because a more durable mix was apparently used in the later stages of construction. When new, this render would have concealed all signs of the stonework.

The floors of the tower house were built in the traditional corbel/wall plate technique (McKenna 1984, 24) with the exception of the third floor where the joists seem to have lain directly upon a slight offset with their ends lightly embedded in the wall. The roof was probably of couple-close technique (see below); otherwise, apart from the doorleaves, timber was not used for the fittings of the tower house.

The setting-out: A statistical search of the dimensions unambiguously indicates the use of the English foot, the apparent unit being minutely larger (30.6cm as opposed to 30.48cm). Few of the dimensions ‘round off’ and the builders seem to have had little concern for arithmetically determined or precise construction. The plan was however closer to a true oblong than the trapezoidal form seen in some ground entrance tower houses.

The ground floor: The base-batter is slight but distinct. The walls above it are apparently vertical. The plan of the ground floor is obscured both by stone robbing and modern repairs which do not follow the original lines. Its original plan was symmetrical on the long-axis west of the party wall and this allows the plan to be understood (Fig.28,i).

The entrance is comparatively well-preserved, apart from the loss of the north jamb. The lintel is of unusual semi-elliptical form with a horizontal label over it (see above). The outer order of the jamb
moulding terminates with a chamferstop but the moulding is otherwise typical of the ground entrance tower houses.

The chamber behind the entrance was originally divided by a spine wall into an entrance passage with a timber ceiling and a chamber next to it covered by a shallowly-pitched barrel vault, now fallen. The vaulted roof of the chamber must be assumed to be a barrier to prevent attackers from breaking into it from above as it cannot have served as a fire barrier. The position of the chamber identifies it as a guardroom but the absence of a gunloop to the doorjamb is unusual.

The north side of the entrance passage has suffered severe stone robbing in the past. This has been laudably consolidated with stone probably within the last fifty years or so when a timber lintel was inserted, but the present arrangement of the masonry bears little relationship to the original form of the entrance into the spiral stair (Fig.28,i). The lowest steps have all been removed, as is usually the case. The stair is entirely typical of the GE tower houses (Chapter 4:a) as it is comparatively crudely-built with overlapping slate slabs; the pointed ends of the slabs overlap erratically at the centre and there is no distinct newel. The wide ends of the slabs are only shallowly bedded in the walls. The interior of the stair well is rendered with plaster that was also applied to the undersides of the steps to create a continuous smooth surface.

The ground-floor chamber was originally provided with five defensive loops, of which only the south-western example survives in a comparatively undamaged state. There were two on each side and one in the end of the chamber. The chamber, which was probably floored with mortar or beaten earth, was unheated and presumably acted as a storeroom.

The first floor: An offset to support the timber floor made this chamber slightly larger than the ground floor chamber; it was provided with many features (Fig.28,ii) to make it suitable for permanent habitation and was probably a low status hall that combined the functions of a kitchen.

The fenestration is limited in scale to improve security, but the four ogival loops were excellently carved from freestone and the openings glazed. The intact south-western opening is covered by a square hood mould with label stops (Pl.28,i); all have chutes with slopstones below the sills. The embrasures of the openings all originally lacked the flanking musket loops present in the second and third floors but the north-western embrasure was subsequently altered, as joins in the masonry confirm.

The fireplace retains one finely carved freestone corbel over its western jamb but has lost its other dressings. It was not particularly suited for cooking and there is little reason to believe it differed significantly in appearance from the fireplace in the principal chamber; it was probably provided with
an ornamented stone mantel in keeping with the social role of the low-status hall. The fireplace has an external relieving arch.

The single annex chamber was entered indirectly through the partition wall, rather than directly from the spiral stair. This chamber and the three small chambers above it (to the east of the party wall) were all well supplied with small single light oblong windows with central iron astragals and glass. None of these chambers was however built with a fireplace. They are not at the same level as the major chambers to the west of the party wall and, with the exception of the first floor, are entirely separate from them. All these chambers were rendered over internally. Their precise purpose is unknown, but this class of chamber allowed many specialised activities to go on within the vaultless tower house without disturbance.

The spiral stair gives access to an intramural closet physically detached from the major chamber. The absence of garderobe chutes indicates that the most probable use of this closet was to house a close stool for the occupants of this floor.

The second floor: A small bedchamber(?) was entered directly from the spiral stair and did not connect with the principal chamber (Fig.28,iii). A small fireplace was later built into the southern opening out of which the smoke must have escaped (the exterior is here obscured by ivy).

The principal chamber of the tower house was entered through a finely dressed door with a two-centred arch; the door's widely splayed entrance has a door leading to a close stool closet at one side. A musket loop, now blocked, points from the chamber into the stairwell.

The floor was supported on corbels in the northern and southern walls.

The large fireplace in the north wall once had a lintel of freestone below the surviving relieving arch that still supports the projecting chimney breast; the surviving jambs are finely cut from freestone. The impressive southern and northern windows were originally sub-divided into three lights each with low ogival arched heads. The spandrels are concentrically sunk in a series of steps; glazing grooves and central astragals once held lead canes in place. The simpler two-light west window retained a square lintel head until very recently (Pl.28,i). The windows mark out the special status of the chamber which otherwise shared the same dimensions as the chambers above and below. All the windows of this chamber have slopstones in their sills.

The walls were plastered and the lower margin clearly indicates the level of the vanished floor; this thick coat survives well in the sheltered parts of the embrasure and even the finely cut chamfered freestone jambs of the fireplace are covered with a succession of coats of plaster.
There are no impressions of battens or partitions in the plaster, which indicates with fair certainty that the chamber was never sub-divided. Gunloops, so numerous elsewhere in the building, are absent from what is clearly the principal chamber.

The multi-light windows at the west end of the chamber indicate where the table was probably placed. The placing of a 'shelf' press at the right hand in the short-axis wall is probably connected with the rituals of chieftainship (Chapter 6:c). The pair of plain square-headed single lights at the east end of the chamber emphasise the rise in status towards the west end of the chamber. This differs from the egalitarian symmetry of the first floor where all the windows had single lights with ogival heads.

The third floor: The minor chamber was entered by a short flight leading down from a doorway off the spiral stair. This chamber (like the chamber below it) had no functional link with the major chamber and there was no need for the floor and ceiling heights of the two chambers to correspond. The 'dropping' of the chamber c.1m below the floor level of the major chamber allowed a further small chamber to be fitted in below the level of the wallwalk.

The floor of the major chamber was supported on offsets on the north and south walls with slight joist sockets below the offset.

The differentiation of the multi- and single-light windows (Fig.28,iv) is similar to that of the floor below. The two-light windows at the western end of the chamber are conventionally Elizabethan in appearance apart from the generous provision of projecting slopstones in the sills. The near-universal provision of flanking gunloops in the windows indicates that the chamber could serve an important defensive role, but the purpose of the chamber was domestic. A press is provided in the same position as the ceremonial press in the principal chamber but is significantly narrower and lacks a relieving arch. The fireplace was considerably smaller than the other fireplaces below and lacks freestone jambs.

The chamber can be regarded as a 'withdrawing room' complementing the semi-public principal chamber below. The gunloops were only to be used under exceptional circumstances and do not necessarily indicate the permanent presence of a garrison.

The attic chambers: A ceiling for the third-floor major chamber formed the floor of an attic chamber; a small blocked door in the partition wall lead from the attic to the minor eastern chamber (Fig.28,v) which was not reached from the spiral stair. The purpose of both chambers is debatable. The provision of a proper window with gunloops in the minor chamber implies that the major chamber was rather more than an unoccupied roof space and it may have had dormer windows of timber. The
roof may therefore have been of couple-close form (McKenna 1984, fig.23) as this would have allowed the trusses to serve as the floor joists of an unobstructed attic chamber. This type of roof was probably widespread in the GE tower houses which had provision for an attic chamber (Chapter 4:d).

The massive corbel in the east wall of the minor chamber served to support the lost eastern gable, because the wall of the tower house was otherwise too thin to support both a gable and a wallwalk or parapet; this corbel is directly paralleled at Togher and is unlikely to be a coincidence. The west end of the roof was probably hipped (see below).

The wallwalk and roof: The spiral stair now emerges onto the featureless and overgrown top of the tower house c.12.4m (c.41 feet) above ground level. All traces of gables, parapets and projecting gutter slabs have been removed. The north-western and south-eastern angles bear the cut-back stumps of corner machicolations while further stumps indicate that a separate box machicolation directly over the main entrance once existed. These confirm that a vanished wallwalk was only a course of stones above the modern wall-tops. The absence of 45 degree corbel stumps at the angles indirectly indicates that each angle machicolation had a diagonal facet that rested directly on the angle of the tower house (Fig.28,v).

The termination of the spiral stair was once sheltered by a masonry turret; the stair may have continued upwards to a parapeted look-out post on the top of the vanished turret. The northern pitch of the pitched roof abutted the west side of the turret, but the southern pitch continued eastward over the minor chamber to meet a half-gable supported on the surviving internal corbel.

The west end of the roof may have been hipped because there is no evidence for the jettying required to support a gable and provide room for a wallwalk.

The chimneys obstructed the wallwalk and it is possible that a door may have led from the attic chamber to the western part of the wallwalk to counteract this drawback. Alternatively, projecting steps may have been built into the reverse of the chimneys to allow them to be sidestepped. The tall north chimney recorded in Healy’s drawing (1988, 223) has unfortunately fallen since; enough remains to show that it was not rendered with mortar, unlike the remainder of the tower house. This indicates that the chimney that fell recently was probably a replacement of the original.

Almost all features associated with the original roof and parapet were removed at an unknown date and this makes its original layout a matter of conjecture; the neat pattern of truncation and the pains taken to remove the machicolations indicate that the original roof was replaced, probably in the Eighteenth or Nineteenth Centuries, by a larger hipped roof that oversailed the outer walls. It is probable that the termination of the spiral stair had a western door leading in to that attic chamber.
and, at a slightly higher level, a northern door leading onto the north walk of the wallwalk. This may have been supplemented by other doors from the attic chamber (see above). It may be reasonably inferred that the parapet and machicolations were provided with many gunloops like the remainder of the tower house and that crowsteps, too high to be of any service, were provided for decoration only.
Figure 28,i
Ground plan
Figure 28.ii
First floor (S)
Figure 28.iii
Second floor (S)
Figure 28.iv
Third floor (S)
Plate 28,i

Ballinoroher: general view from the south-east
KILGOBBIN CASTLE
Townland of Kilgobbin, Ballinadee Parish

6° 11', 25° CXI:15
NGR W 5891 4999
SMR 3086

The site: The tower house stands on a level shelf of hard rock overlooking the long tidal estuary of the Bandon river to the east. The Bandon river has cut across what is called the Clonakilty anticline (Whittow 1978, 227) and the river is overhung by steep slopes at this point. The land rises gently but steadily to the south-west. About 10 metres from the north face of the tower house, the ground falls steeply at a slope of 1:1 and the broken tree-covered terrain slopes directly into the Bandon River without interruption.

This tower house is very well-preserved and of great interest but the removal of the Ancient Monument sign on the main road and the current surroundings of the tower house (a silage heap) are intentionally calculated to deter visitors; this is simply because of the implications of the current insurance and liability laws, which were made clear to the author by the owner’s father.

All sides of the base of the tower house apart from the east are concealed by abutting farm buildings which impede accurate measurement. Access to the upper floors is now only possible with a long ladder and is denied. Despite these drawbacks, an attempt has been made to estimate the internal layout of the upper floors on the basis of the window arrangement (see below).

The name: CILL GHOBAIN ‘St Goban’s church’ (Donoghue 1986, 117). The name appears as Kilgobane on the Down Survey (Bibliothèque Nationale) where the tower house is indicated.

The history: Kilgobbin is mentioned in 1469-70 in the Annals of Ulster, when it was captured by Cormac, an ally of the Desmonds (Nicholls 1993b, 192). It was probably built by Dermot a’Duna, the founding father of the MacCarthy Riabhadh sept who died in 1477. A castle is mentioned in 1309, of the De Courcy family (Healy 1988, 269). The precipitous site of the tower house above a navigable sheltered inlet parallels that of Glandore. Such sites were favoured by the Anglo-Norman invaders; however, no above-ground trace of a castle pre-dating the existing structure can be detected.

The MacCarthy Reagh sept held tower houses at several widely different locations, including a detached area around Rosscarbery. The tower houses of Carrighnassig [45] and Kilgobbin were built
along the eastern riparian border of the Survey region, while the tower houses of Dunmanway [40], Castilelands (Enniskean) [42], Kilbrittain [57] and Goolmain [58] also seem to have been built about the same time as Kilgobbin. *Castle Salem* [8] and Gortnaclohy [62] were built in detached islands of territory to the west. Only Castle Salem, Kilbrittain and Kilgobbin survive wholly or in part; Kilgobbin being the only complete example.

Am English inquisition (ibid., 270) gives the impression that in the 1600s the chieftain, Dohmnall na Papi, directly owned Kilgobbin, Kilbrittain, Dunmanway, Benduff and Gortnaclohy. In reality, the other tower houses seem to have been occupied by his siblings or other trusted family members. The wording of a 1569 pardon and a 1576 complaint indicates that one of the two brothers of MacCarthy Reagh of Kilbrittain lived at Kilgobbin; he and his brothers evidently demanded their traditional dues from the local population, causing increasing friction with more anglicised landholders (ibid., 269). It is probable that in accordance with Gaelic tradition, Kilgobbin and the other demesnes were reapportioned to various leading members of the *derbfine*, each time a member died.

The tower house stood in an extensive demesne indicated on the Down Survey (Bibliothèque Nationale). It was opposite the Liberties of Kinsale and as such, must have been one of the first tower houses captured by the Parliamentarian Bandon force. Smith recorded that it had been 'deserted by its Warders' (Healy 1988, 270). The subsequent dissolution of the Clan system meant that it was never recovered. The attached derelict eighteenth-century house was built by the Palmer family. The relationship of the building to the tower house is very similar to the attached wing of Castle Salem and it too may follow the lines of an earlier structure.

The Palmer family no doubt saw the utility of a blockhouse/warehouse. The tower house was kept in repair into the Nineteenth Century and escaped the more usual fate of demolition; inspection of the fabric shows that these repairs included the replacement of the first floor. A stylised watercolour taken by Daniel Grose probably in the 1800s shows their house and the pyramidal slated roof of the tower house (Stalley 1991, 44). It is tempting to identify this as the medieval roof, because Healy mentions a 'rounded roof' (its replacement?) that survived to the beginning of this century (1988, 269). The door shown at the base is not original (see below). The watercolour incidentally shows that the tangled woodland that now cloaks the slopes below the tower house has mostly grown up in the last two hundred years.

Mortar flashings for a pitched roof on the south side of the tower house (Pls.E & 29,i) indicate the past presence of another house antedating the present lean-to. This building is not shown on Grose’s view and may have already been demolished.

No survey or detailed description of the tower house had been made prior to the author’s visit, with the exception of the recent Inventory record (Power 1992a, 328) where no access to the upper floors
was gained. A comprehensive record of the interior has yet to be made. The author's judgments about the internal arrangement of the tower house are based on familiarity with typical relationships of openings to internal features, but only the records of the ground and first floor are wholly reliable.

Description of the Tower House

The masonry: The walls are probably built from the same very hard Lower Carboniferous slate anticline upon which they are founded. A freestone of unknown source is used for the quoins and the more important openings. Grose (c.1800) mentions that ‘... in the neighbourhood of Kilgobban [sic] above it, are several fine slate quarries, much used affording slate of an excellent quality’ (Stalley 1991, 45).

The creamy-grey mortar has a high content of sand and gravel but no evidence of marine shells; it is very hard, but not as hard and resistant as modern cement. This solidity, as well as the rocky foundation, has helped to preserve the tower house, which appears to be structurally as sound as the day it was completed.

The tower house was very skilfully constructed with small unworked slabs of split slate, most of which are no greater than a man's burden. The quoins are apparently cut from a freestone. The quoin slabs are taller than they are wide and alternate from face to face. They are blocks laid to bed and not edge-bedded slabs (Pl.29,i).

No lifts or continuous courses are apparent and building may have been carried out without pause. Slight differences in the quality of laying and the homogeneity of the stones are apparent in the west elevation, but these are not so great as to suggest any protracted pauses in construction. There is no evidence of a regular pattern of putlog holes. Careful inspection reveals occasional putlog holes on the east face but these have no regular layout. Others, if they were present, were blocked after the removal of the putlog.

The foundation is partially visible on the east side where the base-batter can be seen to be resting on a series of projecting roughly-coursed slabs.

The rows of large corbels down either side of the walls in the 'basement' reveal that the first floor was of conventional wall plate and corbel construction (Leask 1951, 98). No information is available for the floor construction higher up or the manner of roofing.

The setting-out: The tower house appears to have been very regularly constructed. The ratio of the
The ground-floor chamber is very close to 5:6. Five independent dimensions from the interior indicate the use of the 'Gaelic foot'.

The walls of the tower house were almost uniform in thickness at the base, the long-axis walls being slightly thinner. The dimensions of the base cannot be directly measured due to obstructing buildings, but the plan is not far from being square (8.56 X c.9.82m) at the top of the base-batter.

The base-batter is of exceptional height (c.3.35m) and correspondingly pronounced; its horizontal termination was probably level with the first floor. The remainder of the superstructure is apparently slightly battered, but this batter has not been measured.

There is a certain amount of symmetry maintained because at least two openings are exactly central to the wall. The positions of the openings are closely determined by the internal arrangements. The very varied and specialised nature of the openings shows that considerable concern was paid to functional requirements at the expense of regularity of appearance.

The tower house is aligned three degrees east of magnetic north and six degrees west from true north. There are no means of determining if this close correspondence was caused by chance; such alignments are not unknown in the Survey region but could be the result of factors unconnected with a respect for the cardinal points.

The ground floor: The plan is not subdivided and the ground and first-floor chambers closely follow the lines of the building's exterior. It has therefore been assumed that the uninspected floors of tower house are also unsubdivided and of much the same proportions.

The ground-floor chamber is extremely simple with two cuboid lamp recesses (Fig.29,i). The original entrance was to the east of the north-west angle and only provided access to this chamber. The entrance was blocked when the eighteenth-century house was built against the north side of the tower and the dressings of the jambs and archway were removed when this occurred.

There is no evidence of a floor surface, but the height of the door embrasure indicates that it cannot be deeply buried.

A large ragged hole marks the site of the east opening. A single surviving overhead fragment of the deep external splay identifies this as having once been an hour-glass loop. Grose's depiction (Stalley 1991, 43) indicates that the enlargement of the opening into a featureless hole occurred prior to 1800.
The first floor: The timber first floor was supported on six corbels that form rows of three along the long axis of the chamber. This floor was replaced, presumably after decaying, by another floor supported on joists; the holes for these were cut into the walls. Circumstantial evidence suggests that the only means of reaching the first floor was through a hatch in the timber floor (see below).

The first floor was lit by two openings (Fig. 29, ii). A building, pre-dating the present lean-to, was erected so that its pitched roof was centred on the south opening which was enlarged to form a door. The form of the east window has almost certainly been altered, probably to allow it to house a timber window frame.

The ceiling of the first-floor chamber was formed by the surviving semi-circular barrel vault. A sloping chute, which is certainly an original feature, passes through the vault. This service chute is encountered elsewhere in the Survey region. It is implicit that another hatch was directly below it. This allowed heavy items to be taken into the ground-floor chamber and directly hoisted into the inhabited part of the tower house or else stored in this chamber.

The second floor: The raised entrance has not been directly observed by the author as it is concealed behind the dangerous remains of the eighteenth-century house. The father of the present owner described how the castle used to be accessible from the house stair. This indicates that the entrance is either directly over the ground entrance as assumed (Fig. 29, ii) or only slightly offset from it. The entrance probably leads directly into the second-floor chamber, making it exceptionally high. There is no spiral stair and an intramural straight flight probably ascends in the thickness of the north wall to the north-east angle where it would be lit by the narrow round-headed loop in the east wall. A tall thin loop with a rounded head is probably a bow loop with a large internal embrasure (Fig. 29, iii). The jambs are apparently of very thin section and lightly chamfered to maximise the coverage of the exterior.

The purpose of the two small loops in the west face, one of which is blocked, is not clear but they probably illuminate an intramural passage in the west wall. The exactly central position of one of these loops indicates that it also illuminates the major chamber through a doorway. The presence of a short oblong loop in the south wall indicates that this passage probably turns at the south-western angle. It is possible that this passage leads to a garderobe either in the north-western or the south-western angle. Any outlet, if it exists, must be in the part of the tower base-batter that is obscured.

The east opening has been greatly enlarged in the post-medieval period and a wooden door frame is still in position, probably indicating the use of the second floor as a warehouse. The medieval purpose of the chamber is unknown, but the lack of fenestration argues against its intensive occupation. The chamber was fireproofed by the barrel vault and probably housed a pulley to allow items to be hoisted through the sloping chute.
The third floor: A partially-blocked round-headed short loop in the north-eastern angle is raised above the general level of the third-floor openings; this indicates that the landing in the intramural stair which it lit is higher than the third-floor level. A door must therefore lead from the side of the northern intramural flight into the chamber (Fig.29.iv).

Three of the main openings which lit the timber-floored chamber (identified by their tallness) are comparatively wide oblong loops with plain deep-section unchamfered surrounds dressed from freestone (in two cases) or slate. These were not particularly suitable for defending the tower house. The southern opening is, in contrast a dedicated bowloop identical to the second-floor example.

A corner loop pierces the south-western angle and a small roughly-made loop is next to it. This indicates an intramural defensive chamber within the angle which is probably approached by a passage from the southern or western main loops. The concentration of loops seems to indicate a particular concern about attack from the south-west (the easiest approach).

The north loop was offset in the wall to provide room for the rising intramural stair; it was blocked like many of the openings in this tower house in the post-medieval period. The chamber is covered by a second barrel vault which forms the floor of the principal chamber.

The fourth floor: A raised loop is the clue that indicates the presence of a second flight of the intramural stair in the east wall (Fig.29.v). A finely dressed ogival loop must illuminate a south-eastern intramural landing which communicates with the chamber.

All openings above the fourth floor are skilfully cut from freestone and with one exception they are all heavily chamfered and, also with one exception, all have fine cusped trefoil heads and deeply sunk spandrels.

Despite appearances, none of the four large openings are truly central. The single lights are intact but the larger openings have lost their central mullions and the junction element of the paired archlets. The western and southern openings were blocked at an unknown date. Both types of openings are of standardised form; the hood mouldings are absent. The south window is also neatly blocked.

The windows indicate the presence of the principal chamber. This very tall chamber is approximately two metres higher than the top of the external openings, indicating an approximate height of five metres. Grose’s depiction indicates a chimney over the western wallwalk; this has now gone; it may have been a later addition as there is no trace of it in the surviving parapet. The implicit position of the fireplace is in the centre of the western wall but the opening here is intact and has no evidence of
blocking. This anomaly cannot be resolved without access to the interior.

The presence of the intramural stair rules out the presence of a garderobe shaft in the northern and eastern walls. The single chamfered oblong loop in the north-eastern angle more probably lights a small spiral stair to the wallwalk. It is probable that the spiral stair approached by an intramural straight flight from the eastern embrasure as illustrated.

The wallwalk and roof: The level wallwalk is at a height of c.25.6m (Healy 1988, 270) above the ground and is apparently intact (Fig.29,vii); the manner of construction probably resembles the technique used at Kilcoe [15]. Timber hoarding rather than permanent machicolations were used (see below). The parapet survives to a fairly even height of approximately one metre which is certainly not its original full height and an intact turret on the north-east angle shelters the termination of the spiral stair (see above). Grose records a parapet at least two metres high with crenellations in the southern parapet but not, apparently, in the eastern parapet. His representation is certainly inaccurate in details but indicates a parapeted look-out post over the turret.

Rows of small apertures over protruding slabs of slate drained the wallwalk, this is normal practice. In contrast, the four additional large sockets set at a slightly higher level in the base of each side of the parapet are rare and important survivals; although the spacing of these sockets is noticeably irregular, there can be little doubt that their purpose was to hold projecting beams. A timber hoarding rested on the cantilevered beams and this continuous structure surrounded the entire wallwalk. The past existence of crenellations implies that the hoarding was a temporary structure which was only assembled if there was good cause.

The record of a slated roof (Stalley 1991, 44) is unique in the Survey region and there is evidence, if slight, to suggest it was original (see above); however, such a structure would have been more than three hundred years old in the 1800s and like the first floor it had probably been replaced by that date. If, as is almost certainly the case, the east wall of the principal chamber is thicker than the other walls, the space to be roofed would be very near to a square in plan; such a roof was practical and the pyramidal roof depicted may therefore have followed the original arrangement. Unfortunately, certainty on this point is not possible without further inspection, because there is a possibility that Grose recorded a post-medieval re-roofing in which the original gables were removed.
Figure 29.1  
Ground floor
Figure 29.ii
First floor (S)
Figure 29.iii
Second floor (N.D.O.)
Figure 29.iv
Third floor (N.D.O.)
Figure 29.5

Fourth floor (N.D.O.)
Figure 29,vi
Wallwalk (N.D.O.)
Plate 29.1

Kilgobbin: general view from the south
Plate 29,ii

Kilgobbin: general view from the west.
The site: The tower house stands in the flood plain of the River Bride and the surrounding area is poorly drained. The picturesque wooded river valley is visible for many miles to the west from the top of the tower house. Gently undulating land surrounds the valley floor and a consistent rise only occurs about 1 km to the south where a medium-sized eighteenth-century house stands.

A ditch runs around all sides of the tower house except the north, where it was removed by a now defunct railway line; the southern side is partially buried in a mound heaped up against the base. A published description (Butler 1908, 175) explains these anomalies. The Cork-Macroom railway was cut through the site only thirteen feet (4m) from the north side of the tower house. This removed the northern part of the mound from that side as well as most of a much larger oval enclosure recorded on the early OS map (ibid.).

The age of the enclosure is unknown but the tower house seems to have stood at the southern end of an irregular oval enclosure 68.5m wide from east to west (ibid.). The discovery of a bronze celt in the enclosure indicates that the tower house may have been built in a much earlier fort (ibid., 176).

The sheer extent of the surrounding archaeological 'footprint' indicates this was a large and intensively occupied site. Differences in moisture and vegetation in the meadowland pick out a raised area to the south of the ring of trees on the ditch. This seems to indicate the past existence of an outer enclosure with a semi-circular bank. The appreciable contours of the outer enclosure are probably deposits associated with occupation. These frail deposits would be destroyed by ploughing. Without excavation, their age and relationship to the tower house remains unknown.

The tower house is of sufficient merit to be mentioned by Leask in his classic work on Irish tower houses as a fifteenth-century tower that is 'nearly perfect' (1951, 155). The accompanying bawn is also well preserved. The site was described in some detail and a small scale and inaccurate sketch plan was published by the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society in 1908. Recent inspection reveals that the structure has not appreciably deteriorated in the intervening ninety years. Access is unimpeded and the wooded and untended site has a romantic eighteenth-century air.

The author's survey is based on two visits in 1993 and 1996. There is some disagreement with the
1908 survey which can only be resolved by a further visit. The bawn structure has not been examined in detail, but is described here, largely from photographs.

The name: CILL CHERE 'St. Cere's church' (O'Donoghue 1986).

The history: The title of the builder of Kilcrea Castle was Cormac McTeige MacCarthy Laidir, ninth Lord of Muskerry. This powerful chieftain is also held to have constructed Carrignamuck and Blarney Castles (Giliman 1892a, 18). The siting by Cormac of a friary, apparently intended for his own burial, in the immediate vicinity of Kilcrea Castle indicates the importance that he attached to this tower house. The building of a tower house and the construction of a Friary nearby indirectly indicate that this was a densely populated area, with some of the characteristics of a town.

The history of the Muskerry clan is well known but very few references to Kilcrea exist. The obvious pretensions of this tower house indicate that it was intended to serve an important role. It is probable that Cormac built it for his son Cormac Oge with the long-term intention that his son should succeed to the chieftainship. Cormac's brother Eoghan, the tanist, must have murdered him when Cormac's intentions were made clear; Cormac Oge's subsequently avenged his father's death, helped in part by the fact that he held Kilcrea. Cormac Oge became the tenth Lord of Muskerry (Giliman 1892a, 18).

There was allegedly a 1446 datestone in the early part of Blarney Castle (Leask 1951, 113); the main part of the tower house is probably late fifteenth-century. Kilcrea and Blarney Castles are thought to be have been built subsequent to 1449 but further information is lacking (Giliman 1892a, 18). The presence of ground entrances and provision for guns indicates that Kilcrea and the later part of Blarney date towards the end of Cormac's long reign.

Blarney Castle seems to have always been the favoured residence of the chieftain; Kilcrea Castle seems to have fallen out of favour and very little effort was made to improve its amenities in contrast to Blarney. Carrignamuck Castle (ibid.) is significantly smaller than Kilcrea Castle and may have been built to imitate Blarney Castle in its completed form (Crawford Woods 1896, 344). It is possible that Eoghan built it on his own initiative, without Cormac's encouragement or aid.

The castle and lands passed out the ownership of the MacCarthy clan in the Cromwellian confiscations of 1650 (Collins 1954, 86), since when it has presumably been ruinous.
Description of the Tower House

The masonry: The tower house is built out of a pale grey stone, probably locally quarried Carboniferous (Cork) limestone. This fine stone can be polished to a marble-like sheen and is almost impervious to weathering. The stone does not split readily, but some bedding is present, making this possible. The mortar is implicitly of excellent quality. The survival of a mortar render on the walls of the principal chamber illustrates its tenacity and resistance to hundreds of years of weathering.

The manner of construction of the base was very laborious because each irregular facing stone was carefully shaped with a boucharde to fit its irregular neighbours. This created a hairline-jointed 'Cyclopean' effect. The interior was less well-finished with a random rubble facing. The same stone was capable of being finely cut for the delicate mouldings of the windows, rere-arches, doors and roof features. The large embrasures were covered by segmental arches turned from individually shaped voussoirs. The chamfered ribs on the rerearches of the principal chamber (Pl.30,i) are a refinement more usually seen in ecclesiastical architecture. The carefully shaped rain spouts under the (lost) parapet are unique in West Cork where rough slabs usually perform this purpose.

No lifts or continuous courses are apparent. A single row of putlog holes is present in the southern base batter but they are otherwise absent. No blocked examples were noticed, but their absence cannot be ruled out. The facing of the upper part of the tower is less painstaking, although still of a very high standard.

The setting-out: No foundation is externally visible but an internal offset can be seen on the western side of the ground-floor chamber. The neat construction of the wall below this offset and the clear restriction of the offset to that side of the building was presumably the result of a design change. There was probably a 'true' foundation at a greater depth which is as yet unobserved.

There can be little doubt that the statute foot was employed at Kilcrea Castle. Computer analysis suggests that the foot used (30.2cm) was minutely shorter than the modern foot (30.48cm) but this may be a result of the averaging of a unit that was not always respected perfectly in the final execution of the design. There can be little doubt that the ground-floor chamber was 20 X 30 feet (2:3 ratio) although the two axes are minutely longer (30.18 feet) and shorter (19.91 feet) than the ideal values. Such divergences are the result of minor irregularities in construction.

Simple multiplied ratios were evidently used throughout the design. The external dimensions at the top of the base-batter are 36.25 feet X 47.96 feet; the ideal was clearly 36 X 48 feet, a 3:4 ratio. It follows that the walls were eight feet thick on the long axis and nine feet thick on the short axis at the same level. In the same way, the principal (fourth-floor) chamber also has a 3:4 ratio although its
dimensions are not whole units.

The large central embrasure in the north wall of the ground floor is balanced by two narrower embrasures in the south wall. The symmetry of the ground plan is not carried through in the upper floors where some openings are dead centre while others are slightly off-centre. This may have been intended to prevent cracks propagating along aligned openings, but the displacements are too slight to have made much difference.

The base-batter has a slope of 13:1 and its horizontal termination apparently corresponds to the level of the first floor. It is half buried on the southern and western sides and only the northern batter is fully visible. It is probable that this side was also buried until the construction of the railway. The remainder of the superstructure is slightly battered; the external dimensions of the tower house reduce by 0.24m on the long axis and 0.26 on the short axis at fourth-floor level.

The absence of a visible rock outcrop meant that the builders did not align the plan on the regional strike of the rock. The short axis of the tower house is aligned c.3° west of true north. This alignment was presumably achieved by observation of the noon.

**The ground floor:** A perfectly-preserved two-centred door leads into the lobby and directly into the ground-floor chamber (Fig.30,i). The chamfered outer casement of the entrance is set into a sloping recess. The door leaf lay against the north side of the lobby when open. The reveal was subsequently roughly hollowed out to prevent defenders being crushed against the side of the entrance passage if the door was suddenly forced. A 'murder hole' pierces the arch over the lobby; the intramural star ascends to the south. The inner door to the chamber swung into a convenient recess in the north wall.

The floor of the chamber was presumably level with the western offset (see above), but no sign of the original mortar (?) surface is visible. The four great arched embrasures of the arrow loops permitted exceptionally good views to defenders but the walls were only c.0.30m thick at these embrasures. The large embrasures would have been very vulnerable to cannon and the decision was taken to bury the base of the tower house in an absorbent rampart of earth. The date of this modification is unknown but it may have occurred in the aftermath of the battle of Kinsale or at the time of the Cromwellian invasion. Excavation could reveal if this rampart was timber revetted to form a gun platform.

The very large cuboid presses were probably used to store arrows and other munitions.

The garderobe chute vents at the downwind north-eastern angle of the base batter.
The stair and passage to the first floor: The timber first floor was supported on eight corbels arranged along the long axis of the chamber. The chamber is reached from the main stair in the south-eastern angle (Fig. 30, ii). Two loops illuminate the main intramural stair spiral. The lower loop is of a generalised form, but the higher loop may be a gunloop. At the south-eastern angle, the straight flight meets the spiral stair that continues uninterruptedly to the fourth floor; a cruciform loop faces south at this angle. At the thirteenth tread (Butler 1908, 176) the spiral stair reaches the threshold of an intramural passage in the east wall which provides access to the chamber. This passage has four openings, two of them intact. The robbed central southernmost opening was probably a large chamfered loop of the form employed in the ground floor; a gunloop and two cruciform loops flank the north-eastern angle. The ‘murder hole’ pierces the masonry floor of the intramural passage.

The first-floor chamber: The single robbed western loop is set in a large embrasure like those used in the ground-floor chamber. A passage running from the south of the embrasure was observed in 1908 (ibid.); this may have been overlooked in the recent survey but there is no sign of the ‘slit in the angle’ that it allegedly led to.

The north and south sides of the chamber are formed by the springing of a barrel vault of semi-circular section. This would have contained any fire in the ground and first floor; an additional vault was provided at a higher level (see below). A repair in random rubble masonry on the southern wall has removed all traces of any earlier features that may have been there.

The second floor: The spiral stair is finely constructed and each tread is dressed from a single block of stone of triangular shape and there is no defined newel. The spiral stair rises to a long intramural passage in the east wall (Fig. 30, iii). A tall narrow chamfered central opening of dressed stone is flanked by six small loops, four in the eastern wall, the others facing north and south. An intramural L-shaped room in the north-eastern angle seems to have existed for the sole purpose of providing access to defensive loops; the opportunity to make this a garderobe chamber was not taken, despite its proximity to the shaft.

The chamber is entered through a finely-dressed doorway with a two-centred arch. The door is set in a deep rectilinear recess. The floor of the chamber is of beaten earth and gravel over the barrel vault below. The original floor was probably of slabs or mortar. The windows of the chamber have square hoods and are very wide with deep arched embrasures. Well-preserved narrow chamfered rectilinear openings pierce the short-axis walls but the southern wall has an ogival opening; the destroyed north opening was probably similar. These openings were not glazed. The embrasures have floors continuous with the main floor and act in effect as extensions of the chamber, the presses set in the reveals of the embrasures presumably served a similar purpose to those in the lowest chamber.
There are four joist sockets and four corbels on either side of the second-floor chamber but these do not exactly correspond in position. Butler observed that the floor had been replaced at some date (1908, 176) and incorrectly assumed that the corbels supported the replacement floor. The corbels in fact supported wall plates at the level of the major joists that replaced them. The minor joists of the replacement floor were therefore at right angles to their predecessors. The slight offsets in the wall faces above the inserted joist sockets are original.

The masonry provision indicates that the first and second floors were of conventional wall plate and corbel construction (Leask 1951, 98).

The open reveals of the western window embrasure lead into L-shaped intramural passages in the north-western and south-western angles; the passages are covered by barrel vaults that were turned over hurdles of woven hazel; the impressions of the falsework clearly survive. The ends of the passages widen to become small intramural chambers. The small presses probably formed convenient resting places for lamps. A concentration of defensive openings are let into the outer walls of the passages. The western window seems to have been flanked by 'inverted keyhole' gunloops; one southern loop has chamfered dressings and took a shutter while the other is a narrow splayed slit. Both the loops in the northern wall are of the slit form. It is possible that the purely defensive openings were normally closed, while the others were provided for light and air.

The relatively plentiful if constricted openings indicate that the chamber was intended for occupation; the absence of sanitation would have been a drawback.

The third floor: An 'inverted keyhole' gunloop faces east from the spiral stair. A short intramural flight of six steps (Butler 1908, 176) leads from the spiral stair to the entrance which also forms the embrasure of the chamber's eastern window (Fig. 30, iv).

The single chamfered oblong loop in the centre of the western wall has a square hood mould. The very large eastern embrasure has a twin-light window intact apart from its mullion. The lights are wider than in the lower floors. This chamber is covered by a second barrel vault of semi-circular section. There are no openings or intramural passages in the southern and northern wall; these walls form the springings of the vault.

This chamber may have been heated by heat conducted through the vault from a central hearth in the principal chamber over. It possibly served as a sleeping chamber but lacked direct sanitation. The lack of concessions towards comfort in this superb tower house is remarkable.
The fourth floor: The principal chamber is well-preserved and is probably the largest of its kind in Co.Cork. The dimensions of the chamber have a 3:4 ratio (see above). The spiral stair is interrupted at this level; direct access to the wallwalk was thereby prevented, a defensive feature (Fig.30,v). The size of the chamber is increased relative to the chamber below by weight-saving reductions in the thickness of the walls that occurs in two stages; the walls reduce from c.2.6m below the vault to c.1.4m above them, there is then a further internal 0.25m offset at floor level reducing the walls to 1.07-1.11m thick. Only the eastern wall was sufficiently wide to support a wallwalk without extensive internal corbelling; a continuous chamfered cornice was therefore provided on the other walls. The exposure of part of the internal offset (see above) at the west end of the chamber indicates that the floor surfacing has been removed.

The interior of the chamber is rendered or pointed flush with the same rock-hard mortar that was used in construction.

The four windows of the chamber are all damaged to varying degrees but their original appearance can be determined. They retain finely executed two-centred rearches (Pl.30,i) with the exception of the northern opening (see below). All were of two-light form, without transoms. There is no evidence of glazing, unless this was let into the vanished shutters. Each window is different in detail but only the southern window was appreciably larger than the others. The deeply-emphasised cutting on the internal and external spandrels is peculiar to the ogival window heads of this tower house. The principal chamber windows had square hoods apart from the southern window.

The southern window had only two lights, but these were nearly twice the corresponding dimension in the other windows. The dressings of the tracery are gone, but the surviving fabric indicates this opening was covered by a two-centred hood mould. Its displacement from the centre of the wall meant that the large south-facing window illuminated the western end of the principal chamber; in contrast, the other windows are more or less central in their walls.

The chamber functioned as a principal chamber and its ceremonial and feasting function is indicated by the southern window's position where it would have illuminated a 'high table'. The long (1.15m) shelf in the southern wall against the western re-entrant may be a resting place for the *Sliabh tigearnuis* ('rod of lordship', Simms 1987, 177). The 'inset press' in the north-western corner may have held a 'safe' for plate. A central hearth existed until this was replaced by a crude inserted fireplace.

The fourth-floor windows have simple chamfered mouldings with the exception of the damaged eastern window (Pl.30,i) which has hollow-chamfered jambs sunk slightly into the external wall line to form a rectilinear frame to the window. The internal rebate retains the sockets for the shutter drawbeams. A crude slot was subsequently cut into the northern reveal probably to supply clearance for a shutter handle. The western window was similarly ogival but the northern window had square
heads. The rere-arch of the northern embrasure and its western reveal were quarried out to permit the insertion of a fireplace. The stonework of the inserted fireplace has vanished entirely, re-exposing the window to view. This insertion is one of a handful of minor alterations made to the tower house in a period of over 150 years.

A multiple-seat garderobe within the north-eastern angle is approached by a flight of stairs entered from the eastern embrasure. A triple seat of timber covered the three holes in the floor. A small press was provided for grass or some other equivalent to lavatory paper. The small loop that lights the chamber has a slopstone; these features are otherwise absent from the tower house, this being the only place to eject urine. The intramural chamber is contained by a housing corbelled out into the chamber. The wall below this corbelling has been destroyed exposing the garderobe shaft. It increases in width by 0.24m on its long axis as it rises from the exit chute in the base-batter.

The wallwalk and roof: A single narrow intramural stair which could be barred with a heavy door leads to the wallwalk via a spiral stair within the angle that ascends to the southern wallwalk (Fig.30.vi). A turret on the south-eastern angle sheltered the head of the stair which was the only access to the wallwalk. A complete circuit was impossible and it was necessary for the defender to retrace their steps after reaching the end of the wallwalk. The defender proceeded in a clockwise manner around a flat wallwalk without machicolations. The parapet has gone but much survives of the wallwalk, which was conventionally built but exceptional in its finish. Each component was carefully dressed from freestone to the correct shape permitting fine jointing and an absence of water penetration. Each slab of the lower course is hollowed out like the blade of a shovel so that the outlet channel (corresponding to the handle) leads to a projecting open chute. The gaps between the lower course slabs were covered by saddle stones, ridged along their long axis to direct rainwater into the 'shovels'.

The narrow margins of the slabs rule out the past existence of gables. The hipped roof framework rested on the wallwalk margin without corbels for risers; this indicates that it was not of hammerbeam construction. Wall plates would have been braced by the inner margin of the saddlestones, most of which have now gone. Trusses would have been rebated into the wall plates.

The roof was apparently of hipped or gambrel form as at Dunsoghly Castle (Leask 1951, fig.83) because there is no evidence for the past existence of gables.

A roughly constructed chimney that was inserted as the same time as the fireplace below must have greatly impeded the northern run of the wallwalk. The north-eastern angle is covered by a turret through which the watchmen could pass to the eastern run of the wallwalk. The north-eastern turret balanced the south-eastern turret but it would have provided shelter to the watch. A stair ascended
the south-eastern turret to the remains of a look-out post. The turrets have carefully-shaped cantilevered gutters of stone which run round their inner margins and empty onto the adjacent runs of the wallwalk, confirming the existence of a hipped or gambrel roof (see above).

The eastern defences: A sketch plan, apparently based on measurements, as well as a description of this structure (1908, 175,176-177) were published by Butler and the enclosure has not been surveyed by the author.

The structure is attached to the eastern face of the tower house; its small area (c.13m x 9m: ibid.) reveals that it protected the main entrance (Pl.30,ii). There is no evidence that it contained residential quarters or lean-to structures and it appears much as it must have when built. Some cattle could be held in it, but only a tiny fraction of the MacCarthy Muskerry herds.

Two square presses, now much damaged, can be seen in the southern wall but there are no other features to demonstrate how the enclosure area may have been used.

The enclosure extends eastward c.20m on its south side (ibid., 175) and is essentially an extension of the north and southern sides of the tower. The stonework is inferior to that of the tower and was not bonded into the main building's masonry. All trace of the northern wall where it met the tower house has vanished, illustrating how readily such structures can vanish completely.

The southern wall forms the side of a very large square turret which only projects eastwards despite the flanking advantage that a southern projection would have offered (ibid., 177).

The vanished gate to the enclosure must have been in the north wall close to the entrance. Short flights of stairs ascend eastwards to the wallwalks on both sides. These commence c.2m above the ground and removable ladders presumably made up the gap. The defenders were therefore able to hinder attackers from following them up, should the latter break into the enclosure. The parapet is very high (Pl.30,ii) and was not crenellated. Three gunloops survive on the southern side and provision for any other form of defence is absent.

The south-eastern turret has a ground-floor chamber covered by a vault. A single defensive loop faces north. A door in the south-eastern corner leads into a spiral stair that apparently runs the height of the turret, the stair is supported by external corbelling (ibid.). The upper chamber over the vault (not seen) is lit by simple loops to the east and west and has a door leading onto the southern wallwalk but not the north. The south-eastern corner of the chamber was partially occupied by the truncated housing of the spiral stair that still rises some height above the turret.
The spiral stair within the turret leads onto a narrow wallwalk. The full height of the parapet can be seen at the scars where they meet the housing of the stair but elsewhere only the stump survives. It was presumably perforated by gunloops like the surviving parapet of the enclosure. The base of the parapet is pierced by rough square water outlets quite different to those of the main tower house.
Figure 30.ii
First floor (S)
Figure 30.iv
Third floor
Figure 30.5
Fourth floor (S)
Figure 30.61
Restored wallwalk, roof omitted (S)
Plate 30, i

Kilcrea: the east wall of the principal chamber
Plate 30,ii
Kilcrea: the forebuilding
The site: The tower house stands in rolling farmland immediately to the west of the village of Crookstown. It directly overlooks a stony tributary of the River Bride in what was, until recently, an inaccessible but picturesque situation of small meadows and ancient hedgerows rich in wildlife. Generous farming subsidies mean that it is now isolated in a sea of wheat. Machinery and ploughing have also removed any archaeological traces of surrounding settlement that may have existed. No evidence of other masonry structures was however apparent at the time of the author's first visit in 1994 prior to the rationalisation of the agricultural resource.

The well-preserved tower house stands at the bottom of a south-facing slope overlooking a sharp drop towards the stream and its entrance is in the west wall. The land to the east opens up to the extensive flood plain of the River Bride.

The name: Clogh Dhaith: Daithi, David or Diarmuid's stone house or Cloch atha: The Stone House at the Ford (Healy 1988, 42). O'Donoghue (1986, 259) confirms the former option. The name occurs in its present form on a map of Muskeny dating to 1600 (Ó Murchadhá 1985, fig.xii).

The history: Cloghda Castle was clearly of importance as it is the only one of the three MacSweeney strongholds marked on Carew's map of Muskerry (Ó Murchadhá 1985, fig.xii) in the ancient sub-division known as Clanfinn. No trace now remains of Carraig Dermot Oge (Dunisky Castle) and its date is therefore unknown. Mashanaglas Castle was probably built by the MacCarthys prior to the purchase in 1584 or shortly before 1585 (Gillman 1892b, 235). Cloghda was undoubtedly built in 1598 by a MacSweeney, identified from the mantelpiece inscription (see below) with Brian MacSweeney and Onora Fitzgerald (Ó Murchadhá 1985, 292). It is alleged to have been built after the destruction of an earlier structure by some Geraldines in the same year (Gillman 1892b, 235) and there is slight evidence for the reincorporation of earlier fabric in the base (see below). The datestone therefore marks this tower house as the latest firmly-dated tower house in West Cork.

The tower house was reroofed and floored in 1844 by the Earl of Bandon (Gillman 1892b, 235), but all trace of these repairs, other than those of stone, have rotted away and vanished in their turn.
Other than Gillman's brief and inaccurate description, no survey of this tower house has ever been published, but it is not impossible that records may exist that were made in the 1840s. The present survey was made in two visits in 1994 and 1996.

Description of the Tower House

The Earl of Bandon's repairs included the wholesale replacement of the original spiral stair with a beautifully executed stair of dressed stone. The parapet was also rebuilt with fine, if inaccurate, coping stones which now litter the base. No trace remains of the 1844 timberwork further down, but the mortar flashings of the roof show that it had no relationship to the original form. There is therefore some uncertainty as to which remaining parts of masonry at the wallwalk are original or not.

The masonry: No possible quarry site is apparent and presumably the stone was transported from further afield. A specially quarried Carboniferous or Old Red sandstone was presumably used for the fabric while a resistant freestone (probably Cork limestone) used for the dressings. The mortar is apparently of intermediate hardness. The exterior is still covered with a rough-cast render of mortar. This may have been used as a keying for a vanished coat of plaster.

The tower house was built from small unshaped slabs of sandstone laid regularly but with little regard for their 'horizontality'. The internal finish was rougher than the exterior, especially in the first two floors below the vault.

All the doors in the tower house had casements of dressed stone with pointed (two-centred) or semi-elliptical arches. The original freestone dressings may be confused with repairs made in the same stone, but the original dressings are sufficiently well preserved to show tooling marks. Clawtools seem to have been used to dress the arrises, creating a corrugated effect, while boaster chisels were used for the door soffits. Decorative pecked margins were given to individual blocks of the entrance. The central panels of these very large blocks were left rough-cast, after dressing down with a tool that probably resembled the boucharde.

The setting-out: A statistical search of the dimensions indicates the use of the statute foot, the apparent unit being minutely smaller (30.2cm as opposed to 30.48cm). This may represent a slight but genuine drift from the ideal amongst Gaelic builders.

The base at the top of the base-batter was 40 x 39 of these feet. Other multiples of ten were used for the chambers of the ground floor, the major chamber being twenty feet wide and the guardroom ten
feet long. There is however no relationship between these regular measurements and other ad hoc chamber dimensions. The near-square plan of the tower house is unparalleled in the Survey region (see below).

The ground floor: The base-batter is slight but distinct. The walls above the base-batter are apparently slightly battered, but this has not been confirmed.

The entrance is in the long axis of the plan, but the essential relationship of the different features is typical of this period (Fig. 31.i). The ground floor is virtually intact, the excellently preserved entrance is of exceptionally robust construction. It follows the stereotype seen in late tower houses. The casement has two chamfered orders, the outer order respecting the slope of the base-batter while the inner casement is vertical. A single gunloop pierces the southern jamb. The chamfer of the external order arch disappears towards the apex. The threshold is buried in rubble. A certain amount of repairwork may have been carried out in the 1840s.

The lobby immediately behind the entrance is vaulted over and a robbed gunloop allowed defenders in the basement to slay any attackers who broke down the door. A guard-chamber ten feet long is to the right of the lobby and the guard could fire through the entrance jamb from it. The surviving corbels in the long axis of the chamber shows that it was covered by a timber ceiling forming the floor over; wall plates and corbels were used for all the timber floors except for the barrel vault. A single tall press at the south end is the only feature, but an irregular hole was later quarried out of the wall immediately next to it. This does not appear to be the result of stone-robbing. There is no sign of a doorleaf between the lobby and guard-chamber. Such a door would certainly have existed, and it is possible that the jambs, having been robbed, were inaccurately repaired in the 1840s.

The interior of the tower house is reached from the left of the lobby through a door with a semi-elliptical arch. The secondary lobby which is also vaulted over has a finely pointed freestone door casement leading to the basement; this was closed from the basement side.

The large basement chamber presumably had an earthen or mortar floor now hidden under debris. It was lit by only two narrow loops set within extremely thick walls and in its original state must have been very dark. The eastern loop has a 'squashed' pointed double ogival head while the southern loop has a rounded head. The constricted form of the openings implies that the basement was not intended to be used for defence.

The dank mossy basement incorporates earlier fabric. The southern wall has two peculiar rounded presses set in it, and the western press is partially hidden by the abutting but structurally separate fabric of the west wall. An earlier opening with a rere-arch of rough slabs existed at the southern end.
of the eastern wall. This was blocked and a press was inserted into the opening. These breaks in the fabric support Gillman's assertion that the present structure is a rebuilding of an earlier structure (1892b, 235) but it is not clear from his account whether he is working from the same structural evidence. The earlier structure seems to have extended further to the west. The absence of any external evidence for this incorporation may indicate the external thickening of the walls, resulting in the very thick walls seen today.

The only other feature of the chamber is a small press in the north wall. Contrary to Gillman's assertions (ibid.), there was a timber floor between the basement and the vault. This rested on surviving corbels in the eastern and western walls.

The reconstructed spiral stair is in the north-western angle. Its lower treads have been broken away in their turn to discourage cattle and children from ascending the stair. The nineteenth-century steps are closely spaced, so that 22 treads form a complete helix. This is probably not a correct reconstruction, because comparative evidence indicates that 16 treads per helix was the norm; this created higher treads. The Earl of Bandon may have requested an easier stair. The stair well was lit by chamfered and glazed loops at regular intervals to either side of the north-western angle. Some of these were equipped with basal openings and slopstones.

The embrasures of all but the largest windows were covered by flat lintels. The large windows were spanned by flat relieving arches; no timber lintels were used but falsework must have held the arches until they had thoroughly set; this technique is not used elsewhere in West Cork.

The first floor: This chamber was entered directly from the spiral stair through the north-western corner (Fig. 31,ii). The chamber was even more poorly lit than the chamber below: a single square-headed loop is offset in the eastern wall. A round barrel vault, now broken through, which springs from the northern and southern walls covered the chamber. There are no fireplaces, and it does not seem that this chamber was intended for domestic use.

The western wall of the tower house is divided into two skins structurally connected by discontinuous barrel vaults. This created a series of minor chambers. The first-floor minor chamber, running north over the vaulted entrance lobby, could only be reached from the major chamber. It was floored in part by stone and timber. No clue as to its purpose exists and there is only one opening to the south. Such a chamber would normally give access to a 'murder hole' over the lobby but no sign of one is now apparent.

These chambers were lit by unglazed loops, but all the other windows in the tower house were glazed. The majority had square hood moulds, but some otherwise identical single-light windows do not have this feature.
The second floor: This chamber, traditionally known as the 'kitchen' in the late-Nineteenth Century (Gillman 1892b, 235), was entered through a finely dressed door with a two-centred arch (Fig. 31,iii). The floor was formed by the barrel vault below, the timber ceiling was supported on rows of corbels in the eastern and western walls. The floor surface is hidden below dense vegetation and the partial destruction of the vault makes the chamber hazardous to survey. The chamber's chief feature is a large fireplace in the western wall which is plainly but immaculately dressed with a fine arch consisting of a single block cut to form a slightly pointed but nearly flat opening. A fine chamfered mantelpiece projects over the plain lintel. The chamfered jambs project but are equally plain.

The walls of the chamber are thickly rendered with rough-cast mortar which probably acted as a keying for a vanished coat of plaster. The chamber has three windows with rectilinear heads. The southern and eastern openings originally had mullions dividing them into two lights, but the north opening was a single light which retains the socket for a vertical iron glazing bar. The window moulding was very simple, with no internal chamfer. They lacked transoms and were tall in relation to their height; they are covered by Elizabethan/ Jacobean square hoods. Two of the window embrasures have large presses in the embrasure reveals and two other presses are let into the corners of the chamber.

A stair leads from the eastern embrasure to a low narrow garderobe passage in the southern wall at a level between the second and third floors (Fig.31,iv). This passage is lintelled with slabs; three glazed loops lit it and the garderobe chamber. The minute garderobe chamber is set within the south-western angle, and was provided with a timber box seat, the impression of the upright panel being cast in the mortar. The seat is, in plan, directly over voids, and the garderobe must therefore slope quite sharply to one side before reaching a vertical shaft to an outlet in the base-batter; this shaft is probably situated between the windows of the major and minor chambers.

The minor chamber is entered through a finely dressed door with a semi-elliptical arch. The chamber was slightly wider and longer than the chamber below but lacks any additional features. It was floored with a discontinuous vault at the south end, beyond which timber was used.

The function of the room is consistent with its traditional identification, but it probably also served as a low-status hall for the ward of the tower house and other low-ranking officials.

The third floor: This chamber has almost entirely escaped damage because the loss of its timber floor makes it inaccessible. The chamber has a host of features identifying it as the principal chamber (Fig. 31,v). The quoins of the openings are dressed with jointed ashlars and the overall finish is very high with the exception of the eastern wall. The absence of any mortar render indicates that this chamber was not plastered and may instead have been panelled.
The fireplace is the most impressive feature of the tower house and it is ornamented in crude renditions of classical ornament. The fluted jamb moulds have a mould formed by alternating convex and concave elements separated by short straight pieces. Capitals with moulded undersides carry the carved overmantel; this is fielded in imitation of three timber panels. The left-hand panel is uninscribed but the central panel reads ‘DECIMO DIE IULII’ (the tenth of July) and the right hand panel reads ‘ANO DNI 1598 BM·I·S·O·G’ (author’s observation) which differs slightly from Gillman’s reading which lacks the second 'I'; this may not however be of any significance. The mantelpiece has a delicately moulded overhang and the whole is an integral part of the structure.

The chamber was the most heavily fenestrated principal chamber in the Survey region and three of the four windows are three lights wide (Pl.0). Only the intact eastern windows have transoms although the other windows are not significantly lower and low double-ogee heads were used throughout. The external treatment of the windows is remarkable; the label stops of the hoods are ‘swagged’, the terminations resemble drinking horns turned out. The wall faces of the label-stop dressings are incised with strange two-dimensional abstract patterns formed from interlocking triangles, each differently textured by variations in tooling. Other two-dimensional motifs on the dressings vaguely resemble stylised birds and vineleaves. Square projecting blocks are placed over the joins in the larger square hood moulds and these too are incised with abstract patterns. The sunken spandrels of each ogival light are intricately carved with patterns resembling birds.

The southern end of the chamber has features consonant with its importance. A long timber bench supported by an offset ran along this wall and a large press is set near the south-western angle. The juxtaposition of two triple light windows ensured that the southern end of the chamber was well lit. It is probable that the chieftain’s table or bank ran along this wall, the diners on one side sitting on the bench.

A crude door leads from the southern end of the principal chamber to the minor chamber. The chamber was floored entirely with timber and had three single-light windows. It was covered by a partial barrel vault that leaves the southern end open to the sky (see below). The chamber’s position suggests that the chieftain required ready access to it, but its purpose is uncertain.

A secret chamber was entered through a small raised doorway in the southern end of the principal chamber. This is obvious now, but the door may have originally been disguised as part of the putative panelling of the chamber.

The chamber seems to have been covered by a flat timber ceiling supported by corbelled wall plates in the eastern and western walls.
The wallwalk, roof and attic chamber: The fanciful nineteenth-century reconstruction, vandalised in its turn, has obscured the original arrangement and the notes given here are provisional. The plan (Fig.31,vi) conjectures the form the wallwalk had before the 1840s reconstruction. The lowest courses of the original parapet have survived and the machicolations are undoubtedly original features. The crenellations of the parapet were rebuilt in the 1840s, but these are now mostly overthrown (1994).

The spiral stair now terminates at wallwalk level with a massive bridging piece spanning half the stair well in which an iron railing was set; the head of the stairs is covered by a neat dome and both features date from the Nineteenth Century. The original stair would have ascended to the top of the north-western turret to reach a look-out post with a raised parapet.

An ornamental parapet ran all the way around the roof except at the north-western corner where it is interrupted by the turret. This hid a roof rather than a wallwalk on the western side because a low attic chamber ran the length of the western wall. The western machicolation is however directly over the main entrance and could only be reached from the top of the look-out post (see below). The stone flashings of the long narrow pitched roof can be seen on the inner face of the surviving southern parapet and are overlain by nineteenth-century mortar flashings which bore no relationship to the original arrangement. A small window immediately below and to one side of the machicolation lit the chamber, which is floored with a barrel vault c.m below the base of the western machicolation. The barrel vault stops dead about 2m from the southern parapet and there is no evidence to suggest how this gap was floored. The machicolation was reached by descending a finely dressed cantilevered stair set in the western parapet. This stair would have oversailed the pitched roof below. It was cut away when the roof was replaced, leaving only the stumps in the parapet.

Analogy with other late tower houses indicates that the original parapets would have been very tall with purely ornamental crow-steps; gunloops at a lower level in the parapet were used instead of the merlons.

The ceiling of the third-floor major chamber formed the floor of an attic chamber; the substantial corbels of this attic floor survive below the wallwalk level. Two distinct chambers and roofs existed at wallwalk level, separated by a gutter interrupted by the western chimney stack (Fig.31,vi). The main roof was probably pitched north-south on the same axis as the western roof; an alternative east-west pitch would have demanded far larger if fewer trusses. The attic may have been reached through a trapdoor from the principal chamber. There is no evidence of gables nor any evidence for the construction of the roof suggesting it was probably of hipped form.
Figure 31.1
Ground plan
Figure 31.ii
First floor (S)
Figure 31, iii
Second floor (S)
Figure 31.iv
Second floor mezzanine (S)
Figure 31.5
Third floor (S)
Figure 31.vi
Conjectured original layout of wallwalk (S)
Plate 31.1

Cloghda: general view from the north
Plate 31,ii

Cloghda: general view from the east
CARRIGANACURRA CASTLE
Townland of Carriganacurra, Inchigeelagh Parish

6° 81. 25° LXXXII:{na}
NGR W 2550 6660
SMR {na}

The site: The tower house stands in a setting of great beauty (Pl.32,1) in a valley overlooked to the north by the wooded slopes of Derryvane (232m). It overlooks a wide shingle ford across the River Lee which was an important part of an ancient route that survived until the construction of the T64 to the north of the rivet The river may have washed directly against the foot of the rock on which the tower house was built, but it has subsequently migrated northwards. The rock outcrop is probably a glacial roche moutonée and stands several metres above its surrounds. A farm stands nearby and the locality has probably been continuously occupied for hundreds of years. The tower house shows little sign of modernisation and appears to have been ruinous for several centuries.

The name: In 1584, a pardon was granted to '...Dermod Oge O Lery of Karigenekorie' (Ó Murchadha 1986, 206). Stafford's map in the Pacata Hibernia (1633, reproduced in Ó Murchadha 1986, xii) shows 'Carignecoreh' in the region of 'Olearie' or Iveleary (Uibh Laoghaire); this rendition, unlike the first version, shows some knowledge of Irish spelling. The name is translated as Carraig na Curad 'the Rock of the Homestead' by Lee (1914, Go), but the rendering Carraig no Coradh 'the Rock of the Weir' (O'Donoghue 1986, 245) agrees more closely with the Pacata Hibernia spelling and would seem more probable in the context.

The history: The tower house was built by the O'Learys. This clan are traditionally supposed to have lived in Uibh Laoghaire since 1192, when they were driven out of Ross by the O'Donovans and the O'Collinses (Lee 1914, 60).

Carriganacurra and the recently-destroyed Dromcarra or Drumcarragh castle were held by junior families of the derbhine (Ó Murchadha 1986, 207). Dromcarra Castle was apparently of similar type and date (Lee 1914, illustration facing page 60).

The Carriganacurra family was called Meirgeach 'of the ensign' (O'Donoghue 1985, 245) and apparently ruled the clan in the first half of the Sixteenth Century. No trace remains of any structure other than the tower house and this has been the case since at least 1859 (Lee 1914, 61). The structure visible today was dated by the author to c.1540-60 on architectural grounds and subsequently to 1576-7
on documentary grounds by Ó Murchadha (1993, 220). It was said to have been built by a woman, Sabina O’Carroll, wife of one of the O’Learys (Lee 1914, 61), a rare but not unique occurrence. Her husband was probably Dermot Oge O Lery, who appears in the administrative records in 1584 as a supporter of the Earl of Desmond’s rebellion. The family escaped confiscations after this revolt and the Nine Years War despite their resistance to the English Crown and the castle and lands passed down to Dermot’s grandson in 1615 (Ó Murchadha 1986, 207).

The townland was settled not only by the Learys but their probable followers, the Cronins. Pardons were granted to various resident Cronins in 1584 and 1601 (Ó Murchadha 1985, 104). The remoteness of the stronghold from the authority of the President of Munster made any other course of action impractical.

Some sort of stronghold existed on the site decades before the tower house was built. Collins of Myross recorded that an infant son of the ruling O’Donovan Clann Chathail family was fostered at Carriganacurra (Cronelly 1864, 259) when the Meirgeach family held the chiefaincy. Domhnall ná g’Croicéann went on to marry the O’Leary’s daughter Ellen (Ó Murchadha 1986, 127) probably at the time of his accession (c.1560), a normal means of cementing alliances between two clans. He was recorded by Collins as having died in 1584 (O’Donovan 1851, 2441). Raheen Castle was alleged to have been built by his son (ibid.) so its similarity to Carriganacurra may not be entirely coincidental.

In 1641, ‘Cnogher Merigah O Leary’ held the townland of Carriganacurra and five other townlands. All the lands were forfeited after the Cromwellian invasion and the Civil Survey indicates that the ruling class was virtually annihilated in the fighting (Ó Murchadha 1986, 209). Although the clan remained remarkably tenacious and O Learys returned to the townland as titulados, the tower house was probably abandoned after 1650. There is no evidence, such as that recorded at Dromcarra, of probable damage by ordnance although there was a tradition that Carriganacurra was occupied by Cromwell’s troops (Lee 1914, 61).

The tower house has never been surveyed, although brief descriptions were published by Lee (1914, 60) who cites Windele, while adding a little extra information. His photograph (ibid., facing page 60) shows the tower house in much the condition it is in today. The report is compiled from brief visits in 1971 and 1975 and a day’s survey in 1991.

Description of the Tower House

The masonry: The tower house may have been directly built from the Old Red sandstone on which it was founded, and the broken appearance of the rock outcrop to the west of the base may mark the site of the quarry. Alternatively, some of the stone may have been re-used from earlier structures on
the site. The mortar's variable composition can be discerned by indirect means. The exterior is
covered with a render which was probably applied during the process of construction; its survival is
very variable, probably reflecting variations in the composition. When new this render would have
concealed all the stonework apart from the freestone dressings.

The tower house was rather roughly built from small unshaped slabs of rock laid in random rubble
coursing (Pl.32,i). No lifts or other pauses in construction are apparent. The interior is even more
roughly finished than the exterior. In sharp contrast, the openings, internal doorways and quoins
were finely dressed with a very hard freestone, perhaps Cork limestone; the door soffits and window
jambs were ornamented with regular tooled textures (Pl.32,iii).

Some of the openings have a peculiar combination of chamfered jambs and plain lintels and/or sills.
The patterns of the openings are very variable, and the internal embrasures also vary, some being
covered by arches, others by lintels. Round ogival and square heads were used without
discrimination, and are technically very different types of opening perform identical purposes in the
same floor, implying that they were set at the same date. The headmason in charge (if there was one)
allowed each mason to work quite independently.

The long axis of the plan closely follows the strike of the rock. The base-batter is directly founded
upon the solid rock, much of which is still visible, ruling out the existence of extensive archaeological
deposits. There is no distinct foundation and construction must have commenced at the lowest point
of the base (the north-western corner) extending the walls east and south until a complete level base
was created.

The setting-out: A statistical search of the dimensions indicates the use of the statute foot, the
apparent unit being minutely smaller (302.5mm as opposed to 304.8mm). Very few whole units were
used in the setting-out nor are ratios of any sort apparent. This supports the picture of a tower house
built in a fairly *ad hoc* manner (see above).

The base-batter is very high, terminating at the level of the first-floor wall plates. The irregularity of
the rock surface meant that the base-batter was highest at the north-western corner (4.2m).

The tower house is 15.6m high (51 feet) from the rock on the north side to the level of the wallwalk.
It has a highly irregular quadrilateral plan, obscured by the addition of a defensive 'spur' at the south-
eastern angle. The eastern (entrance) wall was 12 per cent longer than the western (end) wall when
the tower house was first built, a figure far too great to be the result of error in setting-out. This form
of plan increased the area of the entrance wall relative to the overall size of the tower house.
The 'corbel and wall plate' mode of flooring allowed the first three storeys to share the same dimensions, because internal offsets were not required.

**The ground floor:** The south-eastern spur consists of solid masonry at this level and seems to have originally terminated in a knife edge (Pl.32,ii). A cut was made in the corner of the tower house to accommodate the spur and this is distinctly visible at the southern junction between the two structures.

A gaping broken hole marks the site of the eastern entrance (Fig.32,i). The demolition extends all the way through to the interior but the ancillary features indicate that the entrance was central in the eastern wall. The guard chamber to the south commanded the entrance through a gunloop. This implies that the complete entrance resembled surviving doorways at Cloghda [5] and Ballinvard [5] where the opening of the gunloop pierces the rebate between an inner vertical jamb and battered external casement. The entrance lobby was commanded by a tapering murder hole from an intramural passage above. The entrance to the basement would have been directly behind the main entrance.

The basement is floored with dry manure but rock is visible at the foot of the southern wall. The single original loop on the western side has an arched embrasure. The walls of the chamber, including the splay of the loop, are rendered with plaster. This coat was applied after the construction of the floor and its upper limit clearly reflects the disparity in level between the wall plates and common joists. The corbels in the north and south walls supported a ceiling 2.27m above the floor. A wide splayed opening in the southern wall is now blocked. This inserted opening originally held a timber window frame.

The chamber probably served as a wine-cellar or store for food.

No trace remains of timberwork, but features of the masonry indicate that the floors of the tower house were built using the corbel/wall plate technique. The height between the threshold of the first-floor chamber and the surface of the wall plate corbel is 0.9m, indicating that timbers with a scantling in excess of 0.4m were used. The fourth floor was differently constructed, using somewhat lighter joists (0.25m scantling) directly set in the walls. There is no evidence of glazing, but evidence survives for pivoted timber shutters.

**The first floor:** The spiral stair in the north-eastern angle ascends without break to the third floor and provides access to all chambers below that floor at the same point in the plan. At first-floor level, the entrance also gives access to an intramural passage in the eastern wall (Fig.32,ii). This is covered by
a barrel vault and the murder hole pierces its stone floor. A robbed opening overlooks the site of the entrance. The intramural passage leads into the south-eastern spur. The small triangular chamber within the spur allowed gunners to shoot along the eastern and southern walls through the rebates, as well as through gunloops perpendicular to the two facets of the spur; a fifth gunloop points through the chamfer at the end of the spur (Pl.32,ii).

The first floor is entered though a fine two-centred door directly from the spiral stair. It is lit by tall thin loops in each wall with splayed embrasures only 1.28-3.8m high. The execution of the two surviving loops is quite different, the northern loop being finely chamfered and the western loop being dressed from plain slabs. Both are equipped with slopstones. The walls of the chamber are thickly pointed with mortar from the original construction, but there is no plaster coating. No evidence for the room's use is apparent, but the slopstones imply that it was intended to be inhabited.

The vent of a garderobe chute ejects at an unusually high level in the northern wall, indicating that it was provided as an afterthought. This garderobe chamber seems to have been approached from the spiral stair and had no direct connection with the main chamber. It is therefore intermediate in level between the first and second floors. A sharply projecting and sloping slab threw the waste well clear of the wall face.

The second floor: An intramural chamber with loops for defence runs the length of the eastern wall from the spiral stair at the same level (Fig.32,iii).

The chamber is ceilinged by a barrel vault and had a floor constructed on the same principles as the first floor. It was clearly a domestic chamber and contains several features, both original and added, to make it serviceable.

The unusual western loop has a rounded head and external hollow chamfers. It is blocked with loose stones, an act which can only have been carried out when the floor still existed. The wide arched embrasure is higher than the simple openings lower down, allowing an observer to stand in it. A wide press is set to the left hand of the embrasure.

The chamber originally had a slit opening with jambs and a slopstone of unworked slate in the north wall. This opening contrasted strikingly with the fine western opening. The position of the garderobe chute below indicates that a small intramural chamber with a garderobe seat existed to the east of the opening. Both went out of use and were blocked when a fireplace was inserted in the northern side of the chamber. The flue for this fireplace was painstakingly quarried through the groin of the barrel vault, a task that cannot have been eased by an intramural passage above. The fireplace had to be cantilevered into the chamber as far as was practical so that the flue could by-pass the passage. The
projecting jambs of the fireplace rested directly on the timber floor surface, and a hearth slab presumably intervened between the floor and fire. The flue and lintel above the fireplace are now destroyed.

The creation of the fireplace indicates that the chamber may have been used as a bedchamber since its construction. The loss of the garderobe was judged a worthwhile sacrifice (see below).

The second-floor mezzanine: The chief north-western defence of the tower house projects from the angle of the tower house, forming its most striking individual feature.

An intramural passage and stair in the northern wall runs level with the haunch of the barrel vault, which is partially broken away and the walk to the corner bartizan is therefore hazardous. The passage was lit by a very short chamfered slit with a slopstone in the northern wall.

The L-shaped chamber within rests on freestone corbels. Two great lintels support its thin walls and its roof is formed of overlapping slabs. The lintels and the walls are not parallel with the walls of the tower house and the chamber is therefore 'boomerang' shaped in plan. The five openings in the wall are could be described as 'dumb-bell openings' as there are round openings for the gun barrels at the top as well as at the bottom of each slit; these are directly paralleled at Ballymalis, Co. Kerry (Leask 1951, fig.68). As in the spur, the gunners could fire diagonally through the angle or at an angle perpendicular to the side walls. Raking fire along the northern and eastern wall faces was also possible. The spur was presumably built to provide the coverage lacking at the opposite angle because the addition of another suspended corner bartizan would have impractical once the tower house had been built.

The third floor: The principal chamber is the most altered part of the tower house, but none of these changes seem to have been carried out in the modern (post-1650) period. The chamber is floored by the intact barrel vault, allowing a detailed inspection of each feature.

The principal chamber has a markedly quadrilateral plan and occupies the entire floor (Fig.32.iv). The basic plan is very simple except at the north-eastern corner where the access stairs enter the chamber and leave it. The chamber is now open to the sky but the joist holes in the northern and southern walls indicate that the principal chamber had a ceiling height of c.2.4m, which while being perfectly adequate was remarkably low for a chamber of this kind. It follows that the chamber was provided with a wall fireplace from the outset, but the existing north fireplace is not original.

The spiral stair was interrupted for defensive purposes at the level of the principal chamber and a two-
centred door marks the entrance of the chamber. The spiral stair is illuminated at this point by a short loop, originally shuttered, with an ogival head and a sloping sill. It is therefore entirely different to the windows of the chamber (see below).

The northern fireplace is built against what was originally a plain wall and the face of the wall was cut back to increase the depth of the fireplace. This alteration must have occurred at the same time that the flue for the second-floor fireplace was mined through the vault below. The flues of the two fireplaces join together to form a single flue leading to a massive chimney on the wallwalk, which it almost entirely obstructs (see below). The area originally occupied by a lintel and overmantel have long been demolished.

The west end of the chamber shows a typical concentration of features. The two largest windows in the tower house are only a yard (0.9m) from the corners of the chamber. The embrasure of a third opening, now blocked, can be seen in the centre of the west wall. The blocking can be seen externally, ruling this out as the site of the original fireplace.

Only the southern window retains enough of its dressings to permit its peculiar form to be understood. It had chamfered jambs below a plain lintel (see masonry) and was apparently 0.42m wide with no mullion. Evidence for glazing is absent. Paired window seats were used. The northern opening is robbed but certainly lacked this feature. The blocked western window is flanked by two 'shelf' presses at waist height.

The intact eastern loop in the southern wall technically resembles its intact counterpart to the west, being much wider (0.175m) than the loops further down. It is provided with chamfer stops and punched decoration.

The eastern wall of the chamber holds an enigmatic recess that may mark the site of the original fireplace. The absence of splays or of a blocking rules out this as another blocked window. The relative narrowness of this (?)fireplace and its remoteness from the west end would explain the creation of a new and larger fireplace in a more central location.

The fourth floor loft: An intramural stair entered from a recess to the east of the secondary fireplace leads into a spiral stair directly above the spiral stair below (Fig.32,vi). This ascends to a low and very narrow doorway that leads into the fourth-floor or attic chamber. The joist holes indicate that the timber floor of the chamber was only c.0.76m below the eaves/wallwalk level. This dictated a very low entrance from the spiral stair. The attic chamber was served by its own chimney at the western end. The surviving jambs project sharply and must have rested directly on the timber floor. The fireplace was markedly off-centre, although the fallen gable above would not have been. This may
have been dictated by structural concerns, as it was understood that flues, embrasures and other openings should not be concentrated along a single line.

The wallwalk: The spiral stair emerges at the north-eastern angle, where the stump of a covering turret still survives (Fig.32, vi). The steeply pitched eastern gable, largely stripped of its coping stone, is surmounted by the stump of a narrow chimney that probably served the original fireplace of the principal chamber. No part of the parapet survives. Large wallwalk slabs gently slope towards the outer face of the tower. The level wallwalk runs around the surviving top of the tower. A rebate at the top of the internal face of the wall marks the position of a sleeper beam or wall plate into which the trusses were morticed. The trusses were probably laterally braced by four or more stub purlins. The deep rebate in the reverse of the surviving eastern gable implies that the common rafters were of deep section.

The massive inserted northern chimney has projecting flashings. These abutted a dormer roof between it and the main roof. The apex of the flashings indicates a roof ridge c.2m above the wall walk. Just enough clearance between the chimney and parapet existed to permit it to be by-passed. The chimney survives to c.5m height, which must be near its full height.

Rough rainwater slabs overhang the exterior of the walls, indicating the parapet had outlet holes in its base. The parapet was probably finished with crow-stepped merlons and gunloops may have pierced at regular intervals.
Figure 32,i
Ground plan
Figure 32, ii
First floor (S)
Figure 32.iii
Second floor (S)
Figure 32.iv
Second floor mezzanine (S)
Figure 32.V
Third floor (S)
Figure 32 vi
Wallwalk & loft (S)
Plate 32,i

Carriganacurra: general view of the north-west angle
Plate 32,ii
Carriganacurra: the defensive ‘spur’
O'CROWLEY'S CASTLE
Townland of Ahakeera, Fanlobbus Parish

6° 94. 25" XCI:10
NGR  V 2750 5864
SMR  3056

The site: The fragmentary remains of a tower house stands in a sheltered site on a sloping pasture. The only open view is to the west-west-south where the hills to the west of the Bandon river can be seen. There is a poorly drained swampy valley bottom about half a kilometre to the west of and below the structure; the stream is a tributary of the River Blackwater. The structure stands in a cleft between two hills to the north and east. It is situated immediately to the south of a farm, now no longer inhabited, at the end of a boreen off the road leading out east from Shanlaragh. The low and inconspicuous ruin is easily mistaken for a derelict farm building.

The name: Caisleán Chruadhlaioch (Healy 1988, 280). The castle was formerly known as Coulaghye O'Crowley (Coleman 1924, 49) or Cabhlach Uí Chruadhlaioch (O'Crowley's ruin: Ó Murchadha 1985, 108).

The history: Like most of the freeholders in Carbery, the O'Crowleys' overlord was MacCarthy Reagh. The townlands of Curraghcrowley (Parish of Ballymoney) and Caher (Parish of Kinneigh) are south and east of the Blackwater and Bandon. They are known from place-name evidence to have strong associations with the clan, but the construction of the castle is thought to indicate a move to the north-west (ibid.).

The name of their chieftain Florence (Finghin) in 1573 is only known from a pardon and Ó Murchadha assumes that he lived at Ahakeera in the existing building (ibid.).

The 'O'Crowley' (chieftain) who 'came in' in 1601 was resident at Kiltallagh or Kilshallagh (Kilsillagh), a townland in the Ibane promontory south of Timoleague. This may be the same individual charged with the wardship of Timoleague Castle in 1594 by Florence MacCarthy Mór (ibid.). This indicates that the members of the clan were favoured as commanders by other clans. The diffuse nature of the clan contrasts with the tight-knit O'Learys, another minor clan in the Survey region. This lack of central organisation may explain the paucity of tower houses in their lands and the poor quality and probable late date of the sole existing example.
The O'Crowleys lost all their lands including those in Fanlobbus after 1642; their lands are therefore shown on the Down Survey, but no castle is indicated in 'Augherry'. It is possible that the O'Crowley John Mac Teige of 'Ardhane' outlawed in 1642 (Coleman 1924, 48) was a member of the family that lived there, but there is no other documentary mention possibly linking the O'Crowleys with this ruin. The townland in question may however be Ardea, south of Ballynacariga Castle. In 1659, one John Roch (an old English name) is given as the 'tituladoc' of 'Agheiry' (Pender 1939, 217) but it can be safely assumed that many of the 19 Irish people still living in the townland were O'Crowleys.

The tower house has never been surveyed, although brief descriptions have been made by Coleman (1924, 49), Healy (1988, 280) and Power (1992a, 321).

Description of the Tower House

The masonry: Unshaped stones, the majority quite small, were used. Any dressed freestone, if it was present, has now been robbed. It is probable that field-stone was collected to build the structure and that no quarry was opened. The walls were of drystone construction, with earth mortar. A plaster or cob render would have been vital to have stopped damp penetration, but no trace of it remains.

The walls are very thin (0.95 - 1.12m thick) and are built of poorly-laid random rubble without lifts or putlog holes. The quoins were dressed with small rough stones indistinguishable from those in the body of the wall. The two surviving openings are lintelled over. The floor corbels are selected unshaped rocks positioned so that a flat surface faces upwards. The foundation type is unknown, but the absence of outcrops of rock indicates that a separate foundation had to be dug and constructed.

Corbels indicate that the floor(s) were of wall plate and corbel technique.

The setting-out: Not enough survives of the structure to permit this to be studied. The rough construction of the building means that any measurements are subject to variations of about 3cm according to where they are taken. Despite this, a statistical search suggests that the 'Gaelic foot' was used (26.44m). This seems unlikely to be a statistical artifact as the unit was used as a whole number in four of the eleven sample measurements.

The short axis of the tower house is orientated c.3'12' west of true north. The long axis of the tower house is aligned at right angles to the local break of slope. The cardinal orientation may be the result of chance but comparative evidence suggests that it is not. There were no rock outcrops to act as a guide and some other method must have been required to determine orientation.
The ground floor: Only the northern wall and parts of the western and eastern walls survive to a height of 2m above the present surface and it was no higher in 1924. The exceptionally thin walls are not battered and are unlikely to have supported a barrel vault or intramural chambers. The four-sided nature of the building is not in doubt because a southern side was destroyed about 1880 (Coleman 1924, 49). A slight ridge marking its site can be seen running beneath the turf. A considerable build-up of debris half-fills the ground floor which was perhaps slightly basemented in its original form; excavation would recover the entire plan. There are in fact considerable difficulties in understanding the plan without excavation. The structure has several peculiarities that would call into doubt its status but comparative evidence does confirm that this was a tower house. To interpret what remains it is therefore necessary to make comparison with other tower houses in the course of the description.

The single-cell plan contained a ground-floor chamber c.10.58m long and probably c.7-8m north south (Fig. 33,i). Functionally, the unheated? chamber was provided with paired defensive loops in the northern wall which were probably mirrored in the destroyed southern wall. These damaged loops probably held slabs pierced with gunloops, but the slabs have since been broken out. The loops had external as well as internal splays. Two corner presses, one much larger than the other, were also supplied. The chamber was low, even if provision is made for perhaps a metre of debris, and the visitor's head is now level with the corbel tops of the first floor.

Enough survives of the eastern wall to indicate that it was not the entrance wall. The entrance was probably in the western wall. The dog-leg in the plan may have formed part of a 'porch' and the splay on the inner face of the wall probably formed the north side of the entrance passage. This would place the vanished entrance directly over the visible wall footing at the extreme western end of the structure. The behaviour of the south-western corner of the plan can then be guessed at. The western wall was thickened by the 'dogleg' to c.1.94m in thickness. An intramural stair could therefore be entered from the southern reveal of the entrance passage. This stair could have ascended to a spiral stair in the south-western corner. This interpretation would explain the apparent displacement of the entrance to the north of the probable median line.

The first floor: Only the truncated north wall of the first floor exists, and what little remains is almost entirely concealed by thick vegetation growing on the top of the wall. Nonetheless an important feature survives, this is a crudely constructed fireplace at the centre of the wall. The large fireplace required a projecting flue supported on a crude corbelled jetty because the wall is so thin. The fireplace heated a chamber as large as the ground-floor chamber. No other features, such as window sills can be discerned although their presence cannot be ruled out.

The position of the large fireplace shows that the chamber can be equated with the first-floor kitchen.
at Ballinoroher [28] and was slightly longer (9.42m, 9.14m).

Other structures: There is no evidence of a bawn or any other ancillary structure, but the proximity of a road suggests that the track originated as a means of access to the castle.
Figure 33.i
Ground plan

O'CROWLEY'S CASTLE
TIMOLEAGUE CASTLE
Townland of Castle Lower, Timoleague Parish

6° 123, 25°CXXIII:14
NGR W 4723 4406
SMR {3065}

The site: A variety of factors seem to have been taken into consideration in the selection of the site, but the original decision seems to have been taken by the builder of an earlier Cambro-Norman stronghold (see below). The truncated tower house overlooks a right-angled bend in the mouth of the Argideen river. The battlements commanded a view far out to sea and northwards along the river valley. The town of Courtmacsherry on the opposite side of the Argideen estuary was also visible (Robert Travers: pers.comm.). A road ran to the west side of the tower house to a ford over the Argideen to the north (ibid.), but this road was made obsolete by the nineteenth-century construction of a bridge to the south. Timoleague Abbey stands about 500m to the south and ships could moor against the walls prior to the construction of the bridge and the silting up of the harbour. The tower house stands close to the site of the old parish church of the town. A modern house stands in front of the tower house; before that was built, the tower house overlooked the Argideen Lawn Tennis Club. The Timoleague and Courtmacsherry Light Railway ran along the edge of the shore nearby (Healy 1988, 290). The landscaping associated with these many activities has removed all visible trace of any associated pre-1800 structures. A crude early nineteenth-century watercolour (Stalley 1991, 28) shows the tower house apparently surrounded by earthen mounds and banks. These might be the remains of a timber revetted 'trace' thrown up by the defenders prior to the tower house's capture by the English in 1643 (see below). A small gabled ruin below the western side of the tower house is indicated partially hidden by the ?rampart. The road mentioned by Travers ran at least 10m to the west of the tower house in a hollow way. Ensign Jones's published account of the final siege mentions a 'first wall' and 'first gate' (Healy 1988, 291) but no mention is made of a trace. This outer circuit formed a bawn, perhaps the bawn with a house mentioned in 1607 (Coombes 1969, 26). It is possible that Lady Julia O' Shaughnessy reinforced the base with an inner trace prior to the second investment in 1643, but her husband gave the tower house up without a fight. No sign of stone walls is visible in Daniel Grose's view.

The name: Tigh Molaga 'The house or church of St Molaga'. No name applying specifically to the tower house seems to have existed, perhaps because it stood in a quasi-urban environment on the edge of the Cambro-Norman town of Timoleague. The name 'Castle Lower' is probably a relatively modern coining, distinguishing the estate from the remainder of the townland of 'Castle Upper'.
The history: Some documentary evidence from the Lordship of Ireland survives for the early period of Timoleague castle's history. The existence of an Dark Age monastery at Timoleague implies that some form of Irish civil settlement existed here in the beginning of the Thirteenth Century. It was soon organised on the lines of a Norman town, with its own administration (Coombes 1969, 16). The Barrys succeeded in holding the castle after the battle of Callan Glen in 1260 (ibid., 15). It may be conjectured that this castle was of stone and that it stood until being replaced by the existing building. There is however no real evidence that it stood in the same place as the existing structure, although this is a probability.

James, the 16th Baron Barrymore still held most of the wide and scattered ancestral lands in 1558. He made James FitzRichard Barry of Rathbarry, a lesser cousin, his heir. James FitzRichard's first son was deaf and dumb and the second son David received Barrymore. Barryroe and Ibane, including Timoleague and Lislee were left to a third son (William).

James' son David used a standard Irish 'scorched earth' ploy (Chapter 6:a) and burnt or slighted his own strongholds of Barryscourt and Timoleague to prevent them falling into the hands of Sir Walter Raleigh (Coombes 1969, 21). Both structures bear David's datestones recording the extensive repairs and alterations required after this deliberate destruction. No obvious sign of burning is apparent at either tower house, but the vault at Barryscourt was destroyed, perhaps deliberately (Monk & Tobin 1991, 61) and this may have been done at Timoleague as well.

Timoleague passed temporarily into the hands of Finghin (Florence) MacCarthy Reagh when David could not recompense the Crown for the burning of Timoleague (Healy 1988, 290) and in 1594 Finghin entrusted the wardship of the castle to 'Molrony O Croly and Edward Slabagh' (Ó Murchadha 1985, 108). The dated transom (1586 or 1588) indicates that the refurbishment was completed prior to MacCarthy's confiscation.

David became an active supporter of the Crown and was allowed to retain his lands after the Nine Years War despite being a Catholic. The castle was returned to him and his title confirmed by James I (Healy 1988, 290). The Protestant Bishop of Cork soon however complained that in 1607 Sir John FitzEdmunds (a relative of David?) was enterting Catholic clergy at his table and otherwise sustaining the Friary (Coombes 1969, 26).

When David died in 1617 his son had pre-deceased him (Coombes 1969, 26) and the heir, his grandson, was made a ward of Chancery and raised a Protestant. This youth died prematurely after vigorously fighting for the Parliamentary cause. The tower house passed to the O'Shaughnessys through the remarriage of David's widow (Healy 1988, 291). In 1642, the Parliamentary forces were repulsed by the garrison of Timoleague Castle under the command of Lady Julia O'Shaughnessy, her husband being absent (Coombes 1969, 33). In 1643, Colonel Myn defeated the Irish on the northern
banks of the Argideen river and took the castle, which was then garrisoned for Parliament until 1652 (Caulfield 1903, 273).

After the Restoration, the headquarters of the Barrymores became the vast mansion of Castle Lyons and the tower house probably fell into decay. Grose stated that 'every part is much dilapidated' but his picture shows the tower house nearly complete if roofless and suffering the usual losses to the parapets and windows (Stalley 1991, 28). Caulfield recorded in a contribution to the 'Gentleman's Magazine' that the castle had lately been converted into a granary (1903, 273) and was re-roofed for this purpose. It was to remain in an inhabitable state until the IRA blew a hole in the north-eastern corner in 1920 apparently as a symbolic act; the intention was probably to block the nearby railway. The structure survived the explosion in a shaken state but was finally taken down in 1938 by the local Council due to concerns about safety. Stalley has pointed out that repair and repointing might have been a more practical course (1991, 27).

The structure recorded in early twentieth-century photographs seems to have largely escaped antiquarian comment despite its high profile and ready accessibility. Nor is any record known to have been made prior to truncation in 1938.

A photograph in the owner's possession indicates that the southern elevation of the tower house was c.18.5m (60.6') high from the ground to the wall walk; the gables and chimneys stood considerably higher. What remains is slightly more than a third of the original height.

A plan has been recently published (Salter 1993, 131) and a brief description is given in the Cork Inventory (Power 1992a, 323). Several good photographs exist including one published in 1907 (Fuller 1907, 8), but these only show the southern elevation. Grose's watercolour also shows the western wall. These allow some of the internal arrangements of the upper part of the tower to be guessed at. It is possible that other unpublished drawings made at the time of the Ordnance Survey exist in the Royal Irish Academy have yet to come to light and other drawings may exist in the Lawrence collection in the National Library (Robert Travers, pers.comm.).

Description of the Tower House

The masonry: The castle is built out of small irregular fragments of coarse Carboniferous sandstone. A limestone is used for the door dressings and quoins. There is no sign of a nearby quarry and it is possible that reused stone was used from earlier strongholds on the site. The mortar is rather weak and earthy, allowing an intense growth of plants on the truncated upper surfaces of the walls. This threatens the integrity of what remains and the owner is currently exploring means of consolidating the structure.
The walls were built using an irregular random rubble coursing. The wall surfaces are rough, particularly in the interior, this is a consequence of the brittle, poorly bedded, small stones used. There is no visible foundation and the tower house is apparently directly founded on the rock.

The first floor was built on corbels indicating that the floor was constructed on the wall plate/corbel technique. Timber was used for doors and drawbeams, but no other evidence for its use is apparent in the surviving part of the tower house. Measurements from the corbels to the window embrasures indicate that the timbers of the floors had a scantling in excess of 0.3m (a foot).

**The setting-out:** The plan is of interest as it displays the use of rational and the possible use of irrational ratios.

The MEASURE program identifies 26.5 cm as the unit employed and four of the nine specimen internal measurements subdivide by this unit precisely. The external dimensions at the top of the base batter are c.13.52 X c.10.5 m. The author was not able to directly measure the exterior at the top of the base batter three metres above the ground. A 4:5 ratio was certainly used regardless of the unit employed and it seems that the external dimensions were c.40 X 51 [26.5cm]. The internal dimensions are however 22 X 35.17 [26.5cm] and it will be noticed that the short axis forms whole units while the long axis is an irregular dimension (Fig.1).

All the walls are exceptionally thick with the exception of the southern wall. The variations in thickness indicate the separate concerns of the architect to provide maximum support for the barrel-vault and adequate clearance for intramural passages. These throw light on the lost superstructure. There is a slight base batter that terminates at the approximate level of the first-floor corbels.

The tower house is irregularly orientated with no regard for the cardinal points or (it seems) the local strike of the rock. The builders seem to have made the long axis parallel to the nearby river bank.

**The ground floor:** A double garderobe chute outlet empties at the north-western corner. This did not serve either of the two remaining storeys.

The chamber most unusually has two entrances, neither of which appears to be an insertion (Fig. 34.i). If one of them is, it is more probably the southern entrance. Both openings are of the same width and employ good rebated dressings with two-centred arches. The eastern entrance survives in its original form with a large drawbeam socket and a recess for the timber door to swing into. Both features are lacking from the southern entrance way. The inner reveal, if not the southern door, has clearly undergone much remodelling; the same entrance is clearly indicated here in Daniel Grose's
view although the size of the outer square recess in which it is set is greatly exaggerated. Both doors were large enough to permit the passage of cattle and may have been used in the control of movement of cattle throughout a series of enclosures (see below).

A gunloop was later crudely quarried into the side of the southern entrance. It has no external outlet and may have originally opened at the internal reveal. It seems to have been blocked by modern repairs to the east reveal of the entrance passage. The gunloop was left in a very rough state and its inner opening seems to have never been opened out to the degree that was envisaged. Perhaps it was thought to be introducing too much weakness to the angle of the tower.

The chamber has three large symmetrically arranged 'hour-glass loops' of fifteenth-century appearance. There was no access to the upper floors from the chamber and its ceiling height was very high. The timber first floor was c.3.85m above the ground, measured from the embrasure of the south window. There are two large presses against the angles.

The defensive loops imply that the tower house was free-standing when it was built although the two entrances hint at the past existence of two physically separate enclosures/structures against the eastern and southern faces. The bawn wall that existed in the Seventeenth Century was not integral with the tower house.

The first floor: This chamber was entered through the eastern entrance which is slightly displaced to the north of the main entrance below (Fig. 34,ii). It is much narrower than the lower entrance and was probably reached by a narrow ladder or temporary timber stair resembling the one that existed c.1900 (Healy 1988, 289).

The thin-walled entrance lobby is next to a thin intramural passage in the south wall. The passage has a peculiar slate shelf at the end just below the lintelled ceiling. This feature is inexplicable. The two ascending stairs in the eastern and western walls are equally peculiar. Their use can only be guessed at, but it is possible that the wider eastern stair ascended directly to the third floor, which almost certainly had a barrel-vaulted floor. The smaller western stair may have given access to the second floor below the vault while the eastern by-passed it.

The chamber was lit by two large windows. Photographic evidence shows that the southern opening was large and oblong in elevation with a square hood mould. It was probably originally mullioned and transomed but these had been removed. The embrasure arch and window, without its cut stone, still survives; like all the large windows apparent in the view, it almost certainly dates from the 1586 refurbishment. The great splayed embrasure in the northern wall must have held an equally large window. David Barrymore must have intended a change of use in the tower house, making it a
comfortable house, in as far as this was possible. Such subvault chambers were unlikely to have been used as living chambers in their original form.

The second floor: The corbels of the floor still survive but no other feature of this floor can be recognised. The views show a corner loop at the south-western angle, and an intramural chamber must have existed behind it. Daniel Grose's view indicates a central northern loop (probably an original feature of the tower house) at this level, but it was probably displaced to the north to illuminate the head of the stair. The chamber may have been entered by a door at the northern end of the western wall. It also seems likely that the southernmost of the two garderobe flues terminated in a garderobe chamber next to the door. An enlarged post-1586 window was placed centrally in the southern wall. These inserted windows probably mark the sites of earlier loops.

The third floor: Enough graphic evidence exists to reconstruct its essential layout. The main eastern stair probably turned through 45 degrees at the north-eastern angle to enter the principal chamber. The chamber had a large fireplace in the centre of the western (long-axis) wall which was flanked by very large mullioned and transomed windows, presumably inserted in 1586. A garderobe chamber, perhaps elevated well above the general level of the principal chamber, was within the north-western angle, and the second (northernmost) flue served it. There is no evidence to suggest that there was another chamber over the principal chamber.

The wallwalk and roof and attic chamber: The tower house had a simple, level wallwalk reached from a stair that emerged at the south-eastern corner where it was covered by a sheltering turret. It is possible that the stair to the turret ascended from the eastern reveal of the southern window of the principal chamber. This window was markedly off-centre, hinting at an ascending stair to the east. The parapet was largely destroyed and its coping technique is unknown. The wallwalk was greatly obstructed by the inserted chimney on the western wallwalk. The position of the chimney, blocking the western wallwalk, supports the probability that it was an addition, although this can unfortunately never be proved unless some unpublished survey comes to light. Two tall pointed gables are clearly visible in Daniel Grose's view and these show that the principal chamber was covered by a single very large pitched roof; this is evidence that the principal chamber occupied the entire storey without subdivision. The absence of openings in the gables is further negative evidence for the absence of an attic chamber.
Figure 34.i
Ground plan
Figure 34.ii
First floor (S)
MONTEEN CASTLE
Townland of Monteen, Kilmoloda Parish

6° 122, 25° CXXII:8
NGR W 4307 4699
SMR 3089

The site: The tower house has a sheltered south-facing site in the bottom of a valley overlooking a tributary of the Argideen River and it is overlooked by a great hill to the north 160m high, now covered in softwood plantations, but originally known as the 'purple mountain' because of its covering of heather (Healy 1988, 276). The structure stands at the break of slope between the side of the valley and its alluvial floor in a cattle pasture (Fig.35,i), but seems to have formed part of a wealthy farm until c.1950?. The remains of a substantial house of eighteenth- or nineteenth-century date stand next to it and the field was until recently subdivided by further hedges (ibid., 277).

The name: Móintín or An Mointéan means 'small stretch of moorland or bog' (O'Donoghue 1986, 109) and Healy gives a similar interpretation (1988, 276). This applied to the valley floor rather than the tower house which does not retain an individual name. The castle is depicted in the Down Survey and the townland is represented in two parts; the valley (Tough) and the hill (Slugedagh). The name of the townland is written Tuoghmontane (Tuath Móintín) in the Books of Survey and Distribution (O'Donoghue 1986, 109). The name of the castle may therefore have been something like Caislén an Tuath. The name means 'a people; a territory (petty kingdom); the state as opposed to the Church-laitè, lay property' (Simms 1987, 178).

The history: A sub-sept of the MacCarthy Riabhach sept called themselves MacCarthy Rábach and held most of the parish of Kilmaloda, inland to the west of Timoleague. Coppinger's 1614 regrant (see below) indicates that the individual territory of the stronghold included the modern townlands of Maulrro, Monteen and the unidentified Sfínse. A stronghold is first mentioned in connection with the struggle for the Earldom of Desmond in 1469-70, in which the MacCarthy Reaghs became embroiled. After the death of the ruling MacCarthy Reagh Donnchadh in 1453, the succession of his brother Dermot an Duna was disputed by Donnchadh's son Cormac (Nicholls 1993b, 192). Cormac was an ally of the Earl of Desmond and used this pretext to overthrow Dermot, capturing the castles of Coolmain, Kilgobbin and Monteen. After Cormac was blinded and castrated by Dermot's sons in 1477 to make him unsuitable as chieftain, Dermot's oldest son Finghin was installed (ibid.). Technical details of the tower house indicate that it was probably built in Cormac's tenure of the chieftainship (c.1470-77).
In 1600, Finghin Rábach, head of the sept lived at Monteen. He was the foster-father of the famous Finghin MacCarthy Mór (originally a Riabhcich) who was subsequently imprisoned in the Tower of London. Healy states while giving no authority that when Finghin MacCarthy Reagh of Kilbrittain attended the hosting of Hugh O'Neill at Inniscarra in 1598, he gave Florence (Finghin) Rabach of Monteen as well as his own brother as hostages (Healy 1988, 276) and Finghin Rabach was sent to Dermot O'Connor who commanded the forces of Connaught. Finghin Rabach was therefore absent when on 1st April 1600, Captain Flower led a punitive expedition into Carbery to destroy rebels and deter potential rebels from joining them by destroying crops. On the third day of their march they burned ‘Mounteen’ Castle ‘with many towns belonging to the said castell, where was burned much corne: and our soldiers had great store of armes, and other spoyles’ (Goombes 1969, 24).

By 1614, Monteen Castle had passed into the ownership of Sir Walter Coppinger where it is mentioned in his colossal surrender and regrant of lands to James I as ‘...the castle and two car\(\text{ucates}\) of Monitine otherwise Montine or Mointine, called by the names of Slugoden, Sifine and Mawlerawre [Maulour]...’ (Copinger 1884, 42). It is possible that MacCarthys remained as tituladoes of Coppinger as he normally obtained clan lands through a mortgage. The fate of the stronghold after Coppinger’s death is unknown.

Description of the Tower House

The masonry: The Old Red sandstone appears to have been specially quarried, there are no visible local outcrops of stone, so the stone must have been transported some distance. There is no evidence to indicate whether a different stone was used to dress any of the openings. The raised entrance is dressed and arched with the same stone used in the fabric (Pl.35,i).

The random rubble masonry stone is carefully faced on the exterior with a regular tightly pointed face, but the interior was rather more roughly finished and mortar was allowed to squeeze out between the stones, however some of this ‘dribbling’ can probably be explained as the result of subsequent leaching. The proportion of mortar in the construction is low, and the wall cores are built up of tightly packed stones. The mortar is of medium hardness and a grey/buff colour. It contains a high proportion of small rounded stones, but nothing that indicate a maritime source.

A barrel vault covers the second-floor. Eight trusses were needed to act as centring and they were first positioned resting on the walls. The vault skewbacks were then built around the trusses which have left clear impressions. The imprints diminish in depth with height, as the vault diverged from the straight timbers.

Putlog holes on the walls of the first-floor chamber show that an internal working surface was used,
presumably while the vaulted floor was setting. They are otherwise absent from the interior. Not enough is visible of the exterior to tell if putlog-supported working surfaces were used elsewhere.

The second floor was built from timber employing the widespread corbel/wall plate technique.

The setting-out: The MEASURE program indicates unambiguously that the statute foot was used by the builder in whole units to set out the internal dimensions; the statistical analysis suggests that the unit in question was in fact one millimetre greater (30.6cm) but this result may be a result of the small number of independent dimensions available for analysis.

The ground-floor chamber was square in plan but the first-floor chamber is 11.5 feet X 10 feet, the second-floor chamber is 10 feet X 13 feet. The exterior of the tower house cannot be measured by direct means due to vegetation.

The external plan apparently is not quite square, being slightly longer on the east-west axis. The base is sharply battered (1:6.25). The degree of superstructure batter is impossible to determine due to vegetation.

The western part of the base-batter is noticeably 'dished' in plan and the south-western angle slopes out much further than the remainder of the surviving base-batter. The rather rough appearance of the quoining indicates that this angle has been rebuilt in a strengthened form, perhaps after local subsidence. No evidence for the type of foundation is visible and the present lowness of the ground-floor chamber implies that the base of the tower is deeply buried.

The ground floor: This small square chamber is greatly mutilated by inserted doorways in the north and eastern walls but seems to have been nearly featureless in its original form (Fig.35,i). The original entrance was in the southern wall but all the door dressings and most of the embrasure has been torn out and the irregular gap blocked by a thin roughly-built stone wall. In its original state the west wall of the chamber continued southwards to form the reveal of the entrance passage. A small fragment indicates that the eastern reveal of the passage was slightly splayed. The door was probably c.0.8-1.0m across the jambs.

The chamber is covered by a low barrel vault of segmental section turned from rough slabs in mortar. This stops short of the north wall to form an oblong opening the width of the chamber and c.0.6m wide. The junction of this opening to the first-floor chamber over is greatly damaged (see below) and its present size may be misleading.
There is no evidence that either of the inserted entrances marks the site of a loop and the chamber was probably unlit. It was too small to be used as a refuge for cattle and the presence of a first-floor entrance meant that the chamber was not used as a regular means of access. It is probable that the entire 'chamber' continues downwards to form a cistern exploiting what must be a high water-table. Excavation could reveal evidence for a timber floor over the shaft; such a floor would allow people to enter the cistern from the south and draw water. A very similar feature exists at Kilcoe [15] and Dunmanus [14].

The first floor: This chamber was entered from the south through a plain and narrow (0.69m wide) timber door with a rounded arch (Fig.35,ii). The threshold and adjacent floor has been heavily robbed although the door is virtually intact. It could be barred with a drawbeam and pivoted on a small timber lintel below the two overlapping stone lintels; thick surviving rendering on the internal reveals of the entrance immediately beneath them preserves an impression of the ends of a lintel which seems to have been embedded in the render although otherwise unsupported.

Although it is likely that a forebuilding provided easy access to the entrance for much of the tower-house's history, there can be no doubt that the raised entrance was originally a defensive feature that could only be reached by a ladder.

The chamber's floor rested on the barrel vault below but no surfacing survives; it is likely however that the surface was of mortar, periodically renewed. Extensive robbing of the upper surface of the vault has removed the upper edge of the aperture (see above). A fireplace in the north wall now overlooks the aperture in an impractical position and is indirect evidence that much of the aperture was originally lintelled over in the manner of a similar aperture in the barrel vault over (see below). The position of the fireplace implies that the removable hatch was in the north-western corner away from it. This hatch would have permitted occupants to draw water from the cistern below. The putative timber-floored storeroom over the cistern could also be reached through this hatch, if it existed. There is no evidence that the chamber had any windows when it was built, although the inserted opening which bears the impressions of a timber window frame may mark the site of an original opening.

The northern fireplace was originally a low broad opening and the two surviving rough corbels on either side probably supported an edge-on slab of slate that formed the chimney breast. The back of the fireplace slopes back sharply as it narrows to form a flue. Apart from a slopstone aperture through the west wall, the chamber is otherwise featureless. The walls are covered with a coating of plaster one centimetre thick. This is sufficiently well-preserved to retain the marks of the plasterer's tool but is evidently of no great antiquity as it also covers the embrasure of the inserted window. The plaster is limited to this chamber and its upper margin marks the positions of the second-floor wall plates.
There is no evidence to indicate that the fireplace was inserted, and this chamber, although dark, was evidently intended for domestic occupation.

The second floor: The vanished timber floor rested on wall plates that were held in sockets in the corners and were further supported at their centres by small isolated corbels. There may have been an additional central joist but damage to the offset has removed any sockets that may have existed. The existing sockets indicate that the wall plates were five centimetres below the offsets in the western and eastern walls (there are no northern or southern offsets).

The base of the second-floor fireplace demonstrates that the offset represents the lost floor surface. It seems that the wall plates and joists supported very thick floorboards without the need for an intervening series of minor joists; this unusual method of floor construction was only practical due to the small distances that needed to be spanned. It is possible that a mortar surface was then laid over the floorboards to ensure a good seal.

The second-floor chamber was entered through an external entrance above the first-floor entrance (Fig. 35, iii), but the lack of dressings and lintel shows quite clearly that this is not an original feature and has been mined through the wall. The chamber was originally reached through a hatch in the floor, but the subsequent construction of a house against the south wall allowed the chamber to be entered from the attic chamber of the house.

The chamber was provided with two narrow openings, the eastern has been enlarged for a timber frame. The central fireplace is virtually identical to the one below. The presence of a slopstone aperture and press in the eastern wall and the relatively large size of the chamber all indicate that this was the 'principal chamber'. The format is however very reduced and impoverished because the area to be occupied (3.04m x 3.98m) was no larger than a modern dining room, and there is no evidence of the sort of concentration of activities that can be seen in larger tower-house principal chambers.

The chamber can have only been entered from below through a hatch in the floor in its original form; this argues against but cannot be taken as definite disproof of the chamber's permanent occupation.

The chamber is covered by an east-west vault of essentially catenary section although the apex is slightly pointed. Impressions of eight centring truss feet can be seen in the skewbacks of the barrel vault. There is a slight gap between the western wall 'gable' and the soffit of the vault.

The truss timbers were locally straight, but the vault is curved, causing the impressions to die away with height as the soffit and truss diverged. A more detailed survey would allow the truss profile to be more accurately reconstructed, as it seems unlikely that it was entirely straight; two or three
straight timbers were probably jointed to create an approximation of the desired section. Removal of the deeply sunken trusses must have been very difficult when the method of vault construction seen at Monteen was used and it is possible that the trusses were sometimes also left in place for decorative effect.

The gap between the soffit and gable indicates that a sheet of woven hurdles was laid over the centring trusses (Chapter 3e). This was not removed and its subsequent decay opened this gap, a typical feature of the raised-entrance tower houses.

A regular gap about 0.8m wide separates the barrel vault from the eastern wall. The gap is bridged by a series of large overlapping lintel slabs commencing at the north end, these reach their highest level at the south end but a glint of sunlight is apparent at that point through the thick vegetation on the top of the tower house and it seems that a hatch is here, or that the final lintel is missing.

The existing wall-top: Nothing visible from the ground to suggest the presence of a roof, wallwalk or parapet, and it seems the tower house is truncated. The gap in the vault would have provided access to an unknown number of destroyed floors. The 1850 sketch of the ivy-free tower house (Coombes 1969, 64) shows no trace of any parapet and the roughness of the upper edge of the walls and the absence of a northern chimney stack indicate that demolition of these features had already taken place.

Description of other structures

A drawing by Windele in the Royal Irish Academy shows that the tower house has not deteriorated since 1850 (R.I.A. MS. 12.1.10, reproduced in Coombes 1969, 64) but ivy and creepers have since covered it in a dense mantle. The drawing shows a row of low houses apparently running north in the space between the tower house and road, but it is possible that the buildings were to the north (the other side) of the road. A plain house with a hipped roof is shown to the east of the tower house. The ruin of this house had a principal chamber along the central axis and was probably the house of a prosperous farmer. The hall passage was flanked by four chambers. The window openings have brick relieving arches; this factor, coupled with the thinness of the walls, rules out a medieval date. The surviving timber lintels indicate that this building was probably abandoned 50-100 years ago. Its siting next to an extant tower house is typical of the continuity of settlement witnessed in the Survey region and it is probable that the late eighteenth-century (?) house replaced a seventeenth-century house.

A wall c.1.62m wide has left a scar against what would have been the eastern jamb of the ground-floor
entrance. This wall is bonded into the masonry of the tower house and seems to have been built at
the same time. It may been a curtain-wall enclosing a bawn to the south of the tower house. This
wall seems to have later formed the eastern wall of a roofed structure built against the southern face
of the tower house. A mortar flashing on the south side of the tower house shows that a pitched roof
running southwards abutted the tower house. This house? is associated with various post-medieval
alterations to the tower house (see below). There is no evidence for the other end of the curtain-wall,
but the severe damage to the base of the tower house may have removed all trace of it.
Figure 35.1
Ground plan
Figure 35.ii

First floor
Figure 35.iii
Second floor (S)
Plate 35.1
Monteen: raised entrance
The site: The fragmentary tower house stands on a very inaccessible site at the pointed east end of Whiddy Island, several hundred metres inland of the coast on a slight rise. The west and south walls survive in part, but the north and east walls have gone.

The site commands a near-360 degree view of the distant cloud-shrouded mountains of the Iveragh and Ivagha peninsulas except where the view is blocked to the west by a hemispherical drumlin (Centre Battery Hill) and to the south by further semi-submerged drumlins (the Chapel Islands).

The tower house seems to have been located to exploit the firm foundation of a ice-scraped rock outcrop. The site is one of considerable natural strength but the slopes to the west and north may have been artificially enhanced by quarrying.

The land on the west falls away very gently, but skirting the north and east sides of the tower house, where there is a fairly level area, there is a very sharp (1:1) drop on the western and northern sides. These slopes are closely parallel to but about five metres away from the west and (lost) northern walls of the tower house and meet sharply. It therefore seems that these slopes have been cut at the time of the construction of the tower house. The sod-covered stump of a wall is clearly visible along the tops of these slopes and is picked out as a path by sheep; there is no definite evidence this wall was contemporary with the tower house but it is probably a remnant of a curtain-wall which closely skirted the north and west sides of the tower house. The construction of a First World War wireless hut has destroyed any remnants of the curtain-wall on the south side but a sod-covered wall of uncertain date curves around the concrete base of the radio mast to the south-east of the tower house.

A boggy crescent-shaped quarry is cut into the side of the ice-scraped rock about one hundred metres to the east of the tower house. This may well be the construction quarry of the tower house. A complex mass of dips and hollows is visible in the field near to the quarry. A group of buildings is implied, perhaps a dachan, but their date is unknown without excavation.

The name: RINN A'BHAINE 'point of the milk' is supposed to be a reference to the fertility of the island. The modern name is given in various versions. It seems to have been anciently known as the
castle of Foyd or OILEAN FUIDE (Healy 1988, 209) a word deriving from the same root as Whiddy (Ó Murchadha 1986, 304).

The history: The tower house is supposed to have been built in the reign of Henry VI (1429-1471; Healy 1988, 208) although no authority is given, the comparative evidence suggests it is indeed of fifteenth-century date.

The castle was certainly in existence in 1563, when the O'Sullivan Beare (the head of the clan) was slain by a gallowglass. His brother Eoghan assumed the chieftaincy and imitated his overlord, the Earl of Clancarty, by submitting to the Crown. He received the clanlands as his personal property, precipitating a rift with his brother's son who had come of age. Reenavanny was one of the three tower houses directly held by the chieftain. The lands of the island were otherwise held by the O'Sullivan Maol family or sub-sept who are called freeholders (Ó Murchadha 1985, 304).

The relative importance of the tower house probably reduced over time, as it was greatly outclassed by Dunboy and then Carriganass [i] in size, sophistication and accessibility. It (or rather its lands) was mortgaged by Eoghan to two adventurers of English stock in 1591 (Healy 1988, 209) which suggests that it was obsolescent. The tower house was used by Carew as his headquarters, prior to his attack on Dunboy (ibid.) but it then passes out of history. The island seems to have reverted to Eoghan after the Nine Years War, and the tower house may have been re-occupied until the collapse of the clan to Cromwellian forces in 1653.

The tower house survived until January 1920 when it fell down in a gale (Lee 1919, 115). Unfortunately, no detailed description is known to have been made prior to that date, although the height is recorded as being sixty feet (18.25m)(ibid.).

Description of the Tower House

The masonry: The petrology has not been studied, but the superficial appearance of the stone is compatible with it having been quarried from the crescent-shaped quarry to the east. The castle is built on a particularly resistant roche moutonée of Carboniferous sandstone. This stone resists weathering almost entirely. The castle is faced with large split slabs of this stone which are carefully laid in random coursing. The facing blocks were given one cut face to form the wall face but they were not otherwise shaped. The interior and exterior are faced with equal care. The absence of lifts suggests that building was carried on continuously.

A distinct dark rock was used for the door jambs, this may be Coomhola grit whose type-site is nearby
to the east (Whittow 1978, 218). The mortar seems to vary from hard to very hard; it is creamy white in colour and contains a high proportion of fine rolled beach sand mixed with finely broken sea shells. There seems to be local soft patches but it has tended to resist weathering.

Three horizontal rows of putlog holes at 1m intervals survive in the internal face of the south wall (Power 1992a, 408) but these were almost all hidden by ivy when the author visited. The one visible putlog socket shows that a beam with a scantling of 0.21m was used and that it was embedded in the wall to a depth of 0.48m; this supports the probability that such timbers were cut off rather than extracted once construction was completed. Only three sockets are visible in the external side of the south wall and it seems the tower was built by masons working from the interior outwards.

The setting-out: Not enough survives of the tower house to permit the regularity of plan to be measured, but the general impression is precision in both construction and setting-out; the west and south walls of the ground-floor chamber are at precisely ninety degrees, which is unusual in the Survey region.

The unit search suggests that the statute foot was used but the sample of surviving independent measurements was very small. The orientation of the plan bears no relation to the cardinal points and probably follows the local strike of the rock, but the foundation is not visible.

The southern and northern (long-axis) walls were both of exceptional thickness, the south being slightly thicker. The short axis walls were c.0.4m thinner and were apparently of equal thickness. This differential is strong if indirect evidence for the provision of a barrel vault at second(?)-floor level.

The ground floor: The exterior of the base was originally sharply battered but it has been almost entirely removed by stone robbers. Surviving stones at the level of the turf allow the batter to be measured at the south-west corner; it has an inclination of 23cm over a fall of 1.84m at the south-west at that point. The greatest height of the base-batter at the south-eastern corner is near to 3m due to a fall in the land.

Enough survives of the ground floor to allow its dimensions to be determined. The ‘opening’ in the west wall originated as a press but its back has been penetrated by the robbing of the external base-batter; the very low height of the ‘embrasure’ (0.68m) is incompatible with its use as an opening (Fig.36,i). What remains of this chamber suggests that it had no lights except perhaps single narrow loops in the north and east walls.

The original entrance was in the northern wall, close to the north-western angle; it was covered by a
barrel vaulted passage 1.38m long of which the western springing survives. The termination of the barrel vault springing also marks the north-western corner of the chamber. The door jambs were dressed from a particularly hard rock (see above) and were of deep section (0.45m) to deter attackers from breaking the jambs away to expose the edge of the timber door. The jamb is vertical and it was therefore deeply recessed within the base batter.

There is an offset in the southern wall at a height (not measured) of c.3.5-4m. This presumably marks the ceiling level of the ground-floor chamber. The original floor level of the ground-floor chamber is unknown but the chamber was clearly much higher than was needed for headroom.

The first floor: The offset in the southern wall (see above) increased the area of the first-floor chamber relative to the ground floor. The southern wall seems therefore to have had the same thickness at first-floor level as the northern wall. A timber floor seems to have rested directly on this offset without the use of corbels.

It may be inferred that a raised entrance was directly above the ground-floor entrance and that an intramural flight of stairs ascended eastwards to an entrance to the principal chamber of the tower house at third-floor level.

The lowest part of a damaged garderobe shaft survives in the south-eastern angle. The shaft would have emptied through an opening in the eastern wall at approximately the level of the base-batter termination. This elevated position made it less vulnerable as a possible point of entry for attackers. The shaft was very large and it may be inferred that the tower house incorporated garderobes at second and third-floor levels although the surviving part of the shaft shows no sign of the expected division.
Figure 36.1
Ground plan
Plate 36.i

Reenavanny: general view from north-west
APPENDIX III

Tower House building clans in the Survey region

a: The MacCarthy septs: Reagh, Glas, Muskerry, Dermond, Crimeen, Others
b: The O'Mahony septs: Fionn, Carbery
c: O'Sullivan Beare
d: O'Driscoll
e: O'Donovan: Clan Loughlin, Clan Cahil, Slieocht Iomhair
f: Barry Roe
g: Other groups
The MacCarthy sept

The Carew MSS in Lambeth Palace Library preserve a genealogy of the powerful MacCarthy Muskerry clan. This clan sub-divided throughout the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries to create the three principal subdivisions of the MacCarthy Mór, the MacCarthy Reagh and MacCarthys of Muskerry. The latter were created Lords by the English in 1353; this did not however affect their system of tanist succession.

i. Reagh (Riabhach)

The MacCarthy Reagh overlord claimed a yearly rent of all the clans settled in Carbery (Butler 1904, 1-73). This clan’s domain mostly lay in the region of Kilbrittain to the east, apart from a detached holding north-west of Rosscarbery. Tower houses were built at Carrighnassig [45], Kilgobbin [29] on the Bandon river, Coolmain [58], Kilbrittain [57] and Castle Salem [8].

The ancestor of Sliocht Cormaic Dhuinn was one Felim, son of the MacCarthy chieftain Cormac Donn who was slain in 1366 (O Murchadha 1985, 6). Cormac had been the lord of the whole of Carbery, but by the mid-Fifteenth Century, the MacCarthys had dissolved into septs which were virtually separate clans.

The family exercised an overlordship over all the peoples of Carbery that lasted into the Seventeenth Century. This consisted of the confirmation of successions among the lesser clans of the Barony (MacCarthy Glas 1867, 12) but also involved the exaction of cuttings and cosheries from the freeholders and inhabitants of Muskerry, as well as the claiming of coins from every landholder in Carbery (Healy 1988, 269). In 1588 the letters from Sir Warham St Leger to Lord Burleigh enumerate the strengths of the ‘MacCarthy Mor’, the overlord of the MacCarthy Reagh to whom all the clans in West Carbery owed allegiance.

There was constant conflict between Desmond and the MacCarthy lords despite intermarriage (O’Brien 1993, 139). Conflicts began after the death of the ruling MacCarthy Reagh, Donnchadh, in 1453, when the succession of his brother Dermot an Duna was disputed by Donnchadh’s son Cormac (Nicholls 1993b, 192). Dermot’s death embroiled the MacCarthys in the 1467-70 struggle for Desmond. Cormac was an ally of the Earl of Desmond and used this pretext to overthrow Dermot, capturing the castle of Coolmain, Kilgobbin and Monteen [35] (ibid.). After Cormac was blinded and castrated by Dermot’s sons in 1477 to make him unsuitable as chieftain, Dermot’s oldest son Finghin was installed (ibid.). The Annals of the Four Masters record that Catherine, the daughter of the Earl of Desmond was married to Finghin MacCarthy Reagh who claimed the overlordship of the whole of Carbery (O Murchadha 1985, 54). He had an army of 1000 foot and 30 horsemen and demanded a yearly rent of all the clans settled in the region (ibid., 55). Catherine (who died in 1506) was
responsible for the construction of Castle Salem (Dun na mBénd or Ben Dubh: Note 261, AFM, v.p. 1288, cited Nicholls 1993b, 193).

Finghin was rewarded with a grant of English liberty by Henry VII (ibid., 192); he ruled until 1505 and, after a brief intervening chieftainship, was succeeded by his son Dohmnall, who married Eleanor Fitzgerald, daughter of the powerful Earl of Kildare, the governor of Ireland. Dohmnall entered into a 'remarkable indenture' with her, giving her considerable powers, including landlordship (ibid., 193). The couple's children included four sons, Cormac, Finghin, Donnchadh and Eoghan, all knighted, who ruled Carbery in turn between 1531 and 1593.

Cormac was involved with quarrels with his cousin Cormac Ceann Í gContabhairte ('the chieftain in controversy'). Cormac was also part of the Geraldine League against Henry VIII and fought against the city of Cork in 1538. Sir Donnachadh and Sir Eoghan almost annexed the vestiges of Courcey land in Carbery. Sir Eoghan was succeeded by his nephew Dohmnall na Piopal, Cormac's son, who by keeping out of the Nine Years War was able to survive until 1612 (ibid., 194).

Dohmnall's cousins Finghin and Dermot Maol, sons of Donnchadh, had colourful lives: Finghin was imprisoned in the Tower of London for having married the heiress of Dohmnall MacCarthy Mór, which threatened to unite several powerful Irish families and upset the Crown's officials. He was eventually released, but imprisoned again for treason and died in England in 1640 (Ó Murchadha, 1985, 55). Meanwhile, Dermot Maol, the apparent heir to the chieftaincy, was in rebellion, in support of O'Neill. He made moves towards peace after the defeat at Kinsale but was killed not long after during a cattle-raid; his lands were confiscated (ibid.)

In 1615, Florence MacDonell MacCarthy of Benduff obtained a grant of extensive lands, including his own ancestral domain (Ó Murchadha 1985, 129). This must have been one of the last instances in the Survey region of an Irish chieftain regularising his estate on the English model.

Twenty-seven years later, the same Florence (Fíneen) was accused by Arthur Freke (in his account of the siege of Rathbarry Castle) of being amongst a group who took 'away all my corne stacked by Rosse, on my lands called Downings, and every night stole my cattle and sheepe from Rathbarry' (Ó Murchadha 1985, 129). Even in peacetime, relationships between the citizens of Rosscarbery and the surrounding chieftains must have been delicate. As a result, Florence was attainted and his estate forfeited.

In 1652 Cormac (Charles) MacCarthy Reagh, an officer in the Confederate army which opposed Cromwell, had a price of £200 on his head, dead or alive (ibid., 57); after serving the Duke of York he was mentioned in the declaration of grace and favour by Charles II (ibid.). He was promised his chief house and 2,000 acres adjoining (Kingston 1985, 67) however, William Morris, the ex-Cromwellian
Quaker was firmly ensconced in Benduff (Castle Salem) and in 1666 'not an acre in Carbery remained to the family' (ibid.).

ii. Glas (Gleannachroim)

The sept held a wide region whose geographical centres were Togher and at Dunmanway. The northern part of their territory corresponds closely to the watershed of the Bandon's source (Gleann an Chroim). Their ancestor was also Felim, son of Cormac Dhuinn. Cormac gave these lands to him prior to his death in 1366 (Ó Murchadha 1985, 56).

Although a substantial structure may have existed at Dunmanway the clan seems to have passed most of its existence living in buildings that left no trace. The construction of the great tower house of Togher seems intimately connected with the final years of the old social order.

The sequence of events whereby the clan disintegrated follows the usual pattern. The eventual builder of the tower house gained control of the clan after his brother slew the 'official' tanist. Although his brother had to die for this murder, custom dictated that the succession passed to his next of kin by right (Lyons & Gillman 1895, 487). The accession of the murderer's brother occurred just before the Earl of Desmond's uprising, in which he took part, but was pardoned. Tadhg an Fhorsa (of the force) was nearly attainted, and the pardon makes ominously ambiguous reference to his lands and goods. Meanwhile, the son of the slain tanist was petitioning the Queen to restore him to the chieftainship.

Pressure from the new Council of Munster on the Gaelic system of lordship weighed heavily on the MacCarthy of Gleanacroim by the end of the 1570s. An awareness that internecine disarray was an unnecessary weakness perhaps justified Tadhg an Fhorsa's submission to 'surrender and regrant'. Such transfers were intended to protect the clanlands from litigation. Togher Castle was probably commenced soon after 18th July 1590 (the date of the grant) (Lyons & Gillman 1895, 488).

The regrant was used by Tadhg in his struggle for power within the clan. His new legal status was apparently accepted by the remainder of the clan. The cohesion of the clan was unaffected by the new order. In 1641 they followed their leader with Viscount Muskerry into the next uprising without hesitation. This was one of the last 'rising-outs' in Ireland (Gillman 1892a, 36).

After the Battle of the Yellow Ford (1598) Tadhg presumably declared himself in rebellion, but did little. As a result, when Carew became president in 1599, Tadhg, his wife and adult son were among those pardoned so long as he submitted and gave security (Lyons & Gillman 1895, 489). Numbers of his followers in Dunmanway and Togher were pardoned, suggesting that the latter tower house was the nucleus of a settlement that survived to form a modern town. After the defeat of the Spanish at Kinsale, the Lord President instructed the Earl of Thomond to take the castles of 'Ranal Duffe' and
‘Teg Onorsie’ (probably Ballynacariga and Togher) as wards ‘but do not let your intent bee discovered until you be possessed of them’ (O’Grady 1896, 283). This is the only evidence that the tower house was completed by that date.

The government seems to have held a ward at Togher no longer than necessary to quell the rebellion and by June 1615, Tadhg seems to have been back in the tower house with his family. To clarify his legal situation he again went through the process of surrender and regrant. He was still alive three years later (the date of his will). His will (3rd July 1618) split the property among his two sons, the younger gaining Togher and the elder the chieftainship. The new chieftain Tadhg an Duna (of the fortress) is thought to have favoured Togher over Dunmanway as a residence (McCarthy 1922, 134). The hospitality of both men was legendary and the chieftain was hailed as ‘Tadhg, son of Tadhg, the powerful lord of Crom, the hawk of hospitality, the valorous heir of heroic deeds; in whose heart was neither guile, deceit or falsehood.’ The bard Donal na tuile gives a vivid picture of what everyday life was like for the ruling elite of the sept (Chapter 6: c).

This peaceable period ended when Tadhg an Duna was the second in command of the county’s ‘rising out’. The rebellion started in Ulster and reached Munster early in 1642. After Cromwell’s eventual crushing of the revolt, the sept was dispossessed and while the son of Tadhg an Duna eventually succeeded in regaining some of the sept lands from Charles II, the tower house and its surrounding estate of 1,419 acres (574 hectares) was granted to the Hoare brothers.

The lands lately regranted to Tadhg an Duna II were again confiscated in 1691, while his son fell at the battle of Landen 1693. A contemporary poet described the condition he was left in.

_Ní Tadhg an Dún na t-ainim_
_Acht Tadhg gan dún gan daingean;
Tadhg gan bó gan capall_
_I mbotháinín ísceal deataigh_
_Tadhg gan bean, gan leanbh._

Not Tadhg of the Dun thy name
But Tadhg without Dun, without Daingean
Tadhg without cow, without horse,
In a low smoky little cabin,
Tadhg without wife, without child.

(McCarthy 1922, 137)
ii. Muskerry

The MacCarthy Muskerreries, unusually, were a sept who expanded at the expense of the Anglo-Norman settlement in the north-east of the Survey region. After the conquest much of Muskerry had been overrun by Richard de Cogan. From the mid-Fourteenth Century the sept showed a remarkable cohesion of purpose under single strong rulers; this may be connected with an absence of proliferation of tower houses (Chapter 6.c).

The first great expansion was the acquisition of Macroom in the chiefship of Cormac (1325-1359), after Cormac had helped the English Justiciar to subdue a revolt by one of Cormac's nephews (Ó Murchadha 1985, 58).

His great-grandson, the great castle builder Comac Láidir came to power in 1448. He was lord for nearly fifty years, a period in which he acquired lands bordering the City of Cork and the barony of Kerrycurrihy (Fig.c) when the citizens of Cork were forced to pay a 'black rent'. He built religious houses at Kilcrea and Ballymacadame as well as the tower houses of Kilcrea and Blarney. The latter was to become the sept's headquarters, but the larger size of the chambers at Kilcrea implies that Cormac envisaged Kilcrea, with its castle and friary, as his chief settlement.

The Muskerry acquisition of Kerrycurrihy resulted in the enmity of the Desmonds, and Cormac's son Dermot Oge defeated Desmond in battle in 1520, temporarily weakening his power. In the 1570s further land was acquired from the Barretts at Castle Inch and Cloghphillip by both marriage and siege (Fahy 1957, 8-9) after which point expansion ceases.

In 1589, Cormac McDermot MacCarthy effected a 'surrender and regrant' of the whole country of Muskerry. However the sept lands were ultimately all lost in the Cromwellian period.

iv. Clan Dermot (Dermonde)

The Clan Dermot is descended from Dermod Donn, a son of Donal Gott MacCarthy, Lord of Carbery (McCarthy 1922, 159). They held the castles of Kilcoe, Cloghan (Lissangle) and Letterfinliss of which the former survives relatively completely.

The sept was divided into two branches exclusive to each castle, as is shown by a pedigree in Lambeth Palace library (McCarthy 1922, 160). The Clan Dermonde diverged from the MacCarthy Reagh early in the Fourteenth Century (Ó Murchadha 1985, 56). By the Fifteenth Century, the sept was virtually a separate clan with the MacCarthy Reagh as its overlord. He presumably sanctioned Clan Dermot successions as they did for the O'Mahonys.

Towards the end of the Sixteenth Century, the official communiques of the President of Munster began to mention the 'Clan Dermonde' as part of a more general campaign of intelligence-gathering, as revolt stirred in Munster. In 1588 St Leger states 'the twelvth is the countrye of Clan Dermonde,
it conteyneth 28 plowlands. He claymeth rising out, the keeping of 16 gallowglass and in yearlie spending to the value of £40.' (MacCarthy Glas 1867, 31).

The Crown used a comparatively normal succession struggle amongst the Cloghan Clan Dermod as an excuse to attain the victorious branch of the family and strip them of their lands in 1577. A royal grant passed three carrucates of demesne land to the Lord of Muskerry. While the new owner could in no way be considered a tenant of Desmond, he was nonetheless stripped of his lands after the Desmond rebellion. The land was eventually acquired by one Edward Rogers, a planter, despite the efforts of Sir Owen MacCarthy Reagh, who as overlord, had claims to the Clan Dermod lands.

Regardless of this, in 1594 Cormac, son of Cormac MacTeig (the MacCarthy Muskerry) apparently still had Cloghan, which an indenture indicates had passed straight to his father, after the Clan Dermod owner had been attainted of high treason, presumably during the Desmond Rebellion (McCarthy 1922, 161). There is no mention of Rogers, perhaps because the MacCarthys did not recognise him as legal owner. The new owner, Sir Walter Coppinger, dealt carefully with all claimants to the lands he rapidly acquired.

A 1636 inquisition (O'Donovan 1849, 112-36) on the land of their overlord MacCarthy Reagh allows the Clan Dermonde pobal to be reconstructed. It stretched in a great crescent from Roaring Water Bay to Castle Haven. The Sliocht Diarmuid Reamhair sept inhabited the townland of Aghadown; their ruling family (Coleman 1927, 97) lived in Kilcoe Castle. The Clann Chartaigh Chlochaín was the larger part of the sept; holding three strongholds, all now destroyed: Ballyourane (a ringfort), Lissangle (Cloghanmore) and Lettertinlish (Fig.b). The English were familiar with the 'Clancarty' and their accounts imply it was tightly knit.

The Sliocht Diarmuid Reamhair tanist had the advowson of the rectory of Kilcoe, and the existing church ruins presumably represent their patronage. In 1633 the Archdeacon of Rosscarbery received the rectorial share (half) of the tithes of three plowlands - presumably the three plowlands of episcopal land in the parish of Aghadown (Nicholls 1971, 84) and a strong family link is known to have existed between the sept and archdeaconry not long before. A family tree of the 'McCartie of Clan Teg roe' with whom the clan Dermot intermarried, is preserved in Lambeth Palace Library (Carew MSS, vol.635, p.134 in Ó Murchadha 1994). It preserves the names of some of the leading members of the sept in 1602. The 'owner of Kilco' was 'Cormake (Cormac) Mc Donell Cartie' and his brother (?) Donoghe Mc Donell Cartie was Archdeacon of Rosscarbery, although this did not deter him from marriage.

Kilcoe was captured in February 1602 (new style), 'being a place of great strength' and the last castle in Carbery still held by the rebels according to the Pacata Hibernia (Coleman 1927, 97).
The *Pacata Hibernia* records that on the 7th of July, 1608 'the two brothers Dermond Mac Connor and Dermond Mac Connor Oge of the Cartys of Kilcoe set sail for Spain'. They were more likely to have been father and son than brothers (ibid., 98). In their new life in Spain (probably in the military), they seem to have not only put down roots, but to have retained some social standing. Their descendants retained a claim to the lordship of the 'Clann Dermot'; the title occurs nearly a hundred years later in a Sicilian funerary inscription (ibid.). Other family members moved to France.

The subsequent fate of the sept is obscure, but a 'Daniell [McDonnell] Oge Carthy' is recorded as the titulardo of the 'West ploughland of Killoe' [sic] in the 'Census' of Ireland, c.1657 (Pender 1939, 226); the 'East Plowland' was held by one Honora Carthy, the widow of Daniell Carthy. Despite the Cromwellian confiscations, the population (36) of both ploughlands remained entirely Irish, and these individuals may still have retained some sense of their clan identity. The French branch of the family later claimed to have possessed Kilcoe until 1649 (McCarthy 1922, 161) which implies that they were expelled by Cromwell's army.

v. Crimeen (*Sliocht Inghine U Chruimin*)

The sept were descended from an ancestral MacCarthys, Diarmaid great-grandson of Domhnall God, who ousted the O'Mahonys from East Carbery in 1232 (Ó Murchadha 1985, 56). After this victory, the MacCarthys began their remarkable process of spread and subdivision.

Derrylemlary [26] belonged to the sept of the MacCarthys called the Clan Crimeen. No mention of it survives, but it stands in their known territory (Butler, 1904-5). They also had a castle at Ballinoroher [28] which also survives. Their tower houses complement may be fully represented with Lissycrimeen, in Ibane and Barryroe. This townland has tower house [73] of uncertain authorship and date. It was similar in size to Derrylemlary (Fig. d) and it seems that their lands may have extended further than is recognised.

Ballinoroher was twice the size of Derrylemlary and was the Clan Crimeen’s 'headquarters'. The tower house presumably existed by 1601, when a fiat in May pardoned Donal of Baile an Ruathair after the Clan Crimeen fought with O’Neill at Kinsale. His son Dermot married the daughter of the O’Hurley chieftain resident at Ballynacarriga [3] nearby (O'Donovan 1986, 6) and he was inaugurated in 1611 (Healy 1988, 224).

Ballinoroher and its lands was forfeit after the execution of its last owner, Dermot mac Daniel MacCarthy (alias Mac-ni-Crimen) after the arrival of the Cromwellians in Cork in 1652 (MacCarthy 1922, 127) on a charge of permitting, or not actively discouraging the hanging of an English tenant and his family. Daniel was presumably the son of Dermot. Unusually there has been some change in the boundary: the Down Survey indicates that the confiscated townland to the west later called Lackanalooha (209 acres) formed part of the desmesne lands of the Crimeen chieftain and that only the western part of the modern townland was under the control of the chieftain.
vi. Others

Rábach

After their involvement in the succession conflict for the Earldom of Desmond in 1469-70, a victorious but junior branch of the MacCarthy Riabhach sept gave themselves the title of MacCarthy Rábach. The sept is distinguished from the Reagh family who based themselves at Kilbrittain. The sept claimed descent from Donnchadh, son of the founding father Domhnall Riabhach (Ó Murchadha 1985, 57).

A stronghold at Monteen is first mentioned during this period. This sub-sept held most of the parish of Kilmaloda, inland to the west of Timoleague: the territory included the modern townlands of Maulror, Monteen and the unidentified Sfíne, according to Coppinger’s 1614 regrant (see below).

In 1600, Finghin Rábach, head of the sept lived at Monteen. He was the foster-father of the famous Finghin MacCarthy Mór (originally a Riabhach) who was subsequently imprisoned in the Tower of London. When Finghin MacCarthy Reagh of Kilbrittain attended the hosting of Hugh O’Neill at Inniscarra in 1598, he gave Florence (Finghin) Rabach of Monteen as well as his own brother as hostages (Healy 1988, 276). Finghin Rabach was sent to Dermot O’Connor who was in charge of the forces of Connaught and was therefore absent during Captain Flowers’ harrying of the land. On the third day of their march they burned Monteen Castle ‘with many towns belonging to the said castell, where was burned much come: and our soldiers had great store of armes, and other spoyles’ (Coombes 1969, 24).

By 1614, Monteen Castle had passed into the ownership of Sir Walter Coppinger where it is mentioned in his colossal surrender and regrant of lands to James I as ‘...the castle and two car[ucates] of Monitine otherwise Montine or Mointine, called by the names of Slugoden, Sífine and Mawlerawre [Maulrour]...’(Copinger 1884, 42). MacCarthys probably remained as tituladoes of Coppinger.

Teige Roe (Clann Taidhg Rua na Sgairte)

The 1602 family tree of the ‘McCartie of Clan Teg roe’ preserved in Lambeth Palace Library (Carew MSS, vol. 635, p. 134 in Ó Murchadha 1994) traces the clan’s descent from ‘McCartye More’ through the Fifteenth Century to ‘Teg roe’ who apparently divided his lands between his two son ‘Shane’ and ‘Fynin’ and their families, Sliocht Seáin Clann Taidhg Ruaídh and Sliocht Finghin Clann Taidhg Ruaídh. A period of internecine war around 1500 apparently followed in the next generation or so, in which four brothers of the Sliocht Seáin were killed. Nevertheless, during the Sixteenth Century it was this branch that came to dominate the area around Durrus and the hills south of Bantry. The genealogy illustrates clearly how Teige Roe, despite being a relatively minor sept, had intermarried into all the major local clans, through marriage with O’Donovans, O’Driscolls, O’Sullivans, O’ Mahonys and MacCarthys Clan Dermod.
Another offshoot of the MacCarthy Reagh was the little-known MacCarthy Muclagh family, an offshoot of the Clann Taidhg Ruaidh na Sgairte (Ó Murchadha 1985, 57) who held the destroyed castle at Scart (Fig.b) 10km to the east of Coolnalong [6]. On the map showing clan territories, the name of the clan is anglicised Clan Teige Roe (Fig.c).

From the Down Survey it appears that the sept held lands in the hinterland between Roaring Water Bay and Bantry Bay, in the Caheragh, Bantry and Durrus parishes (Ó Murchadha 1994, 33-34). This territory was not prime land, consisting chiefly of mountain and moorland; the Down Survey marks the area as ‘Barren Mountain’. The clan do not seem to have had much direct access to the sea and the economic benefits this could provide until the late Sixteenth Century when Coolnalong was built, commanding a prime harbour on Dunmanus Bay.

Domhnall Balloghe, a younger brother of the four brothers slain by the Sliecht Fínghin, was chieftain in the early part of the Sixteenth Century and he had six sons, one of whom Tadhg na Muclach ('of the piggeries/herds of swine') born 1505, was still chieftain in 1602, presumably inheriting the title after his brothers had pre-deceased him. At the age of 97 he was then in rebellion.

A 1571 map of Munster shows Scart Castle (ibid. 38); the Teige Roe clan ‘headquarters’. They soon moved to the Durrus area. The tower house overlooking Dunmanus Bay, now incorrectly known as Rossmore Castle has recently been identified with Cúil na Long (Coolnalong) (Ó Murchadha 1994, 38). This townland was held in 1579 by Domhnall, brother to Taidgh, who died without issue; he may have been Taidgh’s immediate predecessor as chieftain. Brahillishe is another place name mentioned in fiants concerning the clan (ibid.).

In a 1601 pardon Taidgh is mentioned as chieftain living at Beallamoire (Béal átha Maghair, known as Four Mile Water Court), while his eldest son Daire lived at Scart. Beallamoire is illustrated as a house in a copy of the Down Survey (ibid., 42), rather than a castle and can be identified as the existing ruin next to Durrus Court. This C-plan house apparently existed prior to 1601 (ibid., 39) and as such is the earliest dated fortified house in the Survey region.

The Teige Roe clan were ‘in rebellion’ in 1602 and the Pacata Hibernia records that two of Taidgh’s younger sons Eoghan and Teige Oge embarked for Spain in July 1602 (O’Grady 1896, 68).

When Taidgh died he was succeeded at Beallamoire by another son Domhnall who died in 1631; Domhnall’s son John then inheirited. At the time of Domhnall’s death he held 5,950 acres in the parishes of Durrus and Caheragh out of a total clan holding of 17,200 acres (ibid. 40). John was quick to ensure his common law succession rights through an inquisition and by registering his father’s death.
The subsequent rebellion in 1641 marked the end for the Clann Taidhg Ruaidh who appeared in number on the outlaw lists of 1642-3 (Ó Murchadha 1994, 43). They had little prospect of returning to their lands and this is confirmed by the post-Restoration publication, The Book of Survey and Distribution (Co. Cork) published in the 1660's, which records that Coolnalong and Scart were acquired by Sir Theophilus Jones and that 'Not an acre was left to Clann Taidhg Ruaidh' (Ó Murchadha 1994, 44). The very ruinous state of the Coolnalong tower house implies that it was abandoned at this time, or soon after, although it is depicted apparently intact on the Down Survey. Only occupied tower houses seem to be marked on that map, and there were few and far between.
The O'Mahony septs

i. **Fionn (An Fionn Iartharach)**

The O'Mahonys were settled in Muskerry long before 1333. A chief who died in 1327 left 'Rossbrin and 18 ploughlands at its foot' to his sons (O'Mahony 1909, 123). That stronghold seems to have been favoured by the reigning chieftain in the early part of the relevant period, although the chieftaincy was sometimes also based at Ardintenant [17], another pre-tower house stronghold.

In 1356/7 Diarmaid Mor Macarthy probably became lord of Muskerry on the death in battle of his father and elder brother. Fourteen years later in 1481 he was slain through treachery by members of the Muskerry O’ Mahony sept. The Clann Finghin of the O'Mahonys seems to have eventually accepted the MacCarthy Reagh overlordship (Ó Murchadha, 233; Nicholls 1993b, 172). They occupied the region west of Bandon called Kinalmeaky (Fig.c)

The O'Mahony Fionn sept (An Fionn Iartharach 'of the Western Land') formed a cohesive polity that held the Ivagha peninsula for several centuries. 'A long peninsula such as Ivagha might be raided in remote parts by marauders, who could retreat before the clansmen could be concentrated...' (O'Mahony 1910, 9). This factor was probably one of several that encouraged the use of the tower house (Chapter 6:a).

The chieftain was usually based at Rossbrin or Ardintenant, the latter is first mentioned in 1473 (Hennessy 1871, 175), and he re-apportioned the tower houses as he saw fit to his junior relatives on succeeding. The chieftain’s tanist was a person of considerable power in his own right. A list of forces compiled by Carew in the 1570s shows that the Rossbrin-based tanist actually commanded a force greater than that of the chieftain (MacCarthy 1867, 9).

Dermot Runtach (the Reliable) succeeded in 1400; his life and the lives of his sons spanned the Fifteenth Century. _He was celebrated as a 'truly hospitable man, who never refused to give anything to anyone' (Ó Murchadha 1985, 233): this formulaic accolade probably reflects his relative wealth. The period of 1400-1500 was the most peaceful and prosperous period in the history of the clan (O'Mahony 1909, 125). The Ivagha peninsula was protected by the sea on three sides (Fig.c) and the family became wealthy from the exaction of dues from the continental fishing fleets; trade also enriched them, causing long-standing enmity with the citizens of Cork._

Tradition relates that the majority of the O'Mahony tower houses in Ivagha (the name of this peninsula) were built by or for the sons of Dermot Runtach. The date of Dermot Runtach’s death is recorded in the *Annals of Loch Cé* (Hennessy 1871, 175) as 1427.
Dunmanus [14] was traditionally believed to have been built by Donogh More presumably during his long wait as tanist to the O'Mahony chieftainship. This lasted from 1427 when his brother, Conchobar Cabach succeeded, until Donogh's own succession in 1473 (O'Mahony 1909, 125).

Conchobar Cabach seems to have caused the construction of tower houses throughout the pobal and 'was said to have built' Leamcon [22] for his second son, Finghin Caal (the slender), presumably not long before his death in 1473 (O'Mahony 1908, 126). The Annals of Loch Cé record that 'O'Mahon of the Western Land ..died after penance, in his own castle [caislen] of Ard en Tennail, AD 1473.' (Hennessy 1871, 175). The word caislen in this context is strong evidence that the extant tower house had probably been built by then. O'Mahony suggested that his nickname Cabach translates as 'of the exaction', an indirect reference to the heavy dues that were required for castle building, but Westropp gives other translations (1915, 268).

Finghin of Rossbrin, the third brother, became tanist when his brother Donogh More succeeded as chieftain in 1473 (O'Mahony 1909, 126). He was one of the foremost scholars of Munster in his day. A manuscript of a work (probably that now known as Mac Carthaigh's book) was compiled by him at Rossbrin in 1465. Finghin was presumably chieftain after the death of Donogh More.

Conor Finn O Mahony, inaugurated in 1496, re-apportioned Dunlough [21] and eight ploughlands to his fourth brother, Dermot, presumably after it fell vacant. Conor died in 1513, but Dermot only succeeded to the chieftaincy after the turn of a cousin (?) Finghin Caol (Westropp 1915, 276).

The O'Mahonys' feud with the merchants of Cork came to a head in 1562 when the great-grandson of Donogh More was seized and hanged in Cork for alleged piracy, which may be a pejorative description of how the clan supported itself.

The fruitful relationship enjoyed by the O'Mahonys and other western septs with the Spanish and Portuguese fishermen and traders was enviable. Seeking to gain some of the fishing dues exacted for themselves, the Burgesses of Cork mounted repeated expeditions to capture and hold Rossbrin, which overlooks an excellent natural harbour. Eventually the slowly increasing strength of the Crown and the unpredictable nature of the pilchard shoals deterred the foreign fleets from fishing in the south-western bays.

The clan's disintegration began in 1579 when the head of the Rossbrin sept ('Daniel Mac Conagher O'Mahowne of Rosbrin Castle, gentleman') joined in the Desmond rebellion. He was attainted and sentenced to death for his part in the Desmond War but probably escaped to the continent (O'Mahony 1910, ii). In 1584 a lease from Queen Elizabeth conveyed his 'Castle and desmesne of Rosbrin, containing half an acre of land, surrounded by a wall, with edifices therein' to one Oliver Lambert. The incumbent chieftain did not join Daniel in rebellion, as he had to look to the interests of the clan.
The pobal was threatened by the pro-English Owen O’Sullivan (O’Mahony 1910, 9) who exploited the holes in the O’Mahonys’ defences. The long coastline was largely indefensible, and the raiders relied on a delay in response to permit their escape.

The O’Sullivan invited the younger brother of the Earl of Desmond to carry out quick raids into O’Mahony territory. Such ‘guerilla’ attacks were indeed hard to prevent, but there is no evidence O’Sullivan actually intended to annex the peninsula.

The traditional system of succession was abandoned for the common law when in 1592, the chieftain Conchobar Fionn III, secured the succession for his ten year old son at the expense of the tanist through ‘surrender and regrant’ of the remaining O’Mahony Fionn lands (Ó Murchadha 1985, 235). As a result, the sept lacked a generally accepted chieftain during the Nine Years War (O’Mahony 1910, 13). Other leading members of the sept continued to let land to tenants without any reference to the chief (ibid.) but when the chieftaincy (or lordship) passed to this heir in 1602 the inheritance included the castles of Ardintenant, Dunlough and Ballydivlin with chiefries from the occupiers of the other castles. He also held part of the Dunbeacon lands of which he was stripped in 1616. Ignoring his title, a royal grant was made of much of his lands, including Ardintenant, part of the lands of Dunbeacon and chief rents out of Ballydivlin (then occupied by Donal O Mahony Fionn), Dun Locha and other lands, to Dominick Roche of Kinsale (Ó Murchadha 1986, 235).

After the disaster at Kinsale in 1601 when the Irish mostly submitted to Carew, the O’Mahony Fionn continued to hold out, and they garrisoned two of the strongest tower houses on the coast of southwest Cork, Leamcon and Dunmanus (O’Mahony 1910, 16). On the 26th May (new style) while the Earl of Thomond was besieging Dunboy, he despatched a raiding party to Dunmanus which succeeded in bringing off a ‘prey of threescore and six cows with a great many Garrans’. On 4th June, a body of soldiers ‘went to Dunmanus Castle, which was held and guarded by rebels, which they surprised and kept the same, killed four of the guard’ (O’Mahony 1910, 17). During this period the English also took Leamcon (Westropp 1915, 268).

Sir George Carew reported, on 13th July 1602, that his lieutenant, Captain Roger Harvy, had taken several castles strongly seated on rocks and necks of land. All were so ‘neere unto the sea where ships may safely ride, and fit places for an enemy to hold as, namely Leamcon, Donnegall’ and others (O’Grady 1896, 214). Ardintenant was probably surrendered to Harvy’s forces at this time. The decision was taken to burn these tower houses (ibid.) but there is no evidence from their fabric that this was carried out. Conor, the head of the sept, received quarter with his men and migrated to Spain immediately afterwards. He was subsequently pardoned (Ó Murchadha 1985, 235) but seems never to have returned.

However, Ardintenant seems to have been soon re-occupied by the O’Mahonys. Just before the Siege
of Dunboy, in March 1602, Donogh O'Mahony of Ardintenant, the heir to the chieftaincy, died and was succeeded by his brother Donal, also a minor. The boy's wardship had been granted to Sir George Carew (Ó Murchadha 1985, 235). This Donal subsequently let Ardintenant and ten ploughlands (presumably originating as the demesne of the tanist) to one Thomas Hollander. Donal chose to go and live some 15 km to the west in the tower house at Ballydivlin. By 1616 the land had passed through the ownership of no less than three English adventurers. Ardintenant tower house presumably fell into dereliction before that date.

In 1612 Captain William Hull, the 'planter' petitioned to be recompensed 'and his tenants not abused' while the King's services required the tower house of Leamcon as a Crown barracks. In 1622, Conor's agents leased ploughlands in the townland to Hull, but the family seems to have remained in occupation as tituladoes.

In 1627 Donal O Mahony Fionn leased to one Dermot mac Teige Coghlane, the castle 'of Dunlogh with the ploughlands of Dunlogh, Kildunlogh and three others.' After the Cromwellian wars, Dunlough and other lands of Dermod Coghline went to Richard Boyle, the Earl of Cork (ibid, 75).

'Fynine mac Thaddeus Gankagh O'Mahony' died at Dunmanus in 1643, leaving an heir, also Thaddeus (ibid., 235). Both Dunmanus and the 'castle, town and lands of Downebekon, 3 car. [acres] (c.360 acres), viz Downebekon, on which the castle is built' was listed in Walter Coppinger's 'regrant' of 1614. (Copinger 1884, 42), but it seems to have passed back into Irish hands by 1641, according to Hull's deposition (Nicholls 1976, 11-15).

During the Seventeenth Century, the sept gradually lost its lands in a piecemeal manner as advantage was taken of the sept's lack of influence and legal representation, which hamstrung individual members of the clan elite in their attempts to ward off interlopers.

The planter William Hull acquired leasehold interests from impoverished O'Mahony landholders which greatly encroached on their clanland (O'Mahony 1910, 22). The clan therefore used the opportunity of the 1642 revolt to eject Hull and his followers from the Ivaqua peninsula. There is however no evidence to suggest that abandoned tower houses were re-occupied in the nine-year hiatus before the arrival of Cromwell, but some, such as Dunmanus, were undoubtedly occupied into the Cromwellian period (see below).

The members of the Clan backed the Royalist cause in other localities, and as a result the entire ruling class of the O'Mahony's was outlawed. In his lengthy depositions, Hull mentions as 'chief robbers' - 'Great O'Mahowne alias O'M Foone (Fionn) of Kilmoe, in the Barony of Ivaqua, gent., Denis Ruadh O'Mahowne, Lord of the Castell of Dunmanus, gent., and others.' (O'Mahony 1910, 22). The deposition implicated virtually the entire clan and provides much information about it for historians.
This attainder could not be enforced until the triumph of the Commonwealth.

At the time of the Down Survey in 1657 the O'Mahony tower houses were untenanted and described as ruinous (O'Mahony 1910, 23).

ii. Kinalmeaky
The area of Kinalmeaky was on the Bandon river and had been ruled by the de Courceys and de Barrys. A Gaelic resurgence in the late Fourteenth Century perhaps brought the O'Mahonys back to the area (Ó Murchadha 1985, 237), making this then the easternmost area of Gaelic lordship. The O'Mahonys of Kinalmeaky were an offshoot of the Fionn, descended from Conchobar, son of Donnchadh na hImirce Timchill. Diarmaid Cairbreach who may have been the chieftain at the time of their return to Kinalmeaky was fifth in descent from Conchobar (ibid.).

The seat of the lord was originally at Caislín na Lec̄t [Castlenalact] but this was replaced by Caislín Uí Mhathghamhna (Castlemahon) now Castle Bernard [44], perhaps during the Fifteenth Century (ibid.). These O'Mahonys are not mentioned until 1515 when one 'O Mahund of Kynalmeke' is named as an independent chieftain (ibid.).

In 1570 Florence (Finghin) O'Mahony was pardoned together with his son Florence and MacCarthy Reagh of Kilbrittain; there was another pardon for a Florence (possibly the son mentioned above) in 1577 together with Dermod and twenty-five of their followers. In 1580 Conor O'Mahony of Castlemahon, attainted for his part in the Desmond Rebellion, was killed by his cousins, the nephews of Florence. He was declared to have been in possession of the Kinalmeaky lands at the time of his death and they were confiscated and allotted to Phane Beecher, Hugh Worth and Michael Sydnam in 1586. At this point the O'Mahonys still practised tanistry and it was disputed whether Conor O'Mahony had held the lordship at the time of his attainder, since he had been a relatively junior family member ('the meanest and youngest of them') (MacCarthy-Morrogh 1986, 90).

The case is interesting for its display of the then ambiguous English attitude towards tanistry. Conagher's successor was offered a few ploughlands in return for releasing his title to the lands, which he refused. Despite joining forces to fight the claim with the MacCarthys O'Mahony did not regain his lands. Beecher filled them with planters, building houses for 91 families. A contesting claim to the lands was made by Sir Owen MacCarthy Reagh in 1588 (ibid., 87-8). He claimed that the lands were his and the O'Mahonys merely tenants. However, the O'Mahony chieftain, a grandson of the first Florence, Domhnall Gráanna, was still pressing for the land's return. When Donal exhausted legal means of regaining his lands he went into rebellion and harried Beecher and the English settlers for some years with guerrilla tactics (Ó Murchadha 1986, 239) until he died in 1594.

His successor, Dermod was similarly unsuccessful in his appeals to the Crown. However, in 1598
High O'Neill's army put the planters to flight and the Beechers left Castlemahon. The next chieftain was Maelmhuadh, a brother of Domhnall Granná; he and the other O'Mahonys were forced into submission when first Sir Thomas Norreys and then Carew burned their corn and spoiled the country (ibid., 239) and subsequently raided their cattle. In 1601 the leading O'Mahonys received pardons, however in July 1601 Carew lured Maelmhuadh to Cork and imprisoned him, as one of the most dangerous leaders in the county (ibid., 240). He was released in 1603, but his heir Cian was taken into custody as a pledge for loyalty. Maelmhuadh took a lease of lands at Killowen for his own lifetime. Thus the O'Mahonys became landless, and little more is heard of them, although in 1690, two O'Mahonys of Kinalmeaky were outlawed for supporting James II.
c. O'Sullivan Beare

The O'Sullivan clan was technically under the overlordship of the Earl of Desmond, but this amounted to no more than paying a chief rent, a demand which was difficult to enforce (MacCarthy-Morrogh 1986, 76). In 1565 the clan was forced to make articles of submission to MacCarthy Mór (Simms 1987, 143) and the chieftain was bound to serve as a marshal in his hosting (ibid., 114). The O'Sullivan Beare sept was overlord to five other sub-septs of the clan. In the closing years of the clan's history, it was effectively split in two by a succession dispute.

The chieftains held three tower houses directly, Reenavanny [36], Carriganass [i] and Dunboy [47]. The island where the Reenavanny tower house stands were otherwise held by the O'Sullivan Maol family or sub-sept who are called freeholders (Ó Murchadha 1985, 304). Carriganass was built prior to 1549 for the potent O'Sullivan Beare clan by its chieftain, Dermot O'Sullivan 'a man of great renown' who was 'burned in his castle' in 1549 by gunpowder according to the AFM (Ó Murchadha 1985, 303-4). A bridge no doubt spanned the Owvane Rover in the position of the present bridge; the O'Sullivans may have exacted tolls from travellers crossing it.

Diarmaid's successor Domhnall O'Sullivan [Beare] was slain by a gallowsglass in 1563 (ibid.). His brother Eoghan (Owen) assumed the chieftaincy and imitated his overlord, the earl of Clancarty, by submitting to the crown; he recieved the clanlands as his personal property, precipitating a rift with his brother's son Domhnall Cann who had come of age. The documentation submitted by the two parties to prove their claims to the lordship provide important information about the clan and the varying roles of their tower houses.

Carriganass was the home of Owen O'Sullivan, Dermot's second son, who succeeded after Domhnall's murder in the last years of the Sixteenth Century (Ó Murchadha 1985, 194). His son, also an Owen, succeeded in 1594. The younger Owen O'Sullivan's faction had a long-running dispute over the succession with the branch of the family who held Dunboy: Domhnall Cam was fiercely anti-English. Owen, whose family supported the new order, was given the Lordship of Beare. He is described as 'of Carriganass' in 1604, but seems to have subsequently taken up residence at Berehaven (ibid., 304-309).

Dunboy was heavily modified by Domhnall Cam. In the spring of 1602, the large and vulnerable medieval bawn enclosure was abandoned and a star-shaped fort was quickly built around the base of the tower which was truncated to form a gun platform. Stafford, the general who commanded the siege of Dunboy (1602) recorded 'a stone wall of 16 foot in height...faced with soddes intermingled with wood and faggots about 24 feet thick as a defence against cannon' (Gowan 1978, 11). The tower house was systematically destroyed after its capture with gunpowder (O'Grady 1896, 207) but such pains were rarely taken.
Carri€anass was still inhabited as late as 1632, when O’Sullivan More’s 'strong and defensible castle' was mentioned in the context of defences against piracy in a letter by the Lord President St.Leger in a letter to the Lord Justices (Smith 1774, 1896 edn., 253). It is indicated as an inhabited building on the Down Survey (Bibliothèque Nationale). Reenadisert Court is a ruinous semi-fortified house that was allegedly built by Sir Owen O’Sullivan (De Breffny & Ffolliot 1975).
1. O'Driscoll More

This ancient clan was pushed into the south-west part of the Survey region by the MacCarthys due to population movements exacerbated by the Norman invasions. They were the original inhabitants of Corca Laoidhe. Although O Driscoll More was essentially an independent chieftain, MacCarthy Reagh claimed an annual cuid oiche which amounted to £3/13/4d in cash. In 1575, the O'Driscols were listed among the followers of the MacCarthys. They could raise a force of six horsemen and 300 kern (Ó Murchadha 1985, 178).

The O'Driscols had at least nine tower houses towards the end of the Sixteenth Century but little is known about the tower houses' early history. Several closely related families of varying seniority in the O'Driscoll More sept could field candidates for the chieftainship, which resulted in long-running disputes (Ó Murchadha 1985, 179). The two most important families were O'Driscoll More and O'Driscoll Oge (see ii. below).

The O'Driscoll More chieftain held the area of Collymorc (the islands in the Ilen estuary, and the parishes of Tullagh and Creagh) and always occupied a single stronghold at Baltimore where their hall still stands. The tanist seems to have occupied Rincolisky. One of the O'Driscoll tanists held Sherkin Island opposite the harbour. The pobal of the O'Driscols consisted largely of islands and by the mid-Sixteenth Century all the larger islands were defended by tower houses.

The control of the harbour and the surrounding waters was the chief form of income for the O'Driscoll chieftain (O'Donovan 1849, 103) which came from the exaction of fishing and harbourage dues from foreign fishing fleets; these payments were made in kind (O'Donovan 1849, 104).

Their maritime prowess made them far-flung enemies. The O'Driscols allied themselves with the Powers and Roches in East Cork so that the traders of Waterford and Wexford became their arch-rivals; they persistently made expeditions to destroy O'Driscoll naval power. In 1537 the O'Driscoll strongholds were 'cast down, razed to the earth and thrown in the sea' by the citizenry of Waterford (Westropp 1914, 109) after the O'Driscols plundered several Portuguese wine-ships sheltering in the harbour of Baltimore.

The fifteenth-century Finghin (Florence) O'Driscoll Mor who built Dunalong Castle [23] (Donovan 1876, 35) built the Franciscan Friary on Sherkin Island opposite the town of Baltimore probably in the 1460s although the papal licence was granted in 1449 (Gwynn & Hadcock 1970, 258). In the Report made on the County Cork (Coleman 1925, 32) to Lord Burghley in 1586:

'By reason of an Abbey and Castle on Inisherkin, in Baltimore harbour, which may be made
to flank from one end of the harbour to the other with small charges, ships cannot ride there safely.'

The last O'Driscoll More chieftain was Finghin (Florence) O'Driscoll. He adopted English title despite coming from a junior branch of the family. Finghin seemed to have gathered to himself a remarkable number of the O'Driscoll properties: Oldcourt [16] (O'Donovan 1849, 102), Dunanore [25], Dunalong, Cloghan [24] and, it seems, Rincolisky. In the Seventeenth Century, the 'castle, town and lands of Ballyilane [Cloghan]' are mentioned in a 1609 inquisition of Sir Finghin O'Driscoll's possessions (O'Donovan 1849, 102).

Finghin's precautionary adoption of sole title to the lands was largely a formality which made little difference to the clan. It was perhaps this cautious nature that led to his entertaining both Spanish and English fleets during the O'Neill rebellion. The *Pacata Hibernia* records that the Earl of Thomond and Sir Richard Percy 'lodged two nights' at Oldcourt with their regiments on the 27th April 1602 during the Nine Years War (Coleman 1926, 45). Prior to the siege of Kinsale in 1601 he lent a number of castles (including Dunanore on Clear Island and Dunalong on Sherkin Island) to the Spanish, (Coleman 1925, 27) which they had subsequently surrendered to the English:

'While these things were on doing, Captain Roger Harvy sent a party of men to Cape Clear, the castle whereof [Dunanore] being guarded by Captain Tirrell's men, which they could not gain, but they pillaged the island and brought thence three boats; and the second day following the rebels not liking the neighbourhood of the English, quitted the castle, wherein Captain Harvy placed a guard. At this time Sir Finnin O'Driscoll came to Captain Harvy and submitted himself.'

Finghin's son Conchobar was opposed to the English and held Rincolisky or '...Recaranalagh, near Kilcoa, being a castle whence the rebel Conogher, the son of Sir Fineen O'Driscoll, Knight, held a ward [29th April 1602]' (*Pacata Hibernia* quoted in Coleman 1925, 47). The phrasing suggests that during the O'Neill Rebellion, the tower house (and by implication, much of Collybeg) was held by Finghin's son. This would identify Rincolisky as the traditional home of the tanist.

Much of the O'Driscoll property was mortgaged to Sir Walter Coppinger. In 1629, Finghin made a futile attempt to regain the mortgaged estates from Coppinger (Copinger 1884, 46) and Dunalong became one of many pawns in disputes between Fineen and English settlers. There is a local tradition that Fineen O'Driscoll died at the minor tower house of Cloghan (Ballyilane) in the 1630s (Ó Murchadha 1985, 183). Dunalong underwent successive re-occupations and alterations after Finghin's death, being finally abandoned after 1769 (Westropp 1914, 112).

The problem of ownership of Dunalong was peaceably resolved when Tadgh Carrach O'Driscoll,
probably a son of Fineen, married the daughter of Richard Coppinger, brother of Sir Walter. Dunalong later passed to Richard’s grandson by this marriage in 1651 (Ó Murchadha 1985). Baltimore was lost to Sir Fineen, but Sir Walter Coppinger eventually lost control of Baltimore after a bitter legal battle with a New English planter.

Remarkably, Oldcourt, a small stronghold, was still occupied by a senior member of the O’Driscolls in the early part of the Eighteenth Century (Coleman 1926, 45).

ii. O’Driscoll Oge
In 1592, O’Driscoll Oge was still, in effect, an independent chieftain who held thirty four ploughlands in Collybeg (corresponding to the area north of the Ilen river (Fig.c) (Carew Papers, anno 1592, p.63 cited in Burke 1910, 27). They may have been responsible for the construction of the tower house of Rincolisky, but this seems to have passed to the senior O’Driscoll More family by 1600 (see above).

As its name implies, this was a junior family of the derbfine, with its own lands centred on Rincolisky [19] and Aghadown [59]. The O’Driscoll Oge was required to pay a money tribute to the overlord MacCarthy Reagh of Kilbrittain (Burke 1910, 27).

iii. Sliocht Thaídhg
This sept held a large territory on the west short of Castletownsend Bay, which is clearly shown on the Down Survey (Bibliothèque Nationale). The tower house of Glenbarrahane [13] (Castlehaven) is first heard of in connection with Donnchadh O’Driscoll, head of the Sliocht Thaídhg O’Driscoll in 1601 (Ó Murchadha 1985, 179). They very probably built a tower house at Castletownsend, but all trace of this has vanished. Only a fragment remains of Glenbarrahane.

During the Nine Years War, on the sixth of December, 1601, Don Pedro De Zubiaur led a small Spanish squadron of six supply vessels into Castlehaven harbour. Donnchadh Mac Conchobair was there to welcome them and to hand over Glenbarrahane to them (Coombes 1972, 40).

The tower house changed hands between the Spaniards, English and Irish in a succession of counter-moves. After the war the lands of Donnchadh were forfeited and he was in exile in Spain. The tower house became the property of the Audley family (Donovan 1876) and remained in use into the Nineteenth Century.

The Castle at ‘Castletown’ was probably demolished for its stone by Colonel Townsend who acquired Gortbrack (Castletownshend) in the aftermath of the Cromwellian ‘peace’ (Kingston 1985, 66). He built a mansion house that was evidently defensible as the events of 1689 show (ibid., 75).
This clan held a very large area extending from the coast around Glandore to the hills south of Bantry. The leadership of the clan was usually held by the senior Loughlin sept, but another sept (Cahil) was able to operate with considerable independence.

i. Clan Cahil

The O'Donovan Chatail's lands consisted of the coastal area between Castletownshend and Glandore (Fig. c). The sept lived partly from ancestral 'customs, royalties, dues and privileges' in the ports and bays of Castlehaven, Squince and Blind Harbour, which are mentioned in a 1615 regrant (O'Donovan 1851, 2445).

Their castles included Castle Ire [11], Raheen [12] and Castle Donovan [4], as well as strongholds at Bawnlahan, Clasharisheen and the settlement of Drimoleague. Donnell I O'Donovan was nicknamed Domhnall na g-Croiceann, 'Donnel of the hides' (O'Donovan 1851, 2441) and he is alleged to have built Castle Donovan. The first dated mention of Castle Donovan is made in 1577, when a pardon was issued to Domhnall (among the other Carbery chieftains) (Ó Murchadha 1985, 126).

Domhnall na g-Croiceann died in 1584 and his son (another Domhnall) succeeded him, being presented with the traditional white rod of office by MacCarthy Reagh. This chief was traditionally the builder of Raheen (O'Donovan 1851, 2441). His brother Tadhg challenged his succession. Domhnall appealed to the English government; his succession was confirmed by Chancellor Loftus because it abided by the spirit of primogeniture.

When it suited him Domhnall was prepared to cooperate with the government; he burnt the Protestant Bishop's house at Rosscarbery in 1586 and in 1599, he supported Hugh O'Neill. His support, however, shifted with the varying fortunes of the Spanish, and he managed to avoid attainder and the loss of his lands. Two other leading O'Donovans are last heard of as pensioners of the King of Spain (Ó Murchadha 1985, 128).

In 1615, Domhnall regularised his personal estate through 'surrender and regrant', together with chief rents from the rest of the clan. This included the custom and harbour dues at Castlehaven, Squince, Conkeogh (Cuan Caoch or 'Blind Harbour') and the western part of Glandore. His two tower houses of Raheen and Castle Donovan became 'manors' with the right to hold fairs at Raheen, Bawnlahan and Drimoleague. He was twice married and died in 1639 leaving at least seven sons (Ó Murchadha 1985, 128). Castle Donovan was described as a 'manor' in an inquisition taken in 1607 before William Lyon, Bishop of Cork, to determine the extent of Domhnall's 'poble or cantred'. In the inquisition they recognised him as the 'lawfull heyre'. Among his extensive territories, the first listed
was Castle Donovan, this implies that it was his chief residence. It contained 'seven quarters of land
or twenty and one half ploughlands'. Raheen occurs much later in the list (but it should be added that
his testament was made at that castle in 1629) (O'Donovan 1851, 2446). The format of the will is
identical in language and layout to those of the new English who by this date, were a significant
presence in West Cork and with whom he was on good terms.

His eldest son Donnel III O'Donovan succeeded him (ibid., 2447), when he obtained 'livery of seisin'
from the King on 13th February 1639-40. As a strict Royalist, he fought for Lord Castlehaven in 1641
in the captures of Mallow and Doneraile (ibid., 2448). A certificate by the Earl of Clancarty states that
he raised two companies of foot, at his own charge (the tradition of 'rising out' at the chieftain's call
probably still had some effect). He was therefore a target for Parliamentarian vengeance, for in 1650
'the Usurped Power fell then immediately on all the castles, houses and lands of the said O'Donovan,
burning, killing and destroying all they could come by, and have blown up with powder two of his said
castles,&c,' (probably Raheen and Castle Ire).

Like almost everyone else of their class, the Clann Chathail was attainted. On the death of his father
in 1660, Domhnall (now Daniel) IV petitioned the new king to restore him to his father's property.
He travelled to England to pursue his claim, armed with a certificate from the English inhabitants of
Carbery testifying to his own and his father's good character (ibid., 2451). As a result, some of his old
lands were restored to him. However, in 1666, Charles II confirmed Castle Donovan, Seehanes etc,
(1,465 acres in all) to a Cromwellian officer.

The part of the manor of Raheen restored to Daniel IV allowed him to establish a new family seat at
Bawnlahan, nearby. His son conformed to the established religion. The family survived as minor
gentry into the Nineteenth Century and their preserved documentation was scrutinised by the
pioneering scholar, John O'Donovan.

ii. Clan Loughlin

Dohmnal óg Cartan O'Donovan was the head of a sept of the O'Donovans (Clann Lochlainn) junior to
the Clann Chathail who built Raheen. In the mid-Sixteenth Century Glandore Castle [10] came into
his possession. Dohmnal died in 1580 and his son Donal Oge became head. It is likely that Dohmnal
had been responsible for the construction of the very large tower house whose mutilated stump still
survives, altered almost out of recognition.

Like the head of the Clan Cahil, Donal Oge surrendered his lands and was regranted them in 1615.
The grant legitimatised the 'customs and royalties' of the port of Glandore (Ó Murchadha 1985, 128)
and gave him the power to empark the manor of Cloghetradbally.

Donal Oge died in 1629, and his heir, Murtagh became head of the sept. Murtagh was declared an
outlaw in 1643 (ibid., 129), as was his son Daniel. The Clanloughlin lands were confiscated and the castle fell into disuse (ibid., 130). Much later it formed the shell of an eighteenth-century house; apparently after the collapse of much of the superstructure.

iii. Sliocht Iomhair

Castle Ire was held by a small independent O'Donovan sub-sept, a collateral branch of the ruling sept called the Sliocht Iomhair (Ó Murchadha 1985, 126); they were descended from the semi-legendary Iúr or Ivor according to John Collins of Myross (an eighteenth-century bard/historian extensively quoted in Cronnelly 1864, 259). They may have been the sept which originally controlled the small bays along this coastline. One 'Ire Donovan' supported the candidature of Diarmuid An Bhaire 'from being bred at sea' (ibid., 259) who also seems to have derived from this sept, but the sept was overthrown by Donnell II after he killed their candidate for the Clann Cathail chieftainship in 1560. Their sole tower house presumably passed to the Clan Loughlin.
The Barry family derived from Normans who had settled on the island of Barry, seven miles southwest of Cardiff. The Cambro-Norman Barrys who helped in the invasion of Ireland derived from Manorbier in Dyfed, Pembrokeshire (Ó Murchadha 1985, 23). The *Annals of Innisfallen* record that castles were built by the Welsh-Norman family of the Barrys in 1215 at Glandore, *Timoleague* [34] and Dundeady (Westropp 1914, 112). The place-name Brittas or 'La Britasche' (1316) (ibid., 113) occurs three times in the Barony of Ibane and Barryroe.

*Mac Carthaigh's Book* records that in 1214 Nicholas Buidhe de Barri, built some form of stronghold at Timoleague (Ó Murchadha 1988, 74). The stronghold was soon captured and held for a brief time by Domhnall MacCarthy in 1219, but the daughter of Henry Butler married David Barry. This man, the first in a long line of Davids, received the half-cantreds of Rosscarbery and Ibane (Olethan) as his marriage portion. He was subsequently granted the *Villa* of Timoleague by the Bishop of Ross. The Barry Roe line undergoes many complex permutations between this period and the probable construction date (c.1500) of the Timoleague tower house. It is however necessary to give an outline history of the Baronies of Barrymore and Barryroe.

The victory of the Irish at Callan in 1260 saw the Barrys retreat to the territory of Ibane where they succeeded in holding the castle of Timoleague (ibid., 15).

Two distinct families existed until the mid-Sixteenth Century. The Barry More family built large conventional castles throughout southern Cork at Rathbarry, Liscarroll, Castle Lyons, Buttevant and Barryscourt. Other strongholds held by cadet branches existed at Annagh, Dungourney and Robertstown but these all were under the direct control of the Baron in 1600 (Ó Murchadha 1985, 28). The Barryroe and Ibane lands were somewhat peripheral and their minor strongholds along the coasts and headlands of Barryroe were apparently fairly impoverished productions of a largely Gaelicised culture reoccupying ancient promontory forts. The western Barony of Barryroe and Ibane was a fossil 'statelet' of the early thirteenth-century colonisation that survived even the Cromwellian confiscations. The social system respected by the Barrys conflated Gaelic and Norman culture. Although 'pure' tanistry was avoided, the struggle for the Barony that occurred in the mid-Sixteenth Century was an entirely Irish triumph of the 'strong hand'. The victor did however have some legal justification for some of his actions, however threadbare.

Despite misadventures and the loss at sea of much of the ruling elite during a pilgrimage to Spain, James, the 16th Baron Barrymore still held most of the wide and scattered ancestral lands in 1558. For several centuries, the western land of Barryroe and Ibane (divided by an enceinte of MacCarthy territory, Fig.c) seems to have been existed as a separate entity held by a minor family (Barry Roe) and sub-tenanted by further families or septs. James FitzRichard Barry of Rathbarry, a lesser cousin, rose
to be the seventh Barryroe c.1550 by murdering or driving out all legitimate heirs to the title, a widely
admired feat (Coombes 1969, 21). He then was made successor to the Barrymore lands by James
(Barrymore) who lacked a male heir. Queen Elizabeth arranged marriage to James (Barryroe's)
granddaughter to avoid further dispute (Ó Murchadha 1985, 27). James FitzRichard's first son was
deaf and dumb and the second son David received Barrymore. Barryroe and Ibane, including
Timoleague and Lislee were left to a third son (William).

James, the Barryroe, was imprisoned by the English for failing to stop Desmond's march east to
Youghal and he soon died. His son David used a standard Irish 'scorched earth' ploy (Chapter 6a)
and burnt or slighted his own strongholds of Barryscourt and Timoleague to prevent them falling into
the hands of Sir Walter Raleigh (Coombes 1969, 21).

David was a chief lieutenant of the Earl of Desmond and (rather surprisingly) was pardoned after
being defeated by General Zouch on the banks of the Blackwater. Timoleague Castle passed
temporarily into the hands of Fineen (Florence) MacCarthy Reagh when David could not recompense
the Crown for the burning of Timoleague (Healy 1988, 290) and in 1594 Fineen entrusted the
wardship of the castle to 'Molrony O Croly and Edward Slabagh' (Ó Murchadha 1985, 108).

David became an active supporter of the Crown and was allowed to retain his lands after the Nine
Years War despite being an active supporter of the Catholic religion. Timoleague Castle was returned
to him and his title confirmed by James I (Healy 1988, 290). The Protestant Bishop of Cork soon
however complained that in 1607 Sir John FitzEdmunds (a relative of David?) was entertaining
Catholic clergy at his table and otherwise sustaining the Friary (Coombes 1969, 26).

When David died in 1617 his son had pre-deceased him (Coombes 1969, 26) and his grandson was
therefore made a ward of Chancery and raised a Protestant. This youth died prematurely after
fighting for the Parliamentary cause.

After the Restoration, the headquarters of the Barrymores became the vast mansion of Castle Lyons.
i. O'Leary

A branch of the O'Learys are traditionally supposed to have lived in Iveleary (Uibh Laoghaire) since 1192, when they were driven out of Ross by the O'Donovans and the O'Collinses (Lee 1914, 60). No records survive prior to the Sixteenth Century, apart from their genealogy, but they are thought to have been one of the indigenous families of Carbery (Ó Murchadha 1985, 206) and they resisted efforts by MacCarthy Muskerry to impose his full overlordship. The mountainous and wooded terrain no doubt helped the O'Learys to maintain their independence (Ó Murchadha 1993, 217).

The old region of Iveleary consists largely of mountains and lakes and the population were probably reliant on pastoralism. These factors would have imposed a high degree of population mobility with little call for permanent dwellings. The O'Learys only built a handful of tower houses along a stretch of fertile valley in the extreme eastern part of a region that ran westwards to the Shehy mountains. During the period in question, the chieftaincy lay with the Carraig na nGeimhleach family who held the long-vanished Carrignaneelagh Castle (Ó Murchadha 1985, 208); Carrignacurra and the recently-destroyed Dromcarra or Dmmcarragh castle were held by junior families (ibid.,207). Dromcarra Castle was apparently of similar type and date to Carrignacurra (Lee 1914, illustration facing page 60).

The clan was deeply conservative and retained a tightly-knit Gaelic clan structure until the Cromwellian invasion (Ó Murchadha 1985, 210) with few lands held by outsiders. The chieftain Amhlaoibh was elected in the Gaelic manner as late as 1592 (Ó Murchadha 1993, 214). He carried out a cattle raid against another clan in 1600 while both were opposing the English (Ó Murchadha 1985, 208); this is an exceptionally late occurrence of this practice in West Cork (Chapter 6:c).

The chief O Leary settlement was at Inchigeelagh where a parish church rather than a tower house stood; burials of the elite were made in the church (ibid., 207).

'Dermod Oge O Lery' appears in the administrative records as a supporter of the Earl of Desmond's rebellion in 1588 and it may be assumed that he or his wife was the builder of the sole extant tower house of Carrignacurra. The family avoided immediate confiscation of its lands after the Desmond rebellion and the O'Neill rebellion, despite attainders in 1606 (ibid, 208) and it was more convenient for the English grantees to enfeoff the remote and unimproved lands back to their Irish occupants. This helps to explain the late survival of their social structure. The very high casualty rate in the ruling class in 1600 (Ó Murchadha 1993, 222) shows that the clan still did its own fighting, without gallowglass or other hired mercenaries.

All the Iveleary lands were forfeited after the Cromwellian invasion and the Down Survey indicates...
that the ruling class recorded thirteen years earlier in the Civil Survey had been virtually annihilated in the fighting (Ó Murchadha 1993, 235).

ii. Sweeney

The name of the Sweeneys was virtually synonymous with the mercenary class known as Gàllóglaigh 'Foreign Soldiers' (Simms 1987, 175). This clan, or rather people, had originated in the Western Isles of Scotland and were of mixed blood, containing both Norse and Celtic elements in their culture. The increased militarisation of late medieval Ireland provided opportunities for professional mercenaries who entered the service of important chieftains; relieving the chieftains of the need for popular support (ibid. 149).

Gallowglas were introduced into Munster by the Sixth Earl of Desmond c. 1430 (Donnelly 1994, 80). There was constant conflict between Desmond and the MacCarthy lords, despite their intermarriage (O'Brien 1993, 139). One Brian MacSweeney militarily assisted Cormac Láidir of the MacCarthy Muskerreries (the builder of Kilcrea and Blarney Castles) in 1477 (ibid), and it may be assumed that Cormac retained a permanent corps of Gallowglas. The MacSweeneys received grants of land within Muskerry and occupied Cloghda Castle [31], which they rebuilt in 1598 as well as the vanished stronghold of Carraig Dermot Oge [37] and the ruined stronghold of Mashanaglas to the north of the River Lea, outside the Survey region. These three tower houses described a triangle about 7km long and 3km wide, roughly corresponding to the obsolete Clanfinin land division. 'Clanfinin' is shown on the Pacata Hibernia map of Muskerry (Ó Murchadha 1985, xii) and the name probably refers to an earlier member of the MacCarthy Muskerry clan.

The lands of the MacSweeneys lay on both sides of the River Lea along what is now the L41 road and were bounded to the south by the tributary of the Bride below Cloghda Castle. The Lord President Carew recorded that the founder of the Muskerry line, Edmond, was given 'Bonnaght Beg' (buannacht bheag) upon every ploughland in 'Old Muskrye, Iveleary, Iflanloghe, Clannconnogher and Clanfinin' by Cormac Láidir (Ó Murchadha 1985, 291); Carew also recorded that an outright grant of a quarter was made to Edmond but this was not apparently the area where the three castles were built. The Sweeneys apparently made further purchases of land in Muskerry before 1600. These included the purchase of Mashanaglas castle and its lands. The MacSweeneys were also entrusted by the MacCarthy Muskerry with the wardship of Castle More (ibid., 291).

iii. O'Crowley

The County Cork branch of the O'Crowley clan lived for centuries in a mountainous and wooded tract of land called Kilshallow north of the Bandon river between Dunmanway and Newcestown (Coleman 1924, 48). As is generally the case, little is known about their activities until the Tudor reconquest, when they lived up to their clan name 'the hard warrior'. The frequent pardons they required throw much light on the social organisation of the clan (Ó Murchadha 1985, 108). Like most of the
freeholders in Carbery, their overlord was MacCarthy Reagh.

The townlands of Curraghcrowley (Par.Ballymoney) and Caher (Par.Kinneigh) are south and east of the Blackwater and Bandon and are known from place-name evidence to have strong associations with the clan, but the construction of O'Crowley's Castle [33] is thought to indicate a move to the north-west (ibid).

The name of their chieftain in 1573, Florence (Finghin), is only known from a pardon and Ó Murchadha (ibid.) assumes that he lived in the existing building in the townland of Ahakeera. No documentary mention of this townland called 'Augherry' on the Down Survey (Bibliothèque Nationale) seems to exist. The names of the other pardoned individuals in the 25-year period between 1575 and 1600 show that the elite of the clan lived in scattered locations, often as followers or commanders of other chieftains, such as the self-styled MacCarthy More who was imprisoned in the Tower of London.

The members of the clan were favoured as commanders by other clans. The 'O'Crowley' (chieftain) who 'came in' in 1601 was resident at Kilsillagh, a townland in the Ibane promontory south of Timoleague. This may be the same individual charged with the wardship of Timoleague Castle in 1594 by Florence MacCarthy More (ibid). The diffuse nature of the clan contrasts with the tight-knit O'Learys. This lack of central organisation may explain the near-absence of tower houses in their lands and the poor quality and late date of the sole existing example.

The O'Crowleys lost all their lands including those in Fanlobbus after 1642; their lands are therefore shown for re-distribution on the Down Survey (Bibliothèque Nationale), but no castle is indicated in 'Augherry'. The connection with the O'Crowley clan is entirely reliant on local tradition.

iv. O'Cowhigs

This family were an ancient family who had been dynasts (or chief lords) of the territories that were later held by the Barrys. They originated as a sept of the O'Driscoll clan who held the south-west part of Carbery (Burke, 1910, 28) but Westropp casts doubt on this (1914, 111). If Downeen [9] was an O'Cowhig stronghold, it would seem that a branch of the family persisted in the Rossbarbery area as tenant of the MacCarthy Reagh. Westropp knew from place-name evidence alone that the family built four strongholds in the area later called Barryroe and Ibane, but with the possible exception of Dunnycove [70], there is no evidence that this clan built or were functioning as a clan in the main period of tower house construction.

v. Hurley

The Hurleys do not seem to have made use of tower houses until the 1580s. The pardons made by the English after that date are an important a source of information about the Hurley clans. The
Enniskean Hurleys 'gave frequent cause for pardoning' like their warlike neighbours, the Crowleys. They too frequently attached themselves to greater chieftains in return for lands and other favours.

Two sons of Cormac O'Cruadhlaoich (Crowley) were pardoned in 1584 in the company of Randal O'Hurley of Ballynacariga. Randal married Catherine O'Cullinane, daughter to the physician of the MacCarthy Reaghs (Hurley 1906, 26). This Randal appears to have built both Ballynacariga and Ballinvard [5].

A 1601 pardon to the MacCarthy Glas chieftain demonstrates that the subsequent generation of the O'Coilean (Cullinane) family and the Hurleys formed marriage links. One of MacCarthy's followers, Teige O' Collane, was married to Ellen ny Ranell Marhelly, apparently a daughter of Randal.

In 1601 the government pardoned no less than ten related Hurley warriors at once, but this did not deter them from taking part in the battle of Kinsale (Ó Murchadha 1985, 252). The Hurleys apparently survived the aftermath of Kinsale with intact estates.

The clan lands became an estate in 1615, when Randal Og of Ballynacariga and Florence MacDonell MacCarthy of Benduff 'got a grant of extensive lands in Carbery. These included their own lands, plus those of several O'Crowleys of Killtallowe. The Government later discovered that many of these O'Crowleys had alienated their lands to Hurley and MacCarthy, and the two had to pay fines to obtain pardon for the same (Ó Murchadha 1985, 110). The patent roll describes the two chieftains as 'gentlemen' and assignees of Sir James Simple, Knight (Hurley 1906, 81).

Randal Oge (probably the son of the Randal who built Ballynacariga) died in 1631 and was succeeded by his son. In 1641, this Randal was one of the first Irish chieftains to support the Crown. As a result, Randal was amongst those declared outlaws at Youghal in 1642 by contrivance of the Earl of Cork. His estate passed into the hands of no less than six different English proprietors (Coleman 1924, 47).

In 1641 William mac Randal Hurley held Ballinvard, and in that year made his will leaving it to his son, William II. William I was a substantial landowner, leaving large bequests to his many sons and daughters, with the exception of a disinherited son (Ó Murchadha 1985, 253). However, they were all to be disinherited in the wholesale confiscation of land that followed the Civil War.

Ballinvard was not mentioned in the Patent Roll of 1615 (see above). The tower house and the adjoining lands were granted by Charles II to the Archbishops of Dublin (ibid.).

vii. Daly
An important bardic clan, including the Muinítr Bháiríe sept who lived in the Sheep's Head peninsula and are believed to have held the castle at Farranamanagh [27]. The O'Dalys of Desmond acquired
the Sheeps Head peninsula prior to the Gaelic resurgence from the Hiberno-Norman Carew family, but the ascendant O'Mahony *Fionn* clan later claimed them as tenants (Ó Murchadha 1985, 116) and used their services. The O Dalys of *Muintir Bháire* (Sheeps Head) held 36 ploughlands in 1499, probably all in that peninsula (ibid. 117) where, according to John O'Donovan, part of a bardic school survived into the Nineteenth Century (ibid.) at Dromnea (ibid.). The tower house and its lands seem to have reverted to the O'Mahony family in the early Seventeenth Century, for in 1634, the ageing Sir Walter Coppinger acquired 'Castle negeahie' for his son Thomas along with several townlands in the vicinity from one Dermod O'Mahonie of 'Skeighenore' (Skahanagh?) (Copinger 1884, 58); this is our only indication of what the tower house, a fairly humble structure, was called.

The Dalys lost all their lands in the peninsula after the Cromwellian conquest (Ó Murchadha 1985, 118), as a result of their role in the ejection of the land-hungry William Hull from South-West Cork in the revolt.