ARISTOCRATS, IMMIGRANTS AND ENTREPRENEURS: SETTLERS AND SETTLEMENT INITIATIVES IN LATE 13TH CENTURY IRELAND

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The theme of this paper is the settlement of Ireland in the aftermath of the Anglo-Norman conquest in the late 12th century. The topics discussed are the creation of a network of manors, many of them with borough-settlements, and the construction of moated sites in places distant from nucleated settlements. It is suggested that the Anglo-Norman manors were mainly populated by immigrants from England and Wales only in the late 13th century, and also that the construction of moated sites was in response to Edward I's demand for in-creased food production in Ireland.

A frontier land

The value of Ruralia lies less in the opportunity which it affords us to discover and express the individuality of regions within medieval Europe than in the potential it possesses as a medium through which common, pan-Continental, patterns and processes of settlement may be identified. Located at the physical edge of Europe, and largely unaffected by Romanism and by its "barbarian" denouement, Ireland qualifies as part of medieval Europe's periphery, and the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in the late 12th century, a whole century after their ancestors had invaded neighbouring England, might be cited as reinforcing evidence. Ireland's status as peripheral is not a view challenged here, nor does it need to be challenged to justify a lengthy dis-cussion of the island in these proceedings: as a peripheral, even frontier, region, Ireland has much to tell us about Europe's centre (see *Bartlett 1993, passim*). Although there were connections between Ireland and those parts of France still under English rule in the 13th century (*O'Brien 1995*), it was, not unnaturally, to-wards the English and Welsh corner of Europe's core area that Ireland was oriented from the late 12th cen-tury to the Reformation: the marchlands of Wales provided the greater number of aristocrats in the initial, late 12th century, stages of Anglo-Norman colonisation, but thereafter England and Wales together supplied Ireland with settlers, both noble and peasant (*Otway-Ruthven 1968*, 115-16; *Phillips 1984*). Ireland was a re-source, a place in which military aristocrats acted out their expansionist fantasies for real, a food factory from which Edwardian armies drew, and a receptacle which contained late 13th century English population overflow.

The settlement history of Ireland's colonial population in the late 13th century is the subject of this pa-per, and it is viewed through the lens of the manor institution. The focus is particularly on the boroughs, which in many cases were central places within the manorial system, and on the moated sites, the most tangi-ble archaeological indicators of the colony's exploitation of the countryside. No attempt is made here to esti-mate the numbers of immigrants - an issue about which there is no consensus (*Russell 1966; 1972*, 130-45; *Glasscock 1987*, 212) - but the scale and chronology of immigration are important issues for which, as is demonstrated here, these two settlement phenomena provide valuable indicators.

Royal involvement with Ireland, from Henry II to Edward II

The Anglo-Norman colony in Ireland was not a homogenous territory, either politically or culturally, nor could it have been, given both the circumstances of its establishment and the character of indigenous polity and society. First of all, at the time of the Anglo-Norman arrival in 1169 Ireland did not possess a centralised power comparable to that in England in 1066, and this meant that nominal control over Ireland was more difficult to achieve; indeed, one might ask whether it is even legitimate to speak of an "Ireland" in the late 12th century (*Carty 1996*, 18-30). In additon, the involvement of William I and Henry II in late 11th century England and late 12th century Ireland respectively guaranteed fundamental differences in the subsequent evolution of both lands. William led from the front, a man committed to claiming what he regarded as a rightful possession, but Henry, by contrast, was rather lukewarm on Ireland, and despite earlier papal authorisation for invading Ireland, he only became involved in Irish affairs in the 1170s when his southern Welsh liegemen appeared to be carving out independent lands for themselves on the island. Although Henry authorised, by grants, their claims over the lands they had conquered, it was certainly the case that those men were eligible for grants solely by dint of their presence: they were not the men to whom Henry would have given land grants in different circumstances, but men who had, with force and guided by an entrepreneurial spirit, manoeuvred themselves into positions from which they could not easily be removed. The colony which was established in Ireland thus developed strong regional identities which reflected the diverse backgrounds of the men who made it, and Henry, by leading from the rear, cemented that diversity.

Henry's grandson, Edward I, had a different vision of Ireland, as *Lydon* has documented (*1987*, 179-204). His father, Henry III, had granted him Ireland in 1254 as part of a package of territories (including Gascony) from which he could claim an annual income of 15,000 marks. He, and his successor, Edward II, drew freely on Irish resources, bringing them to the point of exhaustion. Nothing better illustrates the drain on those resources than the raising of £30,000 in Ireland for spending on the building of the great north Welsh castles of the 1280s, or the royal request in December 1298 that 8,000 quarters of wheat, 10,000 quarters of oats, 2,000 quarters of crushed malt, 1,000 tuns of wine (presumably French wine which had been imported into Ireland), 500 carcasses of beef, 1,000 fattened pigs, and 20,000 dried fish, be exported from Ireland in readiness for a military campaign. With unattainable demands such as this being made on the colony's farmland towards the close of the 13th century, and with the king and many great landowners in hock to Italian merchant bankers at the same time (*O'Sullivan 1962*, 127-32), the thresholds between availability, demand, and the capacity to pay, were crossed. Combined in the early 14th century with the onset of bad weather and famine (*Jordan 1996*) the colony spiralled into a century of crisis and decay.

Manorial organisation and its chronology

Edward I's demands for food stuff were met - or were expected to be met - by production on the manors. The pattern of manor formation in Anglo-Norman Ireland is well-established: large fiefs created during the initial stage of Anglo-Norman involvement were sub-divided by their lords into smaller holdings, but with demesne land retained, and those small holdings were in turn subdivided into still smaller holdings, again with the retention of demesne land. The larger manors were generally held in return for military service, but lesser lords held their small tenements at an annual rent and with suit owed at the manor court. The manors were generally coterminous with parishes (*Otway-Ruthven 1964*), and substantial manors - manors held by military service - generally possessed settlements with borough status (discussed *below*). The principal sources for reconstructing manors are the extents of the later 13th and early 14th centuries; although these extents were compiled long after the manors were formed, the tenements described as owning rents and services were fixed at the time of initial aristocratic settlement, and therein, for our purposes, lies the value of the extents.

The social composition of the Anglo-Norman manors of Ireland, examined in detailed case-studies (see for example *Empey 1982*; *1983*) and in general surveys (*Otway-Ruthven 1965*), may be illustrated here by reference to the episcopal manor of Cloyne, Co. Cork, details of which are recorded in a rental of *c.* 1364

which is preserved in the so-called Pipe Roll of Cloyne (*MacCotter-Nicholls 1996*, 3-21). Colonists of two basic classes may be identified from this rental: free tenants holding parcels of lands, sometimes in return for military service to the bishop, and cottiers (although they were not actually named as such in the rental) who served on the bishop's demesne land. The largest parcels held by free tenants comprised six or eight plough-lands. There is no apparent correlation between the size of the parcels and the military services owed to the bishop, and in some cases holdings of up to four ploughlands were simply held by rent and suit of court. The possessions of the cottiers were, by contrast, meagre: a cottage, sometimes with an acre attached. They were obliged to tend the gaol, and to "make" meadow and park. Cottiers also served on the bishop's 376-acre de-. mesne at Ballycotton, a small coastal fishing settlement; here they are described specifically as fishermen, and part of their obligation was to provide the bishop with fish, but they were at least guaranteed that the bishop would take no more fish than he needed. Other demesne lands attached to Cloyne had small numbers of English settlers of unspecified tenurial status, each with a messuage and a parcel of land of between two and twenty acres.

It is not clear, however, when tenements such as those at Cloyne were first occupied by settlers, nor is it clear that the level of settlement recorded in extents and rentals of *c.* 1300 was as intensive as anticipated in the late 1100s. *Hennessy (1996,* 121, 123) has marshalled very good evidence that the manorial system in central and southern Tipperary, for example, remained underdeveloped in the first half of the 13th century. Here, at the start of the second decade of that century, land was perceived as territories around castles rather than as the manorial units recorded in later extents, and three decades later, when the manors did exist, the manor courts had not yet developed and most of the tenants were Gaelic. It was only in the second half of the 13th century that the Tipperary manors developed: one of those manors still in embryo by 1250, Lisronagh, has a surviving rental of 1333 which reveals it to have at least trebled in value during the period 1250-1300. *Hennessy (1996,* 124) has attributed the retardation of the growth of the Tipperary manors in the early 13th century to a lack of seigneurial direction caused by royal interference, minorities and absenteeism. Manorial lords may have involved themselves only peripherally in the detail of manorial organisation beyond their own demesne boundaries (*Dyer 1985,* 27-8), but a seigneurial presence would certainly have been attractive to potential settlers, and absenteeism was regarded by the crown as a problem sufficiently serious to warrant action (*Watt 1987,* 385).

The possession of free tenantries among the Gaelic Irish was not unknown in colonial Ireland (*Nicholls 1982*), but the Irish of the manors were generally betaghs (*betagii*). They were numerous. On the small manor of Ballyherk in north Tipperary, held for the service of one knight, there were two ploughlands held in demesne, three and a half ploughlands held by a single tenant, and four ploughlands held by 100 betaghs; only one free tenant is named (an Englishman), two English *gavillari*, and six anonymous cottiers (*Empey 1988,* 456).

Betaghs may sometimes have enjoyed a better deal than English cottiers (*Empey 1982,* 340-1), but not those living on the episcopal manor of Cloyne. The bishop reserved the right to take possession of, and sell, their goods, and to move them to wherever he wanted them to be. They were also obliged to provide the bishop with turf, to cart and stack his hay and corn, and to give him beasts (where they had no beasts their best garments sufficed). The same draconian conditions applied to those betaghs living on and farming 70 acres of demesne at Ballycotton, and possibly also to those *hibernici* located somewhere on the three plough-lands held of the bishop by William fitz Walter.

Manorial boroughs

Food produced in the fields needed distribution, and nucleated settlements provided the setting. Manorial towns and villages were a feature of the colony. The Cloyne manor, for example, had the cathedral town of Cloyne itself. Lands attached to the manor of Cloyne also had settlements: at Ballycotton, situated on the coast, there was a village located on a parcel of 3 acres, while on another parcel (a ploughland, held at service of one-tenth of a knight's fee) there was a "built-up village", a description which suggests an actual functioning settlement as distinct from a speculative settlement (*MacCotter-Nicholls 1996,* 7). There is landscape evidence of other medieval nucleations on lands held of the bishop of Cloyne.

Rarely, however, did nucleations not have borough status. Boroughs were not necessarily towns, but simply places at which the privileges of burgage tenure were enjoyed by tenants in return for specified rents to the manorial lord. Invariably boroughs were nucleations, but given the provision of burgage land to which burgesses had access (and the right to sell if they so desired), and the entitlement of burgesses to trade freely within the manor, we should regard them as economic central places within the manorial network; they were not necessarily urban, but very many of them did, very quickly, acquire the secondary and tertiary activities which constitute urbanism. The arable fields around the borough-settlement of Fethard, Co. Tipperary (*Fig. 1*) for example, indicate very clearly the essentially agricultural nature of many of these places.

The date of establishment of a borough, if it can be secured directly from a charter of incorporation, does not necessarily indicate when the place in question was populated. Burgesses owed annual rent (by custom, one shilling) for holdings of several acres, and given that a settlement of twenty burgesses bringing in an annual rent of £1 might require a ploughland depending on custom, the optimum time for land to be set-aside for burgesses was certainly at the time of a manor's foundation. Charters, however, often post-dated the foundations to which they referred: the earliest charter of New Ross for example, dates from the 1280s, by which time the town - for "town" it most certainly was, as it competed with Waterford to be Ireland's pre-eminent port - already had, by the charter's own words, burgesses (*Mac Niocaill 1964*, 74, 300). Whether or not there were burgesses at any specific place prior to the making of a charter, the fact remains that burgage spaces allotted might not always be filled with burgesses. At Gowran, located amidst the dense cluster of manorial boroughs in Co. Kilkenny, it is possible to estimate from the burgage rent that burgage land amounting to twenty-one ploughlands was set aside for 680 burgesses (*Empey 1983*, 443), and assuming each burgess had a family of four this would amount to a population of over 2 700, not including others in the borough with lesser rights. There is no doubt from the shape of modern-day Gowran itself that the population was smaller than the burgage land suggests. In the cases of the boroughs of Ferns and Wexford, located, like Gowran, in a part of Ireland with a heavy Norman presence, a third of the burgages were recorded in 1298 as being waste (for details see *Graham 1980*, 32); whatever the situation at Ferns, the coastal port of Wexford is not likely to have had this level of abandonment before the end of the 13th century and one must conclude that these burgages were simply never occupied.

The borough of Kilmaclenine, Co. Cork, founded by the bishop of Cloyne, illustrates a different direction in which destiny could bring a borough. At the time of its foundation about 1251, the burgesses of Kilmaclenine were given their privileges according to the law of Breteuil in return for ten marks sterling per year. By 1365 their privileges had effectively evaporated, and they were now obliged to plough, and to reap and cart corn, and to cart iron, wine and salt. An undated (but presumably 14th century) extent of the demesne of Kilmaclenine even mentions *betagii* as burgesses, and they are not allowed out of the *vill* except to pasture on the demesne lands, lands which "lie (around) and enclose the burgagery as far as the town" (*Mac Cotter-Nicholls 1996*, 37-8, 41, 49).

Otway-Ruthven (1965) argued that the creation of boroughs was sometimes a device to draw to Ireland settlers from England and Wales. If baiting settlers was a factor in borough formation we may have an explanation for apparent discrepancies between ideal and actual burgess populations: the bait was not always taken. The processes by which potential settlers would have become aware of, and might eventually have found their way to, new burgages in Ireland is not clear; with no evidence for *locatores* comparable to those operating in the settlement of German lands (*Bartlett 1993*, 121-2) it is not inconceivable that potential settlers in England and Wales were simply unaware of what was on offer.

Fethard, Co. Tipperary: the development of a manorial borough

The county of Tipperary has already featured in this discussion. The creation of borough settlements in south-east Tipperary had mixed results, with Clonmel, Carrick-on-Suir and Fethard surviving as prosperous towns after the 14th century. Fethard, with its thorough documentation and outstanding archaeological remains, is an ideal candidate for a case-study of the development of manorial boroughs (*O'Keeffe 1997; forthcoming*).

In the late 1100s early 1200s Tipperary was the eastern half of the kingdom of Limerick, only achieving independent county status in the second quarter of the 13th century. Philip de Braose, a Welshman, had been granted the vast honour of Limerick in 1177 but the venture had proved unsuccessful, a failure Giraldus Cambrensis attributed to "the number of cut-throats, and murderers, and rude fellows, whom Philip de Braose had, by his own special choice, got together from South Wales and and its marches, to accompany him". In 1185 King John attempted a new venture into Limerick: much of the honour was granted to Theo-
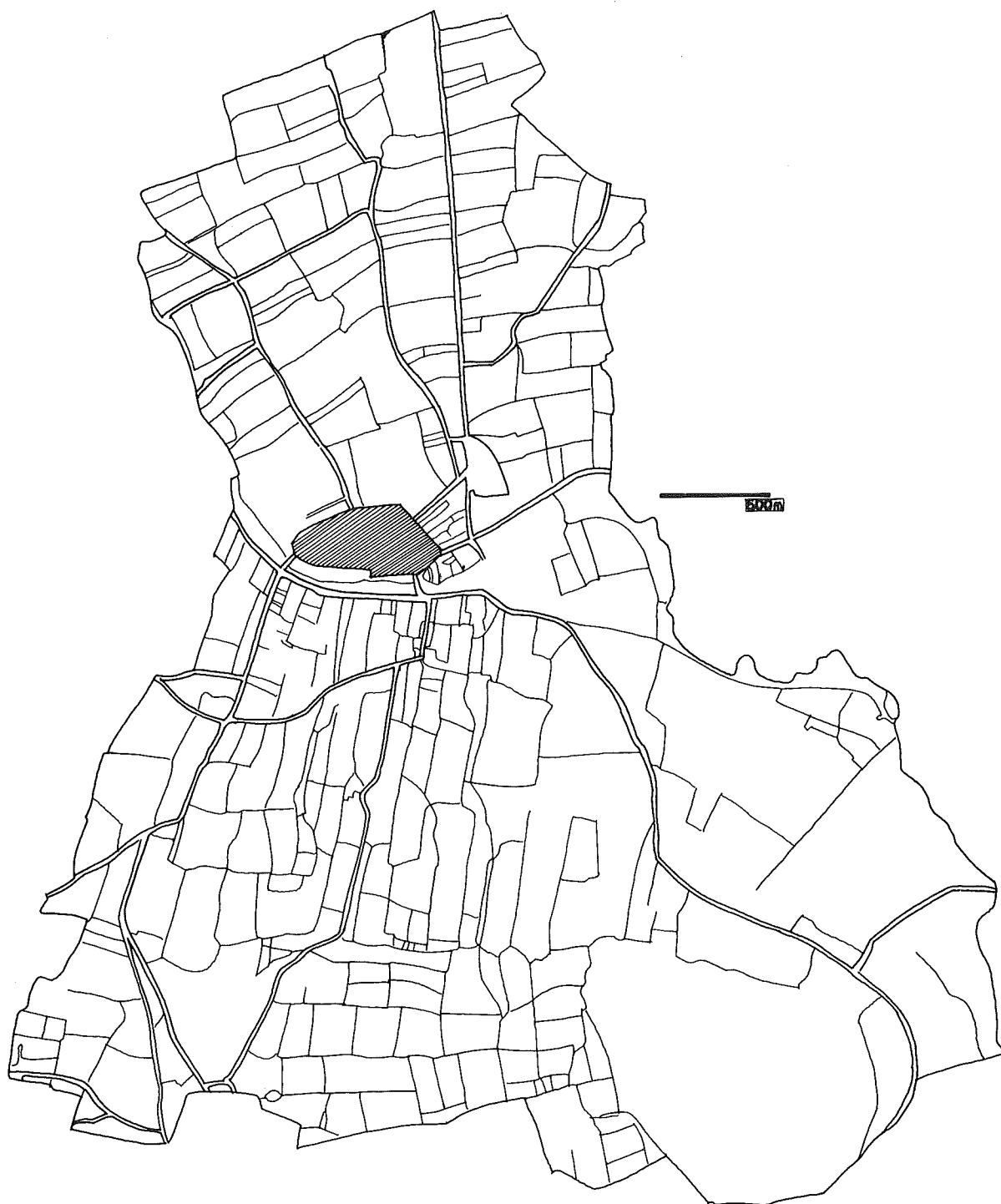

Fig. 1. Map of Fethard parish, Co. Tipperary, showing the manorial Borough (shaded), roadways, and the avable strips enclosed in the 18th and 19th centuries.

bald Walter, while part of Middlethird (Moctalyn), the barony in which Fethard is located, was granted to Philip of Worcester. In 1201 John revived the terms of the original 1177 grant of Limerick, and installed William de Braose, nephew of Philip de Braose, over Philip of Worcester as its chief tenant. William held the territory, *in absentia* until 1208 when his lands were confiscated by John, with whom he had been in dispute.

Settlement was cleary intended, if not actually realised, at Fethard by 1208 when William de Braose, in a grant of a message there to the Hospital of St John the Baptist in Dublin, referred to it specifically as his borough. The impropriation by de Braose, his son and his wife of the parish of Fethard to Hospital of St John the Baptist, Dublin, is also recorded at the same time. After the confiscation of the de Braose lands by the king, Fethard was part of the royal demesne for about seven years, after which it passed to the archbishop of Cashel, who gave two and a half carucates to the burgesses of Fethard at an annual rent of 12 marks. The settlement and its lands remained part of the archepiscopal estates until the 16th century. Despite the involvement of the archbishops, the church (dedicated to St John) and parish of Fethard remained allied with the Hospital in Dublin until the start of the 14th century, about the same time as a house of Augustinian friars was established at the edge of the settlement.

The walled town we see today owes its shape to a 15th and 16th century enlargement of an older, Anglo-Norman, settlement (*Fig.* 2) measuring about 300 m east-west and 130 m north-south, and systematically laid out around a triangular market space. This outline is almost certainly the outline enclosed (in earth and timber, rather than in stone?) in 1292 when the king allowed money levied over seven years from items sold in the town (silk cloth, wine skins, sae-fish, coal, nails, timbers, salt) to be used by the burgesses of Fethard for "the inclosing of their vill and the greater security of Ireland". The elliptical curve at the west end of the enclosed "vill" might indicate the presence on the site of an earlier, pre-Norman enclosure, around either a church or a settlement, although Fethard's place-name. *Fíodh Ard*, the high wood, contains no hint of earlier settlement, unlike the names of the nearby manorial centres of Kiltinan, Kilsheelan and Lisronagh which have Kill- (church or church-site) or Lios- (enclosure) elements.

By 1300, then, Fethard was a town by any definition. It had probably acquired attributes of urbanism by the middle of the 13th century when local woods had to be cleared by order of the justiciar because merchants, presumably carrying goods such as those listed in 1292, had been robbed or killed on their way to Fethard. Was it a town early in the 13th century? The parish church provides a clue. Judging by the shape of the precinct in which the church is centrally-located, the church's construction might not be contemporary with the settlement: the street pattern acknowledges the existence of the churchyard, but the oval outline of the town does not fully embrace that churchyard. Given that the earliest parts of the church date from the early part of the 13th century, the likelihood is that the nucleated settlement was laid out later. It is not inconceivable that it was the archbishops of Cashel who, after 1215, transformed the William de Braose's speculative borough into an actual town, and that their grant in 1215 of two and a half carucates for an annual rent of 12 marks represents the creation of the burgage land essential to the settlement's survival. The area enclosed in 1292 indicates the extent of the nucleation at the height of colonial prosperity.

The 14th and 15th centuries lie outside the scope of this paper, but something might be said of Fethard after colonial Ireland had passed its peak of prosperity. In 1375-6 the townspeople of Fethard were exempted from paying royal taxes for a period of ten years, and the money generated by this was intended to go towards the building of the town's stone walls. Inside the town, the fabric of the parish church seems to have been in regular need of attention: indulgences were promised in 1397 to those willing to subscribe to its repair, and it is fair to suggest that this was not the first time that it needed such attention. In 1409, Henry IV made a further grant for the walling of Fethard, though nothing is known of the detail. Four decades later, in 1468, yet another grant was made. The repair and maintenance of the Town Wall by the townspeople following its partial destruction later that year was facilitated by an exemption for twelve years from paying subsidies and customs, though not from paying the royal taxes, and it was also ordained that money left over from the repair of the walls was to be used for paving the streets. Indeed, the wording of this grant implies that there had recently been a similar grant in existence, possibly for the preceding twelve years. The regularity of the line of the later medieval Town Wall suggests that its line was marked out across land that had not yet been developed; in other words, it gave the town space to develop, and by the time construction was eventually completed the town had still not filled the space which the wall enclosed.

Nothing is known of domestic architecture within the 13th century settlement, but very good evidence of domestic planning remains from the late middle ages. Arranged around the churchyard were several high-status houses ranging in date between the late 15th century and the early 17th century. The two well-preserved examples dating from the end of the 1400s had vaulted basements to which there was access from the street, and well-appointed upper halls which were reached by external flights of stairs from the rears of the properties. There was no direct access from the basements, which were presumably commercial spaces, to
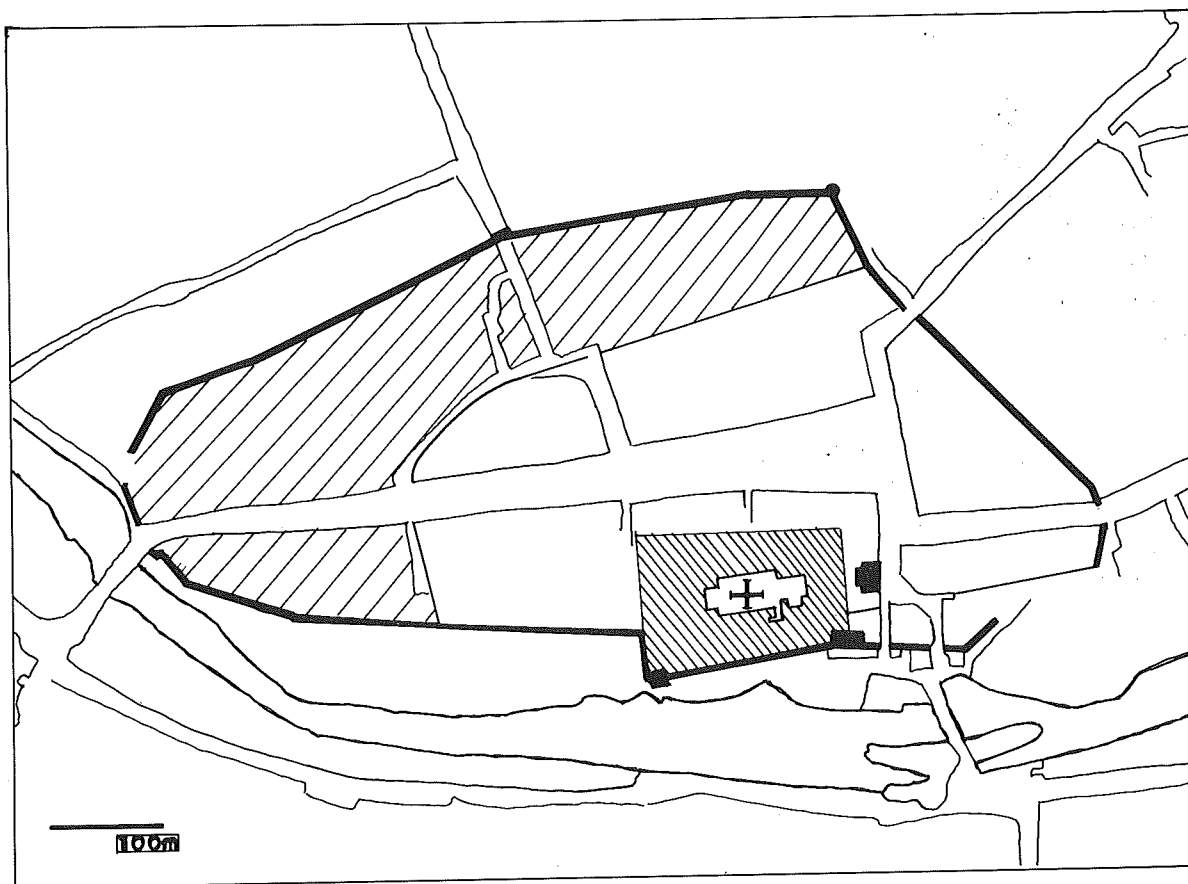
Fig. 2. Plan of manorial Borough, Fethard, co. Tipperary. Black: tower-houses. Dark shading: churchyard. Light shading: late medieval extension to 13th century settlement.

the upper halls. These buildings had, therefore, a dual orientation: their public spaces faced the street, and their private spaces looked towards the church. Direct entry to second-storey level is encountered infrequently in Irish castle-architecture, except in the Anglo-Norman military architecture of the 13th century. With high status town-houses of *c.* 1500 serving both commercial and domestic functions, access to the upper hall by external steps may seem to have been an obvious solution, but it may have been a solution inspired by a knowledge of how upper halls were reached in the Anglo-Norman period.

Moated settlement and the spirit of entrepreneurship

Ecclesiastical establishments founded by, or at least enjoying the patronage of, Anglo-Norman patrons, and military castles, together provide the most tangible evidence of a colonial presence in the 13th century Irish countryside, but these are not, strictly speaking, monuments of settlement. The one definite indictor of the occupation of the countryside is the moatedsite. In Meath and Ulster, where moats are not common, small mottes, although ostensibly castles, probably served the same functions. Both monumenttypes provided a colonial presence on the landscape. As in England (*Le Patrourel - Roberts 1978*, 47), the thirteenth century and the first quarter of the fourteenth century has been adduced as the principal period of moat construction in Ireland (*Empey 1982*, 335).

Evidence for the chronology of moated sites in Ireland comes in part from archaeological excavation. The first site to be excavated scientifically was at Kilmagoura in north Cork: here was a moated enclosure

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positioned in the corner of a larger, earthen-banked, enclosure. The excavation of the moated area is not published but in a short notice (*Glasscock 1968*) the excavator has described three phases of activity, the latest of which appears to have seen the erection of two buildings, one of them substantial enough to be regarded as a house or hall. Timber used in its bridge was dated by dendrochronology to 1225±70 (*Smith et al. 1971*). Quern stones found on the site indicate food processing. The site at Rigsdale (*Sweetman 1981*), also in Co. Cork and dated numismatically to the close of the 13th century, also contained remains of a substantial rectangular house or hall, oriented east-west and measuring 20 m by 8 m internally. The interior seems to have been sub-divided. The eastern quarter, off which projected a stone-walled area (coming from a garderobe above?) was identified as an occupation area by the excavator, while the western three-quarters of the building had slot trenches suggestive of supports for an upper floor. A second building on the site was identified by the excavator as a gatehouse but its position at the corner of the enclosure suggests it was a tower. At Ballyveelish, Co. Tipperary, three structures were identified within a moated enclosure (*Doody 1987*). Although part of the interior of the moated site was not investigated, it was apparent that structures within the moat were confined to one side (the east side), and that much of the enclosed space was left without buildings. Three buildings were arranged in a line along this eastern side. At opposite ends were structures A and C: the character of the latter is uncertain from the published account of what was excavated, but the former was identified as a wattle-built house of square plan (4 m x 4 m), and was surrounded by a stone-walled yard, also of square plan and extending only a couple of metres from the wattle walls. Structure B, located between A and C, was represented by slot trenches, and it seems to have been a wooden building of rectangular in plan, its interior sub-divided by one or more timber partition walls. A much-denuded fourth structure, D, stood isolated in a corner of the enclosure and may been built of stone. Finds from Ballyveelish included pottery of general late 13th century type, fourteen rotary querns, and considerable quantities of cereal grain, particularly wheat and oats.

Other, rather more circumstantial, evidence indicates that moat-building was probably not a phenomenon of the late 12th or early 13th centuries. Moats were not located, as Barry and Empey observed in macroscale and micro-scale analyses respectively (*Barry 1977; Empey 1982*), in the manorial cores of this early colonial period, but were scattered, sometimes in clusters, in fringe locations, although there may of course be examples close to manorial centres (*Hall et al. 1985*). Moreover, the building of the moats was very rarely documented, with the one outstanding exception of Ballyconnor, Co. Wexford, in the early 1280s (*Barry 1977; 96-7; Colfer 1996*). The account of Ballyconnor makes clear that an existing *grangia* was enclosed both by a palisade formed of sharpened tree-trunks set into a trench, and by an outer moat 66.8 perches long. Eighteen carpenters were employed in the making of the palisade. There was also roofing or re-roofing of the grange, and the building of a gatetower. Most valuably, the account gives an impression of agricultural activity at Ballyconnor: two oxen had been stolen, leaving a stock of thirty-six, eight of them to be kept inside the moated enclosure. These eight animals must have comprised a plough team *in dominio* after the manner of late 11th and early 12th century England where eight oxen seem to have comprised the demesne plough team (*Lennard 1959; 349-57*); the Pipe Roll of 14 John, 1211-12, indicates that plough teams with eight oxen were also in use in Ireland (*Davies - Quinn 1941*). This, combined with the certainly that the remaining animals must have been sheltered elsewhere among Ballyconnor's 240 acres, suggests that this *grangia*, although an out-farm of the manor of Ross, was the centre of a small farming estate.

The siting of moats makes it clear that these monuments, although peripheral to the manorial centres to which their occupants owed allegiance, were not always on land which was environmentally marginal or which could be regarded as frontier-land, either politically or culturally. Some moats must have represented the sort of woodland assarting which has been well-documented in the Forest of Arden (*Roberts 1985*), but generally they stood on land of reasonably good quality. Furthermore, and significantly, those parts of Ireland in which moats were most common also have the highest numbers of settlements enjoying borough-status (*O'Keeffe 1996*, Fig. 4). But establishing a direct link between moat and borough-settlement is not always an easy task: in the case of Knocktopher, Co. Kilkenny, for example, moats are located on smaller fiefs held by free tenants of the manor (*Empey 1982*, 342), but in the case of the manor of Cloyne, only Ballykinealy, two ploughlands in area and held by Sir Nicholas Coursey by a quarter of a knight's fee (*MacCotter - Nicholls 1996*, 7), has a moat, while other substantial free tenements at Cloyne did not have moated sites.

Even if the nature of the documentation prevents us making direct and unequivocal connections, it is probable that moats were monuments associated principally with arable farming and with food processing, and that the processed grain was for marketing at a nearby nucleation and for distribution out of there. It might be noted that a late 13th or early 14th century corn-drying kiln, possibly associated with a barn, house and yard, was excavated inside a possible moated site at Kilferagh, located several kilometres south of the

Anglo-Norman town of Kilkenny (*Hurley 1987*). In central Limerick and central Cork, where a long band of moats extending in a wide north-south line ostensibly marks a frontier *(Barry 1981)*, there is a dense concentration of settlements which had burgesses or which at least held the right to hold markets (*Graham 1993*, Fig. 2.7). We might conclude that this is not a case of moat-builders being pushed to the margins of settled land, but an example of a favourable zone for settlement, a zone where colonial farmers and traders might well have benefited from the contiguity with Gaelic Irish.

Allowing that moats were not constructed at the time the manors were laid out, can we suggest that those who settled these rural lands were actually born in Ireland, albeit of colonial ancestry, and that they had moved outwards, possibly under population pressure within the colony, or at least to feed a burgeoning colonial population? *Empey* (*1982*, 335) has acknowledged this as a possibility, adding that the lord of a fief could meet the need for more land being cultivated by constructing an out-farm at his own expense (which Ballyconnor, with its demesne plough-team seems to have been), or that he leased the land to a farmer. The extent to which population increased independently of immigration in Ireland in the 13th century is not known, but the comparatively small size of many rural nucleations suggests growth was modest: with few exceptions, borough settlements in south-east Ireland, Fethard included, were the same size as many English villages (see, for comparative purposes, the plans of villages in *Bond 1985*). Moreover, in view of the numbers of Gaelic Irish on the manors, it is not inconceivable that new farming technology, which some scholars have suggested caused an increase in population in England (*Langdon 1986*, 288-9), was not introduced very widely or very successfully into Ireland.

Empey's second suggestion - that land was leased to farmers - is worth some investigation. The moats may have been built by farmers who recognised the potential for money-making in the farming business at the end of the 13th century; the case of the Irish merchant who bought wheat at 5 shillings per crannock and sold it in Gascony for a healthy profit at 22 shillings per crannock (*Lydon 1987*, 197) illustrates the opportunities for entrepreneurs during Edward I's reign. It is possible that farmers came specifically from England to generate money by cultivating new land: how else might we explain the first-time appearance of moats on the Irish landscape as late as the middle or end of the 13th century? Irish moats conform so closely to English moats in morphology, except for the complex of outer earthworks (such as fishponds) which are found in England, that the idea of placing a moat around a farmstead complex of square outline is rather likely to have been carried directly from England late in the 13th century, than to have been transmitted by word-of-mouth to Irish-born colonists.

NOBLES, IMMIGRANTS ET ENTREPRENEURS:
HABITANTS ET HABITATS À LA FIN DU 13e SIÈCLE - IRLANDE

Le sujet de ce papier est la colonisation de l'Irlande après la conquête des Anglo-Normans dans les dernières années du douzième siècle. On discute ici la création d'un réseau des manoirs seiegneuriaux beaucoup parmi d'eux avec des borough settlements, et la construction des moated sites dans des endroits loin des colonies dispersées. On propose que les manoirs des Anglo-Normans étaient par la plupart peuplés par les immigrants arrivant de l'Angleterre et du Pays de Galles seulement dans les dernières années du treizième siècle et en plus, que la construction des moated sites était une réponse aux demandes d'Edouard I pour une production des aliments plus augmentée en Irlande. (Trans. E. Barry).

ARISTOKRATEN, IMMIGRANTEN UND UNTERNEHMERS:
SIEDLER UND SIEDLUNGSINITIATIVEN DES SPÄTEN 13. JAHRHUNDERTS IN IRLAND

Dieser Vortrag handelt von der Ansiedlung Irlands nach der anglo-normannische Eroberung im späten 12ten Jahrhundert. Die einzelne Püinkte hier diskutiert betragen den Entwurf von einem Netz von Gutshöfe (manors), viele mit angeschlossenen "borough" Siedlungen, und das Errichten von sogenannten "moated sites", fern von zentralisierten Siedlungen. Es kann vorgeschlagen werden, daß die anglonormannische Gutshöfe überwiegend von Immigranten aus England und Wales erst im späten 13ten Jahrhundert bewölkert waren und auch, daß die Forderung von Edward I, nach einer Produktionssteigerung in der Nahrungswirtschaft, zu der Konstruktion diesen "moated sites" führte. (Trans. S. McCarthy).

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