

CHAPTER 5: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE MERCHANT

The following discussion is a chapter in a Master of Philosophy thesis, the premise of which was to use the archaeological record to reconstruct the economic identity of the Anglo-Norman towns of Co. Cork in the High Middle Ages to ascertain if they made the transition from borough to urban status.

5.1 Introduction.

The presence of the merchants was an important element in the development of the Anglo-Norman urban economic identity in the High Middle Ages, as it created a trading dynamic within the borough which acted as a catalyst for the transition from rural to urban status. However, to date, the medieval merchant has rarely been examined in Irish archaeological studies. In an attempt to redress this neglect, this chapter will examine the archaeological evidence for a merchant presence within the survey area of this thesis. The evidence for the merchant is found in collated recordings of finds from excavations undertaken within the footprint of the urban medieval towns. These finds, in turn, are the remains of the medieval townspeople's material culture. To extricate which aspects of this culture was indicative of the merchant identity; the theoretical premises of consumption will be applied. The theory of consumption suggests the notion that the merchant emulated the consumption patterns of the elite to create a similar social identity within the urban landscape. Merchants witnessed how the elite used 'performativity' to play out this identity in the Anglo-Norman world. 'Performativity' describes how the elite expressed themselves in their dress, the type of dwellings they inhabited and their choice tableware. 'Performance' took place in public, settings such as the great halls in their castles, where material objects including tableware, not only acted as the centerpieces of this performance, but the performance also explained the functional aspect of the material objects on display (Johnson 2010, 140). Consumption was the agency that fuelled the performance, as the consumption

patterns of the elite translated as a specific material culture that was a visible testimony, not only of their wealth, but also of the image they wanted to project (Wiessner 1988, 56-69). The merchant had access to this culture through his trading activities (Dyer 2005, 127). This activity allowed the merchants to witness, first hand, this performativity, which manifested on the medieval landscape, as, for instance, their stone-built castles. It was represented within the castles through the use of high status objects, such as tableware and the choice of food served in the Great Hall for public feasting. The merchants sought to imitate this elite performance through the acquisition of this specific material culture (Dyer 2007, 65-84; Graham-Campbell &Untermann 2007, 359-365). Therefore, if there was a merchant presence within the case study towns it should manifest through the artefactual evidence in the excavations undertaken in the footprint of the urban landscapes of Cork, Mallow, Youghal, Buttevant, Kinsale and Glanworth.

5.2 The Merchant and Consumption

One of the premises of this thesis is that consumption, with its implied social aspirations, was the agent that drove social change in feudal society. Consumption in medieval times was an economic phenomenon, demand and supply fed. The elite material culture, as already stated, reflected in the use of stone for castles building and use of the great hall for public space. Later it manifested in the partition of rooms for more privacy, the insertion of windows for more light, the introduction of smoke-free rooms afforded through the insertion of fireplaces, garderobes and mortared floors (Campbell and Valor 2007). The discussion will begin with an examination of the housing culture of the elite for evidence of the aforementioned elements. This is followed by an examination of the housing culture of the urban landscapes to identify the presence of this elite housing culture. High status material culture was also reflected in the consumption of high-value goods such as textiles, glass, ceramics, building materials, spices, precious stones and horse equipment (Spufford, 2003).

Evidence for similar high value items in the urban landscapes will be extrapolated from the archaeological record, details of which are presented in Appendix A.

5.3 Consumption and Housing Culture

A man's dwelling place was the most outward display of his place in medieval society, and it was also the most visible secular building on the rural and urban landscapes. In the Anglo-Norman landscape, the nobility, peasants and urban dwellers shared basic housing requirements, namely a secure space for eating and sleeping. However, the socio-economic and practical conditions of their daily existence predetermined their housing solutions. The landowning magnates in Anglo-Norman Ireland in the early twelfth century embarked on a massive building programme, choosing stone as the preferred building material, not just for security, but also for prestige (O'Neill 1997, 71). These stone castles became the public symbols of their power, prestige and military strength. Prior to this there was no tradition of secular stone building in Ireland. Indeed, the only evidence for stone construction was in the churches and religious orders such as the Cistercians (Leask 1999). Building in stone was neither a quick nor a cheap solution, as this type of house construction required highly skilled workers and a large outlay of cash. The royal castle in Limerick in the early thirteenth century cost some £733 16s 11d to build and that of Athlone castle whilst cheaper was still a princely sum at £129 12s (McNeill 1997, 46-47). In the survey area of this thesis, the gentry were constructing their castles in stone from the late twelfth century onwards. Today the extant remains of approximately twenty seven Anglo-Norman stone castles are collated in the Inventories of Cork, within the survey area (Power 1994, 2000). (Figure 5.1) These serve as a remainder to us, as they did to medieval society, that these were the dwelling places of the privileged few (Leask 1941; Sweetman 2005; Power 1994, 2000; O'Neill 1997). Amongst

these castellated dwellings included: de Cauntetons castle in Ballyderown, built on the banks of a steep slope overlooking the River Araglin (Plate 5.2). O’Keefe surveyed the castle in 1984 and the Romanesque arch openings prompted him to suggest a late twelfth or early thirteenth century date for its construction (O’Keefe 1984, 52). Similar round arch Romanesque opes are present on the first floor of Inchiquin castle suggesting a similar date for its construction (See Plate 5). The de Barry family built their stone castle in the thirteenth century Buttevant, on the Banks of the Awbeg River and another castle in Liscarroll.

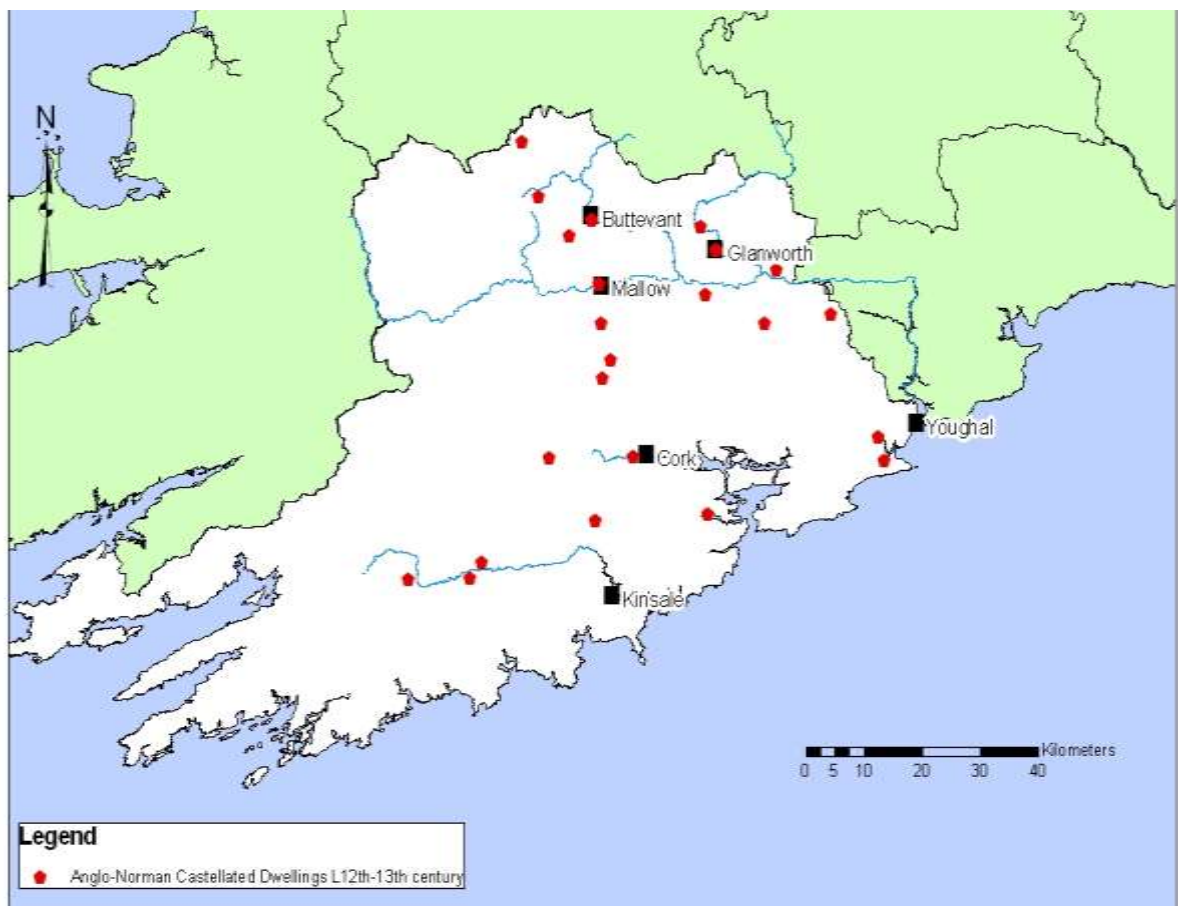


Figure 1.1 The Anglo-Norman Castles in Survey Area

The Fitzgeralds built a substantial cylindrical keep on the manor of Inchiquin, in the thirteenth century, on the banks of the River Womanagh (O’Keefe, 2004, 77) (Plate 5.1). The Roche family built their stone castle at Glanworth, on a steep cliff overlooking the River

Funcheon, and this freestanding hall-keep castle and a hall were dated to the thirteenth century (Manning 2009, 135). These families were amongst the most powerful of all the Anglo-Norman families who settled in Cork after the initial subinfeudations and constructing their dwellings in stone, imbued their dwellings with an elevated status. Urban housing served both a social and an economic role. Socially, it functioned as the family home and commercially it was a place of business and as a workshop for the urban artisans. The built form of urban dwellings manifested as stave - built from and sill beam from the mid-twelfth



Plate 5.1: Inchiquin Castle

century. These housing types often existed side by side on the same street (Hurley 2003, 151-170). Excavations at the North Gate, in North Main St Cork uncovered evidence of stone-footed sill beam houses from late thirteenth to early fourteenth century contexts. While, it is not easy for archaeologists to distinguish the remains of these footings from the remains of stone house walls, Hurley has proposed that sill-beam houses have flimsy footings unlike the sturdier walls of stone houses (Hurley 2003, 160). Burgage plots was small in comparison to castle properties, their ratio length to width was 5:1 and these widths varied from

approximately 7 m to 9 m (Bradley 1985, 439) thus, the narrowness of the plot size impacted on the size of the dwelling. In the urban landscape the emergence of the stone house was commonly regarded as a symbol of high status. However, because of the large resources, required for the construction of these castles, they were beyond the economic capability



Plate 5. 2 Ballyderowen Castle

of the majority of people living in towns. The merchants were the one section of urban society who could afford to build such housing and indeed such a residence was a necessary status symbol in the merchants' bid for elite status. According to Hurley, domestic housing 'in the urban landscape cannot be viewed in isolation from developments in castles in rural Ireland' (Hurley 2003, 166). Excavations in the footprint of the medieval footprint of the medieval town of Cork uncovered evidence for stone houses from the 13th century and the 14th century and Table 1 contains examples of some of these houses. Excavations in Philip's Lane uncovered the remains of two 14th century stone houses. House 1 was the only medieval urban dwelling where the complete wall circuit was uncovered. Roughly coursed limestone blocks were used in the construction of this house whose dimensions were 6.60m N/S and

12.15m E/W. (Hurley 2003, 165). These dimensions compare very favourably with that of the great hall in Glanworth castle which measured 6.8m in length and 8.8 m in width (Manning 2009, 14). Further examples include stone house in a Grattan St which was uncovered house in mid 13th to 14th century context.. This house was constructed in irregular limestone blocks and a small room was incorporated into the north wall whose function was a little unclear (Lennon 2003, 75-77). Other large stone houses were uncovered in Philip's Lane and Skiddy's Lane (Hurley 2003 160-165).

E568/ 2 walls of coursed limestone	3m N/S x 8.20m E/W	Grattan St	M13th/14 th century
E625:F12/ 1 wall of randomly coursed limestone and slate	1.45m x N/S x 3.74m E/W	Washington St	M13th/ E14 th century
97E205:F74/ 4walls/ roughly coursed limestone	6.60m N/S x 12.15m E/W	Philips' Lane	14 th century
97E205:F66/ 2 walls /uncoursed sandstone blocks	7.40m N/S x 9.70m E/W	Philips' Lane	14 th century
97E369:F2 2 walls/ roughly coursed limestone blocks	7.60m N/S x 11m E/W	Skiddy's Lane	14 th century

Table 5.1 Examples of medieval stone houses in Cork city collated from excavations reports (Hurley, 2003; Lennon, 2003.)

5.4 The Great Hall

The great hall was one of the most important spaces in the castle and functioned as the central point of the household, where the lord met important visitors, his retainers and his tenants. This space also functioned as the principal living space for the lord, his family and his personal staff. It is suggested this is where the lord, his family and his retainers all slept as there was little concept of private space in the early days of feudalism. The Great Hall in Dublin Castle was built in 1243 and the importance of such a room is reflected in the fact that Henry III issued a directive to the justices on how it should be furnished, 'to cause to be built

in Dublin Castle a hall containing 100 ft in length and eighty feet wide, with sufficient windows and glass casements, after the fashion of the hall at Canterbury' (Woods 1968, 40). These halls were generally located in the first floor of the castle, over a stone-vaulted basement. Some were freestanding structures and located away from the castle like the great hall at Glanworth castle, which measured 6.8m x 8.8m, which was on the first floor of the keep. However, in its initial construction this floor was made of timber and in the secondary phase of building barrel vaulting replaced this timber construct. All the evidence points to the great hall using all the available space on this floor as there was no evidence of partitioning. Twelve floor beams inserted into the wall and running the length of the space supported the attic at the next level. An external staircase accessed this hall. There was also evidence of a freestanding hall to the north of the hall-keep in east end of the present north curtain wall that was contemporary with the hall -keep. Manning suggested that a row of almost evenly spaced beam holes at the base of the wall may represent a wooden floor at the east end or dais end of that hall (Manning 2009, 16-18). The great hall in Ballyderown was also on the first floor of the hall-keep. A mural staircase accessed this room and four large round arched windows lit the hall. Inchiquin had a great hall on the first floor, which was accessed by a mural staircase. Two round arched windows lit this room and both had traces of window seats (Power 1994; O'Keefe 1984, 48-56). The evidence for such spatial layout in the urban setting was also uncovered albeit on a smaller scale, for example, in the stone house in Grattan St in the *vill* of Cork where a room approximately 8 m long and had an E/W return of 2 m was uncovered in the excavated area (Hurley 2003, 163). This length compares very favourably with that of the great halls of the castles, the great hall in Glanworth measured 6.8m in length and 8.8 m in width There was no evidence of partition or industrial activity in this urban house, which suggests it could have functioned as the merchant's great hall (Manning 2009, 14).

5.5 Garderobes

Garderobes were another important symbol of social refinement. The term garderobe was a more refined use of the word latrine or privy becoming the normal term in the fourteenth century (Wood 1981, 377). However, the term privy or *camerae privatae* is the more appropriate term. It was usually situated at a convenient distance from the hall, but at the same time as far away as possible from the main table, usually at the end of an intra-mural passage. The construction of such features was rather simple, as Henry III dictated the details of such a facility, in 1238 when he ordered the Constable of the Tower to ‘cause a drain of our privy chamber to be made in the fashion of a hollow column’, and the privy chamber to be 20 ft long ‘with a deep pit’ (Salzman 1997, 283). Glanworth castle had a garderobe, contained within the thickness of the castle walls, these were 2.25 m thick. It was accessed through a doorway at the very south end of the west wall. There was evidence of another garderobe in the chamber-block at the east end of the freestanding hall (Manning 2009). According to O’Keefe there was possible evidence for a garderobe in the de Caunteton castle at Ballyderowen (Plate 5.3). He suggests that this was located beyond the mural lobby in the south wall, however, it was removed at a later date to accommodate the construction of a turret (O’Keefe 1984, 50-51). The garderobe in Inchiquin was located in a mural passage in the west wall of the first floor (Sweetman, 1999). There is very little evidence of garderobe innovation in twelfth, thirteenth or fourteenth century contexts in the urban landscapes. Cesspits were the general form of privy and usually were located to the rear of the house. A thirteenth to fourteenth century stone house in Grattan St had possible evidence of an internal cesspit contained within a stone walled compartment built into its north wall. The room itself was in the basement and measured 1.20m N/S and 1.70m E/W (Hurley 2003, 162; Lennon 2003, 74). This house was extended in the fourteenth century when a second room was

added on and a garderobe chute was uncovered in its west wall which led from the upper floors of the building and a stone flagged drain emptied into a cesspit. The size of the pit, 4m wide and at least 6.50m long was comparable to pits found in similar contexts in the houses of wealthy merchants in the urban landscape of Waterford prompting Hurley to suggest that this house in Grattan St was the home of a wealthy merchant (Hurley 2003, 161-163). A late thirteenth to early fourteenth century stone house in North Main St had evidence of chute built into its west wall, indicative of garderobe innovation in the upper storey (Hurley 1996, 160-165).



Plate 5.3 Garderobe Ballyderowen Castle

5.6 The Fireplace

The installation of the fireplace contributed greatly to the comfort of those living in the castle. Prior to this these castle must have been smoke-filled uncomfortable places in which to live and sleep in as the central hearth was the only method of heating these great halls the only means of escape for the smoke being through a hole or louver in the roof. However apart from the kitchen this was the only room supplied with such a luxury (Salzman 1997, 96-98). The term chimney with its variant Latin and French forms *chiminee*, *caminum* and so forth was used to describe the whole fireplace including the hearth, flue, and chimney or indeed for any of these parts individually (Salzman 1997, 98). This early fireplace was of a very basic design and involved the making of a fire against one of the stone walls of the great hall. When the fire was made against the wall the flue was then carried up on the inner face of the wall. The smoke was then carried upwards by a projecting hood, and directed out through the roof by a flue. This hood projecting into the room allowed for a shallower recess and the early examples of hooded fireplaces are found in twelfth century contexts in England. By the end of the twelfth century this chimney was accommodated in an external buttress, which was used to thicken the walls, which supported the chimney (Salzman 1997, 98; Woods 1968, 260). The remains of a flue are still evident in Inchiquin castle suggesting that a fireplace was in use here by the thirteenth century (Sweetman 2005, 88), (Plate 5.4). In Ballyderown castle a flue was evident in the in the thickness of the south wall and also the remains of fireplace in the internal south wall (O’Keeffe 1984, 50). The Roche castle in Glanworth however had no evidence of a fireplace. All the evidence suggests that the central hearth was very much a feature of urban housing in the thirteenth and fourteenth century in Cork. Unfortunately, there is a dearth of evidence for fireplace innovation in thirteenth and fourteenth century contexts in the urban landscapes in Co. Cork. Such evidence was

uncovered in a house in North Main Street, where a hearth, which was located initially in an area central to the house, was altered in the late thirteenth early fourteenth century. A doorway in the east wall of the house was blocked up and a stone-built chimneybreast was inserted. This *chiminee* comprised of a chimneybreast surrounded on two sides by stone walls and measured 0.5 m wide x 0.7 m in depth (Hurley 1997, 27). In Grattan St in Cork city an off-centre hearth was discovered in the eastern side of the room suggesting the existence of a fireplace in a room which may have functioned as the great hall in the house as it measured 8m long (Lennon 2003, 69).



Plate 5.4 Fireplace in Inchiquin Castle

5.7 Building Materials

Building materials were one of the principal means through which culture and high-status consumption manifested in elite building; especially in the use of imported architectural stone. In the castellated dwellings of Co Cork there is no evidence for the use of imported stone and or cut stone. In Glanworth Castle the walls were constructed with roughly coursed undressed limestone, there was no extant evidence of cut stone (Manning 2009, 14-15). Ballyderowen Castle was constructed largely of uncoursed limestone but many of the windows and doors were embellished with moulded stone (See Plate 5). The two round-headed windows in the north wall are the best preserved today and retain chamfered jambstones which are made from arkosic sandstone and local sandstone, there is also evidence of roll-moulded stonework on its arch (O’Keeffe 1984, 50). Inchiquin castle had moulded limestone corbels in the upper storey. Very little evidence of cut stone was uncovered in the towns in the survey area. However, in North Main Street two pieces of



Plate 5.5: Window moulding at Ballyderowen Castle

Dundry oolite were uncovered in late thirteenth to early fourteenth century contexts in Philip's Lane (Hurley 2003, 117). One of these pieces was identified as part of a doorjamb and was made from re-used red-brown micaceous sandstone. One of its edges was chamfered and terminated in a triangular pointed stop (Carroll & Quinn 2003, 321). This evidence indicates that cut-stone was a rare, but not an unheard of architectural feature of merchants housing in the study area..

5.8 Private Space

Medieval people had little or any concept of private space but as the thirteenth century drew to a close, the concept of private space, was becoming a feature of castellated life. This feature manifested in the urban landscapes and the castles of the gentry in the addition of a storey above the great hall which functioned as a private space for the family where they could sleep and dine.

Wretched is the hall...each day in a week
There the lord and lady liketh not to sit;
Now the rich have a rule to eat by themselves
In a privy parlour...for the poor men's sake,
Or in a chamber with a chimney and leave the chief hall
That was made for meals, for men to eat in....
(John Langland's *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, 1360).

At Glanworth there is evidence of a solar in the first floor hall, it had one loop-like the window in the middle of the north wall (Manning 2009, 160. There was no evidence in the extant remains of Inchinquin Castle for the construction of a solar. However, an inquiry in 1350 reported 'one stone tower worth nothing as it wants great repair' (Hartnett 1945, 42)

suggesting that if the site had some division of space it was unlikely to have survived into modern times. Ballyderowen Castle had a solar or second storey, which was a later construct suggesting that this floor was the main private chamber of the castle and was added as social change demanded it over time. The course of masonry which marks the second floor level on the exterior of the building suggests that the walls were built to this height before the upper storey was begun. There was also a vaulted mural passage in its south wall, which could be contemporary with the primary structure (and may well be evidence of a garderobe) but O’Keeffe (1984, 52) did not suggest that it was a garderobe, nor did he find evidence of a fireplace in the solar. Private space in the urban context can be difficult to detect, as houses not only functioned as family dwellings but also as places where trade was carried on. It is difficult to determine the exact spatial layout within these houses but the partition of rooms did allow for more privacy (Rosedahl & Scholkmann 2007, 173). An excavated sill beam house in Hanover Street had evidence of such a partition; it was made from wattles and extending for a distance of 0.80m. Cleary (2003, 223) uncovered evidence of a bedding area which may also have functioned as a dining area, as fish-bones, hazelnuts and oysters were also uncovered found in this space. This house also appeared to be two-storey, an internal stairs suggested an upper floor which may have functioned as the family’s private space. The excavator was of the opinion that this may well be the dwelling of a merchant. A source of warmth also was important in the creation of a comfortable living space and can also indicate private space (Falgenhauer 2007, 223). A two-roomed stone house in Grattan St contained two hearths at either end of one of its rooms. The primary hearth composed of seven red sandstones and was cleaned on a regular basis whereas the second hearth consisted of a hollow pit 1 m wide, which contained large flat limestone slab (Lennon 2003, 67-69).

5.9 Tableware

Feasting, in feudal times, was an important public event, it was also an occasion for performativity, as the gentry could display their status and wealth, not only through the lavish display of food but also through the use of high-end tableware (Campbell & Untermann 2007, 349-365; Falgenhauer-Smith 2007, 224-254; Johnson, 2010 140). The archaeological evidence for the use of pottery tableware far outweighs that of metal, or wood, suggesting that there must have been more pottery vessels in use. However, metal vessels have a longer working life than ceramics, thus fewer were produced and furthermore while their remains were subject to corrosion but also to recycling, unlike pottery whose remains, while almost indestructible, were of no further use (Table 5.2). Consequently, the recordings in the documentary sources provide an insight into the high status tableware of the elite, for instance, the collection of fine tableware of John de Sandford, the Archbishop of Dublin (Sweetman, 1906)(Table 5. 2). Courtly table manners included the ritual of hand washing, archaeologically manifested in the survival of lavers or ewers; two silver ewers were listed in this collection. Salt cellars were important and took centre stage in the lavish these feasts and eleven silver salt cellars were also recorded. The collated evidence in the excavation reports (Appendix 1) suggests that that pottery, such as local wares and imported Ham Green, was

Quantity	Item
2	Silver ewers
2	Gilt cups
2	Vases of large size
1	Large silver vase
6	Silver plates
19	Silver dishes
11	Silver salt cellars

Table 5. 2 Bishop John de Sandford Collection of Tableware (Sweetman, 1906)

commonly used in the daily life of the townspeople. Saintonge and Saintonge Polychrome wares were imported from the south west of France and were associated with the wine trade gaining social value through use. In time the green glazed Saintonge jugs, with their distinctive parrot beak, became synonymous with an elite lifestyle and over time became an important part of the material culture of the emerging merchant class (Davey & Hodges 1983, 13). Unfortunately, apart from Glanworth castle very few of the Anglo-Norman castles in Co. Cork have been excavated to date. Consequently the comparative data for this part of section of the analysis has all been drawn from the latter site and also from Ferns Castle, which is outside the survey area. Excavations at Glanworth Castle uncovered one Saintonge green-glazed jug, in a mid thirteenth to fourteenth century context (McCutcheon 2009, 96-97) (See Appendix 1). Ferns Castle was the home of the Marshall family, one of the most prominent families in Anglo-Norman Ireland and the collated evidence from the excavations listed the remains of at least four Saintonge Polychrome pots (Sweetman, 1979, 225-241). Gradually jugs appeared in towns reflecting the changing economic and social position of the merchant class (Davey & Hodges 1983, 13). Excavations at Kyril's Quay uncovered nine polychrome jugs (McCutcheon 1997, 83). Excavations at the stone house in Grattan St, included two polychrome jugs amongst its sherds (Lennon 2003, 68; McCutcheon 2003, 216-217). Saintonge polychrome sherds were also found in association with stone houses in Skiddy's Lane, Washington St and Washington St (Table 5.3). In the documentary

Period	MNV	Type	Site
L13 th -E14 th	9	Jug	Grand Parade
L13th-E14th	1	Jug	17 Grattan St
L13th-E14th	1	Jug	Washington St
L13th –E14th	9	Jug	Kyril's Quay
L13th-E14th	1	Jug	Skiddy's Lane

L13th-E14th	1	Jug	Grattan-Adelaide St
L13th- E14th	1	Jug	Cove St
L13th-E14th	1	Jug	Tuckey St
L13th-E14th	1	>Jug	St. Peter's Avenue
L13th-E14th	1	Jug	Philip's Lane

Table 5.3: Saintonge Polychrome finds in the *vill* of Cork (Compiled from collated data from Hurley,1990; Hurley, 2003; McCutcheon,2003; Hurley, 1996; O'Donnell, 2003; Hurley 7 O'Donnell, 2003; Cleary,1996; O'Donnell, 2003; Hurley& Johnson, 2003; O'Donnell, 2003).

sources, there are several references to the importation of wine into the *vill* of Youghal, and as all Saintonge wares are synonymous with the wine trade, excavations in the footprint of Anglo-Norman *vill* uncovered no such evidence (McCutcheon 2007, 109-110).

5.10 Textiles

For the most part townspeople across medieval Europe did not produce their own cloth but purchased it in at markets and at fairs. To supply this ever-increasing market, wool, linens and silks became traded commodities in the medieval economy. Merchants performed a dual role in the textile economy, sourcing and the wool for the export market and importing low and high value textiles for the domestic consumption. The medieval merchant gained expertise in high-value textiles such as silken, taffeta and brocade. Taffeta and brocade, in particular, were much-sought after cloths and silver or gold threads were woven through the brocade, further enriching it, making it a highly sought after commodity by both royalty and the church . Even though the same range of dyestuffs was used for both wool and silk, silk thread was dyed before weaving unlike the wool where cloth was dyed after it left the loom. Linen was also regarded as a high-value textile and was used to make undergarments with Champagne linen being the most sought after (Spufford 2003). Because textiles survive only in exceptional circumstances (Hurley 2003; Dyer 2005) the use of comparative data from the

documentary sources is necessary to provide data for the development of the discussion. In 1170 Henry II ordered twenty five ells of red scarlet for his own use, ells of green viridis, twelve pieces of silk cloth and five other skins for his trip to Ireland (Sweetman 1881, record 29, 5). Thirty nine years later King John ordered a scarlet cape trimmed with green silk tissue for his trip to Ireland (Sweetman record 400, 68). This consumption of high value textiles continued during the reign of Henry III; the records show that in 1249 he ordered the Irish Treasury to pay Adam of Basinges, £22 16s 7d for silken cloth and a fringe of gold (Sweetman 1881, entry 2993, 447). However, the collated evidence from excavation carried out in Grand Parade in the *vill* of Cork listed a high quality imported broadcloth. The cloth was made of 2/1 twill and was a dusky red tinge in colour and may well have been a piece of the highly-sought after scarlet (Wincott-Heckett, 1990, 81-86). Excavations at Ferns Castle uncovered two pieces of silk were uncovered in a late thirteenth-to-early fourteenth century context (Sweetman 1979, 239).

5.11 Dress Accessories

Dress accessories were also an expression of social identity and while textiles may rarely survive clothing fasteners such as brooches and pins are used to draw conclusions on social identity. Buttons, fasteners and pins were made in silver, gold and pewter but also in tin and copper alloys (Falgenhauer 2007, 250-254). Two porcelain beads were recovered in Glanworth Castle both of which were perforated, one had three pairs of blue stripes the other had one yellow line set between a pair of blue lines. These highly decorated items may well have adorned clothing or were possibly jewellery fragments. One copper-alloy pin was also found in a thirteenth to fourteenth century context at the same site (Manning 2009, 80-83). Excavations in Cork uncovered sixteen copper alloy stick pins in Tuckey and Washington St from late twelfth to thirteenth century contexts, four of which were found in Washington St on a site with a stone house. Two of the more exotic examples were zoomorphic headed pins.

Both were stylized to represent horse heads. Stabs were used to create a mane effect on one of the pins and no doubt the decoration reinforced their high value status (Carroll & Quinn 2003, 273). The remains of dark yellow bead was uncovered in the North Gate while amber beads were found during excavations at Tuckey St and Washington St (Hurley, 1997; O'Donnell 2003; McCutcheon, 2003). Excavations in the footprint of the other *vills* in the survey area did not uncover any evidence of dress accessories.

5.12 Glass

Glass was an elite commodity, used during the Middle Ages for tableware, glazing windows and the manufacture of beads (Campbell & Falgenhauer 2007, 238). Glazing was a very expensive undertaking. Henry II had to suspend the glazing work being undertaken in the Great Hall at Dublin Castle because he lacked the necessary funds for the completion of the work (Sweetman, 1881, entry 265). There are very few surviving examples of medieval glass in the Irish archaeological record and the surviving pieces are fragmentary and badly weathered. The quality of the glass was poor due to the high alkalinity of the potash used in the manufacturing process making it susceptible to corrosion and pitting. It is hard to quantify how many glaziers lived and worked in the survey area (Moran 2010, 13). At the time of this research no glass has been uncovered during excavations in Mallow, Buttevant and Kinsale and Cork. Fragments of glass were uncovered outside the east window of the Collegiate Church of St Mary in the *vill* of Youghal. At Glanworth castle two pieces of glass tableware were listed in the excavation report, one represented the handle of a jug and was made of green glass and the other was a light green spout of an ewer (Manning 2009, 110). Strips of window leading were found in early to mid fourteenth century context during excavations at the North Gate (Hurley 1997).

5.13 Exotica

The display of certain high status items was an important indicator of secular power in medieval urban life. These items included the seal, the scissors and the stylus and are discussed under the title “exotica” as they are relatively rare in the archaeological record for Co. Cork. Musical instruments were generally associated with the gentry and two bone turning pegs were uncovered in Washington St in a mid thirteenth to early fourteenth century context, this were of a type that used to tune instruments such as harps or fiddles (Hurley 2003, 332). Reading and writing during the medieval period were exclusive to the upper echelons of society, however, as commercialization increased it was incumbent on the merchants to become literate and numerate. The existence of reading and writing is indicated in the archaeological record through the stylus, and the metal fittings of books (Falgenhauer-Smith 2007, 257). A number of copper and bronze strips were uncovered in the North Gate, An open-worked binding strip/collar was found in a late twelfth century context during excavations in the North Gate The strip was made of copper alloy and comprised of two shallow bands woven in a figure-of-eight design (Hurley 2003, 283). The stylus is known from excavations from the twelfth and thirteenth century contexts in castles and towns. Its characteristic feature was an eye at its upper end facilitating easy use by mobile a merchant who could suspend it from his belt. Hurley uncovered a parch pricker/stylus in a late thirteenth century context in Grattan St and also at the North Gate (Hurley 2003, 332). The seal and its use were symbols of high status in medieval society. Pope Nicholas 1 was first to use the seal in the mid ninth century and insisted that all ecclesiastical correspondence was sealed. Edward the Confessor (1204-1266) was the first

to use a seal in England which became known as Great Seal or Seal of Majesty. The earliest examples were made of ivory and while male royalty used circular shaped seals those for ladies of similar status were usually pointed or vesica shaped. By the late twelfth century the gentry in general were sealing all their documents with impressed wax (Falgenhauer-Smith, 2007, 362). Merchants and petty officials began using them at this time as 'it was the right of all those who were free to own and use a seal' A bone seal matrix was uncovered in a thirteenth century context in Grand Parade which was highly polished and had an inscription in Lombardic lettering. Hurley identified it as the seal of a commoner even though it contained the fleur-de-lis design, a heraldic emblem denoting aristocratic associations, because by the thirteenth century the more important commoners had adopted similar designs (Hurley 1989, 78). A fragment of green porphyry tile was found on the plot of a sill beam house in a late twelfth to early thirteenth century context in Tuckey Street. Porphyry was quarried in Laconia, Greece up to the fifth century and these tiles were pilgrimage mementoes which returning high status pilgrims brought back into Ireland (Carroll & Quinn 2003, 320).

5.14 Horse Equipment

Hunting and feasting were two activities that distinguished the elite in the medieval period from the commoners and the horse became one of the great symbols of secular power (Campbell & Untermann 2007, 350-356). The Abbey of the Holy Trinity, for example, paid the sum of 19s 8d for a horse for the seneschal (Mills 1905). At Glanworth Castle two fragments of a horseshoe and a spur rowel were recovered from a thirteenth century context while two items of horse equipment was uncovered in a thirteenth century context in Washington Street. These consisted of a hasp and a buckle and while the function of the hasp was unknown the buckle was used for tighter fastening of the reins and also to reduce

chaffing (Carroll & Quinn 2003, 278). Hasps and horse shoes were also found during excavations at the North Gate and Philip's Lane in 13th and 14th century contexts (Hurley 1994, O'Donnell 1993). Horse trappings such as a snaffle-bit, buckle pins and the remains of at least three horseshoe fragments were found during excavations in the Grand Parade as well as iron rings which were part of cheek-pieces dating from the 13th –14th century (Hurley 1994). Horse bones were uncovered in a late thirteenth to mid fourteenth century context on a burgage plot on North Main St in association with a stone house. The context did not display any butchery marks suggesting that the animal may have been kept for 'prestige purposes' (McCarthy 2003, 379).

5.15 Diet

Diet can indicate differences in social status and prestige foods were available such as venison, imported plants or foodstuffs, such as grapes and the consumption of wheat bread along with rye, barley and oats (Scholfield & Vince 2003, 225-232). The Anglo-Normans introduced the fallow deer into Ireland in the twelfth century and venison was commonly associated with the elite. The remains of red deer and fallow deer were recovered in Glanworth Castle as hunting, and was a high status activity, one can expect only to find deer bones on high status sites (Crabtree & Ryan 2003, 117). The diet of the urban dwellers in the stone house in Grattan St indicates a superior lifestyle to others in the town, as not only was there evidence of red deer consumption, but also their diet included figs and grapes. A few butchered red deer bones were also uncovered in Washington St, Philip's Lane and Tuckey St (McCarthy 2003, 375-389; McClatchie 2003, 391-411). The diet in Glanworth castle did not indicate any exotic imports but there was evidence that wheat bread (*Triticum aestivum*) was consumed as opposed to the rye and oat breads of the lower orders (Vaughan-

Williams 2009, 126). Wheat was used to make luxury lighter breads and when carefully processed produces a light and finer textured bread. Deposits from Grattan St produced evidence of this wheat bread in a thirteenth to fourteenth century context (McClatchie 2003, 395).

5.16 The Symbols of the Merchant

In medieval society symbols were an important indicator of a person's place in the social hierarchy, the symbols of the merchants were weights and balances, as he needed these items to transact trade in small-scale items such as spices and so forth. The Statute of Merchants in 1285 gave the town officials the power to ensure that only standard weights and measures were used in measuring commodities such as spices (O'Brien 1985, 57). Weights and balances have been uncovered in excavations in a twelfth century context of the borough of Cork, for instance, in a sill beam house in Hanover Street a complete copper-alloy balance arm and a pair of scale pans were uncovered. The scale pans had a diameter of 90 mm and had three evenly spaced perforations. Chains were suspended from these perforations in the normal course of activity; however these chains were not uncovered. This folding balance was small and lightweight and had a span of 164 mm with the arms suspended. It is suggested that they were used to weigh small but high value items such as spices or precious metals or even dyes. Cleary (2003, 31- 38) has suggested that the presence of these items was an indication that this was the house of a merchant (see also Carroll & Quinn 2003, 288). A weight uncovered from a similar context in Hanover St was a crudely made irregular lead cylinder with an off-centre axial perforation indicating that it was clearly intended for suspension. The perforation was 29mm in length (Carroll & Quinn 2003, 290). Similarly lead alloy weights with a possible maker's mark were uncovered, in a fourteenth century context during the North Gate excavations (Hurley 1997). Silver and gold had an international commonly agreed standard of exchange in the medieval period and hand held scales were

used for measuring them from the twelfth century onwards (Scholfield & Vince 2003, 2). Excavations in Glanworth Castle also uncovered a copper alloy disc, possibly the pan of a weighing scale in a thirteenth to fourteenth century context (Manning 2009).

5.17 Conclusion

The premise of this chapter was to use the theory of consumption to detect a merchant presence within the *vills* of the survey area. This was necessary as the merchant presence indicative that the medieval had developed into a *vill* rather than simply a rural borough . The theory of performativity used. The archaeological evidence for a mercantile presence was extrapolated mainly from the collated evidence in excavations reports undertaken in the footprint of the *vills* of the survey area. Comparative data was also drawn from sites outside the survey area such as Ferns Castle and the documentary sources. The discussion focused primarily on the housing culture as it was the most visible physical symbol of social class on the Anglo-Norman landscape. As the preferred housing option of the elite social class was stone castles, it was necessary to uncover evidence for a similar housing culture in the *vills*. While the excavation reports revealed some evidence of stone-built houses in the footprint of the medieval town of Cork there was little evidence of such a culture in the other medieval settlements in the survey area. Internal features such as the great hall, garderobes were further symbols of an elite material culture, and while fireplaces were found in the *vill* of Cork however there was scant evidence for such architectural features in the other medieval towns in survey area of the thesis. The consumption of high-value goods such as textiles, glass, ceramics, certain building materials horse equipment were also part of the elite identity. Thus while this evidence suggests that *vill* of Cork had evidence of a merchant presence in its Anglo-Norman footprint, there was a paucity of such evidence in *vill* of Youghal, while

the *vills* of Buttevant, Kinsale, Mallow and Glanworth had no evidence to suggest that there was a mercantile presence during this period.

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