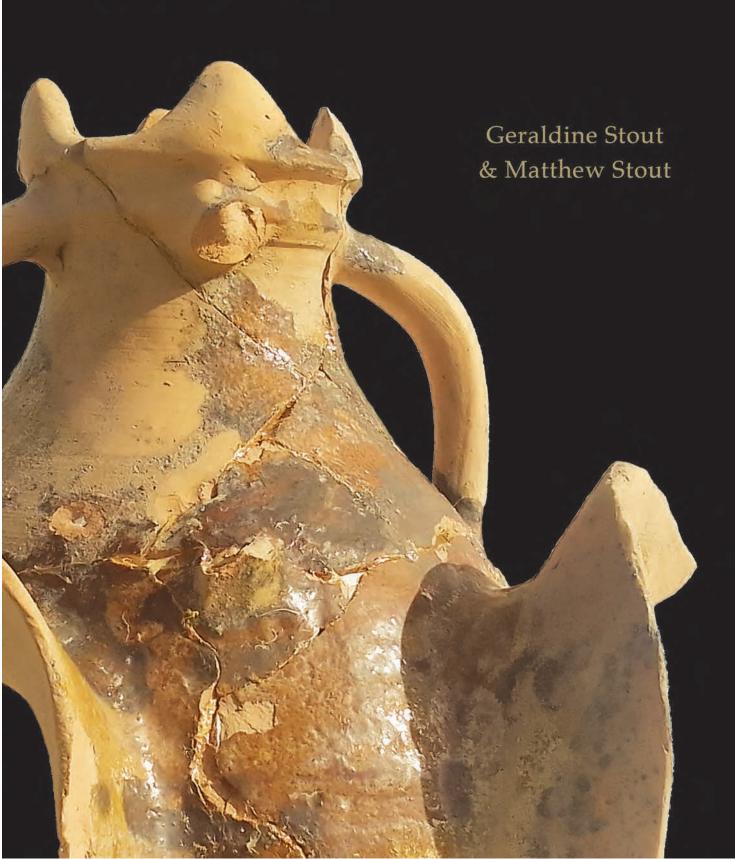
BEAUBEC, Co. Meath

Excavation of a French Cistercian Grange in the Boyne Valley



BEAUBEC, CO. MEATH Excavation of a French Cistercian Grange in the Boyne Valley

BEAUBEC, CO. MEATH Excavation of a French Cistercian Grange in the Boyne Valley

Geraldine Stout Matthew Stout



Published by Chapel Press Chapel Road, Julianstown, Co. Meath, Eircode A92 V6W8, Ireland. Email: matthew.stout@dcu.ie

Copyright © The authors and contributors 2023

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any electronic, mechanical or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or otherwise, without either the prior written permission of the Publishers or a license permitting restricted copying in Ireland issued by the Irish Copyright Licensing Agency Ltd, The Irish Writers' Centre, 25 Denzille Lane, Dublin 2.

ISBN 978-1-3999-6850-8

The moral right of the authors has been asserted

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Set in 11 Palatino and 10 Helvetica

Cover design: Paul Woods Cover photograph: Matthew Stout Edited by Rachel Pierce, Verba Editing House Typeset in Ireland by Information Graphics Printed by W&G Baird Ltd.

Front cover shows a detail of the medieval louvre. Back cover shows the replica of the seal of Beaubec Abbey, Normandy. Photos Parts I–V: Mick Mongey Photo Part VI: John Sunderland

Financial support for this project and its publication has come from FBD Trust with further assistance from Kilsharvan Community Council, Dublin City University, Royal Irish Academy, ¹⁴CHRONO Centre Queen's University Belfast, University of Notre Dame Dublin Global Gateway, Dundalk Institute of Technology. National Monuments Service, Meath County Council, The Discovery Programme, Lacey Solutions, Mythical Ireland, Droichead Arts Centre.





This book is dedicated to John McCullen, farmer, historian, caretaker of Beaubec

Table of Contents

	Foreword from Michael Berkery, Chairman, FBD Trust	ix
	Preface from John McCullen, landowner	xi
	Notes on contributors	xiv
	Acknowledgements	xvi
	PART I – LANDSCAPE AND HISTORY	
Chapter 1	Location and landscape by Aidan Giblin	2
Chapter 2	Historical background	8
Chapter 3	The monks and attorneys of Beaubec <i>iuxta</i> Drogheda, <i>c</i> .1300–1400	
-	by David E. Thornton	28
	PART II – EXCAVATION	
Chapter 4	The Excavations 2019–21	36
	PART III – MATERIAL CULTURE	
Chapter 5	Lithics from Bey More, Co. Meath by Conor Brady	72
Chapter 6	Petrographical report on the stone axehead from	88
	Bey More, Co. Meath by Stephen Mandal	
Chapter 7	Pottery from Beaubec, Co. Meath by Rosanne Meenan	90
Chapter 8	Ceramic building material from Beaubec, Co. Meath	99
	by Kieran Campbell	
Chapter 9	Metal artefacts from Beaubec, Co. Meath by Órla Scully	108
Chapter 10	Glass from Beaubec, Co. Meath by Jo Moran	120
Chapter 11	Wooden artefacts and samples from Beaubec, Co. Meath	122
	by Caitríona Moore and Ellen OCarroll	
Chapter 12	Miscellaneous finds from Beaubec, Co. Meath	128
	PART IV – ECONOMY AND ENVIRONMENT	
Chapter 13	Faunal remains from Beaubec, Co. Meath by Fiona Beglane	132
Chapter 14	Bird and fish bones from Beaubec, Co. Meath by S. Hamilton-Dyer	158
Chapter 15	Plant macrofossils from Beaubec, Co. Meath by Penny Johnston	164
Chapter 16	Insect analysis from Beaubec, Co. Meath by Stephen Davis,	177
	Eva Kourela and Michala Nagyova	

PART V – DISCUSSION

Chapter 17	Discussion	182
	PART VI – LEGACY	
Chapter 18	Conservation and presentation at Beaubec, Co. Meath	212
	by Chris Southgate and Geraldine Stout	
Chapter 19	Touching time: investigating the processes of archaeology through	225
	art at Beaubec, Co. Meath by John Sunderland	
Chapter 20	The art, the science, and the business of communications	247
	from Beaubec, Co. Meath by Grace McCullen	
Chapter 21	Autoethnography at Beaubec, Co. Meath	250
	PART VII – APPENDICES	
Appendix 1	Dendrochronological report on two wood samples	253
	from Beaubec, Co. Meath by David M. Brown	
Appendix 2	Radiocarbon dates from Beaubec, Co. Meath	255
Appendix 3	Features list	257

Appendix 3 Features list

Appendix 4	Finds catalogue
------------	-----------------

Bibliography

287

261

Notes on contributors

Dr Fiona Beglane is an archaeology lecturer at Atlantic Technological University, Sligo. Her research focuses on zooarchaeology, landscapes, medieval archaeology, hunting, and the use of scientific techniques in archaeology. She has a particular interest in integrating scientific and social/cultural interpretations of archaeology and in examining the interaction between humans and animals.

Dr Conor Brady is lecturer in archaeology in the Department of Humanities in Dundalk Institute of Technology. His research interests and publications range from the archaeology of the Brú na Bóinne World Heritage Site and the wider Boyne Valley, Neolithic settlement, landscape archaeology, battlefield archaeology, and heritage management. Much recent work has focused on the analysis of lithic and stone assemblages from excavated sites across Ireland.

David M. Brown is a dendrochronologist with Queen's University Belfast. He has been involved in the construction and dating of long tree-ring chronologies from Ireland, England and Scotland. He has dated thousands of wood samples from archaeological sites, buildings and houses in Ireland and Britain. Recent publications have been on drought events in Ireland, and global cooling and solar events in prehistory. Currently he is working on examining and dating foreign timbers used in Irish houses.

Kieran Campbell is a graduate of UCD and holds a BA in archaeology and geography and an MA in prehistoric archaeology. He worked under Pat Wallace at Wood Quay and with David Sweetman on medieval sites, including Drogheda, directed excavations for the Corporation of Drogheda, and has worked in contract archaeology since. His research interests include medieval and postmedieval pottery. He is a member of the Meath Archaeological and Historical Society and a long-serving council member of the Co. Louth Archaeological and Historical Society.

Dr Stephen Davis is a lecturer at UCD School of Archaeology whose research focuses on both environmental archaeology and remote sensing. He has worked extensively in Meath, especially at the Hill of Ward and around the Brú na Bóinne World Heritage Site. As an environmental archaeologist his research has focused on the use of subfossil insect remains to help understand past living conditions, environments and lifeways.

Aidan Giblin is a retired secondary school teacher and manager. He was seconded to provide in-service support to second-level geography teachers and worked for the EU teaching geography in Brussels. He is a founding member of the community archaeology group, Resurrecting Monuments. He has taken part in many community archaeology excavations over the past ten years.

Sheila Hamilton-Dyer is an independent archaeozoologist with a special interest in bird and fish remains. Based in the UK, much of her work is on British material but also involves major projects in Egypt and Russia, among others.

Dr Penny Johnston is an environmental archaeologist who has studied plant remains from a wide range of Irish archaeological sites. Publications include *Hidden voices: the archaeology of the M8 Fermoy– Mitchelstown motorway* (Dublin, 2018, with Jacinta Kiely). She is currently researching food remains from Bronze Age Ireland with the FOODSEC project in the School of Archaeology in UCD.

Eva Kourela specialises as an environmental archaeologist, with expertise in the field of archaeoentomology. Over the past two years she has worked as a research assistant at UCD, conducting insect analysis for various archaeological companies. Presently, she is embarking on her PhD journey, concentrating on the medieval era as her focal point of study.

Grace McCullen grew up in Beamore and is an enthusiastic advocate for Beaubec, local heritage in the Boyne Valley, the countryside and sustainable enterprise. Grace is a strategic marketer by profession and contributed to the communication and story-telling of 'The Dig at Beaubec'. As a former guide at Newgrange and Knowth, Grace happily welcomes visiting groups to the site, and looks forward to preserving the long-term future of the grange and grounds at Beaubec.

Dr Stephen Mandal is the co-founder of the Irish Heritage School. He has published widely on the use of stone in archaeological contexts, and on medieval and community archaeology. Coauthored books include *The Irish Stone Axe Project: Monograph 1* (Dublin, 1996, with Gabriel Cooney), *Carrick, County Wexford: Ireland's First Anglo-Norman Stronghold* (Dublin, 2019, edited with Denis Shine, Michael Potterton and Catherine McLoughlin) and *Discovering Medieval Ferns, Co. Wexford* (Dublin, 2023, edited with Michael Potterton and Denis Shine).

Rosanne Meenan is a freelance archaeologist. She has been writing reports on medieval and postmedieval pottery since 1990, including the postmedieval assemblage from excavations at Dublin Castle (forthcoming) and the assemblage from Bective Abbey (2016).

Caitríona Moore is the Managing Director of Archaeology and Built Heritage Ltd. She has worked on a wide range of archaeological projects across Ireland, and specialises in the archaeology of wetlands, ancient woodworking and wooden artefacts. Her publications include *Between the meadows, the archaeology of Edercloon on the N4 Dromod-Roosky bypass* (Dublin, 2021) and *The mill at Kilbegley, an archaeological investigation on the route of the M6 Ballinasloe to Athlone national road scheme* (with Neil Jackman and Colin Rynne, Dublin, 2013).

Jo Moran worked in Scotland from 1986 to 1993 on a research excavation at Whithorn, in Dumfries and Galloway. Since returning to Ireland, she has worked as a consultant archaeologist, carrying out impact assessments, excavations and building surveys. She illustrates for publication and specialises in the study of glass, particularly medieval window glass, from excavations.

Michala Nagyova is a graduate in archaeology from UCD. She has worked on numerous archaeological excavations, including Beaubec. Her research interests include the analysis of insects.

Ellen OCarroll worked on various wetland excavations with the Irish Archaeological Wetland Unit and has a specialism in wood anatomy. Her MA thesis for UCC examined the wood assemblages of Corlea Bog, Co. Longford, and King John's Castle, Co. Limerick. She has authored many environmental woodland reports focusing on the analysis of charcoal and wood as well as wooden artefacts from archaeological excavations. She is currently researching woodland resource usage in the Irish midlands.

Órla Scully has been working in archaeology since the late 1970s, concentrating on excavations in Viking and medieval Waterford. Her MA thesis, A study of the metal artefacts from medieval Cork (University College Cork, 1988), has led to her specialising in metal artefacts as her primary career in later years, contributing to many publications and excavation reports. **Chris Southgate** established Southgate Associates in 1990 as conservation engineering specialists. Southgate Associates expanded shortly afterwards to include architectural conservation, building, archaeology and heritage consultancy. This company provides services over a vast range of historic structures, ranging from dangerous medieval buildings to internationally significant cathedrals. Southgate Associates is experienced in practical building conservation, conservation management plans, and environmental impact assessment reports. The team is now writing the heritage strategy for the 'Cork Docklands Masterplan'.

Dr Geraldine Stout is the leading authority on the archaeology of the Brú na Bóinne World Heritage Site. Her publications include *Newgrange and the bend of the Boyne* (Cork University Press, Cork, 2002), 'The Cistercian grange: a medieval farming system' in M. Murphy and M. Stout (eds), *Agriculture and settlement in Ireland* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2015) and *The Bective Abbey project, Co. Meath: excavations* 2009–12 (with Matthew Stout, Wordwell, Dublin, 2016). She is a patron of the Meath Archaeological and Historical Society and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Dr Matthew Stout lectured in the School of History and Geography, Dublin City University. His books include *The Irish ringfort* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, reprinted 2023), *Early medieval Ireland* 431–1169 (Wordwell, Dublin, revised edition 2023) and *Excavation of a multi-period site at Stalleen, Co. Meath, by Mandy Stephens: research in the Brú na Bóinne World Heritage Site* (edited with Geraldine Stout, Chapel Press, Julianstown, 2022).

Dr John Sunderland is an artist and archaeologist based in Cork, Ireland. His practice-based PhD in fine art examined the visual interpretation of landscape change and he continues to investigate our temporal experiences of landscapes and of materiality through a hybridized art and archaeology practice. He has undertaken residencies in Sweden, the UK and Ireland and exhibited nationally and internationally. His work can be found at www. johnsunderland.com.

Dr David E. Thornton is assistant professor of medieval European history at Bilkent University, Turkey. His research interests have ranged from medieval Irish and Welsh genealogy, Domesday Book and, most recently, the prosopography of the monstic orders in late medieval and early Tudor Britain and Ireland. He has published articles on the Cistercians in medieval England and Wales, and has a number of forthcoming papers on the monastic orders in Ireland before the Dissolution.

Chapter 15

Plant macrofossils from Beaubec, Co. Meath Penny Johnston

INTRODUCTION:

The monks of the Cistercian grange of Beaubec in Bey More townland, Co. Meath, kept a range of livestock and cultivated various crops in the fields around the settlement. This chapter focuses on the archaeobotanical remains retrieved as a result of archaeological excavations, including the surviving remains of plants that were grown as crops, consumed as food, and the wild plants that grew in the areas around the settlement.

Unbeknownst to the medieval monks, they established their settlement in the same place as a small group of much earlier (Late Neolithic) pits. One of the pits contained large amounts of charcoal, but no non-charcoal plant remains were found and therefore this phase of activity plays only a minor role in the discussion below. Plant remains were present but sparse in deposits associated with Medieval Phase 1 (i.e. around the thirteenth century AD) and it likewise is mentioned only briefly in this chapter. The bulk of the discussion below focuses on the period after the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the grange was fully established and when the farm was producing surplus for the local and the export markets. The archaeobotanical samples from this period were taken from deposits associated with an upstanding stone service tower, subsurface remains of a deep moat and deposits that accumulated within the stone foundations of a barn, including a corn-drying kiln oven.

Methodology

Archaeobotany is the study of macroscopic plant remains that are recovered from archaeological deposits. This can give us a range of different types of information:

 Charred crop remains can tell us about what cereals were grown on or near the site, how they were processed and prepared for storage or consumption and about what types of weeds grew in the fields alongside the crops.

- Waterlogged plant remains from moats, ditches and deep features that cut the water table can tell us about the types of plants that grew in the vicinity of the site.
- Where the waterlogged remains are from cess pits or latrine deposits, they can give us direct evidence about the plants that were consumed by the occupants of the site.

The results from Beaubec are a relatively unusual example of a rural site where all three strands of evidence were found. Charred crop remains were recovered from a kiln, deposits within the barn and a destruction layer within the service tower. Waterlogged remains of plants from the surrounding environment were found in the fills that accumulated in the moat, outside the buildings. Waterlogged food remains were found in the service tower within the monks' residence. These results can be woven together to form a rich picture that gives us insight into local environment, consumption and arable husbandry practices in the medieval period.

Macroscopic plant remains are usually visible to the naked eye but are often very small (some are less than 1mm in width) and can be difficult to see in the archaeological deposits. Because of this the sediment needs to be washed away from the plant remains. The method used to clean the remains depends on the nature of the archaeological deposits and the reasons why the plant material has been preserved on the site. In Ireland, plants are usually preserved in archaeological deposits because they are either carbonised (that is, converted to inert carbon as a result of burning) or because they have been waterlogged (persistent damp, waterlogged conditions means that oxygen is not present, and the microorganisms that normally cause decay cannot do their usual damage). Decisions about how to sample and process samples usually depend on the type of preservation present on any given archaeological site.

At rural sites, where the archaeological features do not cut the water table and where



PI. 15.1 The Discovery Programme flotation machine in use on site at Beaubec.

organic deposits did not accumulate quickly, plant remains are usually preserved by carbonisation. This is when exposure to fire has been sufficient to convert plant material into carbon (which is inert and therefore does not decay in the soil), but has also been insufficient to burn the plant material away to ash. The ideal preservation conditions for charred plant remains tend to be in low oxygen scenarios, for example at the base of a hearth, or where a roof or some similar superstructure has collapsed over the fire, leaving the plant material to smoulder and covert to carbon slowly (see Boardman and Jones 1990, 1–11 for a discussion of the optimum preservation conditions for charred archaeobotanical remains). Because carbonised plant material is less dense than water it floats, and soil samples from sites where this type of preservation is expected are usually processed by flotation. This is an efficient method used to extract the charred plant remains from archaeological sediments.

The dry samples from Beaubec were processed on site using a flotation machine, kindly lent for the duration of the excavation by The Discovery Programme (Pl. 15.1). A minimum of ten litres of bulk soil was usually taken for these samples, unless the deposit was not large enough to accommodate this. The exception to this was in some of the samples that contained large quantities of charred grains (for example, from the kiln); in these cases smaller volumes of soil were taken there because these were almost pure plant material, with very little sediment present. The areas with the richest results were sampled several times to maximise retrieval and to demonstrate the process of flotation to visitors and volunteers on the site.



PI. 15.2 Waterlogged deposit at the base of the moat, Cutting B, facing the eastern section of the cutting.

Carbonisation is the most common and expected method of preservation at rural sites like Beaubec. However, this site was relatively unusual because several deposits were also waterlogged. These came from the lower layers of the deep moat, where the organic material was preserved because it was below the watertable (Pl. 15.2). Waterlogged remains were also found in deposits within the service tower, part of which appears to have been used as a latrine (Pl. 15.3). All the waterlogged samples were processed by washing the entire sample through a series of stacked geological sieves (smallest mesh size 250 microns). Similar to the approach to the dry deposits, contexts with waterlogged preservation were sampled multiple times. However, in these cases the sample size was much smaller, usually no greater than two litres (details of individual sample volume are provided in Table 15.1). Where appropriate, the



PI. 15.3 The latrine during excavation, from the service tower and facing west, towards the underground culvert (Photo: John Sunderland).

Table 15.1: Samples from Beaubec

Italics = Wet sieved **Blue** = did not produce seeds

Sam Nur	nple Phase nber	Area C	Context	Volume (litres)		nple Phase nber	Area		Volume (litres)
1	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	AF6	2	55	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	GF3	20
2	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	A F13	10	56	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	GF2	12
3	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	A F15	20	57	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	F F13	10
4	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	A F14	2	58	Medieval Phase 2	Service tower	HF5	4
5	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	A F15	10	59	Medieval Phase 2	Residence	J F20	8
6	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	A F14	5	60	Medieval Phase 1	Pre-barn	GF7	10
7	Medieval Phase 1	Pre-residence	B F5	5	61	Post-medieval		GF7	6
8	Medieval Phase 1	Pre-residence	BF4	8	63	Medieval Phase 2	Service towe	r HF6	10
10	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	A F14	24	64	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	Q F15	10
11A	Medieval Phase 1	Pre-residence		10	65	Medieval Phase 2	Residence	J F26	2
11B	Medieval Phase 2	Residence	B F7	2	66	Medieval Phase 1	Pre-barn	V(4)F13	5
12	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	AF5	10	67	Eighteenth century		V (7)F3	5
13	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	A F16	10	68	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V (10)F4	4
14	Medieval Phase 2	Residence	BF7	10	69	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V (7)F5	8
15	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	A F14	10	73	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V (5)F6	8
16	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	A F17	10	74	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V (7)F5	5
17	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	A F17	10	75	Eighteenth century		V (6)F3	1
18	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	A F15	10	76	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V (5)F6	3
19	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	A F15	5	77	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V (11)F2	10
1	Medieval Phase 2	Residence	B F8	2	78	Eighteenth century		V (6)F3	2
1	Medieval Phase 2	Residence	B F8	2	79	Eighteenth century		V (6)F3	2
22	Eighteenth century		CF4	2	80	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V (5)F5	2
24	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	A F16	10	81	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V (11)F12	
25	Medieval Phase 1	Pre-barn	A F16	10	82	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V (6)F10	4
26	Medieval Phase 2	Residence	BF8	2	83	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V (10)F1	
27	Late Neolithic	Pit circle	CF6	2	84	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V (6)F8	5
28	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	DF3	10	85	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	F F12	5
29	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	D F17	10	87	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V (11)F2	10
30	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	DF4	10	88	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V (6)F7	3
31	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	DF4	10	89	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V (12)F6	6
32	Eighteenth century		CF4	5	90	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V (8)F2	3
33	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	D F17	10	91	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V(7)F11	8
34	Modern		HF1	2	92	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V (10)F1	
35	Modern	D'(' 1	LF3	5	93	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V(6)F7	5
36	Late Neolithic	Pit circle	KF3	5	94	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V(6)F7	8
37	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	FF6	10	95 06	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	DF17	10
38	Late Neolithic	Pit circle	KF3	10	96 07	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V(10)F5	8
39	Modern Modioval Phase 2	Dama	LF4 EE9	5 10	97	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V(7)F19 V(7)E17	10
40	Medieval Phase 2 Medieval Phase 2	Barn	FF8 HF2	10 10	98 99	Medieval Phase 2 Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V(7)F17 V(5)F7	20 10
41	Medieval Phase 2 Medieval Phase 1	Service tower Pre-barn		10 10	99 100	Medieval Phase 2 Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V(5)F7 V(5)F7	10
43	Late Neolithic	Pre-barn Pit circle	EF10 KF3	10		Medieval Phase 2 Medieval Phase 2	Barn		10 7
44	Medieval Phase 2	Service tower		5 10		Medieval Phase 2 Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V(11)F7	7
45 46	Medieval Phase 2 Medieval Phase 2	Service tower		10 10		Medieval Phase 2 Medieval Phase 2	Barn Barn	AF17 DF17	8
40	Medieval Phase 2 Medieval Phase 2	Barn	F F11	10 5		Medieval Phase 2 Medieval Phase 2	Barn	DF17 DF17	1 3
47 48a	Medieval Phase 2 Medieval Phase 2	Barn	F F11 F F11	3		Medieval Phase 2 Medieval Phase 2	Barn	DF17 DF17	2
40a 48b	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	F F11 F F11	3		Post-medieval	Dam	V(10)F4	10
40D 50	Medieval Phase 2 Medieval Phase 2	Service tower	HF8	3 1		Medieval Phase 1	Pre-barn	V(10)F4 V(11)F2	
51	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	GF2	10		Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V(11)F2 V(8)F22	6
52	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	GF3	10		Medieval Phase 2	Barn	V(5)F5	6
53	Medieval Phase 2	Service tower	HF5	10	110	Medieval Phase 2	Barn	D F17	1
54	Medieval Phase 2	Service tower	HF5	1		Medieval Phase 1	Pre-barn	V(4)F23	4
	1710HIUH 1 11105 Z		111.5	1	111			• (- T)1-23	т

waterlogged deposits were also sampled for insect remains (Chapter 16).

Once processed, the samples were examined by stereoscopic microscope; they were first sorted to extract identifiable plant remains. Most samples were at least partially sorted during the excavation. This meant that it was possible to identify significant samples as they were being excavated; additional samples were then taken where necessary or appropriate. The extracted plant material was then identified under magnification (x10–x50). The results of identification are presented in Table 15.2 (Medieval Phase 1 charred remains), Table 15.3 (Medieval Phase 2 charred remains), Table 15.4 (Medieval Phase 2 waterlogged remains from the moat and the latrine) and Table 15.4 (Medieval Phase 2 waterlogged remains from the latrine). The completed datasets are available on open access (Johnston 2023a–e). Nomenclature and taxonomic order broadly follow Stace (1997).

PHASES

The main phases of activity at the site included activity in the Late Neolithic (3000–2500BC), Medieval Phase 1 (before *c*.AD1300) and Medieval Phase 2 (*c*.1300–1400).

Late Neolithic

A total of four samples was taken from possible Late Neolithic pits excavated at Beaubec. These came from the deposits KF3 (S36, S38 and S44) and CF6 (S27). Charcoal was present and was particularly abundant in KF3. However, there were no identifiable seeds in either of these samples. A possible grain of cereal was recovered from KF3 but this was badly degraded and it was not possible to say for definite that it was a grain. Archaeobotanical remains, specifically cereals, are not common in deposits associated with Late Neolithic activity, to the extent that some have suggested that arable agriculture died out entirely in this period in Ireland and in Britain (Stevens and Fuller 2012, 707-72), although this is disputed (Bishop 2015, 834-55). Others argue that additional factors may cause this pattern (McClatchie et al. 2022). As settlement evidence from the Late Neolithic is less archaeologically visible than in the Early Neolithic the pattern may also be underpinned by methodological flaws as it seems likely that the less visible deposits from the Late Neolithic are under-sampled.

Medieval Phase 1

Medieval Phase 1 comprised activity that predated the main phase of stone building at the site. The majority of this evidence is in the form of agricultural furrows that were cut into the natural yellow boulder clay. There were five samples with macroplant remains from this activity, taken from various areas across the site: AF16 (S25), EF10 (S43), GF7 (S60), VF4 (S66) and V(4)F23 (S111) (Table 15.2).

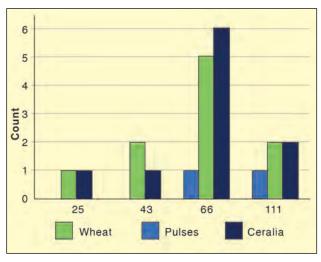


Fig. 15.1 Plant remains from Medieval Phase 1 (n=22).

Radiocarbon measurements were obtained from two samples. The charcoal-rich fill of an early pit V(4)F23 (S111) returned a measurement with a calibrated range from the eleventh to the twelfth centuries (AD1023–1157, UBA-48062, see Appendix 2). A radiocarbon sample from another feature, the fill of a furrow GF7 (S60), returned a much later measurement with a calibrated range from the fifteenth to the early seventeenth centuries (AD1436–1608; UBA-48058, see Appendix 2). This latter measurement is anomalously late and it appears to be based on intrusive carbon.

The plant remains from all of these deposits were very sparse. They included small

Table 15.2: Charred plant remains fromMedieval Phase 1 deposits												
Sample Cutting Context	25 A 16	43 F 10	60 G 7	66 V4	111 V4 23							
Garden peas					1							
(<i>Pisum</i> species) Medium indeterminate				1								
legumes (<i>Fabaceae</i>) Naked wheat (<i>Triticum</i> <i>aestivum L./turgidum</i> Desf./ <i>durum L.</i>) grains, probable				2								
Wheat (<i>Triticum L.</i> species) grains	1	2	4	3	2							
Indeterminate cereal (<i>Ceralia</i>) grains	1	1	1	6	2							
Indeterminate cereal (<i>Ceralia</i>) apical ends of grains			1									
Grass family (<i>Poaceae</i>), indeterminate			2									
Total number of items	2	3	8	12	5							

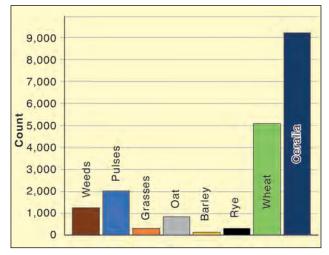


Fig. 15.2 Plant remains from Medieval Phase 2 (n=19,077).

quantities of wheat, indeterminate cereal grains (*Ceralia*) and pulses (Fig. 15.1: results from S60 have been excluded as they are potentially intrusive because they are associated with the anomalous radiocarbon measurement from this sample).

Medieval Phase 2

The bulk of the archaeobotanical evidence comes from the second phase of activity at the site, associated with the building and the use of the corn-drying kiln. A total of seventythree samples with macroplant remains were analysed from this phase of activity; of these, sixty-four contained charred macroplant remains (the results from the richest of these are presented in Table 15.3; full details of all the samples from this phase of activity can be found in Johnston 2023c). A further nine samples contained waterlogged remains (Table 15.4). The waterlogged material is discussed separately below, but the discussion of plant remains from this phase begins with the charred remains. These samples were significantly richer than those from Medieval Phase 1. A combined graph of the results from samples of Medieval Phase 2 activity (Fig. 15.2) demonstrates that the range and volume of plant items is much greater in this phase when compared to Phase 1 (comparing Figs 15.1 and 15.2). Despite the differences in terms of numbers of items counted (twenty-two identified seeds from Phase 1, in contrast to 19,077 from Phase 2), wheat and pulses were recovered from both phases. The results from Medieval Phase 2 are discussed in greater detail below, as the vast majority of the seed assemblage from Beaubec comes from this phase.

ANALYSIS OF THE CHARRED PLANT REMAINS

All of the rich assemblages of charred grain contained large amounts of cereal grains that were unidentifiable. In general, these grains were clinkered and vesicular, the heat of the fire that carbonised the grain also distorted the grain morphology and made it difficult to distinguish their characteristic features. This means that the quantities of grain originally present at the site were far greater than the quantities described in Table 15.3. There were four main areas where charred plant remains were found in abundance; two separate areas of burning within the barn, a burnt deposit within the service tower (possibly a destruction layer) and from the kiln. All of these are from activity associated with Medieval Phase 2 and they are described according to location below.

Burnt/hearth deposits within the barn

There were at least two discrete areas of burning, rich in charred plant remains, located within the barn. The first of these extended from Area V(7) to V(10) and comprised a deposit of burnt grain and pulses immediately over a flagged stone floor (Samples S69, S83 and S97). This deposit appears to represent the remains of stored food that was burnt, possibly as part of the processing that was carried out in this part of the barn, by the flagged area. The stored foods included pulses (these were mostly peas, although a few beans were also found), comprising 28% of the assemblage. However, this percentage is based on item counts, which underrepresents the pulses since peas and beans are much larger than cereal grains and, for example, 100 peas would take up a much larger volume/storage space than 100 cereal grains. Wheat was the most common cereal type (19%). Small quantities of oat and rye (2%) each) and barley (1%) were also identified. In addition, weed seeds (4%) and grasses (1%)were found; these were all plants that are typical of arable fields and it is likely that they were accidentally harvested and stored, along with the crop, before they were burnt. A large percentage of the cereal grains (43%) were not identifiable to type.

Another seed-rich deposit was found in Area V(5). There were three samples from this area that were very rich (Samples S73, S76 and S100), with >1,000 items identified from Sample S76, and more than 400 items counted per litre. Pulses were much less frequent here in comparison to the deposits in Area V(7)/V(10).

Table 15.3: Charred plant remains from Medieval Phase 2 deposits (samples with >100 items)																	
Sample Cutting	1 A	3 A	5 A	10 A	12 A	-			28 D	29 D	31 D	33 D	-	40 F	47 F	48A F	48B F
Feature	6	15	15	14	5	16			3	17	4	17	-	8	11	11	11
Hazelnut shell fragments		1															
Weed seeds	1	31	17	1	7	1	11	9	11	4	12	12	26	235	85	11	17
Grasses	1	2			9	1	9	4	6		3	3	42	22	6	2	19
Beans													1				
Garden peas	4	3	2		1				6	1	3		21	56	51		2
Small peas and vetchlings	3		29				2	6									
Indeterminate legumes	3	44		6	26	61	7			4	26	3	95	296	33	2	7
Oat	16	51	34	4	9	11	3	6	24		99		21	3	16	24	68
Barley		7											1	2	4		2
Rye		2		6	2	5	39	27		1		1	7	6	33	1	2
Wheat	53	101	56	29	17	33	360	110	41	396	87	72	582	1002	108	21	48
Ceralia	38	244	93	89	134	187	236	247	110	210	154	28	1085	1567	569	61	70
Indeterminate seeds	1	4	3		37			4	4	3	2	7	63	13	17	7	7
Total item counts	120	492	242	135	243	357	684	430	202	619	399	126	2040	3437	1095	144	268
Sample	6	3 6	64	69	73	76	77	78	81	8	33	85	87	95	96	100	104
Cutting	ŀ				/(5) \		(6)	V(4)	V(11		10)	F	V(11)	F	V(7)	V(5)	
Feature	-	- :	ءِ . 5	5	6		3	3	12		5	27	2	24	57	7	26
				0	0	U	0	U		·			-		01	-	_0
Hazelnut shell fragments																	
Weed seeds	154	1	3 3	37	6	59	1	2	18	2	8	2	12	45	52	4	3
Grasses	31	L	1	12	5	17	4	4	8		7	3	11	15	7		8
Beans				5			1				1	1					
Garden peas	8	3	9	99		16		3	11		1	3	8	10	60	2	1
Small peas and vetchlings	5				2							2					
Indeterminate legumes	62	2	5 23	39	3	88	2	8	25	28	9		4	44	174	6	2
Oat	11	L	7 1	13	6	30 2	23	6	19	1	8	2	10	96	30	12	28
Barley	24	1		2			6	6	5		4		11	19	9	3	
Rye	22	2	3	35					3	1	8			41	17		
Wheat	181	l 7	2 16	66 14	17 3	878	3	3	6	16	9	36	11	184	258	118	23
Ceralia	497	77	4 31	19 28	87 6	510 1	9	22	45	41	8	50	31	626	600	86	41
Indeterminate seeds				7	3	3		2	5		8	3	25	22	5	2	2
Total item counts	1099	9 16	2 95	51 46	52 12	275 6	50	60	145	97	0	115	123	1175	1218	235	115
L																	

The identifiable remains from this sample were mostly grains of wheat (most of these were a naked wheat type).

Kiln samples

This was the most intensively analysed part of the site as it was excavated over three seasons of excavation (2019-2021). A total of fourteen samples were analysed from the kiln, split into two phases of use (Kiln Phase 1 and Kiln Phase 2). There were three samples from Kiln Phase 1 (Samples S16, S28 and S102) and there were eleven samples from Kiln Phase 2 (Samples S17, S29, S33, S37, S48, S85, S95, S103, S104, S105). There was another sample of kiln fuel (Sample S110) and a further three (Samples S13, S28 and S31) from cereal-rich deposits outside the kiln that appear to represent rake-out from the kiln (i.e. when burnt waste within the kiln was cleared out to prepare for another episode of use). Seeds and grain were quite common in almost all of the samples from the kiln apart from a sample of kiln fuel (Sample S110) where grain was rare and large chunks of charcoal were common.

The kiln samples were among the richest from the site and an examination of seed density shows that one sample (Sample S37,

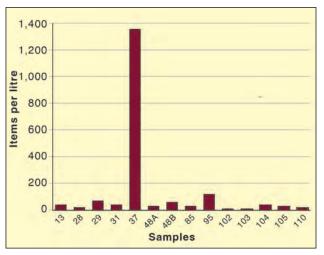


Fig. 15.3 Seed density in samples from the kiln.

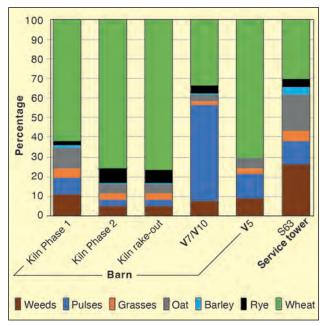


Fig. 15.4 Percentage composition of samples from different areas of the site (n=6,690).

from a deposit in the kiln flue, where 1,360 items were counted per litre of soil processed) was almost entirely made up of burnt macrofossils. This concentration of pure grain must represent a deposit that is not mixed with fuel. The density of other samples was more variable (Fig. 15.3) and these may be from deposits where the crop was mixed with fuel or with structural elements of the kiln when an accidental fire might have occurred.

Burnt deposits within the service tower

There were three samples of carbonised plant remains from within the service tower (Samples S41, S45 and S63). Plant remains were only abundant in one of these (Sample S63), taken from a layer of intense burning that included large chunks of charcoal from burnt timbers. The plant remains were friable and delicate, probably because they were charred at quite high temperatures. As a result, many of the cereal grains from this sample (46%) of the plant items) could not be identified to genus. Where the grains were identifiable, they included wheat (17%), oat (10%), barley (2%)and rye (2%). A notable quantity of pulses (6%)was also recovered in this deposit, along with seeds from weeds and wild grasses (17%).

Comparisons between charred assemblages from different areas of the site

Samples from both phases of kiln use and from the rake-out were predominantly (at least 60% of identifiable remains) wheat. Where identifiable

this was bread wheat. Weeds, pulses and oats were more prevalent during the first phase of kiln use, whereas rye was more common in the second phase (Fig. 15.4). The rake-out samples are almost identical to the samples from Kiln Phase 2, perhaps suggesting that they are related to this phase of use of the kiln, rather than from Kiln Phase 1.

There are some subtle differences in the charred assemblages from elsewhere at the site (Fig. 15.4). Wheat is noticeably less common in samples that are not associated with the kiln, apart from the sample from V(5). However, V(5) differs from the kiln samples in that it does not contain any rye, and barley was present only in very small amounts. Other noticeable differences include the distribution of pulses; these make up a greater portion of the identifiable remains from the non-kiln samples (particularly for samples from V(7)/V(10)). The sample from the service tower differs from other areas of the site in that it includes a much greater percentage of oat grains and weed seeds than elsewhere.

ANALYSIS OF THE WATERLOGGED PLANT REMAINS

Waterlogged plant remains were recovered from the fills of the moat, particularly the basal fills, and from the latrine within the service tower.

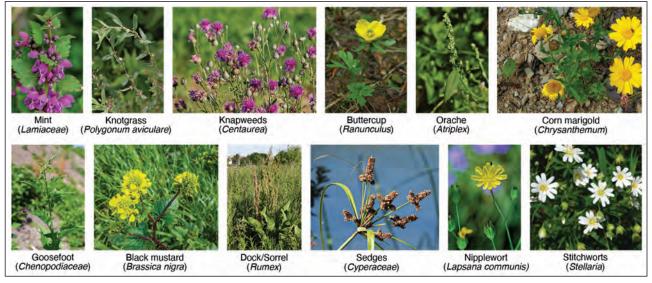
Moat samples

There were four waterlogged samples (Samples S20, S21, S26 and S65) from the basal fills of the moat (Table 15.4). The seeds included plants such as buttercups, knotgrasses and knapweeds, all common weeds of grassland and open ground. Plants such as common nettle and oraches/goosefoots also suggest some disturbance and nutrient enrichment of the soils. These would have colonised middens associated with the settlement at Beaubec and would have grown in areas where animals had defecated. In fact, the insect remains from some of the moat deposits suggest that animal dung was also present within the moat (Chapter 16). While the moat was open and would have acted as a trap for plant material from the surrounding area it is also possible that some of the seeds present in the moat were incorporated into the deposits because they were eaten by livestock and were present in their dung.

In other cases it is more certain that the seeds came from plants that grew in the immediate vicinity of the moat, if not within it.

Table 15.4: Identified waterlogged plant remains from moat and latrine samples

							•		
		Μ	oat]	Latrine	2	
Sample	20B	21B	26	65	45	46	53	54	58
Cutting/Context	BF8	BF8	BF8	JF 26	HF2	HF3	HF5	HF5	HF5
Buttercup type (<i>Ranunculus</i> spp. L.)		1	3	4			7	1	2
Fig (<i>Ficus</i> species L.)				3			25	7	38
Common Nettle (<i>Urtica dioica</i> L.)		4	1	72				2	
Hazelnut shell fragments (Corylus avellana L.)								1	
Fat-hen (Chenopodium album L.)									1
Orache (<i>Atriplex</i> species L. (Halimione Aellen))		4	8	1					1
Indeterminate seeds from the	1	4					1		
goosefoot family (Chenopodiaceae)									
Stitchworts (Stellaria L. species)		4							
Mouse-ears (<i>Cerastium</i> L. species)			3						
Corncockle (Agrostemma githago L.) – fragments							+		+
Water-pepper (<i>Persicaria hydropiper</i> L.)			1						
Knotgrass (Polygonum aviculare L.)		4	8						1
Broad-leaved dock (<i>Rumex</i> cf <i>obtusifolius</i> L.) –									1
fruiting tepal									
Dock/Sorrel type (Rumex spp.) - type									5
Indeterminate seeds from the	1	12	10			4			
Knotgrass family (Polygonaceae)									
Black mustard (<i>Brassica nigra</i> (L.) W.D.J. Koch) – type			1				1	2	1
Mustards (<i>Sinapis</i> spp. L.)									1
Wild radish (<i>Raphanus raphanistrum</i> L.) – seed capsule							1		
Bramble: blackberry (<i>Rubus fructicosus</i> L. agg.)			78						1
Raspberry/blackberry (<i>Rubus idaeus/fructicosus</i> L.)	15	24				17			1
Raspberry/blackberry/dewberry (<i>Rubus</i> spp.)				7			14	5	6
Blackthorn/Sloe (<i>Prunus spinosa</i> L.)							5		
European plum (<i>Prunus domestica</i> L.) type						1	1		
Wild/dwarf cherry (<i>Prunus avium/cerasus</i> L.) type							2		3
Sloe/cherry/plum stone fragments (<i>Prunus</i> spp.)							+		
Grape (<i>Vitis</i> L. species)							3		3
Indeterminate Apiaceae	1		2						
Hemp-nettle (<i>Galeopsis</i> L. species)	1								
Selfheal (Prunella vulgaris L.)							1		
Indeterminate Lamiaceae	10	36	9				1		
Elder (Sambucus nigra L.)	20	7	9	42	1	4	3	5	4
Knapweeds (<i>Centaurea</i> spp. L.) – type		8	5	2			1	1	2
Nipplewort (<i>Lapsana communis</i> L.)							4		
Corn Marigold (<i>Chrysanthemum</i> cf segetum L.)		1					7		0.5
Trifid Bur-marigold (<i>Bidens tripartita</i> L.)								1	
Indeterminate daisy (Asteraceae)								1	
Common Spike-rushes (Eleocharis palustris		2	1						
(L) Roem. & Schult.)									
Indeterminate sedges (<i>Cyperaceae</i>)		2	1				1		
Oat (Avena L. species) – charred grains						1			
Hulled barley grains (Hordeum vulgare L.) –			1						
charred grains									
Naked wheat (<i>Triticum</i> cf <i>aestivum</i> L./						1			
<i>turgidum</i> Desf./ <i>durum</i> L.) – charred grains									
Naked wheat (<i>T. aestivum</i> / compactum type) –		1							1
charred rachis internode									
Wheat (<i>Triticum</i> L. species) – charred grains			1						
Indeterminate cereal (<i>Ceralia</i>) – charred grains					4	2			
Indeterminate cereal (<i>Ceralia</i>) –			1						
charred rachis internode									
Indeterminate grasses (<i>Poaceae</i>)							1		
Indeterminate seeds	2		3			3		1	
Straw fragments									++
Moss fragments									+++



PI. 15.4 Common weeds from waterlogged contexts at Beaubec.

These included plants of damp environments, such as water-peppers, spike-rushes and sedges. The insect remains suggest that the moat water was quite stagnant (Chapter 16) and these plants probably grew at its edges, on the banks of the moat.

Wasteland plants appear to have been growing higher up along the verges of the moat. These included briars and elder; seeds from the fruits from these plants were the most numerous seeds in the moat deposits. These are seeds that have hard outer shells which means that they can survive in environments where softer plant tissues decays. They frequently survive in ditch deposits that went through cycles of being waterlogged and then drying out for short periods of time, before becoming waterlogged again. Blackberry and elderberry seeds sometimes accumulate in archaeological deposits because berries were collected by people, however in the moat samples it appears that they accumulated naturally; the skins of the berries were sometimes still intact around the seeds, meaning that it is unlikely that they have passed through a gut, and suggesting that these berries rotted on their plants and fell into the moat.

Some of the moat samples also contained the remains of cereals, including charred grains of hulled barley and naked wheat. As charred cereals were common in other areas of the site it appears that these small quantities of grain were waste from accidental fires that occurred during crop processing, e.g. in the kiln, that were subsequently disturbed and distributed across the site and then washed into the moat. A single uncharred rachis internode from bread wheat was also found in Sample S20. This is a relatively unusual find as cereal remains do not survive well in waterlogged conditions; the grains tend to decompose quickly, generally leaving only fragments of the testa which are not usually selected during archaeobotanical analysis (see Badura *et al.* 2015, 447). This uncharred rachis internode from Beaubec helps to corroborate the suggestion that most of the wheat grains from the site may be bread wheat; such identification is impossible based on grain morphology alone.

Latrine deposits

Waterlogged samples from within the service tower contained significant quantities of fruit seeds and these are usually considered an archaeobotanical signature for human excrement; they appear to be from the latrine for the grange (although, in contrast, no beetles specifically associated with human excrement were found in the samples, Chapter 16). There were five samples from this area (Samples S45, S46, S53, S54 and S58; see Table 15.4). The fruits consumed at the site included native fruits such as raspberry/blackberry and sloe; these are commonly found in waterlogged deposits from Irish urban sites and were evidently commonly exploited as food throughout the medieval period. The evidence from the moat suggests that blackberry was readily available in the immediate vicinity of the settlement and it seems unlikely that they had to travel to collect this. Similarly, while no sloe stones were found in the moat deposits, blackthorn trees are abundant in the surrounding area today and this may also have been the case in the past.

Small quantities of cherry stones (Bird cherry type) were found in the latrine deposits from Beaubec. It is likely that bird cherry was also collected locally, growing in amongst the blackthorn. Elsewhere they have been found in large quantities in very specific deposits, such as a thirteenth-century collapsed wooden chute that was full of fruit remains, found in High Street in Dublin. This was interpreted as the remains of fruit processing, perhaps even fruit fermentation (Mitchell 1987, 27).

Stones from non-native plants included fruit trees such as a wild plum (Prunus domestica ssp. *insititia*). These may include damson-type fruits and bullace. It is notoriously difficult to distinguish different plum types (see van Zeist and Woldring 2000, 563-4) and it was not possible to determine between damson or bullace based on the plum stones that we have from Beaubec. While these are not native to Ireland they appear to have been introduced and were growing in Ireland by the medieval period. It seems likely that they were grown in orchards associated with the grange, as has been suggested for other monastic settlements in Britain (see Dickson 1996, 29). No examples of the larger cultivated plums were found, and these were probably a later introduction; they are usually only found in post-medieval deposits in Britain (Greig 1996, 215–16) and the same appears to be the case in Ireland.

More exotic fruits such as figs and grapes were also found at Beaubec. These are not native fruits and their waterlogged remains are a clear indication that some food stuffs were imported to the site (this is dealt with in more detail in the Discussion section below).

Given the evidence for extensive cereal processing on the site it is likely that cereals were part of the diet. Although no uncharred cereal grains were recovered from the latrine deposits this is not unusual as the grain would generally have been ground before consumption, making it difficult to distinguish in a macro-analysis. Nevertheless, there is some tangential evidence for cereal consumption; these come in the form of fragments of crop weed seeds that would have been ground up and consumed with cereal flour, particularly fragments of the corncockle (Agrostemma githago). Corncockle is a weed with large seeds that mimic cereal grains during crop processing; this means that the intrusive seeds can only be removed from the crop by picking them out by hand, making it almost impossible to remove

all traces of the weed from the grain harvest. They were frequently ground with flour in the past. Finely ground fragments were present in deposits from Fishamble Street, probably as a result of having been milled, consumed with cereal food, and passed through the digestive system (Geraghty 1996, 37; Collins 1997, 229). Similar results have been noted in other urban deposits (e.g. Tierney and Hannon 1997, 882; Johnston 1998). It is likely that this is also the origin of the corncockle fragments in the Beaubec latrine samples.

DISCUSSION

Cereals

Wheat was the predominant cereal type in almost all of the samples from Beaubec. However, more detailed identification of the different species of wheat present in archaeological samples can be difficult if only the grains are present. This is the result of a combination of factors, including the complex evolution of wheat in general, as well as the fact that the charring of archaeological grains can sometimes distort their morphology (Hillman et al. 1996, 195; Jones 1998, 29). At Beaubec it was possible to say that, where identifiable, all of the wheat grains were from a variety of naked wheat. These wheats are easy to process after the harvest as the grains are not surrounded by protective layers (glumes) as they grow. In addition, small quantities of bread wheat-type rachis internodes were found in some of the samples. These are parts of the wheat plant where the grain breaks away from the stalk when the cereals are harvested and threshed. They are significant because, unlike the grains, rachis internodes can be separated out by species. At Beaubec their presence means that we can suggest that most (or perhaps even all) of the wheat grains were from bread wheat. By the medieval period this had become the standard grain crop in eastern Ireland and it fetched the highest price when sold (Murphy and Potterton 2010, 306). This may have been a consideration when deciding what crops to plant at Beaubec; a 1235 confirmation grant gave the monks at the settlement the right to buy and sell merchandise and they had a commercial interest in Drogheda by the early fourteenth century (Chapter 2).

Wheat was present in most of the samples and it was dominant in many, particularly the samples from the kiln. Kilns were used to dry grain after harvest, in preparation for milling

and for storage. They were also used for preparing malt for brewing. Malt is sprouted grain, a state usually initiated during the brewing process by steeping grains in water so that enzymes begin to convert the starch in the grain into more digestible sugars (Bouby *et* al. 2011, 356). The germination process is then halted by heating the sprouted grains in drying kilns (van der Veen 1989, 304). The resultant archaeobotanical samples would be of mature, well-developed grains with a wasted base, although charring experiments suggest that germination has a minimal impact upon grain morphology (Stika 1996, 86). Van der Veen (1989, 305) suggests that the archaeobotanical signature for the presence of malt should be 75% sprouted grain. There is no archaeobotanical evidence to suggest that malt was being prepared in the kiln at Beaubec; no evidence for sprouted grain was noted. However, the grain sprouts are very fragile and carbonise quickly, and it may be that some malt was present but the remains burnt away to chaff. If beer was ever brewed at the site, it seems likely that wheat was used, as this was the main grain found. There is some documentary evidence suggesting that wheat was used for malt in the Dublin region in the period when the Beaubec grange was occupied; for example, 6% of the wheat received at the Holy Trinity manor at Clonkeen was malted according to the accounts for 1344–5 (Murphy and Potterton 2010, 308).

It seems likely, however, that the bulk of the bread wheat from Beaubec was ground into flour and used to make bread or exported. Before the Anglo-Norman invasion most Irish bread was flat and unleavened, but after the colony was established oven-fired wheaten loaves became more common (Sexton 1998, 84–5). Flour from bread wheat, with its high gluten content, was a suitable raw material for these leavened loaves and much of the bread wheat grain accidentally burnt at Beaubec was probably grown to be ground as flour.

There were no obvious remains of actual bread in the samples from Beaubec, although this is not unusual as they can survive as amorphous charred masses and further classification is difficult at a macro level. Scanning electron microscopy (SEM) is usually required to distinguish items such as breads and porridges but methodological approaches to classifying these are still in development (see González Carretero *et al.* 2017, 415–32; Valamoti *et al.* 2019, 97–113).

Bread wheat was also the main cereal type found in contemporary deposits from Swords Castle in Co. Dublin and from Killeen Castle and Bective Abbey in Co. Meath (McClatchie 2022, 282; Dillon and Johnston 2009, 101; Lyons 2016, 186–8). However, it was not the case in the archaeobotanical remains from deposits associated with the grange at Stalleen, Co. Meath, where oat was the dominant cereal type, comprising 74% of the identified cereals in the deposits associated with the Grange, followed by equal proportions of barley and wheat at 13% each (Cobain 2022, 114). The only comparable area at Beaubec where oat was found in significant amounts was from the burnt layer in the service tower. However, it was in no way as frequent as it was in Stalleen, since wheat made up 54% of the identifiable cereal assemblage and oat comprised just 33% followed by barley 7% and wheat 6%. In fact, apart from wheat, cereals such as rye, oat and barley were present in such small quantities in Beaubec deposits that in some cases it is possible that they were not deliberately stored crops, but were present because they were weeds of the corn field that grew in amongst the wheat crop (for example, when grain from an earlier crop is left in the field and self-sows amongst the succeeding crop).

Pulses were found in forty-eight of the Beaubec samples, almost 50% of the samples examined. They were particularly abundant (>30 items) in twelve samples from the kiln and the surrounding area (S3, S5, S13, S37, S40, S47 and S95), from the deposit of *in situ* burning in the service tower (S63), from a deposit of intense burning overlying a flagged surface within the barn (S69 and S96), from burnt deposits in Area V(5) (S76) and from a charcoal-rich area near a collapsed wall in Area V(11) (S81). Two types of cultivated legumes were identified, garden pea and broad bean. These have also been identified from broadly contemporary sites in the general area, such as Swords Castle (McClatchie 2022, 283) and Bective Abbey (Lyons 2016, 197–8). Although there are early written records to suggest that some pulses (peas and beans) were in cultivation in Ireland in the early medieval period (Kelly 1998, 248–50), they usually do not appear in the archaeobotanical record until later, after the Anglo-Norman conquest; at Swords Castle, for example, it is only found in deposits dating from the eleventh/ twelfth centuries and later (McClatchie 2022, 283). Pulses played an important role in crop

rotation as they are nitrogen-fixing and help to re-establish soil fertility after cereal cultivation. Including pulses in a crop rotation system boosted yields and productivity as it meant that it was not necessary to leave plots fallow and uncultivated when soils were depleted due to over-cultivation. There is documentary evidence to suggest that peas and beans were grown quite widely in the area around Dublin from at least the thirteenth century, although they were not grown in all the demesnes where there is surviving evidence, suggesting the intensive crop rotation was not necessarily widespread or universal in Ireland in this period (Murphy and Potterton 2010, 314–15). Nevertheless, McClatchie (2022, 283) suggests that the recovery of pulses along with large quantities of bread wheat at Swords Castle could indicate that crop rotation was in place in some areas, particularly since bread wheat requires better soil quality than other cereal types. The same is true for Beaubec and it seems very likely that crop rotation was in place here.

Imported foods

Finds of exotic fruits such as grape and fig in the Irish medieval archaeobotanical record are usually associated with a general increase in prosperity as well as an increasing influence from mainland Europe, including the arrival of new monastic orders such as the Cistercians (Lyons 2015, 161). Both fig and grape were recovered from the latrine deposits at Beaubec. These are unusual finds from rural Irish sites, although they are sometimes recovered from urban deposits. Grape pips become increasingly common in Irish archaeological deposits from the twelfth century onwards (McClatchie 2014, 437; Lyons 2014, 162). By the thirteenth century they are found quite widely, particularly in urban settlements; they have been found in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century deposits from Drogheda, Cork, Waterford, Dublin, Kilkenny and Cashel (Mitchell and Dickson 1985, 34; Collins 1997, 231, 233; Tierney and Hannon 1997, 889; McClatchie 2003, 396; Lyons 2015, 123, 127). It is generally assumed that these were imported fruits and that, since it would have been difficult to keep fresh fruit during a sea journey, they were imported as dried fruit. It is likely that the increased evidence for raisins is linked to evidence for a growing trade associated with other grape products, especially wine, which in turn is often linked to the influence of European

monastic orders in the medieval period (Lyons 2015, 161). Fragments of Saintonge pottery were also recovered from Beaubec (Chapter 7) and this is also an indicator of the existence of a wine trade network that connected Beaubec to France, where its motherhouse was located.

Similar to grapes, there is evidence for figs in Ireland from around the twelfth century onwards (McClatchie 2014, 437; Lyons 2014, 251, table 6.2.2; McClatchie 2003, 394; Mitchell 1987, 25; Collins 1997, 229-30; Johnston 2020; Tierney and Hannon 1997, 889; Lyons 2015, 162). All of the fig seeds from Irish deposits were probably from imported fruit. Fig fertilisation is a complex process and relies on the presence of the female fig wasp (Machado et al. 2005, 6558), a species not found in Ireland. This means that although fig fruits can be grown in certain favourable conditions in Ireland, these fruits will not produce seeds. Fig seeds on Irish sites must have been from imported fruits (Dickson and Dickson 1996, 628–30). Because of this, it is likely that figs were quite expensive. Documentary evidence from England suggests that they cost the equivalent of a day's labour c.1300 (Greig 1982, 50), making fig seeds an indicator of affluence, their occurrence coinciding with periods of economic prosperity (McClatchie 2003, 401).

Other *potential* evidence for imported foods comes from the assemblage of charred pulses. Many of the peas found in the deposit from V(7)/V(10) were unusually large, bigger than the normal expected size for peas from Irish fields in this period. This suggests the possibility that these items were imported. We know from the waterlogged remains that imported fruits such as grape and fig were consumed at the site; it is possible that peas and beans, which are easily dried and transported, may also have been imported). Historical records indicate that the Beaubec grange exported items to related monastic foundations, including wool and sheep skins taken to the motherhouse in Normandy in 1271 (Chapter 2). In the early fourteenth century the grange was assigned to the abbey of Furness in Lancashire and from that period until the early fifteenth century it seems that crops (particularly grain) were often taken from Irish granges to feed Furness (Chapter 2). The trade routes that carried exported goods away from Beaubec certainly existed and it follows that some goods may have travelled in the opposite direction. Whether these items included peas remains a point of conjecture, but analysis of stable isotopes from the Beaubec peas may clarify this in the future.

Environment and ecology

Limited evidence for the local environment is hinted at by the waterlogged seeds from the deposits within the moat (see above). Weed seeds were also found amongst the charred grains and were particularly prevalent (>50 weed seeds counted) in twelve samples, including dispersed deposits of charred material (Sample S12), from the kiln and the surrounding area (Samples S37, S40, S47 and S95), within the service tower (Sample S63), the layer of burning over the flagged floor (Samples S69 and S96), an area of burning in V(5) (Sample S76), and a charcoal-rich area near the collapsed wall near the service tower (Sample S81). The most common type of weed seed was sheeps' sorrel, found in all of the rich weed assemblages. This is a very common plant that grows in grassland and cultivated soil (with a preference for acidic sandy soils). Sedges were also found in six of the richest weed seed assemblages (from Samples S12, S37, S40, S95, S63, S81), suggesting that some of the ground that was cultivated may have been damp, or that it was near to damp habitats like the moat. Other weeds, such as buttercups and knapweeds, were preserved in the waterlogged conditions of the moat and in the charred seed assemblages. It seems likely that many of the crops processed in the kiln and stored in the barn at Beaubec did not travel far but were cultivated in the fields in the immediate

area around the grange. Other common seeds included plants that are commonly interpreted as crop weeds, such as wild radish and corn marigold. It is likely that these plants were harvested accidentally and brought to site along with the grain. Their presence indicates that the cultivated fields around the grange would have looked quite different from the fields of today, more colourful and varied, in the absence of modern weed control methods (Pl. 15.4).

CONCLUSION

Situated near the mouth of the Boyne, Beaubec grange could take advantage of trade routes out of Ireland by sea. We know from historical accounts that surplus from the grange was likely sold in markets nearby as well as being exported, initially to De Bello Becco in Normandy, and subsequently to Furness in England. The archaeobotanical record indicates that wheat (most likely bread wheat) was the main crop cultivated on the farm and at least some of this was grown for market and for export. The archaeobotanical record also provides evidence that trade operated in both directions since luxury imported food stuffs such as fig and grape were found at the site. This augments the evidence from ceramic wares and artefacts, which are the traditional archaeological indicators of longdistance trade. The suggestion that peas may also have been imported is a more tentative argument, one that may be clarified by scientific investigations, such as the analysis of stable isotopes, in the future.

Bibliography

- AAEP 2016 Equine reproduction from conception to birth [Online]. American Association of Equine Practitioners [Accessed 9/1/23].
- AAEP 2016 Equine reproduction from conception to birth [Online]. American Association of Equine Practitioners [Accessed 9/1/23].
- Abarta Heritage Amplify Archaeology Podcast, at abartaheritage.ie/excavations-at-beaubecamplify-archaeology-podcast-episode-25.
- Adams, E.T. and Herrmann, A.F. 2020 Expanding our autoethnographic future. *Journal of Autoethnography* 1 (1), 1–8. Historic England Research Report Series no. 61. Historic England, London.
- Albarella, U. 2019 *A review of animal bone evidence from central England*. Historic England, Portsmouth.
- Alcock, T. 1844 *Annales Furnesienses: history and antiquities of the Abbey of Furness*. Payne and Foss, London.
- Alcock, N.W. and Hall, L. 2010 Fixtures and fittings in dated houses 1567–1763. Practical Handbooks in Archaeology, first published 1994, No. 11. Council for British Archaeology, York.
- Allan, J.P. 1984 *Medieval and post-medieval finds from Exeter 1971–1980.* Exeter Archaeological Report 3. Exeter University Press, Exeter.
- Anderson, R. 1996 Species inventory for Northern Ireland. Carabid beetles. doeni.gov.uk/niea/ carabid.pdf.
- Anderson, R. 1997 Northern Ireland species inventories. Rove beetles. Coleoptera: Staphylinidae. Belfast (CD-ROM).
- Andrews, J. 1967 A geographer's view of Irish history. In T.W. Moody and F.X. Martin, *The course* of *Irish history*, 17–29. Mercier Press, Cork.
- Anon. 1936 Notes: a dated bronze jug. *Antiquaries Journal* **16**, 4–322.
- Astill, G. 1994 The Bordesley Abbey granges project. In L. Pressouyre (ed.), *L'espace Cistercien*, 537–53. Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, Paris.
- Atkinson, J.C. and Brownbill, J. 1886–1919 The coucher book of Furness Abbey: printed from the original preserved in the Record Office, London. Chetham Society, Manchester.
- Atlas Obscura blog, 28 July 2022, online at atlasobscura.com/articles/beaubec-monastery-ireland.
- Atty, D.B. 1983 *Coleoptera of Gloucestershire*. D.B. Atty, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire.
- Backlund, H.O. 1945 Wrack fauna of Sweden and Finland. Opuscula Entomologica Supplementum 5, Entomologiska sällskapet, Lund, Sweden.

- Badura, M., Możejko, B., Święta-Musznicka, J. and Latałowa, M. 2015 The comparison of archaeobotanical data and the oldest documentary records (14th–15th century) of useful plants in medieval Gdańsk, northern Poland. *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* **24** (3), 441–54.
- Baillie, M.G.L. and Pilcher, J.R. 1973 A simple crossdating program for tree-ring research. *Tree-Ring Bulletin* **33**, 7–14.
- Baillie, M.G.L. 1982 *Tree-ring dating and archaeology*. Croom Helm, London.
- Baker, E. 2013 La Grava: the archaeology and history of a royal Manor and Alien Priory of Fontevrault. CBA Research Report 167, Council for British Archaeology, York.
- Barnwall, S. 1977 Henry Draycott and the Draycotts of Mornington, Co. Meath. *Riocht na Midhe* 6 (3), 68–81.
- Baron, S. n.d. *A morphological comparison of the dentition of* Canis familiaris *and* Vulpes vulpes. Unpublished MSc thesis, Sheffield University.
- Barrett, J. 2016 Medieval sea fishing, AD 500–1550: Chronology, causes and consequences. In J. Barrett and D. Orton (ed.), *Cod and herring: the archaeology and history of medieval sea fishing*, 250–72. Oxbow Books, Oxford.
- Barrett, J., Johnstone, C., Harland, J., Van Neer, W., Ervynck, A., Makowiecki, D., Heinrich, D., Hufthammer, A.K., Enghoff, I.B., Amundsen, C., Christiansen, J.S., Jones, A.J.K., Locker, L., Hamilton-Dyer, S., Jonsson, L., Lõugas, L., Roberts, C. and Richards, M. 2008 Detecting the medieval cod trade: a new method and first results. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 35, 850–61.
- Bartosiewicz, L. and Gál, E. 2013 *Shuffling nags, lame ducks: the archaeology of animal disease*. Oxbow Books, Oxford.
- Battermann, N.M. 2021 Revealing Reynard: a 12,000-year cultural biography of human/fox interactions, **2**. Unpublished PhD, School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester.

Beaubec blog at beaubec.home.blog.

- Beglane, F. 2007 Report on faunal material from Mahee Castle: Licence Nos. AE/01/58 and AE/02/79. Unpublished report for Centre for Archaeological Fieldwork, Queen's University Belfast.
- Beglane, F. 2008a Report on faunal Material from Eyre Square: monitoring licence no. 03E1786. Unpublished report for Moore Group Ltd.
- Beglane, F. 2008b Report on faunal material from Eyre Square, Galway: licence no. 04E1561. Unpublished report for Moore Group Ltd.

- Beglane, F. 2008c Report on faunal material from sheephouse, Donore, Co. Meath: licence no. 06E1164. Unpublished report for CRDS Ltd.
- Beglane, F. 2009 Report on faunal material from Parkes Castle, Kilmore, Co. Leitrim: licence no. E104. Unpublished report for Centre for Archaeological Fieldwork, Queen's University Belfast.
- Beglane, F. 2016 The faunal remains from Bective Abbey. In G. Stout and M. Stout, *The Bective Abbey project: archaeological excavations* 2009–12, 106–53. Wordwell, Dublin.
- Beglane, F. 2022a Mammalian faunal remains from Stalleen, Co. Meath. In G. Stout and M. Stout (eds), Excavation of a multi-period site at Stalleen, Co. Meath, by Mandy Stephens: research in the Brú na Bóinne World Heritage Site, 74–106. Chapel Press, Julianstown.
- Beglane, F. 2022b Report on faunal material from Carlow Castle: 96E0105. Unpublished report for Kieran O'Conor, NUI Galway.
- Beglane, F. and Jones, C. 2021 Hares, juvenile domesticates, structured deposition, and ritual in the Neolithic court tomb at Parknabinnia, Ireland. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 35, 1–8.
- Bell, J. and Watson, M. 2008 *A history of Irish farming:* 1750–1950. Four Courts Press, Dublin.
- Berman, C.H. 1986 Medieval agriculture, the southern French countryside, and the early Cistercians: a study of forty-three monasteries. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* **76** (5), 1–179.
- Betts, I.M. and Weinstein, R. 2010 *Tinglazed tiles from London*. Oxbow Books, Oxford.
- Bieler, L. (ed. and trans.) 1979 *The Patrician texts in the book of Armagh*. Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies, Dublin.
- Bieler, L. (ed. and trans.) 2011 Muirchú's text in English, available at Saint Patrick's *Confessio*, confessio.ie/more/muirchu_english#
- Bishop, R. 2015 Did Late Neolithic farming fail or flourish? A Scottish perspective on the evidence for Late Neolithic arable cultivation in the British Isles. *World Archaeology* 47 (5), 834–55.
- Blanche Ellis, M.A. 2002 *Prick spurs* 700–1700. Datasheet 30, The Finds Research Group AD700– 1700. Oxford University, Oxford.
- BNF: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, NAL 1801.
- Böhme, J. 2005 *Die Käfer Mitteleuropas. K. Katalog* (*Faunistiche* Übersicht) (2nd ed.). Spektrum, Berlin.
- Bouby, L., Boissinot, P. and Marinval, P. 2011 Never mind the bottle: archaeobotanical evidence of beer-brewing in Mediterranean France and the consumption of alcoholic beverages during the 5th century BC. *Human Ecology* **39** (3), 351–60.
- Boardman, S. and Jones, G. 1990 Experiments on the effects of charring on cereal plant components. *Journal of Archaeological Science* **17** (1), 1–11.

- Boessneck, J. 1969 Osteological differences between Sheep (*Ovis aries Linné*) and Goat (*Capra hircus Linné*). In D. Brothwell and E. Higgs (eds), *Science in archaeology*, 331–58. Thames and Hudson, London.
- Bradley, J. 1985 Urban archaeological survey of Co. Meath, Part 2. Unpublished report prepared for the Office of Public Works.
- Bradley, R. and Edmonds, M. 1993 *Interpreting the axe trade*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Brady, C. 1999 Lithics report: Bettystown, Co. Meath: 98E0072. Unpublished specialist report for Archaeological Development Services Ltd.
- Brady, C. 2007 A landscape survey of the Newgrange environs: earlier prehistoric settlement at Brú na Bóinne, Co. Meath. Unpublished PhD dissertation, School of Archaeology, University College Dublin.
- Brady, C. 2008 Appendix III, The Lithic Assemblage. In G. Stout and M. Stout, *Excavation of an Early Medieval Secular Cemetery at Knowth Site M, County Meath*, 117–24. Wordwell, Dublin.
- Brady, C. 2019 Lithics Report, Newgrange Farm, Newgrange, Co. Meath: 18E0639. Unpublished report for Geraldine Stout and Matthew Stout.
- Brady, C. 2021 Lithics Report, Bryanstown, Co. Meath: 19E0484. Unpublished report for Rubicon Heritage Ltd.
- Brady, N. 1997 The gothic barn of England: icon of prestige and authority. In E.B. Smith and W. Michael (eds), *Technology and resource use in medieval Europe: cathedrals, mills and mines*, 76–105. Routledge, Abingdon, Oxfordshire.
- Brady, N. 2017 The plough pebbles from Bective Abbey. In G. Stout and M. Stout, *The Bective Abbey project, Co. Meath: excavations* 2009–12, 103–9. Wordwell, Dublin.
- Brady, N. and Pollard E. 2013 Archaeology and development in a maritime context, highlighting Drogheda and the Boyne estuary as a case study.
 In J.H. Jameson and J. Eogan (eds), *Training and practice for modern day archaeologists*, 237–69. One World Archaeology 1. Springer, New York.
- Brain, C. 1967 Hottentot food remains and their bearing on the interpretation of fossil bone assemblages. *Scientific Papers of the Namib Desert Research Institute* **32**, 1–11.
- Bray, G. 2006 *Records of Convocation XVI: Ireland 1101–1690.* Records of Convocation, 16. Boydell Press, Woodbridge.
- British Library 2009 Happy St Lawrence's Day! Medieval manuscripts blog, 10 August 2014, available at blogs.bl.uk/ digitisedmanuscripts/2014/08/happy-stlawrences-day.
- Brooks, E. St J. 1953 *The Irish Cartularies of Llanthony Prima and Secunda*. Irish Manuscripts Commission, Dublin.
- Brooks, E. St J. 1953 The fourteenth-century monastic estates in Meath: the Llanthony cells of Duleek

and Colp. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, **83** (2), 140–9.

- Buckland, P.I. and Buckland, P.C. 2006 *BugsCEP Coleopteran ecology package*. IGBP PAGES/ World Data Center for Paleoclimatology Data Contribution Series # 2006-116. NOAA/NCDC.
- Bullock, J.A. 1993 Host plants of British beetles: a list of recorded associations. *Amateur Entomologist* 11 (a), 1–24.
- Burton, J. and Kerr, J. 2011 *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages.* Boydell and Brewer, Martlesham, Suffolk.
- Byrne, F.J. 1968 Historical note on Cnogba (Knowth). In G. Eogan, Excavations at Knowth, Co. Meath, 1962–5. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, **66C** (4), 299–400.
- Campbell, K. 1987 The archaeology of medieval Drogheda. *Archaeology Ireland* **1** (2), 52–6.
- Campbell, K. 1996 Ceramic report. In E. Halpin, Excavations at St. Mary d'Urso, Drogheda, County Louth. County Louth Archaeological and Historical Journal, 23 (4), 452–509.
- Campbell, K. 2016 Medieval roof ridge tiles from Bective Abbey. In G. Stout and M. Stout, *The Bective Abbey project, Co. Meath: excavations 2009–* 12, 122–4. Wordwell, Dublin.
- Cantwell, I. 2000 Climate in medieval Ireland A.D. 500–1600. Unpublished MSc thesis, Trinity College Dublin.
- Carter, A. 1977 Tiles and other baked clay objects. In H. Clark and A. Carter, *Excavations in King's Lynn* 1963–70, 298-311. Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series: No. 7. Routledge, London.
- Carville, G. 1981 The Cistercians and the Irish sea link. *Citeaux* **32**, 37–73.
- Carville, G. 1984 *Baltinglass: abbey of the three rivers.* West Wicklow Historical Society, Baltinglass, Co. Wicklow.
- Charleston, R.J. 1984 English glass and the glass used in England, c.400–1940. Harper Collins, London.
- Childs, W. and O'Neill, T. Overseas Trade. In Art Cosgrove (ed.) 2001 A New History of Ireland,
 2, Medieval Ireland 1169–1534, 492–524. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Clark, H. and Carter, A. 1977 *Excavations in King's Lynn* 1963–70. Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series: No. 7. Routledge, London.
- Clark, J. 1986 Medieval horseshoes. In Finds Research Group AD700–1700, Datasheets 1–24. The Finds Research Group AD700–1700. Oxford University, Oxford.
- Clark, J. (ed.) 1995 *The medieval horse and its equipment, c.1450–1150*. Medieval finds from excavations in London, No. 5. Boydell and Brewer, Martlesham, Suffolk.
- Clark, K. 1995 The later prehistoric and protohistoric dog: the emergence of canine diversity. *Archaeozoologia* 7 (2), 9–32.

- Clay, C. 2006 The Park, Skendleby, Lincolnshire. Unpublished excavation report for Lincolnshire County Council, Department of Planning and Conservation.
- Clutterbuck, R. 2002 Preliminary report on the rescue archaeological excavation at Rath Lower, Grange, Co. Louth (Excavation No. 02E0530). Unpublished excavation report, CRDS Ltd.
- Cleary, K. and Eogan, G. 2017 Neolithic artefacts from the Great Mound. In G. Eogan and K. Cleary (eds), *Excavations at Knowth 6: the passage tomb archaeology of the great mound at Knowth*, 411–71. Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.
- Climateireland.ie accessed at climateireland.ie/#!/ tools/climateDataExplorer.
- Clough, T.H.McK. and Cummins, W.A. (eds) 1988 Stone axe studies II. CBA Research Report 28. Council for British Archaeology, London.
- Cobain, S. 2022 Plant macrofossil and charcoal remains from Stalleen, Co. Meath. In G. Stout and M. Stout (eds), *Excavation of a multi-period site at Stalleen, Co. Meath, by Mandy Stephens: research in the Brú na Bóinne World Heritage Site,* 110–28. Chapel Press, Julianstown, Co. Meath.
- Coen, L. 2018 2018:656 Bey More, Bryanstown, Drogheda, Meath. Excavations.ie, available at excavations.ie/report/2018/Meath/002783.
- Coles, C. 2009 Appendix 8 faunal report: analysis of mammalian bone remains from Clowanstown 1, Co. Meath (A008/011). Unpublished report for ACS Ltd.
- Colfer, B. 2004 *The Hook peninsula*. Cork University Press, Cork.
- Colfer, B. 2013 Wexford castles: landscape, context, settlement. Cork University Press, Cork.
- Collins, B. 1997 Plant remains. In C. Walsh, *Archaeological excavations at Patrick, Nicholas and Winetavern Streets, Dublin,* 228–36. Brandon Book Publishers, Dingle, Co. Kerry.
- Comey, C. 2010 *Coopers and coopering in Viking Age Dublin*. Medieval Dublin Excavations 1962–81, Series B, X. National Museum of Ireland, Dublin.
- Condit, T. and Keegan, M. 2018 Aerial investigation and mapping of the Newgrange landscape, Brú na Bóinne, Co. Meath. Interim Report, December 2018. Available online at archaeology.ie/sites/ default/files/files/bru-na-boinne-interim-report. pdf.
- Connolly, P. 1987 Irish material in the class of Ancient Petitions (SC8) in the Public Record Office, London. *Analecta Hibernica* **34**, 1–106.
- Cooney, G. and Grogan, E. 1994 Irish prehistory: a social perspective. Wordwell, Dublin.
- Cooney, G. and Mandal, S. 1998 *The Irish stone axe project: first monograph.* Wordwell, Dublin.
- Costa, L. 2006 Two long blades from the Bann River valley. In P. Woodman, N. Finlay and E. Anderson, *The archaeology of a collection: The Keiller-Knowles collection of the National Museum of Ireland*, 238–42. Wordwell, Dublin.

- Cottam, A. 1928–9 The granges of Furness Abbey with special reference to Winterburn-in-Craven. *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* **80**, 58–85.
- Curtin, N. and Ó Drisceoil, C. 2021 Highhays kiln affinities. In E. Devine and C. Ó Drisceoil, *Highhays Kilkenny: a medieval pottery production centre in south-east Ireland.* Oxbow books, Oxford.
- D'Alton, J. 1844 The history of Drogheda: with its environs, and an introductory memoir of the Dublin and Drogheda Railway. J. D'Alton, Dublin.
- D'Arcy, G. 1999 *Ireland's lost birds*. Four Courts Press, Dublin.
- Davies, O. 1941 Old churches in County Louth. *County Louth Archaeological and Historical Journal* **10**, (1), 5–23.
- Davies, O. and Quinn, D.B. (eds) 1941 The Irish pipe roll of 14 John, 1211–12. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **4**, 1–76.
- Davis, S. and Rassmann, K. 2021 Beyond Newgrange: Brú na Bóinne in the later Neolithic. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **87**, 189–218.
- Davis, S.J.M. 1987 *The archaeology of animals*. Routledge, London.
- Davis, S.J.M. 1992 A rapid method for recording information about mammal bones from archaeological sites. Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report 19/92.
- Davis, V. 2000 Irish clergy in late medieval England. *Irish Historical Studies* **32**, 145–60.
- De Paor, L. 1969 Excavations at Mellifont Abbey, Co. Louth. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **68C**, 109–64.
- Deck, S. 1974 Le temporel de l'abbaye cistercienne de Beaubec. *Annales de Normandie* 24, 131–56.
- Deladreue, L-E. 1881 *Histoire de L'Abbaye de Lannoy* (ordre de Citeaux). Beauvais.
- Delisle, M.L. 1916–27 *Recueil des actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie. Concernant les provinces françaises et les affaires de France.* 3 vols. C. Klincksieck, Paris.
- Delfter-fliese.de, website for Dutch tiles, available at delfter-fliese.de/english_index.
- Dickson, C. 1996 Food, medicinal and other plants from the 15th century drains of Paisley Abbey, Scotland. *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* **5** (1–2), 25–31.
- Dickson, J. and Dickson, C. 1996 Ancient and modern occurrences of common fig (*Ficus carica L.*) in the British Isles. *Quaternary Science Reviews* 15, 623–33.
- Dillon, F. 1997. 'The Lithics' in G. Eogan and H. Roche, *Knowth* (2). Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.
- Dillon, M. and Johnston, P. 2009 Plant remains. In C. Baker, *The archaeology of Killeen Castle, Co. Meath*, 101–11. Wordwell, Dublin.
- Dodwell, C.R (ed. and trans.) 1961 *De diversis artibus/ The various arts*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Driesch, A. von den 1976 A guide to the measurement of animal bones from archaeological sites. Peabody

Museum Bulletin 1, Harvard University. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge, MA.

- Driver, J.C. 1982 Medullary bone as an indicator of sex in bird remains from archaeological sites. In B. Wilson, C. Grigson and S. Payne (ed.), *Ageing and sexing animal bones from archaeological sites*, 251–4. British Archaeological Reports (British series), 109, Oxford.
- Drogheda Independent, 21 August 2023, at independent. ie / regionals / louth / drogheda-news / 13thcentury-farm-run-by-cistercians-uncovered-atbeamore/38355720.
- Drogheda Independent, 10 August 2022, at independent. ie/regionals/louth/drogheda-news/a-touchingtime-to-visit-unique-exhibition-in-droicheadcentre/41902728.
- Drogheda Life, 8 August 2022, at droghedalife.com/ news/unique-touching-time-exhibition-opensat-droichead.
- Dryburgh, P. and Smith, B. 2006 Calendar of documents relating to medieval Ireland in the series of ancient deeds in the National Archives of the United Kingdom. *Analecta Hibernica* **39**, 1–62.
- Duff, A. 1993 *Beetles of Somerset: their status and distribution*. Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society, Taunton, Somerset.
- Duffy, P. 2022 Archaeological excavations, Stay City Aparthotel, Little Mary Street, available at iac.ie/ project/stay-city-aparthotel.
- Duffy, P. and McIlreavy 2022 Discovery of the 'Cemetery Gate' at St Mary's Cistercian Abbey, Dublin. In P. Gleeson and T. Ó Carraigáin (ed), Medieval Britain and Ireland – fieldwork highlights in 2021. *Medieval Archaeology* **66** (2), 468–89.
- Dugdale, W. 1846 Abbey of Inys or Iniscourcy, in the county of Downe in Ireland, cell to Furness. In *Dugdale's Monasticon* **5**, 257–8.
- Dungworth, D. 2012 Three and a half centuries of bottle manufacture. In *Industrial Archaeology Review* **34** (1), 37–50.
- Dunning, G.C. 1962 The pottery louver from Goosegate, Nottingham. *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire* **66**, 20–3.
- Dunning, G.C. 1966 A pottery louver from Great Easton, Essex. *Medieval Archaeology* **10**, 74–80.
- Dunning, G.C. 1975 Roof-fittings. In C.P.S. Platt and R. Coleman-Smith, *Excavations in Medieval Southampton 1953-1969*, vol. 2, 186–8. Leicester University Press, Leicester.
- Earwood, C. 2011 The wooden artefacts. In C.J. Lynn and J.A. McDowell (eds), *Deer Park Farms: the excavation of a raised rath in the Glenarm Valley, Co. Antrim,* 386–416. The Stationery Office, Northern Ireland Environment Agency, Belfast.
- Egan, G. 1991 Buttons. In G. Egan and F. Pritchard, *Dress accessories* 1150–1450, 80–272. Medieval finds from excavations in London, No. 3. Boydell and Brewer, Martlesham, Suffolk.

- Emery, A. 2006 *Greater medieval houses of England and Wales: southern England*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- English Heritage 1998 *Guidelines on producing and interpreting dendrochronological dates*. English Heritage, London.
- Eogan, G. 1986 *Knowth and the passage tombs of Ireland*. Thames and Hudson, London.
- Eogan, G. 2012 *Excavations at Knowth 5: the archaeology of Knowth in the first and second millennia.* Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.
- Eogan, G. and Roche, H. 1994 A Grooved Ware wooden structure at Knowth, Boyne Valley, Ireland. *Antiquity* **68**, 322–30.
- Eogan, J. 2000 1998:503 Bettystown, Meath. Unpublished excavation report. Excavations. ie, accessed at excavations.ie/report/1998/ Meath/0003681.
- Ervynck, A. 1997 Following the Rule? Fish and meat consumption in monastic communities in Flanders (Belgium). In G. De Boe and F. Verhaeghe (eds), *Environment and subsistence in medieval Europe: papers of the Medieval Europe Brugge* 1997 *Conference*, 67–81. IAP Rapporten 9. Instituut voor het Archeologisch Patrimonium, Zellik.
- Evans, E.E. 1957 *Irish folk ways*. Dover Publications, New York.
- Evans, E.-J. 2008 Appendix III: animal bone report. In T. Breen (ed.), Kildare Town bypass: archaeological resolution of a burnt spread, final report, 01E0479, Site 7, Cherryville Townland, Co. Kildare. Unpublished report submitted to the National Monuments Service.
- Fahy, J. 2005 The hobnail book and the bothán. *Oughterard Newsletter*, accessed at oughterardheritage.org/content/topics/the-hobnail-boot-the-bothan.
- Fairnell, E.H. 2003 The utilisation of fur-bearing animals in the British Isles. Unpublished MSc thesis, University of York.
- Farm Ontario Online Newsletter, 20 May 2022, farmtario.com/news/castles-in-the-pasture.
- Fenwick, J.P. 2012 Appendix 8, geophysical survey of Knowth area 11. In G. Eogan, *Excavations at Knowth* 5: the archaeology of Knowth in the first and second millennia AD, 811–31. Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.
- Fick, O.K.W. 1974 Vergleichend morphologische untersuchungen and einzelknochen europäischer taubenarten. Universität München, Munich, Germany.
- Finch, T.F., Gardiner, M.J., Comey, A. and Radford, T. 1983 Soils of Co. Meath. Soil Survey Bulletin No. 37, National Soil Survey of Ireland, An Foras Taluntais, Dublin.
- Fisher, S.W. 1970 *English pottery and porcelain marks.* Foulsham, Slough.
- Fock, J. 1966 Metrische Untersuchungen an Metapodien einiger europdischer Rinderrassen. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Munich.

- Foley, C. 1989 Excavation at a medieval settlement site in Jerpoint church townland, Co. Kilkenny. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 89C (5), 71– 126.
- France, J. 2012 Separate but equal: Cistercian lay brothers, 1120–1350. Liturgical Press, Collegeville, MN.
- Gaffrey, J. 2022 Post-medieval ceramics from Stalleen, Co. Meath. In G. Stout and M. Stout (eds), *Excavation of a multi-period site at Stalleen*, *Co. Meath, by Mandy Stephens: research in the Brú na Bóinne World Heritage Site*, 46–50. Chapel Press, Julianstown.
- Gailey, A. 1984 *Rural houses of the north of Ireland*. Donald Press, Edinburgh.
- Galindo-Pellicena, M.A., Sala, N., De Gaspar, I., Iriarte, E., Blázquez-Orta, R., Arsuaga, J.L., Carretero, J.M. and García, N. 2022 Long-term dog consumption during the Holocene at the Sierra de Atapuerca (Spain): case study of the El Portalón de Cueva Mayor site. *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences* **14** (84), 1–21.
- Galloway, J. 2003 The Development of the South Quay area of Drogheda in the late medieval and post-medieval periods. Unpublished report for The Archaeological Diving Company Ltd. and Valerie J. Keeley Ltd, Archaeological Consultancy, September 2003.
- Galloway, J. 2015 The economic hinterland of Drogheda in the later Middle Ages. In T. Barry and V. McAlister (eds), *Space and settlement in medieval Ireland*, 167–85. Four Courts Press, Dublin.
- Geological Survey Ireland Spatial Resources, accessed at dcenr.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapSeries/ index.html.
- Geraghty, S. 1996 Viking Dublin: botanical evidence from Fishamble Street. Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.
- Giacometti, A. 2016 Glass phials and scent bottles. In A. Giacometti, *Rathfarnham Castle glass*, 74–84. Archaeology Plan, Dublin.
- Giacometti, A. 2023 Excavation of a multiple cemetery complex at Donacarney Great, Bettystown, Co Meath. *Riocht na Midhe* **34**, 1–39.
- González Carretero, L., Wollstonecroft, M. and Fuller, D. 2017 A methodological approach to the study of archaeological cereal meals: a case study at Çatalhöyük East (Turkey). *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* **26** (4), 415–32.
- Goodall, I.H. 1990a Locks and keys. In M. Biddle, *Object and economy in medieval Winchester*, 36– 1001. Winchester Studies No. 7.2. Archaeopress, Oxford.
- Goodall, I.H. 1990b Woodworking tools. In M. Biddle, *Object and economy in medieval Winchester*, 7–273. Winchester Studies No. 7.1. Archaeopress, Oxford.
- Goodall, I.H. 2011 *Ironwork in medieval Britain: an archaeological study*. Monograph 31, The Society for Medieval Archaeology, London.

- Government of Ireland 2023 *Community Monuments Handbook*. Department of Housing, Local Government and Heritage, Dublin.
- Graham, B.J. 1975 Anglo-Norman settlement in Co. Meath. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **75C**, 223–49.
- Graham B. 1977 The towns of medieval Ireland. In R.A. Butlin (ed.), *The development of the Irish town*, 28–60. Taylor and Francis, London.
- Grant, A. 1982 The use of tooth wear as a guide to the age of domestic ungulates. In B. Wilson, C.
 Grigson and S. Payne (eds), *Ageing and sexing animal bones from archaeological* sites, 91–108.
 British Archaeological Reports 109, British Series.
 BAR Publishing, Oxford.
- Grant, A. 2005 North Devon pottery. Lazarus Press, Exeter.
- Greenfield, H.J. 2006 Sexing fragmentary ungulate acetabulae. In D. Ruscillo (ed.), *Recent advances in ageing and sexing animal bones*. Oxbow Books, Oxford.
- Greig, J. 1982 Garderobes, sewers, cesspits and latrines. *Current Archaeology* **85**, 49–52.
- Greig, J. 1996 Archaeobotanical and historical records compared: a new look at the taphonomy of edible and other useful plants from the 11th to the 18th centuries AD. *Circea, The Journal of the Association for Environmental Archaeology* **12** (2), 211–47.
- Grigson, C. 1982 Ageing and sexing animal bones from archaeological sites. BAR B109, British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
- Grogan, E. and Eogan, G. 1987 Lough Gur excavations by Seán P. Ó Ríordáin: further Neolithic and Beaker habitations on Knockadoon. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **87C**, 299–506.
- Grumett, D. and Muers, R. 2010 *Theology on the menu: asceticism, meat and Christian diet.* Routledge. Abingdon, Oxfordshire.
- Gwynn, A. and Hadcock, N. 1970 Medieval religious houses: Ireland. Longman, London.
- Hamelin, F. 2020 La gestion de l'eau dans les granges Cisterciennes Bretonnes. In Les Cisterciens et l'eau: hommages a Paul Benoit. *Cîteaux – Commentarii Cistercienses* 71, 261–77.
- Hamilton-Dyer, S. 2007 Exploitation of birds and fish in historic Ireland: a brief review of the evidence. In E.M. Murphy and N.J. Whitehouse (eds), *Environmental archaeology in Ireland*, 102–18. Oxbow Books, Oxford.
- Hamilton-Dyer, S. 2011a Fish and bird bones. In A.
 Hayden, *Trim Castle, Co. Meath: excavations 1995–1998,* 411–18. Archaeological Monograph Series, 6, Dublin. The Stationery Office, Dublin.
- Hamilton-Dyer, S. 2011b Bird and fish bones from Clonmacnoise. Unpublished report for Heather King and Jon Soderberg.
- Hamilton-Dyer, S. 2016a Exploring the contrasts: fish-bone assemblages from medieval Ireland. In

J. Barrett and D. Orton (eds), *Cod and herring: the archaeology and history of medieval sea fishing*, 231–8. Oxbow Books, Oxford.

- Hamilton-Dyer, S. 2016b Bird and fish bones from Bective Abbey. In G. Stout and M. Stout, *The Bective Abbey project, Co. Meath: excavations 2009–* 12, 170–8. Wordwell, Dublin.
- Hamilton-Dyer, S. 2021 Bird and fish from Dundrum Castle. Unpublished report for Brian Sloan, QUB.
- Hammond, P.M. 1971 Notes on the British Staphylinidae 2 – on the British species of *Platystethus* Mannerheim, with one species new to Britain. *Entomologist's monthly Magazine* **107**, 93–111.
- Hannay, J. 1867 Three hundred years of a Norman house: the barons of Gournay from the tenth to the thirteenth century, with genealogical miscellanies. Tinsley Brothers, London.
- Hansen, M. 1987 The Hydrophiloidea (Coleoptera) of Fennoscandia and Denmark. *Fauna Entomologica Scandinavica*, 18. Scandinavian Science Press, Leiden, Netherlands.
- Hare, J.N. 1985 *Battle Abbey: the eastern range and the Excavations of 1978–80.* Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, Archaeological Report No. 2. English Heritage, London.
- Harrison, S.H. 2023 Arklow and the Cistercians: a medieval borough and manor reconsidered. In L. Shine and V. McAllister (eds), *Rethinking medieval Ireland and beyond, lifecycles, landscapes, and settlements: essays in honor of T.B. Barry,* 237–65. Brill, Leiden, Netherlands.
- Harvey, B. 1993 *Living and dying in England* 1100– 1540: the monastic experience. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Harvey, B. 2006 Monastic pittances in the Middle Ages. In C.M. Woolgar, D. Serjeantson and T. Waldron (eds), *Food in medieval England: diet and nutrition*, 215–27. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Hayden, A. 1997 Wooden objects. In C. Walsh, *Archaeological excavations at Patrick, Nicholas and Winetavern Streets, Dublin,* 159–62. Brandon Publishers, Dingle, Co. Kerry.
- Hayden, A. 2004a Site 1, Kilbeggan. In I. Bennet (ed.), *Excavations 2003: summary accounts of archaeological excavations in Ireland*, 52–3. Wordwell, Dublin.
- Hayden, A. 2004b Excavation of the medieval river frontage at Arran Quay, Dublin. In S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin v*, 149–242. Four Courts Press, Dublin.
- Hayden, A. 2011 *Trim Castle, Co. Meath: excavations* 1995–8. Archaeological Monograph Series 6. The Stationery Office, Dublin.
- Hayden, A.R. and Moore, C. 2022 Gaming board and pieces/counter. In A.R. Hayden, Final report on archaeological excavations at Chancery Lane and Ship St Gt., Dublin 8. Excavation Licence No. 18E00250. Planning refs: DCC 2962/16 and

2480/16. Unpublished report for Archaeological Projects Ltd.

- Hayward, P.J. and Ryland, J.S. 1995 *Handbook of the marine fauna of North-West Europe*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Herity, M. 1974 *Irish passage graves*. Irish University Press, Dublin.
- Hession, J. 2019 Preliminary Report on the Results of Archaeological Excavation undertaken at a proposed housing development site in Bryanstown, Drogheda, County Meath. Unpublished Report for Rubicon Heritage Services Ltd.
- Higham, C.F.W. 1967 Stockrearing as a cultural factor in prehistoric Europe. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **33**, 84–106.
- Hillaby, J. 1992–3 Colonisation, crisis management and debt: Walter de Lacy and the lordship of Meath 1189–1241. *Riocht na Midhe* 8 (4), 1–50.
- Hillman, G., Mason, S., de Moulins, D. and Nesbitt, M. 1996 Identification of archaeological remains of wheat: the 1992 London workshop. *Circea*, *The Journal of the Association for Environmental Archaeology* 12 (2), 195–209.
- Hillson, S.W. 1992 *Mammal bones and teeth*. Institute of Archaeology, University College London.
- Hinton, H.E. 1945 *A monograph of the beetles associated with stored products, I.* British Museum, London.
- Hirst, S.M., Walsh, D.A. and Wright, S.M. 1983
 Bordesley Abbey II: second report on excavations at Bordesley Abbey, Redditch, Hereford-Worcestershire.
 BAR British Series III. BAR Publishing, Oxford.
- Hogan, A. 2008 *The priory of Llanthony Prima and Secunda in Ireland, 1172–1541: lands, patronage and politics.* Four Courts Press, Dublin.
- Horion, A. 1961 *Faunistik der Mitteleuropäischen Käfer, 8.* Clavicornia, Uberlingen-Bodensee, Germany.
- Hugionet, J.-Y. 2003 *Terres de Saintonge: l'art de la poterie XIIe-XIXe siècle*. Musée archéologique de Saintes, Paris.
- Hume, I.N. 1961 The glass wine bottle in colonial Virginia. *Journal of Glass Studies* **3**, 91–117.
- Hurley, M.F. 1997 Artefacts of skeletal material. In M.F. Hurley and Ó.M.B. Scully (eds) *Late Viking Age and medieval Waterford, excavations* 1986–1992, 99–650. Waterford Corporation, Waterford.
- Hurley, M.F. and McCutcheon, S.W.J. 1997 Wooden artefacts. In M.F. Hurley, Ó.M.B. Scully and S.W.J. McCutcheon, *Late Viking Age and medieval Waterford excavations* 1986–1992, 553–633.
 Waterford Corporation, Waterford.
- Hurst, J.G., Neal, D.S. and van Beuningen, H.J.E. 1986 Rotterdam Papers VI: pottery produced and traded in north-west Europe 1350–1650. Companyördinatie Commissie van Advies Inzake Archeologisch Onderzoek Binnen het Ressort Rotterdam, Rotterdam.
- Innes, V. 1985 Self coloured ware. Journal of the Merseyside Archaeological Society 4, 106–14.

- Irish coinage, accessed at irishcoinage.com/ MODCOIN.HTM)
- *Irish Examiner*, 1 August 2019, at irishexaminer.com/ news/arid-30940874.
- Irish Farmers Journal, 7 October 2020, at farmers journal. ie / the-origins-of-modern-farming-beinguncovered-in-meath-570044.
- *Irish Independent*, 30 March 2021, at independent.ie/ irish-news/bru-na-boinne-links-to-site-wheremedieval-monks-made-bread/40254629.
- Irish Times, 6 August 2019, at irishtimes.com/ culture/heritage/falling-window-leads-to-bigarchaeological-find-1.3977912.
- *Irish Times*, 26 July 2021, at irishtimes.com/ news/environment/archaeologists-excavatephenomenal-13th-century-barn-in-comeath-1.4630248.
- Jackson, J. 1991 The geology and raw materials of the Stone Age. In M. Ryan (ed.), *The illustrated archaeology of Ireland*, 33–5. Country House, Dublin.
- Jamroziak, E. 2013 *The Cistercian order in medieval Europe* 1090–1500. Routledge, London.
- Jensen, P. and Recén, B. 1989 When to wean: observations from free-ranging domestic pigs. *Applied Animal Behaviour Science* **23** (1–2), 49–60.
- Johnson, E.V. 2015 A skeletal comparison of Domestic Dog (*canis familiaris*), Red Fox (*vulpes vulpes*), Badger (*meles meles*) and Domestic Cat (*felis catus*). Unpublished report for the Archaeology Department, University of Exeter.
- Johnston, P. 1998 Macroscopic plant remains from excavations at Temple Bar West, Dublin. Unpublished report, Margaret Gowen and Co. Ltd.
- Johnston, P. 2020 Organic plant remains report, Aungier Street, Dublin (Licence 17E0212). Unpublished report, Irish Archaeological Consultancy.
- Johnston, P. 2023a Table 1 samples from Beaubec 19E0405 (including processing and contextual information). Available at figshare. Dataset. doi. org/10.6084/m9.figshare.22817321.
- Johnston, P. 2023b Table 2 charred plant remains from Medieval Phase 1 deposits excavated at Beaubec, Co. Meath 19E0405. figshare. Dataset. doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.22817336.
- Johnston, P. 2023c Table 3 identified charred plant remains from Medieval Phase 2 deposits at Beaubec, Co. Meath, 19E0405. figshare. Dataset. doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.22817342.
- Johnston, P. 2023d Table 4 identified waterlogged plant remains from moat samples excavated at Beaubec, Co. Meath, 19E0405. figshare. Dataset. doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.22817348.
- Johnston, P. 2023e Table 5 identified waterlogged plant remains from latrine deposits excavated at Beaubec, Co. Meath, 19E0405. figshare. Dataset. doi.org/10.6084/m9.figshare.22817351.

- Jones, G. 1998 Wheat grain identification why bother? *Environmental Archaeology* **2**, 29–34.
- Jones, O.R. and Smith, A.S. 1985 *Glass of the British military* c.1755–1820. Studies in archaeology architecture and history, Minister of Supply and Services, Hull, Quêbec.
- Kelly, F. 1997 *Early Irish farming: a study based mainly on the law-texts of the 7th and 8th centuries AD*. Early Irish Law Series 4, School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, Dublin.
- Kelly, M. 2001 Unheard-of mortality: the Black Death in Ireland. *History Ireland* **9** (4), 12–17.
- Kenward, H. and Hall, A. 1997 Enhancing bioarchaeological interpretation using indicator groups: stable manure as a paradigm. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 24, 663–73.
- Kenward, H.K. and Hall, A.R. 1995 Biological Evidence from Anglo-Scandinavian Deposits at 16e22 Coppergate. In P.V. Addyman (gen. ed.), *The Archaeology of York 14*/7. Council for British Archaeology, London.
- Kinder, T.N. 1994 Potigny et ses domaines: richesse et précarité d'un patrimoine agricole. In L. Pressouyre (ed.), *L'espace Cistercien*, 444–50. Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, Paris.
- Kinder, T.N. 2001 Living in a vale of tears: Cistercians and site management in France; Pontigny and Fontfroide. In G. Keevil, M. Aston and T. Hall (eds), *Monastic archaeology: papers on the study of medieval monasteries*, 37–53. Oxbow Books, Oxford.
- Kippen, C. 2009 History of boots: nineteenthcentury boots. History of boots blog. 20 June 2009, accessed at historyofboots.blogspot. com/2009/06/nineteenth-century-boots.html.
- Knowles, D. 1963 *The historian and character*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Koch, K. 1989a *Die Käfer Mitteleuropas. Ökologie,* 1. Goecke and Evers, Krefeld, Germany.
- Koch, K. 1989b *Die Käfer Mitteleuropas, Ökologie* 2. Goecke and Evers, Krefeld, Germany.
- Koch, K. 1992 *Die Käfer Mitteleuropas. Ökologie* 3. Goecke and Evers, Krefeld, Germany.
- Koudelka, F. 1885 *Das verhältnis der ossa longa zur skeletthöhe bei den säugetieren*. Verhandlungen Naturforschung Vereins, 24 Brünn.
- Kratochvil, Z. 1969 Species criteria on the distal section of the tibia in *Ovis amma F., aries L. and Capra aegagrus F., hircus L. Acta Veterinaria (Brno)* 38, 483–90.
- Lawlor, Ú. 2014 Tráchtas ar Logainmneacha na mBailte Fearainn i nDamh Liag Íochtarach. Unpublished PhD Thesis, The National University of Ireland, Maynooth.
- Lehane, D. 1983 The flint work. In M.J. O'Kelly, R.M. Cleary and D. Lehane, Newgrange, county Meath, Ireland: the Late Neolithic/Beaker period settlement, 118–67. BAR International Series 190, Archaeopress, Oxford.

- Leigh, J. 2016 Geophysical survey report, Bey More, Co. Meath. Unpublished report by J.M. Leigh Surveys Ltd., Leixlip, Co. Kildare.
- Leigh, J. 2022 Geophysical survey report, Bey More, Co. Meath. Unpublished report by J.M. Leigh Surveys Ltd., Leixlip, Co. Kildare.
- Leroux-Dhuys. J.F. and Gaud, H. 1998 Cistercian abbeys: history and architecture. H.F. Ullmann Paris.
- Levine, M. 1982 The use of crown height measurements and eruption-wear sequences to age horse teeth. In B. Wilson, C. Grigson and S. Payne (eds), *Ageing and sexing animal bones from archaeological sites*, 223–50. British Archaeological Reports 109, British Series, BAR Publishing, Oxford.
- Lewis, C.P. and Thacker, A.T. (eds), 2003 Later medieval Chester 1230–1550: economy and society, 1230–1350. In C.P. Lewis and A.T. Thacker (eds), *A history of the county of Chester: volume 5, part 1, the City of Chester: general history and topography*, 44–55. Victoria County History, London.
- Lewis, S. 1837 *Topographical dictionary of Ireland*. S. Lewis and Co., London.
- Lieberman, M. 2010 The medieval 'Marches' of Normandy and Wales. *The English Historical Review* **125**, 1357–81.
- Lindbergh, J. 1999 Buttoning down archaeology. *Australasian Historical Archaeology* **17**, 7–50.
- Lott, D.A. 2009 The Staphylinidae (rove beetles) of Britain and Ireland. Part 5: Scaphidiinae, Piestinae, Oxytelinae. Handbooks for the identification of British insects, 12, 5. Field Studies Council, Shrewsbury.
- Lõugas, L., Jürjo, I. and Russow, E. 2022 European flat oyster (*Ostrea edulis* l.) in the eastern Baltic as evidence of long-distance trade in medieval and early modern times. *Heritage* **5**, 813–28.
- Lucht, W.H. 1987 *Die Käfer Mitteleuropas, Katalog.* Goecke and Evers, Krefeld, Germany.
- Ludlow, F. 2011 Tree ring chronology of meteorological extremes for Ireland, AD425–1650. In *Irish Meteorological Society Newsletter* 5, 54–9.
- Lydon, J. 1979 The city of Waterford in the later Middle Ages. *Decies* **12**, 5–15.
- Lyons, S. 2014 Plant remains. In M. Hurley and C. Brett (eds), *Archaeological excavations at South Main Street* 2003–5, 250–8. Cork City Council, Cork.
- Lyons, S. 2015 Food plants, fruits and foreign foodstuffs: the archaeological evidence from urban medieval Ireland. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **115C**, 111–66.
- Lyons, S. 2016 The environmental remains from Bective Abbey: archaeobotanical and charcoal analysis. In G. Stout and M. Stout, *The Bective Abbey project, Co. Meath: excavations 2009–12, 179–* 99. Wordwell, Dublin.
- McAfee, P. 2011 Irish stone walls: history, building, conservation. First published 1997, The O'Brien Press, Dublin.

- McClatchie, M. 2003 The plant remains. In R. Cleary and M. Hurley (eds), *Cork City excavations 1984– 2000*, 391–434. Cork City Council, Cork.
- McClatchie, M. 2014 Non-wood plant macro remains. In M. Hurley and C. Brett (eds), *Archaeological Excavations at South Main Street* 2003–5, 429–47. Cork City Council, Cork.
- McClatchie, M. 2022 Analysis of non-wood plant macro-remains. In C. Baker, *Swords Castle: digging history*, 266–85. Wordwell, Dublin.
- McClatchie, M., Schulting, R., McLaughlin, R., Colledge, S., Bogaard, A., Barratt, P. and Whitehouse, N. 2022 Food production, processing and foodways in Neolithic Ireland. *Environmental Archaeology: The Journal of Human Palaeoecology* 27, 80–92.
- McCormick, F. 1985/6 Faunal remains from prehistoric Irish burials. *Journal of Irish Archaeology* **3**, 37–48.
- McCormick, F. 1988 The domesticated cat in early Christian and medieval Ireland. In G. Mac Niocaill and P.F. Wallace, (eds), *Keimelia: studies in medieval archaeology and history in memory of Tom Delaney*, 218–28. Galway University Press, Galway.
- McCormick, F. 1991 The effect of the Anglo-Norman settlement on Ireland's wild and domesticated fauna. In P.J. Crabtree and K. Ryan (eds), *MASCA Research Papers in Science and Archaeology: supplement to Volume 8*, 40–52. MASCA, The University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania, PA.
- McCormick, F. 1992 Early faunal evidence for dairying. Oxford Journal of Archaeology 11, 201–9.
- McCormick, F. 2007 Mammal bone studies from prehistoric Irish sites. In E. Murphy and N.J. Whitehouse (eds), *Environmental archaeology in Ireland*, 77–101. Oxbow Books, Oxford.
- McCormick, F. 2010 Appendix IV, the faunal remains. In Lynch, A. (ed.), *Tintern Abbey, Co. Wexford: Cistercians and Colcloughs: excavations* 1982–2007, 227–32. Archaeological Monograph Series 5, Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government, Dublin.
- McCracken, E. 1971 *The Irish woods since Tudor times.* Institute of Irish Studies, Belfast.
- Mc Craig, I. and Ridout, B. 2012 *Practical building conservation: timber*. English Heritage/Routledge, London.
- McCullen, J. 1989 Out the Beamore Road. Old Drogheda Society 6, 22–6.
- McCullen, J. 2011 The Smith family of Maine, Greenhills, and Piperstown, Co. Louth, and Beabeg and Annesbrook, Co. Meath. *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society* 27 (3), 379–409.
- McCullen, J. 2013. *The letters of Aunt Mary 1868–1970*. John McCullen, 2013.
- McCullen, J. 2021 Thomas Pearson's Beamore House. *Journal of the Old Drogheda Society* **25**, 33–9.
- McCullen, J. 2021 The dig at Beamore. *Journal of the Old Drogheda Society* **25**, 203–20.

- McCutcheon, C. 2006 *Medieval pottery from Wood Quay, Dublin.* Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.
- McCutcheon, C. 2007 The medieval pottery. In M. Clyne, *Kells Priory*, *Co. Kilkenny: archaeological excavations by T. Fanning and M. Clyne*, 316–42. National Monuments Service, Dublin.
- McCutcheon, C. 2022a Medieval ceramics from Stalleen, Co. Meath. In G. Stout and M. Stout (eds), *Excavation of a multi-period site at Stalleen*, *Co. Meath by Mandy Stephens: research in the Brú na Bóinne World Heritage Site*, 43–5. Chapel Press, Julianstown, Co. Meath.
- McCutcheon, C. 2022b The pottery. In F. Moore and G. Stout (eds), *Boyle Abbey, Co. Roscommon: conservation, architecture and archaeological excavations* 1982–2018, 245–52. National Monuments Service, Dublin.
- McCutcheon, C. and Meenan, R. 2011 Pots on the hearth. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **111C**, 91–113.
- Mc Hugh, N. 2019 Drogheda/Droichead Atha: Irish historic towns atlas No. 29. Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.
- Mac Niocaill, G. 1959 *Na Manaigh Liatha in Éirinn*. Cló Morainn, Dublin.
- Machado, C.A., Robbins, N., Gilbert, M.T.P. and Herre, E.A. 2005 Critical review of host specificity and its coevolutionary implications in the fig/ fig-wasp mutualism. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* **102** (Supplement 1), 6558–65.
- Mandal, S. 1997 Striking the balance: the roles of petrography and geochemistry in stone axe studies in Ireland. *Archaeometry* **39** (2), 289–308.
- Mandal, S., Cooney, G., Grogan, E., O'Carroll, F. and Guinan, B. 1991/2 A review of the petrological techniques being utilised to identify, group, and source Irish stone axes. *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* **6**, 1–11.
- Manning, C. 2013 *Clogh Oughter Castle, Co. Cavan: archaeology, history and architecture*. Archaeological Monograph Series 8. The Stationery Office, Dublin.
- Mantel, H. 2017 quoted from the *BBC Reith Lectures* at https://www.bbc.com/news/entertainment-arts-63005841 accessed 14/7/2023.
- Masterson, R. 1999 The alien priory of Fore, Co. Westmeath, in the Middle Ages. *Archivium Hibernicum* **53**, 73–9.
- Masterson, R. 2014 *Medieval Fore, Co. Westmeath.* Four Courts Press, Dublin.
- Matolcsi, J. 1970 Historische erforschung der körpergrösse des Rindes auf Grund von ungarischem knochenmaterial. Zeitschrift für Tierzüchtung und Züchtungsbiologie **87**, 89–137.
- Marks, R. 1993 *Stained glass in England during the Middle Ages.* Taylor and Francis, London.
- Maulvault, A., Marques, A., Pedro, S. and Nunes, M.L. 2013 *Mussels Alive Report*. SME Associations, Paris.

- Maxwell Lyte, H.C. 1891–1916 Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. Prepared under the superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. Edward III. 16 vols, H.M. Stationery Office, London.
- Maxwell Lyte, H.C. 1895–1909 Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. Prepared under the superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. Richard II. A.D. 1388–1392.
 6 vols and supplement. H.M. Stationery Office, London.
- Maxwell Lyte, H.C. 1896–1913 Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. Prepared under the superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. Edward III. 14 vols. H.M. Stationery Office, London.
- Maxwell Lyte, H.C. 1900–8 Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. Prepared under the superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. Edward I. 5 vols. H.M. Stationery Office, London.
- Maxwell Lyte, H.C. 1901–13 Calendar of the Patent Rolls, preserved in the Public Record Office. Prepared under the superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Record. Henry III. 6 vols. H.M. Stationery Office, London.
- Maxwell Lyte, H.C. 1914 Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. Prepared under the superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. Henry VII, 1485–1509. H.M. Stationery Office, London.
- Mayes, P. 2002 *Excavations at a Templar Preceptory: South Witham, Lincolnshire* 1965-67. The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 19. English Heritage, Leeds.
- Meenan, R. 2011 Pottery. In A. Hayden, *Trim Castle, Co. Meath: excavations* 1995–8, 312–19. National Monuments Service, Dublin.
- Meenan, R. 2016 Medieval pottery from Bective Abbey. In G. Stout and M. Stout, *The Bective Abbey project, Co. Meath: excavations* 2009–12, 110–21. Wordwell, Dublin.
- Meenan, R. forthcoming Post-medieval pottery from Dublin Castle. *Dublin Castle: from fortress to palace, volume* 4. National Monuments Service, Dublin.
- Mills, J. (ed.) 1905 Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls or, Proceedings in the Court of the Justiciar of Ireland preserved in the Public Record Office of Ireland XXIII to XXXI years of Edward I [1295–1303]. HM Stationery Office, Dublin.
- Mills, J. 1914 Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls or proceedings in the Court of the Justiciar of Ireland preserved in the Public Record Office of Ireland. Edward I. Part 2. XXXIII to XXXV years. H.M. Stationery Office, London.
- Mills, J. and McEnery, M.J. 1916 Calendar of the Gormanston Register, from the original in the possession of the Right Honourable the Viscount of Gormanston. Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Dublin.

- Ministère de la Culture 2009 Ancienne abbaye de Lannoy. Available at pop.culture.gouv.fr/notice/ merimee/PA00114844).
- Mitchell, C.F. 1953 Building construction and drawing: a text book on the principles and details of modern construction. Twenty-first edition, Taylor and Francis, London.
- Mitchell, G.F. 1987 Archaeology and environment in early Dublin. Medieval Dublin Excavations 1962– 81, Series C. Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.
- Mitchell, G.F. and Ryan, M. 1997 *Reading the Irish landscape*. Townhouse, Dublin.
- Mitchell, G.F. and Dickson, C.A. 1985 Plant remains and other items from medieval Drogheda. *Circaea* **3** (1), 31–7.
- Monasticon Hibernicum 2007 Killokeran. Monasticon Hibernicum, available at monasticon.celt.dias. ie/4163.
- Moore, C. 2021 Wooden artefact report, Lissaniska, Co. Kerry 17E0328 ext. Unpublished report for ACSU Ltd.
- Moore, C. forthcoming The wooden artefacts from Drumclay Crannóg, Co. Fermanagh. Specialist report for IAC Ltd and Historic Environment Division, Northern Ireland, Belfast.
- Moore, C., Bermingham, N. and O'Sullivan, A. 2016 Drumclay wooden artefact project 2016. Unpublished report prepared for Historic Environment Division, Northern Ireland, Belfast.
- Moore, C. and OCarroll, E. 2011 Report on wooden remains from Barronstrand Street, Waterford E4013. Unpublished report for Archaeografix Ltd.
- Moore, C. and OCarroll, E. 2022 Report on an assemblage of archaeological wood from Ballyhack, Co. Waterford 21E0167. Unpublished report for Archaeografix Ltd.
- Moore, F. and Stout, G. (eds) 2022 *Boyle Abbey, Co. Roscommon: conservation, architecture and archaeological excavations 1982–2018.* Archaeological Monograph Series 13. National Monuments Service, Dublin.
- Moore, M.J. 1984 Irish cresset-stones. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **114**, 98–116.
- Moorhouse, S. 1988 Documentary evidence for medieval ceramic roofing materials and its archaeological implications: some thoughts. *Medieval Ceramics* **12**, 33–55.
- Moran, J. 2016 Glass from Bective Abbey. In G. Stout and M. Stout, *The Bective Abbey project, Co. Meath: excavations* 2009–12, 90–2. Wordwell, Dublin.
- Morant, R.W. 2004 *The medieval abbeys of England and Wales: a resource guide.* Trafford Publishing, Bloomington, IN.
- Morris, P. 1986 *Natural history of the British Isles*. Country Life Books, London.
- Moss, R. 2014 Window glass. In R. Moss (ed.), Art and Architecture in Ireland, Volume 1, medieval c.400–c.1600, 89–91. Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.
- Munro, M.A.R. 1984 An improved algorithm for crossdating tree-ring series. *Tree-Ring Bulletin* 44, 17–27.

- Murphy, A. 2019 Dronehenge: the story behind the remarkable discovery at Newgrange. Liffey Press, Dublin.
- Murphy, D. 1998 Archaeological assessment of lands at Beamore, Co. Meath: Excavation license 97E0046. Unpublished report for ACS, Drogheda.
- Murphy, D. 1998 Beamore: Medieval gatehouse. In I. Bennett (ed.), *Excavations 1997: summary accounts of archaeological excavations in Ireland*, 137. Wordwell, Dublin.
- Murray, E. 1999 Early evidence for coastal exploitation in Ireland. Unpublished PhD thesis, Queen's University Belfast.
- Murphy, M. 2009 Rural settlement in Meath: the documentary evidence. In M. Deevy and D. Murphy (eds), *Places along the way: first findings on the M3*, 153–68. Wordwell, Dublin.
- Murphy, M. and Potterton, M. 2010 *The Dublin region in the Middle Ages: settlement, land-use and economy.* Four Courts Press, Dublin.
- Mythical Ireland (Anthony Murphy), Beaubec excavations 2021 time lapse: 20 days of digging in two minutes! at Youtube.com/ watch?v=p0oqlez7Fw8.
- Nelson, E.C. and Walsh, W.F. 1993 *Trees of Ireland, native and naturalised*. Lilliput Press, Dublin.
- Nutz, B. 2014 No shame in braiding: fifteenthcentury fingerloop. *Estonian Journal of Archaeology* **18** (2), 116–34.
- Fr. Colmcille [Ó Conbhuidhe] 1958 *Story of Mellifont*. M.H. Gill and Son Ltd, Dublin.
- OCarroll, E. and Moore, C. 2018 Wood report, Dean St, Co. Dublin. Licence No. 16E0080. Unpublished report prepared for Aisling Collins Archaeological Services Ltd.
- O'Connell, M. and Molly, K. 2001 Farming and woodland dynamics in Ireland during the Neolithic. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **101B** (1–2), 99–128.
- O'Connor, T.P. 2008 On the differential diagnosis of arthropathy in bovids. In G. Grupe, G. McGlynn and J.N. Peters (eds), *Limping together through the ages: joint afflictions and bone infections*, 165–86. *Documenta Archaeobiologae* 6, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden, Germany.
- Ó Danachair, C. 1970 The use of the spade in Ireland. In R.A. Gailey and A. Fenton (eds), *The spade in northern and Atlantic Europe*, 49–56. Ulster Folk Museum, Belfast.
- O'Drisceoil, C. 2009 Archaeological excavations of a Late Neolithic Grooved Ware site at Balgatheran, Co. Louth. *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society* **27**, 77–102.
- O'Dwyer, B.W. 1982 Stephen of Lexington: letters from Ireland, 1228–9. Cistercian Publications, Kalamazoo, MI.
- O'Keefe, T. 2012 Medieval architectural pieces. In G. Eogan, *Excavations at Knowth 5: the archaeology*

of Knowth in the first and second millennia, 619–26. Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

- O'Keefe, T. 2014 Halls, hall-houses and tower houses in medieval Ireland: disentangling the needlessly entangled. The *Castles Studies Group Journal* **27**, 252–62.
- O'Kelly, M. 1976 Plough pebbles from the Boyne Valley. In C. Ó Danachair (ed.), *Folk and farm: essays in honour of A.T. Lucas*, 165–75. Royal Society of Antiquaries of Dublin, Dublin.
- O'Neill, T. 1987 *Merchants and mariners in medieval Ireland*. Irish Academic Press, Dublin.
- Orser, C.E. Jr. (ed.) 2006 Unearthing hidden Ireland. Wordwell, Bray.
- O'Sullivan [Ó Súileabháin], M., Downey, D. and Downey, L. 2017 *Antiquities of rural Ireland*. Wordwell, Dublin.
- Ottaway, P. and Rogers, N. 2002 *Craft, industry and everyday life: finds from medieval York.* The archaeology of York, the small finds 17/15. Council for British Archaeology, York.
- Otto, C. 1981 Vergleichend morphologisch untersuchungen an einzelknochen in Zentraleuropa vorkommender mittelgrosser Accipitridae. Universität München, Munich.
- Payne, S. 1969 A metrical distinction between sheep and goat metacarpals. In P.J. Ucko and G.W. Dimbleby (eds), *The domestication and exploitation of plants and animals*, 295–305. Gerald Duckworth, London.
- Payne, S. 1973 Kill off patterns in sheep and goats: the mandibles from Asvan Kale. *Anatolian Studies* 23, 281–303.
- Payne, S. 1985 Morphological distinctions between the mandibular teeth of young sheep Ovis and goats Capra. Journal of Archaeological Science 12, 139–47.
- Payne, S. 1987 Reference codes for wear states in the mandibular cheek teeth of sheep and goat. *Journal of Archaeological Science* **14**, 609–14.
- Payne, S. and Bull, G. 1988 Components of variation in measurements to distinguish wild from domestic pig remains. *Archaeozoologia* **2** (1–2), 27–66.
- Pelletier, M., Royer, A., Holliday, T. and Maureille, B. 2015 Hares and rabbits at Regourdou (Montignacsur-Vézère, Dordogne, France): paleontological and taphonomic studies of two naturallyoccurring bone accumulations. *Paleo* 26, 161–83.
- Peterson, J.D. 1991 From foraging to food production in south-east Ireland: some lithic evidence. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **56**, 88–99.
- Piera, M. 2020 2020:474 Rathmullen, Drogheda, Meath. Excavations.ie, accessed at excavations. ie/report/2020/Meath/0030649.
- Pijpers, K. 2017 Haptic encounters with archaeological knowing: bodily practices in excavation. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester, Leicester.
- Platt, C. 1969 *The monastic grange in medieval England: a reassessment*. Macmillan, London.

- Platt, C. and Coleman Smith, R. 1975 *Excavations in medieval Southampton 1953–1969.* 2 vols, Leicester University Press, Leicester.
- Ponsero, A., Dabouineau, L. and Allain, J. 2009 Modelling of common European cockle *Cerastoderma edule* fishing grounds aimed at sustainable management of traditional harvesting. *Fisheries Science* **75** (4), 839–50.
- Poole, K. 2014 The contextual cat: human–animal relations and social meaning in Anglo-Saxon England. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* **22**, 857–82.
- Potter, W.J.W. 1962 The silver coinage of Edward III: part 2, The treaty period (1361–1369), Part 3, the post-Treaty period, 9–77. *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society* **2**, 24– 203.
- Potterton, M. 2005 *Medieval Trim: history and archaeology*. Four Courts Press, Dublin.
- Powell C., Halpin, E. and Sheehan, G. 2008 Stratigraphic report on excavations at Old Mart, Drogheda, Co. Louth. 2 vols, unpublished excavation report.
- Predecimal coins, accessed at predecimal.com/coins-sale-british.
- Prummel, W. 1987a Atlas for identification of foetal skeletal remains of cattle, horse, sheep and pig: part 1. *Archaeozoologia* **1** (1), 23–30.
- Prummel, W. 1987b Atlas for identification of foetal skeletal remains of cattle, horse, sheep and pig: part 2. *Archaeozoologia* **1** (2), 11–42.
- Prummel, W. 1988 Atlas for identification of foetal skeletal remains of cattle, horse, sheep and pig: part 3. *Archaeozoologia* **2** (1), 13–26.
- Rackham, O. 1980 Ancient woodland: its history, vegetation and uses in England. Edward Arnold, London.
- Rahtz, P.A and Meeson, R. 1992 An Anglo-Saxon watermill at Tamworth: excavations in Bolebridge Street area of Tamworth, Staffordshire in 1971 and 1978. CBA Research Report No. 83. Council for British Archaeology, Oxford.
- Rajkovača, V. 2009 Appendix 2: faunal remains. In M. Brittain (ed.), Ridley Hall, Cambridge: an archaeological evaluation. Unpublished report by Cambridge Archaeological Unit, University of Cambridge.
- Rathbone, S. 2007 2007:1270 Bryanstown, Meath. Excavations.ie available at excavations.ie/ report/2007/Meath/0018247.
- Rees, J. 1987 Appendix A, geological identifications. In E. Grogan and G. Eogan, Lough Gur excavations by Seán P. Ó'Ríordáin: further Neolithic and Beaker habitations on Knockadoon, 493–5. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy 87C, 299–506.
- Reimer, P., Austin, W., Bard, E., Bayliss, A., Blackwell, P., Bronk Ramsey, C., Butzin, M., Cheng, H., Edwards, R., Friedrich, M., Grootes, P., Guilderson,

T., Hajdas, I., Heaton, T., Hogg, A., Hughen, K., Kromer, B., Manning, S., Muscheler, R., Palmer, J., Pearson, C., van der Plicht, J., Reimer, R., Richards, D., Scott, E., Southon, J., Turney, C., Wacker, L., Adolphi, F., Büntgen, U., Capano, M., Fahrni, S., Fogtmann-Schulz, A., Friedrich, R., Köhler, P., Kudsk, S., Miyake, F., Olsen, J., Reinig, F., Sakamoto, M., Sookdeo, A. and Talamo, S. 2020 The IntCal20 Northern Hemisphere radiocarbon age calibration curve (0–55 cal kBP). *Radiocarbon* **62** (4), 725–57.

- Reitz, E.J. and Wing, E.S. 1999 *Zooarchaeology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Riordan, B. 2015 Farming and settlement: some dynamic relationships. In M. Murphy and M. Stout, *Agriculture and Settlement in Ireland*, 162–93. Four Courts Press, Dublin.
- Roberts, C.A. and Manchester, K. 1997 *The archaeology of disease*. Sutton, Stroud, Gloucestershire.
- Roberts, R. 2014 GGAT 129: Cistercian Granges in Glamorgan and Gwent. Unpublished report for the Glamorgan-Gwent Archaeological Trust Ltd.
- Robinson, D. (ed.) 1998 The Cistercian abbeys of Britain. B.T.S. Batsford, London.
- Robinson, M.A. 1981 The use of ecological groupings of Coleoptera for comparing sites. In M. Jones and G. Dimbleby (eds), *The Environment of man: the Iron Age to the Anglo-Saxon period*, 251–86. BAR British Series 87, British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
- Robinson, M.A. 1983 Arable/Pastoral ratios from insects. In M. Jones (ed.), *Integrating the subsistence economy*, 19–47. BAR International Series, British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
- Root, J. 2002 Paving the way: hard landscaping in the gardens of eighteenth-century Bath. Accessed at buildingconservation.com/articles/paving02/ paving02.html.
- Rynne, C. 2006 Industrial Ireland 1750–1930: an archaeology. Collins Press, Cork.
- Salzman, L.F. 1992 *Building in England down to 1540: a documentary history.* Reprinted 1992, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Schmid, E. 1972 *Atlas of animal bones*. Elsevier, Amsterdam.
- Schmidt-Berger, P. 1982 Vergleichend morphologisch untersuchungen an einzelknochen in Zentraleuropa vorkommender mittelgrosser accipitridae. Universität München, Munich.
- Scully, Ó. 1997 The metal artefacts. In M. Hurley and Ó. Scully, Late Viking Age and medieval Waterford, excavations 1986–1992, 89–438. Waterford Corporation, Waterford.
- Scully, Ó. 2007 The non-ferrous metal artefacts. In M. Clyne, Kells Priory, Co. Kilkenny: archaeological excavations by T. Fanning and M. Clyne, 383– 405. Archaeological Monograph Series 3, The Stationery Office, Dublin.
- Scully, Ó. 2014 Ferrous and Non-Ferrous Metal in Woodstown. In I. Russell, M. Hurley and J. Eogan

(eds), *A Viking-Age settlement in Co. Waterford*, 40–125. Four Courts Press, Dublin.

- Scully, Ó. forthcoming The metal artefacts from medieval levels at Dublin Castle. In A. Lynch and C. Manning (eds), *Dublin Castle excavations*.
- Seaby, P. 1970 *Coins and tokens of Ireland*. Seaby's standard catalogue, part 3, Seaby, London.
- Sexton, R. 1998 *A little history of Irish food*. Gill & Macmillan, Dublin.
- Silver, I.A. 1963 The ageing of domestic animals. In D. Brothwell and E. Higgs (eds), *Science in archaeology*, 250–68. Thames and Hudson, London.
- Simington, R.C. (ed.) 1940 The Civil Survey A.D. 1654–1656, County of Meath. Volume 5, Irish Manuscripts Commission, Dublin.
- Simms. A. 1988 The Geography of Irish manors: The examples of the Llanthony cells of Duleek in Co. Meath. In J. Bradley (ed.), Settlement and society in medieval Ireland: studies presented to Francis Xavier Martin, 291–325. Boethius Press, Kilkenny.
- Sketchfab.com (The Discovery Programme) at sketchfab.com/3d-models/beaubec-monks-residence-co-meath-c4929164c59e4a2a9311678910 551f37.
- Smith, B. 1999 Colonisation and conquest in medieval Ireland: the English in Louth, 1170–1330. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Smith, B. 2003 *The register of Nicholas Fleming, Archbishop of Armagh* 1404–16. Irish Manuscripts Commission, Dublin.
- Smith, B. 2013 Crisis and survival in late medieval Ireland: the English of Louth and their neighbours, 1330–1450. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Smith, D.M. and London, V.C.M. 2001 The heads of religious houses: England and Wales, II, 1216–1377. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Smithhurst, P. 1987 *The cutlery industry*. Shire Albums, London.
- Smythe, J. 2012 Breaking ground: an overview of pits and pit-digging in Neolithic Ireland. In H. Anderson-Whymark and J. Thomas (eds), *Regional perspectives on Neolithic pit deposition: beyond the mundane*, 13–27. Neolithic Studies Group Seminar Papers 12, Oxbow Books, Oxford.
- Southgate Associates 2020 Unpublished report on Bey More, Co. Meath, November 2020. Southgate Associates, Cork.
- Sparkes, I.G. 1976 *Old horseshoes*. Shire Albums, London.
- Stace, C. 1997 *New flora of the British Isles*. 2nd edition, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Stafford, E. 2012 00E0914 Lagavooren 7, County Meath. Unpublished excavation report, IAC Archaeology and Transport Infrastructure Ireland, available at repository.dri.ie/catalog/1j92vp21j.
- Stalley, R. 1987 *The Cistercian monasteries of Ireland*. Yale University Press, London.
- Stevens, C. and Fuller, D. 2012 Did Neolithic farming fail?: the case for a Bronze Age agricultural revolution in the British Isles. *Antiquity* **86** (333), 707–22.

- Stika, H.-P. 1996 Traces of a possible Celtic brewery in Eberdingen-Hochdorf, Kreis Ludwigsburg, southwest Germany. *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* **5** (1), 81–8.
- Stokes, W. and Strachan, J. 1903 *Thesaurus palaeohibernicus Volume II*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Stout, G. 2002 *Newgrange and the bend of the Boyne*. Cork University Press, Cork.
- Stout, G. 2015 The Cistercian grange: a medieval farming system. In M. Murphy and M. Stout (eds), *Agriculture and settlement in Ireland*, 28–68. Four Courts Press, Dublin.
- Stout, G. 2016 The abbey and port of St Maria, Dunbrody, Co. Wexford: an architectural study. In I.W. Doyle and B. Browne (eds), *Medieval Wexford: essays in memory of Billy Colfer*, 97–123. Four Courts Press, Dublin.
- Stout, G. 2018 De Bello Becco: a French foundation in the Boyne Valley. *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society* **29** (2), 194–204.
- Stout, G. and Stout, M. 2016 *The Bective Abbey project, Co. Meath: excavations* 2009–12. Wordwell, Dublin.
- Stout, G. and Stout, M. 2020 Excavations in the time of Coronavirus. *Archaeology Ireland* **34** (4), 14–18.
- Stout, G. and Stout, M. 2022 Excavation of a multiperiod site at Stalleen, Co. Meath, by Mandy Stephens: research in the Brú na Bóinne World Heritage Site. Chapel Press, Julianstown, Co. Meath.
- Stout, G. and Stout, M. 2021 Excavations at Beaubec, Beymore, Co. Meath (2019–20) – a preliminary report. *Riocht na Midhe* **32**, 14–38.
- Stout, M. 2023 *The Irish ringfort*. Reprint, Four Courts Press, Dublin.
- Stout, M. 2023 *Early medieval Ireland* 431–1169. Revised edition, Wordwell, Dublin.
- Strayer, J.R. 1959 A forged charter of Henry II for Bival. *Speculum* **34** (2), 230–7.
- Stuijts, I. 2005 Wood and charcoal identifications. In M. Gowen, J. Ó Néill and M. Phillips (eds), *The Lisheen Mine archaeological project 1996–8*, 137–85. Margaret Gowen & Co. Ltd Transactions 2, Wordwell, Bray.
- Sweetman, H.S. (ed.) 1875 Calendar of documents relating to Ireland, 1171–1251. Public Records Office, London.
- Sweetman, H.S. (ed.) 1881 *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, 1293–1301. Public Records Office, London.
- Sweetman, H.S. (ed.) 1886 Calendar of documents relating to Ireland, 1302–1307. Public Records Office, London.
- Sweetman, P.D. 1978 Archaeological excavations at Trim Castle, Co. Meath, 1971–4. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy 78 (6), 127–98.
- Sweetman, P.D. 1984 Archaeological excavations at Shop Street, Drogheda, Co. Louth. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 84C (8), 171–224.
- Sweetman, P.D. 1985 A Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age pit circle at Newgrange, Co. Meath. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **85C**, 195–221.

- Sweetman, P.D. 1987 Excavations of a Late Neolithic/ early Bronze Age site at Newgrange, Co. Meath. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **87C**, 283–98.
- Sweetman, P.D. 1998 The hall-house in Ireland. *Archaeology Ireland* **12** (3), 13–16.
- Sweetman, P.D. 2003 The hall-house in Ireland. In J.R. Kenyon and K. O'Conor (eds), *The medieval castle in Ireland and Wales: essays in honour of Jeremy Knight*, 121–32. Four Courts Press, Dublin.
- Taylor, M. 1981 *Wood in archaeology*. Shire Publications, Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire.
- Teichert, M. 1975 Osteometrische Untersuchungen zur Berechnung der Widerristhöhe bei Schafen. In A.T. Clason (ed.), Archaeozoological studies, Amsterdam, North-Holland, 51–69. Elsevier, Amsterdam.
- Thomas, R. 2005 Perceptions versus reality: changing attitudes towards pets in medieval and post-medieval England. In A. Pluskowski (ed.), *Just skin and bones? New perspectives on human/animal relations in the historic past*, 95–104. BAR International Series 1410, BAR Publishing, Oxford.
- Thomas, R. and Johannsen, N. 2011 Articular depressions in domestic cattle phalanges and their archaeological relevance. *International Journal of Palaeopathology* **1**, 43–54.
- Thompson, W.N. 1906–8 *The register of John de Halton, bishop of Carlisle, A.D.*1292–1324. 2 vols. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Kendal.
- Thornton, D.E. 2000 Names within names: hagiophoric and toponymic anthroponymy in early medieval Ireland. In K.S.B. Keats-Rohan and C. Settipani (eds), *Onomastique et Parenté dans l'Occident medieval: Prosopographica et Genealogica II*, 267–82. Unit for Prosopographical Research, Oxford.
- Thornton, D.E. 2021 *Locus, sanctus et virtus*: Monastic surnaming in late medieval and early Tudor England reviewed. *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies* **10**, 211–46.
- Thornton, D.E. 2023 Within and beyond the Pale: who were the Irish Cistercians? Unpublished paper delivered at the International Medieval Congress, Leeds, 3 July 2023.
- Thornton, D.E. forthcoming The last will and testament of Diarmaid Ó Conchobhair, prior of Cluain Tuaiscirt na Sionna. *Irish Historical Studies*.
- Tierney, J. and Hannon, M. 1997 Plant remains. In M. Hurley, Ó. Scully, and S. McCutcheon, *Late Viking Age and medieval Waterford excavations* 1986–1992, 854–93. Waterford Corporation, Waterford.
- Tottenham, C.E. 1954 *Coleoptera. Staphylinidae, Section (a) Piestinae to Euaesthetinae*. Handbooks for the identification of British Insects, IV, 8 (a), Royal Entomological Society of London.
- Townsend, P. 2019 Creative states of mind; psychoanalysis and the artist's process. Routledge,

Abingdon-on-Thames, Oxfordshire.

- Tresham, E. 1828 Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Calendarium Hen. II–Hen. VII. RCI, Dublin.
- Valamoti, S.M., Marinova, E., Heiss, A.G., Hristova, I., Petridou, C., Popova, T., Michou, S., Papadopoulou, L., Chrysostomou, P., Darcque, P., Grammenos, D., Iliev, S., Kotsos, S., Koukouli-Chrysanthaki, C., Leshtakov, K., Malamidou, D., Merousis, N., Nikolov, V., Nikov, K., Panayotova, K., Papanthimou, A., Popov, H., Stefani, L., Tsirtsoni, Z. and Ruseva, T.K. 2019 Prehistoric cereal foods of south-eastern Europe: an archaeobotanical exploration. *Journal of Archaeological Science* **104**, 97–113.
- van der Veen, M. 1989 Charred grain assemblages from Roman-period corn driers in Britain. *Archaeological Journal* **146** (1), 302–19.
- Van Wijngaarden-Bakker, L. 1974 The animal remains from the Beaker settlement at Newgrange, Co. Meath: first report. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **74C** (11), 313–83.
- Van Wijngaarden-Bakker, L. 1986 The animal remains from the Beaker settlement at Newgrange, Co. Meath: final report. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **86C** (2), 17–111.
- van Zeist, W. and Woldring, H. 2000 Plum (*Prunus domestica L.*) varieties in late- and post-medieval Groningen: the archaeobotanical evidence. *Palaeohistoria* **39/40**, 563–76.
- Veale, E.M. 2003 1, "Costly thy habit", the English fur trade in the Later Middle Ages. London Record Society, London.
- Veach, C.T. 2009 A question of timing: Walter de Lacy's seisin of Meath 1189–94. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **109C**, 165–94.
- Veach, C.T. 2010 King and magnate in medieval Ireland: Walter de Lacy, King Richard and King John. *Irish Historical Studies* **37** (146), 179–202.
- Veach C.T. 2015 Lordship in four realms: the Lacy family, 1166–1241. Manchester University Press, Manchester.
- Vincent, J-B. 2014 The Cistercian abbeys of Normandy: conception, organisation and evolution, 12th-14th century. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Rouen.
- Vincent, J-B. 2015 The Cistercian abbeys of Normandy (twelfth–fourteenth century): design, organisation and evolution. Online bulletin du centre d'études médiévales, Auxerre at journals. openedition.org/cem/13918.
- Vincent, N. 2013 Norman charters from English sources: antiquaries, archives and rediscovery of the Anglo-Norman Past. Pipe Roll Society, London.
- Vincent, N. 2020 The letters and charters of Henry II, king of England 1154–1189. 6 vols, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Vitt, V.O. 1952 The horses of the kurgans of Pazyryk. *Journal of Soviet Archaeology* **16**, 163–206.

- von den Driesch, A. 1976 *A guide to the measurement of animal bones from archaeological sites*. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
- von den Driesch, A. and Boessneck, J. 1974 Kritische Anmerkungen zur Widerristhöherberechnung aus Langermassen vorund fruhgeschichtlicher Tierknochen. *Saugetierkundliche Mitteilungen* **22**, 325–48.
- Waddell, C. (ed.) 2000 *Cistercian lay brothers: twelfth century usages with related texts*. Abbaye de Cîteaux, Cîteaux, France.
- Wallace, P. 2016 Viking Dublin: the Wood Quay *excavations*. Irish Academic Press, Newbridge, Co. Kildare.
- Ward-Perkins, J.B. 1940 London Museum medieval catalogue. London Museum, London.
- Watts, D.C. 2007 *Dictionary of plant lore*. Academic Press, London.
- Went, A.E.J. 1948 The ling in Irish commerce. The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland 78 (2), 119–26.
- Went, A.E.J. 1962 Historical notes on the oyster fisheries of Ireland. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **62C**, 195–223.
- Whelan, K. 2011 Towns and villages. In F.H.A. Allen, K. Whelan and M. Stout (eds), *Atlas of the Irish rural landscape*, 56–65. Cork University Press, Cork
- White, C. 2005 American artifacts of personal adornment, 1680–1820: a guide to identification and interpretation. AltaMira Press, Lanham, MD.
- Whitehead, R. 2003 *Buckles* 1250–1800. Greenlight Publishing, Essex.
- Williams, D.H. 1990 *Atlas of Cistercian Lands in Wales*. University of Wales Press, Cardiff.
- Williams, D.H. 2001 *The Welsh Cistercians*. Gracewing, Leominster.
- Williams, D.H. 2014 Fasti Cistercienses Cambrenses. *Archaeologia Cambrensis* **163**, 185–235.
- Winder, J. 2017 Oysters in archaeology. In M.J. Allen (ed.), Molluscs in archaeology: methods, approaches and applications, 238–58. Oxbow books, Oxford.
- Woodman, P.C. 1978 *The Mesolithic in Ireland*. British Archaeological Reports, British Series 58, BAR Publishing, Oxford.

- Woodman, P.C. 1987 The impact of resource availability on lithic industrial traditions in prehistoric Ireland. In P. Rowley-Conwy, M. Zvelebil and H.P. Blankholm (eds), *Mesolithic northwest Europe: recent trends 1987*, 138–46. Department of Archaeology and Prehistory, University of Sheffield, Sheffield.
- Woodman, P.C., Finlay, N. and Anderson, E. 2006 The archaeology of a collection: the Keiller-Knowles collection of the National Museum of Ireland. Wordwell, Bray.
- Woodman, P., McCarthy, M. and Monaghan, N. 1997 The Irish Quaternary fauna project. *Quaternary Science Reviews* **16**, 129–59.
- Wren, J. 1997 The roof tiles. In M.F. Hurley and Ó.M.B. Scully, *Late Viking Age and Medieval Waterford: Excavations* 1986–1992, 361–5. Waterford Corporation, Waterford.
- Wren, J. 2004 The roof tiles. In A. Hayden, Excavation of the medieval river frontage at Arran Quay, Dublin. In S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin V*, 198–9. Dublin.
- Wren, J. 2006a Medieval and post-medieval roof tiles. In C. McCutcheon, *Medieval pottery from Wood Quay, Dublin: the 1974–6 waterfront excavations*, 177–95. Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.
- Wren, J. 2006b Roof tiles. In M. McMahon, *St Audoen's Church, Cornmarket, Dublin: archaeology and architecture,* 64–7. The Stationery Office, Dublin.
- Wren, J. 2010 Roof tiles. In A. Lynch, *Tintern Abbey*, *Co. Wexford: Cistercians and Cocloughs, excavations* 1982–2007, 138–44. National Monuments Service, Dublin.
- Wright, N.L. 2019 Money talks. *Archaeology Ireland* 33, 6–23.
- Zakin, H.J. 1979 *French Cistercian grisaille glass.* Garland Publishing, New York.
- Zeiler, J.T. 2010 Hunting the hunters: owls and birds of prey as part of the falconers' game bag. In W. Prummel, J.T. Zeiler and D.C. Brinkhuizen (eds), Birds in archaeology: proceedings of the sixth meeting of the ICAZ bird working group in Groningen (23–27 August 2008), 163–8. Barkhuis, Eelde, Netherlands.

Over eight hundred years ago a small community of French Cistercian monks left De Bello Becco Abbey in Normandy to establish a farm in the Boyne Valley, on lands granted to them by the Anglo-Norman Lord, Hugh de Lacy. This book discusses the results of three seasons of a research excavation on the site of this monastic farm in Bey More in Co. Meath. It traces the history of the grange and its French monastic community. The uncovered remains of their monastic residence and farm buildings are described and the architectural influences from both home and abroad are examined.

Reports from eleven specialists examine in detail the finds from the excavation, including the large environmental and faunal samples. This analysis provides an insight into Cistercian farming practices and daily life. The location of the farm near the market town and international port of Drogheda was key to its prosperity. This book is essential reading for those interested in monastic landscapes and medieval farming in the Boyne Valley. It is a further contribution to the growing body of evidence on the Cistercian estates of medieval Ireland.



