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Graystown – a later medieval settlement near Fethard

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Introduction

Tower-houses and churches litter county Tipperary, often with little apparent relation to the modern settlement pattern. They form picturesque medieval relics in a countryside blanketed by modern fields, farms and roads. Where tower-houses and churches are sited in close association, they are sometimes interpreted as higher order settlements or even the remains of villages, especially if earthworks surround the pair.

This article will look at an example of such a settlement at Graystown, east county Tipperary (Figure 1). I visited this site in the course of conducting an archaeological survey of the later medieval settlement in the barony of Slieveardagh, Co. Tipperary.[1] The physical remains of later medieval settlement within this townland consist of a tower-house, mansion house and bawn,[2] a late medieval parish church[3] and the remnants of houses and fields represented by earthen platforms and banks.[4]

Graystown is situated 11 kilometres north of Fethard town and three kilometres east of Killenaule, on the east side of the Clashawley River valley, which dissects the shale and sandstone Slieveardagh hills from north to south. Sited on sloping ground with numerous limestone outcrops, the settlement had a westerly aspect and a sheltered position within Clashawley River valley.

These features form the elements of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century settlement at the centre of the parish of Graystown; each element forms a physical representation of how the people lived here four to five hundred years ago. This article seeks to analyse these elements, studying the architecture and the spatial arrangement within and between the buildings, finally looking at how they may have combined to form a functioning settlement.

History

Like most of the rest of the country, the historical documents up to the mid-seventeenth century for Graystown deal primarily with ecclesiastical matters and issues involving landowners. The outline of the medieval parish of Graystown is reflected in the shape of the modern civil parish, although this is now defunct with the adoption of the Catholic parochial boundaries in the last century, which include Graystown in the parish of Killenaule. The medieval documents refer to the parish church of Graystown as "Scornan", a name still retained by the hill it is sited on.[5]

In the ecclesiastical taxation of 1302-07 Scornan church was valued at £4 13 shillings;[6] in 1437 it was included in a list of procurations for the diocese of Cashel and Emly.[7] However, by 1607 Scornan was one of a number of churches whose livings were personally held by the Archbishop of Cashel and Emly without an obligation on his part to provide services for the church.[8] This may be one reason for the church's neglect recorded in the visitation of the

Diocese of Cashel and Emly in 1615, where it appears that no services were held in Graystown.[9]

In 1641 the tithes of Graystown church, amounting to £15, were held by an unnamed vicar.[10] Graystown castle was the residence of the Laffan family, owners of most of the parish in the late medieval period. The Civil Survey compiled in 1654/55 recorded that Henry Laffan was proprietor of Graystown in 1641. It also noted the presence of "a good castle, a slate house wantinge repaire with a large bawne and several cabbins" within Graystown townland.[11] The Down Survey parish map of Graystown, surveyed 1655/6, depicts a castle, a large rectangular bawn with two free-standing internal houses, three cabins to the north of the castle and a church to the south-east (Figure 2).[12]

Graystown was confiscated from the Laffan family by the Cromwellian administration, after which they were transplanted to Connaught. Despite appealing to the Duke of Ormond after King Charles II was restored, the Laffans were not allowed to return to their estate.[13] In 1659, two English men by the names of Giles Cooke and Edward Pippen were the principal landowners in Graystown. The census of that year recorded an adult population of seventy-three in the townland.[14] The Hearth Taxation for 1666/7 recorded twenty-six hearths in Graystown townland.[15]

Surviving Buildings

In Ireland, naked stone buildings are often the only surviving manifestation of the events and individuals described in the scant historical records. This section will concentrate on the architecture and internal arrangement of the medieval structures within Graystown, consisting of a church, tower-house, mansion-house and bawn. The architecture of the buildings represented by the earthworks in the adjoining fields will also be dealt with.

The church

Graystown church is located 422 metres uphill from Graystown tower-house. Sited on the crest of Scornan hill, the church overlooks a small road that leads indirectly down to the rest of the settlement (Figure 3). This is a free-standing structure with an undifferentiated chancel and nave measuring 18 metres by 7.65 metres externally (Figure 4). The church was constructed of roughly coursed, poorly pointed limestone and undressed flagstone quoins. Only the north and east walls survive to any appreciable height (approximately 2.7 metres); the south wall has collapsed outwards and the west wall only survives to the height of two courses.

What little remains of the church's windows consist of one side of the ingoing for a narrow chancel light and the sill of a small window in the north wall. A fragment of an ogee-headed window can be found inside the church. The entrance was set off-centre in the north wall; most of the doorframe lies in pieces outside, but when intact appears to have formed a pointed arch with multiple orders, executed in dressed limestone.

The fragments forming the apex of the doorframe appear to have an aperture similar to the holes for the securing chains of a yett (iron grill) which protected the entrance of tower-houses. A square, granite lavabo, originally set inside the entrance, now lies in the grass within the church. The Ordnance Survey map shows an enclosure or possible graveyard extending to the north of the church for approximately 53 metres (Figure 3);[16] the only remains of this enclosure is a slight bank to the east of the church. A small modern shale quarry between the road and the church encroaches on the south side of this enclosure.

The tower-house

Graystown castle consists of a complex of tower-house and a manor house located within an enclosing wall or bawn. This complex is sited on the edge of a limestone outcrop on the eastern side of the Clashawley River. The five-storey tower-house is constructed of roughly coursed hammer dressed limestone with large dressed quoin stones and a prominent base batter.[17] Excluding the base batter, the exterior of the building measures 8.9 metres by 13 metres and rises to a maximum height of 19 metres. The fourth floor was supported by a pointed arch stone vault; the floors beneath were wooden, although no wood survives.

In fact the south wall of the tower has collapsed, possibly as a result of the wood salvage, taking with it most of the vault and exposing the interior of the building like a doll's house. The interior floor plan of the tower-house is divided into two sections: the primary section contained the larger rooms and the secondary section contained the smaller chambers (Figure 5).[18] The interior arrangement of rooms in Graystown tower-house is quite complicated, and can probably best be described using a planning diagram (Figure 6).

A planning diagram is a model of a building's interior space, represented as a series of interconnected boxes. It seeks to illustrate the arrangement and accessibility of rooms and can be used to highlight the social spaces within a building without getting lost in the architectural details of floor plans.[19]

The planning diagram also illustrates the interior of Graystown tower-house as a vertical stack of rooms represented by rectangles roughly proportional to the floor area of each chamber; a dashed line separates each floor level. The stairs are represented as a thick vertical band, with thin horizontal lines between rooms representing access-ways such as doors or passages. The planning diagram shows how movement was restricted within the building, illustrating the relative accessibility of the various chambers. For example, the two lobbies on the ground floor prevented one from directly entering the vice (stairs) or the ground floor primary chamber, probably as a security measure. The two first-floor chambers were entered separately from the vice. However, one had to enter the second-floor primary chamber before gaining access to the secondary chamber; the second floor also appears to have had access to a mural garderobe (toilet).

The third-floor secondary chamber was entered from the vice. The primary chamber on the third floor appears to have been accessed from the either the floor above or below, but not from the main stairs, and was thus isolated from the rest of this floor level. The third floor also contained mural chambers and passages connected to the vice, some of which were exposed by the collapse of the building's southern façade. One of these passages was sandwiched between the third-floor primary and secondary chambers; it was supported on its own vault and probably lead to a garderobe. The garderobe or toilet chute ran down through the west wall of the building and exited at ground floor level over the edge of the limestone outcrop.

Although now inaccessible and obscured by ivy, the fourth floor appears to have consisted of a single large chamber beneath the building's gabled roof. The vice finally rises to a passage in the north gable of the tower. Two doors exit from this passage on to the parapet walks. Each chamber was lit by slit windows constructed from dressed limestone with a mixture of round and square heads. The windows in the primary chambers were set in wide embrasures; their narrow width, along with wooden shutters, served to keep intruders out and the warmth in. Both the second and third floors had wide fireplaces, as may the fourth floor. None of the secondary chambers had fireplaces.

The defences of Graystown tower-house consisted of a yett or iron grill over the entrance (surviving only as the holes for the securing chains in the door frame) and a draw bar to secure

the front entrance. Several corbels at parapet level testify to the presence of a machiculation, originally designed to overhang the building's entrance. The complicated system of entrance lobbies on the ground floor also acted as a defensive feature.

Although now missing, the ceiling of the entrance lobby probably contained a murder hole for dropping missiles on intruders from the first floor above. The entrance lobby may also have had a gun-loop which allowed an individual in the ground-floor main chamber to cover those entering the building through the front door.[20] None of the crenellations on the parapet of the building have survived, although they were probably designed more for show than defence.

Manor house and bawn

All that survives of the three-storey manor house is the gable, which was built directly on top of the earlier bawn wall next to the enclosure entrance and adjacent to the tower-house (Figure

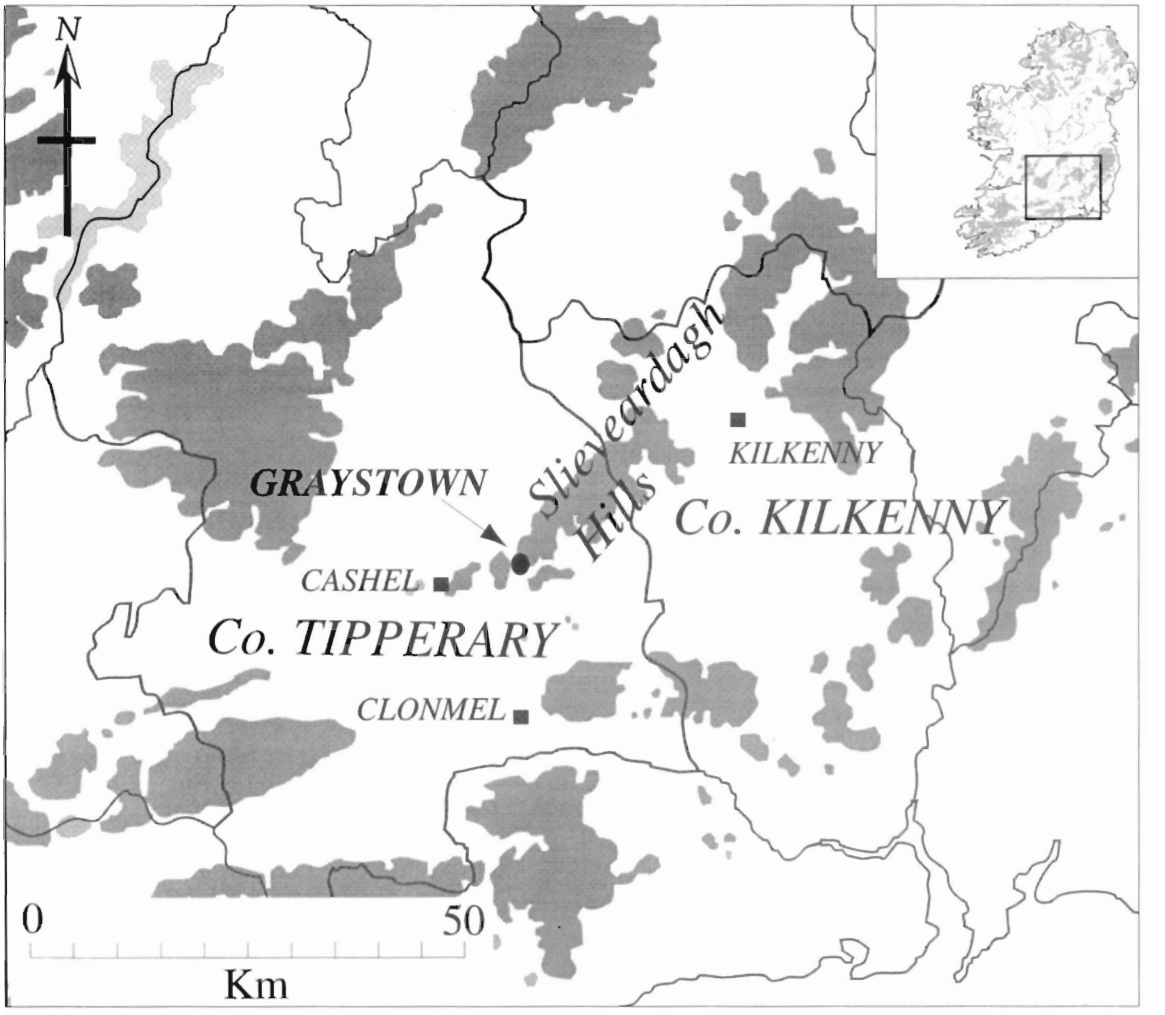

Figure. 1. Location of Graystown within the south-east of Ireland. ***(After base map provided by the Irish Archaeological Wetland Unit).***

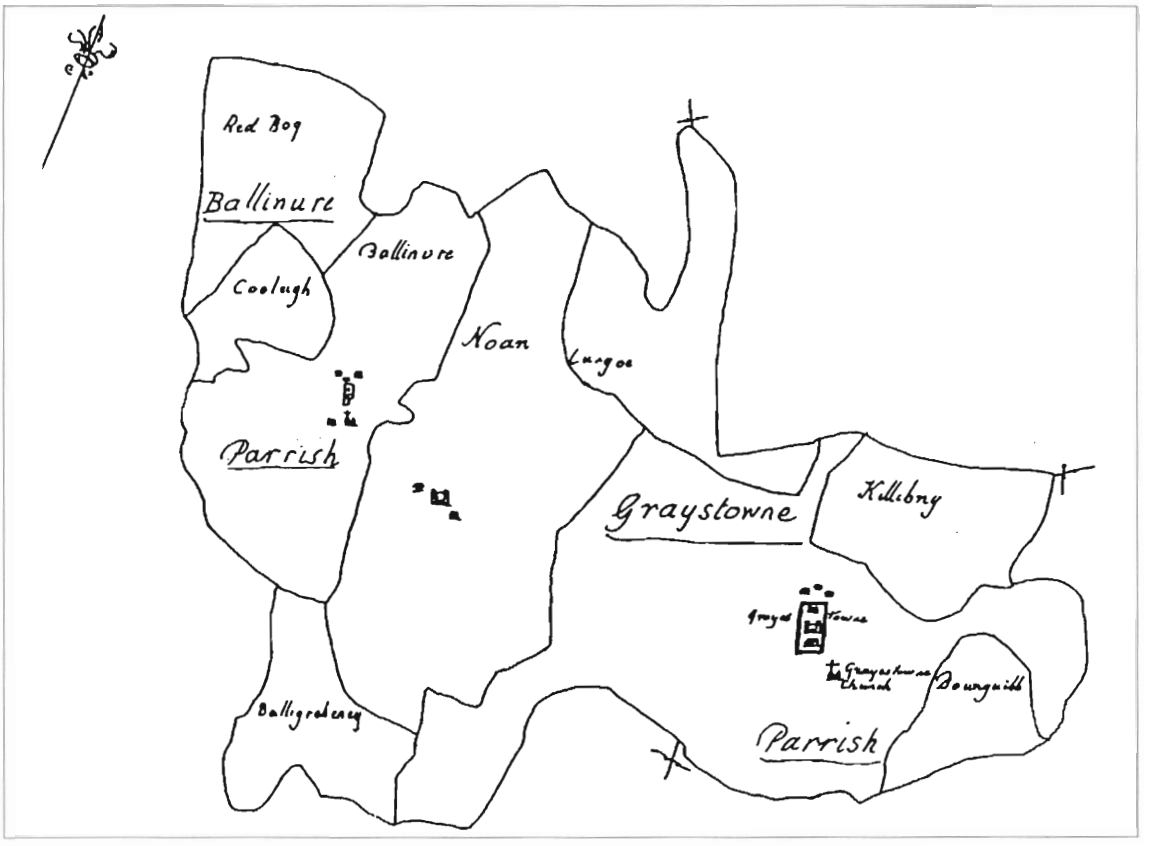

Figure. 2. After the Down Survey parish map of Graystown.

5). The rest of the manor house can be seen as a sunken area (9.8 metres by 29 metres), with an annex or wing on its eastern side (15 metres by 10.5 metres).

The building originally had wooden floors throughout and larger windows facing on to the bawn. This manor house shared some architectural features of a tower-house such as the machiculation on one of its corners, the sloping parapet walk and the gun-loops besides the windows on the first floor. However, the design of this building is more horizontal than the tower-house and generally less castle-like in appearance.

The design of the chimney and the hood moulding over one of the windows indicates a late sixteenth or early seventeenth century date. This structure would appear to be the slate house mentioned in the Civil Survey.[21] The enclosing bawn wall is now mostly collapsed, the only substantial surviving section being its northern length. The bawn's original entrance was on the north wall beside the manor house. An arched bastion located further along the north wall apparently collapsed several years ago.

Earthworks

The earthwork and stone remains of eight houses and three enclosures are located in the two fields to the north of the tower-house (Figure 3). The remains consist of six sub-rectangular hollows and platforms which range in size from 7 metres by 6 metres to 18 metres by 5 metres;

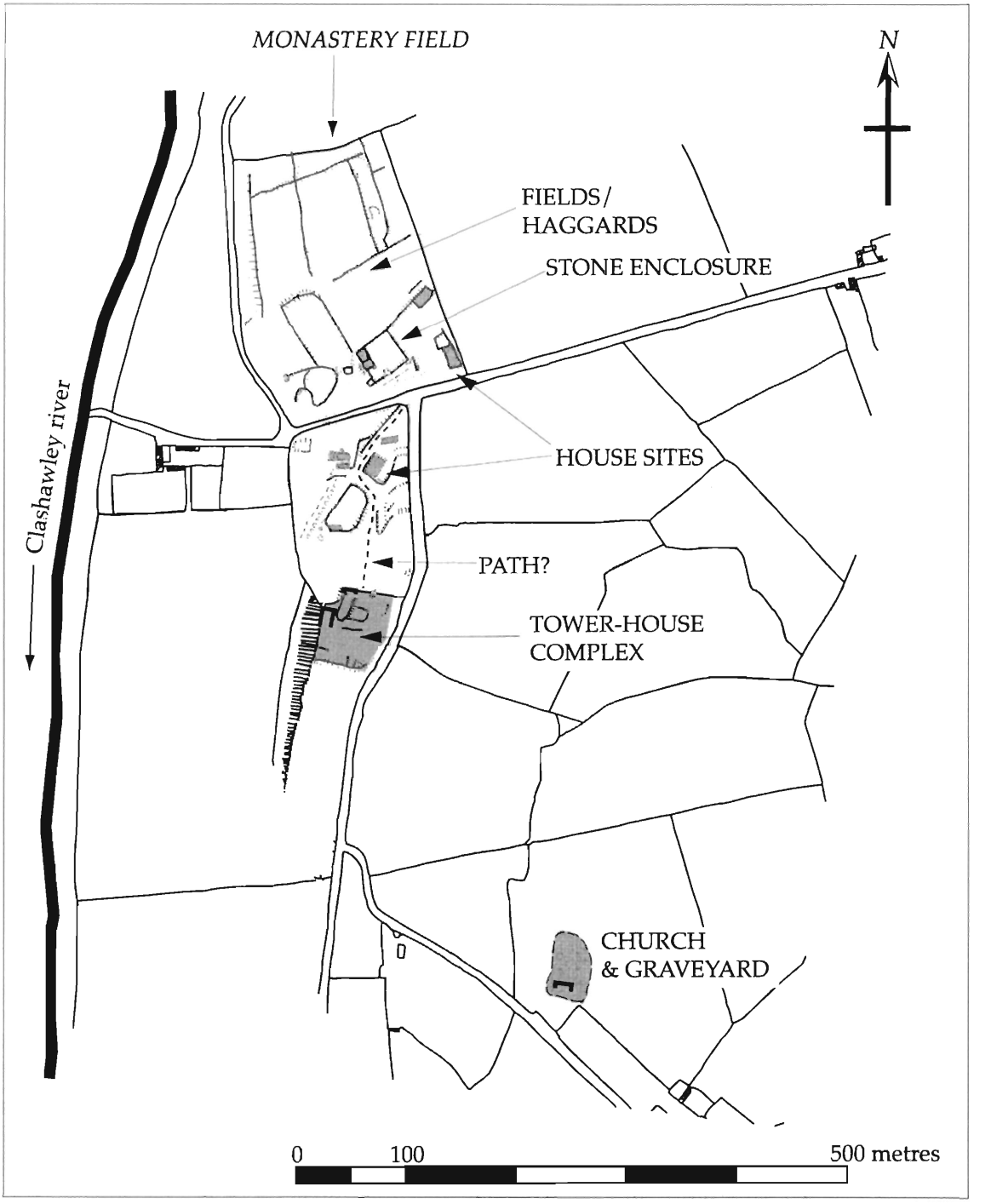

Figure. 3. Plan of Graystown settlement. The graveyard, tower-house complex and house platforms are shaded, as are the line of the banks delimiting crofts and haggards.

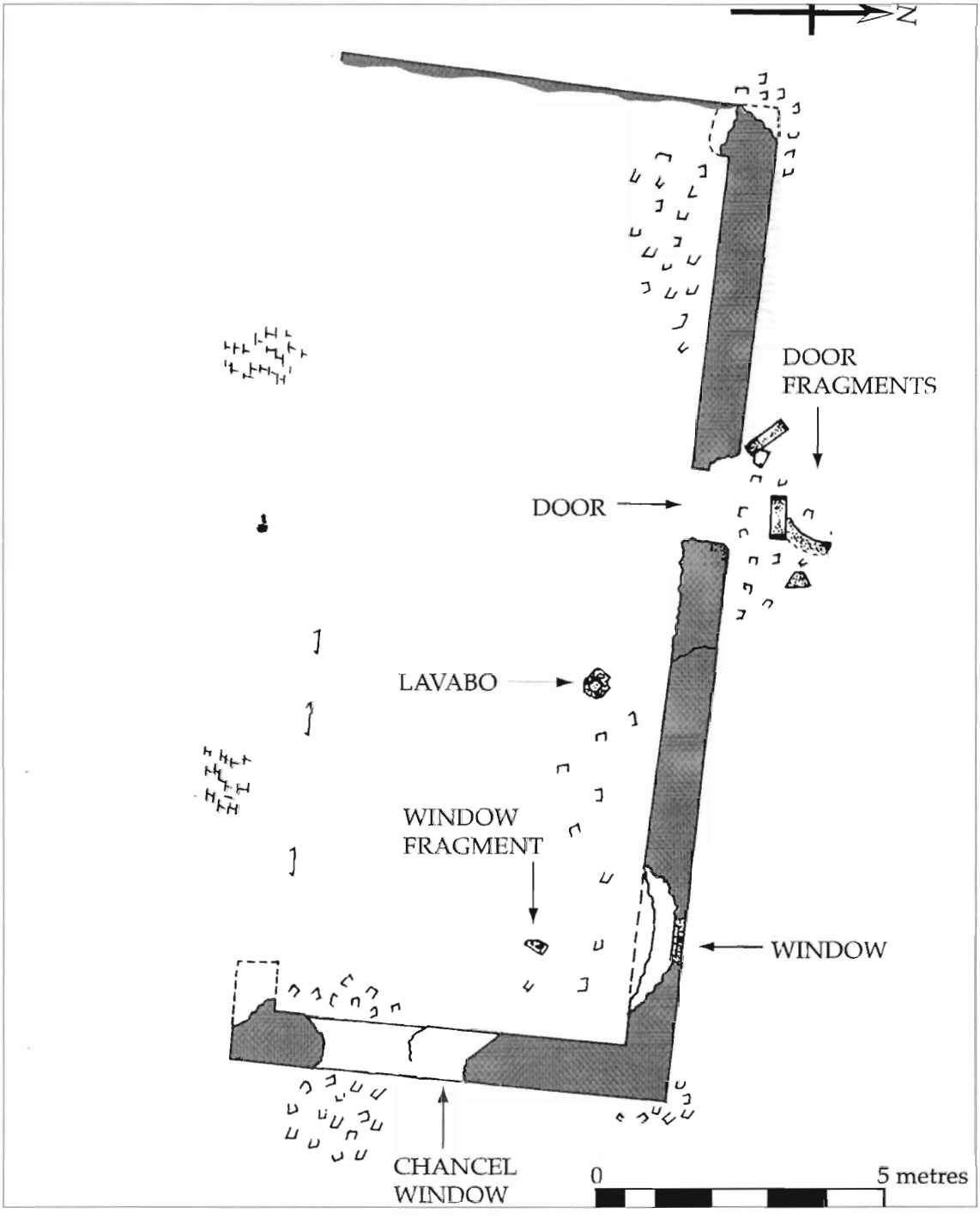

Figure. 4. Graystown medieval parish church.

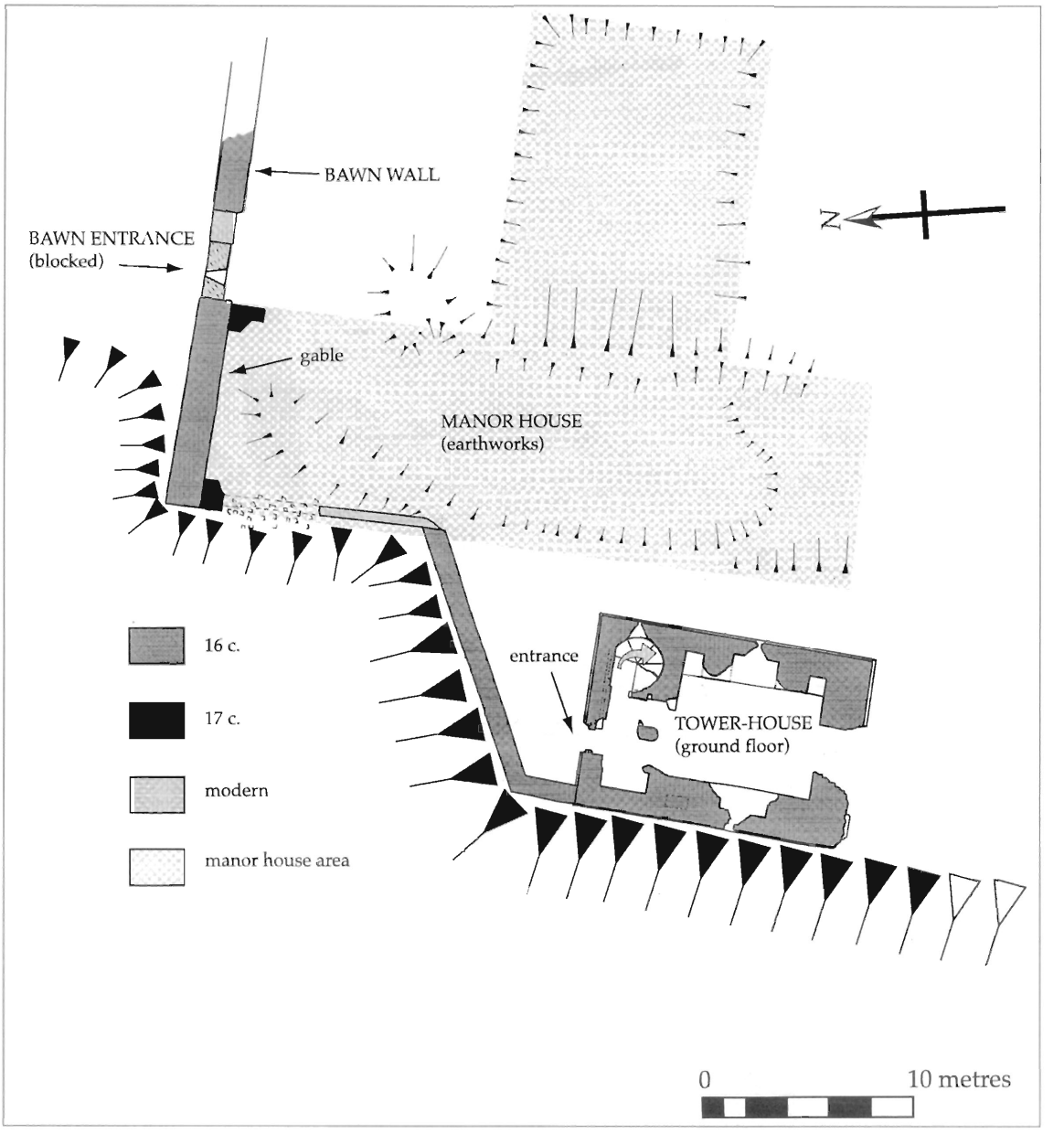

Figure. 5. Graystown tower-house and manor house.

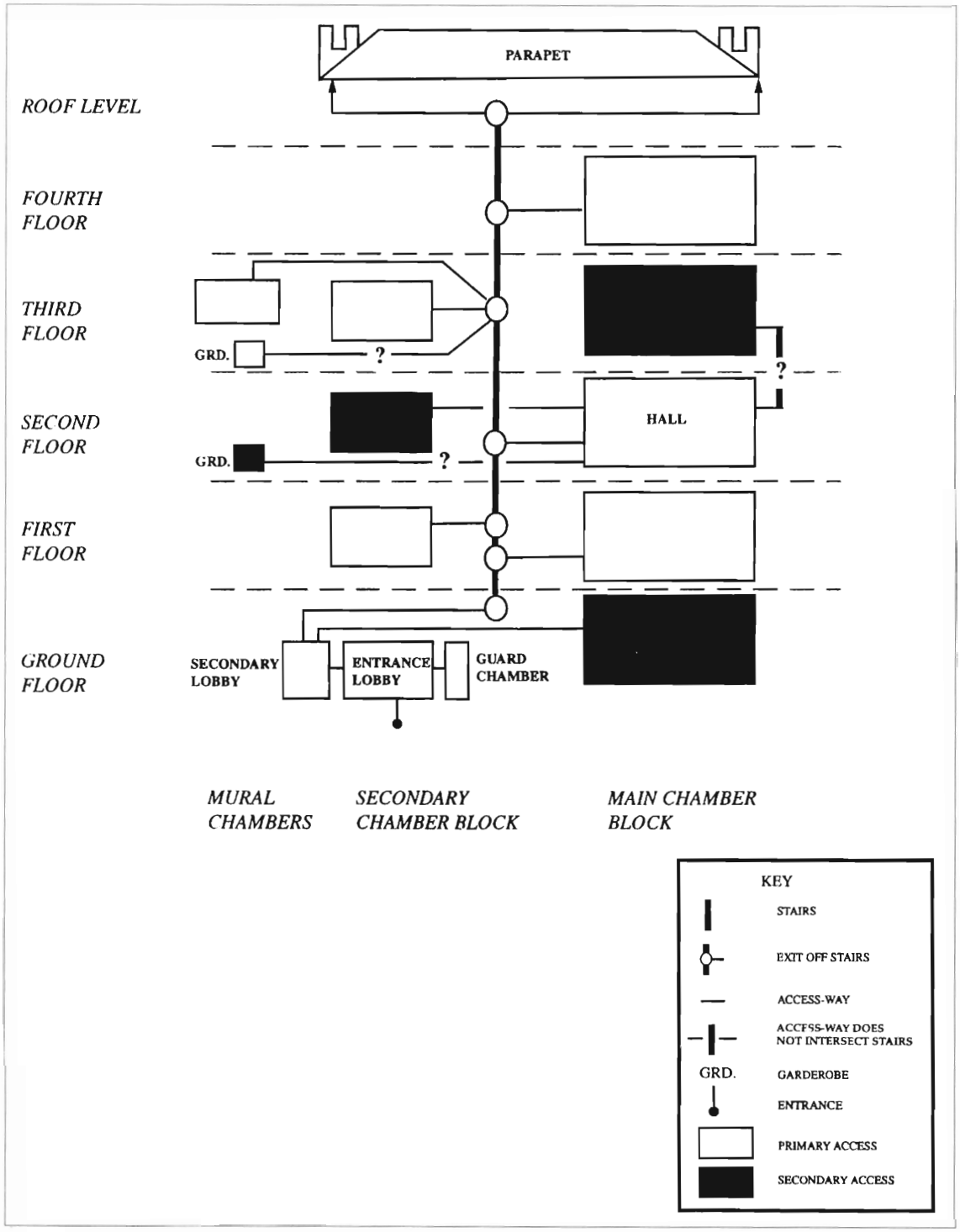

Figure. 6. Graystown tower-house planning diagram.

two sub-rectangular enclosures probably served as crofts or gardens. The modern field on the opposite side of the road from the tower-house is known locally as "the monastery".[22] As well as three small sub-rectangular earthworks that probably represent houses, this field contains the remains of a substantial stone house and an adjoining stone walled enclosure (Figure 3).

The remains of this building consist of a raised area of earth and stone rubble, measuring approximately 6 metres by 9 metres annexed to a hollow sub-rectangular platform measuring approximately 10 metres by 7 metres. The stone-walled enclosure measures 38 metres by 34 metres, and may have acted in a similar fashion to a bawn wall. There is no indication of this substantial structure in the Civil Survey or in the Down Survey map, which suggests that this building and its enclosure may have been built after the mid-seventeenth century.

Settlement form and morphology

Graystown's later-medieval settlement had a nucleated form in so much as the earthworks representing houses are clustered beneath the tower-house complex.[23] However, the different elements of the settlement are somewhat isolated from each other. The church is located several fields away from the rest of the settlement. The tower-house complex is isolated behind its bawn wall and by its elevated site on a limestone outcrop. Even the houses represented by the earthworks were isolated from each other by their own enclosures.

The morphology of later medieval settlement at Graystown appears to have been an irregular agglomeration of small houses and fields beneath the tower-house. A path can be seen to run uphill between the houses towards the bawn's entrance (Figure 3). However, the houses and haggards appear to have grown on either side of this path rather than as a regular planned settlement. That the remains of the settlement take little account of the presence of the modern roads suggests that the houses pre-date them.

Discussion

A settlement cannot be defined just as the sum of its parts; it is also the shape of how these parts fitted together. Ultimately a settlement is a product of its inhabitants; the buildings they left behind are the remains of the vessels they lived, worked and worshipped in. Historical sources tell a certain amount about how people lived, but little about the contents of settlements and mostly nothing about their shape. In Graystown, as for most of Ireland, the historical sources deal with events and individuals, which are not necessarily representative of the total population of the settlement.

For example, historical texts recorded that the population of the townland of Graystown in 1659 was seventy-three,[24] but these people may have lived anywhere in the townland and not necessarily in a settlement beneath Graystown Castle. Buildings such as castles and cabins are mentioned in the Civil Survey,[25] but little is said of their architecture and nothing of their position relative to each other. Only the Down Survey map establishes some form to the early modern settlement in Graystown, if only just a pictorial representation. Therefore, historical texts such as these mid-seventeenth century surveys are best used in combination with a topographical and architectural analysis.

Although there appears to have been a church in Graystown since at least the thirteenth century, the architecture of the present church dates to the fifteenth or early sixteenth century and probably replaced an earlier example.[26] The door frame in particular is typically later

medieval, as is its position in the northern wall. There may even have been a corresponding door in the south wall.

The church probably had a wood shingle or thatch roof. The interior appears to have had a very simple layout with an undifferentiated nave and chancel. The chancel was lit by a tall narrow chancel window and a small window on the south wall. The nave may have been lit by windows on the north and south walls and the western gable, although no evidence for these survives.

Although this was a small church, a rood screen or railing could have separated the congregation of parishioners in the nave from the clergy and the main focus of the ceremony in the chancel. However, very little if any original medieval wood-work or furnishings have survived in Irish churches so that what we see today are shells without the wood, plaster, paint, fabrics and glass which originally covered the bare stone walls.[27]

Similar problems are met in interpreting tower-house interior arrangements, where the furnishings and woodwork which may have told us what chambers were used for are long gone. Although more work needs to be carried out on understanding the internal arrangement of tower-houses, general interpretations have divided the building into those areas which the members of the household worked in and those where the owners lived. These interpretations are based on the remaining architectural features such as the elevation, size and accessibility of the rooms and particularly the presence of a fireplace, cupboards and size of windows.

For example, the ground floor's largest chamber may be interpreted as a storeroom, particularly if it is covered by a vault and is badly lit. The room with the best light and the largest fire-place may also be interpreted as the hall, which was the main living space and function room in the building. The small rooms are interpreted as the private bed chambers of the lord of the house or the household, depending on the accessibility of the rooms.

In Graystown tower-house the second-floor primary chamber had a large fireplace, which suggests this was the tower-house's hall. Similarly and despite the apparent lack of a fire-place which may be the result of wall collapse, the large fourth floor may have acted as the hall, which would agree with Luke Gernon's description of the hall being located on the upper floors of Irish castles.[28] The third floor primary chamber also had a fire-place, but was isolated from the stairs. This suggests that the chamber was a private space with a higher status or possibly the owner's own private chamber.

Graystown tower-house was not just a building to live in; it was also a landmark. A tower-house was the centre of the proprietor's estate; therefore, it was built to impress. Graystown's site on the limestone outcrop, its vertical lines, and the overtly defensive look from the prominent base batter to the finger-like crenellations surrounding the roof made this a highly visible point in the landscape. The construction of Graystown tower-house as a landmark can be seen as a reflection of the owner's pretensions towards grandeur rather than an overriding preoccupation with protection.

This is not to say that there were no defensive considerations in the architecture of this or other tower-houses, merely that the defences were designed to express security.[29] It was not just a tower-house exterior which created an image of power; the rooms' furnishing, the relative difference in chamber size and the inaccessibility or privacy of sections of the building may also have served to impress upon those moving within the castle the status of the owner.

The construction of the manor-house heralded a change in the type of residence the proprietor of Graystown used to expressing wealth and security. The manor-house was not in itself a move away from ostentatious expression. It was built within the bawn beside the earlier tower-house. This served to create a more complex castle which even today has an impressive

silhouette. Also, the new building retained defensive features such as the gun loops and a machicolation.

The most obvious difference between the two, however, was a movement away from the vertical stack of chambers in the tower-house towards the more horizontal row of rooms in the manor-house. The tower-house was influenced by the image of feudal society embodied by the castle, whereas the image created by the manor-house was one of Tudor and Jacobean comfort and financial security. Perhaps the best preserved example of such a building is at Carrick Castle, where Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, constructed a manor house in the sixteenth century.[30]

The manor-house at Graystown appears to have either been an addition, or even possibly replaced the tower-house as the focus of the living space in the bawn. An indication of this is the positioning of the manor-house in such a way as to prevent direct access to the tower-house's entrance. This would have forced one either to pass through the narrow space between the two buildings or to walk through the manor house to gain access to the tower-house (Figure 5).

Although there are few remains of the houses in the two fields to the north of the Graystown tower-house complex, the general findings from the rest of Ireland are that rural houses of the later medieval and early modern period ranged from single-room mud, wattle or sod walled structures to stone-walled houses, often with mud rendering and thatch roofs.[31] The stone house in "the monastery" field may represent an increased desire for comfort which replaced the tower-house, and could possibly be compared with the excavated mid-seventeenth century house at Drumlummin.[32] Other linear earthworks to the north of the monastery field are probably the remains of small fields or haggards associated with the houses of the settlement.[33]

Unfortunately there are no surviving historical documents for Graystown which reveal the relationship between the occupants of the castle complex and the houses in the fields below. However, based on their proximity it may reasonably be assumed that these were the houses of the tenants of the Laffan estate. And yet, just because the Down Survey depicts these houses is not to say there were no other houses in Graystown townland. These houses may well have been included in the map simply because of their proximity to the tower-house rather than as a recognition of their being part a functioning integrated settlement.

Can the remains of the settlement at Graystown be called a later medieval village? The component elements of the settlement consist of a manor-house, parish church and the houses of the estate tenants. The sum of these elements appears to be all that is needed for a village.[34] However, the elements of Graystown settlement were not arranged in a regular pattern, and each is isolated from each other in what appears to have been a rather strung out, irregular agglomeration.

In 1659 seventy-three people lived in the townland of Graystown, but not necessarily in the parish centre. There is also little evidence for the functions within the parish centre of Graystown, with no records of a market, court or production industry. It is clear then that Graystown cannot be called a village because the term "village" implies a settlement with higher order functions. Even though the settlement at the centre of Graystown contained a church, tower-house and house, there is little documentary evidence as to how these elements interacted.

Conclusion

This article has analysed a late medieval and early modern settlement in the centre of

Graystown on a number of levels: locationally, historically, architecturally, spatially, morphologically and to a certain extent conceptually. The elements of Graystown settlement were identified as the church, the tower-house complex and the cabins to the north. A locational analysis shows the church to be sited on an exposed hill, whereas the rest of the elements took advantage of the shelter provided by the Clashawley River valley. Although not a particularly large church, it still acted as the centre of the parish, the focus of weekly ceremony and an administrative centre.

Its prominent site on the top of Scornan hill would have emphasised its role as the focus of a widespread rural community. Even though Graystown church was rebuilt in the later medieval period, it was not re-sited closer to the rest of the settlement. The church was rebuilt where it was because there had been a church there for centuries before.

The Laffans were aware of this when they chose to build their castle where they did. They did not build on top of the hill beside the church, either because the site was too exposed, the land around the church was unavailable to build on or they simply preferred to use the limestone outcrop down hill. However, the tower-house is within sight of church and is close enough to be seen as an associated structure, repeating a late medieval pattern of castle/church pairing to be seen all over south-east Ireland.

Graystown tower-house can be seen as a scaled down castle built by the Laffan family as the centre of their freehold estate. As a home, the tower-house and bawn provided the usual requirements of comfort and safety to person and property in later medieval Ireland. And yet, this building was also built to impress because it was designed to look more like a military castle then it actually was. When Graystown castle was built in the sixteenth century it could not possibly defend against a concerted attack by well-armed opponents.

The defensive look of this tower-house was the fashion of the day. As well as telling those approaching the building that this was not easily entered, the function of this design was to create an image of feudal lordship; in effect the Laffans were aping the medieval magnates. The message in the architecture of Graystown tower-house was not just skin deep; the complicated arrangement of rooms, the relative size of chambers, the privacy of the third floor, and probably the original decor all went to impress upon those visiting its interior that this was the lordly residence.

As the later medieval period progressed into the early modern, the fashion of expressing these requirements changed and the Laffans invested in a manor-house. The new image of security was now a matter of how comfortably one could afford to live. Even though its position suggests that the manor-house replaced the tower as a focus of the complex, both buildings were in use in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The accumulation of buildings within the bawn of Graystown is a reflection of the wealth of the Laffans. This impression would not have been lost on a casual observer, who no longer saw just a tower-house and bawn, but a complex castle residence. This can be seen in how Graystown was treated in the mid-seventeenth century surveys. When the Civil and Down Surveys were compiled, Graystown Castle appeared prominently in both, overshadowing the other buildings within the parish with the exception of the church and some nearby cabins. These may well have been noted more for their proximity to the castle complex than for their independent significance.

The Down Survey map illustrates houses to the north of the tower-house, in the position of the earthworks as they stand today; these houses were probably small, single-roomed structures, possibly with sod walls over stone bases and covered by thatch roofs. In some cases their own crofts or garden plots surrounded these residences. Linear earthworks in the north of

the "monastery field" probably represent separate small fields or haggards associated with these houses. The large stone house located in this field may well have been the residence of one of those who replaced the Laffans after their lands and properties were confiscated.

Morphologically, Graystown was not a cohesive settlement. The elements of this settlement were isolated from one another in some way. Each element is located at on a different height within the Clashawley River Valley; the church cannot be approached directly from the other two settlement elements; each element is within its own enclosure such as a bawn, croft or haggard.

The tower-house was built near the church, like so many other tower-houses in Ireland, as recognition of the status a church had within a medieval manorial settlement. This choice of siting may have been a deliberate attempt by the Laffans at creating the image of a village. However, the elements of this settlement did not combine to form such an entity morphologically or functionally. Other than its proximity to the church and its regular ecclesiastical services, there is little evidence that the settlement in Graystown supported functions beyond the agricultural services preformed within an estate.

Graystown castle conveys a powerful image even today. On my first day surveying Graystown, I was told by a local person living within sight of the castle that it was built by Raymond Le Gros, a twelfth century Anglo Norman Knight. This illustrates that the image which the sixteenth century builders of this tower-house wished to project is still being conveyed: this should be the home of a medieval lord. Neither the church nor the house platforms leave as striking a visual impact. And yet they too can be recognized as significant surviving elements of a late medieval and early modern settlement that other wise would only survive as words and drawings in historical documents.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank each of the land-owners who kindly and patiently allowed me access to their properties during the course of my field work, particularly Mr. and Mrs. Phelan. I would also like to thank my supervisors Dr. Muiris O'Sullivan and Dr. Tadhg O'Keeffe. I have also benefited from the assistance of Mr. Dave Jennings and Mr. Brian Shanahan. Any mistakes or omissions are my own.

FOOTNOTES

1. Clutterbuck, R. 1998 *The Settlement and Architecture of Later Medieval Slieveardagh, Co. Tipperary.* Unpublished Masters of Literature thesis held in the Department of Archaeology, University College Dublin.
2. Graystown Tower-house complex: National Grid 2193 1458; S.M.R No. T1054-03701/ 2/ 3.
3. Graystown Church: National Grid 2196 1455; S.M.R No. T1054-039.
4. Graystown earthworks: National Grid 2198 1458; S.M.R No. T1054-03704.
5. O'Donovan translates this as the *hill of the whortle-berries*. Up to 1840 John O'Donovan wrote a series of letters about the antiquities of Ireland to the Ordnance Survey when he was involved in compiling the first edition of the Six Inch map series. His letters relative to antiquities were compiled by the Rev. Michael Flanagan for the Royal Irish Academy in 1930. These letters for County Tipperary including a description of the architectural remains within Graystown in some detail in volume II, pp. 175-178. Unfortunately O'Donovan's compass must have been faulty for in his description of the tower-house he mistook west for north. However, his descriptions do show that in 1840 the tower-house was mostly as it is today; the door of the church was still intact, as was the bawn's arched entrance and portions of its southern and western walls.
6. Sweetman, H. S. (ed.) 1886 *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland 1302-07.* London. p. 285.

7. Seymour, St. John. 1908 A List of the Procurations for the Diocese of the Cashel and Emly A.D 1437, *Journal of Royal Society of Antiquarians of Ireland* 38, p. 331.
8. Russell, C. & Prendergast, J. (ed.), 1874 *Calendar of State Papers Ireland 1606-08. London*, p. 241.
9. Murphy, M. A. 1912 Royal Visitation of Cashel and Emly, *Archivium Hibernicum* I, pp. 290 and 302.
10. Simington, R. C (ed.). 1931 *The Civil Survey AD 1654-65. Co. Tipperary I*. Dublin, p. 105.
11. Simington, R. C. (ed.). 1931, p. 106.
12. Copies of the Down Survey for Co. Tipperary are held in the National Library of Ireland on micro-film. The call number for the Barony of Slieveardagh and Compsy containing the map of Graystown parish is POS 7384B MS 721.
13. Marcus Laffan was transplanted to the barony of Clonmacowen, Co. Galway. See Simington, R. C. 1970 *The transplantation to Connacht 1654-58*. Shannon, p. 94.
14. Pender, S. 1939 *Census of Ireland c.* 1659. Dublin, p. 113. The census of 1659 recorded the names and title of the head of each household on a townland basis.
15. Laffan, T. 1911 *Tipperary Families, Being the Hearth Money Records for 1665-7*. Dublin, p. 134.
16. Ordnance Survey map of County Tipperary 1:2500. Sheet 54/10. Surveyed 1903, printed 1905. This map shows the outline of an enclosure around Graystown church, as well as the southern and western wall of the bawn which would appear to have been intact on 1903.
17. For a full discussion of tower-house architecture and dating, see Leask, H. 1941, *Irish Castles and Castellated Houses*. Dundalk, p. 75; Ó Danachair, C. 1979, Irish Tower-Houses, *Bealoideas*, 45-7, pp. 158-63; Cairns, C. T. 1987, *Irish Tower Houses. A Co. Tipperary Case Study*. Dublin, pp. 7-8; McNeill, T. 1997, *Castles in Ireland*, London, p. 173; O'Keeffe, T. 1997, *Barryscourt Castle and the Irish Tower-House*, Cork. The most recently published work on tower-house and fortified house architecture appears in Sweetman, D. 1999, *The Medieval Castles of Ireland*. Dublin, pp. 137-198.
18 The terms "primary" and "secondary" chambers do not refer to the importance of these rooms but rather their relevant size: the primary chamber is the larger than the secondary chamber.
19. I have adapted a planning diagram for this article which keeps some of the features of the buildings floor plan. Planning diagram forms may be more schematic in their representations of rooms arrangements and not necessarily as representative of buildings' architecture. For more information on planning diagrams, see Fairclogh, G. 1992, Meaningful constructions; spatial and locational analysis of medieval buildings, *Antiquity* 66, pp. 348-66; for the use of planning diagrams in an Irish context see O'Keeffe, T. 1997, *Barryscourt Castle and the Irish Tower-House*. Cork.
20. A cruciform gun-loop can be found at Cahir Castle, Co. Tipperary.
21. Simington, R. C. 1931, p. 106.
22. Monastery: National Grid 2193 1462; S.M.R No. T 1054-03705. The Ordnance Survey Letters for Tipperary (volume II, p. 178) name this building as the monastery, but there is no historical record of another ecclesiastical foundation in Graystown townland apart from the parish church.
23. Settlement form qualifies whether the buildings of a settlement are clustered together as a nucleation or dispersed; the threshold between nucleation and dispersion can be taken to be 150 metres, ie. the hailing distance between the houses. The morphology of a settlement refers to the shape of the settlement: are the houses of the nucleation strung along a road in a linear morphology or are they bunched together in an agglomeration? For an analysis of settlement forms and morphologies see Roberts, B. 1987 *The Making of the English Village*. Harlow; Roberts, B. 1996, *The Landscape of Settlement: From Prehistory to Present*. London.
24. Pender, S. 1939, p. 113.
25. Simington, R. C. (ed.), 1931, p. 105.
26. Surprisingly little has been written on the architecture of later medieval parish churches. There is ,of course, Harold Leask's *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*, published in three volumes (1955; 1958; 1960. Dundalk), although he barely mentions later medieval rural parish churches. The archaeological inventories also contain valuable descriptive information; fifteen have been published, the most recent example being Moore, M. 1999, *Archaeological Inventory of County Waterford*. Dublin. However, for discussions of church architecture, it is probably best to consult Ní

Ghabhlain, S. 1995, Church and community in medieval Ireland: The diocese of Kilfenora, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 75, pp. 204-212; Ní Mharcaigh, M. 1997, The medieval parish churches of south-west County Dublin, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 97c, pp. 245-296; also, FitzPatrick, E. & O'Brien, C. 1998, *The Medieval Churches of County Offaly*. Dublin, has a very good chapter on later medieval parish churches.

27. For a discussion of the interior arrangements and furnishings of the medieval parish churches of Offaly, see FitzPatrick & O'Brien 1998, pp. 126-139.
28. Luke Gernon gives a lively description of a visit to a Munster tower-house in 1620, reproduced in Myers, J. (ed.) 1983, *Elizabethan Ireland: a selection of writings by Elizabethan writers on* Ireland.
29. The security aspects of tower-house architecture are discussed by Kerrigan, P. 1995 *Castles and Fortifications in Ireland 1485-1945*. Cork; also, Cairns, C. T. 1984-86, Guns and castles in Tipperary, *Irish Sword* 16, pp. 110-116.
30. A brief architectural description of Carrick Castle can be found in Leask, H. 1941, pp. 146-147.
31. For a general overview of European medieval house architecture, see Chapelot, J, & Fossier, R. 1985, *The Village and House in the Middle Ages*. London. For the most recent discussion of Irish rural medieval house architecture see O'Conor, K. 1998, *The Archaeology of Medieval Rural Ireland*. Dublin.
32. Cleary, R. 1988, A seventeenth century house at Drumlummin, Tubrid, *Tipperary Historical Journal* **2**, pp. 116-120.
33. The first edition of the Ordnance Survey map of County Tipperary, 1:10560 (six inches to a mile), published in 1840 does not show the presence of houses in the fields beneath the tower-house, although the field directly to the north of the castle is called the Fair Green (National Grid 2193 1462; S.M.R. No. T1054-03706), indicating that there may have been a market in Graystown in the post medieval period. However, there is no evidence to suggest this market functioned in the late medieval or early modern period.
34. For a discussion of late medieval settlement form in Ireland, see Barry, T. 1987 *The Archaeology of Medieval Ireland*, London; O'Conor, K. 1998; the pattern and form of seventeenth century settlement in Tipperary is discussed in W. Smyth, 1985, Property and patronage of population: reconstructing the human geography of mid-seventeenth century Co. Tipperary, pp. 104-138 in Nolan, W. (ed.) 1985 *Tipperary; History and Society*. Dublin.