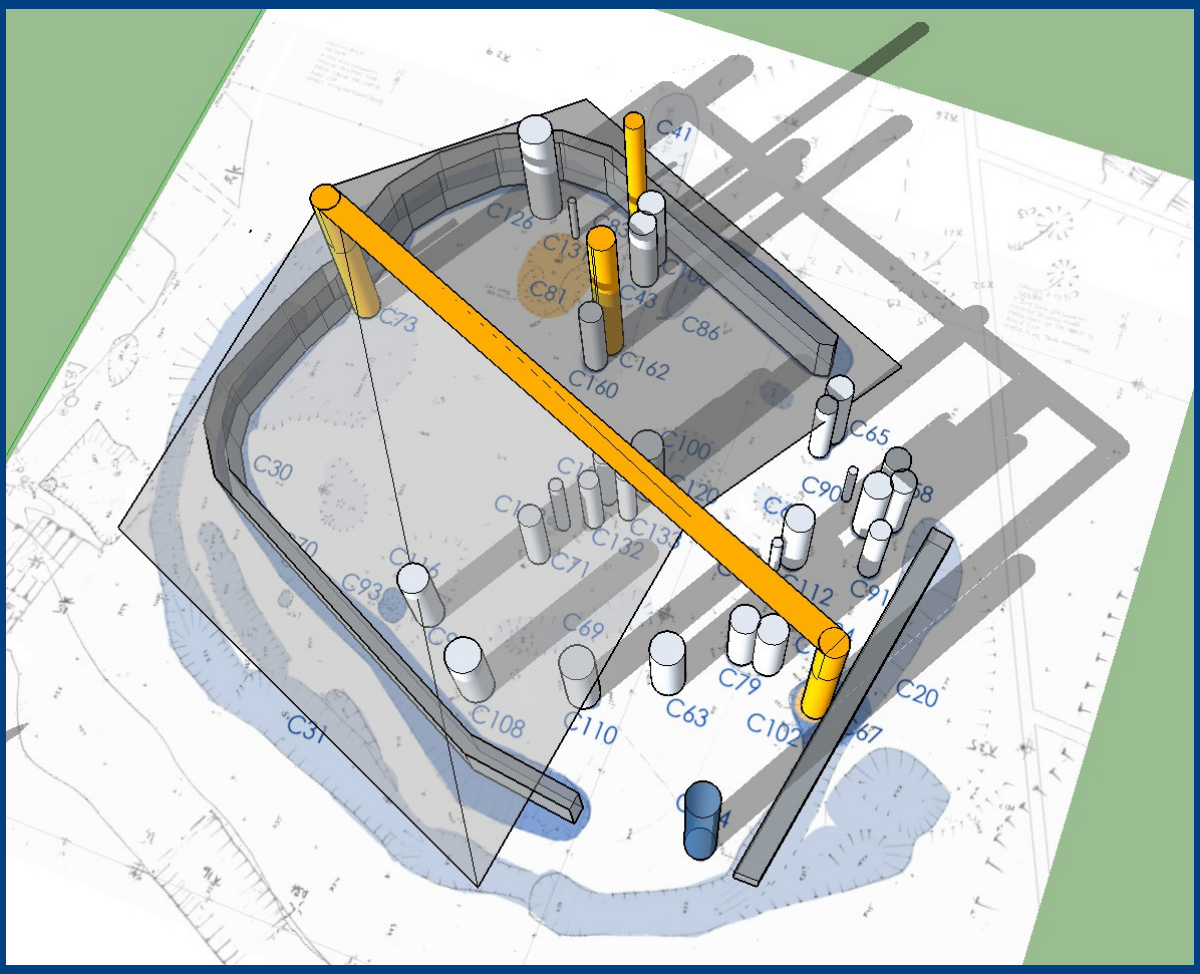
Final Excavation Findings
Brighton Road, Foxrock, Dublin 18



GIACOMETTI 03/04/2018 15E087 DLRCC D13A/0285 & D15A/0501

archaeology plan
HERITAGE SOLUTIONS

SITE NAME

Lands off Brighton Road, Foxrock, Dublin 18

CLIENT

Castlethorn Constuction, Usher House, Main Street, Dundrum, Dublin 14

PLANNING

PL06D.243193. DLRCC D13A/0285& D15A/0501

LICENCE

Excavation 15E087

REPORT AUTHORS

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3rd April 2018

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Section 1 Introduction

Report Summary

A fascinating multi-period site was excavated at Brighton Road in Foxrock, Dublin 18. This report presents the final results of the excavation.

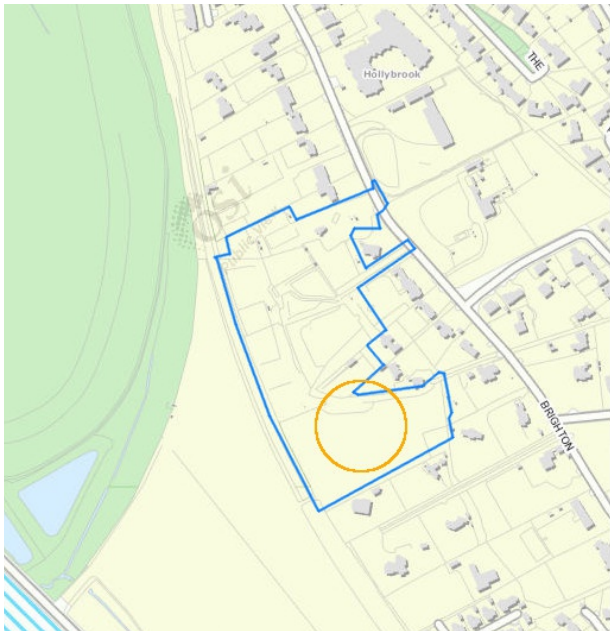
A natural spring provided the setting for prehistoric activity. Multiple large wells with steps leading into them were dug into the spring during the Middle and Late Bronze Age from about 1400 BC to 900 BC. A cobbled surface and a rectangular trough had been constructed beside the well, surrounded by a spread of fire-cracked stone and charcoal. A Bronze Age ceramic vessel was among the artefacts found inside the well. This had been used as a fulacht fiadh - a place where stones were heated up by fire, and the hot stones were then placed in the water-filled trough. It was used in this way periodically for approximately 500 years, an enormous span of time.

In the mid-7th century AD a structure was erected on the mound of burnt stones next to the spring. The structure is unique in the Irish archaeological record, and does not fit into any of the known types of pre-800 AD early medieval structures. It was not a house, nor was it a church. An early medieval well had been dug into the spring, and the structure may have been an early Christian shrine or baptistery, dedicated perhaps to a Munster saint such as Cian. In the mid-9th century the structure was intentionally dismantled and burnt down, and this can be linked to the expansion of the ecclesiastical site at Tully.

Site location

The archaeological site was located on 5.2 hectares of land off Brighton Road, Foxrock, Dublin 18, in the townlands of Carrickmines Little and Kerrymount (National Grid Co-Ordinates: E 721296/ N 724889). It was situated to the northeast of the M50 and southeast of Leopardstown Racecourse. It was a greenfield site, bounded by existing houses on Brighton Road to the east, by Leopardstown Racecourse lands to the west, by existing dwellings to the south and by Leopardstown Racecourse lands and existing dwellings to the north. The eastern fringe of the site, comprising its Brighton Road frontage, forms part of the Foxrock Architectural Conservation Area. The western side of the proposed development is demarcated by the line of the former Dublin to Wicklow railway, which runs along a sunken corridor cut 2.5m below ground level.

Site location map showing development site (blue line) and archaeological site (yellow circle)



Development and planning

In respense to planning conditions (D13A/0285 PL06D.243193 & D15A/0501) relating to a large residential development on the site, a desktop assessment and testing programme were carried out in 2015 (McGlade 2015). These demonstrated two areas of archaeology on the site: industrial heritage associated with the former railway line and bridge; and a prehistoric-early medieval settlement in the south of the site.

The assessment concluded that the archaeological remains in the south of the development site would be adversely impacted by the development. In order to mitigate the impact, it was decided to fully excavate the remains under archaeological licence (15E087) from the National Monuments Service. The excavation was described in the Preliminary Excavation Report (Giacometti 2016).

The final results of that archaeological excavation are described in this report.

Methodology

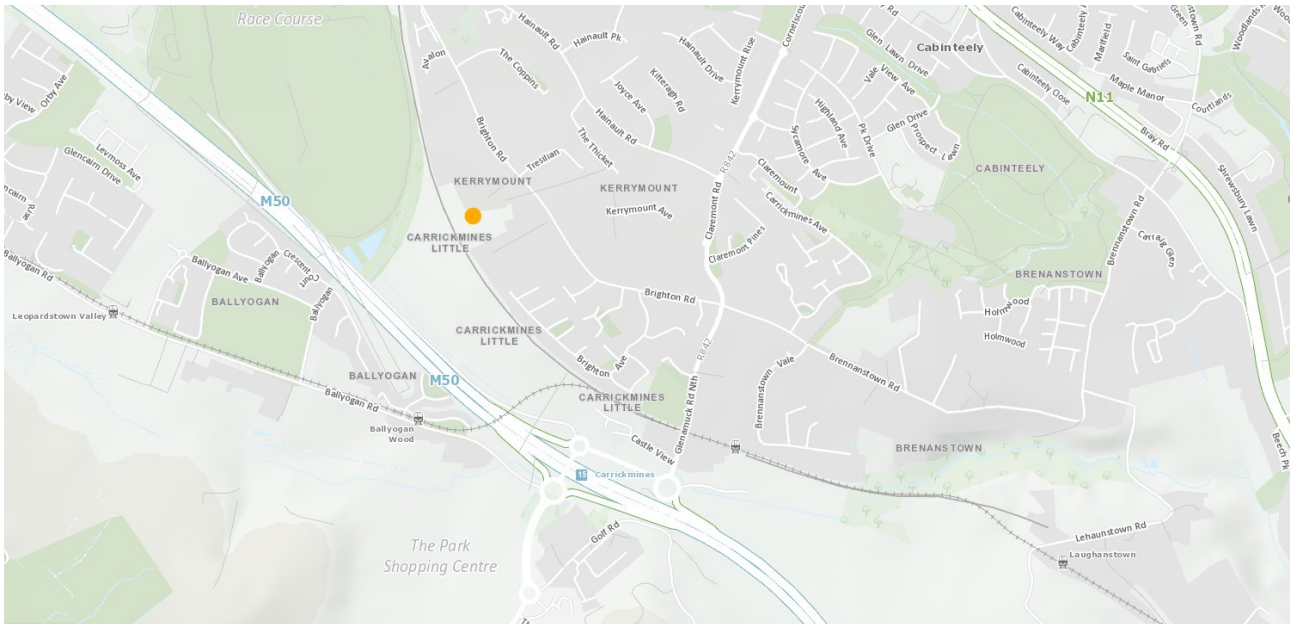
Based on the results of the testing and archaeological assessment, a large irregular-shaped area measuring 145m E-W by 125m N-S situated in the southern third of the proposed development site was stripped of topsoil mechanically under archaeological supervision over two weeks from 30/05/16 to 10/06/16, down to the level of the natural subsoil (*c.* 400mm), exposing the top of the archaeological site. Archaeological features were clustered in the centre-north of the stripped area and extended over a square area 40m by 40m in size.

A team of six archaeologists hand-excavated the archaeological features in this area over six weeks from 13/06/16 to 21/07/16 in mixed weather conditions. The excavation was constrained by the protected trees, which meant that archaeological features extending into the townland boundary could not be followed in order to preserve the trees.

Outside of this key archaeological zone, all engineering and site works on the development site were archaeologically monitored as necessary and no further archaeological material was encountered, which was in line with the results of the testing programme.

Archaeological work on the 19th century railway bridge is ongoing.

Site location (orange dot) on modern OS Street map



Section 4 Discussion of findings

Prehistoric wells and fulachtaí fia

A natural spring provided the central focus of prehistoric activity at the Brighton Road archaeological site, and perhaps even until the end of the early medieval period. The spring had been utilised by digging a well to its source where water bubbled up through a sand lens 1.5m deep below ground level. The spring was very strong and the wells filled with water quickly and continually during the archaeological excavation.

Wells

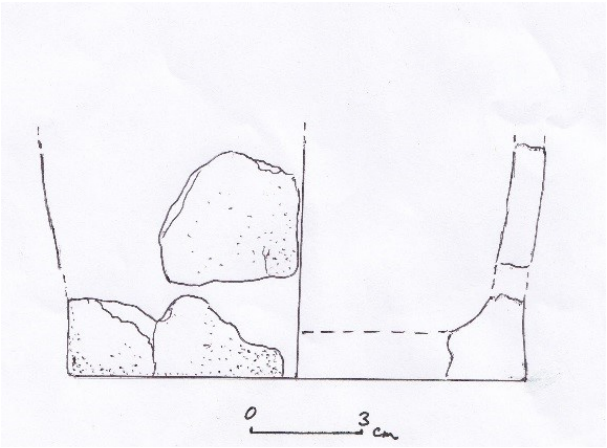
The spring displayed at least four phases of use, indicated by four separate wells. Each well had at least partially silted up before the next phase was constructed, and it had mostly or fully silted up before the last well was dug. Since each successive well removed the majority of the evidence for the earlier phases, it follows that the four phases of wells identified at Brighton Road represent the minimum number of wells dug at the spring. The four surviving wells must have been the deepest, and also those that were not exactly centred on the previous phases. They can therefore be interpreted as four of the most significant phases of use of the spring.

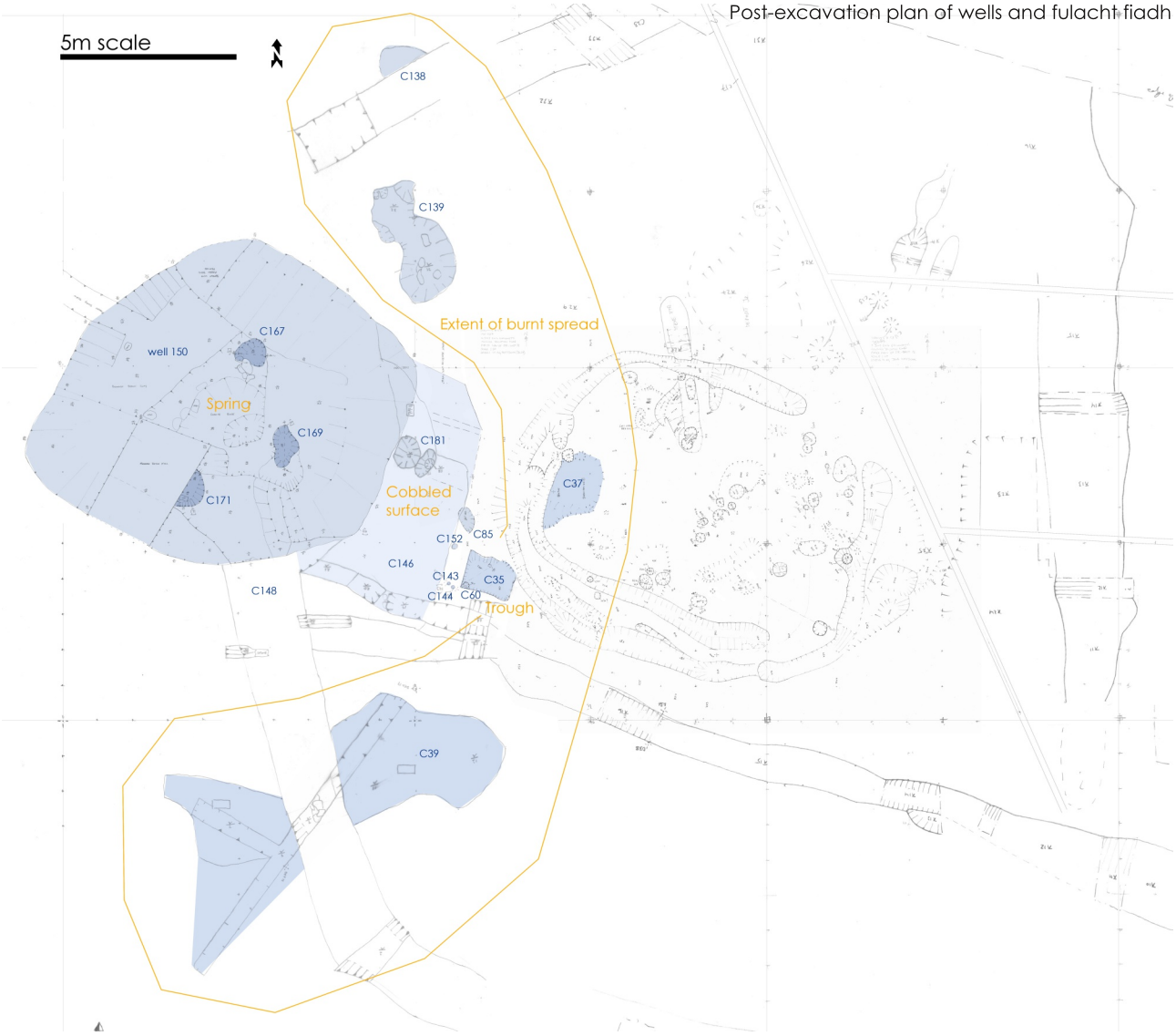
The earliest identified wells (phases 1 & 2) comprised two deep rock-cut shafts (C167 & C169). These were not dated, but stratigraphically predate the Late Bronze Age phase 3 well, and are therefore likely to relate to the Middle and earlier Late Bronze Age radiocarbon dates returned from the fulacht fiadh activity surrounding the spring.

The phase 3 (C150) well was the best preserved, and comprised a roughly-circular bowl-shaped pit (3.5m diameter and 1.5m deep) truncating the earlier well shafts. The base of the phase 3 well was filled with compacted natural wood, roots and reeds, overlain by layers of charcoal-rich silt, burnt fragmented stones, and thin lenses of organic material. A radiocarbon date from ash charcoal from the near the base of the central well fill returned a Late Bronze Age date of 975-813 BC. This was from a deposit of charcoal-rich burnt stone, identical to heat-affected material around the well that had returned earlier dates. This suggests that the well was used in very similar ways during phases 1, 2 and 3.

28 sherds from a single Late Bronze Age vessel were identified in the central fill of the phase 3 well. The vessel was undecorated, flat-based and slightly bucket-shaped domestic pottery (Cleary 2017). Internal soot accretions suggest the vessel was used for containing food. There were no external soot traces which may preclude use over a fire for cooking, and the small size suggests use as 'tableware' rather than as a cooking pot. Cleary (*ibid.*) notes that the clay fabric contained volcanic ash indicating a possible source in North Dublin. The vessel is consistent with the Late Bronze Age date of 975-813 BC returned from this context.

Late Bronze Age pottery vessel, illustration by Rose Cleary





Post-excavation plan of wells and fulacht fiadh

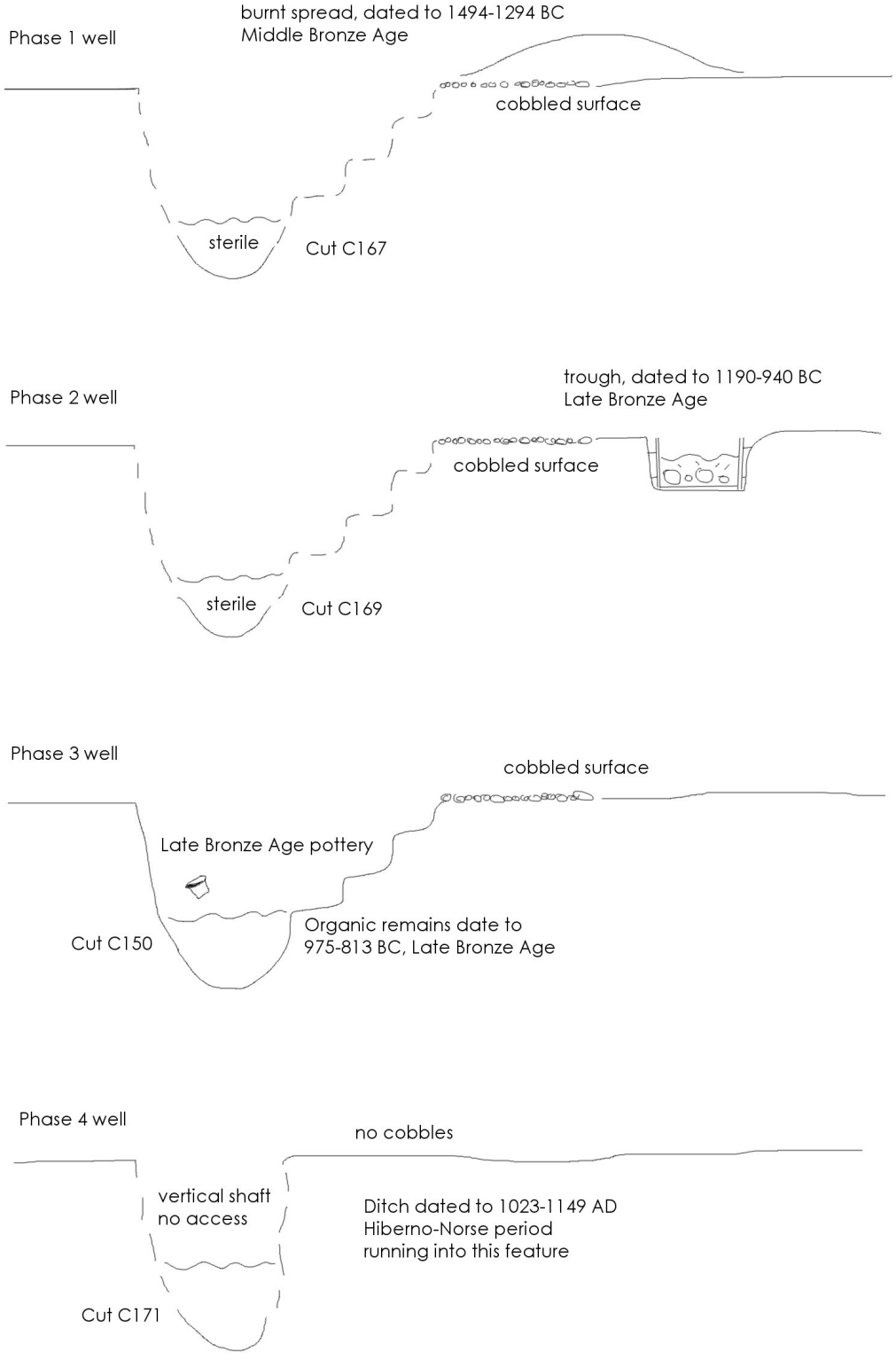
The phase 3 well was partly stone-lined and had a stepped access down into it from the southeast. A number of larger stones arcing around the lower western slopes of the well appeared to have been placed intentionally to define the well shaft. The upper slopes of the well and a rectangular area to the southeast of the well were cobbled, forming an activity area directly associated with the well. This surface may also have been associated with the phase 1 and 2 wells, but was no longer in use by the time of the phase 4 well. The working surface is thus broadly Late Bronze Age in date.

A sample of the organic material within the phase 3 well (the same context that was dated to 975-813 BC) contained the drubes from a raspberry or possibly blackberry (Johnston

Radiocarbon dates from prehistoric features at Brighton Road

Lab Code	Radiocarbon Age	Calibrated date*	Period	Feature	Context	Wood
UBA-33435	3127 ± 34 BP	1494-1294 BC	Middle Bronze Age	Spread (phase 1)	C37	Prunus
UBA-33439	2880 ± 29 BP	1190-940 BC	Late Bronze Age	Trough (phase 2)	C62	hazel
UBA-33443	2742 ± 36 BP	975-813 BC	Late Bronze Age	Well (phase 3)	C152	ash

*Queens University C14 Chrono Lab. Calibration data set: intcal13.14c. Date given at 95% probability.



2017). These are common plants likely to have been growing in the immediate vicinity during the Middle to Late Bronze Age. That only a single hard-shell seed type survived in the deposit suggests preservation conditions varied over time, perhaps periodically drying out (Johnston *ibid.*).

The phase 4 well comprised a discrete well shaft cut through the mostly-backfilled phase 3 well down into the natural spring. It was vertical-sided and narrow. In contrast to the phase 3

well, which could be physically entered, the phase 4 well was probably utilised by lowering a bucket down the shaft. A wooden stake recovered from the base of the phase 4 well may have been part of a wooden lining or support structure to create stability in the well shaft. This final well shaft was located in line with a ditch (C24/C186) that ran directly into the spring, but did not exit the other side. This suggests the ditch was contemporary with the well. The ditch was radiocarbon dated to 1023-1149 AD (Hiberno-Norse period), but this date reflects its final backfilling and it may have been originally dug during occupation of the adjacent early medieval structure. Thus, the phase 4 well is likely to date broadly to the early medieval period, and it was used in a different way to the phase 1, 2 and 3 wells .

Function of the wells

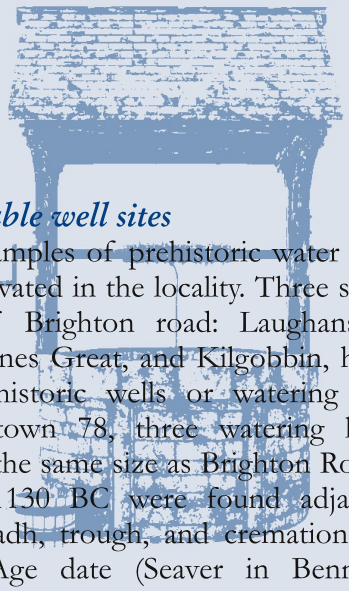
The prehistoric wells would have provided clean water, possibly for drinking or cooking. To draw water, someone would have descended the stepped well down to the water level and collected water using wooden buckets or pottery vessels. Wells could have also provided water for animals (*e.g.*, McGlade 2015 at Kilgobbin), in particular for cattle which were held in high regard in later prehistoric Ireland, but at Brighton Road the stepped entrance and cobbled surround in phases 1-3, and vertical sides in phase 4, suggest the wells were used by humans rather than animals. The wells could have provided water for everyday use, as well as more specialised uses such as that described below.

At Brighton Road, the phase 1-3 wells were associated with fire-cracked stones and charcoal-rich silts, and a trough was situated close to the well entrance. These features are characteristics of fulachtaí fia (Waddell 1998, 174-5; Dennehy 2008; Hawkes 2015). Fulachtaí fia are frequently located near water sources, including springs and wells (see sidebar). At fulachtaí fia stones were heated up by fires, and the hot stones were then placed in water-filled troughs or dry roasting pits, and that is what appears to have happened at Brighton Road. The term fulacht fiadh is derived from early Irish literature, in particular the 17th century *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, which describes them as ancient cooking places. There is ample evidence that fulachtaí fia were used for cooking and processing food and drink (*e.g.,* Quinn & Moore 2009), but archaeological excavations has also suggested they were used for other purposes such as bathing/saunas, metalworking, tanning, dying, washing and the fulling of textiles (Denvir 1999, cited in Dennehy 2008, 14; Hawkes 2015, 6-7; Eogan & Shee Twohig 2012, 179; Ó Drisceoil 1990).

Trough C35, showing in situ granite stones at base and postholes in base

Spread

Thin and patchy spreads of decayed, heat-fractured and heavily-weathered granite and coarse micaceous sand in a charcoal-enriched matrix surrounded the eastern half of the well. This material generally covered the cobbled working surface around the spring, but at other times lay on natural subsoil. It also filled irregular hollows, some of which appeared to be truncated archaeological features but their form could not be ascertained. The



Comparable well sites

Other examples of prehistoric water wells have been excavated in the locality. Three sites within 2.5km of Brighton road: Laughanstown 78, Carrickmines Great, and Kilgobbin, had similar large prehistoric wells or watering holes. At Laughanstown 78, three watering holes (the largest is the same size as Brighton Road) dating to 1300-1130 BC were found adjacent to a fulacht fiadh, trough, and cremation burial of Bronze Age date (Seaver in Bennett 2001; 2004). At Kilgobbin, two wells dating to 1862-1614 BC & and 1894-1693 BC were associated with a long-lived spread of prehistoric occupational material, and one of the wells was approached by a cobbled path (McGlade 2015). The waterhole at Carrickmines Great, dated to 380-540 AD, was adjacent to Iron Age unenclosed structures with evidence for iron-working and cereal growing (Ó Drisceoil 2007, 18; 2013).

Further afield, large prehistoric wells, ponds or waterholes have been identified at Ballynakelly, Co. Dublin, Drumgoold, Co. Wexford, Danesfort 5, Co. Kilkenny, Boyerstown 2, Clonee, Clowanstown 3, Kennastown, Muckerstown, Williamstown or Bawn 2, all in Co. Meath, Coolfin 3, Co. Laois, and Camlin, Co. Tipperary. The majority of these features have been found to be Bronze Age in date, though one of the two large watering holes identified at Clonee, Co. Meath contained an Iron Age wooden bucket (McCarthy 2009b). These wells are shallow, and usually one side was less steep and provided an access down into the well, as at Brighton Road. A number of these were directly associated with fulachtaí fia, for example at Donacerney Great (Area 6) Co. Meath (Giacometti 2010), Muckerstown, Co. Meath (Moore, in Bennett 2004:1293), Clonee, Co. Meath (McCarthy 2009b), Ballynakelly, Co. Dublin (McCarthy 2009a), Clogh East (Taylor 2004, 263-4), and possibly Ballycorick (Halpin 2004, 171).

material also extended into the phase 3 well. This is likely to represent a badly-weathered and truncated burnt mound (fulacht fiadh) deposit, with the sand reflecting the breakdown of the granite though heating and weathering. A radiocarbon date from blackthorn or cherry charcoal in the deepest of these spreads returned a Middle Bronze Age date of 1494-1294 BC. Although there was no indication of stratigraphy in the spreads, the radiocarbon dating clearly indicates that it represents numerous phases of use rather than a single event.

Trough

A rectangular pit or trough associated with a posthole and three stakeholes was situated 3m east of the well, just past the informal cobbling. It was similar in form and size to troughs typically found at fulachtaí fia (Dennehy 2008). The fill of the trough was distinctly similar to the fill of the phase 3 well, comprising heat-affected stones and charcoal. A radiocarbon date from hazel charcoal from the base of the trough returned a Late Bronze Age date of 1190-940 BC.

Discussion of the wells

Troughs, burnt spreads, and water sources such as wells are frequently found together on sites across the country, and are referred to as fulachtaí fiadh (refer sidebar). On this basis, and also because similar heat-affected stone and charcoal was identified in all three features at Brighton Road, a broadly contemporary use of these was anticipated. However, the radiocarbon dates from the trough, spread and well (phase 3) at Brighton Road do not indicate contemporary use at all. This must be a result of the destructive nature of recutting and well maintenance, and as discussed above there must have been many more phases than were archaeologically identified. It is likely, therefore, that earlier phases of the well date to the period 1494-1294 BC (the date from the spread) and 1190-940 BC (the date from the trough).

The span of time represented here - 500 years from about 1400 BC to 900 BC - is enormous, considering how similar the burnt-stone activity that took place in the three phases that were identified. During this entire period, the only

archaeological remains around the spring represent the heating of stones, near at least one trough, and only very small numbers of artefacts (a handful of flint scrapers and a broken vessel). The artefact remains are inconsistent with long-term settlement, and no evidence for prehistoric houses nearby was found, which is a pattern identified at other similar sites. This suggests that the spring was periodically returned to and recut at certain times during this 500 year period, and that these recuttings coincided with the use of the site for burnt-stone activities characteristic of fulachtaí fia, during the Middle and Late Bronze Age. The well was probably used for other activities too, such as getting water without heating stones with it, but it is the heating of stones which leaves the archaeological signature.

The number of these events (of which three have been dated) at Brighton Road is not known, but their regularity must imply a memory of the previous event and a shared tradition and culture. Perhaps the events cycled through different local sites over time, occurring for example at the spring at Laughanstown 78 nearby some of the time (Seaver 2004; see sidebar).

Recent archaeological research into fulachtaí fia have emphasised the social contexts of their use, and particularly communal aspects of feasting and their role in a complex, settled society of Bronze Age Irish kingdoms (Hawkes 2015, 23-25). At Brighton Road, the regularity of the archaeological remains of these events, and the expanse of time between events, suggests they were highly structured and tightly regulated. The repeated patterns of similar activities at this and other nearby contemporary fulachtaí fia suggest a shared understanding of what to do at fulachtaí fia that was closely adhered to over long periods. Also significant is the return to a known location to carry out similar activities, infrequently but intensively, over a span of many generations. These patterns are characteristic of highly structured and ritualised activity.

Granite and burnt mounds

Burnt mounds (fulacht fiadh) are common prehistoric sites characterised by a mound or spread of fire-cracked stones and charcoal surrounding and often filling and one of more pits/troughs situated near a water source. This definition fits the Brighton Road site. The only stone identified in the Brighton Road fulacht was granite, but granite is rarely found in burnt mound sites. In her synthesis of the site type, Dennehy (2008, 8) concludes that sandstone was used predominantly, irrespective of local geology, with limestone also used to a lesser degree. A search of online Excavations Bulletins identifies 1,407 archaeological sites classified either as 'burnt mound' or 'fulacht fiadh'. Of these, 11 (under 1%) are recorded as having mounds or spreads composed mostly of fire-cracked granite and a further four are recorded as containing small amounts of granite alongside a different predominant stone type. One further site is recorded as having granite in the trough only (Kingstown Co. Dublin, not far from Brighton Road). Of these 11 sites with mostly granite in the burnt mound, a high proportion are located close to the Brighton Road site, for example Site 56 at Carrickmines Great (Reilly, in Bennett 2002:480), Site 70 Ballyogan (Breen, ibid 2002:466), Murphystown Site 6 (Breen, ibid 2002:631), Kilgobbin Lane (Larsson, ibid 2004:646) and Taylorsgrange (McCarthy ibid 2005:541), reflecting perhaps local geology (but see Dennehy 2008) or, more interestingly, regional cultural variation.

Early medieval structure

A very unusual early medieval (*c.* 670-870 AD) structure was identified just 4m east of the spring. It is unique for the period in terms of its sub-rectangular form, setting, associated material culture, and termination. The structure does not fit into the known types of early medieval settlement (O'Sullivan *et al* 2010). The structure was almost certainly not domestic, and may be better interpreted as a specialised building concerned with the adjacent spring and well, for example an early baptistery. The discussion below links the dismantling and burning down of the structure to the rising power of the ecclesiastical centre of Tully.

Dating

Six radiocarbon dates were acquired from the structural features: one from the inner slot trench, one from the outer drip gully, three from postholes (C73, C93 & C102) and one from an area of in-situ burning forming a possible hearth. The radiocarbon dates range from 601 to 977 AD, placing the structure firmly in the early medieval period. At a lower level of probability (refer Appendix 9), the dates can be placed into two tighter date ranges of 660-680 AD (4 dates) and 850-890 AD (2 dates). One of the latter dates derives from charcoal found in the possible hearth, which probably represents among the last activities to take place in the structure, since hearths would be periodically cleaned. This suggests that the structure may have been constructed in or around 670 AD, and was occupied - or at least standing and periodically utilised and maintained - during the late 7th to 9th century, for about 200 years, until approximately 870 AD. The earliest and latest dates derive from two similar postholes located at either end of the structure, supporting the idea that the date range represents the use of a single structure that was largely unaltered during this period.

Evidence for earlier activity predating the structure was found. A shallow spread of gritty burnt stone and charcoal in the west of the structure (C39) was very different from the material filling the structural post-holes and slot-trenches. This is an extension of the fulacht fiadh spread surrounding the spring and filling the well dating the Middle to Late Bronze Age, and it was cut by the structure. This mound of prehistoric burnt spread material had formed around the well, and the early medieval structure was built directly over it, perhaps after flattening it out. Another possibly earlier feature was a deep posthole C164 near the northeast entrance filled with sterile gritty material. The location of the posthole conforms to the overall structure form, but the fill is different, suggesting the possibility of an earlier or later date.

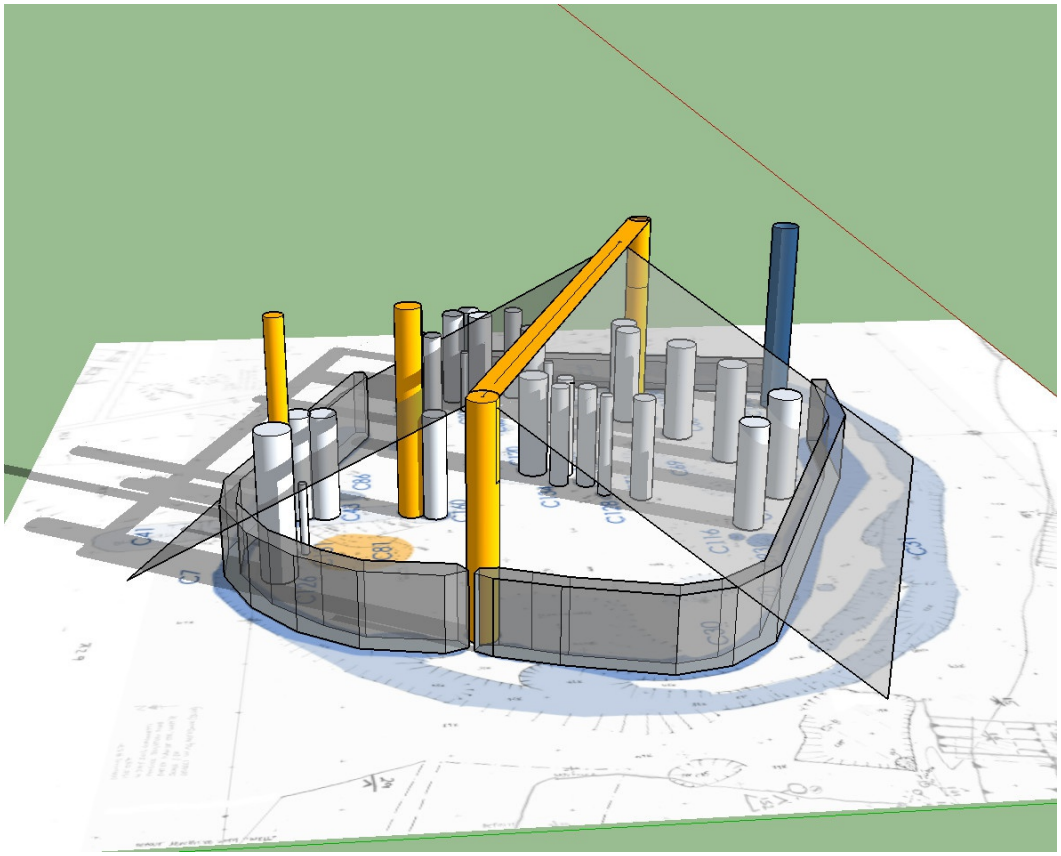
Slot trench

The west, north and south sides of the structure were defined by a rectangular slot trench with curving corners. The east (front) side was less well defined with a shallower slot trench that may not have been structural. The rectangular slot trench defined an internal space measuring 8.73m E-W by 6.13m N-S (51m^2), with an entrance to the southeast. The slot trench was U-shaped in profile with steep edges, and could have held horizontal ground beams supporting wattle and daub walls (possible evidence for daub is described below). The lack of postholes in the western half of the structure suggests that wood supports from the

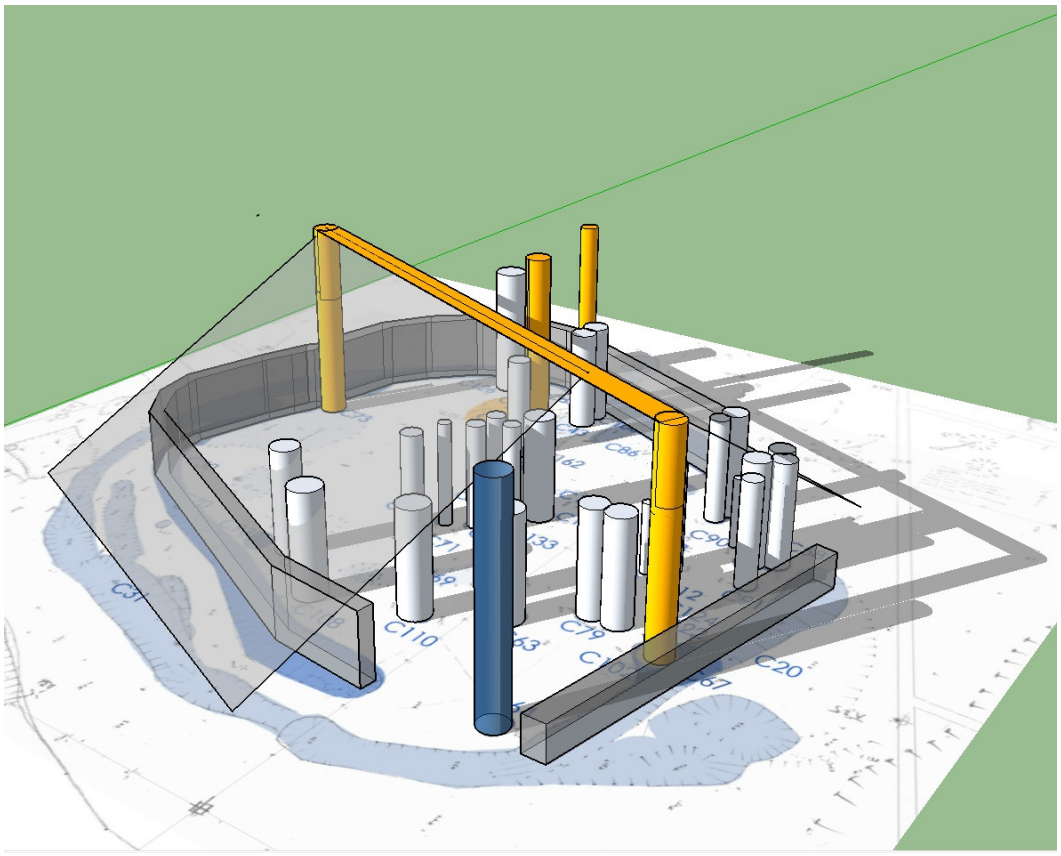
Radiocarbon dates from early medieval and later medieval features at Brighton Road

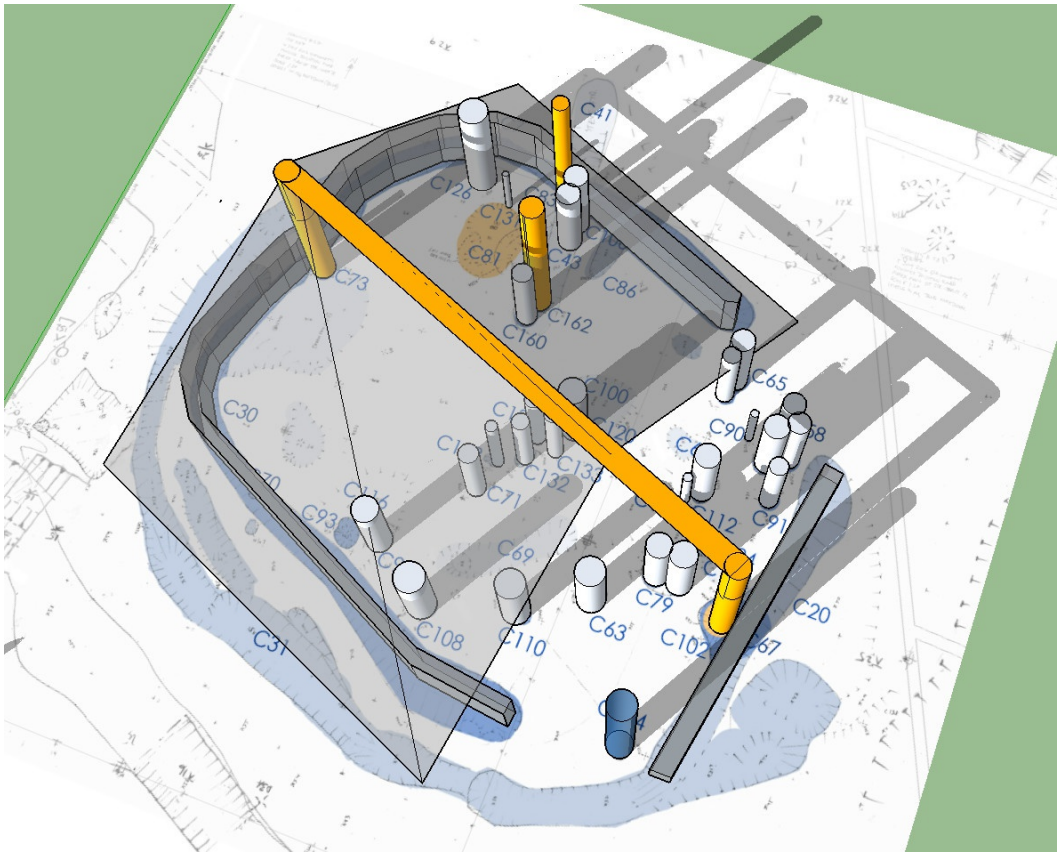
Lab Code	Radiocarbon Age	Calibrated date*	Feature	Context	Wood
UBA-33441	1384 ± 33 BP	601-681 AD	Structure posthole C102 (SD1)	C103	Ash
UBA-33442	1334 ± 28 BP	648-765 AD	Structure posthole C93	C94	Ash
UBA-33440	1307 ± 27 BP	658-768 AD	Structure drip gully	C33	Ash
UBA-33436	1294 ± 29 BP	663-769 AD	Structure slot trench	C22	Hazel
UBA-33438	1206 ± 29 BP	710-936 AD	Structure hearth	C82	Ash
UBA-33437	1143 ± 29 BP	777-977 AD	Structure posthole C73	C75	Ash
UBA-33444	964 ± 29 BP	1023-1149 AD	Ditch C24 south of structure	C25	Birch
UBA-33434	402 ± 26 BP	1437-1619 AD	Ditch C19 west of structure	C20	Ash

*Queens University C14 Chrono Lab. Calibration data set: intcal13.14c. Date given at 95% probability.



Imaginative reconstruction of structure using Google Sketchup. Deep postholes are shown coloured in yellow or dark blue (the latter is used for posthole C164 which is the only feature with a different fill). The height of each post is derived from the depth of the posthole (OD level).





slot trench would have supported a roof.

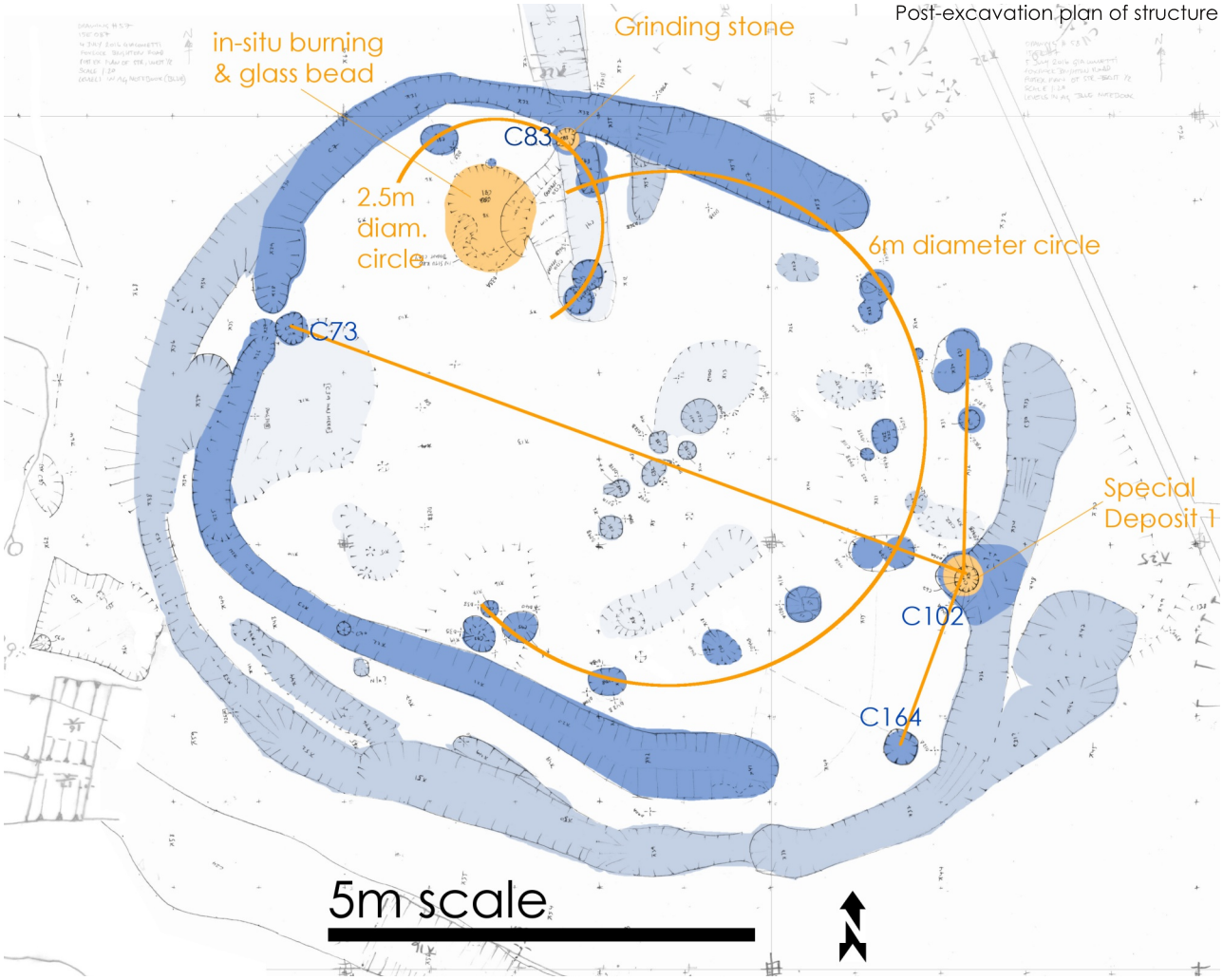
In terms of size, the internal floor space of 51m^3 for the Brighton Road structure is at the upper end of excavated early medieval buildings. Lynne (1994, 91-2) and Stout (2017, 105) refer to early medieval documentary sources that list social classes according to floor space. Social classes living in an early medieval house the size of the Brighton Road structure are listed as *Aire* (Lords of Blood Vengeance and Vassalry), *Mbruigfer*, and *Boaire febsa* (Cow-freeman of substance) (Stout, ibid). The Brighton Road structure also large in comparison with the floor space of excavated early medieval 7th-9th century circular houses (Lynne, ibid). The average internal floor area for the later Hiberno-Norse rectangular houses at Fishamble Street (Type 1), Knowth, and 11th-12th century houses at Cherrywood (near Brighton Road) is 41m^2 (Wallace 1992; Eoghan 2012, 86; Ó Néill 2006), smaller than the Brighton Road structure. The Brighton Road structure would therefore have been imposing in the early medieval landscape.

Drip gully

A second highly-segmented external trench formed an off-centre oval (11.84m by 8.77m internally) around the rectangular slot trench. This is likely to represent a contemporary drip gully around the edges of the roof, an interpretation supported by the evidence of multiple recutting, which indicates cleaning and maintenance of a drip gully rather than a structural slot trench, and the presence of the gully to the south and west of the structure, in line with the prevailing winds. Although the drip gully is oval in shape (in contrast to the rectangular slot trench), there is no evidence of an earlier or later phase of structure with a different form.

Postholes

Two deep postholes were situated centrally in the west and east walls of the structure respectively, and may have held either end of a central roof beam running down the centre of the structure. This suggests the roof was gabled (or A-frame) and ties in with the proposed drip gully function of the oval trench. The front posthole (C102) appears to have been selected



for a special deposit during the dismantling of the structure (Special Deposit 1).

Thirty-seven postholes were identified within the rectangular area defined by the structure slot-trench. All postholes (bar one) contained a similar fill identical to the fill of the slot trench, and no post-holes were identified outside the slot trenches. This suggests that the postholes and slot trenches are broadly contemporary, and represent a single structure. The postholes were positioned in three groups. The first was a cluster in the centre that probably supported the roof beam, and formed a division between the front and back of the structure. The second was a semi-circular arc of postholes (6m in diameter) around the central cluster. This defined entrances in the north-east and south-east corners, and may also have defined an open eastern end or supported an arcing bench. A third smaller group of postholes surrounded the possible hearth in the northwest corner.

Entrance

An entrance was identified in the northeast corner of the structure. This measured 800mm wide, and was defined by double- and triple-postholes, which would probably have held conjoined posts. The drip gully was absent to the northeast of the structure, facilitating access. A number of shallow post-holes and drains outside the structure defined a linear approach to the entrance from the northeast. A second possible entrance of similar dimensions may have been present in the southwest, though this was less clear, and the drip-gully was present here. Three broad flat stones in the fill of a ditch junction 15m from the structure could be interpreted as formerly lining an opening through a bank to provide access to the southwest of the structure. A large and deep posthole (C164) in the possible southwest entrance contained a completely different fill to the other structural features.

Hearth

A single area of in situ burning was identified inside the structure. This took the form of a shallow pit (C81) filled with charcoal which had intensely burnt natural clay edges, representing significant scorching. This might be interpreted as a hearth, however the corner location is unusual. It was surrounded by a semi-circular arc of posts 2.5m in diameter, including two very deep posts. A blue glass bead was found within the fill of the burnt pit, and has been identified as a Class 15 bead common in Ireland throughout the early medieval period, from the late 5th to the late 9th and possibly early 10th centuries (Mannion 2017).

Fills

All of the features (postholes and slot trench) were filled with an identical material: a distinctive charcoal-rich dark grey silt flecked with red burnt clay. Only two exceptions were noted - posthole C102 (Special Deposit 1) and posthole C164, which was filled with sterile gravel. No features outside of the structure were filled with this material, with the exception of the drip gully, which contained a mixture of this material and water-born silts. No burning was found on the edges of the slot trenches or postholes. No stones were present in the slot trench and only two of the postholes (C63 & C73) could be interpreted to have in situ packing stones. The homogeneity and distinctive fill of the features suggests the structure was completely dismantled, and then intentionally backfilled.

The fragments of red-burnt clay present throughout the feature fills may derive from burnt daub of wattle and daub walls, based on the interpretation of similar material in Neolithic houses (Smyth 2014). The backfill material may have come from the burning of the daub walls, wooden beams, posts and planks. If so, the identification of the hearth inside the structure is suspect, as this could be a feature associated with the dismantling and burning of the structure rather than with the use of the structure. Experimental archaeology

Structure under excavation

Special Deposit 1, showing half-section through a very deep posthole. The lower and outer fill is a charcoal-rich silt, and this has been recut and filled with a fire-reddened clay.

has demonstrated that very little daub is actually baked when a wattle and daub house is burned down accidently (*ibid.*), and Smyth argues that fragments of burnt daub found in prehistoric houses indicate the intentional dismantling and burning down of structures.

Special Deposit 1

An unusual deposit was identified in the fill of the front (east) central posthole, which was also the deepest posthole. It was termed Special Deposit 1, and appears to have no parallels in the Irish archaeological record for the early medieval period. It was represented by a secondary fill of packed red-burnt soft clay inside the largest and deepest posthole central to the east wall C102 (in the suggested reconstruction this post holds the east end of the roof beam). This deposit completely sealed the posthole, and must relate either to the complete dismantling of the structure or a significant change of form. The red burnt clay contained almost no other inclusions. It was very soft and fine, and no fully fired or solid lumps of ceramic-hard clay were noted. It was fully oxidised (*i.e.* consistently red throughout, with no black or grey core) suggesting it was not burned in situ. A fragment of charcoal (ash) from the base of the deposit, at its interface with a charcoal layer that lined the edges of the backfilled posthole, returned a radiocarbon date of 601-681 AD.

Special Deposit 1 is interpreted as having been carefully placed here after the post had been removed, as the entire dismantled structure was backfilled with the distinctive fill. From the form of the primary charcoal-rich fill directly below it, it seems likely that a secondary post was placed in this posthole, perhaps for a short time only, then removed, and the resulting cavity backfilled with reddened clay. The deposit appears to have been placed into this key structural posthole of the building as a ritual act. This act appears to have involved the dismantling, then marking, then burning, then backfilling of the structure.

Other interpretations are possible. The radiocarbon date from Special Deposit 1 was the earliest for the structure, perhaps suggesting the feature is associated with the construction rather than the termination of the structure. This is possible, but the radiocarbon date marks the felling of the tree, rather than the final deposition of the charcoal in the posthole. Another possibility is that the feature is not in fact a posthole, and instead a pit associated with the heating of clay or mixing of an intentionally-reddened daub used in the construction or maintenance of the structure. This interpretation is possible, but it is difficult to imagine how the deposit could have ended up in its final location in this way.

Artefacts

A broken grinding stone (Kelly 2016) was found across the top of posthole C83, situated near the northern wall of the structure. Although initially interpreted as a termination deposit, this artefact may have been re-used as a post-packing stone and collapsed over the fill following the demolition of the structure. Very few packing stones were identified in the postholes, however. The intentional deposition of grinding stones and querns in structure postholes, sometimes grinding-side down, has been noticed at other sites, for example Donacarney Great (Giacometti 2010), Stamullin, Co. Meath (Ní Lionáin 2008, II, 37), Sheephouse, Co. Meath (Nelis, in Bennett 2001:1057), Ballyveelish, Co. Tipperary (Doody cited in Cleary 2005, 28), Caltragh, Co. Sligo (Danaher 2007, 84), Rinnaraw, Co. Donegal (Connolly 1994, 29) and Ballygalley, Co. Antrim (Kelly 2016), in Bronze Age and Neolithic contexts. These are almost always interpreted as ritual/votive termination or closing deposits relating to the end of the use of the prehistoric structure. Similar activity is not identified in early medieval structures. Although this individual posthole was not dated, it clearly formed part of the early medieval structure rather than an earlier prehistoric structure associated with the fulachtaí fia and wells, based on its fill and location.

The blue glass bead was found in the possible hearth, which was dated to 710-936 AD. This date is similar to the date of a posthole nearby which returned a date of 777-977 AD. These are the two latest dates from the structure, and may suggest a final date for its use of use (based on the probability of dating set out in Appendix 9) of about 870 AD. The bead was not burnt, despite coming from an intensely burnt context packed with charcoal and red-burnt clay, supporting the interpretation as a hearth.

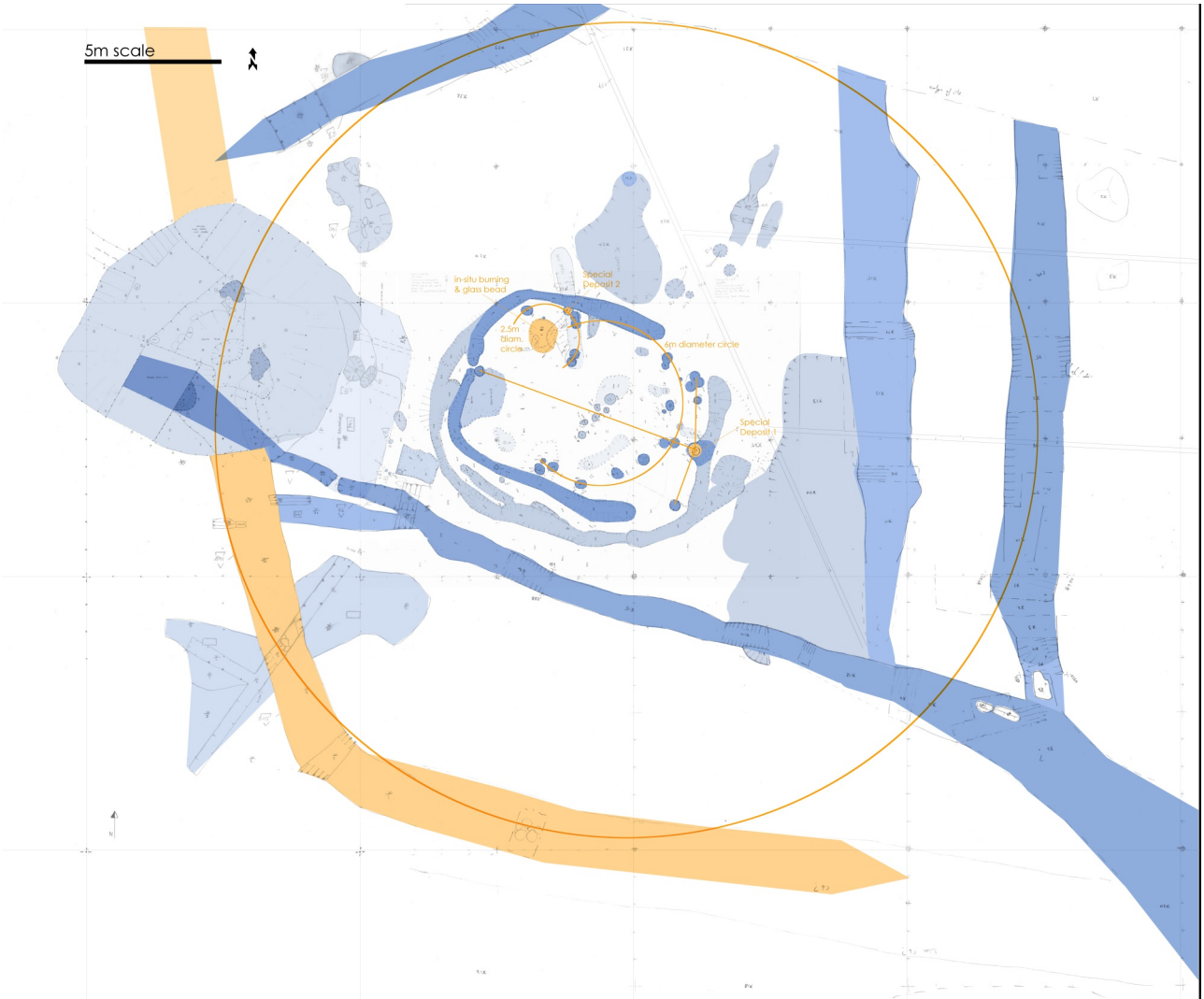
Animal bone that was heavily burnt to a grey-white colour was identified within five features in the structure (Beglane 2017). These were: the

Glass bead

Composite digital photographs of structure after excavation, taken from the northwest corner

'hearth' C81 (1g), the northeast slot trench terminus C7 (13g), entrance posthole C67 (2g), entrance posthole C58 (1g), and posthole C102 (2g). These are all significant locations within the structure, and posthole C102 also contained Special Deposit 1. Heavily burnt bone was not identified anywhere else on the site, and no unburnt animal bone was found in the structure nor in any feature identified as early medieval. The placement of small amount of heavily-burnt animal bone within these features may have been intentional, conducted during the backfilling of the dismantled structure. The animals may have been intentionally heavily burnt, for example in a sacrifice, or else bone may have been unintentionally charred during the burning down of the structure. The bone may alternatively suggest a specialised cooking technique leaving no unburnt bone fragments. The absence of any unburnt bone from the early medieval phase of the site is highly unusual in comparison to other Irish sites, and unburnt animal bone was identified from 11th-12th century and 15th-17th century contexts demonstrating this pattern was not the result of site-specific preservation.

Eight fragments of flint debitage were identified from the structure. A further four flint fragments were found in the fill of the well and topsoil to the west of the structure. The flint came from the northeast slot trench terminus C7 (3 pieces), the southeast slot trench terminus C30 (1 piece), the posthole with the grinding stone in the northern wall C83 (1 piece), and from a linear spread of backfill material filling a hollow in the centre of the structure C69 (1 piece). As with the burnt animal bone, the flint derives from key structural locations and may have been intentionally placed during the demolition and backfilling. Unlike the burnt animal bone, however, the flint could also have accidently become incorporated into these later features, as the structure was constructed over a prehistoric fulacht fiadh spread.



Overview of main cluster of archaeology. Structure 1 is in the centre, the well is to the left, and the ditches are shown in blue (prehistoric) and orange (19th century fills, but ditch likely older). Note how ditches C23, C19 and C148 almost form a 30m diameter enclosure surrounding the structure (which is why it was initially interpreted as a ringfort). Note also large flat stones (showin in white) at junction of ditches C19 & C24, to lower right of image

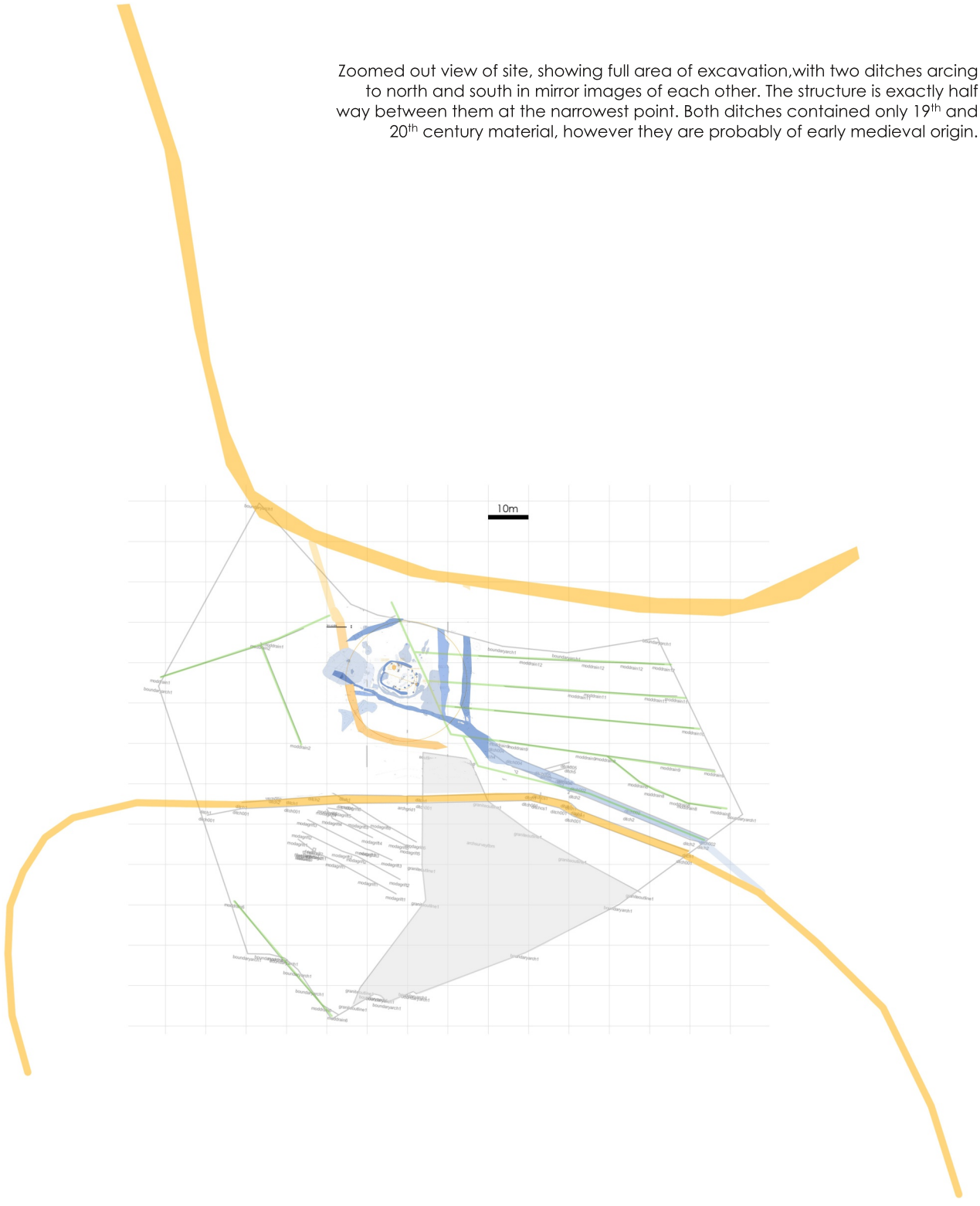
Enclosure

The setting of the structure, in terms of surrounding enclosures, is unique in an Irish early medieval context. The structure was not situated within a defined enclosure (e.g. a ringfort), however it was partially enclosed by five curving and linear ditches within a 30m diameter area centred on the structure. Three of the ditches were dated. Two ditches returned radiocarbon dates of 1023-1149 AD, and 1437-1619 AD. The latter ditch also contained medieval pottery. A third ditch curving around the southeast of the structure contained a 19th century stone-filled drain and 19th century ceramics, and it is marked on the 1837 OS map as a field boundary. Although not contemporary with the early medieval structure, the ditches appeared to respect the structure and may have replaced some sort of enclosing element of irregular form.

One of the ditches ran into the spring, and was directly in line with the phase 4 well. This ditch was dated to 1023-1149 AD, and is likely to be broadly contemporary with the well. Although the structure appears to have been dismantled by this date, it is possible that the ditch and well were also contemporary with the structure, and remained in use for some time later.

Two much larger curving ditches were situated 20m to the north, and 20m of the south of the

structure. These arc away from the structure in mirror images of each other. The northern ditch holds a stream and is the current townland boundary. Sections through this identified only 19th and 20th century material. The southern ditch holds a 19th century stone-lined drain and appears on the 1837 OS map as a field boundary. The line of the southern ditch is depicted on maps from 1638 and 1791 as a townland boundary. Boazman (2016) has identified references to a property dispute between Edmund Walsh of Carrickmines and



Zoomed out view of site, showing full area of excavation,with two ditches arcing to north and south in mirror images of each other. The structure is exactly half way between them at the narrowest point. Both ditches contained only 19th and 20th century material, however they are probably of early medieval origin.

Comparable Irish rectangular structures

The 7th-9th century structure at Brighton Road is rectangular, rather than the round form usual for the period. This would usually suggest a post-800 AD date for the structure (Lynne 1994, 83), but the radiocarbon dating from Brighton Road indicates that initial construction occurred in the 8th century at the latest, and most likely in and around 670 AD.

Rectangular building forms are firmly established by the 10th-11th century AD, for example at the Type 1 houses excavated at Fishamble Street in Dublin (Wallace 1992) and at Knowth (Eoghan 2012, 86). The Dublin houses are rectangular wooden aisled structures with centrally-placed doorways, hearths, and often distinctive rounded corners, and they are generally a little smaller than the Brighton Road structure. Two 11th-12th century Hiberno-Norse houses, similar to the Dublin Type, were found at Cherrywood, very close to Brighton Road (Ó Néill 2006).

Despite the superficial similarity in external shape and size, the Brighton Road structure does not conform to the distinctive aisled construction and internal post layout of the 10th and 11th century rectangular houses.

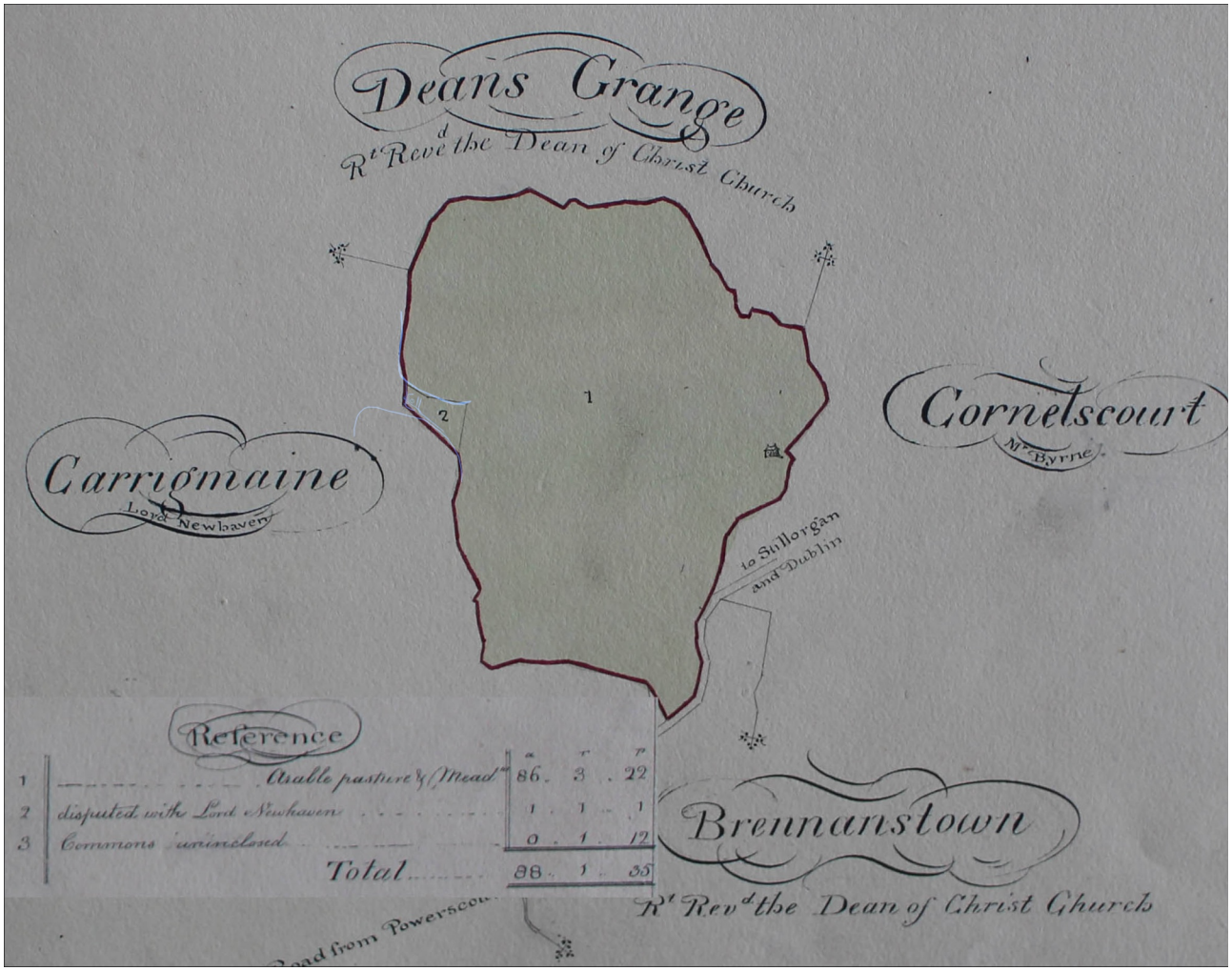
An unusual sub-rectangular structure (Structure 2) defined by a gully dating to 670-940 AD was excavated at Killickaweeny, Kildare (Walsh 2011a). The excavator interpreted it as a domestic structure, and suggested the rectangular form was influenced by Norse architecture, thus dating the structure to the 9th or 10th century (*ibid.*). The superficial copying of Norse house types using different construction techniques (Wallace 1992, 70), cannot be applied to Brighton Road due to the conclusively early date.

Irish rectangular buildings predate the 10th century. They become apparent on archaeological sites between the 6th and 10th centuries (Lynn 1978, 37), and Wallace (1992, 68-69) suggests that they originate in Ireland in the late prehistoric or early medieval period either from contact with Roman Britain, or with the introduction of Christianity from post-Roman Britain and continental Europe. Bradley (2002, 214) suggests the change to rectangular structure occurs in the 8th century, prior to Viking influence, and draws attention to a contemporary transition in Anglo-Saxon England. By the 10th century rectangular structures are established in domestic Irish architecture, but late prehistoric and pre-10th century early medieval rectangular buildings are often interpreted as non-domestic; possibly associated with worship, or Roman influence, or both (Wallace 1992, 69; Dowling 2014b, 155; Walsh 2011b). Early Christian churches and chapels would have been among the earliest rectangular buildings.

Late prehistoric open-ended rectangular structures have also been identified. Walsh excavated a large open-ended slot trench making three sides of a square with the western side missing dated to the late Iron Age at Kilmainham 1C, Co. Meath (Walsh 2011b; 2012, 309-311) which has been interpreted tentatively by the excavator as a sanctuary enclosure. That interpretation can also be applied to a smaller open-ended rectangular structure of Iron Age date excavated at Muckridge 1, Co. Cork. A glass bead was found nearby and it was dated to 20-350 AD (Noonan, in Bennett 2001:225). Another example is at Freestone Hill, Co. Kilkenny, where a small stone-built enclosure inside a Late Bronze Age hillfort was remodelled in the late 4th to early 5th century AD to a sanctuary enclosure, possibly associated with a healing cult focused on the early historic cairn at its centre (Dowling 2014b, 165). A small rectangular Iron Age structure was also excavated at Carrickmines Great nearby, and may also have been non-domestic (Boazman 2016). Blair's (1995, fig. 1) examples of Iron Age and Romano-Celtic shrines excavated in Gaul and Britain (reproduced in Walsh 2012) provides several examples of square three-sided structures with posts on the open side. These are quite dissimilar in plan to the Brighton Road structure.

In short, there are no good comparisons to the Brighton Road structure.

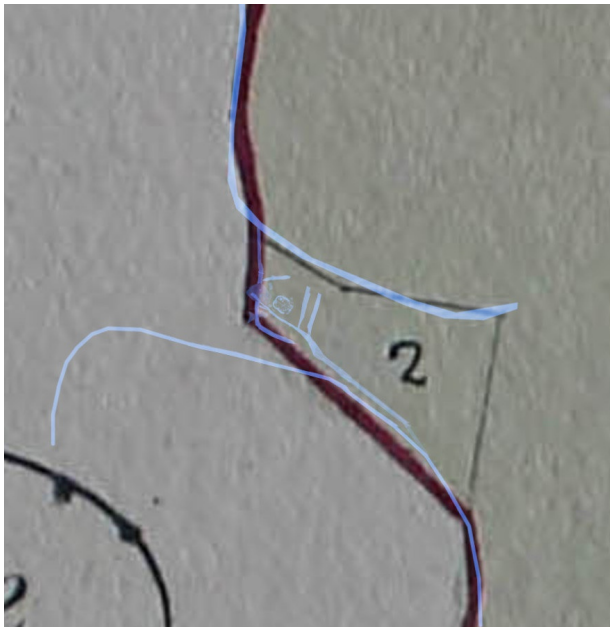
Background image from cover of Wallace 1992



1791 map of 'Keatingsland' (Kerrymount), indicating 'disputed land' labelled as '2'. The zoomed out map on thje previous page can be overlain very accurately on this map, and is shown as a pale blue overlay in the centre-west of Kerrymount. This is the disputed land, in 18th century part of Kerrymount but by the 19th century part of Carrickmines Little. Detail magnified below. Compare with maps on previous and preceeding pages.

the prior of Holy Trinity about the ownership of *'Ketings land and Priouresland near Carykmane'* (McHenry and Refausse 2001, Deed nos. 408 and 1134) which corresponds to these two boundary ditches.

The location of the early medieval structure exactly between these two arcing townland ditches, which were the subject of a medieval property dispute, cannot be coincidental. It is likely that the origin of these arcing boundaries lies in farm units or baile of the early medieval period, as has been demonstrated for many Irish townland boundaries (Stout 2005, 145), and that they are thus contemporary with the Brighton Road structure. Although the structure is not itself enclosed, it is associated with a curving



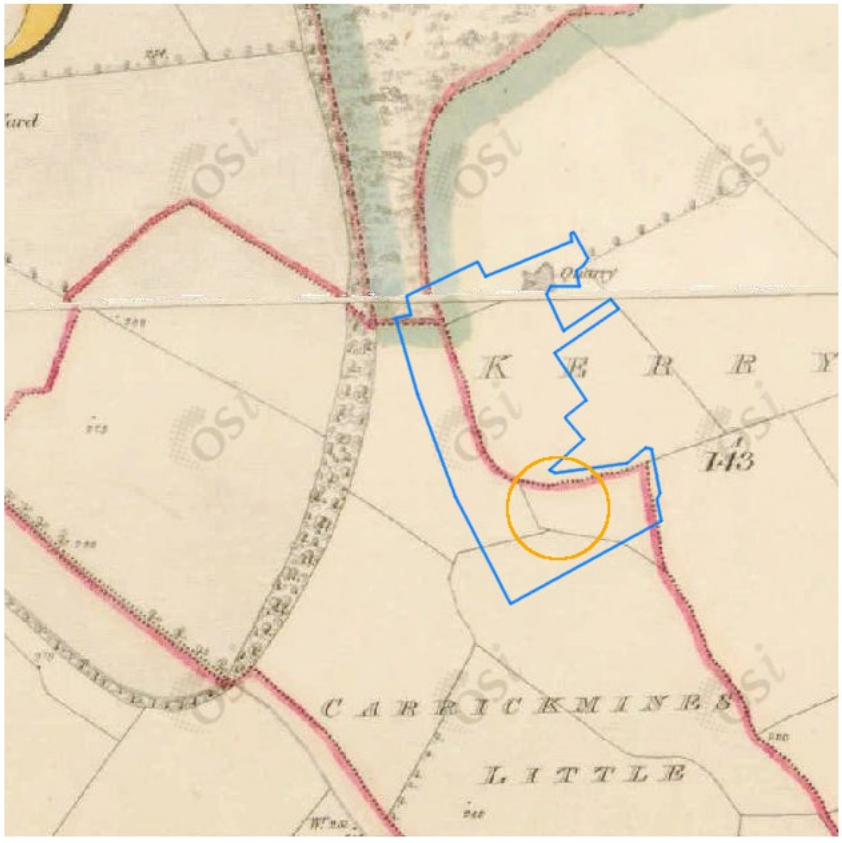
system of land enclosure which would form the basis of the local townland property system in the post-medieval period.

Function of structure

There is no evidence that the Brighton Road structure functioned as a house or residence. It is not situated in a ringfort. It is rectangular rather than round, which is unusual for the period before 800 AD (Lynne 1994, 83). There is a total absence of domestic artefacts or remains: for example there is no evidence for textile manufacturing, metal working, animal butchery or rearing, agricultural processing, cooking, or other activities typical of excavated house sites in the early medieval period. The 'hearth' may be related to the demolition rather than use of the structure, and is not centrally located. The bone assemblage is atypical of early medieval settlement sites, comprising only of heavily burnt bone remains with no identifiable butchery waste. The interpretation presented above of the termination of the structure as a careful and ritually-charged demolition is also at odds with excavations of early medieval houses, albeit reminiscent of prehistoric house termination rituals.

There is no evidence that the Brighton Road structure functioned as a church. Early medieval Irish churches were probably constructed from wood, and there is little evidence of what they would have looked like. There are references to churches built of wattle, mud and clay in the Saint's Lives (Hamlin 1984, cited in O'Sullivan *et al* 2008, 129), and the overall floor size and wall trench of the Brighton Road structure is not dissimilar to other examples of possible wooden churches excavated in Ireland (O'Sullivan 2008, 129-130). However, the location of the entrances of the Brighton Road structure at the eastern corners, and the rounded corners at the western end of the structure, do not resemble known pre-Norman church architecture, and particularly not the surviving pre-Norman stone churches of South Dublin with their characteristic *antae* (projecting corners) and western facing entrances (Corlett 1999, 46). The site lacks key features associated with early medieval ecclesiastical sites such as an enclosing element, burials, carved crosses, and an ecclesiastical place name (Swan 1983). Artefacts with ecclesiastical connections were not identified during the excavation, despite their presence on contemporary sites locally, as at Glebe ringfort (Seaver 2012; 2013).

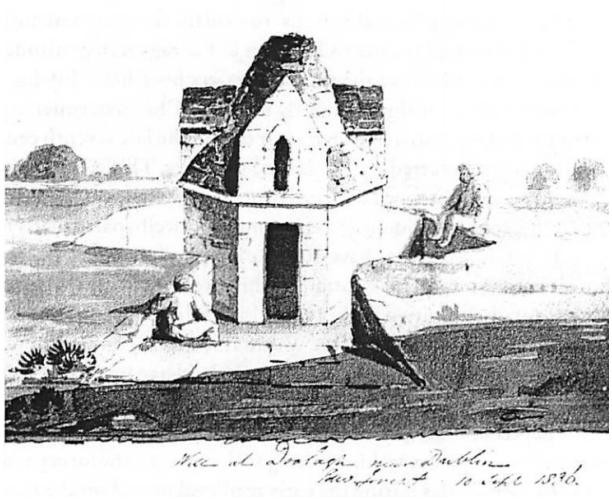
First Edition Ordnance Survey, 1837, showing development site in blue and archaeological site with orange circle. The townland boundary is shown in red



The structure was situated next to a spring. As described above, the spring was the site of numerous prehistoric wells and fulchtaí fia. In plan, the

orientation of the early medieval structure appears to respect the alignment of the prehistoric working surface and main access to the wells. However, these features would have been covered by the time the structure was constructed, so it is unlikely they directly influenced the architecture of the building. Instead, the building is likely to have been oriented in respect of the fulacht fiadh mound surrounding the spring. These form a distinctive horseshoe-shaped mound surrounding the working area of a fulacht fiadh (Dennehy 2008). Although this mound did not survive into the modern period, it is likely it formed a prominent local feature surrounding part of the spring during the early medieval period. Part of the prehistoric burnt spread was identified below the structure, where it was cut by the structural slot trench. The shape and orientation of the fulacht fiadh mound appears to have been a key factor in the location and orientation of the early medieval structure. Early medieval activity has been rarely identified at other fulachtaí fia. 6km to the south of Brighton Road, at Ballyman, a prehistoric fulacht fiadh appears to have been reused during the 8th to 10th centuries AD (O'Brien 2005). In an interesting parallel with Brighton Road, most of the animal bone from the early medieval phase of Ballyman was heavily burnt, a fact interpreted by the excavator as resulting from a specialised cooking technique. The Ballyman early medieval site was associated with a nearby pre-Norman ecclesiastical foundation (*ibid.*). No evidence for early medieval pyrolithic technology was identified at Brighton Road.

The Brighton Road structure was a specialised non-domestic building associated with the adjacent spring. The 11th century radiocarbon date returned from the small ditch running alongside the structure and leading into the phase 4 well suggests that wells were dug into the spring in the early medieval period, and it is very likely that the 7th-9th century structure had a contemporary well. It is possible that the structure was constructed to provide shelter for people using the well during bad weather, however this purely practical interpretation does not fit with the archaeological evidence for the unusually-shaped, long-lived and intentionally-dismantled structure excavated on the site. It is more likely that the structure had an ecclesiastical function, either as a shrine next to a 'holy' well, perhaps associated with an early Christian saint, or perhaps an early baptistery. Whitfield (2007, 510) has shown that baptism in springs or holy wells was common in the early centuries of Irish Christianity.



Octagonal baptistry over a holy well by St Doulagh's Church, Balgriffin, Co. Dublin. Sketch of 1836 in the Society of Antiquaries of London by Captain Edward Jones. Photo: Niamh Whitfield. Reproduced from Figure 45 in Whitfield 2007.

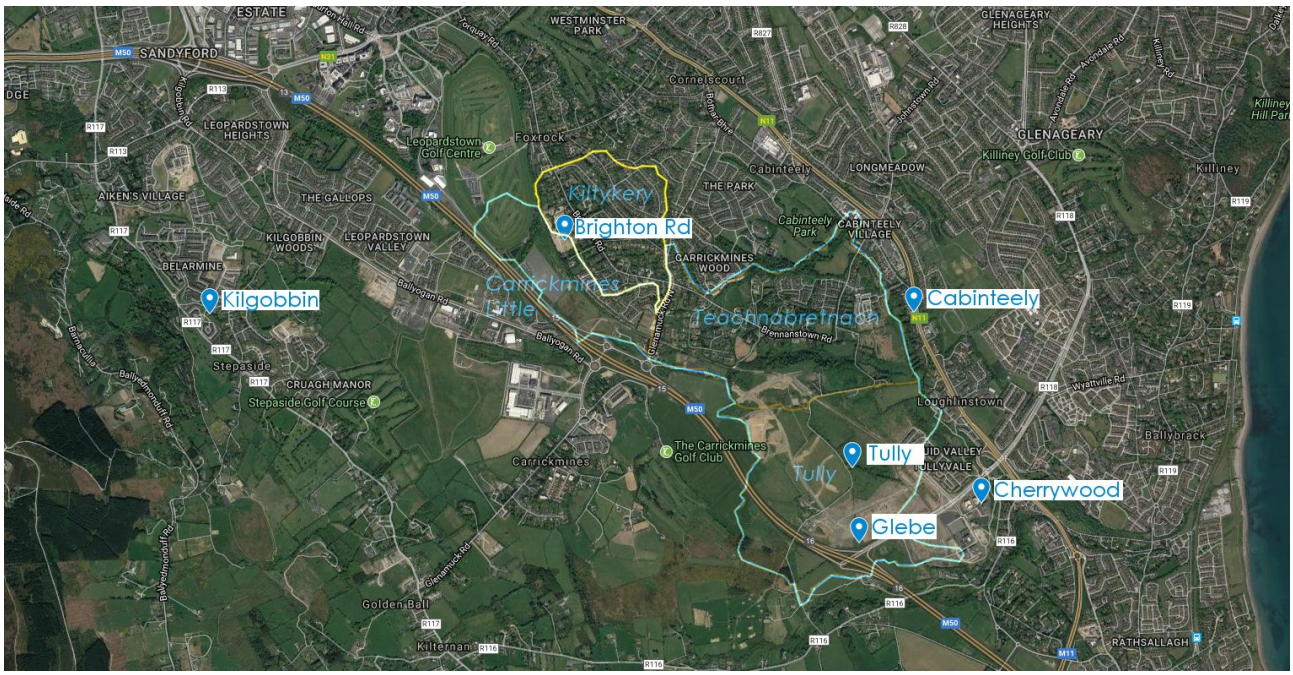
During the 7th to 9th centuries, the site was situated on the edge of the ecclesiastical lands of Tully, an important pre-Norman church site located 2.4km to the southeast (Boazman 2016). Tully was associated with Saint Bridget, at least by the mid-8th century (*ibid.*). The Brighton Road structure was also on the border of *Kiltykery* (Kerrymount), deriving from 'church/house of Ciar', perhaps referring to the resting place of the saint's relics (Flanagan 1984, 38). Ciar was a holy virgin of the *Múscraige Tíre*, from north Munster. Boazman (2016, 6) argues that the cult of the Munster saints in the Rathdown area relates to the very early period of Christianity, and identifies Kiltykery, Tallaght and possibly Kilgobbin with similar connections. O'Reilly (1901, 254-56) interprets a medieval reference to Kerrymount as referring to an ancient ecclesiastical establishment. Ball (1902, 107) also writes of a *'primitive church'* at Kerrymount, which belonged to St. Patrick's Cathedral and then passed on to the Priory of

the Holy Trinity. The location of this early possible ecclesiastical site has not been identified, but the Brighton Road site formerly lay within Kerrymount/Kiltykery in the 18th century (Boazman 2016).

The structure at Brighton Road was constructed at a time when regional kingdoms such as the *Uí Máil* and *Uí Dúnchada* competed for control over *Cualu* (roughly equivalent to Rathdown). Rathdown has the highest density of early medieval ecclesiastical foundations in mainland Ireland, and many of these appear to have been founded during this period (Boazman 2016). Archaeological excavations locally have found indicators of Christian activity dating from the 7th-9th centuries that do not conform to typical early medieval site types. For example, at Cabinteely a large early medieval cemetery did not appear to be associated with a church (Gowan 2013), perhaps indicating local burial practices were not confined to churchyards during this period. Bones inscribed with Christian symbols at Glebe ringfort (Seaver 2013) demonstrate religious activity taking place outside of, and therefore not directly mediated through or under the control of, dedicated ecclesiastical sites. An unidentified small sunken structure at Cherrywood (Structure 4) set within an earlier cemetery enclosure has no Irish parallels (O'Neill 2013, 68). Although interpreted by the excavator as a raised barn of possible Scottish influence (Ó Néill 1999; 2006), the structure may also demonstrate local non-conforming religious activity during the 7th -9th century. Boazman (2016, 14) notes that ecclesiastical organisation in Ireland at the time was based on kin-group affiliation and therefore territory, and was thus locally diverse. In this light, the presence of a minor 7th century religious site, without clear comparison to known early medieval site types, at the borders of Tully's ecclesiastical landholdings, is not unexpected.

The Brighton Road structure was situated on a border of the pre-Norman ecclesiastical holdings of Tully (Boazman 2016, 8-9). It also lay at the edge of the ecclesiastical land of Kiltykery. This border location is reflected in the mirrored arcing field boundaries to the north and south of the structure, both of which functioned as townland boundaries, and which may have delineated early medieval farm units

Location of Brighton Road site in relation to other sites discussed in text. Yellow line shows borders of pre-19th century Kerrymount/Kiltykery. Blue line shows borders of pre-Norman ecclesiastical holdings of Tully, after Boazman (2016, 8-9), which equates to the modern townlands of Carrickmines Little, Brennanstown, and Tully. The Brighton Road site is at the edge of the early ecclesiastical lands during the pre-Norman period.



or baile. The narrow strip of land between these curving boundaries was only 40m wide at the narrowest point. The Brighton Road structure (and adjacent spring) was situated exactly in between the two arcing boundaries at this narrow point, and these features could have acted as a nodal point, or fulcrum, in the early medieval division of land and political/ecclesiastical landholdings. Ó Riain (1972) proposed that early medieval church sites were located in un-owned land at the edges of neighbouring petty kingdoms or settlement cores to function as mediators between territories. More recent scholarship has demonstrated that the pattern does not hold for many larger ecclesiastical sites (Stout 2005, 145-6; O'Sullivan *et al* 2010), however it may be an appropriate model at Brighton Road.

If the structure at Brighton Road had a role to play in the mediation of local boundaries in the early medieval period, its dismantling in about 870 AD does not reflect the resolution of border tensions. The small parcel of land, some 40m wide, centred on the former structure and spring, was the source of property disputes until the 17th century, when there was confusion over which townland it belonged to (Boazman 2016).

The intentional dismantling and burning of the Brighton Road structure makes more sense in light of an ecclesiastical function. At a number of ecclesiastical sites, the intentional termination of part of the vallum (enclosure ditch) has been documented. This was identified at Dunshaughlin, Co. Meath (Simpson 2005, 234) and Clonmacnoise (Murphy 2003, 13). The former event probably occurred in the late 9th century (Simpson 2005, 237), and radiocarbon dating shows the latter event occurred in the 7th to 9th centuries, when Clonmacnoise was a thriving monastic community (O'Sullivan 2008, 123-4). These dates are contemporary with the termination of the Brighton Road structure. These terminations at parts of ecclesiastical sites may have been ritually charged events, conducted under the auspices of the ecclesiastical occupants as part of the evolution of the complex, rather than its destruction.

Ecclesiastical structures were frequently burnt down during the 9th century, both by Vikings and the Irish. The Viking raid on Lindisfarne monastery (in 793 AD) in northeast England traditionally marks the beginning of the 'Viking Age', and numerous burnings of churches by Vikings are recorded during the 9th century. But the burning down of churches did not start with the Vikings. As the power of the Irish churches grew in the 8th century, they became enmeshed in local politics and wars (Stout 2017, 112-3). The Annals of Ulster record a 'phase' of church burning, by the Irish, from 749 to 837 AD, during wars between kingdoms and occasionally between ecclesiastical foundations (ibid). The end of this phase coincides with the establishment of the Viking longphort in Dublin in about 840 AD and their parallel extension into the hinterland of Cualu, visible locally at Cherrywood (O'Neill 2013, 69-70).

The Brighton Road structure may have represented a type of early Christian worship associated with baptism outside of churchyards, or ancient wells, or Munster Saints, during the 7th and 8th centuries. This may no longer have been appropriate in the 8th and 9th centuries as the adjacent ecclesiastical site at Tully expanded. The expansion of Tully at this point is documented in 11th century sources referring to Tully sending a bishop to Kildare in or around the mid-8th century (Stokes 1905, 65; Ó Riain 2006, 189). Boazman (2016, 14) points out that this relates to the ascendancy of the Uí Dúnchada over the area of Cualu, and thus demonstrates the rising political power of Tully and their links to the wider mid-8th century polities. This period also coincides with movements toward conservatism in the early Irish church (Stout 2017, 119). The evidence for 'unconventional' 7th to 9th century Christian practices found in local archaeological sites set out above is no longer as evident in the later early medieval period, possibly representing a concentration of control over Christian worship practices in regional ecclesiastical centres. The demolition of the Brighton Road structure can therefore represent a manifestation of the expanding power of Tully, in terms both of land ownership as the ecclesiastical estate expanded into Kiltykery and Carrickmines Little, and standardisation and control of local worship practices.

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