

The archaeology of medieval James's Street, Dublin

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INTRODUCTION

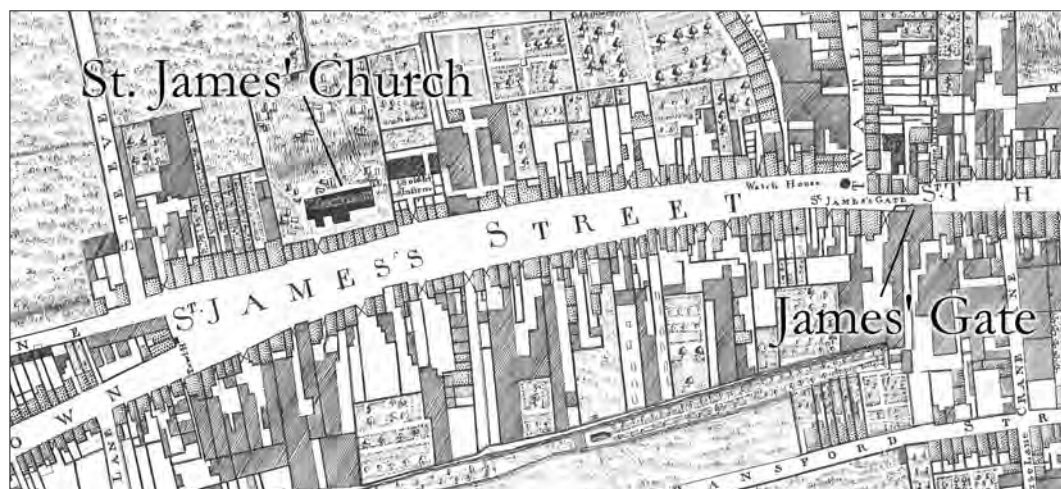
For such a significant and long-established thoroughfare, James's Street is not well documented in Dublin's historical records. The earliest maps of Dublin, that by John Speed in 1610, crops James's Street entirely. There are no surviving depictions of James's Gate, today synonymous with Guinness' brewery, which formed the outermost defensive point west of the city in the late medieval and early post-medieval periods.

Archaeological investigations along James's Street in 2014–15, however, revealed tantalizing glimpses of a busy urban streetscape during the medieval period. In front of St James's church excavations discovered an exceptionally well-preserved street surface, at least part of which can be dated to the late twelfth century, and which may have formed an extramural market square. Excavations further east along the street identified waste from a roof-tile manufactory that operated during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This tilerly appears to have produced most of Dublin's medieval roof-tiles until the fifteenth century, and was situated off a now-gone street called 'Crocker's Lane', which extended further west (outside the Bars) than previously thought.

Archaeological investigations at James's Gate found the remains of post-medieval structures. No definitive gate-like remains were identified, but the archaeology suggests that the gate was not fully demolished in the first half of the eighteenth century, despite a documentary reference to that effect (see below). The medieval gate proved archaeologically elusive, but evidence from a ditched watercourse constricting James's Street in the medieval period suggests that there was a bridge at James's Gate. Evidence for the widening of the road and the rerouting of watercourses in the late medieval period may be associated with the construction of masonry structures either side of James's Gate.

BACKGROUND TO THE WORK AND METHODOLOGY

The archaeological work described in this paper (Licence 13E401) was carried out during monitoring of groundworks along James's Street and Thomas Street, Dublin 8, in 2014 and 2015. The works for the scheme (to provide a Quality Bus Network) involved excavations for new services, new pavements, lampposts and an improved bus lane. The majority of the excavations consisted



6.1 Rocque's Map of Dublin 1756 showing James's Street

of narrow, shallow trenches cut along the edge of the pavement on either side of the road. Initial work, which took place in 2011 and 2014, catalogued nineteenth-century street furniture along the route: granite kerbs and historic street surfaces (cobble and setts), bollards, post-boxes, railings, cellar drops and light-wells. Coal cellars, many still in use, were recorded and assessed. Historic street furniture along the route was lifted and replaced, or reused elsewhere.

Archaeological monitoring of sub-surface works was carried out along the eastern half of James's Street (from the junction with Bow Lane to James's Gate and the route of the LUAS red line), the western half of Thomas Street (from James's Gate to the junction with Thomas Court/Bridgefoot Street), and sporadically further east along Thomas Street to the John's Lane junction. Archaeological work was also carried out along parts of Bow Lane, Watling Street and Bridgefoot Street.

The recording of archaeological deposits and features was organized by plot-number as shown on the 1847–8 25-inch-scale Ordnance Survey maps. This recording system was devised in order to best record the archaeological features identified, most of which correlated with the nineteenth-century plots directly. These maps provide individual numbers for every plot and were compiled at a time when the plots along the streets were smaller and more numerous than today, thus allowing for a greater degree of granularity in recording within the James's Street Study Area: plot numbers begin at no. 30 (to the southwest at the Bow Lane junction) and run to 83 at James's Gate, then run from 84 across the road on the northern side of James's Gate to 134 at the junction of James's Street and Steeven's Lane.

MEDIEVAL JAMES'S STREET: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

It has been suggested that James's Street runs along an ancient road known as the *Slighe Mhór*, part of a pre-Viking road network across Ireland. The axis of this route may have been linked to the postulated settlement of Áth Cliath on the south bank of the Liffey before the arrival of the Vikings (Clarke 1998, 50; Clarke 2002, 2). The focus of the ninth- and tenth-century Viking settlement was further to the east, and by the time Dublin was walled in the eleventh century, James's Street was outside the city (Clarke 1990; 2002, 2–4; Halpin 2005, 100–06; Simpson 2000; Simpson 2005, 59). Following the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, and throughout the medieval period, James's Street was never enclosed by the city walls (Clarke 2002, 7–9), and was considered suburban until the seventeenth century (Elliott 1990, 71).

During the Anglo-Norman period, James's Street and Thomas Street combined were known as 'great street' leading to Kilmainham (Clarke 1998, 50). The first documentary reference to James's Street is in the early thirteenth-century register of St Thomas's abbey (cited in Clarke 2002, 14) and there is a 1584 reference to 'St James's fields ... near the old bridge leading to the mill of Kilmainham' (perhaps Bow Bridge) (McCready 1892, 107). There are also a number of early seventeenth-century references to James's Street (Clarke 2002, 14).

The earliest church on James's Street is St James's church (Church of Ireland) on the north side of the street. Documentary sources record that the church was built in 1185–92 and, according to the register of St Thomas's abbey, was granted to the Augustinian canons some years later (Clarke 2002, 7). The construction of St James's church in the twelfth century probably marks the establishment of the parish boundaries of St James's and St Catherine's by Thomas's abbey. The church was rebuilt in the eighteenth century, and again in the mid-nineteenth century. It lost its spire in 1948, and has recently been converted into a distillery. Two other churches with the same name are also located on James's Street. These are the c.eighteenth-century former Roman Catholic chapel at James's Gate (now Bank of Ireland) and the mid-nineteenth-century Catholic church on the south side of the street.

James's Gate is mentioned by documentary sources in 1485 and 1555, and as a tower over a gate in 1599 (Clarke 2002, 22). It is depicted on maps in 1610, 1673 and 1728. The gate formed part of the city defences erected during the Confederate Wars in the mid-seventeenth century, as depicted on the Down Survey map. A reference in the assembly rolls of the city of Dublin from 1733–4 describes James's Gate as a nuisance and requests its removal, the stones to be put to the city's use (*CARD*, v, 126; cited in Thomas 1992, ii, 84). It is generally assumed to have been removed at this point, but it is not obviously gone on Rocque's map of 1756 and McCready has identified a 1786 reference to the gate being widened (McCready 1892, 107). Another important medieval

structure on James's Street was the city cistern, which was a large water reservoir supplying drinking water to medieval Dublin (Clarke 1998, 50). A medieval aqueduct, known as the 'high pipe' ran from the cistern at James's Street eastwards into the city (*ibid.*)

James's Street lies within the zone of archaeological potential for the city of Dublin, and several recorded monuments lie along the route of the groundworks. These are: St James's church and graveyard (DU018-020346); James's Gate (DU018-020001) – which is also a national monument – a bridge to the west of James's Gate (DU018-020233), presumably crossing the watercourse (DU018-020672) running north from the medieval city cistern (DU018-020055); an eighteenth-century smock windmill called St Patrick's Tower (DU018-020323) which was originally part of Roe's Distillery; and the post-Reformation Catholic chapel dating to the 1740s mentioned above (DU018-020494). With the exception of the windmill and cistern, the archaeological programme identified (and preserved) archaeological evidence associated with all of these monuments.

Previous archaeological investigations on James's Street have identified medieval activity. At Nos 30–36 Cryerhall found medieval burgrave plots from the mid-thirteenth century and a boundary defining fields that appeared to be in use from the thirteenth to seventeenth centuries (01E1034). A large mid-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century tannery (or leather-making) complex was also excavated to the rear of Nos 42–3. At Nos 141–3 Meenan and Lynch identified a medieval pit truncated by a post-medieval industrial complex (99E144). Monitoring by Kehoe for the Bank of Ireland at 84–7 James's Street identified post-medieval infill raising the level of the street (02E118). Collins' investigations at St James's church (14E0129) identified the remains of the earlier pre-nineteenth-century church building, human remains, and eighteenth-century house remains at Nos 123–5.

GENERAL OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS

209 archaeological features were identified during the works, of which 116 were on James's Street and 93 were on Thomas Street. Leaving aside the Thomas Street features (which included medieval settlement evidence on the southern side of the street near Thomas's abbey), the James's Street features dated to between the twelfth and nineteenth centuries.

One of the key features identified was the patchy remnants of the early eighteenth-century cobbled street, 300mm to 350mm below the present ground level, as this provided a known date with which to interpret other features sealed by it, or cutting it. Other post-medieval street surfaces were identified above and below this, and five limestone-sett former off-street lanes were identified. Twenty-four brick-built coal cellars (of which fourteen were

relatively intact) were identified and recorded. Two light-wells or goods drops relating to now demolished (but post-1700) buildings, four brick or masonry drains, and one large brick culvert were documented. Many other wall fragments were identified, often relating to the former façades of Georgian buildings now replaced by the nineteenth-century 'areas' of the Guinness offices to the southeast of James's Street. Building façades and foundations at James's Gate were also found. Much of this archaeological evidence can help date the construction of the historic buildings currently lining the street. Other features recorded included a small truncated section of the late seventeenth-century wooden water pipe system (in front of 106 James's Street), post-medieval ditches, and pits, including a tanning pit in front of 52–3 James's Street.

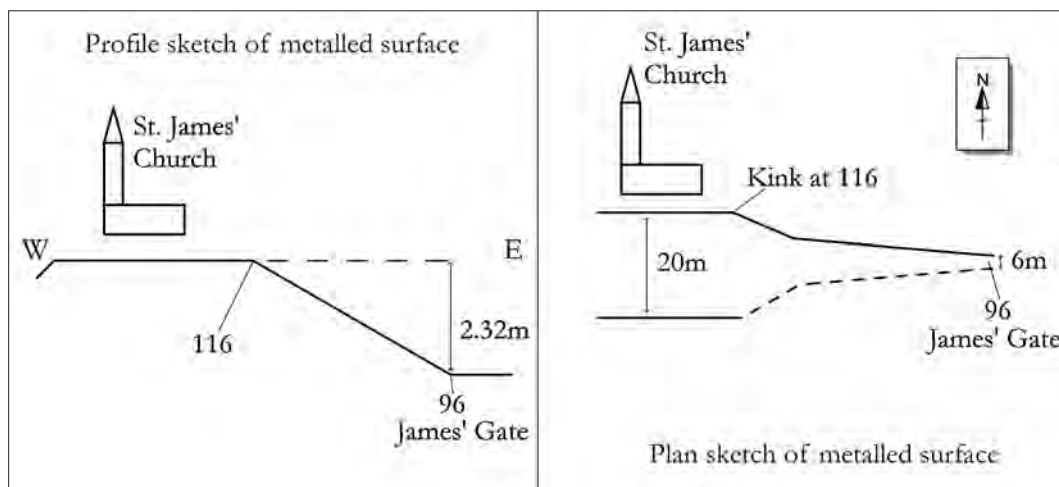
The remainder of this paper will focus on the medieval features identified on James's Street – a metallated surface, two ditches, a small ditch or pit, a former stream course, and a posthole – and a number of post-medieval walls and a ditch at James's Gate.

DESCRIPTION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL FEATURES

Metallated surface

The most surprising archaeological discovery on James's Street was a 'metallated' (meaning cobbled with pebbles) street surface, which survived in good condition as shallow as 250mm below the pavement in front of St James's church. It was formed from small pebbles (*c.*20mm diameter) well-beaten into place, with patchy sections of cobbling (*c.*70mm diameter) that probably indicate repair. At 45–7 James's Street the surface incorporated fragments of red baked clay. At 116–17 James's Street, Dublin-type medieval pottery was crushed into the surface. The longest continuous length of the surface identified was a 31m stretch, exposed in a narrow trench only 200mm in width between 119 and 126 James's Street, below the pavement in front of St James's church. The highest point of the metallated surface was directly in front of the church on the north side of the road, and from here it sloped down to the west, east and south. A slight dip in the surface just west of the existing entrance may mark the medieval entrance to the church, and this is supported by eighteenth-century cartographic sources.

A second section of the metallated surface was exposed further east, in front of the present Guinness Medical Centre (116–17 James's Street). This exposed section, measuring 2m by 1m, had a straight edge along its northern side at an angle (NW–SE) to the present frontage alignment. There was no kerb, but a gritty sub-surface layer directly below the surface continued to the north indicating the metallated surface had not been truncated. This unusual angle may either suggest that the metallated surface was widening just before St



6.2 Sketch plan and profile of metallated surface.

James's church, and/or that the edge of the street was kinked at this point. Further trenches to the east identified the same metallated surface at various points almost as far as James's Gate (no. 96). The surface was also identified on the southern side of James's Street in four locations. The metallated surface was identified both below the pavement and below the existing road. In a number of cases (e.g., at 49–50 James's Street) the metallated surface was deeper where it was identified below the street, suggesting it sloped down from the edges of the street. In two locations the metallated surface was identified in the centre of the modern road. One of these areas was in front of the parochial hall below a traffic island in the middle of the street. Here the metallated surface was at a slightly higher level than at its northern edge, suggesting a slightly raised area in the centre of the road, perhaps dividing Bow Lane and James's Street West.

Assuming all these patches of metallating are from the same surface, the data above can be used to recreate the form and level of the metallated street. The highest point of the surface was directly outside St James's church. It remained relatively level to the east and west of the church, until 116 James's Street. From no. 116, it sloped downwards sharply as it ran eastwards towards James's Gate. Between the highest point outside the church, and the easternmost point at which the surface was identified in 96 James's Street, the surface fell by 2.32m, which is a considerable drop. The width of the metallated street surface showed considerable variation. At the east end of James's Street the metallated surface appeared to span a relatively narrow road (based on the location of a medieval ditch described below), but directly outside the front of St James's church the surface spanned a width of at least 20m. This is equivalent to the modern street of two lanes in each direction separated by a traffic island. It seems extraordinarily wide for a medieval street.

Table 6.1 Location of metalled street surface on James's Street

Plot number	Depth below pavement	OD level
SOUTH SIDE OF ROAD		
32	650mm	16.350m OD
45–47	850mm	16.074m OD
48–49	850mm	15.835m OD
49–50	970mm	15.432m OD
CENTRE OF ROAD		
54 (Parochial Hall)	620–700mm	15.660m OD
NORTH SIDE OF ROAD		
96	540mm	14.550m OD
104	790mm	14.774m OD
105	950–1020mm	14.600m OD
107	850mm	14.579m OD
110	990mm	15.400m OD
116–17	250mm	15.964m OD
119	00mm	16.124m OD
120	500mm	16.358m OD
122 (James's church)	200mm	16.873m OD
124	800mm	16.305m OD

The changes in levels of the metalled surface along James's Street (see table 6.1) suggest three things. First, the medieval topography was bumpier than today. James's church was located on a more prominent hill and the road ran down the hill towards the city of Dublin more steeply than today. Second, the shallowness of the medieval surface at St James's church, where it comes almost up to pavement level and then disappears, must mean it was truncated, probably from levelling during a post-medieval phase of rebuilding of St James's church. Thirdly, the surface is relatively level in front of St James's church, and only starts to slope steeply downhill at the Guinness Medical Centre (no. 116). This point of slope change coincides with a kink in the road and the narrowing of the medieval street from c. 20m in width outside the church to a narrower typical street width towards James's Gate.

In most of the areas where it was identified, the metalled surface ran below a later cobbled street surface that was dated to the early eighteenth century, on the basis of being cut by the cellars of structures depicted on Rocque's map of

Dublin and early eighteenth-century pottery sealed below it. Between 119 and 126 James's Street the surface was covered by an organic layer containing animal bone, shell, brick fragments, late seventeenth-century pottery and early clay pipe fragments. A similar layer was identified above the metallated surface at 116–17, with inclusions of Saintonge and of post-medieval pottery sherds, and again at 107, with red-brick directly over the surface. Almost everywhere the surface was laid directly on natural subsoil, except at 45–7, 88–95, and 116–17 James's Street. A hand-excavated test-pit through the surface at 116–17 James's Street identified a loose gravel deposit 150mm thick containing animal bone and oyster shell overlying natural subsoil, interpreted as a sub-surface, which extended north past the edge of the metallated surface. At the point where the metallated surface ran over this deposit, thirteenth-century medieval pottery was found crushed into the fabric of the surface and incorporated into the metallating.

This evidence suggests that parts of the metallated surface were in place from at least the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, and remained in use with repairs and resurfacing until the late seventeenth century. Significantly, no evidence for an earlier surface was identified anywhere along James's Street, and so this surface may represent the earliest formal street surface, or the result of a highly destructive major resurfacing episode in the high medieval period.

Truncated pit or ditch at no. 116

At 116–17 James's Street (outside the Guinness Medical Centre), a small hand-excavated test-pit through the metallated surface uncovered an earlier feature cut into natural subsoil. The feature is likely to be the edge of a ditch, or of a pit extending northwards. Only the edge of the cut feature was exposed. The upper fill of the feature contained a concentrated deposit of medieval pottery sherds, which had been sealed by the metallated surface. Funding by Dublin City Council allowed for detailed analysis by Clare McCutcheon of the pottery from the sealed feature. The assemblage comprised 132 fragments of Dublin-type coarseware jugs, 46 sherds of Dublin-type cooking ware cooking jars, and three sherds of wheel-thrown Dublin-type ware. Most (98.5%) of the pottery sherds were handmade, and McCutcheon concluded that the assemblage as a whole dated to the late twelfth century. She suggested that the three sherds of wheel-thrown ware may mark the introduction of the wheel to Dublin pottery-production at this time.

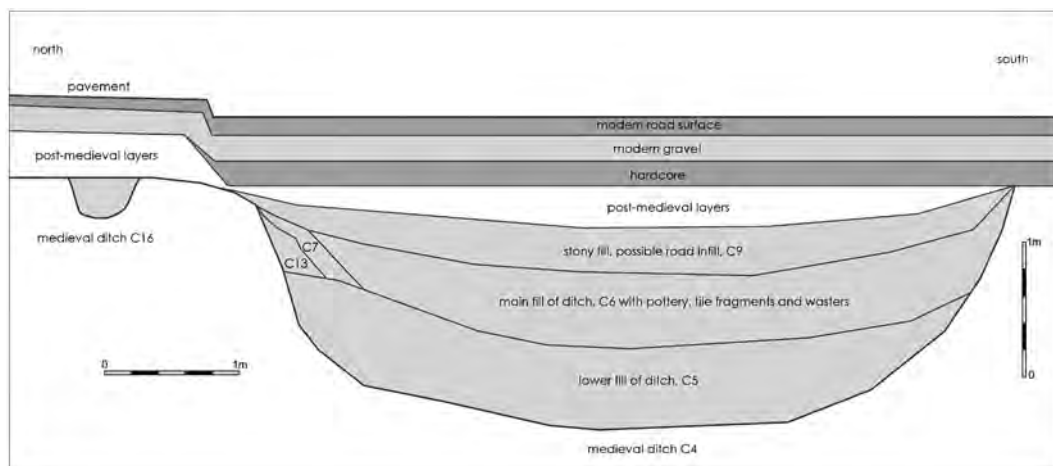
The infilling of this feature by the late twelfth-century ceramic assemblage may have been directly associated with the construction of the metallated surface. Whether it represents the edge of a ditch or a pit, the stratigraphic sequence indicates the widening of this section of street between 116 and *c.* 126 James's Street in the late twelfth century. The late twelfth-century date is significant because it matches the recorded construction date of St James's church, *i.e.*, 1185–92.

Large medieval ditch

The largest of the medieval ditches identified during archaeological works ran along the north side of James's Street to the west of the junction of Watling Street. This ditch was situated in front of nos 88–95 James's Street beneath the pavement and road carriageway. It presumably extended further to the east and west. This ditch was only revealed in certain places and no full section across it was opened during the works; however it appeared to be a minimum of 50m in length, 5m in width and 1.35m in depth. It cut an early natural stream course and may have continued past James's Gate onto the south side of Thomas Street, where a similar medieval ditch was identified. The main upper fill of the ditch contained very large amounts thirteenth- and fourteenth-century pottery, floor tiles, large crested roof tiles, and tile wasters. A sample of the material was analysed by Joanna Wren. Although some medieval tiles were identified, 68% of the assemblage was found to be composed of tile wasters, bricks from kiln walls and substantial amounts of unformed fingered clay that may have been used to form a temporary roof to kilns during firing. All the waste material was from a single ceramic fabric, which closely resembles Dublin fabrics 2 and 3 (DT2 and DT3). The crest forms and decoration used



6.3 Medieval rooftile from ditch.



6.4 Profile of large medieval ditch.

on the James's Street tiles were almost identical to those found on tiles in DT2 elsewhere in Dublin (Wren, pers. comm., 2015). ICP analysis to positively identify the tile fabric as DT2 is currently being undertaken.

Above this, distinct layers of packed stones and grit containing broken tile fragments, medieval pottery and some intrusive post-medieval pottery, represented the final backfilling of the ditch and provided a secure sub-surface for the overlying roadway, which appears to have been widened over the top of the ditch. The top of the packed-stone surface sealing the ditch (15.082m OD) outside 93–4 James's Street correlates with the level of the medieval metallised surface described above. Changes in the level of the packed stone over the ditch may indicate the road sloping down to a central open drain. This was also noticed outside St James's church, and along the edge of Thomas Street. A small square-cut posthole was cut through the backfilled ditch and contained one sherd of medieval pottery. It was located 1740mm in front of 93 James's Street and may mark the location of a signpost or something similar. This was the only feature identified at this level, and is likely to predate the eighteenth century though it cannot be positively dated to the medieval period.

Paleo-channel

A cut feature or natural stream course was identified in front of 89–90 James's Street, 1090mm below ground level (14.190m OD). This had been mostly cut away by the later medieval ditch. From the small amount of the feature exposed, it appeared to run north–south across James's Street and measure at least 3.1m in width and a minimum of 310mm in depth. The sandy fill was sterile and this feature appeared to represent a natural stream course or paleo-channel, later replaced by a formalized ditched watercourse.

Small medieval ditch

A small medieval ditch running east–southeast to west–northwest was identified 600mm (14.50m OD) below the pavement in front of 88–9 James’s Street, along the northern side of the street near the junction with Watling Street. It measured 4.5m long (truncated at both ends by later features), 550mm wide and 300mm deep, and was cut into natural subsoil. It contained frequent medieval pottery, oyster and cockle shell, charcoal, roof-slate and animal bone. This may represent a drain or small ditch that defined the northern side of the late medieval James’s Street at James’s Gate, following the widening of the road represented by the backfilling of the larger ditch.

Post-medieval ditch at James’s Gate

On the south side of James’s Gate (outside 82 James’s Street) a stratigraphic sequence that was different and much deeper than elsewhere was noted during monitoring for a new lamppost. The medieval street surface was not present in this area, and the depth of the stratigraphy indicated that a probably north–south ditch crossed the road at this point, though neither edge was identified. The lowest layers of the ditch contained organic material with frequent redbrick building rubble and two sherds of Dublin-type ware. The brick was very thin, and seemed to be of seventeenth-century date. The base of the ditch (1.6m in depth from the level of the current pavement) was cobbled, but was clearly too deep relative to the medieval street surface to represent a road. The upper fills of the ditch comprised layers and lenses of redeposited boulder clay and organic dumps with demolition building rubble, reaching to the top of the ditch at 400mm below the pavement. The location of this ditch matches the parish boundary between St Catherine’s and St James’s as shown on nineteenth-century OS maps, which also runs north–south across James’s Street.

Masonry remains at James’s Gate

One of the key aims of archaeological monitoring at James’s Gate was to identify large masonry structures of medieval date extending into the street, which could represent the remains of the former defensive structure. Unfortunately, this turned out to be one of the only areas along James’s and Thomas Street where no medieval remains were identified. Archaeological monitoring on the north side of James’s Gate identified the walls of standard eighteenth- and nineteenth-century basements, cobbled surfaces of yards and outhouses, and sub-surface industrial and water-management structures, including the remains of a nineteenth-century smithy. The earliest features in this area were related to water management, and all were post-medieval in date.

One of the masonry walls on the north side of the street under the pavement near Watling Street was unusual. It measured 6m in length and 600mm in width, and was truncated to the east and west. In plan it looked

similar to the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century basement walls, but unlike these it showed evidence of multiple phases of raising and repair. The foundations of this wall were outset with progressively larger masonry blocks, and reached a similar depth to the eighteenth-century basement walls, but unlike them was not faced or plastered on one side, suggesting this wall was not part of a cellar. No evidence was identified to suggest that the wall was medieval in date, or that it was the foundation of a large gate or tower; but equally the wall did not resemble eighteenth-century domestic architecture. On the south side of James's Gate, just 300mm below the pavement, a small masonry structure extended out under the modern street, surviving over an area *c.* 2m by 2m across. Two small low walls and a decayed flagstone floor were recorded. A coin (too eroded to read) was found on the floor. Fragments of red brick below the paved floor indicated a post-medieval date for the structure.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF ST JAMES'S MARKET SQUARE

The medieval metalled surface described above appeared to form a relatively flat area on the crest of the hill in front of St James's church, stretching across 20m in width and 120m in length from no. 117 James's Street in the east to Steeven's Gate apartments (*c.* no. 126) in the west. At its western end, James's Street forks, with one branch continuing as James's Street/Mount Brown and the other running down Bow Lane to Kilmainham. Howard Clarke (1998, 50) has suggested that a cross may have marked this junction. Nothing in the modern streetscape explains why the wide flat area narrows and slopes down at its eastern end. However, archaeological evidence for the edge of the surface at an odd alignment may suggest that a former road led northeast at this point.

This is backed up by cartographic sources. A kink in James's Street at nos 116–17 is depicted on the 1848 OS map and on Rocque's 1756 map, correlating with the kink in the metalled surface. Phillip's 1685 map does not show the kink, but he depicts an empty plot next to St James's church which might correspond to it. Brooking's map of 1685 also depicts an empty plot at this location, and denotes some specialized plots situated directly opposite. De Gomme's 1673 map shows the kink, but depicts it further to the west than the later maps. De Gomme also depicts a building directly opposite the kink, which is likely to have been important (as he only marked important buildings). The oldest surviving cartographic depiction of James's Street is the Down Survey barony map of Newcastle from the 1650s. On the Down Survey, James's Street splits at Bow Lane, as it does today, but a second road junction is shown directly east of this. This unnamed second road leads from James's Street north-eastwards and connects with a street which is now gone, but which has been identified as Croker's (or Crocker's) Alley, Lane or Street (and which partially survived in the eighteenth century as Mulliniahack). This road

appears to connect with James's Street at the same location as the kink on de Gomme's late seventeenth-century map. It is therefore possible that the unusual angle of the northern edge of the metalled surface identified at 116–17 James's Street corresponds with this former road junction of James's Street and Croker's Lane. The wide and level medieval surface in front of St James's church would therefore have formed a junction of four roads, each leading out from one of its corners, with important non-domestic structures on the north (the church) and south (on de Gomme's map) side of the junction.

The assembled evidence for the size and layout of the metalled surface in front of St James's church resembles a 'square' or public assembly space rather than a street. Although there are no documentary records of a public square at this location, there are references to markets held on James's Street. An account of St James' Fair was made by Richard Stanihurst in 1577, who noted that a successful fair was held over six days from St James's Day on June 25 and attracted merchants from England, France and Flanders (cited in Clarke 2002, 27). There is a later reference to the fair in 1640 condemning the practice of the digging up of the street to erect temporary structures for the market (Crawford and Laverty 1988, 32). There are also references to St James's Fair, the 'great mart or fair, being for 'ale only' (Barnaby Rich's *Description of Ireland* (1610); cited in Clarke 2002, 27).

When was this extramural market square constructed? The pottery from within the small truncated feature sealed by the street surface indicates a construction date for at least part of the surface in the late twelfth century. That date matches with the historical 1180s date for the construction of St James's church, suggesting that the construction of the church and the establishment (or at least formalization) of a market square in front of it happened simultaneously. Considering that the parish of St James was almost certainly established by the abbey of St Thomas at this date, this could imply that the abbey also established an extramural market square. Furthermore, the sealed feature may indicate that the establishment, or formalization, of the market square encroached on land which was previously used for other functions. It is possible that the sealed feature represents the edge of a roadside boundary ditch, indicating a localized road-widening for the construction of the new urban space.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE TILERY ON CROKER'S LANE (OUTSIDE THE BARS)

Further down James's Street, about halfway between St James's church and James's Gate, the large boundary ditch defining the northern edge of the road contained large amount of tile manufacturing waste mixed with thirteenth- and fourteenth-century pottery. The tile waste is almost certainly from a single

workshop or tilery situated close to this location, probably on the north side of James's Street. Joanna Wren has noted that all the tile waste has the same fabric, which closely resembles Dublin fabrics 2 and 3 (DT2 and DT3). This finding is significant in terms of the history of tile production in the medieval town. An industry making tiles, finials and louvers in DT2 fabric began production in the early thirteenth century when the practice of employing such elaborate forms of roofing was introduced to Ireland by the Anglo-Normans. It continued in production to the early fourteenth century and possibly later. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, tiles from the DT2 and DT3 kilns accounted for most of the clay building trade in the city. Alan Hayden excavated a kiln making early thirteenth-century pottery and peg tiles from DT1 fabric at Cornmarket (excavations.ie: ref. 1992:055), and Claire Walsh excavated a kiln making late fourteenth- to fifteenth-century floor tiles and peg tiles at St Thomas's abbey in Hanbury Lane (excavations.ie: ref. 1999:206). But until now, the location of the DT2 and DT3 tile manufactory had not been identified.

Clare McCutcheon (2006, 18–27) has assessed the historical evidence for ceramic manufacture and use in medieval Dublin, and has set out the substantial historical evidence for an area of potters outside the west gate of Dublin on Crocker Street/Croker's Lane to the north of Thomas Street (ibid., 21). It is documented from 1190 as *vicus pottorum* but is also known throughout the thirteenth century as *vicus figulorum*. This street was located behind Thomas Street, in Mullinichack, in the suburbs 'outside the town's west gate – presumably because at that location the kilns would not pose a fire threat ...' (Murphy and Potterton 2010, 451). Most reconstructions of Croker's Lane have it end to the west at a gate known as Croker's Bars, directly north of James's Gate (e.g., Clarke 2002). However, the kink in the medieval street surface on James's Street suggests it extended further to the west, and Clare McCutcheon also notes that the area of potters appears to have extended west past St Thomas's parish into St James's. For example, McCutcheon notes a reference in 1469 to a message granted to Thomas Possewyk, potter, in the suburbs of Dublin, outside the Crocker's Bars in the parish of St James (McCutcheon 2006, 21).

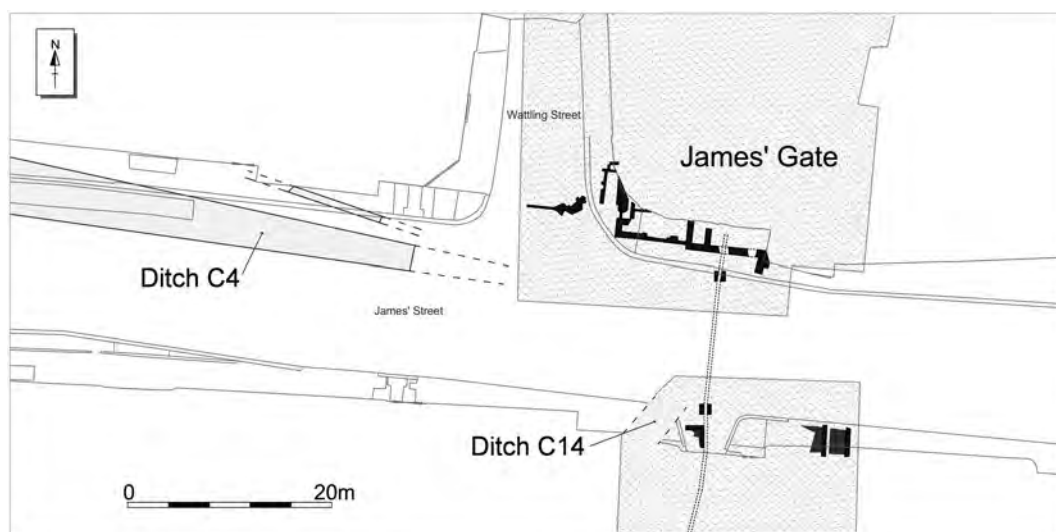
Of course this western extension of the medieval Croker's Lane outside the Bars may not have been called Croker's Lane. But now that we can probably place one of the key tile manufactories of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Dublin on it (and backing onto James's Street), the name seems appropriate. If indeed a single tilery or tilery-complex just behind James's Street is responsible for producing the majority of roof-tiles from the thirteenth to the early fifteenth century, it would be a very long-lived tilery. Wren has pointed out (2016, pers. comm.) that brickworks run by the same family were in operation from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century in Britain, and so it is conceivable that a similarly long-lived tilery operated in medieval Dublin.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF JAMES'S GATE

The archaeological evidence from James's Gate was post-medieval in date. It comprises early modern masonry structures situated either side of James's Gate, constricting the road to a width of *c.*6m across. Some of the structural remains did not resemble residential architecture, and most of the remains correlated with Rocque's eighteenth-century map of this location. No evidence for a medieval defensive structure was found (though it must be emphasized that only small areas were investigated). Rocque's map of 1756 shows a very large building on the southern side of the road (where the main entrance to the Guinness complex is today), jutting slightly out into the road, with an unusual diagonal component that could have formed part of a gate structure (and which approximately correlates to a post-medieval paved structure identified during the monitoring). Intriguingly, the diagonal line shown on Rocque's map matches the line of the parish boundary as shown on the 1850s Ordnance Survey map. That parish boundary was established by the abbey of St Thomas in the late twelfth century, and it is possible that the angled wall depicted on Rocque is set at that unusual angle in order to avoid a defensive ditch associated with James's Gate. This opens the possibility that James's Gate was not completely demolished by the eighteenth century as previously supposed, and that much of its essential character survived into the early modern period as a city block extending into the street that was continually reused and rebuilt. The large non-domestic building on the south side of the gate on Rocque's 1756 map may represent a primarily defensive (or cistern-related) structure, but the remainder of the gate structure survives in the archaeological record as a multi-period jumble of post-medieval water-management features, cellars, walls and smithies.

If this is the gate, when was it built? And why was it built here? The large medieval ditch identified west of the gate may provide some clues. This ditch (which was truncated before it reached James's Gate) indicates that the thirteenth- to fourteenth-century road constricted gradually towards the gate, narrowing to *c.* 6m wide. It could be tentatively suggested that the ditch might have turned southwards and crossed the road, then turned eastwards again and ran along the southern side of Thomas Street (where another medieval ditch – perhaps the same one? – was identified). The topographic files of the National Museum (IA/68/53; Reg. 1953:17a–b) record a deep ditch of similar dimensions containing medieval pottery, interpreted as a 'culverted watercourse', running across the road at the gate, supporting this theory.

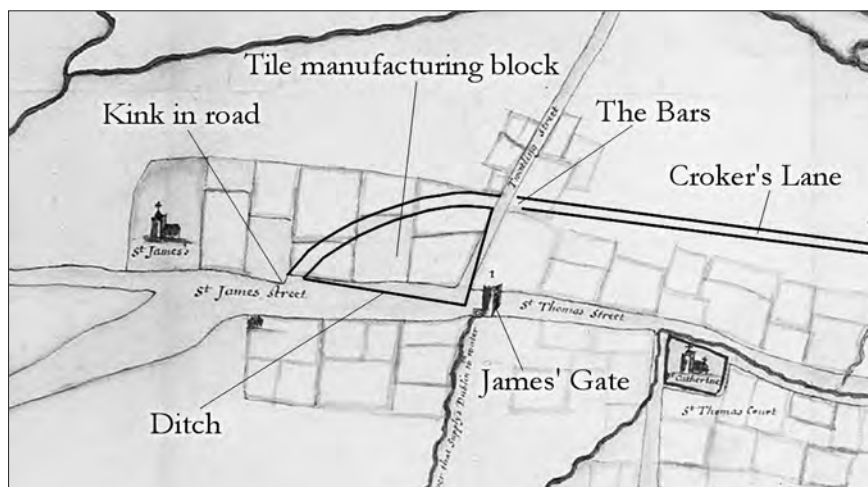
The ditch defining the northern edge of James's Street would also have defined the boundaries of properties to the north (one of which appears to have been a tilery fronting onto Croker's Lane outside the Bars). Importantly, it must have channelled a medieval watercourse. The location of this ditch does not appear to correspond exactly with the supply to or from the cistern. It



6.5 Plan of James's Gate features.

likely relates to a branch of the medieval Dublin watercourse system (which in this part of Dublin includes the Poddle, Abbey Stream, Glib Stream, Tenter Water and Commons Water), associated with industrial activity such as milling or the tiliary, and managed by the abbey of St Thomas. Thus the initial reason for a constriction in the road between James's Street and Thomas Street appears to be due to the route of the watercourse and the bridge crossing it, rather than a masonry gate structure. This crossing point may have been established before the medieval period (as suggested by the discovery of the natural paleo-channel), but it is likely to have been formalized in the late twelfth century when it became the parish boundary between St Catherine's and St James', probably by St Thomas abbey.

The ditch/watercourse was infilled by the late medieval period and surfaced with a layer of packed grit at approximately the same level as the medieval street surface. This must represent the rerouting of medieval watercourses – in effect a reclamation of wet ground – between Thomas Street and James's Street, and the widening of James's Street. The exact date this happened cannot be ascertained based on the small scale of the excavations, but the general late medieval date suggested by the ditch stratigraphy correlates with the first documentary references to James's Gate in the fifteenth century, and it seems likely that the reclamation of this ground would have allowed for the construction of additional masonry structures. In the medieval period, James's Gate was essentially the constriction of the street to 6m in width. It was probably associated with some sort of defensive (or cistern-related) structure to the south, but the key element of the gate was the constriction. In the



6.6 De Gomme's map of 1728 showing the location of the medieval tiler block at Croker's Lane outside the Bars.

thirteenth century this was due to a bridge crossing the watercourse at the parish boundary. By the late medieval period, this constriction was now defined by developed urban blocks (and probably a gate-like structure) either side of a straightened and widened road.

The cobbled post-medieval ditch backfilled with seventeenth-century demolition rubble identified at James's Gate is likely to be the defensive ditch from the 1640s Confederate Wars, rapidly infilled after the conflict. The ditch appears to have run along the medieval parish boundary and former watercourse. The 1650s Down Survey barony map of Newcastle depicts the city defences erected during the war. As Franc Myles (2005) demonstrated at Ardee Street, the defensive lines on that map correspond to large seventeenth-century defensive banks and ditches. James' Gate is not depicted on the Down Survey map but the accompanying text describes the artificial branch of the River Dodder, which was split in two at Ropers Rest, one of which enters the city 'hard by James Gate'. Historical records assembled by Peter Walsh (2005) describe how various people were stationed around the southwest city in 1643–4 during the Confederate Wars. For example, Captain Dillon is at Thomas Court and St Katherine's churchyard, Lord Lambart is on both sides of Francis Street, Sir John Sherlocke is on the southern side of Thomas Street with 46 men, and Lord Brabazon is inside Thomas Court. As part of Lord Kildare's regiment, Sir Adam Loftus, vice-treasurer and treasurer at war for Ireland, is recorded as being stationed on James's Street 'from St James's Gate to the mudd wall, on both sides' (Walsh 2005, 460). A mud wall sounds like an earthen bank, and this reference most likely refers to the earthen defences identified at James's Gate outside no. 82.

CONCLUSION

The archaeological evidence for medieval James's Street relates to what we might call the 'public' sphere – of streets; gates; defensive banks; bridges; and watercourses – rather than the private sphere. Modern concepts of public versus private may not be appropriate in the context of the medieval city. Perhaps it is obvious that little evidence of medieval domestic activity would be found in trenches excavated along the street rather than in individual plots. Nevertheless, the medieval archaeology along James's Street reflects decisions and actions taken at an institutional level rather than a household level. The question of which institutions or municipal authorities could have been involved is an interesting one. The adjacent abbey of St Thomas the Martyr is the most obvious candidate, but a number of ecclesiastical institutions and municipal authorities may have had interests on James's Street and at James's Gate. The archaeology may therefore reflect subversion and competition between institutional powers in the west of Dublin, as well as planned long-term interventions by a single authority.

The archaeological evidence suggests that the establishment of the church and parish of St James's in the late twelfth century, perhaps under the auspices of the abbey of St Thomas, coincided with the construction of an extramural market square. The resurfacing of James's Street, and the formalization of the bridge crossing point into the city at James's Gate, are also likely to have occurred at the same time. A nineteenth-century commission into the five liberties of Dublin, cited by Elliott (1990, 76) notes that two privileges of the Liberty of Thomas Court and Donore were 'a grant of a fair to be held at Donore, and of tolls by a former patent of Elizabeth'. Similar privileges were no doubt secured at an earlier date and it is possible that the abbey of St Thomas had established a tolled bridge on James's Street from the late twelfth century. Additionally, the creation of a formal space for public assembly and trade outside the city's municipal authority could have competed with markets within the walled city, or subverted tolled crossings (such as the bridge at James's Gate, and New Gate) managed by other institutional bodies.

The archaeological evidence for the late medieval (fifteenth-century?) widening and realignment of James's Street, and subsequent construction of a new urban block and gate at James's Gate, required the rerouting of the James's Street watercourses. Documentary sources demonstrate that these medieval watercourses were a significant source of revenue and power for the abbey of St Thomas. They were also a source of dispute between religious institutions and civic authorities, and between competing religious institutions such as St Thomas's abbey and St Sepulchre's (Ronan 1927; Simpson 1997, 24–9). On top of this, many of Dublin's west-suburb industries such as tanning, textile-making and brewing relied heavily on the watercourses. The

late medieval rerouting of the James's Street watercourse and construction of James's Gate must have involved numerous institutions and would have had far-reaching consequences beyond the widening of the street.

The tilery on Croker's Lane outside the Bars may have been affected by the rerouting of the James's Street watercourses, or by the political shifts such a rerouting implies. This tilery appears to have produced most of Dublin's tiles in the thirteenth and fourteenth century. During this period tiles were predominantly used on important buildings rather than ordinary houses. No fifteenth-century tile waste was identified on the James's Street archaeological works, and it is likely that this tilery had ceased production at this point, or at least significantly declined. The Bars themselves are reported as ruinous in 1466 (Clarke 2002, 21), just as the first evidence for a structure at James's Gate emerges. This coincides with the shift to a different clay fabric in the manufacture of Dublin's tiles, from DT2 and DT3 in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to DT4 in the late medieval period.

It is tempting to link these archaeological glimpses of medieval James's Street into a single narrative emphasizing planned long-term interventions in the urban fabric of the city by the abbey of St Thomas the Martyr. However, the evidence is more nuanced, and may reflect the competing interests of religious institutions and municipal authorities. The medieval archaeology of James's Street is a manifestation of the flows of institutional power controlling the movement of water and people.

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