Perception of ringforts in pre-modern Ireland

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ABSTRACT

Ringforts are among the most numerous and definitely the most visible archaeological monument on the Irish landscape. The majority of these monuments were built during the latter half of the first millennium AD and most had ceased to serve as habitation sites by the twelfth century. Nevertheless, communities across Ireland would have remained very aware of the presence of these monuments. Several centuries later, much land, particularly in the east of the country was appropriated by the Anglo-Normans and they too seemed to have viewed ringforts as important, albeit different, types of monuments. The goal of this thesis has been to investigate the question of how ringforts were perceived in pre-modern Ireland.

To do so, this initial question was broken down into three others, namely how attitudes and beliefs towards ringforts developed, how these attitudes influenced behaviour towards these monuments and what effect, if any, these had on the survival of ringforts in particular areas. Seeking to demonstrate how attitudes and beliefs towards ringforts originated and later developed, involved an initial division of Irish society in two broad groups, one group being indigenous and the other group comprising newcomers. The former group was then further sub-divided into those that comprised the learned classes of society and the popular class. An examination of evidence for how ringforts were perceived within the two Irish groups was then undertaken and it was shown that a correct knowledge of ringforts, particularly concerning their origin but also of their function, was available within the Gaelic manuscript tradition. Evidence was also provided to demonstrate how this information may have been disseminated into the wider community. It has also been shown how the decline in fortune of the learned Gaelic class, and the disappearance of many manuscripts, meant that this knowledge faded from the grasp of the general population.

This decline in understanding then paved the way for the emergence of another, mythological, association of ringforts. The initial development of this association was facilitated by the presence of underground chambers in many ringforts. These were initially constructed as refuges and storerooms, but over time the perception of these changed as their association with an underground living mythological race developed. Perceptions of this race itself changed over time, particularly as a result of a serious decline in the Gaelic language, and this attributed qualities to this group that it did not originally possess. The association in traditional belief between this group and ringforts supposedly served to protect these monuments from destruction.

Aside from these Gaelic interpretations, an equally influential perception developed within the worldview of the newcomers to the country. This attributed a completely different origin and function to ringforts. Over time this perception developed the status of orthodoxy and proved extremely difficult to dislodge from its position. However, attempts were sometimes made by the remaining Gaelic antiquarians to present to a wider audience the knowledge concerning the indigenous origin of ringforts. However, it was only towards the end of the 18th century that this information began to achieve prominence, and from this date it grew in importance and eventually displaced the theory that ringforts were of foreign origin and had a predominately military function.

Did these differing attitudes have an effect on ringfort survival? An examination of 19th and 20th century maps, from study areas in Co. Cork, showed that some level of destruction occurred between these two periods. In this context the word 'destruction' is used in a general sense, while remaining cognisant that an important archaeological element remained underground. Earlier estate maps are available for these study areas and a comparative study of all the available cartographic sources indicated a severe rate of decline in ringfort numbers from the beginning of the 18th century to the present day. Additional examination of photographic images from recent aerial surveys showed, in some cases, that the levelling of ringforts began even prior to the compilation of the first maps in 1717.

This comparative study highlighted the apparent contradiction between the important position of ringforts for each of the local communities and the high level of ringfort destruction. It also allowed for the period of most risk to ringforts in these study areas to be identified. A study of the practical developments in each of these two baronies that was likely to have most affected ringforts in each of these study areas was then undertaken. The study suggested that the development of commercial tillage farming from the later part of the 18th century posed the greatest risk to ringforts in the east Cork barony. In the second study area, of mid-Cork, the proximity to an urban area seems to have negatively affected ringforts in the region. This study also highlighted that the levelling of ringforts continued throughout the period under examination and this facilitated the conclusion that the desire to maximise profits drove a doctrine of 'Improvement' and it was this economic factor that posed the greatest overall risk to ringforts in these two baronies.

An attempt was then made to corroborate these results through seeking to apply them to areas throughout the country where other farming practices were noted for the same period.

Initially, it was decided to focus on two baronies in Co. Kildare, as these had a long history of arable farming and, furthermore, were located near the main urban centre of the country, Dublin. In this situation, the application of the hypothesis developed in Co. Cork should show an increased rate of decline in both these areas, if the theory held true. Indeed, these were the results that were obtained, with one barony, Kilcullen, providing evidence, in maps and aerial images, for the total destruction of ringforts there. It was then decided to test this hypothesis in areas where different farming activity was noted. Castlereagh barony in Co. Roscommon, noted for cattle fattening, and Ibrickan barony in Co. Clare, an area of small, mixed farms, were chosen and the results conformed to what would be expected if the notion that arable farming posed the greatest risk to ringfort survival was accurate.

Therefore, the answers to the questions posed at the beginning of this thesis may be summarised in this manner: ringforts occupied an important position in the world views of the communities that encountered them, fulfilling a variety of social and political roles. However, economic factors seem to have been accorded greater importance and this resulted in ringforts being removed from the Irish landscape in large numbers.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION & METHODOLOGY.

1.1. Background information on ringforts

The structures commonly referred to as ringforts are the most numerous archaeological monuments in Ireland. A recent estimate suggests the number of 47,000 extant examples, with a possible original number of an estimated 60,000 original sites (Stout & Stout 2011, 44). While of unequal distribution throughout the country, ringforts are also in many cases the most numerous and recognisable field monuments within individual parishes and townlands. In form, the majority of these structures are of univallate construction, that is, they are composed of a single enclosing bank with an accompanying external ditch. This led Ó Ríordáin (1942, 1) to offer a succinct description of ringforts as being 'a space, most frequently circular, surrounded by a bank and fosse'.

Edwards (1996) proffered an explanation as to how these monuments may have been constructed. It was suggested that a stake may have been driven in the centre of the proposed site and a circular outline traced with a cord or string that could then serve as a template for the excavation of the fosse, and the resulting spoil could be thrown inward to form the enclosing bank. The circular nature of the ringfort facilitating this by allowing the spoil to be built up in a smooth fashion through the avoidance of corners. It has long been understood that the materials used to construct the monument were at the origin of the various names by which this monument may be referred: 'Rath' and 'Lios' seem to refer to earthen ringforts and that 'Caiseal' and 'Cathair' refer to stone walled ringforts (Petrie 1834).

These structures are strongly associated with the latter half of the first millennium AD, as is shown by radiocarbon dates compiled by Stout (1997, 29). This information was further refined by Monk (1998, 48) who argued that the main period of construction for this monument type dated from the 6th to the 9th centuries AD. Ringforts developed as a consequence of the organisation of Irish society during this period, which was itself deeply influenced by the climate and geography of the country. It was a predominately-rural society consisting of small, scattered, settlements, having an agriculture based economy and within this context, the majority of ringforts functioned as the domestic compounds of individual farming families.

Investigation of the early law texts has led Irish society during this period to be described as being 'hierarchical and inegalitarian' (Kelly 1988, 7). Studies of the political organisation

of this period show society as based on an interlinked series of relationships of obligation, from individual rights and responsibilities inherent within extended family groups – *derbhfine* – and radiating outwards into the wider clan structure and eventually upwards towards the regional kingdoms. Some ringforts may also be regarded as a physical expression of these relationships, especially those structures that were of multivallate construction, those ringforts which possessed several enclosing banks and ditches, and which, because of their size and the effort required for construction, might be seen as a sign of the high status of the occupants.

This series of internally focused obligations within the *derbhfine* influenced attitudes and behaviours towards external groups during this period. Indeed, it has been suggested that Ireland at this time existed in a state of permanent low-level warfare, characterised by raids and counter-raids, primarily undertaken with the object of self-advancement or the cementing of status (Lucas 1958b). This activity may have been facilitated by the absence of a sense of obligation towards outsiders and the presence of easily movable wealth in the form of cattle. Within this setting, Stout (1997) suggests that ringforts, while not individually possessing strong defensive properties, may have provided a system of 'defence in depth', wherein ringforts would be located on the landscape within close proximity, and inter-visible, to one another. In such a situation, in the event of a raid this proximity to another structure would have offered an escape route, initially, in order to seek shelter and, then, perhaps to gather forces in advance of an attempt to repel the raiders. Evidence of the necessity to provide for potential refuge may also be seen in the construction in some areas of underground chambers, or souterrains. Is it possible that this original function to some degree militarised the surrounding landscape and imbued it with a lingering sense of potential violence?

However, no society exists in a vacuum and due to a combination of internal pressures and external influences, Irish society began to change and change dramatically. The primary consideration when examining how external influences created these internal pressures has to be the increase in population, which can be linked to the significant benefits associated with the introduction of dairy farming (McCormick 1995). This population increase rendered the maintenance of the existing system of political obligation increasingly difficult, and eventually impossible. Furthermore, increased contact with the outside world, which lead to the establishment of the first towns, offered the potential for differentiation through the adoption of newer building styles and so eventually ringforts lost favour as a type of domestic structure, and over time the original function of these monuments faded from memory. This loss of memory, however, occurred at different times throughout the country and it may be argued that

in areas subjected to strong external influence this loss occurred quickly, as texts show that, in some areas, the original function of ringforts appears to have been forgotten by the end of the 12th century (Cambrensis 1188). However, in areas which retained a strong Gaelic identity some remained in use and an understanding of their earlier significance may have been remembered by scholars, such as Tadhg O'Rodaighe, until at least the beginning of the 18th century (Thom & Thom 1846, 124).

Nevertheless, ringforts remained a highly visible presence upon the Irish landscape, wherein they would likely have fulfilled a variety of practical functions for succeeding communities. It requires no stretch of the imagination to visualise them being used as enclosures in a continued agricultural setting, as noted by Ó Ríordáin (1930), as this is still a recognisable practice today. Spenser (1597) remarks upon the use of ringforts as places of assembly and later some of these monuments were used, in some areas, as the setting for the 'courts of poetry' that developed following the collapse of the bardic schools (Corkery 1924, 101). There are even suggestions concerning the continued occupation, or at least reoccupation, of some ringforts towards the beginning of the nineteenth century (Westropp 1896, 148). In contemporary Ireland, a small number have been integrated into New Age spiritual practices.

1.2. Research Aims

This thesis will attempt to answer several questions in relation to ringforts in pre-modern Ireland. An initial question will involve investigating how these ringforts were perceived by the various communities of Irish society that encountered them. The question of how these perceptions influenced the attitudes and actions of these communities towards these monuments will then be examined. A third major question that this thesis will seek to answer is the degree to which this behaviour may have affected ringforts in different areas. This will firstly require the study of historical evidence concerning ringforts and how this information was transmitted through time. The study of how various attitudes and actions affected ringforts will require the study and comparison of early large-scale maps that depict ringforts, to identify patterns of survival and destruction in recent centuries. Following this the practical developments, that will surely have an economic dimension, will be examined and hopefully a connection between the evolution of a particular action and a specific outcome in regards to ringforts may be confirmed. In addition to these practical considerations, this project will seek

to include any additional pertinent information concerning the position of ringforts in pre-modern Ireland.

To summarise, the stated aims of this project are: to investigate the attitudes and beliefs held by various sections of Irish society towards ringforts in the pre-modern period, to ascertain the extent to which these beliefs influenced behaviour towards ringforts and to discover the degree to which these behavioural patterns physically affected these monuments.

1.3. Methodology

The stated aims of this study have been set forth in the manner that may be expected of any human activity, whereby thought (belief) leads to action (behaviour) which produces a result (impact), and indeed this is how the thesis will be presented. However, it is deemed appropriate in this case to proceed initially in a slightly different manner. In the first instance, the study will attempt to establish how communities that encountered ringforts perceived them and how their initial understandings were transformed, or not, over time. It is next deemed appropriate to investigate whether there was any observable impact on ringfort numbers over this period, and if so whether this data can be accessed and collected. This being the case it is then proposed to investigate the range of activities that occurred within each study area, throughout this period, which were likely to have been the cause of changing conditions for ringforts. An attempt will be made to link these activities with the belief systems apparent within the various communities within each of these areas. Once this information has been accumulated, and the links between these three sections established, it is then proposed to present the results in the revised manner stated above. As a result of these methods of procedure, this study could be said to contain a strong empirical attitude to the discovery and dissemination of knowledge. However, the philosophical attitudes that would have informed the perceptions of ringforts by these communities will require a theoretically driven model of understanding, and this is adopted throughout.

There does exist a wide range of information concerning both ringforts in particular and attitudes towards ancient monuments in general and, also, to the prevailing social, political and economic conditions of recent centuries and it is proposed for this study to draw upon these sources. Consequently, in its organisation this project could best be seen as having an interdisciplinary focus, for in addition to archaeology it will also contain strong influences of an historical, geographical and folkloric nature. The subject matter of ringforts will require the

establishment of a strong archaeological foundation and, fortunately, this is a subject that has been meticulously addressed by important scholars, who dedicated an extensive amount of time to studying this phenomenon.

It is felt that the establishment of a rate of decline in ringfort numbers in this study would be best achieved through an initial in-depth study of specific areas in South Munster. These areas were chosen with consideration to the environmental conditions present, but also to the availability of as large, and as early, an amount of information as possible, particularly cartographic information. This allowed a comprehensive study of the expected decline in ringforts to be undertaken and two initial study areas were chosen: the first in east county Cork and the second in the mid-Cork region. In conjunction with the comparative study of ringforts numbers, the historical, environmental and economic developments that affected these two baronies were also examined with the object of associating any period of increased risk to these monuments with a particular activity. Several other study areas were then chosen from around the country, initially in an attempt to corroborate the findings from the two baronies in Co. Cork, and to extrapolate these findings into areas where similar activities have been noted. These study areas are located in counties Kildare, Roscommon and Clare.

1.4. Attitudes and Beliefs

1.4.1. Introduction

This project will also require an understanding of the attitudes and beliefs, which lay behind and influenced the behaviour of various groups towards ringforts. The variety of beliefs can be grouped together and summarised in a variety of ways, mainly oppositional, depending on the groups concerned: educated or uneducated, native or settler, emic or etic. Once again, it should be stressed that these distinctions are unlikely to be clearly defined between, or even within, each group. An element of this part of the study will require the investigation of abstract concepts and for this purpose, it is proposed to draw upon the associated disciplines of philosophy and psychology. Finally, the majority of Irish people during this period lived in an oral society and left few, if any, written records. It is felt that in order to ascertain the attitudes and beliefs held by this section it will be necessary to draw upon the folklore records, which were gathered at the end of this period but are likely to offer an insight into an earlier period of popular worldview of this group.

1.4.2. Philosophy

The general approach in this study is empirical, whereby information will be gathered, any change over time noted and these results will be linked with an associated activity. Therefore, it seems advisable not to approach this study with any preconceived expectations or, at least, to be aware, of the inherent biases contained within any pre-determined philosophical approach. However, in attempting to understand the background of the development of earlier attitudes towards ringforts it is intended to refer to both the dominant philosophies of the period and to investigate their background and development.

For instance, it is intended to establish properly the philosophical influences of the time through reference to the mutually exclusive and perhaps antagonistic developments in the discipline of philosophy during the 18th and 19th centuries. These phases are also referred to as the Age of the Enlightenment and the subsequent Romantic period. The philosophy of the 18th century may be understood as the driving force behind the Age of the Enlightenment. As an associated development of the earlier Scientific Revolution, the dominant philosophy of this period laid an emphasis on the application of similar methods of scientific rigour to the examination of philosophical questions. Francis Bacon had already argued for this attitude in 1605 in *The Advancement of Learning*. However, perhaps the most influential philosopher of this founding period was Rene Descartes, who in *Discours de la Méthode*, published in 1637?, emphasised the necessity of the role of doubt and even scepticism in understanding philosophical reasoning. This movement was a major influence behind the development of what is referred to as 'New Learning' (Hoppen 1970). Influential in academic circles at the beginning of the 18th Century, adherents of this method, while driven by a quest for knowledge, appear to have been dismissive of earlier studies solely because this new method was not applied. Eventually, this increased emphasis on scientific method and empirical reasoning created a backlash by groups wishing to emphasise the intuitive human aspect of seeing the world, e.g. Goethe (1808-1832).

This desire may have been motivated by a fearful apprehension of the new industrialised world. However, the role of geo-politics may also need to be taken into consideration. Whereas the Age of Enlightenment has become strongly associated with France, what came to be termed as the Romantic Movement developed in what is now Germany, but was then a mass of individual kingdoms. The elite of these kingdoms looked towards France and the resurgence of interest in the worldview of the common people, as evidenced by the work of the Brothers

Grimm (1812), may perhaps have been a reaction to this foreign influence. Educated individuals — perhaps also mistrustful of an industrial world, which diminished the position of humanity — assimilated this philosophy as it spread throughout Europe, and while strongly influencing all spheres of cultural life, this resulted in an interest in the 'Folk' traditions. Here in Ireland, this idealisation of the peasant as the bearer of ancient knowledge allowed their worldview to be recorded, but perhaps this was filtered through another language, English, and the prism of outside influence. These points will be studied during this project, particularly the influence of the deeply embedded, perhaps innate, philosophical concept of primitivism, which contains the notion of previous Utopian existence and which seems to have strongly influenced the development of Romanticism and later folklore.

1.4.3. Folklore

Another important potential reservoir of information pertinent to this project can be accessed by an examination of the folklore tradition of the Irish people, e.g. (Wilde 1852). The search for motivating factors in the seemingly illogical, though apparently vital, attitude and behaviour towards these monuments on the part of the lower strata of pre-modern Irish society is promising. While folklore was collected from the beginning of the 19th century (Crofton-Croker 1824), the organisation of a systematic approach to its collection had to wait until the beginning of the 20th century, and it is an unfortunate truth that this was essentially a rescue operation (Ó Duilearga 1927). It was recognised at the beginning of the 20th century that the old ways and popular beliefs were in the process of disappearing and the desire to preserve what remained lead a group of concerned individuals to establish the Folklore Society of Ireland. In 1935, this body was granted official approval and became established on a national footing as the National Folklore Commission (Briody 2007). The primary focus of the efforts at collecting what was a fast disappearing resource was on the Gaeltacht areas in the west of the country.

In addition to this initiative, a questionnaire was sent to the majority of the National Schools in the country, with the advice that pupils gather the available information from the surrounding locality. The questionnaire was organised along structured lines and this may have influenced the answers that were received in response. Nevertheless, the booklets which were returned to the Folklore Commission contain information extremely pertinent to this project, as for the majority of the period in question practically all the population lived in an oral

society, with a limited influence of the written word (Dillon 1947). Even after the widespread adoption of literacy, oral traditions still maintained a firm grip on the minds of the people. However, the Great Famine of the mid-19th century resulted in a catastrophic rupture with the past thought processes of this group.

As a result of these two factors, these snatches of information are all that survive as written evidence of the thoughts of the people themselves. Nevertheless, they offer an important insight into the worldview of these people and, in particular, their perceptions of ringforts throughout the period under examination. While this archive was compiled at the end of the period in question, the information was collected from older members of the community and it is likely to reflect several generations of folk memory. The traditions associated with ringforts occupied a central position in the popular worldview of this period, and it is for this reason that a thorough examination of these records is deemed necessary.

1.4.4. Semantics and Semiotics

Another field of study that may facilitate the investigation of how ringforts were perceived by communities in an oral context is that of the psychology of communication, primarily the notion of semiotics: the transmission of information using signs or symbols. This concept played an important role in the development of the field of linguistics. This 'theory of signs' was stressed in the work of both Peirce (1873) and de Saussure (1915). The main difference between these two approaches concerns the attribution of meaning. Whereas, de Saussure (1915, 67) argued that this attribution was of an arbitrary nature, Peirce declared that a sign, which could be immediately understood by the interpretant, signified the object (1931, Vol. 1, para. 540). For this project, Peirce's approach will be favoured because of a desire to understand whether the physical appearance of these monuments in any way influenced the later understanding of their functions. This field was elaborated upon by among others the Italian semiotician, Umberto Eco (1984). The application of semiotics in landscape archaeology stems from the modern theory that the landscape may be read like a text and therefore it is felt that in order to conduct a proper investigation of the stated topic, particularly the perceptions of ringforts in an oral community, it will be necessary to include information from this perspective.

1.5. Data Collection

A clear indication of attitudes towards ringforts is likely to be reflected in their survival rates in the chosen study areas. For this reason, prior to researching which developments and possible activities may have affected these monuments, it is felt necessary to ascertain whether evidence of a decline in these monuments is available. For, if no such evidence could be found it would seem a futile exercise to amass data on the initial political, economic, and social conditions and subsequent developments of the period, for this data could not be shown to have influenced the protection, or lack thereof, afforded this monument type. To highlight any change over time of the presence of these monuments on the landscape it is felt necessary to include a strong statistical element in the project.

The primary data collection method for this project will involve the examination of all available cartographic evidence within selected core areas and this will begin with some estate maps of the earliest available date. The comparative study will continue with those created by the Ordnance Survey throughout the 1820's to the 1840's, and as a result of subsequent revision towards the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. For example, parts of the east Cork study area were the subject of several early estate surveys, the earliest of which was one undertaken by a local man, Josias Bateman in 1716 (NLI: Mss. 6148-9). Bernard Scalé again surveyed this area in 1774 and he continued his endeavour to survey also the mid-Cork barony chosen for this initial study (NLI: Mss. 7216-8). Both of these surveyors included representations of ringforts on their maps and it is expected that a careful study of them will allow a possible commencement date for ringfort destruction to be extended to an earlier date.

In addition, as part of a nationwide undertaking, the Ordnance Survey comprehensively surveyed these areas in the 1840s and the early 1900s. It is expected that a comparative study of the cartographic evidence would provide an indication of ringfort numbers relating to the period when each map was made, and how these conditions changed over time. Through an examination of all of these maps in a chronological order it will be possible to show the continued presence, or not, of each ringfort within the individual townlands. In such a manner, and in addition to the calculation of an overall rate of decline, it will be possible to indicate the period during which a ringfort may have been destroyed and, following analysis, it may be possible to link this destruction with a particular activity. This comparative method will be expanded into each of the other study areas and the information gathered will be presented in graph form, which is expected to render any changes readily apparent. Throughout this thesis,

incidentally, the notion of 'destruction' will be generally used in relation to both the destruction and levelling of ringforts, fully in the knowledge that important archaeological evidence remained underground at many sites.

This study will also make use of contemporary technological advances in the provision of aerial imagery that has simplified the examination of large swaths of countryside so as to expose evidence of the remains of sites that are often not included in cartographic sources. The remains of such sites, under the right conditions, may be visible as either crop marks, soil marks or scorch marks on the ground. This is particularly suited to the search for ringforts as their circular nature means that they are readily recognisable as cultural structures. The utility of discovering strong evidence of previously unrecorded sites is that a comparison with available maps will at least allow for a *terminus ante quem* for the destruction of these possible monuments to be established.

1.6. Behaviour

When considering the range of practical activities that may have directly affected ringforts, it is felt important to establish the wider context within which such activities may have developed. For example, by drawing upon works which deal comprehensively with the history of Co. Cork during this period, such as the impressive tome *Old World Colony: Cork and South Munster 1630-1830* (Dickson 2005), and similar works are available for the other study areas. The main focus of this thesis largely spans a period of just over 200 years, the 18th and 19th centuries, an extremely turbulent era of Irish history. The majority of the contributing factors which drove change over this dynamic period can be summarised into three categories: Political, Economic and Social. The political situation during the beginning of this period was dominated by the destruction of the old Gaelic social order and the subsequent introduction of the repressive Penal Laws. This oppression eventually produced a counter reaction, which grew into the struggle for emancipation for the indigenous majority (O'Beirne-Ranelagh 1990).

The social developments may be understood as the embedding of the settler class into the social fabric of society on the one hand and, on the other, the explosive growth in population at the lower levels of Irish society and the eventual decimation of this class during the Great Famine. The implementation of a new social order, and its eventual consolidation as the status quo, enabled the settlers to transform the landscape and, coincidentally, to develop the local infrastructure. It is important to remember that the driving forces for landscape development

were the result of a combination of practical considerations, the most important of which was the desire of the newcomers to profit from their recent acquisitions, as for the majority of these settlers this should primarily be considered a business venture. However, the secondary benefit of transforming the surrounding landscape to reflect their taste and desires served, of course, to reinforce their image as rightful custodians of the land.

As Ireland was still primarily a rural agriculture-based economy the primary method of accruing financial reward was through the reclamation of land. Efforts at achieving this through, for example, the addition of sea sand or the burning and spreading of lime required that improvements be made to the communications network (Dickson 2005). In addition to allowing the improvement of productivity an improved communications network also permitted the fruits of these labours to be transported more readily to market. This would have been of more benefit in areas that were later able to adapt their lands to supply the increased demand for grain crops. This move to tillage would likely have encouraged the further transformation of the landscape so that it be ploughed more easily. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that this desire to rationalise farming methods would have affected ringfort survival rates in the affected areas.

The catastrophe of the Great Famine is the defining watershed of this period, for even the survivors were deeply affected psychologically and this had major repercussions, which, it may be argued, continue to be felt even today. Economic conditions at this time were centred on agricultural developments, which included, for some sections of the community, the improvement of farming techniques (Bell 1987). This period is also remarkable for a widespread change from tillage to dairy farming, which may also have influenced the survival rates for ringforts in such areas. This adaptation was a result of a combination of outside influences and internal factors, such as the fall in grain prices following the reopening of continental markets at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, which caused a generalised decline in the overall Irish economy (Aalen 1978, 156). This period also saw the large-scale removal of field boundaries and a further opening-up of the land, and this may explain the decline in ringfort numbers in these areas.

These factors are presented here individually, however, they existed in a close symbiotic relationship in a complex society where the influence of each sector waxed and waned over the entire period under examination. Once the general context has been established, it is proposed to focus more closely on the developments within the various study areas. This will involve

the examination of map indexes and other pertinent information pertaining to the core study areas and it is hoped that this examination will allow a correlation to be drawn between certain activities, including factors mentioned above, and specific outcomes, such as the destruction of ringforts. It is also proposed to make use of the accounts of travellers to Ireland, such as the agronomist Arthur Young (1780), during this period. Such information as may be gleaned from these will then be applied to other areas of the country in an attempt to corroborate this information and also to judge whether such information can be applied throughout the country.

1.7. Thesis Layout

Here above concludes the introductory chapter of this thesis. The presentation of this thesis will continue to examine and answer the chosen questions in a progressive manner. The second chapter will detail how the correct information regarding the origin and function of ringforts was contained within the Irish manuscript tradition. It will also examine the origin of another important understanding of these monuments. The third chapter will demonstrate the early and enduring association of some ringforts with Irish mythology. The fourth chapter will return to the perceptions of ringforts by different sections of Irish society and the role that these monuments fulfilled in the cultural struggles of the 18th and 19th centuries. The fifth chapter will begin to examine the understanding of ringforts by the Gaelic popular class. To emphasise the strength of particular attitudes this chapter will investigate the attractiveness of primitivism, as well as its longevity and extensive influence. The following, sixth, chapter will continue this element of research by providing accounts of the folklore of ringforts and how this adapted over time. The seventh chapter will highlight the descriptions of ringforts contained in early modern and modern maps and documents. The subsequent, eighth, chapter will describe the destruction of ringforts within two baronies of Co. Cork and investigate the apparent causes for this evolution. The penultimate, ninth, chapter will test the results obtained in chapter eight, by examining ringfort destruction rates, initially in comparable baronies and then in dissimilar ones. The concluding, tenth, chapter will, in addition to containing several discussion points, will combine the results of earlier chapters, discuss these and answer the questions initially put forward at the beginning of this thesis.

CHAPTER 2: THE FOUNDATION OF CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS RINGFORTS.

2.1 Introduction

As already noted, ringforts have a widespread geographical distribution, one that extends over a variety of environments (Stout & Stout, 2011). Even a cursory examination of the earliest Ordnance Survey maps is sufficient to highlight the difficulty in finding a parish, or even a townland, which does not contain at least one example of this monument type. The majority of ringforts originally functioned as residential sites domestic and, as such, they would have been the focal points of widespread human activity and interaction (Edwards 1996, 33). Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that they would also have occupied an important, although perhaps unremarkable, position within contemporary social memory. In such a setting, knowledge of any particular noteworthy activity is likely to have been passed from person to person and from group to group as part of the everyday social interaction. This is even more likely concerning the larger multivallate ringforts that had more important 'elite' connotations and where the associated activities were likely to interest individuals or groups not directly linked to the site (Monk 1998, 40).

2.1.1 Native learning

The extensive presence of ringforts within the social memory of the early medieval period may be perceived in the almost incidental remarks present in the earliest written tales. Remarks that associate these structures with named individuals and clearly establish their function as settlement sites. Examples of this are contained within manuscripts such as Lebor na hUidre and the Book of Leinster. It should be noted that these manuscripts were compiled several centuries after the introduction of literacy into Ireland, but draw upon earlier material (Ní Bhrolcháin 2009). Literacy was introduced as part of an imported cultural package that also included new religious and economic practices. Indeed, it has been argued that an understanding of Latin script would have existed prior to the establishment of Palladius' mission in AD 431 (Ó Cathasaigh 2005, 12). Furthermore, the structure of the Ogham alphabet supports this assertion, although perhaps from an earlier date. However, it is important to bear in mind that whatever the level of literacy, it appears to have remained the preserve of several

specialised classes within, both, the secular and ecclesiastical communities: notably the *Filid* and the *Brehon* on one hand and the copyists and illustrators in the newly established monasteries on the other.

Prior to the introduction of literacy Ireland existed in an oral society, where the transmission of information took place at a personal, almost organic, level of interaction (Vansina 1973). In such a society, information needed first to be memorised and preserved in order to then be available for transmission. One of the primary functions of the above named groups, the *Filid* and the *Brehons*, within an oral setting seems to have consisted of preserving such traditional information. Indeed, Kenney (1979, 2) intimates this as he argues that the role of the *Brehon* was one of a specialist who 'knew, preserved and developed the law'. The functions which the Filid provided were more varied and included the composition and recitation of 'Sagas, Dindsenchas, genealogies, praise poetry and satire, charms and incantations in addition to translations of foreign literature (*ibid*, 4). Within this formal context, in praise poetry for example, associations between named individuals and particular sites are likely to have been retained in the memories of those groups delegated with these tasks.

This task was likely facilitated through training that involved the simplification of information, the use of mnemonic devices and the frequent repetition of such information (Lord 1960, 26). Within this formal context, any associations between named individuals and particular sites are likely to have been retained in the memories of those groups delegated with these tasks. Indeed, it has been accepted by various scholars that the collection of such information is as 'old as written literature in the Irish language' (Murray 2017, 11 & 17). Such a task was likely facilitated through training that involved the simplification of information, the use of mnemonic devices and the frequent repetition of such information (Lord 1960, 26). Perhaps because of the effort this required, groups charged with the preservation and dissemination of traditional knowledge appear to have been quick to appreciate the advantages associated with literacy. Primarily, for its function as the external preservation, and concrete establishment, of memory. Evidence of this can be seen in the early committal to text of the legal corpus of the day, such as the *Senchas Mór*, which was compiled during the 7th and 8th centuries AD (Kelly 1988).

The influence of the *Filid* may be seen in the inclusion of place-name lore, the *Dindsenchas*, in some of the earliest known manuscripts, such as the Book of Leinster, which had been completed by the late 12th century AD. This manuscript is considered one of the

major texts of this early period and its influence can be seen in a range of later texts of the 14th and 15th centuries. It is common also for these early manuscripts to contain an account of the origins of the Irish race, normally contained within the text, *Lebor Gabhala Erenn* or the Book of Invasions. Carey (2009) argues convincingly that the earliest known manuscript, *Lebor na uHuidre*, originally contained this tale in the now missing initial pages. A section of this tale relates how a race of inhabitants – *Tuatha Dé Danaan* – were driven underground to become the *Aos Sídhe*, or the people of the mounds. Initially this race appears to have been associated with, either, prominent natural features or ancient archaeological monuments, whose function had long passed from social memory. It may be argued that these two strands of knowledge, concerning a correct perception of ringfort function and an acceptance of an underground race of inhabitants, co-existed within the understanding of the learned groups who had access to these scripts. Because the preservation of this formal knowledge does appear to have been the function of a specialised class, any change in the circumstances of such a class, particularly negative change, had the possibility of producing a ruinous impact on the retention and dissemination of such knowledge.

2.1.2 Effects of colonisation

This appears to have been the case in Ireland. Both the above named groups were highly dependent on the existing Gaelic political system for patronage. Changes to this system began to occur following the Norman invasion of 1169 (Dudley Edwards 1972, 33). In areas subjected to strong Norman influence, which included a new legal system, the role of the *Brehon* soon faded and it appears that the traditional information held by the *Filid* was also lost. For, as will be discussed below, it seems, in some areas at least, that the correct understanding of the function of something as mundane as ringforts appears to have been forgotten by the end of the 12th century AD. Evidence to support this claim can be found in the text compiled by the Welsh cleric, Geraldus Cambrensis, following his tours of the country (O'Meara 1951). This text – *Topographia Hibernica* – was first read at Oxford in 1188 and enjoyed widespread success, which facilitated its acceptance as historical fact. The geographical influence of this text may be understood by the inclusion of some of its ideas in the 12th century Norwegian tale, the *Konungs Skuggsjá*, or the King's Mirror (Larson 1917). Cambrensis' text enjoyed a great longevity and was included in most of the major texts that originated in England, or from the English population in Ireland, over the next several hundred years. This may then have

constituted a self-reinforcing argument, to the degree, whereby at the beginning of this period of study, the 18th century and despite the development of Empiricism and 'New Learning', Cambrensis' ideas continued to be accepted as orthodoxy.

2.1.3 Orality

It should be remembered that even following the introduction of literacy the majority of the population of the island continued to live within an oral society. A critical aspect of such a society is that it leaves no fixed record for future investigation. Indeed, Lord (1960) argued that until a tale is written down, no definitive text exists and that any transmitted information may differ at each telling. However, Varsina (1973) has suggested that the correct transmission of traditional knowledge within an oral context may continue for as long as the originating social structure remains relatively stable. This theory has been reinforced by the work of McCone (1990), who argued that the continuation of a cultural practice, such as indicated by the early medieval *Fianna* and its relationship to the Indo-European *Mannerbund*, of several thousand years earlier, might be attributed to the continued social utility of such a practice throughout the intervening period.

In contrast, from the 12th century Ireland underwent, in various places and at different periods, seismic cultural change. The apparent loss of understanding of the correct function of ringforts throughout these areas and within these periods would have facilitated the mythologizing of these sites. This may also have occurred because of an apparently innate desire to create, and interact with, fixed points of reference upon the landscape (Eliade 1974, 17). Once ringforts had been mythologised, perhaps the physical layout of the majority of these monuments may have facilitated an association with the, previously described, subterranean race. Therefore, it can be seen that several strands of interpretation existed during this period. Furthermore, that, for a variety of reasons, each strand could have waxed or waned in importance over time and within different areas of the country. It is now proposed to examine each of these strands further, with a particular focus on exemplary manuscripts and on modern research into oral societies, to highlight the dynamic interpretations of these monuments up until the end of the 18th century.

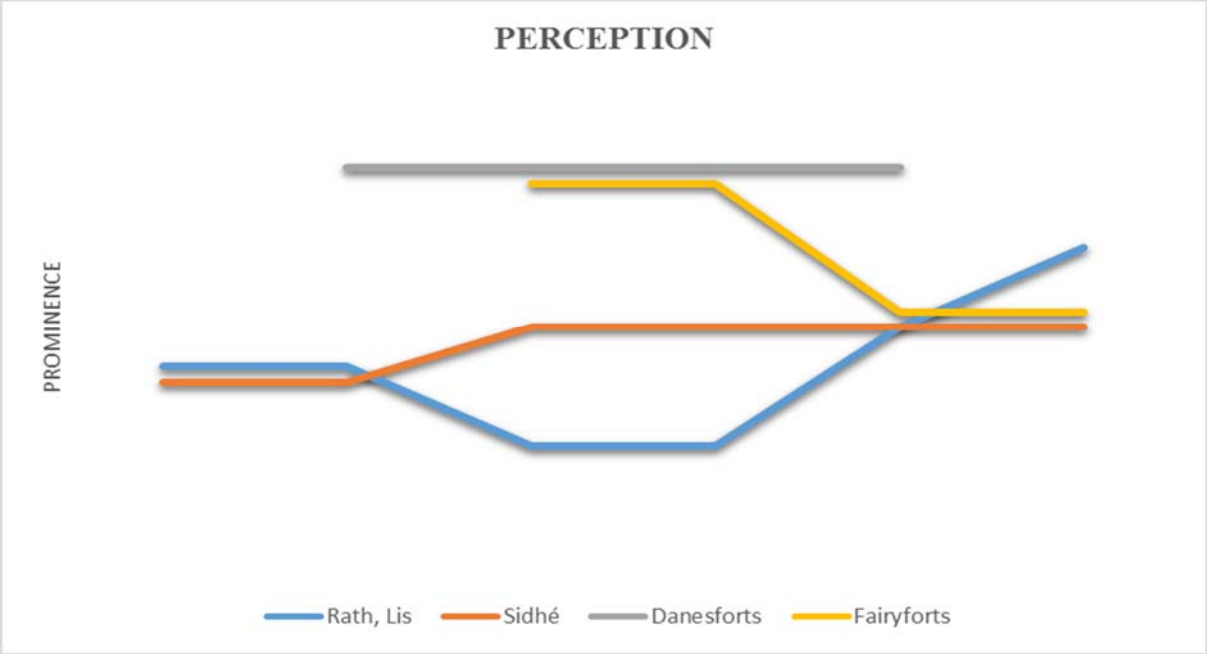


Figure 1. Change in importance over time of different interpretations of ringforts

2.2 Functional Interpretation

Evidence that a correct understanding of the initial function of ringforts was available within the wider society can be seen by its inclusion in some of the earliest manuscripts. The format by which it was committed shows that such information developed from a pre-existing oral context. That is, if it is recognised that the earliest literary sources consist of the spoken word transcribed or remembered. This pre-existing situation may be observed through the formulation of the information in a manner that would facilitate its memorisation. The collections where this correct understanding is most readily available are the early legal texts compiled in the 7th and 8th centuries and referred to as the *Senchas Mór*. Also, in the collections of place name lore collectively referred to as the *Dindsenchas*. It should be understood that both these elements draw upon older material. For example, the *Dindsenchas* were initially composed using a metrical structure, which, as mentioned above, had for object the facilitation of memorisation.

Moreover, it has been argued that 'the oral tradition itself encourages the conceit of a memorizing storyteller' (Nagy 1986, 280). Within these two strands, a strong association is presented between ringforts, of all types, and their function as settlement sites within the wider community. This can also be seen in the legal context with depictions of what was required by

specific groups within society in order to display status. An example of this can be seen in the text that addresses the laws of status, *Críth Gablach*. This text, which Binchy (1970, xiv) suggests was compiled from earlier material from 'the opening years of the 8th century' deals with the obligations and rights of the different sections of society and contains, within the section referring to a class of farmer, a '*Mruigfer*' (*ibid*, 8), the lines …

> *'Is [s]í a ógeneclann; acht it .v. shéoit I nduil tara les díchmairc; díles a osolggud di maich'*

MacNeill (1921, 292) translated this passage as:

> 'This is his full honour price but there are five chattels for going over his enclosure without leave. There is no penalty from opening it from without.'

Although the text of the *Críth Gablach* had earlier also been translated by O'Curry [1873] (1996, 487) and in doing so he had substituted the word 'yard' for the word 'enclosure' within this passage.

2.2.1. Dindsenchas

The record of place name lore referred to as the *Dindsenchas* appears to have been initially compiled in an attempt to show how significant places upon the landscape received their names. The word itself may be broken down into '*dind*' meaning 'prominent place' and '*senchas*' which means 'lore, ancient tradition', so the complete word *Dindsenchas* means 'lore of famous places' (Dillon 1961, 33). Elements of this lore are to be found throughout the early manuscripts. This is something that may be taken to indicate the extensive nature of this method of naming the landscape. This scattered information was gathered together and translated, prior to being published by Edward Gwynn (1906). The collection has a geographical basis, with the initial sections dealing with the Tara complex and then a more widespread focus throughout the provinces. It is within these tales that a connection between specific ring-forts and named individuals clearly shows an understanding of their function as native habitation sites.

The remainder of this section will focus on several particular examples in order to offer an idea of the longevity and widely dispersed nature of such relevant information. How it spread from manuscript to manuscripts and so from scribe to scribe and in all probability from there outwards into the wider community. That is, until the decimation of the scribal class, in conjunction with the oppression of native culture, led to such information almost disappearing

for good. One of the chosen examples from the *Dindsenchas* is the story on how a particular ring-fort received its name and which contains the lines,

'Esa ainm na hingine, is di atá Ráth Ésa'

'Esa was the name of the maid, from her is Rath Esa called' (*ibid*, II; 3).

This story may also contain a mythological element, in that Esa is portrayed as the daughter of Eochaid and of Etain. It is further commented that Esa may be, in fact, a personification of Etain. In any event, it may be interpreted as a depiction of an individual, even if mythological, within a recognisably domestic context. This statement emphasises that the Rath received its name because of this close association with her. Furthermore, the description, in the ensuing lines, of the payment of a hundred cows reinforces the notion that this poem may provide a correct depiction of ringforts being Irish and of the activities associated with them. As such, it may offer a glimpse of social conditions during the period in which this tale was first composed.

This tale is included in one of the earliest manuscripts – the Book of Leinster – and in several later manuscripts. Gwynn (*ibid*, n.2) notes the presence of this tale in manuscripts as diverse as the Rennes manuscript, the Book of Ballymote, the Yellow Book of Lecan, the Book of Hui Main, TCD H.3.3. (1322). It is also present in several manuscripts held by the RIA such as, Stowe D.II.2, Stowe B.II.2, Stowe B.III.1 and Reeves 832. The other chosen example again deals with how a particular site, *Ráth Mór mage line*, received its name and provides a better notion of its function as it specifically refers to the length of time which a woman occupied the site following the death of her husband.

'Coíca blíadan dí 'sin ráth, tar eís Bressal áith-rind áith dia luid Bressal fo loch láig.'

'Fifty years she lived in the Rath after parting with eager Bressal of the keen spear, when Bressal disappeared under Loch Laig' (Gwynn 1906, IV; 144-5).

This may be a later tale for it is first included, according the Gwynn, in the Rennes manuscript and also the Book of Ballymote, the Book of Lecan, the Book of Uí Maine; in addition to Stowe D.II.2, Stowe B.III.1, and TCD H.3.3 (1322).

In neither of these tales is a specific explanation given of what a ringfort is exactly. However, taking into consideration the period when these tales were committed to writing perhaps no explanation was deemed necessary. To use a modern analogy, when conveying information that an individual lived in a house or an apartment, it would nowadays not be necessary to

describe what a house was or how it was structured. For an immediate understanding of such would be available to anyone within the originating context. So perhaps it may be said that the clear depiction of ringforts as settlement sites, plus the incidental inclusion of this information within each story indicates the presence of such an understanding within the originating communities. For if it is agreed that the perception of reality is a result of a collusive undertaking within these societies, as argued by Berger and Luckman (1969), then the multiplicity of signals which, when gathered together, determined what a ringfort was, may have been easily understood and perceived as 'normal' and therefore not required any further explanation.

2.2.2. Manuscripts

It is likely that this information – the association of a named individual with a particular ringfort – would be retained in the earliest manuscripts. Again, if only as an incidental mention in a larger story. One such example can be seen in the inclusion of the *Dindsenchas* tales in the Book of Leinster. This book, formerly referred to as *Lebor na Núachongbála*, should be understood as a composite manuscript whose contents begin with the Book of Invasions and, most famously, include a copy of the *Táin*. This manuscript was the work of a single scribe, Áed Húa Crimthaid – Comarbh of Tullyglass and the work was begun in 1152 with the majority being completed prior to 1161 AD (Kenney 1979, 15). Tullyglass was destroyed in 1164 and afterwards an association developed with the O'Mores – Lords of Noghavall. It was this later association that lent its name to the manuscript (O'Neill 1984). The first mention of this manuscript is evident in the late fourteenth century when texts drawn from it were included in later manuscripts such as the Yellow Book of Lecan (1390), the Book of Ballymote (c.1391), and the Book of Lecan.

In 1627, this text was available for consultation by the famous antiquarian, Michael Ó Cleirigh. It was again available to him in 1631, when, at Lisgoole Franciscan convent in Co. Fermanagh, he was working on the Annals of the Four Masters. Not long afterwards, Geoffrey Keating also referenced the original manuscript in his work *The History of Ireland* (1633-4). A major motivational factor behind this work was to construct a rebuttal of the ideas initially proposed by Cambrensis in 1188 and unfortunately accepted by a number of succeeding scholars. All of whom Keating dismisses as being 'actuated by the instinct of the beetle …[which] … bustles hurriedly round, until it meets with some loathsome ordure, and it buries

itself within' (*ibid*, xxi). The Book of Leinster also came to the attention of the English antiquarian, James Ware. While accepting the orthodox belief of these structures as 'Danes-forts', Ware also appears to have been motivated by a more balanced scientific sense of inquiry. In 1638 or 1639, Ware had noted that he had consulted 'the Boke of Noghavall' that was in the possession of Roger Moore (Rory O'Moore) of Ballina (Best *et al*. 1954, xiv)

The Moore family were by long standing the lords of Noghavall. A genealogical lineage could be traced from this Rory O'Moore – incidentally a major conspirator behind the Rebellion of 1641 – through his father, referred to by the title of the *Calbach* who possessed the manuscript in 1583, and his grandfather, Ruaidhri Ó Mórdha who was killed in 1567. This information allows the lineage to be traced to a Conall, Son of David Húa Mórdha, who is noted as having caused a castle close to Noghavall to be re-built and who was killed in fighting in 1493. Conall's father, David Húa had earlier, in 1447, founded a Franciscan convent at Stradbally (*ibid*, 1954). It therefore seems a reasonable assumption that the manuscript possessed by Rory O' Moore, and which was available for consultation by Ware, had remained within the possession of this family throughout this time. Mention of the influence of the Book of Leinster is again to be found in the work of one of the final antiquarians of Gaelic origin, Roderick O'Flaherty, in his work *Ogygia* (1684). By 1700, the manuscript was in the possession of the Welsh antiquarian, Edward Lhuyd. This, perhaps, indicates the desperate state of native learning at this period which developed for the want of patronage and from a surfeit of oppression. Following the death of Lhuyd, Sir Thomas Sebright purchased the manuscript in 1709. His descendent, Sir John, later bequeathed it to Trinity College Dublin in 1786 (Best *et al*. 1954, xi). There it remains, carrying the shelf mark H 2.18 (1339), which has allowed it to be studied by the earliest of the modern Irish antiquarians, such as Eugene O'Curry and John O'Donovan. Both of the scholars, because of their importance, will be discussed on a more in-depth level in the following chapter.

Another indication of the widespread dissemination of information within this manuscript can be seen in the fact that part of it, comprising the ecclesiastical tale, the Martyrology of Tallaght, was removed from the manuscript prior to 1627 and taken first to Donegal and then to Louvain in Belgium. In 1872, these pages were returned from St. Isodores College in Rome and are now held in the Franciscan convent in Killiney in Dublin (*ibid*, xviii). To offer another example, one of the manuscripts directly influenced by the Book of Leinster has also undergone an interesting circuit through space and time. The Book of Ballymote was compiled around 1400 and the *Dindsenchas* tales were included. It was the work of three

scribes: Manus O'Duigenan, of the famous scribal family, Solamh O'Droma and Robert Mac Sheehy, all three pupils of the McEgan family (RIA 2016). The book is most famous for containing a key to the Ogam alphabet. The work had been commissioned by their patron, Tomaltach Mac Donagh, and remained in the possession of this family for over a hundred years.

It was then purchased, in 1522, by Hugh Dav, son of Hugh Roe, son of Niall Gav O'Donnell, of Donegal, for 140 milch cows (Keating 1633, lxxv). Not much information is available concerning the manuscript for the following almost a hundred years. However, a letter by the renowned antiquarian, Archbishop Ussher, dated to 1619, contains a reference to Gaelic manuscripts in his possession. He states that both the Book of Ballymote and the Book of Lecan are among those 'in his custodye' (O'Sullivan 1994, 34). The Gaelic scholar, Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbisigh, who states that the Book is at that time in Dublin, makes further reference to the manuscript in 1666. In 1686, this manuscript was present in the library of Trinity College Dublin. From here, it was lent in 1719 to a Reverend Anthony Raymond of Trim in County Meath. No bond of security appears to have been lodged against this borrowing. As a result, Raymond had possession of the manuscript from then until 1726 and allowed access to other scholars (RIA 2016).

Following his death, the manuscript came into the possession of a Dublin antiquarian, Tadgh Ó Neachtain, who also allowed others access to the material within. Another member of the circle of scholars who frequented Ó Neachtain's house, Richard Tipper, copied a large part of the book in 1728 (Ó Catháin 1989, 142). It is further claimed that the young Charles O'Conor, later perhaps the most important Gaelic antiquarian of the 18th century, had access to the manuscript in the same year (*ibid*, 149). It appears likely that the manuscript remained in Ó Neachtain's possession until his own death sometime around 1751 or 1752. By 1767, it was in the possession of Michéal Ó Longín, of Carrignavar, Co. Cork, and two years later was held by Thomas O Duirnin, of Drogheda, Co. Louth. For the period between 1772 and 1774, the Book of Ballymote was in the possession of a John Finglass, a weaver, also from Drogheda.

It was from this locality that, in the latter year, the Chevalier Thomas O'Gorman purchased it, apparently from a millwright's widow for £20. Throughout the period 1777 to 1781, O'Gorman lent the manuscript to Charles O'Conor who in this manner became reacquainted with the work. Finally, in 1785, the Chevalier O'Gorman presented the Book of Ballymote to the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, where it remains to this day. O'Gorman,

himself, came to a sad end. He lost all in the French Revolution of 1789. Afterwards, he returned to Ireland during the Reign of Terror. He lived in poverty here, at one point besieged by bailiffs in his house. Ultimately, the Chevalier died in Dublin, penniless, on 18 November 1809 (Hayes 1941, 594-6).

2.2.3. Conclusion

The examples offered in this section consist of several representative tales from the Dindsenchas. These tales were chosen in an effort to highlight that an understanding of the correct function of ring-forts would have been available to the initial compilers of these texts. This understanding is evident because of a clear association between sites referred to as Ráth and routine domestic activities. It could be argued that this linguistic decision was a deliberate one. The use of a particular word to highlight an element of a particular setting also carries with it all the diverse interpretations that the word may contain. In addition, the presence of this information in the majority of manuscripts compiled in different areas and at different times suggests that knowledge was disseminated widely over the following centuries. However, for a variety of reasons access to these written records is likely to have been restricted to a particular specialised class within society. Subsequently, with the arrival of a new social order, the Normans, this correct interpretation may have, in some situations, faded from memory. This loss was likely hastened through the deliberate targeting of the native learned class by the new administration (Dillon, 1961). This resulted in a dearth of scholars to disseminate the correct understanding of ringforts. Because of these external pressures, and the resultant retreat of native learning, eventually the majority of the population may have forgotten the connection between the word ráth and its understanding as a living space.

2.3 Political Interpretation

This fading from memory of information concerning the correct function of ringforts allowed several other interpretations to be eventually superimposed upon these structures in its place. These interpretations may have been facilitated by different experiences of rural settlement in general (Clarke & Johnson 2015, 15). In England, a common medieval rural settlement model consisted of a nucleated settlement focused on the manor house. In contrast, early medieval rural settlement in Ireland was composed of dispersed individual farmsteads. As a result, the

new arrivals may have sought to attribute a meaning and origin to these structures that would have been familiar to them. In addition, these interpretations appear to have initially contained, or been shortly attributed, a politically inspired element, which served to validate the recent colonial adventure. This attitude towards native culture also allowed the incoming population to forge a political identity in opposition to the presumed uncultured barbarians (Schmitt 2005). This overall interpretation hinged on two tenets: that these structures were of foreign non-Irish origin, and that they served a defensive function. This may then explain the use of the phrase 'Danes-forts' to describe these structures. Furthermore, such evidence of previous Viking conquest, and of native hostility, would surely have served to normalise the activities of the new arrivals.

2.3.1. Origins

The first mention of this new interpretation is to be found in the work of the Welsh cleric, Giraldus Cambrensis. In the text, *Topographia Hibernica*, first read at Oxford in 1188, he attributes their construction to the Norwegian adventurer, Turgesius, and claims they were built to withstand attacks from the Irish (Cap. XXXVIII). Furthermore, in the original text Cambrensis refers to them as *Castella etiam Murata*. This may be translated in a variety of ways but in this particular context, the translation, as 'fortified castle' seems most appropriate (*ibid.*). However, Cambrensis was no disinterested observer of Ireland or its inhabitants. His attitude needs to be understood as being driven by his desire to appease the King of England by justifying the colonisation of Ireland and thereby, perhaps, to benefit personally later. In his writings, Cambrensis loses no opportunity to belabour the perceived negative qualities of the Irish. For example, he recounts that the Irish 'are a wild and inhospitable people. They live on beasts only and live like beasts' (O'Meara, 1951, 85). Incidentally, this is in fact one of the milder claims that he advances.

This behaviour can be seen as an attempt to justify colonisation in two significant ways. In providing evidence for earlier waves of conquest, during the Viking era, it also presents the Norman invasion as something that was not, in itself, a unique or outstanding occurrence and thereby negates an aspect of its seriousness. Furthermore, by emphasising repeatedly the technological backwardness of the Irish, Cambrensis may have sought to remove any guilt that may be felt in the dispossession of others of their lands and goods. For if the new settlers could convince themselves that the present occupants do not occupy the same temporal or

evolutionary spaces as they did, then they were actually moving into an empty space. In doing so, they were committing no trespass and needed, therefore, to feel no guilt (Memmi 1990). Furthermore, the creation in this presentation of an association between the backwardness of the inhabitants and the possible potential of the land itself allows the colonial adventure to be presented as a civilising mission.

This multi-layered approach to Cambrensis' attempts at justifying the activities of the Crown raises several interesting questions. For if these adventurers were convinced of the justice and, perhaps, even the divine sanction of this mission, it seems strange that they should indeed have felt any guilt at all and therefore should not have needed any further justification. One answer may be that within them, and perhaps only at their quieter moments, each realised that this adventure would involve the appropriation of something that did not in fact belong to them. Each individual, then as now most likely, wishes to see but the good in themselves and it is perhaps as a response to this desire that these various subterfuges were fabricated. It is, however, of scant consolation to the inhabitants of Ireland at this period, and for multiple generations to come, that the original colonisers and their descendants carried deep within them an understanding of the injustice of their position. Worse, in fact perhaps this apparent desire to justify the unjustifiable may have influenced to some degree later concepts: of how Ireland may be better off entirely without the Irish (Spenser 1597).

The continued acceptance of this belief had important benefits for a section of society who, despite their elevated position, may have been conscious of their status as newcomers and usurpers of the land. Some of these benefits were of a political nature, in that they justified the colonial adventure. It has been written that the ideal colonial model, especially in a situation where the coloniser desires to physically occupy territory rather than serving as a tribute exacting elite, is to attempt to deny the existence of the subjugated people (McNiven & Russell 2005). However, in some situations, such as existed in Ireland, the long established physical presence of the native population could not be denied nor could some cultural similarities. In a case such as this, attempts could be made to prove that although the intended subjects inhabited the desired physical space they did not, however, due to their backwardness, inhabit the same temporal or evolutionary space as those who coveted the land (*ibid.*). Potential colonisers could convince themselves that they were moving into an empty temporal space and were therefore not committing any trespass. It could therefore be argued that this necessity for justification is what motivated, to some degree, the work of Cambrensis and other later colonial scholars. If this is accepted, it can be shown that, from the beginning, Ireland served as a

template for later efforts at colonisation and that successful efforts here could then be applied elsewhere. Indeed, it may in fact be possible to refer this process not as the 'Orientalisation' of Ireland but to the 'Hibernacisation' of the later colonies (Said 1978).

2.3.2. Colonisation

The conquest of Gaelic Ireland began with the arrival of the Normans, by invitation, in 1169. This initial wave of adventurers was reinforced with the arrival of King Henry II in 1171. However, it was never a complete occupation; royal attention was soon diverted elsewhere and the Normans most often 'contented themselves with the plains, the coasts and the river ways' leaving 'the hill-country, the woods, and the bog lands to the native Irish' (Martin 1994, 135). These geographical redoubts also served as a reservoir for Irish culture and the native learned tradition, and it was from these areas that the military, political and cultural resurgence originated. It began militarily, at opposite extremes of the country, with the defeat of the Normans at the Battle of Callan, near Kenmare, in 1261, and at the Ford of Áth an gCeap, Co. Leitrim, in 1270 (*ibid*, 142). By 1300, colonial expansion was halted and the pendulum was swinging back against the new arrivals. This political resurgence carried in its wake a cultural renewal for it provided increased opportunities for patronage. As a result, this period saw the compilation of some of the greatest medieval manuscripts, some of which are referred to elsewhere. It has also been put forth that this period saw the assembly of the 'commentaries on the old Irish law texts in the schools of law such as that of the Davorens in County Clare' (Lydon 1994, 154).

This cultural expansion was intimately linked to the territorial dimension, with a shrinking of the area of English influence until it became confined to 'the Pale', a small area of land on the east coast surrounding Dublin. Even here, in 1460, the Irish parliament declared that 'Ireland was bound only by the laws accepted by its own parliament' (Cosgrove 1994, 162). However, with the accession of Henry VIII to the throne the pendulum began its, perhaps inevitable, swing in the opposite direction once more. Indeed, so successful were the new policies implemented by Henry and his successors that it led to the complete conquest of the country. This conquest was accomplished with great violence and the native cultural heritage and its bearers were soon a special target for this violence. It was understood that complete subjugation required cultural decimation. Greene (1961, 45) states that 'great attention was paid to the liquidation of the *rimers*', for this class formed what was a bulwark of cultural

resistance to the imposition of a new way of life, accompanied by a different culture. Despite a spirited resistance by these native scholars, eventually their 'prosperity waned with the waxing of Tudor strength' (Ryan 1961, 25). In any event, the destruction of the old Gaelic order, with its aristocratic focus, in the 17th century, and the departure into exile of many of this upper class, removed further any opportunities for patronage. The instigation of the strict 'Penal Laws' over the following decades reduced further any available opportunity upon which the native scholars depended. This combined with the confiscations and settlements following the rebellions of 1641 and 1690 decimated and impoverished the remainder of the native scholars. Following this period, learning in general appears to have undergone a serious decline.

Two examples may serve to illustrate this fact. The first concerns the decline in fortunes of the native learned class by the end of this period and can be seen in the life of the famous antiquarian, Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbisigh. A member of one of the most famous families in the hereditary scribal tradition, he was born around 1600 in Lacken, Co. Sligo. Mac Fhirbisigh gained renown as a transcriber of manuscripts including the 'Fragmentary Annals' and the '*Chronicum Scotorum*' (Ó Muraíle 1996, 97). Toward the end of 1647, it was noted that he was working on his *magnum opus*, the Book of Genealogies or *Leabhar na nGeneleach* (*ibid.* 2012, 3). About 1665, he found employment with the English antiquarian, Sir James Ware. This was to assist him in his research for Ware's understanding of the Irish language was limited. The divergent interpretations of these two scholars on Rathmulcah ringfort, Co. Sligo, is discussed in Chapter 10. This connection with Ware ended with the latter's death on December 1, 1666 (*ibid,* 6). Afterwards, Mac Fhirbhisigh travelled back to Connaught to seek patronage. In 1671, he met his death, murdered almost on a whim. While resting at an inn he was fatally stabbed by a young planter for hindering his advances on a maid (*ibid.* 1996, 287).

Meanwhile, the parlous state of learning in general is highlighted in the story concerning the last O'Sullivan Mór of Co. Kerry. A note amended to the first book of *The Last Colonel of the Irish Brigade* (1892) depicts the sorrowful end of this lineage, the last of whom died at Tomies in 1762. This man had no legitimate heirs and so left all he possessed to his illegitimate son. A descendent of whose recounted travelling to his wake as a young man and discovering within the cabin, a great pile of old papers 'maybe three feet high, mostly written on skins in Latin and Irish' (O'Connell 1977, 53). These manuscripts had been preserved when all else was lost. However, on regarding them the grandson was filled with dread that they might contain information unknown, and unknowable, to himself and so lest they profit others, he

took it upon himself to burn them all. Furthermore, Lhuyd, in his letter of 1700, complains that while he was able to procure an amount of ancient manuscripts when he had shown these to the native antiquarians he met on his journey none were able to translate them (Lhuyd 1710-2, 524).

However, several important questions are raised by this long-standing behaviour, some of which could be also applied to the later global situation. These continual attempts to justify the colonial adventure were for the benefit of the coloniser, not for the colonised; after all, they had already been dispossessed of the land. So, if those who stood to benefit from colonialism were so assured of the divine sanction of their civilising mission, why was there a need to attempt to extirpate their guilty conscience by denying the humanity of the subject peoples? Unless, at some subliminal level, they were aware that any philosophical reasoning constructed to justify their behaviour could only be a fiction. However, this fiction needed to be maintained because of the influence of baser human tendencies, such as greed and vanity. If it is accepted that ancient monuments were assigned a role in justifying the colonial adventure, it is easy to imagine the psychological benefit the physical presence of one of these monuments in the locality would bring to any new arrivals. For if it could be convincingly argued, or at least generally accepted, amongst the incoming group that these were of foreign origin, they then provide a physical reminder of previous waves of conquest as well as highlighting the backwardness of the native population. Bearing this in mind is it possible then that this attitude may have served, at some level, to protect these monuments?

2.3.3. Cambrensis and his Influence

Cambrensis' work found a receptive audience. O'Meara (1951, 5) notes that when it was first read, it was received with great pleasure by, amongst others, Archbishop Baldwin, who 'never tired at its reading'. In the 14th century, Cambrensis' notes on Ireland are included in the work undertaken by the Benedictine monk, Ranulf Higden. Higden set himself the task of compiling a history of the world from its creation up until his present day. Higden entitled his work as the *Polychronicon* and within this text, Cambrensis' influence can clearly be seen. Mention is made of Turgesius – *Turgesio* - and of the notion that the Irish only knew woods for fortifications and bogs for ditches – *nam silvis pro castris, paludibus utitur pro fossatis* (Higden & Babington 1865, 346). One interesting note is that Higden developed Cambrensis' description of their construction by stating that these structures may be singular, double or

triple banked – *simplicia, duplicia, triplicia, pluraque murata* (*ibid.*). The *Polychronicon* was an extremely influential work, and John of Trevisa translated it into English in 1387 and the points that are mentioned above are referred to — 'Turgesius, duke and ledere of Norweyes, 'wodes for castelles and mareys and mores for castel ditches' and 'castelles single, double and treble, and many wardes strongliche i-walled' (*ibid,* 347). The influence of this translation was strengthened by being drawn upon by William Caxton for printing in 1482 and by Wynlyn de Worde in 1495. An anonymous translation of the text was undertaken in the early 15th century and this translation was drawn upon for the later Rolls Series.

Cambrensis' influence may also be perceived in the work of Raphael Holinshed, the *Chronicles of England, Scotlande and Irelande*, which was published initially in 1577 and again in 1587. Once more, in these two versions the construction of ringforts was attributed to Turgesius, who, apparently, erected them as he won ground from the Irish. A direct link with Cambrensis' initial argument can be seen by the inclusion of the passage that until those days the Irish knew no defences but 'woods, bogs or strokes' (*ibid*, Vol. 3). The longevity and prominence of Cambrensis' notion can again be seen in the work of Edmund Spenser. In his book, published in 1597, and titled *A Veue of the Present State of Ireland*, and which was composed as a conversation between two companions, mention was again made of the fact that these monuments were built by the Danes (1997, 79). Spenser further differentiated these structures from square enclosures, now identified as Anglo-Norman moated sites, which he ascribed to the Saxons and which he referred to as 'Folke-motes'. He attributed the ringforts to the Danes, referring to them as 'Daneraths', and to which he ascribed a defensive function as a refuge.

Spenser also referred to ringforts as being used in his time as assembly points for the Irish where, habitually, cases may be pleaded and grievances aired. As a result, he described them as places where an Englishman would be in danger and, indeed, claimed that many an Englishman had been murdered there 'like sheep in the pin-folde' (*ibid.*). This use of ringforts as assembly places may offer one indication as to how these structures were perceived within certain communities at this time. Interestingly, Spenser also mentioned other monuments, such as round mounds and stone heaps. These he claimed were raised on the site of a great battle, or to commemorate some notable individual. It is important to note, however, that he made no claim for who erected these structures. However, this man saw danger all around him, in the surrounding woods and in the throngs who passed before his gate. So, while his writings provide clear evidence as to how Spenser viewed these monuments, this is an assertion which

would require more investigation, and if possible corroborating evidence, in any attempt to understand the role that ringforts fulfilled for the surrounding native communities. Although perhaps in his passing mention of dispute resolution might be found an indication of the continued association of the sites with the concept of *fláth*, or rightful behaviour (Ó Cathasigh 1978).

The antiquarian James Ware published Spenser's text in 1633 as part of a compilation. Ware himself published a book, in Latin, addressing the antiquities of Ireland in 1654 and this was reprinted in 1658. Again mention was made of the invasion of Ireland by Turgesius and that it was he who raised 'the round works or fortifications, commonly called Danes Raths' (*ibid,* Cap. 24). Ware also mentioned other archaeological monuments and stated that it was believed that the 'round hills without ditches were also raised by the Danes and Norwegians' (ibid). To bolster this claim Ware drew upon the work of the Danish antiquarian, Olaus Wormius, *de Danicis Monumentus* (1643). This then may appear as a sign of the desire to introduce a more scientific, comparative, method of study. However, Wormius' work itself referenced the earlier work of the English antiquarian, William Camden (1607). The Danish antiquarian claims that

> *'Justis peractis tumulos in monticule fev collis magnitudinum aggesta gleba & lapidibus artificiose exstruxerunt, quos Camdenus Barrowes ab Anglis vocari ait' (ibid, Book 1; Cap 6: 33).*
>
> Just past a heap of stones and clods of earth on the little hill are artificially constructed … [which the English call Camden Barrows]

Therefore, it could also be argued that by this period antiquarian knowledge circulated within a small self-sustaining circle. Indeed, Holinshed (1577, Vol. 3; 572) appears to admit as much when declares that some of the information contained within his 'Chronicles' was contributed by, among others, Cambrensis, Campion and Higden. Perhaps, this may explain why it also appears that the foreign origin and defensive nature of Irish ringforts had assumed, within this educated class, the status of an orthodoxy. Ware's book was translated into English and reprinted as *The Antiquities and History of Ireland*, in 1705, and is likely to have played an important role in preserving and expanding this attitude.

The influence of Ware's original work may also be seen by its inclusion, practically word for word, in the unpublished work of the eminent English antiquarian, John Aubrey, *Monumenta Britannica* (1665 - 1693). This work contains direct inserts of the works of both

Cambrensis and Ware and, again, within this text, the construction of ringforts was attributed to Turgesius and mention was made of their circular nature and military function (Fowles 1980, 253). Aubrey also included marginal notes from local correspondents, which serve to reinforce this argument. He mentioned a Dr Moulins and claims that 'he hath seen a great many round camps (ergo Danish) in Ireland' (*ibid,* 395). He also referenced a Mr Fitzschar who claims that 'Danice Rathes signifie nests e.v. [?] the Danes nests'. He further includes the contribution of a Mr Gethlyn, from near Fermoy, who also supplied Aubrey with a sketch of the Labbacallee wedge tomb, and who refers to ringforts as 'Danish Camps' and states that they are 'all round and with double or [triple?] works' (Aubrey 1665-1693 Part II; Cap. 6). The contribution of Mr Gethlyn, in particular, may be seen as a self-reinforcing argument in that his correct depiction of the wedge tomb lent an increased validity to his claims as regards ringforts. Although, if this notion of ringforts had by this time been transformed into orthodoxy, then the description provided by Gethlyn may have been accepted without too much question anyway.

2.3.4. Antiquarianism and Empiricism

Evidence of this apparent orthodoxy of belief, and incidentally its expansion to include practically the totality of Irish archaeological monuments, can best be perceived in the work of Thomas Molyneux, *A Discourse Concerning the Danish Mounts, Forts and Towers in Ireland*, published in 1725. Paradoxically, the position of Molyneux in regards to archaeology in general, and these structures in particular, needs to be understood as part of the concept of 'New Learning' which sought to break with old methods and apply a more critical scientific approach to investigation of the past (Hoppen 1970). The spread of New Learning was also facilitated by the membership of some of the learned societies in London by Irishmen. For example, William Petty, a founder member of the Royal Society of London was also the first president of the Dublin Philosophical Society and was accounted as someone who 'besides Wilkins and Boyle, was as much responsible for the promotion of the new science as any of his contemporaries' (*ibid,* 2). This new scientific method of investigation was heavily influenced by the work of Francis Bacon to establish a new and all-encompassing philosophy, which, in his own words, would 'be operative to the endowment and benefit of man's life' (Bacon 1605, Book 1; Cap I.6). Francis Bacon was born in London on January 22, 1561. He was the son of Sir Nicholas Bacon the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England (Jardine &

Stewert 1999, 23). As such, he issued from a family well connected with the circles of power that moved around the Elizabethan court.

Francis Bacon was educated at Cambridge from April 1573 and admitted to Grays Inn in June 1576. A further indication of his social background can be seen by his accompanying an ambassador to France between 1576 and 1579, ostensibly to complement his legal studies by an examination of Roman law (*ibid,* 39). However, the premature death of his father prevented Francis from following a life of leisurely scientific pursuit and obliged him to work for a living. Nevertheless, he remained devoted to this theory and in an effort to bring it to fruition had 'mapped out in considerable detail a plan for the total reform and overhaul of education and research' (*ibid,* 286). It is clearly stated at the beginning of '*Advancement of Learning*' that the aim of the book is to 'deliver [learning] from the discredits and disgraces which it hath received' (Bacon 1605, Book 1; Cap I.1). Bacon, later, outlines the four methods by which knowledge may be attained. These are the 'Art of Inquiry or Invention: Art of Examination or Judgement: Art of Custody or Memory: and Art of Elocution or Tradition' (*ibid,* Book 2; Cap XII.3). Within this brief statement can thus be seen laid out the foundation for scientific behaviour throughout the rest of the seventeenth century and indeed beyond.

While this quest for 'New Learning' quickly took hold in England, its development in Ireland was delayed until the founding of the Dublin Philosophical Society in 1683, when a concerted effort was made to develop this new strand of scientific investigation (Hoppen 1970, 11). The driving force behind this movement was Thomas Molyneux's elder brother, William, who was born in Dublin on April 17, 1656. He was educated at Trinity College Dublin where he developed a keen interest in the works of Francis Bacon (Simms 1982, 19). The works of the most significant philosopher of the age, Rene Descartes, also influenced him. In fact, Molyneux translated Descartes work, *The Meditations*, while in Dublin over the winter of 1679-80 (*ibid,* 21). It may be worthwhile to quote the beginning of this text as it highlights the motivations behind this philosophy. Although, it may also highlight certain factors that, in fact, may have hindered the acceptance of a contrasting type of knowledge. Descartes (1641) begins his first meditation thus …

> 'It is some time ago since I perceived that from my earliest years, I had accepted many false opinions as being true, and that what I had since based on such insecure principles could only be most doubtful and uncertain; so that I had to undertake seriously once in my life to rid myself of all opinions I had adopted up to then, and

to begin afresh from the foundations; if I wished to establish something firm and constant in the sciences' (1980, 95).

The foundation upon which Descartes built his system of knowledge was that his ability to reflect upon this question was proof of his existence; hence, 'Cogito ergo Sum'. It is easy then to imagine how this attitude to begin anew and dispense with tradition would probably have influenced the work of any new society. In addition, the strong influence of the Royal Society in London can also be perceived through Molyneux's friendship with the Astronomer Royal, John Flamsteed. Later, a strong friendship developed with the English philosopher, John Locke. Although, it was his brother, Thomas who first made Locke's acquaintance. When he studied at Leyden in Holland and while Locke was in exile there (Locke *et al.* 1708, 35). William's relationship with Locke, however, was built mainly upon correspondence between the two men. Nevertheless, a strong friendship appears to have developed between them. In fact, Locke enlisted Molyneux's assistance for revision of the second edition of one of his most famous works, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), which Molyneux admitted to having read several times (Locke *et al.* 1708, 8). As such, he would surely have been very familiar with its contents and probably been influenced by its focus.

That Molyneux would be inspired by this work should be no surprise, considering his own intellectual formation through the works of Bacon and Descartes. This work may offer a guide to the sceptical underpinnings of the philosophy of Empiricism to which Molyneux was attracted. When addressing the 'True use of Hypotheses', Locke cautions that ...

'we should not take up anyone too hastily (which the mind that would always penetrate into the causes of things and have principles to rest on, is very apt to do) till we have very well examined particulars and made several experiments in that thing which we would explain by our hypotheses' (1690, Book IV; Cap XII.13).

If this, then became a guiding principle of Molyneux's personal philosophy it is easy to understand how he might be dismissive of information to which he was unable to apply this theory. Alternatively, how he may have been equally sceptical of information coming from someone who was unaware of this new and exciting method. This attitude seems to have influenced the notion that he appears to have formed of native learning. The Molyneux brothers appear unusual in that they also entered into correspondence with the dwindling group of Gaelic antiquarians.

2.3.5. Gaelic Antiquarianism

William Molyneux agreed to collect information for an English Atlas planned by Moses Pitt and in a letter, dated May 5, 1683, solicited an account of the Iar-Connaught region from Roderick O'Flaherty (Sharpe 2013, 81) and of Co. Leitrim from Tadgh O'Rodaighe. Sir Henry Piers, the grandson of Sir James Ware, submitted a paper on the county of Westmeath (Simms 1982, 35). Roderick O'Flaherty seems to have been born in 1629 and was a member of the native nobility whose lands were seized during the 17th century. He is portrayed, however, as someone who bestrode the two worlds of native and newcomer. It has been noted that he was friends with 'the last great Gaelic antiquary, Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh' but also that through his relations with learned men in Dublin, he managed to have 'published his chief work of learning in London' (Sharpe 2013, VII).

This text, entitled Ogygia, which treated the history of Ireland, began with the description that …

> *'Quapropter juxta Veterum Monumenta nobis a majoribus permanus tradita, Hibernia non tantum extitit Insula ante Cataclysmum, fed etiam ante & recens post, hominibus inhabitata'* (O'Flaherty, 1684, 2).

This work was later translated and published by a James Hely in 1793. He renders this passage as …

> 'Wherefore, according to the most ancient documents handed down to us from our ancestors, Ireland was not only an island before the deluge but was before and shortly after inhabited' (Hely 1793, 3).

Perhaps this assuredness may have attracted the scepticism of the adherents of the 'New Learning'. This sceptical attitude is likely then to have been compounded as O'Flaherty promotes the history of Ireland as contained within the *Lebor Gabhála Érenn*. He claims that *'Prima post Diluvium in Hiberniam immigratio fuit Partholani & ejus coloniae'* and that *'tertio & quarto successive Firbolus & Tuatha dea Danaan'* and that finally *'Quinto loco, hos exceperunt ex Hispania Milesii'* (O'Flaherty 1684, 5-6). These passages have been translated as 'The first adventurers that arrived in Ireland, after the flood, were Partholan and his colony' and that 'The third and fourth colonies were the Fir-Bolg and the Tuatha de Danan' and that finally 'Fifthly, the Milesians from Spain succeeded them' (Hely 1793, 78).

O'Flaherty then proceeds to detail the supposed wanderings of the Tuatha de Danann on their journey to Ireland. Initially they left their home area in Greece and travelled to Athens. Having mastered the magic arts, they then travelled to Scandinavia where they inhabited the northern regions. They then invaded the north of England and eventually crossed over to the north of Ireland. Once settled here they defeated the Fir-bolg and expanded their control throughout the island (O'Flaherty 1684, 6-7; Hely 1793, 9). Nowadays, it is possible to empathise that O'Flaherty was working from the information that was available to him in the existing manuscripts. However, it is also possible to see that he was drawing upon an invented narrative and how, even at the time, this information may have appeared too fantastic to be believed. Moreover, this disbelief may have influenced attitudes towards all of the information provided by O'Flaherty and, by extension, the other remaining native antiquarians. Indeed, despite a long relationship with O'Flaherty and considering him the best antiquarian in Ireland, Molyneux also remarked that he found him too credulous and 'not a solid historian' (Simms 1982, 36). The new style of learning has been shown to be strongly motivated by an element of doubt and scepticism. Perhaps activities and behaviours that promoted the crystallisation of this underlying doubt might then have hindered the transmission of accompanying correct information

However, this was not a universal occurrence, as the case of the Welsh antiquarian, Edward Lhuyd, indicates. Lhuyd was a polymath and keeper at the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. As part of his research for a projected major work, *Archaeologia Britannica*, he toured throughout England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland during the close of the 17th century. As part of his time in Ireland, he visited with the scholar Tagdh Ó Rodaighe, at Crossfield near Fenagh, in May of 1700 (Sharpe 2013, 96). He then continued on to Galway where he met with Roderick O'Flaherty sometime after the middle of the following month. It is reported that he found O'Flaherty 'affable and learned' and that they may have spent some time together. Sharpe refers to a written agenda, setting down possible questions to be asked during a discussion between the two men. Item number 13 sets forth the question …

> 'Whether we may be satisfy'd these entrenchments commonly called Danes Raths were the works of that Nation, or whether many of them at least were not Irish. The reason of this question is because some Danish antiquarians I consulted could not inform me of any such in their country' (ibid, 98-9).

While the responses to this and other questions may have been given in conversation, there remains no written account of the meeting of these two men. However, evidence that Lhuyd was convinced of the native origin of these monuments can be seen in a letter dated to August 25, 1700, shortly after his return from Ireland. In this letter, later published in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (1710-2), he affirms that there are three things peculiar to the Irish. These were 'their high round Towers for Belfreys; their round entrenchments commonly called Danes Rathes; and the Elf-Arrow Heads of Flint' (ibid, 525). Unfortunately, just one volume of the *Archaeologia Britannica* had been published by the time of Lhuyd's death in 1709. This volume focused on languages and while it did advance the study of these, it contains no information as regards ancient monuments. Thus, with the death of Lhuyd, an opportunity to disseminate the correct information regarding ringforts, with the support of weighty scholarly opinion associated with him, was lost. The field was then left open for the expansion in influence of the notion of foreign origin, not just of ringforts, but also of all ancient monuments.

2.3.6 Thomas Molyneux

The preceding paragraphs highlight the interconnecting networks within which knowledge circulated and the wide range of intellectual interests pursued during the early antiquarian period. The perception of O'Flaherty as too credulous may, perhaps, have been due to his acceptance and publication of what were perceived to be fantastic ideas concerning the origin of the Irish people. In addition, his attempts to avail of political patronage, in order to ameliorate his situation, may have prejudiced the Molyneux's, and their companions, against him and any information that he may have provided (Sharpe 2013, 209). Therefore, it appears that, for whatever reason, the information concerning ringforts available to the dwindling number of Gaelic scholars was not given serious consideration. When William's younger brother, Thomas, published the work mentioned above, he began by expressing his incredulity at attempts by the Irish to create for themselves an origin steeped in antiquity. He referred to attempts to 'deduce their stock from generations near the flood, and a fable of a niece of Noah himself landing in this island' (1725, 189). However, this reference also signals that Molyneux was aware of the existence of this tale within the *Leabher Gabhala Erenn*, perhaps through the work of O'Flaherty (see above). He then emphasised that if the Irish claim to an ancient history

had any validity then surely it would have resulted in the construction of some monuments of note. Molyneux denied that this was the case and proceeded to construct an argument that attributed the construction of the major monument types mentioned in his title to the Danes.

Although he did caution that what was meant by 'Danes' were 'colonies of promiscuous nations inhabiting Norway, Livonia, Courland and that vast tract that borders on the Baltick sea' (*ibid,* 191). Molyneux first investigated what he referred to as 'Danes Mounts', a phrase which appeared to encompass all artificial mounds, from barrows to the great passage tomb at Newgrange. This investigation again clearly shows the influence of the work of the Danish antiquarian, Olius Wormius. In addition, Molyneux drew upon a variety of different sources, from the bible to classical writers, to bolster his argument. Although, he did note that the phrase used to describe these tumuli issued from 'a current and constant tradition received from the Irish' (*ibid.*). It has been shown above, though, that the Irish would have attributed a mythological significance to these sites. Alternatively, perhaps it is more likely a reflection of the continued authority of the constructed association begun by Cambrensis, continued, and reinforced by later English and Anglo-Irish scholars. Once an initial connection with the Danes had been accepted, this would then facilitate the attribution of other monuments to the same builders.

Molyneux (1725, 207) highlighted this when he focused his attention upon what he referred to as 'another sort of ancient work' and by his claim that 'their round make, and resemblance to these mounts, as well as by the tradition of the inhabitants, shew [sic] that they derive their original from the same Danish Nation'. He then confirmed that these structures are 'the Danish forts or raths' (*ibid.*). This conclusion may be the result of a letter received from his nephew, Samuel. This described his travels in Connaught and affirmed that this is the name used by the locals when referring to these structures (Locke *et al.* 1708). This unfortunate confusion aside, Molyneux then continued to provide an engaging description of these monuments. He noted that although 'they are circular like the mounts, yet they are constantly contrived with ramparts, ditches, or intrenchments [sic]', that these structures are 'of various sizes, differing much in magnitude' and that some 'have but one wide ditch ... and others are encompassed with two or three of these' (Molyneux 1725, 208). He also remarked that other sites 'tho' but few, are encompassed round with walls of stone' (*ibid.*). Interestingly, Molyneux concluded by advancing the theory that the smallest of these monuments, being too small to hold a garrison, appear to be designed for habitation and should be considered 'the dwellings of single families' (*ibid,* 209). This statement, when taken in conjunction with the earlier noted

familiarity with early Irish history, indicates that Molyneux was very aware of the native position as regards these monuments. It is very unfortunate that this native appreciation did not exert more influence on his research.

This may be because an increased, more scientific, scrutiny of the past may have led to available evidence being discarded simply because it was perceived to be a product of earlier, less accurate, systems of learning. Furthermore, as a member of the establishment, Molyneux was perhaps predisposed to accept orthodox belief. For example, the belief in regards to the foreign origin and defensive function of these structures as unquestionable fact. It should be also noted that any such dispositions might well have been bolstered following his studies at Leyden in Holland. There he became influenced by the work of a Scandinavian antiquary who convinced him that all significant monuments in Ireland were in fact of Danish origin (Hoppen 1970, 196). It is a theory that Molyneux put into application upon his return from his studies. The strength of this new scientific method, and perhaps a lingering appreciation of the political benefits in espousing it, led to the creation a movement during the 18th century whereby every monument and artefact in Ireland signalled the influence of an external culture or society.

In fairness, this may already have been the case in Molyneux's time, although the Gaelic scholar, previously mentioned, Tadgh Ó Rodaighe was able to draw upon correct information, contained within *The Book of Fenagh*, to highlight the correct function and origin of ringforts. A passage in this book referred to the dealings between St. Caillin and a local king, Fergna, who resided at Dun-Baile. Having refused to be converted, Fergna then ordered his son Aedh Dubh to drive out the missionary. Instead, Aedh, having beheld the saint and his mission at prayer, knelt and was baptised. Afterwards, Aedh having converted then 'presented Dun-Baile to Caillin' (Hennessy & Kelly 1939, 115). Here is a clear reference to ringforts as settlement sites. As an ancestor of O Rodaighe had caused the *Book of Fenagh* to be re-transcribed, it is likely that this correct information was available to him. However, when he attempted to dismiss Molyneux's theory as 'a mere vulgar error', and to emphasis the domestic context of ringforts, it passed almost without comment (Thom & Thom 1846, 124). Perhaps the clearest evidence of the continued acceptance of the foreign origin of ringforts can be judged through casual mention within the works of the earliest travel writers. Examples of this include, among others, mention by Thomas Crofton-Croker in *Researches in the South of Ireland* (1824) of the term 'Danes fort', without any explanation attached. Perhaps none was necessary, for by this time this notion concerning the origin and function of ringforts was fully integrated into the worldview of this influential section of Irish society.

2.3.7. Conclusion

This section has highlighted some of the inter-related factors that may influence and control the creation and transmission of knowledge. Whether the initial perception of ringforts as being of foreign construction was created because of cultural misunderstanding or whether it was, from the beginning, motivated by a strong political and perhaps psychological, element, is discussed. In any event, it seems to have been quickly realised that there was great benefit to be drawn from the adoption and dissemination of such a notion. Its adoption may also have been, at first, facilitated by the evident communications difficulties of the period. These difficulties discouraged personal travel and obliged interested scholars to rely on the few written accounts and to accept them at face value. Later, despite the expansion of the quest for knowledge, information remained within a small inter-connected group. Within this group, in regards to ringforts, each member drew on the work of the others, but also harked back to the original attribution of meaning, perhaps unaware that other members had done the same. Such scholarly activity then served to re-inforce this initial perception and to imbue it with an increased sense of authenticity.

The imposition of this 'outsiders' perspective was likely facilitated by a lack of communication with Gaelic scholars in a position to access the correct information. To state it crudely: English knowledge circulated amongst the English and Irish knowledge remained within its own context. In such a setting, the self-reinforcing interpretation of these monuments appears to have assumed, over time, the status of orthodoxy. So much so, that the development of a philosophy that emphasised personal experience and experimentation did not challenge the central notions of their function or origin. This new philosophy also appears to have had a view of itself as a departure from the 'old' ways of investigation. In addition, it may have contained a Universalist component in that it sought to develop a theory to provide answers adaptable to all knowledge. These elements may then actually have hindered the expansion of the search for knowledge outside of this initiated circle or, at least, to have encouraged the dismissal of information not provided by these methods. In fact, it appears that because of the political and economic degradation of the Irish people, which in the spirit of the times was perceived to indicate their inherent degenerate nature, the original misconception expanded to include all the major monuments in the country. So strongly was this created narrative accepted that any dissenting voices were ignored and perhaps even ridiculed.

2.4 CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter has been to investigate how knowledge relevant to ringforts was created, preserved and disseminated throughout Ireland, and further afield. It also examined the chronological development of this information, from the period of their initial occupation up until the beginnings of the modern discipline of archaeology, initially known as antiquarianism. In order to facilitate this, it was decided to examine this knowledge as separate strands of information — the initial imposed division is that which existed between native and settler, insider and outsider, or the emic and etic perspectives. In addition to this, there would also have been a division, even if only due to access, between the educated classes and the uneducated common people. It is important to reiterate that these divisions are deliberately emphasised and that there almost certainly would have existed some degree of interaction between each of these groups. It was then decided to investigate the mediums within which these strands of information were contained. It was felt important also to create, as far as possible, a continuous timeline for each of these strands, to show that information was indeed transmitted. Once this was established, it was decided to focus on the level of interaction between each of these strands and to show how the influence of each may have increased or diminished over time.

As has been shown, the initial function of these monuments was well understood and contained within the earliest Irish literature and, in all likelihood, within the oral literature that preceded it. This may appear to be common sense for when these manuscripts were first compiled these structures may have remained inhabited. At the very least, a correct understanding of their function may have been retained within social memory. From the beginning, the information contained within these manuscripts would have been read, reread, copied, and recounted. This has been highlighted within this chapter through a focus on particular elements of this corpus, for example the Dindsenchas. In addition, it is evident that the preservation and dissemination of this information is likely to have been primarily within the remit of specialised classes within society. However, it is difficult to imagine that this information would not also have spread outwards into the wider community, perhaps through the oral medium. It can thus be seen that a correct understanding of the function of these sites was widespread throughout Irish society. It has also been suggested that the preservation and dissemination of knowledge in general is facilitated through cultural stability.

Unfortunately, this was not the case within the Irish context. Beginning towards the end of the 12th century, Ireland underwent a process, or rather several successive processes, of dramatic change and upheaval. This resulted in an initial retreat of Gaelic culture following the initial impact of colonisation. This retreat may be categorised by its geographical nature as overall this culture remained vibrant in areas of strong Gaelic influence. There then followed a weakening, or assimilation, of the colonial position which produced a resurgence of the native learned tradition. However, this was itself followed by a period of increased repression and eventual dispossession that culminated with the destruction of the old Gaelic order and the imposition of the Penal Laws. Irish learning was symbiotically associated with the native political system, and with the destruction of the latter the fortunes of the native learned tradition went into a serious decline. So much so, that by the end of the period addressed in this chapter it is clearly apparent that a full understanding of the correct initial function of ring-forts as domestic sites, as contained within the manuscript tradition, was available only by a dwindling and isolated band of native scholars.

This confusion or misunderstanding then facilitated the attribution of new meanings and functions to these structures. One of these interpretations originated soon after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans into the country. This interpretation saw these structures as being of foreign origin and of having a defensive function. This notion may have arisen through an awareness, by this group, of their own precarious position as usurpers. There may also have been some contributing factors, such as a wish to relate a new way of life to familiar experience or even because of cultural misunderstanding. The psychological benefits received from this interpretation may have soon become apparent — by adopting and promoting such a concept their perceived opponents could be denigrated and they themselves exonerated. This attitude seems to have taken such a hold that regardless of the developments elsewhere, or even the introduction of newer methods of inquiry, this interpretation was never properly challenged. It took an outsider's perspective, that of Lhuyd, to be able to approach the question of the origins of ring-forts with a fresh attitude and an open mind. Unfortunately, this line of inquiry came to naught and it required the development and growth of a new class of native, or at least nativist, for another attempt to be organised to rediscover the truth regarding the origins and functions of the most common archaeological monument in the country.

3CHAPTER 3: RINGFORTS WITHIN THE MYTHOLOGICAL LANDSCAPE.

3.1. Mythological Interpretation

The two strands of knowledge, examined in Chapter 2, depict ringforts either as domestic agricultural settlements or as militarised defensive structures. In any event, they present a perception of ringforts within a mundane personally recognisable setting. However, an initially separate strand of knowledge imbued these sites with a supernatural significance. Perhaps, a loss of knowledge within the unlearned Gaelic community, concerning the correct original function of ringforts, eventually allowed an existing mythical association with some important sites to expand over time and encompass all ringforts. At a mythological level, these important sites were linked with a supposed earlier race of inhabitants of the country, the *Tuatha Dé Danaan* (Mallory 2013, 204). Until modern times the existence of this race was accepted as having a basis in historical fact and it was believed that it had been driven underground following its defeat in the battle of *Tailtiu* by the Milesians. Incidentally, it is the presence of the *Tuatha Dé Danaan* at an earlier battle, as told in *Cath Maige Tuired*, which facilitates a comparative study of geographically dispersed mythologies, particularly that of Armenia and India (Mallory & Adams 2006). The presence of comparable structures within these geographically separated tales provides a strong indication of the Indo-European roots of Irish mythology. This ancient link may also explain the importance of the *Tuatha Dé Danaan* within Irish mythology.

3.1.1. Lebor Gabhála Érenn

The origin myth of the Irish people contains elements that detail several waves of invasion. This story is best depicted in the *Lebor Gabhála Érenn*, or the Book of the taking of Ireland. An earlier, more basic or less developed, mention of this notion is evident in the Irish version of a work attributed to the 9th-century English scribe, Nennius, *Historia Brittonum* (van Hamel 1932). As mentioned above, the existence of the races indicated within *Lebor Gabhála Érenn* was accepted as fact, or at least as a degeneration or corruption of actual events, until quite recently (Healy 1904, n.116). The text of *Lebor Gabhála Érenn* is also present within the majority of the composite manuscripts written in the Irish language during the early medieval period. The tale is presented in several different recensions. These are designated as R1, which

is present in *Lebor na Núachongbála*, R2 which appears in several manuscripts, notably the Great Book of Lecan, R3 from the Book of Ballymote and recension K, the work of Ó Clerigh in the Annals of the Four Masters (RIA 2016). There is further evidence that the tale was initially included in the earliest known surviving manuscript written fully in Irish, now referred to as *Lebor na hUidre* (LU), or the Book of the Dun Cow. This manuscript occupies a central position in the field of early Irish literature and, for this reason, has been widely studied. This has shown evidence for several authors having contributed to this compilation. 'A' – the earliest scribe, 'M' – Máel Muire Mac Célechair, the primary source, and 'H' – a later interpolator. It is accepted that that the bulk of the work was carried out prior to 1106 AD, when the annals record the death of the probable chief scribe, Máel Muire (O'Donovan 1851).

The extant examples of LU do not presently include the story of *Lebor Gabhála*. However, Michel Ó Clerigh (1631) referred to one source for his own version as being '*the Book of Baile Uí Mhaolchonaire*, which Muirghis mac Paidín Uí Mhaolchonaire wrote out of the *Leabhar na nUidhre*' (Macalister & MacNeill 1916, 4). Carey (2009), who draws attention to the missing initial sheets of the manuscript, also argues for the initial existence of the tale within LU. He further details the various manuscripts that contain the tale, *Lebor Gabhála Érenn*, at or near the beginning of each copy. The manuscripts that contain the tale include

> 'the Book of Leinster, the Book of Fermoy, the Great Book of Lecan, and one of the manuscripts bound together as Rawlinson B512 ... the Book of Ballymote, and the Mullingar manuscript; while an index of the Book of Úi Mhiure ... shows that, in the seventeenth century, that manuscript began with a treatise on the creation followed by a copy of Lebor Gabhála' (ibid 23-4).

The inclusion of the tale in manuscripts of a diverse geographical and chronological origin confirms how widespread and enduring this concept of the origins of the Irish race was throughout this period. Correspondingly, its inclusion towards the beginning of these books indicate that it should be no surprise that it is no longer present within LU when the present fragmentary nature of this manuscript is taken into account.

The movement of some of these manuscripts – notably the Book of Leinster and the Book of Ballymote – which respectively contain recension R1 and R3 of this text in the centuries between their compilation and lodgement with later learned societies has been outlined above. It is of benefit to carry out the same exercise in regards to this manuscript. *Lebor na hUidre* was compiled at the monastic site of Clonmacnoise in Co. Offaly. Following the decline of

this monastery, probably from the late 12th century, the manuscript became, at some stage, a possession of the O'Donnell family of Donegal. There it remained until 1359, when it was exchanged as ransom for members of the family taken by Cathal Óg O'Conner of Sligo (Best & Bergin 1929). The manuscript remained in the possession of the O'Conner family, where the scribe Sigraid Ó Cuirrndín renovated it, until the O'Donnells, following a raid by Aedh Ruadh O'Donnell in 1470, recovered it. The O'Donnell's of this period seem to have been avid collectors of manuscripts as they also came into possession of the Book of Ballymote. Perhaps this is an indication of an appreciation of the status which possession of such manuscripts may bestow on the clan. In any event, the manuscript remained in Donegal until at least 1632, when it was available for consultation by Michael O'Clerigh in compiling the Annals of the Four Masters. The manuscript then faded from sight until 1837 when Hodges and Smith, Booksellers in Dublin, held it. There one of the earliest modern Irish antiquarians, George Petrie, consulted it for his work on Tara. In 1844, following the gathering of a subscription, the manuscript was purchased and donated to the Royal Irish Academy, where it remains.

3.1.2. Dissemination

Reference to these three manuscripts, *Lebor na hUidre*, the Book of Leinster and the Book of Ballymote, highlights how information contained within them travelled from place to place and down through time. The importance of *Lebor Gabála Érenn* as origin myth can also be seen in its inclusion in the early modern text, the Annals of the Four Masters, which contains the text referred to as recension 'K'. The Annals were begun in January 1632 and completed by August of 1636 in a monastery on the banks of the River Browse in Co. Donegal. Originally, the manuscript was entitled *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters from the earliest period to the year 1616* (O'Donovan 1851). The masters referred to the authors, who were Michael Ó Clerigh, Peregrine Ó Clerigh, Fearfeasa O'Mulconry, and Peregrine O'Duignan. Incidentally, these names indicate an important continuity of traditional scribal families with a Manus O'Duignan noted as one of the scribes of the earlier Book of Ballymote. The acknowledged chief of these masters was Michael Ó Clerigh, a Franciscan brother, who was born Tadgh, in Donegal after 1590 (Jennings 1936, 17). He may have left Ireland as part of the 'Wild Geese' and there is a suggestion that he is the 'Don Tadeo Cleri' who was recompensed for his losses by the Spanish crown (*ibid.*). He joined the Franciscan order in

Louvain and in 1626 been sent back to Ireland to gather what he could of the remaining native knowledge.

In this manner, Ó Clerigh's work took him throughout the country. In 1627, he spent time in Dublin, Drogheda and Kildare. In 1628 he was in Athlone, Dublin again, Castlekevin, Cloghwalter, Cashel and Ballymacegan. In the following year he visited Timoleague, Cork city, Limerick, Kildare and also Wexford and at some stage (Walsh 1947, 248). The work of these four scribes was undertaken under the patronage of Fergal O'Gara, Lord of Coolavin, who was one of the wealthiest Catholics in Co Sligo and by 1634 the M.P. for the same county. The stated purpose of undertaking this task was 'to purify, correct and transcribe the old chronicle called Leabhar Gabhála' (Breathnach 2010, 6). The object of Ó Clerigh's work was to produce a copy that could then be translated into different languages. Two copies of the work were produced. For his generosity, a specially inscribed copy of the manuscript was presented to O'Gara and this seems to have remained in his possession, despite the loss of his lands following the Cromwellian conquest. While the precise date of his death is not known, O'Gara was still alive by 1660. The second copy was sent back to the monastery at Louvain. Both of these copies, the O'Gara set and the Louvain set, then produced further copies. The O'Gara set, those copies known by the initials of C and H; the Louvain set, those referred to as A and P (Ó Muraíle 1987, 87-8).

A study of the various trajectories of these copies offers a fascinating insight into the close interaction between antiquarians, institutions and scribes during this period. For example, by 1649, the copy referred to by the initial C was in the possession of Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbisigh of Galway. From 1651 to 1658, it was in the hands of Henry Burc, also of Galway. By 1724, this copy had been gathered, along with others, into the library of John Conry of Dublin. Following his death, it came into the possession of the noted antiquarian Charles O'Conor of Belangare and he made a copy for the Chevalier O'Gorman, already mentioned above. When borrowed by Dr John Fergus during 1734-5 this copy was bound and another copy made by Aodh O'Maolmhuidh (*ibid,* 88-92). The copy known as H was in the possession Roderick O'Flaherty at some stage during the late 17th century. Later, in 1724 John Corny gathered it to Dublin. It came into the possession of Dr Fergus in 1731, and was bound in 1739. In 1766, this copy was purchased by Dr Thomas Leland on behalf of Trinity College Dublin (*ibid,* 92-94). The copy referred to as A was taken to Louvain in 1637. There it remained until the time of the French Revolution when it was removed to St. Isidore's College in Rome before being returned to Ireland at a later date. Not much is known of the early history

of copy P. It was in the possession of Charles O'Conor in 1778 and while there a copy was made by the scribe Muiris O'Gormáin. Following O'Conor's death, it came into the hands of William Burton Conyngham by the late 18th century. Following on from his death, this copy was for some time in the possession of an Austin Cooper before being bought in 1831 by George Petrie for the Royal Irish Academy.

Within this widely circulated tale, the *Tuatha Dé Danaan* were driven underground and from this a strong association with the Otherworld developed. The Otherworld of Irish mythology is sometimes perceived as being located over the sea, or through a gateway on Bull Rock located off the south-west coast (O'Brien 2012, 259). However, within the mythological tales it is most often to be found in the 'great pre-Celtic burial mounds of the Síde' (Gantz 1981, 15). In addition to these earlier archaeological monuments, whose original function had passed from memory, prominent natural features were also perceived as dwelling places of the *Síde*. Thus, in a tale contained within the Book of Fermoy, *Altrom Tigh da Bheadher*, or the fosterage of the house of the two milk pails, it is noted how these dwelling places were attributed to each member of the tribe. For example, the mountain of Slieve na mBan in Tipperary is allocated to Abhartach, son of Nuada and Knock Maa in Co. Galway is given to Finnabair Meadha (Dobbs 1930). Moreover, as late as the mid-18th century this association between the *Síde* and prominent places on the landscape remained prevalent within social memory.

3.1.3. Dindsenchas

Reference to this mythological association can also be found in the *Dindsenchas* tales. For example, within one of the texts already mentioned *Rath Esa* (Gwynn 1906, II; 29-30) contains the lines

'Iar togail in t-sída sin, Doluid cóica fer fuilngech.

After the sack of the fairy fort, There came fifty hardy men'.

The timeline of this tale and its inclusion in a wide variety of manuscripts from this period has been dealt with above. One other example of a mythological aspect within the *Dindsenchas*, this time associated with the ancient archaeological monument at Newgrange, is evident in the tale referred to by Gwynn (1906, II; 18) as '*Brug Na Bóinde* II'. This poem contains the lines

'Fégaid in síd ar bar súil, is fodeirc dúib is treb ríg, Rogníth lasin Dagda n-dúr, ba dín, ba dún, amra bríg'

'Behold the fairy mound before your eyes, it is plain for you to see it is a king's dwelling, It was built by the harsh Dagda it was a shelter, it was a keep renowned for strength'

This poem is included in manuscripts such as the Book of Leinster, the Rennes manuscript, the Book of Ballymote, and the Yellow Book of Lecan, the trajectories of which have already been referenced. An example of a mythological connection with a natural feature can be perceived in the tale '*Boand* I' (*ibid,* III; 26). This poem begins with

'Síd Nechtain sund forsin t-shléib, lecht mic Labrada lán-géir, assa silenn in sruth slán, dianid ainm Bóand bith-lán'

'Sid Nechtain is the name that is on the mountain here, the grave of the full-keen son of Labraid, from which flows the stainless river, whose name is Boand everfull'

Examples of this poem were also widely disseminated. For it is contained in all of the abovementioned books, in addition to the Book of Hui Maine and the manuscripts of the Stowe collection (*ibid.*).

In studying these chosen examples, it seems reasonable to conclude that in the choice of language used in the *Dindsenchas* tales there exists a clear understanding that *Ráth* was used to signify a settlement site or domestic context and that the word *Síde* referred to objects that had an otherworld context. Moreover, in the majority of cases there was a clear differentiation between the two meanings in the use of such words. However, it seems likely in some particular cases that an association between the domestic present and eternal supernatural may have been sought. Within Irish mythology, great emphasis was placed upon the concept of 'rightful kingship'. Whereby, a king favoured by the Gods will in turn bring bounty to his kingdom (MacCana 1991, 119). As such, it would seem in a king's political interest, to assure continued support, to fabricate a close association with the Otherworld. For if bountiful harvests and fruit-laden trees (A) were a sign of Otherworld favour (B), an element of human nature seems to assume that creating an impression of (B), would then cause (A) to surely follow. Perhaps an impression of Otherworld favour could be achieved through the possession of sacred objects, the performance of 'ancient' rituals or by the continued occupation, or re-occupation, of already sacralised territory.

Inclusion of information emphasising these links within the early manuscripts could serve to disseminate any created association and strengthen a claim to power. Within the *Dindsenchas* tales, a poem refers to the famous royal complex of Connaught, *Rath Cruachan*, (Gwynn 1906, III; 348). This poem contains passages that could be interpreted as emphasising the royal nature of the site and its mythological context. For instance, a representation of the royal status and importance of the site is indicated by the lines …

'is dia réir roscólta sain, géill na hEórpa co Cruachan
in express submission to them have been sent, hostages from all Europe to Cruachu' (*ibid.*).

Once the high status of the complex has been established, the mythological context is shown through the creation of an association between *Rath Cruachan* and *Sid Sinche*. Another indication is the mention that it was the 'hereditary possession' of an important mythological figure and that it was within his power to transfer possession to those in his favour.

This can be observed, for example, in lines 33 to 36 (ibid III; 350) which proclaim …

'Siar ruc Midir in mbrait béin, hi slait irana sáer-gabáil
co síd Sinche nan a slug sen, dáig ba dual do dag-Midir.

'Westward Midir bore the fair captives, after boldly seizing them as booty to Sid Sinche of the ancient hosts, because it was noble Midir's hereditary possession

The Rath is later granted to Crochen, the handmaid of Étain, after she had displayed the arguably positive qualities of kingship, notably loyalty, intelligence and courage. The lines 51 to 54 (*ibid,* III; 353) attest to this, as well as re-emphasising the mythological connection and perhaps introducing the concept of the 'Hero's Journey' …

'A Midir, cen maidm cosc, imbia m'ainm forsin t-shid-se?
Tuc in rothreib, lóg n-astaur, do Chrochin, cóir tuarastail.

O Midir, yet unconquered, shall my name be on this Side?
He gave the fine dwelling, as a reward for her journey to Crochan a fair recompense'

3.1.4. The Archaeology of Rathcroghan

The landscape of Rath Cruachán is a complex of an estimated sixty archaeological monuments. These monuments are from a range of categories and have a chronology that spans millennia.

Located to the north-west of the village of Tulsk in Co. Roscommon, Rath Cruachán has long been depicted as one of the several major royal sites of ancient Ireland (Waddell *et al.* 2009, 1). From the beginning, an association has existed at this complex between the living and the dead or between this world and the Otherworld. The longevity of this association is emphasised through the presence of a megalithic structure which Herity (1983, 123), drawing upon the work of de Valera and Ó Nualláin (1972, 35), suggests may be a court tomb and therefore date from approximately 3000 BC. Once established, this connection appears to have solidified and expanded with time. This connection is evident with the construction of circular burial mounds that may date from a period encompassing the 'end of the third millennium to the earlier second millennium BC' (Waddell *et al.* 2009, 205). This practice appears to continue with the construction of dozens of ring-barrows. One of which, Daithí's Mound, has been of lasting interest due to its royal associations as the burial place of the last pagan king of Ireland. Investigation of this monument unearthed a scattering of charcoal fragments, 'from the lower levels of the bank and the old ground surface beneath', which provided an iron-age radiocarbon date of (Waddell 1983, 31).

These examples highlight the longevity of ritual activity undertaken at the Rathcroghan complex. That the temporal political advantages available through association with such a setting were understood, especially at a later date, is also evident in the archaeological evidence. Several substantial early medieval structures are situated in close proximity to the central feature of the complex, Rathcroghan Mound (Waddell *et al.* 2009, 5). Although Herity (1987, 135) emphasises that care seems to have been taken, when constructing these structures, to avoid the core sacred areas of Rathcroghan and Carnfree. An example of this type of structure is the enclosure known as Rathnadarve (Rath of the Bulls). It should be noted that the majority of sites within the complex carry names attributed in relation to their appearance or because of a perceived function. Rathnadarve is a large univallate enclosure with an 'overall diameter of 115m' and which encompasses a 'low, rounded, oval hillock of glacial origin' (Waddell *et al.* 2009, 61). Following a geophysical survey, it was concluded that this structure probably performed a 'utilitarian function and served as a large univallate ringfort', confirming its domestic settlement context (*ibid,* 66).

Another domestic structure, Rathmore, is located 900m north northwest of Rathcroghan mound. It is an example of a raised ringfort and rises to 'between 3.6m and 5.3m above the surrounding fields' (*ibid,* 66-7). It was proposed, again following a survey, that this site might have been a centre of activity, involving the use of fire, for a prolonged period. A tentative

suggestion has thus been advanced that the raised central area may have contained 'a substantial timber hall of medieval period' (*ibid,* 78). Another nearby enclosure, known as Relignaree, has long been of interest due to a perception of it as a royal cemetery. It is again an enclosure, measured c.100m across and within which are contained 'traces of an early circular ringfort type enclosure, a souterrain and several later house sites' (*ibid,* 5). For that reason, an early medieval domestic association may also be attributed to this site. The presence of these structures grouped around the central mound at Rathcroghan may be perceived as a desire to create an affinity to a centre of power, whether political or sacred in nature or possibly both.

However, the strongest association with the Otherworld and its accompanying power is evident in the cultural adaption of the natural cave know referred to as Owneygat (Cave of the Cats). This important mythological site is located 800m south-west of Rathcroghan mound (*ibid,* 79) and 300m north-west of Relignaree (Herity 1987, 138). The cave, formed from limestone, is approximately fifty metres in length and can be entered via a souterrian. Two of the roof-stones covering the souterrain carry ogham inscriptions; one of which reads FRAICCI MAQI MEDFFI, and which, when translated, conveys the message Fráech, son of Medb (Macalister 1945, 16-7). Fráech is the mythical ancestor of the Connachti and the desire to form an association with Medb could be interpreted as an attempt to emphasise the connection between the political and the sacred. The area surrounding the souterrain entrance is now in poor condition, but earlier work clearly shows an encircling enclosure, stated to be c.20m across, and which contained several scattered stones in addition to the cave entrance (Ferguson 1864, 162). This site, and more particularly the cave, is well documented in the earliest literature as the gateway to the Otherworld.

3.1.5. Mythological Association

This connection between Owneygat and the Otherworld can be seen, for example, in the tale *Eachtra Nerai*, which is sometimes considered a *remscéla* or fore-tale for the *Táin* (Meyer 1899, 212). Within this tale, a warrior, Nera, after carrying a captive back to his torture has a vision of Cruachan destroyed and its inhabitants massacred. He follows the raiders back into the cave of Cruachan. '*Tet i n-diaig int sluaig iarum ind uaim cruachaon'* (*ibid,* 216; line 47). Once inside he is presented to the king who gives him a wife. When explaining his adventure to his wife, it is confirmed by her that an Otherworld host visited him. This aspect is further

reinforced by remarks highlighting the contrast in time between the two settings. For Nera had felt that three days and nights had passed within the *Síd*, only to find that time had not changed for his companions upon his return (*ibid,* 222). Interestingly, one of the spoils promised to Medb and Ailill, by Nera's wife, for the destruction of the *Síd* was the crown of Briun. Perhaps this passage serves to emphasise that eventual control over the *Sidhe* brought with it the benefits of kingship, and this passage to the Otherworld as represented by the cave at Cruachán (Owneygat) served some functional purpose within a kingship ritual.

Incidentally, the renowned antiquarian, Charles O'Conor of Belanagare, mentioned above, undertook some of the earliest investigations of the complex, as his house was located within a short distance from the complex. Interestingly, this activity highlights how literature, history, mythology and archaeology could be combined in one notable person, as defines the early period of modern antiquarianism. Furthermore, Cruachán is also strongly associated with the female personification of royalty, *Medbh*, responsible for the allocation and transfer of kingship. She occupies a central role in the Irish epic *Táin Bo Cuailinge*. Indeed, she could be said to be the main protagonist. For it was because of the 'pillow talk' between Aillil and herself, at Cruachán, that the raid into Ulster was organised. That *Medbh* is the representation of royalty may be understood not only by her multiple marriages, all of which involve kings, but also in the conditions that she sets for any potential husband. These are that he should display 'an absence of meanness, and jealousy, and fear' (Kinsella 2002, 53).

The lack of these three negative characteristics would be a quality which Dumézil (1973, 92), who developed a theory concerning the tri-partite organisation of Indo-European society, and its successors, argued would be necessary so as to maintain order within society and ensure the success of a reign. These chosen tales provide an indication of a strong mythological presence on the landscape. The deliberate location of ringforts in the vicinity is evidence of an attempt to appropriate a degree of this energy or powerful influence. The fact that the ringforts were built at a certain distance is a further clue to the perceived power of the pre-existing structures and landscape. The created space exhibits qualities representative of both the sacred and mundane, while the two spaces share the same terrain they never intermingle.

3.1.6. Conclusion

Perhaps it is from sites such as these that the association between ringforts and the mythological context, hitherto associated with some ancient monuments, began. That this was a deliberate

choice may be seen in the decision to construct important royal ringforts within a sacred landscape, and this may have been motivated by the desire to lay claim to this Otherworld connection. Therefore, perhaps, it could be said that the later association between all ringforts and the supernatural spread from this early deliberate connection. Alternatively, perhaps sites such as this are a physical expression of an already existing desire to associate with the past for political purposes. In any event, once the potential political and social benefits were recognised it understandable that other high status sites, perhaps at a local or regional level, would seek to form the same connection. In such examples it was not a case of the mythological aspect becoming associated with abandoned and forgotten sites, but inhabited sites that became associated with a pre-existing mythological context. As such, it may be that there existed a hierarchy of importance concerning ringforts whereby a select few, royal sites, possessed a mythological association and the majority, because of their setting, were considered in a mundane habitation context. For instance, the royal site at Garranes, Co. Cork, may reflect this in a Christian context with its association with St Finbarr. However, over time, as the correct understanding of this function passed from social memory, the similar layout and physical aspect of the majority of ringforts may have facilitated their transformation into an idealised representation that included a mythological aspect.

3.2. Oral Transformation

3.2.1 Introduction

When exactly this transformation of meaning took place is difficult, if not impossible, to correctly identify. For, as previously mentioned, oral societies do not leave written texts that may then be studied. Thus, it will not be possible to access directly the thought processes of those who live within such a society. As such, it will be necessary to examine modern, or near modern, studies into the transmission of information within an oral setting and then to extrapolate any findings onto the blank canvas of this section of early Irish society. Nevertheless, it bears repeating that ringforts, from early on, would likely have occupied a prominent position in the daily lives of the surrounding communities. As such, it seems reasonable to assume that such commonplace information would have been passed from person to person during any interaction. Thus, a correct understanding of their function would have been widespread within the community and such an understanding would have been preserved and transmitted, at least for a period, following the end of the main period of occupation.

However, the fluid nature of memory within an oral society would eventually have facilitated the creation of other associations. It will be of interest in this section to examine the methods of cultural interaction within such a society to ascertain the degree to which such information could be preserved or, once forgotten, what sort of associations may be formed in its place.

3.2.2. Oral Tradition

The academic study of the transmission of cultural information within an oral society consists of several strands of investigation. These range from the fundamental difference in method between an oral society and a literate one (Lord 1960; Ong 1982) across the spectrum to the argument that there is no fundamental change occurring in society with the introduction of literacy (Goody 1968). The American Classical scholar, Milman Parry, who in the 1930s, in an attempt to understand the Homeric legends, recorded the performances of the oral singers of southern Yugoslavia, undertook the initial stage of investigation in this field. Following Parry's untimely death, the work was continued by his pupil, Albert Lord, and the argument presented was that, in this context, the structure of a performance was dependent on several factors, such as setting, audience, time, and that information was not, and indeed probably could not, be transmitted verbatim. The process of memorisation and subsequent transmission involved assimilating the structure of the tale and integrating it with an existing stock of formulaic and descriptive phrases (Lord 1960, 26). Within the Irish tradition these descriptive phrases are referred to as 'runs' and consist of a generic stock which may be transferred from tale to tale as suits the performer.

This theory, known as the Parry-Lord or the oral-formulaic theory, enjoyed great success. However, as again often appears to be the case, eventually its universal applicability came to be questioned. Most notably in the work carried out by Finnegan (1977; 1988) wherein she argued, that within specific societies and in certain contexts, performances consisted of verbatim transmission, or at least for more repetition 'than one might expect from the Yugoslav analogy'. Indeed, it seems reasonable to surmise that certain information, within any society, would require verbatim recitation, such as the traditional legal judgements and particularly the genealogical history of the leading families, regardless of how initially fabricated. However, once this information had been committed to writing it may also be reasonable to expect that subsequent stories were composed with the fluidity and license mentioned above. In such a setting, it is easy to see how the correct understanding of monuments could pass from memory.

Lord (1960, 5) also claims that the observed performances consisted of a combination of 'rote learning and improvisation'. However, these performances were open to influence by a number of factors, such as time, setting, audience. For example, if a performer felt that the audience were not appreciative of his efforts he would conclude the tale earlier than previewed.

Ong (1982, 62-3) refocused on the topic of memorisation versus improvisation and concluded that examples of successful verbatim memorisation were rare and were almost always the result of a ritualised context, but that even within these settings information was susceptible to the creation of error. He also states that 'spoken words are always modifications of a total existential situation, which always engages the body' (ibid, 67). Furthermore, the transmission of information within an oral setting occurs in interpersonal situations and either of these two situations present possibilities for information to be modified or renewed, even if presented as 'the correct story, as has and will always be told'. Perhaps within such a setting the argument of Vansina (1973), mentioned above, may be of relevance: that cultural information is closely associated with the originating society, that a stable, conservative environment may facilitate the preservation and transmission of any received information, and that a dynamic chaotic situation, on the other hand, is likely to facilitate any change in method or content.

3.2.3. Irish Context

Within an Irish context, there were likely to have been areas where information, through necessity, was required to be preserved and coherently transmitted in as close to the original state as possible. Such examples may have included the preservation of place-name lore, legal judgements and the validation of the genealogical histories of the leading families, regardless of their fantastic origins. Evidence that this may have been the case can be observed in the use of metrical format, or *prosimetrum*, as an aid to facilitate the memorisation of this information (Nagy 1986, 281). This is evident in the earliest manuscripts, where the earliest layers retain signs of their oral structure. It is, in fact, the spoken word literally written down. Incidentally, it is interesting that Goody (1968, 236) provides examples, from other societies, of how the written word was initially regarded as containing magical power and that it promoted secrecy through 'a scarcity of interpreters'. This situation would almost certainly also have enhanced the social position of such a learned group. Such prestige is likely to have encouraged the

retention of this skill within close familial lineages. From this desire may have developed the hereditary scribal families noted within Irish society throughout this period (Walsh 1947).

Further indications of the possible existence of this residual orality may be seen in the use of this *prosimetrum* format in both Irish manuscript tradition and in early Sanskrit literature. These two traditions are located at the opposite ends of the Indo-European sphere and as such, it is felt that commonalities can then be traced back to the originating root. This emphasises the 'archaic and originally oral nature of medieval Irish narrative' (Nagy 1986, 281). Of course, once information was externally committed to written form it could be consulted whenever necessary. It would no longer need to be memorised, through whatever means, and constantly repeated in attempts at conservation. It is possible that this skill of strict memorisation and recall may then have been lost and, perhaps, oral performance from then on consisted of material that is more informal. These two factors, the loss of skill and the possible hoarding of knowledge, would have hindered the continuation of understanding the correct function of ringforts. It must be remembered that the social and political upheaval that areas of the country experienced throughout various periods, beginning in the late 12th century, would also have hindered, eventually perhaps fatally, the transmission of Gaelic culture. This effect was likely to have been most strongly felt in areas subjected to outside influences. This cultural loss may well then have facilitated the crossover of material so that eventually ringforts developed an association within the popular worldview with the subterranean race of inhabitants, the *Aos Síde*, or the *Tuatha Dé Danaan*.

Just as the date for this transition is difficult to accurately date, its geographical occurrence is equally complicated and for the same reasons. However, there is ample evidence that such an association was not formed throughout the country simultaneously. It can be seen above that in some areas, particularly those with strong external influence, the divergent interpretations were in use by the end of the 12th century (O'Meara 1951). In other areas, the correct knowledge had been preserved until the 18th century at least. Indeed, Westropp (1896, 145) notes that in certain western areas ringforts were still occupied, or reoccupied, until the middle of the following century. As previously mentioned, in the popular imagination any mythological associations appear to have been still focused on natural features or ancient monuments. An example of this may be seen in a story collected by William Wilde (1852, 123), but dated to mid-eighteenth century, concerning events at the rock known as Carrig-Cleena, near Bweeng. Two 'fairy-women' travel from Clare to confront the Queen of the Munster fairies at this rock. Prior to confronting the Queen, the older of the two rolls herself

in tar and covers herself in feathers. Having thereby transformed herself symbolically into a bird, she could then fly to the Otherworld to accomplish her task. This ritualistic transformation is a commonplace practice in Shamanism worldwide (Eliade 2004, 156) and, while remaining conscious of the danger in relying upon a single story, this may possibly be an indication of a popular religious practice with a semi-organised 'priesthood'.

3.2.4. Continued Functional Use

It appears that in some areas, perhaps isolated ones, ringforts maintained a social function right throughout the pre-modern period. In some cases, ringforts were incorporated into the rituals associated with assembly sites. Gleeson (2015, 45) refers to such a development at the preeminent site of Munster, Óenaig Clochair. Although it may be that the initial decision to situate a ringfort within this complex landscape could have stemmed from a desire to associate with an area of pre-existing importance.

Another similar function was the use of ringforts to act as meeting places for the 'Courts of Poetry' that arose following the collapse of the Bardic schools in the wake of the Flight of the Earls (Corkery 1970, 95). One such example of this is the use of a particular royal site, Rath Ollium, near Bruree, Co. Limerick, as the setting for the convening of a court of poetry. These conventions were organised by a group referred to as 'The Maigue Poets'; the chief of whom was Séan 'Clarach' MacDomhaill from Charleville in Co. Cork (Mangan 1885, 44). These courts arose following the disappearance of the Bardic Schools and their activities involved convocation of poets from the surrounding areas so that they might recite before the gathering any poems composed since the previous session. These were then judged and in this manner an increase in skill may be formally noted and the status of the poet increase (Corkery 1970).

Another example concerns the use of a ringfort as a law school in the townland of Cahermacnaghten, Co. Clare, by the noted O'Davoren family. Indeed, Westropp (1897, 120-1) claims that the settlement was the place where the famous antiquarian Duald MacFirbis (Dubhaltach MacFirbisigh) studied the brehon laws under Donald O'Davoren. He continues that the site was occupied in 1675 and that the ringfort 'formed the centre of O'Davorens town'. Westropp then quotes a personal document of the family to offer an idea of the layout of the area. He notes that there was a large house within the 'caher' and that there appears to have been another house 'between the front of the large house and the door of the caher'. There

were also houses and gardens around the exterior of the fort and a well several hundred feet away.

There are several ringforts in this townland and one of which, (CL009-001010), was at one time noted to have a house and school in its interior. However, the main area of focus as regards this law school is nowadays situated in a complex of buildings located approximately 900m south-west of this site (NMS 2016). Fitzpatrick (2008) recently excavated one of these buildings (CL009-001009). As a result of this excavation it was decided that this house, known locally as *Cabhail Tighe Breac*, was in fact the location of the law school of the O'Davorens. Results from the excavation show considerable disturbance during the more recent period and consequently the material culture on site is poor. However, 'a tiny fragment of thin, friable slate with a single inscribed character' may be evidence of scholastic activity (*ibid.*).

On a more sombre note there are a multiplicity of references to ringforts being used as recognised but unofficial, or perhaps semi-official, burial grounds; especially for young children who had not yet been attributed a social persona, but also for suicides and even for strangers to the area whose religion may not have been known. These sites can be recognised on maps and within folklore by the use of the word '*Cillín*' or '*Cheallúnach*' and they are often anglicised as Killeen or Kyle. For example, there are 260 of these monuments noted by the National Monuments service in County Kerry and some of these are associated with ringforts (NMS 2016). One example is located in Laharan South townland on the Iveragh peninsula. This univallate ringfort, which is noted locally as a *Cillín*, has an internal diameter of around 22m and has the remains of a dry-stone hut located in the southern sector of its interior (O'Sullivan & Sheehan 1996, 162; No. 530). The position of this ringfort upon the landscape may have contained sufficient elements to act as an attraction for its reuse in this context. Particularly its location close to a river, a natural boundary, is likely to have increased its perception of liminality.

One thing these chosen examples highlight is an association between ringforts and an important element of transition: of skill as a poet, in learning as a legal expert, and of course, the most important transition, between life and death. Arnold Van Gennep (1908) studied this change in state and its occurrence at various periods in human life in-depth. Following this study of the 'crisis points' of human existence, Van Gennep concluded that transition from one state of being to another involved separation from the previous state of existence, which was

followed by a period of marginalisation, or 'liminality', and subsequently a reintegration into society in a new role.

3.2.5. Liminality

Each of these stages is always marked by ceremonies that Van Gennep referred to as 'rites of passage'. These rites consisted of 'preliminal rites (rites of separation), liminal rites (rites of transition), and postliminal rites (rites of incorporation)' although it was emphasised that not all three types of rites were equally important in all cases (Van Gennep 1908, 11). Of course, any experiences of separation, transition and reincorporation could be reinforced where the possibility existed to move between physically distinct settings. Therefore, any territorial component consisting of physical movement would serve to reinforce the perception of liminality. All significant occurrences throughout life involved these 'rites of passage', including initiation, marriage, pregnancy, birth and death. When addressing initiation, Van Gennep (*ibid.*) focuses primarily on the initiation into adulthood or social responsibility. Even so, he does provide an indication of the necessary sequence of such conduct. Firstly, the aspirant is removed from their previous environment and then secluded in a special place. While there they are exposed to new knowledge or secret teachings, before being reintegrated into society with higher status and a more specialised role (*ibid,* 74-5).

The ground breaking work of Van Gennep was then further developed by Victor Turner (1969, 95) who concluded that individuals undergoing a period of liminality usually develop between themselves a sense of 'intense comradeship and equalitarianism'. The formation of this bond is facilitated, in that, those in this state are often perceived as existing in a pre-formed condition and thus give an impression of existing in an 'unstructured or rudimentary structured and relatively undifferentiated *comunitatus*, community or even communion of equal individuals' (*ibid,* 96). Turner (*ibid,* 129) further argued that the bond which was created during this experience of *communitas* was carried back into everyday life, to be remembered by the participating group 'revitalised by their experience of community', and serve to further cement the bond between them and also to re-affirm the original structure and their evolving place within it.

To draw upon one of the examples already given, it is easy to imagine how a poet desiring to increase their status and expertise would appreciate such a setting. Wherein they would be removed from their everyday lives, perhaps through an annual convocation. An appeal, which

involved a journey, say from Charleville to Bruree, and then a period of seclusion at a recognised ancient royal site; which expressed both natural and cultural qualities, and in doing so, provided a physical expression of transcendence. There they could present their work for appraisal and be exposed to new poetry written by other members of the court. The presented work could then be judged and the poets increase in skill be confirmed. Afterwards the members returned to their local areas with their increased status recognised by their contemporaries and by the community at large. The transitions involved in the examples of these rites are facilitated in having a territorial component, which involved crossing a physical boundary. In such a case, the ritual could be exemplified by the bank, or banks, of the ringfort which would mark the boundary between the everyday world and a temporary liminal existence, for 'to cross the threshold is to unite oneself with a new world' (*ibid,* 20). The liminal component of the experience reinforced therefore by the physical appearance of the ringfort and, indeed, as may have been the case at Bruree, further increased by the presence of several such banks.

3.2.6. Domestic Emphasis

Because of the variety of functions that they later fulfilled, there appears to be nothing intrinsic in ringforts that favoured the creation of one particular liminal association. However, it was an association with either pre-existing conditions or contemporary activities that gave them a meaning. Perhaps the initial formation of this bond was facilitated by the fact that, in their appearance, ringforts appear to have transcended the nature/culture dichotomy by being colonised, over time, by plants such as trees and shrubs and by such animals as rabbits, foxes and badgers. Incidentally, it may be a signal of the desire to create a familiar holistic understanding of the countryside, and of the past, that in folklore foxes are considered to have been the dogs of the Danes and stoats (weasels) their cats (MacCoitir 2015, 53-9). It is easy to imagine that such animals would have made their dens or warrens in abandoned ringforts, and so this clearly suggests a link with the concept of 'Danes-forts'. In addition, perhaps the assigning of domestic encultured attributes to these wild animals is perhaps a further indication of a subliminal understanding of the domestic attributes of these sites and perhaps an attempt to combine the evident natural and cultural contexts. In this manner, the transcendent appearance of ringforts during this period may have served as a signal, which would then attract various expressions of transcendent activities. Any chosen activity then imparts further

specialised significance to the particular ringfort. This, then, may solidify over time the association between such activity and an individual ringfort, while still preserving, at a deeper level, the transcendent aspects common to all ringforts.

In any event, the role fulfilled by ringforts in the lives of the common people will be further exploring in Chapter 5. This chapter will focus primarily upon the period 1800 to the mid-twentieth century, which was when, for a variety of reasons, a greater interest was taken in the beliefs of the common people. A consequence of this interest in the 'folk' and tradition was the collection of folktales, sagas, and legends. Because of this information is available for consultation that may extend as far as the end of the period now being discussed. For example, in 1933 a 90-year-old tailor from Coachford in Co. Cork gave information to the National Folklore Commission and affirmed having received some of the stories from his grandmother. This respondent was born in 1843 and it is likely that his own grandmother would have been born at or before the beginning of the 19th century. As such, it appears reasonable to date the collected story to the same period. There by, placing a time span of 100 years on living memory.

3.2.7. Semantics

The residual effect of the variety of meanings attributed to the word *Ráth* can also be examined. For when names are attributed to these structures, the simple word *Ráth* is rarely used. In the several volumes that comprise the Archaeological Survey of County Cork (Power *et al.*1992 – 2000), there is evidence of 199 named ringforts. Of these only a fraction are referred to solely by the generic names: *Rath, Lios, Caher, etc*. In the remaining cases, these words form part of a compound word. For example, in the parish of Kinalmeaky in West Cork, the survey refers to a named ringfort: *Lisnabanree* or *Lios na Banraí* (*ibid.* 1992, 191), which is also the name of the townland, and the word can be broken into its component parts, which are *Lios – Na – Ban – Raí*. In such a situation a semantic association can be deduced even in circumstances where the correct understanding of the true original meaning of the word *'Lios'* may have been forgotten. The beginning of this deduction is facilitated by the presence of the word '*Na*', meaning 'of'. At its most basic, this shows that a relationship exists between the words or phrases on either side, *i.e.* something (1) of something (2). An understanding of the phrase *Ban – Raí* as Queen, or even of the word Ban as referring to a woman, allows the impression to crystallise that the something (1) referred to has an association with an individual.

On the other hand, this may also be evident in a context that displays a mythological connotation, such as is the case at the nearby ringfort of Lissaphooca or *Lios an Phúca* in the parish of Ballymodan (*ibid.* 1992, 193). In this situation, the phrase can be broken down into *Lios – An – Phúca* and understood as the something (1) associated with a mythological being, a 'pooka', that signifies potential danger. In any event, and returning to the initial concept of the basic phrase structure meaning: something associated with something else, it would be apparent that Lios was the element that remained stable in each of the phrases. As such, this word would be understood as referring to the characteristics of each site that resembled one another. These similarities would include the physical appearance of the majority of these sites as well as their position upon the landscape, which may provide a signal as a place where something may safely be placed or held. This position upon the landscape, as described by Stout (1997), prominent but not too exposed and in the majority of cases linked to natural resources, would be likely to evoke, perhaps subliminally, the notion of shelter, comfort and security. Furthermore, it may be argued that this notion of domesticity would be recognisable in the appearance and location of these monuments and that this understanding would transfer itself to the name attached to them.

In semantics, it is recognised that a word may assume a meaning from its association with another word or impression. This is referred to as a 'collocative meaning' and concerns the 'associations a word acquires on account of the meaning of words which tend to occur in its environment' (Leech 1977, 20). In this context, all the meaning attached to the individual words that could be used to describe a ringfort, and its environmental and social setting, would become incorporated into the generic word attributed to the structure. Thus, the strong domestic element evident in the structure itself would also be incorporated into the word *Ráth* or *Lios*. For example, a named ringfort in Ardgroom Outward carries the name Lisnagat (Power *et al.* 1992, 134). In Irish, its name is *Lios na Gat* which translates as 'fort of the cat'. In this circumstance, however, it could be argued that a better interpretation of the name would be 'dwelling place, or home, of the cat'. In these few examples, and in others given elsewhere, it can be seen that these words *Ráth* and *Lios* are predominately used to signal a domestic context. This is in contrast to other words commonly used throughout this chapter, such as *Sidhe* or *Síde*, which always seems to have a mythological connotation. As such, to become aware of the words, *Ráth* and *Lios*, is to evoke the mundane world rather than the sacred otherworld. Furthermore, because of a shared cultural heritage it is possible to argue that these

definitions, in reference to a domestic space, would have been widely understood within the surrounding communities through time.

3.2.8. Conclusion

The above paragraphs have attempted to examine and highlight how information may have been preserved and disseminated within the setting of an oral tradition. An emphasis needs to be placed on the word 'may' for the defining feature of a primary oral context is an absence of writing and thus of the lack of records which may be examined in posterity. However, within the original setting, this seems the correct assumption that, because ringforts would still have been inhabited, their correct function would have been common knowledge. As this understanding faded from social memory in the centuries after their abandonment the creation of further associations seem to have occurred. However, the relationships that were formed do not appear to be random in nature. Any relationship that seems to have developed appears to take into account either their original cultural attributes or those natural attributes that developed over time. The strongest associations that could be created were those that took into account both of these elements, which in combination also facilitated transcendence, either temporary or permanent, of the mundane.

In this context an association with the Otherworld is easily fabricated, either as a result of the immanent transcendent element and perhaps also because of an inherent desire to exert some control over the landscape by communities who were likely to have been very attached to the land. Despite the eventual very strong transcendent features, ringforts continued to exhibit equally strong domestic connotations. This would have been recognisable even in the names used to refer to them. The generic names used evoked the similar characteristics of each site. Perhaps, it may also be argued that these names contained within them the totality of meanings that were attributed to these monuments. Thus, at some level the original functional considerations on where to locate these structures eventually developed into a collection of signs that signalled the domesticity of landscape. The combination of these constituent elements served as signals for the mundane and the sacred, and all of this was contained within a physically delimited space that functioned to create within the understanding of ringforts the general concept of completeness and unity. In other words, ringforts denoted a powerful idealised space. This power was likely to have been easily recognisable to anyone within the

originating culture and reinforced through repeated interaction between these structures and the surrounding communities.

3.3. Conclusion

The expansion of the mythological association of ringforts would doubtlessly have been facilitated by a pre-existing, deliberately created relationship between some important or royal sites and a pre-existing powerfully mythologised landscape focused on prominent natural features or other ancient forgotten monuments. This relationship between the sacred and the mundane would also have been preserved within social memory, and later within the earliest written manuscripts. These documents would have been copied by hand, a slow laborious process, and as a result, any transcriber would have been intimately aware of each word and of the symbolic meanings contained within. The tales within these manuscripts would also have retained a presence within the surrounding oral tradition, with the written material now preventing too much deviation from the now fixed pattern of the tale. In such a way this knowledge would have been disseminated throughout society and down through time where it would have been understood within a culturally homogenous group. At some stage during this period, this association seems to have expanded to include all ringforts. Perhaps, it is possible that this expansion did not need to begin with the important sites themselves nor to be encouraged by any tale attached to them.

Perhaps, the desire to assimilate or accumulate power that directed the choice of location for these sites was prevalent throughout the country. Moreover, the locations of important local and regional sites were influenced by this desire. The expansion and preservation of this mythological association is likely to have been encouraged, over time, by the visual appearance that the ringforts developed. The cultural origins of these sites would have been easily recognisable, for their shape and composition would have highlighted their artificial nature. However, over time they would also have been colonised, or naturalised, by trees, shrubs and wild animals and this development would have imbued the sites with both natural and cultural features. This would then encourage the development of a transcendent aspect in permitting these sites to overcome the nature/culture dichotomy and perhaps to act as a sign of the unified holistic reality that lay behind. This notion can be perceived through the activities that became associated with some sites that were in themselves of a transcendent nature. The longevity of these practices would have also facilitated the guarding of a transcendent nature by ringforts.

This nature would have facilitated the sacred activities of individuals or groups who passed the majority of their existence in a mundane setting and therefore would have acted as a magnifier of this transcendent experience.

Despite this, however, a continued understanding, or rather a predisposition to understanding, the domestic connotations of these ringforts would have been encouraged by the names which were assigned to these structures, or even to areas which have an association with them. This composition of these names would have contained sufficient information that an understanding of their initial mundane function would not be completely forgotten and would be remembered at however vague a level. Elements within these compound names, which were common to several ringforts within a locality, may also have come to represent the shared features of each structure. These shared features, such as their spatial construction and position upon the landscape, would have been recognised as resembling ideal domestic considerations. In such a context, any word used to describe the overall setting would have also carried within its superficial association an element signifying these domestic considerations. This understanding of some domestic significance may have worked at a subliminal level; however, it was sufficient to facilitate and assist in the continued preservation of this knowledge.

This was despite the imposition of a different outside interpretation, following the work of Cambrensis and others, and the retreat in native understanding. This retention of this knowledge, however vaguely, within social memory and the retention of the flickering flame of native learned tradition and ancient manuscripts meant that it was available and accessible following with resurgence of interest in native tradition and history. This resurgence was a result of the production of an educated native class and the expansion of the reactionary philosophy of Romanticism with its focus on the folk and tradition. A consequence of this renewal was the retreat and eventual dismissal of the idea of these structures as ‘Danes Forts’. This is a result of the flickering light of native information remaining available for access, study and dissemination. For this reason, these activities that will be the focus of the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4: THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY RESURGENCE OF IRISH KNOWLEDGE OF RINGFORTS.

4.1. Introduction

The beginning of the 18th century marked a low point in the fortunes of the Irish learned tradition. The old way of life had ended and with it the possibility of patronage that this class had depended upon. The few remaining antiquarians had been marginalised and, in some cases, were even driven to the roads in an attempt to survive. These developments affected the availability for transmission of the information contained within the native documentary sources. In some cases, the sources themselves were pawned or sold for a pittance, if not lost entirely (Mac Giolla Phádraig 1970, 198). Furthermore, the death of the Welsh antiquarian Edward Lhuyd, who had arrived at the correct conclusion of ringfort origins, prevented this knowledge from gaining a foothold in the broad scholarly field. Wider events that occurred at the end of the 17th century may also have conspired to the development of a more rigid and unaccommodating interpretation within what had become by now the Anglophone interpretation concerning ringforts, or 'Danes forts', as they continued to be known by these scholars.

Nevertheless, some of the correct information of the origins and function of ringforts survived, albeit by the slimmest of margins. Moreover, knowledge within those scraps of tradition that did survive contained plenty of information concerning the origin, construction, and function of ringforts. The rescue of this traditional information was the result of the efforts of a small group of patriotic individuals. Chief among these was the Roscommon landowner Charles O'Conor of Bellanagare. Furthermore, circumstances developed which facilitated the eventual dissemination of this remaining information within a newer context. One of these developments was the establishment of learned societies and again these foundations were due in large amount to the drive and dedication of one person. This was General Charles Vallancey who had been, from the beginning of his association with Ireland, sympathetic to the acceptance and promotion of this traditional material. As such, the relationship between these two men might be seen as pivotal in the preservation of any traditional knowledge and in the creation of conditions that enabled such information, including the correct understanding of ringforts, to be eventually accepted and other erroneous hypotheses suppressed.

One such hypothesis was the continued argument that this monument type was actually of foreign origin and had a military function. Indeed, throughout the 18th century the notion developed that not only ringforts, but also the majority of field monuments, were the work of the Danes. While this notion appears to have been in circulation from at least the end of the 16th century, it was with the publication of works such as those of Molyneux that this argument was heavily promoted. This increased focus on this interpretation may also have developed as a symptom of the underlying tensions between certain groups within Irish society. This argument may even have been of an international significance involving various subjugated peoples who instead of finding common cause in their situation turned on each other, or were perhaps encouraged to do so, perhaps in an attempt to show who, in fact, was the least debased country. A possible example of such a controversy could be perceived in the late 18th century 'Ossianic' controversy as regards the origins of Celtic civilisation within the societies in question.

As fascinating as the investigation of this cultural struggle promises to be, it is well now to recall that both interpretations may be considered as representing the views of elite society in 18th century Ireland. The majority of the population, the so-called common people, still existed in a predominately oral society wherein information continued to be transmitted in a personal face-to-face manner. As previously mentioned, one of the defining characteristics of an oral society is the lack of written archival material. Thankfully, the beginning of the 18th century onwards saw the development of an interest in 'the sayings and doings of the common people' (Danaher 1983, 4). This is almost certainly a result of the influence of the Romantic Movement. This philosophical and cultural movement had as a defining factor a belief in the negative attributes of the increased industrialisation of western society. This may have led to the creation of a rather simplistic structural argument that anything that exhibited opposing characteristics to what was thought of as bad must therefore be good.

Therefore, that which was perceived as being unaffected by recent developments in society were deemed purer and almost as existing in a state of grace. Thus, a connection with the common people, or peasant, was sought out and the common folk were depicted as the bearers of an ancient knowledge lost to the educated elites. These external attitudes did not take into account the vibrant and dynamic (fluid) nature of this popular worldview. In addition, because the majority of the population expressed their thoughts and organised their worldview through the medium of Irish the initial recuperation of this information was filtered through the language barrier in addition to social and cultural filters. However, this interest in and

collection of this information did serve to preserve this popular traditional knowledge. In addition, once these filters, which may have affected how this information was interpreted, are borne in mind an idea of the popular worldview may be gleaned. It should also be emphasised that this information did not exist in a vacuum, but changed throughout this period because of other external influences.

As mentioned above, the dynamism of oral societies meant that the loss of access to documentary sources might have hindered the retention of a correct understanding concerning ringforts within social memory. Any possible loss of understanding, perhaps because of a degeneration of traditional knowledge, may have led to an adoption of an initially imposed perception as being the correct understanding. Regardless, a lasting impact of this interest is that it shed a light on a normally ignored section of society and allowed for the eventual preservation of this knowledge. Eventually, this information was not only preserved but also expanded to play a vital role in the struggle for cultural struggle within Irish society. This chapter therefore will examine how cultural attitudes continued to develop throughout this period.

4.2. Irish Antiquarianism

4.2.1. Charles O'Conor of Bellanagare

As mentioned above, the preservation of even fragmentary documentary evidence of Gaelic traditional knowledge was the result of the work of a handful of scholars. Charles O'Conor of Bellanagare in Co. Roscommon was undoubtedly the most important of these. His importance to the native cause in general, and not just to antiquarianism, has long been recognised by scholars of succeeding generations (Kenney 1979; Walsh 1947; Ó Catháin 1989). Furthermore, O'Conor's major contribution lies not just in the pivotal role he played in the recuperation and preservation of documentary sources but also in the equally vital role he fulfilled in making such information amenable and available to the modern discipline of antiquarianism that was developing during his lifetime. The success of this endeavour may have been facilitated by a recognition of O'Conor as a powerful scholar in his own right by his contemporaries, including Vallancey. However, the acceptance of his case may have been bolstered by a realisation that O'Conor also acted as a living link between the older purely native tradition and the new tentative scientific tradition that was developing. The opportunity to serve as such a link could be because the West of Ireland appears to have remained a

stronghold of Gaelic culture for longer than other parts of the country. If so, the countryside surrounding O'Conor during his youth may have preserved the practise of providing patronage, although perhaps not at previous levels, to the dwindling band of native antiquarian scholars. In fact, it appears that the O'Conor household itself fulfilled such a role.

In 1710, Mary, née O'Rourke, the wife of Denis gave birth to a son who they named Charles. This son was born while the family 'lived in great poverty at Knockmorne, in the parish of Kilmactranny, Co. Sligo' (O'Conor 1934a, 126), having lost its estates following the upheavals of the late 17th century. These experiences seem to have promoted a humble attitude with Denis exhorting his sons not to look down on the poor for though he was the 'son of a gentleman, they were the sons of a ploughman' (*ibid,* 128). This humbleness may also have encouraged an association with the wandering scholars. Furthermore, the fact that the plain of Moytura is also located in this parish may give an indication of the mythological landscape in which the young Charles grew up. In such a setting, it is easy to imagine that he may have been, from an early age, exposed to traditional stories and beliefs. In addition, evidence suggests that the area also retained a strong sense of Gaelic culture and that the old traditions of hospitality and patronage were observed even at this time of straitened circumstances.

Charles O'Conor was initially educated locally between the years of 1717 and 1723 (*ibid,* 133). According to notes contained within his diary, his first lessons in Latin were received from a Seamus mac Glaodhmuind (*ibid.*). These diaries continue to detail the various teachers who contributed to his education. After the first two years with mac Glaodhmuind, O'Conor studied with a Prionsios O'Cuinnín from September 1719 to May 1720. He then attended the school of An t-Athair Mhuirchoirtach O h-Eadhra, remaining there until the following year. He then followed classes given by Andrais mac Daidhair until 1722 and then O'Conor went to the school of Lucas O Righny until January 1723 (*ibid,* 134). The frequent change of school masters and the short periods of time that it was possible to attend each school may highlight the difficulties in accessing education and might be a reflection on wider events within Irish society during the beginning of the 18th century.

Then in 1724, the young O'Conor came under the influence of a Dominic O'Duigenan, a member of the hereditary family of scribes. It is now worth recalling that a member of this family, Magnus O'Duigenen, was one of the scribes who compiled the Book of Ballymote around 1400 AD (Kenney 1979, 24). His descendant, Dominic, copied several poems for the young Charles as well as providing him, in March of 1724, with the first piece of his collection

of Gaelic traditional knowledge, 'an Irish homily on the Virgin Mary' (*ibid,* 141). Further evidence suggests that Dominic O'Duigenan developed O'Conor's interest in traditional Gaelic learning. Examples included in his collection are copies of the *Lebor Gabhála*, the Book of the O'Duigenan's, the *Dindsenchas* and the Annals of Connaught (*ibid,* 142-3). Thus, as Ó Catháin (1989, 139) highlights, at this stage it can be seen that O'Conor had strong connections with the most important remaining Irish antiquarians, in addition to Turlough O'Carolan, the most important Irish musician of the period, and had received lessons from members of the hereditary scribal families. Several years later, O'Conor's education continued when he journeyed to Dublin to attend the Academy of a Fr. Skelton, where he received tuition in the Natural Sciences as well as further lessons in Latin (O'Conor 1934b, 456). Immediately prior to this journey, he had re-joined the rest of his family at Bellanagare, where they had finally recovered some of their estates.

There had developed in Dublin at this time a vibrant Gaelic cultural scene. This may have been the result of the migration of Irish scholars into the capital in search of patronage or simply because of the availability of work there (Ní Shéaghdha 1989, 42). As mentioned above, O'Conor had already formed a relationship with Gaelic scholars in the West of Ireland and had perhaps begun to establish himself as a scholar. As such, it should be no surprise that following his journey to Dublin that he encountered this scene. Possibly the most important of these was the O Neachtain school, which O'Conor soon began to visit at South Earl Street (Ó Cátháin 1989, 141). Evidence for his participation with this school can be seen by the inclusion of his name in a poem composed by one of its founders, Tadhg O'Neachtain.

This poem was written to celebrate the 26 scholars who were writing in the Irish language in Dublin during this period (Harrison 2001, 60). Another member of this group was another avid collector of ancient manuscripts, Dr John Fergus. The house of Tadhg O'Neachtain was at this time the repository for the Book of Ballymote. It is possible that this manuscript came into O'Neachtain's possession by way of Dr Anthony Raymond, his 'first and greatest patron' (Ní Sheaghdha 1989, 44). It is suggested by O'Conor (1934b, 467) that the manuscript may have been lent to O'Neachtain to work on, for evidence exists that he had made a list of its contents by 1726. That O'Conor also had access to this book is shown by the inclusion of an extract of a poem in his own work. A note attached to this extract mentions that he had copied this poem 'from the Book of Ballymote in Dublin on January 20, 1728' (*ibid,* 468). At the same time, he was continuing work on a text that Dominic O'Duigenan had acquainted him

with in Kilmactranny, The Contention of the Bards. O'Conor's sojourn in the capital finished in April of the same year as he returned to Bellanagare.

Following his return home, O'Conor apparently devoted the majority of his time raising a family and earning a living as a gentleman farmer. However, he remained connected to the Dublin scholars and he acted as O Neachtain's patron until the latter's death in either 1751 or 1752 (Ó Catháin 1989, 142). Furthermore, by at least 1731, he was again in contact with Dr John Fergus concerning the auction of the library of a John Conry, which included two autographed copies of the Annals of the Four Masters. In 1734, he received a copy of Ware's *De Presulibus Hiberniae*, which had earlier belonged to Dubhaltach MacFhirbhisigh (Ó Catháin 2015, 32). This is further evidence of the extent of O'Conor's continued interest in the collection and preservation of Ireland's ancient knowledge. He remained attentive to the possibility of acquiring new material and he had expanded on the collection that he had initially made during his time in Dublin. Indeed, Kenney (1979, 567) draws on a direct quote of O'Conor's to highlight this fact: 'I wish to save as many as I can of the ancient manuscripts of Ireland from the wreck which has overwhelmed everything that once belonged to us'. It appears that, furthermore, he was not content simply to preserve this information but sought to disseminate it within wider society.

This may have been because of scholarly interest but also, perhaps, of a desire to present a more flattering impression of Ireland and the Irish than may have commonly been portrayed at this time. In any event, he published his own work, *The dissertations on the ancient history and antiquities of Ireland*, in 1753. This work was reprinted in 1766 and within it O'Conor referred to ringforts as a way of highlighting difficulties associated with translations of ancient manuscripts. In response to the use of the word 'castle' in a sentence, he cautions that:

> 'the Irish built no castles until the 12th century. Before that age, they gave their fortifications the name of Dun; a sort of temporary habitation, made up with thick ditches of Earth (square or circular) impaled with wooden stakes, and surrounded with a deep trench.' (O'Conor 1766, n.81-2).

Some years later, around 1760, O'Conor relinquished the running of his Bellanagare estates and devoted himself to developing his knowledge of antiquarian interests. However, he continued to spend several months of each year in Dublin and was considered the leading Irish antiquarian. This naturally resulted in him being consulted as an expert on matters concerning Irish manuscripts. It was in dealing with one such matter that he came into contact,

in 1771, with the then Major Charles Vallancey. The relationship, perhaps even friendship, which developed between these men, was destined to have a far reaching and an eventually beneficial impact on the appreciation of Ireland's ancient knowledge, including the correct understanding of the origin, construction and function of ringforts.

The necessity of such a relationship was pivotal, for as the cases of earlier native scholars, such as O'Flaherty and O'Rodaighe, indicate that it served little purpose to possess the correct understanding of ringfort functions, origins and construction if this could not be made available to a wider and perhaps more influential audience. It was here also that O'Conor played an important role. As already mentioned, he linked the old and the new traditions but importantly his contributions were respected and validated within each of those spheres. This had not been the case with earlier Gaelic scholars such as, for example, O'Flaherty, who was dismissed as not being a serious or credible source (Simms 1982, 36), or O'Rodaighe, whose attempts at rebuttal seem to have been simply ignored (Thom & Thom 1846, 124). O'Conor's upbringing, especially his education, may possibly have facilitated the acceptance of his arguments. Nevertheless, it seems clear that there was another major factor in making native tradition amenable as a basis for an understanding of the correct information concerning ringforts, among others. O'Conor forged this relationship with an influential member of the establishment. This individual was General Charles Vallancey.

4.2.2. General Charles Vallancey

For such an influential participant in the renaissance of Irish learning, surprisingly little information is available concerning Vallancey's early life. Even information concerning his birth is vague and he may have been born on any of several dates between 1721 and 1726 (Nevin 1993, 19). It is, however, probable that he was educated at Eton College and following this entered military service. Following training at the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, he appears to have been assigned to the Engineers and to have been posted to Gibraltar by at least 1750 (*ibid.*). It was while he was stationed there that he apparently began to exhibit an interest in antiquarian activities, learning Hebrew and Chaldean, as well as ancient history (Lennon 2006, 10). Following this tour of duty, Vallancey was transferred to Ireland and records indicate that he was based in Cork by 1759. An obituary published for his first wife refers to him as being based, as an engineer, at Charles Fort in Kinsale, Co. Cork by this time

(Nevin 1989, 21). It appears that Vallancey's interest in the study of languages may have been further stimulated shortly after his arrival in Cork.

Lennon (2006, 10) quotes Vallancey finding a connection between both the Gaelic and Chaldean languages, which he had previously studied. By 1761, Vallancey had been transferred to Dublin and in 1763 he was elected as a member of the [Royal] Dublin Society, where, as Nevin (1989, 24) states, he played a prominent role in the society's affairs for about the next fifty years. In fact, in a letter quoted by Berry (1915, 149), reference was made to the fact that he may have been regarded by some within the society as something of a 'dictator'. However, it is also accepted that he worked hard and was a member of most of the society's committees and 'deserved well of them all' (O'Conor *et al.* 1949, 330). There is evidence that Charles O'Conor and he were in contact with each other by at least the end of 1771 as a letter of O'Conors, dated November 29th, subtly chided Vallancey for inadvertently exposing O'Conor as the author of an anonymous pamphlet promoting the Catholic cause (Ward & Ward 1980, 292-4). That O'Conor felt able to do so suggests that a degree of familiarity already existed between these two men by this date.

Vallancey's scholarly activity was focused upon the field of philology as the title of his first work indicates, Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language, published in 1772 (Lennon 2006, 10). The main thrust of his efforts was to promote the notion the Gaelic was one of the oldest languages and that a connection could be made between it and Phoenician, by way of Carthage. It must be admitted that his desire to highlight such a connection led Vallancey to produce some rather fanciful interpretations of the material available to him. However, as Ó Catháin (1989, 153) cautions, the study of Indo-European linguistics and archaeology was in its infancy during this period. Similarly, the main thrust of Lennon's (2006) article is that Vallancey's work might best be understood from an abductive point of view. This is a concept developed by the American philosopher, C. S. Peirce, who believed that the search for knowledge moved from the observation of an anomaly to an abduction of a hypothesis. This hypothesis could then be subjected to inductive testing before arriving at a deductive confirmation (Shelly 1996, 279).

Concerning Vallancey's studies, soon after his arrival in Cork he writes of having noticed distinct similarities between Chaldean and Gaelic, particularly with reference to the name of the 'Morning Star' (Lennon 2006, 10). This surprising similarity between two widely separated geographical regions may be explained be the existence of an ancient connection between these

places. As was common until recently it was believed that movements of peoples accounted for the introduction of cultural change. Therefore, it may have seemed reasonable for Vallancey to speculate upon the origins of the Irish people. This speculation may have been bolstered once he became aware of the work of the Irish antiquarian, Roderic O'Flaherty, which also proposed a North African or Middle Eastern origin for the Irish (Hely 1793, 7). While this, of course, is an inaccurate assumption it should be remembered again that both men were working with the information that was available to them. Indeed, it has also been argued that the relationship postulated by Vallancey may have facilitated later work on the Indo-European languages question (Lennon 2006, 17).

However, and despite carrying out other important antiquarian work, subsequent appraisals of his work have not been kind to Vallancey. Perhaps, it was a combination of these 'wild' assumptions and his perceived driving nature, which encouraged the creation of this narrative. A contemporary philologist, William 'Oriental' Jones, privately dismissed his work as 'very stupid' (Lennon 2005, 9). Vallancey was later described as using 'visionary etymologies and fanciful conjectures' (Petrie & O'Malley [1834] 1972, 220) and his work was dismissed as being erroneous (*ibid,* 247). A further almost off-hand reference is made to his 'childish enthusiasm' (Love 1962a, 9). It is almost as if as a result of reinforcement and repetition, that any scholar wishing to be taken seriously was obliged to conform and become equally as critical of Vallancey, once he had been established as an academic stooge.

However, in his defence, it must be said that he loved Ireland, so much so as make an effort to learn the language (Ni Sheaghdha 1989, 51). He was also passionate about the promotion of Ireland's past. This was at a time when others of his social origin were arguing whether the Irish possessed any tradition of sophisticated construction. In addition, and most importantly, his passionate interest in antiquarianism helped keep the flame alive. His natural drive and his determination to set antiquarianism on an academic footing led to the founding of several learned societies during the late 18th century. He was the driving force behind the creation within the [Royal] Dublin Society of a 'select committee on antiquities' in 1772. He wrote to O'Conor to bring this to his attention, and indeed O'Conor was elected as an honorary member the following year. Later, Vallancey himself founded the Hibernian Antiquarian Society, in 1779, and the continued relationship between himself and O'Conor is evidenced by an invitation to O'Conor to attend its inaugural dinner. This society also included individuals whose interest in antiquarianism had a different motivation than the founder, and this seems to have included the seeds of its destruction from the beginning. Following increasingly

acrimonious debates the society imploded. Finally, Vallancey served as a founding member of the premium learned society in Ireland, the Royal Irish Academy, in 1785. Again, O'Conor was elected to this society that year. It is, perhaps, from this point that the beginning of the renaissance of Irish antiquarianism should be dated.

4.3. Learned Societies

For a variety of more pressing existential reasons, the establishment of learned societies in Ireland lagged behind that which occurred in other countries. For instance, in France the *Académie Francaise* was founded in 1635 while in Britain the first meeting of the Royal Society took place in 1660. Admittedly, and has previously been mentioned, there was a significant crossover of membership between the Royal Society and some Anglo-Irish intellectuals living in Ireland. For example, William Molyneux was elected as a fellow of the society in 1685 (Hoppen 1970). In fact, he and his brother, Thomas, who was elected to the Royal Society in 1686, also founded the short-lived Dublin Philosophical Society in 1683. Subjects of interest to this society included archaeology (Wilde & Lloyd 1844 – 47, 172). Several attempts were later made to resurrect this society, but these initiatives were not very successful.

In 1744 another society, the Physico-Historical Society, was formed in Dublin which had the stated aims to 'record the antiquities, natural history, geography, economy and society' of Ireland (Magennis 2002, 199). Another aim of this society was to attempt to dispel the continued assumption of a connection between Irishness and ignorance. Furthermore, the society also had as object the facilitation of, and provision of a platform for, Protestant evangelisation (*ibid,* 200). The survey work of the society comprised of a group of correspondents in each locality and these were later supplemented by what were referred to as 'itinerant gentlemen'. This focus on fieldwork aimed to enable to accurate gathering of information concerning each area. For example, Isaac Butler was noted as having travelled throughout several counties in Leinster, where he gathered botanical specimens and information on the antiquities of each county (*ibid,* 205). Another of these gentlemen, Charles Smith, surveyed counties Waterford, Cork and Kerry and the results of his work were published in book form. Each of the published surveys contained a section on antiquities such as 'Danish remains, early Christian buildings (especially round towers) and other features such as dolmens and cromlechs' (Magennis 2002, 211).

4.3.1. Dublin Society

As mentioned above, the select committee of antiquities of the Dublin Society was founded in May of 1772 (Berry 1915, 146-7). Charles Vallancey, in addition to being the driving force behind its creation, was elected as one of the secretaries. The committee soon made contact with an Irish exile in France, the Chevalier O'Gorman, and enquired as to the possibility of accessing manuscripts which may at that stage been lodged on the continent. O'Gorman entered into contact with the College of the Lombard's, based in Paris, and when it was discovered that a copy of the Book of Leacan was held there, he organised for a copy to be made (*ibid.*). The committee also sent out questionnaire to a wide section of reputable correspondents throughout the country asking questions in regards to the antiquities of the area. One of the questions asked concerned Raths and whether these were Danish or Irish (McDowell 1985, 7). It was remarked that the initial year of its founding the committee displayed strong enthusiasm but this faltered, and by 1774 the committee had ceased to function and had been wound up.

4.3.2. Hibernian Antiquarian Society

Vallancey, however, maintained a passionate interest in the study of Ireland's past. In company with Colonel William Burton, soon to become Burton Conyngham, he made plans in 1778 to establish another society to this effect, the Hibernian Antiquarian Society. In February of the following year, he wrote to Charles O'Conor to invite him to the inaugural dinner (Love 1962, 420). Another respondent was the Reverend Edward Ledwich, the vicar of Aghaboe, and his inclusion from the beginning in the society meant that the seed of its destruction were inherent within the founding of the society. In the same year, the society engaged Gabriel Beranger, an artist, to travel throughout the country and make drawings of ancient monuments. One of the sites that he visited and sketched, possibly due to the influence of O'Conor, was the Rathcroghan complex in County Roscommon. These and other drawings were published in Vallancey's own journal. Later, Vallancey made available this journal to those members who desired to publish their own papers. By 1781, this periodical, *Collectanea de rebus hibernicis*, had become the journal of the society. Moreover, and as Love (*ibid,* 423) so beautifully describes, it was the stage upon which the destruction of the society was played out:

> 'The five numbers (6-9) showed the first signs of strife; numbers 10 (1782) and 11 (1783) were civil war; and number 12 (1783) wrecked the society'.

In his article entitled 'A Dissertation on the Round Towers in Ireland', included in the sixth issue of the journal, Ledwich (1787, 230) begins by praising Geraldus Cambrensis for the standard of his scholarship. He then continues to promote Cambrensis' initial interpretation of the numerous circular enclosures found throughout the country (1188, Cap XXXVIII). He also includes the details that 'the Irish … build no castles; woods serve them for fortifications and the morasses for entrenchments' (Ledwich 1787, 124-5). He further alludes that the subject of the dissertation, Round Towers, were also of Danish origin, which shows the influence of Molyneux's (1725) work, which ascribed all major monuments a Danish origin. Thus it can be seen that, from the beginning, Ledwich subscribed to the interpretation which had developed within the Anglo-Irish community concerning ringforts, and which was later applied to all other monument types. Furthermore, he continued to use subsequent issues of the journal to intensify his attack on the Irish interpretation of the past. In issue number nine, he begins his essay on the history and antiquities of Irish-town and Kilkenny, by decrying the 'eccentric wanderings of Keating, O'Flaherty and their followers' (*ibid.* 1781, 349).

This appears to have been also a disguised criticism of the theories espoused by Vallancey and O'Conor. In any event, it was perceived as such for the following issue contained a response by O'Conor, in the form of a letter addressed to Vallancey and dated September 3, 1782. He advertises that the letter drew upon sources, including the Leabhar Gabala, the Book of Ballymote, the Book of Leacan, and the books of Cashel and Glendalough as well as the Annals of Innisfallen and Tigernach (O'Conor 1782, 212). In the letter, O'Conor takes Ledwich to task and affirms that: 'it pains me that a gentleman, I much esteem, should reject these sources of intelligence for any modern hypotheses' (*ibid,* 229). In a subsequent letter dated to March 20, 1783, and included in the 12th issue, O'Conor acknowledges the difficulties in consulting these documentary sources including their dispersed locations, thereby rendering access difficult. Furthermore, and more seriously, he drew attention to the inability of the majority of contemporary scholars to understand the language in which they were written (O'Conor 1783, 667). Nevertheless, he continues to decry those

> 'native writers, wanting critical discernment to select the valuable from the useless, in the fragments they peruse, have produced a disgust to examine than any curiosity to investigate, whatever may be found profitable in our authentic documents' (*ibid.*).

Vallancey (1783, 553) also weighed in on the subject of Irish origins by attempting, by way of philological analysis, to show that the first colonisers of these islands were in fact 'Magogian-Scythians mixed with Phoenicians and Egyptians'. Vallancey's fantasy perhaps reinforced the suspicion that it may have been less of a hindrance to say nothing and to let O'Conor base his argument entirely on documentary sources. Regardless, and despite the fact that the journal continued to be published afterward, this seething controversy sounded the death knell of the society.

4.3.3. Royal Irish Academy

Less than two years later another society arose from the remains of the Hibernian Antiquarian Society and was built on a more solid foundation. The Royal Irish Academy was founded in April 1785 and was established upon a wider base. For it drew from a group who had met in TCD from 1782, as well as some of the survivors of the earlier society. Both Vallancey and Burton Coyngham were amongst the founder members, and O'Conor was elected in June of that year (Lord 1962, 429). Concerning their adversaries from the Hibernian Antiquarian Society, Beauford never became a member of the Academy and Ledwich declined to do so until July of 1791. As a result, Vallancey and O'Conor between them were able to direct the focus of the antiquarian interests of the new academy. Another consequence of the clash between these two groups and the associated disparagement of ancient manuscripts as sources was that, according to Lord (*ibid,* 431), it motivated Vallancey and O'Conor to undertake to 'collect and preserve all those which existed in their day'. The collection of manuscripts was begun immediately the Academy was founded, in May of 1785, when Vallancey, on behalf of an Irish exile in France, the Chevalier O'Gorman, presented to the Academy the Book of Ballymote (McDowell 1985, 19).

Moreover, for the initial period of the Academy's antiquarian section the primary focus remained on the collection of manuscripts. This may have been in response to the controversial circumstances that had finished the Hibernian Antiquarian Society. In order to avoid discord, the new academy may have decided to avoid questions of national origins. These efforts at recovery may also have been the result of an understanding that the Irish documentary tradition was in danger of being lost for good. For example, the abovementioned Book of Ballymote was in the possession of a millwright's widow, before being bought by Chevalier O'Gorman for 20 pounds. In addition, a volume of the Leabhar Breac was sold to the academy for three

guineas in 1789 (RIA 2016). Earlier, the 9th century Book of Armagh had been pawned for five pounds (Mac Giolla Phádraig 1970, 198). While the collection of these manuscripts extend over a period of time they may serve to give an idea of the parlous state of Irish learning and provide a hint of the amount of knowledge that was lost. Thus, it seems understandable that scholars such as O'Conor and others would seek to safeguard what they could before it was too late.

4.4. Archaeology in Ireland

4.4.1. George Petrie

The focus on antiquarian field monuments was vitalised following the election of George Petrie to the Academy in 1828. Petrie was born in Dublin in 1789 and studied as a painter, primarily of landscapes, and became an accomplished artist in the use of watercolours (Stokes 1868). It was while travelling around the countryside following this trade that he developed an interest in antiquarianism. As Dillon (1967, 266) recalls it was during a tour of the west of Ireland in 1818 when 'he first saw Clonmacnoise, and so found his vocation'. Following his election to the Academy Petrie took charge of the collection of antiquities that the academy possessed and undertook to increase it. He also continued the work of the academy in the recuperation of manuscripts, being responsible for the procurement of the O'Gorman manuscripts and the Hodges and Smith manuscripts, as well as the Betham collection (*ibid,* 267). Petrie is also almost unique in that he was awarded the prestigious Cunningham Gold Medal on three occasions for papers that he read before the Academy. This may serve as an indication of his substance as a scholar and as a representative of the new type of archaeologist: 'instinctively inductive, precise, methodical and thorough' (McDowell 1985, 28). Two of the papers that Petrie read concerned the Round Towers of Ireland and the Hill of Tara respectively. The third was entitled: *An essay on Military Architecture in Ireland previous to the English Invasion* and was read on April 28, 1834. However, it was not published in the proceedings of the Academy until December 1972.

In this essay, Petrie undertakes to counteract the suggestions that the Irish did not build in stone, and by extension had no civilisation, prior to the arrival of the English. He clearly provides an idea of this mission when he enquires:

> ‘Whether we must acknowledge our inability to take up the gauntlet thus insultingly thrown to us, and, for ever, abandon all rational claims to an anteDanish or English civilisation, or whether we shall be able to adduce satisfactory evidences of such an acquaintance with the arts of civilised life, as ought to be expected from a people claiming so remote an antiquity’ (Petrie & O’Malley 1972, 221).

In accepting this challenge, he thereafter endeavours to profit from the groundwork established by earlier generations of patriotic antiquarians and make the best use of the platform afforded by the preeminent learned society in the country to advance his counter argument. Following this introduction, Petrie continues to outline and describe the types and locations of stone castles built in Ireland during the medieval period and using information from the annals, to ascribe a specific date to their construction. Once this is satisfactorily completed he then stated that he must now show that there existed other classes of monuments of an earlier date and that he intended to examine these also so as to ascertain by whom they were built and at what time.

He then lists the monuments that he intended to examine as being highlighted within the annals by the names of: *Caisel, Ráth, Lis, Dún, Cathair Múr* and *Túr* (*ibid,* 230). In undertaking this examination, however, Petrie admits that he will have to ‘war with modern scepticism’ (*ibid,* 329-330). Nevertheless, he continued undeterred and shortly thereafter, in his introduction, dismissed the notion of a Danish origin for this monument type, writing that ‘to suppose that they [the Danes] erected all the muniments of this kind in Ireland, which, are so very numerous that there is scarcely a townland in which several are not to be found, is an assertion so extravagantly ludicrous as to confute itself’ (*ibid,* 231).

Once he has established his position Petrie devotes the rest of this section to providing a description for each of the mentioned monument types. Each analysis was reinforced with reference to annalistic sources and the etymology of each name was examined through a philological process. For example, *Caisel* was described as being used to signify the circular enclosure ‘generally of stone and lime cement’ that surrounds a monastery or palace, and that this type of construction is almost synonymous with *Cathair* (*ibid.*). Next, he focuses on the words *Rath* and *Lis*, and describes both these words as being used to ‘designate and earthen mound or fort enclosed with one or more fosses and ramparts (*ibid,* 232). As further evidence of their antiquity Petrie then provides a list, taken from the Annals of the Four Masters (see preceding chapter), of this monument type that he argues were constructed prior to the Danish invasions. In his analysis of the word *Dun*, he concludes that it is a generic term that is often

used in conjunction with the words *Rath, Lis* or *Cathair* and that it is applied 'equally to strong fortresses … whether of stone or earth' (*ibid,* 237). With the subsequent growth in understanding concerning this monument type, it may seem churlish to suggest that he then strays slightly with his description of the monuments denoted by the words *Cahir, Túr* and *Múr*.

Petrie argues that these terms are of Phoenician or Greek origin and that they are used to describe enclosures 'built of stone but without cement in the manner familiar under the term Cyclopean and Etruscan' (*ibid,* 240). The term Cyclopean was coined in classical Greece for a method of construction whereby large blocks of stone were fitted together. It was felt that the stones were so large that the construction had to be the work of a race of giants, the Cyclops. Antiquarians in Ireland may have become aware of the similarities in style through the work of a fellow Irish antiquarian, Edward Dodwell. In 1834, a work of his was posthumously published entitled, *Views and Descriptions of Cyclopian, or, Pelasgic Remains, in Greece and Italy*. In this book 'the walls of Tiryns and Mycenae' are depicted as providing the finest examples of Cyclopean architecture that is to be seen in Greece (Dodwell 1834, 8). It is interesting that Petrie should attempt, by way of empirical examination, to emphasis a connection between Ireland and the Mediterranean by comparing such architectural styles.

This view may also be drawing upon the notion of a Greek or Phoenician origin for the Irish people. This was an alternative theory, which contrasted with that which supposed a northern, or Danish, origin. This theory gained prominence through the work of earlier Irish antiquarians, who drew upon depictions of the various waves of settlers to Ireland in works such as *Lebor Gabhala Érinn*. This theory was also highlighted in the work of O'Flaherty, Ogygia, published in London in 1685. This work was soon subject to sceptical enquiry by Sir George Mackenzie, Dean of Aberdeen, although it was defended in turn by Charles O'Conor (1775). In such circumstances, perhaps the defence of such an individual theory could be interpreted as a defence of the Irish tradition of scholarship in general. In any event, this effort to combine documentary sources, linguistic analysis, and empirical observation based on fieldwork highlight Petrie's true importance to the development of a modern discipline and also his deserved position as 'the father of archaeology' (Dillon 1967, 266).

4.4.2. Ordnance Survey

It has been argued that this period of the 1830's was Petrie's most productive one (Petrie & O'Malley 1972, 267). The reason advanced for this is that during this time he was employed by the Ordnance Survey, where he worked in the Topographical Department, in the company of other prominent Irish scholars, such as John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry. The Ordnance Survey of Ireland was established in 1824 and had as purpose the accurate mapping the country to facilitate the correct calculation of taxation. The establishment was in response to lobbying from landowners in Ireland themselves for such a survey to be undertaken (Doherty 2006, 13) who felt that existing methods of calculation did not take into account the agricultural improvements which had occurred in some parts of the country. This new undertaking was placed under the command of Colonel Thomas Colby. Soon, however, it was understood that the initial complement of 10 officers and 10 enlisted men as surveyors was insufficient and so it was increased to three companies, with the officers drawn from the Royal Engineers or the royal artillery and enlisted men, known as 'Sappers and Miners' (*ibid,* 15).

Colby, the director of the survey, and later Capt. Thomas Larcom, his second-in-command appointed in 1828, were committed to producing the best possible maps. In order to contribute to achieving this aim it was felt that an accurate record of place names be established (Smith 2001). In an effort to assure the correct orthography of place names, a local man, Edward O'Reilly, was hired in 1830. However, following his sudden death another scholar, John O'Donovan, was appointed to take his place. In fact, Larcom had known O'Donovan since his appointment when the latter had been hired to teach him the Irish language (Doherty 2006, 19). O'Donovan initially spent the majority of his time researching in the local libraries, such as those of the Royal Irish Academy and of Trinity College. However, it was decided that enquiries would also have to be carried out in the field. Thus, a new division of the survey was established, the Topographical Department, and George Petrie, another friend of Larcom's, was appointed as head of this department.

Upon beginning his fieldwork, O'Donovan quickly concluded that because of the volume of work, further assistance would be required and another employee of the survey, Patrick O'Keefe, was assigned to assist in 1833. The amount of work still proved almost overwhelming and in 1835, Thomas O'Conor and Eugene O'Curry were hired. O'Curry was already familiar with this type of work for O'Donovan had previously consulted him regularly on such matters (*ibid,* 57). In such a manner did the three most important Irish antiquarians of

the mid-19th century come into daily contact with each other. Stokes (1868, 90) gives an idea of the working atmosphere of this group when he quotes a letter of one of its members, W.F. Wakeman. This letter indicates that the house of George Petrie, on Great Charles Street, was the location of daily meetings consisting of, among others, O'Donovan and O'Curry, as well as the poet Charles Mangan and the above-mentioned O'Keefe and O'Conor. Wakeman further mentioned that Petrie, as head of the department, 'supervised everything and far exceeded expectations' (*ibid.*).

Wakeman also describes O'Donovan and O'Curry together as the 'first Celtic scholars of the age' (*ibid,* 96). Individually, O'Donovan is depicted as a tireless worker whose work for the survey was considered as a labour of love, while O'Curry had been attributed, by this time, the title of 'Irelands Chief Brehon' and was, during the summer, 'engaged chiefly in travelling and collecting information about old names and places for the use of the ordnance authorities' (*ibid,* 98). Because of this letter, an impression may be formed of the strengths of each of these individuals and of the relationship, perhaps camaraderie, which developed between them. As such, it may be argued that the occasion of the development of the Ordnance Survey was a pivotal moment in the development of the discipline of archaeology in Ireland. This was not just because of the actual work of the survey in the comprehensive recording of field monuments, including ringforts, which will be discussed in a subsequent chapter, but also because it brought together scholars of the calibre of Petrie, O'Donovan and O'Curry.

4.4.3. Eugene O'Curry

Eugene O'Curry was another of those extremely interesting characters that seem to define Irish antiquarianism. He was born in Doonaha, County Clare, on November 20, 1794. An account of his life story is found in a letter written by, his brother-in-law, John O'Donovan on December 2, 1853, in support of O'Curry's application to the chair of archaeology in the Catholic University of Ireland (Herity 1966/7, 143-7). It appears that he began his working life as a wandering scholar and afterwards taught as a hedge schoolmaster. Perhaps in an effort to make ends meet, he then apparently turned to tobacco smuggling. The letter also remarked that the hiding place for this tobacco was a recess under the altar of a local church (MacLochlainn 1972, 73). Sometime later O'Curry travelled to Limerick with the intention of emigrating to America. Nothing came of this venture, however, and while in Limerick, O'Curry established a huckster's shop, although a later letter refers to it as a 'sheebeen'. Some of the contemporary

secret agrarian societies, notably the Rockites and the Terryalts, apparently frequented this establishment. O'Curry then seems to have fallen on hard times, been evicted from his house and spent some time in jail for non-payment of debts. He was rescued from here and provided with work as a porter at the Limerick asylum (Herity 1966/7, 144-5). It was while working here that his ability with the interpretation of ancient manuscripts drew attention. During his employment by the Ordnance Survey, he worked, again due to his ability in the Gaelic language, in the Topographical Department.

Once the collection of topographical information had been completed and the first Series of the Ordnance Survey maps prepared for publication, the numbers working for the Survey were sharply reduced. After this, O'Curry earned his living in translating old manuscripts (MacLochlainn 1972, 74). In 1841, he, along with other antiquarians, founded the Irish Archaeological Society. As an indication on how far he had travelled from his humble beginnings he was elected to the Royal Irish Academy in 1851 and three years later he was selected as the first holder of the chair of archaeology at the Catholic University of Ireland. A chair of archaeology had been established at Cambridge University several years previously, but this focused on Classical archaeology, and so it has been claimed that O'Curry was the first professor of prehistoric archaeology in Europe (Herity 1966/7, 147). A compilation of his lectures was published posthumously under the title, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, in 1873. Several of these lectures were devoted to the various types of settlements, the associated buildings, and some of the furniture located within them.

One of these lectures, number nineteen, was presented on July 5, 1859 and specifically addressed ringforts as a type of settlement. O'Curry (1873, 3) began by setting forth his interpretation of the Irish origin of all ringforts when he declares that:

> 'It may be as well to state here what is exactly meant by the different words *Rath, Dun, Lis, Caiseal* and *Cathair*; the prevailing names for fortified places of residence, as well as for the fortifications themselves, among the Gaedhil.'.

He then continued to describe each of the different monument types designated by the above names. For instance, the *Rath* was described as a 'simple circular wall or enclosure of raised earth … [with sometimes] … two or three concentric walls or circumvallation's' (*ibid.*). The *Dun* was depicted as being of the same type but having at least 'two concentric circular mounds or walls, with a deep trench full of water between them' (*ibid.*). The *Lis* was understood to be 'precisely the same as the *Rath*, whereas the *Caiseal* was seen as 'nothing more than a Stone

Rath' and the *Cathair* was nothing more than a Stone *Dun*, with loftier and stronger walls' (*ibid,* 4).

O'Curry's lecture confirms that by the mid-19th century fewer scholars adhered to the notion of these structures as being of Danish origin. O'Curry (*ibid,* 14) further attempts to buttress the notion of a Gaelic tradition of construction by drawing on documentary sources to highlight that according to these

> 'ancient authorities, that the pagan Gaedhil had two classes of professional builders: the *Rath-bhuidhé*, or Rath-builder, who built the *Rath, Dun,* and *Lis,* which were formed of earth; and the *Caisleoir*, or Caiseal-builder, who built the *Caiseal*, the *Cathair*, and the *Dun* when it was constructed of stone'.

To reinforce this supposition, he then quotes the work of the earlier antiquarian, Dubhaltach MacFhirbhisigh, who in the introduction to his work, the *Book of Genealogies*, provides a list of the known builders, perhaps to counteract the argument that the Irish had no such tradition. O'Curry based all of his work in this lecture upon information contained within the ancient manuscripts of Ireland. This led some later antiquarians to criticise the methodology of this approach. Evidence of this can be seen in the work the folklorist and archaeologist, T. J. Westropp, who warns against accepting 'legendary statements as hard fact' and claims that O'Curry, among others, seems 'strangely devoid of even elementary critical feelings' (Westropp 1896/1901, 627). However, in his defence it should be mentioned that O'Curry was drawing upon his expertise in the Irish language and his familiarity with the Irish documentary sources. Furthermore, the information that he managed to glean from these sources appears to confirm that an understanding of the origin, function and construction methods of ringforts was prevalent within the manuscript tradition.

4.4.4. Thomas Joseph Westropp

The above-mentioned Thomas Joseph Westropp was born on August 16 in 1860 in county Limerick. Following an education at Trinity College in Dublin, he was appointed as an assistant surveyor in county Meath. However, he appears to have shortly left this work to focus on his antiquarian passion. Incidentally, his training as an engineer is apparent in the skillful execution of the sketches that accompany his works. The majority of his enquiries were focused through fieldwork carried out in the western counties of Ireland. While there, he

became aware of the more vibrant folklore tradition within these areas and included this folklore in his final work. Between 1896 and 1901, he was engaged in a monumental work on Irish settlement types entitled: *The Ancient Forts of Ireland: Being a Contribution towards Our Knowledge of Their Types, Affinities, and Structural Features*. In this work, Westropp, in addition to examining Irish settlement types, attempts to create a typological association with similar types found throughout Europe.

He referred to the ancient legends concerning Irish origins and notes that archaeological evidence seems to support this notion of migration. He argues that:

> 'when the chain of ruined forts (of the same types as are found in Ireland) extends without a break from Thessaly and Bosnia through Hungary, Prussia, the Low Countries, France, Switzerland, and the British Isles, we can hardly fail to draw the only apparent conclusion' (Westropp 1896/1901, 594).

This theory is, of course, a reflection of the widely held opinion during this period that the introduction of cultural attributes had to be associated with the movement of peoples. It might also be a development of Petrie's specific association between some Irish sites and Ancient Greece through a focus on Cyclopean building techniques. In referring to the Irish examples, Westropp begins by stating that the 'different type of forts could not be separated' for they were almost identical in feature and dated from approximately the same period and that, the simplest form 'is the enclosure, circular or oval, of the ring-mound or ring-wall' (*ibid,* 581-2).

Interestingly, as a folklorist Westropp investigates some of the uses which were made of ringforts after their initial period of occupation. He analyses the names that are attached to the sites to provide an impression of these uses and, in this way, he also allows for an understanding of how this monument type was sometimes perceived by succeeding communities. For instance, he notes that, by the occurrence of names for ringforts such as *Lisnabo, Liscappul* and *Lisnamuck*, they appear to have been uses as holding pens for domestic animals (*ibid,* 592). He also noted that some sites were later set aside for burial, and became known as *Cahercaltragh* or *Lisnagorp*, and that even sometimes sites were abandoned to superstition and that 'the shuddering peasantry called it *Lisanaanima, Lissaphuca, Caheraphuca* or *Lisheenvicknaheeha*'. Westropp (*ibid.*) further comments on the colonisation of some sites by wild animals and nature itself, noting the names *Lisnabrock* and *Cahernagat*, in addition to *Caheraderry* and *Duneena*.

Finally, Westropp appears to be the first to qualify the interpretation of these sites as fortresses. He cautions firstly that there should be no comparison made between this monument type and the later medieval strongholds and that they should be thought of

> 'as moated or walled residences such as were common at all times in insecure states of society … [and that the] … strong wall or palisades earthwork was merely a passive defence for these houses, and was only raised against a sudden attack, not against undermining, battering, or other siege work' (*ibid,* 638).

Further on in this essay, Westropp addresses the notion that the Danes were the builders of this monument type and here again, he is critical of past theories. He acknowledges Giraldus Cambrensis as the originator of this theory, and then notes that Molyneux (1725) developed it. However, Westropp's argument skips over the intervening period and may give the inaccurate impression that Molyneux reached into the past in order to revive this theory. This may also screen the fact that the theory of Danish origins for ringforts had a continuity of belief within a specific community in Ireland from Cambrensis' time onwards. Nevertheless, Westropp continues to enquire as to the validity of such an initial claim. He questioned how it could be argued that the Danes constructed all these monument types, even those in regions where they never established a base. At the same time, he noted that they had constructed no similar works in their own countries (Westropp 1896/1901, 636). In addition, he refers to the development of a belief that the use of the word 'Danes' was the result of a misinterpretation of the word 'Danaan' by the country people.

However, he dismisses this notion and claims that this idea may have developed because of 'conversation with the followers of Giraldus and Molyneux' (*ibid,* n. 636). This clearly indicates that by the middle of the 19th century the idea, prominent in some circles, that the Danes were the builders of these monuments was no longer taken seriously. However, Westropp (*ibid,* 637) is equally dismissive of what he refers to as 'the Vallancey school', and argues that it had failed to prove its case as regards a Phoenician origin for these structures. This indicates a new departure for Irish thought, for Westropp is unsympathetic to all previous theories regarding the origin of ringforts, both the Scandinavian and the Phoenician models. He also calls O'Curry to task for his literal interpretation of ancient documentary sources, while he himself leans towards an acceptance of Petrie's idea of a Mediterranean influence. This could be understood, to some degree, as a reflection on the fluctuating importance of a particular model or indeed an individual scholar. However, it may also be possible that the

confidence with which Westropp expresses his position may be likely to have been a result of the amount of time which he devoted to fieldwork (Monk 2017; pers. comm.). It may also be an indication of the growing strength and confidence within Irish archaeology in general. This confidence would find its finest expression during the early years of the new state, from 1922 onwards, when a strong focus was placed on national heritage and found its finest expression in the work of Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin.

4.4.5. Seán P. Ó Ríordáin

Seán P. Ó Ríordáin was another of those exceptional characters whose achievements contribute to the renown of Irish archaeology. Born in Cork in 1905, he initially trained as a National School teacher. However, an interest in archaeology led him to attend evening classes in the subject in University College Cork. Following his degree, he was awarded the prestigious 'Travelling Scholarship in Archaeology of the National University' (Daniel 1960, 59). For the award of the degree of M.A. in 1930, Ó Ríordáin submitted a thesis entitled *Place names and antiquities of Kinalmeaky Barony, Co. Cork*. Furthermore, this thesis was serialised between 1930 and 1935 in the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*. He was later appointed to a position in the National Museum and in 1936, at the age of 31, he was selected as Professor of Archaeology in University College Cork. Ó Ríordáin is renowned as a tireless fieldworker because of the variety and extent of the excavations undertaken by him. In this, he may be considered to have implemented the newer, more conscientious and more scientific methods of excavation. Daniel (*ibid,* 60) highlights this development in his appreciation of him by noting that Ó Ríordáin would 'be remembered as an excavator, trained by van Griffen and Wheeler among others, who brought modern methods to Ireland'.

The breadth of Ó Ríordáin's interest also extended to ringforts and in 1941 he read a paper to the Royal Irish Academy detailing the excavations that he had carried out at a ringfort in Garranes in county Cork. This report may be considered a ground-breaking work regarding Irish excavation reports. In it is contained a description of the surrounding location and of the monument itself. It then outlines the methodology of excavation to be carried out and follows this with a compilation of the extracted information, including the finds that were recovered. For example, Ó Ríordáin begins the report with an examination of the historical associations and the geographical conditions associated with the site. He then describes the fort itself as being 'defended by three concentric banks on which now grow numerous trees, and by three

fosses' (Ó Ríordáin & Ryan 1941/2, 79). He next, in addressing the methodology, explains the impracticality of excavating the entire site due to its size and that it was intended to begin by 'investigating a strip 10' wide running north and south across the fort, extending through the defences at either end by cuttings 5' wide' (*ibid.*).

The excavations of the interior of the fort exposed several areas that showed evidence of habitation. The most interesting of these areas were labelled A and D by the excavation team. Area A was located 'just inside the entrance to the right hand side' and was defined by the presence of a large amount of charcoal and multiple small post-holes (ibid, 84). Whereas, the finds associated with area D

> 'consisted mainly of crucibles and fragments of such, moulds of clay and stone, together with such metal and glass objects as would suggest that this portion of the fort had been the site of an early metal and glass manufacturing workshop' (*ibid,* 86).

Other finds that were recovered during the excavation appear to support this conclusion. For example, the recovery of sixty objects in bronze, the most important of which was a button of bronze which had its 'back and edges tinned', displayed a 'triskele design' and was decorated with 'red enamel' (*ibid,* 89- 92). In addition, a segment of the types and range of iron implements recovered during the excavation also allowed for this conclusion.

Ó Ríordáin also examined the pottery recovered from Garranes and concluded that it was 'of Roman or sub-Roman type' (*ibid,* 125). He concluded by asserting that the presence of this pottery on site was evidence of trade links between this region and the continent 'in Roman or sub-Roman times' (*ibid,* 133). Furthermore, a close examination of the archaeological evidence allowed for a general date range for the occupation of this site to be accurately calculated. For it was argued that, the 'cumulative evidence' indicates that AD 500 was the central date for occupation and so a strong reliance on excavated material allowed Ó Ríordáin to conclude that the ringfort at Garranes was

> 'an unusually large example of Irish ring-fort, which was well defended by its earthworks and gates, and was occupied during the latter half of the 5th century and the early part of the 6th centuries by a community of craftsmen who had trade relations and interchange of artistic motives with Gaul and Britain' (*ibid,* 143).

A further impression of Ó Ríordáin's talent becomes evident when it is considered that at this time he was also researching other common types of field monuments. This work was also first published in 1942 and was entitled *Antiquities of the Irish Countryside*. This work also contained a section on ringforts and the influence of his experience at excavation is evident in his general interpretation of this monument type. He begins this section with a beautifully succinct description of this monument type, in that in 'its simplest form the ringfort may be described as a space most frequently circular, surrounded by a bank and fosse (3) or simply by a rampart of stone' (Ó Ríordáin 1942, 29). He continued by affirming that ringforts had no major military significance but should rather be considered as 'protected farmsteads' (*ibid,* 30). Moreover, he stated that the available evidence suggest that a high degree of self-sufficiency was sought after. This impression may have been influenced, however, by an equal desire within the new state to achieve self-sufficiency. Ó Ríordáin laid great stress on excavations which had confirmed that most of these monuments could be dated to the Early Christian – now Early Medieval – period (*ibid,* 32). He also draws on the results of excavations to confirm, in conjunction with a lack of comparable foreign examples, that ringforts were predominately an Irish phenomenon (ibid, 34). This reliance on scientific methodology was something that was introduced into Ireland as a result of the campaign of Harvard expeditions of the 1930s and it has been suggested that Ó Ríordáin's empirical approach, already evident in his Master's thesis, was further honed during his PhD at a German University.

4.5. Conclusion

A visible pattern can clearly be seen running through this section. It depicts how the study of the past in Ireland recovered from an extremely perilous position at the beginning of the 18th century. This was a very important recovery, following the initial shock associated with the destruction of the Gaelic order and the subsequent loss of opportunity for Irish antiquarians of the old system. Luckily, due to the influence of a handful of scholars, notably Charles O'Conor of Belanagare, all was not lost. O'Conor, among other roles, served as a living link between the older way of thought and newer learned institutions which were beginning to form. Because of his work, and in conjunction with the determination of Charles Vallancey, information contained within the old manuscripts were available to scholars of the new tradition. The presence of these men in the founding of learned societies in Ireland firmly influenced the focus of these societies. In addition, a realisation that the old way of life was in the process of

disappearing appears to have encouraged the rescue of as many manuscripts as it was possible to recover.

The recovery of this material and its conservation within these new societies meant that it was available for study by later scholars. The study of the information contained within allowed the correct understanding concerning the origin, construction methods and, eventually, the function of ringforts to be resurrected. This study of these documents contributed to the final dispelling of the theory that these monuments were of foreign origin and had a militaristic function. Clearly therefore, the misinformation about ringforts that had been introduced by Giraldus Cambrensis and others was refuted initially through the study of the Irish manuscript sources by 18th century scholars. Later, the revised view concerning ringforts was confirmed by the work of archaeologists.

Eventually a reliance on information gleaned from excavations permitted a detailed picture of the daily activities that took place within, and around, ringforts to be established. This was an understanding that had been slowly lost over the ages. On a wider societal level, an idea has also been advanced in this chapter concerning the role played by archaeology in general, and ringforts in particular, in the cultural struggles that occurred throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, including a renewed understanding of the information contained within the older tradition that allowed false and possibly sectarian ideas to be dispelled. Finally, it may be argued that the determination of Irish scholars to continue the intellectual pursuit of seeking the correct understanding concerning ringforts, and other issues, to some extent laid the foundation of the Celtic Revival and the period of revolution that followed.

CHAPTER 5: PRIMITIVISM AND POPULAR TRADITIONS: A THEORETICAL BACKGROUND.

5.1. Introduction

These perspectives concerning ringforts explored in Chapter 4 may be considered as representing the positions of the elites within Irish society. Nevertheless, it bears repeating that the majority of the population continued to exist almost completely in an oral society. And this remained the case until at least the middle of the 19th century when a commitment to universal education saw the establishment of the National School system. It has also previously been mentioned that fluidity and dynamism are characteristics of the transmission of information within such a setting (Lord 1960). However, it has been suggested that the retention of such traditional knowledge, and its subsequent transmission, may be facilitated if the social structure remains in a stable condition over time (McCone 1990). Unfortunately, this was not the case in Ireland at the beginning of the 18th century. The political and social upheaval of the end of the previous century did not spare the common people any more than it did the elite. The subsequent imposition of repressive laws restricting lives of the majority of the population further hindered the successful transmission of information.

As regards ringforts in particular it appears that by this stage the mythological association with this monument type had taken over from the domestic one in most local settings. This can be perceived by examination of some of the adaptations of ringfort use during the modern period (Westropp 1896/1901). Once an interest had developed in the traditional knowledge of the ordinary people, these tales were soon deemed worthy of being collected and disseminated. These tales highlighted the standing that ringforts apparently held within the popular worldview of this period and may allow these attitudes to be traced back further in time to before the stories were collected and from which they evolved. The great majority of these tales, if not the totality, reference the mythological association with this monument type. However, it must be borne in mind that these initial presentations were also recorded by outsiders and from an outsider's perspective. These initial perspectives should be understood as being filtered through the medium of language, as well as other cultural and social filters. These filters were likely, despite every good intention, to influence how the final product was presented and viewed. Furthermore, because this was not a passive arrangement, and that the

popular worldview did not exist in isolation, it may be argued that these stories and tales was influenced and changed in its turn by this new interpretation.

5.1.1. Popular Worldview

The desire to investigate how the common people viewed, and organised, the world around them initially, like all antiquarianism, formed part of the leisure pursuits of wealthy gentlemen. The name *folklore* was coined by William J. Thoms in 1846 and was quickly adopted to refer to these studies (Emrich 1946, 355). The wider popularity of these studies was as a result of a combination of factors. For some this desire grew from dissatisfaction with the increased industrialisation that had occurred in western society. In contrast to this, the world of the countryside and its inhabitants was perceived to have retained an element of purity and stability. Such an interest may also have been motivated by a dissatisfaction of elements within society with their surrounding environment. Such dissatisfaction may have been driven by political, economic, or social factors. In such a case any community, internal or otherwise, and its worldview, which may appear to emphasis elements contrary to those which provoke uneasiness or disquiet within the observing individual or group, may be deemed to offer an alternative.

For example, to those dismayed at being perceived as part of a foreign culture, such as the Anglo-Irish of the 19th century, the presence of a local culture with strong ties to the surrounding environment might be allocated an importance. To those individuals unhappy with an increasingly urbanised and technological world, the notion of a rural, agrarian paradise may seem appealing. It is possible that the inhabitants of this 'paradise' may not have necessarily so perceived it. However, the fact that it presented certain characteristics contrary to the environment of the outside observer allowed an oppositional structural argument to be constructed whereby it was also deemed to present a solution to the difficulties inherent in the observers own worldview. The overall notion that somehow existence was better in the past may spring from a deeply embedded cultural influence. This appeal of the primeval developed over time and appears to have expanded to permeate all western thought. It developed to the degree where it might be argued that this influence comprises one of the foundations of how those affected might interpret the world around them.

This socially driven desire to take refuge in the past was able, in places, to associate itself with an already developing political movement. In some countries – particularly Germany –

traditional cultural knowledge had been used to foster a sense of political community, or nationhood. For what is now Germany was, during this period, a fractured political entity where the elite looked towards France for cultural influence, even to the degree of adopting its language (Wilson 1973, 824). This ideological influence filtered downwards through society as its adoption was seen as a sign of progress, or at least of social advancement. This activity then produced a reaction which sought to revitalise an interest in German culture by the upper classes of society. This desire may be typified by the appeal of one of its main characters, Johann Gottfried Herder (1881), who recognised the possibility of using cultural similarities to construct a political reality.

5.2. Chronological Primitivism

5.2.1. Introduction

This interest in the worldview of the uneducated country people may have been motivated by the idealisation of these communities as providing a contrast with the unsatisfactory lives of others. In such cases, the perception of these communities as 'primitive' by outsiders was seen as advantageous. The doctrine of Primitivism has been subdivided into two main spheres, either chronological or cultural (Lovejoy & Boas 1935). Descriptions of these two spheres explained that an accustomed hypothesis of chronological Primitivism is that 'the highest degree of excellence or happiness in man's life existed at the beginning of history' (*ibid,* 2). A correlation of this theory is that the more humanity has evolved the more it has degenerated from this ideal. For example, any technological or industrial developments, accompanied by potential social tensions, could be criticised for having removed humanity from this ideal natural state. Therefore, any community which did not 'benefit' from these advancements and who, moreover, remained in contact with nature could be perceived as being closer to the original human condition. Such a community could then appear desirable and be cast perfunctorily as a sort of Utopia. This may then explain the appeal of 'cultural Primitivism', which Lovejoy and Boas (*ibid,* 7) describe as 'the discontent of the civilised with civilisation or with some conspicuous and characteristic feature of it'.

5.2.2. Biblical Evidence

It may be argued that the concept of Primitivism has always permeated western society. There was a widely held notion that supposed the best period of human existence to have been at the beginning of history. This concept endured and was widely disseminated because of the influence of the Christian story of creation contained in the bible. This creation myth is emphasised in the second and third chapters of the Book of Genesis. These chapters depict how God created Man and provided him with a natural paradise (Chap. 2: Verse 7 & 8). The constraints against certain activities are also highlighted (Gen 2: 17). It is also described how the first couple contravened these injunctions and were punished by expulsion from the Garden of Eden. Another of the punishments prescribed that the Earth should no longer be bountiful. With the divine decree that:

> 'Accursed be the soil because of you! Painfully will you get your food from it as long as you live. It will yield you brambles and thistles, as you eat the produce of the land. By the sweat of your face will you earn your food, until you return to the ground, as you were taken from it. For dust you are and dust you shall return' (Gen 3: 17-9).

In such a way is highlighted the concept of the fall of humanity from an original state of grace. With the correlation that the best time of human existence was in the past, the intimation is that the further humanity moves from this initial state the more degraded it becomes. It might seem superfluous to note that this tale is prominent in one of the most influential, if not most influential, books in western society for the last two millennia.

As a consequence of its importance in the formation of western society and thought the Bible has long been the subject of critical examination. This includes the aim of attributing a date of origin, and also of authorship, to the tales contained within it. The Book of Genesis is no exception, and these efforts have resulted in a widespread agreement as to the authors who provided information for this book. There is a general consensus among scholars — for example, Mazar (1969); Thompson (1971); Levin (2007) — that the work was the result of the editorial work of a number of authors referred to as J, E and P, with the majority of the material being the work of J, or the Yahwist. This because of the name which is used in this material to refer to God (George & George 2014, 2). On the other hand, attempts to attribute a date range for the initial compilation of the book have not been as successful. These efforts have

involved drawing upon references contained within the work and constructing the surrounding environment from this information.

Therefore, the George's (*ibid.*) suggest that this work was compiled in this form no earlier than 851BC. On the other hand, Thompson argues that the preoccupation within the text with fertility would suggest 'that the Israelite ancestors adapted it from the Canaanites on their first entry to Palestine' at some earlier date (1971, 203). This theory hints at the possible composite nature of this work by suggesting that it may be a synthesis of information gathered from a variety of sources. Emerton (2006, 128) is content to posit that if his analysis is correct a date range of somewhere between the 9th and the 7th centuries BC is probable, although he does admit that it is difficult to be more precise. The main thrust of his argument, however, seems to be against the position that this text was compiled during a period of exile. He strongly argues that 'the case against such a pre-exilic date for J is weak' (*ibid.*). Furthermore, and again based on material contained within the text, Levin (2007, 213-4) argues that the 7th century BC may perhaps be a plausible date for the compilation of this text. He concludes by also tentatively suggesting that J (the Yahwist) may have been a 'member of the courtly upper class in the early Jewish Diaspora, who was trying to find an answer to the radical change in living conditions' (*ibid*, 230).

5.2.3. The Atrahasis Epic and Flood Story

Despite this wide divergence of dates, it seems clear that by the first half of the 1st Millennium BC the notion of humanity's fall from grace, with a corresponding understanding that progress unchecked increased this divide, formed part of the origin myth for a section of the Semitic peoples of the Middle East. In fact, there is also evidence that the material in the Book of Genesis was influenced by even earlier mythologies. For example, there is tale within the Book of Genesis which apparently emphasises the wickedness of human civilisation. This is the tale of Noah (Gen, 6-8), wherein due to the continued wickedness of humanity the Lord decided to destroy it by means of a flood. However, it was also decided to spare Noah and his household, in addition to a selection of animals. This tale has found a resonance in three tales of both Akkadian and Sumerian mythologies: 'the Sumerian Flood story, the ninth tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic, and the Atrahasis Epic' (Frymer-Kensky 1977, 147).

An example of the most complete of these tales, the Atrahasis Epic, has been recovered inscribed on a tablet and comprising an Old Babylonian copy which was composed around

1650 BC (*ibid,* 148). Whereas, the Sumerian Flood story, according to Simoons-Vermeer (1974, 28), must have been compiled 'between the Isin-dynasty (2000-1800 BC), when the theme of the flood became popular, and 1600 BC, the approximate date of the tablet on which the story is written'. On the other hand, the portion of the Gilgamesh Epic addressing the flood is the youngest of the three accounts being composed no earlier than the 12th century B.C. (*ibid,* 17). In the Atrahasis Epic, the Gods, confronted with the wickedness of humanity, decide to destroy it. Such attempts were made, initially by means of a plague, then by a drought followed by famine, and eventually by means of a flood. However, the hero of the Epic, Atrahasis, is saved by one of the Gods, Enki, who persuades him to build an ark so as to survive (Frymer-Kensky 1977, 149). Frymer-Kensky continues to illustrate the structure of the tale as

> 'Man is created … there is a problem … remedies are attempted but the problem remains … the decision is made to destroy Man … this attempt is thwarted by the wisdom of Enki … a new remedy is instituted to ensure that the problem does not arise again' (*ibid.*).

If this template is applied to the Biblical story of the flood direct similarities may be perceived between these two tales. Thus one of the fundamental ideas, contained within the flood story, that the course of humanity's evolution has led inexorably to wickedness and degeneration. There is evidence that this notion, that chronological, and perhaps technological, progress encourages decadence and removes humanity from its ideal state, can be traced back almost to the beginning of the 2nd Millennium B.C. It is also probable that an in-depth examination of the Athrahasis epic would permit comparisons to be made with even earlier material. However, it is felt that such earlier material would then also invite examination and that, therefore, the establishment of a connection with material compiled towards the beginning of the 2nd Millennium BC is sufficient to show the longevity of the appeal of chronological Primitivism as shown, albeit negatively, in humanity's degeneration from its state of grace as highlighted through the destruction of its environment and at subsequent efforts at renewal or recovery.

5.2.4. Hesiod

The appeal of Primitivism also had a long history in other societies. Indeed, Lovejoy and Boas (1935, 7) light-heartedly suggest that it may be a component of human nature and postulate the presence in prehistory of those who bemoaned the obligation to return each night to a cave, for

food and shelter, rather than sleeping in the open. Serious evidence of the desire of Primitivism is contained in a work which was compiled around 700 BC, though it may be no exaggeration to suppose that it may have drawn on earlier material from an oral context. The text, Work and Days, written by Hesiod, is a poem with the object of serving as an almanac. It also contains, however, sections which highlight the development of the human condition. One of these sections propounds the myth concerning the evolution of the various ages of man. In the beginning, it is noted, there was 'fashioned a golden race of mortal men' and that this god-like race 'dwelt in ease and peace upon their lands with many good things, rich in flocks and loved by the blessed gods' (lines 109-120). Following this period, the gods on Olympus created 'a lesser, silver race of men' and evidence of this degeneration was shown by the fact that, for example, 'they could not keep from sinning and from wronging one another, nor would they serve the immortals, nor sacrifice on the holy altars of the blessed ones …' (lines 121-139).

Next, Zeus created a terrible, violence loving, race of Bronze, which sprang from the ash tree and were worse than the race of Silver. Interestingly, 'Their armour was of bronze, and their houses of bronze, and of bronze were their implements' and despite their strength and love of violence 'black Death seized them, and they left the bright light of the sun' (lines 140-155). Hesiod interjects a race of demi-gods who he claims were 'nobler and more righteous' – presumably than the Bronze race – and that despite grievous losses in fighting at Thebe and at Troy, the remainder 'live untouched by sorrow in the islands of the blessed along the shore of deep swirling Ocean, happy heroes for whom the grain-giving earth bears honey-sweet fruit flourishing thrice a year' (lines 156-169b). These attributed of the demigods perhaps insinuate that the evolution of the human condition is not one of terminal and irredeemable decline. Nevertheless, Hesiod does not spare contemporary society and wistfully yearns that he, himself:

> 'were not among the men of the fifth generation, but either had died before or been born afterwards. For now, truly is a race of iron, and men never rest from labour and sorrow by day, and from perishing by night; and the gods shall lay sore trouble upon them' (lines 170-194).

5.2.5. Seneca

Further evidence for the appeal of Primitivism at a later date can be perceived in some of the work of the Roman statesman, Lucius Anneaus Seneca, who was born in Cordoba in Spain

around the time of Christ (Campbell 1969, 7). As an adult, Seneca appears to have, at the very least, perceived something note-worthy in the teachings of Stoic philosophy. Evidence for this can be seen in some of the letters which he addressed to a certain, Lucilius. This philosophy is particularly emphasised in epistle XC. Here Seneca declaims that the first inhabitants of the earth and their immediate descendants 'followed nature unspoiled' but that eventually 'greed broke society up' (*ibid,* 162). He continues that during what he refers to as a Golden Age 'government was in the hands of the wise' and that furthermore the 'wise man then followed a simple way of life' (*ibid,* 165). The prestige of a simple life is further emphasised by Seneca when he states that: 'even today the Scythians wear the pelts of fox and mice, which are soft to the touch and impervious to the wind' (*ibid,* 167). He belabours the point by contrasting Nature with Luxury, and by criticising luxury for hankering after 'things that were inessential and then after things that were injurious' [XC 19 – 23] (*ibid,* 168). Seneca then repeats that avarice, particularly humanity's drive for possessions, was the destroyer of this Golden Age [XC 37 – 43] (*ibid,* 174). Throughout this epistle, Seneca refers on several occasions to the desirability of living in communion with nature. It may be important to remember perhaps that subsequent scholars may have had a different concept or definition of what nature meant.

Despite this exhortation of the simple life, Seneca himself does not appear to have conformed closely to this ideal. During his political career he unfortunately attracted the negative attention of the Emperors, Caligula and his successor Claudius, both of whom wished him dead, although one capital sentence was commuted into banishment to Corsica. A renewal of fortune resulted from his appointment as tutor to the future Emperor Nero in AD 49. Indeed, the initial years of Nero's rule saw Seneca function as an *eminence grise* and control, in conjunction with the soldier Brunnus, the affairs of the empire. In spite of, or perhaps because of, his power by AD 58 he was being attacked publically. The angle of attack chosen was to focus on the contradictions evident between his teachings and his personal behaviour. Campbell (*ibid,* 11) quotes Suillius, who queried 'what philosophical teachings, had led him to acquire 300 million sesterces within the space of four years in royal favour'. To this charge Seneca retorted that what mattered was his attitude to this good fortune and that he 'like any good Stoic, could lose all he had at any moment without being a whit less happy'. In this sense a similarity emerges between Seneca and the wealthy, educated European class of the 18th and 19th centuries who also extolled the value of a simple life while being far removed from it.

While Seneca's response may have been an extraordinary expression of spirit, with this line of reasoning it seems Seneca also showed himself capable of drawing on other strands of

philosophy, notably Sophistry, when necessary. In any event, he was unsuccessful in retaining his influence over Nero and by AD 62 had lost his political power. He then retreated from public life and attempted to purchase his security by apparently donating the entirety of his fortune to the Emperor. Hopefully, in doing so he was able to fulfil his own prophecy mentioned above. If so, it did not last long for following a failed conspiracy against Nero in AD 65 he was invited to commit suicide and, as described by Tacitus, was on this occasion obliged to do so. It has been argued that even in this Seneca did not show proof of a Stoic temperament. Perhaps it could be suggested that true Stoic behaviour would have been to face the vicissitudes of fortune with serenity and equanimity. And so it may be that already by this period the notion of Primitivism may have been seen as a desirable ideal. Furthermore, that it was an ideal which, unfortunately, the inherent corruption of humanity prevented the realisation and that even the adherents of this philosophy were as outsiders who looked longingly towards an unattainable essence.

5.3. Cultural Primitivism

5.3.1. Natural Law

In addition to chronological Primitivism, Stoic philosophy also displayed a strong element of cultural Primitivism. This essentially expounds that the least advanced state was the happier one and that the happiest society of all was one which lived as close as possible to nature. As Weinreb (1987, 36) emphasises, 'the highest objective in Stoicism was to live a good life' and the preferred way to accomplish this goal was to endeavour to live as closely as possible 'according to nature' (*ibid.*). It was also understood that conforming to these principles, or rather recognising these laws, lay within the inherent grasp of each individual. Several fundamental and ideal concepts were portrayed as constituting the component elements of 'Natural Law'. An analogy which combined the use of images has been used to highlight this possibility: these four images draw on the 'Reason' which controls the Universe, allied to the 'Notion' of good recognisable to all peoples, who contain within themselves the 'Seeds' of virtue, which in combination with the 'Sparks' may lead to wisdom (Horowitz 1974, 3).

This description may also be summarised as a unifying universal force, which is inherently comprehensible by all, and which may be allied to an inherent possibility within human nature, which when subjected to the correct experiences allow a progression towards wisdom and virtue. As humanity itself is part of this universal process, or natural world, it may

be argued that the notion of the beneficial properties accessible through an understanding and a following of natural living may be perceived. That is, that there is a correct preferable way of living and that such a path is discernible upon examination through reasoning. This ideology creates an association between the Stoic's desirable concepts of Reason with Nature and, in doing so, once again, emphasising the beneficial properties associated with Nature.

5.3.2. Cicero

One of the most influential of the early scholars who focused on Natural Law was Marcus Tullius Cicero, the Roman politician and lawyer. Cicero was born in 106 BC and was killed in 43 BC, as a result of having lost a political struggle with Markus Antonius. While it is not universally accepted that his work as a philosopher was original in nature, it is asserted that he was influential in setting out the 'terms of the debate about the relationship … between law and morals on the one hand and nature on the other' (Weinreb 1987, 39). The fundamental of his reflection on the topic of Natural Law is centred within two books of his: *De Re Publica* and *De Legibus*. This latter work contains multiple references to Stoic philosophy, such as where Cicero emphasises to definition of Virtue as 'nothing else than Nature perfected and developed to its highest point; therefore, it is a likeness between man and God'.

The possibility of beneficially interacting with this ideal so as to personally attain Virtue is further highlighted when Cicero advances the claim that, in fact, we can perceive the difference between 'good laws and bad by referring them to no other standard than Nature'. In conclusion to Book One of this work it is stressed that 'therefore justice must be sought and cultivated for her own sake'. This conclusion highlights the relationship between Reason, Virtue and Nature which was discernible by later philosophers, such as Emmanuel Kant. In fact, these works of Cicero remained influential for successive generations of scholars throughout the centuries. So influential was his work that it appears that extracts remained available through the work of others in cases where the originals had been lost.

5.3.3. Western Thought

Weinreb (1987, 39) states that central passages of Cicero's *De Re Publica* were contained within the later works of St Augustine, while the original work was lost from the 12th to the 19th centuries. Indeed, Stoicism in general had an important influence on the development of

the ethical philosophy of the early Church. This is especially evident in the area of human interaction or, as Thorsteinsson (2010, 166) writes, in how the notions of 'non-retaliation' and goodwill towards enemies are addressed. The works of the Stoics, Cicero and Seneca on the one hand and on the letters of the Christian, St. Paul, on the other are then compared to illustrate this point. The influence of Christianity on the predominately Stoic concept of Natural Law is also evident. This can be seen in the notion of the Fall to explain the inconsistencies between the idealised Stoic aspirations and the reality of contemporary life (Weinreb 1987, 47), as Stoic ideology was portrayed and probably understood as an idealised state of affairs, to which each individual should endeavour to aspire.

However, it is highly probable that even in early Christian society a disconnect existed between this aspiration and the daily existence within the community, between the Ideal and the Real. The fact that current society did not correspond to the ideals expressed by Natural Law, which humanity was sensed to be able to discern through Reason, was explained by the fact that humanity had degenerated from its formerly ideal state. Therefore, this strain of idealism may also be said to run through Western thought, along with a dangerous, but tacit, acceptance that such idealised states would, in the majority of cases, remain unattainable. This, then, established the concept of chronological Primitivism (the Fall) in conjunction with that of cultural Primitivism (closeness to Nature), thus reinforcing the general attraction of the notion of this ideology. In fact, a strong argument may be made for the influence of these intertwined strands of chronological and cultural Primitivism. These contained on one hand an emphasis on the fall of humanity, and on the other the desirability of living in proximity to Nature, and together this influence was so robust and so pervasive that these strands could be said to form one of the foundation pillars of modern Western thought.

5.3.4. Thomas Aquinas

However, it is important to remember that different scholars undoubtedly held different views on what exactly Natural Law represented. While it is important to understand what scholars implied in their own work, it is also vital to examine how other scholars could have interpreted these works. If it is accepted that Stoic philosophy, combined with early Church teaching, exerted a strong influence over the evolution of western thought, it may also be accepted that it influenced, if only subliminally, the attitudes of later generations of scholars by making such teachings appear logical and comforting. Such subliminal intuition may have predisposed these

scholars to accept these teachings. In any event, because Natural Law held such a prominent position within Christian social teaching, it was the subject of investigation by some of the Church's leading scholars, such as St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas. In fact, arguably the greatest adaptation of the concept of natural law can be seen in the work of this latter theologian, who lived from 1225 to 1274.

This 'Doctor of the Church' attempted through his studies to reconcile the apparent contradiction between methods of access to the transcendent, whether perceived as Nature or the Divine, through either Faith (Revelation) or Reason (Enquiry). One of his most, if not the most, important work was the *Summa Theologiae*, which concerned the theology of the Church. Within this, albeit unfinished, text, again structured in the form of Socratic question and response, Aquinas addresses the original state of humanity. In response to the question: *'utrum in statu innocentiae haberit animae passiones'* (1a. 95, 2) or 'whether in the state of innocence he [man] had any feeling of soul'. Aquinas responds that *'in primo statu nullum malum aderat nec immenebit nec aliquod bonum aberat quod cuperat bonu volunty pro tempere illo habendum'* (*ibid.*) or that 'because in the first state of man there was nothing bad either present or imminent, nor was there lacking anything good that a good will might desire to have at that time'.

He concludes by arguing that in this primal state humanity was 'immune from suffering as regards feelings that undermine its natural disposition' (*ibid.*). This argument clearly advances the notion of the original state of humanity as representing a Utopia. In such an argument may also be perceived an association with the general concept of chronological Primitivism. Further onwards, Aquinas emphasises this when again in reply to a question he argues *'puterat enim passionem prohibere, sicat et mortum, si obsque peccato perstitsset'* (1a. 97, 2) or that humanity, in this original state 'could have kept suffering away just as much as death, if [it] had persisted without sin'. When specifically addressing the concept of Natural Law, Aquinas, in response to the question *'utrum sit in nubis aliqua lex naturalis'* – 'is there a natural law within us' – argues that *'quod omins opertio rationis et vluntatis derivatur in nobis ab eo quod est secundum naturum'* (1a. 2ae. 10, 1) – 'all activity of reason and will springs from us as being what we are by nature'. He clarifies this position by stating that a common reality corresponds to the will and that this 'being good'. Also, that equally there corresponds to the mind another common reality which is 'being true and being real and so forth' (ibid). In this passage may be seen the Stoic influence as it may pertain to the notion of cultural Primitivism.

In addition, when highlighting the commands of the 'law of nature' and the degree to which it corresponds to humanity's natural tendencies, Aquinas again emphasises the role of goodness or virtue in the desire to live according to natural law. He stresses that 'good is to be sought and done, evil is to be avoided', or in the *original 'bonum est faciendum et prusequen, et malus vitandum'* (1a. 2ae. 94, 2). This clearly shows, in Aquinas' thought, the connection between what is esteemed as natural and what is virtuous. Through this connection an important correlation may then be formed, once Aquinas' original importance is granted, but also if the latent influence of Stoicism is taken into account. That is, if it is deemed virtuous to live according to natural inclinations, which are good and real, any community which is perceived as living in such a state, or at least closer to that state than the observer, may be perceived as virtuous to this outside observer. This virtuous community may then be exemplified as an answer to any dissatisfaction which such an observer may feel towards their own contemporary society.

The Stoic philosophy emphasises that humanity innately desires to adhere to 'Natural Law', and the philosophical concept of Natural Law developed out of a desire to understand the correct way to live. That to live a virtuous life, or to strive to become virtuous, required living according to these appreciated values which are described by Cicero as living according to a discernible 'right reason'. In addition, it appears that it was also understood that a virtuous existence was also a harmonious one and that such a life could be achieved by living as close to Nature as possible, thereby creating a structural association between Nature and the beneficial concepts of Virtue and Harmony. This relationship was accentuated by its presentation in Stoic philosophy, but also, through the influence of Stoicism, in early Christian theology. These interconnected strands then developed as one of the foundation pillars of western thought. This initial understanding was reinforced through time in the development of these strands by successive generations of scholars. Of course, this was but one of the fluctuating strands of Western thought although it may have appeared especially inviting in times of social crisis, such as the crisis brought about in Europe during the late 18th and into the 19th centuries. While this period appears to have been a time of crisis, or reaction, it also appears that the triggers were not the same in each of the areas affected. In some areas the triggers appear to have had a strong cultural connotation while, in others, they may have had a political or even an economic significance. Although there does appear to have been an important level of cross-influence between each area as solutions, which may have had strong similarities, to the perceived difficulties were sought.

Thus it can be shown that the Primitivism inherent in the Stoic philosophy, and also in the original theology of the Christian church, is one of the foundation pillars of western civilisation. Furthermore, that the concept of Primitivism alluded to in the theory of 'Natural Law' remained prominent in academic and legal circles throughout recorded history. For these reasons these combined strands of thought could be said to continue to buttress western civilisation. Because of this even, in communities not directly associated with these learned spheres, the appeal of Primitivism may have remained latent within human society. At times of crisis this latent belief, or desire, could again rise to the surface, provided there was sufficient opportunity to give expression to it. Indeed, due to the longevity of this belief, it may even be perceived as a return to the correct path. Such a period of crisis may have been the result of the social upheavals and the cultural disconnect created by the Industrial Revolution and the accompanying philosophy of Rationalism. This in time led to a reaction, initially in what has been referred to as the Counter-Enlightenment and later, due to the artistic efforts which it promoted, became known as the Romantic Movement.

5.4. Counter Enlightenment and Romanticism

5.4.1. Introduction

The late 18th century appears to have been one of these noted crisis points in significant areas of Europe. It should be noted that within different regions differing crises were perceived. In some, these were felt to be political in origin, whereas, in others resulting from cultural influences, and in still others the outcome of economic forces. For example, in the assortment of German speaking states a simmering dissatisfaction with French cultural influence developed into a reactionary movement with ultimate political aims. One of the directing forces behind this movement was the poet, linguist and Lutheran minister, Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), whose poetic, linguistic and political philosophies may be encapsulated in the line from his poem 'To the Germans' – *'An die Deutchen'* – where he entreats his comrades to 'Speak German, Oh you German' (*ibid.* 1881). Born in East Prussia in humble circumstances, in 1762, Herder enrolled at Konigsberg University and shortly afterwards abandoned his medical studies to become a disciple of Emmanuel Kant (1724 – 1804).

5.4.2. Kant

It has been claimed that Kant himself was influenced by the Stoics and that this can be clearly seen throughout his works. If this is the case, he also seems to have understood the idealised position of their goals and the difficulty, if not impossibility, of realisation. For in his most renowned work, *The Critique of Pure Reason*, published in 1761, Kant observes that:

> 'Virtue and wisdom in their perfect purity are ideas. But the wise man of the Stoics is an ideal, that is to say, a human being existing only in thought and in complete conformity with the idea of wisdom. As the idea provides a rule, so the ideal serves as an archetype for the perfect and complete determination of the copy. Thus the conduct of this wise and divine man serves us as a standard of action, with which we may compare and judge ourselves, which may help us to reform ourselves, although the perfection it demands can never be attained by us.' (Book II, Cap. III, Sec. I).

In conjunction with this line of reasoning, his pupil, Herder, was noted to have attended lectures in which the Stoics were criticised because of this idealism which was portrayed as being, in the majority of cases, unattainable.

In another apparent paradox, Kant seems to also have been, initially at least, heavily influenced by the French philosopher, Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712 – 1778). Rousseau was a citizen of the city state of Geneva, but initially moved to Paris in 1742 and returned there in 1745 after two years at the French embassy in Venice. There he achieved an initial success and integrated himself into the salons of the capital. However, a growing dissatisfaction with the atheistic and materialistic drift of the '*philosophes*', and perhaps a personal or philosophical disposition towards reclusiveness, led Rousseau to react against this prevailing fashion. His own development may be said to favour the heart over the head and attempt to reverse the trend which saw humankind as consisting of soulless automatons. Although, he may have had some difficulty in practicing what he preached, for each of his five children were placed in the Paris foundling hospital shortly after their birth, which was 'an almost certain sentence of death in eighteenth century France' (SEP 2017). Rousseau's critical attitude towards contemporary society can be read in a paper translated as, *What is the Origin of Inequality among Men and is it authorised by Natural Law*, which he submitted to the Academy of Dijon in 1754. Throughout this paper Rousseau praises the idea of natural man in his primeval state. In fact, he prefaces his address with a quotation from Aristotle, counselling against accepting depraved

conditions as natural, instead of those which are 'ordered according to nature' (*Politics*, Book I, Cap. V).

5.4.3 Rousseau

Rousseau reinforces this initial declaration throughout this work in praising humanity in its almost primeval state and also heavily criticising contemporary ways of living. For example, he articulates how humanity developed into this ideal state through an ongoing struggle with climate and competition with wild beasts and other difficulties inherent in such a natural state (Rousseau 1754). Rousseau also states how these advantageous developments were reinforced through inheritance and furthermore by continual exposure to the aforementioned difficulties which continued to strengthen them to the point where they 'would thus acquire all the vigour of which the human frame is capable' (*ibid.*). To contrast this ideal natural state, Rousseau highlights what he feels to be the major defaults of his own time, *i.e.* inequality and want, along with their counterpoints indulgence and excess (*ibid.*). This paper appears to highlight Rousseau's philosophical development by reference to a, perhaps latent, sense of Primitivism as a reaction against contemporary society. This is a conclusion also advanced by Garrard (2003, 115), who referred to the belief also expressed in Rousseau's paper that the commencement of a society exhibits desirable conditions for human fulfilment and from then onwards 'the history of such societies is one of irreversible decline'.

It is possible, however, that the development of this line of reasoning is also a result of Rousseau's discontent with the *beau monde* of the French capital. In addition, perhaps Rousseau may have also been aware of the impracticability of the suggestions contained within this work. Perhaps it is this realisation which may have focused his mind on the emotional experience rather than any analytical examination. This approach was similar to that of Seneca, who could portray himself as prepared, if called upon, to live the true life of the Stoic, but who was also aware that this was an unlikely eventuality. So could Rousseau console himself that that at least emotionally, or even spiritually, he was seeking to follow this path, without ever having to experience any associated physical inconvenience? Once this leap of faith had been successfully achieved, and because the empathy which the individual shows for others is tempered by their own experience, it may then have been a simple matter to extoll the virtue of this idealised nature of humanity and to promote the notion that those communities who remained attached to tradition were to some degree more 'real'.

Nevertheless, apparently it was this view of society and the desire to maintain a distance from it, and from humanity in general, which most attracted Kant to the work of Rousseau (Cassirer 1963, 9-10). The strength of Rousseau's influence on Kant makes it reasonable to assume that it was by this process that Herder became introduced to his teachings. Following such an introduction these pupils were then free to investigate and adapt these ideas to their own needs and desires. It bears repeating that in spite of any stated aim to search for truth dispassionately, it is a rare scholar who can even approach a task in such a manner. Rather, each individual is predisposed to find certain avenues of research attractive due to their own personal experience, but also because of latent ideas which permeate society. In such a way, although Herder may have been influenced by the work of Rousseau, it is likely that such influence would have been tempered by his ongoing intellectual development. For instance, it has been noted that the twin strands of Primitivism are evident in the work of Herder.

5.4.4. Herder

Reed (1965, 553) remarked that within these works can be perceived 'a particular nostalgia for the so-called Golden Age' of humanity. Also that while one of his earlier works displayed 'distinct echoes of Rousseau's *Emile*', he was also critical of Rousseau because of a perceived lack of intellectual rigour (*ibid,* 553-4). Nevertheless, Herder himself emphasised throughout his own work the desirability of emotional experience approaching the Natural rather than methodical analytical examination. This desire was likely to have been reinforced by another major influence upon his intellectual development, for during his sojourn at Konigsberg, Herder also developed a lasting friendship with a scholar who may be perceived as the polar opposite of his initial mentor Kant. This philosopher, who also emphasised the appeal of the revelatory experience, was Johann Georg Hamann (1730 – 1788). His influence on the intellectual development of Herder was of great importance to the wider *Sturm und Drang* movement and, later, to Romanticism (Smith 1960, 33). Indeed, a concept of anti-rationalism could be said to be a defining feature of this latter movement which laid an emphasis on, subjective, emotional and sensory experience. In addition, this initial influence had a wider significance in the developing fields of linguistics, ethnology and folklore.

5.4.5. Hamann

Johan Georg Hamann was, fortuitously, also born in Konigsberg, in 1730. He was born into a family who were influenced by the Pietism movement within the Lutheran church. This movement sought to re-invigorate the Lutheran faith through an emphasis on spiritual renewal and rebirth, something which may have had far reaching consequences in Hamann's personal life. From the age of sixteen he attended University but left in 1752, without achieving a degree, to take up the role of a private tutor (*ibid,* 28). Several years later he took up a position in the family business of a friend. And it was from here that he was sent to London, in April 1757, on an apparently sensitive diplomatic mission involving trade negotiations. While there, Hamann experienced a spiritual crisis, perhaps as a result of the failure of his mission (Haynes 2007, viii). This resulted in him fervently embracing the Christian faith of his childhood, which, it bears repeating, contained at that time a strong emphasis on rebirth. Of course, a wider significance of such a rebirth is the complete casting off of older beliefs and practices, and perhaps this was an influence in Hamann which completely altered his philosophical approach from that of his contemporaries.

Hamann sought to distance himself from the Enlightenment philosophy with its emphasis on the search for truth through reason and enquiry and to move towards an idea of approaching truth through faith and revelation. However, this change was not fully accepted by his friends who enlisted the assistance of Kant in an attempt to entice Hamann back to, what they saw, as his senses (Smith 1960, 29). Regardless, Hamann declined these enticements and fully embraced this new philosophical direction and developed an intellectual style which appears to have involved composing the majority of his work as a response to that of others. His refusal to engage with his contemporaries may stem from his impression of 'the man of reason "as snoring in a deep slumber", as "a dreamer"' and that to engage with a person in such a state was a futile exercise (O'Flaherty 1988, 42). Further offers of employment or patronage were also declined by Hamann, perhaps again proof of his headstrong determination to follow this new path. This independence did allow him to stay in Konigsberg where he made the important acquaintance of Herder. Because Hamann's intellect seems to have developed in conjunction with that of others, even if in opposition, a close proximity to Kant must also surely have been of benefit.

The stimulation provided by Kant is perhaps evident in one of the later of Hamann's works. *The Metacritique on the Purism of Reason* was completed in 1784. However, it was

withheld by Hamann from publication out of respect for Kant and only published posthumously in 1800. In this text Hamann is critical of what he sees as the 'failed attempt to make reason independent of all tradition and custom and belief in them' (*ibid.* cf. Haynes 2007, 207). The prime motivation of this critique is the desire by Hamann to counter what he felt to be anti-religious bias. This was likely another result of his own damascene conversion, but also because he apparently felt the necessity of a spiritual component in life. As O'Flaherty (1988, 28) argues, Hamann's view was to be a 'whole man, then to be concerned with life in its concrete fullness, [meant] to know in a certain way'. It might be argued, however, that the evolution in philosophical thinking of Hamann did not involve a completely new departure. Rather that, as suggested above, because it was organised in opposition to the prevailing ideology of his milieu, Hamann's search may have been attracted to elements of an opposing ideology.

This choice could have been influenced by a latent appeal of one, or more, of the strands which comprised Western thought. For example, the appeal of Primitivism may be perceived in some of the linguistic works of Hamann, in particular in *Aesthetica in Nuce* (1762), wherein he writes that

> 'Poetry is the mother-tongue of the human race; even as the garden is older than the ploughed field, painting than script; as song is more ancient than declamation; parables older than reasoning; barter than trade'

The position poetry held in Hamann's esteem can be seen in the importance he allocated to characteristics that it shared with 'the language of intuitive reason' to which it would have facilitated access (O'Flaherty 1988, 86). So the correlation may be constructed that to best access reason intuitively it was necessary to return to the language of the past and because in his linguistic philosophy language controlled access to the thought processes of the past, or at least towards the most undeveloped.

5.4.6. Romanticism

This attraction to Primitivism is also evident in Herder's approach to the study of language. He apparently turned to the study of language so as to, by examining the 'earliest available records, and travellers accounts of encounters with 'existing primitives', bolster his own ideological position (Clark 1947, 648). Through this endeavour he was drawn to the works of

James McPherson concerning the tales of Ossian, which were purported to be the work of a 3rd century Scottish scribe. Herder received a copy of this work in 1768, following the publication of a translation, by Michael Denis, in Vienna (*ibid,* 657). It is Clark's contention that not only was the text of the poems influential on Herder, but equally so were the notes on the text contributed by the Italian, Melchiorre Cesarotti. For it was through these notes that he became aware of the work of Giambattista Vico, the folklorist. The cross influence between these three scholars can be observed in their understanding that 'the age of absolutism and advanced philosophy – the age of abstraction – is pregnant with omens of disaster to come. Decadence quickly sets in' (*ibid,* 667). This notion is remarkably similar to that previously addressed in the various creation mythologies. That is, that humanity had fallen from its ideal state and a dreaded development was the arrival of a cataclysmic solution.

Further evidence of the strong influence of Cesarotti, and through him of Vico, on Herder's intellectual development is evident in his reference to Cesarotti in 1769, but also again 20 years later. Perhaps an initial influence could have become crystallised in the mind of Herder because of the circumstances in which he made their acquaintance. It is claimed that he read the Ossianic tales while aground on a ship off the coast of Holland. This had occurred during a storm and the ship was in danger of breaking apart (*ibid,* 669). This was likely to have been a singular experience which surely had the potential to sharply focus the mind. Moreover, it is further claimed that the copy of the tales which he read on that occasion was indeed the translation by Denis, which contained Cesarotti's notes. The above mentioned, shared, concept of the Ages of Man also found resonance in Herder's attitude towards the development of language (Reed 1965, 555). In Herder's own work these divisions are highlighted as: Childhood, corresponding to fright, fear and then wonder; Youth, which is described as the age of poetry, and Adulthood, which is the age of prose, whereas, Old Age is dismissed as the philosophical age.

Herder, following Hamann's lead, also felt that poetry was the highest cultural expression of language. Therefore, this organisation indicates that he felt that the most desirable conditions existed during people's Youth and, of course, this again can be seen as a direct reference to Primitivism. Furthermore, an explanation was also constructed to explain why members of a language group would sometimes exhibit differences. Herder argues that in certain conditions these members may correspond to a group within a civilisation which displays characteristics of not having been corrupted by that civilisation, or indeed of an arrested development (*ibid.*). Taking into account the deep-seated influence of Primitivism in

Herder's work, it requires no stretch of the imagination to conclude that such a group would be held in esteem. Even though Herder becomes estranged from Kant and Rousseau, he maintained an interest in the theories of Hamann and continued to defend the Ossian tales, even after serious questions have been raised concerning their authenticity. The widespread popularity of these tales allowed the latent strand of Primitivism to again rise to the surface.

5.5. Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to emphasise the pervasive nature of Primitivism within Western society and to emphasise the longevity of this ideology. The two strands of Primitivism promote the ideas that 'things were better in the past' and that 'the best life is a life close to nature'. Elements of this philosophy are present in some of the earliest available writings. These writings influenced later works, in particular the Bible, that had, in their own right, a profound influence on Western thought. The notion of ethics or 'right living' has been one of the main preoccupations within the discipline of Philosophy. The concern with ethics informed the work of major Classical scholars and led to the formation of complete philosophical ideologies, such as Stoicism. Quite apart from the aforementioned mythological influences, the ideas of the Stoics deeply informed early Christianity and accompanied the growth of this religion as it spread throughout the Western world. The combined influence of the Bible and Stoicism can be seen in the work of such later scholars as Augustine and especially Aquinas.

Over time the influence of Primitivism became deeply embedded in society so as to form a perhaps subliminal foundational element in secular philosophies. The reactionary appeal of a life lived according to the tenets of Primitivism has influenced the development of movements such as Romanticism. Although, it should, perhaps, be no surprise that the influential thinkers from the early period of this movement should be religious people. The rise of this movement was bolstered by widespread dissatisfaction with parts of Western society, the solution to which was felt to require a return to the original 'state of grace'. The continued evolution of this strand of philosophy may have drawn upon, and in turn strengthened, this underlying element of Primitivism. This notion has, individually, influenced the religious, philosophical and political spheres of Western thought. As each of these strands has also influenced the others, this may have served to multiply the influence of comparable elements within each strand, such as Primitivism, within wider society. The pervasive nature

and longevity of the notion of Primitivism has meant that it is so deeply embedded within society, as to appear a logical or 'common-sense' approach to life. So deeply embedded within society is this ideology that exposure to teachings that emphasise Primitivism may then be felt to offer an appealing approach to life and be accepted without question.

The main appeal of Primitivism is that it offers a solution to perceived difficulties within Western society. It is surely contradictory that the appeal of Primitivism increases as society distances itself from this original idealised state, and therefore as it becomes more difficult to attain. The difficulties associated with returning to this 'state of grace' has not lessened the appeal of Primitivism. Attempts have been made, particularly by the Romantics and modern Neo-Romantics, to overcome these contradictions. Attempts were often made, by those who had no intention of relinquishing their accumulated wealth or position in society, to associate with, or at least to take an interest in, those individuals or communities whose lives were perceived to most closely represent this original state. These attempts at fraternisation included the collection of the tales and superstitions of these peasant communities. This allowed armchair adventurers to satisfy their appetite for Primitivism. From this initial Romantic reactionary interest, the discipline of folklore developed. This led to the realisation of the richness of the interior life of the common people and that this was worth study in its own sake. The collection and preservation of this knowledge was promoted as it offered an insight into this world. These efforts at preservation were accelerated once it was realised that such knowledge was in danger of being lost for ever, with the passing of older generations. The collection of Irish folklore has recorded multiple stories associated with ringforts and it is this development that will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 6: PRIMITIVISM AND POPULAR TRADITION: FOLKLORE AND RINGFORTS.

6.1. Introduction

The preceding chapter has established the theoretical underpinning of the ideology of Primitivism. It has attempted to show how prevalent this philosophy is within Western society and how it has influenced the development of Western thought. A consequence of this philosophy was an increased focus, by outsiders initially, on the lives of the common people. One of the benefits of such an interest was that it provided an insight into the lives of a section of society that were often ignored. It was fortuitous that this interest continued into the modern period when the lives of this section of society were changing rapidly, as this facilitated the collection and preservation of their popular traditions. Multiple stories were recorded in the Irish folklore collections concerning how this group viewed and interacted with the world they occupied as well as how they viewed archaeological monuments in their landscapes, including ringforts. This chapter will examine the development of the discipline of folklore and in particular evidence within Irish folklore collections of the relationship between the common people and ringforts.

6.2. Popular 'Antiquarianism'

6.2.1. The Brothers Grimm

Following a turbulent, almost fairy tale, upbringing, both of the Brothers Grimm studied at the University of Marburg. There their intellectual potential drew them to the attention of the Professor of Law, Frederick K. von Savigny. This legal scholar developed the theory that a proper understanding of the 'spirit of a law' could only be gained through an examination of the language and customs of the originating community (Zipes 1989, 4). This stoked the interest of the Grimm brothers and during the period between 1806 and 1810, a commission from their friend and fellow member of the Marburg Circle, Clemens Brentano, provided the opportunity for them to collect folksongs and folktales. They continued this activity and from 1811 onwards they began to publish the material. The initial publication was a collection of Old Danish songs gathered by Jacob Grimm. The following year, however, saw the publication

of the first volume of their most famous work, *Kinder – und Hausmarchen* or Children's and Household Tales.

While the publication of these tales may have had a financial aspect, it also bolstered the Grimm's political and cultural aspirations in relation to the re-unification of the German speaking peoples. They saw in these tales an opportunity to highlight a cultural compatibility, due to a shared language and the shared customs and traditions. In other words, that language offered an insight into the soul of a people. Furthermore, both the brothers apparently regarded their work as 'part of a social effort to foster a sense of justice … and to create pride in folk tradition' (*ibid,* 23). As the popularity of their publications grew the brothers expanded the focus of their research and continued to publish works on German folktales and legends. They even included in their focus works which were printed abroad. In 1826, they published a work entitled *Irische land – und seemarchen* (Irish Elftales). This was in fact a translation of a work by the Irish antiquarian, Thomas Crofton-Croker, which was originally named *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*.

6.2.2. Irish Antiquarians

Crofton-Croker was born in 1798 in Cork (Rockley 2000). During his youth he travelled around the southern part of the country collecting what were then referred to as 'popular antiquities'. In 1818, he moved to London where he procured a situation in the Admiralty as a clerk. However, he continued to return to Ireland regularly to gather material to satisfy the demand for these types of tales. In his published works he appears to have used both the words Rath and Fort to denote these monuments when addressing the associated folklore. For example, in the story, Master and Man, contained within *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, he refers on several occasions to a fort and when addressing its location uses the phrase 'Fort-field' (Croker 1828, 85-93). Further onwards in the same collection, in a story entitled Diarmid Bawn the Piper, in which a local man recounts a story, reference is made to 'the old fort' on several occasions (*ibid,* 243-8).

In an earlier work, *Researches in the South of Ireland*, Croker devotes a chapter to the idea of 'Fairies and Supernatural Agency'. In this chapter, he remarks upon 'the circular intrenchments and barrows, known by the name of Danish Forts' and points out how 'to dig, or plough up a rath or fort' is considered to bring with it serious misfortune to the perpetrator (*ibid.* 1824, 80). This tales contains the interesting, albeit incidental, information of some of

the methods which were used during this period to demolish ringforts, as the inclusion of the words 'dig' and 'plough' indicate. Also, while it emphasises the misfortune attendant on such a course of action, these words also demonstrate the fact that demolition did take place. This story also highlights how for Croker the two words, 'Fort' and 'Rath', are interchangeable and that for him one is seen as the direct translation of the Irish term for these sites. Of course this does not take into account the different meanings associated with each individual word and shows that the diverse meanings associated with the word 'Fort' are in such a manner transplanted onto the Irish word 'Rath'.

Croker (1835, 350-2) provides an indication of how these words are used in a wider context in an article published in the *Dublin Penny Journal*. This consists of an account of some souterrains which Croker had earlier visited on one of his return visits to Ireland. He remarks that the local people, when referring to ringforts in Irish, use the words 'rath' or 'lis' indiscriminately, and when speaking in English use the phrases 'the Danes' Fort' or 'the old Fort' (*ibid,* 351). Croker continues to describe the traditions which associate these sites to the Danes, but concluded that it was his belief that 'these works were thrown up by the native Irish around their wigwam settlements, as a defence against any sudden attack' (ibid). However, he again cautions that they are now, in the people's minds, regarded as the habitations of the '*sheoges*' or 'good people' (the fairies) and the widespread belief of potential misfortune for disturbing them (*ibid.*).

This notion is again stressed in a dedicatory letter which Croker prefaces the third volume of *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland* (1828). In this letter addressed to Wilhelm Grimm, the Irish word *Sidhe*, and its derivatives '*Sia, sigh, sigheann, Siabhra, siachane, siogidh*', are noted as 'spring from a common root' and are used to 'express a fairy or goblin, and even a hag or witch' (*ibid,* xx-xxi). He bolsters this interpretation with reference to O'Flaherty's Ogygia, wherein Sidhe are referred to as:

> 'aerial spirits or phantoms because they are seen to come out of pleasant hills, where the common people imagine they reside, which fictitious habitations are called by us, Sidhe or Siodha' (Hely 1793, Vol. II, Part III, Cap. XXII).

This attempt at transmitting the understanding of *sidhe* by translating the term to mean 'fairy', 'goblin' or 'aerial spirit', for example, demonstrates how the originally understood meaning has become totally transformed through comparison to external influences. This word, which initially had a specific mythological association with the dwellings of the *Tuatha Dé Danaan*,

who themselves became *Aos Sidhe*, or the 'people of the mounds', had become transformed, perhaps organically over time, or perhaps rapidly with a direct comparison to folkloric entities from different cultural settings.

6.2.3. Romantic Appeal

Initially, the information concerning ringforts and their folklore seems have been gathered by Croker because of purely antiquarian interest (Ó Danachair 1979, 31). Perhaps, however, through the contacts which he had made, it did not take long for the potential political and cultural benefits of these tales to become apparent to interested English and Anglo-Irish parties. The appeal of the 'Ossian' tales is that their naturalistic content and 'lack of specificity' allows any reader to recreate an impression of it in their own likeness. This removes from the reader the obligation to adapt or conform to the contents of the poem. It is rather the poem which can be transformed and adapted to the taste of the reader in the drawing-rooms of London and Dublin. Another approach to following a particular philosophy, such as Romanticism, is to live vicariously through the experience of others, or perhaps to adapt the trappings of those who are perceived to still live in a state of nature, or at least closer to this state than the observer. However, the culture of such a group would also need to be recognisable as broadly similar to that of the observer for the latter to gain the full benefit. It may be argued that the Irish people of the 18th and 19th centuries offered a perfect case in point to the Anglo-Saxon mind.

Not only does this sense of idealism underpin western society, but this aspiration also contains a tacit acceptance that for the majority it will remain unattainable. Perhaps to some degree this acceptance has been normalised and integrated into society as a sufficient response to this aspiration. This unattainability excuses individuals from even attempting to pursue this path. The notion of the ideal and its close association with the unattainable colours the path and may even prevent those who earnestly wish to attempt it from doing so because the two are so closely intertwined. On the other hand, this association may paradoxically encourage those who wish to strive towards the ideal in a superficial manner, or who wish to portray a declaration of intent as sufficient. For the inherent difficulty of pursuing such an aim may then serve to camouflage the fact that little or no effort is actually being made.

6.3. Folklore and Irish Popular Tradition

6.3.1. Introduction

From the beginning, with the efforts of Herder and the brothers Grimm, for example, the interest in the traditional worldview was influenced by wider concerns than simple scholarship. It was used by the early German folklorists, as previously mentioned, as a way to promote an interest in the German language itself. The collection of this material was also undertaken in an attempt to create a sense of community and later a national identity and as a way of emphasising the differing national characteristics. It was believed that the different environments, both physical and cultural, led to the development of these differences. These folklorists do not appear to have been reticent in using other materials, which may have been collected as a result of purely antiquarian interest, to highlight their cause (Crofton-Croker 1828). Furthermore, the attraction of this method and its apparent results may also eventually have appeared to other communities, perhaps these self-same ones.

For example, in Ireland there seems to have developed a mission of using perceived cultural differences as a way to create and emphasise a sense of national identity. This would then have led to an increased interest in surviving traditional worldviews. One major benefit of this approach is that, regardless of the motivating factors, these collections were preserved from then onwards and were available for examination by succeeding scholars. One other point to note is that this tradition did not remain fixed and static, but was subject to outside influences throughout this time period and even earlier. As later examples, to be explored below, will indicate, the traditional worldview in Ireland may have undergone a decline comparable to the decline suffered by the learned classes. However, this subsequent outside interest did permit some of this information to be saved.

6.3.2. William Wilde

An example of one of the earliest of these culturally determinant collections can be seen in the work of William Wilde (1815-1876). In a collection of stories which it was claimed were gathered from his youth onwards, Wilde (1852, 26) clearly identifies himself throughout this work with the ordinary Irishman while fulminating against what he referred to as ‘the Gintry’ (meaning ‘the gentry’). At the same time, he indulges in the questionable practice of transliterating the speech of the ordinary people. This may have been, perhaps, to convey an

idea of their speech patterns, but, to a modern ear, it also gives the impression that these people struggled to speak at all. Nevertheless, there are several stories of great interest included in this collection and, as is often the case, the most pertinent information seems to be incidental to the main story. For example, Wilde includes a story, apparently dating from 1736, concerning a John Fitz James of Glinn. It recounts how, following his sudden death, two 'fairy-women' travelled from Killcloher in the west of county Clare to 'make battle with the fairies' in order to reclaim him (*ibid,* 122-3). These two women, a mother and daughter, then travelled to the abode of Cliodhna, the Fairy Queen of Munster, near Bweeng. It is then recorded that prior to commencing her struggle, one of the women 'tarred her clothes and rolled herself in feathers of various colours' (*ibid,* 123). In this act can be seen the symbolic transformation of the woman into a bird. Once this transformation had taken place the woman could then fly to the otherworld to confront the Fairy Queen.

6.3.3. Continuity of Belief

The religious historian, Mircea Eliade, claims that this practice of transformation into an animal is an almost universal component of shamanic practice worldwide. He also emphasises that the most common transformation is into a bird and that 'feathers are mentioned more or less everywhere in the description of shamanic costumes' (Eliade 1951, 156). This symbolic change is apparently not simply putting on a costume, for it has also been argued that 'taking on the part of an animal allows for the harnessing of animal effects and for adopting the animal's perspective' (Viveiros de Castro 1998, 478). Birds are especially favoured for they may also be perceived, in their natural state, as exhibiting liminal characteristics in being able cross between one environment and another, such as between the earth and the sky (Whitley 1994, 25). In addition, they fulfil the function of psychopomps in that 'becoming a bird oneself or being accompanied by a bird indicates the capacity, while still alive, to undertake the ecstatic journey to the sky and the beyond' (Eliade 1951, 98). Eliade then continues to highlight the widespread nature of this practice by referencing shamanic ritual throughout Siberia and further afield to countries such as Iran, India and the Americas.

The longevity of the belief in this ritual transformation can be seen in artefacts recovered from the site of Starr Carr in Yorkshire, England. Excavations at this site recovered a set of antlers which Clark (1954) imagined could have fulfilled a practical function as a hunting disguise or may have had a ritual function in perhaps a mimetic performance to ensure the

success of such a hunt. However, it has recently been subject to re-examination and the notion of appropriation of animal features has been put forward (Viveiros de Castro 1998). Furthermore, one of the most renowned sites of cave art, Lascaux caves, also highlights this belief in human transformation. An article by Kirchner (1952, 254) examines the famous scene of the 'Bird-headed man' and interprets the scene as representing:

> 'The shaman wearing a bird head mask has fallen into the deliberately induced faint; His body sinks to the ground, while his soul travels to the hereafter, which is well-understood by every connoisseur of shamanic phenomena'

Kirchner clarifies that he sees in this scene the representation of the symbolic death, and journey to the otherworld, attendant on shamanic rituals.

While Wilde (1852) refers to Cliodhna as the fairy queen of Munster, he later emphasises that she is considered one of the *Tuatha Dé Danaan*. As previously mentioned, in Irish mythology this was a race of previous inhabitants who were driven under-ground by the Milesians and who became known as the *Aos Sídhe*, and eventually simply the *Sídhe*. In this mythological tradition, the representation of birds also fulfils the important transcendent function of signalling the presence of any occurrence within the otherworld. For example, in the story *Compert Con Culainn*, which recounts the conception of *Cú Chulainn* and is considered to be a fore tale or *remscéla* to the *Táin*, (Kinsella 2002, 21-5), the presence a large flock of birds plays a prominent role in signalling the supernatural nature of the happenings recounted. In any event, however, it is impossible to say if the behaviour of the fairy woman in Wilde's story could represent an indigenous survival of shamanic practice or whether it may represent the reverse influence of local mythology. Nevertheless, once the longevity and distribution of this ritualistic transformation is taken into account it is difficult to imagine this as coincidence, and it is fascinating to think that such an activity should still occur in early 18th century Ireland.

6.3.4. Irish Examples

Wilde includes another story similar to this in his collection. This story dates from 1818 and refers again to the sudden death of a young woman and the appeal to fairy-women to retrieve her. This appeal was made, for it was felt to be an un-natural death at which several witnesses claimed to have experienced a 'fairy-wind' immediately prior to the death. For these reasons,

two fairy-women (Mary the Pet and Black Peg), for several days, 'kept up a constant but unavailing assault on a neighbouring rath or fort' (Wilde 1852, 127). Finally, after several days, her family were obliged to bury the corpse. But not believing her to be really dead, it disinterred the body three weeks later in the expectation of discovering some supernatural sign in place of the body. Needless to say, the family were unsuccessful in their quest. However, if these two tales are compared the case for a potential disintegration of popular beliefs over time may be contended.

In the former tale the Clare women performed the correct preparatory rituals and succeeded in contacting the otherworld inhabitants. The presence of the young man was confirmed, the mythological creatures proved sympathetic to their pleas but refused to return him. This entire ritual can be seen as having an important social function, in that its duration allowed the family enough time to come to terms with their loss as it could be argued that the young man was not definitively gone until the return of the women from their quest. Furthermore, even after its conclusion the family could still draw some comfort from the fact that the youth was still alive, albeit in a different realm. However, in the second tale no mention is made of any connection with the otherworld, or indeed of any specific ritual. Following these women's return the expectation of the family was that evidence of the woman's physical removal to the other realm would be apparent. In requiring proof, it seems in this case that the family had difficulty in accepting the outcome and that thus any potential for psychological relief was negated. Although caution must be used in deducing a consistent trend from such limited data, if similar stories from more recent times are examined, particularly the case of Bridget Cleary, they also appear to show a disintegration of traditional supernatural belief and its association with ring-forts.

The case referred to as 'the burning of Bridget Cleary' involves the murder of a young Tipperary woman by her husband, with the connivance of her own family, in 1895 (Bourke 1999). Apparently the family were convinced that the deceased was in fact a 'changeling' and the process which culminated in her burning was an effort to expel the fairy and effect the return of the young woman. That such a 'cure' was still being practiced at this late date might seem surprising. However, both Crofton-Croker (1828, vii-ix) and Wilde (1852, 28) also mention cases similar to this one. A related case is reported in The Folklore Journal, of June 1884, which contained a newspaper account taken from the Daily Telegraph that year concerning two women from Clonmel, Co. Tipperary, who were charged with cruelly injuring a three-year-old child. They were under the impression that the child was also a 'changeling',

left by the fairies following the abduction of the real infant, and, waiting until the mother was absent, they entered the house and placed the child on a red-hot shovel 'under the impression that this would break the charm' (Anon 1884, 190-1). In none of these cases does any attempt seem to have been to interact directly with the fairies, nor is mention made of any preparatory rituals, or indeed is there any sense of specialised, perhaps inherited, wisdom.

In the case of Bridget Cleary, it was supposed that, following her abduction, she had been transported to a nearby ringfort and her husband was heard to say that he and a group of others:

> 'would go for her on Sunday night, and that she would be on a grey horse and they would have to cut the cords – the cords that were tying her on the horse and that she would stay with them if they were able to keep her' (*ibid,* 16).

Apparently the group did go to the ringfort on the Sunday night, albeit perhaps not without misgivings, although there was no sign of a grey horse nor of Bridget Cleary. Again here there is no mention of interaction with the supposed supernatural inhabitants of the ringfort but the group were expected to rescue the abducted woman by force. This is in marked difference to the first story discussed above. This may then be an indication of the extent of the degeneration of popular belief over this time period.

The reasons for such a loss of traditional knowledge may be associated with the decline in use of the Irish language as well as the increasingly harsh existence for the Irish peasantry over the course of the 18th and 19th centuries. For example, the Gaelic word for the inhabitants of the Otherworld, *Sídhe*, may have contained nuanced meanings which are unlikely to have been fully transmitted following the adoption of the word 'Fairies' to describe them during the period of language change. Of course, it is dangerous to attempt to draw a definitive conclusion based on the handful of examples discussed above even if they offer an insight into the loss of popular tradition during this time period. Specifically, it is not fully understood how the concept of interaction with the supernatural changed over time and what implications this may have for the retention of knowledge within the wider field of folklore. In any case, this may be a topic worthy of further investigation elsewhere, especially now as some contemporary New-Age Movements, perhaps influenced by a sort of Neo-Romantic primitivism, appear to believe that such recorded traditions may be used in order to access an unsullied Utopian past.

6.3.5. Patrick Kennedy

Perhaps inspired by an understanding of the loss of such traditional knowledge or perhaps recognising the potential audience for such tales, other scholars set about gathering folklore in Ireland. One of these, Patrick Kennedy from Wexford, was a prolific collector. The stories he collected concerning human interaction with the supernatural again emphasised the common themes of the 'taking' of individuals by the 'fairies'. His works, however, do contain snippets of information pertinent to this project. A collection of his, entitled *Fictions of the Irish Celts* (1866), contains the story 'The Palace in the Rath'. A footnote within this text describes this monument as a 'small circular meadow surrounded by a mound overgrown with furze-bushes, the remains of the earthen fort of one of the small chiefs of old days' and, more importantly, he declares that 'they are erroneously called "Danes' Forts"' (*ibid,* n.100). Furthermore, Kennedy also modified the speech of his respondents, although he was quite clear in that this was done for the benefit of his prospective audience.

In an earlier work, *Legends of Mount Leinster* (1855), published under the pseudonym of Henry Whitney, Kennedy notes that he sparingly substitutes some of the words which the locals use in their stories. For example, 'means' is transformed into 'manes'; whereas, 'water' becomes 'wather' and 'roll' is pronounced 'rowls'. However, he emphasises that this is for the benefit of 'Mr. John and Mrs. Bull, and their numerous children' (*ibid,* n. 95). The account given in the first of these tales concerning ringforts indicates that the correct knowledge of their origin and function was available, by this stage, to local storytellers. Furthermore, the inclusion of the dismissal of a connection with the Danes in a collection of stories primarily focused on the English market then brought this information to the attention of a wider audience and may have, in some way, contributed to the demise of this supposition.

6.3.6. Jeremiah Curtin

The widespread dissemination of these stories brought them to the attention of scholars from even further afield. One of the most intriguing of these, at the close of the 19th century, was the Irish-American linguist, Jeremiah Curtin (1838-1906). Curtin was born in Detroit, Michigan, of Irish parents and after a childhood spent in rural Wisconsin he enrolled at Harvard University in 1859. Here he developed further his strong interest in languages, as he gained greater expertise in Greek and Latin, and attended courses in German, Spanish, Italian and French. Independently, he began to study Icelandic, Swedish, Danish and Finnish and by the

time he had left college had developed a proficiency in Russian and Gaelic (Segel 1965, 190). In 1883, he accepted a position at the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institute in Washington. During his time at the bureau he became competent in about a dozen Indian languages (*ibid,* 192). And in 1887, his wife and he visited Ireland for the first time with the intention of gathering folk-tales and mythology.

He states in his memoirs that he 'felt that the best approach to the oldest thought range of any people was through the oldest of their folk-tales' and also that 'these, to one knowing the language, might be derived from the least modified survivors of the given people's primitive society' (Curtin 1940, 29). This hints at the important influence of Primitivism in his research and in the wider field of Ethnology. A further indication of the motivation of primitivism is presented further on in his work where he admits to believing the theory that popular tradition represented the survival of ancient knowledge in claiming: 'that there was a great stack of myths current among the people of Ireland, as well as many of that class of facts which throw light on the history of the human mind' (*ibid,* 385). Upon arriving in Ireland, the Curtin's visited the south of the country in search of mythological tales. Jeremiah recounts a tale he had heard from a Limerick man, called O'Connor, concerning the destruction of a ringfort and the resulting illness and death of the perpetrator. As a footnote to this tale Curtin remarks that 'fairy forts are circular earthworks found here and there throughout Ireland. Probably they are of Druidic origin' (*ibid,* n.393).

On their second visit to Ireland, from 1891 to 1893, the Curtins met a Maurice Fitzgerald who rented them the upper floor of his house on Ventry strand, near Dingle in Co. Kerry. It is here that Curtin appears to have gathered the majority of the stories contained in *Tales of the Fairies and of the Ghost World* (1895). Fitzgerald confided in him that in his own youth:

> 'nine men in ten believed in fairies, and said so; now only one man in ten will say that he believes in them. If one of the nine believes, he will not tell you; he will keep his mind to himself' (Curtin 1895, 2).

The Curtin's later spent several months in Cahersiveen collecting tales that he referred to as 'survivals of Druidism or of a more remote period' (Curtin 1940, 468). They later returned to Ireland for a third visit in 1899. While again in Cahersiveen he attempted to organise a 'school prize' for the pupil who spoke the best Gaelic. However, the local people were not receptive and even the local Canon is noted as being 'unenthusiastic' about becoming involved in the project (*ibid,* 764). This apparent decline in interest in the Irish language on the part of the

locals was perhaps a result of an association between the speaking of the language and backwardness which had become more pronounced following the crisis of the late 1840's. A flood of emigration over the following decades also encouraged the uptake of an international language. Furthermore, a direct connection can be made between the decline in Gaelic speaking and a further degeneration in the traditional beliefs previously expressed in that tongue and which, perhaps, which could only be fully expressed in such a manner. As a result, the Curtin's appear to have been conscious of their mission in saving as many of these stories as was possible. For instance, on leaving Cahersiveen for the second time, Jeremiah noted that he was glad to leave but that he had accomplished some fine work there and that he had 'saved from extinction many Gaelic myths' (*ibid,* 457).

6.3.7. Séamus Ó Duilearga

This mission to salvage as much as possible of the traditional beliefs also found a resonance with Irish scholars at this time. The most influential of these was, undoubtedly, a man from the north of Ireland, James Hamilton Delargy or rather *Séamus O Duilearga*. He was born in Cushendall, Co. Antrim, but left there as a young boy. An account he gives, almost seventy years later, highlights the effect that this still had on him. He recounts to T. K. Whitaker (1981, 101) his awareness, as the 'long car' left, of the past he was leaving behind. It was in these glens also that he heard his first folktale from the village barber. Because of his uneasiness at receiving a haircut a bargain was made that in exchange for sitting quietly he would be told a story. This successful ruse was continued and at each haircut he was told a new story. This is perhaps a utopian perception of the past, but he admits that it was this which motivated him to attempt to preserve these tales. Ó Duilearga began his university studies at UCD in 1917 and following the award of an MA degree in 1923 was employed as an assistant to Douglas Hyde in the Department of Modern Irish there (Briody 2007, 83).

During his studies a passionate interest in the Gaelic language led him to travel to the Aran Islands and Donegal, as well as the Hebrides. In addition, he also often returned to the Glens of Antrim in search of the last Gaelic speakers in the area. It was on one of these return trips that he recorded his first folktale in a school copy book (Whitaker 1981, 103). He continued to collect folklore from his home area but it was a fortuitous decision to travel to southwest Munster, specifically to Ballinskelligs in the county of Kerry, which allowed him to perfect this skill and eventually make himself an internationally respected folklorist. For it was

here that he met one of the last of the great storytellers, Séan Ó Conaill. Briody (2007, 86) claims that this relationship inspired Ó Duilearga in a quest to preserve not just Séan Ó Conaill's tales but the folklore of 'a whole people'. A chance, or fated, encounter with the pioneering Swedish folklorist, Carl Wilhelm von Sydow (1878 – 1952), resulted in Ó Duilearga being granted a stipend to study folklore in Sweden. During this trip he further honed his skills and forged important relationships which would have a positive future impact on folklore collecting in Ireland (*ibid,* 89). Indeed, he seems by this time to have been imbued with an almost missionary zeal towards the collection and preservation of as much as possible of what remained of Irish folklore. For as he himself stated, on entering Dublin Bay at the end of this trip, he claims to have grasped that 'the tradition of Ireland is behind those hills and we've got to rescue it before it's trampled into the dirt' (Whitaker 1981, 101).

6.3.8. Folklore Society

It must be borne in mind that some considerable time had passed when this episode was related to Whitaker and so perhaps some allowance should be made for it being presented in the sense of an epiphany. For Ó Duilearga had a year earlier also emphasised the necessity of rescue in relation to Irish folklore. In his first editorial for the folklore journal, *Béaloideas* (1927, 4), he states that the object of the society is the:

> 'collection of the traditional folklore of Ireland, of which a considerable amount still remains unrecorded, and is fast being lost with the passing of the old people in all parts of the country'.

What is clear, however, is the degree to which Ó Duilearga was concerned at the rapid disappearance of the remaining traditional knowledge of Ireland and also that he accepted the challenge presented in its preservation. He gives further evidence of this drive in an interview quoted by Briody (2007, 108) in which he claims to have forcefully appraised Eamonn De Valera of the need to collect and preserve this cultural resource.

6.4. The Folkore Commission

6.4.1. Introduction

Such perseverance was rewarded when, 'on April 2nd, 1935, the first meeting of *Coimisiún Béaloideas Éireann* (Irish Folklore Commission) took place' (*ibid,* 132). Despite the vaunted aims of the newly established commission, it struggled from the beginning with a lack of resources. Only a handful of collectors could be employed. The endeavour was later described being reminiscent of a 'dozen farmers trying to cultivate the whole of a country' (Almqvist 1977, 9). In conjunction with this constraint, there was also a realisation that it was in the Irish speaking areas that the local tradition was most in danger, because of the strong association with the loss of the language itself. It is also likely that the new commission was influenced by cultural nationalism, itself heavily imbued with the principles of cultural primitivism. It may have been perceived that the chosen areas represented the true spirit of the Irish people. In any event, the focus of the collection was in the remaining *Gaeltacht* regions and particularly on the collection of the most distinguished element of Irish folklore, the long, multi-episodic folk-tales or *Marchen* (O'Sullivan 1957, 450).

6.4.2. Methodology

To facilitate the orderly collection and also any subsequent comparison of such collected data, in 1942, a guide, *A Handbook of Irish Folklore*, was published by the commission (Ó Súilleabháin 1970). In the foreword to this updated edition it is admitted that at the time of its initial publication, the commission had only 'eight full time collectors', whose work was supplemented by that of '40, or more' part time collectors (*ibid*, i). This practical field guide was divided into chapters which dealt with significant elements of traditional life: for example, 'Chapter X: Mythological Tradition' (*ibid*, xxvii). These chapters were divided into sections; for example, 'Fairy Places 465-470' and these sections were further divided into subsections like 'Fairy forts, 467' and 'Raths, 468' (*ibid,* xxvii-xxviii). Again, in Chapter XI, addressing 'Historical Tradition' and under the section dealing with 'Important Historical Events', could be found a subsection referring to 'the "Danes", 528' (*ibid,* xxix). Any fieldworker could then turn to the relevant page and find advice on how the expected information might be elicited from any respondent.

For example, in dealing with fairy forts the first question enquires 'by what names were these earth-works called locally (*lios, liosachán, ráth, dún, cillín,* moat, *sídheán*)?' Further onwards another question asks about the still current assumption that these forts were connected by underground passages (*ibid,* 468). As regards *Ráths*, it is suggested to ask whether this term was 'applied to any earth-works in your district' and also 'is there a difference between a rath and a fort or lios as far as popular terminology is concerned' (*ibid.*). Of course the phrasing of these questions highlights the fact that in at least some cases it was expected that such a difference would exist or had already been encountered. Finally, in referring to the Danes, the fieldworker is asked to ascertain if there were 'local lisses (forts), moats, castles, churches, graves or graveyards, roads, hollows, wells, fences, or stones associated with the "Danes"?' (*ibid,* 529). In addition to showing how the past is retained and represented throughout the country, this question provides an inclination of the degree to which the Danes had become assimilated into the popular worldview. If the initial creation of this belief can be traced to external, elite, interpretation – *e.g.* Cambrensis *et al.* – perhaps this may also highlight the rapidity with which such information can be absorbed into the host community and later exported outwards again. This gives an impression of the interplay between two communities which appear to have held two completely different ideas as regards the constructed landscape of Ireland. It might also give an indication of the importance of 'naming' such a landscape into existence.

6.4.3. Results

Even taking this important information into account, the most important work concerning the collection of folklore throughout the country must surely have been the organisation of the collection of local traditional knowledge through the Schools Collection of 1937-1938. This scheme involved organising the senior pupils in the participating schools, under the direction of their teacher, to question their family and neighbours on a weekly topic chosen from a booklet provided by the Commission (Briody 2007, 264). These stories would then be transcribed into the standard notebook supplied by the Department of Education to each school. It is claimed that the teacher would have chosen those pupils with the best handwriting for this work. In many instances this may have been the case, although personal research into local schools in the author's parish appears to indicate that the children of the local 'strong farmer' had a very high standard of handwriting. In any event, examination of these collections,

specifically in regards to the supernatural elements associated with ringforts, permits the organisation of three major themes.

These themes appear to be fairly consistent throughout the country. Firstly, the potential danger attendant on the destruction of, or interference with, these monuments. Secondly, tales concerning interactions between humans and the supernatural inhabitants of ringforts. And thirdly, the possibility of recovering buried treasure in and around these structures. One element which is almost universally present in these stories is the notion that souterrains were actually underground passages connecting, sometimes widely dispersed, ringforts. Indeed, this is a belief which is still common in many areas and sometimes the ringforts concerned may be several kilometres apart (D. & E. Healy, pers. comm.). Another story collected from the same area during the Schools Collection again emphasises this notion and furthermore that these were the work of the Danes, who 'in times of War … were able to hold communications with each other' (National Folklore Collection Schools 343: 350). As regards treasure, a story collected in Co. Roscommon recounts how the respondent's great-grandfather was made aware in a dream of the location of treasure buried in a ringfort and supposedly 'hidden in olden times by the Danes and guarded by the fairies'. The story concludes that this man and his accomplice became frightened and did not carry out the search for this treasure. (NFCS 249: 46).

Another example from Co. Kerry relates the story of how treasure, notably 'a cup of gold' was found at a ringfort. As is common in these stories this treasure was apparently found many years ago. Again the idea of underground passages connecting widely dispersed forts is mentioned (NFCS 440: 473). Finally, another example from Co. Mayo again associates the construction of these monuments with the Danes. The story also combines elements of initially differing interpretations in emphasising that they are now guarded by the fairies, and again emphasises the negative consequences of interfering with them (NFCS 148: 326). The presence within tales collected throughout the country of injunctions against destruction, and tales of dire consequences associated with such, emphasise that destruction did take place and indeed must have been widespread. In addition, some stories also contain relevant and interesting information concerning the methods and reasons of this destruction.

These accounts of destruction are recounted as incidental facts in support of the main story itself. However, an important component of any storytelling is that it must contain sufficient realistic material to suggest that the entire story might be true. And so, such mundane information may be taken as a reflection of actual activity which did occur. For instance, one

story from Co. Kerry relates how the majority of the ringforts in the district are now destroyed 'through ploughing' but curiously the story also refers to a man who fell sick and died from attempting to level one (NFCS 446: 326). It may be significant that other stories contain elements which suggest that it is was the first person to interfere with these structures who received the brunt of the effect. For example, one story collected, again, in Co. Kerry relates how the workmen engaged to level a ringfort refused to do so until the owner had removed the first sod. Any negative consequences were thus transferred to the owner and the men proceeded to level the fort. On a later occasion the owners pony died under him when passing the site of the fort (NFCS 405: 8). This development may have been a result of the attempt to reconcile the presence of social censure concerning the destruction of these monuments and that reality that the majority were in actual fact destroyed.

A final example from Kerry provides another insight into the causes for ringfort destruction. The story relates how this monument was levelled to provide road making materials because 'the government was giving a lot of money for stones' (NFCS 415: 186). Three men resolved to level the ringfort but when they had done so and received payment, they each sickened and suffered terribly, 'with thorns growing up through them' until they died. These stories are of interest because they provide evidence of some of the major infrastructural developments which led to the destruction of ringforts, either through agricultural improvements, as intimated in the first story, or by infrastructural development, as is clearly stated in the second.

These examples are but a fraction of the thousands of stories concerning ringforts which were assembled through the Schools Collection. However, they are included here to show the similarities which exist between widely dispersed geographical areas. These similarities highlight, firstly, the negative connotations of interference. Secondly, the cause of this dread, the universal association with the supernatural, and in some cases also with the Danes, although it might be suggested that in these tales the Danes have assumed a supernatural aspect themselves. And, thirdly, and again interlinked with the two previous themes, the prospect of discovering hidden treasure at these sites. However, and despite these injunctions, the stories also highlight the fact that destruction did take place and in some areas on quite a large scale.

6.5. Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter has provided an idea of the position which ringforts held within popular tradition of the Irish people over recent centuries. It explores how the mythological association described in the previous chapter was continued and adapted and that these monuments were felt to be the dwelling places of a supernatural race of beings. In the mindset of these people, any interaction with these beings appear to have quite frequently contained strong negative aspects and it was understood that dire consequences attended any human individual who interfered with ringforts. This even applied, in some cases, to those who simply travelled across, or who fell asleep near, a ringfort. However, there are also multiple examples of ringforts actually being destroyed, usually in the course of agricultural activity or as a result of infrastructural development. As such, the injunctions against the destruction of these monuments may have been a reaction of a people who were in fact powerless to prevent their actual destruction and could only reassure themselves that the perpetrators would indeed suffer, at some stage, for their actions. This interest might also indicate the necessity for such communities to have certain identifiable and fixed points-of-reference upon the landscape.

The supernatural beings, which were believed to inhabit ringforts, were best avoided because of these negative connotations. They were ascribed the power, and the willingness, to trick or injure those who crossed their path. In some cases, they even had the power to abduct young children as replacements, or young women as nurse maids, and to leave 'changelings' in their place. This notion could quite likely have served a psychological function in communities affected by high infant mortality rates, indeed high mortality rates in general, and where chronic unrelenting stress may have been induced by untreatable long term illness, injury, or disability. If this was the case it may also highlight that ringforts fulfilled a vital social function for these people despite, or rather perhaps because, of the negative associations which were attached to them. Indeed, it may be argued that their physical appearance would have facilitated such a perception because of the presence of a definable boundary which would contain any negative emotions within its interior.

This chapter has also highlighted how the position of the supernatural within society appears to have changed over time. Towards the beginning of the eighteenth century it seems that it was possible for some individuals to interact, whether on a symbolic or metaphysical level, with the Otherworld, particularly once the proper rituals and formulas had been observed. There may also have been an aspect that this ability was inherited. Once contact had been

made with the *Sídhe*, they are presented as being courteous but unobliging. This entire activity can be seen as also providing an important social function in providing solace to those who were bereaved. However, by the beginning of the 19th century the ritualised nature of such interaction appears to have been weakened, with no mention of any particular preparatory activity or, indeed, of any contact with the Otherworld. Moreover, the social aspect seems to have been completely overtaken by the supernatural and grotesque for there seems to be an expectation that some evidence of the supernatural workings would be evident after a certain time.

Furthermore, by the end of the 19th century the idea of any interaction with these beings seems to have disappeared, as has any specialised behaviour or knowledge. The recovery of someone abducted into the Otherworld appears to consist of little more than a counterabduction. This loss of traditional knowledge may not be surprising when the correlated loss of language is taken into account, for surely there must have been nuances of meaning which had accumulated over time in association to these mythological inhabitants of the Irish Otherworld. These may no longer have been fully transmitted following the adoption of a foreign language, particularly through the use of words which had their own amalgam of nuance and meaning for the original speakers of that language. In addition, the increasingly harsh social and economic influences on the living conditions of Irish people in general during this time period is likely to also have had a detrimental effect on the preservation and subsequent transmission of traditional knowledge.

Finally, this chapter has focused on how an outside interest in the popular worldview of the Irish people may have developed, an interest which seems to have been the product of a deeply embedded influence on how thought processes in western society evolved. This theory, which sought to attempt an understanding of the observed world, posited that contemporary society had degenerated from some illustrious Utopian past. However, this notion is also a strong component within western religious belief, and as a result had a widespread distribution which would in itself have reinforced any underlying beliefs. As such it is probable that all countries exposed to this philosophy would have incorporated it into their own worldview. This perception of the world could then be focused either on their own society or, perhaps more easily, on the society of others. For example, it may have been easier for outsiders to view Irish traditional knowledge as offering a window into the past. However, due to the omnipresent influence of Christian thought it is also understandable if the Irish people themselves viewed it in a similar manner.

Finally, because the influence of primitivism was so prevalent and powerful it may have been completely incorporated into the worldview of a particular community. Therefore, it could result in a predisposition to accept certain attitudes as normal or as representing a common-sense approach. And this may be the case even when this important drive was lying in a latent state and was overlaid by different philosophical strands. Furthermore, it may be seen that when dissatisfaction with such other philosophies develops, whether as a result of economic, political or cultural factors, any reaction had the availability to draw upon such apparently common-sense approach to seeing the world. In such a situation the worldview of any community perceived as living closer to this desired state may become of interest and such traditional information been deemed worthy of collection. Regardless of the underlying motivation, this has to be considered a worthy pursuit for it would permit information of such a worldview to be preserved, vital traditional knowledge which would otherwise surely have been forgotten.

CHAPTER 7: THE REPRESENTATION OF RINGFORTS ON MAPS AND OTHER DOCUMENTARY SOURCES.

7.1. Introduction

The influence of Giraldus Cambrensis on the perception of ringforts by a certain section within Irish society, at least until the beginning of the 18th century, has previously been discussed. However, Cambrensis focused not just on the inhabitants of the island but also on its landscape; in fact, a small-scale map of Ireland is attached to the end of his work, *Topographia Hibernica* (NLI: MS. 700). As a result of this pioneering role, his ideas about ringforts and their origins appear to have strongly influenced later geographical science in Ireland, notably the development of survey work and map-making. This is highlighted by the development of the convention whereby some field antiquities were perceived to be the work of outsiders. For example, ringforts were frequently annotated on maps as 'Danes Forts' or 'Danish Forts'. Or in circumstances where this was not explicitly noted it was accepted by the cartographer that such were their origins, as is sometimes evident in accompanying documentation. This conviction is common from the beginning of the production of maps detailing the Irish countryside, and is particularly evident in large scale maps which allow such information to be included.

The earliest large-scale maps which are available for parts of Ireland date from the latter portion of the 16th century. These surveys and maps were usually either compiled to fulfil a military function, with a view to appropriating territory, or with a view to consolidating such possession once achieved. A military purpose is clear in the regional and local maps of parts of Ulster created in the decades spanning the beginning of the 17th century. For example, such maps as were created by the cartographers, Browne and Batiste (1590), or Francis Jobson (1590) or the series created by Richard Bartlett (1600 – 1603). Once resistance had been quelled in Ulster, or earlier in other regions of the country, maps would be required to facilitate the implantation of loyal and obedient subjects. Such maps also appear to have had an important symbolic function, in that apparently through an orderly cartographic representation an organised landscape and society could be named into existence.

Of course, throughout earlier centuries, other representations were created of the physical geography of Ireland. Even a cursory study of these maps permits an understanding of the evolution of technical development to be formed. It is also readily apparent that the majority

of these early maps were created at so large a scale as to prevent the inclusion of local detail. However, during the first half of the sixteenth century, circumstances of political and economic importance developed that lead to a focus on the creation of regional and in some cases local maps. In the majority of cases there remained a strong focus on purely functional display. One such map has been attributed to Robert Lythe who surveyed the country from 1567 to 1570. On this map, a reasonably accurate general outline of the country is shown, however, in the interior, the focus is on the geographical positions of the Gaelic landowners (TCD: MS 1209_003). This particular map may have corresponded to a specific political requirement at the time of its creation. However, in some instances, other cartographers created maps that were large enough in scale to permit the inclusion of at least some of the more prominent field monuments.

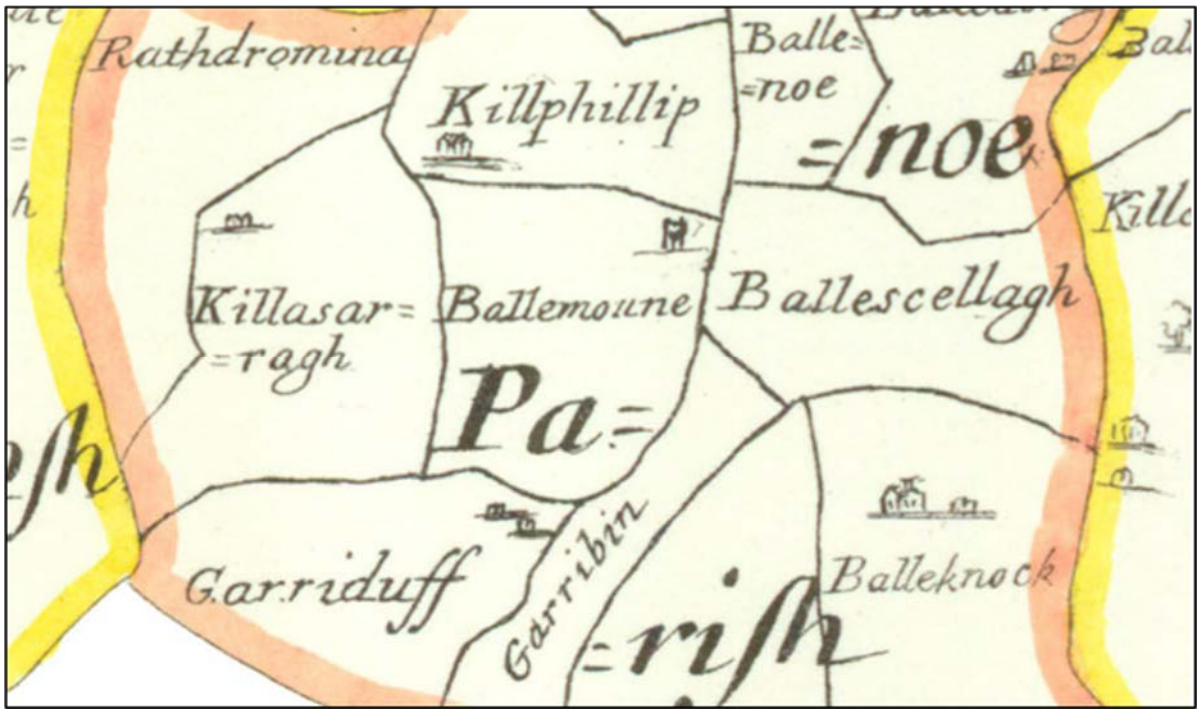


Figure 2. Down Survey map of East Cork (1656 – 1658)

Subsequently, once a new political order was established other requirements developed that required a proper depiction of the landscape. One such undertaking followed the successful repression of the 1641 rebellion. Adventurers had been drawn to the conflict in the expectation of being rewarded with land for their service. In order to do so the amount of forfeited land available for this purpose needed to be calculated and for this purpose a survey

was carried out between 1656 and 1658 (Ó Soichrú & Brown 2013, 6-7). Although the fact that only forfeited land was examined was indeed one of the shortcomings of this survey. An example of the maps created following this survey can be seen above (Figure 2). However, this map section also highlights another shortcoming. This shows the majority of the parish of Ballynoe in the barony of Kinnatalloon, Co. Cork. The composite townlands are also depicted, including that of Balleknock [Ballyknock]. On the Down Survey map, a house with a chimney is depicted in the northwest corner of the townland, with a possible ruin nearby. This corresponds to the location of Castle Farm and of Ballyknock castle (Vol. II, 64-70). However, no mention is included of the trivallate ringfort within which the castle was built, portions of which survived into the late 19th century. This is just one example but it appears that few, if any, archaeological monuments were recorded by the surveyors or included in the maps.

Once the land had been settled and the new owners felt secure in their possession it seems logical that attempts would be made to profit from such possession and in such circumstances a proper understanding of the land was beneficial. For example, prior to the undertaking of any agricultural improvement a correct knowledge of the local conditions would have been required. This would be especially the case with an absentee land owner who may live at some distance from the estate and, indeed, may never have visited a particular area. Besides, a correct representation of land boundaries would facilitate the resolution of any land disputes. From such requirements developed the emergence of the professional land surveyor and private cartographer. One of the more interesting of these early surveyors was a Corkman, Josias Bateman, who surveyed the lands of the Duke of Devonshire in 1716. Another of the more renowned of the land surveyors of the 18th century was Bernard Scalé, who between 1774 and 1775 surveyed the same estate.

The continued influence of Cambrensis can be seen in the work of both these surveyors. Ringforts are depicted on their maps and are referred to in the manner, previously mentioned, as ‘Danish Forts’. This reference appears to indicate an expectation of understanding in regards to this convention within the estate owning class. In such a case, it may be reasonable that surveyors should draw upon an embedded perception of the Irish landscape, and of the structures contained within. Perhaps too, the depiction of some of the most familiar and widespread monuments within this landscape as being of foreign origin may have had a reassuring effect on such a community. This chapter will examine the development of the disciplines of surveying and mapmaking in Ireland, and will consider the continued acceptance of the perception of ringforts initially developed by Cambrensis at the end of the 12th century.

Finally, it will highlight how a remembered correct interpretation of the origins and functions of ringforts was reintroduced and accepted within the field of map-making, particularly at the time of the Ordnance Survey.

7.2. Military Surveyors and Mapmakers

7.2.1. Introduction

The relative position and general outline of the island of Ireland was recognised from antiquity, as can be seen in the work of the Greek geographer, Ptolemy. Incidentally, Ptolemy did not actually produce a map but rather he presented written information, in the form of sailing directions, complete with co-ordinates, in *Geographia*. In Chapter 1 of Book 2, Ptolemy provides details of Ireland, which he refers to as 'Hibernia' and claims it to be an island off 'Brittania'. He associated each locality mentioned in the composite books with what he reckoned to be their correct coordinates (Stevenson 1991, xiv). He provides coordinates for several promontories along the coast, for instance, along with those of river mouths. For example, he notes the position of the southern promontory at '7 40 and 57 40', while further along the coast he remarks that the mouth of the 'Dabrona River' is at '11 15 and 57'.

Ptolemy provides a rough geographical location for Ireland's regional tribes. In addition, he mentions, and provides coordinates, for several 'towns' in the interior, such as 'Regia, Laberas, [and] Macolicum' (*ibid.*). These directions were later adapted for several subsequent cartographic representations, such as the *Codex Ebnerianus* prepared by Donnus Nicolaus Germanus in 1482. Further representations of Ireland were also compiled based on this initial depiction. However, these earliest representations depicted the entire island at such a small scale that only allowed for the minimum of information to be included. These maps did not permit the inclusion of other features than symbolic representations of rivers, lakes, woods and high ground.

In addition, and as mentioned above, Cambrensis included a map of Ireland with his text *Topographia Hibernica*. This map portrays a general oblong outline of the country and includes four named rivers and several towns: three of these rivers – the Suir, Slana and Auen liffey – flow towards the east coast, while the fourth is the River Shannon (NLI: MS 700). The settlements that are included are also weighed towards the eastern and southeastern part of the country, namely the towns of Dublin, Wexford, Waterford and Limerick. The name of the

island – 'Hybernia' – completes the information that is attached to the map. Interestingly, part of the south of the country appears very sparse in details, with the location of both Cork and the River Lee not being noted (*ibid.*). An explanation of this may be that Cambrensis drew on information with which he was personally familiar, or, perhaps, he depended on the account of reliable witnesses. It was not until towards the end of the 16th century that combined political and economic considerations resulted in the creation of regional and in some cases local maps depicting the Irish countryside. The majority of the maps also appear to have been depicted at too small a scale to permit the inclusion of field monuments such as ringforts. Moreover, what information was included was again highly stylised in nature.

7.2.2. Francis Jobson

Nevertheless, some cartographers seemed interested enough to attempt the correct depiction of some prominent or highly practical sites when working at scales that allowed for it. One example is a map of county Monaghan, created in 1590 and initially credited to John Browne and Jean Batiste (Swift 1999, 46). However, Siobhan McDermott (2010, 394) refers to a conversation in which the scholar, Annaleigh Margey categorically states that this map is actually the work of another well-known contemporary surveyor, Francis Jobson. Of more importance, however, the technological means that were available to the author(s) should be taken into account when examining this map. It depicts a rough outline of the external boundary of the county, while internally it is subdivided into baronies, each of which is named and depicted with different colours. In addition, land belonging to the church is also demarcated. Interestingly for this study, this map also contains fifteen place names that begin with 'Lis'. In the majority of cases, these place names are clearly associated with symbols consisting of a red hachured circle with a dot in the centre.

These symbols might have been a 16th century attempt to represent ringforts within the landscape. Admittedly, fifteen sites for the entire county can in no way be considered a systematic attempt at representation. The noted sites seem to be located on high ground or on the external county boundary where it changes direction. For example, the site of 'Lisatanny' is located on high ground and those of 'Lesnaclare' and 'Lissyerrill' are situated on boundary changes (Swift 1999, 46). As such, these sites may have been especially prominent on the landscape or may have served a practical function as triangulation stations for the survey. There must necessarily remain an element of speculation, for no further information appears to have

been included, for example in an index or other accompanying document, concerning the origin of these structures. However, their inclusion on the map, and the use of their Irish names, orthographic changes notwithstanding, would appear to indicate a reference to local knowledge that involved an understanding of their correct origins and function. This estate had remained in the same family for generations and the survey undertaken by Jobson on its behalf was even then an act of consolidation and not necessarily one of appropriation. In fact, McDermott claims that the local Gaelic landowners may have decided to side with the newcomers as a continuation of a struggle with their Gaelic overlords, and by doing so sought to gain title to their lands and properties (McDermott 2010).



Figure 3. Jobson's 1590 map of Ulster (TCD MS 1209/15)

Another map of interest, also compiled at this time, details the entire province of Ulster and, as a result, is necessarily at a much smaller scale (TCD: MS 1209/15). Because of this it does not contain the amount of detail of the aforementioned one. However, because Francis Jobson was also the author of this work, some of the features contained in the earlier county map of Monaghan are included. For example, he highlights a square enclosure referred to as 'Lismuck', as well as a body of water referred to on both maps as 'Oxlogh'. Jobson also includes some of the places names beginning with 'Lis', as mentioned above, such as 'Lisnedaeregan' and 'Liseyermes', and places them in roughly similar positions on this map (Figure 3). In addition, they are both associated with heights and with rectangular features that may represent dwellings. However, he does not associate them with any specific identifiable feature, as was done in the more detailed map of county Monaghan. It may be, or course, that these names also refer to the wider townland area. If so, this may facilitate the correct location of these sites and an investigation into the reasons why they were depicted on these maps.

Another feature of note in Jobson's map of Ulster is how the furthest western regions are depicted, particularly the coast of Donegal. The rough outline and blank spaces shown in this area perhaps indicates that he may have been relying on earlier and therefore second-hand information for his work. It may be no coincidence that he may have confined his efforts to the eastern reaches of the province. As an outsider himself, he would undoubtedly have felt more secure in the part of the province where the recently introduced social system had been consolidated than in those areas where the Gaelic order remained strong. In fact, he reported that the entire time he was in Ulster 'he feared for his head' (Andrews 2008, 35). This appears to indicate that the Gaelic landowners associated surveyors and mapmakers as precursors for the colonial enterprise, and that the mapping of land frequently resulted in further interest and appropriation of it by outsiders. Andrews (*ibid.*) quotes another surveyor, Edward Brookes, who claimed to have been 'not without danger to my head at sundry times'. Indeed, as the discussion of the career of a subsequent cartographer will show they may have had good reason to harbour such a fear.

7.2.3. Richard Bartlett

In other areas and at other times, however, the transition to a new social order did not progress as smoothly as in east Ulster. Indeed, at varying times and at varying places, it could be said that this attempted transition was repeated throughout the island. Ulster in particular was a

strong seat of resistance to this social evolution, as personified in the person of Hugh O'Neill, the Earl of Tyrone. The earl was a particularly active figure, if indeed not the main instigator, in the Nine Years War that was waged between 1593 and 1601 – 02. Following several years of behind the scenes activity O'Neill entered into open warfare in 1595 (O'Neill 2017). English fortunes in Ulster, and by extension throughout Ireland, waned over the following several years.

Following the appointment of Mountjoy in 1599, serious strategic reform of the English army and its method of campaigning was undertaken (*ibid,* 124). This included a reappraisal of military tactics with the object of increasing the mobility of the soldiers and plans were set in motion to establish a network of fortified garrisons to encircle the Irish base areas. An example of this strategy is contained within a letter of November 8th 1600 from Sir Griffin Markham to Sir Robert Cecil. It tells of how having marched 'seven or eight miles' from Newry, Markham and his force camped on a hilltop. Here he says

> 'my Lord Deputy found a piece of ground anciently raised in a round form in the nature of a fortification, which might save some labour in the work and gain so much time, which in this season of the year, our men every day weakening, is very precious' (Cal. S.P. 1600-1: MS 19).

This is a beautifully succinct description of the benefits of using pre-existing structures present in the landscape to offset at least some of the rigours of winter campaigning. Indeed, because of its location close to water and woodland resources and its proximity to the Armagh to Newry route, the decision was made to establish the garrison here.

However, the following day Mountjoy's council drew his attention back some distance to another hilltop 'with a round fort, whereof there are many, as it is thought, made by the Danes' (*ibid.*). It was then decided, that as this site was esteemed to be just as well watered though with better access to timber, to establish the garrison here, later known as Fort Mountnorris (Figure 4). Markham continues to provide a physical description of the site. He continues that …

> 'the fort which we found was double ditched, both deep enough, and easily made defensible against this enemy. The quantity of the plain within the second ditch was about thirty yards each way, and by casting down some parts of the inner parapet as it shall be found convenient to fill the ditch, it will be made spacious enough to lodge four or five hundred men' (*ibid.*).



Figure 4. Bartlett's 1602 map of Fort Mountnorris

These two incidences, particularly the latter, are clear examples of the re-use of ringforts for military purposes by the English army, and that the view of these monuments held by Sir Griffin Markham, a cavalry commander, had been influenced by the writings of Cambrensis. It is of interest to note that this is the earliest known written account of the destruction of a ringfort.

A cartographer, Richard Bartlett, accompanied this campaign and shows the result of the Fort Mountnorris fortification in one of his maps (Bartlett 1602a, [NLI: MS 2656 ii]). Just two references are available which refer to Bartlett outside of his cartographic work (Andrews 2008, 21). Bartlett's manner of signing his name may suggest French origins, and that his habit of frequently attaching the phrase 'Norf' may indicate the county of Norfolk as his area of residence. Bartlett's mapping of Mountnorris was undertaken later than the period of initial occupation referred to above. Indeed, the evolution of the site can be seen in Bartlett's later maps of the surrounding region and of the wider province (Hayes-McCoy 1964). The site is depicted as initially consisting of the pre-existing ringfort and an attached bartizan which was added immediately following this occupation (Andrews 2008, 30). The later map shows the

outer fortification, which was added during the summer of 1601, possibly 'in August when the Lord Deputy [Mountjoy] is known to have spent some time in the area' (*ibid.*).

Bartlett also produced maps to highlight the campaign of 1602. One of these composite large scale maps includes a vignette of the Tulluhogue inauguration site of the O'Neill's, his patron's enemy at the time (Bartlett, 1602c, [NLI: MS 2656 iv]). The focus of this representation is a ringfort shown on an elevated position, which is mostly covered in woodland. The ringfort itself is shown as having a low bank as a boundary which is sparsely planted with shrubs or trees. The bank is broken by two entrances, which are emphasised by tall timber poles, located opposite one another. The interior of the structure contains two houses. One house is more substantial, with perhaps a second story, and the second is a low cottage is situated alongside it. Both houses have thatched roofs and appear to be whitewashed. Outside the ringfort, and directly accessible by the eastern entrance, the stone inauguration throne of the O'Neill's is shown.

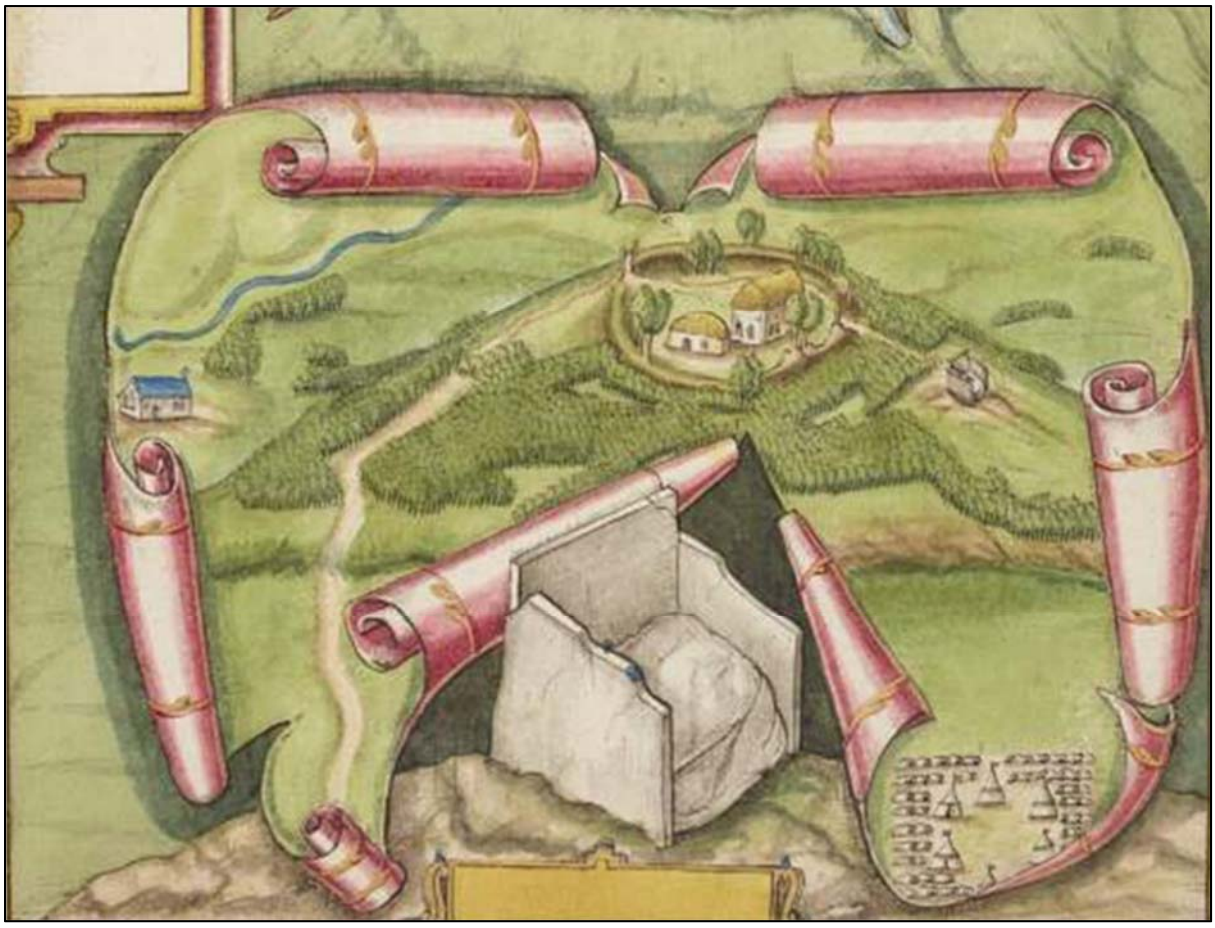


Figure 5. Bartlett's 1602 map of Tulloghoge

Following the capture of the site and completion of a policy of scorched earth in regards to the crops in the area, Mountjoy marks the occasion of the surrender of Tyrone by smashing the throne. Thereby, of course, symbolically destroying the power of the O'Neill's also. This collection of Bartlett's work is intriguing for several reasons. Firstly, it highlights that, at least in some particular cases and perhaps at some particular times, ringforts continued to serve as settlement sites. For taking into account the Tullyhogue site's political importance and the significance in Irish society of an association with the past as a strategy of legitimisation, an argument may be made for its continued occupation, or at the very least for its re-occupation. Secondly, despite having a location and form similar to the central ringfort at Mountnorris, no mention is made to it being a 'Danish Fort'. It would be of interest to discover how this apparent anomaly in understanding may have been resolved, but it appears likely that its association with an important Gaelic royal family precluded such an approach.

In any event, it is unlikely to have been resolved by Bartlett. For little more is known of his career following the conclusion of the Tyrone War. However, an advertisement contained within a letter located in the State Papers of Ireland may provide an indication to his demise. This letter, from Sir John Davies to Lord Salisbury and dated to August 28, 1609, justifies the precautions taken on behalf of later cartographers and cautions against complacency when travelling amongst the Irish. This letter praises the work of two surveyors. It is remarked that this work 'they performed well and readily, being accompanied with but a slender guard' (Cal. SP, 1608-10: 280). However, it is also noted that the presence of a guard is a necessary precaution. For, though it is accepted that the country is a present restful and all potential enemy leaders absent. An example is referred to whereby:

> 'one Barkeley being appointed … to draw a true and perfect map of the north parts of Ulster … when he came into Tyrconnell, the inhabitants took off his head because they would not have their country discovered' (*ibid.*).

'Barkeley', no doubt, was a misspelling of Bartlett and it seems very likely that this great cartographer lost his head in Donegal.

7.3. Continued Functional Use of Ringforts

7.3.1. Plantation Papers

These State Papers, and other manuscripts, also contain evidence that appears to show that ringforts continued to serve a practical function into the 17th century. For instance, an account of the efforts at plantation in Ulster during the early decades of that century is contained in a text dated to July 29, 1611 (CCM 1873). Within this account, in a section dealing with county Fermanagh, it is noted that

> 'Thomas Flowerdew, 2000 acres; is resident, has brought over two freeholders and five fine copyholders, he has cast a trench about an old *rath* and is building an English house of 50ft long and 22ft broad' (*ibid,* 222).

This is the earliest mention of the word 'rath' in conjunction with a habitation site that this study has uncovered in documentary sources and can be contrasted with the earlier interpretation of these as 'Danes Forts' mentioned elsewhere. This specific reference may be an indication of access to local knowledge. The site is still extant.

As regards the re-occupation of this ringfort by a planter, it seems a sensible choice for an outsider in a potentially hostile land. This newly settled region may have been considered a frontier zone, where settlers viewed themselves as besieged by enemies. It is also stated that Flowerdew brought with him just a handful of followers, and so the conversion of this ringfort into a defended homestead is justifiable. A later text entitled '*A Book of the Plantation of Ulster*', dated to March 29, 1619, refers also to a Thomas Flowerdew (CCM 1873, 392-423). Here it is noted that he now farms '1000 acres' and states that he inhabits a 'large round bawn of lime and stone [called 'Lisrisk'] and with a little house of stone within' (*ibid,* 399).

Another probable example of this type in county Tyrone is contained in this document. It is explained that a 'Mrs Linsey, late wife of Ro. Linsey [holds] 1000 acres in Tulloghoge' (*ibid,* 413). This townland had previously been associated with the O'Neill's, with a ringfort located adjacent to their inauguration site. A further description shows that presently the site consisted of a 'good strong bawn of earth, with a quickset [hawthorn] hedge and a ditch' and as having 'a timber house within, in which she and her family dwell' (*ibid.*).

An examination of the 1st series OS map for this area reveals no evidence for a bawn. However, a ringfort is included and in a neighbouring glebe land, a large multivallate ringfort is depicted (OSI 1833 – 4, Sheet 38). Therefore, while no description is provided as to the

shape of this 'bawn', its earthen structure, along with the presence of a hedge and a ditch might indicate the re-occupation of an earlier monument. Unfortunately, a report compiled on the general area by a Lt. Bailey for the Ordnance Survey in February 1834 provides no information concerning 'Ancient topography' or 'Antiquities' (Day & McWilliams 1993, 32-6). Other possible clues to re-occupation of ringforts may be indicated by the place names attached to these dwellings places. For example, in Donegal a 'Sir Thomas Goache' farms 1500 acres at 'Lismangan', which consists of 'a strong castle with a hedge upon it' (CCM 1873, 407). While, perhaps more tenuously, a 'Captain Regley' holds '1000 acres' at 'Liscannor' in county Cavan and a Mauric Mc Telligh' has an estate of 3000 acres at 'Liscuarcon, also in county Cavan (*ibid.*).

7.3.2. Thomas Raven

In a subsequent act of further consolidation of part of the county of Monaghan, another well-known cartographer, Thomas Raven, surveyed in 1636 the estate of the Earl of Essex in the barony of Farney. Raven had begun his association with surveying in the northern part of Ireland with the Bodley survey in 1609. The maps accompanying this survey offer an interesting insight into long-term land control. They are apparently extremely detailed for work of this period, and the boundaries are clearly and conscientiously marked. Natural features are included, including hills that are coloured in brown, rivers in blue, etc. Some roads are shown, but perhaps not systematically (Duffy 1983, 248). More importantly in the present context, ringforts are also included in these townland maps. Duffy (*ibid,* 250) notes that 'in one instance there was a cabin shown inside the circular symbol'. However, he excludes them from his study of settlement patterns for he notes the discrepancy between Raven's depiction of ringfort distribution and that of the later Ordnance Survey. These maps are part of the library of Longleat House, Wiltshire, and until their publication their full value as a source for the re-use of ringforts remains uncertain.

7.3.3. Michael Richards

Richards produced a map of the town of Mullingar, Co. Westmeath, in 1691. This map shows two lines of fortification around the town. The external, of thinner appearance, may correspond, at least in part, to the original town wall. In addition, an internal wall, of more

imposing appearance, parallels the outer one at a varying distance. On the eastern side of the town, the space between these two walls is occupied by a star shaped fortification. This citadel encloses the church and an existing castle, perhaps the clerics dwelling (Richards 1691). The open space between these two structures has also been attributed a number but unfortunately, the accompanying index provides no indication as to what this may signify. Perhaps it served as a parade ground. Other structures, termed 'old castles' in the index, are located just inside the internal wall along the main east/west axis of the town. At the north of the town, a square 'redoubt' spans the space between the two lines of fortification. One corner of which juts out northwards towards high ground overlooking the town (*ibid.*). This structure appears to be surrounded by a moat.

In contrast, the fortification which surrounds the church appears to have been built on a height. Within the town various structures are highlighted a being used as stores, for fodder and also for bread. Rations for both man and beast, highlighting Mullingar's contemporary use as a garrison for a wider area perhaps. However, of most interest to this study are two structures located to the south of the town, close to the river. These appear to have been incorporated into the newer internal line of fortification. The furthest east of these is circular and the other is square shaped. Richards (*ibid.*) remarks in his index that both of these structures are considered 'Danish forts'. In fact, these features are the composite elements of an Anglo-Norman Motte and Bailey castle. Perhaps the reference to their origin as Danish may be indicative of an embedded perception that can be traced back to Cambrensis. It appears clear, nonetheless, that in times of hostility a break down in links between the local occupants and the military did take place. For example, the town of Mullingar was used as a depot during these Williamite campaigns and this resulted in the removal, from the town, of the suspect Gaelic population. As such, this evidence of an outsider interpretation may indicate a total absence of communication between the evacuated Gaelic population of Mullingar and of the incoming campaigning Anglo-Irish soldiery.

In the course of the same campaign, the Reverend George Story was attached to the Williamite forces as a chaplain. Shortly afterwards, he published an account of this experience in these wars in a book entitled '*a continuation of the impartial history of the wars of Ireland*.' (1693). Within this book he provides an account of the subjugation of the Jacobite post at Ballymore, between Mullingar and Athlone. He describes the Jacobite position as being 'a strong Danish Fort (as this kingdom is everywhere full of them) now fortified with a ditch twenty foot broad and ten foot deep being also pallisado'd round' (*ibid,* 88). This structure is,

again, in fact a motte and bailey castle. However, its circular appearance and elevated position may have caused it to be perceived as resembling the numerous circular enclosures in the area. The ease with which Story resorted to this explanation may perhaps be an indication of how widespread this notion was with his contemporaries.

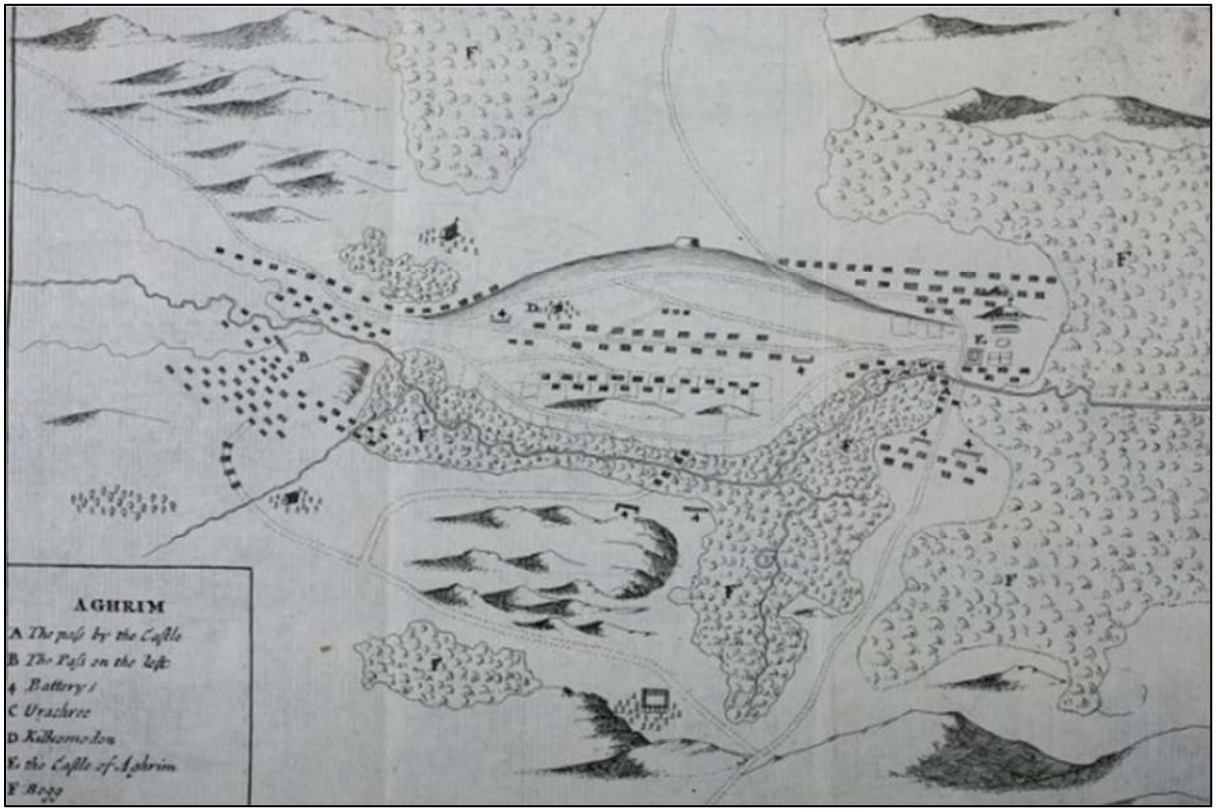


Figure 6. Map accompanying Story's (1693) account of the battle of Aughrim

Later in this work Story (*ibid,* 122) focuses on the decisive battle at Aughrim, Co. Galway. In describing the arrangement of the Irish lines of defence, he notes that they:

> 'lay along a ridge of an hill, on the side of which stood two Danish Forts, from thence to the Bogg below was nigh half a mile and this cut into a great many small enclosures … ordered so as to make a communication from one of them to another and had lined all these very thick with small shot'

This indicates the acceptance by Story of their origins but also how these earlier monuments could be integrated into contemporary requirements, such as anchoring a defensive line. Story's (1693, 88) first-hand accounts of the siege of Ballymore and the battle of Aughrim

(*ibid,* 122), in conjunction with Richards (1691) depiction of the garrison at Mullingar, was bound to exert an influence over subsequent narratives. For example, the Irish antiquarian, William Harris, relies heavily on such earlier accounts in his imposing tome detailing the life of William of Orange.

In this work, he devotes an entire book to the conflict in Ireland. When referring to the siege and capture of Ballymore he draws directly of Story's account, repeating the reference to a 'Danish fort' (Harris, 1749, Book IX, 218). In describing the battle of Aughrim, he also draws on Story's earlier work, although he does clarify the language used. He includes a reference to the 'two Danish forts', but also indicates that the adjoining enclosures were lined with musketeers and that a communication was maintained between these enclosures (*ibid,* 324). This drawing on first-hand accounts of events, that were printed shortly after the events in question, shows how the convention of naming these structures could have been propagated over fifty years later. Harris may have been familiar with the work of his near contemporary Molyneux, discussed in Chapter 2, and this may have served to support the perceived veracity of the Dane's Fort convention. In any case, the notion that all major field monuments in Ireland were of Danish origin may have been well established at quite an early date. Such a notion may have continued to gain in popularity and by 1749, when Harris published his work, have assumed the status of orthodoxy.

7.4. Estate maps and Surveyors

7.4.1. Josias Bateman

By the turn of the eighteenth century landowners felt secure enough in their possession of their Irish estates to undertake improvements. Any such desire would have required a proper definition of the extent, and prevailing conditions, within such properties and would have necessarily required such lands to be surveyed. For example, in the south of the country, such a survey was undertaken in parts of county Cork. This was the work of a local man, Josias Bateman, although it has been claimed that he was born in England (Bendall 1997, 30). Ball (2007, 824) records that he was a native of Youghal and was resident in Tallow.

In 1716 the agents of the landowner, the Earl of Cork, engaged Bateman to carry out a survey throughout his holdings (O'Flanagan 2006, 70). These included some lands in the mid-Cork region but the maps relating to this area have been lost. The surviving survey consists

solely of the East-Cork portion of this estate (*ibid.* 1982, 52). Ball (2007, 824) notes that Bateman had trained as an accountant and, in fact, had been employed by the estate as a surveyor and agent since the 1690's. In any event, his work on this survey ended in dispute and as a result he was removed as a tenant on the estate and his livestock were impounded. Furthermore, he was for a time imprisoned in the local jail at Tallow. However, it appears that by 1734 this dispute had been settled, as recorded in his privately printed account entitled, *A just and true relation of J. Bateman's concern*, a copy of which he had made available to the Earl.



Figure 7. Index to Josias Bateman's 1717 maps

The information gathered during this survey was presented in map form and compiled in book form (NLI: Mss 6148-9). The first impression of the Bateman maps is that they are highly artistic in nature. Each map depicts an individual townland, although the names of the surrounding townlands were also noted. As is common in this period the townland is oriented to fit on the page and not to conform to a set framework. A compass rose is then included to provide a sense of direction, and in Bateman's maps, this rose appears to have been stamped in place. It appears that other stamps were also used on these maps. For example, the scale bar, which depicts two surveyors at work with a measuring chain, contains a phrase to indicate

the scale of the map and in front of the words ‘inches’ and ‘miles’ a space was left to permit the insertion of the required data. In fact, in various maps a difference in colour shows where this information was inserted (*ibid.*). Another stamp allows for the scaled size of an acre or ‘the bigness of an acre on this plot’ to be included.

Because the primary function of this survey was to facilitate land improvement, details included representations of natural features such as improved ground, mountainous areas and boggy terrain. In addition, water sources, such as rivers and streams, were included. Constructed features, like slate houses, cabins, dairy houses and lime kilns, were also depicted. Archaeological monuments were very rarely depicted, apart from ringforts, perhaps because these monuments served a practical function in the predominant dairying economy. Bateman used symbols to denote ringforts which was quite similar to those used to depict lime kilns (O’Flanagan 1981, 323). However, an examination of the index to the maps (Bateman 1717, map 5) shows that, while similar, these two symbols can be differentiated.

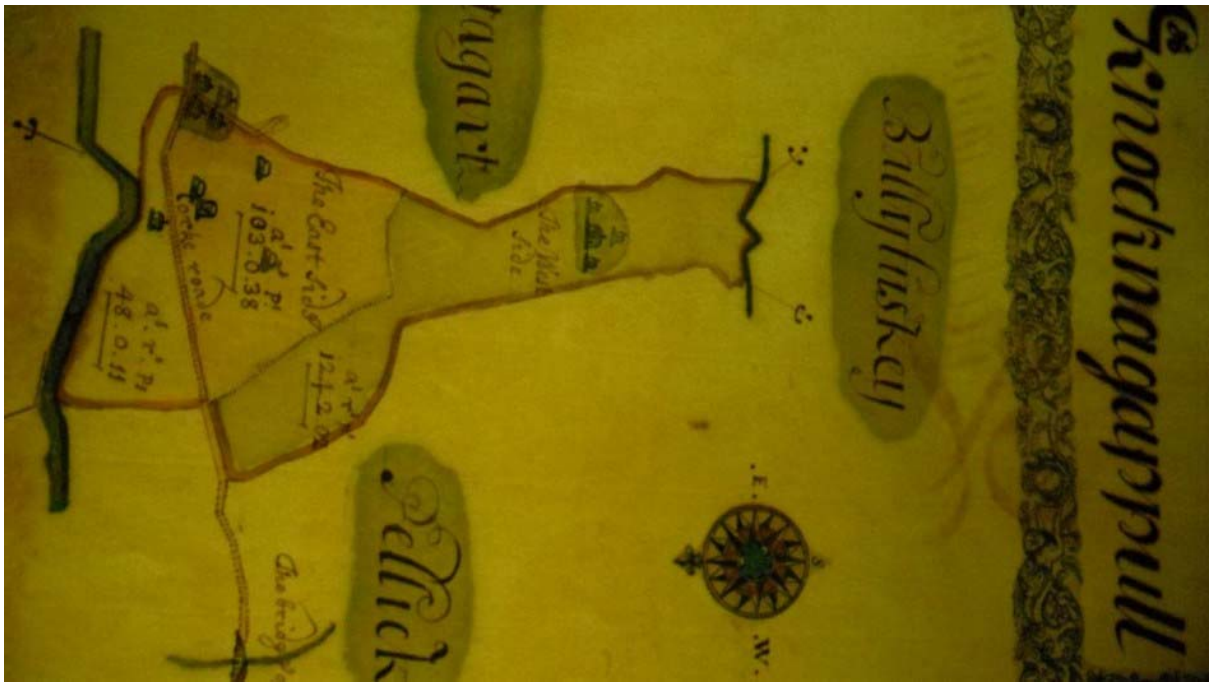


Figure 8. Bateman’s 1717 map of Knocknagapple townland

In fact, it appears that each symbol was used independently even when the two structures may have been combined. This is the case, for example, in the townland of Knocknagapple (*ibid,* map 58). The symbols inserted in these maps also appear to have been stamped in place

rather than been drawn by hand. If so, a representation of the state of the monument at the time of the survey was not possible. Thus, a poorly preserved ringfort would have been marked in exactly the same way as a well preserved one. In the index to the maps these monuments are labelled 'Danes Forts' (*ibid,* 3).

The Bateman maps represent the first attempt to depict the full number of ringforts in any surveyed area. Bateman may have included these monuments on his maps due to their potential role in the current agricultural economy, as noted above, but it is also possible that their inclusion may have been connected with the gradual rise in interest in antiquarianism at this time. In this connection, it is interesting to note that his ultimate employer, the 4th Earl of Cork, was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1724 (Ball 2007, 24). There are also other examples of Bateman including information of an antiquarian nature in his maps.

7.4.2. William Wogan

Not all surveyors, or rather landowners, were likely to have harboured such antiquarian interests. However, the naming convention whereby ringforts were accepted as being of foreign origin appears to have been widely adopted within the surveying discipline as it developed during the 18th century. Another example of its use is contained in a collection of maps of the parishes of Mohill and Clune, Co. Leitrim, compiled by a William Wogan in 1750 (NLI: MS Coll. List 49). Not much seems to be known about Wogan, with the only information contained in Bendall (1997, 565) consisting of this single survey in county Leitrim. This fine collection was presented in book form, bound between leather covers, with each individual townland represented by a double spread. The map depicting the townland occupies the right hand page and the facing page contains observations concerning the conditions found therein, as well as a descriptive index. This survey was undertaken on behalf of the new owner, Nathaniel Clements, following its purchase from Francis Seymour Conway in 1749 (Clesham 1999, 7). Incidentally, the observations also highlight the differing state of the ground in each area and the buildings located within the townland. In addition, a strong focus is placed on including suggestions for the improvement of the land and therefore of increasing production.

Several townlands included in this collection were shown as being the location of ringforts, such as the townlands of Drumdaugh [Drumdoo] and of Drumlara [Rinn] (Wogan 1750, 15 & 35), where each of these monuments was depicted as a stylised circular enclosure. In some cases, however, an attempt seems to have been made to take into account the varying

sizes of the ringforts. Without exception, they were referred to as 'Danish Forts' (*ibid,* 16, 18, 36, 46, 52 & 56). Additionally, the ringfort contained within one particular townland, Lagheen [Kildoo], was referred to as 'an Old Danish Fort' (*ibid,* 18).

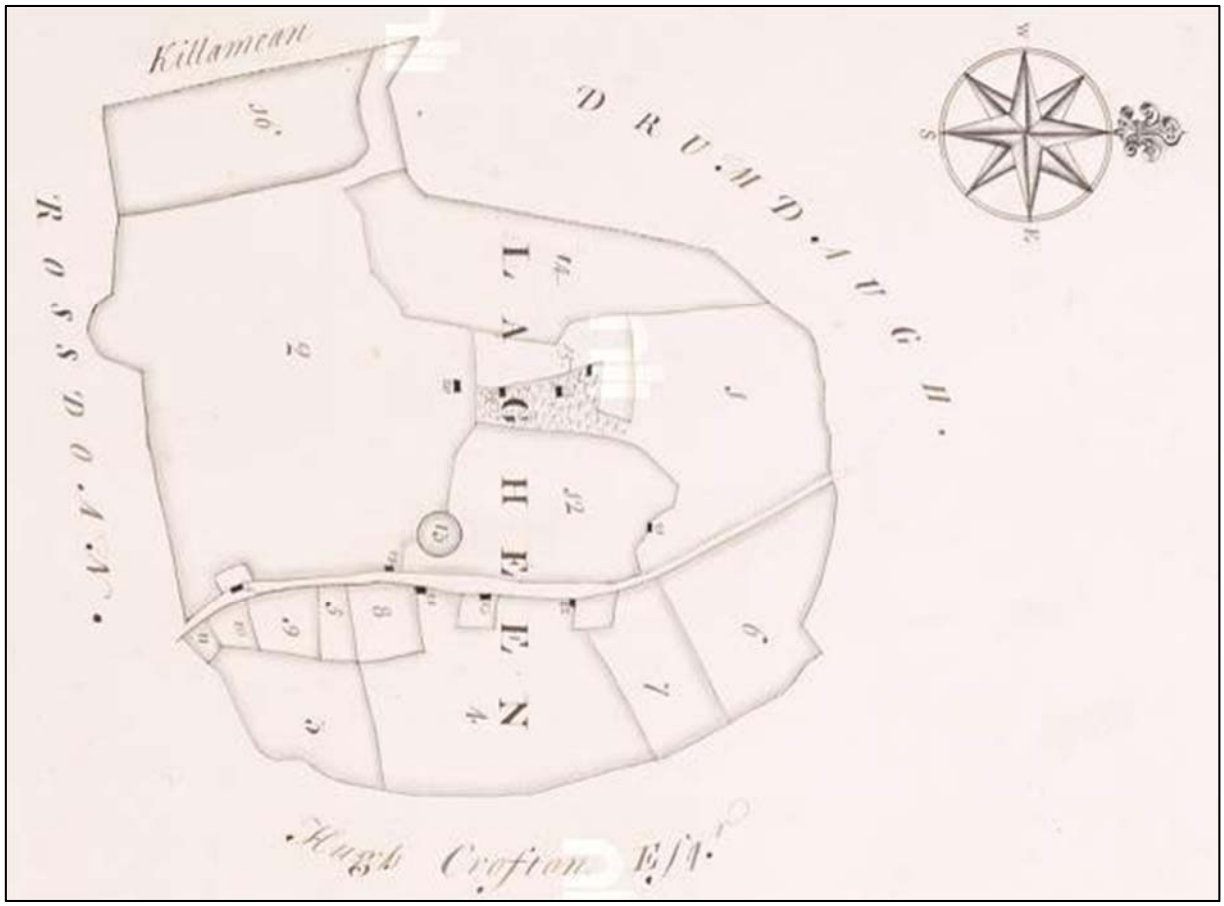


Figure 9. Wogan's 1750 map of Kildoo, Co. Leitrim depicting (13) 'an old Danish Fort'

This is an intriguing description, for why was this ringfort, of all those mentioned, referred to as 'Old'? An examination of details contained within the *Archaeological Inventory of County Leitrim* (2003) highlights that it is located on top of a drumlin and that it is now overgrown with vegetation. This ringfort is also stated to be a larger than average, having a diameter of 'c. 44m E-W; c. 41m N-S' (NMS: Moore 2003). The first edition OS map of the townland shows the interior of this site to be covered, even then, in vegetation (NMS, 2017). As such, it may be possible to speculate that it is the combination of its prominence in the landscape and its heavily naturalised state, which may have led Wogan (1750, 18) to refer to it as an 'Old' site. Regardless, he also declared that it was his estimation that the site could be turned to good use. For he claims that

> ‘Here, or near it, an excellent situation for a Windmill the chance Grists whereof so near town may be supposed Considerable … A Windmill then here might have the tenants of most of your Estate bound to it’ (*ibid.*).

One aspect of note throughout this collection is the stylised nature of the features represented on these maps. This is in contrast to Bateman’s more organic, artistic style of depiction.

Another townland contained within this collection, Drumlara, depicts a ringfort that appears to have been incorporated into the new landscape in a different manner (*ibid,* 35). It seems to have been used as a focal point around which was begun the enclosure of landholdings within the townland. Two straight lines of trees were shown as radiating from this site. One in a northeast direction and roughly parallel to a roadway, with the other extending in a southerly direction. It appears likely that these lines were initially fixed from the ringfort and may have been laid out along a compass bearing from this point. The examples provided by these two townlands may offer an insight into how ringforts were perceived by Wogan, the surveyor, and ultimately by Clements, the owner. It appears that these monuments were viewed from a purely practical point of view. This should be no surprise when the information contained in the accompanying observations is taken into account (*ibid,* 18 & 36). As such, perhaps it should, again, be no surprise that the commonplace naming convention of ‘Danes forts’ was referred to for the sake of convenience. Such an outsider’s perspective may be understandable when it is remembered that when this survey was undertaken the property had just changed hands.

7.4.3. Bernard Scalé

Returning to the south of the country, the estates of the Duke of Devonshire in Cork and Waterford, part of which were already surveyed by Bateman in 1717, were the subject of a further comprehensive survey between 1774 and 1775. This survey was undertaken Bernard Scalé, who had been born in London in 1739 (Bendall 1997, 453). He undertook to survey the totality of the holdings, including those in the mid-Cork area around Bandon, and maps for the totality of this work have survived (Duffy 1997). Scalé was a disciple, and brotherin-law, of the noted surveyor, John Rocque, and together they developed the style of what has been referred to as the ‘French school of Dublin land surveyors’ (Andrews 1965, 284). Scalé’s approach to his work appears to be highly artistic, as can be seen in the use of a crumpled paper illusion to surround townland names on his maps.

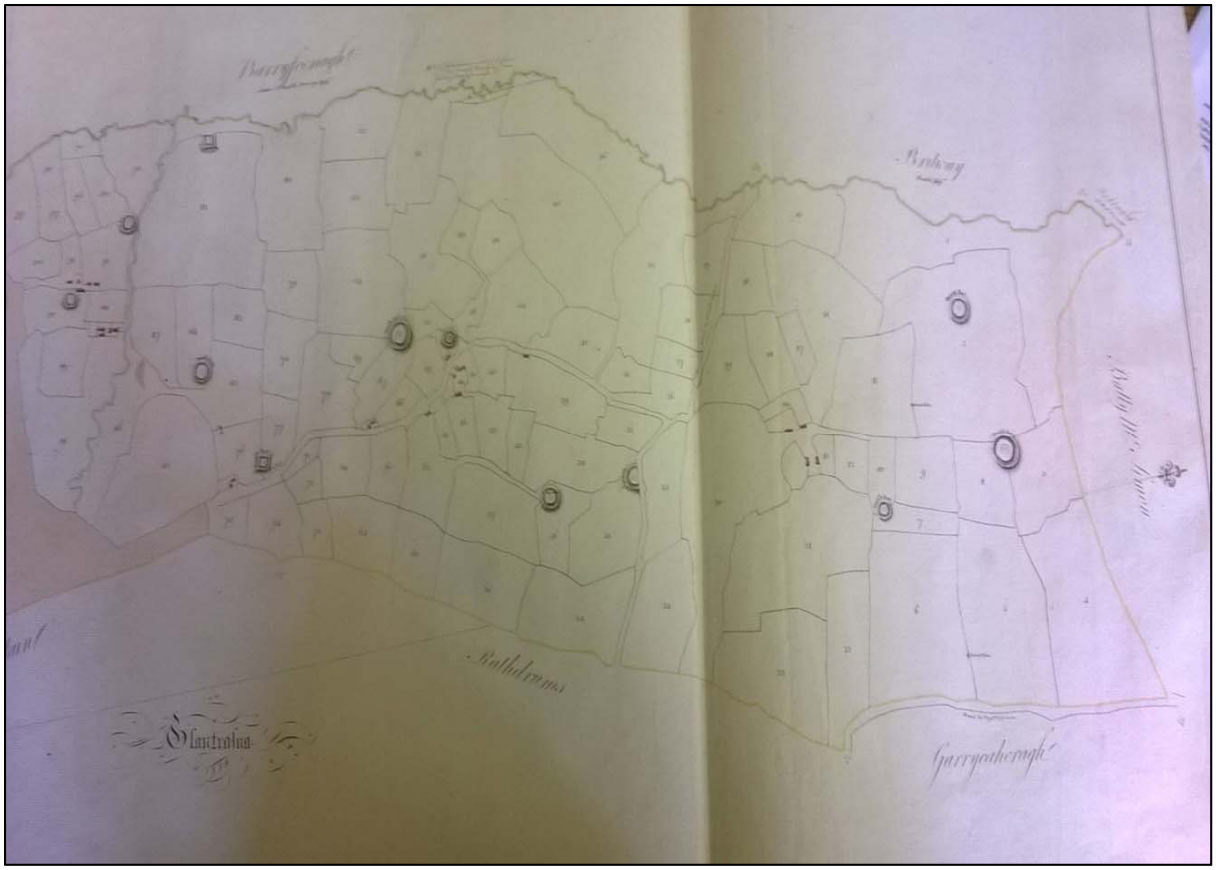


Figure 10. Scale's 1774 map of Glentrasna townland

Similar to Bateman's earlier work in this area, the representation of maps in Scalé's work involves devoting a separate map to each townland (NLI: Mss. 7216-8). In addition, each townland is oriented to fit on the assigned sheet of paper, with north being indicated by a highly decorated elongated symbol. The names of surrounding townlands are positioned around the exterior of the townland. A scale bar is also provided and the scale of the map, in this case 20 perches [21 feet] to an inch, is also included (Scalé 1774, map 15a). Inside the townland boundaries, any contemporary settlements are included and coloured differently to stand out. These settlements are depicted from an overview position that allows the outline of each building to be noted. Access routes are also shown, as are individual field boundaries. Each field is then allotted a number and in an adjacent index, the nature of cultivation of each field is noted. For example, in the index accompanying the townland of Garrycaheragh [Garycaheragh] various fields are noted as being used for pasture (No. 47), or arable crops (No. 20), or, again, as a meadow (No. 21). In some instances, further practical information is provided, for field No. 22 is recorded as containing 'three cabins and orchard' (*ibid,* map 10a).

Scalé appears to have had a meticulous approach in his representation of ringforts, both in searching for examples present on the landscape and in his attempts to include an indication of their size. As an example, a comparison of a townland mapped by both Bateman (1717, map 55) and Scalé (1774, map 15a) indicates that where Bateman found evidence for four ringforts, Scalé indicates the presence of a total of seven. This approach may be a result of Scalé's training and, perhaps also, due to an evolving general interest in antiquarianism among certain sections of Irish society. However, his use of the phrase 'Danish Forts' to describe these monuments is of note (ibid, map 22a). This is another example of the use of, by now, a convention of long standing. It should be taken into consideration that Scalé also used this term to refer to later square moated sites. This, and the later subdivision of some townlands has the potential to create confusion and to skew results concerning ringfort numbers present in each particular area. The fact that 'Danish Forts', whether ringforts or moated sites, appear to be the only archaeological monuments in which Scalé shows an interest is of not, and presumably indicated that this monument type had a special value in an agricultural context, unlike most other archaeological monument types.

7.5. Vallancey's Military Survey

Eventually this convention of ringforts as 'Danes forts' began to be challenged and an idea of their correct origin and therefore appellation was advanced. This change in perception was not confined to the proceedings of learned societies. It was also apparent in the discipline of surveying and cartography. Here again the influence of General Vallancey, and through him that of Charles O'Conor, appears to have played a pivotal role. Beginning in 1776, Vallancey undertook a military survey of the south of the country (Andrews 1966, 50). This examination was carried out in the fear of an invasion as it was felt most likely that such an attack would come from France and that the invasion force would attempt to land on the southeast coast before striking directly towards Dublin. Because of this, it appears that Vallancey's first task was to survey the likely approach routes to the capital. The results of the first year's survey are held by the Royal Irish Academy. This book begins with a general description of the region, and continues with several large-scale (4in to a mile) maps.



Figure 11. Map accompanying Vallancey's 1776 Military Survey

The information gathered and included in the introductory description emphasises that Vallancey was examining the region primarily from a point of view of military strategy. For instance, he remarks that the countryside

> 'is so well inclosed with ditches and banks planted with furze, which here grows to an amazing substance and height as to render cavalry, particularly heavy cavalry entirely useless [and that the] roads are in general good' (Vallancey 1776, 11).

Furthermore, it appears that the economy of the countryside is also seen purely from a military standpoint, for he notes that it

> 'abounds with grain, black cattle and sheep; the cattle are driven to the mountains during the Summer, a circumstance not unfavourable to us, should the enemy think proper to invade this island in that season of the year' (*ibid.*).

Further evidence on how Vallancey perceived the countryside and noted any potential military benefits can be seen in the interest he showed in the boats which plied the River Barrow, which lay along a possible invasion route. He provides a description of their dimensions and highlights the fact that as 'these boats will each contain 40 men, and are

convenient for passing the rivers, or for transporting Baggage and artillery, they become a great military object in time of War' (*ibid,* 15). Elsewhere, he offers a critical appraisal of the town of Ferns, stating that it is a poor village of '200 cabbins, one wretched inn and a cathedral surrounded with a cimitiere' (*ibid,* 43). However, he declares that no military advantage could be gained from its use because it is 'commanded', and an examination of the accompanying map shows the location to be overlooked by high ground to the north. Vallancey concludes his description by clarifying that even though he had provided an estimate of the number of troops which may be billeted in each locality 'it must be understood, every building capable of protecting man and horse from the inclemency of the weather, is turned to that use in such an emergency' (*ibid,* 43).

Despite, or perhaps because, of the military focus of this survey Vallancey includes just two ringforts in the maps which accompany the results of this first survey. These are included in the map which describes the continuation of the road from the eastern side of Waterford harbour, a potential landing place, towards Dublin (*ibid,* pl. 7: 45). The ringforts are located near the section of roadway linking Crag-na-managh [Graiguenamanagh, Co. Kilkenny] to Leighlin Bridge [Leighlinbridge, Co. Carlow]. One ringfort is located between Gores Bridge and Royal Oak, and the other between Royal Oak and Leighlin Bridge. These villages lay upon a potential invasion route and the depicted ringforts were located on the main approach route to each settlement from the coast. Perhaps Vallancey included these ringforts because of their potential to command such approaches and, therefore, because they had a possible defensive capability. However, of particular significance, on the accompanying map both of these structures were noted as 'raths'. This indicates that while Vallancey did not systematically record the numbers of ringforts, those that he did are referred to by the Irish name of 'rath'. This highlights his own antiquarian background and the influence of Gaelic scholars such as O'Conor.

There is a further example of this approach to nomenclature. South of the town of Tullow in county Carlow, Vallancey depicts two 'moats' on either side of the road (*ibid,* 45). These structures also had the potential to command the southern approaches to the town. Further south, Vallancey indicates a circular structure, which he names the 'moat of the heath'. This structure is located between, and slightly north, of Rathglass Bridge over the Derreen River and Aghaid [Aghade] bridge on the River Slaney. Perhaps, this location is also included in the map of the area because of the military advantage available from the possession of such a site.

However, there is also further evidence of the immediacy and military necessity of Vallancey's survey. Some roads, for instance, were highlighted in a different colour to denote the fact that they have not been surveyed. In addition, and although it is not stated, the depiction of field boundaries appears arbitrary and may have been a symbolic representation to denote cultivated land. It should be borne in mind, however, that these maps were compiled at the beginning of a survey which lasted until 1796, and it may be possible that Vallancey's attention to field monuments developed over this time. On the other hand, it may be possible that his focus remained purely military for the entirety of the survey. In any event, this survey is not a systemic description of the country, but focused instead on the likely approach routes to Dublin and, as such, should not be expected to provide a full description of the antiquities of the countryside.

7.6. Ordnance Survey Fieldwork

It was not until the early decades of the 19th century that a systematic approach to the recording of field monuments was undertaken, following the establishment of the Ordnance Survey (Doherty 2004). The work of some of the Gaelic scholars employed at the Survey has previously been highlighted. However, throughout the fieldwork carried out by the survey particular attention was paid to the presence of antiquities within each area. For example, writing from Cootehill in county Cavan, one of these scholars, John O'Donovan, deduced some of the contemporary functions of ringforts by the modern names attached to them. He noted the use of names such as 'Rakeeragh [and] Lisnalee, i.e. the fort of the Sheep and calves, because the farmers on whose lands they stand, have used them for penning up sheep and calves in them' (O'Donovan 1835, 132-3). He corroborates this notion when he noted that '[w]e have similar instances in *Lios na nGobhar*, (Goats) (now lisnagore)' (*ibid.*). Incidentally, this continued use may have contributed to the preservation of these particular structures in that they fulfilled a practical function.

Other examples can be seen in the reports of some of the military members of the Ordnance Survey. For instance, reporting on the parish of Drumloman in county Cavan, it was recorded that

> 'there are a number of raths, doons or forts as they are generally called in this part of the country … with two exceptions they are all of a circular form and have generally a ditch surrounding them' (Beatty 1835, 14)

It is also mentioned on multiple occasions, in these reports, that those engaged in the survey sought out knowledgeable locals to question regarding local topographical features and antiquities. A report from Brung in county Monaghan states that whereas the majority of townlands contain ringforts, 'many have been obliterated by the husbandmen, whilst a superstitious veneration has preserved others' (Taylor 1835, 86-97). Another note of interest in included in a report on Kilmacteige, county Sligo, where, surely drawing on local knowledge, the surveyor recounts how in 1796, 'the Irish Defenders were encamped in the two adjoining forts of the townland of Rive' (Trimble 1836, 86-97).

However, this interest in local information about ringforts may not have been universal amongst surveyors. Even if it had been, some members of the local communities may not have been willing to share it with them. For example, a Lt. Bennett reporting on the Parish of Drumcree, in county Armagh, in February 1835, writes that a 'few old forts exist in different parts of the parish, but they contain nothing remarkable' (Day & McWilliams 1990, 36). Several months later, in June, he reports from the parish of Kilmore that 'the parish also contains a number of old forts, of which nothing remarkable is mentioned' (*ibid,* 63). Another feature of interest is notable within many of the available accounts concerning field monuments that are contained in the Survey Memoirs. Ringforts are usually included towards the end of the section, and are often the last field monument to be addressed. Could this be an indication that such monuments were viewed as mundane because of their as yet widespread distribution?

7.7. Conclusion

This chapter has further explored the widespread influence of Cambrensis' initial notion concerning the origin of ringforts. It has also highlighted how this influence continued to be felt throughout the 18th and into the early 19th centuries. It has also shown that to some degree this longevity may have been due to the political usefulness of his argument. Although, among surveyors and cartographers, the continued reference to ringforts as 'Danes Forts' may have been simply the ease of use of an accepted convention. It has also been shown how this naming convention eventually lost favour within the discipline of cartography and surveying and that the demise of this convention was due to the work of the same antiquarians who promoted the idea of their correct origin within the learned societies.

This chapter has also highlighted that correct information concerning the background of ringforts was present in some early maps. These maps may have been the result of surveys

undertaken in collaboration with the local occupants of the land in question. There are, however, only rare examples of this information being included in later maps. As a result, questions may be raised concerning the level of interaction between outside surveyors and the local inhabitants of these areas. These were, of course, periods of warfare and civil strife, when such difficulties in communication were easily understandable. However, it is interesting that during the 18th century, when the questions concerning ringfort origins were being debated in academic circles, that the accepted naming convention was still used in the field by surveyors. These surveyors worked for the landowners and the continued use of the phrase 'Danes Fort' may be because it still resonated with those who may have felt themselves to be different from those for whom the Gaelic interpretation of these structures would have been more common.

It can be seen, in several instances at least, where ringforts were later adapted or at least allocated a potential practical function. Bearing the convention of 'Forts' in mind, it seems ironic that some monuments came to be actually used as military fortifications. This developed in some cases as a result of organised military defence, as in the case of Fort Mountnorris, where a bivallate ringfort was converted into a permanent garrison, but also as a result of individual security concerns, as in the case of Mr Flowerdew in Co. Fermanagh, who converted a ringfort into a defended homestead. These, of course, were understandable developments in an insecure and hostile area. It may even have been that these structures were initially perceived as originally having a specific military function. Further evidence of mundane activities can be perceived in the maps that show some ringforts as continuing as places of habitation, or rather that some had at least been reoccupied due to their specific importance as ritual sites.

Interestingly, this continued practical use of some ringforts may appear to contradict the notion of these structures as having a close association with the supernatural. However, it appears that this association may not have been universal. Rather any ringfort, perhaps due to its form, location or appearance, could possess the potential for a supernatural association to form. Whether such a relationship eventually developed would depend on the specific context within the surrounding environment and, perhaps, whether such a potential association was understood and respected by those who encountered these monuments. It may be possible that practical considerations would have influenced, perhaps even delayed, the development of a supernatural link even within the local community. What is also of interest is to understand that, once such an association was formed, did such an attribution of function remained fixed

or did it retain a certain degree of fluidity? In the following chapter, it is proposed to examine several study areas to explore how local communities viewed these monuments. In doing so, it is expected that information concerning, among other things, the possible practical reuse, or at least the presence of conditions that may have promoted the reuse, of ringforts in each locality will be revealed.

CHAPTER 8: THE DESTRUCTION OF RINGFORTS IN TWO BARONIES OF COUNTY CORK.

8.1. Introduction

The previous chapters have investigated how ringforts were perceived by various communities within Irish society during the period under examination. Another major element of this undertaking will involve an examination of how these perceptions influenced behaviour towards these monuments. Such behaviour is likely to have been particularly relevant in a local context, as it was here that most opportunities for interaction existed. To enable a wide range of information to be gathered it was decided to focus on several dispersed geographical areas. The choice of these areas was influenced by the possibility of a specific influence being prevalent in them. As an initial step it is necessary to establish if an appreciable difference in ringfort numbers over time in these areas can be confirmed. If this is the case, it is then proposed to carry out a comparative study of these numbers using available cartographic and photographic resources, as this comparison will allow the determination of the rate of change in these areas over time.

Where such a rate of change is confirmed, it is proposed to examine the economic and social developments within the areas during the same period. An important element of this chapter will be to compare the results of this investigation with the rate of decline of ringforts in these areas. It is hoped that a particular type of development in each locality can be associated with specific outcomes in regards to individual monuments. The chosen study areas consist of two distinct and separate geographical areas within county Cork. Both of these were, at one time, part of the Devonshire estate. The first is located in the east of the county, and is concentrated around the Bride River valley, while the second is located in the mid-Cork region, around the town of Bandon. These areas were chosen because important cartographic evidence which pre-dated the Ordnance Survey of the early to mid-19th century existed for these areas.

Another factor that influenced this decision to study these areas was the expectation that as they both were under the same ownership that a similar attitude towards field monuments might have prevailed. If different agricultural activities, dictated by differing soil conditions and climate, predominated in each area, this might offer an insight into how different agricultural practices would affect ringforts. A comparison with sites outside the estate, on the

other hand, might provide evidence regarding attitudes towards ringforts within different sections of the community. As mentioned above, both these areas were the subject of estate surveys carried out prior to the national Ordnance Survey of the 19th century. In combination with more practical considerations, the earlier maps provide evidence of ringfort distribution within these two areas. The east Cork region provides some of the earliest evidence for comprehensive representation of ringforts. This area was part of a survey by a local man, Josias Bateman, in 1716 and maps from this survey were published in 1717.

Bateman had also been contracted to survey the second study area in mid-Cork. However, no evidence is available that this portion of the survey was carried out. Bernard Scalé surveyed both these sections of the estate between 1774 and 1775. He appears to have been more meticulous in his approach to recording field monuments, as more ringforts are depicted on his maps. The Ordnance Survey surveyed these regions during the nationwide undertaking in the 19th century. In addition, they were subject to revision between the end of the century and the beginning of the 20th century for the second edition of these maps. Modern satellite images and aerial photographs are also available for these two areas. These recent technological developments have confirmed the location of most of the ringforts shown on these maps and have provided evidence for previously unrecorded sites.

The unrecorded sites, mostly visible as cropmarks, may be compared with known ringforts. It is proposed to make use of a variety of technologies in order to achieve this goal. All sites are examined through satellite images and a sub-sample are further explored through higher resolution photogrammetric images. These are located in areas that have been carefully selected for further study.

The study of these two baronies begins with a description of the geographical conditions, including an examination of the bedrock and overlying soil conditions, the availability of water sources, and the topography of each area. These details are included to help ascertain the degree that natural conditions may have influenced the development of agricultural practices, as during the period of focus both of these baronies remained predominately rural in character. Consequently, the principal economic activity was agricultural in nature. An understanding of how economic activity developed over time is sought through the study of documentary sources, map indexes and historical accounts. These may include information such as changes in land ownership, the implementation of different farming practices and of eventual land

improvement. Other activities that had the potential to affect ringfort preservation are also examined, including infrastructural development such as road, railway and bridge construction.

However, a more in-depth examination sometimes reveals further pertinent information. For example, changes in ringfort numbers in each study area are quantified and associated with a particular date range. In addition, the degree to which the perceptions discussed in previous chapters may have influenced behaviour towards is examined and, finally, any change in ringfort numbers may be associated with a particular type of activity.

8.2. Geographical Layout

8.2.1. Introduction

County Cork is defined geographically by a system of ridges and valleys that traverse the region in a west-east direction. Consequently, the major river systems also flow for the most of their route in a similar direction. The geological bedrock of the Cork region is predominately composed of Devonian Old Red Sandstone. This sedimentary rock was laid down during the Devonian period of the Palaeozoic era, between 450 and 360 million years ago [MYA]. At the beginning of this era, what is now Ireland comprised part of a large continent named Laurasia. During the sedimentation process, sand and gravel were washed southwards from the Caledonian mountains. This sediment accumulated in a shallow sea in what is now the south and southwest of the country. This area later became known as 'The Munster Basin'. In the centre of this basin, the sandstone is characterised by an appearance of fine-grained fluvial facies (Woodcock 2000, 136).

During this formation process, the geographical position of Ireland was closer to the equator. The warm and dry climate conditions here caused the iron contained in these deposits to oxidise. Hence, the distinctive colour of the sandstone in this area. Later, during the Variscan Orogeny, a collision of the continents of Laurasia and Gondwana created the super-continent of Pangea (Warr 2000, 271). A zone of contact was situated to the north of county Cork and this caused a folding and uplifting of the sandstone bedrock. The process of collision exerted pressure in a north-south direction and so the resulting folding process occurred along an east-west axis. Because of this the characteristic ridge and valley landscape of the region is orientated in the same direction. In a later period, during the Midlandian glaciation, ice sheets

from the Cork-Kerry mountain region expanded to affect the area south of the Boggeragh Mountains (Gardiner & Radford 1980, 6).

8.2.2 Kinnatalloon

As expected, this barony is topographically defined by the ridge and valley system and is drained by two of the major rivers within the county, the Blackwater and the Bride (see figure 12). Both of these run in a west-east direction because of the layout of the area. Although further, downstream the Blackwater makes an abrupt turn to the south and this allows the Bride to join it at a point outside of this study area. The majority of the townlands included in this study are located south of the River Bride, although some few of interest are located to the north (see appendix). The southern townlands are situated between the river and an area of high ground further to the south. This ridgeline contains heights that straddle the 200m mark, with a height of 229m in the townland of Glentrasna South and another of 197.5m in Ballyknock South. On the other hand, heights in proximity of the river are much lower with a height of 19.5m shown just west of Conna. Further upstream heights of 22.5m and 23m are shown in proximity to the village of Aghern, whereas, further downstream, near Kilmacow, a height of 8.5m is highlighted (OSI 2018).

The bedrock in this region of the Barony of Kinnatalloon is predominately Old Red Sandstone [ORS], with sandstone, conglomerate and mudstone (GSI 2018). There is however, a band of Tournaisian limestone present either side of the River Bride. This bedrock dominates the countryside around the village of Conna and surrounding townlands. Another outcrop of Tournaisian Limestone is present just north of here and is separated from the riverine area by a band of sandstone (*ibid.*). The presence of this limestone is a result of water erosion down to an earlier geological layer and indicates that the ground here would be more beneficial for agriculture, particularly arable farming. South of the River Bride the associated subsoil is composed of glacial till with a variety of loamy soils. River alluvium is laid down adjacent to the river itself. Further outwards there is an area of coarse loamy soil with siliceous stones included. This blends into a more elongated area of fine loamy soil, again, with siliceous stones. In the southern area of the barony is located an area of fine loamy soil over sandstone bedrock (Teagasc 2018). This corresponds to the area of high ground located in the south of the study area. The soils in the study area are classified in the Teagasc (*ibid.*) soil maps as being predominately of brown podzols at 60% concentration in rolling lowland and with

associated soils of acid brown earths and gleys at 20% each. However, there is a band along the River Bride where acid brown earths predominate (70%), with associated grey brown podzolics and gleys (15% each). Although, to the south lies hilly ground which contains brown podzols at a higher concentration of brown podzolic soil (80%) with associated gleys (15%) and podzils (5%).



Figure 12. General map of Kinnatalloon barony, Co. Cork

As mentioned above, the majority of the townlands within the chosen study area have as a northern boundary the south bank of the River Bride. A number of smaller rivers and unnamed streams in turn feed this river. These rise for the most part in the high ground to the south and drain in a mostly northerly direction to empty into the Bride. Of these rivers and streams, the Douglas River is the most important as it drains the largest catchment area. Downstream it is joined by another river, the Togher, and this junction marks the meeting point of the townlands of Ballinleggane, Ballylusky and Killavarilly. The Shanakill River rises further east and runs almost directly north, draining the middle of the study area and emptying into the Bride just east of the village of Conna. Further east again from here the Glenaboy River rises. This also runs in a predominately south-north direction and passes through the town of Tallow shortly

before meeting the Bride. The flow of these streams and rivers indicates a regular fall of ground from the southern ridgeline to the river Bride, which may facilitate drainage of the area.

8.2.3. Kinalmeaky

This barony is defined by its relationship to the River Bandon, which divides it (see figure 13). However, all the townlands included in this study are situated on the northern side of the river as this was the extent of the Devonshire Estate in this barony. This area is also defined by the aforementioned ridge and valley system. The highest ground in this study area is found to the north of the barony, where the highest point of 221m is located in the townland of Scariff (OSI 2018). Similar notable heights are located in the neighbouring townlands of Garranes and Moneen. In these two townlands, respective altitudes of 172m and 174m are present. In contrast, further south in the townland of Carhoon East, the bank of the river Bandon is shown at 22m, although it quickly climbs to 31.5 at field level. Further west along the river in the townland of Teadies Lower a similar field is shown as being at 35.5m OD (*ibid.*).

The Bandon River flows in a west-east direction and interestingly only one tributary joins it downstream of the town of Bandon. This is the Brinny River, which the Sall River joins upstream from this junction. This latter river is itself joined further upstream of this junction by the Ballymahane River. These latter two tributaries also flow in a mainly westeast direction prior to meeting the Brinny. After this joining, the Brinny River then flows in a southeast direction for roughly half its length, before taking a more southerly course for its remainder. It joins the Bandon River downstream of the town of Bandon, at Dundaniel. The area around this confluence was the site of an early 17th century shipyard and foundry, established by the East India Company. This choice of location is unlikely to have been a coincidence, as waterpower could be used to transport raw materials to the site from the surrounding woodlands. Finally, the initial west-east course of these rivers suggests an unevenness in the fall of ground from the heights to the north to the bank of the river. The direction in which water flows indicates intermediate areas of high ground between the rivers. However, the main fall of ground from the north is likely to have created areas of marshy ground between the southern bank of the tributary rivers and the patches of high ground further south. These wet ground conditions are likely to have influenced the type of agriculture that developed here.

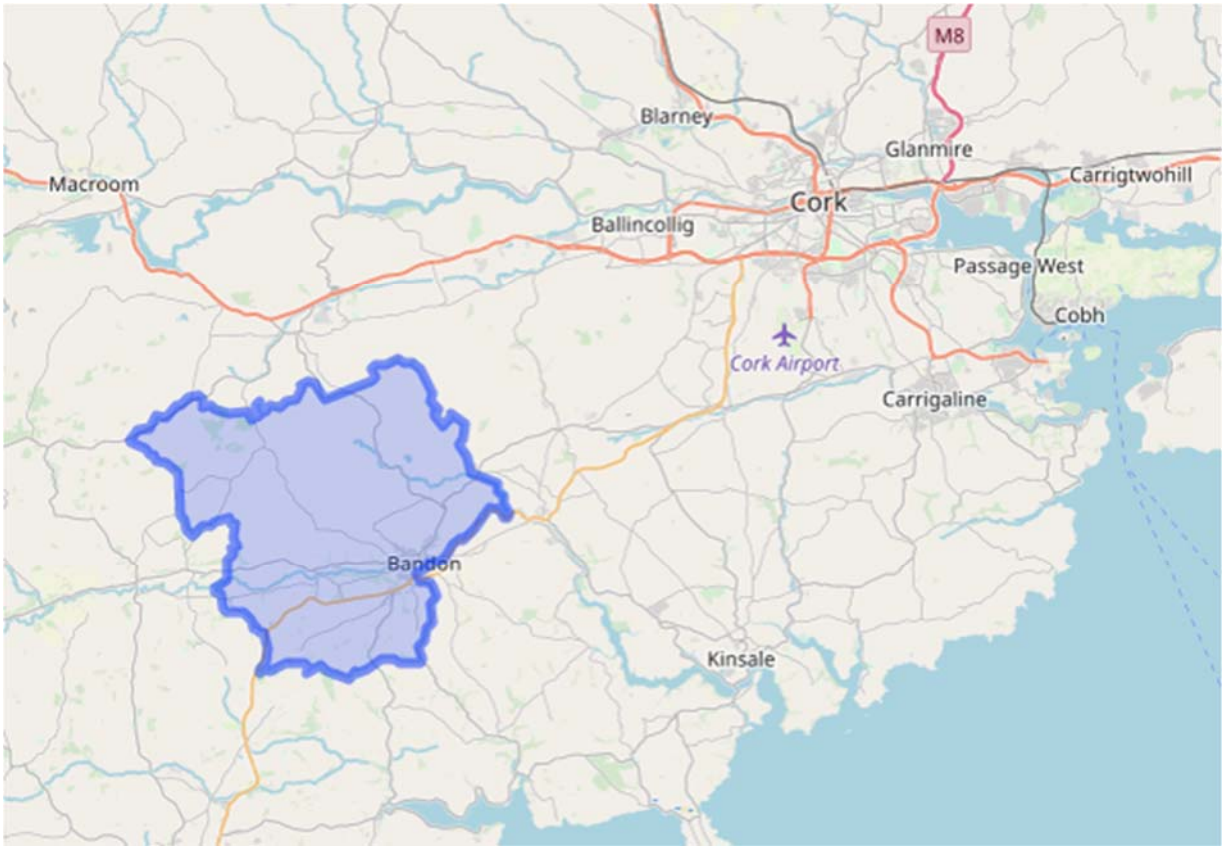


Figure 13. General map of Kinalmeaky barony, Co. Cork

In the portion of this barony located north of the River Bandon, the bedrock consists mainly of Tournaisian sandstone, mudstone and limestone (GSI 2018). However, an outcrop of carboniferous volcanic rock is present in an area bounded by the townlands of Callatrim, Little Silver, Mishells, and Shinagh in the parish of Kilbrogan. Further north from the main band of bedrock and running parallel to the river a band of Devonian sandstone and mudstone is present. Further north again in the main area of high ground is an area of ORS, sandstone, conglomerate and mudstone. Here the presence of limestone near the river is a mark of erosion, but also draws attention to the better areas for farming. The associated soil conditions here are composed of coarse loamy drift with siliceous stones (Teagasc 2018). Although an area of fine loamy soil over a sandstone bedrock is noted in the townlands of Kilnagnady and Scartnamuck, *etc*. around the height marker 155m.

8.3 Comparative Study of Ringfort Representation

8.3.1. Introduction

An in-depth description of individual townlands has been included in the accompanying catalogues. These catalogues highlight the numbers of field monuments present in each townland and the change, if any, affecting individual ringforts over the period under examination. However, to understand fully the wider level of change it is necessary to provide a more general overview of the rate of decline in ringfort numbers. It is expected that this permits a greater appreciation of regional and perhaps national trends, and this is achieved by calculating the overall level of destruction rates in each townland of both study areas. It should be remembered, however, that the earliest available survey, that of Bateman (1717), does not appear to provide a reliable and consistent baseline with regards to the representation of ringforts. That said, in some instances this survey (1717, maps 50 & 56) does include individual monuments no longer present in the later surveys and thereby contributes to the compilation of the total number of ringforts present in the wider study area.

While Bateman appears to omit some clearly visible sites on his maps it can be claimed with a degree of certainty that those that he does represent were present at the time of survey. This then allows for the calculation, within certain townlands, of the rate of change of ringforts from the beginning of the 18th century. Nevertheless, this does not extend over a broad enough area to aid the creation of an overall picture. In addition, of the 60 townlands of the barony of Kinnatalloon included in this study, just over half, 33, were surveyed by both Bateman (1717) and Scalé (1774). Of these townlands, ringforts are shown as being present in 23. In the majority of the relevant townlands, Bateman depicts a lesser number of ringforts. In just four townlands, those of Ballinlegane, Ballyknock North, Garraneribbeen, and Rathdrum, are the same number of monuments depicted as in the later (1774) survey of Scalé. Furthermore, in only three townlands, Lackbrack, Mogeely Lower, and Mogeely Upper, has Bateman (1717) shown a higher number of ringforts than Scalé (1774).

For this reason, it seems appropriate to use the surveys by Scalé (1774 – 5) as a baseline for this comparative study. Scalé appears noticeably more conscientious in his depiction of each townland and of some of the monuments contained within. Here again, however, it should be emphasised that apparently in order to be recorded such monuments had to have a certain level of visibility. For example, in the townland of Garranes, in the barony of Kinalmeaky, Scalé (1775, map 29) does not depict the ringfort of ‘Lisnaboul’ (CO096-010). This may be

because the field where this monument is located is shown as ploughed. In contrast to this, Scalé is careful to depict the partily levelled ringfort of Lisheenagreine (CO084-090). Furthermore, in the townland of Kilnacranagh West, also in Kinalmeaky barony, he provides no indication for the presence of a 'cashel', CO 109-004 (Scalé, 1775, map 17). This may be a consequence of the roughness of the terrain in this location. Thankfully, however, these sites are included in the later OS maps (1841 – 2 & 1903, 109) of the area. This may be a reflection on the diligence of the surveyors. This diligence may have been, to some degree, motivated by the political and cultural utility of promoting evidence that highlighted earlier occupation of the surveyed lands by the Irish themselves. Finally, the presence of a circular soil marks, at ITM grid coordinates 543918, 556156, and another crop mark, at 543034, 556104, in the townland of Carhoon West (Vol. II, 275-280) suggests that a certain level of destruction took place within this barony prior to the commission of Scalé (1775) to undertake his survey.

8.3.2. Kinatalloon

In the barony of Kinnatalloon, in East Cork, information that can be dated to the 18th century is available for 60 townlands. As mentioned above, however, the compilation of a timeline is not feasible for some of these townlands. Some of these 60 townlands were included in Josias Bateman's survey (1717), but not in the later survey by Bernard Scalé (1774), and vice versa. However, taking Scalé's (*ibid.*) survey as a baseline, it is possible to compare 43 of these 60 townlands with later Ordnance Survey [OS] maps (1841 – 2 & 1902 – 4). Of these, 25 townlands contain evidence as to the presence of ringforts. Within these, Scalé (1774) included depictions of 60 ringforts on his maps. By the period that the first OS maps (1841 – 2) were created, the overall number of ringforts within these same townlands had fallen to 26. This represents a decline in numbers of 56.67%.

At the time of the second OS edition (1902 – 4) revisions, the numbers of recorded ringforts had declined to 14. This represents a decline in numbers of 46.16% from that portrayed on the first edition OS maps (1841 – 2). However, it represents an overall fall in numbers of 76.67% from those depicted on Scalé's baseline (1774) maps, with 30.11% destroyed between 1841 – 2 and 1902 – 4. Presently 11 ringforts are shown as extant within the townlands included in this study. This represents a decline of 21.5% from the second edition OS maps of the early 20th century. In summary, there was an overall decline in ringforts numbers between 1774 and 2018 of 81.67% across these townlands (Vol II, 10).

Subtracting the two earlier totals from this overall number allows the calculation that 5.05% of all ringforts were destroyed during this latter period, essentially the 20th century. Interestingly, when the number of extant ringforts throughout the entire barony, 17, is calculated as a percentage of the total possible number of ringforts, 91, discernible on maps and images from the beginning of the 18th century to the present, a decline in numbers of 81.32% from Bateman (1717) to the present day (2018) is evident.

A similar picture is achieved when the individual parishes of the barony are examined. The parish of Aghern shows a decrease from 30 ringforts in 1774 to 10 in 1841 – 2, a rate of decline of 66%. There then appears to be a decline to five monuments by 1902 – 4. This is a rate of decline of 50% from the mid-19th century, though the overall rate of decline is 83.34%. From this information, a decline in overall numbers of 23.34% for this intermediate period between 1841 – 2 and 1902 – 4, can be calculated. Numbers have remained static until the present day and therefore a decline in ringfort numbers from 1774 to the present day (2018) within the parish of 83.34% is evident (Vol II, 11). The townland of Garryantaggart was not included in this study as although it was surveyed by Bateman (1717, map 40) it was not included in Scalé's 1774 survey. However, the first series OS map depicts an example of a ringfort, which had disappeared by the second series revisions. Therefore, if this townland had been taken into account the overall destruction rate would have been slightly higher, although the percentage may have remained the same.

A similar outcome is apparent in the parish of Ballynoe, from which the townland of Garryduff has been excluded as it was not surveyed by Scalé (1774). Of these townlands that are comparable, in other words those containing ringforts that were surveyed by Scalé, 13 examples of ringforts were included by Scalé. By the time when the first edition OS maps (1841 – 2) were created this number had fallen to six. This represents a rate of decline of 53.85%. The second edition OS maps created following later revisions show that numbers had further fallen to just three. This represents a decline of 50% from the mid-19th century survey and an overall rate of decline of 75.93%. However, subtraction of the rate of decline from 1774 to 1841 – 2 allows the rate of decline for this period, 22.08%, to be deduced. The number of ringforts in this parish has not declined further since the beginning of the 20th century and therefore the overall rate of decline between 1774 and the present (2018) can be calculated at 75.93% of ringforts (Vol II, 13).

The parish of Knockmourne highlights an even more dramatic decrease in ringfort numbers throughout the study period. In the comparable townlands, Scalé (1774) depicts 12 ringforts. The first edition of the maps (1841 – 2) created following the Ordnance Survey include depictions of seven examples in the same townlands. This represents a rate of decline of 42.66%. By the time of the revised second edition maps, this number had further fallen to three. This represents a decline for this period of 53.85% and an overall rate of 75%. A rate of decline in overall numbers can also be calculated for this period when 32.33% of ringforts disappeared. Presently there are no ringforts extant in this parish and so a decline of 25% occurred during the 20th and early 21st centuries. The overall rate of decline in this parish is then obviously 100% (Vol II, 15). The steady rate of decline from the late 18th century to the present is also obvious.

It should be emphasised that the townlands of this parish are located in the environs of the long established village of Conna, and this proximity may account for the complete disappearance of ringforts here. The requirement to provide this settlement with nourishment may have seen the neighbouring lands subjected to arable farming at an earlier date than elsewhere, and the cultivation of the land associated with this type of farming could have affected ringforts in the area. For instance, an aerial survey (DG, 2011 – 3) of the nearby townland of Cooladurragh uncovered the presence of four circular crop marks. None of these were recorded by Scalé (1774, map 2a) or on the OS maps (1841 & 1904 – 5, 37 & 46). As such, this may indicate that some level of destruction had occurred in the countryside around Conna prior to Scalé's survey of 1774. Bateman (1717) created no map of this townland for his survey, although he did mention it in the accompanying index, where he noted the presence of a 'grist mill' there. This particular type of operation milled the grain of surrounding farmers while keeping a percentage of the flour as payment. This activity supports the suggestion that the locality may have been an area of arable farming from an early period.

The final parish of Mogeely is more difficult to analyse for Scalé (1774) did not include four of its townlands in his survey. In addition, five other townlands show no evidence of the presence of ringforts on any of the maps or aerial images. This leaves five townlands that can be compared. In three other townlands Bateman (1717) portrays a higher number of ringforts than Scalé (1774), indicating a loss of four ringforts in these particular townlands between the 1717 survey and that of 1774. In two other instances Scalé (1774) shows a ringfort in a townland where Bateman (1717) recorded none. This results in five ringforts in these comparable townlands. By the time of the first edition OS maps, this number had been reduced

to three. No further change takes place here as regards ringfort numbers and the three remain extant today (2018). Therefore, a decrease of two ringforts from Scalé (1774) to the first series OS maps represents a decrease of 40% and as no further decline in numbers took place this is also the decline between 1774 and the present (Vol II, 17). However, it must again be stressed that in this parish a significant level of destruction seems to have occurred between 1717 and 1774. Unfortunately, as Bateman (1717) omitted some ringforts that were included in later surveys, and indeed two examples that are extant, he again proves unreliable as an observer.

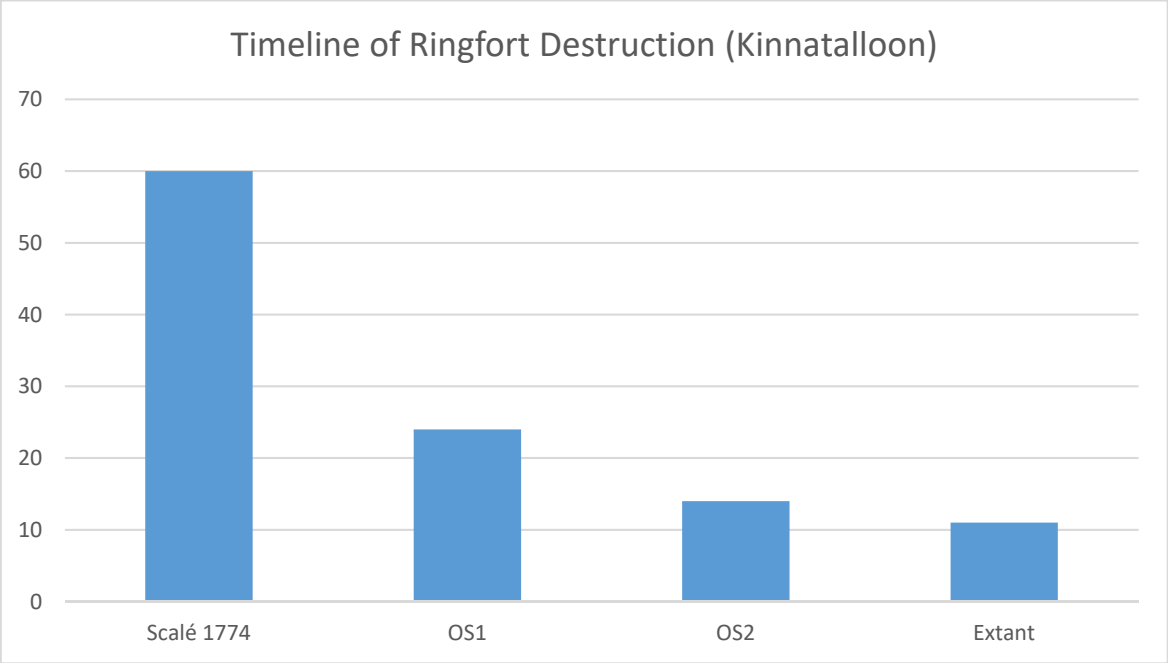


Figure 14. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Kinnatalloon barony, Co. Cork

Further evidence exists that some level of ringfort destruction may have occurred in this barony even prior to Bateman's (1717) survey. The townland of Garycaheragh, in Aghern parish, is described in-depth in chapter two of the catalogue. It has already been mentioned the 1774 survey of Scalé was more precise than Bateman's earlier one of 1717. Bateman, however, did accurately portray townland boundaries, thereby suggesting that these were charted by him at the time of survey. Any important feature likely to have been visible from the boundary is also included on the accompanying map. This can be seen in his rare depiction of other archaeological monuments, as well as ringforts. These are located in the townland of Killcafe [Kilcalfmountain], south of Tallow in west county Waterford: in an area of the townland noted

as ‘the inclosed mount’ he depicts a stone row and refers to this as ‘The 2 long stones’. Moore (NMS, 1999) indicates that this monument (WA 033-008) is still in place, but that the two stones are now lying flat on the ground.

It is in the interior of the townlands that Bateman’s accuracy diminishes. However, an examination of modern aerial images (DG, 2011 – 3) indicates the presence of two circular features in Garycaheragh that are not noted on any earlier map. One of these is located just east of a farm located in the middle of the townland. This location is marked on Bateman’s (1717, map 56) as a small group of houses. In his accompanying index, however, Bateman describes this as the location of a village of 14 or 15 houses, which seems to correspond to the accepted definition of a ‘clachan’. But it is the second circular feature that is of most interest for this study (Vol II, 33-7).

This feature is located near the southern boundary of the townland and first became visible in the examination of recent aerial imagery (DG, 2011 – 3). A decision was then made to focus on this site more in-depth. For during his survey, Bateman (1717) appeared to have followed the townland boundaries and accurately depicted any field monuments visible from that viewpoint. Because of the proximity of this site to the boundary in Garycaheragh, he might be expected to have included such a structure in his map of this townland. A visit to this location ascertained that the site was situated on a forward slope about 75m from the stream that marked this boundary. This indicates that the site, if extant, would have been clearly visible to someone surveying this stream. A very slight circular mound was visible at ground level.

More defined imagery of the area was sought from a commercial survey company, Blue Sky Survey (2018). These images provided a clearer image of the form and diameter of the circular feature. However, it was decided to revisit the location when grass growth had diminished and to survey the site by drone to produce a higher definition image of this feature. Once the images from these flights were analysed, they confirmed the circular form of the slight bank and the internal diameter of approximately 30m. The possible presence of a gap in the southeast portion of the feature is also visible on the latter images. The location of such an opening is frequently found in ringforts, in the majority of cases in this particular section of the bank (Edwards 1990, 21). This might reinforce the notion that this site was originally a ringfort. That this monument was not included in Bateman’s (1717) map strongly suggests that the site



Figure 15. Photogrammetry images of Garycaheragh townland, Co. Cork, showing ringfort CO045-073 and two previously unrecorded sites (Blue Sky Survey 2017)

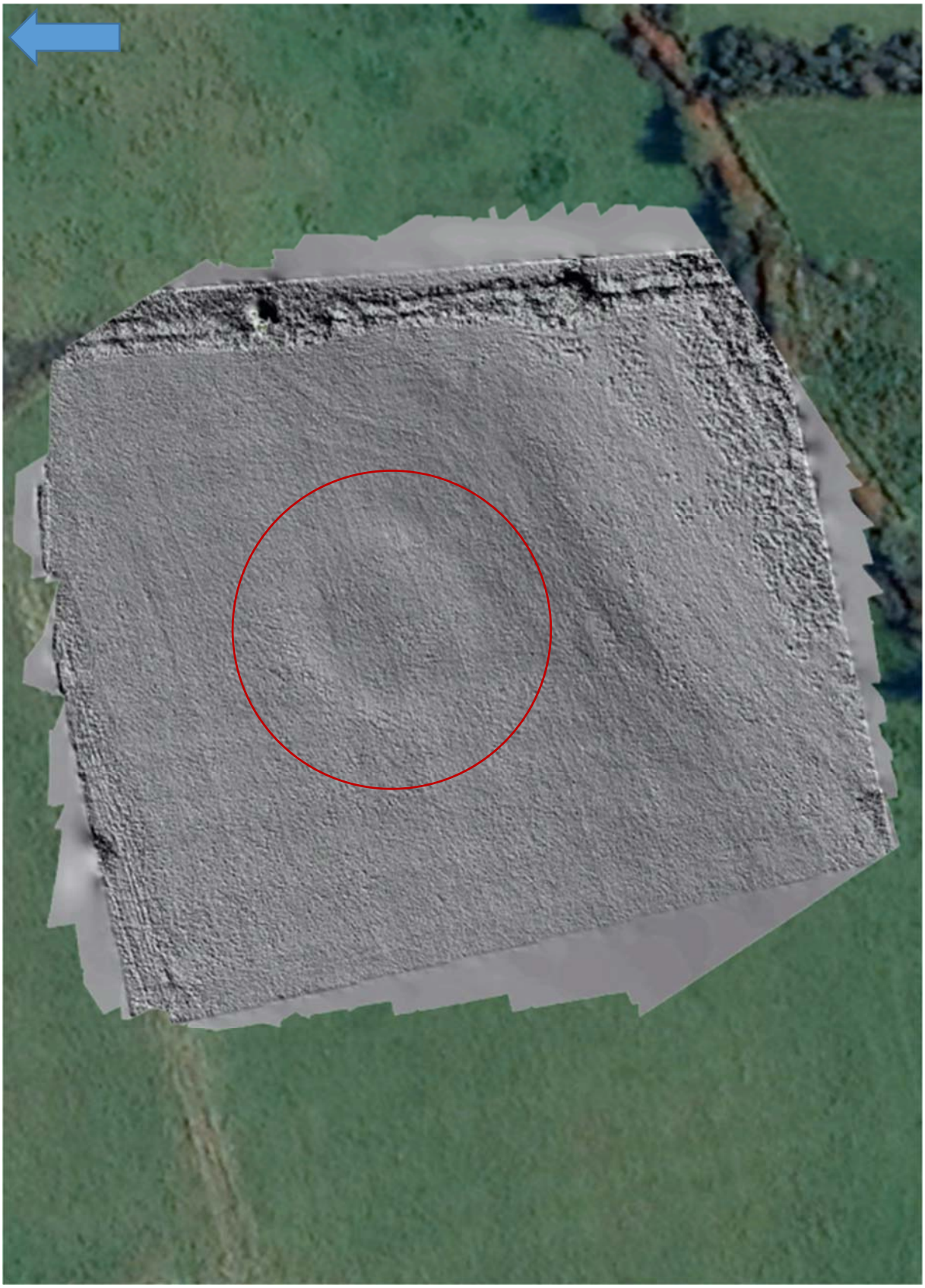


Figure 16. Photogrammetry image of possible ringfort, Garycaheragh, Co. Cork (O'Riordan 2018)

had been seriously degraded prior to the undertaking of this survey. Furthermore, possible cultivation lines are visible on the images developed from the drone flight and these may provide an answer to the eventual removal of this monument.

8.3.3. Kinalmeaky

Although Bateman had also been engaged to survey this part of the Devonshire Estate no evidence remains that this was undertaken or that any maps were produced. Therefore, the comparative study of this area must begin with Scalé's 1775 survey, bearing in mind that some level of destruction is likely to have occurred before this survey was carried out. This is indicated, for instance, the presence of a circular soil mark in the townland of Carhoon West. There are also indications that a wider level of destruction actually took place. For instance, Scalé (1775) surveyed six townlands in the parish of Killowen and in which not even one ringfort was recorded, although the presence of a souterrain was later recorded in one of these in Tullyglass (Ó Ríordáin 1935, 50-1). These monuments are frequently associated with ringforts and its presence may indicate that an associated over-ground structure was destroyed prior to Scalé's 1775 survey.

Scalé (1775) recorded 49 ringforts in his survey of this barony. However, when the first edition OS maps were created this number had declined to 33. This represents a rate of decline of 32.66%. Between the time of the first edition OS maps and the second editions created following revision, the numbers of ringforts had further fallen to 22. This represents a rate of decline of 33.33% for this period, and a 55.11% fall in overall numbers. Furthermore, there are presently 14 ringforts extant in the townlands surveyed by Scalé. This represents a rate of decrease of 36.37% from the early 20th century, and a 71.43% fall in numbers overall (Vol II, 233). It is noticeable here, in contrast to Kinnatalloon that the fall in numbers, while equally substantial, occurred in a more regular manner. This may suggest that no event occurred during the period spanned by this study that had the potential to dramatically increase the rate of ringfort destruction. However, indications of some earlier destruction means that the possibility that such an event occurred prior to the earliest available survey cannot be discounted.

It is more difficult to carry out a comparative study here at parish level. This is because in a number of parishes the amount of ringforts, and the number of townlands where they are present, is very low. In fact, and as already stated, in one parish, Killowen, no ringforts at all

were recorded (Vol II, 238). In a neighbouring parish, only four of the ten townlands surveyed by Scale (1775) indicate the presence of ringforts. Even more unfortunate, by the time of the first series OS map, nine of these ten contain no ringforts (Vol II, 236). Indeed, just two parishes, those of Brinny and Templemartin, provide evidence of a strong presence of ringforts at the end of the 18th century. Together they provide 77.55% of the ringforts depicted on Scale's maps. It is of note that these parishes are at some distance from the urban site of Bandon. It may prove instructive to examine the degree to which this factor may have contributed to this elevated survival rate. This factor of distance, geographical but perhaps also chronological, may also have contributed to a higher rate of destruction in other parishes. It is in this vein of study that each parish will be examined.

Scalé (1775) depicts 14 ringforts on his maps of the townlands surveyed in the parish of Brinny. On the first edition OS maps (1841) this number has fallen to nine, and a rate of decline of 35.72% can therefore be calculated. In the period between this latter survey and the revised second edition maps, the number of ringforts has further fallen to four. In this instance, a rate of decline of 55.56% can be deduced for this period and a rate of 71.43% in overall numbers. Presently, three of these monuments are extant, giving a rate of decrease of 25% since the second edition OS maps and an overall rate of 78.58% since the beginning of the period (Vol II, 235). Within the parish of Kilbrogan, Scalé (1775) depicts five ringforts in the ten townlands included in his survey. On the first edition OS maps, these numbers had dropped to two and both were contained within the one townland, Mallowgaton. This represents a drop of 60% over this period, and as no further change has taken place this remains the rate of decline from 1775 to the present day (Vol II, 237). It may be of note that the townland where these two ringforts are situated is located in the north-west corner of this parish, making it the furthest townland in the parish from the town of Bandon and from the river of the same name.

The adjacent parish of Killowen presents an even more dismal picture. No evidence is available in any of the surveys for the presence of ringforts here at the time under examination (Vol II, 238). As mentioned above, however, some monuments seem to have been present at some earlier stage. If so, this may suggest the occurrence of activity likely to negatively affect ringforts prior to the earliest survey (Scalé, 1775). One reason for this lack of monuments may be that this parish bounds the River Bandon and is located upstream of the town. In another parish, that of Kinneigh, Scalé (1775, map 17) omits to include a 'cashel' in his map of the townland of Kilnacranagh. This may have been a result of the rough nature of the terrain or perhaps the resemblance of the monument to a small field. It might even be that convention

required a structure to be of earthen construction to be considered a 'Danes Fort'. In any event, just two of the four townlands surveyed in this parish each contained a single ringfort. No change occurred here until the 20th century, when the ringfort in Teadies Lower is no longer recorded. This represents a rate of decline in recent times of 50%. (Vol II, 238-240)

Within the penultimate parish of Murragh, Scalé (1775) depicts five ringforts in the four townlands he surveyed. Unfortunately, here also he neglects to record a 'cashel' in the townland of Tullyglass. If this is included, for it is still intact, a total of six is available. On the other hand, the souterrain excavated by Ó Ríordáin in Tullyglass will not be included for these monuments are not always associated with ringforts. By the time of the first edition OS maps (1841 – 2), the recorded number had dwindled to four, although a still extant ringfort in the townland of Sranaviddoge is not recorded in either of the OS maps. If this is taken into account, a decrease from six to five has occurred in this time, thereby representing a rate of decline of 16.66%. These numbers had further declined to three ringforts by the time of the revised second edition maps. This represents a 40% decrease over this period and an overall rate of decline of 50%. This number of ringforts remain extant to the present day and as such, an overall decline in numbers of half can be calculated from 1775 until now (Vol II, 242). Of further note, the townlands where ringforts remain extant are those that are furthest from the River Bandon.

The final parish surveyed by Scalé (1775), Templemartin, is the most intriguing in this barony because of the numbers of ringforts present and for their size and importance. In only one of the eight townlands surveyed was there no evidence of ringforts. Of the remaining seven townlands, five indicated the presence of multiple ringforts. Of particular note are the townlands of Garranes and Moneen, (Vol II, 243) where seven examples are shown in each townland. In fact, this parish, on its own, contained nearly half (24) of all the ringforts (49) portrayed in Scalé's (1775) survey. Although, as Scalé neglected to include one example, that of Lisnaboul, the number here is even higher. That so many ringforts remained intact at the time of Scalé's 1775 survey may be a reflection on the location of this parish on the northern boundary of the barony, for this meant that it was located furthest from the major urban centre in the valley, the town of Bandon.

Of the 24 ringforts portrayed by Scalé (1775) in this parish, this number had fallen to 16 by the time of the first edition OS maps (1842). This represented a rate of decline of 33.33%. By the time the revisions for the second edition were undertaken (1903) the number of ringforts

had further fallen to 12. This represented a decrease over the intervening period of 25% and an overall rate of decline of 50%. Presently, there just five of these monuments extant in this parish. Thus the rate of decline for the twentieth-century period is 59.33%, and the overall decrease in numbers between 1775 and the present day is 79.17% (Vol II, 244). Strangely, the period of the greatest risk to ringforts within this parish appears to have been from the beginning of the 20th century. This is particularly interesting when it is considered that protective legislation has been in place for the majority of this period. As such, it should be expected that this period would have seen the lowest rate of decline of the entire study period.

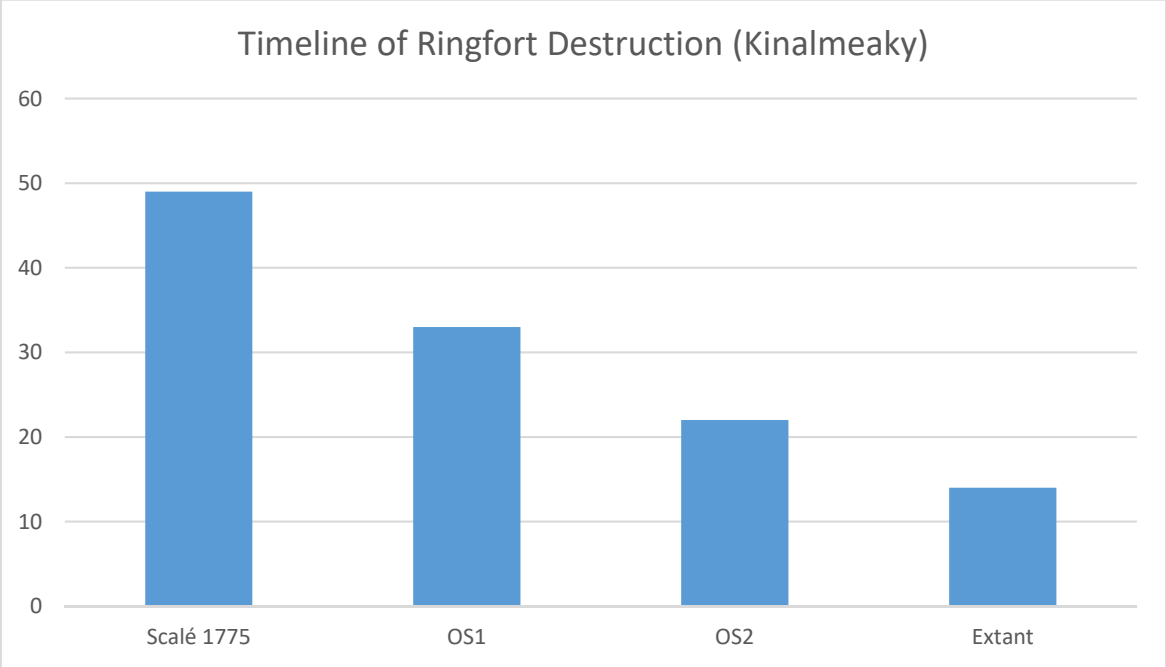


Figure 17. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Kinalmeaky barony, Co. Cork

8.3.4. Conclusion

One of the major conclusions that can be drawn from this comparative study is the high rate of destruction of ringforts in these two Cork baronies throughout the period under investigation. To reiterate, in one of the baronies, Kinnatalloon, there is evidence of rate of decline of 81.67% between 1774 and the present day, and there is some evidence that a certain level of destruction occurred prior to this. Therefore, the actual rate of decline is likely more important than highlighted by this survey. In the other barony, Kinalmeaky, the rate of decline, although significant, was not as severe during this period. Comparison of the available data indicates a

rate of decline here of 71.43%. Again, it must be emphasised that within this barony there is also some evidence to suggest that a level of destruction occurred prior to the 1775 survey. This is just one factor that means that the level of destruction must remain an approximation. The possibility should also be taken into account that some of these features may have degraded to a point where they could have passed unnoticed in a particular survey, and this may explain why some sites, later recorded as extant, appear to have been excluded from earlier surveys. It may also be possible that some of these sites had been initially misidentified. However, it is important to note here that all of these monuments were considered 'Danes Forts', and that a link between these and 'Raths' seems to have been understood during the time period under study. Therefore, while these factors should be taken into consideration, it is clear that the destruction rate was extremely high in these areas.

This concrete evidence of a serious rate of decline has several ramifications. As discussed earlier, it had long been almost an article of faith that ringforts were protected. It was believed that this protection was a consequence of the resolute presence of traditional popular belief. The strength of this belief may have influenced the development of an idea that the maps created following the Ordnance Survey in the 19th century portrayed field monuments in a pristine unaltered condition. It was also held that because of the strong superstitious connection attached to ringforts that these may have benefited from an extra protection. To some degree, this remains the case today. This attitude is still apparent within popular imagination, but also in some cases in an academic setting. For instance, as recently as 20 years ago scholars have written papers subscribing a supposed survival of ringforts to superstitious belief (Edwards 1990; Champion & Cooney 1999; Smith 1999). A more recent article advanced a similar suggestion and afterwards built on this uncritically accepted information to advance an argument that the abandonment and later avoidance, even for destructive purposes, of these monuments could perhaps be associated with the presence of a long lasting pathogen, namely Anthrax (McCafferty 2018).

However, a foundational pillar of each of these arguments is that prior to the social upheaval caused by the Great Famine of the mid-19th century traditional knowledge remained sufficiently strong to protect these monuments. In fact, this small-scale survey, of admittedly just two baronies, confirms that circular field monuments of earthen construction, the vast majority likely to have been ringforts, were destroyed in large numbers. So although the numbers of extant ringforts present in the Irish landscape is indeed very high, these should be considered as a fractional remainder of the even larger numbers that previously existed. In

addition, it seems likely that most of this destruction was carried out during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Interestingly, the early surveys referred to in this survey were conducted within approximately 60 years of each other. This detail permits a rate of decline to be calculated for each of the intervening periods: from Bateman (1717) to Scalé (1774 – 5) and onto the first edition of the Ordnance Survey (1841 – 2) and the subsequent revisions (1902 – 4).

The calculation of a local rate of decline was possible through reference to this data. In the East-Cork barony of Kinnatalloon, the period between Scalé 1774 and the 1st series OS map saw the most serious decline in ringfort numbers. This is mostly mirrored at parish level. However, the parish of Knockmourne that surrounds the historic settlement of Conna shows a more regular rate of decline. This might suggest that no major development occurred within this environment during the period under examination. It may also suggest, however, that such an occurrence had occurred prior to definitive records being available. The rate of decline in the other barony, Kinalmeaky, also appears to have been more gradual. Again, this may suggest that no significant upheaval occurred during the period of study. Moreover, here again the lack of sites near to, and particularly upriver from, the main settlement site of Bandon might suggest that the foundation and expansion of this town affected ringforts in the locality and that any such a change had occurred prior to the earliest available data.

8.4. The Background to Destruction

8.4.1 Introduction

The information concerning the rate of decline in ringforts is, in itself, significant. It is also important, however, to attempt to uncover why ringforts were removed from the landscape in such large numbers. A cursory examination of the economic and social evolution of Ireland during this period offers several possible explanations. The first, and most important, of these appears to be the result of a change in farming practices. This stems from a deliberate government strategy that promoted the increased cultivation of grain to feed the urban masses of the English Industrial Revolution. This initial decision then appears to have rippled outwards into society and effected great change. Local infrastructure needed to be upgraded to enable this crop to be transported to market or ports for export. Materials also needed to be transported inward to aid in soil improvement. In addition, this type of farming was more labour intensive than the low input-low yield cattle-farming that had preceded it. The

promotion of tillage encouraged a growth in population, which itself created secondary consequences such as an increase in land pressure. This requirement for land seems to have been most visible in the reclamation of marginal or 'waste' land. Each of these factors will now be examined to determine the extent that they may have contributed to the decline in ringfort numbers. Further, perhaps earlier, factors that may have had the potential to negatively affect ringfort numbers will also be considered.

8.4.2. Early Medieval Period

The initial construction of ringforts in the latter half of the first millennium was a manifestation of the organisation of Irish society at that time. Politically, Ireland was a hierarchical clan-based system of mostly small-localised kingdoms (Kelly 1988, 7). Economically, Ireland was a country where agriculture predominated due to geographical location and climate. This combination promoted lush grass growth and so pastoral farming was favoured. Much later, at the beginning of the 17th century, it was noted that this predominance of grassland allowed for the support of large cattle herds (Rynne 1998, 11). The crucially important position of cattle in Early Medieval Irish society is evident by their use as a unit of currency (Lucas, 1958b).

Of course, this society, no more than any other, was unlikely to have remained static and unchanging. Tillage also played a part in agriculture during this period. In fact, it has been argued by Power and Monk (2012) that tillage grew in importance, in certain areas, as the early medieval period progressed. This argument concerning the prevalence of tillage, especially grain growing, was supported by reference to the increased presence of corn-drying kilns in the archaeological record. The discovery these recent examples, CO044073013, CO053-105, CO064-162 & CO074-084 in geographically separated areas may be an indication of the prevalence of corn drying kilns across the wider east and north Cork region. A further suggestion of grain growing was uncovered within one of the townlands included in the east Cork area of study where, at Killphillibeen, an early medieval mill flume was discovered during land improvement works in 1976 (NMS: Rynne 1988). The presence of this site indicates that grain growing was likely to have been an economic activity in the surrounding area during this period. As the rest of the barony shares a similar ground condition, it may be possible that the attractiveness of tillage was recognised within the wider area also.

In contrast, the second barony included in this study provides little archaeological evidence for sites associated with grain growing during the early-medieval or medieval periods. Although, it should be stressed that it is, presently, an area of arable farming. The nearest recorded horizontal water mill (CO071-090002) and corn drying kiln (CO071-129) are located as a complex approximately 20km to the northwest in the townland of Mashanaglass (NMS: Fahy, 1956; Rynne, 1992). This absence of evidence, however, may be attributable to the lack of major recent infrastructural development in the area and a consequent lack of excavation. However, the political division of Cork in the late 12th century following the Anglo-Norman invasion might also provide a clue as to the economic potential of different areas within the county. It is probable that such adventurers would seek to maximise returns on their investment in this venture and thus concentrate themselves in the most economically advantageous areas. In settling the region, it has been suggested that during this period, the colonists knew and respected the pre-existing political organisation of the landscape (MacCotter 2008, 59).

8.4.3. Early Modern Period

The earliest available maps for the province of Munster highlight the differing landscape conditions within each of these two baronies. A map dating from 1580 depicts the remaining areas of 'ancient' forest throughout South Munster, showing an expansive area of woodland, referred to as *Drumfyne*, located south of the River Blackwater and north of a nearby parallel river, presumably the Bride (figure 18). This woodland is shown bounded to the west by the town of Armoy [Fermoy] and to the east by the town of Lismore (National Archives GB 2018). However, this woodland does not extend south of the River Bride into the area where the townlands included in this survey are located. That is not to say that the area is likely to have been devoid of tree cover, only that the area does not appear to have been predominately woodland. Another, slightly later, map confirms that the area around the valley of the Blackwater but north of the Bride was heavily wooded. This map, by Jobson (1589), represents the forest in a stylised manner using depictions of single scattered trees (figure 19). Once again, however, this map does not provide evidence that the area south of the Bride was wooded.



Figure 18. 1580 map, showing remaining areas of 'ancient' forest throughout South Munster



Figure 19. Part of Jobson's 1589 map of Munster, showing Kinnatalloon barony

This map also depicts the barony of Kinalmeaky in mid-Cork and parts of this barony, particularly north of the Bandon River, are shown as being heavily wooded. One other map from the late 16th century that details the coast of county Cork also shows an area, inland of the stretch of coastline between Kinsale harbour and Baltimore harbour, as being heavily wooded. This corresponds to the area of Kinalmeaky barony (Dunlop 1905, 321; Nunan 2012, 69). Therefore, it appears evident that by this stage a substantial difference in the landscape of the two baronies that are part of this study had developed.



Figure 20. Part of Jobson's 1589 map of Munster, showing Kinalmeaky barony

Industrial evidence to confirm the wooded nature of the main river valleys can be seen in the establishment of ironworks along their banks. These were established to make use of the available resources provided by the widespread woodland clearance that took place following the Plantation of Munster. Near the town of Bandon an ironworks and shipyard were in use by the East India Company in the early 17th century. This site was located in the townland of Dundaniel, adjacent to the castle, and near the confluence of the Brinny River and

the Bandon River. This location benefits from proximity to these two rivers and it should be remembered that the Sall River flows into the Brinny further upstream thus increasing the catchment area available to float logs downstream to the site. The proximity of the castle also increased security at the site. Records indicate that two ships, of 500 tons each, were launched from the shipyard in 1613 (McCracken 1971, 67).

The wood used in the ironworks, however, would have been initially transformed into charcoal. Due to the friability of this product such activity needed to take place as close to the intended factory as possible. At Dundaniel, for example, the needed wood could be transported down river to the works and the charcoal created on site. In all it appears that the close proximity of large numbers of trees, and the available means to transport them, influenced the initial decision of where to locate these industrial operations. It appears also, however, that these industrial concerns were always intended to be of short duration. The primary long-term aim was that this forested landscape would be transformed into farmland.

In general, maps and contemporary accounts provide a clearer impression of the landscape organisation, and transformation, of the barony of Kinalmeaky. They highlight that this area was heavily wooded, seemingly in contrast to the area of Kinnatalloon south of the Bride River. From the beginning of the 17th century and during following decades, this barony experienced a widespread clearance of this woodland. This campaign of tree felling had the potential to affect the physical structure of ringforts that were present within this area. McCracken (1971) states that during this early modern period the upper altitude limit for tree cover would have been around 600ft (200m), while Stout (1997) concluded that ringforts were most likely to be located between the ranges of 50m to 150m. The highest ground within the mid-Cork study area is 221m at a point in Scariff townland. Therefore, the entirety of the study area had the potential to support tree growth. In addition, the majority of the area lay within the optimum zone for ringfort construction.

In this area, ringforts would have been covered by the expansion of woodland, and this would have resulted in damage. The initial felling of the trees would have damaged ringforts further, as could the subsequent transport of the logs to one of the rivers or streams. However, the treatment of remaining tree stumps is likely to have had the most impact on the surrounding terrain. Again, later accounts offer suggestions as to how these stumps may have been treated. Drawing on American pioneer accounts, one method involved uprooting the stumps, following the cutting of the major roots, and gathering them together for burning or the creation of

boundaries (Primack 1962, 486). A second method appears to have involved burning the stumps in place through the slow build-up of flame and transforming the stump into charcoal (National Park Service [NPS] 2018). Both of these approaches would undoubtedly have had a detrimental effect on ringforts. In any event, the initial decades of the 17th century saw a complete transformation of the landscape north of the Bandon River and this may have been a period, which saw the first active campaign of destruction of ringforts.

8.4.5. Woodland Coverage

A further impression of the nature of ground cover within these study areas can be gleaned from two maps contained in the 'Hardiman Atlas' (TCD MS 1209; see Figure 21). The barony of Imokilly, which is located south of Kinnatalloon, is depicted on one of these maps. This map, which dates from between 1616 and 1620, contains a representation of a river that enters Cork harbour near Great Island. One branch of this river is shown rising in a forested area north of a range of hills. Further upriver from where the river empties into the harbour, the location of Castle Redmond is shown. This castle is also shown on later maps, in a townland of the same name, south of the present town of Midleton (OSI 2018). When combined, this information indicates that the aforementioned river is the Owenacurra River.



Figure 21. Early 17th century map of Imokilly barony, Co. Cork

Slightly further upstream from the castle another river empties into the Owenacurra from the east. Along the southern bank of this second river, the location of Cahirmore castle is depicted. This location is also illustrated in later, more detailed, maps (*ibid.*). The river on which it stands is shown on these maps to be the Dungourney River. The main branch of this river is shown on the later maps as rising in the townland of Gurteen, just south of the boundary with Kinnatalloon barony. This townland itself is located on the southern slope of a west-east ridgeline that is characteristic of the county. This ridgeline is also shown on the earlier map of Imokilly (Anon 1616 – 20). On this map, the area north of this ridgeline is shown as being wooded. This area corresponds to the location of several townlands in Kinnatalloon barony: those of Glentrasna South, Rathdrum, Killasseragh, Glentane and Garryduff (OSI 1842, 54). The exact location and extent of this wooded area is difficult to transfer between maps correctly. However, this map does appear to indicate that the southwest part of Kinnatallon barony, also the highest, was wooded, to some degree, at the beginning of the 17th century.

This assertion is supported by the contents of a further map. This apparently unfinished, and undated, map, which depicts the River Bride in a stylised manner, is also contained in the Hardiman atlas (TCD MS 1209/43). Along the bank of the river several settlements are mentioned. One of these appears to be Connagh [Conna], another, further east, whose name is faded, which may be Mogeely, and the area between the two settlements is shown as wooded. The range of hills to the south are also shown on this map and an area just north of these, and in the south-west corner of a distinct division, is shown as heavily wooded. This may correspond to the area highlighted in the map of Imokilly (Anon 1616 – 20). However, aside from these scattered wooded areas the rest of the barony is shown as open country. These different strands of information seem to indicate that, unlike Kinalmeaky barony, agriculture was already being practiced in the barony of Kinnatalloon at this time.

Clarification of the extent of woodland within Kinalmeaky barony is also presented in this map. On this undated map, the boundary of the barony is outlined and within this area several areas of woodland are depicted, both north and south of the Bandon River (Anon, n/d; see Figure 22). The north of the barony, in particular, is shown as being heavily wooded. There are also two separate areas of woodland shown along the northern bank of the river. One of these is located in the far western reaches of the barony, while the other block is located just west of an apparent settlement, perhaps the beginning of the town of Bandon. Incidentally, the area along the riverbank further west in the barony of Carbury is shown on this map as being

very heavily wooded. This suggest that this map is likely to have been created sometime in the early 1600's, as by 1640 the majority of timber in this area had been removed



Figure 22. Early 17th century map of Co. Cork, showing Kinalmeaky barony

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very heavily wooded. This suggest that this map is likely to have been created sometime in the early 1600's, as by 1640 the majority of timber in this area had been removed.

Further evidence that this area of mid-Cork was not only forested but also possibly impassable at the beginning of the 1600's can be seen in later documentary accounts. Smith (1750, 236) quoted from a contemporary account that described the area as being:

> 'a meer fastness, being all wood and bog so that in ann. 1602 the army could not pass it, being obliged to go around by Kinsale in their march from Cork, to the siege of Dunboy in Bearhaven'.

This account, unfortunately, does not clarify whether it had proved physically impossible for the troops to traverse the Bandon River valley. If this were so, it might suggest the ground cover to have been impenetrable secondary growth. Alternatively, neither is it clarified whether a crossing of the terrain was indeed practicable but tactically inadvisable. Such conditions could suggest more established and developed primary growth.

An earlier account contained in the *Pacata Hibernia* confirms that this body of troops did march overland along this route (Stafford 1633). It also appears to suggest that the ground may have indeed been passable, but difficult, and as offering refuge for an opposing force to organise possible ambushes:

> 'the ways being in many places impassable for horses and carriages, and there being in some places such straits and craggy rocks that it was impossible for men to march but in file, whereby one hundred that were to make defence might forbid an army to pass' (O'Grady 1896, 156-7)

This description of the ground indicated that it may have been a combination of woodland, marshy conditions and exposed high ground. There may have been an available position for secondary scrub growth at the interface between any forest and open ground. Even so, this did not appear to deter the leader of the expedition, Sir George Carew. For when warned of the forbidding terrain he replied:

> 'that [neither] bogs nor rocks should forbid the draught of the cannon; the one he would make passable by faggots and timber, the other he would break and smooth with pioneers' tools; and with this constant resolution he caused the army to be assembled' (*ibid.*).

The mention in this extract of ‘faggots and timber’ again reinforces the idea that wooded areas were located in proximity to where they might be needed. However, the ability for this wooded area to serve as a refuge for wild animals and ‘wild’ Irish also represented a major inconvenience for the new regime. A major campaign was organised, therefore, to clear this ground

Indeed, this woodland was cleared in a relatively short period– of its trees, of its wolves and presumably of its Irish – and the land converted to agricultural use. In fact, it would be more accurate to state rather that it was re-converted, as the presence of multiple ringforts within these townlands indicate that this area had been farmland during the early medieval period. The previously mentioned documents and maps contain strong indications, however, that by the beginning of the 17th century this land had been recolonised by nature. The fact that industrial concerns established here were heavily wood dependent further supports this suggestion. However, the industrial and agricultural activities of the early decades of the 1600’s removed this forestry, primarily to create farmland. One result of this clearance is that ringforts in the region would once again have been evident upon the landscape.

The environmental changes of this period, therefore, raise several interesting questions. Firstly, the recolonization of the landscape by woodland and the repeated assertions that this woodland was a haven for dangerous animals, and perhaps also dangerous people, may have meant that it had become a sort of ‘no-go’ area. If this were so, perhaps for some, if not most, of the people in the surrounding areas ringforts located here would have been removed from sight and would therefore be perceived as non-existent. For those who did come into contact with ringforts in such an evolved setting their perceptions of such sites is likely to have been completely altered, as individual ringforts may have been dwarfed by tree growth and the interlinked spatial diffusion of sites would no longer have been apparent. In any event, the reforestation of this area may have largely ‘removed’ these monuments from the landscape, for they would be hidden from long distance observation by those outside the woods.

This is in contrast to the majority of the settings, both, in the present day and during the period of their initial occupation, when they would have been plainly visible. Another result of this regrowth of woodland is that it would surely have disrupted the internal relationship of the nature/culture dichotomy. Furthermore, the transmission of semiotic meaning or the action of any semiotic signs would almost certainly have also been compromised, as it may have been increasingly difficult ‘to see the fort for the trees’. An understanding of their true nature could

still have been transmitted orally in any strong traditional setting. Nevertheless, it is also possible that this 'removal' of ringforts from the landscape will have hindered the continued appreciation of the function and origin of ringforts within the affected area. This could then have facilitated a rise in prominence of other perceptions, mythological or otherwise.

This is not to say that knowledge of ringforts may have disappeared entirely. Documentary sources contain regularly repeated and fearful claims of these woods as the dwelling places of wild animals. From the point of view of those groups, rebels or refugees, driven to these woods, the prospect of sharing these quarters with possibly predatory animals like wolves, must surely have concentrated the mind on defensive measures. In such a context, the presence of a pre-existing structure like a ringfort would undoubtedly have been appreciated. This is of course a speculative proposition. However, as was highlighted in the previous chapter, several instances exist in documentary sources from this period whereby ringforts were adapted and re-used. Indeed, this practice seems to have continued in a temporary manner in at least one location until the end of the 19th century (NFCS: 0687, 079). To return to the early 17th century, however, it has also been shown how Mountjoy and some of the settlers in Ulster made use of the opportunities presented by ringforts, as pre-existing enclosures, to create defensive structures.

Is it not conceivable then that those within Gaelic society driven to the woods would have also made use of them within this particular area at least? For several contemporary accounts state that the woods were the abode of 'woodkernes' and wolves. For those obliged to share living space with these 'wild animals' ringforts could have been readily adapted or renovated to serve as protection. In addition, the banks of such monuments would have immediately provided some form of rudimentary shelter from the elements. That is in addition to providing a perhaps camouflaged position within this now forested area. Perhaps also, these monuments might have eventually served a defensive purpose against punitive raids from outside the woods, such as the one launched from Bandon into Carbury and surrounds on January 5, 1602, described by Bennett (1869, 21). Conversely, if it was realised that ringforts were being re-used in this manner, this could later have encouraged their destruction, with the object of depriving any eventual forest dwellers from again finding shelter. Again, the speculative nature of this particular enquiry needs to be stressed. However, large areas of the barony of Kinalmeaky appear to have been hostile terrain at the beginning of the 17th century, and perhaps even earlier. In such a setting, might not groups and individuals required to find shelter have made use of pre-existing monuments such as ringforts?

8.5 Economic Activity

8.5.1. Woodland Clearance

The eventual clearance of this woodland, at least in the barony of Kinalmeaky, is also likely to have had an important impact on the physical landscape. The actual act of clearing trees from this locality had the potential to impact on the physical structure of nearby monuments, including ringforts. Little research seems to have been undertaken to judge the effect of initial tree growth on field monuments. For example, Cunliffe (1984) concluded because of his studies that the expansion of root networks due to tree growth had the capacity to disturb underground artefacts and features. However, he (*ibid,* 11) also noted in his study of the Iron Age hillfort at Danebury that these root networks facilitated the preservation of features like banks and ditches as the roots served the anchor the soil in place. Nonetheless, the removal of woodland in the mid-Cork region, in order to transform the ground into farmland, involved not just the felling of trees.

Very little research appears to have been carried out on the effects of tree felling on archaeological field monuments. Nevertheless, it is easy to surmise that the felling of a large mass of timber had the capacity to damage any monument with which it came into contact. In addition, the removal of stumps also had an ability, however slight, to damage nearby field monuments. The usual method of action was that the area surrounding a tree stump would be dug and the major roots cut where they joined the trunk. Once this was achieved this remaining trunk could be extracted with a lever or by the use of draught animals without too much of an impact on the surrounding environment. However, a possible magnifying factor whereby multiple stumps were removed in a close area could have the possibility of cratering the landscape with multiple holes. This may have occurred to an extent that the earthen fill of a nearby structure, like a ringfort, might then be perceived as useful to level this site.

Once tree felling had begun, however, a greater danger to surrounding monuments was created. To explain, it can be observed in nature that exposure of trees to the elements, particularly wind, encourages the development of a strong root base. In this manner, a single exposed tree may resist this relentless pressure. The same is true of the outer row, or rows, in a copse or forest. However, trees in the interior, protected by this outer ring, have no need to develop an equally strong root network. Nonetheless, once the outer ring of trees is pierced by felling, these trees are then exposed to the action of the wind. Unequipped to resist this the trees could be affected; the result is referred to as ‘wind-blow’ – or ‘windthrow’ (Johnson 1998)

– when the action of the wind knocks these trees. The tree is pushed over and the entire span of the root plate rises out of the ground on the opposite side to the direction of fall.

This can occur despite a mature tree having an extensive network of roots, for it is common that roots do not extend deeply into the ground (Crow & Moffat 2005). This can readily be seen in contemporary forestry plantations, even though these are usually planted on poor soil that is likely to hinder the development of much depth to the roots. In any event, this occurrence was confirmed by Cunliffe (1984, 6) who noted that once the canopy was broken 'the wind began to case considerable damage, uprooting much of the more spindly growth'. The campaign to clear the forest in Kinalmeaky barony lasted for several decades and this is likely to have resulted in many uprooted or 'blown' trees. The evidence provided by the above examples supports the suggestion that these clearance operations had the ability to seriously impact on ringfort survival. All the more so if these field monuments had already been 'removed' from the landscape because of the initial tree growth. Perhaps, it is possible then to contend that this activity saw the first period of concerted behaviour that had the potential to damage ringforts in significant numbers within this barony.

8.5.2. Predominance of Cattle

Following on from this land clearance, the estate maps available for these study areas show that a particular type of agricultural activity increased in importance throughout the region during the 18th century. This dominant activity was pastoral, particularly dairy, farming. This type of farming may have indeed developed, in some areas, earlier, for Rynne (1998, 18) argued that already by the 1690's dairying had become the chief farming practice in Munster. It was further noted that at the beginning of the eighteenth century just 5% of the land was devoted to tillage (Feehan 2003, 98-9). Dairying may have grown because of a restriction on the sale of live cattle to England from the 1660s and the subsequent failure, due to shipping costs, to access more distant markets (Peet 1972, 5). However, dairy farming, particularly butter production, held an advantage in this area in that it produced low volume, high worth goods. Another advantage is that less preparatory work was required in order to render the land suitable for grazing as opposed to tillage, and so this type of farming was undemanding of labour resources. It has been noted that the graziers accepted low levels of output because of the low level of input required (Burke 1974, 63). Another beneficial consequence of grazing new ground is

that livestock could graze on regrowth and saplings that might develop from any roots remaining in the ground

Dairy farming continued to grow in importance throughout the first half of the 18th century, as a consequence of the 'dairyman' system. This was an economic system whereby a farmer leased a herd of cows from a more prosperous rancher. In return, the lessee paid a rent, initially in kind but by the 1760's more commonly in the form of a cash payment. (Rynne 1998, 19). The development of this industry led to the reclamation of much grazing land and an increase in the enclosure of land (Feehan 2003, 112). This because the cattle were kept in the open all year round. However, they would have needed to be herded together morning and evening to facilitate milking. Feehan refers to this area as a *bó-dhún*, or cow-fort (*ibid.*). It is likely that the benefits offered for this daily activity by prevalent pre-existing monuments, like ringforts, would have been easily recognised, as the relatively constrained space in the interior could have easily functioned as a corral. This activity was noted, admittedly much later, by Westropp (1896/1901, 582- 638), who drew on linguistic evidence provided by the names attributed to certain ringforts to bolster the argument. If such use was made of ringforts as open-air milking parlours, their usefulness in serving a practical purpose may have been perceived and resulted in their preservation.

Contemporary commentators had also noted the effects on the landscape due to the expansion of dairy farming throughout the county. For example, in 1775 Mockler communicated that agriculture in Munster had been in decline for the previous 30 to 40 years and that in his area of North Cork and north of the Blackwater River, economic activity involved the exploitation of dairy cows and the production of butter (Mockler 1915, 19-21). Furthermore, Charles Vallancey (1776), in his survey report on West Cork, including the study area of the Bandon River valley, remarks that, despite appearances, in 1760 'the valleys abound with, corn and potatoes and the mountains are covered with black cattle'. He further states that in contrast to twenty years earlier 'the face of the country now wears a different aspect: the sides of the hill are under the plough, the verges of the bogs are reclaimed'. The continued appeal of tillage farming along these valleys may be attributable to the presence of nearby urban markets in both Bandon and, perhaps, in other towns such as Dunmanway and those along the coast.

8.5.3. Evidence from Survey of Kinnatalloon

Further evidence of the prevalence in dairy activity may also be perceived at a more intimate level in the other, more rural, study area of Kinnatalloon in East Cork. This is because a short index is attached to the maps created by Bateman (1717) following his survey. This survey had as its aim the quantification of economic activity, and perhaps potential, throughout the area. For instance, when describing the townlands of Glasshouse and Knockacurrane, Bateman (*ibid.*) notes that they possess 'sufficient meadowing and water'. In addition, when referring to the townland of Muggeely [Mogeely Lower], Bateman remarks that in addition to having 'plenty of meadowing and water' the buildings located on the land include 'a dairyhouse'. Bateman also notes that the land of this townland is 'all good arable'. In contrast, the area that he refers to as 'the half ploughland of Muggeely', now Mogeely Upper, is noted as being 'scarce of water' and of having 'noe meadow'. In a further example, when describing the townland of Shanakill, Bateman notes that in addition to another such 'dairyhouse' there is also established in the townland 'a grist mill'.

Such a name was traditionally used to describe a mill where the local farmers brought their grain for milling and to receive in return their meal or flour, less the 'miller's toll'. In another townland, Bateman refers to the presence of a 'mault house', perhaps denoting the presence of a distillery. In other townlands, Bateman remarks upon the availability of 'firing'. This may refer to areas where woodland or boggy areas were available for harvesting as firewood. These townlands so described are those of Ballycullane, Killcronett, Ballynattin, Garryduff, Glanreigh and Ballyknock. The sparse notes that accompany this 1717 survey show clearly that the presence or lack of grassland was of prime importance. The availability of water was also of great significance. This would indicate that, throughout the barony, pastoral farming was, at the time, still the dominant agricultural activity.

This is again emphasised in the accompanying index the presence of such features as 'dairy-houses' are noted. The prevalence of such activity throughout the region can be judged by the presence of these structures in seven townlands: Ballyclough, Mogeely, Shanakill, Conna, Monagoune, Ballinscorlogue and Booladurrogh (Bateman, 1717, maps 28-42). This is in apparent contrast to the noted presence of 'grist' mills in only two townlands: Cooladurrogh and Shanakill (*ibid,* n/a & map 32). Although, the added presence of two 'maulthouses' in the townlands of Curryheen and Glenreigh (*ibid,* maps 41 & 45) would suggest that some degree of grain growing was undertaken here at the beginning of the 18th century. However, the

number of dairy-houses and the descriptions of each townland also included in the index further emphasise the importance of pastoral farming in the region.

Nevertheless, further evidence of townlands devoted to mixed farming and in some cases to entirely arable farming is also contained in this survey. On Bateman's maps (1717, 43 & 56) of the townlands of Garycaheragh and Kilphillibeen the farming practice in place is noted, on the map, as being 'all arable and pasture' (Vol. II, 33 & 188). This activity may serve to explain why Bateman omitted any mention of the ringforts located close to the road in the former townland. There is evidence of possible ringfort destruction in the latter townland prior to this 1717 survey: photogrammetry images indicate the possible presence of furrows in the field where the site is located and these possible furrows continue through the site. While this remains a suggestion, a connection could exist between this agricultural activity and the removal of individual monuments. A major portion, if not all, of the townland of Glentrasna (Bateman 1717, map 55) is noted as being 'all arable' (Vol. II, 40). There is a large difference in number between the ringforts included on Bateman's map of the townland and Scalé's map from 1774. Again, the presence of arable farming activity in areas of the townland could have served to camouflage the eventual presence of these monuments. Another townland, that of Garraneribbeen (Bateman 1717, map 46), is noted as being 'all arable'. In this situation, the recorded ringfort is located in the corner of the townland and may not have interfered much with the cultivation of the fields in the area (Vol. II, 94). Arable farming had the potential to impact on the monuments located in each of these townlands. However, it should be remembered that the dominant agricultural activity throughout the barony at the time of this survey remained pastoral in nature and, as such, that the majority of ringforts were under no increased risk.

Burke noted that in order to avoid labour intensive activities, farmers tended to rely on naturally available feed for their cattle and thus 'made minimal investments in fodder crops [or] land improvement' (1974, 63). One possible benefit from this behaviour was the likelihood that field monuments, such as ringforts, would be left undisturbed. Unfortunately, this activity did have a detrimental effect on rural population levels. This was remarked upon in a footnote to a traveller's account of a tour of the south of the country in 1782 where it is noted that several years earlier, in 1780, a change in ownership of a 600-acre [242.8 ha.] farm occurred. Previously this farm had supported 42 families engaged in [subsistence?] tillage farming. However, following this transaction the land use was converted to pastoral and '600

acres under black cattle' required few labourers and so 'the greater number were obliged to seek a precarious subsistence elsewhere' (Kelly 1987, 58).

The above report seems to confirm an earlier report from 1775 which bemoans the fact that throughout Munster the rural hinterland had been 'thinned and stripped' of its inhabitants, and that the population of the local towns 'is daily increasing … with beggars' (Mockler 1915, 23). In addition, it lamented that the few resources the evicted tenants brought with them were soon exhausted. This rural depopulation is likely to have been accompanied with a decrease in land pressure. To this can be added the practical non-interventionist farming methods associated with the land management of dairy farms. These two developments were likely to have had a strong influence upon the natural landscape of county Cork during the first half of the 18th century. While regional variations must surely have existed, this combination seems to suggest that the land may have been disturbed to a lesser degree, at least for the first decades of the century. This in turn seems to suggest that field monuments such as ringforts were also likely to be less disturbed during this period.

8.5.4. Tillage

A combination of developments from mid-eighteenth century onwards eventually led to a resurgence in tillage farming. This began, in 1759, with the granting of bounties for the overland transportation of grain and flour to Dublin (Feehan 2003, 98). This encouragement was put in place as a response to the Industrial Revolution in England and the attendant growth in urban areas and, consequently, a growth in markets. O'Sullivan (1980, 53) argues that this planned expansion of tillage farming was accompanied with serious investment in the transport infrastructure 'to facilitate this intensification' and this topic will be addressed further below. The economic, and perhaps social, benefits resulting from the promotion of tillage was further evident in the passing of Foster's Corn Law in 1784. This law subsidised the export of grain from other ports besides Dublin and restricted the import of grain except in times of scarcity (Connolly 1998, 204).

Feehan (2003, 98-9) claimed that within twenty years of the passage of the 1784 Corn Law 'a million and a half extra acres was in tillage'. This increase in land devoted to tillage was not at the 'expense of good grass though, but on newly acquired wastes'. Records support this assertion, for throughout the country the latter part of the 18th century saw a substantial growth in the level of grain exports to England, thereby further confirming the growth in tillage

farming throughout the country. Drawing on data contained in the Custom House books, Murray (1907, 152) states that grain exports throughout the country expanded from 589, 288 barrels in 1787 to 872, 194 barrels by 1791. Exports of wheat, in particular, had risen from 62, 118 to 153, 769 barrels over the same period. By 1799, these numbers had declined slightly, with 695, 459 barrels of grain being exported and 46, 325 barrels of wheat (*ibid.*). However, according to this data the following year, 1800, appears to have been an exceptionally poor year with just 159, 622 barrels exported of which just 345 were of wheat. Overall, it has been claimed that exports in general, although mostly agricultural goods, rose by 40% in volume from 1792 to 1815 (Cullen 1972, 100).

Another indication of the attraction of tillage farming can be understood by examination of the price of such commodities. Cullen (*ibid.*) noted that overall, during the period above, exports rose by 120% in value. Kennedy and Solar (2007, 57) indicated that the price of wheat rose from 12s/cwt [12 shillings a hundredweight, or 112 pounds] in 1796 to 22s/cwt in 1800. Furthermore, the price offered for wheat did not drop below 10s/cwt until after 1815. Prices offered for other grains also rose during the same period, but not to the same extent. Oats rose to above 10s/cwt and barley to above 12s/cwt over the same period (*ibid,* 58 & 59). The longevity of this price boom can be explained because of the Napoleonic Wars between England and the French, which lasted from the declaration of hostilities in 1793 to the final defeat of Napoleon at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815. Soon after the outbreak of war both sides imposed blockades of the others' goods. A self-imposed blockade on the part of France, its allies, and a literal sea blockade by the English (Findlay & O'Rourke 2003, 32-3). These restrictions, however, afforded Ireland privileged access to the captive British market. A consequence of this favoured economic arrangement was that high prices encouraged land improvement such as the reclamation of wasteland, despite the expense involved. As a result, the 'appearance of the pastoral landscape began to change as small arable farms became more prevalent' (Peet 1972, 6). Both the increase in tillage and landscape transformation may be confirmed through reference to maps of the areas in county Cork under investigation.

8.5.5 Evidence from Kinalmeaky

Bateman was also commissioned to survey the mid-Cork area of Kinalmeaky, though this was never carried out. Perhaps his relationship with the estate agents had already seriously degenerated prior to this section of the survey being undertaken. As a result, Bernard Scalé

undertook the first in-depth survey of this barony about 60 years later, in 1775. In contrast to Bateman, however, he seems to have drawn less on local knowledge. For example, he did not include Gaelic names for landscape features, perhaps focusing on information he himself gathered. In each of the surveyed townlands he included individual field boundaries in the maps, whereas Bateman provided stylised representations of settlement areas and of ringforts. Scalé attempted to provide an accurate depiction of settlement layout and also attempted to depict the differing sizes and shapes of what he classed as 'Danes Forts' (1775, 2-35).

Scalé (1774 – 5) in surveying both these baronies appeared to have been highly conscientious in recording the use that was made of each field. As a result, the maps created from this survey highlight the number of fields devoted to tillage and these appear to show, even prior to the passing of the 1784 Corn Law, a landscape in transition. One example, in the barony of Kinalmeaky, can be seen in his map of the townland of Shinagh (*ibid,* 1775, map 3). Here, 17 fields out of 89 are shown as ploughed. In addition, in one field (No. 7), located in the north-west of the townland, the process of reclamation may be seen in progress (see figure 23). This image shows the reclamation of a plot of ground adjacent to a house. It must be stressed that these fields are often small plots near houses. In the townland of Carhoon West (*ibid,* map 6) 46 fields are depicted as being under the plough, and these somewhat smaller fields appear to be clustered around settlement sites. Indeed, this adaptation to tillage appears to be accompanied, at least in these townlands, with evidence for the increased subdivision of land. Perhaps, the establishment of field boundaries associated with such enclosure had the potential to negatively affect monuments like ringforts, either during the initial phase of construction or later as the occupier sought to maximise the potential of the enclosed area.

Furthermore, an index is attached to the map of each townland. For example, in the index that accompanies the map of Killmore [Kilmore] townland, a description is provided of the agricultural activity that is carried out in such fields. Field No. 1, which has a surface of just over 11 acres [4.45 ha.], is noted as being in poor condition, with rushes and furze (Scalé 1775, 33R). An adjacent field depicted similarly in the map is noted as being composed of 'boggy pasture' (*ibid.*). In contrast, several fields, such as No.'s 21, 26, 32 & 34, are shown as ploughed on the map and are noted in the index as being used for 'arable' farming. A nearby field, No. 23, is the location of a ringfort and is noted in the index as being 'wet, rushy' and with 'furze' (ibid). The nature of the ground may have had some influence on the preservation of the ringfort up to this time, as such poor ground may not have been easily improved.

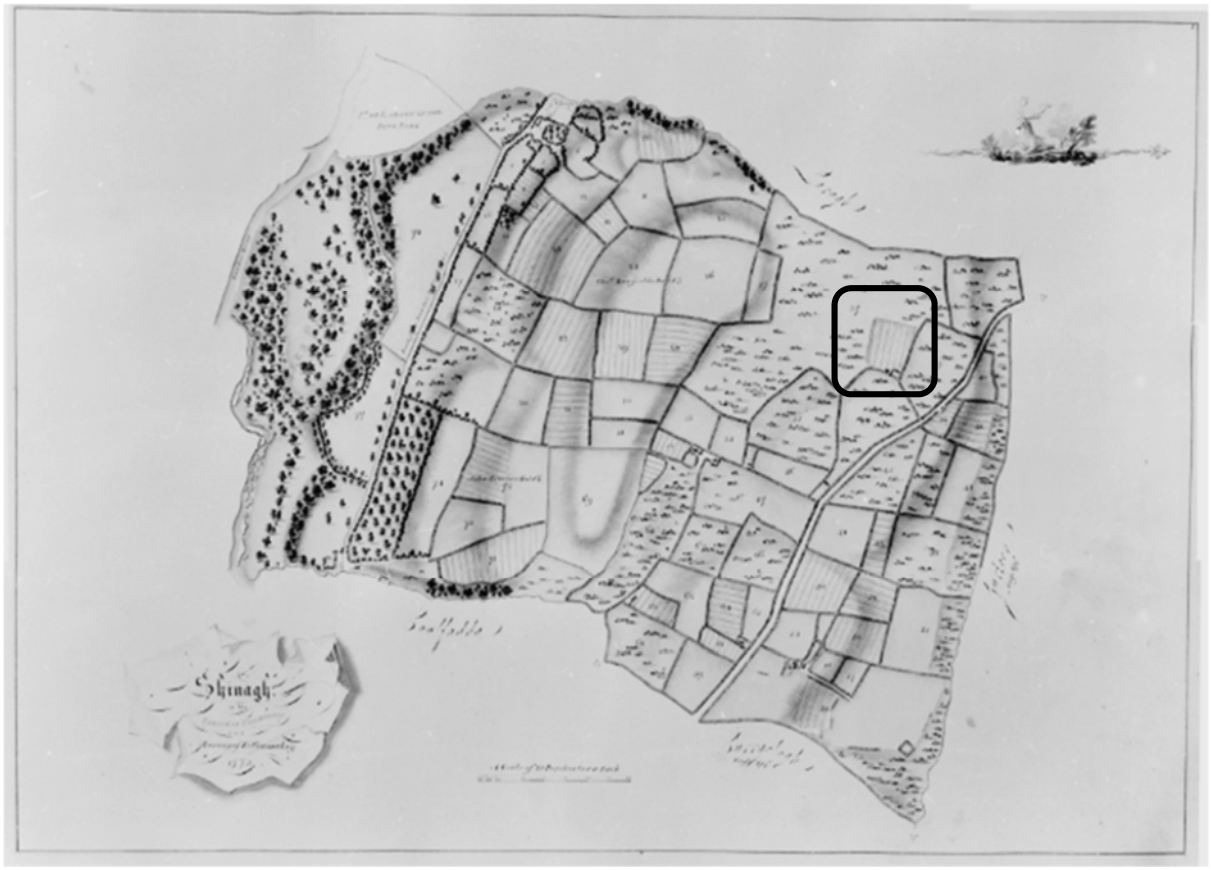


Figure 23. Scalé's 1775 map of Shinagh townland, Co. Cork, showing land reclamation in field no. 7 (highlighted within box)

A further consequence of such diligence in representation is that an overall calculation of the percentage of land used for different agricultural purposes is possible. The above townland of Kilmore is shown as having 116 fields with a total of just over 692 acres [c. 280 ha.]. Of these fields, the index shows that 45 were composed, wholly or partially, either of 'pasture' or of 'meadow'. In contrast, 49 fields are described as being used, again either wholly or partially, for arable farming. The remaining fields are described as being used for other functions, such as 'orchards', or being in poor condition (*ibid.*). This example highlights the almost equal use of the land for grazing and for tillage. Such a high level of tillage, which possibly increased over time, is likely to have also increased such potential for damage and destruction.

Scalé's index for other townlands indicate differing levels of activity. For example, the townland of Scarriff (Scalé 1775, 28R) contained a total of 651 acres and 22 perches [263.98 ha.] and a large portion of this, 82 acres, two roods and 24 perches [33.44 ha.], was described

as ‘furze’. It seems unlikely that this amount of land would be left revert to such a wild state and, therefore, that this plant was subject to cultivation. Another 148 acres and 33 perches [59.97 ha.] were noted as ‘boggy pasture and heathy mountain’, though it seems likely that this relatively poor land would still be used for grazing. On the more productive land, just over 95 acres and 31 perches [38.51 ha.] was devoted to arable farming, while just 13 acres and 27 perches [5.32 ha.] was preserved as meadow, for the cultivation of hay. The remainder of the land, 245 acres, one rood and 19 perches [99.29 ha.], was classified as pasture for the grazing of animals. These figures indicate that, at this time, pastoral farming predominated in this townland. This dominance may well be a factor in the survival of the ringforts here until at least the mid-nineteenth century.

Two ringforts were levelled in the townland of Scartnamuck in the period between Scalé’s survey (1775) and the nationwide undertaking of the Ordnance Survey (1841). This townland was the only one in the study area where arable farming was the dominant agricultural activity at the earliest period of examination (Scalé, 1775, 31R). On Scalé’s index it was calculated that Scartnamuck covered an area of 544 acres and 22 perches [220.20 ha.], of which 172 acres, two roods and 31 perches [69.89 ha.] may be described as poor and unimproved land. On the remaining productive land, 181 acres and nine perches [73. 27 ha.] was devoted to arable farming, while 143 acres, one rood and 39 perches [58.07 ha.] and 4 acres, two roods and 25 perches [1.88 ha.] were used as pasture and meadow. Here, as in Garranes townland, there appears to be a correlation between the amount of land devoted to arable farming and an increased risk to ringforts. The townland of Moneen (ibid, 30R) was also catalogued as having a substantial level of arable farming at the time of this survey. This activity occupied 199 acres, one rood and 27 perches [80.70 ha.], or just over 30 %, of the productive land that covered 652 acres, one rood and 23 perches [264.01 ha.]. This may explain the removal of three ‘Danish Forts’ in the townland in the period between Scalés 1775 survey and the 1841 Ordnance Survey.

Most of these townlands were recorded by Scalé (1775) as having fields of furze bushes. Some, indeed, had a substantial amount of it within their boundaries. This plant had a variety of uses in agriculture at this time. Lucas (1958a) refers to its use in limekilns because of the intense heat produced when it was used for kindling. Young furze growth was also noted for its use, when chopped, as winter fodder for animals, particularly horses (*ibid,* 67). This connection between furze and horse fodder is attested to by Townsend (1812, 34) who remarked that in ‘many parts of the country, and particularly along the sea coast, where tillage

lands abound, the common farmers depend upon it [furze] almost entirely for the winter food for their horses'. It seems reasonable to suggest that the presence of furze corresponds to the presence of horses, and that the presence of horses corresponds to a greater level of soil cultivation. It seems, therefore, that the presence of fields of furze could be used as a proxy indicator for arable farming, with its attendant risks to ringforts.

Despite this emphasis, it must be emphasised that Scalé's indexes provide an image of a countryside where arable and pastoral farming coexisted. Furthermore, with a system of crop rotation in use, it is probable that the areas devoted to each activity rotated through the townland over time. In the parts of each townland reserved for pastoral farming, ringforts had the capacity to be adapted to another functional role. Where animals, such as cattle or sheep, are present, parcels of cultivated land benefit from enclosure. Ringforts, with an associated bank, often heightened through the presence of a fosse and perhaps topped with shrubs like hawthorn, provided a convenient, widely available and economical method of enclosure. This is not merely conjecture, as archaeological information is available to show that ringforts were worked in this manner. The recent programme of excavation in Garranes townland revealed evidence of the presence of 'lazy-bed' cultivation in the interior of some ringforts (O'Brien; pers. comm., 2018). The use of ringforts as garden plots served to protect these monuments, even if this resulted in significant disturbance of their interiors.

8.5.7. Further evidence from Kinnatalloon.

Similar evidence is available from the indices that accompanied Scalé's survey of the east Cork barony of Kinnatalloon in the previous year. For instance, in the townland of Garycaheragh, which was noted in Bateman's 1717 survey as a combination of arable and pastoral farming, a more precise account of the land use is available from the 1774 survey. Fifty-five acres, 3 roods and 39 perches [22.66 ha.] are devoted to arable farming. Whereas, 152 acres, one rood and six perches [61.63 ha.] are devoted to pasture and 27acres, two roods and 38 perches [11.22 ha.] are maintained for meadow. Another 145 acres, one rood and two perches [58.79 ha.] are noted as poor pasture land, being described as coarse, rushy or boggy. The east of this townland is noted as being poor ground. These figures indicate that the majority of the land here is used for grazing purposes, with just 14.68% of the land devoted to arable farming. This may account for the survival of most of the ringforts in this townland up to that period. However, it should be remembered that a crop rotation system would have been in place and even if the ratio of

pasture to arable land remained steady, it is likely that the specific areas devoted to each activity changed over time.

Similar information is available for the nearby townland of Glentrasna, a large part of which was noted as arable in the earlier survey by Bateman (1717). On Scalé's index (1774) 140 acres, three roods and 14 perches [56.99 ha.] are used for arable farming. In contrast, 240 acres, 2 roods and 25 perches [97.39 ha.] are noted as being under pasture and 12 acres, two roods and 17 perches [5.10 ha.] are conserved as meadow. In addition, 117 acres, 2 roods and 21 perches [47.60 ha.] are recorded as either poor ground or being of mixed usage. 183 acres and 30 perches [74.14 ha.] in the south of the townland is recorded as mountain. These figures indicate that 27.52% of the productive land in this townland was, by this stage, devoted to arable farming.

In the townland of Kilphillibeen, which was also noted as mixed arable and pasture on the 1717 survey, 74 acres and 31 perches [30.03 ha.] are devoted to arable crops. Most of the fields devoted to this activity are located close to the main settlement area in the west of the townland. 171 acres and 13 perches [69.23 ha.] are used for pasture and 43 acres, one rood and 13 perches [17.54 ha.] are set aside as meadow. Furthermore, 96 acres, 3 roods and 21 perches [39.21 ha.] are noted as furzy pasture and 56 acres [22.66 ha.] as boggy pasture. Most of this poor land is located east of the main road that bisects this townland. Overall, just 16.80% of the land area of this townland was devoted to arable production at the time of Scalé's survey. The concentration of arable land near the main settlement is likely to have posed an increased risk to monuments in the proximity. However, Scalé depicted a row of four ringforts, just west of and parallel to the road, on his map of this area and these are shown located in fields used for pasture and this land use may account for their survival.

The townland of Garraneribbeen was noted on the earlier 1717 map as being all arable. On the index associated with Scalé's map, 47 acres and 16 perches [19.06 ha.] were used for arable farming. Whereas, 151 acres and 19 perches [61.16 ha.] were devoted to pasture and 19 acres, 2 roods and 12 perches [7.92 ha.] were set aside for meadow. A further 86 acres, 2 roods and 19 perches [35.05 ha.] are noted a poor grazing ground and 13 acres, 3 roods and 19 perches [5.61 ha.] as coarse meadow. These figures show that 16.04% of the land here was used for arable farming at the time. This index also shows that there is an area of poor ground in the middle of the townland and that the two fields around the sole ringfort are used for pasture and arable farming.

In the smaller townlands located to the east of the barony further interesting information is available from Scalé's 1774 survey. For example, in the townland of Lackbrack, where Bateman (1717, 26) had recorded a ringfort, 22 acres, one rood and 7 perches [9.02 ha.] are devoted to arable production. Pasture accounts for 32 acres, 3 roods and 37 perches [13.35 ha.] and meadow for one acre, 3 roods and 20 perches [0.76 ha.]. Eleven acres and one rood [4.55 ha.] is recorded as furzy pasture and 12 acres, 3 roods and 10 perches [5.19 ha.] as mixed use. A final 3 acres and 37 perches [1.31 ha.] is noted as orchards and gardens. This confirms that 26.38% of this land was used for arable farming. Indeed, the small size of the townland and the presence of only one collection of buildings may suggest that this was one farm. If so, control over such a sizable farm of land and the high level of arable production may provide a reason why the earlier recorded ringfort is no longer visible by 1774.

In contrast, the nearby townland of Gortnafiry only has 6 acres, 2 roods and 38 perches [2.73 ha.] recorded as arable land. Pasture accounts for 35 acres, 3 roods and 32 perches [14.55 ha.] and meadow for 11 acres and 7 perches [4.47 ha.]. A further 25 acres, one rood and 6 perches [10.23 ha.] is noted as being mixed use land. Just 9.10% of the land here is noted as arable and the difference in arable production in each of these two townlands may explain why the ringfort noted in Gortnafiry is noted as extant on Scalé's 1774 map, while the ringfort noted by Bateman in Lackbrack had been removed by the time of Scalé's later survey.

A final townland that of Ballyclogh also contains a high level of arable farming in Scalé's index, where 36 acres, one rood and 15 perches [14.71 ha.] are devoted to this practice. 48 acres, 2 roods and one perch [19.63 ha.] is noted as pasture land and 9 acres and 34 perches [3.73 ha.] as meadow. Therefore, 37.07% of the land in this townland was being used for arable farming by the time of Scalé's survey. Interestingly, the ringfort recorded as 'Dean's Fort' by Scalé in this townland is presently extant. Could the fact that a specific name is associated with this monument have contributed to this occurrence?

8.5.7. Ordnance Survey Maps

Practically all of the available Ordnance Survey maps for each of the townlands in these two baronies show a decrease in the amount of field boundaries. This continued transformation of the landscape resulted from both a reversion to grass growing for cattle and a substantial decrease in population. There is likely to have been a frequent interaction between these two factors, and this required the consolidation and perhaps simplification of farm management

practices. In each edition of the OS maps for these baronies, the enlargement of fields through the removal of field boundaries is accompanied by the removal of adjacent ringforts. This is easy to understand, for if a work gang is assembled to remove field banks and ditches it would not require much extra effort to remove an adjacent field monument. Particularly if it was felt the ringfort could be removed as part of the general drive to maximise returns from the land.

This association can be seen on some of the later townland maps. For example, in the townland of Garranes, a comparison of the first edition OS map (1842, Sheet 84) and the second edition (1903, Sheet 84) show that the field boundary to the west of *Lisnamanroe* (CO084-83) and the ringfort itself, have both been removed during this time. In the neighbouring townland of Moneen (Scalé, 1775, map 30; OSI, 1842, Sheet 84), a similar comparison shows that a field boundary that abuts the ringfort, CO084-138, was also removed at some stage during the intervening period. The destruction of the nearby ringfort, CO084-137, also seems to have been associated with the development of the surrounding area. This activity would be facilitated by the process of removal, whereby the remainder of the bank was pushed back into the fosse from where it was originally excavated (O'Brien; pers. comm., 2018). The activity of farmland consolidation continued well after 1842. An examination of the second edition OS map (1903, Sheet 84) of Garranes shows that the woods where a ringfort (CO084-088) was located have also been removed. In 1842, in the neighbouring townland of Moneen, the ringfort, CO084-098, is shown within a landscape of small fields, but by 1903, six of the nearby field boundaries had been cleared.

Similar examples are available for the other study area in east Cork. For instance, in the townland of Garycaheragh, a comparison of maps of the area from Scalé's survey (1774, map 10a) and the first edition OS map (1841, Sheet 45) show the construction of a road running eastwest through the area, and another running from this to the northern townland boundary, at some point during the intervening period. In addition, the widespread clearance of field boundaries is also apparent on the latter map. In particular, an almost total clearance of the boundaries that defined a cluster of small fields that surrounded the main settlement area of the townland, and the amalgamation of this ground into several large fields, is evident (Vol. II, 34). In fact, only one ringfort remains visible on the OS map, and this is located in the far northeast corner of the townland, far from the roads and close to the townland boundary. Perhaps, the location of this structure contributed to its survival. Nevertheless, by the time of the second edition OS map (1904, Sheet 45) it too had been levelled. Presently there are no ringforts, out of a possible nine, surviving above ground in this townland.

That the construction of roads posed a risk to ringfort survival can be seen in the adjacent townland of Glentrasna. On Scalé's map (1774, 15a) a road that runs east – west through the townland, and that later formed the boundary between Glentrasna North and Glentrasna, traverses the northern portion of a ringfort. The missing portion of this structure was, in all probability, destroyed during the construction of this road. In fact, this road also is visible on Bateman's (1717, 55) map, as is the ringfort. However, as Bateman used woodcut stamps to depict cultural features on his maps, it may not be a true representation of the state of this ringfort and it is possible that even at this early date serious damage had occurred (Vol. II, 40-46). Three ringforts are shown north of this road on Scalé's map. By the time of the first edition OS map (1841, Sheet 45) the easternmost of these had been removed. During the intervening period, a road had been constructed, continuing from a road in Garrycaheragh, in the adjacent townland. This road passed through the location of the above mentioned ringfort and around a group of houses before heading south to join another earlier road. The demolition of ringforts for use as road metal is known to have occurred, and it is likely that the construction of roads in these townlands resulted in the destruction of these ringforts.

In a few other areas the destruction of ringforts seems to have been associated with an increased sub-division of the land. In the townland of Ballylusky, four ringforts, out of five, are shown on Scalé's map (1774, map 22a). However, on the first edition OS map (1841, Sheet 45), none of these monuments remain visible. A comparison between these two maps show that on Scalé's map the western section of the townland was an area of several large fields, while on the OS map these have been subdivided into multiple smaller fields. This, presumably, is what led to the levelling of these ringforts.

In Garryduff townland six ringforts are shown on the first edition OS map (1842, Sheet 54; 1841-2, Sheet 55). This had decreased to three by the time of the revised second edition of this map (1904, Sheets 54 & 55). The removal of these three monuments, CO054-063001, CO054-064, CO054-095, does not seem to have been accompanied with any further major disturbance of the surrounding land. A similar development is visible in the townland of Ballybride Upper. Here the destruction of two ringforts, CO036-030 & CO036-031, appears to coincide with the removal of partial field boundaries on close proximity to the monuments. In the townland of Killaserragh, the destruction of two ringforts, CO054-058 & CO054-059, during the same period, appears to have been accompanied with the removal of some adjacent field boundaries.

In contrast the removal of the final ringfort, CO045-073, from the townland of Garycaheragh, occurred between the first and second editions of the OS map for the area. The second edition also shows that the area around this location was subject to increased sub-division of the field during the intervening period (Vol. II, 35). This is perhaps the result of the development of an area of the townland that was referred to a poor boggy ground in Scalé's 1774 index. Additionally, in the townland of Garryantaggert the removal of a ringfort (CO045-073) over the same period seems to have been accompanied by the closure and removal of a section of roadway or trackway that led towards this monument.

After 1904, the increased mechanisation of farming would have facilitated the final removal of such sites, an eventuality that may also be made easier due to their gradual degradation over the previous two centuries. In one of the townlands in Kinalmeaky, Scarriff, the land surrounding the ringfort, CO096-006, had also been subjected to consolidation between 1841 and 1904 (Vol. II, 355-7). In addition to the removal, and in some places the rebuilding of field boundaries, two nearby groups of houses had also disappeared during this period. However, some trace of this must have remained as Ó Ríordáin (1931, 58) surveyed this site and was able to estimate its diameter. Between 1904 and the present day in the townland of Castlenalact, also in Kinalmeaky, the area surrounding CO096-011 was also the subject of this type of activity: seven nearby field boundaries were removed, as well as a house with a shed and a connecting laneway. This ringfort was finally levelled around 1980. In the east Cork barony of Kinnatalloon, several cases of ringfort destruction occurred during the modern period also. In the townland of Ballybride Upper, the final ringfort CO036-032, was levelled at some stage during the 20th century. In another townland, Kilclare Upper, two ringforts, CO045-030 & CO045-033, were removed at some stage during the same period.

These examples of specific ringfort destruction offer an insight into some of the activities that are likely to have caused, or, at least, accompanied the removal of these monuments from the landscape. There appears to have been a wide range of activities throughout the period under examination that had the potential to negatively affect ringforts. However, one factor that links each of these activities is that they were all the result of attempts to maximise the potential returns from land use. The desire to extract as much as possible from the soil influenced the development of agriculture in these two baronies. Because of this, it can be said that the activity that posed the greatest risk to ringforts in these areas was the implementation of the doctrine of 'Improvement'.

8.5.8. Conclusion

This section has highlighted the differing conditions and developments that had the possibility to impact on the initial presence, and later the survival, of ringforts within these study areas. The different geographical layout of these two baronies suggest that the initial distribution of ringforts may have been different in each area. There is predominately a north – south orientation of the tributary rivers and streams in the East Cork area, from the high ground to the south towards the Bride River and this appears to indicate that the land in this area would have been well drained. In addition, the discovery of a mill flume (CO046-043) dated to the late 9th century (NMS: Rynne 1988) supports the argument that an elevated level of grain growing occurred in this area during the accepted period of ringfort use.

In the mid-Cork area, the predominately east – west flow of the tributaries suggests the presence of folds of high ground that disturbed the overall fall of ground between the higher ridges to the north and the Bandon river. The presence of this system of minor heights and depressions may have impeded the drainage of this area of the barony. If so, it is likely that areas of marshy ground would have developed, particularly on the southern banks of these secondary rivers and streams. These ground conditions, in fact, were recorded later, at the beginning of the 17th century. The presence of such relatively poor ground would no doubt have influenced the range of agricultural activity undertaken here. Therefore, it could be argued that, within these two study areas, different types of agriculture may have been present from early periods. The barony of Kinnatalloon, was a favourable location for, at least some, tillage farming. In contrast, the barony of Kinalmeaky may have seen cattle rearing predominate.

This differentiation may have remained in place in later centuries. It appears that the potential benefits of the east Cork area were recognised, and coveted, by new arrivals. As a result, this area was heavily settled from the beginning of the Anglo-Norman period. Again, this seems in contrast to the mid-Cork barony of Kinalmeaky which remained, for the most part, outside of the direct control of the Normans. Indeed, this barony could be seen as forming a long-lasting zone of contact, and conflict, between Cork city, its hinterland, and the still politically strong Gaelic zone of West Cork. In such an area, the re-settlement of defensible enclosures, even within a forest setting, may have been encouraged, due to punitive raids and the presence of wild animals. In any event, by the beginning of the 17th century the presence

of heavy forest in this area, particularly north of the Bandon River, attracted covetous regard. Following the defeat of Gaelic power in the region, this area was recognised as offering substantial economic benefit, both in the immediate and long-terms. Therefore, the first half of the 17th century saw the widespread clearance of this forested land. This period might also have been the first time that local field monuments, including ringforts, may have been endangered in great numbers by human activity.

In addition, this time witnessed the founding and expansion of the first major urban settlement in this region of county Cork. The presence of the town of Bandon would have created ripples that expanded outwards into the surrounding countryside. For instance, the requirement to grow food to supply the town also had the potential to affect monuments such as ringforts. For the production of fruits and, especially, vegetables require the ground to be tilled or worked. As such, the necessity of widespread cultivation may have encouraged the removal of impeding monuments. The development of market gardening may have been especially facilitated in some areas that offered safe and swift transport opportunities. Other parts of this study area are likely to have conformed to the dominant activity of this time, the rearing of sheep and cattle. This activity was augmented later by the growth of a dairy sector. The development, and dominance, of this activity is evident in some of the earliest small-scale maps of one of these areas, where the presence of multiple 'dairyhouses' are noted.

These maps also emphasis the relatively unenclosed nature of the landscape at the beginning of the 18th century. In addition, a serious effort was also made to represent the presence of ringforts, or 'Danes forts', on this landscape. This may have been the result of an early antiquarian interest. However, it is equally possible that the effort at recording these monuments would have had a practical application. For, even in such an agricultural setting some amount of subsistence farming would have needed to take place. In this case, the benefits offered by the presence of these pre-existing enclosures would surely have been recognised. Such monuments could have served as compounds for gathering animals together daily, or perhaps twice daily, for the purposes of milking. Therefore, the expansion of animal rearing and later the development of dairy farming for the production of butter may have served to protect these monuments. For in such a context, such monuments are likely to be perceived as a beneficial resource.

Nevertheless, a transformation of the landscape from the mid-18th century onwards occurred because of deliberate government policy. This policy encouraged the production of

grain as an export crop and introduced bounties and constraints to achieve this end. Both of the baronies under examination appear to have experienced a growth in tillage farming because of this policy. This transformation is evident in Scalé's maps, which depict the landscape toward the end of the same century. Indeed, these maps also contain direct evidence of the interference with ringforts occasioned by ploughing. Later again, towards the beginning of the 19th century, a movement away from tillage and back towards cattle rearing occurred. The field clearance associated with this activity is also recorded as negatively affecting the survival of ringforts. However, the population growth facilitated by the demand for labour during the tillage period continued during this period. This was associated with the subsequent drive to reclaim wasteland and to maximise any potential return from the land cultivated. Each of these activities had the potential to pose a risk to ringforts. Of course, in such areas where these monuments were, to all intents, removed, any subsequent change in land use made little if any difference to the structural integrity of these monuments. However, it may have made their eventual presence discernible and facilitated their recording as antiquities.

8.6. Urban Development

Another explanation may be possible for this increased evidence of arable farming close to the southern area of the Kinalmeaky barony study area. This is the necessity to provide food, for example fruits and vegetables, and products such as fresh milk, to the nearby town of Bandon. This town appears to have been founded at some point between 1594 and 1596 (Bennett 1862, 12). As a plantation settlement, it would have had an immediate impact on the surrounding countryside, as it would have been necessary to nourish this urban settlement. Throughout the late 16th century, and indeed throughout the following 17th century, long distance transport of bulky goods would have been difficult both because of a poorly developed, difficult to maintain, road network and due to successive periods of political instability. In any event, such goods would have to have been transported by humans, animals, or carriages – or most frequently a combination of the three – each with a resultant cost and the possibility of delay. Despite this, in 1609, a licence was granted to the town of Bandon to hold a weekly market, on Saturday, and two annual fairs. These took place at a site originally called 'Gallows Hill', though now known as 'The Green' on the south side of the river (*ibid,* 25).

In such a context, it seems almost certain that the majority of food supplies sold at market would have been grown in the locality, thus creating a form of commercial farming that evolved

beyond the purely subsistence level. It also seems a common sense approach that fragile and easily perishable goods would have been grown in areas that offered a safe and speedy passage to town. This subject has been scrutinised by the German economist, Johann Heinrich von Thunen, in his seminal work *The Isolated State*, in 1826. What he discussed in this work may be referred to as an optimisation theory, as it was proposed that land users would attempt to maximise their returns for a particular activity in any given location. This theory posited that a system of concentric bands surrounded and extended outwards from this idealised town and that suitable agricultural activity would be undertaken in each zone.

In this model, the first of these belts was noted as an area that favoured the growth of fruits and vegetables. For as Von Thunen (1966, 9) stated:

> 'delicate horticultural products … would not survive long journeys by wagon. They can, moreover, be sold in only small quantities, while still quite fresh. All these products will be grown near the town'.

This inner zone was also favourable for the production and transport of fresh milk. This commodity, which would have been in high demand, tended to spoil rapidly, especially in warm weather. However, in this idealised version, zones at a greater distance from the town would favour economic activities that negated, to some degree, the disadvantages caused by distance. For example, emphasis could be given to farming produce that could be preserved, like butter, or which could be driven to market, such as fowl or cattle. In this idealised representation, the concept of geographical distance was reinforced by that of chronological distance.

In reality, other factors could affect the optimum location for economic activity. Von Thunen, who stressed the idealised nature of his initial proposition, also elucidated to this fact. Such factors could include areas of different soil condition and the presence of another centre of focus or 'town'. Again, the presence of topographical features such as high ground or rivers and streams could stretch and transform these surrounding bands. This possibility could be of particular application in Kinalmeaky barony. The location of the town of Bandon on a major river would have facilitated the transport of goods by water, thereby significantly lowering transportation costs which would then allow for a greater margin of profit. Taking Von Thunen's concept of the 'natural unit' as total transport cost per ton/km, Clark (1967, 373) calculated 'the median cost of wagon transport' at 3.4 units. This he compared to 'human porterage', at nine units, and 'boat transport', at one unit. Therefore, the primary zone of

market gardening and milk production could be extended further outwards at a certain width from and parallel to the river. This may be particularly the case upstream of any such settlement.

Proximity to a centre or 'town' also provided the possibility for nutritional improvement of the land. For such an area could make use of the manure produced by horses and urban cattle in such a setting. This was also remarked upon later in the context of Co. Cork, for Reverend Townsend, in 1810, was commissioned to carry out a statistical survey of the county. In his report he rather pessimistically noted that the hilly sections of the barony of Kinalmeaky 'were for the most part poor, shallow and stony' (*ibid,* 359). Nonetheless, he also stated that some of the land, particularly north of the Bandon River, had been improved. The lands of the Duke of Devonshire, those surveyed by Scalé (1775), are noted as having benefited from the 'manure' of the adjacent town of Bandon (Townsend 1810, 360). Whereas, further west the lands of Thomas Poole had been improved through the liberal application of sea sand. Following this Townsend also noted that the land produced good crops of corn, 'sometimes wheat but generally oats and barley' (*ibid.*). On the eastern barony of Kinnatalloon, Townsend devotes just a paragraph of the several pages addressed to this latter barony and the adjacent one of Barrymore. He claims that the barony of Kinnatalloon contains no feature of importance and for the most part consists of 'course high moorland' (*ibid,* 576).

Access to a readily available and presumably constant supply of manure would have maintained this inner zone in a state of high fertility for root crop production. However, bearing in mind the fragility of such a crop, and the necessity to reduce as much as possible the time from picking to presentation at market, the benefit of a speedy method of transport allowed by the flow of water would surely have been recognised. In addition, when the expected size of such a crop is taken into account, one person in a small boat could transport sufficient goods for a day's sales. Therefore, it may be argued that areas upstream of, and within a reasonable distance to, the River Bandon would have been preferred locations for the production of such easily perishable goods. If such was the case, then the necessity to cultivate the soil in order to do so had the potential to have a negative influence on ringfort survival rates within that area. This may then explain the paucity of representation for ringforts within this particular area on the maps created by Scalé (1775) following his survey of this district. Indeed, as has already been noted, absolutely no ringforts were recorded in the estate maps for the entire parish of Killowen.

Conversely, this particular model of expenditure/return optimisation may also serve to explain the strong presence of ringforts in other parishes within this barony, at least at the beginning of the period under examination. This appears especially to be the case in two parishes, Brinny and Templemartin, located to the north of the town. The latter parish is located on the northern boundary of the barony and the former parish is located directly south of this. The combination of elevation, ground conditions and a lack of infrastructure in the locality suggest that these areas could be considered as outer zones of the Von Thunen model. Although the parish of Brinny is traversed by the Brinny River, this river joins the Bandon River approximately 5.5km downstream of the town, and therefore the use of water transport may not have been economically viable. The distance of these parishes from the central market may have encouraged the production of low risk, easily transportable goods, like cattle. These could roam their allotted area and when ready could be driven to market, at little or no cost, and sold on the hoof. On arrival, they would have suffered no degeneration in form or loss of freshness. That this may have been the case is suggested by the notes accompanying Vallancey's (1776) military survey of the region, as noted above.

In such a pastoral context, the preservation of ringforts would have been of practical benefit. In addition to any commercial agricultural activity undertaken, however, a certain level of subsistence cropping would have to be carried out within this area. It is in regards to this activity that ringforts may have been of particular use. For crops, such as potatoes, could be planted and tended within these enclosures and the existing bank would have served as a ready-made barrier to exclude animals and preserve the crop. This potential function may serve, as previously mentioned, to explain why so many examples were highlighted in Scalé's (1775) survey. That the interior of what were perceived as 'Danes Forts', and later accepted as ringforts, were used in such a manner can be confirmed through excavation (O'Brien pers. comm.). For example, the townland of Garranes is located in the aforementioned parish of Templemartin. Following excavation of a number of its ringforts it was discovered that the interiors were traversed by cultivation, namely by a system of 'lazy beds' (*ibid.*). The practical use of these monuments should be seen as a testament to the pragmatism of these cultivators.

8.7. Infrastructural development

8.7.1. Introduction

Another modern development in this study area had the capacity to impact negatively on ringfort numbers. This was the development of a comprehensive overland transport network. In itself, the creation of roads and railways might not appear to have the ability to impact majorly on field monuments. However, the construction of a sturdy reasonably well maintained road had the ability to open the surrounding countryside for development. Such a development would initially facilitate agricultural improvement by allowing fertilising agents to be imported, whereas previously these goods are likely to have been carried up along the waterways. However, the difficulties in transporting heavy goods across high ground and lowland bog land, especially during the winter and early spring when the ground would have been fallow, meant that it might not have been possible to transport it far prior to the development of roads.

8.7.2. Roads on Early Maps

The earliest maps of Co. Cork provide no evidence to suggest the presence of an established road network. For instance, one of the earliest available large-scale maps depicts an area centred on Bantry Bay and some of the adjacent headlands (Anon. 1558). However, no road network is shown connecting the various castles and churches. Medium scale maps of the entire province of Munster from around this time provide no better indication (Lythe 1572; Anon. 1580; Jobson 1589). However, the major rivers are shown accurately and relatively clearly, indicating the importance of these routes for the transport of goods into the interior.

However, some large-scale maps of parts of county Cork, published at the beginning of the 17th century, do show roads. One, albeit outside the study areas, showing the city of Cork and its surrounds was created by Carew in 1602. This shows almost a dozen roads radiating outwards from the city itself, and these ‘highways’ are linked by minor roads. Admittedly, this map only provides clues as the nature and extent of the roads close to a major city. However, some of these roads are shown as linking other towns and may offer an insight into the regional network of roads throughout the county.

8.7.3. Travel Guides

Other indications of the state of the road network are contained in a guide to the highways of Ireland, which claimed to be 'very necessary for all those that intend to travel thither' (Brecknock 1619). In this pamphlet, the road from Cork to Bandon is noted as is the fact that it continues by way of Tymolegue [Timoleague]. In the east of the county, the road from Clonmel to Lismore, from Lismore to Castle Lehane and from there to Cork is also included (*ibid,* 7). Interestingly, it is mentioned that there is a shorter, or 'nearer', way to Youghal from Gowran, Co Kilkenny. The traveller would need to go by Clonmel and then through the mountains by Montaine Castle (*ibid,* 8). In a later reprint, it is noted that this route 'is good in the summer' (Woodhouse, 1647, 3). This suggests that this road was of poor quality in the winter, and this perhaps confirms the status of the other roads as all-weather routes.

8.7.5. Estate Surveys

Roads are depicted in all but one of the forty townlands shown on Bateman's 1717 maps of Kinnatalloon, the exception being Gortnafiry (*ibid,* map 28). Clearly, by the early eighteenth century roads were becoming commonplace. On the estate map showing Ballymacsimon townland the Cork to Tallow 'post road' is marked. This traverses the townland from west to east, parallel to the River Bride, and is depicted with two continuous lines with the interior is differentiated by the use of the colour yellow. Another road is also shown traversing Lacknabeh townland, and this is depicted by widely spaced hachured lines. Presumably, this indicates that this is a secondary road (*ibid,* 26). The prevalence of a road transport network of varying quality, can be perceived at this early date.

8.7.6. Ordnance Survey

Ordnance Survey maps of the early 1840s provide an idea of how the road network within the study area developed over time. It appears that a small network of major roads was in existence prior to the 18th century, and, in addition, there seems to also have been a widespread network of bridle paths, trackways and footpaths connecting larger towns to their hinterland and village to village. Statutes existed that encouraged that these be maintained to a greater or lesser degree. This pre-existing base network could then be developed as the science of road building was developed. This seems a particularly development towards the end of the 18th, and the

beginning of the 19th centuries. In many townlands, including those cited above, this development appears to have been associated with land clearance and ringfort destruction.

Archaeological evidence suggests that the preferred method of levelling a ringfort involved using the surrounding bank to fill the external fosse. In some cases, however, where these structures were made entirely of stone, perhaps this could be seen as a useful resource for the provision of road metal. At the same time, the ability to dispose of such material under the new road would have facilitated in land clearance and the opening up of farmland.

8.8. Population Growth

8.8.1. Introduction

Great effort has been devoted to the study of population trends in Ireland over time. Particular effort has been focused on the rapid and extreme growth in population that occurred in the latter half of the 18th century and the early decades of the 19th century. All of the scholars mentioned below, universally accept the fact that such growth occurred. However, this appears to be the only fact where agreement can be found. The arguments for such population growth may be synthesised into two broad categories: that such growth resulted from either increased birth rate or was due to decreased levels of mortality. The former argument was a foundation pillar on which the doyen of these scholars, K. H. O'Connell (1946, 83) constructed his argument. In this work, it was claimed that a lowering of marriage age due to a number of social and economic factors led directly to an increased birth rate. Later, O'Connell (1951, 225) further argued that such an increase in birth rate caused the population of Ireland to double between 1780 and 1840.

One of the economic factors referenced in O'Connell's (1946) work was the increased requirement for labour that accompanied the growth in commercial tillage farming. It may be recalled that this growth in tillage farming resulted from deliberate government policy dating from the mid-18th century. This produced increased economic opportunity for, in contrast to pastoral farming, tillage is much more labour intensive. It has been estimated that a team of 'four to six horses or oxen and up to three men' would be able to plough no more than an acre and a half per day (Burke, 1974, 63). O'Connell (1946) further claimed that such opportunity facilitated a growth in youthful marriage, as a small plot of land upon which to build a cabin and grow food at a subsistence level was often included as payment in hiring agricultural

labour. However, this argument was eventually challenged, as most are, and other explanations for this unprecedented growth were put forward. These arguments were summarised by Ó Grada (1979), who criticised O'Connell's (1946) work for extrapolating onto the general population the experiences of one specific community.

8.8.2. Pre-Census Population Calculation

A desire to quantify the population level in Ireland lead to the passing of an Act of Parliament that became law in 1813 (HMSO 1823, v). Efforts at calculating earlier population figures rely upon the study of ancillary information and an extrapolation of numbers using an estimate of household numbers. For example, a modern attempt to track population change during the 18th century depended on the Hearth Tax returns (Ó Gráda *et al.* 1982). These scholars arrived at a higher and lower estimate for the years involved. The first year for which data was examined was for 1706 and a population range of between 510,000 and 590,000 was deduced for Munster (*ibid,* 155). Population is shown to have grown in the province until 1732, for which time a range of between 700,000 and 800,000 people is given. This shows an increase in population of between 38% and 42% in the province over 26 years. A major fall in population levels, however, is shown in the next return for the year 1744 when the range is between 490,000 and 560,000 (*ibid.*).

	1813	1821	1831	1841	1851
Aghern	n/a	1,107	1,367	1,841	919
Ballynoe	n/a	2,031	2,692	2,566	1,828
Britway	n/a	55	n/a	86	53
Clonmult	n/a	148	188	146	102
Coole	n/a	313	338	n/a	n/a
Knockmourne	n/a	1,907	2,256	2,212	1,473
Mogeely	n/a	2,678	3,094	3,255	1,873
TOTAL	6,653*	8,239	9,935	9,463	6,248

Figure 24. Population change in Kinnatalloon barony, Co. Cork. *Total for 1813 unreliable

These numbers appear to indicate a drop in population numbers of approximately 30% over these twelve years. It must be borne in mind, however, that while these figures represent the best available information they are calculated estimates and should not be taken as exact. However, that a significant reduction in population numbers occurred over this period is indisputable. Furthermore, the timeline can be sharply focused on the years 1740 and 1741 when a combination of climatic factors led to widespread famine and fever (Dickson 1997, 11-3).

Although the harvest of 1741 was mixed in quality by the middle of the year grain prices fell as hoarded grain was released on the market. Harvests were unusually abundant for the next several years and this contributed to a steady increase on population. In Munster, the population increased to a range of between 590,000 and 680,000 steadily, with a calculated overall growth of between 20% and 21% by 1753 (Ó Gráda *et al.* 1982, 155), although this was still below pre-famine levels. Later in the century, definitive population levels were included with numbers of 1,200,000 in 1791 and 2,940,000 by 1821 (*ibid.*).

8.8.3. Census Returns

It should be noted that the results from the census that followed the 1813 act were seriously flawed. Indeed, an abstract included in an account of this undertaking recognised it to have been a failure (Census 1823, viii). For by the end of 1814 only

> 'seven counties, counties of cities, or towns had made acceptable returns; five had ignored the act completely; and the returns of the remaining twenty-eight, sent back for revision, were improperly corrected or not returned' (Froggatt 1965, 229).

Nevertheless, while these major flaws were noted, a local population level was extrapolated by Mason (1816, Vol III, xli). He claimed that the barony of Kinnatalloon contained 6,653 people at the time of the survey. In addition, the barony of Kinalmeaky was noted as containing 14,955 people and added to this should be the returns for the town of Bandon at 2,915 people, therefore 17,900 of a total population. While this may provide a baseline for the population in these areas, it must also be noted that a number of factors discouraged the remittance of correct returns and the correct population would have been higher. How much higher must unfortunately remain speculation.

	1813	1821	1831	1841	1851
Ballymodan	n/a	2,234	2,353	5,930	4,983
Bandon	n/a	10,179	7,138	n/a	n/a
Brinny	n/a	1,251	1,194	1,370	952
Desertegses	n/a	1,779	1,548	1,506	779
Killowen	n/a	369	432	366	286
Knockbrogan	n/a	2,624	2,584	5,404	4,219
Murragh	n/a	2,927	2,720	2,712	1,524
Templemartin	n/a	2,854	2,730	2,362	1,550
TOTAL	17,900*	24,217	20,881	19,650	14,293

Figure 25. Population change in Kinalmeaky barony, Co. Cork. *Total for 1813 unreliable

However, each census from 1821 onwards seems to have been correctly organised and to have provided population statistics down to townland level. Figures for the barony of Kinalmeaky returned in this census show a population of 24,217. By the 1832 census, population levels had recorded a drop of almost 4,000 to 20,881. By the 1841 census, the overall population in the barony had fallen further with a figure of 19,650 being recorded. This appears to show a fall in population of almost 19% in twenty years. Following the catastrophic Famine years of the mid-1840's population fell even further with a level of 14,293 being returned in the census of 1851, a further decrease of over 27%. Overall levels within the barony had peaked at the beginning of the 19th century and declined steadily from then onwards. Examined purely abstractly, this fall in population is likely to have reduced pressure on the available land resources.

In the East Cork study area of Kinnatalloon, however, the pre-Famine period saw a steady overall increase in population numbers. In the census of 1821, a figure of 8,239 was recorded and in the following census of 1831, a figure of 9,935 was observed. This shows an increase of just over 17% for these ten years. Although, it should also be noted that the returns for a portion of Britway had been removed from this return. However, the census of 1841 recorded a slight decrease in population of 472 to 9,463, a fall of almost 5%. The post-Famine census of 1851 recorded a dramatic decrease in overall population levels here too. Returning an

overall level of 6,248, a decrease of 34%. The parish of Mogeely in the east of the barony recorded a more dramatic drop of over 42%, with a drop from 3,255 to 1,873. Here it can be shown that land pressure likely increased from the 1750s and continued for several decades' longer than in Kinalmeaky, right up to the eve of the Famines of the 1840's.

8.9. Conclusion

This chapter involved the examination of two study areas within county Cork. It commenced by highlighting the geographical conditions within each barony, as these conditions may have influenced, from an early time, economic development within these two areas. This development could have also affected the initial construction and distribution of ringforts within each of these two areas. The comparative study that follows emphasised the high levels of destruction for these monuments, particularly raths, within these baronies. It also highlights the differing timeline and rates of destruction in each of them. For instance, in the more rural study area of east Cork, the majority of destruction appears to have occurred prior to the Ordnance Survey of the mid-19th century. The rates of decline in ringfort numbers in the mid-Cork barony of Kinalmeaky, however, appear to have been more regular. This may suggest that no dramatic change in land usage evolved here during the period under examination or that if such a change had occurred, it may have happened before the earliest available study.

In conducting this survey all potential monuments of interest, whether recorded as raths, cashels, enclosures, etc. were included. It may be argued that these sites were marked on the early maps as being of a single monument type and, as such, they were likely to have been treated in a similar fashion. A strong connection seems to exist between Raths and 'Danes Forts', and so this information can be used to ascertain attitudes and behaviours towards ringforts in general. The importance of this finding is that it further diminishes the notion that the archaeological landscape at the time of the Ordnance Survey represented a pristine utopia. The heavy rate of decline also refutes the notion that ringforts, in particular, benefited from some special protection. Unfortunately, this latter finding contradicts something that is still considered and promoted, as a pillar of popular belief. The continued strength of this belief is evident in some recent works that accept uncritically that the integrity of these monuments was respected in the past. Indeed, it may be argued that as a result of this study ringforts, and by extension all field monuments, were not actually protected at all. If so many examples are

still extant on the Irish landscape it is only because these represent the surviving remnants of an even larger number of sites.

However, it was deemed that simply highlighting this rate of destruction was insufficient and that an effort should be made to understand the processes that may have led to such levels of destruction. These two study areas were, for the most part, largely rural in nature during the period under examination. In addition, one of them, Kinalmeaky, had been transformed, by the beginning of the 17th century, from open farmland of the early medieval period into a heavily forested landscape. The economic resource that this represented was recognised and the subsequent period of tree felling during the seventeenth century may have constituted the first period of sustained risk to the ringforts in this area. Following this woodland clearance, a requirement to provide food to the central urban settlement of the valley, the town of Bandon, is likely to have encouraged the undertaking of arable farming, particularly market gardening, close to the town. It is possible that the symmetrical nature of this agricultural zone would have been distorted by the river that traverses the valley. Therefore, areas near the river, and especially upstream of the town, may have been prime settings for market gardens. The disturbance of the soil associated with this activity may have accelerated the disappearance of ringforts from townlands where this activity occurred.

The other study area examined in this chapter, the barony of Kinnatalloon, was even more rural in nature. As a result, it appears to have been strongly influenced by national trends in farming practice. At the beginning of the 18th century, dairy farming appears to have dominated the landscape. In such a context, the practical utility of these pre-existing monuments is likely to have been recognised and this may have encouraged their preservation. Here, from the 1750s onwards, tillage or arable farming had grown in importance. This period of growth in tillage farming and transformation of the landscape coincided with the heaviest rate of ringfort destruction in the barony. The labour intensive nature of tillage farming encouraged an exponential growth in population and this resulted in the reclamation of waste land. All of these activities seem to have had the potential to affect ringforts, for this period corresponds to a heavy rate of decline. Later, an initial fall in demand for grain in the decades after Waterloo and a disastrous fall in population as a result of the Famine incentivised a return to pastoral farming.

In the mid-Cork barony of Kinalmeaky, an equally important but regular rate of decline appears to indicate a more gradual of change in land usage throughout this period. A skewed

representation of ringfort numbers between the south of the study area, near the river, and the north of the barony appears to support the suggestion that a certain level of destruction occurred prior to this survey. Incidentally, this may also support the argument that proximity to the main urban settlement indeed posed an increased risk of destruction, as indicators show that it is probable that ringforts were present in this riverine area initially.

However, no longer content, or perhaps even able, to accept low returns from low investment, this return required major consolidation of land holdings in both baronies. Evidence for this activity can be seen in both editions of the Ordnance Survey between the mid-19th century and the early-20th century. These maps show that fields were combined through the removal of field boundaries in many townlands. Adjacent monuments could easily have been removed along with these field boundaries, and in many cases this seems to have occurred. The removal of ringforts from the landscape in these two baronies continued into the modern era, although this did occur at a slower pace than previously. This slower rate of decline may be a result of the introduction of legal protection in 1930. It may also be that the few ringforts that remained posed no hindrance to the continued cultivation of the land, and thus observance of both the law and of traditional belief was facilitated. However, some number of ringforts were still levelled and this destruction would have been greatly assisted by the increased mechanisation of farming practice throughout this period.

An aim of this chapter was to investigate what land use practices were likely to carry the greatest risk to the survival of field monuments, such as ringforts, throughout the period from the seventeenth century onwards. To conclude, no single activity may be pinpointed in this manner, as the types of land use throughout the area, and indeed in individual townlands, varied widely throughout this period. This indicates that all of the agricultural activity that occurred had the potential to negatively affect ringfort survival rates. The driving force that lay behind the cultivation of the land in these areas can be understood as the economic desire to extract as much benefit as possible from its use. This was achieved through the development of the land and the application of modern methods. Therefore, what constituted the most risk to ringforts within this area was the doctrine of ‘Improvement’.

To summarise, the study has shown that ringforts in this study area were levelled and destroyed in large numbers over the past three centuries. It is clear that the traditional superstition associated with these monuments in no way served to protect them. The desire, or perhaps the need, to make practical use of the land was a stronger factor than traditional belief,

and it was this process of improvement that posed the greatest risk to the survival of ringforts. Once economic factors became important enough neither social disapproval nor legal sanction were sufficient to protect the majority of these monuments.

While it is true that ringforts were in danger of destruction right throughout the period under examination, it is also evident that certain activities posed an increased to the survival of these monuments. Arable farming appears to be the activity that resulted in heaviest rate of decline in ringfort numbers. In the following chapter, this hypothesis will be tested through comparison of results obtained from other areas of the country. This data will be compared initially with an area particularly noted for its grain growing. It is expected that this will provide evidence of similar or even greater rates of ringfort destruction. A comparison will then be made with areas noted for other type of farming, and it is expected that if this hypothesis holds that these areas will show a lower rate of ringfort destruction.

CHAPTER 9: TESTING THE HYPOTHESES ON RINGFORT DESTRUCTION.

9.1. Introduction

The overall level of ringfort destruction in each of the two study areas in county Cork was highlighted in Chapter 8. An examination of the comparative study in these areas also indicates that the period of heaviest destruction, at least in the more rural area of East Cork, coincides with the development of commercial tillage farming in this area and throughout the country in general. This appears to indicate that regardless of the very important position that ringforts occupied in the worldviews of various Irish communities' once economic factors came into play these monuments were removed from the landscape in great numbers. It is now decided to test this hypothesis through reference to areas of the country where similar activity is known to have occurred. The areas chosen for this test, in relation to commercial tillage farming, are two baronies in county Kildare, for this county has been the focus for grain growing for several hundred years. The barony of Ikeathy and Oughterany has been chosen for this comparison and the results from this area will be compared with another barony in the county, that of Kilcullen, to facilitate the extrapolation of the overall results.

It is then proposed to compare such results as may be gleaned from these study areas, in both Co. Cork and Co. Kildare, with further regions where different farming activities were the norm. The first of these is the barony of Castlereagh, Co. Roscommon, which was renowned during the period under examination as an area for the fattening of cattle. It was selected for study, in addition, because it was the home of the famous antiquarian, Charles O'Conor, and it will be of interest to see if his influence on the promotion of Ireland's past affected the attitude towards ringforts in this area. The second area chosen is the barony of Ibrickan, Co. Clare. During the period under examination, this region was considered to consist predominately of small scale, subsistence, mixed farming. In addition, the western seaboard has been recognised as a reservoir of traditional Irish popular culture, and the degree to which this influenced the survival rates of ringforts will be considered. In short, six separate baronies in different parts of Ireland, with distinct agricultural practices, are assessed in order to produce an overall assessment of ringfort destruction rates and possible links to particular farming activities.

The same approach is taken in the study areas in counties Kildare, Roscommon and Clare as was undertaken in the county Cork study areas in Chapter 8. All available cartographic sources — predominately those of the Ordnance Survey and any available estate maps — are

used, as well as photographic images from recent aerial surveys, such as Google Earth. Once the rates of decline of ringforts have been tabulated, it is proposed to examine more closely the economic and agricultural activity in each area. A detailed description of the townlands in each barony, similar to that created for county Cork, is included in the accompanying catalogue: Ikeathy and Oughterany, Co. Kildare, Chapter 4; Kilcullen, Co. Kildare, Chapter 5; Castlereagh, Co. Roscommon, Chapter 6, and Ibrickan, Co. Clare, Chapter 7.

9.2. Kildare

9.2.1. Evidence for Agricultural Development in Kildare

Documentary evidence exists that confirms county Kildare as a grain-growing region from at least the end of the 13th century. One such document itemises the supplies gathered in Ireland between September and December 1282 to feed an army then campaigning in Wales (Sweetman 1877, 460). It is noted that the Manor of Ballysax supplied '64 Quarters and 6 Bushels' of wheat and '29 Quarters' of oats, in addition to numbers of cattle, oxen, sheep and pigs. The Manor of Ballysax is located just to the west of one of the chosen study areas for County Kildare, the barony of Kilcullen. Similar information is available for areas within the other Kildare study area, the barony of Ikeathy and Oughterany (Figure 26).

Information regarding the organisation of the manor of Cloncurry in the north of this barony, for the year 1304, is contained in the Red Book of Ormond (White 1932). Elements of this work were later translated and this provides a more accessible insight (O'Loan 1961). This translation details the overall size of the Manor at 4,000 acres [1618.74 ha.] and highlights its geographical layout with a large sub-tenant possessing lands in Donathda [Donadea] to the south. The demesne, or home farm, of the manor is an area of particular focus. Here, it is remarked that the majority of the land is devoted to arable farming and is organised in a three-field system. One of these fields of 43 acres 1 rood and 5 perches [17.52 ha.] was devoted to the cultivation of wheat and another, of 48 acres and one rood [19.53 ha.], to the growth of oats. The third field of 34 acres and one rood [13.86 ha.] is recorded as lying fallow, or being in its first season (*ibid,* 15). Elsewhere in this document, it was noted that plots of land were required to be ploughed three times in preparation for the planting of wheat. For the cultivation of oats, the ground needed to be ploughed just once. Therefore, each plot of land was subjected to the plough four times over a three-year period, and this in addition to a number of harrowings.

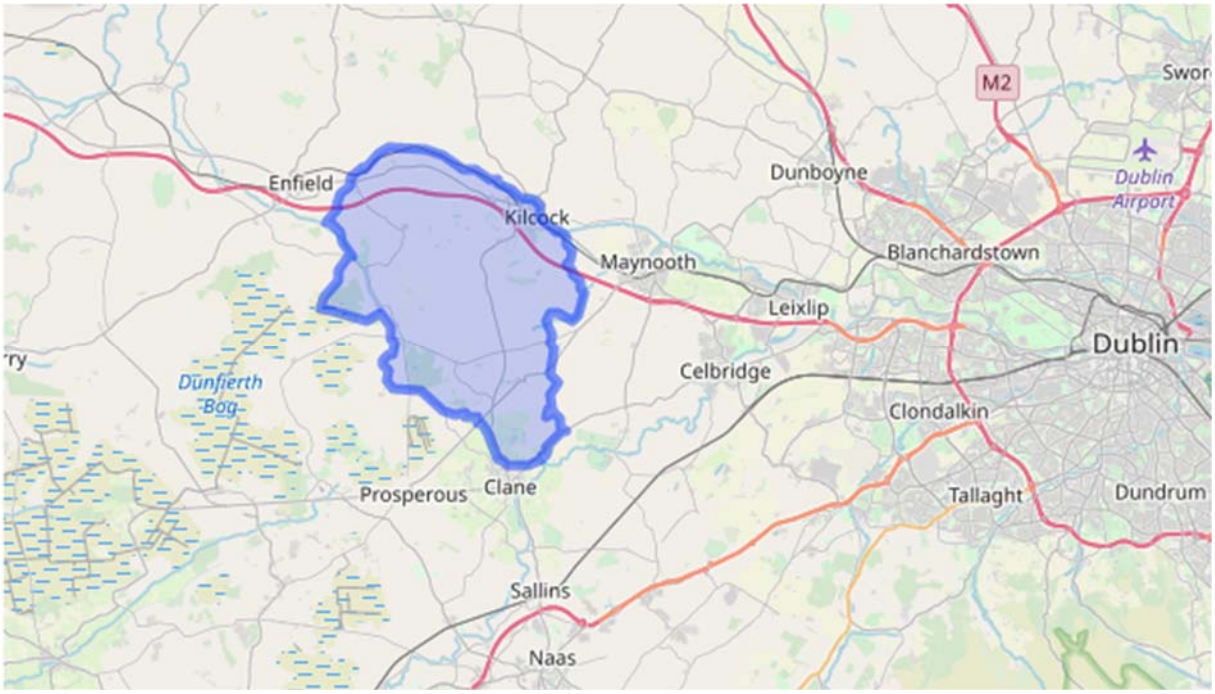


Figure 26. General map of Ikeathy and Oughterany barony, Co. Kildare

Further south, some parishes of this barony, Mainham and Clonshanbo, are noted in the Ecclesiastical Taxation Returns for the years 1302 to 1306 as having been granted to the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem (Sweetman 1886, 246). Other areas within the barony mentioned in this exemption are Barreens and an area spelt as 'Kyllneynach'. This religious order and the other major order, the Knights Templar, were noted for their skill at land management. Indeed, it has been suggested that these orders, like the Cistercians, were purposely granted parcels of land in need of improvement (Murphy 2016, 168). This skill at maximising potential returns assisted in the growth of both the Hospitallers and Templars. Indeed, the Templars were granted a Royal licence to transport wheat, without hindrance, throughout the country for trade in 1225. So powerful did these orders become that enmity and jealousy developed consequently. This eventually led to the suppression of the Knights Templar following the arrest of the Grand Master, and his followers, in France in 1307. The suppression of the Order in Ireland in 1308 was not as violent, with no record that those Templars placed on trial in Dublin for heresy were found guilty.

However, the lands of the Order were confiscated and in many cases were re-granted to the Hospitallers. The Templars had farmed the areas of Kylbride [Kilbride] and Kilcork [Kilcock] within the barony of Ikeathy and Oughterany. That Kilcork and Kilcock are identical

locations is confirmed by Othway-Ruthven (1951). Another indication may be seen through the reference to these two locations simultaneously in documents and the adjacent location of the two areas on present day maps. An inventory made of the stores and chattels on this Manor was forwarded to the treasury in London following the confiscation (Mac Niocaill 1967, 189). This account noted that 60 crannocks of grain, '*frumenti*', were saved in a haggard. It was also recorded that 24 crannocks of oats and 20 crannocks of beans and peas were available. Of course, peas and beans would have assisted in the revitalisation of farmland as they extract nitrogen from the atmosphere and fix it in the soil. The cultivation of such crops could be seen, therefore, as agricultural best practice. An account was also supplied of the animals present on the farm at the date of this survey.

Of particular interest is the phrase that refers to the presence of a group of 18 oxen, 6 workhorses and 3 ploughs (*ibid.*). This suggests the existence on this farm of three plough teams consisting of six oxen and two horses per team. That such teams had been known in England, albeit during the twelfth century, is confirmed by several examples highlighted by Lennard (1960, 198). The composition of such a mixed team was a compromise that attempted to maximise the different qualities of each animal. The ox was long favoured as it was 'cheap to buy and easy to maintain'. Furthermore, when put to work in the field 'his was a steady, constant pull that meant minimum wear and tear on a primitive homemade plow [*sic*]' (Moore 1961, 91). Whereas, the advantage of a team of horses was the speed with which work could be accomplished, particularly light work or harrowing. The effort required to control, and more particularly, turn such a team when ploughing can well be imagined. Although, Moore (*ibid.*) does note that when working these teams would be 'attended by at least two or more shouting, whistling, hallooing peasants'. The benefit of multiple ploughing had long been understood by this stage. The tenth-century manual, the *Geoponika*, advised breaking up ground that is 'stiff, heavy and rich' in the autumn and a further preparation in spring prior to planting (Owen 1805, 101-3).

A countryside thus cultivated could not remain in a static condition while it was also the arena of political struggle. Later rental records refer to land and its worth 'during times of peace (Duffy 1982/3, 23), although, it is frequently noted that such lands are now worth nothing because of War. Nevertheless, by the mid-17th century the county of Kildare was again predominately devoted to tillage farming. Records for this activity are contained in the reports of the Civil Survey of the county from 1654-6 (Simmington 1952). These accounts divide cultivated land under the headings: arable, pasture and meadow. In this manner, the area of



Figure 27. General map of Kilcullen barony, Co. Kildare

land devoted to any particular activity can be calculated. For instance, in the barony of Kilcullen returns exist for a total of 3,740 acres [1513.52 ha.], of which 3,444 acres [1393.73 ha.] is devoted to arable farming. Thus, the vast majority, 92 per cent, of the cultivated land in this study area is devoted to an activity whose destructive capacity is noted above.

In the other barony, Ikeathy and Oughterany, similar data are available. Due to the size of this barony, it is easier to condense this information at parish level and in doing so to gain an understanding of the concentration of activities there. In the parish of Cloncurry, mentioned above, a total of 2,520 acres [1019.80 ha.] is recorded, of which 1,875 acres [758.78 ha.], 74.4 percent is devoted to arable farming. In the parish of Scullogestown, 480 acres [194.24 ha.], or 77.41 percent, of a total of 620 acres [250.90 ha.] is used for arable cultivation. Similarly, in the parish of Donadea, also mentioned above, 420 acres [169.96 ha.] of 565 acres [228.64 ha.] is noted as arable land: this represents a percentage of 74.33%. In the parish of Mainham, ancient Hospitaller land, 567 acres [229.45 ha.], or 73.35 per cent, out of 773 acres [312.82 ha.] is noted as arable. Slightly higher levels of arable cultivation are recorded for the parishes of Balraine and Clonshanbo, where 741 acres [299.87 ha.] out of 894 acres [361.78 ha.] and 280 acres [113.31 ha.] out of 312 acres [126.26 ha.], respectively, are devoted to arable

farming: these represent levels of 82.88 per cent and 89.74 per cent respectively. A portion of the record for the final parish of Kilcock, old Templar land, is torn so the calculation here is of approximate value: however, 795 acres [321.72 ha.], out of 1084 acres [438.67 ha.] were definitely devoted to arable farming, though the use of 65 acres [26.30 ha.] cannot be accounted for and the percent of arable use here may vary between 73.33 per cent and 79.33 per cent. In any event, these seventeenth-century records serve to highlight the high levels of arable farming throughout these two baronies. This was further emphasised by Weld (1838), who noted that the soils in county Kildare were exhausted from growing grain for Dublin.

Another factor of note, in outlining the land use within the manor of Cloncurry, O'Loan (1961, 24) noted that a class of tenant named '*betagh*' held a total of 341.5 acres [138.20 ha.]. Curtis (1936) examined this class and concluded that they were the unfree classes of Gaelic society and that this category had been expanded before being incorporated into the new social order, still as unfree tenants. The general conditions attached to this tenancy do seem to have been particularly lenient to prevent any flight into areas that remained under Gaelic control. Curtis further highlights some of these conditions and particularly the obligations (*ibid.*). One work obligation was that each '*betagh*', with their own plough team, or failing that each group, were to annually plough an acre for wheat and another acre for oats on the demesne lands. Being an obligation, it seems likely that such an activity would be attempted with as much haste as possible, so tenants could return to their own duties.

In addition, it should be reiterated that such activity, although undertaken by native Irish, was carried out under the direction of the new landowners who would not have possessed any particular attachment to earlier field monuments located on lands under their control. The 'betaghs' were the 'small people' or the 'hidden people', but is it not possible that members of a hereditary unfree class may have looked on ringforts, symbolic reminders of an unequal Gaelic society, in a different manner to present day attitudes? Such a combination of workload, non-attachment, and potential disdain could bolster an argument that the destruction of field monuments, like ringforts, may have occurred here at such an early period. The longevity of tillage farming in this area might be one explanation for the contradiction apparent by the low numbers of ringforts recorded there since the late 18th century and the significant numbers of potential sites that have become visible, as crop marks, because of drought conditions in the summer of 2018 (see below).

The continued importance of arable farming in at least one of these study areas is highlighted in Arthur Young's (1892, 33-4) account. Writing in 1776, and having visited Kilcock, he noted that the system of crop rotation consisted of a season of potatoes, followed by a crop of bere (a type of barley). Two crops of oats and a period of fallow then succeeded this. This was itself followed by a crop of wheat and two further crops of oats. He also recorded that ploughing here was carried out entirely by teams comprised of four horses (ibid). The longevity of this activity throughout the county was again highlighted several decades later (Rawson 1807, 2). It was noted that the county was constituted of a 'fine arable soil'. This remark was qualified, however, by the emphasis that it was now 'much exhausted' because of its proximity to the capital city and that it had for centuries been the principal supplier of grain to this market. Rawson also records the land use of each barony, including the two chosen study areas (*ibid,* 203). An area of 15,747 acres [6,372.58 ha.] was recorded for the barony of Ikeathy and Oughterany, and of these 14,471 acres [5,856.20 ha.] were devoted to arable farming, while in the barony of Kilcullen, the entirety of the 5,040 acres [2,039.61 ha.] was used for arable farming.

Lewis (1837) further highlighted this activity in his Topographical Dictionary. In this account it was noted that in one of the constituent parishes of the above barony, Kilcullen, 'more than four-firths are in tillage and the remainder in pasture (*ibid,* Vol. II, 76). Several parishes in the barony of Ikeathy and Oughterany are also described in this dictionary. Lewis (*ibid,* Vol I, 170) recorded that the parish of Balraheen contained mainly 'small holdings' and was 'chiefly under tillage'. In contrast, for the parish of Cloncurry, it was noted that 'the land is chiefly in pasture and great numbers of cattle are fattened for Dublin and English markets' (*ibid,* 353). Similar activity was noted in the parish of Kilcock, which consisted of 'chiefly rich pasture land ... for the fattening of stock for the Dublin market and exportation' (*ibid,* Vol. II, 62). Incidentally, this emphasis on the fattening of stock for export marks the movement of this area out of a mid-range Von Thunen zone that surrounded Dublin and its incorporation into the larger, outer, belt that developed around the metropolis of London. Two further parishes from this barony, those of Donadea and Mainham, are described in this dictionary. The former was recorded as having its productive land divided between tillage and pasture (*ibid,* Vol. I, 463). Whereas, the latter was described as being 'chiefly under tillage' but also containing 'good pasture land' (*ibid,* Vol. II, 336). Despite highlighting some recent developments, these descriptions serve to emphasise the length of time that arable farming dominated in county Kildare.

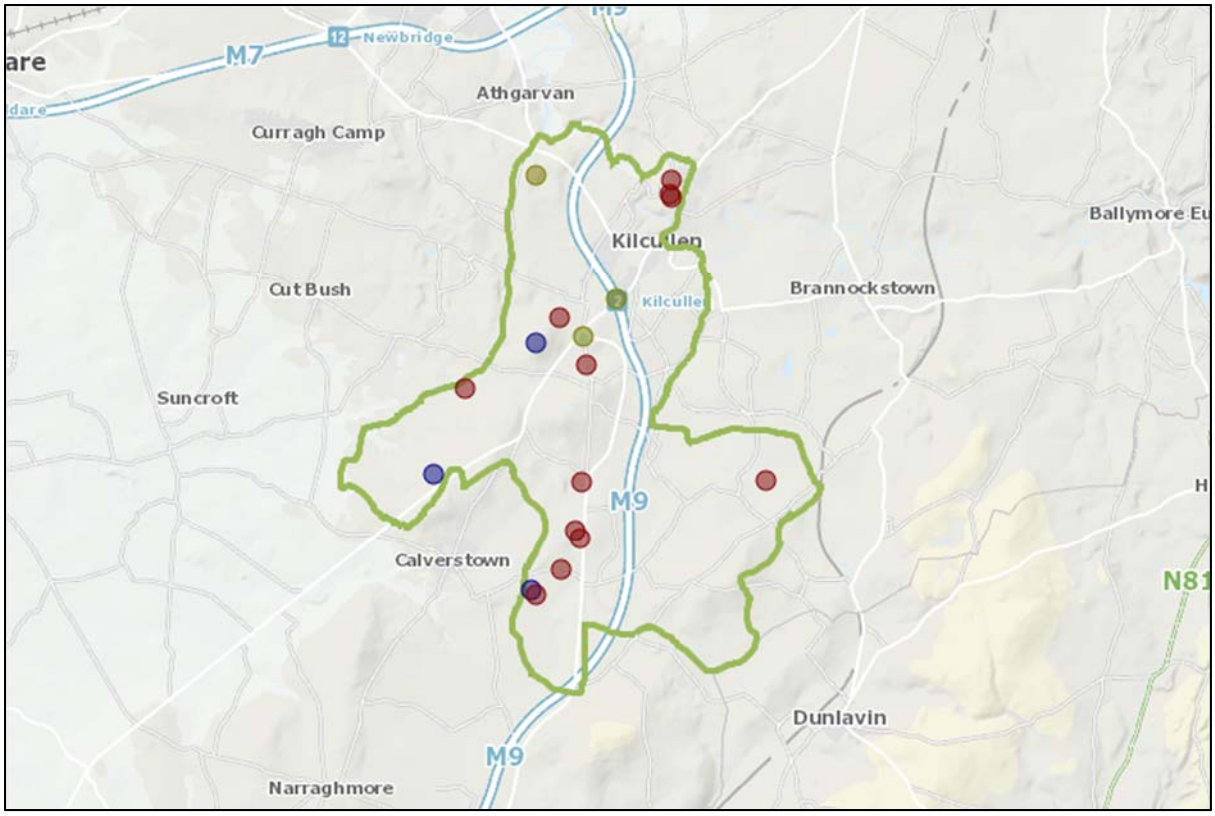


Figure 28. Map of the barony of Kilcullen. Highlighting the location of ringforts and enclosures. Green circles denote enclosures from pre-OS maps. Blue circles denote ringforts on OS maps. Red circles denote crop marks from aerial imagery

9.2.2. Comparative Study of Ringfort Numbers

In the barony of Kilcullen, just three examples of ringforts are depicted on the first edition OS map (1838). These sites are denoted by a blue circle in Figure 28: one in Moortowncastle, one in Dalkinstown and one in Dun Ailline. The Gaelic scholar and member of the Ordnance Survey, John O'Donovan (1837) noted the presence of the remains of a 'rath on the apex of the hill now much affected but calculated about 100ft [30m] in diameter' at Dun Ailline, though this may, of course, form part of the prehistoric complex there. The site in Moortowncastle is shown on the first edition as a circular site, though on the revised second edition it is depicted as a square feature; it is also visible on the later revised 6-inch edition. It is no longer extant. The site in Dalkinstown is shown as a square feature on the first edition OS map and on subsequent revised editions. It remained visible as late as 2009, when it can be seen as a low relief feature with cultivation furrows running east west in its interior. Unfortunately, by 2013,

the surrounding land was being used for grain growing and the site is, from then on, only visible as a crop mark (Vol. II, 464-5).

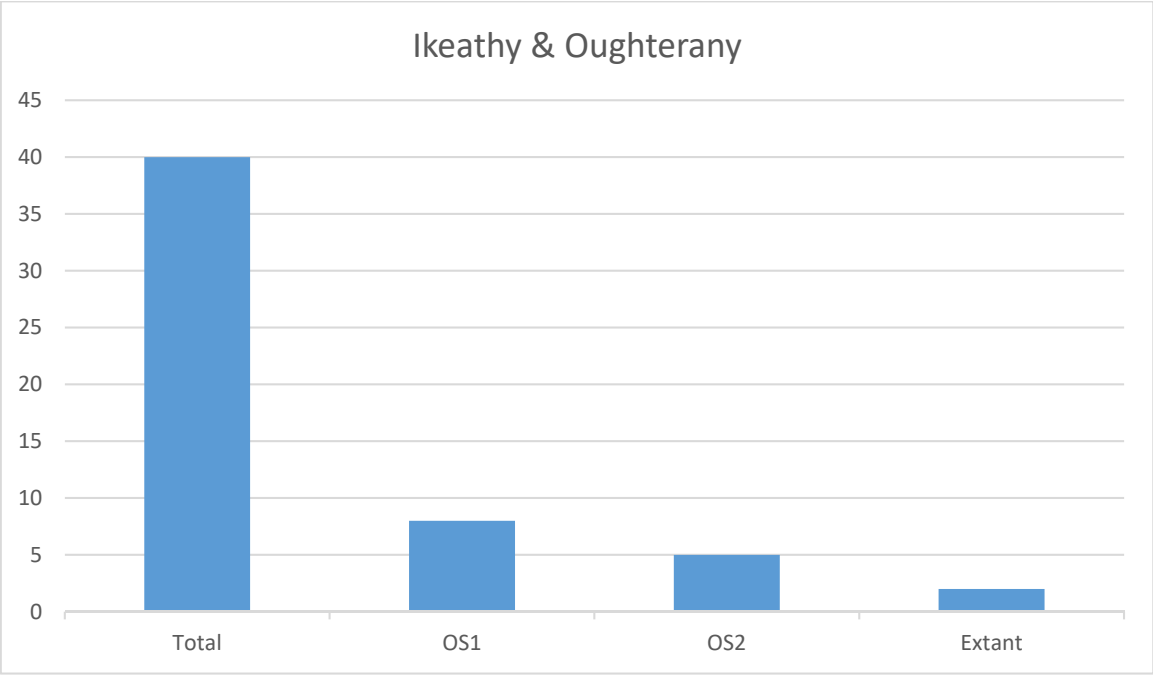


Figure 29. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Ikeathy & Oughterany barony, Co. Kildare

Several further sites that have the potential to be ringforts are recorded on pre-OS maps of this area. Two of these are visible on the map created by Taylor (1783) following his survey of the county, while a third potential site was depicted on a slightly later map by Longfield (1815). These sites are denoted by green circles on Figure 28. None of these is portrayed on the OS maps. It may be possible that these sites were not in fact ringforts, but they were perceived and recorded as such and would likely have been treated in a like manner. This information suggests that a level of ringfort destruction can be confirmed through reference to these sources. In addition, the presence of a further twelve potential sites, visible as cropmarks, and identified by red circles on Figure 28, have become available. Aerial images of these sites are available from a variety of sources, including Cambridge University Geography Department, Bord Gáis and the Geological Survey of Ireland.

However, the most important images are available from regular surveys undertaken by Google Earth. These potential new sites are visible on this survey as crop marks. A darker band of ground cover that suggest the presence of a fosse, which is in itself indicative of an

accompanying bank, defines some of these. Furthermore, the circular form and comparable diameter of these crop marks reinforces the suggestion that these may have been ringforts, or at least perceived as such by the surrounding communities. These sites are located throughout the barony, though several are concentrated in the townland of Kilgowan, in an area noted as 'raheens', meaning 'little forts', on the first edition Ordnance Survey map (1838). Such an association with this place name does not confirm that these sites were indeed ringforts. It does indicate, however, that they were seen as such by local inhabitants and would have been treated, in all likelihood, in a similar manner (Vol. II, 474-5).

Kilcullen is a small barony; in fact, it is not much larger than some parishes in other study areas (Figure 27). Nevertheless, very few ringforts are shown here on the earliest OS maps. This would suggest that the majority of these sites were levelled prior to the commission of these maps. It is also possible that a drastic reduction in these numbers was carried out prior to Taylor's (1783) earlier map. In fact, available evidence regarding the longevity of grain growing here, and its potential impact of monuments, may allow a further hypothesis to be instituted — that ringfort destruction may have begun here at a very early date. Of course, it should be repeated that none of the sites recorded or portrayed are presently extant. This results in a destruction rate for this barony of 100 percent (Vol. II, 454).



Figure 30. Aerial image of enclosure in 'Raheens' area of Kilgowan townland (Google Earth 2018)

In the other study area in county Kildare, the barony of Ikeathy and Oughterany, ten ringforts and three unclassified ringforts are recorded on the archaeological database (NMS, 2019). The distribution of these sites is depicted on Figure 31 by blue circles. Of this number, five ringforts and three unclassified ringforts are visible on the first edition OS map. In addition, a similar feature, recorded as an enclosure, is visible in the townland of Clongowes. By the time of the subsequent revised edition of the OS map, just three of the ringforts and two of the unclassified ringforts are visible. Presently, just a single ringfort and one example of an unclassified ringfort remain extant in this barony. The ringfort is located in the townland of Fanaghs, while the unclassified ringfort is located in the townland of Rathcoffey North. Again, as in Kilcullen, evidence is available on earlier maps for the presence of further potential sites here. On Taylor's (1783) map of the county, for instance, the existence of an enclosure on a hilltop in the townland of Ballyvoneen is noted (Vol. II, 383).

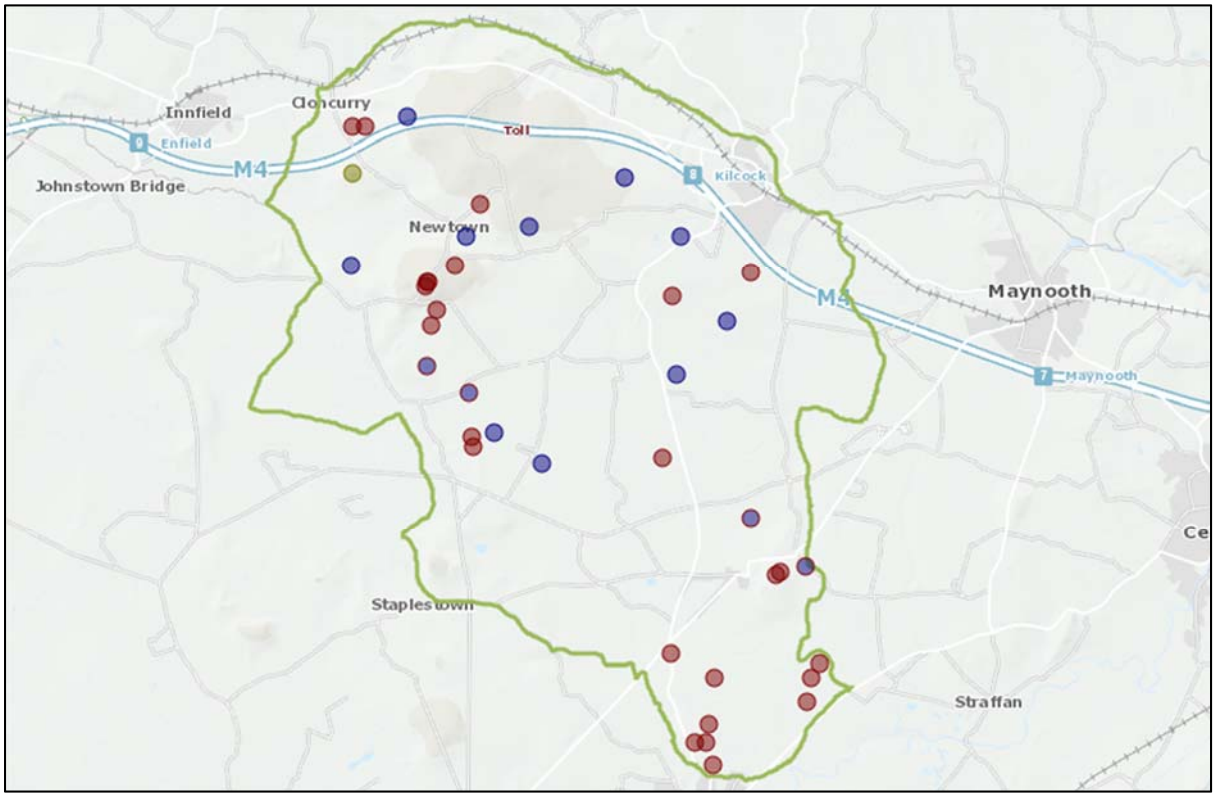


Figure 31. Map of the barony of Ikeathy and Oughterany. Highlighting the location of ringforts and enclosures. Green circle denotes enclosure from Taylor's 1783 map. Blue circles denote recorded ringforts. Red circles indicate enclosures visible as crop marks

The examination of recent aerial imagery has also reaped benefits in this barony. For example, the presence of a distinctive enclosure with an attached annex was discovered in the townland of Richardstown (Barrett 1989). The drought conditions of summer 2018, combined with favourable ground cover, facilitated the discovery by the author of previously unrecorded sites in this barony also. Examination of Google Earth images from 28 June 2018 has uncovered twenty-five crop marks whose form and size correspond to those of ringforts. One of these sites has been registered by NMS as an unclassified ringfort due to its location in the townland of Raheen, while the remainder have been registered as enclosures. Again, this is not confirmation that these sites were actually ringforts but it does indicate that such structures were seen as such and would have been treated in a like manner. If this standard is adopted, forty sites are now available for consideration as ringforts in this barony. Of these thirty-one appear to have been removed from the landscape prior to the Ordnance Survey of the mid-19th century. The rate of destruction continued until, as mentioned above, presently just two monuments remain. This represents a 95% destruction rate of possible ringforts in this barony (Vol. II, 367).

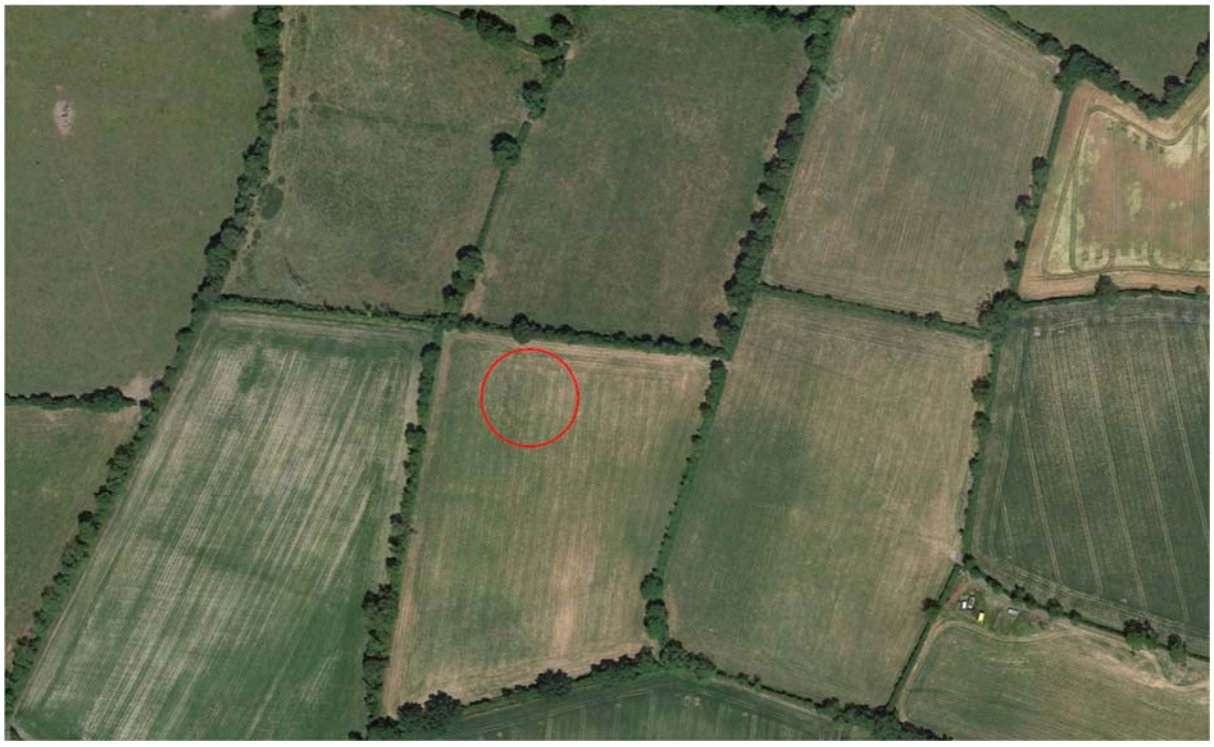


Figure 32. Aerial image of ringfort in Raheen townland (Google Earth 2018)

The study of these two Kildare baronies, firstly, emphasises the drastic decline in ringfort numbers in each of these areas. In fact, one of these areas has seen a complete removal of potential sites from the landscape. In addition, it has shown that the majority of this destruction may have occurred prior to the 19th century. This study has also highlighted that Kildare has been an area where tillage farming, particularly grain growing had been a significant element in land use since at least the late 13th century, and quite possibly since the foundation of Dublin. The correlation between arable farming and ringfort levelling appears to bolster the hypothesis, developed in the preceding chapter. If the possibility of these risks is accepted, it seems equally possible that the longevity of such farming activity could mean that the destruction of ringforts began soon after these structures ceased to fulfil their original function. In this area, in particular, the large scale farming activities associated with the Templars and Hospitallers may have strongly contributed to the early removal of ringforts. Following these conclusions, it is now proposed to extend the testing of this hypothesis by focus on areas in Ireland where different types of land usage were prevalent during the period under examination.

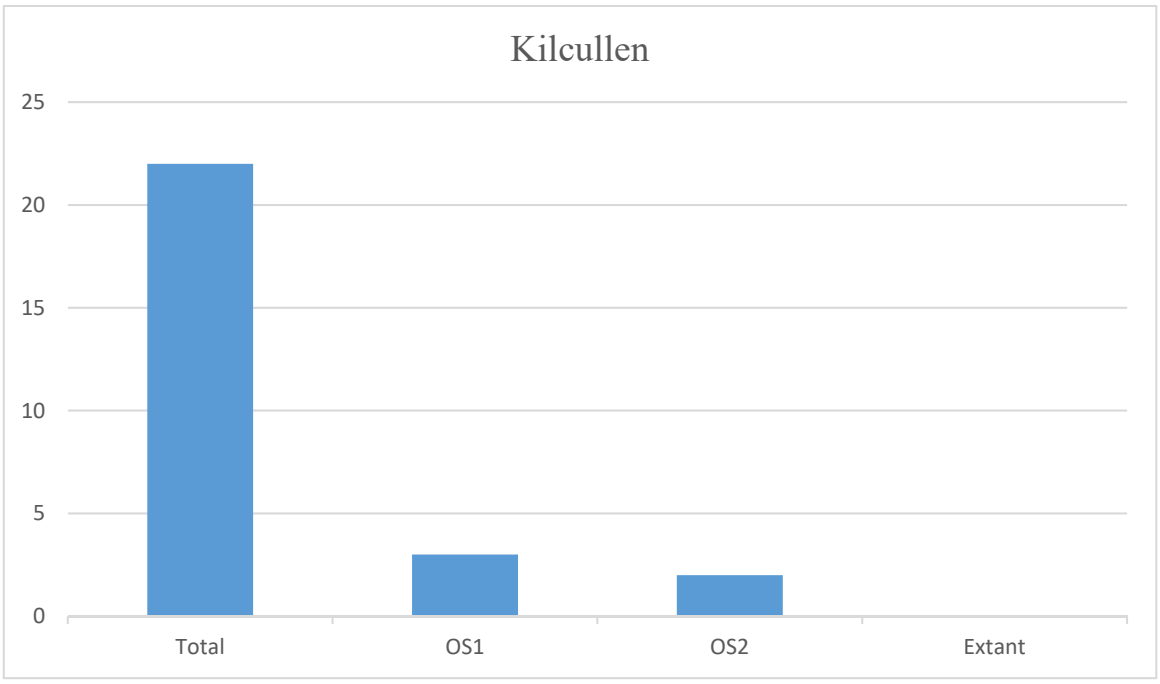


Figure 33. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Kilcullen barony, Co. Kildare

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9.3. ROSCOMMON

9.3.1. Evidence for Agricultural Development in Roscommon

In contrast to the two baronies of county Kildare examined above, the barony of Castlereagh in county Roscommon appears not to have been subjected to an early and long-lasting Norman presence. Nor it is located close enough to any major medieval or post-medieval urban settlement to have been majorly influenced by the requirement to supply the wants of its inhabitants. The earliest mention in the annals of a Norman incursion west of the River Shannon concerns a raid carried out by Miles de Cogan in 1177. Guided by a disaffected son of the Ó Conchobair family, this column advanced as far as Tuam. Soon, however, they retreated towards the Shannon on hearing of the father's advance. This raiding force was ambushed at the river, where the annals note 'the panic at the ford was painful' (Doran 2004, 64-5).

Several decades later when the initial grant of Connacht to Richard de Burgh was implemented in 1237, five of the six cantreds that conform to the area of present-day county Roscommon were retained by the King and ruled by the Ó Conchobair. Only the cantred in what is now the north-west of the county – *Síl Máelruain* – remained outside this grant (Graham 1988, 23). It is within the area covered by this cantred that the chosen barony of Castlereagh is now located, and it was for this reason that it was selected for this study as it subject to only minimal Norman influence. The first mention of a Norman presence here is also in the annals when it is noted that Piers Ristubhard, lord of Síl Máelruain is murdered in 1254 (*ibid,* 26).

The unsettled nature of the colonisation in this cantred is emphasised in an inquisition undertaken at Athenry on 31 Dec. 1333 (Knox 1903, 58). In detailing the lands held in the cantred of Sylmolron [Síl Máelruain], it was recorded that two carucates were held in demesne, of 120 acres each, and sixty acres – 300 acres total [121.41 ha.] – worth in peacetime £15 but now worth nothing (*ibid,* 59). Various other sections of pastures and meadow are also recorded as now being worthless. The presence of a water mill at both 'Rathfernan' [unknown] and 'Toberbride' [Ballintobber] was also recorded. It was again noted that both of these structures were worth nothing. It was explained that in the case of the mill at 'Rathfernan' this loss in value was because the structure was 'ruinous and on account of the war' (*ibid.*). It could be suggested that the Norman hold over this area was ever tenuous, that the previous occupants might have been ever watchful, and that control could be quickly lost during periods of instability. For instance, Knox (*ibid,* 66) related how the O'Flynns remained in possession of

'the parish of Kiltulagh and a part of Kilkeevin' as tenants. They were then in a position to assert their independence after 1338. This lack of stability and the aforementioned lack of a central urban market may have hindered the development of a manorial agriculture economy such as prevailed in county Kildare. However, it should be noted that some element of tillage was undertaken here and that the decades between 1254, if not earlier, and 1333 provided some time for field monuments here to be negatively affected.

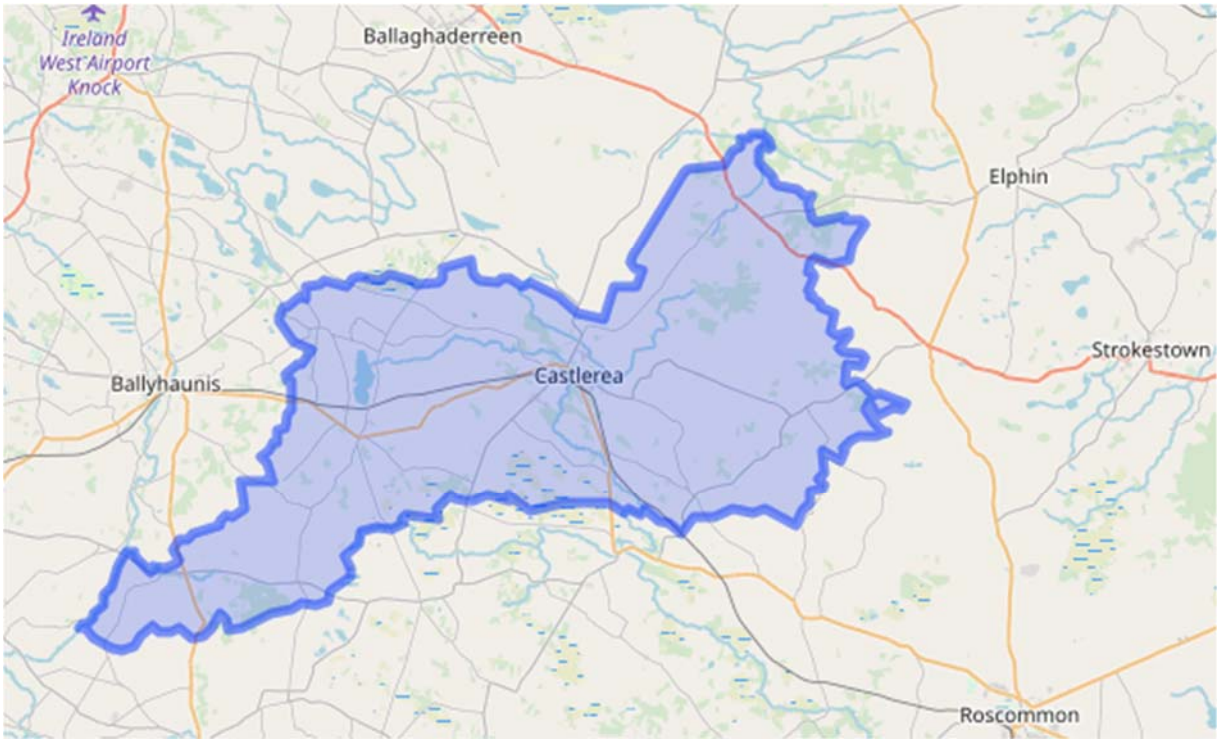


Figure 34. General map of Castlereagh barony, Co. Roscommon

Once this area returned to Gaelic control records of land use become scarce. However, much later, it was mentioned that at least the portion of this barony located to the west of Castlereagh was being used for pastoral farming. Keogh (1684), writing for the benefit of William Petty, stated that the 'huge wide spacious plain' between Roscommon town and Abbey Boyle [Boyle] – and stretching from Castlereagh to Elphin – was an 'exceeding good sheepwalk' and that it 'harboured few other inhabitants but sheep'. It seems intuitive to suggest that such low population numbers and the grazing habits of sheep may have reduced the pressure on field monuments, such as ringforts, within this plain. It may not have completely removed the pressures, however. Keogh (*ibid.*) provided a translation of place name elements

he encountered during the compilation of his account during the late seventeenth century. He noted that 'for Lis and Rath, these places do commonly signify a Fort or place enclosed by a mount of earth', but that 'Cashel and Caislean signify a pile of stones or castle'. This suggests that he could recognise and differentiate between the different types of older and more recent monuments. Later in the text, when speaking of Strokestown, he claimed that here 'was not too long ago to be seen a round fort of stone, the wall whereof was ten foot in thickness'. It seems likely that this description refers to a cashel in the Strokestown area that had been recently removed.

Some of the negative aspects of the development of industrial scale pastoral farming can be perceived in the outbreak of agrarian unrest in Connacht at the beginning of the 18th century. Popular dissatisfaction with the taking of large tracts of land by graziers and ranchers led to the rise of a secret group called 'The Houghers' (Connolly 1987). This name came from the practice of maiming, usually by hamstringing, the cattle and sheep of these big farmers. The outbreak began in Galway in 1710, but soon spread to some areas of Roscommon. Connolly (*ibid,* 149) further emphasises that, despite a political foundation, the social and economic background to this unrest was the expansion of 'large scale pasture farming at the expense of small occupiers'. Indeed, some of the proclamations from the Houghers set limits on the amount of land and stock each farmer could possess. Nevertheless, just over fifty years later, the continuation of this farming activity is further emphasised in a report by a Nicholas Taafe (1766). This report also seems to have had at least some political focus, for Taafe blames the lack of secure land tenure for the growth of pastoralism. The effects of insecurity and change to large-scale pastoralism meant that farmers 'ceased from draining and enclosing their farms' for this type of farming required 'little industry and still less labour' (*ibid,* 12). The human cost of this development was the expulsion of small landholders, or 'Sculloughs', who previously had 'herded together in large villages, and cultivated the lands everywhere' (*ibid,* 13). This low input style of farming, accompanied with a decline in involvement of a large percentage of the local population, may have meant that the surrounding landscape remained to a large degree unchanged. If such was the case, it is also likely that field monuments such as ringforts may have remained mostly undisturbed during this time also.

On his tour through Ireland from 1776 to 1779, Arthur Young (1892, 215) remarked that the situation in county Roscommon remained much the same. He noted that an area of land, thirty miles [48.28 km] long and ten miles [16.09 km] wide, between Athlone and Boyle was mainly used as a sheep walk. He also states that this part of the country was not populous, but

did have more inhabitants than previously. Young (*ibid,* 216) also noted the practice of keeping other stock with these sheep, usually a rate of '40 yearlings, and 3 or 4 year olds per 100 acres'. It may be that the level of grain growing increased in this county at this time because of the late 18th century boom. However, by the beginning of the 19th century, this county is again noted as being one of the best grazing areas in Ireland. Wakefield (1812, 316) stated that large numbers of cattle are grazed throughout Connacht, the 'fattening of beasts and sheep is very much confined to the rich limestone districts of Roscommon'. He further qualified this by claiming that 'some of the best sheep in Ireland are bred and fattened here' (*ibid,* 349). Almost the entirety of Castlereagh barony has a limestone bedrock (GSI 2019). As a result, the above description of the agricultural activity of the county is also specifically applicable to this barony.

This above account of agriculture in Roscommon, because of the breadth of its examination, is somewhat generalised in nature. A more detailed description of the parishes that formed the barony of Castlereagh is available in Lewis' (1837) Topographical Dictionary. The parish of Ballintobber was noted for the fact that 'considerable tracts of bog are spread over its surface' (Lewis, Vol. I, 118). In the parish of Baslick the method of agriculture is noted as 'unimproved', and the land use consists of three quarters arable and one quarter pasture (*ibid,* 188). Another of the parishes in this barony, Kilcorkery, is categorised as 'consisting of gently rising ground intermixed with bogs', although there was also 'some excellent pasture' (Lewis, Vol. II, 71). For the parish of Kilkeevin, it was recorded that 'some of the land is of good quality and there are large grazing farms' (*ibid,* 102). In contrast, the most westerly parish of Kiltullagh was recorded as being 'one quarter bog' and that the rest was divided between arable and pasture land. (*ibid,* 217).

A similar survey of county Roscommon was carried out around the same time at the behest of the Royal Dublin Society. The Castlereagh study area was referred to as the western division of the barony of Ballintobber (Weld, 1838, 377). As regards soil conditions, this division was again divided in two. To the east of line running from Belanagare to Ballintobber, the land was occupied 'by gentlemen, more or less engaged in raising bullocks and some of them very extensively so' (*ibid,* 466). The western side of this line differs greatly from this grazing land, being 'a wild country with extensive bogs' (*ibid.*), although here also there are islands of productive land. Modern aerial images confirm that the area west and north of the town of Castlereagh still contain several important sections of bog land. This extent of these boggy areas in previous times is likely to have influenced some decisions concerning the

location of habitation sites, such as ringforts. In any event, the long-term cultivation of this resource for fuel, or attempts to transform this 'waste land' into productive farmland, is even more likely to have negatively affected any monument initially located here. For example, north of Castlereagh and east of Bellanagare lies a large expanse of bog land, divided between the parishes of Baslick and Kilcorkery, which contains just two recorded monuments. Both of these (RO015-039 and RO017-040) are recorded as boundary markers, probably dating from the first Ordnance Survey. These modern monuments are represented only on a single edition of the available OS maps (1914, 15) and are no longer extant.

This foregoing description attempts to explain the circumstance that may have led to the removal of ringforts prior to the commission of the first Ordnance Survey of the mid19th century. A comparison of the maps created following this survey and the revised second editions from the beginning of the 20th century provide a clearer reason for the removal of ringforts during the intervening period. This is highlighted in the field layouts visible on the second edition maps, where an increased symmetrical subdivision of fields is apparent as well as the reclamation of much ground shown as waste on the first edition maps. This work is indicative of the work of the Congested Districts Board that was established in 1891 to alleviate poverty in some counties in the west of Ireland (Breatnach 2005). One component of the board's work was the acquisition of large estates and their subsequent division into smaller units for eventual sale to small landholders. One of the first estates purchased and broken up by the board was that of the Dillon family, who also held lands in the Roscommon barony of Frenchpark. In this study area, some lands in the parishes of Ballintober, Kilkeevin and Kiltullagh, barony of Castlereagh, held by the Wills/Sandford family, also came into the possession of the Board in 1911 and in 1913 (*landedestates.nuigalway.ie* 2019). All of these activities would have led to greater subdivision of land in this area, resulting in an increased threat to ringforts.

The examination of earlier study areas has shown that any change in land use had the potential to affect ringforts. This also seems to have been the case here. For example, in the townland of Carraghs East, southwest of Castlereagh, on the first edition OS map, a double row of houses is visible near the western boundary and the surrounding landscape has been divided into small fields. The remainder of the townland is a combination of large fields and bog land. On the revised second edition map, however, reclamation of a large area of bog land is visible. A road had been built through the area and the land was made into small fields. Perhaps because of this transformation, the two ringforts represented on the earlier first edition

map are no longer visible. In another townland, Clogher Upper, located in the south-west corner of the barony, a similar transformation of the landscape occurred during this period. A comparison of the two editions of the OS map show a large increase in the number of fields, with the associated decrease in field size. Again, the two recorded ringforts in this townland were removed during this period, although a portion of one (RO032-057) is visible on the latter map as a small arc. As a final example, the townland of Tully is located midway between Castlereagh and Bellanagare, and an earthwork and a cashel are recorded within this (NMS 2019). The earthwork is visible on the first edition OS map. However, on the revised second edition map an area within the townland, near its recorded location is shown in the process of transformation, into either fields or individual plots of turf banks, and the earthwork is no longer visible.

9.3.2. Comparative Study of Ringfort Numbers

There are 264 townlands in the barony of Castlereagh, which covers an area of 33,529 hectares. An in-depth description of the individual townlands and any changes over time in this barony is contained in chapter 6 of the accompanying catalogue. Of this total, 99 townlands, or 37.5% of this total, are recorded as containing at least one example of this monument type, though it is very likely that ringforts were present in more townlands than this total suggests. In any event, 191 ringforts are recorded in the archaeological database for these 99 townlands. Of this total, 83 ringforts can now be considered extant (NMS 2019). This represents an overall destruction rate for ringforts in this barony of 56.55 % (Vol. II, 508). This is admittedly a significant rate of decline. However, it is a much lower rate than those uncovered in the four baronies that have been studied in counties Cork and Kildare. Of these 191 recorded ringforts, 136 were visible on the first edition OS maps that covered this area. This indicates that only 27.8 % of the known ringforts within this barony had been removed at some stage prior to the 1840s. This confirms that while a certain level of ringfort destruction occurred at an early period in this study area it was well below the rate noted elsewhere.

On the later revised second edition of these maps, 123 ringforts can be discerned. This represents a decline in numbers of just thirteen ringforts in the intervening period. Although in nine townlands, an extra ringfort is shown on the second edition. If it accepted that the Ordnance Survey was thorough in its examination of the countryside, it may be that these extra sites had already been subjected to severe degradation prior to the initial survey. If these sites

are removed from the second edition total, it results in a decline in numbers of twenty-two ringforts, or a rate of decline of 16.17% in the intervening period. It is also possible to calculate the rate of decline between the time of the second edition OS map and the present day. Again, removing the nine extra site recorded on the second edition maps, mentioned above, this leaves a decline in numbers of 31 ringforts. This represents a rate of decline of 27.19 %. This is similar to the known rate of decline in this area prior to the Ordnance Survey of the mid-19th century. However, this earlier rate of decline occurred over hundreds of years and as such, the modern era could be considered as the period when ringforts were most in danger in Castlereagh.

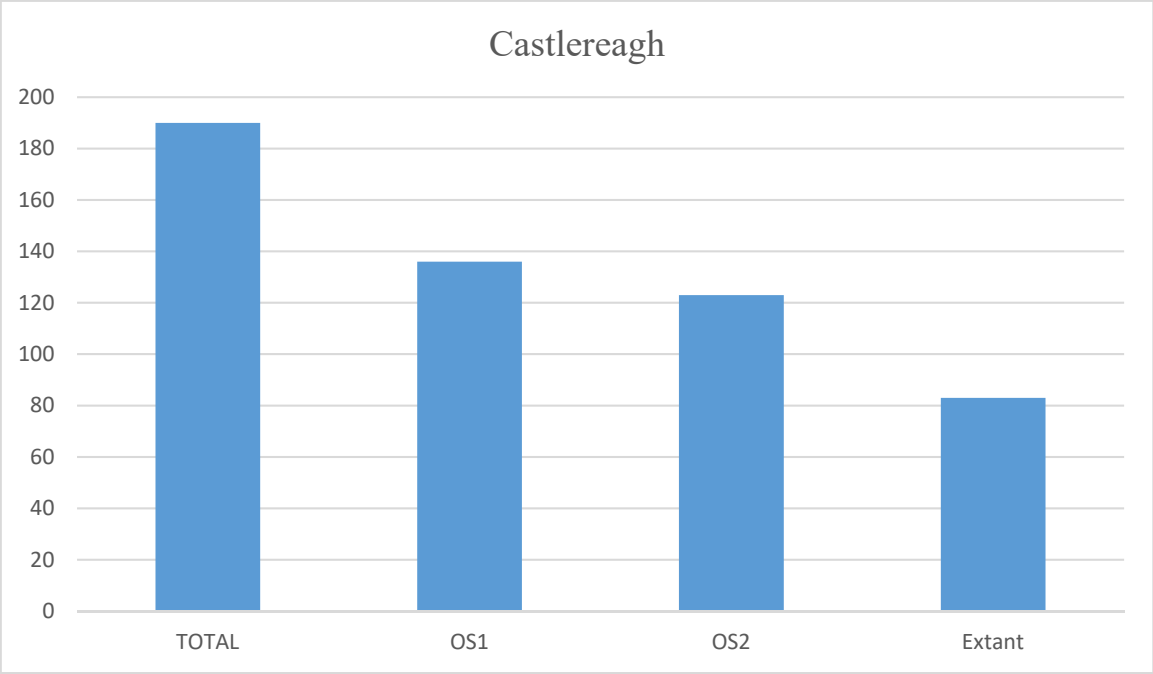


Figure 35. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Castlereagh barony, Co. Roscommon

The chronological rate for decline in ringforts number can also be calculated at an intermediate level between the barony overall and the individual townland. The calculation for each parish provides a breakdown of this rate of decline throughout specific areas of the barony. These areas may have different ground conditions as well as different land use histories. This then might allow for a more precise understanding of any connection between land use and ringfort destruction in each of these areas. The parish of Ballintober is situated in the plains of the southeast part of the barony that were historically grazing areas. In this parish

just seven, or 29.16%, of the twenty-four townlands are recorded as containing ringforts (NMS 2019). Within these seven townlands, twelve ringforts have been observed. On the first edition OS maps of this area, a total of ten are visible. This represents a rate of removal of 16.67% prior to the creation of these maps. Just a single ringfort was removed from the landscape between this OS map and the creation of the revised second edition, representing a 10% rate of decline. Presently seven ringforts are visible throughout this parish (GE 2018). The survival of this number represents a decline, from the early 20th century to recent times, of 22.23%. It also represents an overall rate of decline of 41.66%, and this percentage of survival is slightly higher than that for the barony in its entirety (Vol. II, 510).

In the parish of Baslick, ringforts are recorded in twenty-one of the forty-two townlands: a 50% representation rate. (NMS 2019). Within these twenty-one townlands, forty-eight ringforts are recorded in the archaeological database. On the first edition OS map, however, just twenty-eight are visible. This indicates that 41.66% of the recorded ringforts in this parish were levelled at some stage prior to this survey. The revised second edition of these maps actually record an increase in the numbers of ringforts for this parish, because in five townlands extra ringforts are displayed that were not included on the earlier first edition OS. However, it may be argued that this is simply a result of the application of differing standards for recording sites, rather than the discovery of new sites. If so, just one ringfort was removed between the creations of these two sets of maps. This is the same as in Ballintober but, of course, the higher initial number of ringforts gives the lower rate of decline of 3.57%. A further two ringforts appear to have been levelled between the publication of the second edition OS map and the present day. Taking the revised second edition numbers as a point of departure, this indicates a rate of decline 7.40%. The survival of twenty-five ringforts here indicates an overall rate of decline in ringfort numbers in this parish of 47.92% (Vol. II, 513). Again, this is slightly lower than the overall barony rate.

In the third parish of this barony, Kilcorkery, located to the northeast of the town of Castlereagh, fourteen, or 56%, of twenty-five townlands are recorded as containing ringforts and twenty-three examples are present within these fourteen townlands (NMS 2019). The first edition OS maps show eighteen ringforts, in twelve townlands. This indicates that 21.73% of the recorded ringforts had disappeared from the landscape prior to this survey. Eighteen ringforts are also visible on the revised second edition OS maps, with two extra ringforts shown that are not visible on the earlier first edition maps. It may be that here again a greater focus allowed these sites to be recorded. This would suggest a rate of decline for ringforts of 11.11%

during this period. Presently, fifteen ringforts are visible on images from recent aerial surveys (DG 2011-3). If the revised second edition numbers are accepted, this indicates a loss of just one ringfort from the early 20th century to the present day. The decrease in overall numbers of ringforts in this parish from twenty-three to fifteen indicates a destruction rate of 34.78% (Vol. II, 516). This is then significantly lower than the overall destruction rate for the barony.

The fourth parish of this barony, Kilkeevin, surrounds the town of Castlereagh. Within this parish twenty-six out of seventy-two townlands, or 36.11% of these townlands, contain ringforts. This parish contains the townland of Cloonkeen, where nine ringforts are recorded (Vol. II, 671-2).



Figure 36. Estate map of Cloonkeen, Co. Roscommon (NLI: MS 21 F. 44/ 50)

On these twenty-six townlands, forty-nine ringforts are recorded, though only fifteen are visible on modern aerial images (DG 2011-3). This represents an overall rate of decline of 69.38% during the time under examination (Vol. II, 520). Returning to the mid-19th century, the first edition OS maps of the area portray thirty-nine ringforts across this parish. This represents a rate of decline in ringfort numbers of 20.40%. The revised second edition maps contain representations of twenty-nine ringforts. This is a further decline of 25.64% in ringfort numbers during this intervening period. As mentioned above, fifteen ringforts can presently be considered extant. This indicates a rate of decline of 48.27% in ringfort numbers during in the modern era. This elevated rate of decline is concentrated in a few townlands, particularly

in the aforementioned townland of Cloonkeen, which lost six out of nine ringforts during the modern period.

The final parish in this barony, Kiltullagh, is located to the south-west of Castlereagh and may be considered outside of the historical grazing area. This is a relatively large parish, as it contains 101 townlands. Thirty-one, or 30.69%, of these 101 townlands are recorded as containing ringforts. The archaeological database notes the presence of fifty-nine examples within these thirty-one townlands. Of this total, forty-one are represented in the first edition OS maps of this region. This suggests that 30.50% of the recorded ringforts in this parish vanished from the landscape prior to the mid-19th century. On the revised second edition maps of this parish, thirty-five ringforts area visible. This further slight decline in numbers corresponds to a 14.63% removal rate during the intervening period. Finally, twenty-one ringforts are presently visible on aerial images of this same territory. This concerns an equal number of ringforts to that between the first and second editions of the OS maps. However, this corresponds to a slightly higher rate of decline of 17.14% between the second edition of the OS and the present day. Comparison of these twenty-one surviving ringforts to the recorded fifty-nine monuments confirms an overall rate of decline in ringfort numbers in the parish of 64.40% (Vol. II, 525). It is here that the rate of decline approaches the closest the rate of decline in the initial study areas examined in county Cork, and it appears that this relates to the fact that it was not a parish where the main agricultural practice involved grazing.

9.4. CLARE

9.4.1. Comparative Study of Ringfort Numbers

This final study area, the barony of Ibrickan (Figure 37), was chosen, as it is located within the 'small farmer' agricultural zone highlighted by Whelan in his study of agricultural zones in eighteenth-century Ireland (2011). Another factor for the selection of this barony is the existence of an early land use and occupation survey of it dating from 1615, commissioned by the Earl of Thomond (McInerney 2013). As detailed in previous chapters, West Clare appears to have acted as a reservoir of Gaelic knowledge, and this cultural continuity may be linked to a lack of economic progress and opportunities. The barony of Ibrickan fronts on to the Atlantic Ocean along its western boundary. An in-depth description of the individual townlands and any changes over time in this barony is contained in Chapter 7 of the catalogue. It is proposed, here, to detail the change in ringfort numbers throughout the barony and at the intermediate

level of parishes. It is expected that any rate of change may be linked to specific land use patterns in the area and through time.

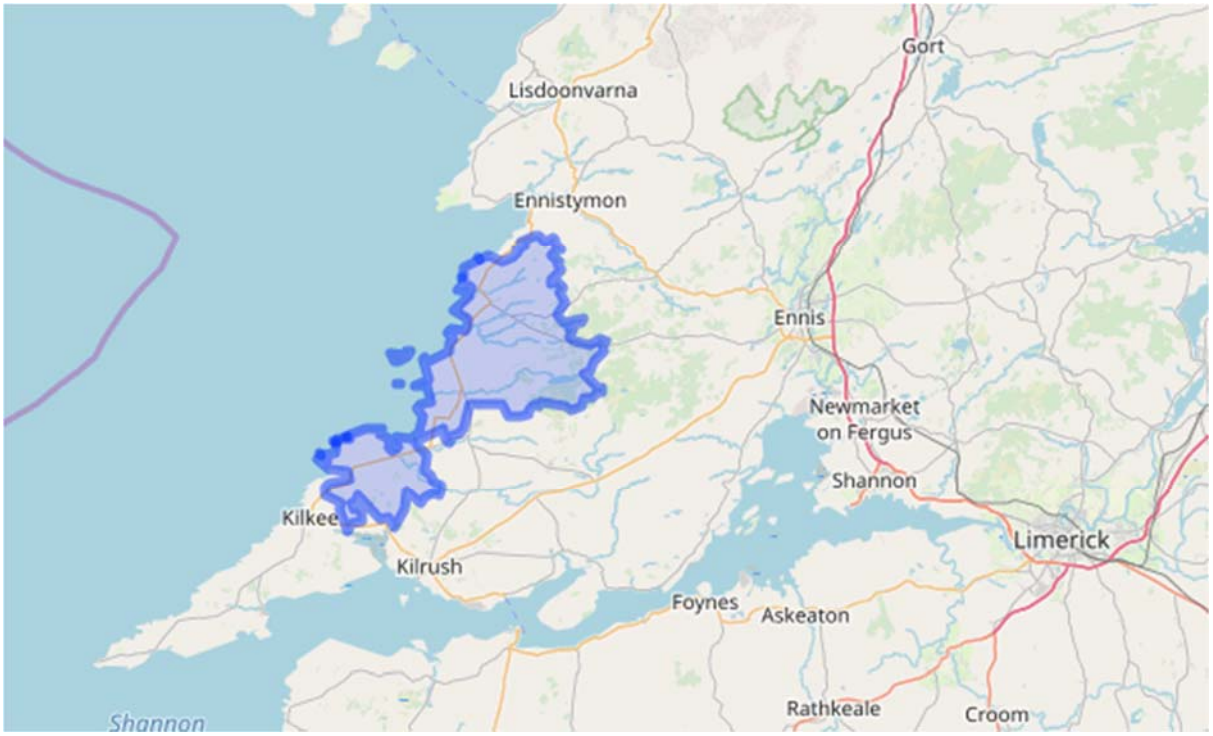


Figure 37. General map of Ibrickan barony, Co. Clare

This barony is comprised of 109 townlands and of these, 72 record the presence of at least one ringfort, or similar feature (Vol II, 800-810). It bears repeating here that terms such as ringfort, enclosure and earthwork are modern technical terms and similar looking monuments are likely to have been grouped together under one name and treated in a similar manner. If such a possibility is accepted, this indicates that just over two thirds, or 66.05%, of the townlands contain examples that may correspond to this monument type. Within these townlands, 157 of these potential ringforts are recorded (NMS 2019), and presently 88 examples of these are still extant. This represents an overall rate of decline of almost 44%, or 43.95% exactly (Vol II, 801). To return to the mid-19th century, 130 examples of ringforts are visible on the first editions OS maps of the area. This indicates that prior to this undertaking, 17.20% of the recorded ringforts here had been removed from the landscape. Between the compilation of this map and the revisions that led to the second edition OS maps of the barony, just five ringforts seem to have been levelled. This represents a low rate of decline of 3.85%.

However, in the period between the publication of these maps and the present day ringforts in this barony have suffered an increased rate of decline of 29.6%, or almost thirty percent. This would appear to confirm that modern activities posed the greatest risk to ringfort survival in this barony.

In describing the situation in individual parishes, a more nuanced picture may be gleaned. For example, in the parish of Kilfarboy, 26 out of 39 townlands, or two thirds, contain examples of ringforts, and fifty-four ringforts are recorded. Of this total, 40 are visible on the first edition OS maps of the area. This is indicative of a rate of decline of 25.93% before this survey. Between this date and the publication of the revised second edition maps five, or 12.5%, of the ringforts had been levelled. Furthermore, between this latter date and the present day a further nine, or 25.72%, of the recorded ringforts here were destroyed. Overall, a rate of decline of 51.86% in ringfort numbers is evident in this parish (Vol II, 804). The neighbouring parish of Killard is comprised of just 19 townlands and 14 of these, or 73.68%, contain at least one ringfort. In fact, these 14 townlands contain 34 of these monuments. Of this total number, 22 can be considered as presently extant. This represents an encouraging overall rate of decline of 35.30% (Vol II, 804). On the first edition OS maps of the parish, 31 ringforts are visible, this indicates a decline of just three from the total recorded in the parish. However, the revised second edition maps show an increase of two ringforts to 33, this represents a decline of just one ringfort from the overall number recorded for this parish. As mentioned above, there are 22 ringforts extant in this parish, which indicates an almost 92% (91.66%) rate of decline in the modern era, and this confirms that this period was when ringforts were most at risk of being levelled in this parish.

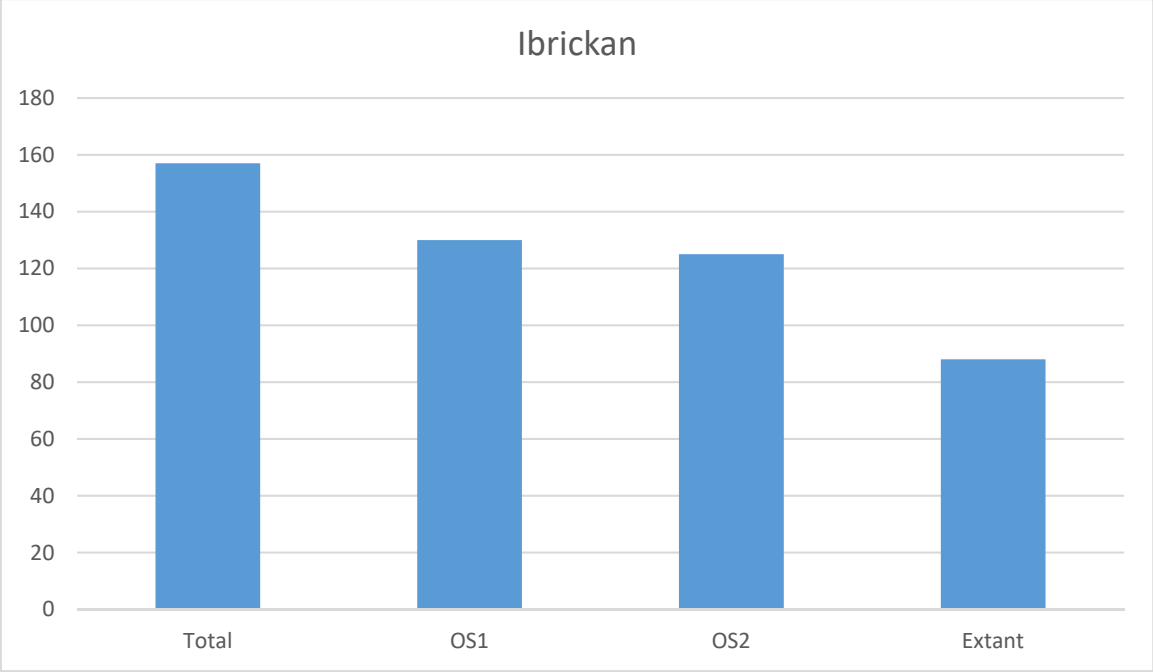


Figure 38. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Ibrickan barony, Co. Clare

The third parish in this barony that shows evidence for ringforts, Kilmurry, offers a similar picture of destruction. Here 69 ringforts are recorded by the NMS and of these 59 are visible on the first edition OS maps of the area. This indicates that ten ringforts, or 14.49%, of the recorded ringforts had been levelled prior to the creation of these maps. Fifty seven ringforts are depicted on the revised second edition OS maps of the parish and this indicates the removal of just two examples during the intervening period. Again, it is the modern era that posed the greatest risk to ringfort survival in this parish. Presently there are 40 ringforts visible here and this represents a decline of 17, mostly during the 20th century, and this indicates that almost 59% (58.62%) of all destruction occurred during this time. Overall, a rate of decline of almost 58% (57.97%) occurred in this parish (Vol II, 810).

9.4.2. Evidence for Agricultural Development in Clare

The first available reference to land use in this barony is contained in a survey carried out for the Earl of Thomond in 1615 (McInerney 2013, 173). It is noted in this paper that areas of the barony to the north and west are described as '*bréan-tír*, (foul land) but also that 'much of the fertile part of the barony was settled by learned families' (*ibid,* 175). The record of this survey contains the townland name, the name of the occupier, and, at times, the state of the land and

the rent, if any, charged to the occupier. For instance, it was mentioned that for one quarter of Kilfearboy [Kilfarboy] a rent of £10 and 'a hogg and a mutton' per year was charged to the 'Danyies' (*ibid,* 185). On the other hand, it was noted that no rent is paid for the occupation of three quarters in 'Cahir Rush and ffreagh' (*ibid,* 186). The presence of waste ground was also remarked upon, and 'Sheandrum' and half of 'Moyglass' are noted as 'two quarters of waste land', although it was also mentioned that until the month of May prior the lands had been used for pasture. This suggests a seasonal use of pasturage, perhaps associated with transhumance or 'boolying'.

In 'Moyglassbeg' a similar situation was noted whereby between 'allhallowtid last' [Halloween?] and 'May last' land had been used for pasture (*ibid,* 186-7). The difficulty in attracting settlement and perhaps improvement to the area was highlighted in remarks that justified the retention of the tenants at 'IInishkearagh iland' who had refused any increase in rent. It was declared that the old rent was accepted until further notice and the tenants retained 'for want of others that would pay the same' (*ibid,* 189). It is further noted that the 53 quarters that versed their rent to the Earl also paid 'a hogge' and 'a mutton' each per year. The impression gained from this survey is of a possibly underpopulated barony with a mainly pastoral economy. These two factors, and possibly the occupation of some lands by hereditary families of chroniclers and historian's (the 'learned families' noted above), could have served to protect monuments such as ringforts throughout this period. It may also be possible in an area where 'boolying' was practiced that these monuments may have served a practical function as enclosures and thereby been offered a further protection.

Another mention of this barony was contained in a copied account of the travels in Ireland of Thomas Dineley during the mid-seventeenth century (Shirley *et al.* 1867, 86). Here it is noted that the barony belongs to the Earl of Thomond but more importantly that the soil here has special properties. It was noted, for instance, that apparently 'no Mouse or Ratt will live by any meanes 24 hours', and that, furthermore, 'a clod or piece of Earth' from this barony is a 'sufficient Antidote and preservative placed in any House or castle in this Kingdome against these Vermine' (*ibid,* 87-8). On a more serious tone, a footnote attached to this account by one of its authors (O'Brien 1867, n.25) stated that within this barony, 'the soil generally is very poor, but much has been reclaimed by the use of sea sand'.

In any event, the poor and undeveloped nature of the ground in this barony is also noted in the later work of Arthur Young (1892, 237-8). Writing in 1776, Young notes that among

the ‘bad tracts of land’ is the ‘great peninsula which forms the north shore of the Shannon’, and he affirms that ‘great tracts are let for nothing at all’. A more in-depth analysis of the area was undertaken some decades later on behalf of the Royal Dublin Society. In this work, Hely-Dutton (1808, 7) states that the southern part of the barony ‘is almost all bog’ and that the northern part is ‘a mixture of very improvable moory hills and clay soil’. The use of the word ‘improvable’ suggests that such works have not yet been undertaken. This idea is further bolstered by the remarks that these lands are ‘under a most miserable system of deterioration’.

A detailed description of the parishes that make up this barony is contained in Lewis’ Topographical Dictionary’ (1837). In this work, it was noted that the parish of Kilfarboy consisted of ‘a considerable portion of mountain pasture and bog’, and Lewis (1837, Vol. II, 90) further qualified this by noting that the ‘state of agriculture is rather backward’. Meanwhile, the parish of Killard is recorded as containing ‘a large quantity of reclaimable bog and rocky land’; however, it was remarked that here ‘the system of agriculture is improving’ (*ibid,* 126). The final parish of this townland, Kilmurry, was also noted as comprising a ‘large portion of … mountain pasture and bog’. However, in contrast to the other parishes, the practice of arable farming in Kilmurry was mentioned in this dictionary. The improving state of agriculture was commented upon and that such ‘arable land is generally manured with seaweed and sand’ (*ibid,* 192).

Thus, it can be deduced that up to the eve of the Ordnance Survey the barony of Ibrickan had remained relatively poor, undeveloped, land. Indeed, this seems to have remained the case for several decades after this survey was carried out. The predominance of small-scale individualised farming is likely to have meant that any expected returns would not have encouraged the large-scale removal of monuments. This is in contrast to what seems to have occurred in the baronies located in counties Cork and Kildare. This smallscale subsistence farming seems to have been the dominant economic activity in this area up until quite recent times. A comparison of ringfort numbers in this barony between the first and second editions of the OS maps shows a very slight decline in numbers. This suggests that no great change in land use occurred over this period.

The heaviest rate of ringfort decline in Ibrickan occurred in the modern period. An explanation for this may be found through reference to political decisions, taken initially in Dublin and later in Brussels. The poor performance of the Irish economy during the 1950s led to the development of the first *Programme for Economic Expansion* in 1958. In this

programme, the important role of agriculture to the Irish economy was stressed. This continued with the *Second Programme for Economic Expansion*, which began in 1964. Indeed, this latter programme established schemes that specifically promoted the development of the small farming sector (Crowley 2003, 69). This drive towards increased efficiency contained within it was perhaps a subliminal acknowledgement that traditional methods of farming, and indeed wider rural life, needed to be jettisoned in favour of modernity. That farm improvement during this period had a detrimental effect on ringforts throughout the country is certainly evident in anecdotal accounts. Several examples of this, from the late 1960s, were made available to the author by a machine driver who recounted how 'one of his work colleagues' would boast that 'that's another one gone' but that he himself always refused to damage or level a ringfort.

The desire for rationalisation of the agricultural sector was also a pillar of European economic policy. This is particularly evident in article 39 of the Treaty of Rome that founded the EEC (now EU) in 1958. This article describes the desire to increase agricultural productivity and at the same time increase earnings for farmers, while supplying goods at reasonable prices. The easiest method of accomplishing these goals would be to increase farm sizes so that individual farmers could achieve a higher volume of production and still control consumer prices. This approach is further emphasised in the Mansholt Plan, produced in 1968. In an address to a group of farmers in Tralee, Co. Kerry, on 30 October 1970, the author, Sicco Mansholt, (*ibid*, 409) acknowledged that it was not possible 'to increase prices at the same rate as costs'.

Mansholt (*ibid.*) advocated rationalisation and he suggested that to achieve this goal it would be necessary to 'give the farmer more opportunities and alternatives either to develop his farm or to leave farming and go to another industry or to retire and collect a pension'. The implementation of this proposal would immediately create a two stream rural economy where those with the resources and drive could increase their holdings. However, this advance would be brought about at the expense of those farmers not in possession of either of these strengths. This was further emphasised in the authors (*ibid*, 412) summing up where he repeated that the main goals of the programme were to:

> 'create greater mobilization of farm resources, to make it easier for small and uneconomic farmers to stop farming and to grant those farmers who want to continue farming an opportunity to increase their holdings and to develop them properly'.

The existence of a coercive element to this programme was hinted at during the question and answer session at the end of the talk. For the final question, an audience member presented the hypothetical situation of a small farmer who could not achieve the established target but still wanted to remain in farming. Mansholt (*ibid,* 418) replied that 'such a farmer would be offered alternatives to farming' and as a result if he 'did not want to develop a plan' – note the use of language – to reach the minimum income 'he will get no subsidies'.

This message seems to have been well understood by farmers who did not have the means or the energy to extend their holdings. A study was undertaken of the change in varying sized farms in Ireland, expressed as a percentage of the overall number, between 1970 and 1978 (Harms *et al.* 1987, 365). For instance, farms of between 1 and 5 hectares decreased from 20% to 15% of the total number during this time; farms between 5 and 10 hectares declined from 21% to 17%, and farms of between 10 and 20 hectares in size declined slightly over this period from 31% to 30%. In contrast, farms of between 20 and 50 hectares increased as a percentage from 22% to 29% of the total, and farms of greater than 50 hectares also increased from 1% to 9% of the total number of farms. These figures confirm the consolidation of farms and the eradication of small family farms that may have been occupied for generations. In county Clare, information available from the Central Statistics Office (CSO 2019) further confirms a drop in farm numbers from 15,700 in 1915 to 6,550 in 2010, and a corresponding increase in average farm sizes over the same period from 15 to 33 hectares.

Further evidence of the rapid increase in farm modernisation efforts throughout the 1970s is highlighted in Teagasc reports. Hennessy and Kinsella (2013, 13) noted this as a period generally 'characterised by technological developments, farm modernisation and the expansion of output in a policy regime dominated by high price supports for many commodities'. Nevertheless, serious downturns in certain agricultural sectors were experienced in 1974 and from 1979 through to the early 1980s. In addition to the pressures placed on the land, and field monuments, by this 'productivist' philosophy, several other factors existed that could negatively affect monuments such as ringforts. The first of these was the likely necessity for the improving farmer to access credit in order to develop his land. In such cases, any desire to modernise farming methods could be transformed into a necessity to maximise land use to bolster the economic returns. This need to extract as much as possible from the land could mean that sites like ringforts could be perceived as a hindrance to be removed, especially in difficult times.

One criticism of this 'productivist' approach was that it focused entirely on the economic aspects of land management (Crowley 2003, 67), for it was felt possible that landowners may have had other considerations when viewing the landscape. In fact, this was more than likely the case, as someone born and reared on a particular farm is likely to have formed a personal relationship with some significant points of interest located there. This long lasting personal relationship could then have exerted a stronger influence than any economic incentive. However, the likelihood of this behaviour continuing diminishes dramatically once the land had changed hands, and the new landowner would have no particular attachment to the field monuments located on this new property. In such a case, economic factors could very well be accorded a primary importance. The implementation of this government policy then could be seen as having posed a significant risk to the survival of ringforts. Such changes would have been particularly noticeable in areas like Ibrickan, where ringforts seem to have survived in substantial numbers up to that point.

The survival of this amount of ringforts into the modern period in Ibrickan may also have facilitated the preservation of traditional beliefs attached to these monuments in the minds of surrounding communities. For it has already been discussed in Chapter 6 that county Clare, and particularly West Clare, appears to have acted as a reservoir for Gaelic culture. The activities of Eugene O'Curry in collecting folklore during his time with the Ordnance Survey has also been attested to in previous chapters. A letter written by another member of the survey, O'Curry's brother-in-law, John O'Donovan, in 1853, refers to Curry's time as a wandering teacher. It was recounted in the letter how Curry paid for his lodgings in the reciting of ancient tales (Maclochlainn, 1972, 73).

9.5. Conclusion

The object of this chapter was to test the hypothesis developed at the end of the preceding one. Results from the studied baronies in county Cork suggested that agricultural improvement, in general, increased the risk of destruction for monuments, including ringforts. Chronological studies further indicated that the highest risks resulted from disturbance of the soil, for example through the development of arable farming. It was firstly decided to seek to confirm this likelihood through comparison with areas noted for grain growing. In choosing these areas, Whelan's (2011) division of the country, during the 18th century, into different agricultural zones was used. It was decided to focus on the county of Kildare because of its long history

of grain growing, and its proximity to the markets of Dublin city. It was felt that this would allow the theory that urban centres influenced the development of the surrounding landscape to be tested. The Kildare barony of Ikeathy and Oughterany was initially chosen and, because of the low numbers of recorded ringforts there, it was further decided to examine the barony of Kilcullen.

Results from these two baronies indicate a very heavy rate of ringfort destruction. Indeed, the barony of Kilcullen experienced a 100% decline in sites, while the rate of decline in the other barony of Ikeathy and Oughterany was a massive 95%. The majority of this destruction seems to have occurred prior to the 19th century, well before the establishment of the Ordnance Survey. This study has also shown that these baronies were the location of grain growing for centuries, and that this activity took place from the late 13th and early 14th century onwards. This raises the interesting question of when the destruction of these monuments may have begun. Is it possible that grain growing diminished in these areas when Norman influence waned and the areas returned to Gaelic control? While this may have been a welcome political development, it made little difference to any sites already levelled, and by the mid-17th century, arable farming was again the dominant agricultural activity in these two baronies. This conclusion supports the hypothesis formed in the last chapter.

Following this conclusion, it was decided to compare these results with those from areas where different land use patterns were evident. The first of these areas was the barony of Castlereagh in county Roscommon. In the 18th century, cattle fattening and stock raising was the dominant agricultural activity in this area. There are other contrasts between here and the baronies in county Kildare. This part of Ireland was subjected to Norman influence for a far shorter period, and there were no major urban centres in the vicinity. This then is likely to have strongly influenced the land use of this barony. Later surveys remarked how the barony could be divided into two sub-zones, with grazing dominating in the east and small farming on poor ground in the west. In the period from the mid-19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, the removal of ringforts can be associated with the construction of field boundaries and consolidation of farms. In any event, a rather high rate of ringfort destruction, almost 57%, was carried out in this barony throughout this period. However, not surprisingly, this rate is not as severe as that of the two baronies in county Kildare. While this result indicates that areas throughout the country subjected to improvement saw a decline in ringfort numbers, it also reinforces the notion that arable farming, of which there was less here, posed more of a risk.

The final area that was chosen for examination was the barony of Ibrickan in county Clare. This barony is located within what was the band of small farm zone common on the west coast. The initial size of these farms are likely to have been influenced by the nature of the ground conditions. The poor quality of the land in Ibrickan was evident in the first available account of the area, as the 1615 survey refers to the presence of wasteland in parts of the barony. It also recounts how some unsatisfactory tenants were kept in position because of the difficulties in attracting other tenants. Later surveys all confirm the poor nature of the soil here, and the lack of any potential returns seems to have prevented any large-scale development of the land. If the likely association between land improvement and ringfort destruction is accepted, the lack of development here can also be seen in the low destruction rate of ringforts, just over 43%, in this barony.

In fact, it was not until the modern period that the heaviest period of ringfort destruction occurred in Ibrickan. This increased rate of destruction possibly coincides with the formation of particular policies of agricultural development. These policies were initially implemented by the Irish government and later, more intensively, by the supra-national government in Brussels. Where projected benefits of agricultural development reach a certain point then, in some cases, the protection of monuments was downgraded to a secondary position. In any event. The removal of ringforts could also be facilitated by a widespread change in ownership that occurred as a result of some of the latter policies in particular. The evidence for increased levels of recent destruction in some areas has been incorrectly used to argue that ringfort destruction is, in effect, a recent phenomenon. This study has shown that this is certainly not the case.

Overall, the results from the study of each of these areas conform to the expected results. They show that in each case an amount of destruction, in places significant, occurred prior to the nationwide Ordnance Survey of the mid-19th century. These results also show that this rate of decline continued throughout the period under examination. They also highlighted that the rate of decline at any particular time was very likely linked to agricultural activity. To be exact, areas where maximum land improvement occurred posed the greatest risk to ringfort survival. Therefore, in an overall sense, the argument that these results reinforce the stated hypothesis developed in Chapter 8 is valid.

CHAPTER 10: PERCEPTION OF RINGFORTS: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION.

10.1. Introduction

The primary object of this chapter is to discuss and develop the results obtained in earlier chapters, to examine some perceptions of ringforts in contemporary Ireland and to draw attention to areas worthy of further exploration that became apparent during this research. The initial discussion will focus on the origin and development of the position that ringforts held in each of the principal communities of Irish society — the Gaelic learned classes, the general mass of Irish people, the Anglo-Normans, later planters, medieval religious orders and other newcomers. It had been expected that results obtained in this part of the study would aid in understanding the attitudes and behaviour of these various groups towards ringforts, but a surprising result that emerged was the significant degree to which these monuments played a role in the struggle for cultural supremacy between the Irish and the incomers. The development of these opposing positions has been established in earlier chapters and, therefore, a focus will be brought to bear here on the deep-seated contradictory elements within these two positions. Despite some instances of individual learned collaboration, the appropriate information regarding the background and function of these monuments was not readily transmitted from one group to the other.

When this research was initially undertaken it was assumed that the ringfort destruction phenomenon was largely focused on the early modern period of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This assumption is still largely true, but the influence of some late medieval developments on ringfort survival was underestimated. Therefore, the period under examination was extended back several centuries in some areas. The research confirmed assumptions regarding the decline in ringfort numbers, and the in-depth study of carefully selected baronies emphasised the serious nature of this decline. This destruction was carried out despite the prominent positions, of varying types, that these monuments occupied in the worldviews of those who encountered them. It may seem common sense that economic factors should be attributed more importance than cultural ones in the minds of those who farmed the land, though the interplay of the various factors within this seems worthy of further emphasis. For instance, to what degree did changing perceptions of ringforts facilitate their large scale removal from the landscape? To what degree did a central pillar of folkloric and archaeological belief, wherein ringforts were supposedly accorded protection due to their supernatural

association, actually fulfil this purpose? While the answer of this question may seem of interest from a folkloric perspective, it would also benefit archaeology as an attempt to correctly identify modern attitudes to these, and other, field monuments.

To some degree the evolution of these questions, and others, could be foreseen as they arose from the initial questions put forth at the beginning of this study. However, the research revealed several other matters which would benefit from further examination. These could be grouped together in addressing the issue of how groups interact with earlier monuments present on the landscape. This question began to develop when testing the hypothesis, developed from the initial study areas in county Cork, which advanced the idea that commercialised farming methods, particularly tillage farming, posed an increased risk to the survival of ringforts. It was decided to test this premise by focusing on study areas with an historical association with specific types of farming activities. One of these areas, in Co. Kildare, had a long history of grain growing and was located in close proximity to a large urban centre. The almost total removal of ringforts here was remarkable, and most of them were removed prior to the nineteenth century. In fact, the author, in Chapter 9, argues that the beginning of what amounted to a virtual eradication of ringforts in this area is connected to a large influx of population to it from the end of the 12th century and through the 13th century who brought with them new agricultural practises. Other parts of Ireland also had significant changes in land ownership at this time, including significant grants of land to continental religious orders, which, it is argued, probably had similar consequences.

The topic of how newcomers viewed and interacted with archaeological monuments is worthy of further investigation for several reasons. Indeed, this is something that may be of some relevance in modern Ireland where widespread farm consolidation is underway. While it has been confirmed that the destruction of ringforts, at least in some areas, occurred much earlier than is generally accepted, this was not, of course, always the case. In other areas some ringforts were re-occupied by the newcomers, as is evidenced in maps and documents from the early modern period. The utility in reclaiming these structures as defendable homesteads was recognised by those arriving in a potentially hostile environment. This benefit must also have been recognised by groups more familiar with the surrounding landscape, and for whom an indication of their original function may have remained as folk memory.

10.2. Cultural significance and changing perceptions

10.2.1. Gaelic understanding

The preceding chapters have attempted to answer the question put forward at the beginning of this thesis as regards the perception of ringforts. It has been established that ringforts have always occupied an important, though different, position within each of the communities that encountered them. These communities could be initially divided into two broad groups, that of 'Native' and 'Newcomer'. Initially, the perception of these monuments by the former group seems to have contained both a mundane and sacred element. Indeed, these elements seem to have co-existed in some monuments during the period of their initial occupation and confirmation of the political utility of this association may be seen in documents referred to in Chapter 3. These documents, sometimes containing only incidental references, remained available to later Gaelic scholars long after their period of composition and could be disseminated throughout the wider community.

The dissemination of this information is likely to have been facilitated by the fact that these scholars had an associated duty to provide hospitality to travellers. In any event, evidence is available that confirms that an understanding of the origin, form and perhaps even function of ringforts remained within the learned Gaelic class until quite late. For example, Dubhaltach MacFirbisigh (1650), one of the last of these scholars, referred to several of these monuments in his great work, the *Great Book of Irish Genealogies*, or *Leabhar na nGenealach*. One of these ringforts is that of Rathmulcah in county Sligo (SL022-004001), and while he attempts to qualify his expertise as an antiquarian, MacFirbisigh supposed it to be 'one of the very ancient raths of Ireland' (Herity 1970, 49). In this instance, the emphasis on this site as ancient and Gaelic was part of an effort, by the remaining traditional Gaelic antiquarians, to refute the convention of ringforts as foreign 'Danes' Forts'. Unfortunately, by that time Irish learning was in a parlous state, as the decimation of the Gaelic elite meant opportunities for patronage were rare, and, consequently, these few tradition-bearers were in no position, social or political, for their arguments to be taken seriously. This decline in importance of the correct understanding of ringforts then left a vacuum for other interpretations to fill.

10.2.2. The newcomer's perspective and cultural struggle

The initial survival of knowledge within the Gaelic learned families concerning the origin and perhaps function of ringforts was accompanied by the growth of another interpretation from the 12th century, based on Giraldus Cambrensis' *Topographia Hibernia*. This external perception, from the beginning, attributed a completely different origin and function to these monuments. The view of these monuments as both foreign in background and military in purpose appears to have arisen due to a misinterpretation of information contained in some 12th century Gaelic manuscripts, although the readiness to accept a connection between the documentary information and ringforts may have been due to a familiarity with monuments of similar appearance in the English landscape near the 'Danelaw' boundary (Dyer 1972, 234). The initial attribution of the origin of these monuments to the Danes may also have been facilitated by an antiquarian belief that England itself had been settled by waves of invasion, comprising the Romans, the Saxons, the Danes and the Normans. It may have been understood that the Romans and the Saxons had not invaded Ireland and, therefore, the construction of ringforts was attributed to the Danes by default.

In any event, it seems reasonable to assume, because of his repeated negative references to the Irish, that Cambrensis also desired to make use of the notion of Danish origin for ringforts to further emphasise the backwardness of the Irish. In some medieval academic circles this depiction of the Irish may have been accepted and promoted as any first-hand account, like *Topographia Hibernia*, was likely to be uncritically received. In other circles, however, the political usefulness of this notion of Irish barbarism was recognised, for it justified the initial expropriation of Irish land and the exploitation of Irish resources. The interaction between scholarly activity and political points-of-view over the following centuries created a self-reinforcing orthodoxy. This belief remained unchallenged even in circumstances where later Anglo-Irish and Gaelic antiquarians came into personal contact, as in the case of James Ware and Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbisigh.

The interaction between these men, however, did allow for the correct information concerning the functions of areas within ringforts to be transmitted (Herity 1970). For instance, both wrote about the ringfort of 'Rathmulcah' in Co. Sligo, with Mac Fhirbisigh, perhaps anxious not to dissuade potential patrons, rather timidly asserting that this rath was of Gaelic origin. In his work, *Antiquities*, Ware (1705, 152-3) accepts the Anglo-Norman convention concerning 'these circles or round fortifications commonly called Danes Raths' and that 'many

are seen in Ireland'. He continued his description of this monument type by addressing a report sent to him of the ringfort at Rathmulach, and particularly the souterrain located within it. The notion that this underground chamber served as the dwelling place for an 'Ostman' chieftain was dismissed by him, as the lack of 'passes either for light or smoke' as noted. Throughout this description Ware seems at pains not to challenge the notion that the entire structure was the work of the Danes. So strong was this notion of 'Danish' construction that, over time, it expanded to include the most important archaeological monuments in the country.

The death of the Welsh antiquarian, Edward Lhuyd, during this period, was unfortunate because his international approach to antiquarianism and his willingness to interact with Gaelic scholars meant that he had correctly understood the local origin of ringforts. However, he never published this view. With his passing the 'Danish' concept remained unchallenged, and it was not until the foundation of some learned societies during the 18th century that this convention began to be seriously challenged. It has been shown in Chapter 4 of this thesis that this challenge was successful largely as a result of a personal relationship between a forceful military character, General Charles Vallancey, and one of the few remaining Gaelic scholars, Charles O'Conor, who could refer to the Gaelic antiquarian tradition and whose high social position lent veracity to his argument. The information concerning the understanding of raths as Irish in origin was supplied by O'Conor, and then provided a platform which facilitated further dissemination by the activities and encouragement of Vallancey. The direction of antiquarian study in the Royal Irish Academy, the most preeminent learned society in the country, by these two authorities, further weakened the, by now Anglo-Irish, convention of 'Danes forts'.

A growing acceptance of ringforts as Irish in origin and domestic in function, as contained in Gaelic documentary sources, encouraged a development in understanding of the broad benefits associated with reference to this knowledge. This, in turn, increased the status of those individuals who could access and decipher these elements of Irish antiquarian tradition. Another fortuitous personal relationship, between George Petrie and Thomas Larcom, created a situation whereby some of the most important Gaelic scholars of the period could work together. The prominent role accorded to these scholars in the important undertaking of the Ordnance Survey appears to have further weakened the foreign origin theory concerning ringforts. In any event, as was noted in Chapter 5, the conclusion of the Ordnance Survey coincided with the period when it was no longer seriously accepted that ringforts were 'Danish'. From that point onwards the understanding of ringforts as domestic and Gaelic

monuments was bolstered by an increased reliance on fieldwork and eventually by scientific excavation.

10.2.3. Popular perceptions

The decline of knowledge associated with the disappearance of the native learned families, during the 17th century, allowed space for another indigenous belief attached to ringforts to grow in importance. Contained within the mythological notion of an underground dwelling race was an acceptance of this race as one of the earlier inhabitants of Ireland, and so part of this important element in Irish mythology contained an understanding of this group – the *Tuatha Dé Danann* – as ancestors of contemporary Irish society. This understanding was also disseminated throughout society because of the inclusion of the notion of multiple waves of invasion in the work of Gaelic scholars in their attempts to record the history of Ireland. It is the depiction of this race as being underground dwellers that facilitated the incorporation of ringforts into this mythological narrative, as a common feature of many ringforts is the presence of an underground chamber, or souterrain.

This association and transfer of meaning occurred at a time when the landscape was charged with mythological potential. Indeed, only a few generations ago the notion that the Otherworld began outside the front door at the falling of the night, or anywhere where the individual was not presently, was still commonplace (M. Roche, pers. comm.). During the early modern period, as a result of a decline in Gaelic language and the almost universal adoption of English for everyday discourse, the *Tuatha Dé Danann* became associated with a different supernatural tradition. For the want of perfect translation, the *Tuatha Dé Danann* or '*Sidhe*' became 'the fairies'. Although a very rough comparison is possible between the two groups, the increased and eventually almost complete use of the word 'fairies' carried with it some of the original Anglo-Saxon meaning. A transformation of meaning took place: the tall, slender and distant '*Aes Sidhe*' became the small and spiteful 'fairies', and the notion apparently grew that they were best avoided and that their dwelling places, including ringforts, should be respected and preserved.

10.3. Academic acceptance of fairy protection.

There is a longevity, even in academic circles, of the notion that, at least in the past, this supernatural association between the *Tuatha Dé Danann*/'fairies' and ringforts served to protect these monuments. A range of works, published in recent decades, state that ringforts were protected by this superstitious association during the 19th and 20th centuries and, in some cases, into the present. An acceptance of this convention can be seen in Nancy Edwards, *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Ireland* (1990, 11), where it was noted that 'in the past ringforts were partially protected by local superstition'. The folklorist, Diarmuid Ó Giolláin, also refers to this, claiming that ringfort's 'strong otherworld associations have helped to preserve them to the present day' (1991, 199). Even the doyen of ringfort studies, Matthew Stout (1997, 48) claimed in his seminal work, *The Irish Ringfort*, that in the past, ringforts 'were protected by the widespread belief that they were the habitations of fairy folk'. Gina Smith (1999, 154-5), in a paper dealing with treasure-hunting in the 19th century, notes that in earlier times 'farmers ploughed around ancient ringforts and structures leaving them undisturbed'. In a more recent article, the power of this injunction is also mentioned by Sian Jones and Lynette Russell (2012, 273), who claim that 'site survival may be dependent on their metaphorical value, as people are less likely to destroy a fairy fort than a ringfort'. The same year Máirín Ní Cheallaigh (2012, 370) emphasised that 'even people who don't believe in fairies will often avoid ringforts and other similar sites, as to do otherwise is to court potential bad luck or injury'. Patrick McCafferty claimed that ringforts 'come with much superstition, to which they probable owe their preservation' (2018, 99). All of these studies accept without question that traditional belief concerning the mythological associations of ringforts remained strong in popular communities during the 19th century.

In a paper concerning archaeology and folklore, Sara Champion and Gabriel Cooney emphasised that this type of belief had declined in the modern era and stated that 'this traditional deterrent effect based on folklore has now largely disappeared amongst the Irish farming community' (1999, 191). Although, as late as 1972, Champion had difficulty in engaging workers to carry out work on a ringfort in Co. Galway because of their reluctance to interfere with a monument of this type. The date of 1972 is interesting, as this was just prior to the accession of Ireland to the EEC following which farmers became more in tune with the Common Agricultural Policy directives from Brussels at the expense of traditional beliefs.

Interestingly, the renowned archaeologist Séan P. Ó Ríordáin made no mention of the supposed supernatural association between ringforts and 'fairies' in his work, *Antiquities of the Irish Countryside* (1942). Indeed, in a later revised edition of this work (1952), he devotes several pages of his section on ringforts to debunking some 'popular misconceptions' of these monuments. He was critical of the idea of a connection between the Danes and ringforts, of the notion that ringforts were always located in view of each other, and of the belief that ringforts were primarily burial places. At no stage did he address the supposed association between these monuments and a race of supernatural beings, although he would undoubtedly have been very familiar with the notion. Does the non-inclusion of this notion mean that Ó Ríordáin may have felt that to be publicly critical of this tenet of popular belief would have hindered the cause of archaeology, especially in a book devoted to developing an interest in the subject among the general public?

10.4. Modern and New Age perceptions

Belief in supernatural tales involving ringforts seems to have been in decline when they were recorded during the first half of the 20th century. However, they never completely died away. Indeed, in a modern context such Utopian notions regarding earlier respect for the environment may also be used to contrast with the industrialised, profit-driven, present day. As a result, these pre-modern beliefs have been incorporated into some alternative New Age ideologies. The notion that earlier generations of Irish people had a special relationship with these monuments, while true, has been used to create an impression of a pre-Lapsarian rural existence. This is contained within a structurally simplistic, oppositional argument to highlight the negative aspects of modern land management, in particular, and wider society, in general. Because of the usefulness of such tales, reality cannot be allowed to intrude too deeply or the veracity of the claims tested to any great extent. Indeed, in identifying with this idealised version of the past, such groups seem to want to distance themselves from any responsibility for social and environmental difficulties within modern society. For, if individuals can convince themselves that their actions or desires have not contributed to this state of affairs then the onus is surely on those who do not share such sentiments to resolve these issues. In this sense, the appeal of primitivism in the search for a Utopia can be said to contain some harmful elements after all.

The continued expression of this concept is not always just a political statement, as it may also result from the presence of an economic aspiration. The decline in traditional spiritual practices has not lessened the search for transcendent meaning and a true understanding of life, and this has facilitated the rise in alternative or 'New Age' religious practices. In many instances these religious activities occur at well-known archaeological sites, such as Tara, Newgrange and Drumbeg. Personal knowledge of one such occurrence involves a celebration of the summer solstice at a portal tomb in Co. Kerry. The ceremony began with a barefoot female druid, with flaming red hair and clad in a long dark-green dress, invoking the four cardinal points. It continued with a mish-mash of eastern chakra alignment, breathing exercises and some Native-American chanting. A didgeridoo was also present. At some stage, a chronological connection was made between the tomb and a nearby hill fort. Such inconsistencies aside, a most telling aspect of this ceremony was the existence of a cover charge to enter the field, where, in addition, t-shirts and bottles of water were for sale. Hot-dogs were also available on-site, as was a 'birthing-tunnel'.

Ringforts are sometimes incorporated into such performances. One example of this practice concerns two ringforts located on the same property in Flemby, Co. Kerry the banks of which are explained as enclosing areas of healing power. Points have been inserted into the ground in each of these ringforts, corresponding to the seven chakra points, emphasising the influence of eastern, or least foreign, spirituality. The website for the ringforts advises visiting them several times over a three-week period. This is because the supposed healing power attached to the second fort is stronger and individuals may benefit from visiting the first site a few times to acclimatise their body to this power (www.flembyforts.com). Nevertheless, it is possible to visit these ringforts only once for the admission price of €12, and a card is available at €50 for five visits. Perhaps the most important information about ringforts on the website is that they 'were built long before Christianity and therefore had no connection with the religions of today' (*ibid.*). The distancing of these sites from Christianity increases their Utopian potential for those who desire access to a supposed nirvana.

However, this notion of a special relationship existing between the Irish people and particular monuments on the landscape can have a more detrimental effect. Traditional respect for archaeological monuments, or perhaps the element of fear, can be appealed to in cases where prosecutions have followed the destruction of ringforts. In one particular instance, a farmer took possession of a farm in Co. Cork and within a few days two ringforts were levelled. As part of his legal defence, he swore that he had not noticed the two monuments – which were

c.60m and 30m in diameter, with 2m high banks. He further swore that if he had known they were 'fairy forts' or protected structures he would not have interfered with them (www.irishexaminer.com, 08/11/2012). The use of the phrase 'fairy fort' in his testimony carries with it the intimation of innocence, or at least ignorance, on the basis that no Irish person would carry out such an act. It is perhaps instructive that another similar situation, in Co. Kerry, a ringfort was largely demolished shortly after the land changed hands. At his trial the farmer pleaded ignorance concerning the presence of this monument on his land, but, unfortunately for him, several years previously he had objected to the construction of a house on the site, by the then owner, citing as one of his objections the presence of this ringfort (www.irishtimes.com, 03/03/2012). In these cases, it may be instructive that no personal relationship had developed between the individuals concerned and these particular monuments.

In contrast, someone who had grown up in a particular area and where, as was traditional, land was passed down from one generation to the next, a different, more personal relationship may have existed that would have served to protect these monuments. The consolidation of farmland, and associated land improvement, is now a strong part of rural life in Ireland. Land prices are high and this can influence the desire to maximise returns from the newly acquired land.

10.5. Historical destruction

Some ringforts, as noted above, have been destroyed over recent decades. However, it has been demonstrated in this thesis that the destruction rates of ringforts were very high in Ireland over centuries, clearly indicating that the strength of traditional belief in earlier times had not protected ringforts. The notion of a special relationship between the people and these particular monuments contributed to the academic belief that any representation of ringforts, for example in the first edition Ordnance Survey maps, portrayed these monuments in an unchanged pristine environment.

The majority of the studies referred to above seem to accept without question that traditional belief concerning ringforts remained strong in popular communities during the 19th century. Moreover, it is intimated that further back in time this belief must have been even stronger again. However, this assumption is predicated on the supposition that those who believed in this connection actually had control over the land. Such was not the case, of course, for most of the period under examination. Indeed, it was only towards the end of the 19th

century that some of those who farmed the land began to regain control over it. Prior to this, such land as they farmed was rented from Anglo-Irish landlords or, perhaps even worse, from Irish 'middlemen'. Often land-rents were high and this necessitated an attempt to extract as much as possible from the land. The lowest strata of Irish society before the Great Famine worked as farm labourers in exchange for a small land-holding, usually held at will. In such a situation, if it was decided, by those with a different cultural understanding of these monuments, to remove them from the landscape, it would be a brave or foolhardy cottier who would refuse to carry out the landlords wishes. Evidence for the strategies that were developed by these groups to overcome the contradictory elements in their social lives have been explored in Chapter 5.

Political decisions at a national level, themselves influenced by developments in Westminster, could and did have an impact on local monuments in Ireland, as has been explored in Chapter 8. The introduction of a number of Parliamentary Acts, from the mid18th century, with the object of promoting the expansion of grain growing coincided with a serious decline in ringfort numbers in some areas. An examination of ploughing methods and, especially, a realisation of the hindrance that ringforts could pose to such activity in increasingly sub-divided fieldscapes, means that a secure connection can be made between the growth in tillage farming and the decline in ringfort numbers. The Great Famine of the 1840s left in its wake a smaller and steadily declining rural population. This consequence, along with a concurrent fall in grain prices, encouraged farmers to return to pastoral farming and also necessitated a simplification and consolidation of practises that included a further opening up of the countryside. This also had a detrimental effect on some of the ringforts that survived the onslaught of the tillage period. The main period of ringfort destruction occurred earlier in some places than in others, but when this happened the subsequent land development made no difference for the ringforts had already been levelled. However, some level of ringfort destruction has continued into modern times. In places, where significant numbers of ringforts may have survived, perhaps because of poor land and lack of earlier development, modern farm improvement schemes have had a significant negative impact on their survival rates.

Early on in this study it became apparent that in most areas this destruction rate fluctuated between heavy, say 50%, to total or almost total. However, the actual rate of decline, the period of greatest risk, and a commencement date for the removal of ringforts from the landscape remained to be determined, given that it was becoming apparent that at least some level of destruction had taken place before the mid-19th century. It is the case, unfortunately, that until

recently the existence of early estate maps, and their potential usefulness, was neither known nor appreciated by many archaeologists. However, as part of this thesis the author has been able to access large-scale maps of regions surveyed towards the end of the 18th century that accurately depict ringforts, or 'Danes Forts' as they are annotated: the importance of this resource is that it dates to approximately 70 years prior to the Ordnance Survey. In some instances, earlier maps that date to the beginning of the 18th century are also available, though the depiction of ringforts on these is not completely reliable. The later estate maps, however, accurately depict the location of ringforts and, when compared to the relevant first edition OS maps, confirm that some level of ringfort destruction occurred between the 1770s and the mid-19th century.

In both study areas examined in Co. Cork as part of this thesis it was found that the overall destruction rate was severe. In fact, the heaviest rate of decline in ringforts in the east Cork study area lay between 1774 and 1841. Contemporary agricultural activity in this area at was studied and a conclusion was reached concerning the type of activity, tillage farming, that posed the most risk to ringforts. However, the maps of an earlier survey, from the beginning of the 18th century, when compared to the later 1774 survey, also showed a decrease in ringfort numbers, and this allows the date of the commencement of ringfort destruction to be extended further backwards. Indeed, a sample drone survey undertaken by the author produced photogrammetry images that indicate that some destruction took place even earlier in this area. These deductions could then be tested in other areas throughout the country where similar activity was recorded in the expectation that these would also show a heavy rate of decline.

A degree of speculation must be accepted in attempting to discover the first phase of the destruction of ringforts in the mid-Cork study area. It appears that the founding and growth of an urban centre in this valley, Bandon, contributed to the destruction of ringforts in its close proximity, and particularly upstream of the town. Indications for this can be seen in the presence of both cropmarks and souterrains in some townlands close to the river. The complete lack of monuments in some other townlands may support the theory that some level of destruction occurred throughout the area prior to 1775. Although again speculative, the necessity of providing the town with food could mean that a date for the commencement of ringfort destruction could be extended close to the town's early 17th century foundation. It may even be that ringfort destruction in this area could be extended back further and linked with the clearance of woodland. The transformation of the landscape from farmland to forest, and back to farmland again, may also have influenced ringfort destruction rates.

This notion that location, such as proximity to an urban centre, and activity, specifically arable farming, posed an increased risk to ringforts was tested by focusing on other areas that combined these two elements, and two areas in the Co. Kildare were chosen. In studying these, the general lack of archaeological monuments became apparent. For example, in the barony of Killcullen there was a general rate of decrease in numbers of monuments of all types of around 70%. A similar rate of decline is evident in the barony of Ikeathy and Oughterany, where there was an overall rate of decline of about 68%. Incidentally, the work undertaken on these two baronies as part of this thesis increased the number of recorded sites in them by *c*. 6% and *c*. 20% respectively. The general rate of decline in ringforts, and the periods of greatest risk, has been calculated in Chapter 9: the overall rate of destruction of 95% and 100% bear repetition, as does the confirmation that most of this destruction occurred prior to the mid-19th century. This early and devastating rate of decline was not totally surprising, as these areas were noted for grain growing from at least the end of the 13th century.

Around this time a population transfer occurred with the arrival of the Normans. It is evident that the arrival of this group, the expansion of Dublin and the resultant development of large-scale arable farming posed an increased risk to the survival of ringforts. If this suggestion is accepted, the destruction of ringforts could have commenced even at this early date. In fact, the Viking Age foundation of Dublin would have affected the economy of the surrounding countryside, because of the zones of cultivation that radiated outwards, and it may even be that the beginning of ringfort destruction lay around this period. It may be that in these areas the practical importance of grain growing for the town could have led to the removal of ringforts.

10.6. Further Research

10.6.1. Newcomers and the treatment of monuments

A feature of note in the first edition OS maps of Co. Kildare is the complete lack of archaeological monuments over large parts of these two baronies. Admittedly, this may reflect an initial absence of monuments or, indeed, present day ground conditions, whether grass or tillage, could hinder the discovery of evidence of such sites. On the other hand, during the later medieval period some of these land tracts were in the possession of the military religious orders, the Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller, who were noted for their advanced farming practices. That arable farming was an important agricultural activity on their lands is explored in Chapter 9. This then raised the question of how these innovative newcomers, to the locality

if not the region, would have viewed archaeological monuments such as ringforts on their lands? Might they have been perceived as a hindrance to improvement and removed from the landscape, perhaps during the annual off-season as the field lay fallow?

An even earlier religious group, the Cistercians, were also noted as innovators with regards to land management and reclamation, at least during the founding period of these monasteries. There is some evidence to suggest that this particular topic would be worthy of further investigation in Ireland. The noted farming abilities of groups like the Cistercians, and the military orders, may have arisen as a consequence of the quality of land frequently granted to them by secular lords. It might be suggested that such poor land may have held fewer ringforts in any case, due to its marginal importance. However, these groups did not specifically seek poor land as part of their mission, and readily accepted better land when it was offered (Stalley 1987). Of course, better quality land was more likely to have held earlier settlement sites, such as ringforts, as its agricultural capacity would have long been recognised. It should be mentioned at this stage that this prowess at the reclamation of waste land was most important at the foundation of these monastic sites. For as time advanced recruits, particularly lay-brothers, seem to have decreased, perhaps in conjunction with the waning of Norman power, and the most profitable way of making a living from the land was by adopting the occupation of 'rentiers'.

In any case, it would be of interest to investigate the extent to which ringforts survived on these Cistercian monastic lands or, indeed, whether the rate of decline was higher within these areas. From the surviving records it is clear that this order controlled large areas of farmland. For instance, St. Mary's Abbey, near Dublin, had control over '5,937 medieval acres' (approximately 9,500 modern acres or 3,844.5 ha.) around the time of its foundation, which was spread over four counties, Dublin, Meath, Louth and Kildare (Lynch 2008, 307), while Mellifont Abbey, its mother house, held 4,842 acres (approximately 7,800 modern acres or 3,156.54 ha). These examples give some idea of the extent and range of the holdings that such orders controlled. The Cistercians were also granted lands in Co. Tipperary, where they founded the abbey of Kilcooley. Though the full extent of their farm is not known, the land in the townland of Kilcooleyabbey would certainly have belonged to the order. It is interesting to note that of the nine circular enclosed sites evidenced here, only two survived to be marked on the first edition of the OS map (1840, 43), and that these were the ones furthest from the abbey. The noted destruction of sites might suggest efforts to transform the landscape by the monks.

An area of particular interest for this type of investigation appears to be the Hook Head peninsula in Co. Wexford. Within this defined geographical area were located two tracts of adjacent land, one of which formed part of a Templar holding and the other formed the area controlled by the Cistercians of Tintern Abbey. The Templars were granted the civil parishes of Hook and Templetown, totalling 5398.6 acres [c.2184.80 ha.]. In this area only fifteen ringforts and three enclosures are recorded on the archaeological database (NMS, 2019) and, remarkably, none of these are depicted on the first edition OS maps (1839, 49). Clearly these monuments were destroyed at some stage prior to the 1830s. Tintern Abbey had been granted control over the nearby civil parishes of Tintern and Owenduff, a total of 15,000 acres [6070 ha.] (Colfer 2004, 46). A number of ringforts are recorded in each parish, but with a rate of decline of just over two-thirds. This admittedly cursory study of these examples provides no concrete evidence for ringfort destruction at such an early date. However, it does indicate that this topic is worthy of further investigation and the possibility exists that through a combination of GIS investigation and reference to documentary sources that an early date for ringfort destruction may be uncovered.

Other smaller groups settled in Ireland at a later date and, at least initially, maintained their cultural identity. It would be interesting to study their attitudes towards monuments such as ringforts. One such homogenous group arrived from Germany at the beginning of the 18th century. This group, the Palatines, eventually settled near Rathkeale, Co. Limerick, and from here a group of their descendants moved to an area near Mitchelstown. It was noted that these immigrants maintained some elements of their German identity for approximately 100 years after settling in the area. This cultural separateness and their noted industrious nature may have resulted in a large level of cooperation between these settlers (Young 1780). Although, the initial lands granted to each family were small in size, it might be possible to examine the totality of the land area that was farmed by this group to determine any difference in ringfort survival rates when contrasted to adjacent areas farmed by the Irish.

10.6.2. Reuse of ringforts in a Gaelic Setting

Another issue that it is felt would be worthy of further investigation is the practical reuse of ringforts during early modern periods of Irish history. Admittedly, some serious work has already been undertaken in this area (Comber & Hull 2010), but it may be of benefit to expand this area of study geographically so that the continued occupation or re-occupation of ringforts

is as commonly accepted as that of another monument type, that of crannogs. Cartographic and documentary evidence has been included in Chapter 7 of this study that has shown how these monuments were re-used by relative newcomers to the localities where ringforts were sited at the beginning of the 17th century. Of course, the landscape conditions that influenced the placement of particular ringforts remained in place and seem to have been recognised by later arrivals in the area. The added benefit of a pre-existing bank and ditch that could be adapted for defensive purposes would also have been recognised and excavated examples do exist to show that ringforts in other parts of the country were adapted in such a manner during the medieval period.

Ó Drisceoil (2002) lists several examples, including a site in Co. Down where a Motte was constructed on a ringfort. Other examples include a site at Dunsilly, Co. Antrim and another at Knowth, Co. Meath. A later example from Ballyknock townland in Co. Cork, where a castle or tower house was constructed inside a trivallate ringfort, has previously been addressed The convenience of ringforts for practical economic purposes was also noted in some later, almost modern, instances by the local inhabitants of some areas. In addition, some of the excavations undertaken on ringforts have returned evidence of early modern life, *e.g.* Rynne (1962) and Clutterbuck & FitzPatrick (2010). It would be of interest to gather as much of this information together as possible to see if a pattern of use or a particular timeline of general occupation could be established. A focused archaeological approach would be of particular benefit for the later Gaelic re-occupation of these sites, as documentary evidence for this seems scarce and a reliance of material goods may overcome this barrier.

10.7. Conclusion

10.7.1. Perceptions

One of the initial questions advanced at the beginning of this thesis concerned how ringforts were perceived by various communities in pre-modern Ireland. An initial division was made between the Gaelic community and that of substantial groups of newcomers. This study has shown how differences in how ringforts were perceived were inherent in the worldview of each group. It has also shown how these attitudes to ringforts, and by extension to the Irish, became entrenched within the new communities, so much so, that this convention came to be accepted uncritically and over time achieved the status of orthodoxy. It has also been shown how

difficult it proved to eventually topple this orthodoxy, although its longevity may, in part, be explained as being due to the political usefulness of the view of ringforts as foreign.

This study has also charted the decline of the correct knowledge in regards to the origin and function of ringforts, and how this was closely associated with the decline in fortune and position of the traditional Gaelic learned classes. Thankfully, this study was also emphasised how some documentary evidence of Gaelic tradition was preserved and how, as a result of an important personal relationship, the information contained within this was provided a platform that facilitated a return to a correct understanding of the origin and function of ringforts. This understanding of ringforts as Irish and as having a domestic function was incorporated into the new tradition of archaeology and served as a predisposition when information from excavations was examined.

However, it has also been highlighted how within the Gaelic community itself the decline of learned tradition allowed another component of this community's view of ringforts to gain in importance. The development of this mythological view may have been facilitated both by physical components of ringforts, their underground chambers (souterrains), and an acceptance of their supposed underground race of inhabitants as an ancient race of Irish people. Perhaps an understanding of ringforts as monuments from an earlier Ireland further aided their association with a supposed earlier race of inhabitants and the mythological nature of this race became transferred due to co-location to ringforts. Later, with the serious decline of the Gaelic language, this mythological race was itself transformed as the failure to suitably translate this concept added qualities to it that it had not previously possessed. Regardless of this change, however, it remains almost an article of faith that, at least in the past, this superstitious belief served to protect ringforts.

This thesis has repeatedly stressed the important position of ringforts for each of the communities that came into contact with them, as the perception of ringforts by each community seems to have formed an important component of their own sense of identity and, as a consequence of this, ringforts could be destroyed but never ignored.

10.7.2. Practical reuse

It has become evident during this study that the practical utility of these monuments was recognised by members of the communities in the surrounding area, and this applied equally

to the long term occupants of the land and the newcomers. The usefulness of these monuments as defensive structures, and also the rapidity with which abandoned sites could be transformed into proper 'forts', was recognised by some newcomers. It seems likely that members of the Gaelic community would have been just as astute, if not more so, to recognise the opportunity for practically instant defence that ringforts offered. In more informal settings, the capacity for ringforts to protect against inquisitive eyes also seems to have been recognised with the recourse to some of these monuments as settings for legal schools, and later for courts of poetry. Of course, it is also likely that these groups would have recognised the lingering importance of these monuments as sites offering a strong connection with ancient Irish society. Ringforts also fulfilled a psychological function in traditional Irish society with their use as unofficial burial grounds. For example, Crombie (1987, 151) noted that over half of the children's burial grounds in the barony of Dunmore, Co. Galway were found in abandoned habitation sites, *i.e.* ringforts

In other, more mundane, settings these monuments fulfilled a role in the dominant economic activity in many parts of the country. In areas of largely unenclosed countryside dominated by pastoral farming, these monuments had the potential to be adapted to several useful economic roles. They could, for example, be used as animal enclosures, a particularly useful adaption where cows would have needed to be corralled together on a daily basis. These pre-existing enclosures could also be adapted in situations where it was necessary for animals to be excluded. While not as labour intensive as arable farming, pastoral farming did require some work input, seemingly of family groups, that involved living in close proximity to the animals being farmed and, in addition, these groups would have needed to provide food for themselves. In such a context, ringforts, as easily enclosed areas, were adapted to serve as gardens, *gárrdha*, for vegetable growing. What is remarkable in describing these activities is that at no time is the superstitious association of these monuments, which supposedly served to protect them through promotion of non-interference, ever in evidence. This gives rise to an interesting question concerning the dating of this supposed interdiction, and whether it was ever attached to such ringforts as served a practical purpose.

10.7.3. Practical removal

Throughout this study it has been evident that, despite supposedly benefiting from protection, ringforts were levelled in large numbers throughout the selected study areas and because of the

breadth of this study these results can likely be extended to other areas of the country. What has also been highlighted is that, despite the existence within the studied communities of opposing views concerning ringforts, and the frequently antagonistic attitudes towards each other, the vast majority of ringforts were removed from the landscape merely for practical reasons, mainly as a result of economic factors. In addition, it has been shown that in some areas, at least, the levelling of ringforts occurred much earlier than has been previously understood. This may have particularly been the case in areas that were subjected to strong external influence from at least the end of the 12th century. Evidence from the study areas associated the heaviest period of destruction with the development of commercial tillage farming. During this study a combination of factors allowed an increase in potential sites to be discovered and reported to the relevant authorities. The presence of such previously unrecorded sites has allowed the large-scale destruction of sites in these areas, at least, to be extended much further back in time and, although it remains for the moment speculation, perhaps even to the beginning of the external Norman influence.

To conclude, and to summarise the answers to the questions posed at the beginning of this study, it has been highlighted on multiple occasions that ringforts held a very important, almost central position in the world view of the various communities, across the country and throughout time, that encountered these monuments. These perceptions were so strong that it could be said that not only were ringforts the most visible and numerous monuments in Ireland, but for these communities they were also the most important.

However, regardless of their importance, either practical or cultural, once economic factors reached a certain level these considerations counted for little and as a result, ringforts were removed from the landscape in very large numbers. The varying periods of heavy destruction, in some areas during the late 18th century, in others prior to this, and in still others during the modern era, further emphasises this economic theory: regardless of any regional or national trends the one thing that links the attitude of landowners throughout these periods is the desire to maximise land use and profit. So it should be reiterated that the presence of ringforts on the Irish landscape fulfilled a wide variety of social and even political functions but, as is often the case, economic considerations fatally undermined these and the results can now be seen, or rather not seen, in every parish and townland of the country.

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2.1.3. Garryantaggart townland

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2.2.6. Ballinscurlogue townland

2.2.7. Booladurragha townland

2.2.8. Cullenagh townland

2.2.9. Garraneribbeen townland

2.2.10 Garryduff townland
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3.1.6. Moneen townland

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6.2.4. Carnakit townland

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6.2.6. Castleplunket townland

6.2.7. Castleteheen townland

6.2.8. Cloonbard townland

6.2.9. Corlis townland

6.2.10. Drishaghaun East townland

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6.2.12. Kilmurry townland

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6.5.9. Cashel townland

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6.5.20. Gorteenacammadil townland

6.5.21. Grange townland

6.5.22. Keyfield townland

6.5.23. Lisnagroob townland

6.5.24. Moanvane townland

6.5.25. Moigh Upper townland

6.5.26. Pollanarroo townland

6.5.27. Rathlena townland

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7.1.3. Ballyvaskin South townland

7.1.4. Carrowkeel townland

7.1.5. Clooneyogan North townland

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7.3.1. Ballymackea Beg townland

7.3.2. Ballymackea More townland

7.3.3. Carrowduff townland

7.3.4. Carrowlagan townland

7.3.5. Carrownagry North townland

7.3.6. Cloghauninchy townland

7.3.7. Cloghaunnatinny townland

7.3.8. Cloonadrum townland

7.3.9. Cloonlaheen East townland

7.3.10. Cloonlaheen West townland

7.3.11. Coor West townland

7.3.12. Craggaknock West townland

7.3.13. Craggaun townland

7.3.14. Doonogan townland

7.3.15. Doonsallagh West townland

7.3.16. Emlagh townland

7.3.17. Finnor Beg townland

7.3.18. Finnor More townland

7.3.19. Kilclehaun townland

7.3.20. Killernan townland

7.3.21. Knockanalban townland

7.3.22. Knockloskeraun townland

7.3.23. Molosky townland

7.3.24. Moyglass Beg townland

7.3.25. Moyglass More townland

7.3.26. Quilty West townland

7.3.27. Shanavogh West townland

7.3.28. Treanmanagh townland

7.3.29. Tromra East townland

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CATALOGUE CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION.

1.1. Introduction

This catalogue has been created to provide an in-depth description of the selected townlands in each of the chosen study areas. However, not every townland within these baronies will be included, just those townlands that contain evidence for the presence of ringforts. At this point, it should be repeated that names such as 'ringforts', 'enclosure' and 'earthwork' are modern archaeological appellations. During the period under examination, those who most frequently interacted with these monuments seem to have regarded all circular earthen structures as being of a similar origin, used one term to refer to them and treated them in a similar manner. Because of this attitude, all circular features that have a diameter of between 20 and 80 metres will be treated as potential sites of interest. This is in addition to any monument recorded as a ringfort regardless of their size. This continues to be an issue to the present day, as without excavation it can still be difficult to distinguish the different types of circular earthen monuments. This is particularly relevant where monuments have been partially removed or entirely levelled.

The individual townlands will be grouped together by parish and these parishes will be arranged in alphabetical order under the heading of each barony. Furthermore, within each parish, each townland will also be arranged alphabetically. The description of each relevant townland will contain a written element that will establish the initial presence of ringforts and then continue to highlight any change in numbers of these monuments over time, if applicable. This written description will be supported by the inclusion of cartographic evidence and modern aerial imagery. It is felt that such a layout will facilitate an understanding of any changes in numbers. Such images will be arranged in a chronological order, beginning with the earliest and advancing to the latest available aerial images. These images will also be referred to in the accompanying text in a similar order. This will facilitate a comparison of image and description. The initial study areas in Co. Cork were chosen because information was uncovered at the beginning of this project that maps that showed ringforts in these areas existed from prior to the Ordnance Survey of the mid-19th century. These have allowed a calculation of destruction rates to be extended in some individual townlands to the beginning of the 18th century. Indeed, a comparison of these earliest maps and aerial images of the same townlands bolsters the suggestion that some level of destruction occurred prior to this early date.

The prime result of this comparative study in Co. Cork is of a serious decline in ringfort numbers throughout the period under examination, largely from the eighteenth century onwards. Furthermore, a comparison of agricultural data from these two study areas with the

decline in ringfort numbers tends to indicate that an increased rate of destruction can be linked to specific activities. These include the development of tillage farming and proximity to an urban area. To test this hypothesis, it was then decided to pick specific areas elsewhere in the country where different agricultural practices had been in place. When choosing these areas influence was drawn from the work of Whelan (2011) in dividing the country into agricultural zones. The first of these study areas consisted of two baronies in county Kildare. These were noted as areas of historical grain growing as well as being located in close proximity to the main urban settlement in the country, Dublin. Another study area was chosen in the county of Roscommon. This was noted in earlier times as an area devoted to the fattening of cattle and as such, it was expected that the rate of decline here would be lower. Moreover, Bellanagare in county Roscommon was the home of the most important Irish antiquarian of the 18th century and it would be of interest to see if this knowledge influenced treatment of ringforts in the vicinity. The final area chosen for examination was located on the west coast of county Clare and would correspond in Whelan's (*ibid*) classification to the 'small farm belt'. County Clare also seems to have acted as a reservoir for Gaelic culture throughout this period. It is expected that the level of decline here would be least of all.

1.2. Co. Cork

This analysis of the overall rate of ringfort destruction in two baronies, and possibly the specific timeline of this rate, will involve the comparative study of available map sources and of recent aerial surveys. One of the reasons that these specific areas were chosen was because they offered the largest and most detailed range of maps created prior to the mid-19th century Ordnance Survey. Maps were created from the surveys that depict the landscape within these areas at the beginning and towards the end of the 18th century. This permits the establishment of a timeline with a difference of roughly 60 years between each survey. Information gathered from these sources will then be compared to recent aerial survey data. It is hoped that this comparison will allow for the confirmation of the presence and may enable the fixing of a more precise location for some of these sites. It is hoped that such an examination will also allow for the discovery of previously unrecorded sites. Where this occurs, it is then proposed to make use of more detailed data provided by a commercial survey company, Blue Sky Survey, contracted to the Ordnance Survey for such a purpose.

These earlier maps, however, followed different conventions in regards to the scale that was used and the orientation of each represented townland. For example, Bateman (1717) and Scalé (1774-5) each depicted an individual townland in isolation. Whereas, the general maps of the Ordnance Survey (1841-2) were constructed at county level and were then broken down into separate sheets that portrayed the baronies, parishes and townlands contained within. In addition, each survey made use of differing scales. For instance, Bateman (1717) attached to his maps a scale of '80 perches to an inch' or '4 inches to a mile'. An Irish mile contained 320 Irish perches and corresponded to approximately 1.27 statute miles. This corresponded to a scale of 1: 15840. Scale (1774-5), on the other hand, created his maps following a larger scale of '20 perches to an inch'. This corresponds to a modern equivalent of 1: 3960. Finally, the Ordnance Survey (1841-2) used statute measurements in their '6 inch to a mile' maps. This is the equivalent of a modern scale of roughly 1: 10571. These differing scales render direct comparisons of field monument positions through the super-position of each map rather difficult. Nevertheless, it is possible to establish their position in relation to particular areas within each townland, such as direction changes in the boundary, and these can then be compared to assist in determining the exact location of these sites. Different surveyors conducted the portrayal of ringforts using different means. Bateman (1717), for instance, used woodcut stamps of a standard size with no attempt to show different size or form. Scalé (1774-5), however, attempted to show differences in size and, particularly in mid-Cork, to depict differing forms. Both referred to ringforts as 'Danes Forts'. The OS maps (1841-2), of course, show different forms and at times the degree of survival of individual raths.

Finally, the maps of the Ordnance Survey were all created so that north is always at the top of the page as it is read. In contrast, in the earlier maps of Bateman (1717) and Scalé (1774-5) each townland is rotated as necessary in order for it to fit on the available space. No confusion was created by this; however, as the north azimuth was always indicated on these maps. It is was decided, for reasons of clarity, to retain the orientation of these maps as they were created as the outline of each townland is so distinctive that it allows for a correct interpretation of direction to be ascertained. Furthermore, on OS maps (1841-2) where the depicted townland may occupy too much space it is was decided to change its orientation to facilitate the best use of space. However, where this happens the townland will be rotated so that its display corresponds as much as possible to the earlier estate maps. Maps associated with particular townlands will be included following a written description and will be presented

in a chronological order. It is proposed to examine initially the townlands of the east Cork barony of Kinnatalloon and, following this, with those of the mid-Cork barony of Kinalmeaky

1.3. Co. Kildare

The earliest available large-scale maps of the two chosen study areas are part of a county survey carried out by Alexander Taylor (1783). The creation of this map was a private undertaking. However, Taylor, a Scotsman, was also employed on a military survey of Ireland from 1781 to 1805. He held the rank of captain in the Corps of Engineers. The map sheets of this survey contain reference to the presence of circular field monuments. Unfortunately, Taylor was not a field antiquarian and some of these sites were later confirmed as barrows or other types of monuments. Although, it could be argued that as these monuments were considered to be of broadly similar type as ringforts it is probable that that they would have been treated by landowners in a similar fashion. The next survey that covered these two baronies, Ikeathy & Oughterany and Killcullen, was the Ordnance Survey in the mid-19th century and revisions to these maps were carried out in the beginning of the 20th century. However, the small number of ringforts recorded by each of these surveys is evident. Modern aerial surveys were carried out in the Kildare region by Cambridge University during the 1960s and this exposed some previously unrecorded sites. An aerial survey undertaken in the summer of 2018 by Google Earth, when drought conditions prevailed, revealed many crop marks that corresponded in form and size to ringforts. This information will be arranged in a chronological manner where necessary. Finally, as mentioned above, where necessary the orientation of some maps will be changed in order to save space.

1.4. Co. Roscommon

The earliest available large-scale maps for the chosen barony here, Castlereagh, are the result of a number of individual estate surveys. Some of these surveys date from the beginning of the 19th century, though others are undated. In any event, these latter maps only cover a few of the townlands of this barony, but where an insight into pre-OS landscape is provided they will be incorporated into this survey. The first widespread depiction of ringforts in this barony is covered by the Ordnance Survey of the mid-19th century. The later revisions that date from the early 20th century provide a more interesting insight into the changing landscape of this barony,

depicting increasing land sub-division. Sections of this barony have also been covered by later aerial surveys, beginning with the Cambridge University overflights in the 1960s that uncovered some previously unrecorded sites as a consequence. Further recent aerial imagery is also available, and this is included in the townland description of the barony. These more recent images also allow for the discovery of some unrecorded sites.

1.5. Co. Clare

Although a very early documentary survey exists for the chosen barony in this county, Ibrickan, the earliest cartographic evidence for it is contained in the Ordnance Survey maps from the mid-19th century. Further maps were created following the revision of this data at the beginning of the 20th century. However, modern aerial images also exist that cover this barony and these have allowed an understanding of the rate of decline between the early 20th century and the present day. Apparently, this is the period when the rate of decline was strongest in this barony, though these images also indicate that some level of destruction occurred prior to the mid-19th century. These available maps allow an overall rate of decline to be calculated and, in taking account of agricultural developments, also allow for a chronological rate of decline to be determined. In this case, also the maps will be arranged by townland and placed after a written description of the ringforts present in each townlands and the change over time.

1.6. List of Abbreviations used in Catalogue

ASD – Archaeological Survey Database [NMS]

BM – Bing Maps

BSS – Blue Sky Survey

CL - Clare

CO – Cork

CUCAP – Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photography

DG – Digital Globe (NMS)

DTM – Digital Terrain Model

DSM – Digital Surface Model

GE – Google Earth

GM – Google Maps

GSI – Geological Survey of Ireland

ITM – Irish Transverse Mercator

KD – Kildare

MS – Manuscript

MSS – Manuscripts

NLI – National Library of Ireland

NMS – National Monument Service

OS – Ordnance Survey

OSI – Ordnance Survey of Ireland

RMP – Record of Monuments and Places

RO – Roscommon

SMR – Sites and Monuments Record

CATALOGUE CHAPTER 2:

KINNATALLOON, CO. CORK.

11,136.58HA

Evidence for Ringforts in certain Townlands of the Parishes of Aghern, Ballynoe, Knockmourne, and Mogeely, Co. Cork:
(Formerly part of the Devonshire Estates)
Study Area No.1

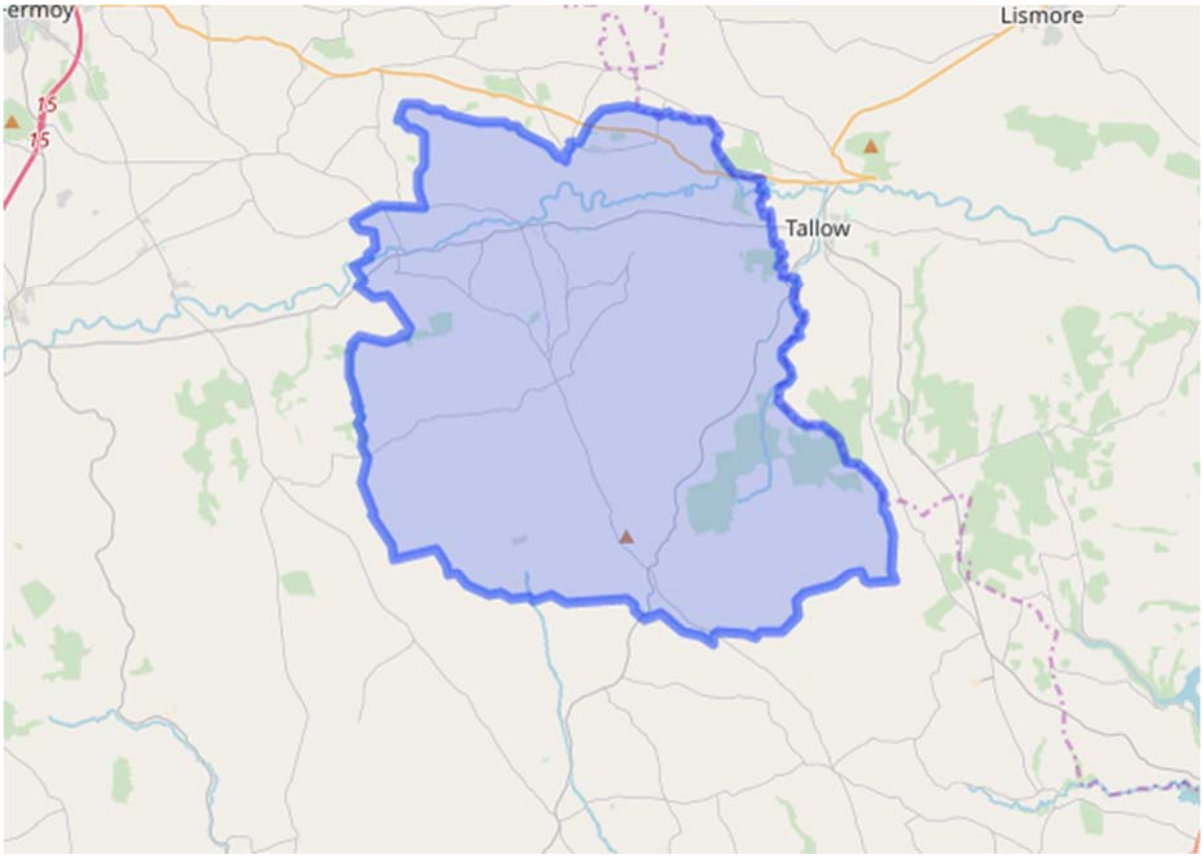


Figure 1. Barony map of Kinnatalloon, Co. Cork

	Bateman	Scalé	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Ringforts	36	60	37	20	17	63 (4)	53	87 (4)
Townlands	16/45	23/39	23/51	16/51	14/51	30/51	30/51	35/51

Figure 2. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Kinnatalloon barony, Co. Cork

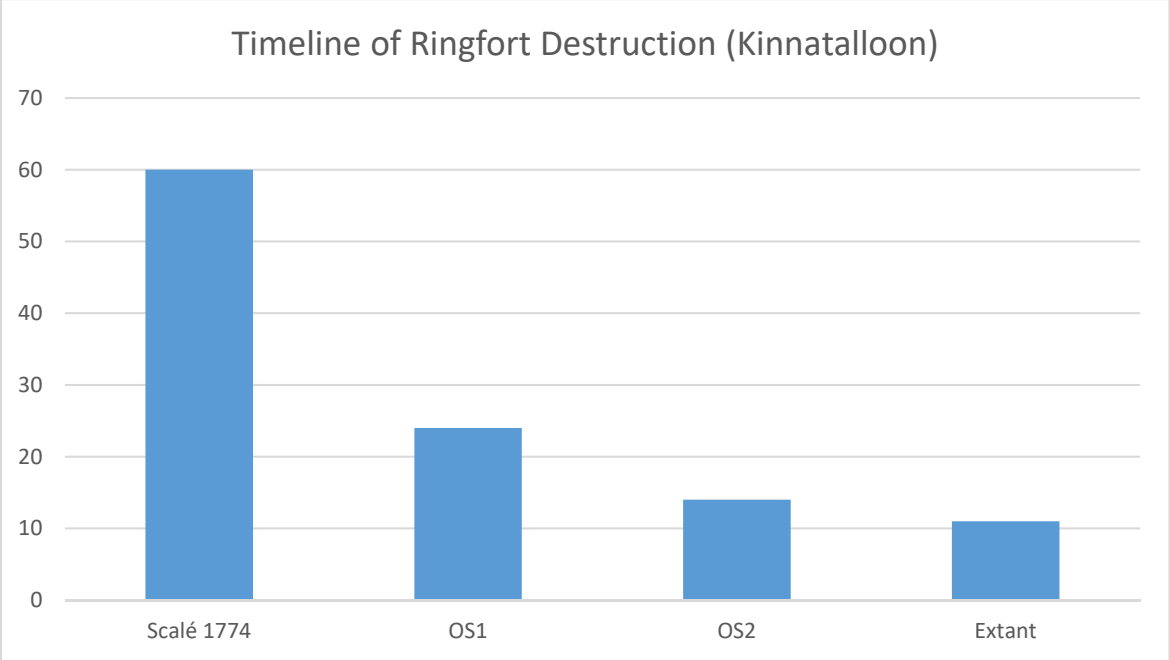


Figure 3. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Kinnatalloon barony, Co. Cork

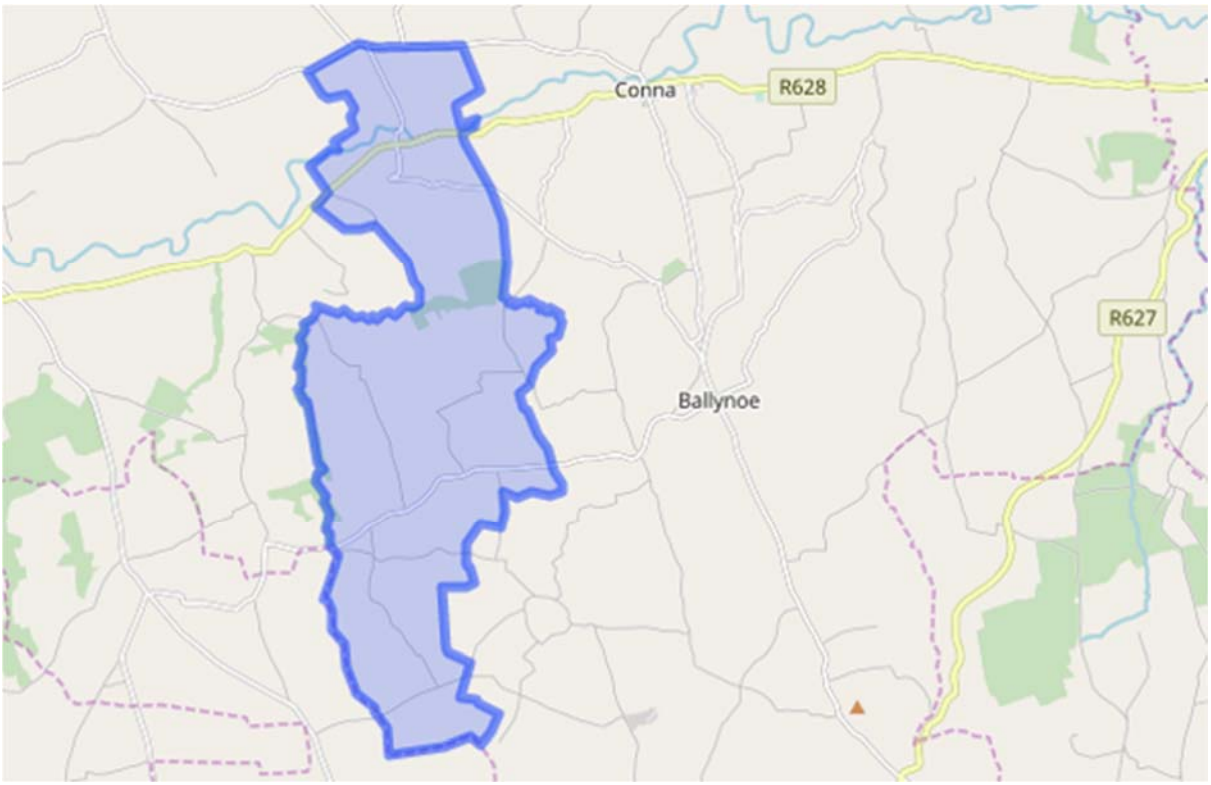


Figure 4. Parish map of Aghern, Co. Cork

	Bateman	Scalé	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Ballylusky	5	7	0	0	0	5	5	8
Ballymacsimon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Garrycaheragh	4	6	1	0	0	4	5	9
Garryantaggart	0	n/a	1	0	0	1	1	1
Glentrasna	3	5	2	2	2	4	3	5
Glentrasna N.	1	3	2	1	1	2	3	4
Glentrasna S.	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	2
Knocknagapple	3	4	2	1	1	5	3	5
Rathdrum	0	3	2	1	1	2	3	3
Ringforts	16	30	11	5	5	24	23	37
Townlands	5/9	7/8	7/9	4/9	4/9	8/9	7/9	8/9

Figure 5. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Aghern parish, Co. Cork

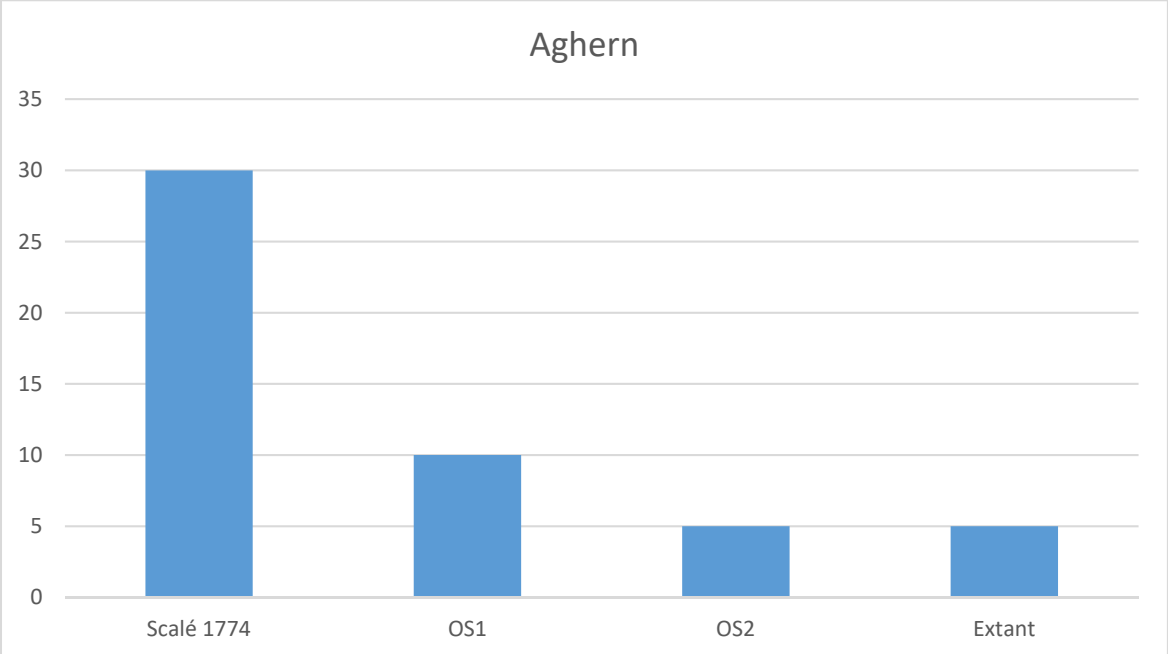


Figure 6. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Aghern parish

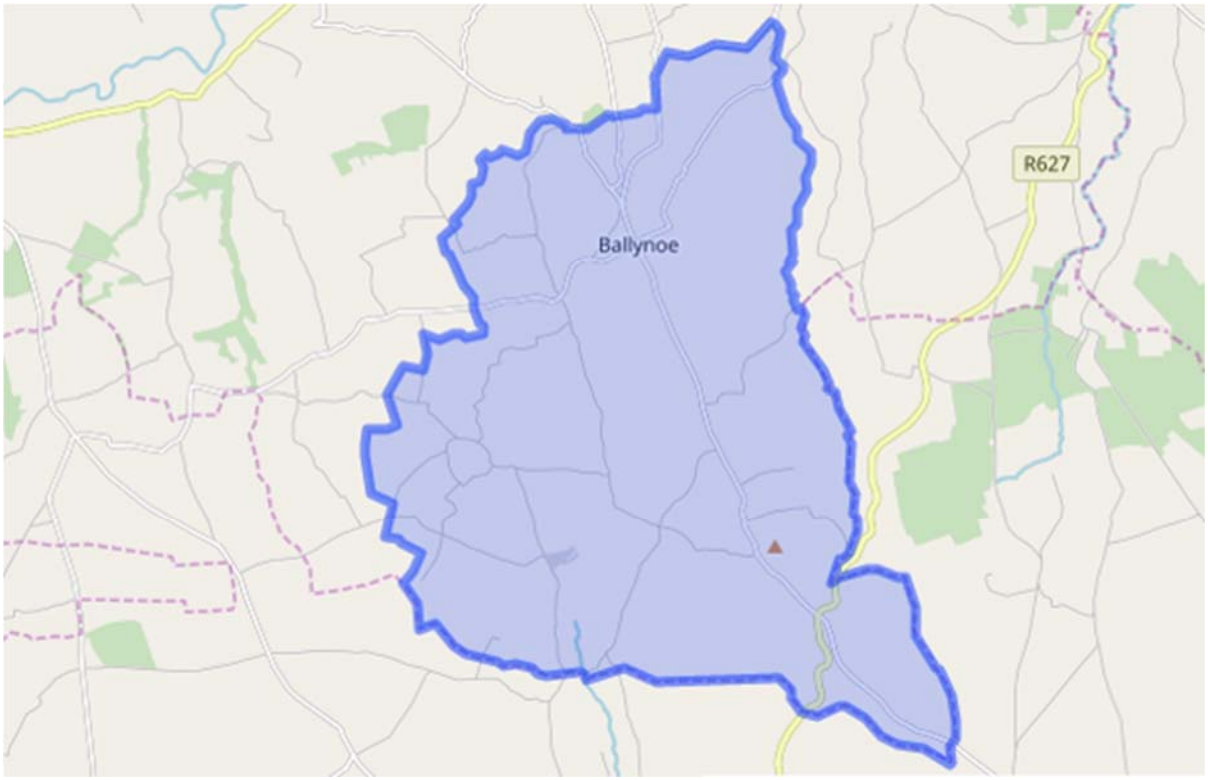


Figure 7. Parish map of Ballynoe, Co. Cork

	Bateman	Scalé	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Ballinlegane	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Ballyknock N.	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1
Ballyknock S.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballyknock	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballymonteen	1	n/a	0	0	0	1	1	1
Ballynattin	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballynoe	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballinscurloge	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	1	0
Booladurragha(N.)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Booladurragha(S.)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cullenagh	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
Garraneribeen	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Garryduff	3	n/a	6	3	3	6	5	6
Glenreagh	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Glentane	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Killasseragh	0	3	2	0	0	2	2	3
Kilphillibeen	0	4	1	1	1	1	3	4
Knockakoe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lonqueville S	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Rathdrum	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Shanaboola	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ringforts	8	13	12	6	6	14	16	20
Townlands	6/17	8/12	6/17	4/17	4/17	8/17	9/17	10/17

Figure 8. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Ballynoe parish, Co. Cork

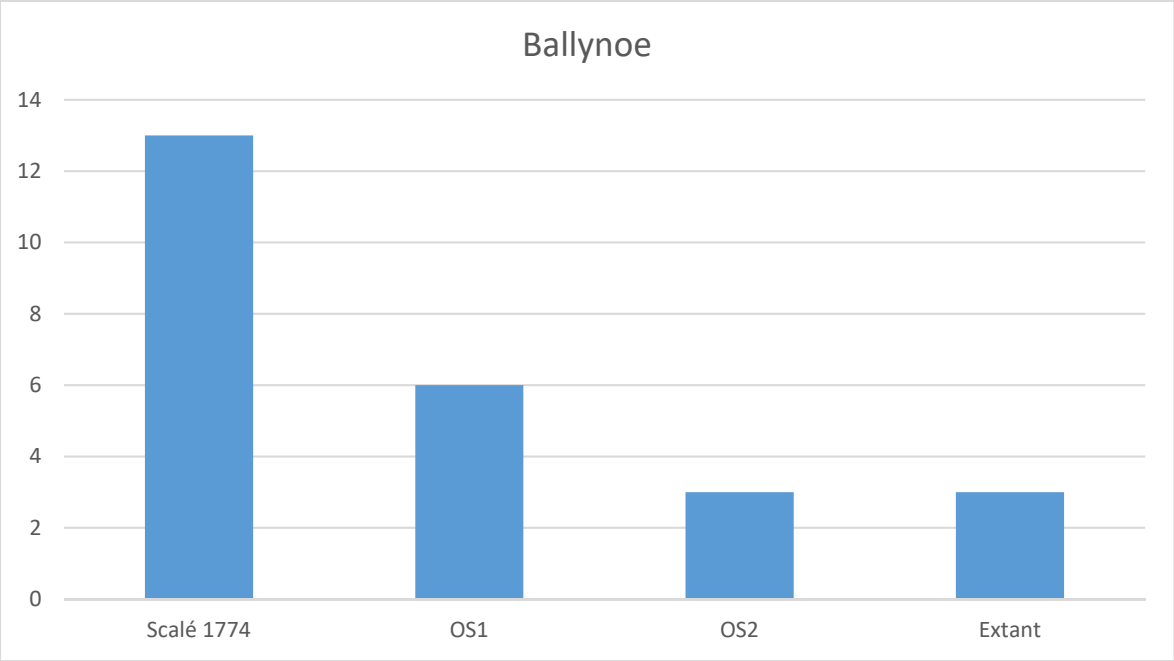


Figure 9. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Ballynoe parish

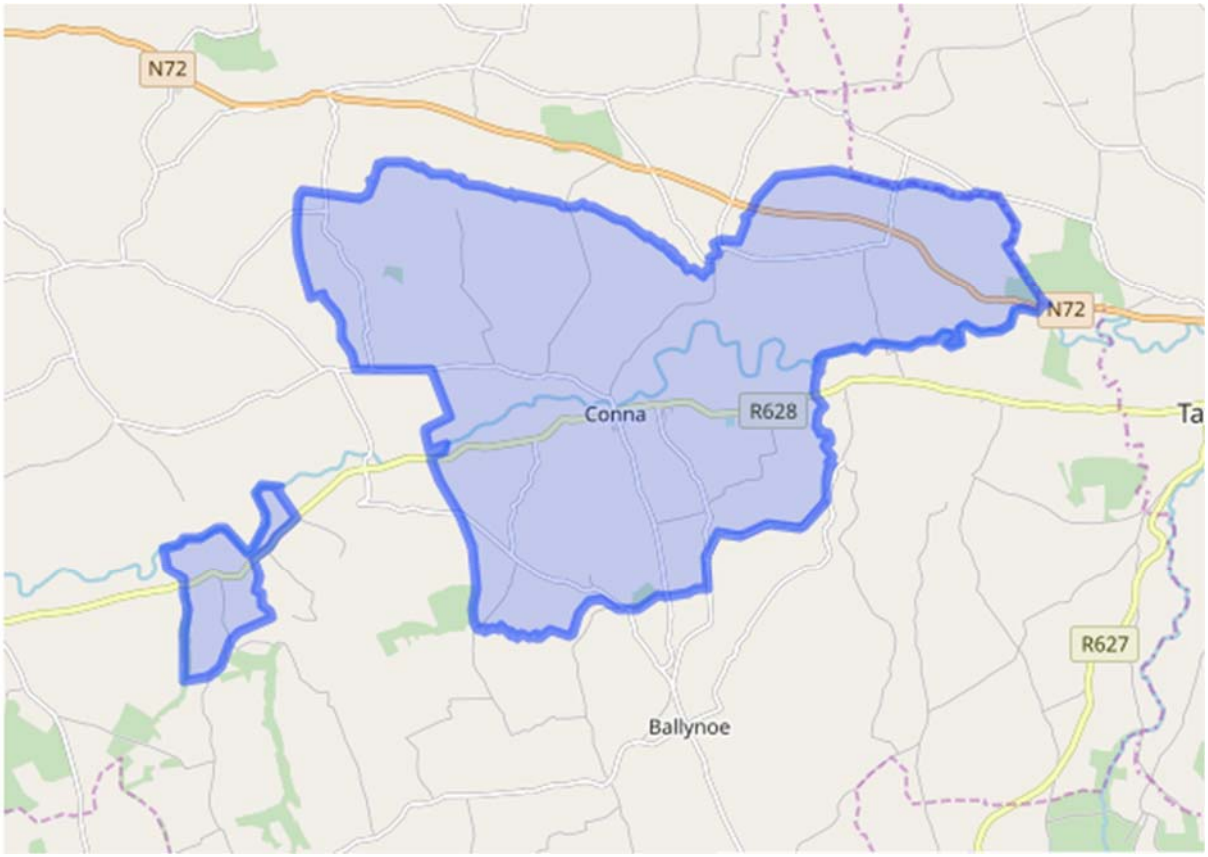


Figure 10. Parish map of Knockmourne, Co. Cork

	Bateman	Scalé	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Ballybride L.	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballybride U.	n/a	4	3	1	0	4	2	4
Carrigmore	n/a	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
Clashaganniv	n/a	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Cooladurragh	n/a	0	0	0	0	4 poss	0	4 poss
Connah	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	0
Curraheen	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1
Killclare Upper	0	3	3	2	0	4	2	4
Killavarilly	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
Knockastickane	n/a	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Monagoun	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ringforts	0	12	7	3	0	12 (4)	6	13 (4)
Townlands	0/5	5/9	3/11	2/11	0/11	6/11	4/11	7/11

Figure 11. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Knockmourne parish, Co. Cork

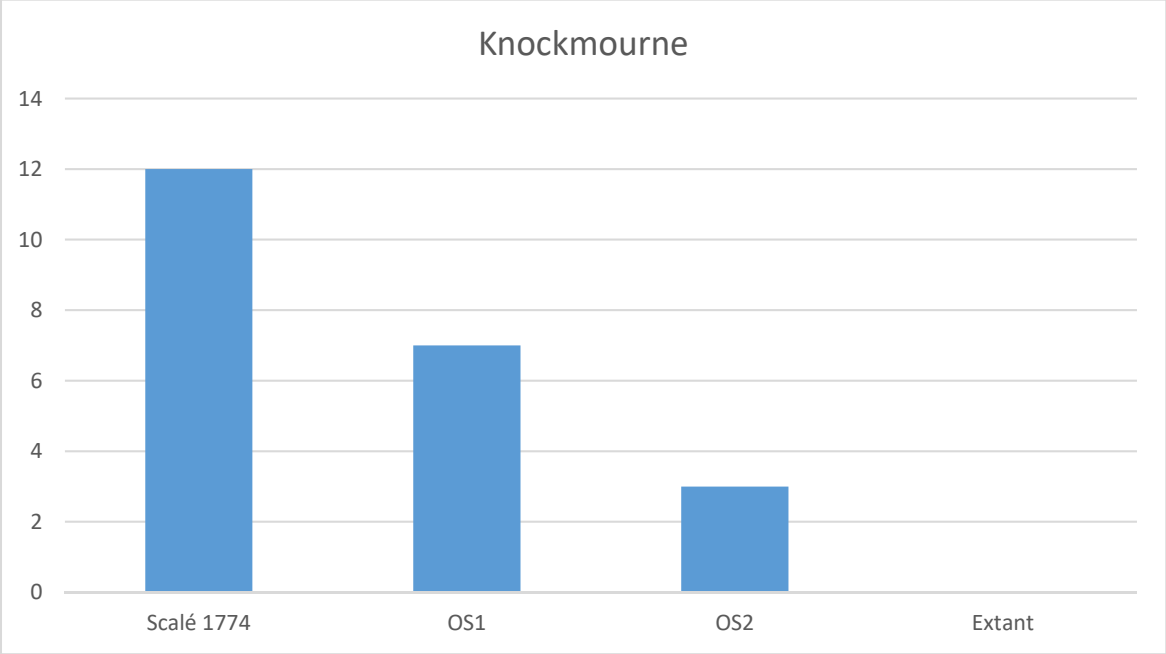


Figure 12. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Knockmourne parish

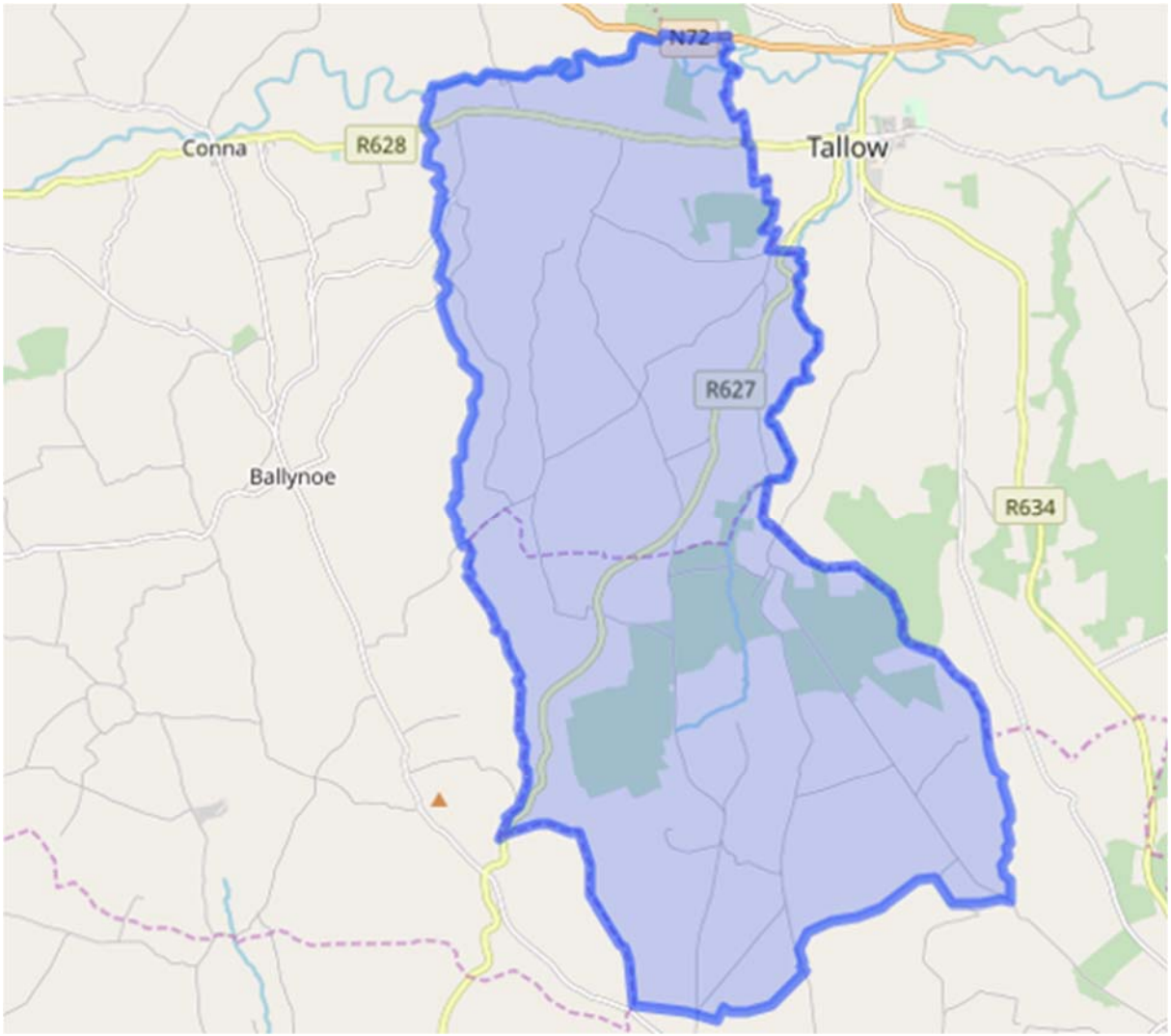


Figure 13. Parish map of Mogeely, Co. Cork

	Bateman	Scalé	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Ballyclough	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ballycullane	3	n/a	2	1	1	4	1	4
Ballyerrin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Glasshouse	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Gortnafira	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Killcronet	0	n/a	1	1	1	1	1	1
Kilmacow	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Knockacorrane	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lackbrack	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Lackenbehy	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Mogeely L.	5	3	1	1	1	3	3	5
Mogeely U.	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Shanakill U.	1	n/a	1	1	1	1	1	1
Shanakill L.	1	n/a	1	0	0	1	1	1
Ringforts	12	5	7	6	6	13	12	17
Townlands	6/14	3/10	7/14	6/14	6/14	8/14	10/14	10/14

Figure 14. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Mogeely parish, Co. Cork

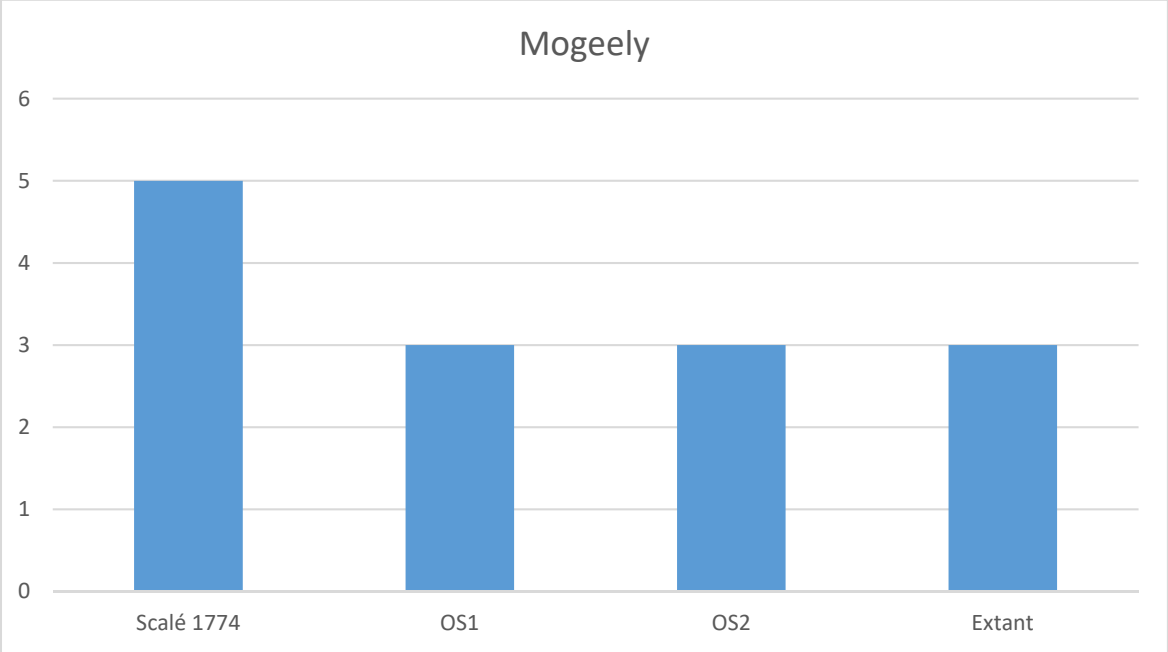


Figure 15. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Mogeely parish, Co. Cork

The townland descriptions herein are arranged in alphabetical order, initially by parish and within this grouping by townland. The illustrations that accompany each description are presented in chronological order, beginning with the earliest available images. In this barony this will include those of Bateman (1717), followed by those of Scalé (1774). These estate surveys will be followed by the first and second editions of the Ordnance Survey maps. Finally, modern images from aerial surveys will also be included.

2. KINNATALLOON.

2.1. Aghern parish

2.1.1. Ballylusky

In this townland, Bateman (1717, 50) indicates the presence of five ringforts. These are all located along the western boundary of the townland and are arranged in a north – south pattern. Each of these has been assigned an SMR number, ranging from CO045-130001 in the north to CO045-130005 in the south (NMS, 2018). The three northernmost ringforts appear grouped together and the other two are slightly separated at equal distances to the south. Scalé (1774, 22a) shows four ringforts arranged along this western boundary, and, SMR No. CO045-130004 appears to no longer be visible. However, Scalé does show three further ringforts closer to the southern boundary and approximately centre ways in the townland. The most westerly of these is shown close to the southern boundary and as having an attached bank which follows the local field boundary but which is marked differently. The most easterly of this group is shown located right on the townland boundary. The final ringfort here is shown in the centre of the group and slightly further north of the other two monuments.

Unfortunately, by the time of the first edition OS (1841, Sheet 45) all of the monuments mentioned above are no longer visible. A comparison of the maps which detail these two latter surveys shows the construction of a roadway traversing the southern portion of the townland and connecting with an existing north-south running road in the eastern area. Uncommonly, it also appears that fields in the south-western area of the townland were subjected to increased sub-division during the same intervening period. Nevertheless, examination of aerial images

provides an indication of the location of some of these monuments. Curves in the ditch marking the western boundary of this townland show where ringfort's No. CO045-130003 and No. CO045-130005 may have been located (BM, 2017). Furthermore, a soil mark close to the southern boundary appears to indicate the position of the central ringfort shown on Scalé's map (NMS, 2017).



Figure 16. Bateman's map of Ballylusky townland showing ringforts 1. CO045-130001 in the north to 5. CO045-130005 in the south (North indicated by inserted arrow)

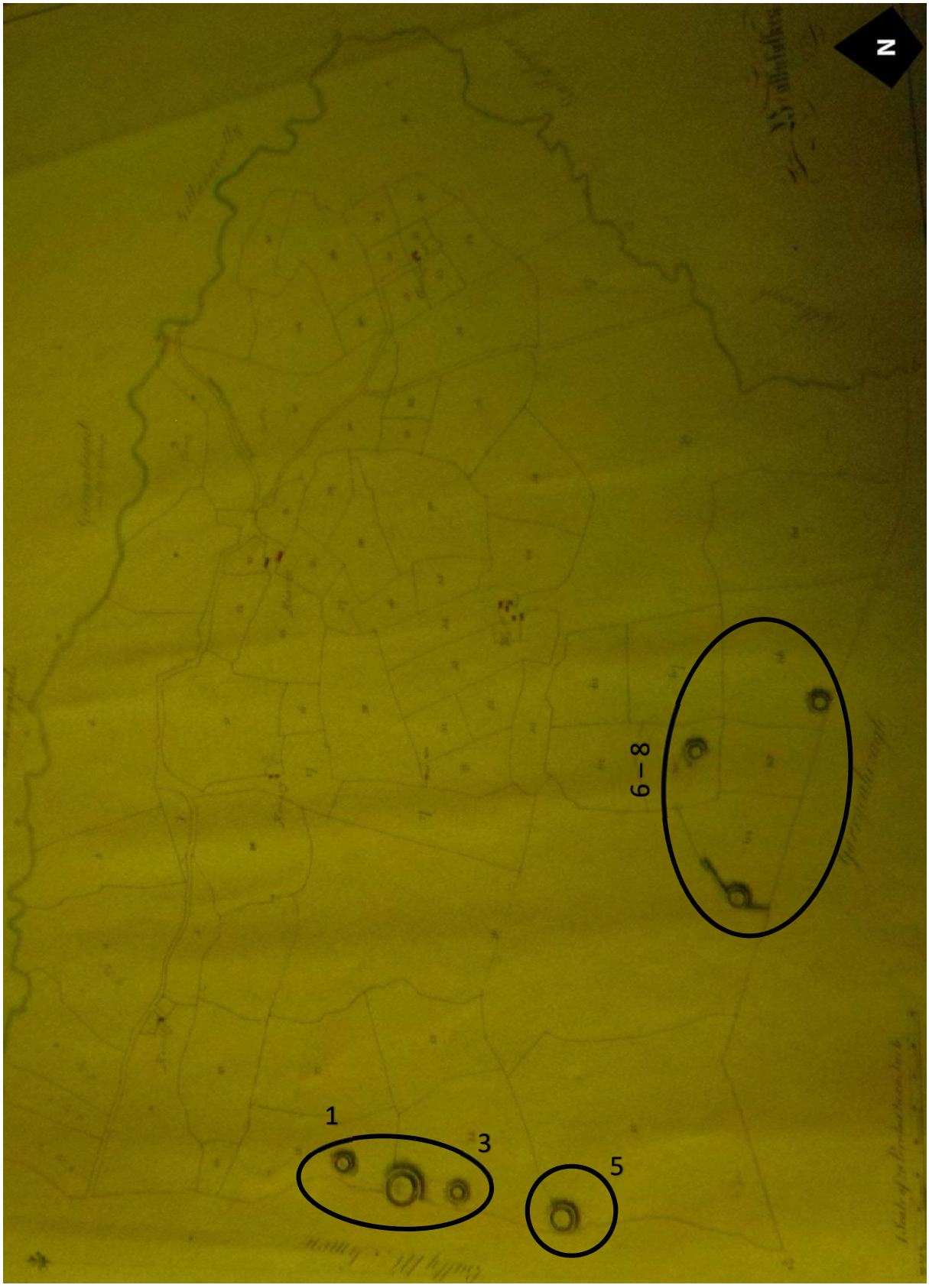


Figure 17. Scalé's map of Ballylusky townland showing ringforts 1. CO045-130001 to 3. CO045-130003 and 5. CO045-130005. Also three previously unrecorded sites 6. to 8.

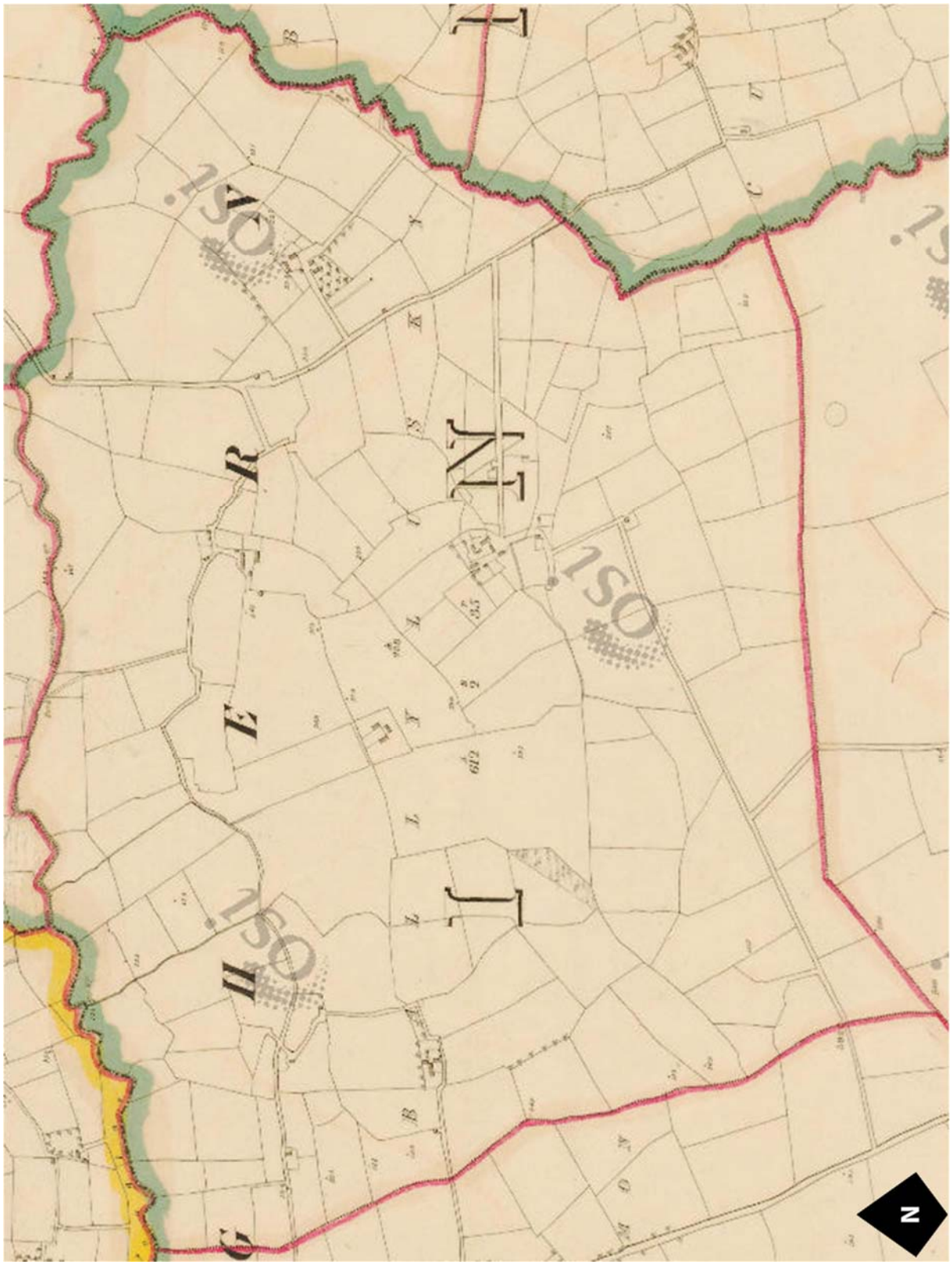


Figure 18. First edition OS map of Ballylusky townland



Figure 19. Aerial image of Ballylusky townland showing site of crop mark 7. (DG 2011-3)

2.1.2. Ballymacsimon

Bateman (1717, map 49) provides no evidence of the presence of ringforts in this townland. Neither does Scalé (1774, map 14a) in the map that resulted from his survey. No evidence for ringforts is available on the first edition OS map (1841, Sheet 45) nor on the second edition revision (1904, Sheet 45). Study of modern aerial images offers no further indication of the presence of ringforts in this townland (DG 2011 - 3; GE 2003, 2009, 2017). However, Bateman (1717, Sheet 49) does include a depiction of two, previously unrecorded, lime kilns on his map. Both of these are located west of the main north-south running road. One is located adjacent to this road and near the northern boundary where this road crosses the River Douglas. The second is shown further south, again adjacent to the road, and close to a lane way to a group of houses. Scalé (1774, map 14a) also includes these two lime kilns on his map of this same townland. In addition, he also depicts two other lime kilns adjacent to the road but slightly further south than the northernmost example shown by both himself and Bateman. The most northerly lime kiln is depicted by use of a symbol on the first edition (1841, Sheet 45) OS map and on the second edition (1904, Sheet 45) it is again shown as a symbol and noted as now being ‘disused’. The possible location of this monument is shown, on aerial imagery, as shaded by trees and therefore the confirmation of the site is difficult (NMS 2018).



Figure 20. Bateman's map of Ballymacsimon townland

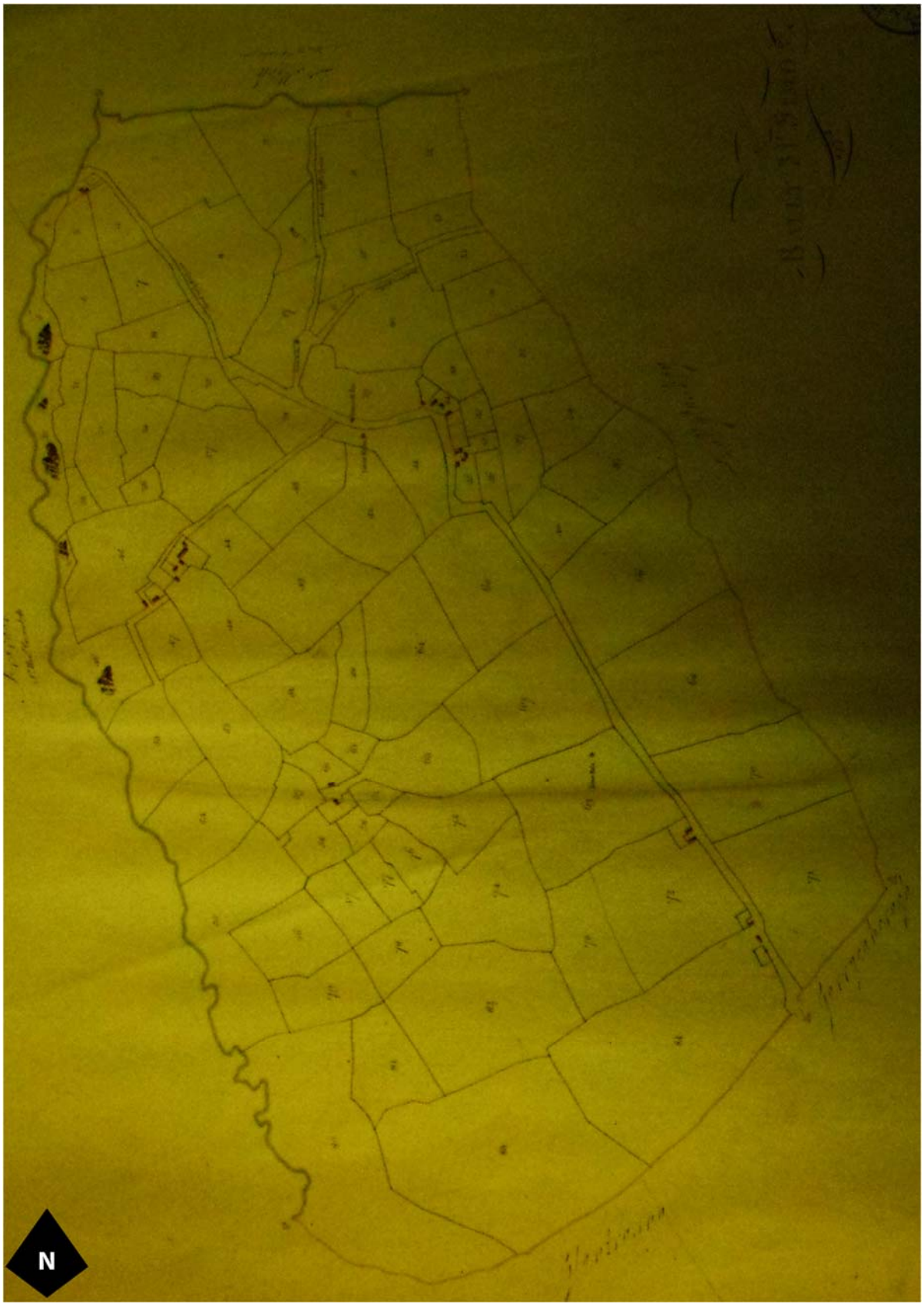


Figure 21. Scalé's map of Ballymacsimon townland

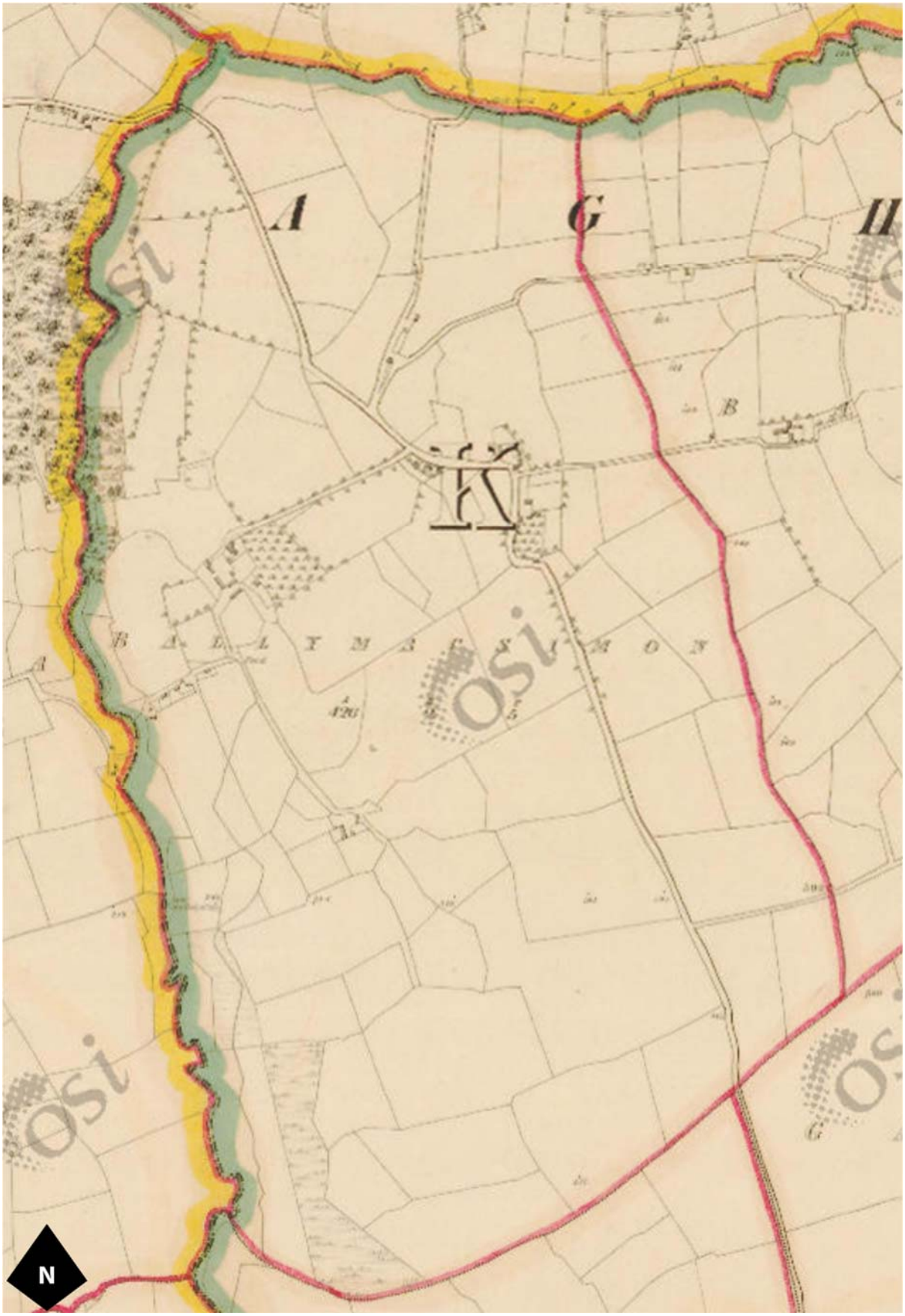


Figure 22. First edition OS map of Ballymacsimon townland.

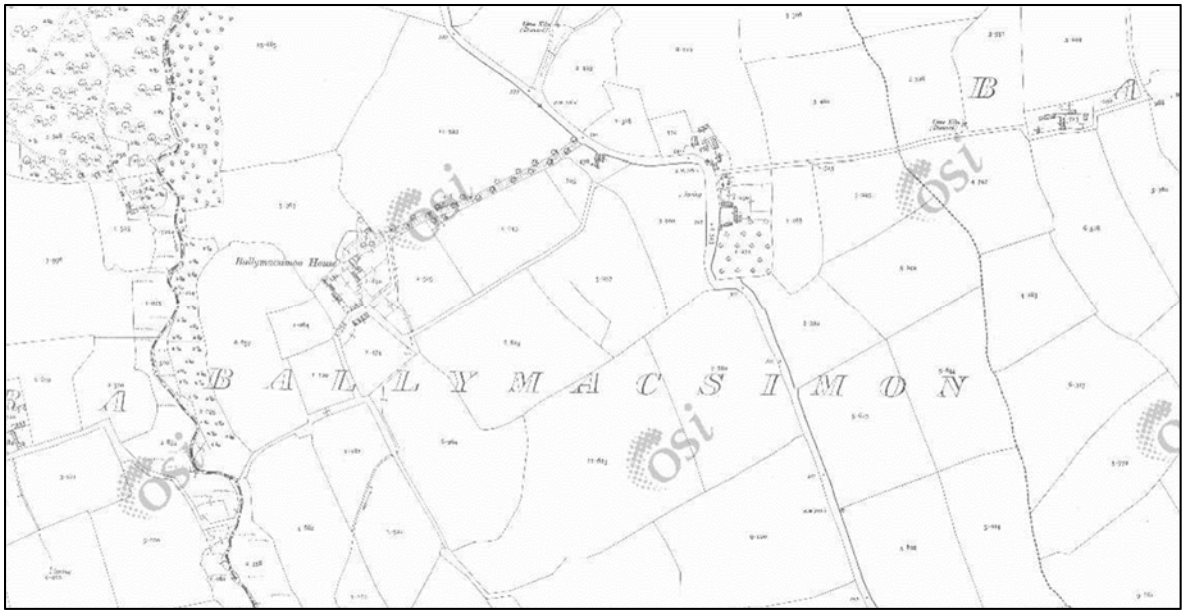


Figure 23. Second edition OS map of Ballymacsimon townland

2.1.3. Garryantaggart

Bateman (1717, map 40) shows no ringfort in this townland on his survey map. However, he does indicate the, previously unrecorded, presence of a lime kiln on the western townland boundary just south of the Youghal road which traverses the townland. Unfortunately, this townland does not constitute part of Scalé's 1774 survey. Nevertheless, the presence of a ringfort is noted on the first edition OS map of the townland (OSI 1841, Sheet 45). Interestingly, this map also shows a pathway leading across the adjoining fields to end at this monument. This would suggest that the ringfort was still fulfilling a mundane practical function at this time. No evidence for this ringfort is available on the second edition OS maps (1904, Sheet 45). The ringfort is no longer visible above ground. However, an examination of modern aerial photographs confirms the earlier presence of this ringfort. This is shown as a clearly visible circular crop mark of *c*. 30m diameter centred on grid coordinates, 590071-591525 (DG 2011 - 3; GE 2009 & 2017).

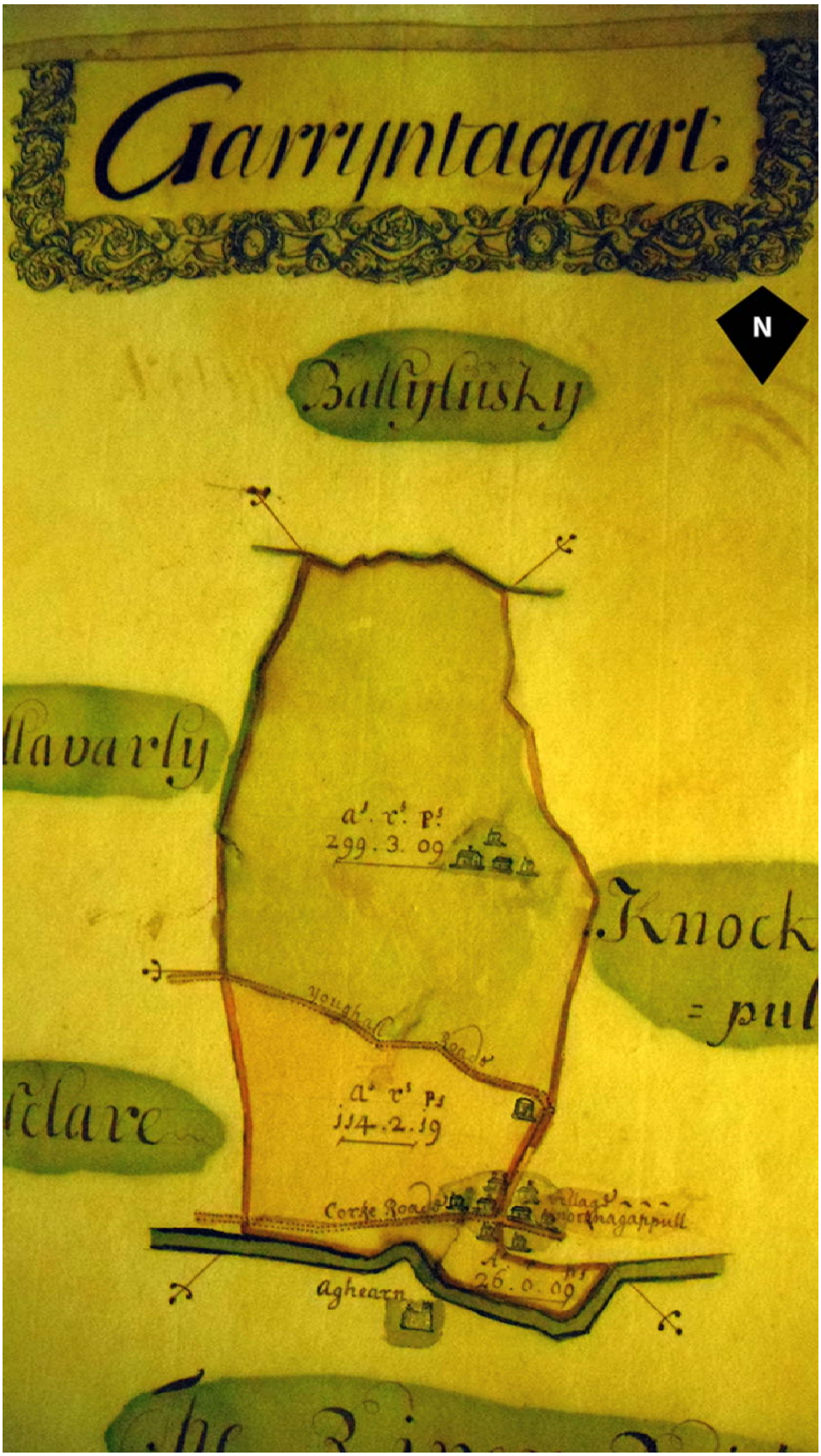


Figure 24. Bateman's map of Garryantaggart townland

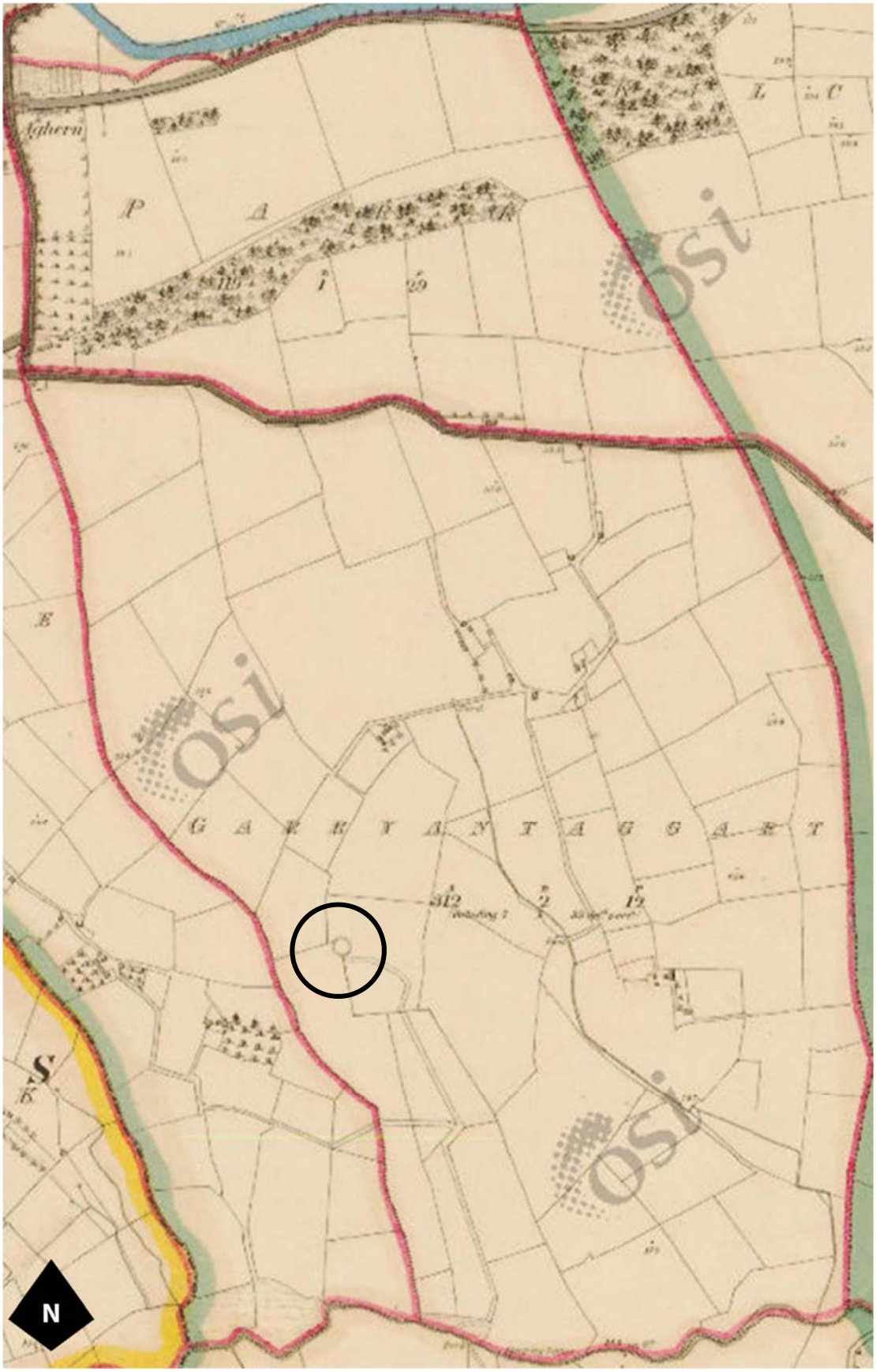


Figure 25. First edition OS map of Garryantaggart townland showing ringfort CO045-071

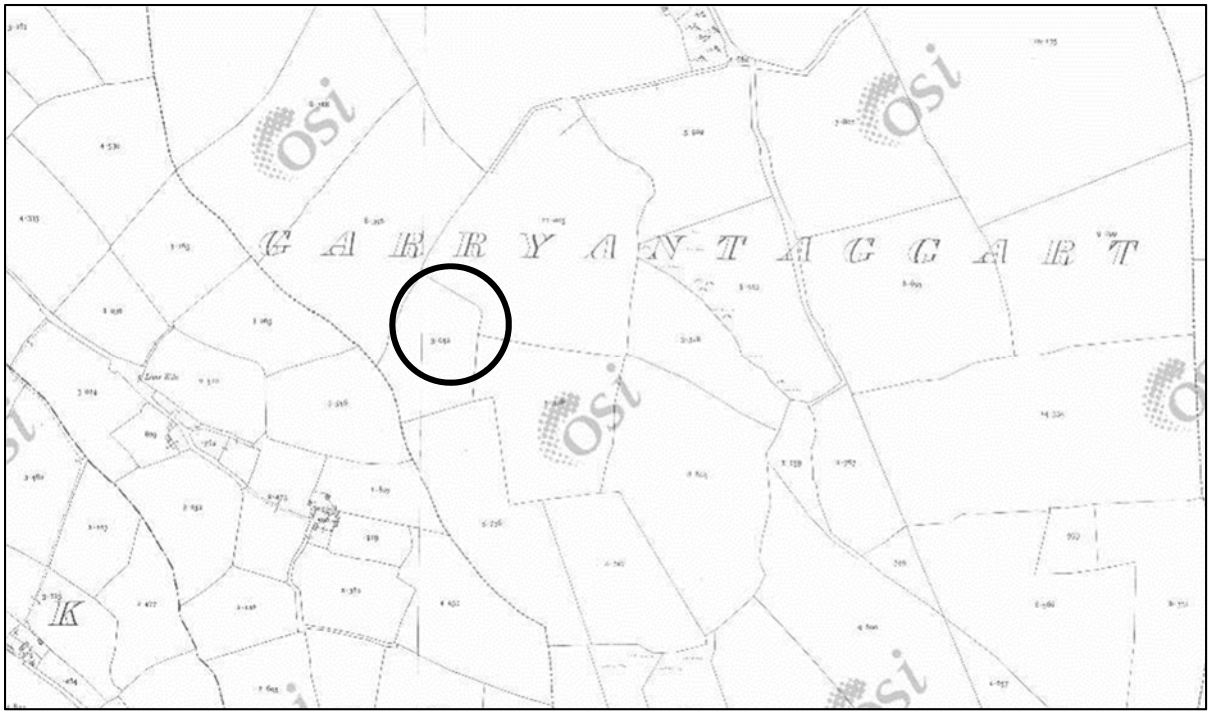


Figure 26. Second edition OS map of part of Garryantaggart townland showing site of ringfort CO045-071



Figure 27. Aerial image of Garryantaggart townland showing site of ringfort CO045-0711 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 28. Close up aerial image of Garryantaggart townland showing site of ringfort CO045-0711 (DG 2011-3)

2.1.4. Garycaheragh

This townland provides a large amount of information as regards changing perceptions of ringforts over time. Bateman (1717, map 56) shows four ringforts located along the northern boundary of this townland, including one situated where the SW-NE running boundary line veers in a NW-SE direction. These have been attributed SMR numbers, from west to east: CO045-131, C0045-140, CO045-141, and CO045-073 (NMS 2017). One of these, CO045-141, is not shown on the later map of 1774 and, because of Scalés meticulousness, this can be taken as a sign of its destruction. However, Scalé does appear to have uncovered three further ringforts, or 'Danish forts', during his survey (*ibid*, map10a). One of these is located just to the north of the main settlement while the other two lie closer to the western boundary, running in a SW – NE line and with a road or trackway running parallel. It is the omission of these ringforts from the earlier Bateman survey which raises an interesting question regarding their visibility. None of these three ringforts are included on the record (NMS 2018). In any event, the first

edition OS map (1841, Sheet 45) contains a depiction of only one ringfort, CO045-073 and on the second edition OS map (1904, Sheet 45) no monuments are visible.

Study of the two latter surveys of this townland also shows the construction of a road running east – west through it and two other roads branching from this in a northerly and southerly direction. It also indicates that significant field clearance took place during the intervening period (NMS 2018). An examination of aerial photographs and satellite images relating to this townland shows two circular crop marks along the northern boundary. These are centred on grid coordinates: 589717-589301 and 590764-589529. These crop marks appear to be located near to the positions associated with CO045-131 and CO045-073 respectively. Two other crop marks are visible in the south-west corner, centred on 590764-589529 and 589717-589301, and appear to correspond to those represented on Scalé's (1774, 10a) map. Another clearly visible crop mark is located east of the main settlement at grid coordinates: 590434-589224 (DG 2011 - 3). A further soil mark is again clearly visible not far from the southern townland boundary. This feature is centred on grid coordinates: 590515-588780. Again, neither of these latter two features is included in the record. Finally, another possible crop mark that may correspond to that indicated by Scalé (1774, map 10a) may be visible to the north of the central settlement site. The presence of these crop marks, again, raises the issue of the original visibility of these monuments, particularly when the proximity to a settlement area is taken into account.

Because of the presence of these sites it was decided to further investigate areas of this townland through the use of data available from the survey company, Blue Sky Survey [BSS]. This company began to carry out an aerial survey of the country in 2015. It offers for purchase a variety of images, including aerial photographs and infra-red imagery. It also offers height data in the form of Digital Terrain Model, with a resolution of 2m, and of Digital Surface Model with a 1m resolution. It was decided to make use of this latter model as it would provide the sharpest image available. It was also decided to purchase three sections covering 250,000 square metres each and to attempt to knit these together to cover the areas of most interest. For instance, where the majority of the unrecorded sites were located. The images that were extracted from this data confirmed the location of the ringfort, CO045-073. The bank of this feature is clearly visible as is the darker shaded area probably representing the outer ditch. The ground at the location of another noted ringfort, CO045-131, appears to have been more disturbed. However, its location could be confirmed due to the presence of a dark shaded circular ring.

The circular enclosure just east of the main settlement site is also clearly visible. As are several rectangular features immediately south of this feature. The circular enclosure adjacent to the southern townland boundary is also clearly visible on these DSM images. Although the southern portion of this feature does appear to have blended into the ground and is not as prominent as the rest of this circular area. A visit to this site showed this feature to have an approximate diameter of 32m. The outer edges of the enclosure are perceivable as a slight rise in ground level. In addition, this feature is located roughly 75m from the stream that marks the boundary and also to be situated on a forward slope. This raises an interesting question in regards to the visibility of this structure in the past. Townland boundaries appears to have been relatively accurately portrayed by Bateman in his 1717 survey. As already mentioned the boundary here consists of a steam and an accurate depiction would have required Bateman to follow its course. He does in fact show a boggy section of land along its course and also includes a stream that rises from a spring further into the townland. If, as seems probable, Bateman surveyed the course of this boundary stream the presence of a large circular structure close to, and clearly visible from, the stream bank would have surely been noticed. Bearing in mind his interest in other circular structures, 'Danes forts', such a structure would also have been included in his eventual depiction of this same townland.



Figure 29. Bateman's map of Garrycaheragh townland showing ringforts 1. CO045-131, 2. C0045-140, 3. CO045-141 & 4. CO045-073

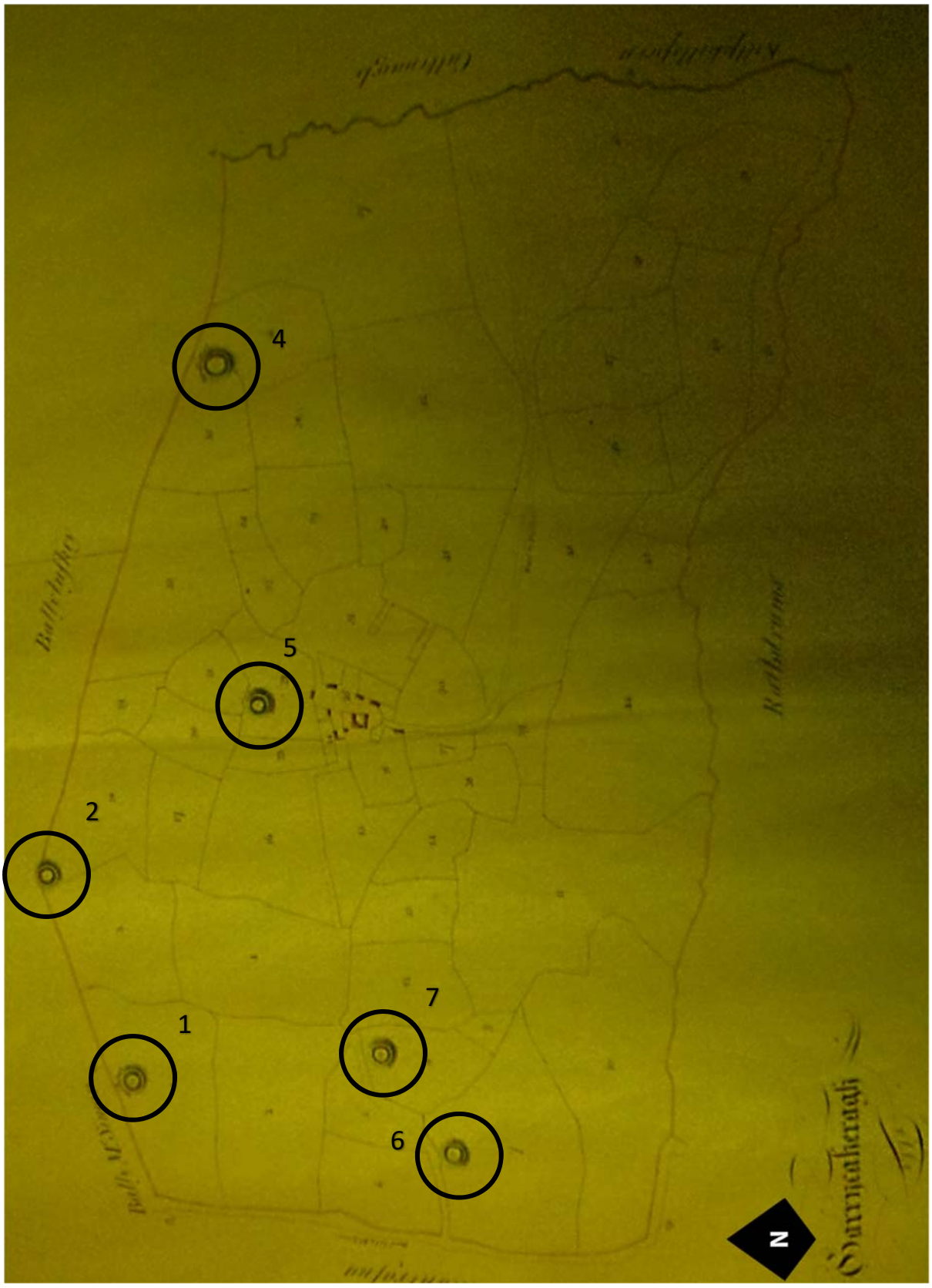


Figure 30. Scalé's map of Garrycaheragh townland showing ringforts 1. CO045-131, 2. C0045-140, 3. CO045-141 & 4. CO045-073 and three previously unrecorded ringforts 5. – 7.

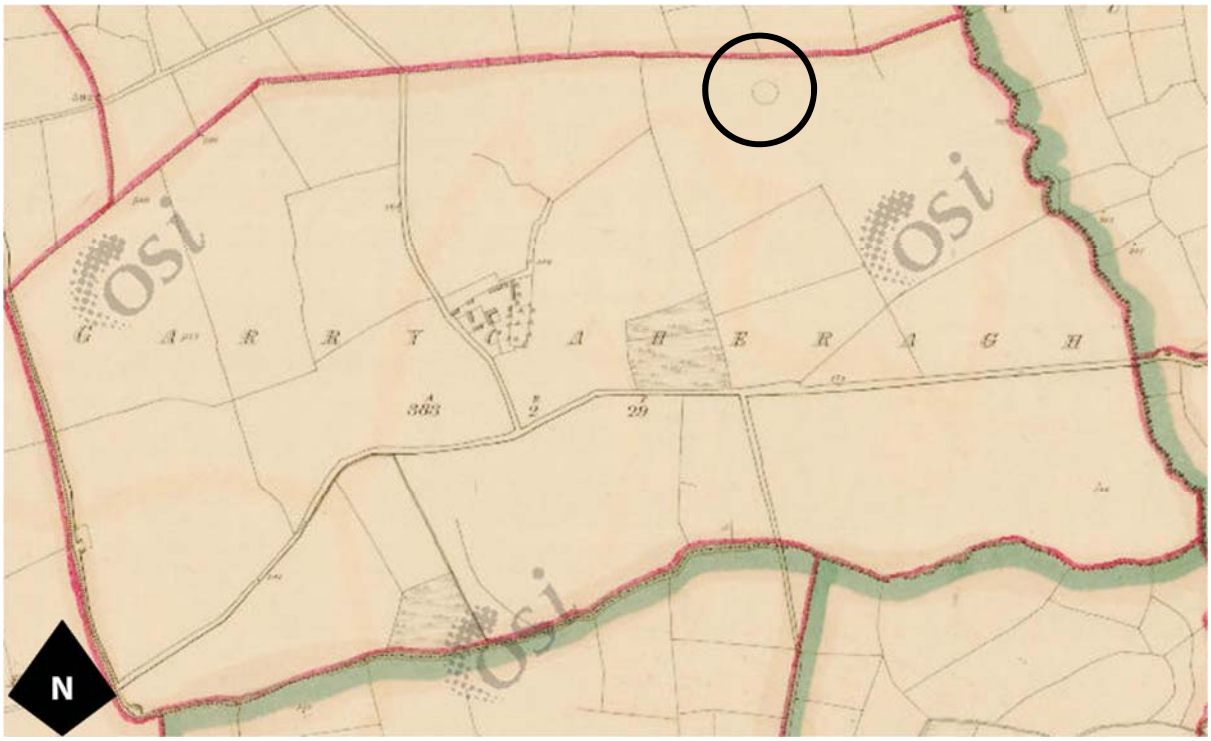


Figure 31. First edition OS map of Garrycaheragh townland showing ringfort CO045-073

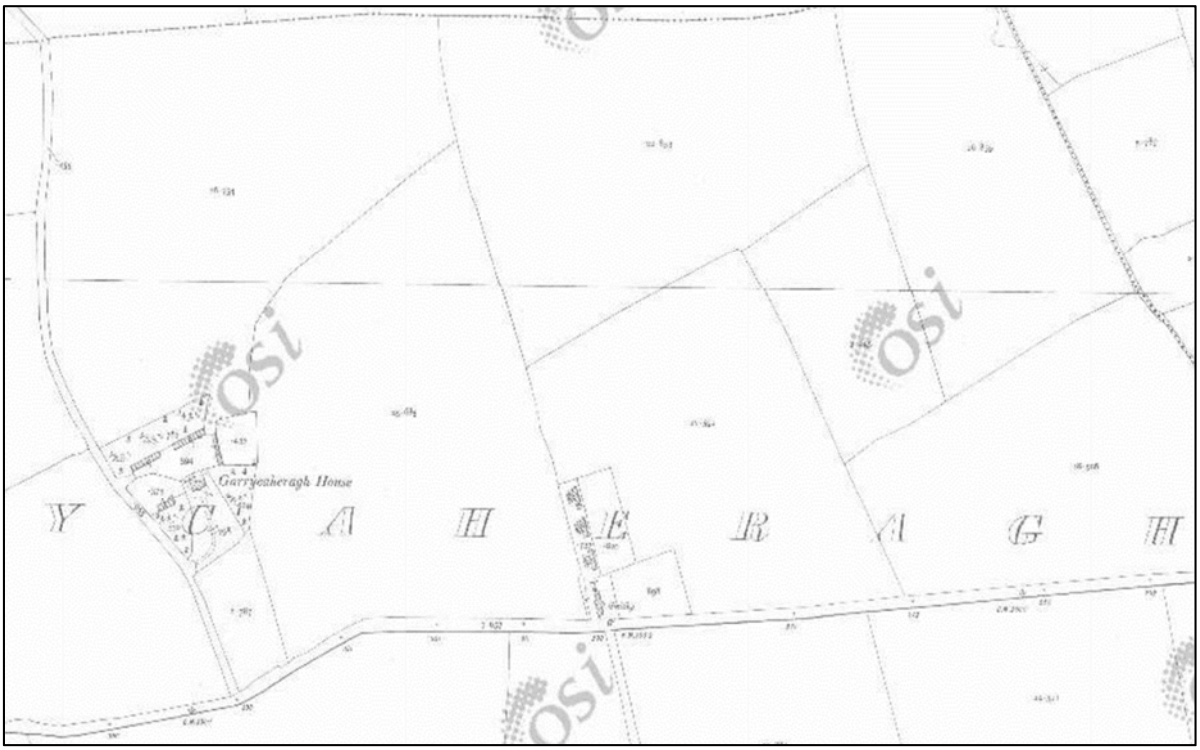


Figure 32. Second edition OS map of Garrycaheragh townland

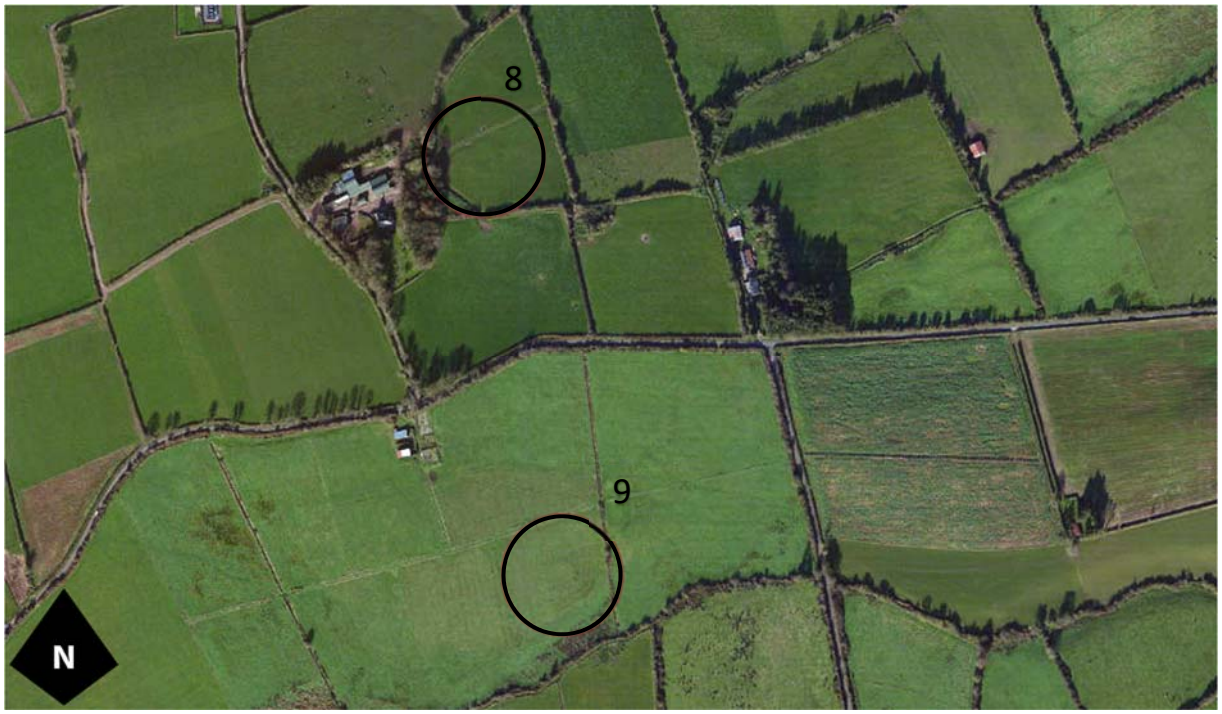


Figure 33. Aerial image of Garrycaheragh townland showing previously unrecorded sites 8. & 9. (DG 2011-3)



Figure 34. Photogrammetry image of Garrycaheragh townland showing ringfort 4. CO045-073 and previously unrecorded sites 8. & 9. (BSS 2017)

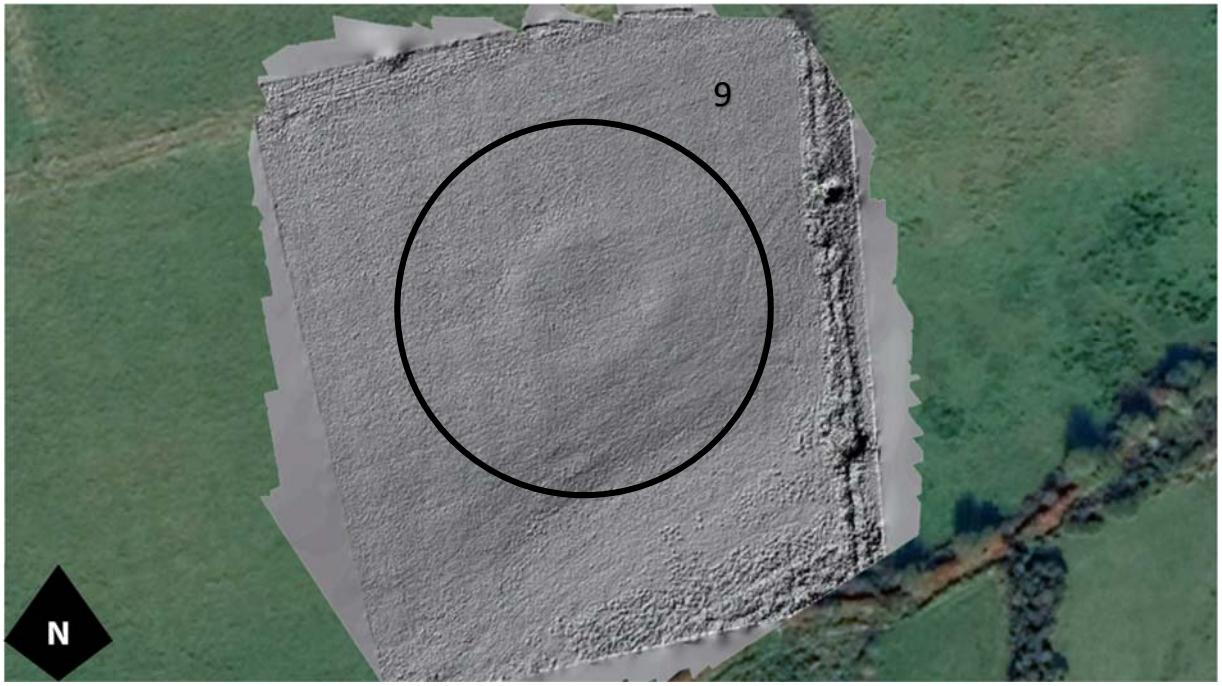


Figure 35. Photogrammetry image from sample drone survey of Garrycaheragh townland showing previously unrecorded site 9. (O'Riordan 2018)

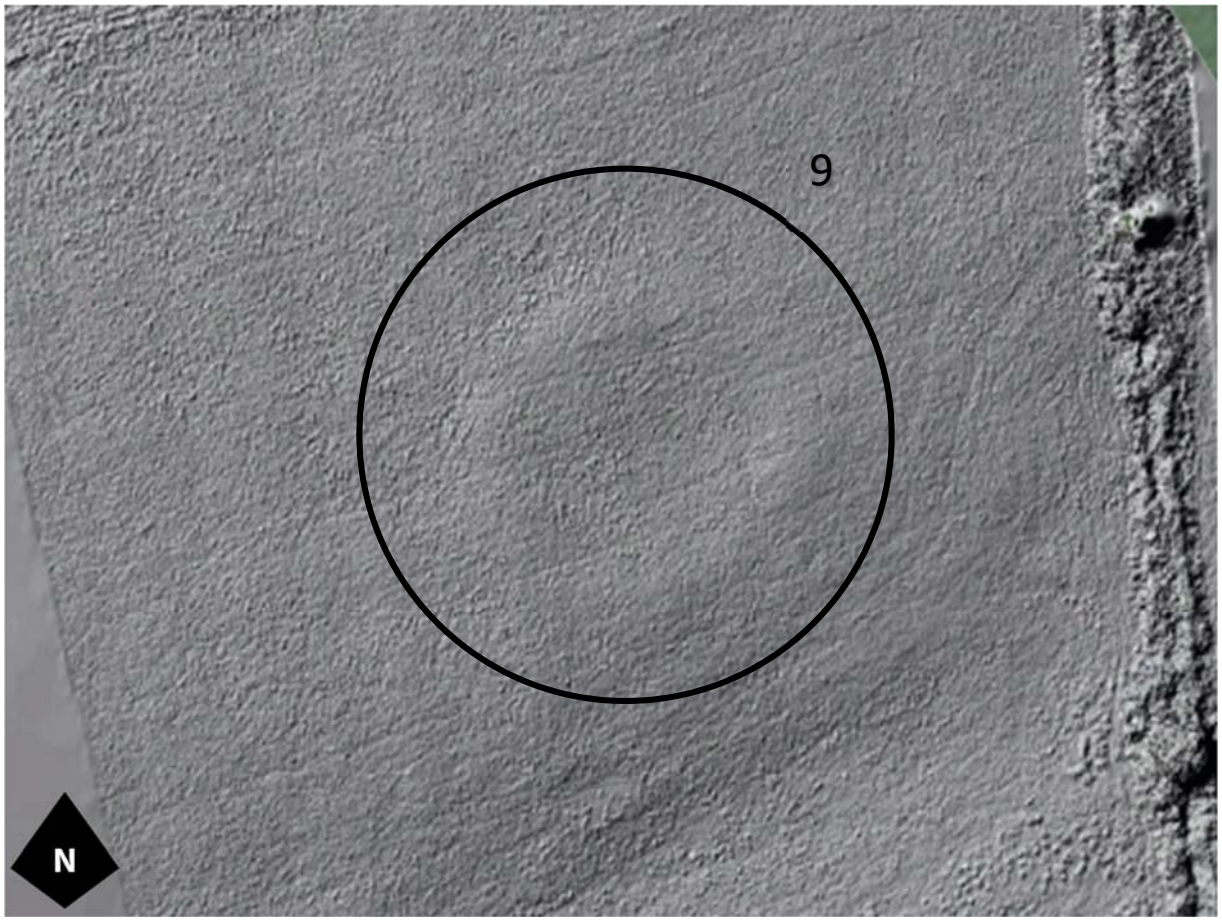


Figure 36. Close up image from sample drone survey of Garrycaheragh townland showing previously unrecorded site 9. (O'Riordan 2018)

2.1.5. Glentrasna

This is another important townland of this study area because of the number of ringforts which are present and also because of the changes to townland boundaries which occurred between 1774 and 1841. On Bateman's map the townland is divided into approximate thirds by a road running from west to east in the northern sector and by a stream running NW – SE in the south. These appear to have acted as readymade boundaries when the townland was subdivided. Bateman (1717, map 55) shows a total of four ringforts. One located north of the road-way, located close to the northern boundary and centre-ways in the townland. The other three are shown positioned between the road and the stream, one very close to a crossroads and the others closer to the stream. The ringfort (CO045-099001) beside the northern townland boundary is still present. This ringfort had a bank 2.4m in height and a fosse 0.5m in depth at the time of its inspection by the Cork Archaeological Survey and, as such, can be considered as well preserved (Power *et al.* 1994, 103).

Scalé's map (1774, map 15a), however, contains a total of ten circular enclosures in addition to two square moated sites. He refers to each of these as 'Danish Forts'. Three of the ringforts are located north of the road, including that mentioned above. One of the others, CO045-097, is located to the south west of this ringfort and a smaller enclosure is indicated almost due south of the initially mentioned one. Scalé shows five sites between the road and the stream, in addition to the two moated sites. Of particular interest, the monument shown near the crossroads on Bateman's map (1717, map 55) is shown on Scalé's map as being bisected by the road. This appears to draw attention, once again, to Bateman's stylised representation of monuments. Another small enclosure is shown near to the main settlement of the area, while the three other monuments are distributed roughly in a north-south pattern across the centre of the townland, CO045-100, CO054-051, and CO054-052 (NMS 2017). The latter of these, and the most southerly, is also shown on Bateman's map. Another of those shown on the 1716-7 map, CO054-138, has disappeared by this stage. The presence of two further monuments south of the stream is also indicated (Scalé 1774, map 15a).

The first edition OS map shows that at the time of survey the townland had been broken up into three separate townlands, named Glentrasna North, Glentrasna, and Glentrasna South. The same overall number of monuments were now distributed over a larger number of townlands. This increase, then, may have had the potential to influence the calculation of ringfort numbers and associated destruction rates. In Glentrasna North, the two ringforts,

CO045-099001 and CO045-097, are still present (OSI 1841, Sheet 45). In the townland of Glentrasna, the bisected ringfort near the crossroads has disappeared, as has the small enclosure near the settlement. The three other monuments shown on Scalé's map are still in existence however. In the townland of Glentrasna South, the enclosure shown immediately south of the stream, CO054-050, is shown as an irregular circular site (*ibid* 1842, Sheet 54). However, the monument shown on the 1774 map to the south-east, closer the stream, is no longer visible. Incidentally, no sign remains either of the two square moated sites.

Examination of aerial photographs and satellite images of these three townlands shows that CO045-099001 is still present and in a good state of preservation (NMS 2017). In addition, a soil mark to the south-west of this site indicates the position of CO045-097 (BM 2017). In the townland of Glentrasna, no evidence remains for the ringfort near the crossroads. However, it is possible that the position of CO045-100 is indicated by a curved field boundary on the southern section (*ibid.*). CO054-051 is shown complete and is noted as having 'a substantial earthen bank' of 2.4m in height. The third ringfort, CO054-052, and the one shown on all three maps, is also shown as complete and as having a metre-high bank surrounded by a 0.6m deep fosse (Power *et al.* 1994, 103-5). South of the stream, in Glentrasna South, no evidence remains of the sites shown on Scalé's map. A section of a field boundary near where ringfort CO054-050 is shown has been disturbed and a slight curve in the tree line to the north might provide a clue as to its location (BM 2017). It must also be said that, here particularly, the cast of shadow from nearby trees hinders a close examination of potential site locations.

The subdivision of this townland into three separate areas will require the display of multiple images of similar style from the Ordnance Survey maps and also of aerial photos. To avoid confusion, the images of these townlands will be arranged from north to south. For example, the initial image in each series will be from Glentrasna North, followed by Glentrasna, and conclude with those from Glentrasna South.

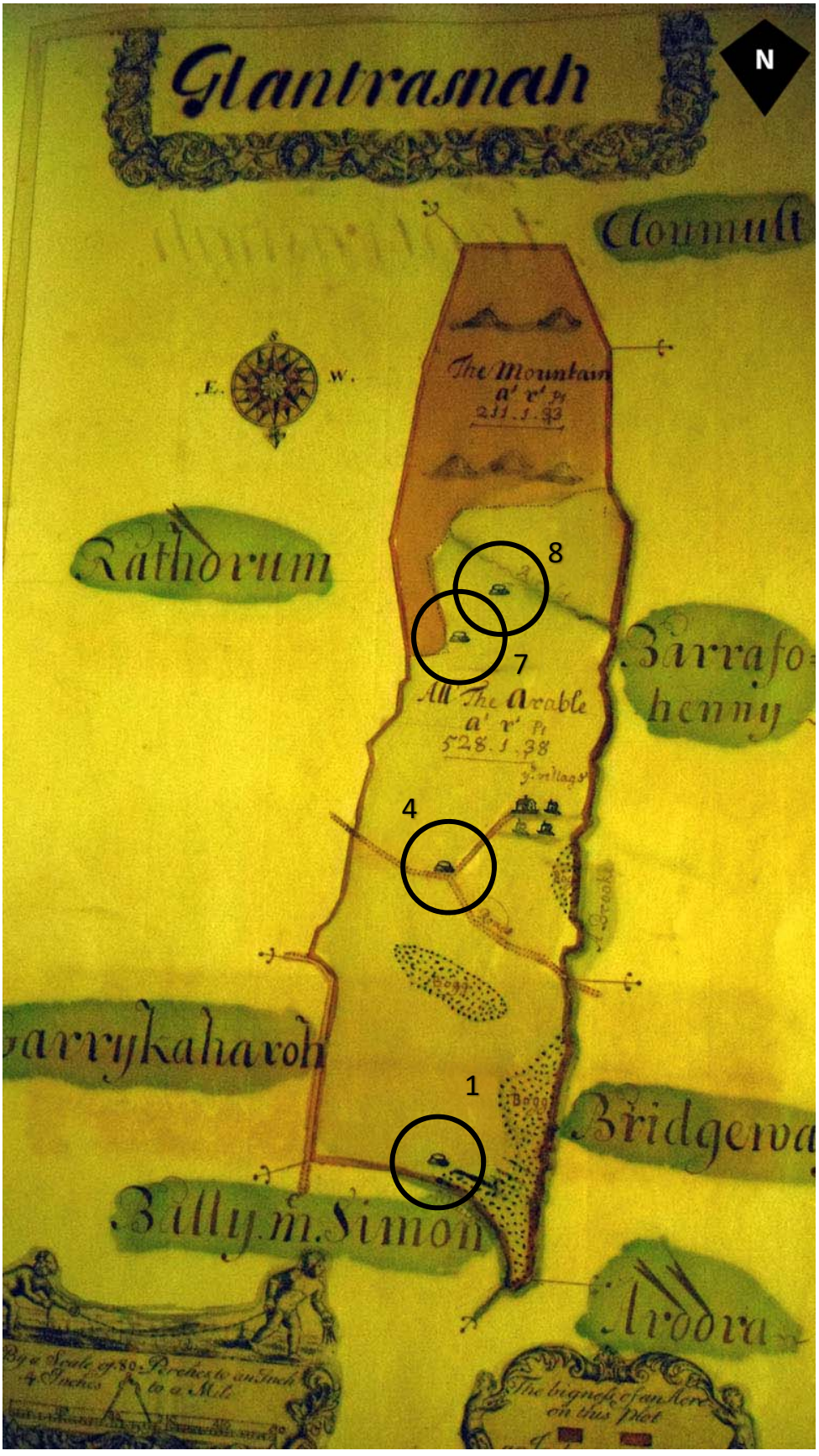


Figure 37. Bateman's map of Glentrasna townland showing ringforts 1. CO045-099001, 4. CO045-129, 7. CO054-052 and 8. CO054-138

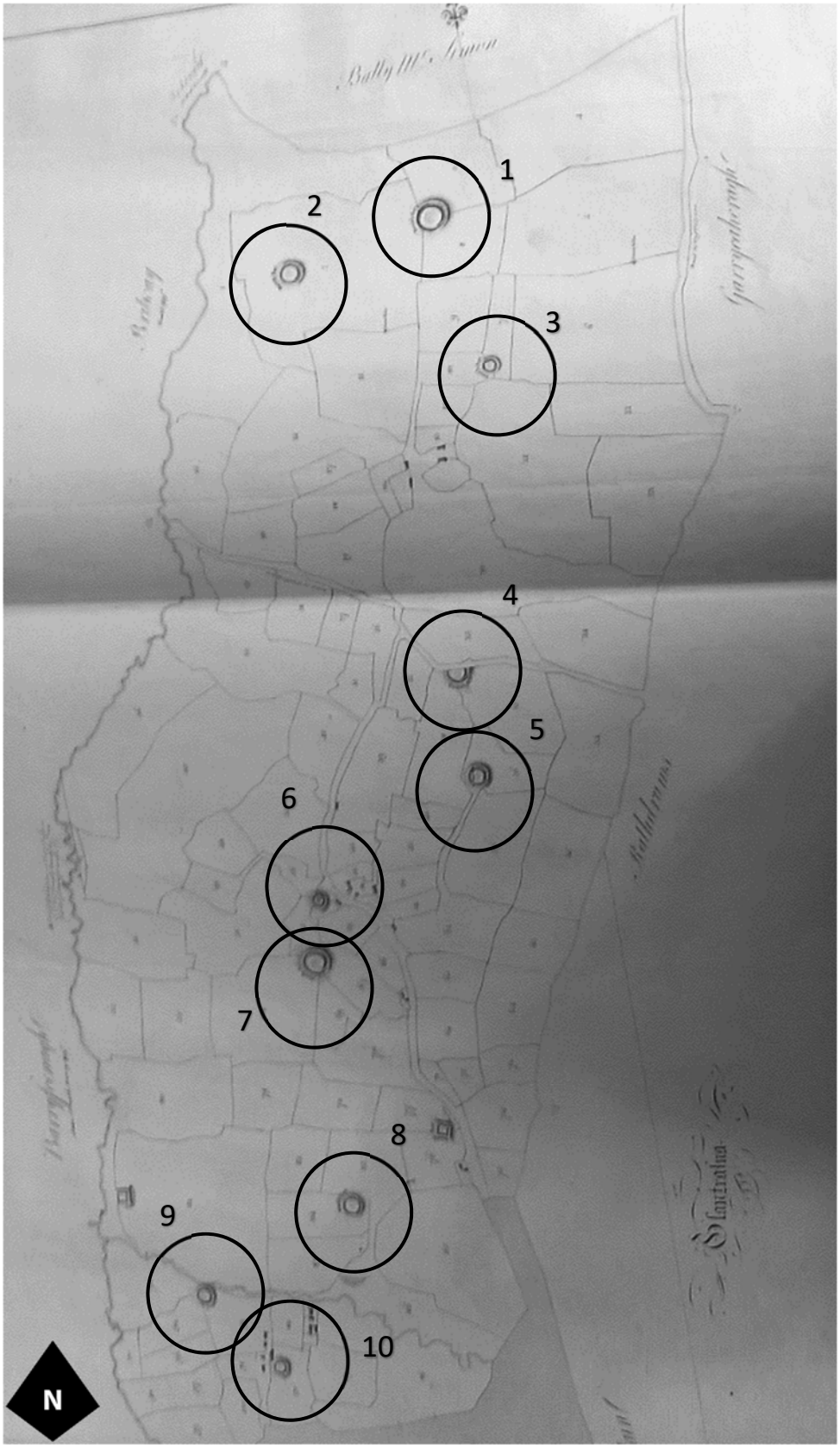


Figure 38. Scalé's map of Glentrasna townland depicting ringforts 1. CO045-099001, 2. CO045-097, 3. previously unrecorded site, 4. CO045-129, 5. CO045-100, 6. CO054-051, 7. CO054-052, 8. CO054-138, 9. CO054-050 and 10. previously unrecorded site.

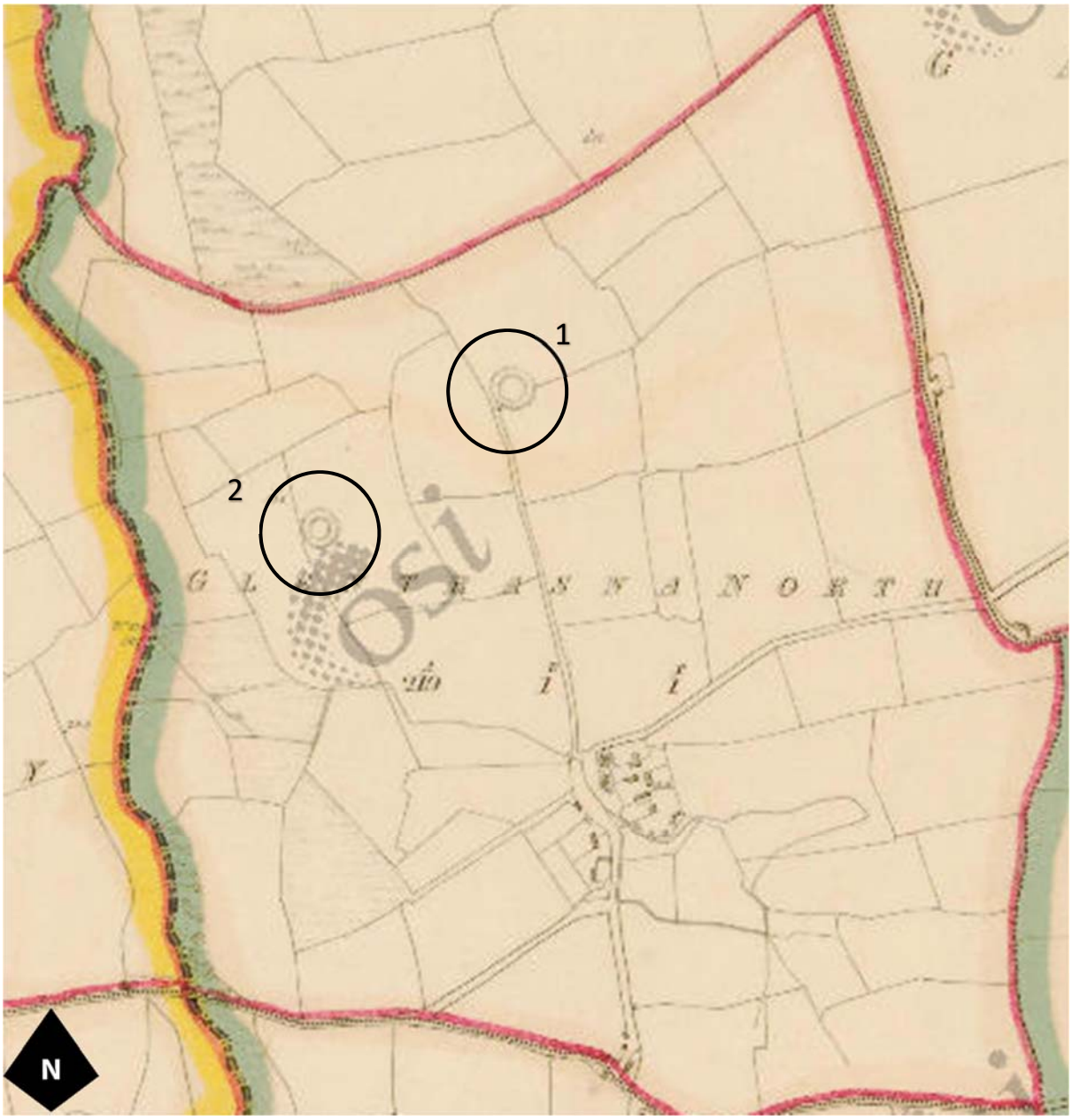


Figure 39. First edition OS map of Glentrasna North townland depicting ringforts 1. CO045-099001 and 2. CO045-097



Figure 40. First edition OS map of Glentrasna townland depicting ringforts 5. CO045-100, 7. CO054-052 and 8. CO054-138

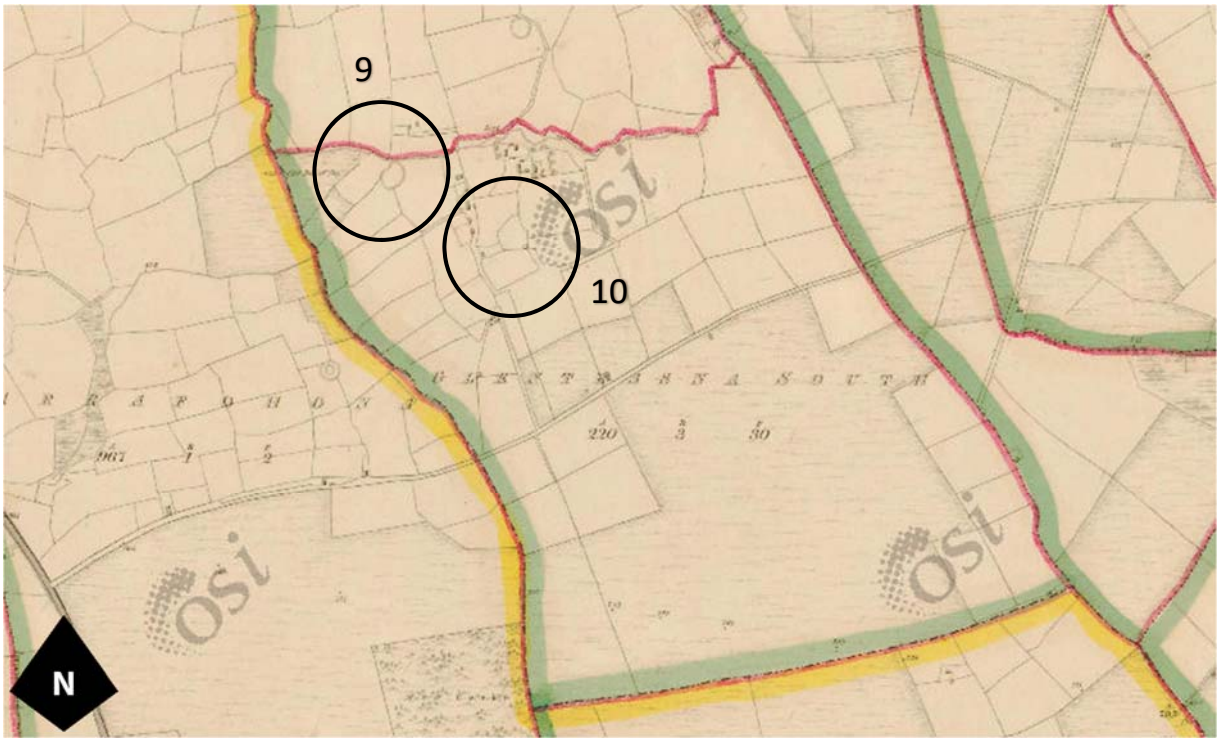


Figure 41. First edition OS map of Glentrasna South townland depicting ringforts 9. CO054-050 and 10. previously unrecorded site

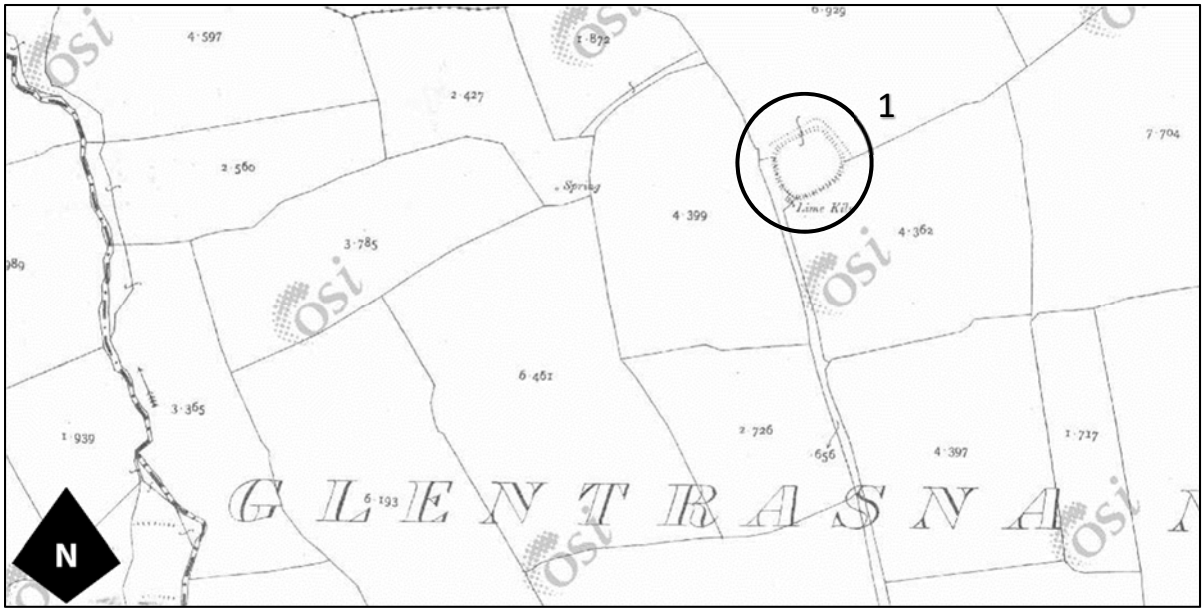


Figure 42. Second edition OS map of Glentrasna North townland depicting ringfort 1. CO045-099001

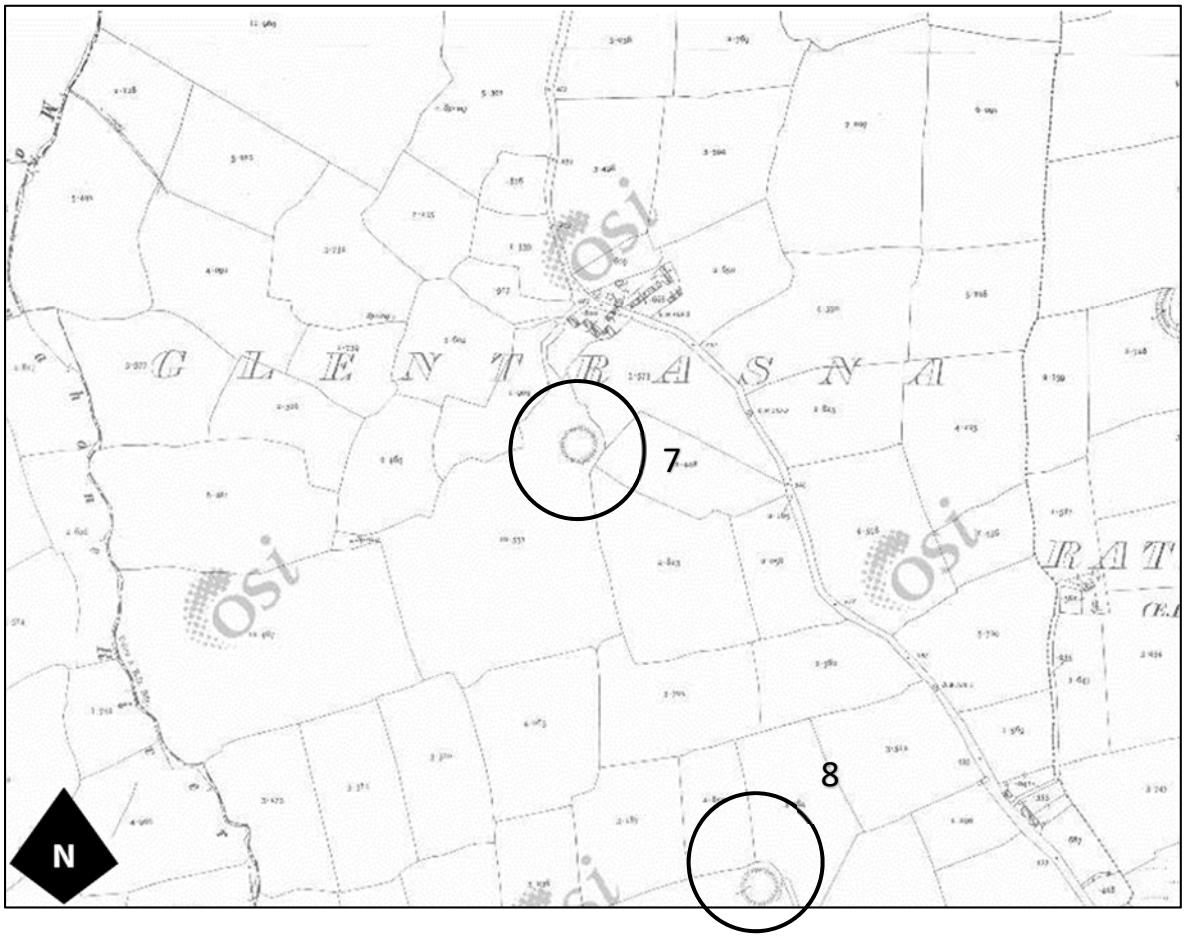


Figure 43. Second edition OS map of Glentrasna townland depicting ringforts 7. CO054-052 and 8. CO054-138

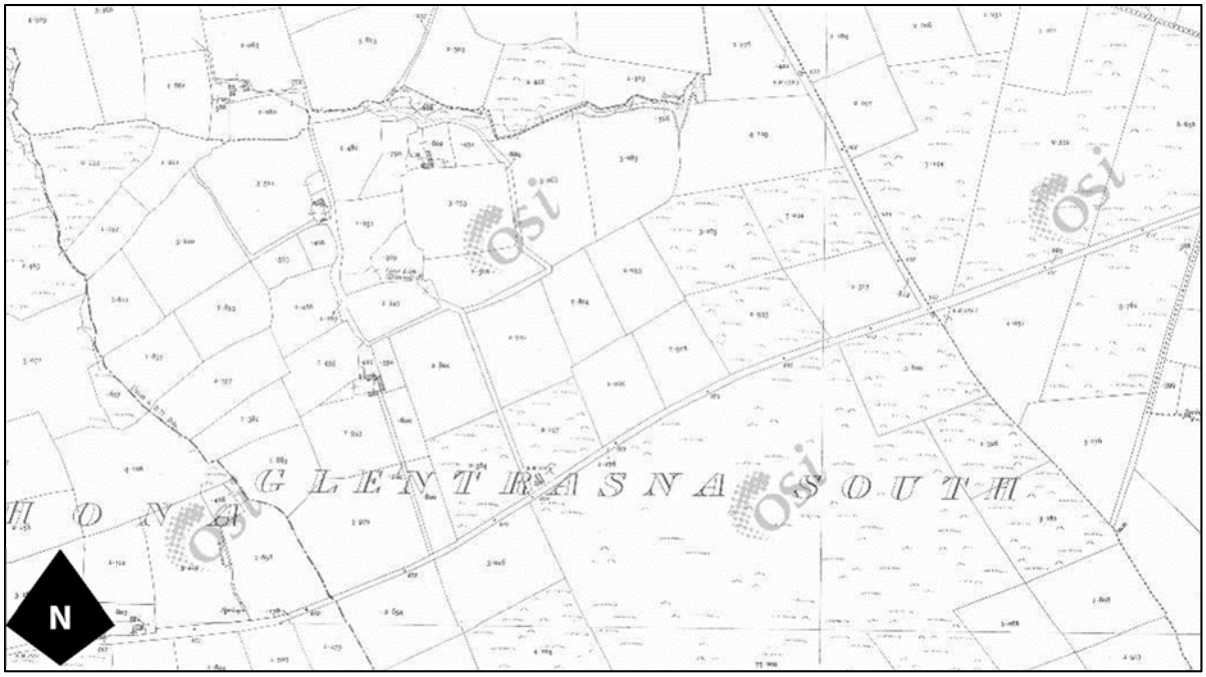


Figure 44. Second edition OS map of Glentrasna South townland



Figure 45. Aerial image of Glentrasna North townland depicting ringforts 1. CO045-099001 and 2. CO045-097 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 46. Aerial image of Glentrasna townland depicting ringforts 7. CO054-052 and 8. CO054-138 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 47. Aerial image of Glentrasna South townland depicting ringfort 9. CO054-050 (DG 2011-3)

2.1.6. Knocknagapple

For this townland, Bateman (1717, map 58) indicates the presence of three ringforts. All of these are located in the north east section of the townland and are shown as south of the east-west running 'Corke roade'. One, CO045-025, is located just south of the road and appears to have a lime kiln, either attached or nearby. Another, CO045-026, is further to the south-east. The third, CO045-132, is located further towards the centre of the townland (NMS 2017). Scalé's (1774, map 23a) map also shows the presence of CO045-025 and CO045-026. That said, this map does not show the ringfort, CO045-132, which is located towards the centre. However, Scalé does provide evidence for two further ringforts. One, CO045-144, is located north of the road, on the edge of a fall of ground, while the other, CO045-143, is located near the western boundary of the townland (NMS 2017). The first edition OS map only shows the presence of ringforts, CO045-025 and CO045-026.

Incidentally, CO045-025 still appears to have a structure, perhaps the lime-kiln shown by Bateman, abutting its bank in the south-west sector (OSI 1841, Sheet 45). The second edition OS map only depicts CO045-026 as extant. Aerial photographs and other images also provide evidence for the continued presence for this monument. A curved field boundary may indicate the western bank of ringfort, CO045-025, while a ring of trees shows the location of CO045-026. The cast of shadow from nearby trees makes the correct examination of the site of CO045-144 difficult and there is no evidence for the further two sites originally in this townland, CO045-132 and CO045-143. The discrepancy in numbers between Bateman in 1717 and Scalé in 1774 highlights the necessity of in-depth study of such areas. A minimal count would show an increase in numbers of one ringfort and this might be attributed to Scalé's meticulous approach leading to the discovery of a barely visible site. However, a closer study would show that Bateman represented three of a possible five ringforts; while Scalé included four out of a possible five.



Figure 48. Bateman's map of Knocknagapple townland depicting ringforts 1. CO045-025, 2. CO045-026, 3. CO045-132

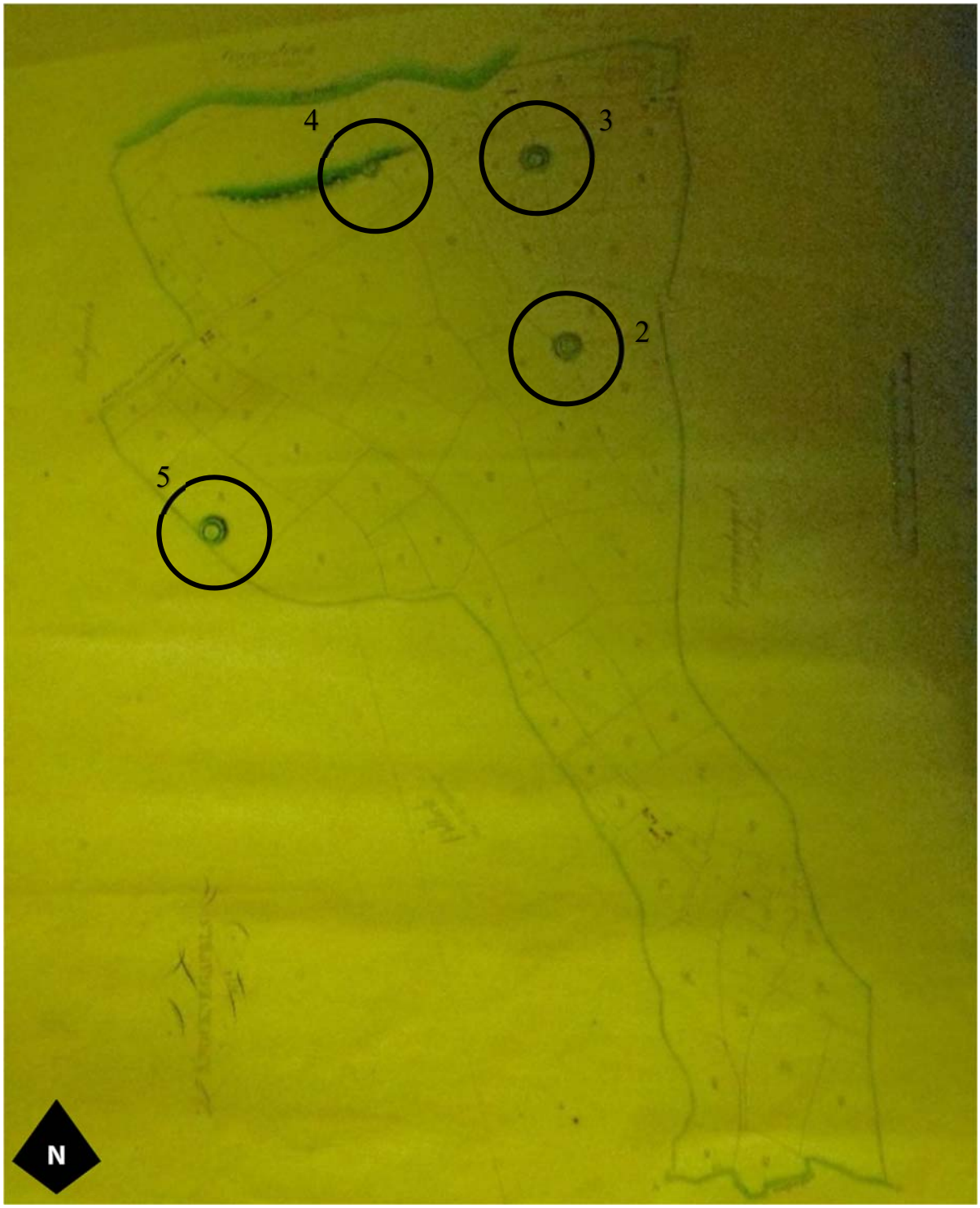


Figure 49. Scalé's map of Knocknagapple townland depicting ringforts 2. CO045-026, 3. CO045-132, 4. CO045-144 and 5. CO045-143

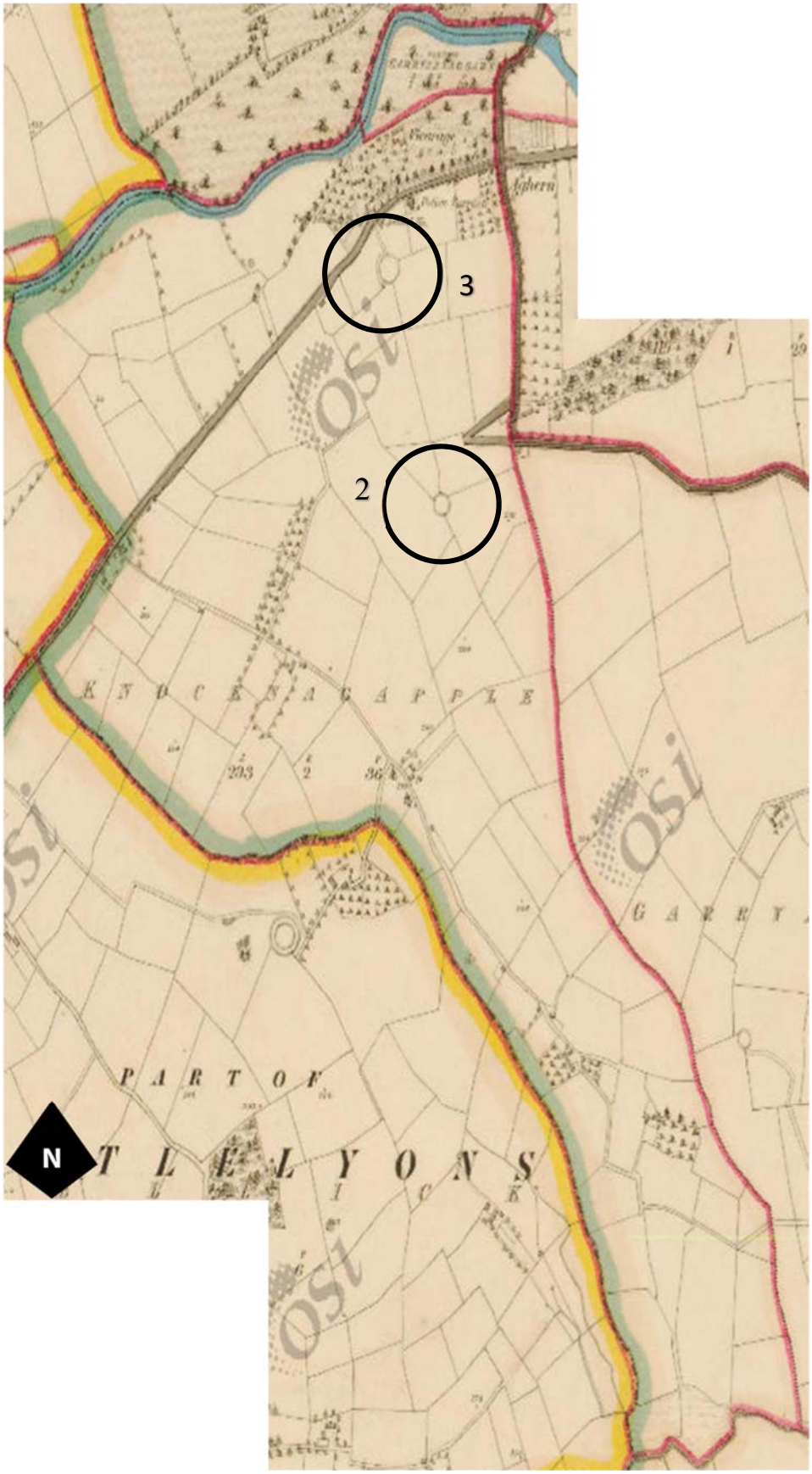


Figure 50. First edition OS map of Knocknagapple townland depicting ringforts 2. CO045-026 and 3. CO045-132

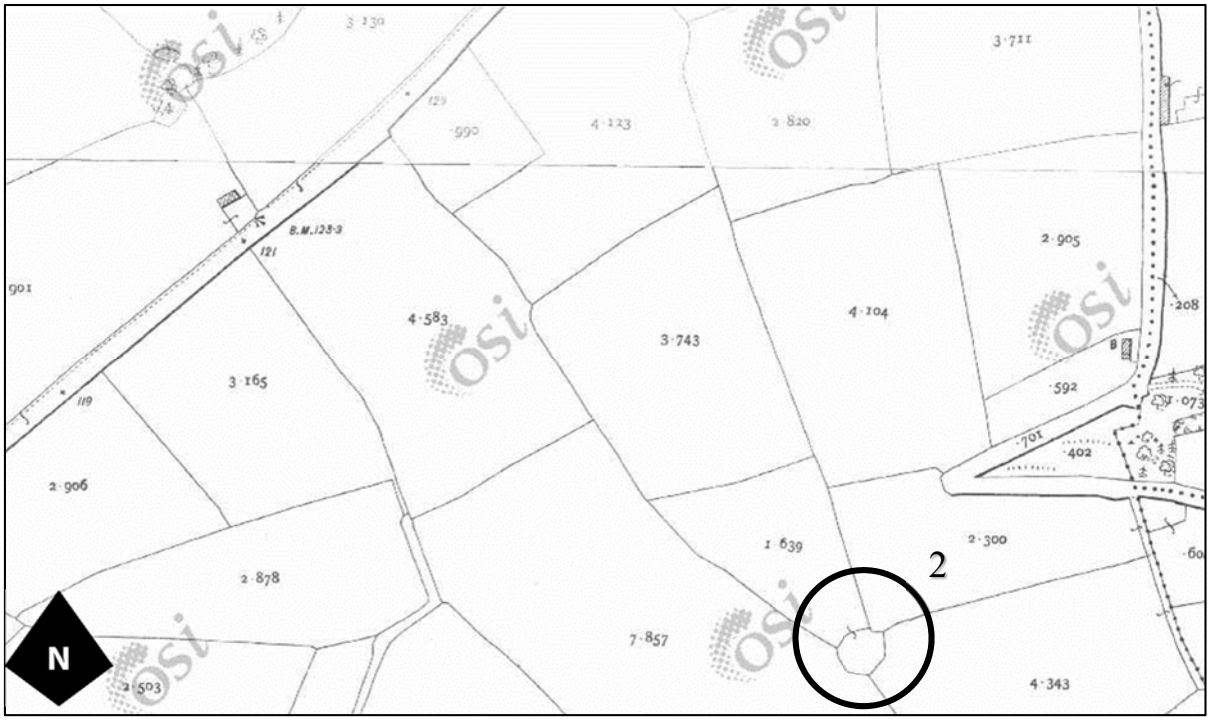


Figure 51. Second edition OS map (1904) of Knocknagapple townland depicting ringfort 2. CO045-026



Figure 52. Aerial image of Knocknagapple townland depicting ringfort 2. CO045-026 (DG 2011-3)

2.1.7. Rathdrum

Interestingly, for all the detail regarding mountains and bogs, houses, roads, and cabins which Bateman (1717, map 54) includes for this townland, just a single ringfort is noted. This is located towards the centre of the townland where the boundaries narrow and seems to correspond to CO054-132. Scalé (1774, map 16a), on the other hand, includes four ringforts in the map produced from his survey. One, CO054-053, is located to the south-west of that noted above. Two others are located further to the north on either side of a road traversing the townland from west to east. The ringfort north of the road is CO045-104 (NMS 2017), whereas, the enclosure below the road has not been attributed a number. The first edition OS Map shows that the three identified sites are still present (OSI 1842, Sheet 54). Examination of aerial images clearly shows the bank and ditch of CO054-132. CO054-053 is shown by a curved field boundary and a circular pattern or trees or bushes. The location of the last of the three, CO045-104, is indicated by a circular soil mark (BM 2017). A slight outline *c.* 100m away, and slightly west of south, from here might indicate the location of the fourth structure shown by Scalé (NMS 2017).

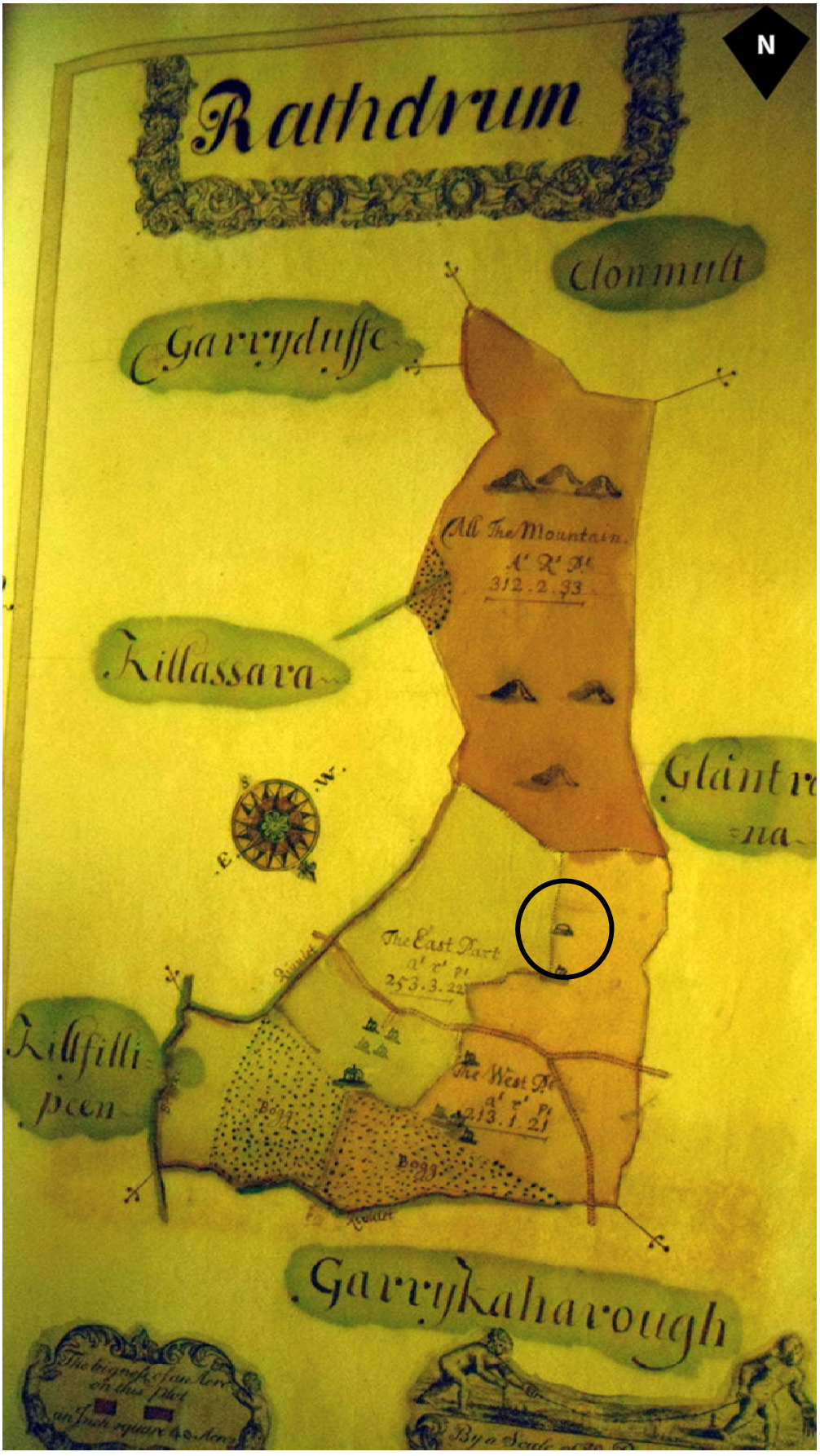


Figure 53. Bateman's map of Rathdrum townland depicting ringfort CO054-132

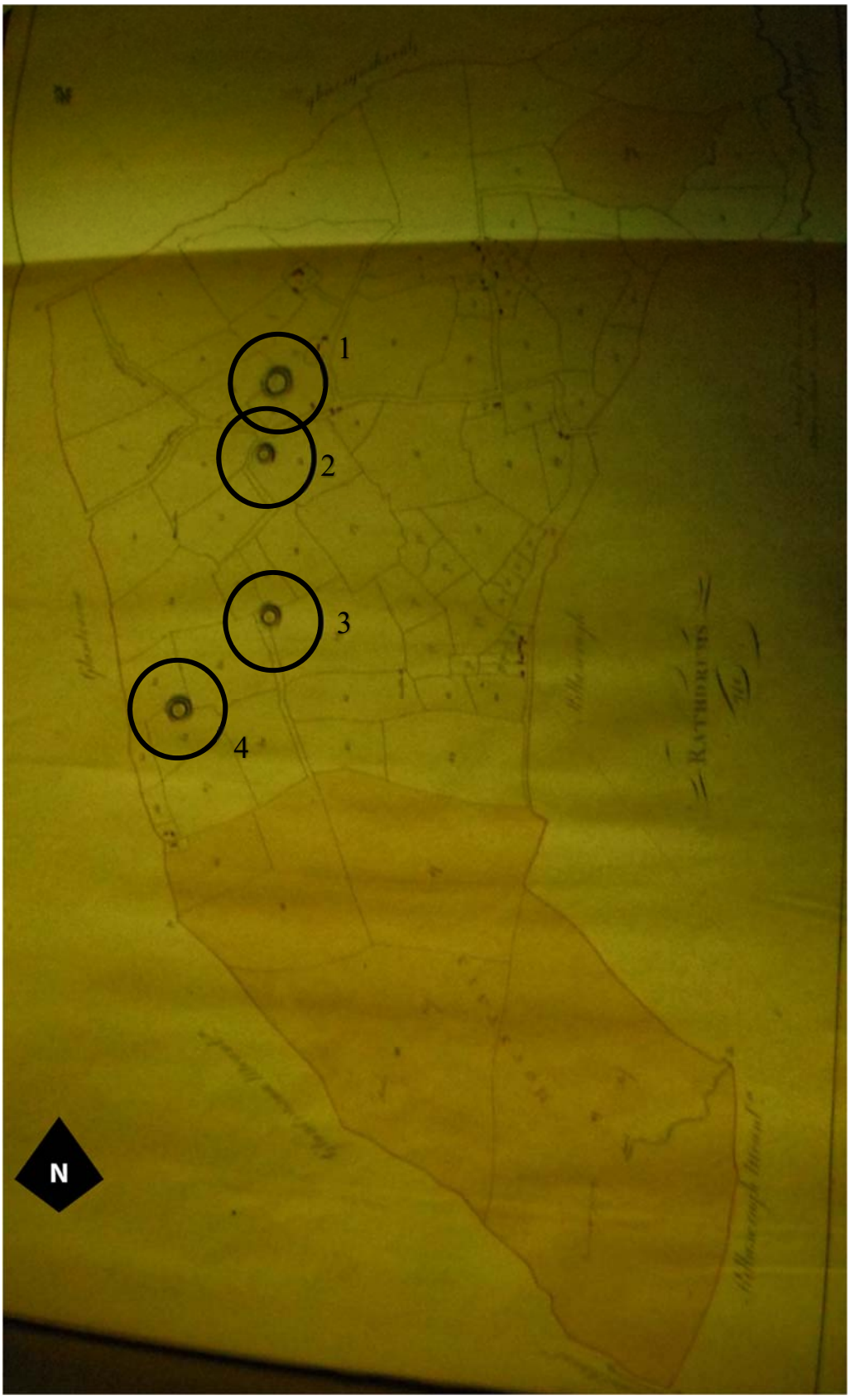


Figure 54. Scalé's map of Rathdrum townland depicting ringforts 1. CO045-104, 2. previously unrecorded site, 3. CO054-132 and 4. CO054-053

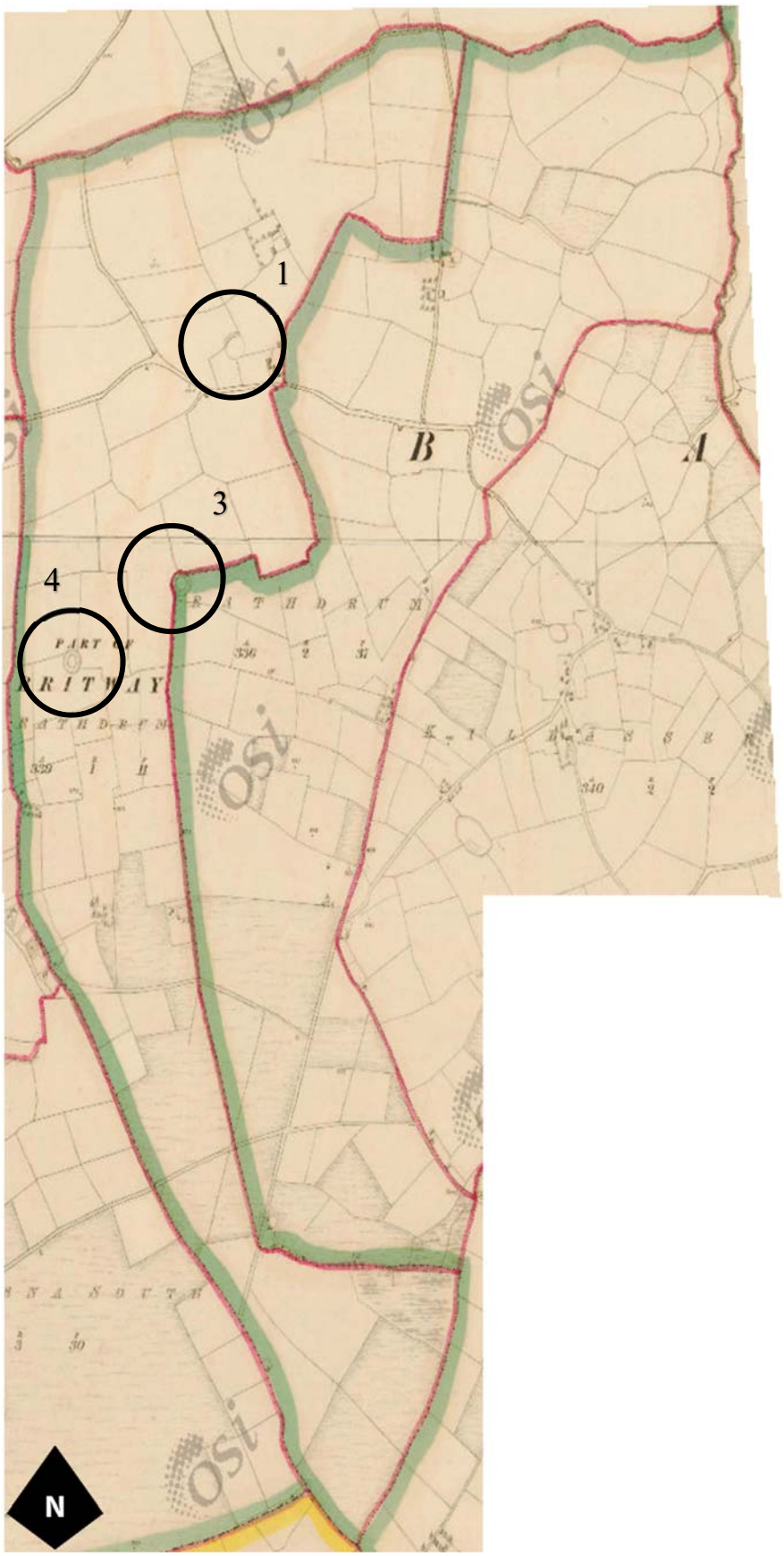


Figure 55. First edition OS map of Rathdrum townland depicting ringforts 1. CO045-104, 3. CO054-132 and 4. CO054-053

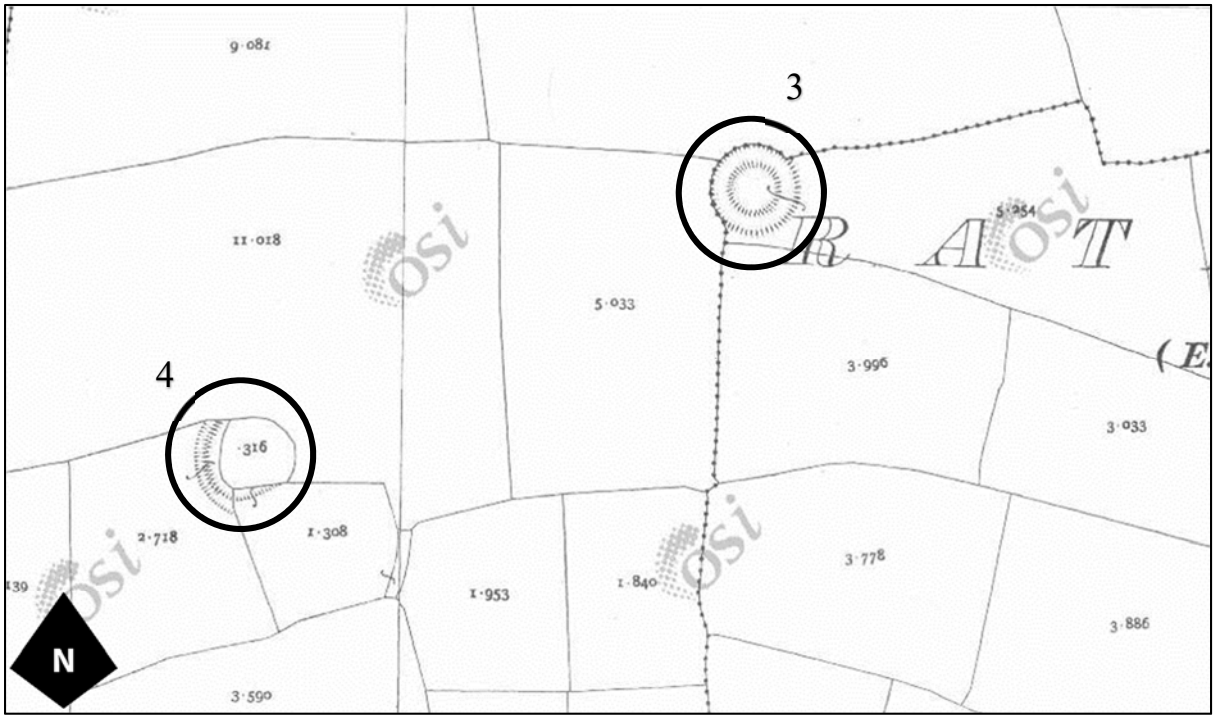


Figure 56. Second edition OS map of Rathdrum townland depicting ringforts 3. CO054-132 and 4. CO054-053



Figure 57. Aerial image of Rathdrum townland depicting ringfort 3. CO054-132 and site of ringfort 4. CO054-053 (DG 2011-3)

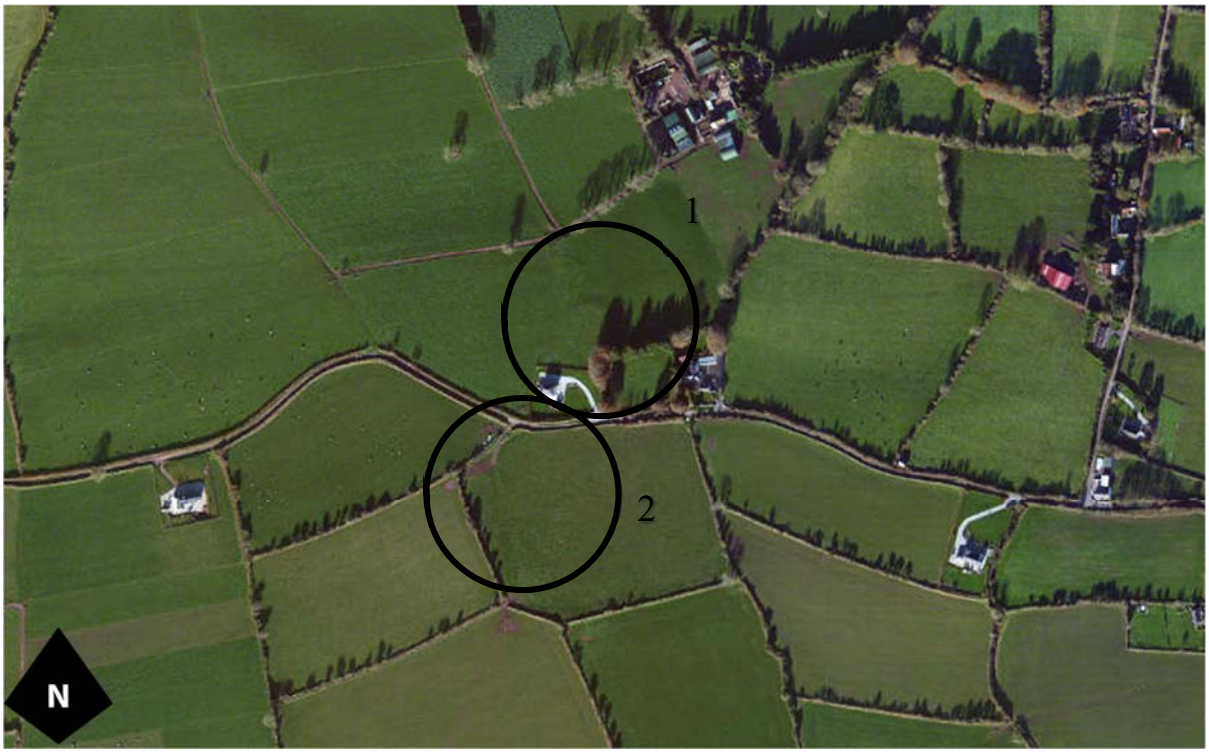


Figure 58. Aerial image of Rathdrum townland depicting site of ringforts 1. CO045-104 and 2. previously unrecorded site (DG 2011-3)

2.2. Ballynoe parish

2.2.1. Ballinlegane

Bateman (1717, map 47) portrays this townland as having two parts, 'The West Side' and The East Side'. He also shows a roadway running north-south through the West side and another branching westward from this towards some houses. He shows no field monuments however. Scalé (1774, map 11a) also includes this road junction in the map created from his survey. At this junction he notes the presence of a ringfort, with two lime kilns, in ruins, in close proximity. This monument is not recorded in the register (NMS 2018). Neither is there any indication of its presence on the two OS maps (1842 & 1904, Sheet 46). However, the associated road junction is shown on each. A nearby curved field boundary and the presence of a, disused, limekiln may point to the earlier existence of the ringfort at this location. Particularly on the second edition map the internal area bounded by the roadway and the field boundary is noted as being 0.394 acres [0.159 ha.]. Modern aerial images still show this road junction. In the field just north of it there appears to be a semi-circular crop mark at grid coordinates, 591987-590380, and this may again bolster the claim for the presence here of Scalé's ringfort.

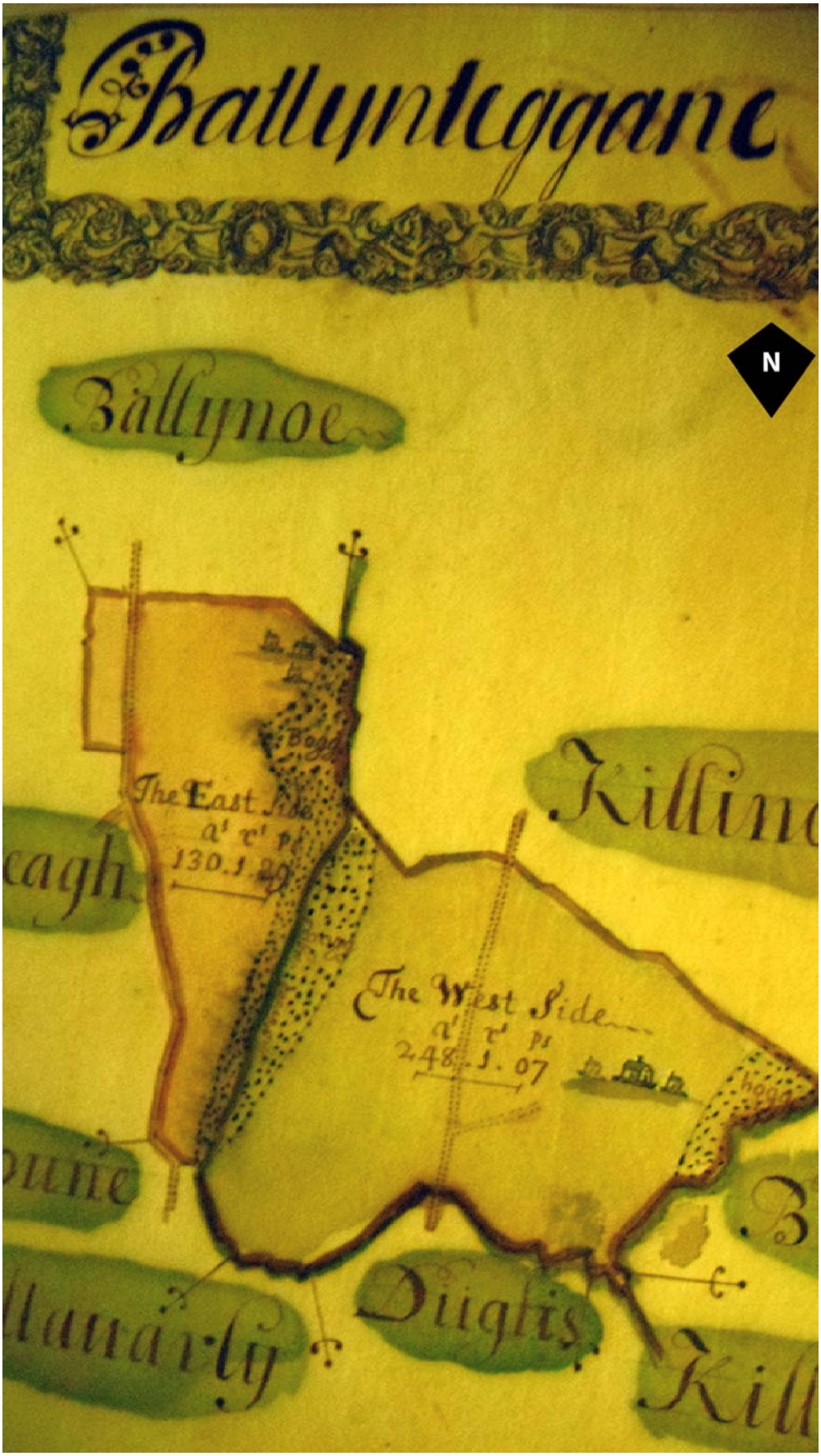


Figure 59. Bateman's map of Ballinlegane townland

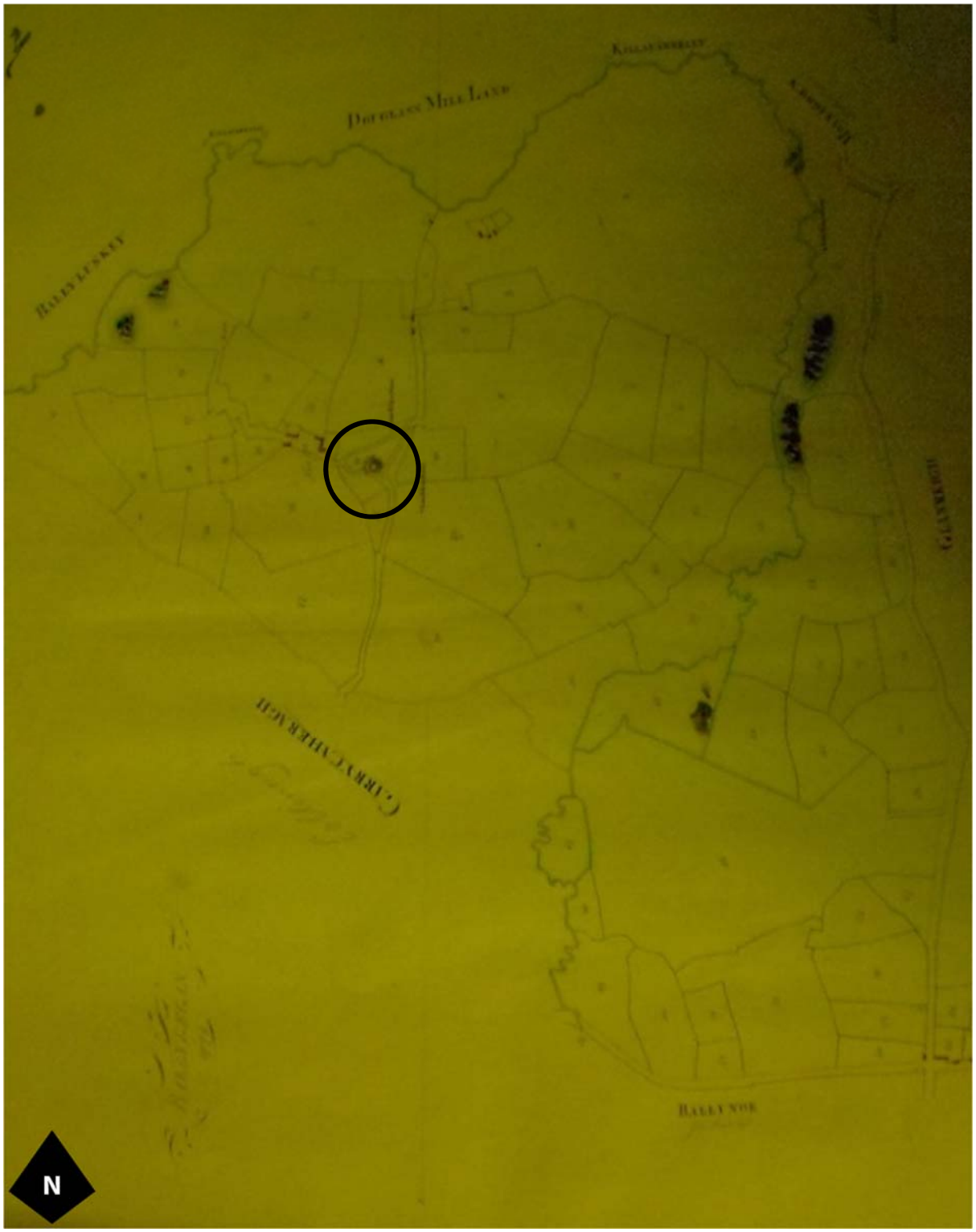


Figure 60. Scalé's map of Ballinlegane townland depicting previously unrecorded ringfort

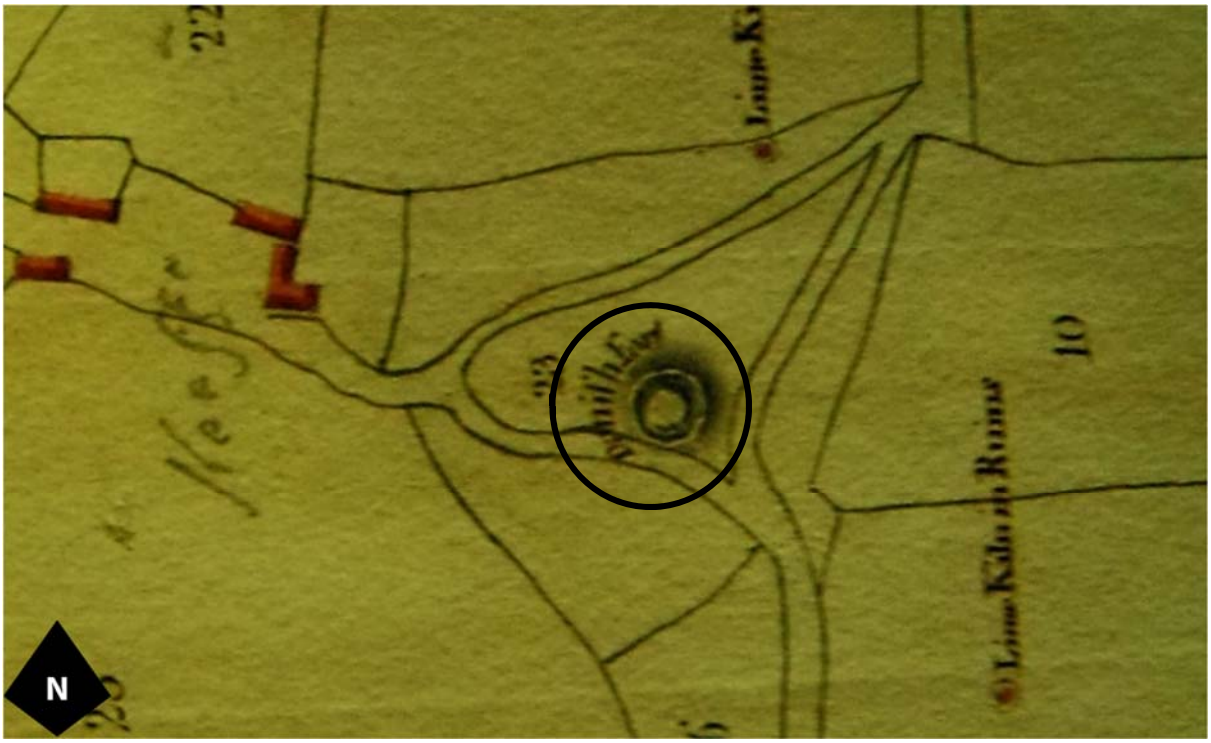


Figure 61. Close up of Scalé's map of Ballinlegane townland depicting previously unrecorded ringfort

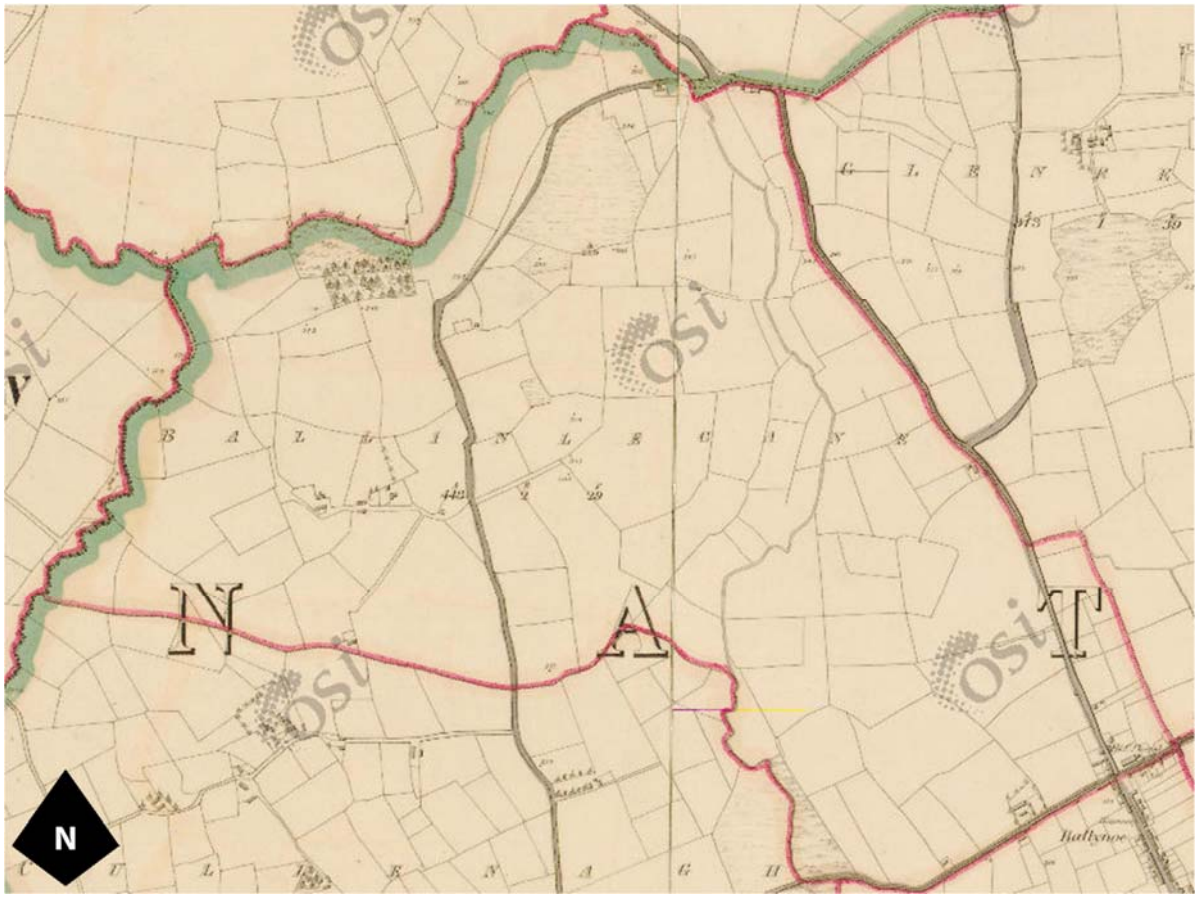


Figure 62. First edition OS map of Ballinlegane townland

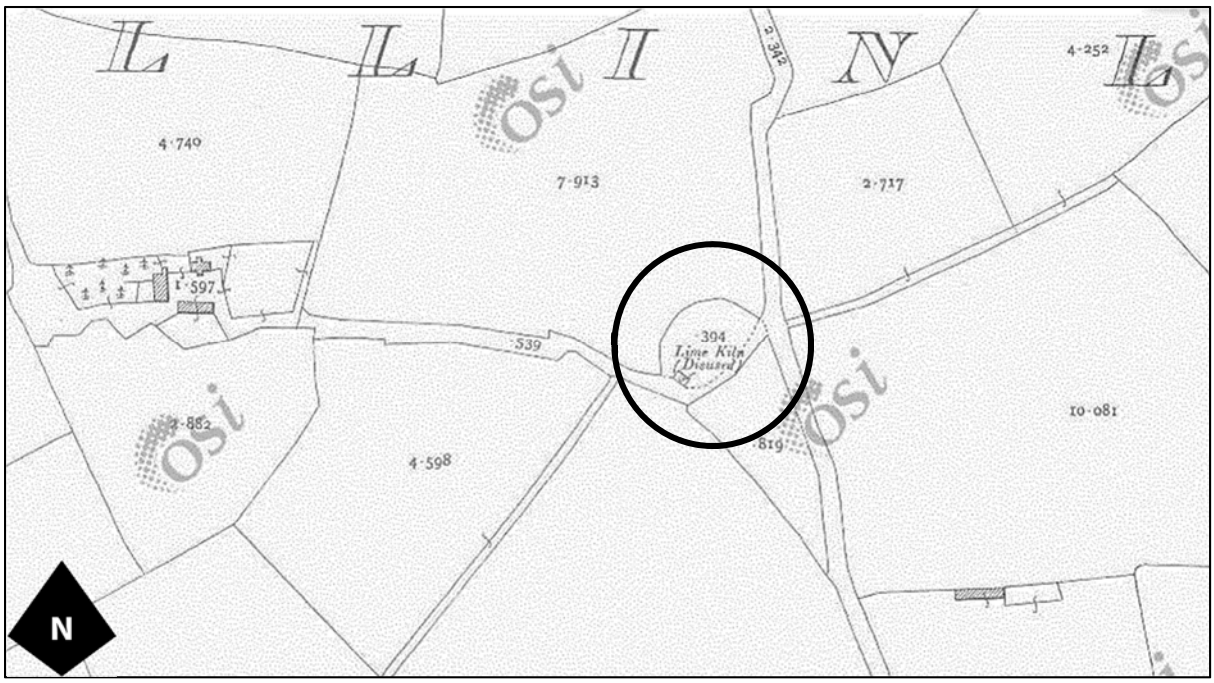


Figure 63. Second edition OS map of Ballinlegane townland depicting previously unrecorded ringfort



Figure 64. Aerial image of Ballinlegane townland depicting site of previously unrecorded ringfort (DG 2011-3)

2.2.2. Ballyknock

Bateman (1717, map 58) includes no field monuments in his depiction of this townland, preferring to focus on natural features and settlement sites. One of these settlements is located in the north-east corner of the townland and is shown adjacent to, and west of, the road. This site contains two houses, the larger one having two chimneys, and an orchard. In addition, the site is traversed by a stream. This settlement is shown as being enclosed by a roughly rectangular boundary. By the time of Scalé's (1774, maps 20a & 21a) survey this townland had been divided in two, Ballyknock and Ballyknock Mountain. The townland of Ballyknock Mountain records no features of archaeological interest. In the townland of Ballyknock, Scalé (1774, map 20a) also depicts a settlement site in the north-east corner and west of the road. However, on Scalé's map this site is shown enclosed by a large circular feature, referred to as a 'Dane's Fort'. This large ringfort, CO055-007001, still contains within it two buildings and a ruin.

One of the extant buildings is much more substantial than the other. This map also portrays a 'castle in ruins' within the enclosure (*ibid.*). This structure is depicted in the north-west quadrant as a rectangular structure, with openings apparent on both visible sides and possibly having two towers at either end also. Although this could also be a reflection on the state of the structure. At the time of the Ordnance Survey (1841 – 2) the original townland had been further divided, now comprising those of Ballyknock North, Ballyknock and Ballyknock South. The ringfort is now located in the townland of Ballyknock North. A section of the inner bank of this trivallete fort can also be seen on this map (OSI 1841 – 2, Sheet 55). The fort is also noted as the location of 'Ballyknock Castle', CO055-007004. Little information is apparently available concerning the history of this structure, but the Archaeological Inventory of County Cork Vol. 2 (1994) suggests that it was probably built by the Fitzgerald's. This family rose to prominence in the area during the 13th century and were broken following the rebellions of the late 16th century. This area was granted to this family in 1259 and granted to Sir Walter Raleigh following their attainder in 1587. (Waters 1916, 167).

It had also been claimed that this castle had been built by the first Earl of Cork. However, Waters (*ibid.*) is dismissive of this suggestion and claims that this refers to the repair of the pre-existing structure. This may suggest that a castle that required repair at the beginning of the 17th century may have been in existence for some time. Nevertheless, the presence of this castle within an early medieval trivallete ringfort poses interesting questions regarding the reuse of,

at least some, ringforts in medieval and even later times. In any event, the map created from second edition revisions (1904, Sheet 55) now show the ringfort boundary to be truncated by newer farm buildings associated with 'Castle Farm'. A portion of the inner bank of this originally trivallete ringfort is also shown and it is noted that '15 ogham stones' had been uncovered here in 1877 (*ibid.*). This association with a souterrain confirms this site as an early medieval ringfort. As does the note that 'of the rath, one fourth of the middle rampart and nearly all the inner fosse remain' (Waters 1916 – 8, 517). Examination of modern aerial images show this location as being now heavily wooded (DG 2011 - 3; GE 2009 & 2017). This development hinders the perception of any ground features on site. The remaining two components of the original townland, Ballyknock and Ballyknock South, still do not provide evidence of containing features of archaeological interest (NMS 2018).



Figure 65. Bateman's map of Ballyknock townland depicting ringfort CO055-007001

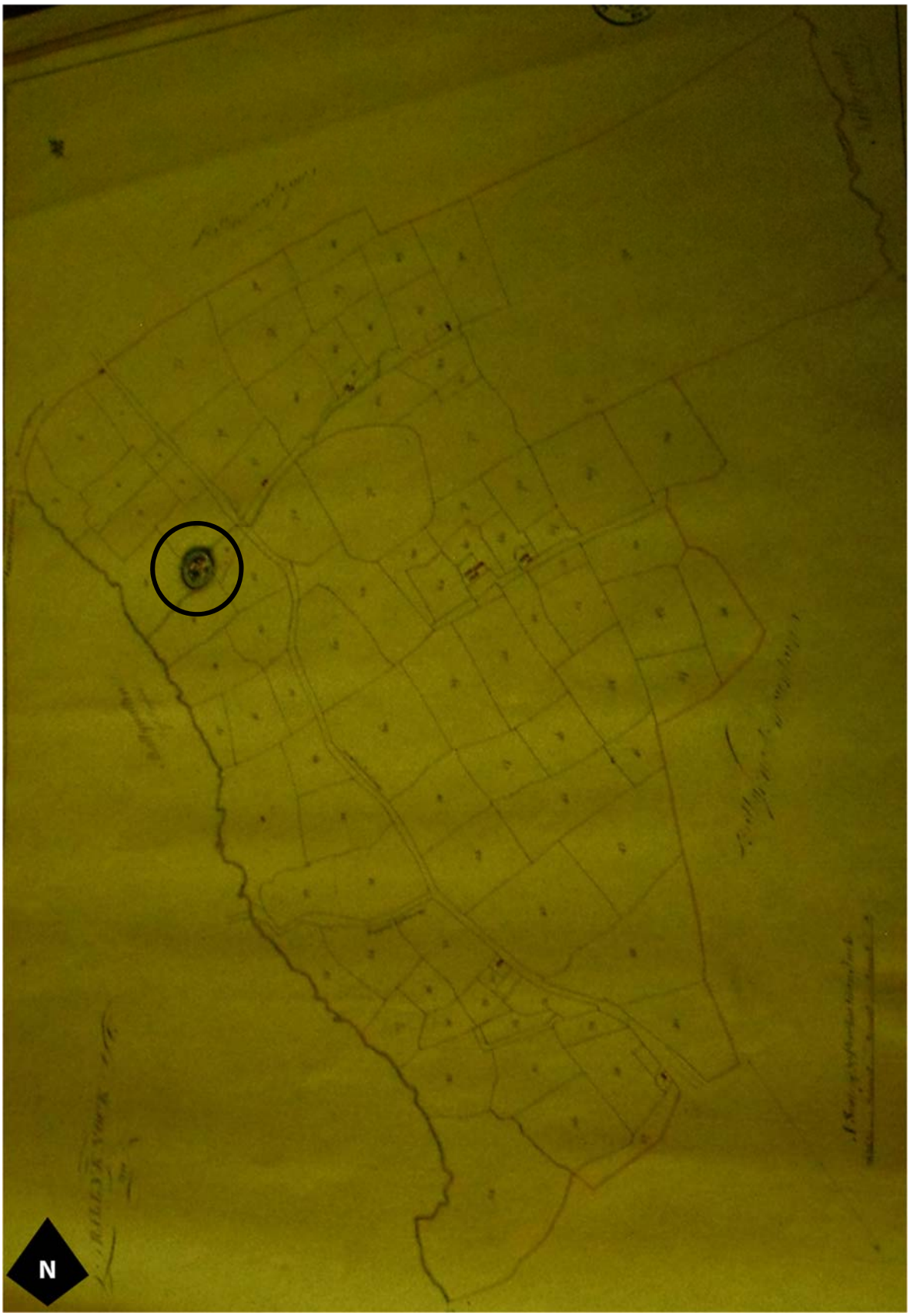


Figure 66. Scalé's map of Ballyknock townland depicting ringfort CO055-007001



Figure 67. Close up of Scalé's map of Ballyknock townland depicting ringfort CO055-007001



Figure 68. Scalé's map of Ballyknock Mountain townland



Figure 69. First edition OS map of Ballyknock North townland depicting ringfort CO055-007001

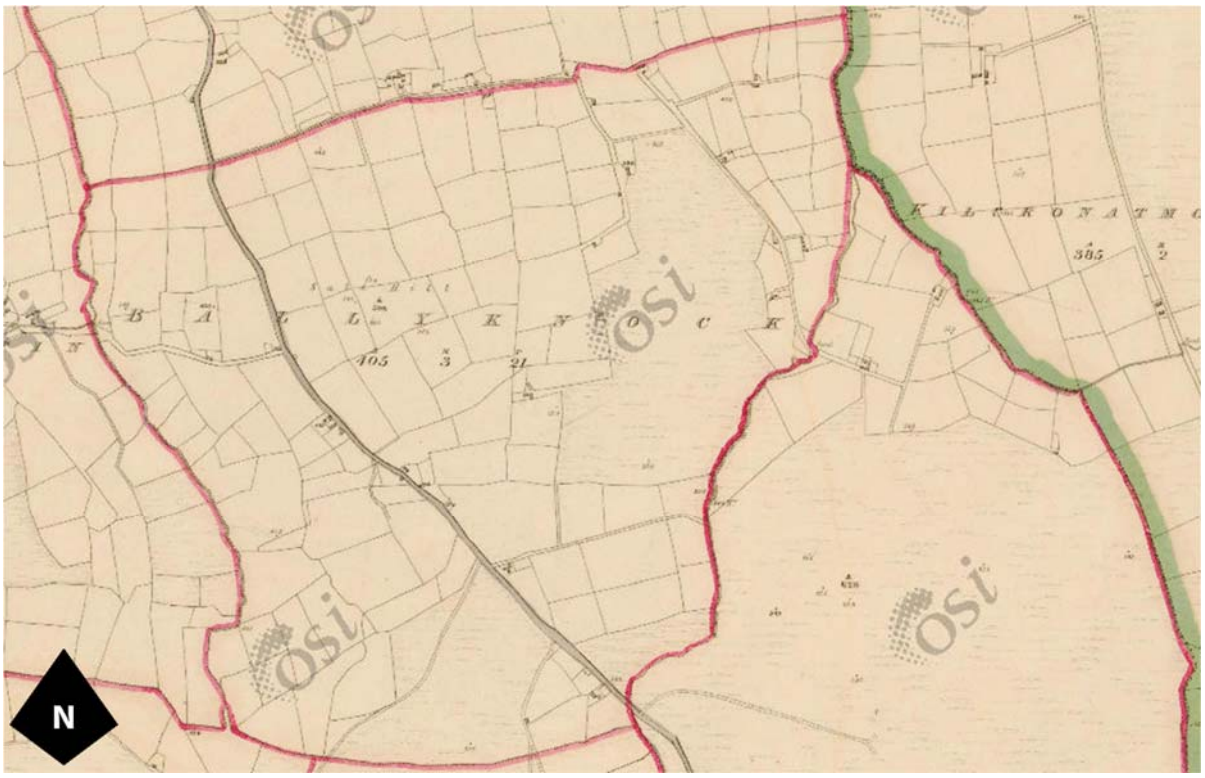


Figure 70. First edition OS map of Ballyknock townland



Figure 71. First edition OS map of Ballyknock South townland

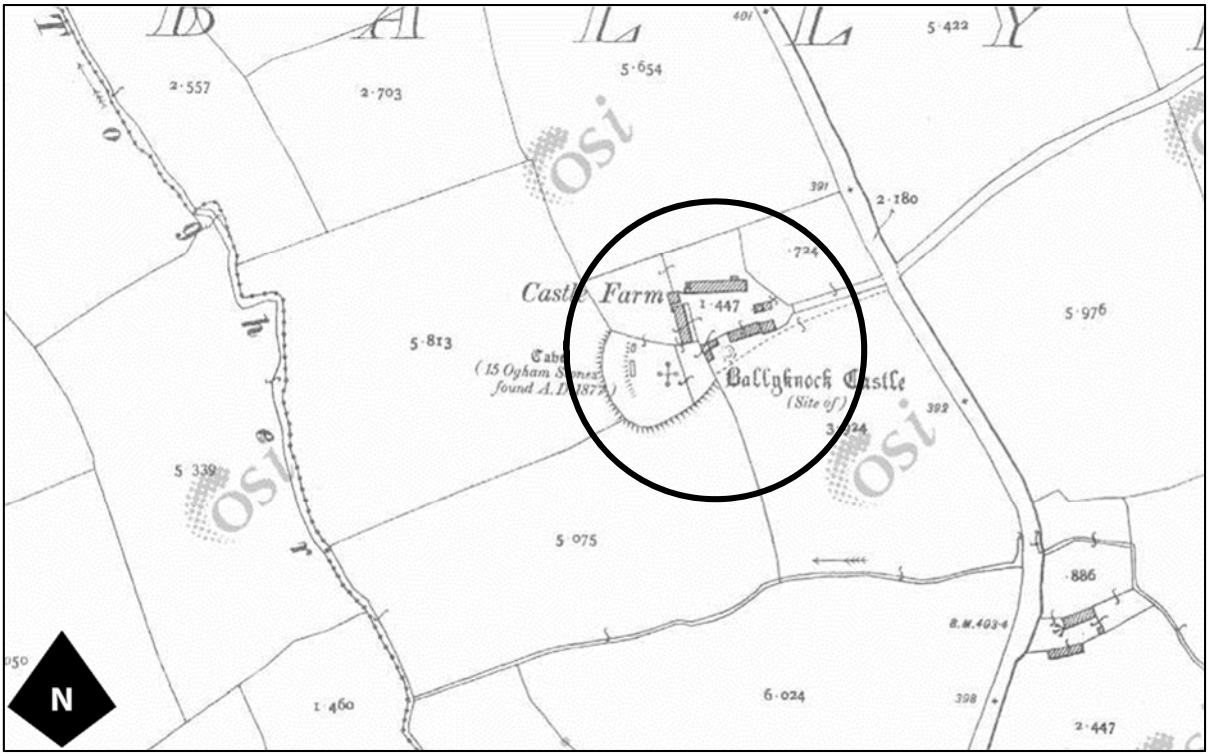


Figure 72. Second edition OS map of part of Ballyknock North townland depicting ringfort CO055-007001



Figure 73. Aerial image of part of Ballyknock North townland depicting site of ringfort CO055-007001 (DG 2011-3)

2.2.3. Ballymonteen

Bateman (1717, map 38) depicts one ringfort on his map of this townland. Some of the features which he also includes on this map are a road running in a north – south direction. In addition, another road branching from this one and running in a westerly direction, towards the townland boundary, is also shown. The ringfort is located just south of this latter road and not far from the junction with the north-south road. Unusually, Bateman also uses a Gaelic term to refer to a natural feature. This area of high ground is located to the south of the ringfort and is referred to as 'carrig roe'. This probable corruption of *Carrig Rua* indicates that in some cases local knowledge must have been drawn upon. Again, this townland does not appear to have been included in Scalé's (1774) survey.

However, this ringfort is recorded on the register and carries the SMR no. CO055-059. The identifiable road junction is still visible on the first edition OS map (OSI 1841 – 2, Sheet 55). There is no evidence for the existence of the ringfort on this map, but a curved field boundary may provide a clue to its eventual location. This curve to the road, and field, is still evident on the second edition OS map (1904, Sheet 55). Indeed, it is still visible to the present day. Another circular enclosure, CO046-044, is also noted on the first edition OS map (1841 – 2, 55). However, on Bateman's (1717, map 38) earlier map this area is depicted as bog land and as being the location for several houses. A study of recent aerial surveys, (DG 2011 - 3; GE 2009 & 2017), show this area to be now heavily wooded as part of a forest plantation. This relatively recent development means that the search for ground features is not feasible.

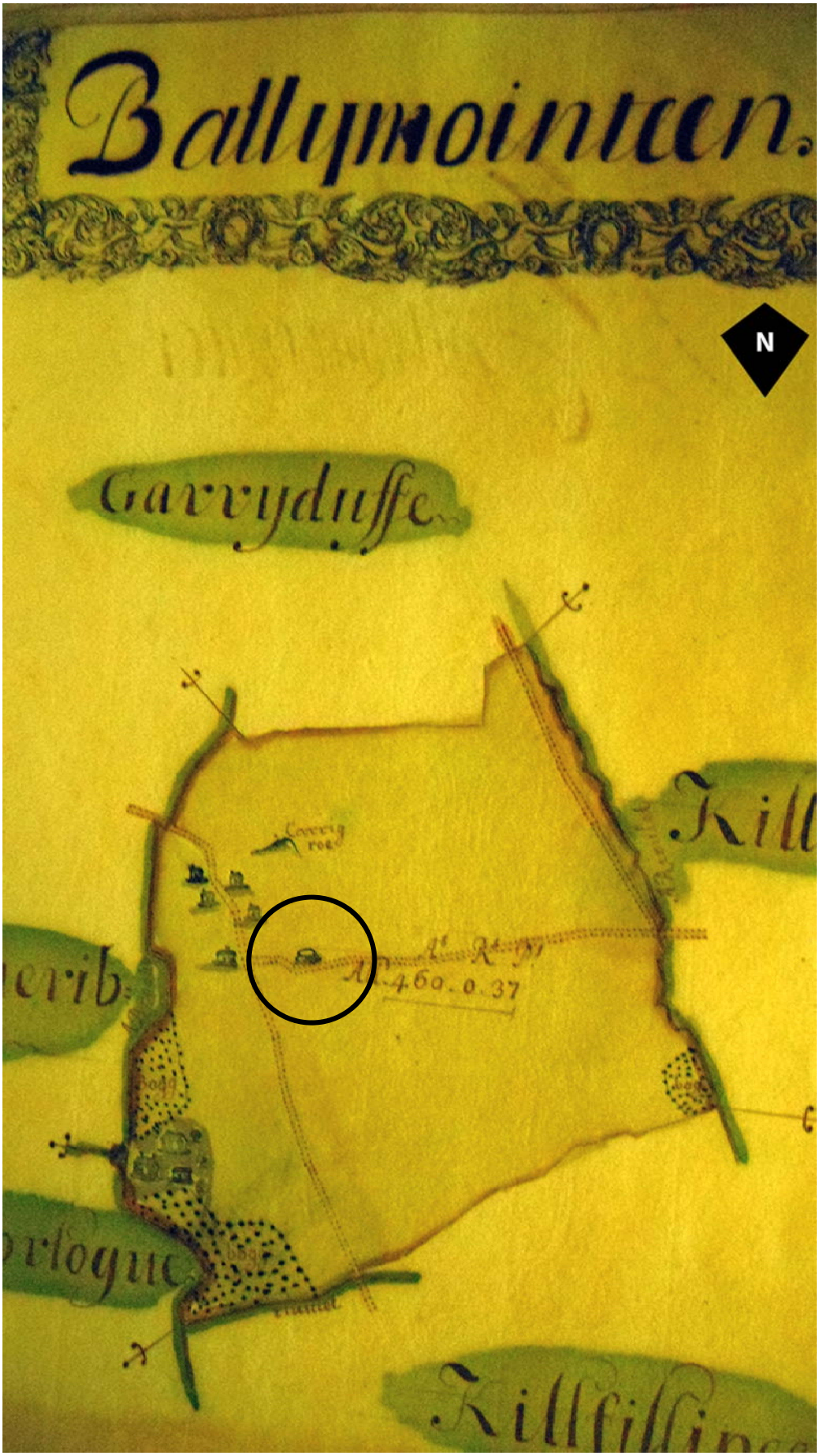


Figure 74. Bateman's map of Ballymonteen townland depicting ringfort CO055-059

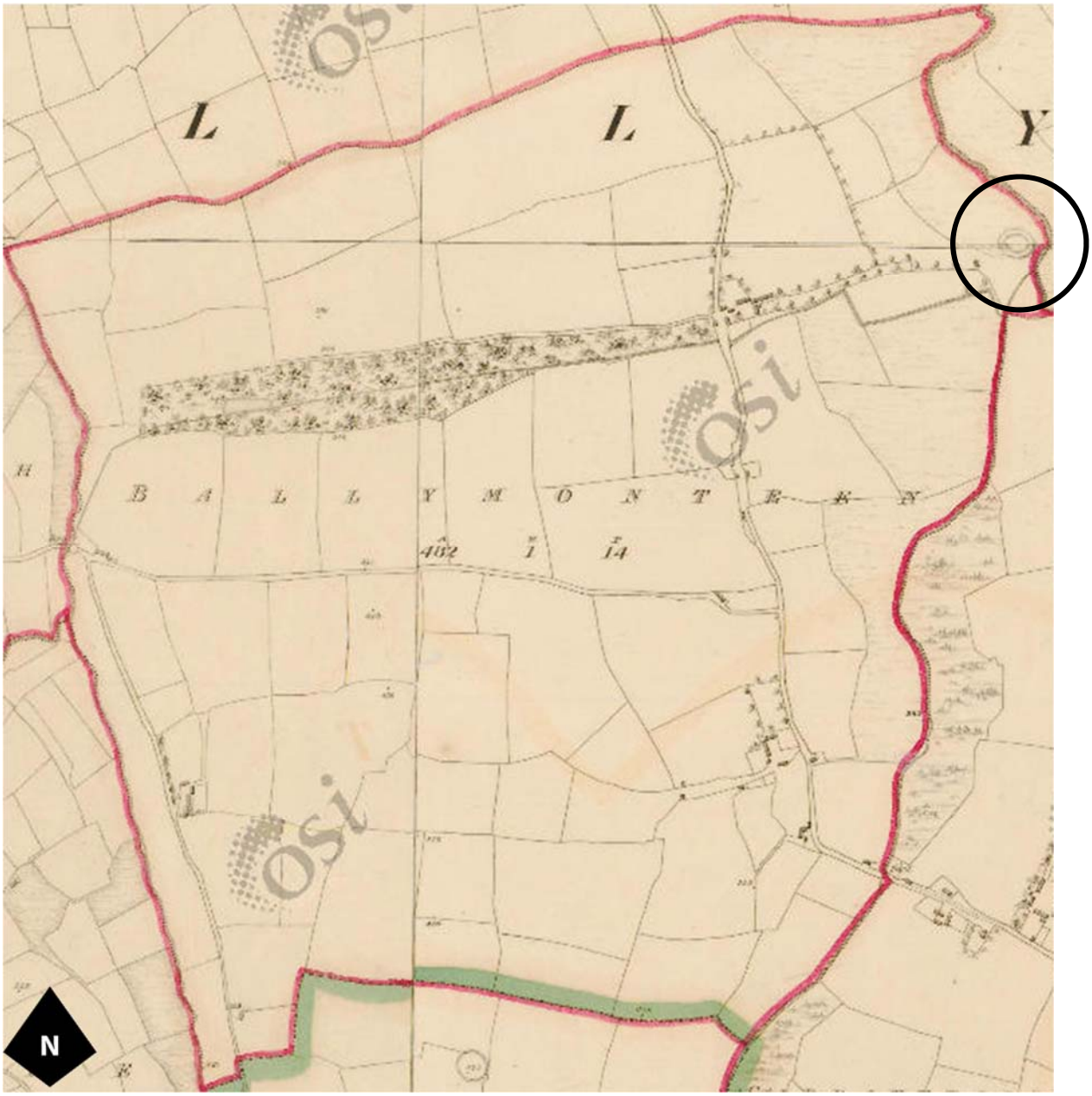


Figure 75. First edition OS map of Ballymonteen townland depicting enclosure CO046-044

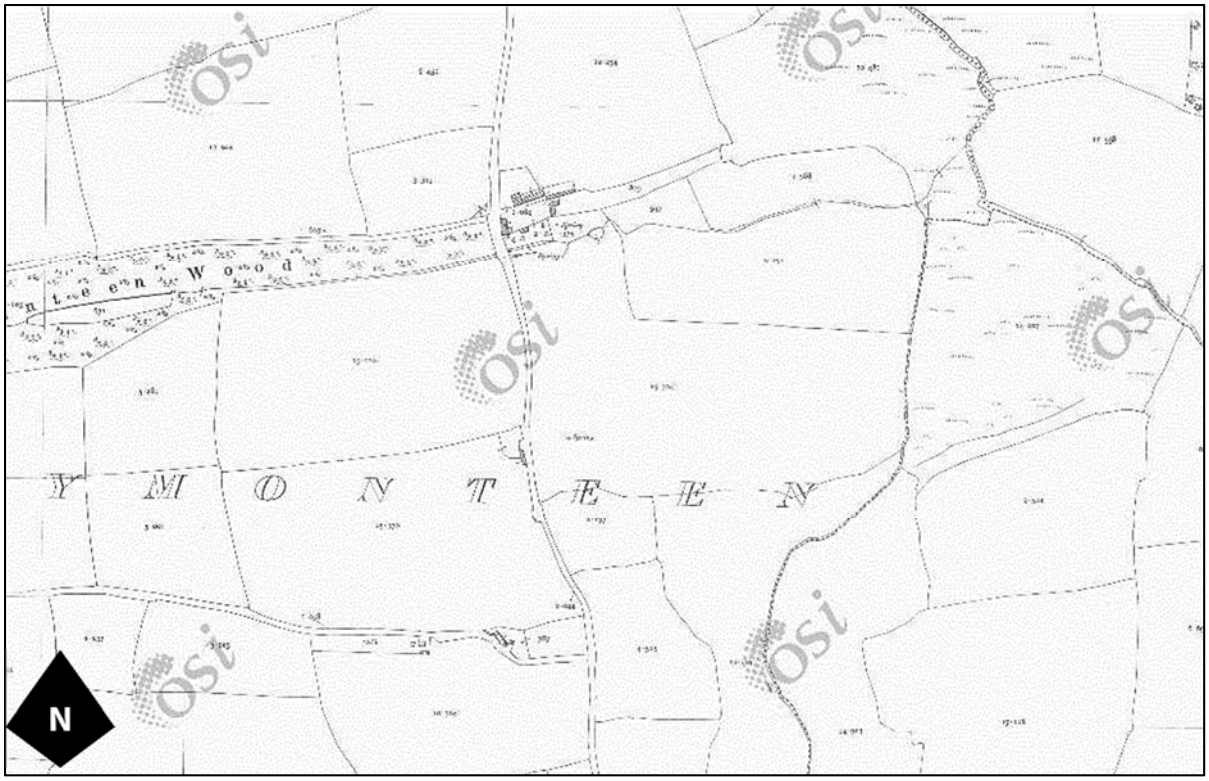


Figure 76. Second edition OS map of Ballymonteen townland



Figure 77. Aerial image of Ballymonteen townland depicting site of ringfort 1. CO055-059 and enclosure 2. CO046-044 (DG 2011-3)

2.2.4. Ballynattin

There are no features of archaeological significance included by Bateman (1717, map 37) in his map of this townland. However, he appears to include the present day townlands of Knockakeo and Shanaboola as a mountainous area in the south of the townland. Again this townland appears not to have been surveyed by Scalé (1774). Neither is there mention of such features in either the first edition OS map (1841 – 2, Sheet 55) or in the second edition revision (1904, Sheet 55). A study of available aerial imagery provides no evidence for the existence of ground features compatible with the possible existence of ringforts in this townland (DG 2011 - 3; GE 2009 & 2017).

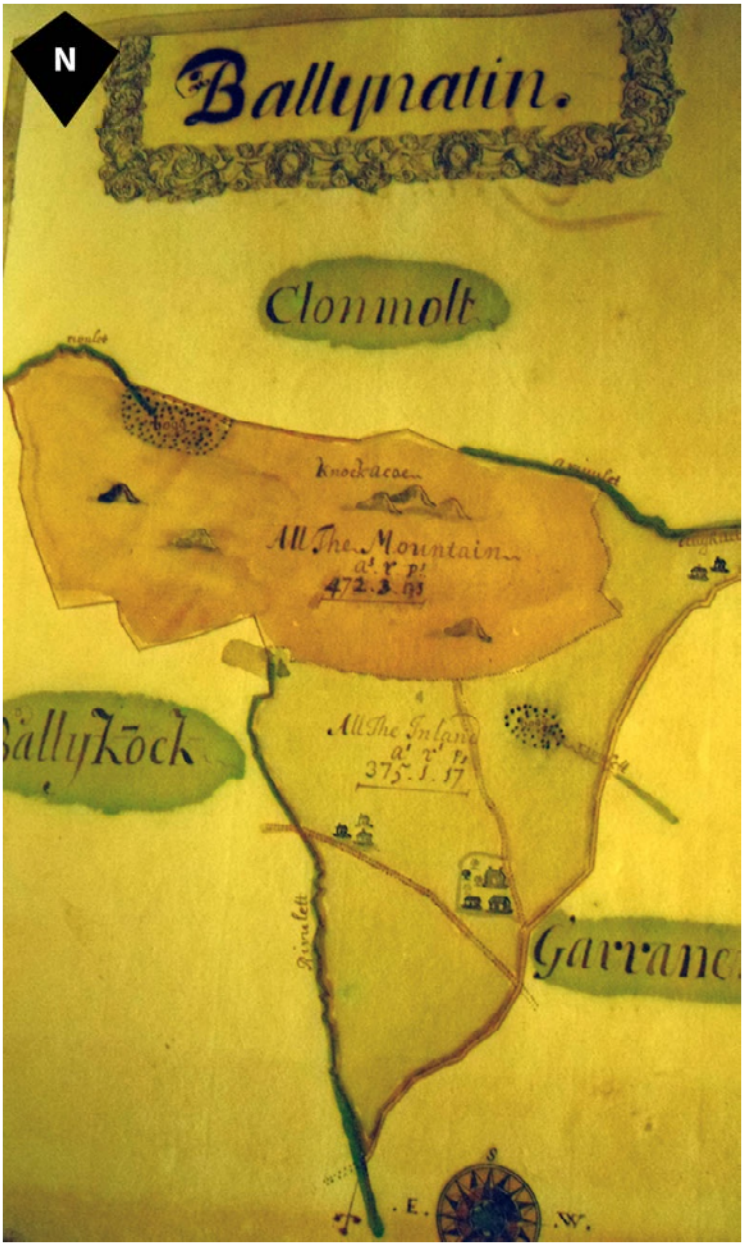


Figure 78. Bateman's map of Ballynattin townland

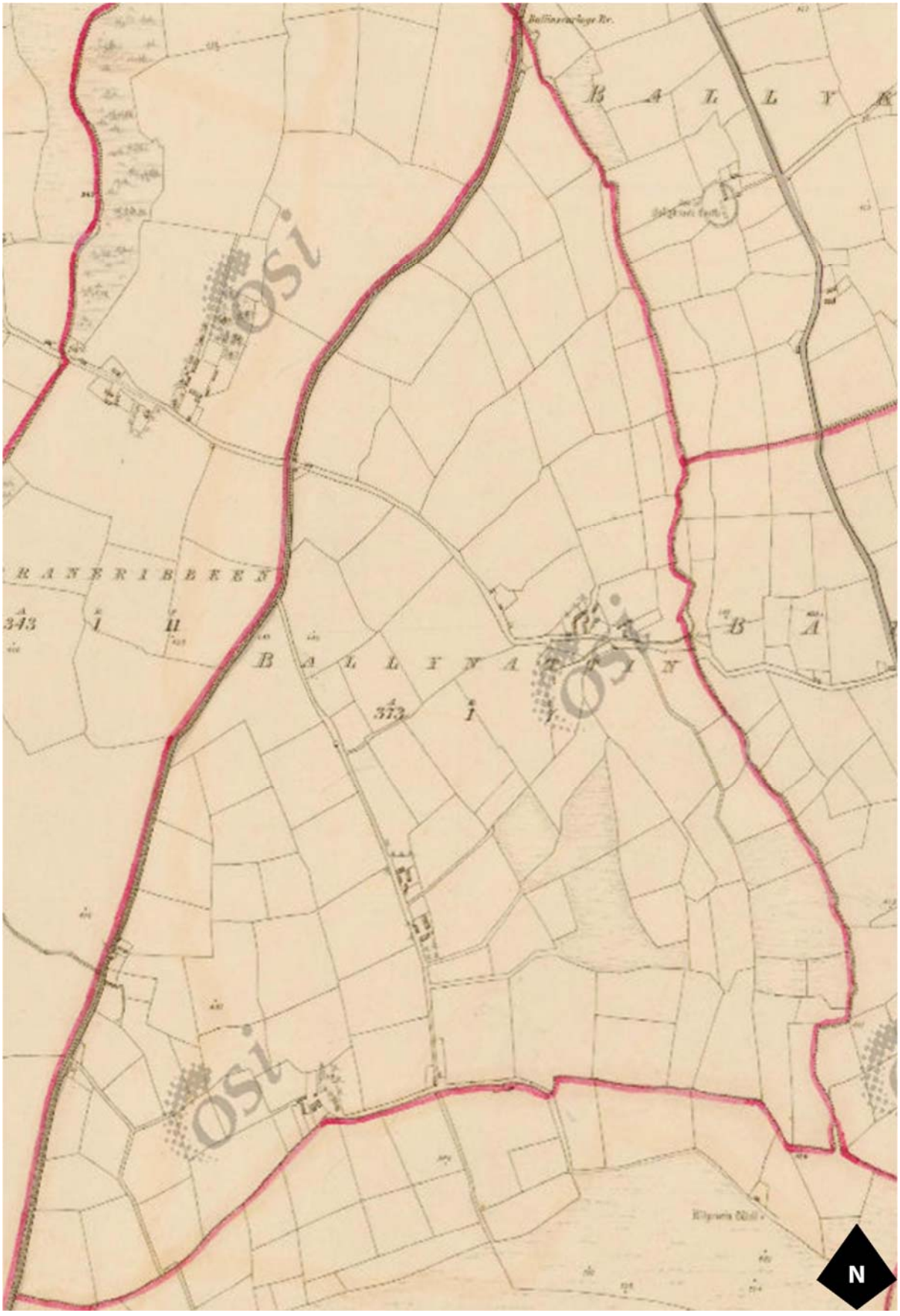


Figure 79. First edition OS map of Ballynattin townland

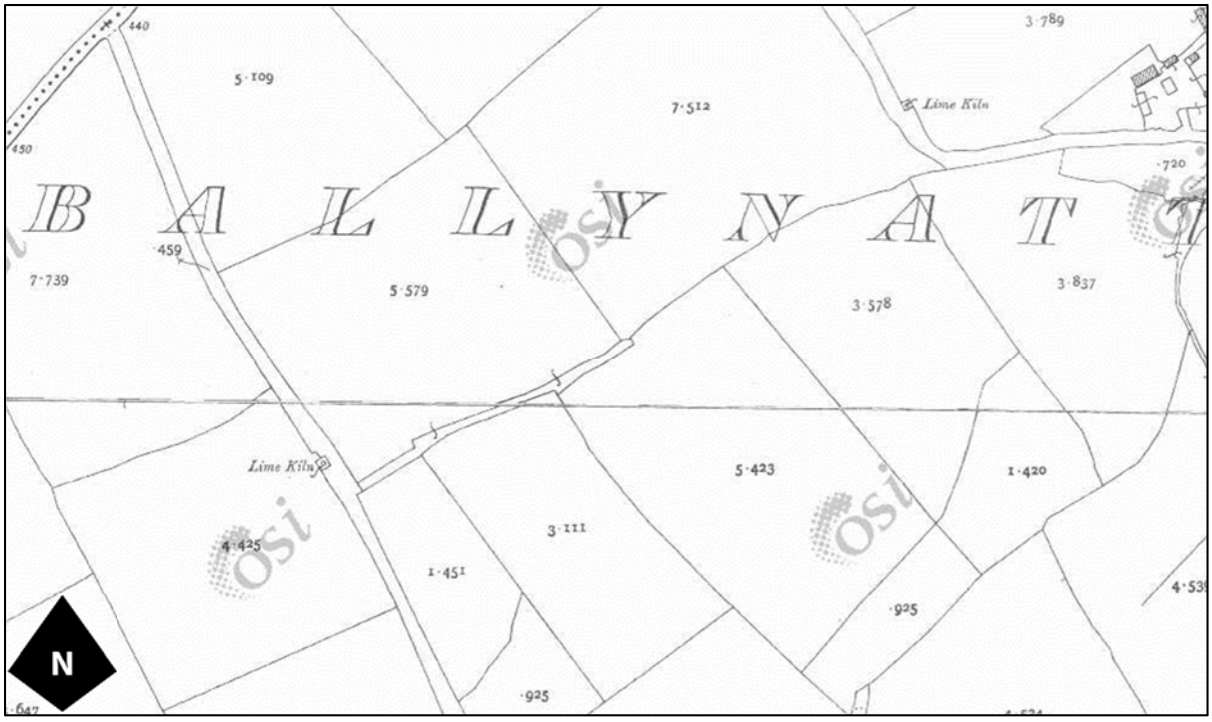


Figure 80. Second edition OS map of Ballynattin townland



Figure 81. Aerial image of Ballynattin townland (DG 2011 – 3)

2.2.5. Ballynoe

Bateman (1717, map 36) depicts no ringforts in his survey of this townland. However, he does show the townland as being divided into quarters by the 'youghall roade' running north-south and a stream running east-west. In the north-east quadrant, Bateman (*ibid.*) highlights two archaeological features. One appears to be a mill that is located adjacent to the aforementioned road and near the northern boundary of the townland. While the image is not sharp, even under magnification, it seems to be fed by a stream that flows westward to join the Togher River. The other building of interest is a church located slightly to the south-east. This may the church noted in the register with the SMR no. CO046-033002. Again this townland does not seem to have been part of Scalé's (1774) survey. Perhaps unsurprisingly as a result, neither the first edition OS map (1841, Sheet 46) or the second edition OS map (1904, Sheet 46) show evidence of ringfort presence. The majority of the townland is presently open farmland. However, recent aerial surveys have unearthed no ground features which may suggest such a presence either (DG 2011 - 3; GE 2009 & 2017).



Figure 82. Bateman's map of Ballynoe townland



Figure 83. Bateman's map of Ballynoe townland

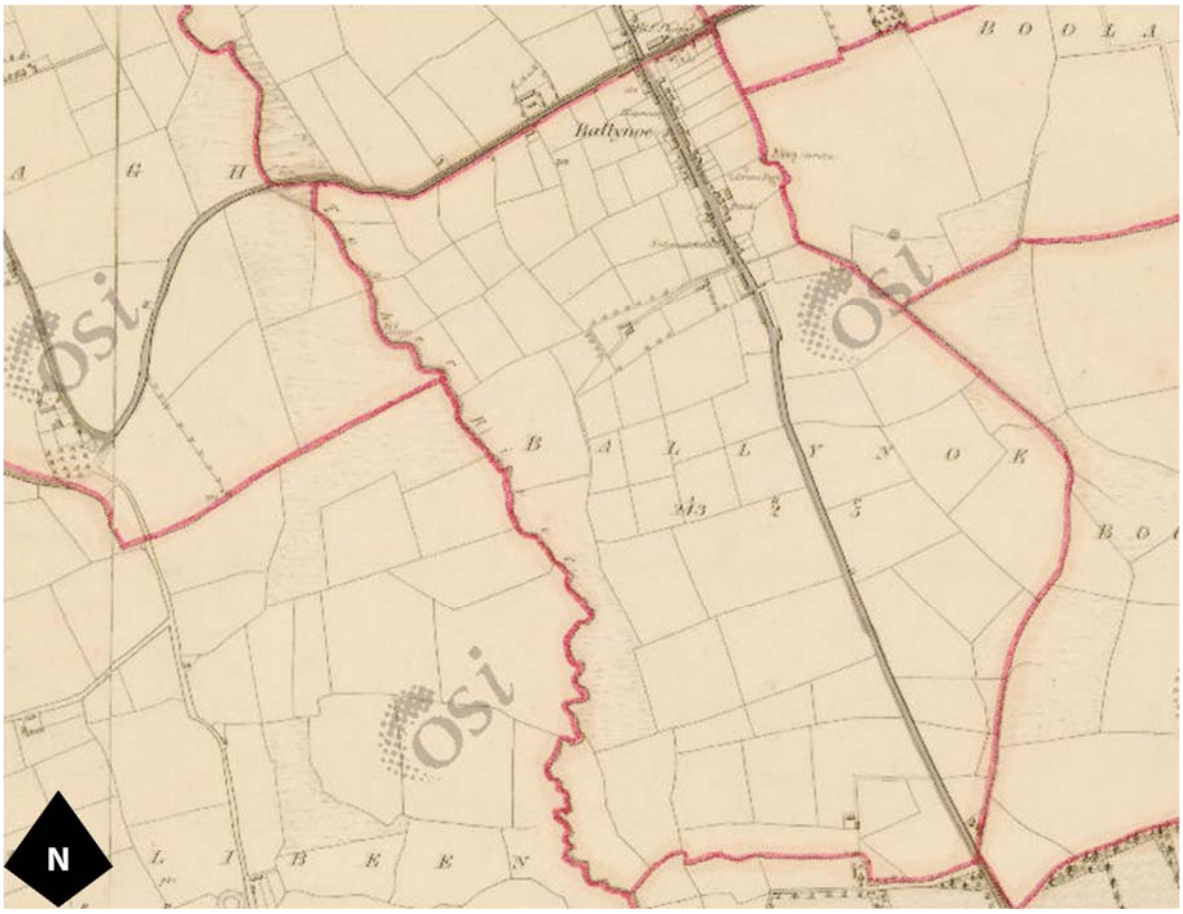


Figure 84. First edition OS map of Ballynoe townland

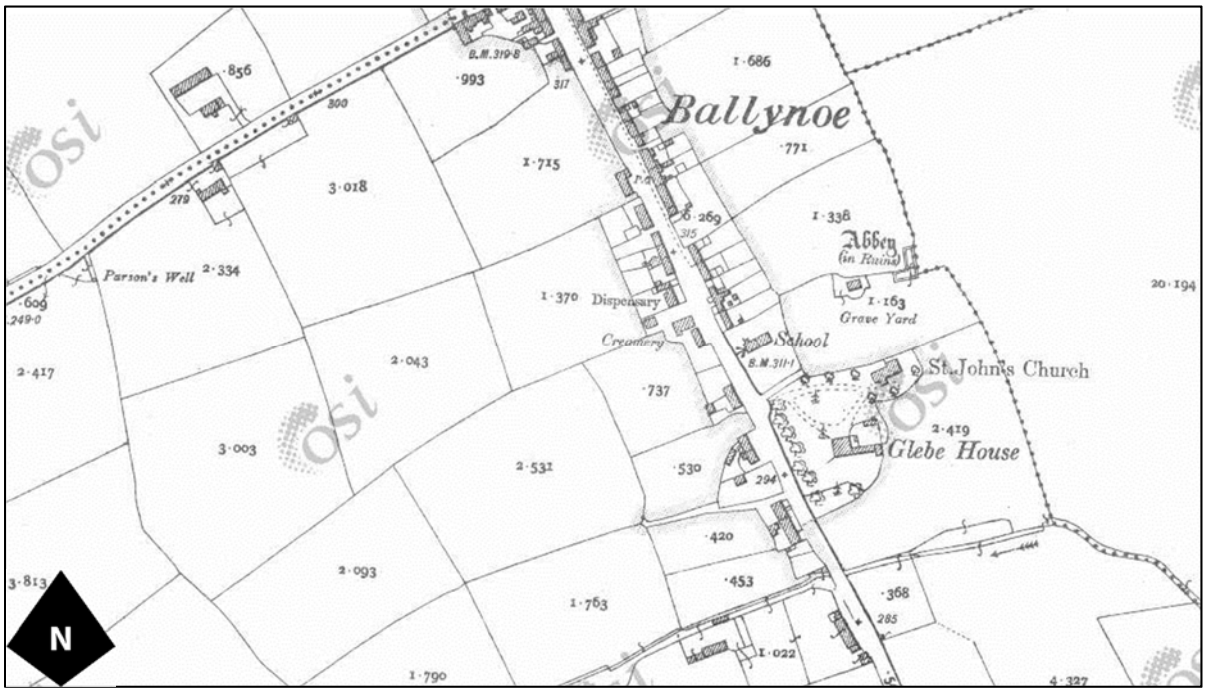


Figure 85. Second edition OS map of Ballynoe townland



Figure 86. Aerial image of part of Ballynoe townland (DG 2011 – 3)

2.2.6. Ballinscurlogue

There are no ringforts recorded in the resister for this townland (NMS 2018). In his survey, Bateman (1717, map 36) provides no evidence for the existence of same at that time. However, he does depict a, previously unrecorded, limekiln in close proximity to the northern townland boundary and adjacent to the north-south running 'youghall roade'. This townland was not one that Scalé (1774) presented in the results of his survey. Again, neither of the OS maps of this townland contain mention of ringforts (OSI 1841 & 1904, Sheet 46). However, examination of aerial imagery, particularly Digital Globe ([NMS] 2011 – 3), shows a potential crop mark of *c*. 44m in diameter centred on grid coordinates, 595288-588457. This location is on the forward slope of rising ground and approximately 100m from the stream that forms the eastern boundary of the townland. As such, it might be expected that if it were extant at the time of Bateman's (1717) survey that it would have been included in such.



Figure 87. Bateman's map of Ballinscurloge townland

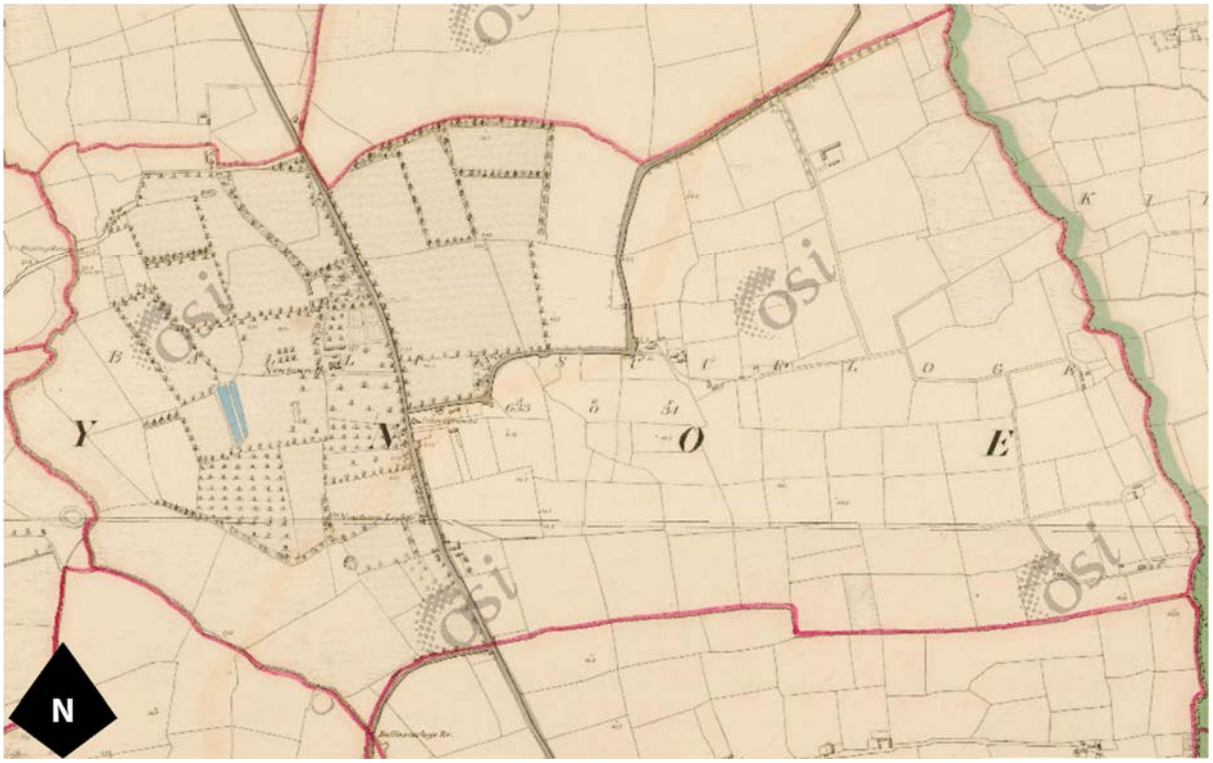


Figure 88. First edition OS map of Ballinscurloge townland



Figure 89. Second edition OS map of Ballinscurloge townland



Figure 90. Aerial image of Ballinscurloge townland showing previously unrecorded site (DG 2011 – 3)



Figure 91. Close up aerial image of Ballinscurloge townland showing previously unrecorded site (DG 2011 – 3)

2.2.7. Booladurragha

Bateman (1717, map 42) provides no evidence for ringforts in the map that resulted from his survey of this townland. However, he does include one feature of archaeological interest. He depicts a lime kiln roughly centre ways in the townland and very close to the northern boundary. Scalé (1774, map 7a) shows no archaeological features at all in his map of this area. This townland is shown as having been divided into two separate areas, Booladurragha North and South, by the time of the creation of the first edition OS maps (1841, Sheet 46). Neither this map nor that of the second edition revisions (1904, Sheet 46) contain information to support the presence of ringforts here. However, the first edition OS map (1841, Sheet 46) does depict a symbol associated with lime kilns in the general area of that shown on Bateman's (1717, map 42) map. This archaeological monument is recorded in the register and bears the SMR no. CO046-031. Finally, study of available images from recent aerial surveys unearths no evidence to support an argument for the presence of ringforts in this townland (DG 2011 - 3; GE 2009 & 2017).

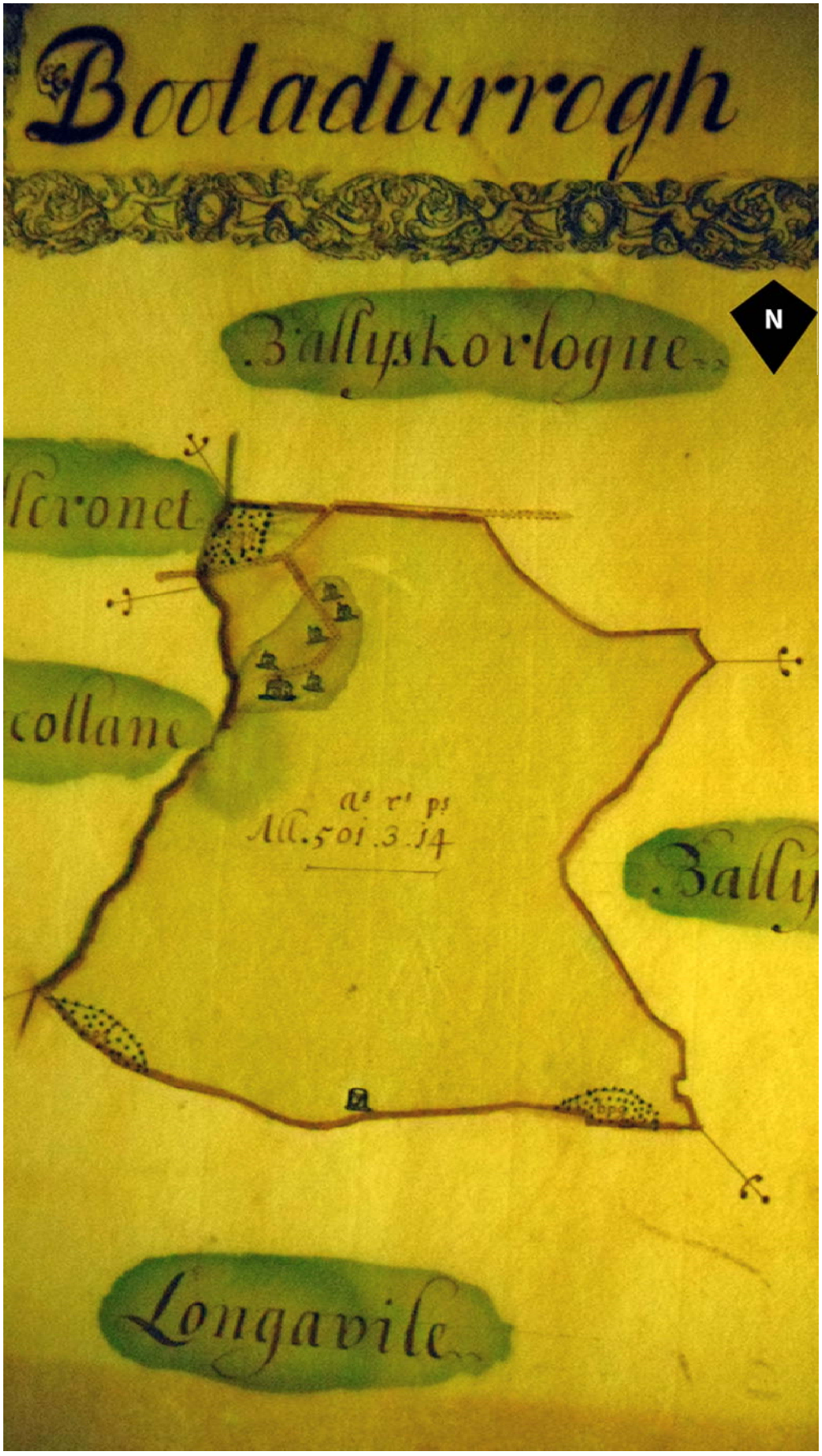


Figure 92. Bateman's map of Booldurragha townland

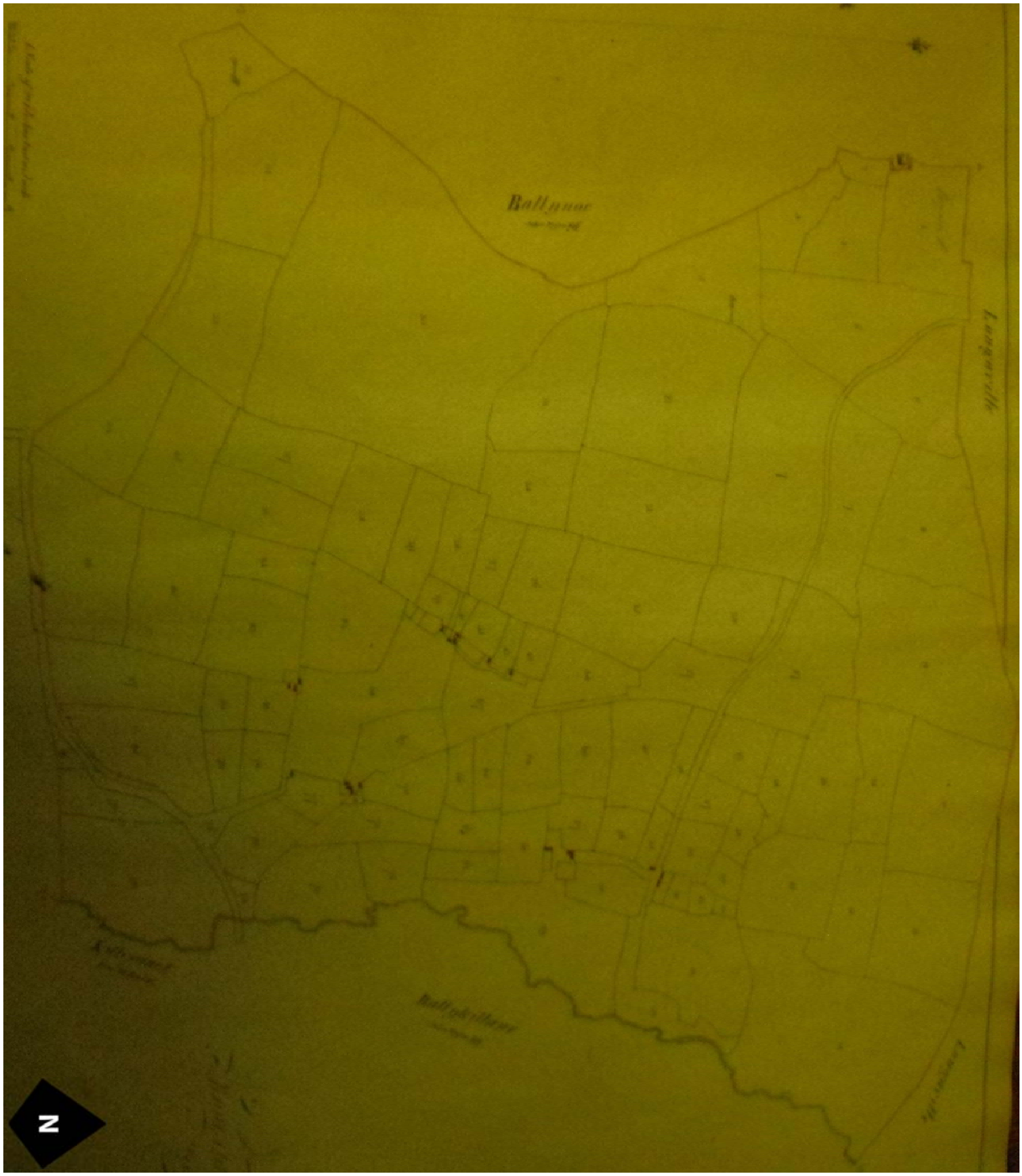


Figure 93. Scalé's map of Booldurragha townland



Figure 94. First edition OS map of Booldurragha North townland



Figure 95. First edition OS map of Booldurragha South townland

2.2.8. Cullenagh

The archaeological record contains reference to the presence of one ringfort within this townland. This has been attributed the SMR number of CO045-074. In an earlier survey of the same townland, Bateman (1717, map 48) does not include any reference to this monument. However, he does depict the main road that bisects the townland in a north-south direction. Another road that runs in a northwest – southeast direction from this main road to the western boundary is also shown. In the northwest quadrant of the townland, bounded by these two roads and the townland boundary itself, Bateman (*ibid.*) also depicts two settlement sites. The smaller of these, slightly to the south-east, is shown as being defined by a circular surrounding area. This may be of particular interest for this location may correspond to the site depicted on Scalé's (1774, map 12a) later map of this same townland. In this illustration the main north-south road is still visible. As is the portion of the secondary road where it crosses the townland boundary to the northwest. However, the remainder of this road seems to have disappeared by this stage.

Nevertheless, the general area that corresponds to the particular quadrant shown on Bateman's (1717, 48) map can be perceived. On Scalé's (1774, 12a) map, the location of the main settlement is indicated and slightly further to the southeast the aforementioned ringfort, CO045-074, is shown. Thus perhaps a speculative association may be formed to link this ringfort with the minor settlement site shown on the earlier map. The fact that Bateman (1717, 58) also depicted the trivallate ringfort in Ballyknock townland as a settlement site rather than a 'Dane's Fort' may reinforce this possibility. For it may be that one of the defining features for him of such a structure be that it should be uninhabited. In any event, the first edition OS (1841, Sheet 45) shows this ringfort to have been levelled at some point during the intervening 67 years. Although, the map created following the second edition revisions (1904, Sheet 45) does include semi-circular field boundaries that highlight the southern and western extent of this monument. Aerial imagery (DG 2011 - 3; GE 2009 & 2017) show that in recent times only the western boundary of this ringfort is defined by such a field boundary.

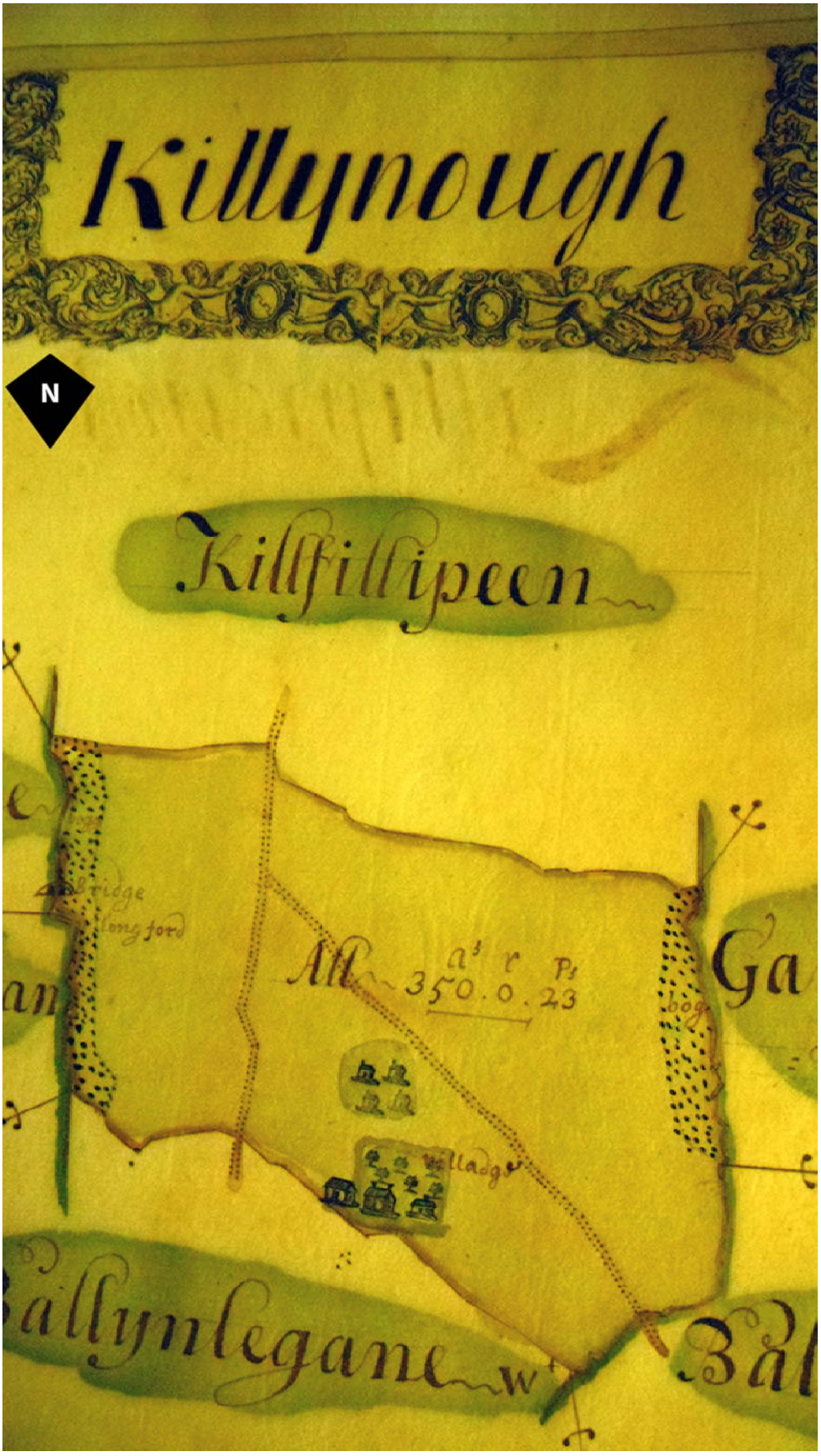


Figure 96. Bateman's map of Cullenagh townland

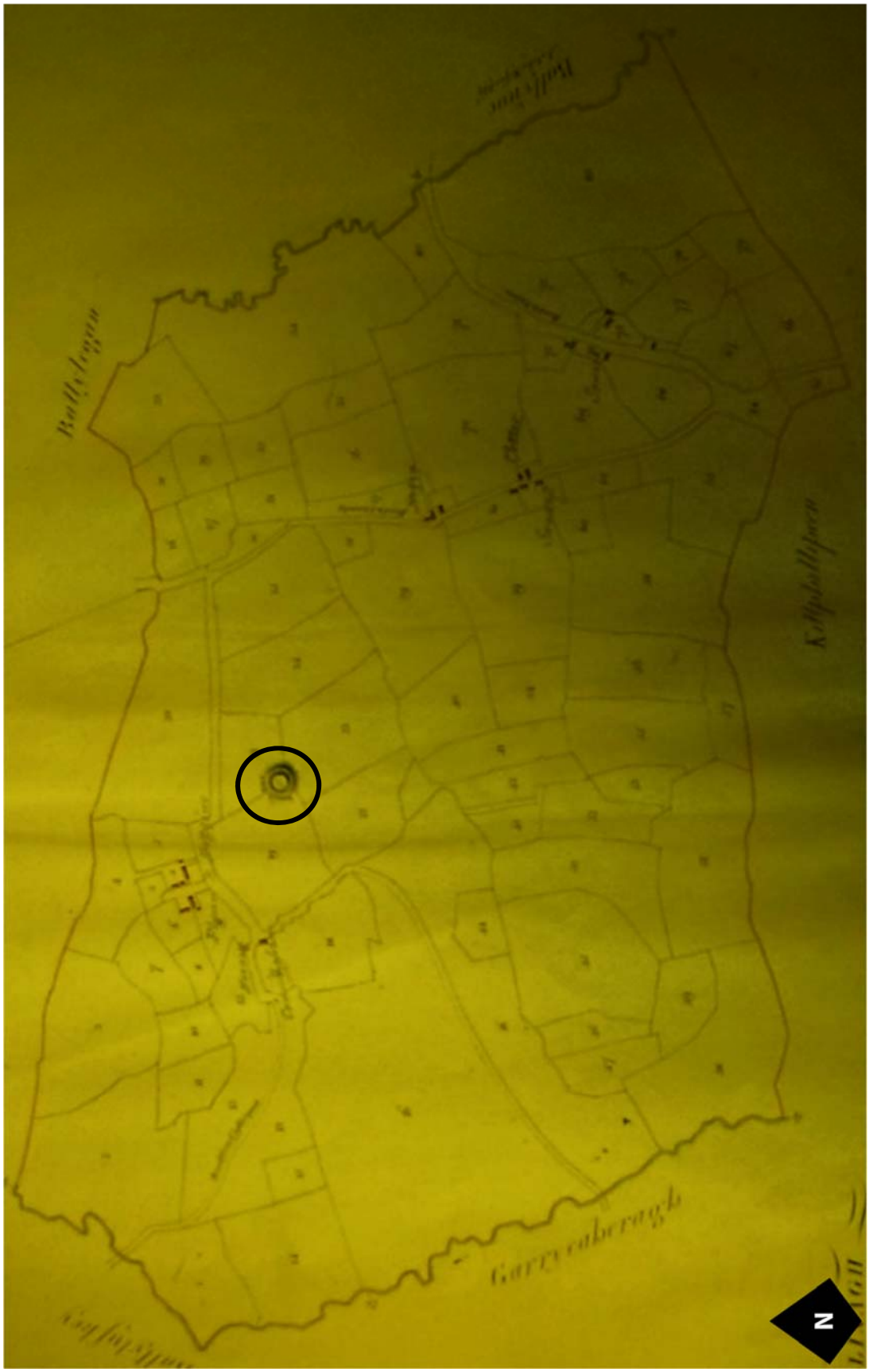


Figure 97. Scalé's map of Cullenagh townland depicting ringfort CO045-074

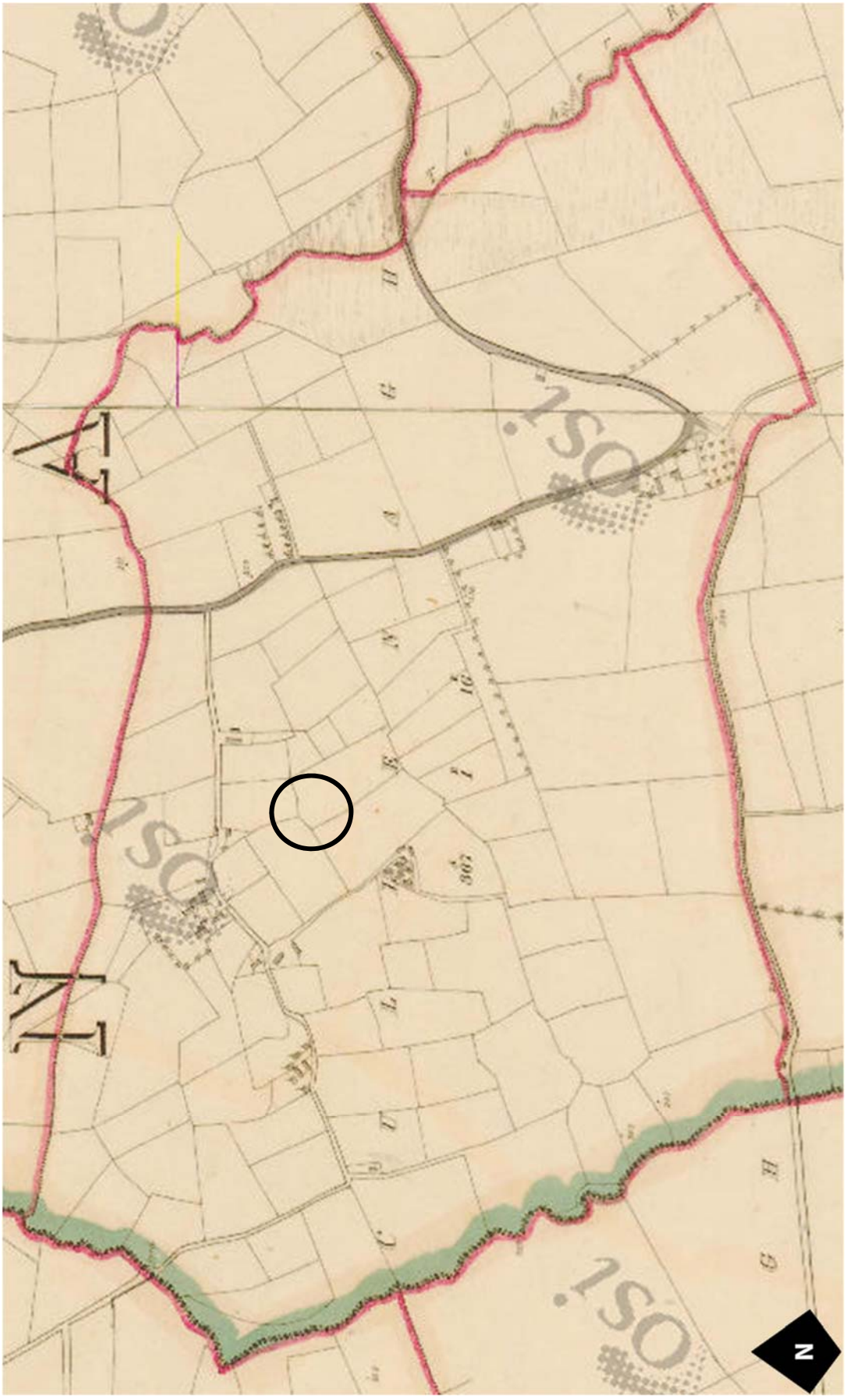


Figure 98. First edition OS map of Cullenagh townland depicting site of ringfort CO045-074

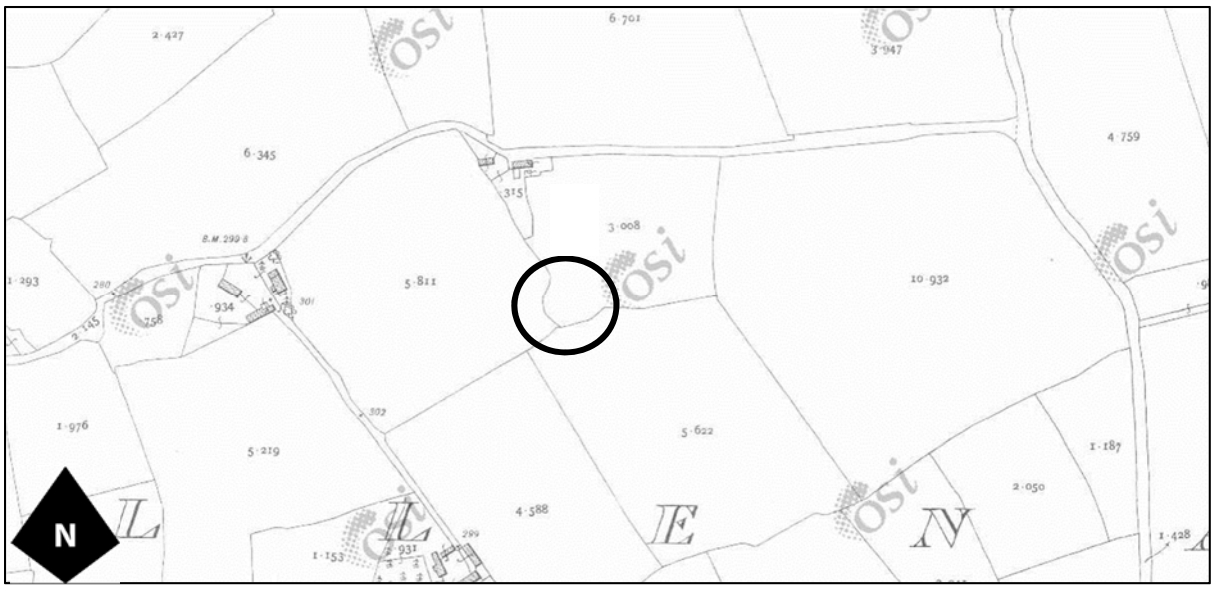


Figure 99. Second edition OS map of Cullenagh townland depicting site of ringfort CO045-074



Figure 100. Aerial image of Cullenagh townland depicting site of ringfort CO045-074 (DG 2011 – 3)

2.2.9. Garraneribbeen

This is the only townland which shows no change in ringfort numbers over the time period under examination. In each of the three surveys a single ringfort is shown located at the north-east corner (Bateman 1717, map 46; Scalé 1774, map 19a; OSI 1841 – 2, Sheet 55). This

ringfort, SMR number CO055-005, is a univallate example with the bank standing 1.3m high and surrounded by a shallow fosse 0.4m in depth (Power *et al.* 1994, 100-1). [Bateman shows a lime kiln also] Comparison between first edition OS maps and recent satellite images shows that some field clearance has taken place nearby. In addition, some bog drainage and marginal land reclamation has also been carried out. However, the boundaries of the field containing the ringfort appear to be unchanged and the bank of the ringfort is defined by a circle of trees or bushes (NMS 2017).

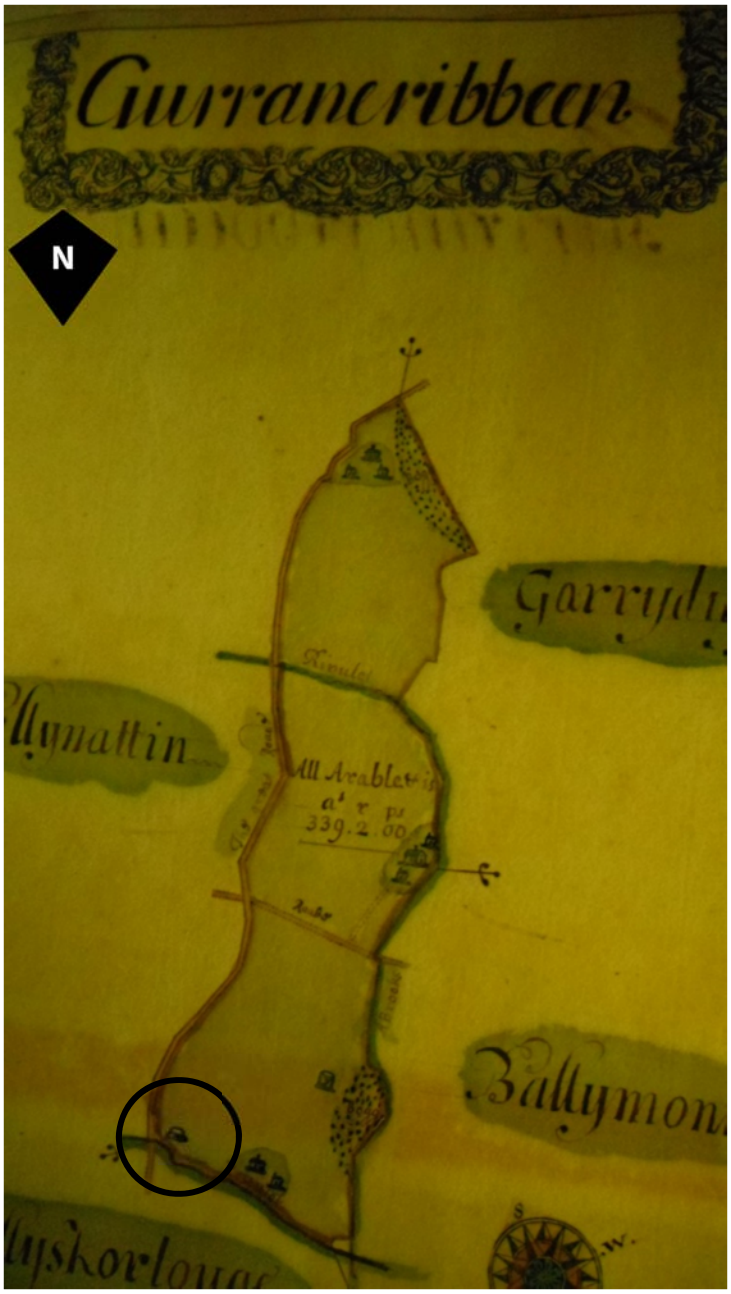


Figure 101. Bateman's map of Garraneribbeen townland depicting ringfort CO055-005

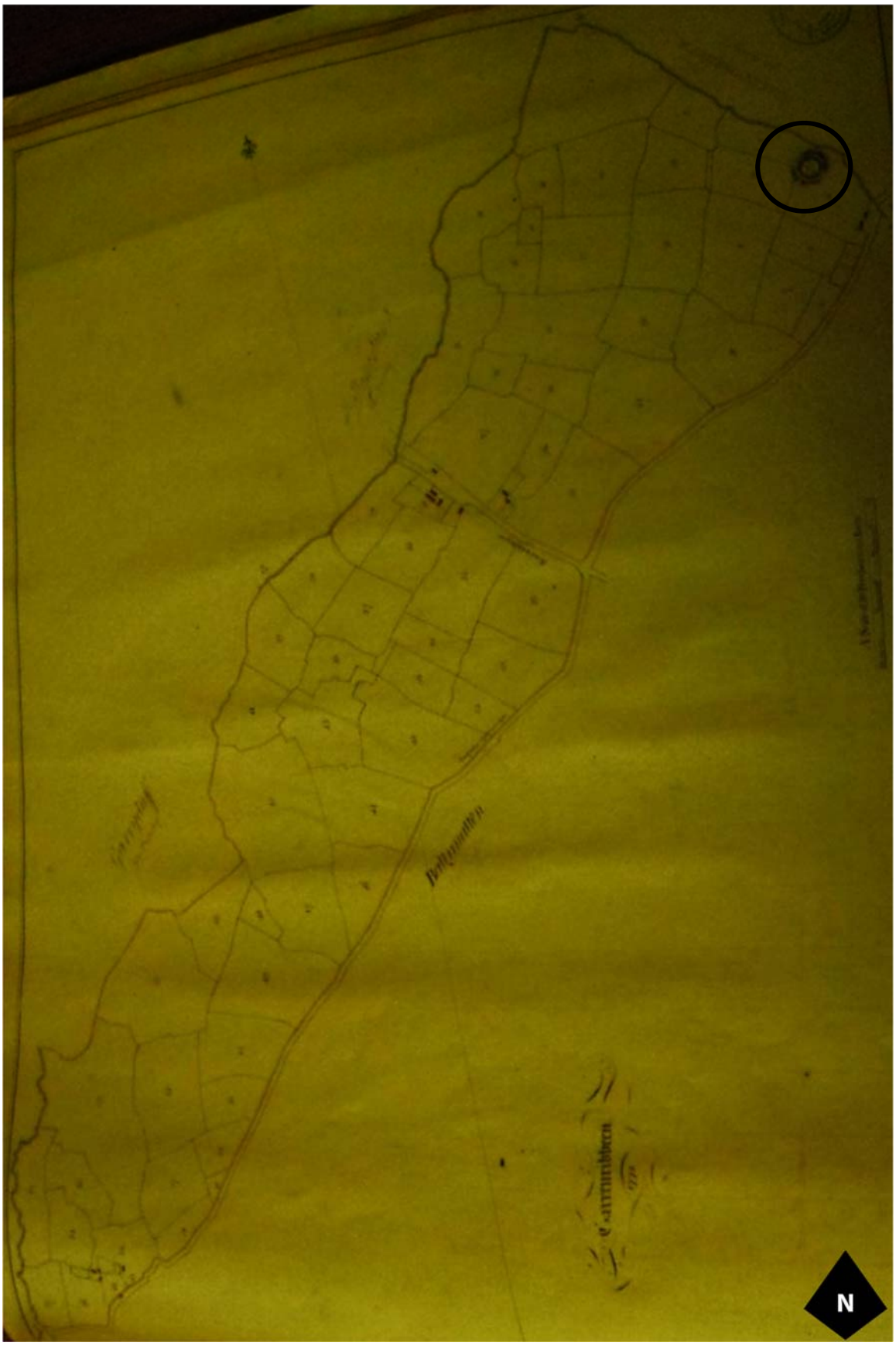


Figure 102. Scalé's map of Garraneribbeen townland depicting ringfort CO055-005

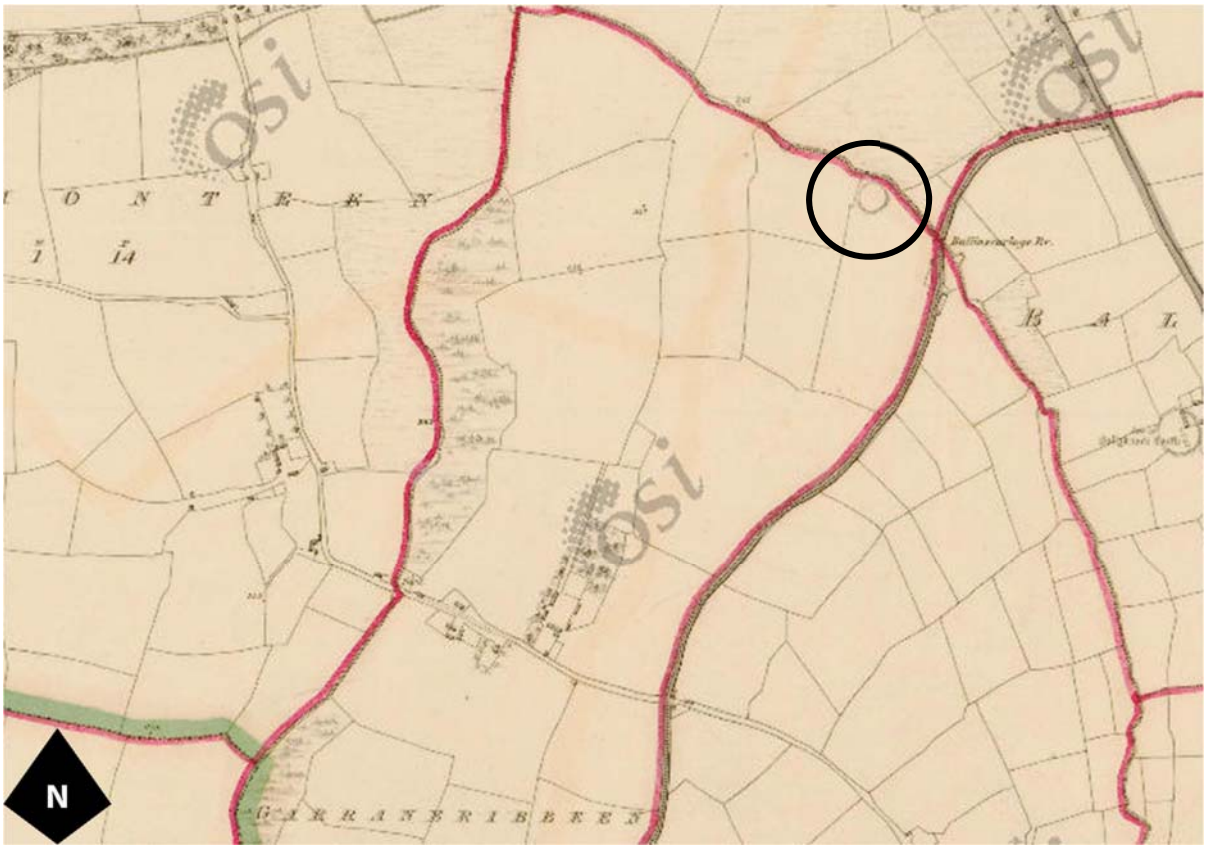


Figure 103. First edition OS map of Garraneribbeen townland depicting ringfort CO055-005

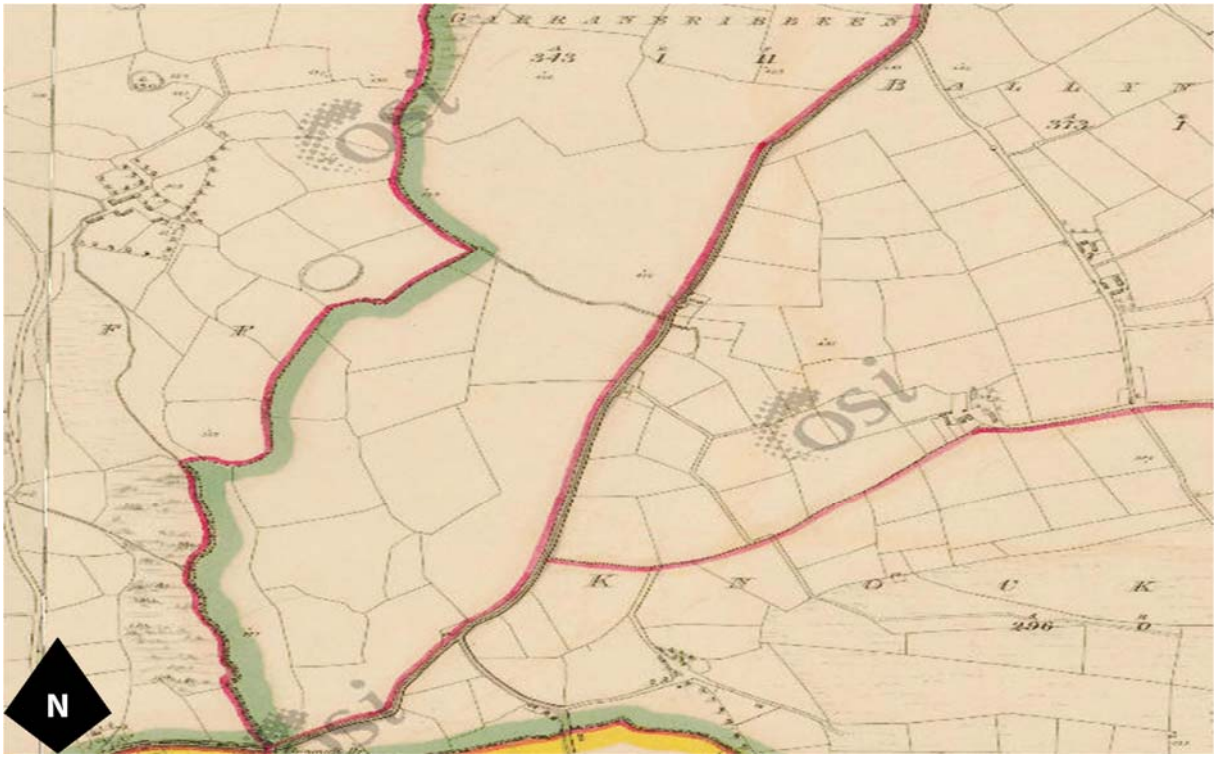


Figure 104. First edition OS map of Garraneribbeen

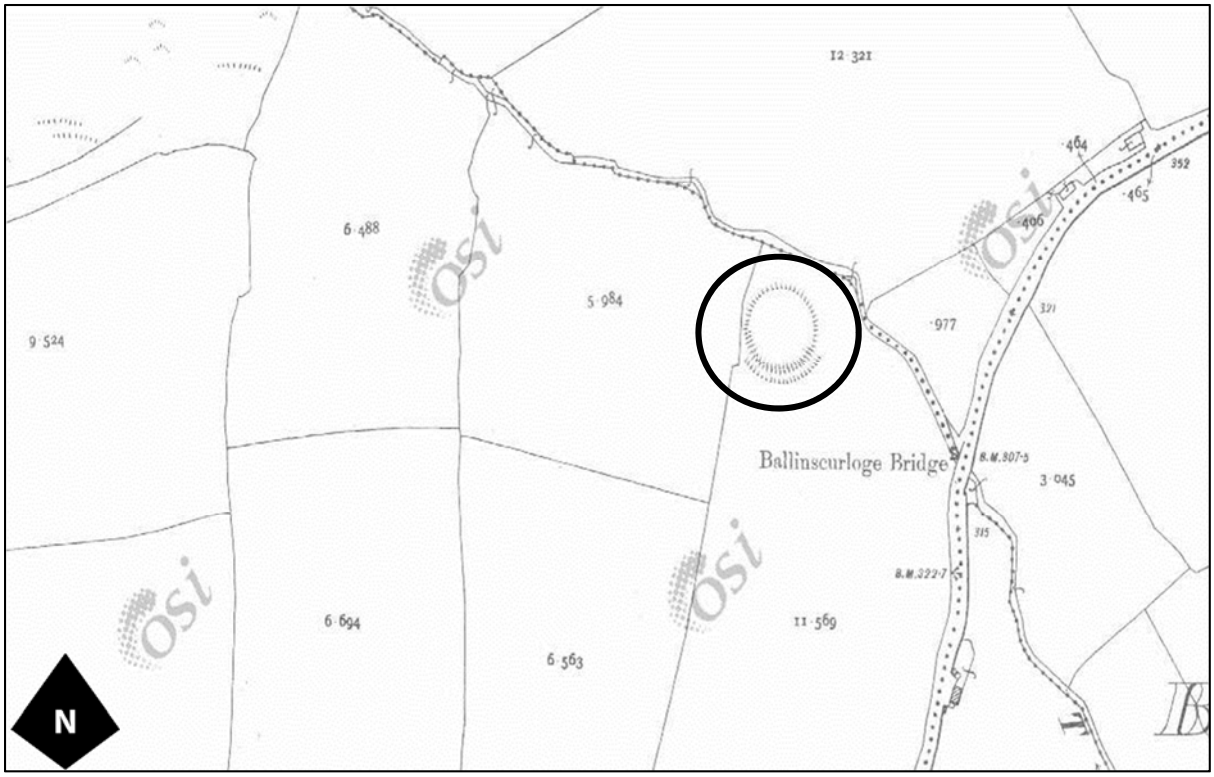


Figure 105. Second edition OS map of Garraneribbeen townland depicting ringfort CO055-005



Figure 106. Aerial image of Garraneribbeen townland depicting ringfort CO055-005 (DG 2011 – 3)

2.2.10 Garryduff

In his map, Bateman (1717, map 39) divides this townland into several geographical areas. The eastern half he refers to as 'All The Inland' and the area to the west as the 'Mountaine'. There is also a small area between the two that is noted as 'Inclosed Mountain'. The 'Inland' section also includes a road running roughly north-south. Bateman (*ibid.*) also includes reference to three ringforts in this townland, all located in the 'Inland' portion. These are included in the register and have been attributed SMR numbers. Two of these ringforts are located northeast of the road. One of these, CO055-001, is shown in close proximity to the northern townland boundary and the other, CO055-002, is shown slightly to the southwest. This latter ringfort is also named as 'Lissard' on this earliest map. This again must be evidence that Bateman, at least sometimes, made use of local knowledge in regards to some of these sites. The third site is shown by Bateman as west of the road and this, in all probability, corresponds to ringfort no. CO054-062. A noted association exists between this ringfort and a souterrain, SMR no. CO054-140.

This townland was also one of those not included in Scalé's (1774) survey of the region. However, the first edition OS (1842, Sheet 54; 1841-2, Sheet 55) maps contain evidence for the presence of six ringforts in this particular townland. In addition to the three aforementioned locations, the others are located further south within the townland. One, CO054-063001, is shown located approximately 160m south east of the latter of the initial trio of monuments, CO054-062. This site too is associated with a souterrain, CO054-063002. Another, CO054-064, is shown located just east of some houses and close to the north bank of a stream that runs west-east across the townland. This stream had also been portrayed on Bateman's (1717, map 39) map and referred to as a 'rivulet'. Houses had also been shown in the general location of the latter site but there is no reference by Bateman to a ringfort in this general location. The last ringfort, CO054-095, is shown as being almost 400m due south from this latter monument. Unfortunately, by the time of the second edition revisions (1904, Sheets 54 & 55) just three of these ringforts remain. Incidentally, these are the three ringforts originally mentioned at the beginning of this section, CO055-001, CO055-002 & CO054-062.

Two of these remaining sites, CO055-001 & CO055-002, were excavated by M.J. O'Kelly during the 'summers of 1945 and 1947' (O'Kelly & Stelfox 1963, 17). To begin this article, O'Kelly (*ibid.*) notes that these two ringforts, which he refers to as 'Garryduff I' and 'Garryduff II', are located on a prominent knoll that offers far-ranging visibility to the north.

He surmised that this may have been an important factor in deciding that positioning of these structures, particularly 'Garryduff I' (*ibid*, 18). He also remarked upon the existence of the remains of three of the remaining four ringforts noted for this townland (*ibid*, 17). Therefore, he finds evidence for a total of five ringforts and this contrasts with the earlier second edition OS (1904, 54) map that depicts but three. In any event, 'Garryduff I' was noted as the more elevated of the two sites excavated. As such it corresponds to that recorded as CO055-002 and, indeed, to that recorded on Bateman's (1717, map 39) map as 'Lissard'.

That 'Garryduff I' served as a habitation site was confirmed by the discovery of the outline for two houses dating from its initial period of occupation (O'Kelly & Stelfox 1963, 25). This ringfort, 'Garryduff I' ('Lissard'), was also the site were a large quantity of artefacts were recovered. One of these finds was the tiny golden ornament of a bird now held by the Cork Public Museum (*ibid*, 27). While this was the only object in gold recovered, a wide variety of metal artefacts in bronze and iron were also recovered as a result of these excavations. In fact, the quantity of artefacts and also the evidence for metalworking, such as crucibles, furnace bottoms, tuyeres and slag suggested that at least some of the inhabitants of 'Garryduff I' ('Lissard') must have been craftsmen (*ibid*, 95-103).

However, it was the examination of the pottery fragments associated with this structure that allowed for a possible date range to be established for its habitation. The majority of the pottery fragments recovered during this excavation belong to the E-ware category of pottery (*ibid*, 105). This allowed O'Kelly to put forward a tentative date range for the occupation of this ringfort from between AD 650 to AD 750, with a potential outer date limit of AD 800 (O'Kelly & Stelfox 1963, 119). The lower, and more northerly, site of 'Garryduff II' puzzles O'Kelly, for he remarks that rarely had he 'encountered such archaeologically sterile ground' (*ibid*, 121). There appears no evidence to suggest that the structure was ever used for human habitation or for animal enclosure. It is as if the structure was built but the entire site abandoned prior to its use.

To advance several centuries, a study of aerial photographs from recent aerial surveys shows these three ringforts to be extant. Although 'Garryduff I', CO055-002, is shown as bounded by a quarry to the south (NMS 2018). Garryduff II, CO055-001, is shown down slope, skirted by a farm track to the south, and defined by a circular pattern of trees. The third ringfort, CO055-062 is shown slightly to the south west of these and an association with a souterrain is noted for this monument (NMS 2018). For the remainder of the ringforts recorded for this

townland, the location of one, CO054-063001, may be indicated by a curved field boundary that may mark the north-east extent. Here also an association with a souterrain is noted. Whereas, the locations of the final two ringforts, CO054-064 & CO054-095, may be inferred by the presence of circular crop marks at, or close to, their respective recorded positions. The first edition (1842, Sheet 54) map shows a laneway connecting this latter ringfort to the main road; perhaps, indicating that this ringfort served a practical function for the surrounding inhabitants. Incidentally, this map also includes a symbol that denotes a, previously unrecorded, lime kiln on this connecting roadway. On the second edition (1904, Sheet 54) map this site is again identified as a lime kiln by use of a symbol and also the phrase ‘lime kiln’.



Figure 107. Close up of Bateman’s map of Garryduff townland

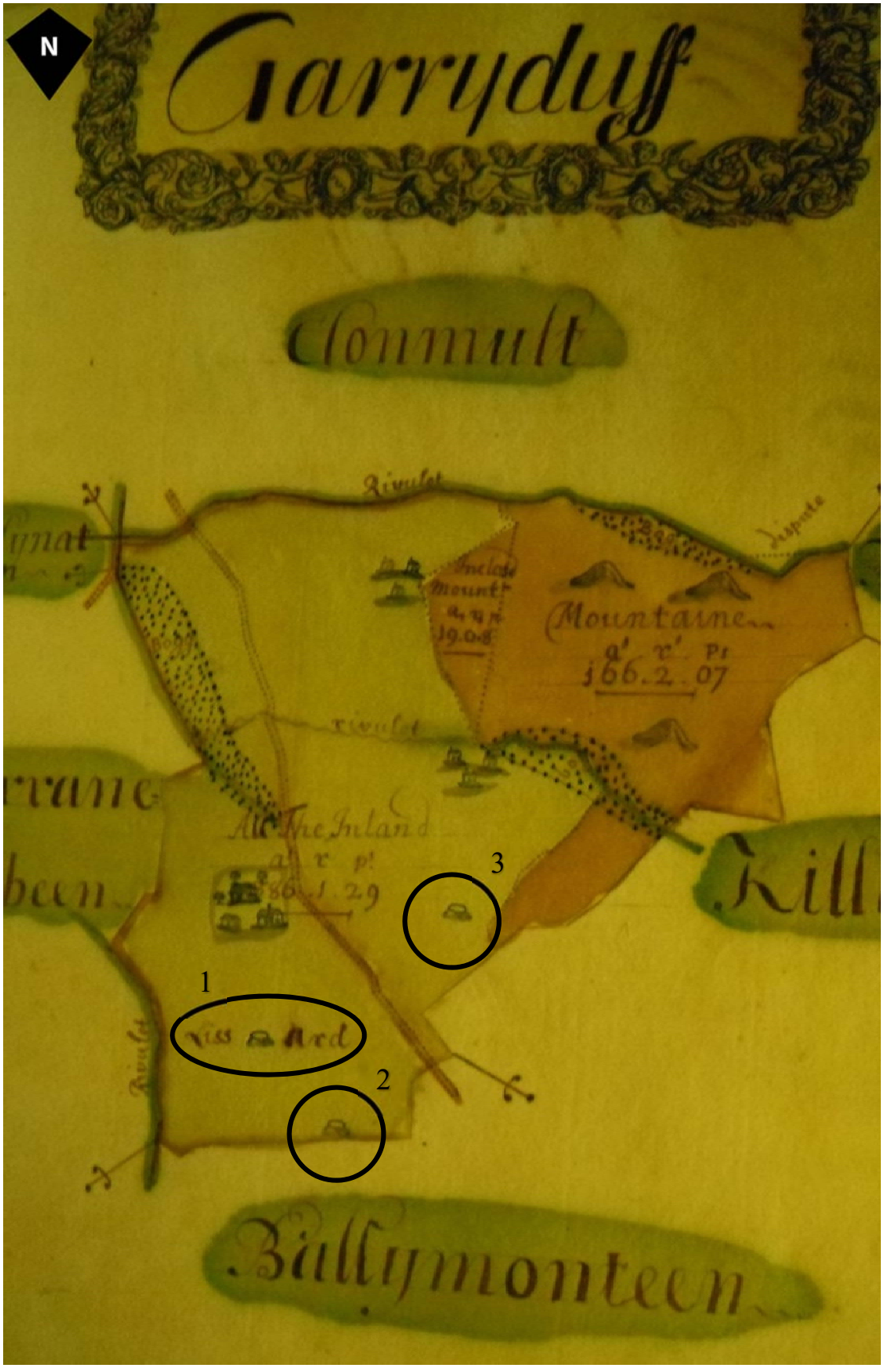


Figure 108. Bateman's map of Garryduff townland depicting ringforts 1. CO055-002, 2. CO055-002 & 3. CO054-062

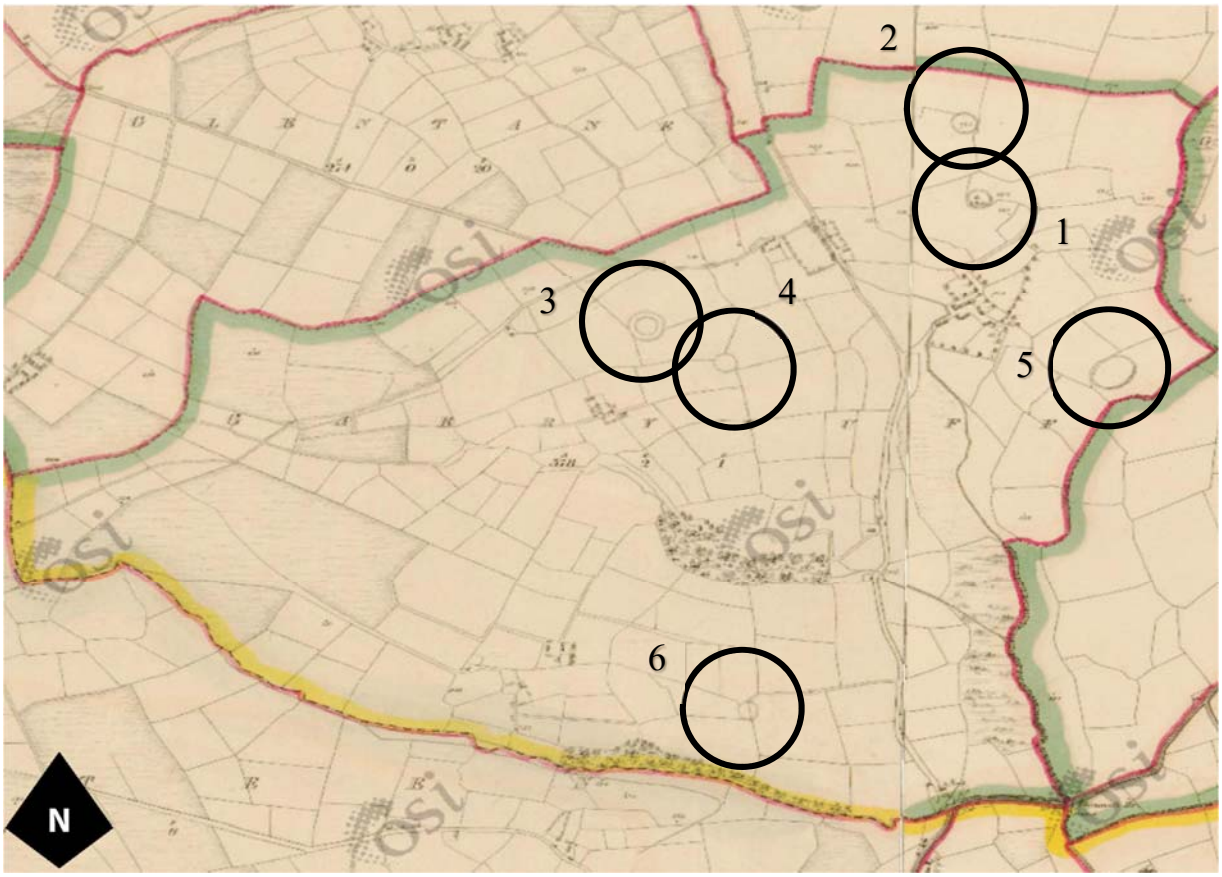


Figure 109. First edition OS map of Garryduff townland depicting ringforts 1. CO055-002, 2. CO055-002, 3. CO054-062, 4. CO054-063001, 5. CO054-064 and 6. CO054-095



Figure 110. First edition OS map of Garryduff townland depicting ringfort CO054-095

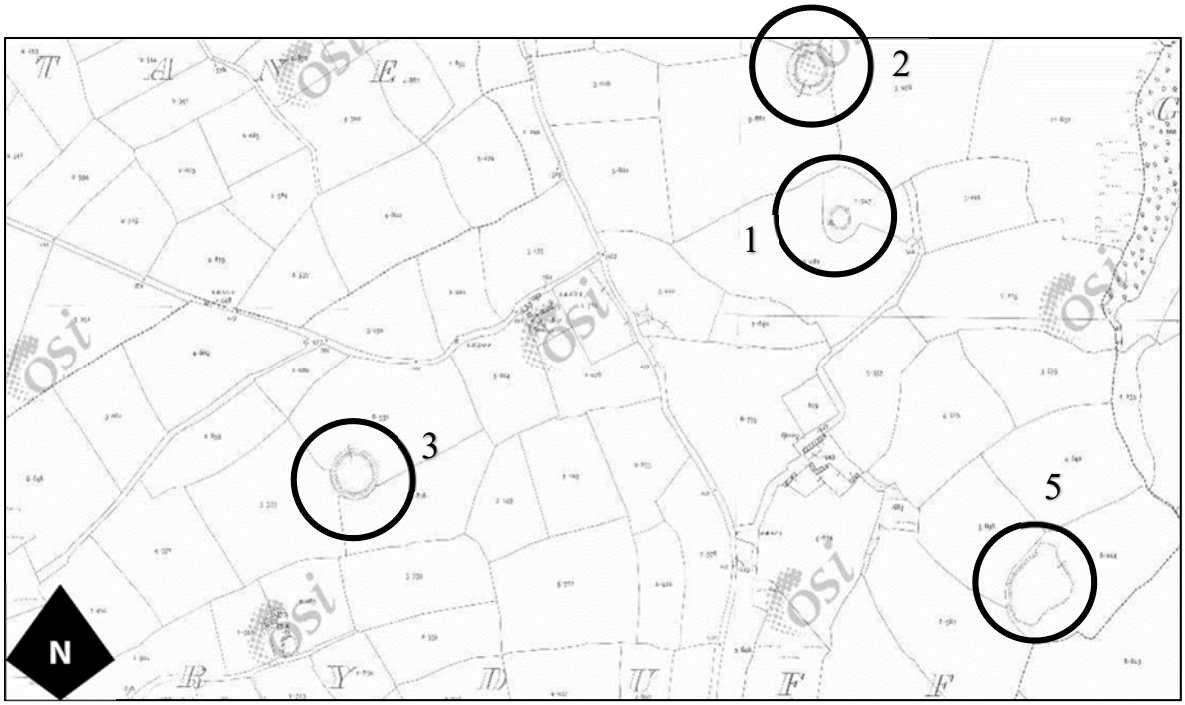


Figure 111. Second edition OS map of Garryduff townland depicting ringforts 1. CO055-002, 2. CO055-002 & 3. CO054-062 and site of ringfort 5. CO054-064



Figure 112. Aerial image of Garryduff townland depicting ringforts 1. CO055-002, 2. CO055-002 & 3. CO054-062 and site of ringfort 4. CO054-063001 (DG 2011 – 3)

2.2.11. Glenreagh

There is no record in the register of any feature of archaeological interest in this townland. Bateman (1717, map 45) portrays no information in regards to the eventual presence of ringforts here. However, he does include a previously unrecorded lime kiln. This is located west of a road junction in the western half of this townland. Scalé (1774, map 8a) depicts no ringforts in the map which followed his subsequent survey of Glenreigh either. He does, however, include the lime kiln previously illustrated by Bateman (1717, map 45). Neither the first edition OS (1841, Sheet 46) nor the second edition (1904, Sheet 46) contain further information for ringforts either. A symbol that signifies a lime kiln is shown on the first edition OS (1841, Sheet 46) map in the same location as shown on previous maps. On the second edition revision the presence of this monument is noted, as well as the fact that it is 'disused'. Examination of modern aerial imagery provides no evidence of a lime kiln at this location presently. Neither is there any clear evidence of the prior presence of ringforts here. However, a potential feature may be perceived at ITM grid coordinates, 591791-591041, where a circular crop mark of *c*. 60m diameter may be present (DG 2011 - 3; GE 2009 & 2017).

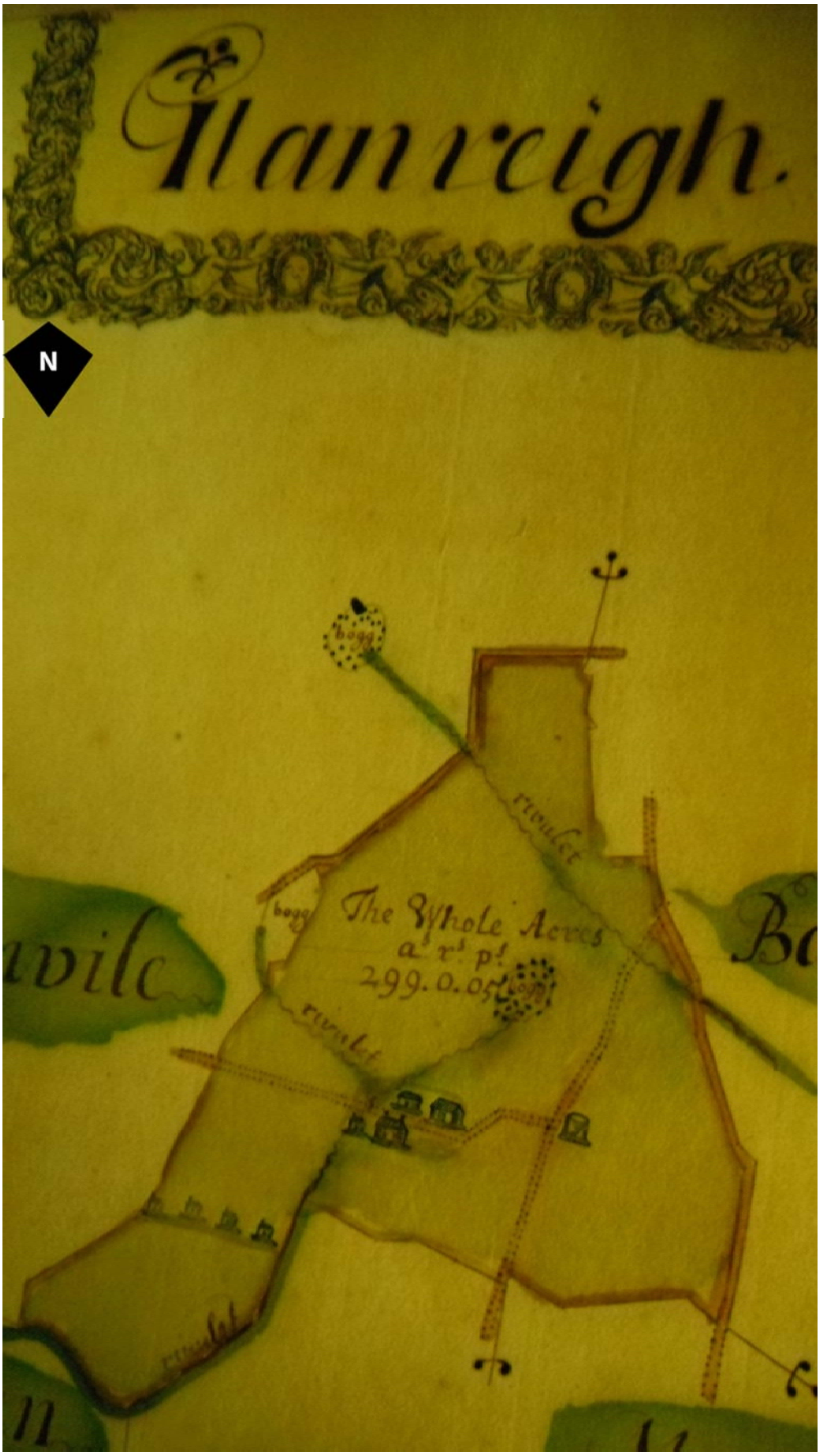


Figure 113. Bateman's map of Glenreagh townland

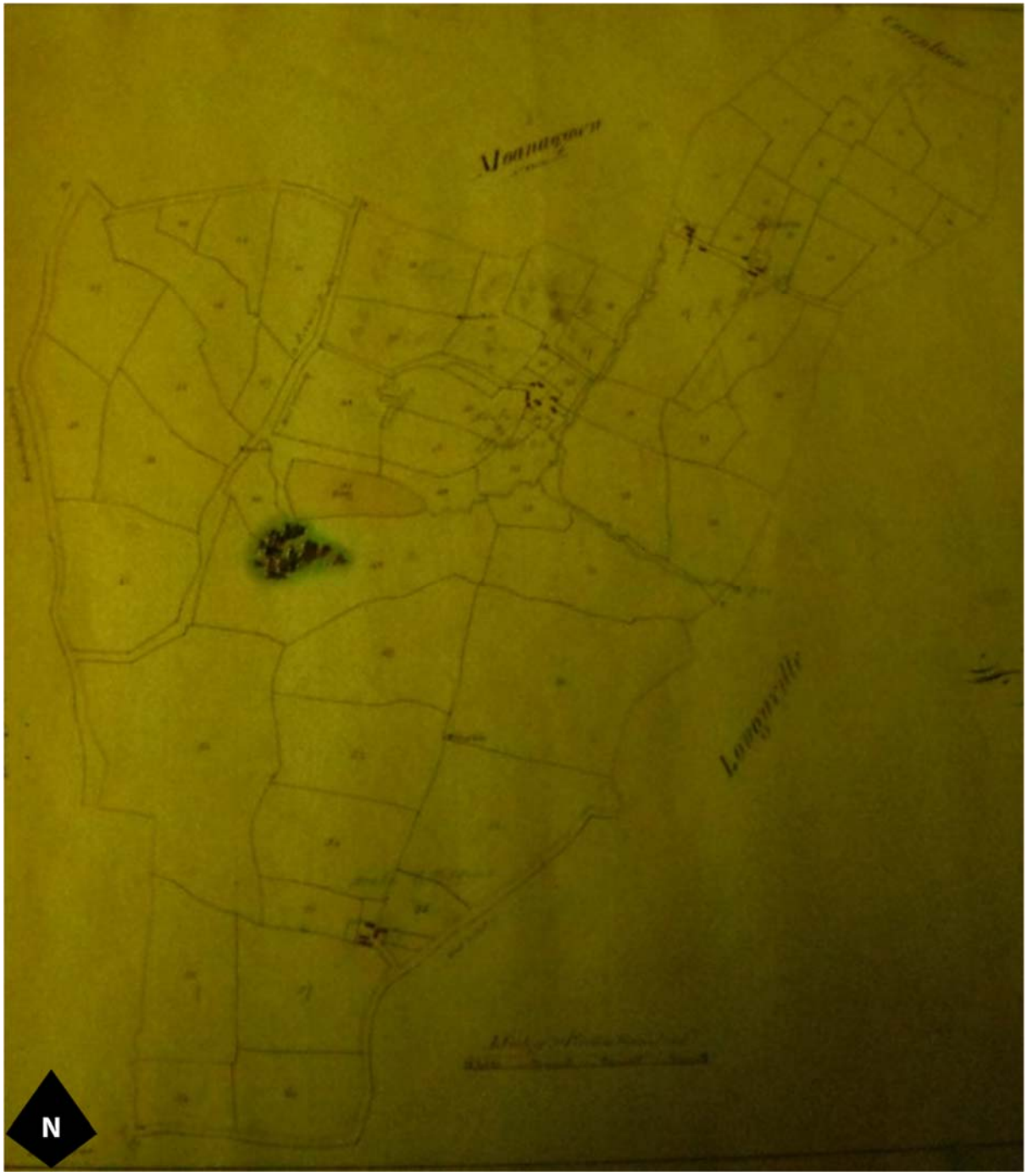


Figure 114. Scalé's map of Glenreagh townland

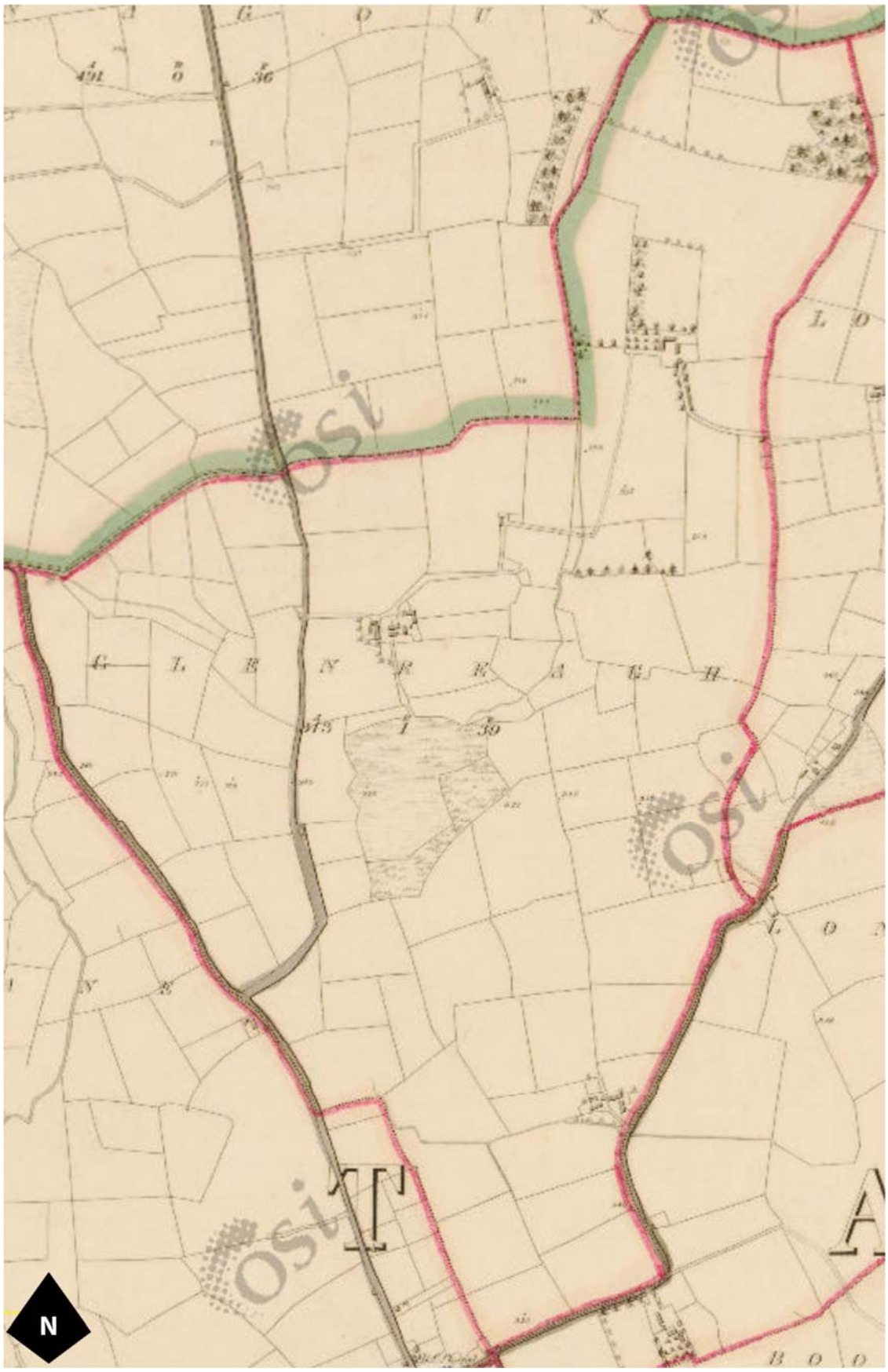


Figure 115. First edition OS map of Glenreagh townland



Figure 116. Aerial image of Glenreagh townland depicting previously unrecorded site (DG 2011 – 3)

2.2.12. Glentane

This townland is shown as a component element of the townland of Killasseragh on the map created by Bateman (1717, map 53) following his survey of the area. However, the eventual area of this townland can be determined for it lies south of a defined stream and is noted as 'All The Mountaine' (*ibid.*). No features of archaeological interest are included however. This geographical situation continued at least until the time of Scalé's (1774, map 17a) survey. Although on this map the eastern portion of this area is shown as settled, the western part is still noted as mountainous. At some time prior to the completion of the first edition (1842, Sheet 54) map the townland of Glentane had been created. Neither this map nor the second edition (1904, Sheet 54) contain any evidence to suggest the presence of ringforts here. A search of available aerial images elucidates this search no further (DG 2011 - 3; GE 2009 & 2017).

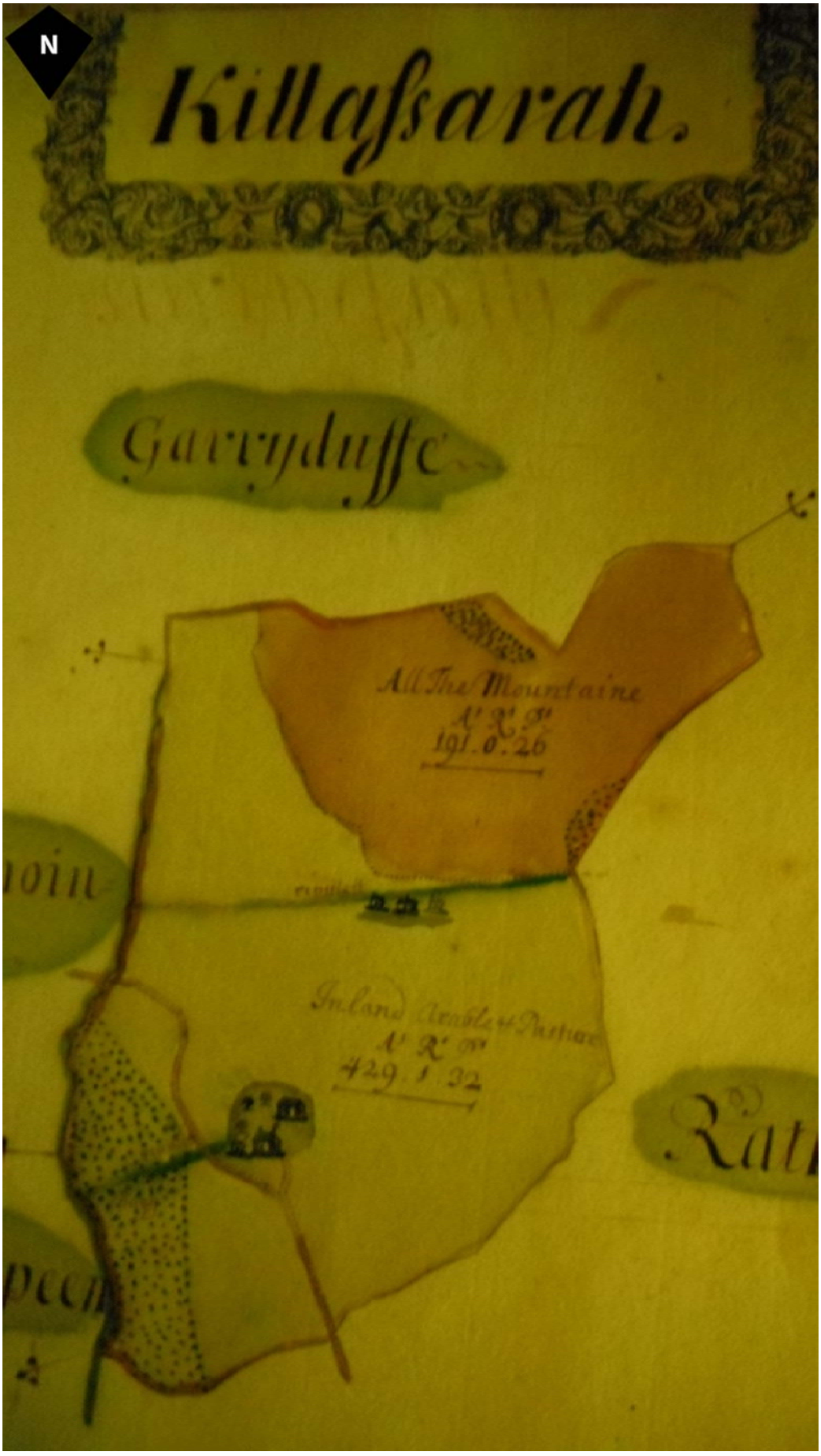


Figure 117. Bateman's map of Glentane townland



Figure 118. Scalé's map of Glentane townland

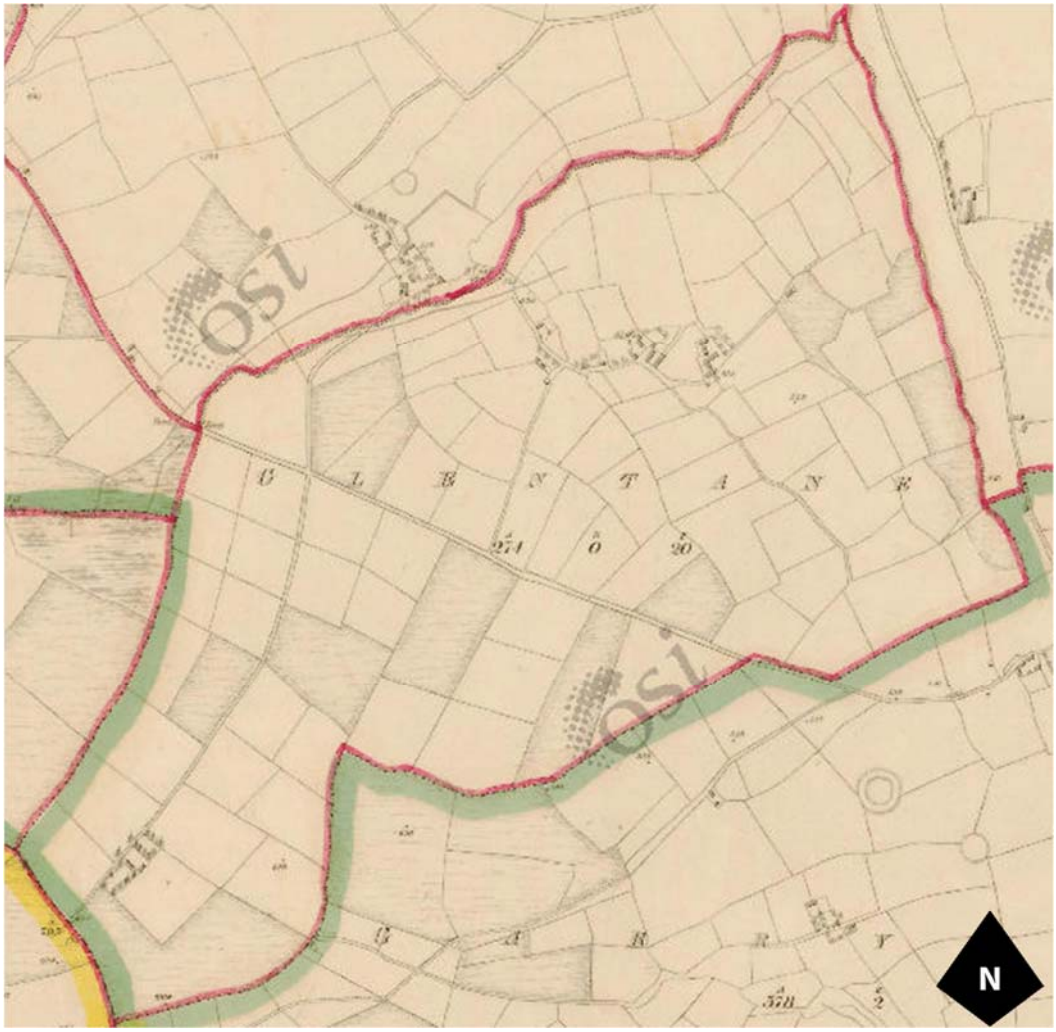


Figure 119. First edition OS map of Glentane townland



Figure 120. Aerial image of Glentane townland (DG 2011-3)

2.2.13. Killasseragh

Bateman (1717, map 53) provides no evidence for any features of archaeological significance in his depiction of this townland. He does include, however, several natural features like bogs, mountains and streams or 'rivulets'. In addition, he also shows two clusters of buildings. One close by a roadway and another on the north bank of a stream that traverses the townland from west to east. Scalé (1774, map 17a), on the other hand, depicts three ringforts or 'Danes Forts' in his map of this same area. Two of these correspond to sites that are recognised as ringforts in the register, CO054-059 and CO054-058. The third structure portrayed as a large ringfort by Scalé is included in the register as a probable ecclesiastical enclosure due to its size and form (Power *et al.* 1994). By the time of the first edition OS (1842, Sheet 54) map this townland had been divided in two, with the aforementioned stream acting as the new boundary.

The northern portion retained the name Killaserragh, while the southern portion was attributed the name Glentane. The two recognised ringforts are still located in the townland of Killasseragh and are clearly shown on the OS map (*ibid.*). On this map also the oval nature of the third feature and the presence of another rectangular feature in its interior are emphasised. Just over sixty years later the two ringforts are no longer extant (OSI 1904, Sheet 54). Although, a curved field boundary indicates the location of CO054-058. A curved line of trees is still visible on photographs of this location from recent aerial surveys (DG 2011 - 3; GE 2009 & 2017). Whereas, a distinctive circular crop mark is clearly evident at the location of CO054-059 to the south. None of these available resources offer any indication for the eventual presence of ringforts in the present townland of Glentane.

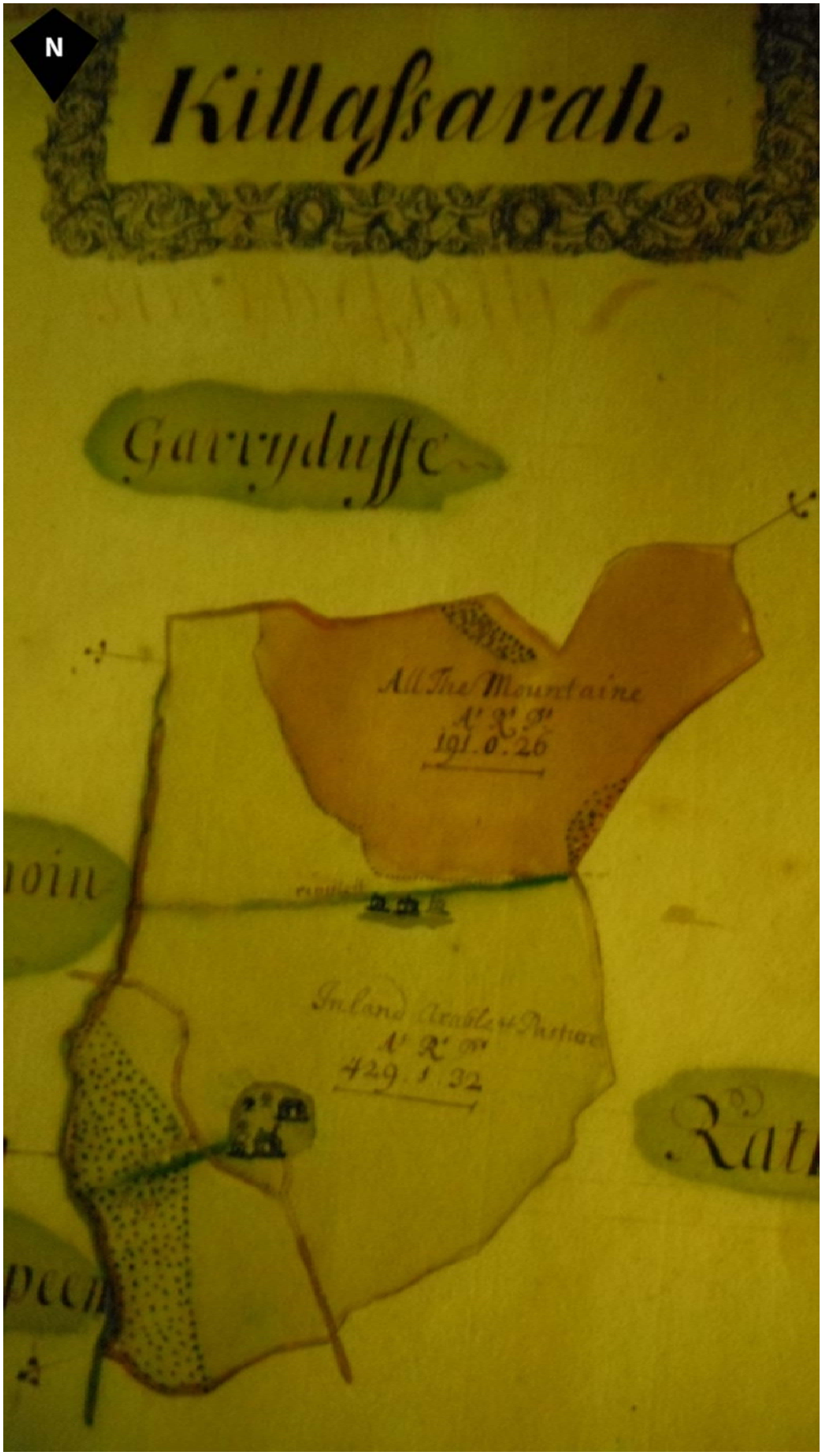


Figure 121. Bateman's map of Killasseragh townland

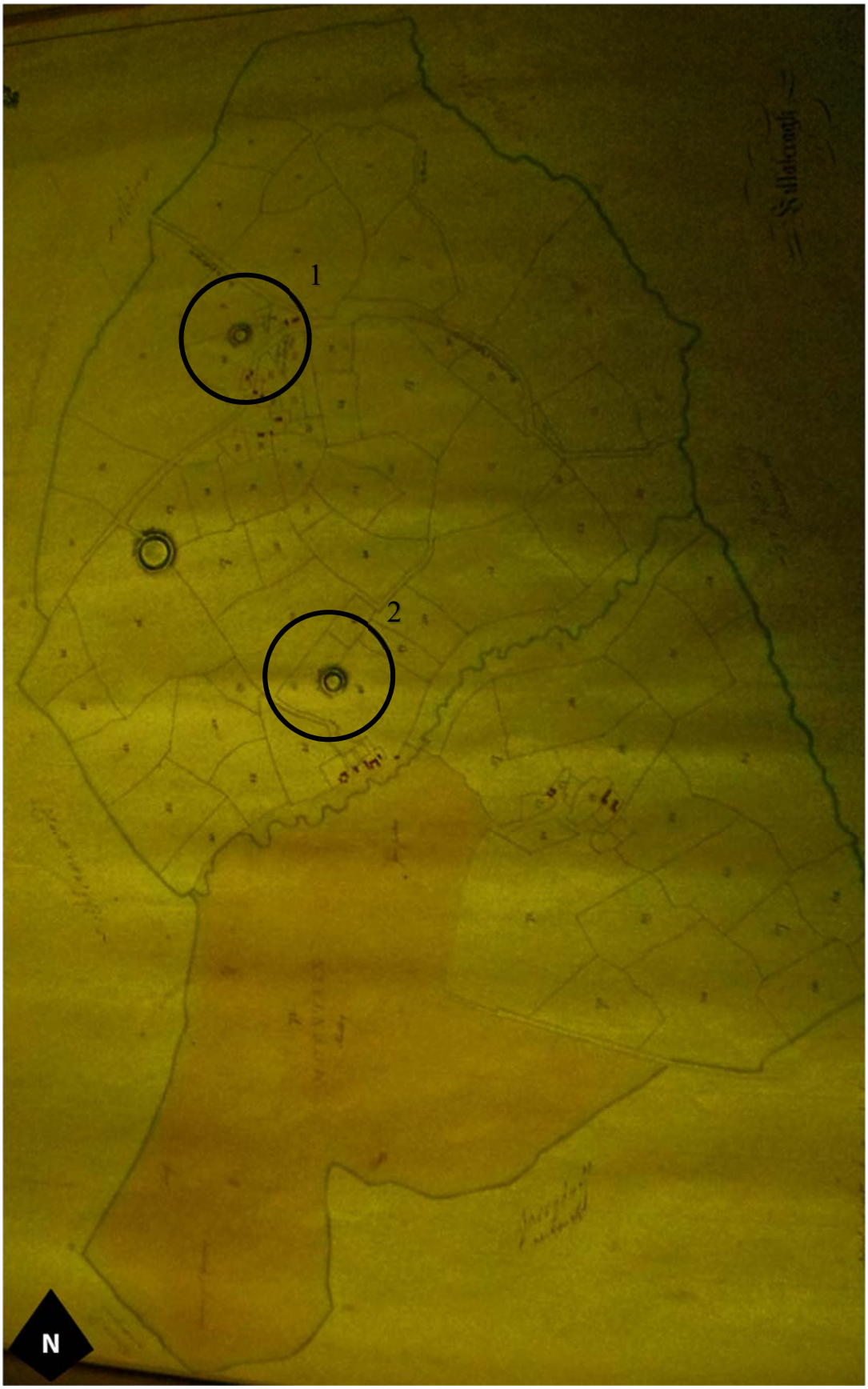


Figure 122. Scalé's map of Killasseragh townland depicting ringforts 1. CO054-058 and 2. CO054-059

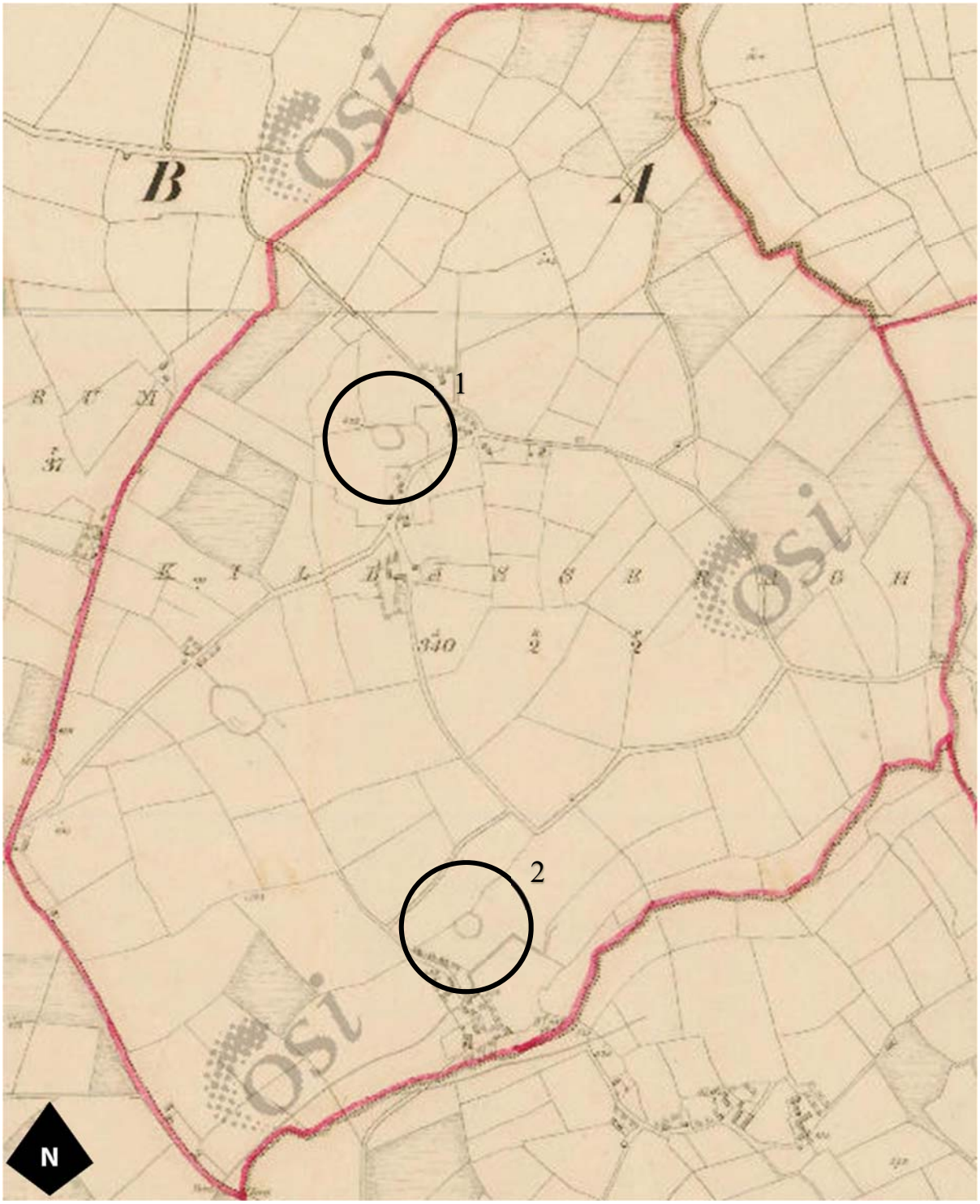


Figure 123. First edition OS map of Killasseragh townland depicting ringforts 1. CO054-058 and 2. CO054-059

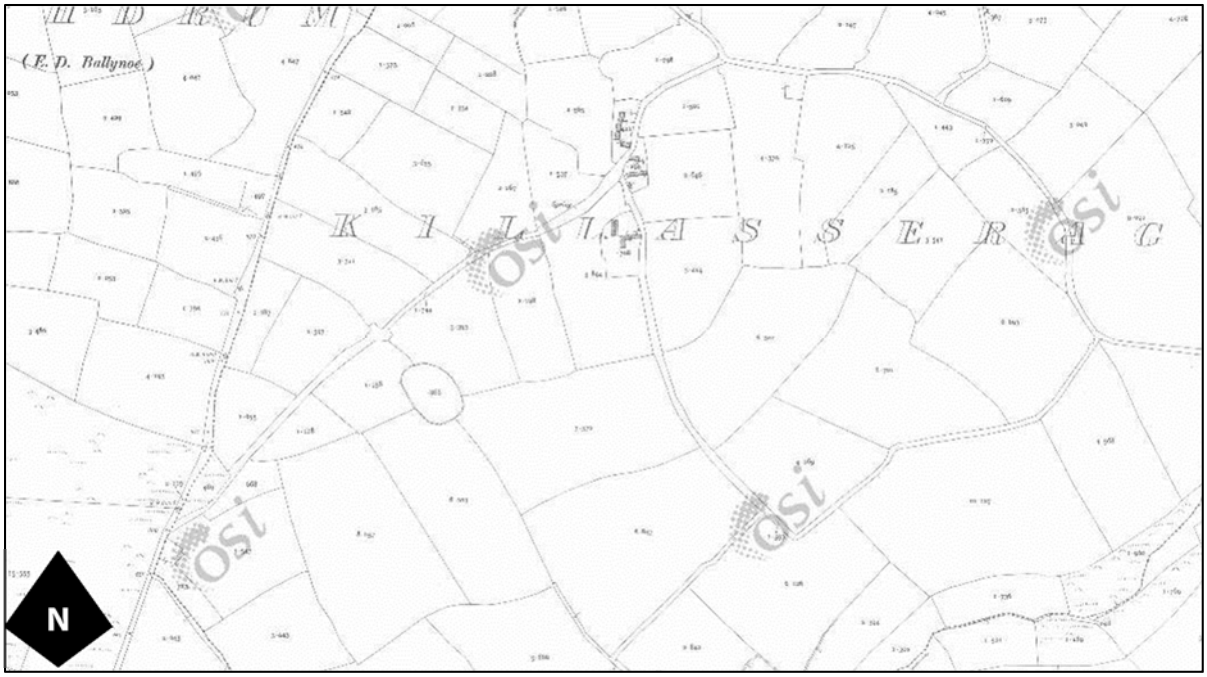


Figure 124. Second edition OS map of Killasseragh townland



Figure 126. Aerial image of Killasseragh townland depicting site of ringforts 1. CO054-058 and 2. CO054-059 (DG 2011 – 3)

2.2.14. Kilphillebeen

Strangely, Bateman (1717, map 43) provides no information on ringforts for this townland. This is despite clearly showing the road where Scalé (1774, map 18a), in his map, indicates the presence of four, or rather three and a half, ringforts which parallel the road in a north-south direction and extending southwards from noticeable left-hand bend in the road. One of these ringforts is recorded with the SMR number of CO046-041001 and three others are not yet recorded. The first edition OS map (1841, Sheet 46) also shows this ringfort, and a dogleg feature on the adjoining ditch shows it to be the southernmost of the ringforts depicted by Scalé. It is CO046-041001 and is noted as having 'a damaged earthen bank' 2.4m high with a basal width of 4m (Power *et al.* 1994, 108). This could be an indication of slippage and may suggest that the monument has not been disturbed over time. Digital Globe aerial images, 2011-13, clearly show two soil marks close to and extending northwards from this site. These likely correspond to the middle two ringforts depicted on Scalé's 1774 map. Neither of these have been attributed an SMR number. However, there is no direct evidence of the other ringfort noted as being present to the north of this stretch.

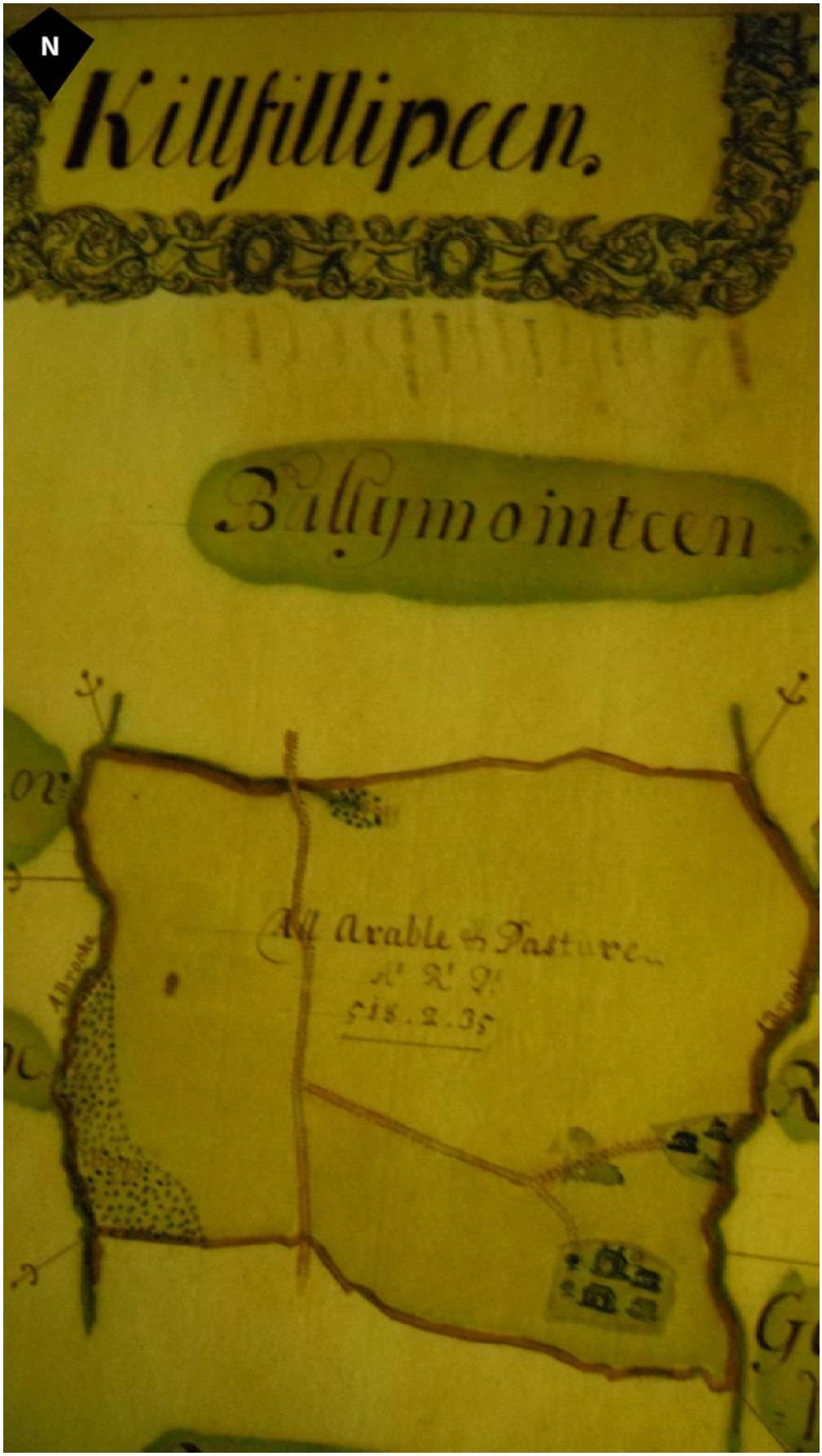


Figure 127. Bateman's map of Kilphillibeen townland

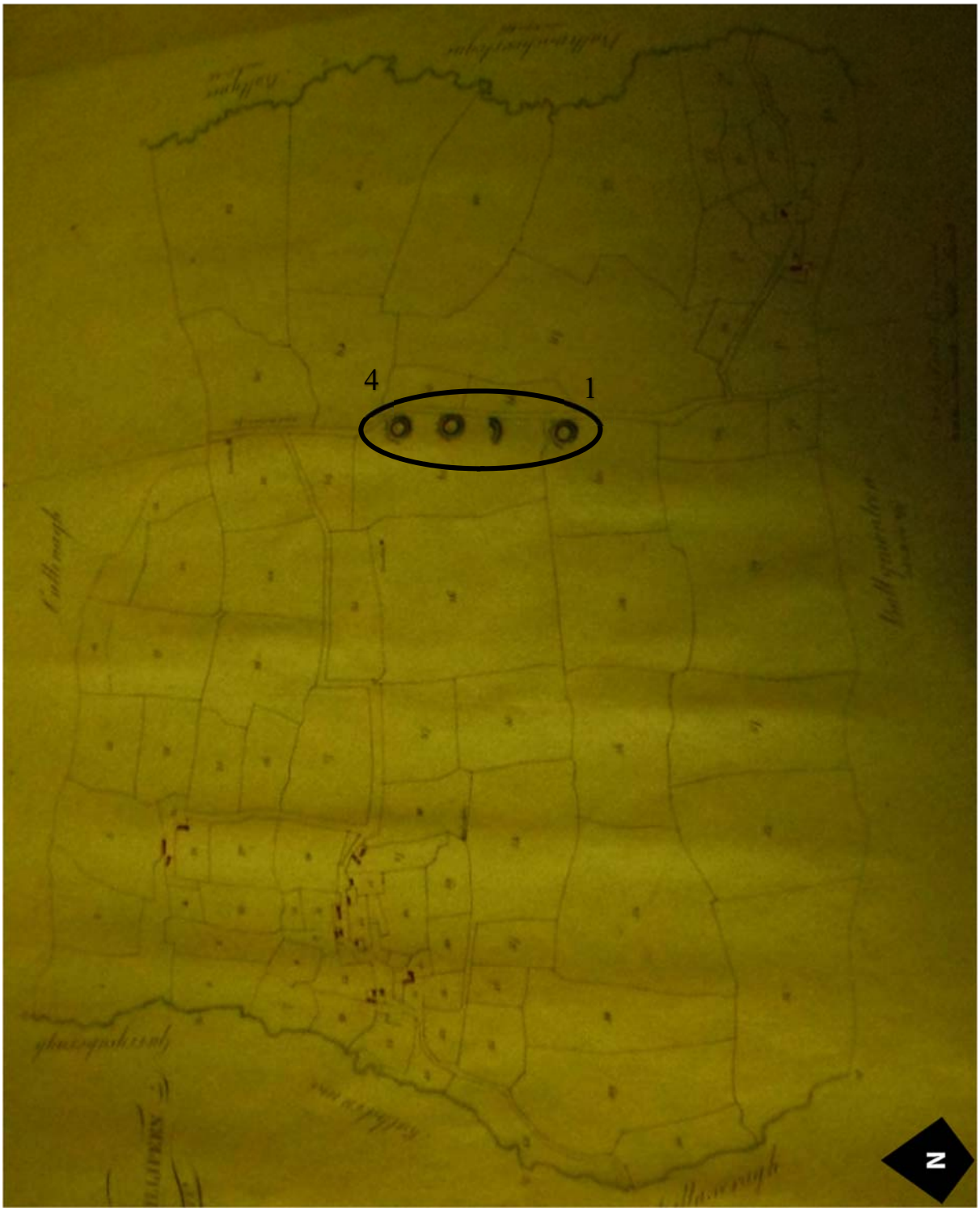


Figure 128. Scalé's map of Kilphillibeen townland depicting ringfort 1. CO046-041001 and previously unrecorded sites 2. to 4.

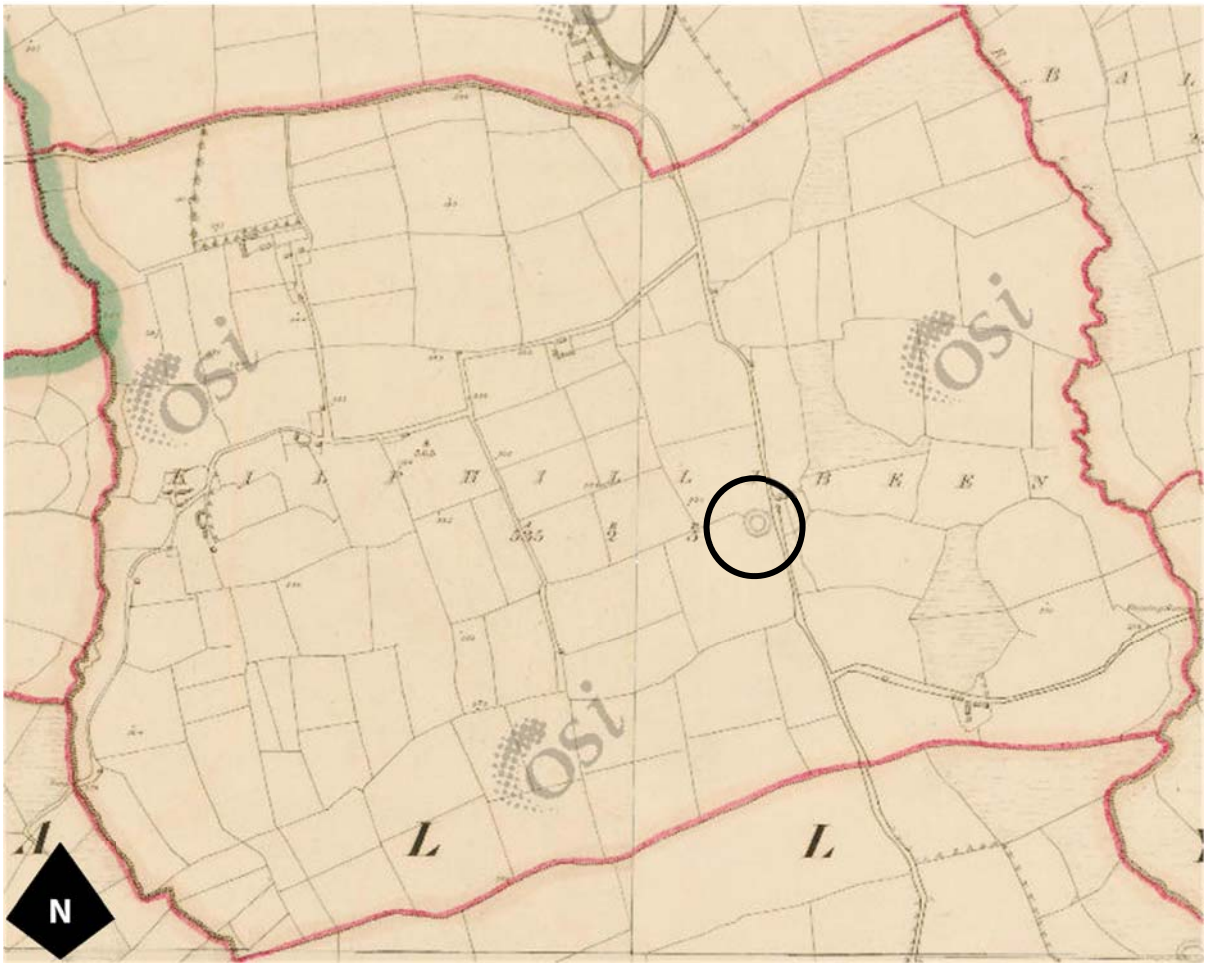


Figure 129. First edition OS map of Kilphillibeen townland depicting ringfort CO046-041001

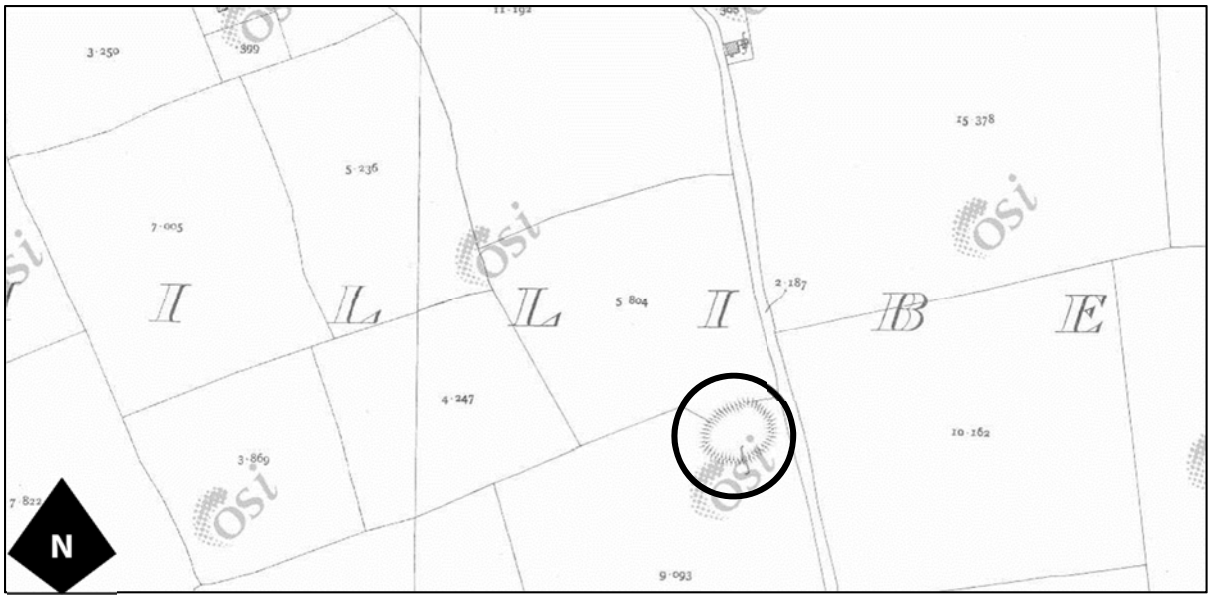


Figure 130. Second edition OS map of Kilphillibeen townland depicting ringfort CO046-041001



Figure 131. Aerial image of Kilphillibeen townland depicting ringfort CO046-041001 (DG 2011 – 3)



Figure 132. Close up of aerial image of Kilphillibeen townland depicting ringfort 1. CO046-041001 and unrecorded sites 2. and 3. (DG 2011 – 3)

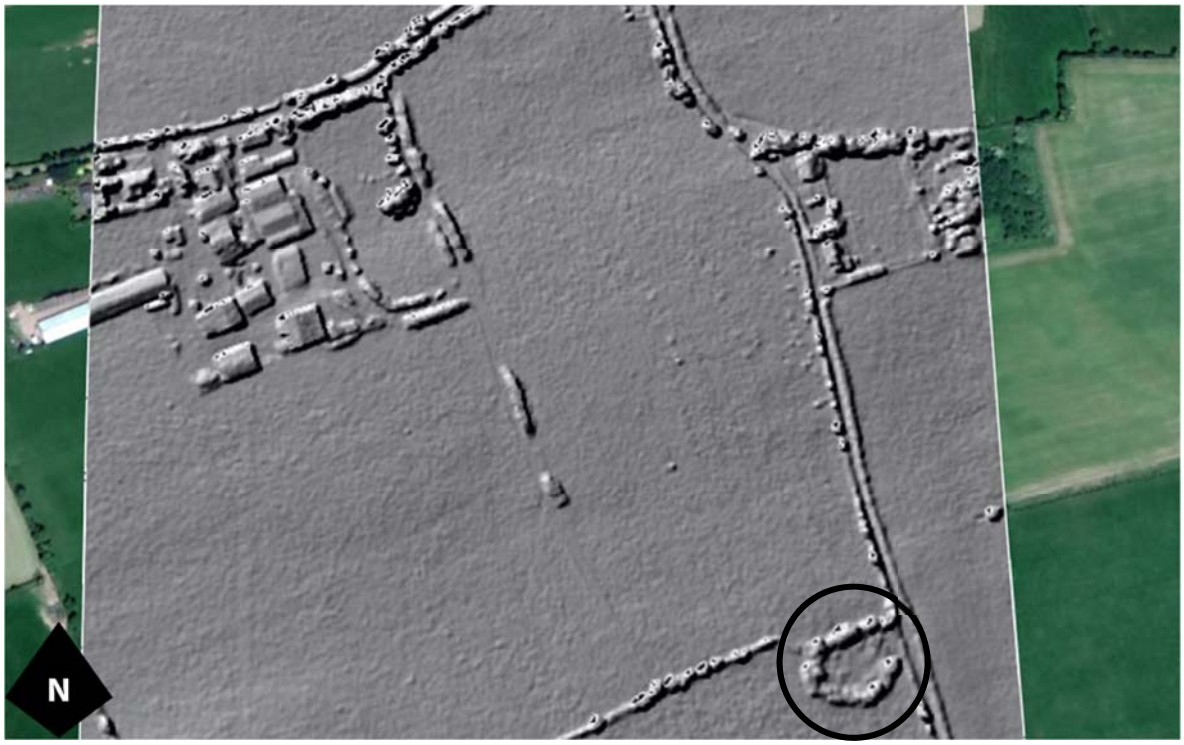


Figure 133. Photogrammetry image of part of Kilphillibeen townland depicting ringfort CO046-041001 (BSS 2017)

2.2.15. Knockakeo

On Bateman's (1717, map 37) map this townland is shown as part of the townland of Ballynattin. Again the eventual area of this townland can be perceived through study of the earlier map. It is shown as an area referred to as 'All the Mountain', although the name 'knockakeo' is inscribed south of the stylised representation of a range of hills. However, no evidence to hint at the eventual existence of ringforts within this area is included. Neither the first edition (1841 – 2, Sheet 55) OS map nor that resulting from the later revisions (1904, Sheet 55) further clarify this enquiry. A search of available imagery from recent aerial surveys shows this townland to be heavily wooded and the ground to be undulating in nature. These factors hinder the search for eventual ground features.

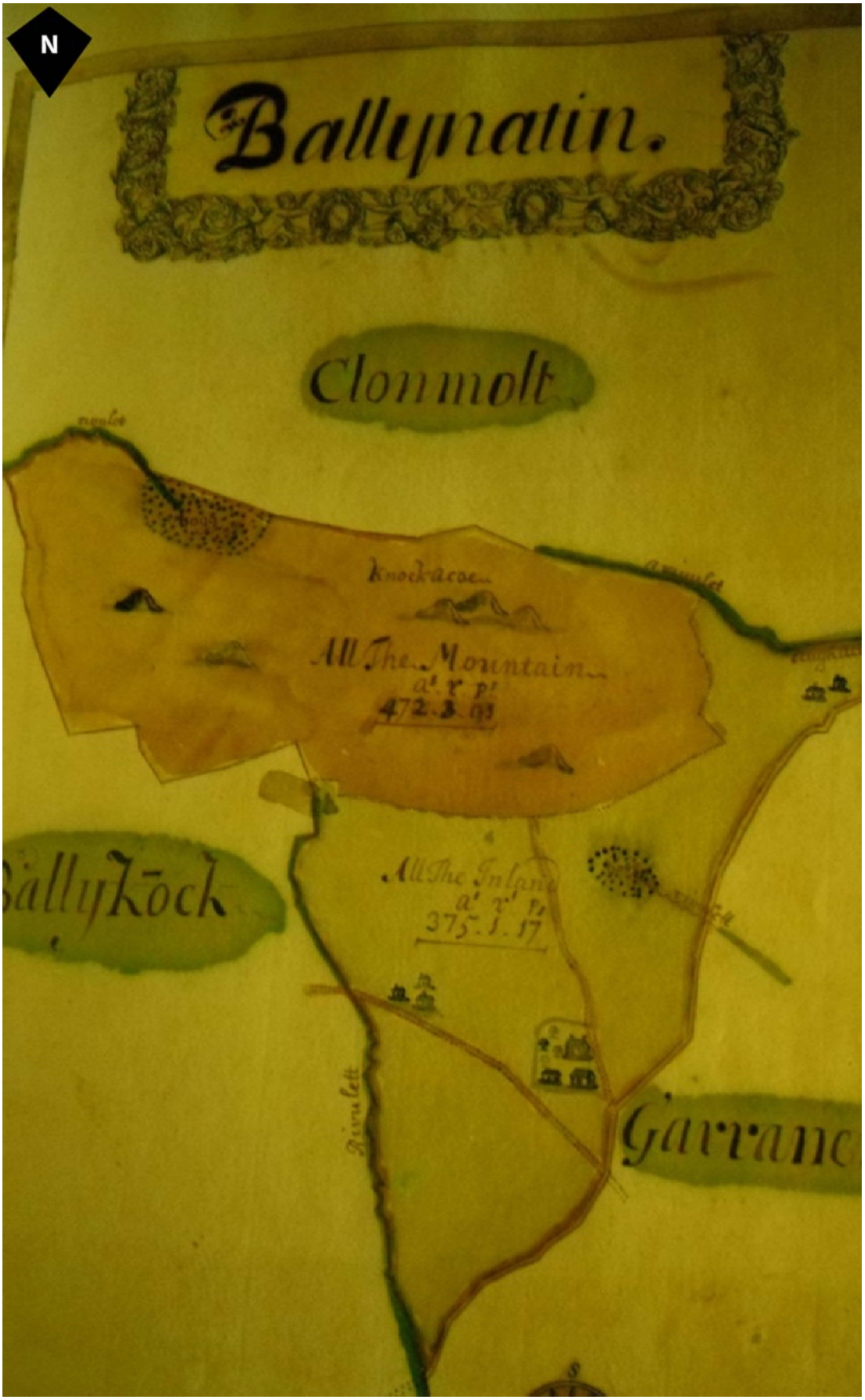


Figure 134. Bateman's map of Knockakeo townland

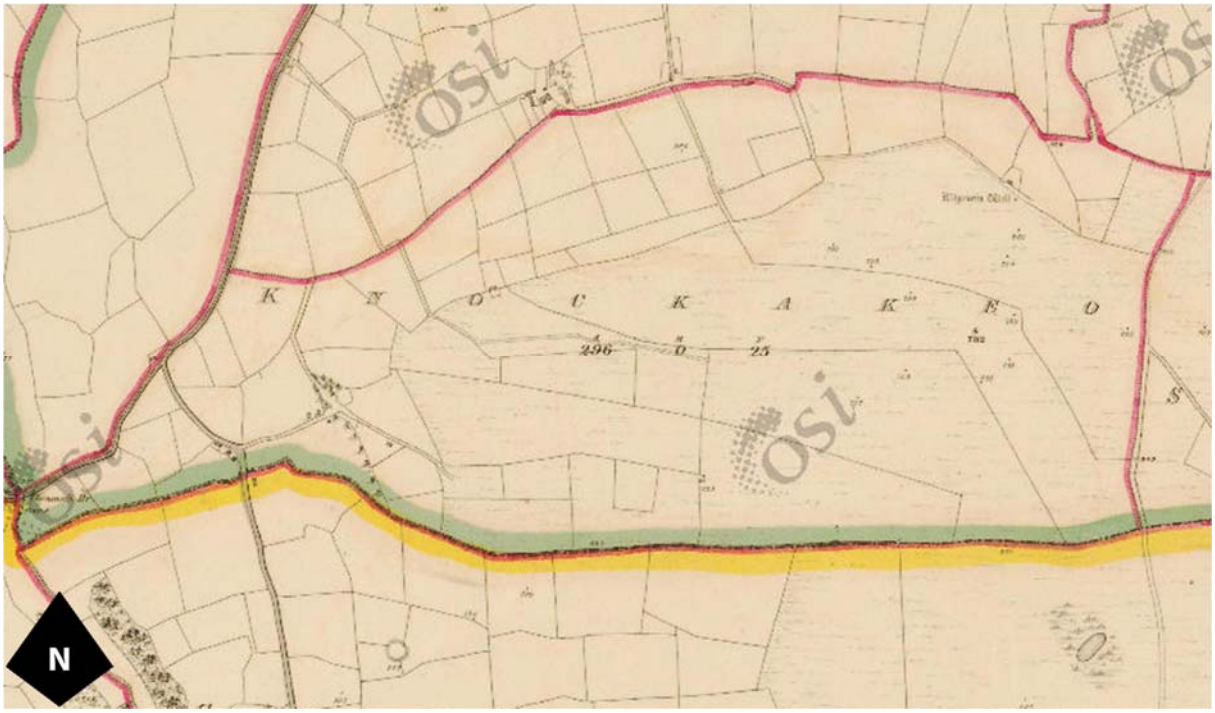


Figure 135. First edition OS map of Knockakeo townland



Figure 136. Aerial image of Knockakeo townland (DG 2011 – 3)

2.2.16. Longueville

Bateman (1717, map 44) provides no evidence for ringforts in his survey of this townland. He does however, include the locations of two, previously unrecorded, lime kilns. Each of these is located close to the road that traverses the townland diagonally from south-west to north-

east. One example is located north of this road, in the upper third, and roughly midway across the townland. The second example is shown slightly further north but adjacent to the eastern townland boundary. Bateman (*ibid.*) also depicts what he refers to as a 'village' in the south east quadrant of this townland. However, Scalé (1774, map 13a) does depict a single example of a ringfort in his map of this townland. By the time of the first edition (1841, Sheet 46) map this was another townland that had been divided in two, Longueville North and South. No evidence of this structure is included on this map or any later editions of this map. That said, a comparison of remaining field boundaries permits a general location for this site to be deduced. A partial crop mark, centred on ITM grid coordinates 594395-590630, is visible at this location on modern aerial images (GE 2009; DG 2011-3). The existence of these previously unrecorded features has been reported to the NMS.

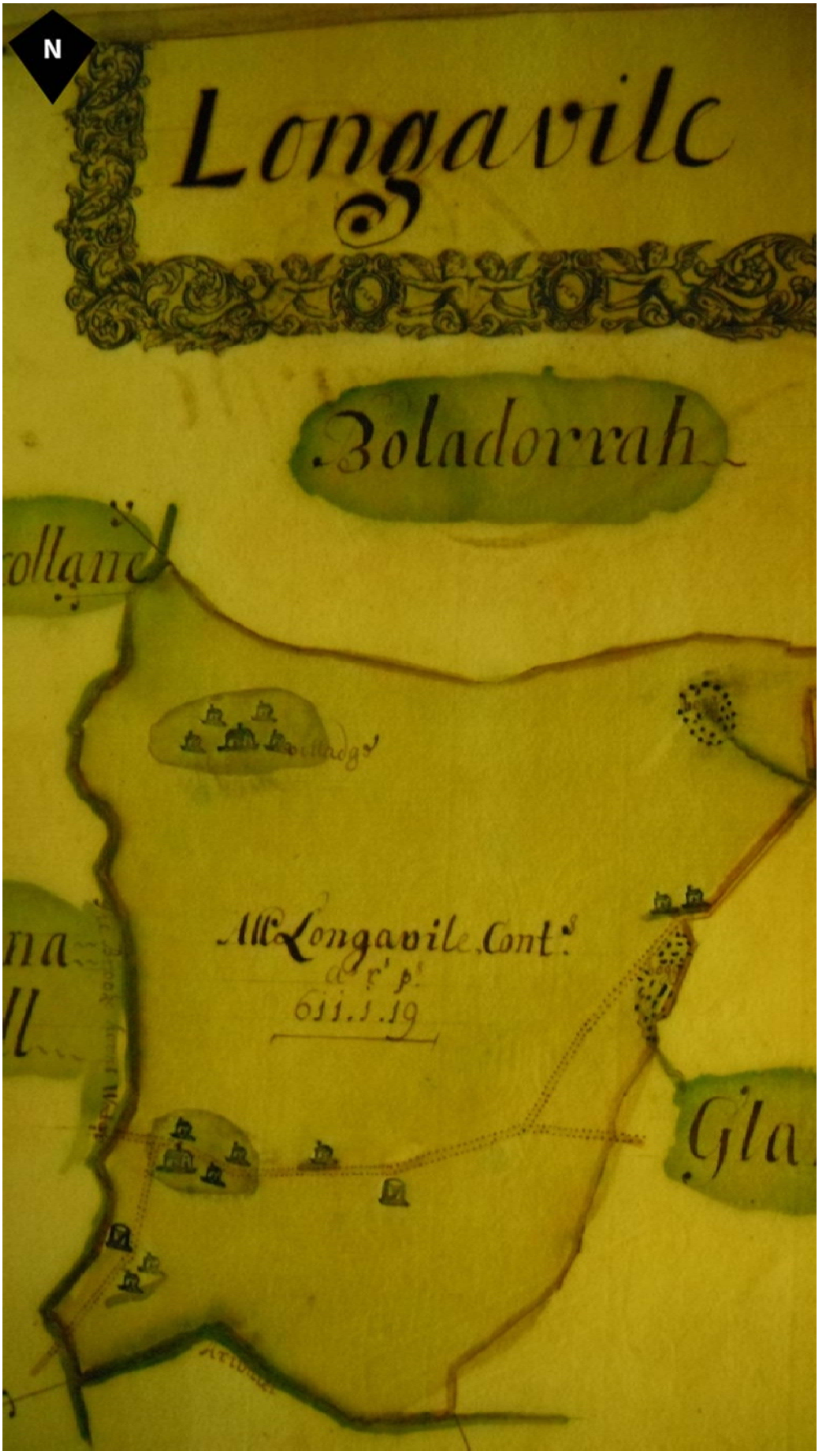


Figure 137. Bateman's map of Longueville townland

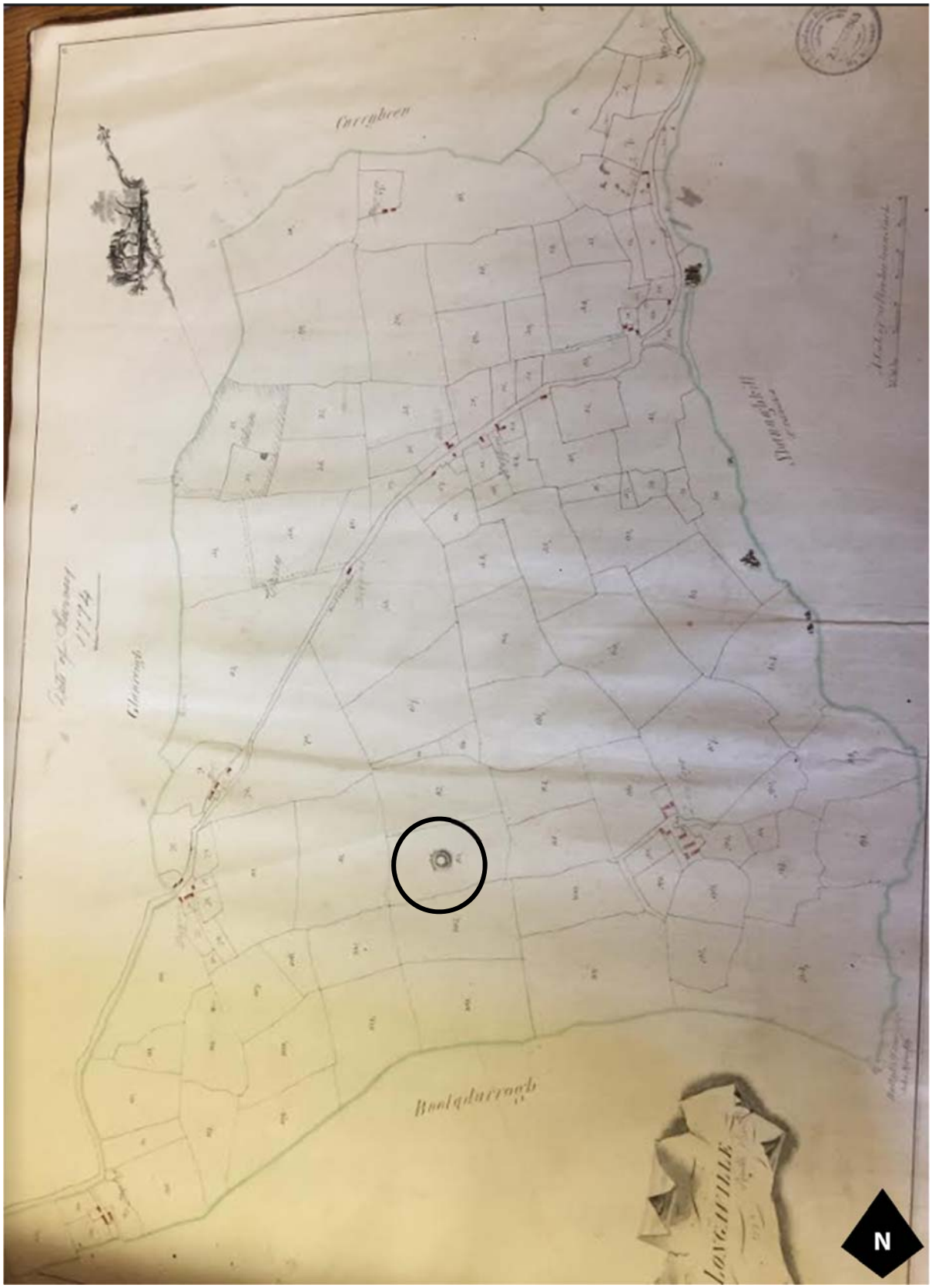


Figure 138. Scalé's map of Longueville townland depicting previously unrecorded site

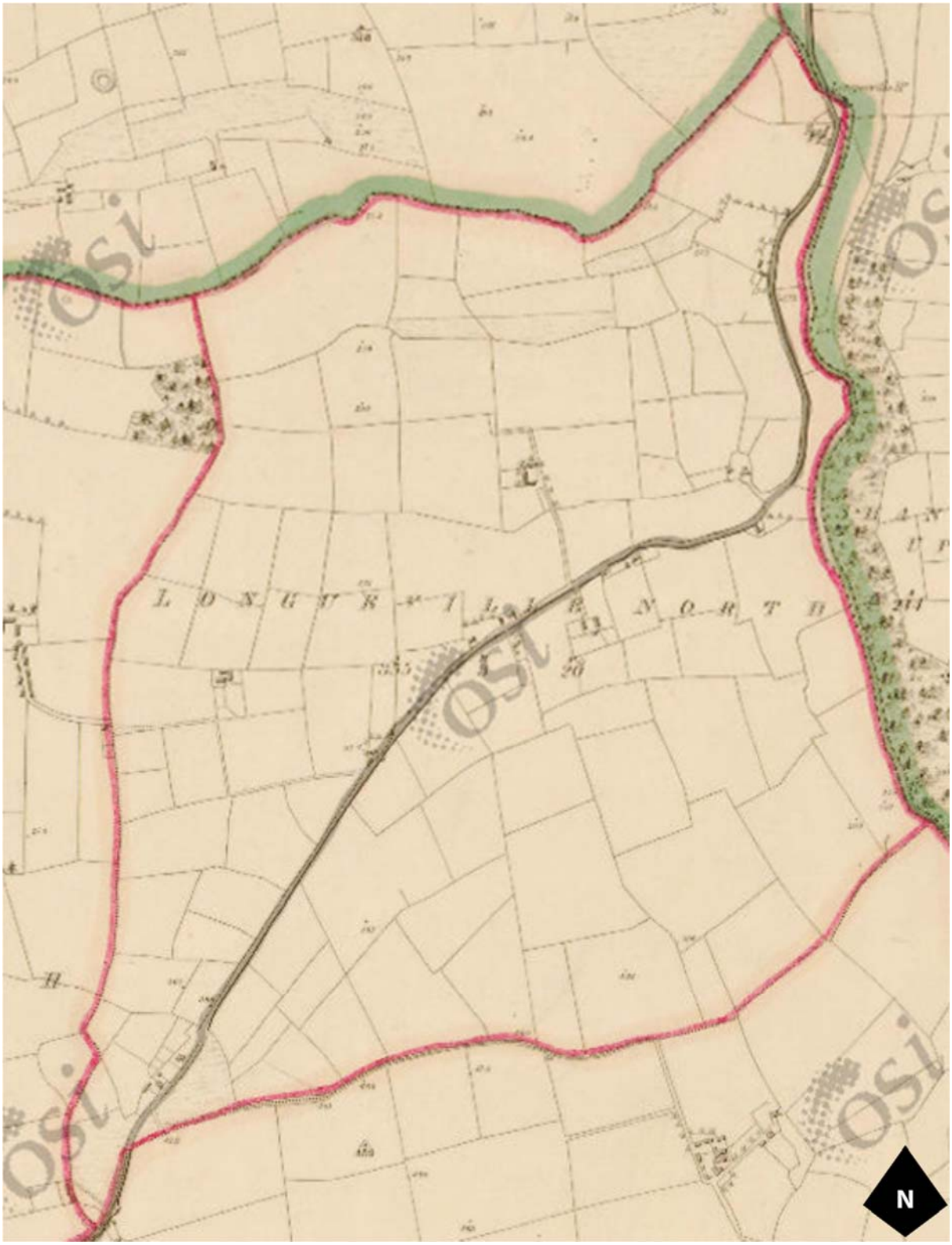


Figure 139. First edition OS map of Longueville North townland

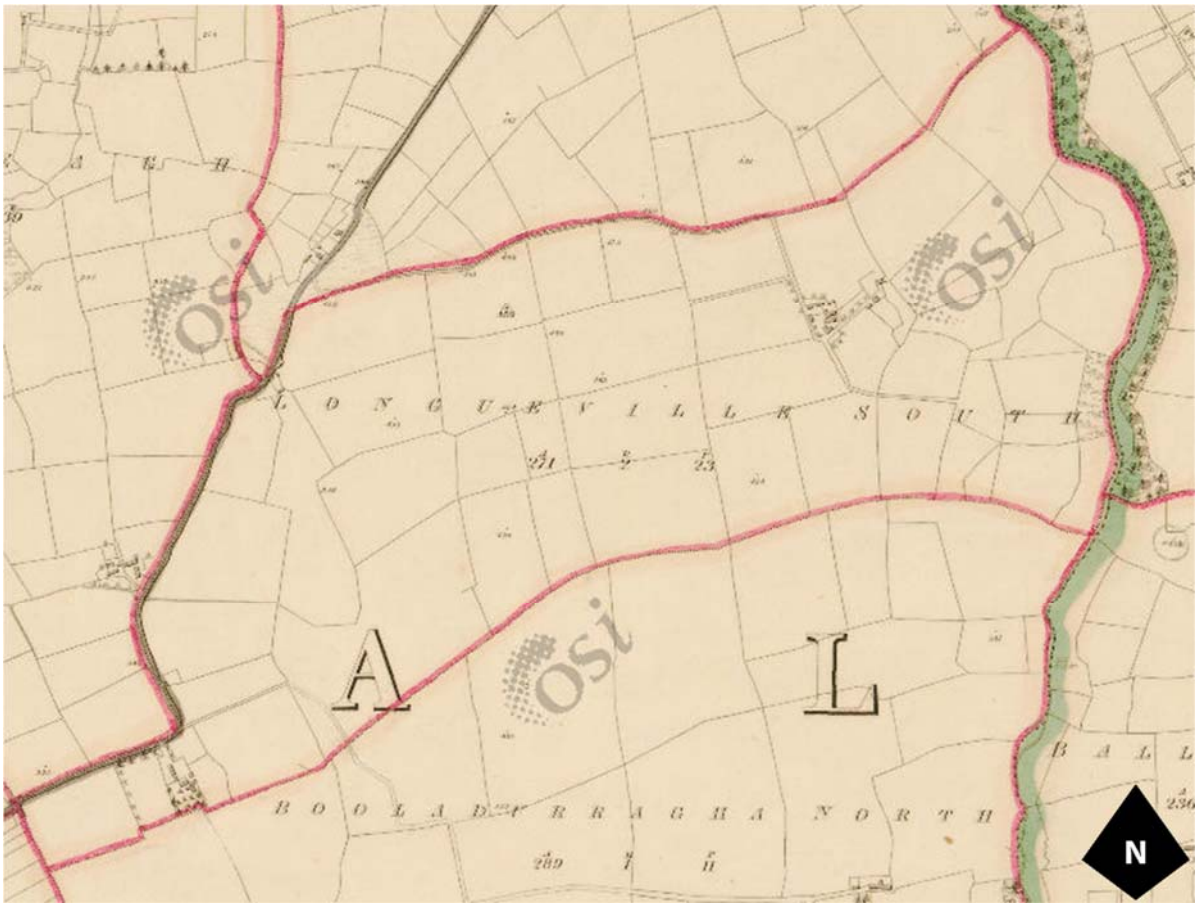


Figure 140. First edition OS map of Longueville South townland



Figure 141. Aerial image of Longueville South townland depicting previously site of unrecorded site (DG 2011 – 3)



Figure 142. Aerial image of Longueville South townland depicting previously site of unrecorded site (GE 2009)

2.2.17. Rathdrum

This townland is presently divided between this parish of Ballynoe and the adjoining one of Aghern. However, it is depicted as a single unit on the maps created both by Bateman (1717, map 54) and Scalé (1774, map 16a). Therefore, it was decided to address the required description of this townland as a single unit but to locate the parts separately in the accompanying graph. For details of this portion of the townland, please see above in Aghern parish.

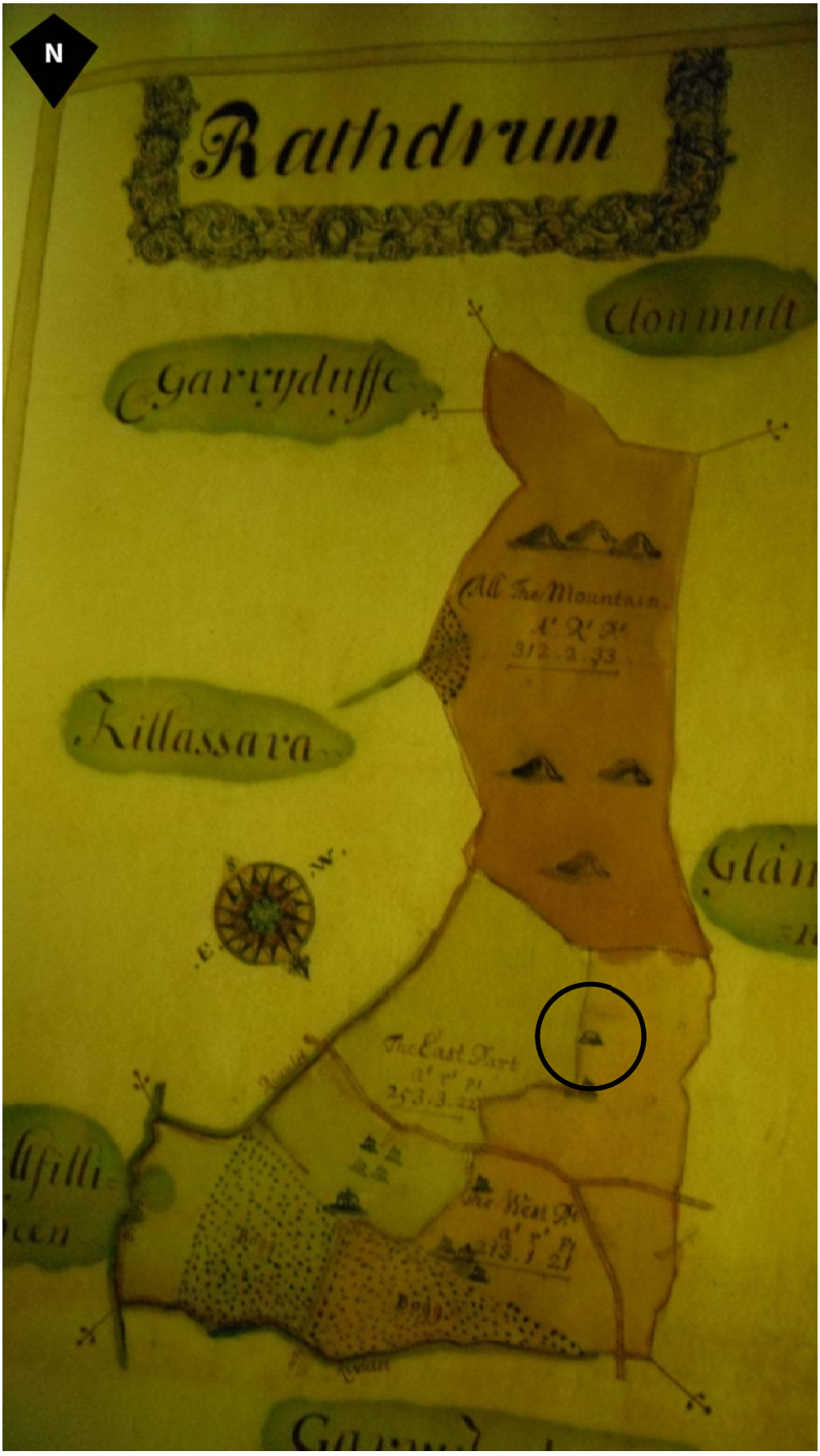


Figure 143. Bateman's map of Rathdrum townland depicting ringfort CO054-132

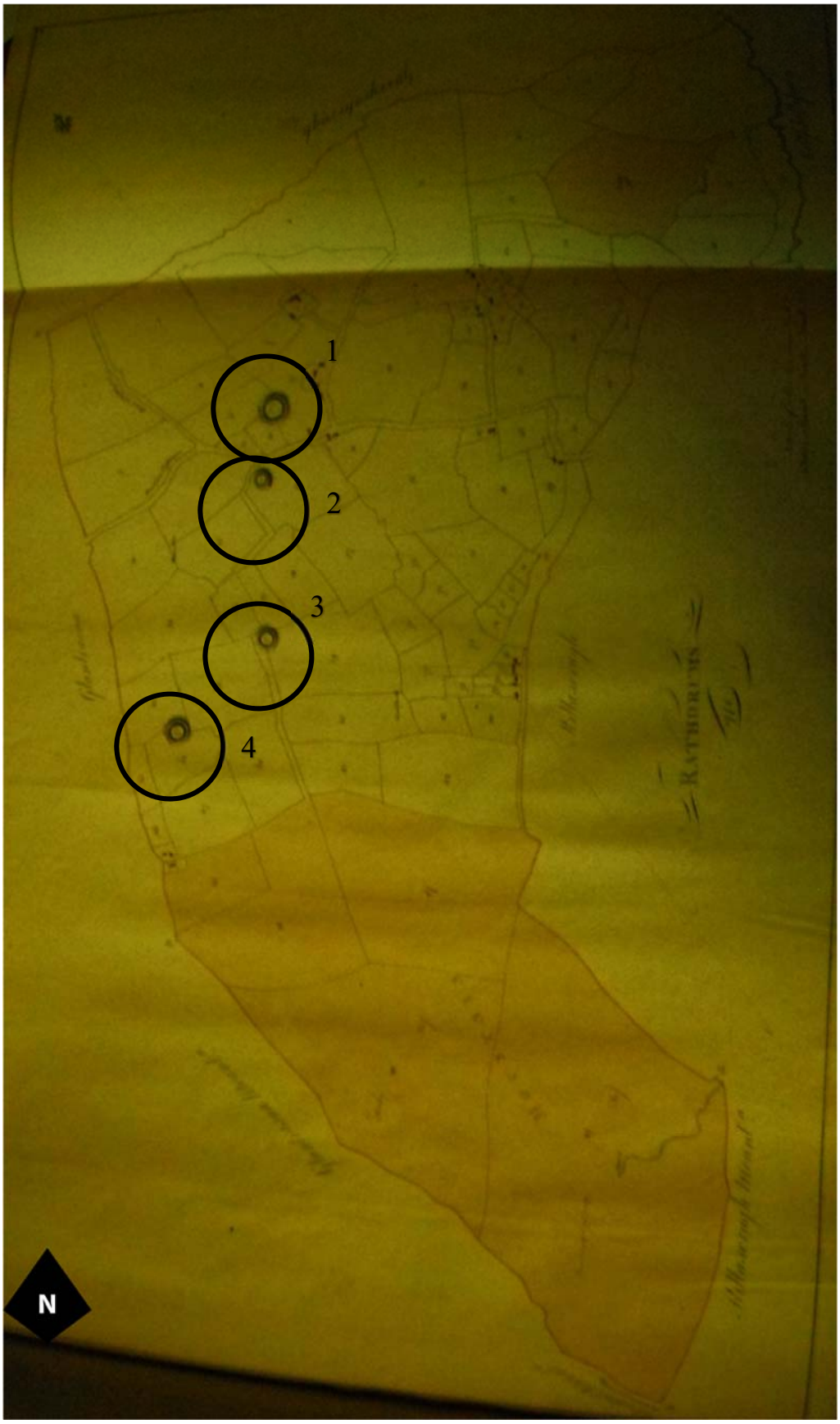


Figure 144. Scalé's map of Rathdrum depicting ringforts 1. CO045-104, 2. previously unrecorded site, 3. CO054-132 and 4. CO054-053

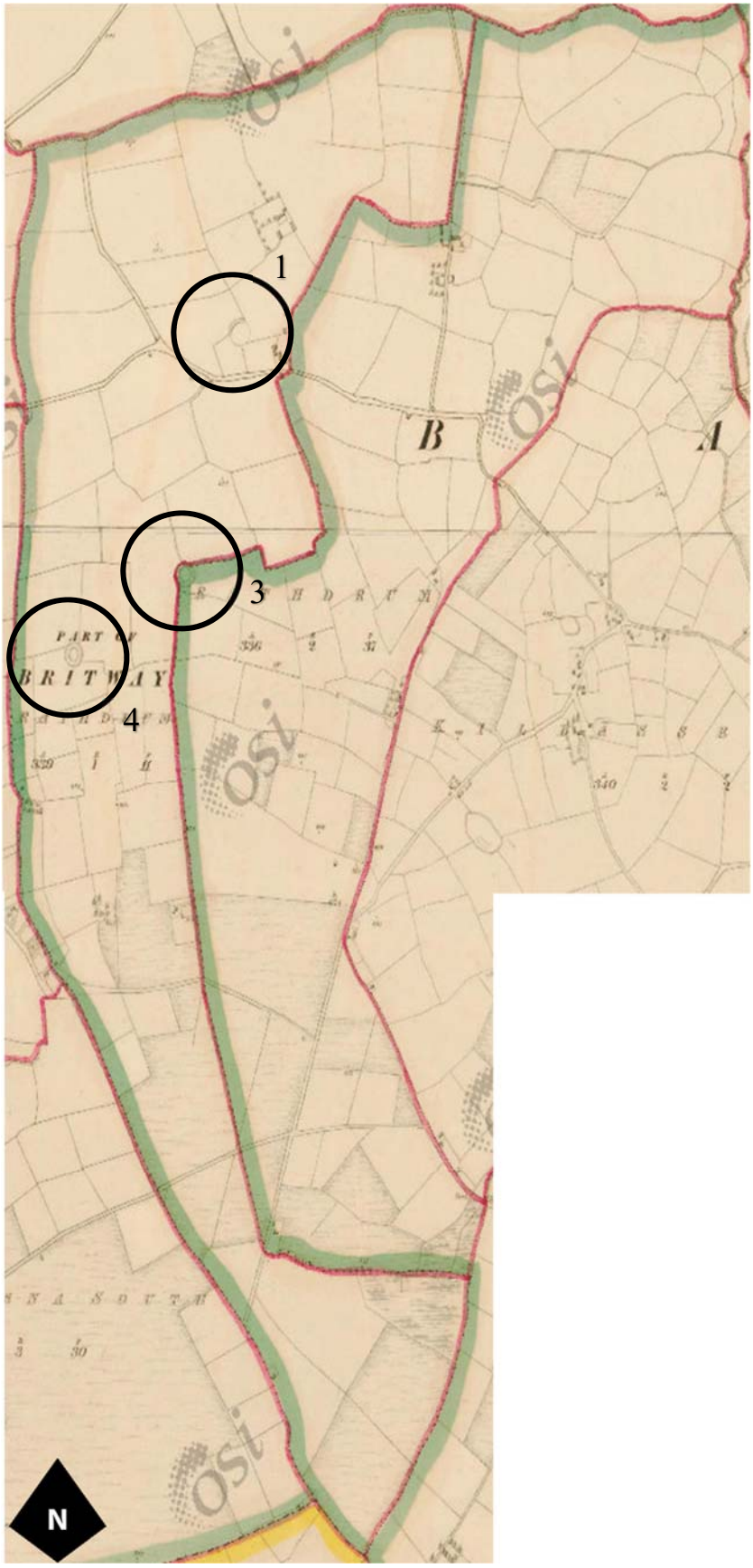


Figure 145. First edition OS map of Rathdrum depicting ringforts 1. CO045-104, 3. CO054-132 and 4. CO054-053

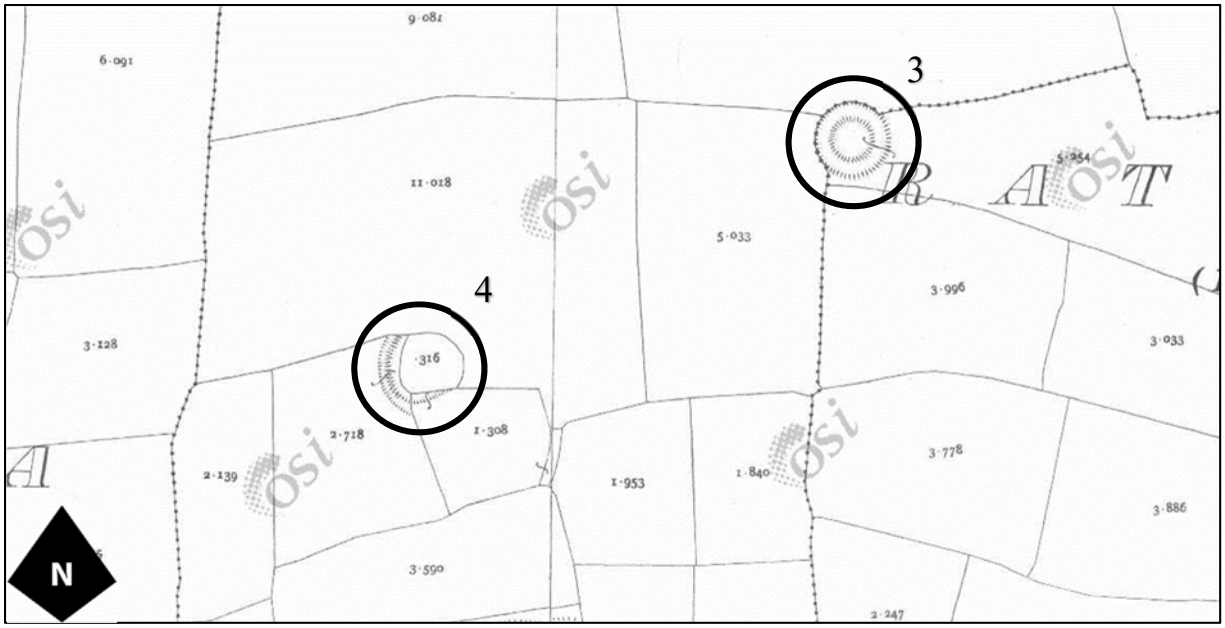


Figure 146. Second edition OS map of Rathdrum depicting ringforts 3. CO054-132 and 4. CO054-053

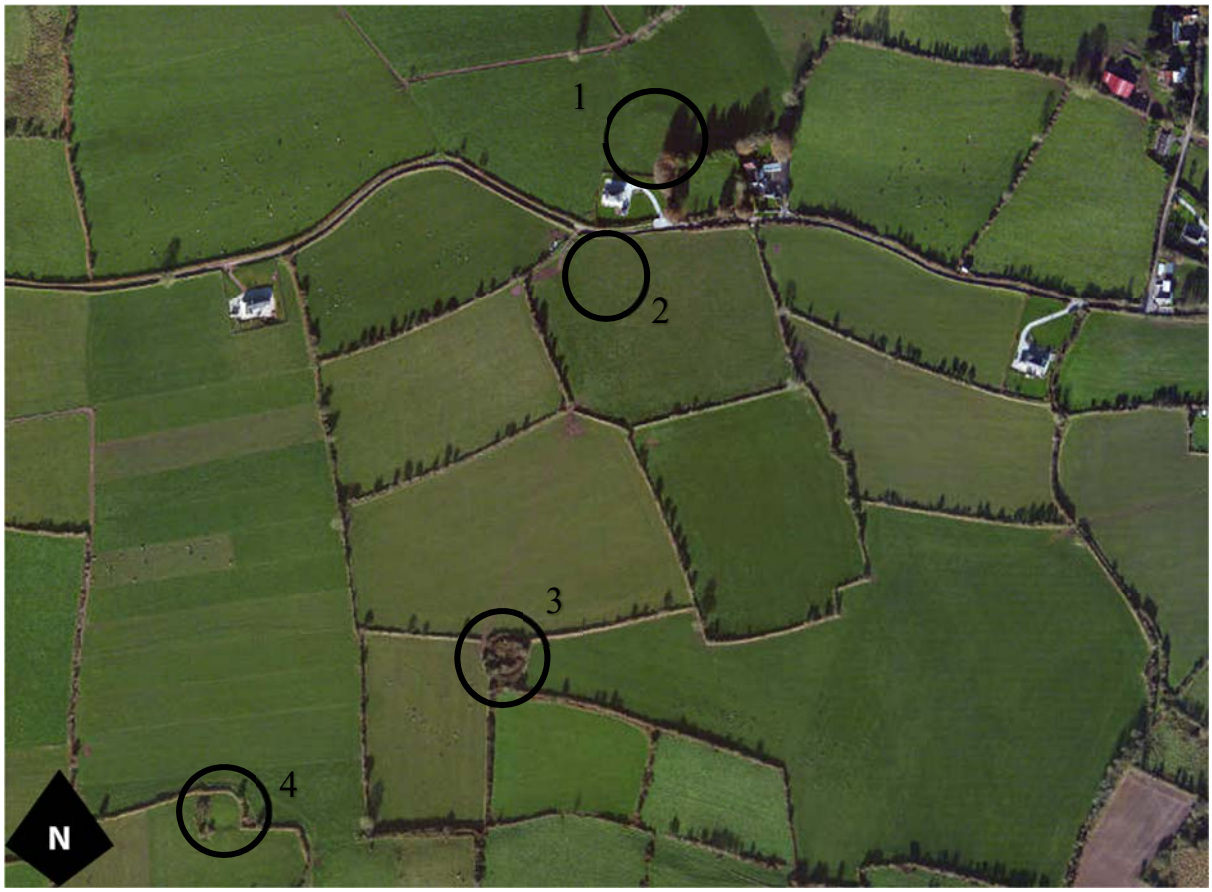


Figure 147. Aerial image of Rathdrum depicting ringfort 3. CO054-132 and site of ringfort 1. CO045-104, 2. previously unrecorded site and 4. CO054-053

2.2.18 Shanaboola

This townland was shown as part of the townland of Ballynattin in the map created by Bateman (1717, map 37). As such it does not appear to have been surveyed by Scalé (1774) either. By the time of the first edition (1841 – 2, Sheet 55) OS map, however, it had been created as a separate townland. There is no evidence on this map for the presence here of any field monuments. The second edition (1904, Sheet 55) provides no further clarification on this matter. Examination of recent aerial imagery shows this townland to be almost completely covered in forestry plantation and the few visible fields to be undulating in nature. These conditions greatly hinder the search for archaeological features.



Figure 148. Bateman's map of Shanaboola townland

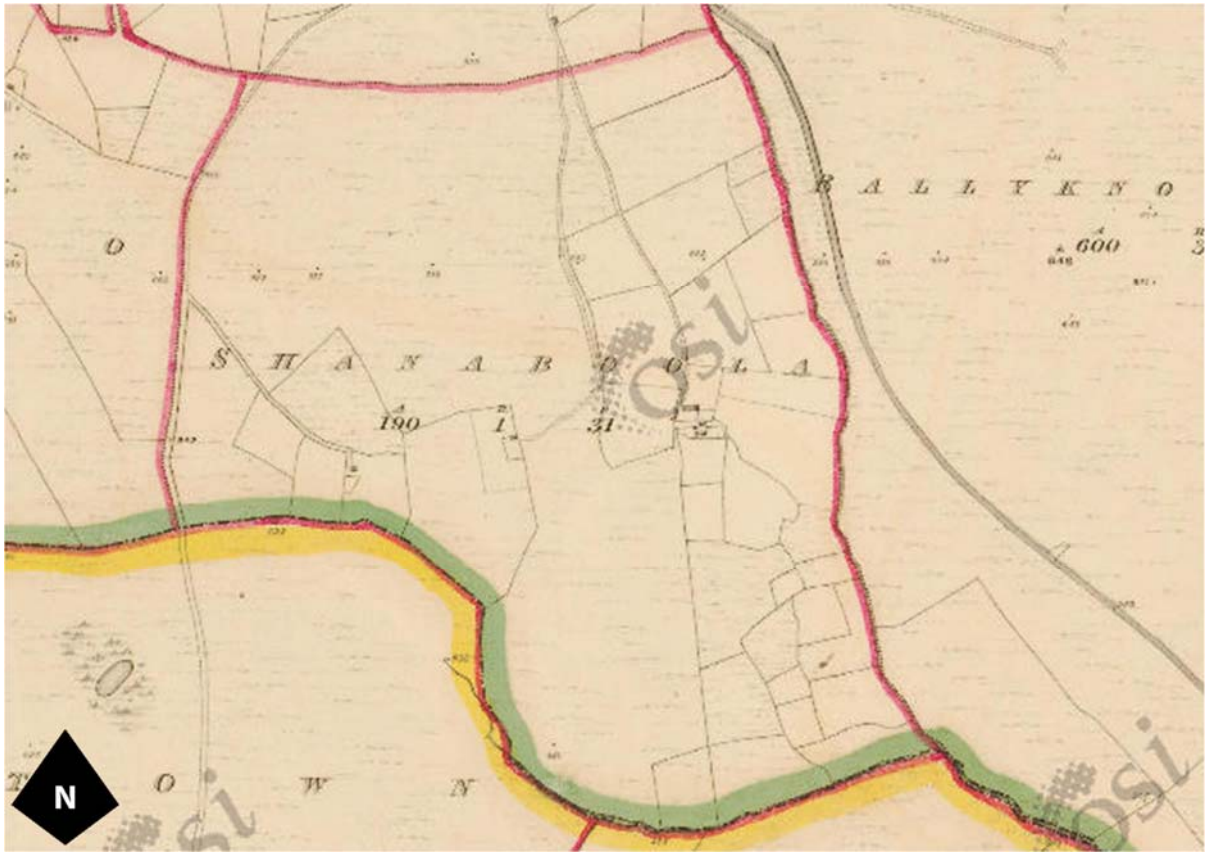


Figure 149. First edition OS map of Shanaboola townland



Figure 150. Aerial image of Shanaboola townland (DG 2011 – 3)

2.3 Knockmourne parish

2.3.1. Ballybride

This townland does not appear to have been included in the survey of the area undertaken by Bateman (1717). However, Scalé (1774, map 5a) did include the townland of 'Ballybreedy' in his later survey. On the map that was created as a result of this work four ringforts are represented. Three of these are arranged in a line and in close proximity to each other. While the fourth is located at a slight distance and closer to the western townland boundary. These monuments are recorded in the resister and each has been assigned an SMR number. The three grouped together are numbered CO036-031, CO036-032 & CO036-062 and the structure closer to the boundary has the SMR no. CO036-030. At some point prior to the first edition OS (1841) map one of these ringforts, CO036-062, had been removed. By the time of the second edition OS map (1905, Sheet 36) two more ringforts had been removed and only CO036-032 is shown as extant. Presently, there are no ringforts remaining in this townland. However, a study of aerial imagery from recent surveys indicates the presence of ringforts, CO036-031, CO036-032 & CO036-062. The location of the remaining recorded ringfort, CO036-030, may not be discerned.

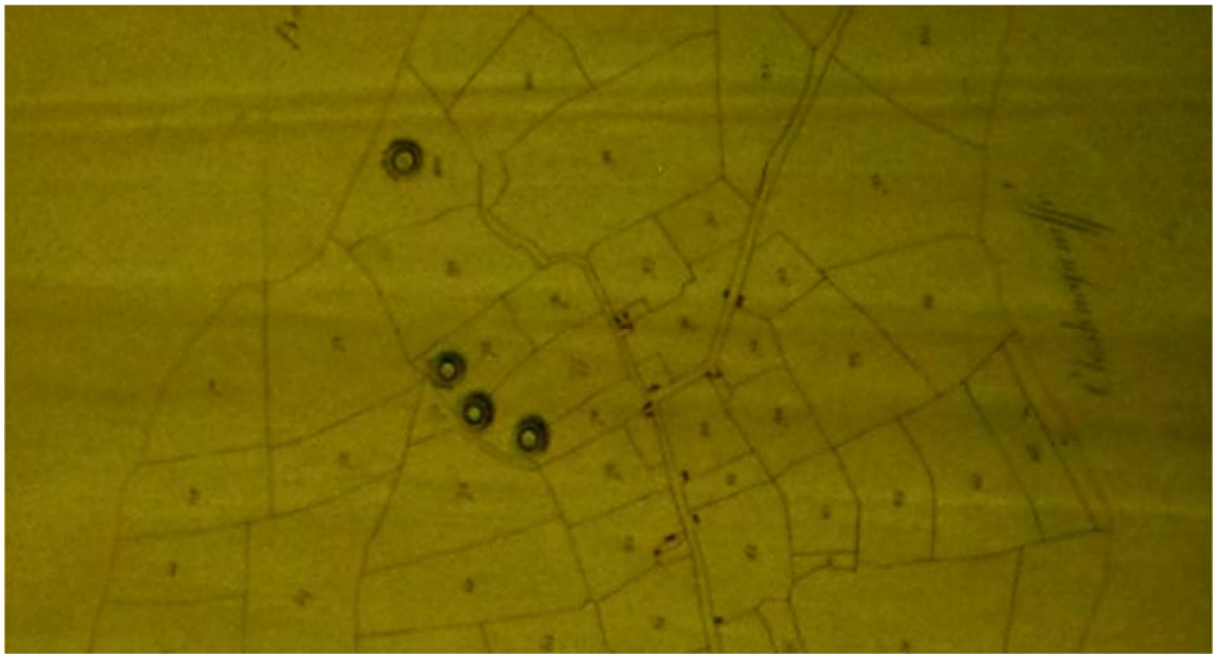


Figure 151. Scalé's map of Ballybride townland depicting ringforts 1. CO036-030, 2. CO036-031, 3. CO036-032 & 4. CO036-062

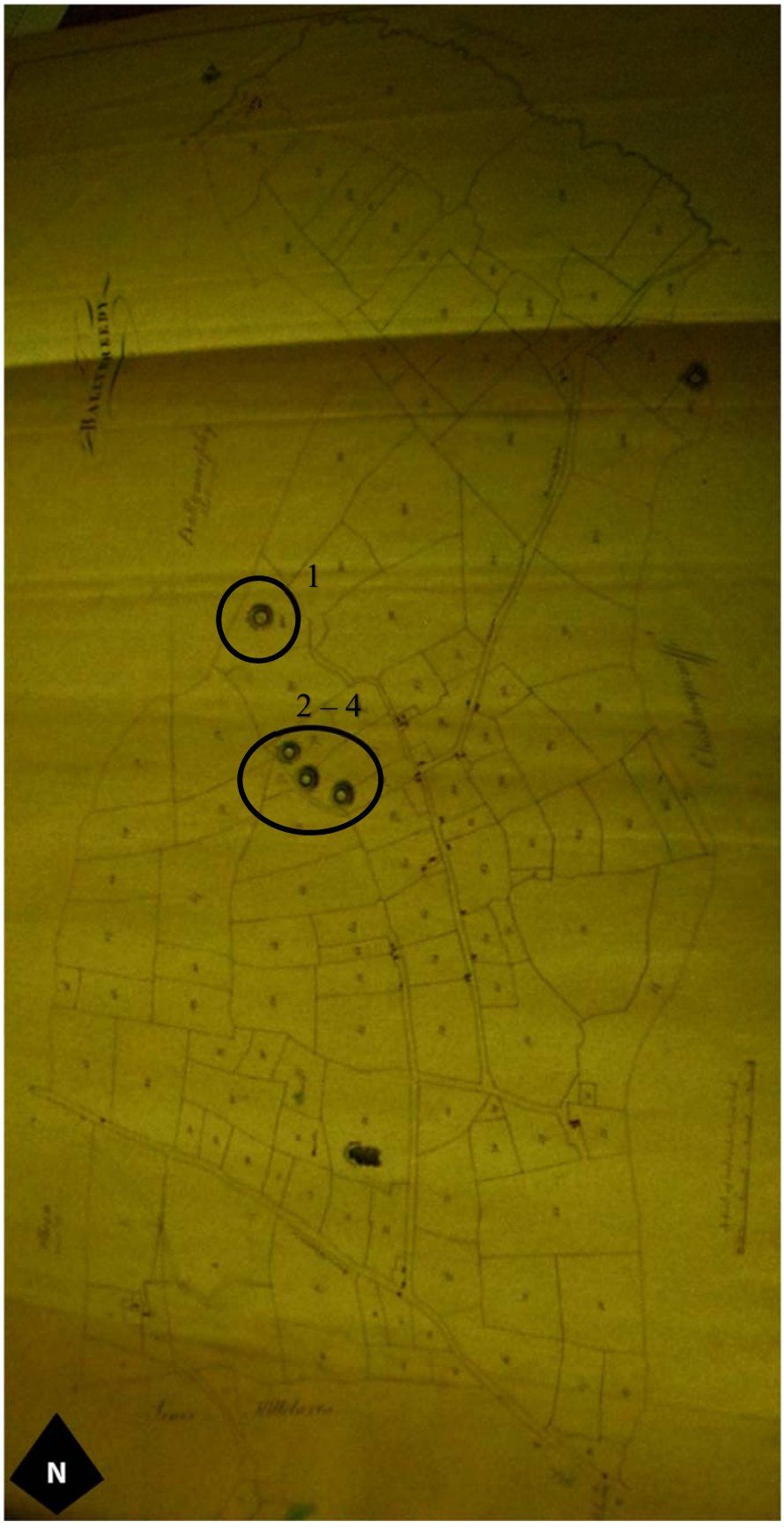


Figure 152. Scalé's map of Ballybride townland depicting ringforts 1. CO036-030, 2. CO036-031, 3. CO036-032 & 4. CO036-062

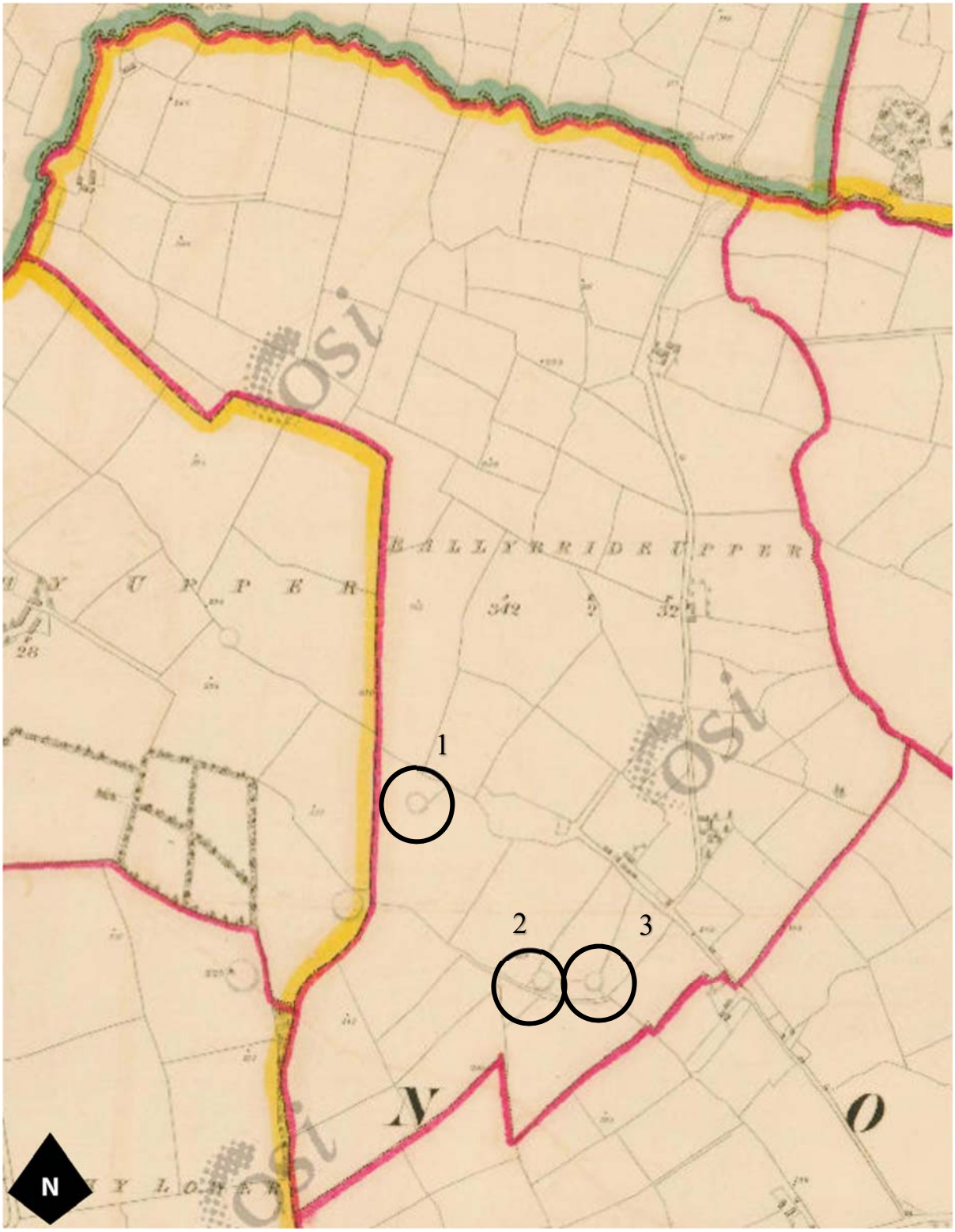


Figure 153. First edition OS map of Ballybride Upper townland depicting ringforts 1. CO036-030, 2. CO036-031 and 3. CO036-032

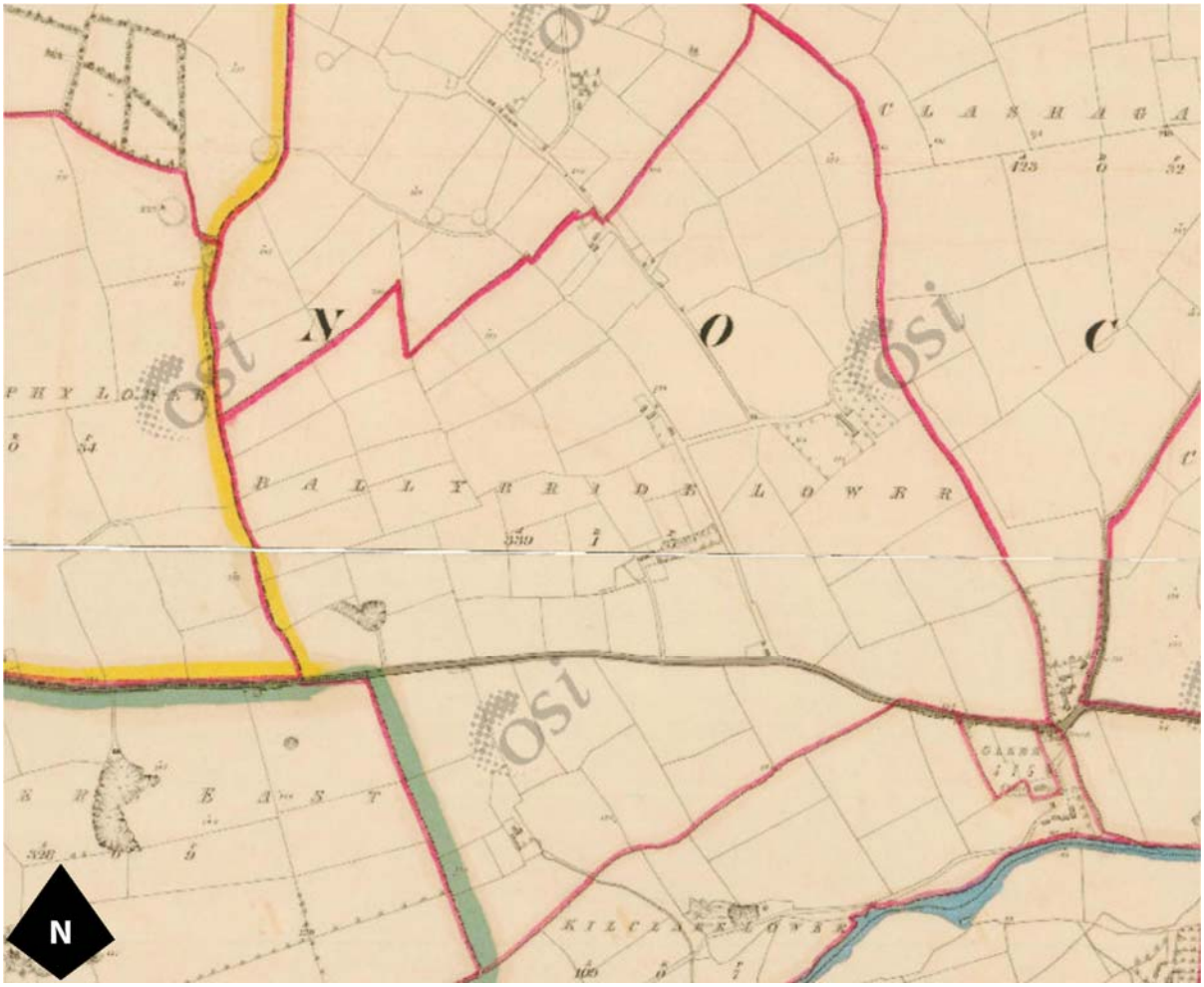


Figure 154. First edition OS map of Ballybride Lower townland

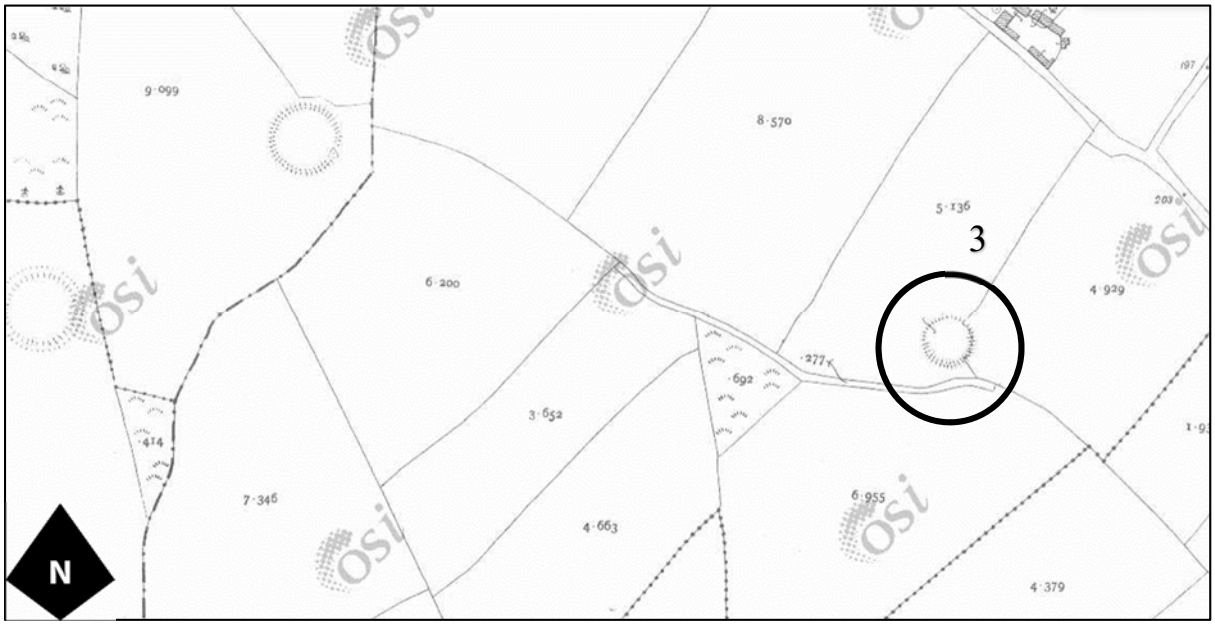


Figure 155. Second edition OS map of Ballybride Upper townland depicting ringforts 3. CO036-032



Figure 156. Aerial image of Ballybride Upper townland depicting site of ringforts 2. CO036-031, 3. CO036-032 & 4. CO036-062 (DG 2011 – 3)

2.3.2. Carrigmore

This townland was apparently not included in the survey undertaken by Bateman (1717). It is included, however, in Scalé's (1774, map 3a) later survey as a component of the townland of Knockastickane. Scalé depicts one ringfort approximately midway on the townland and close to the road that marks the western boundary. By the time of the first edition OS map (1841, Sheet 36) this area had become a separate townland, but unfortunately the map which accompanied this survey shows no evidence for this monument. Neither does the second edition map (1905, Sheet 36) created from the subsequent revision of data. However, examination of aerial images shows the existence of a possible circular crop mark at this general location (DG 2011 - 3).

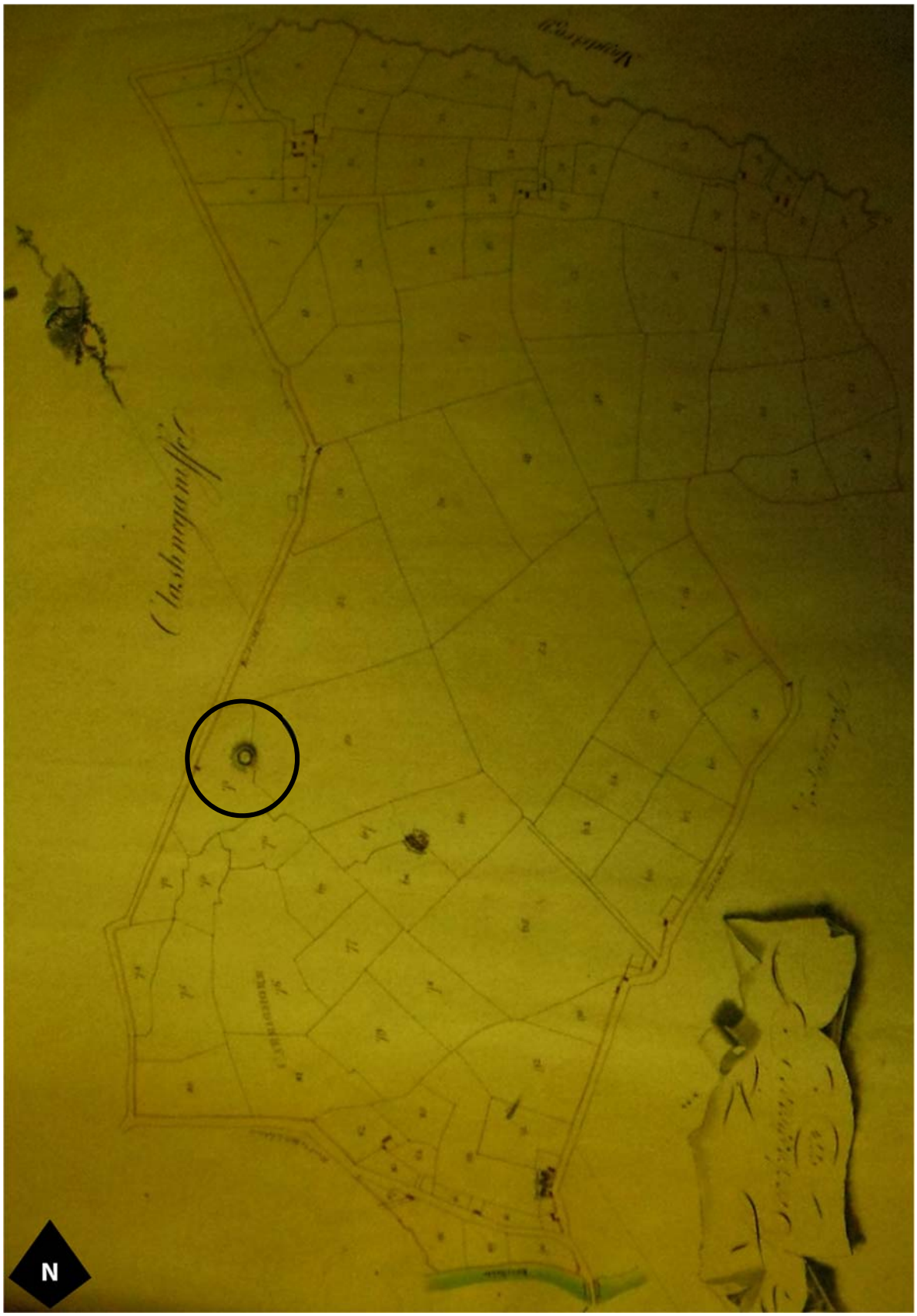


Figure 157. Scalé's map of Carrigmore townland depicting ringfort

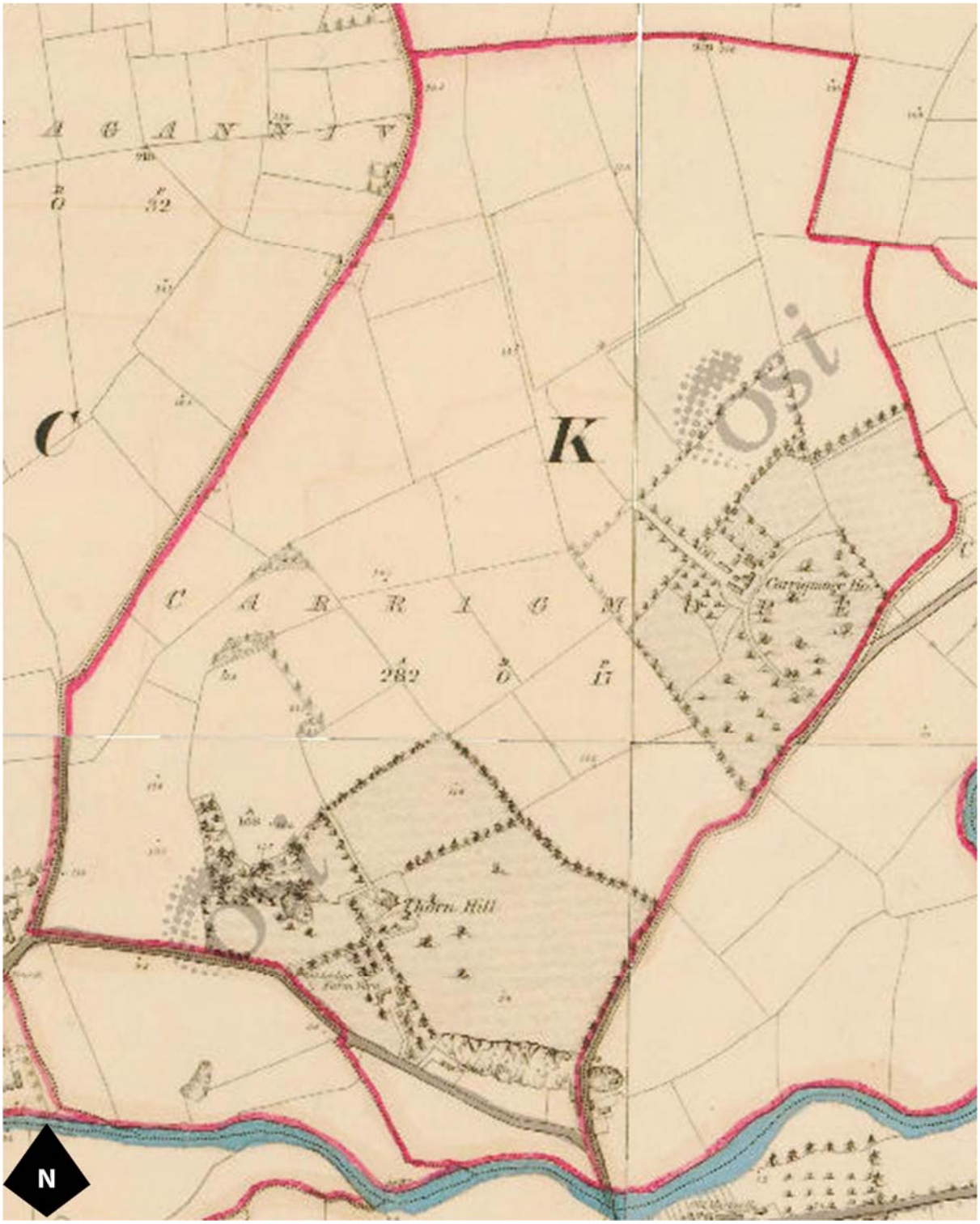


Figure 158. First edition OS map of Carrigmore townland

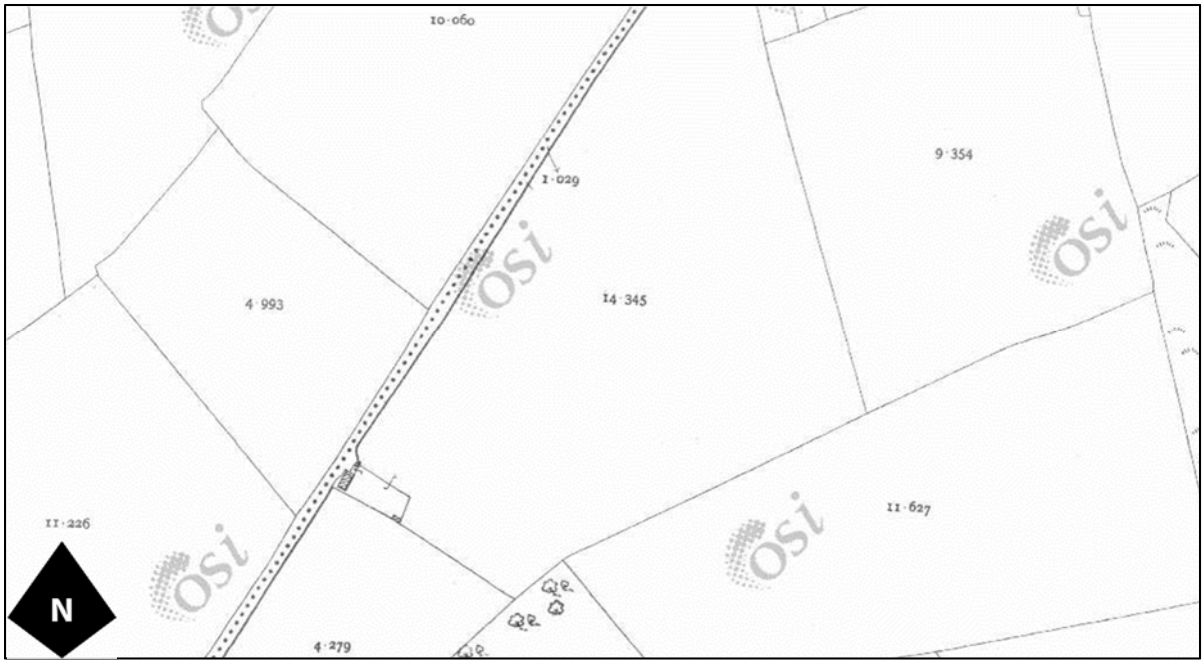


Figure 159. Second edition OS map of Carrigmore townland depicting general location of ringfort



Figure 160. Aerial image of Carrigmore townland depicting site of ringfort (DG 2011 – 3)

2.3.3. Clashaganniv

This townland also does not appear to have been either surveyed or mapped by Bateman (1717). It was, however, included in Scalé's (1774, map 4a) later survey of the estate holdings. He depicts one example of a ringfort in the south-east sector of his map of this townland. He also includes a square moated site on the opposite north-west boundary. The ringfort is recorded and has been assigned the SMR no. CO036-064. Unfortunately, on the first edition map created from the Ordnance Survey (1841, Sheet 36) no indication of the presence of this ringfort is shown. Neither is any indication contained within the map resulting from the second edition (1905, Sheet 36) revisions. Although, the possible location for this monument may be indicated by a faint crop mark. A slightly irregular shaped enclosure is visible on an aerial image from a recent survey (DG 2011 - 3). This potential crop mark measuring *c*.27m in diameter is centred on grid coordinates: 591821-594561.

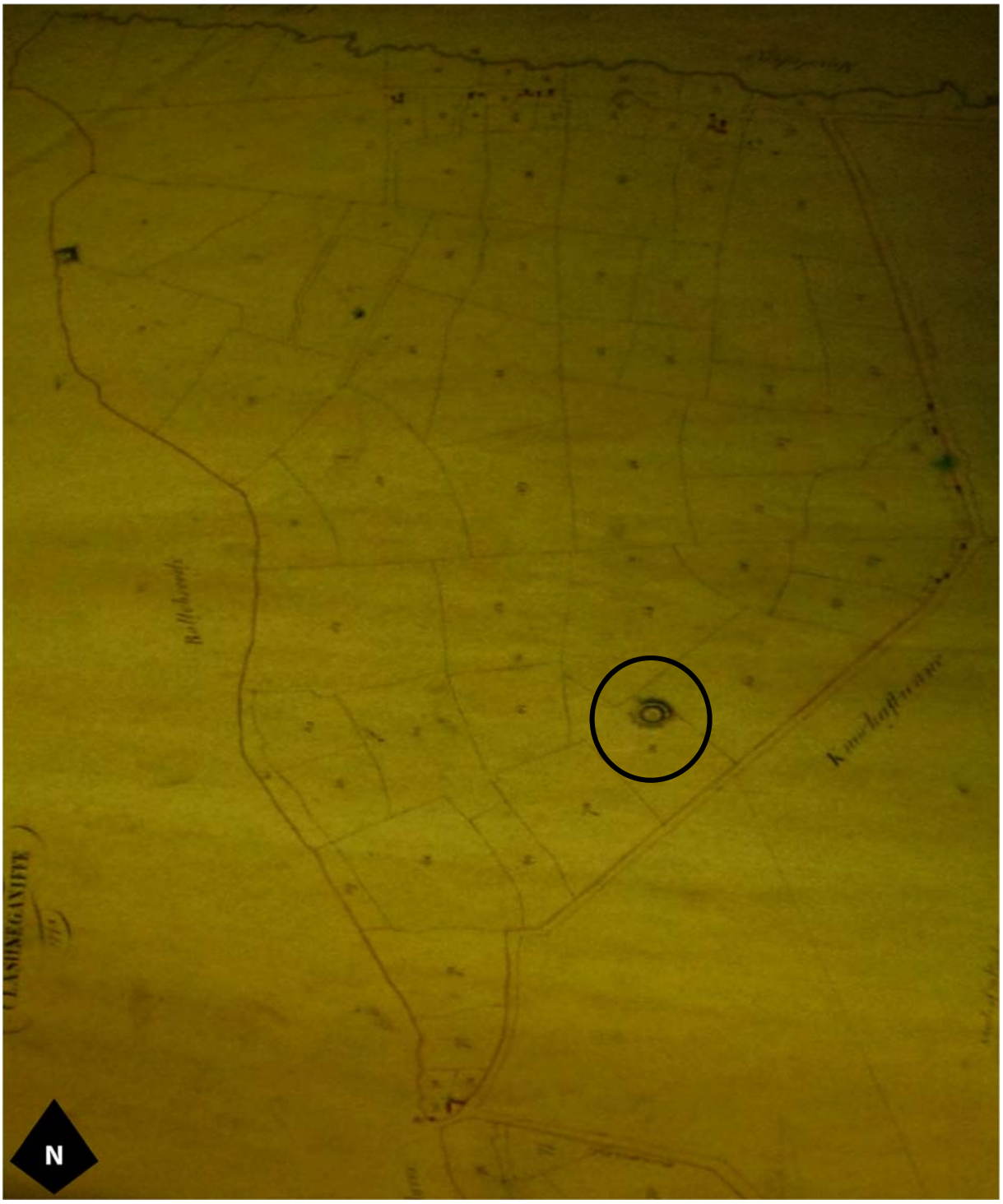


Figure 161. Scalé's map of Clashaganniv townland depicting ringfort CO036-064

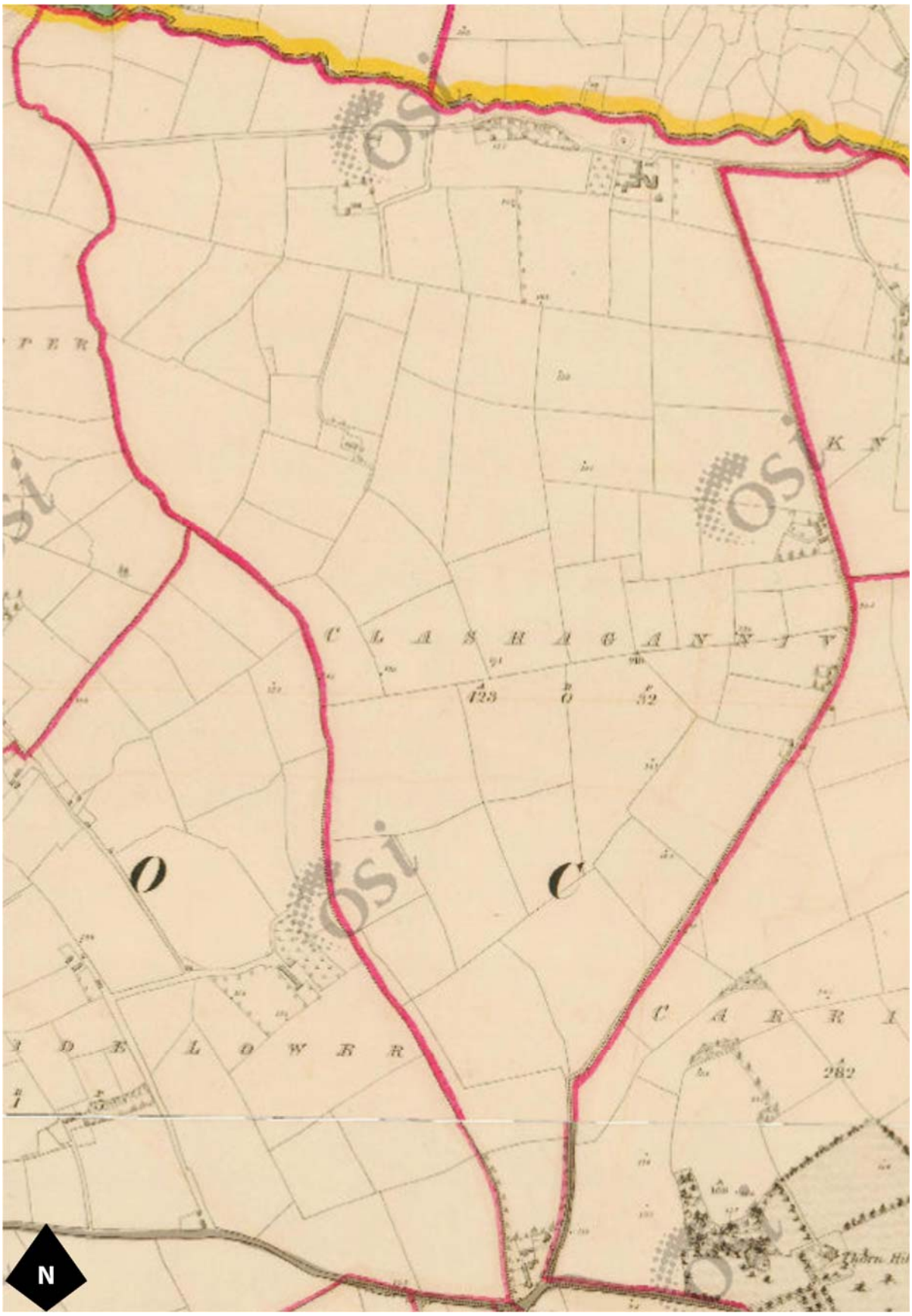


Figure 162. First edition OS map of Clashaganniv townland

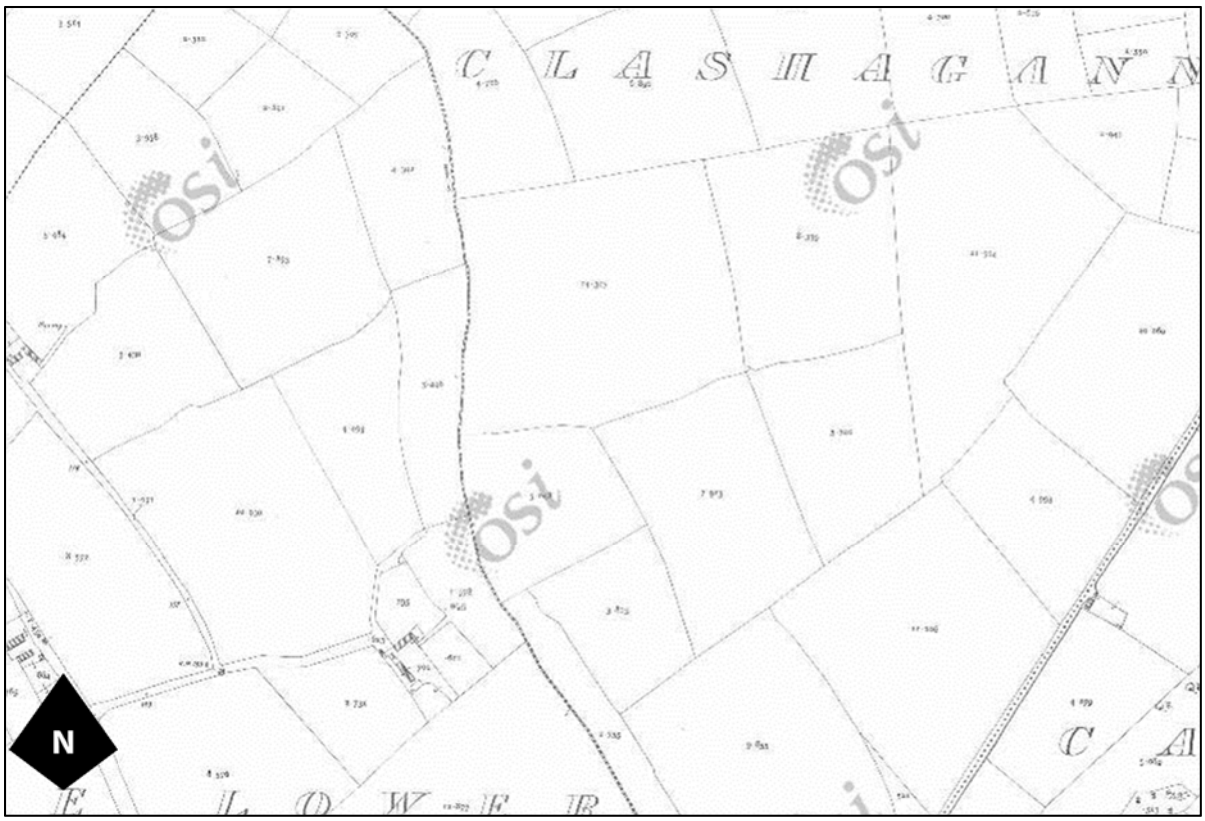


Figure 163. Second edition OS map of Clashaganniv townland



Figure 164. Aerial image of Clashaganniv townland depicting site of ringfort CO036-064 (DG 2011 – 3)

2.3.4. Cooladurragh

The Archaeological Survey Database contains reference to the presence in this townland of four enclosures (NMS 2018). These were all discovered following the study of aerial photographs from a survey undertaken by the Cork Archaeological Survey. Each of these has been assigned an SMR number, from CO046-059 to CO046-061, with an outlying example given the number, CO037-011. These enclosures are noted as being approximately 30m in diameter each and some of the crop marks define some of these features as bivallate. These factors suggest that these features may have originally been ringforts. Or at least that they would have sufficiently resembled ringforts for the inhabitants of the surrounding area to accept them as such and treat them accordingly. This townland appears not to have been included in the maps of the survey by Bateman (1717). Although it was included in the index. It was, however, included in Scalé's (1774, map 2a) later survey. The map created following this shows this townland as also consisting of the present townland of Bridepark.

Unfortunately, on this map there are no suggestions for the presence of these enclosures. The first edition (1841, Sheets 37 & 46) OS map contains no evidence either. Although, a symbol usually associated with lime kilns is depicted in one area of this townland (OSI 1841, Sheet 37). This is located in a field north of the road and near to 'Bridepark Cottage'. The subsequent second edition maps (1904, Sheet 46 & 1905, Sheet 37) offer no further clarification to this question either. Photographs available as a result of recent aerial surveys provide evidence for the possible location of CO046-059 and CO037-011, through the existence of circular soil marks in a ploughed field (NMS 2018). It was suggested that a nearby road might respect the boundary of CO046-061, although this would then seem to place this enclosure in the neighbouring townland of Carrigmore. Ultimately, without further investigation due to the lack of eyewitness accounts of the original form of these structures it is almost impossible to confirm these as ringforts.

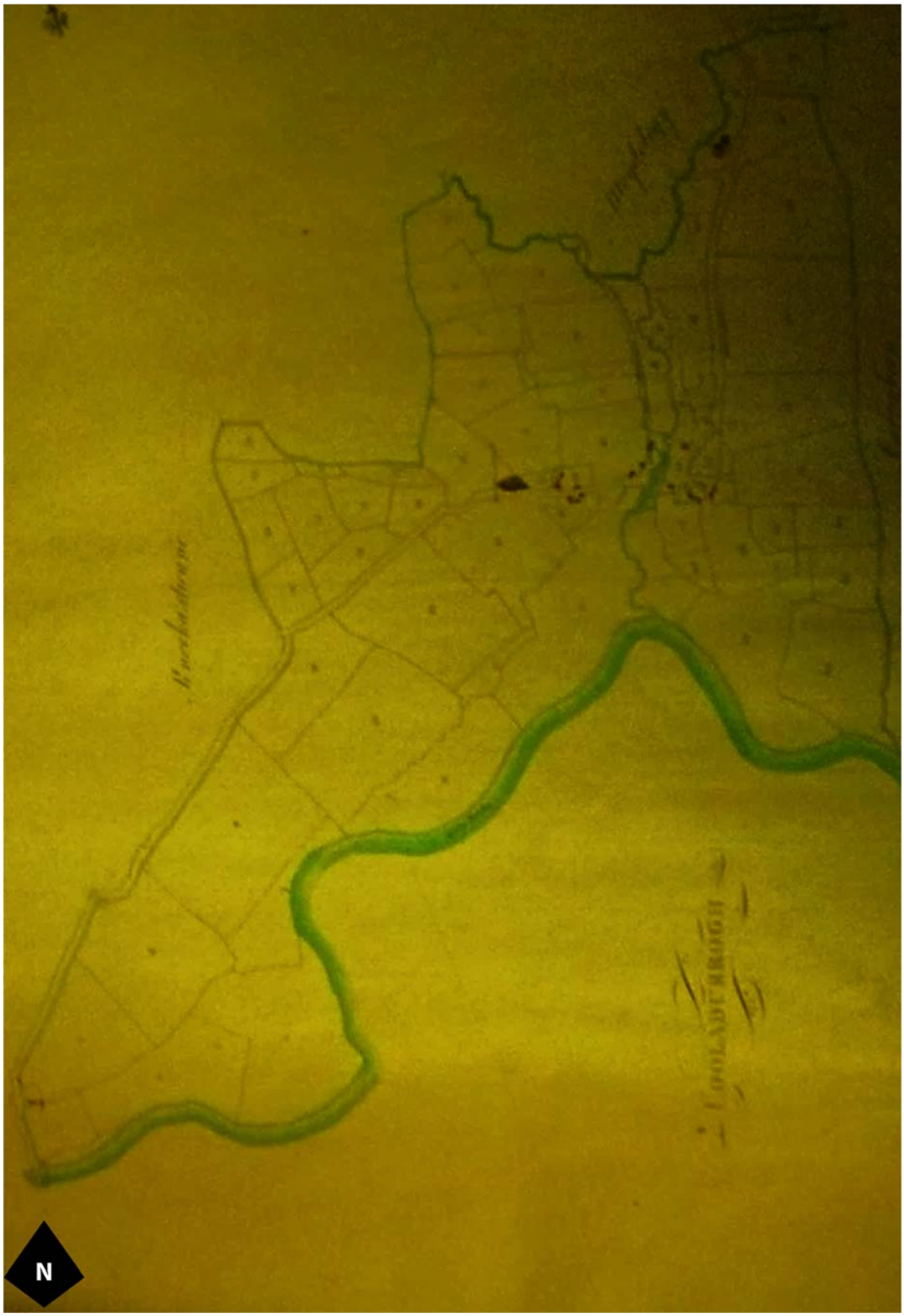


Figure 165. Scalé's map of Cooladurragh townland

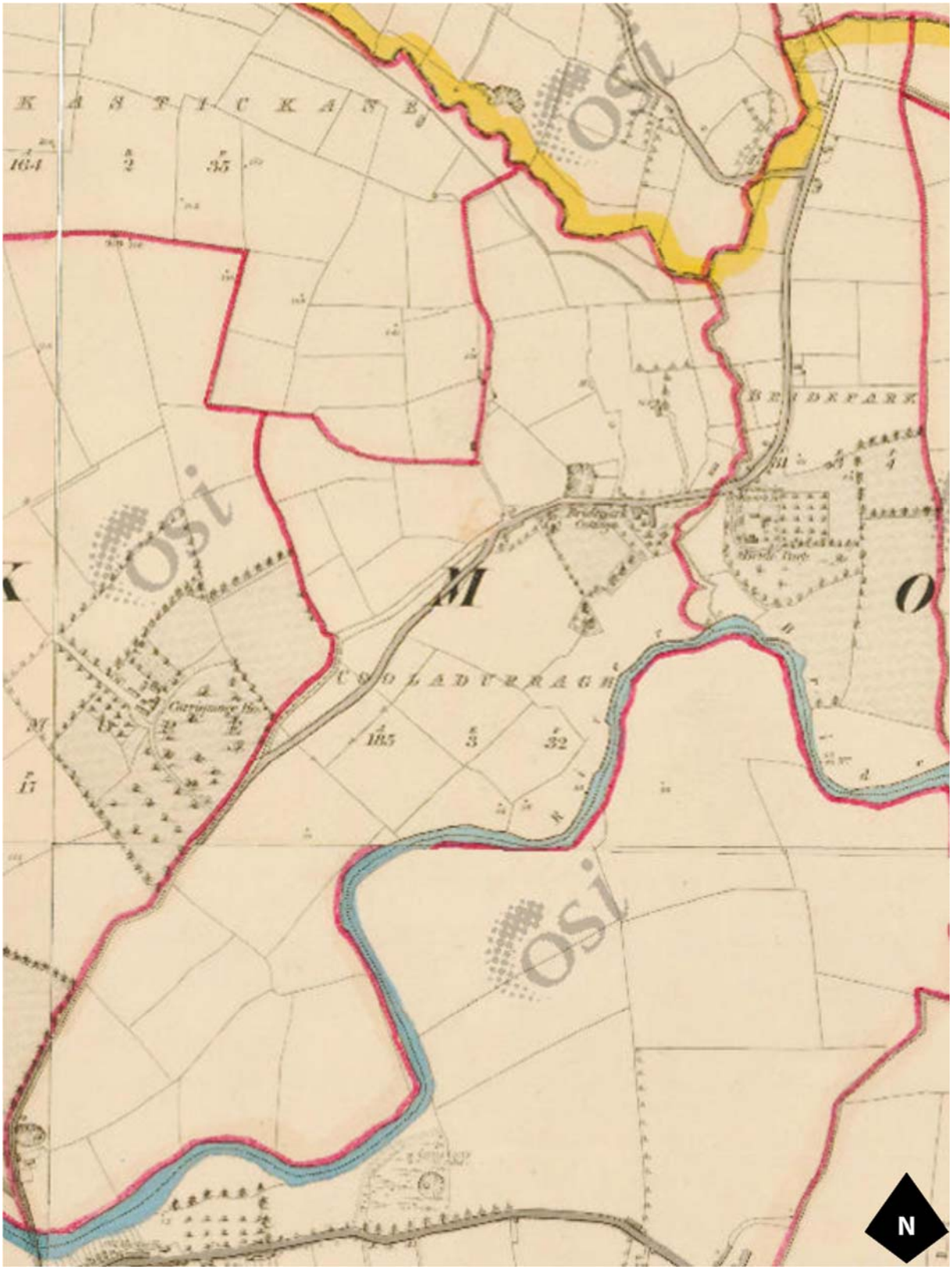


Figure 166. First edition OS map of Cooladurragh townland

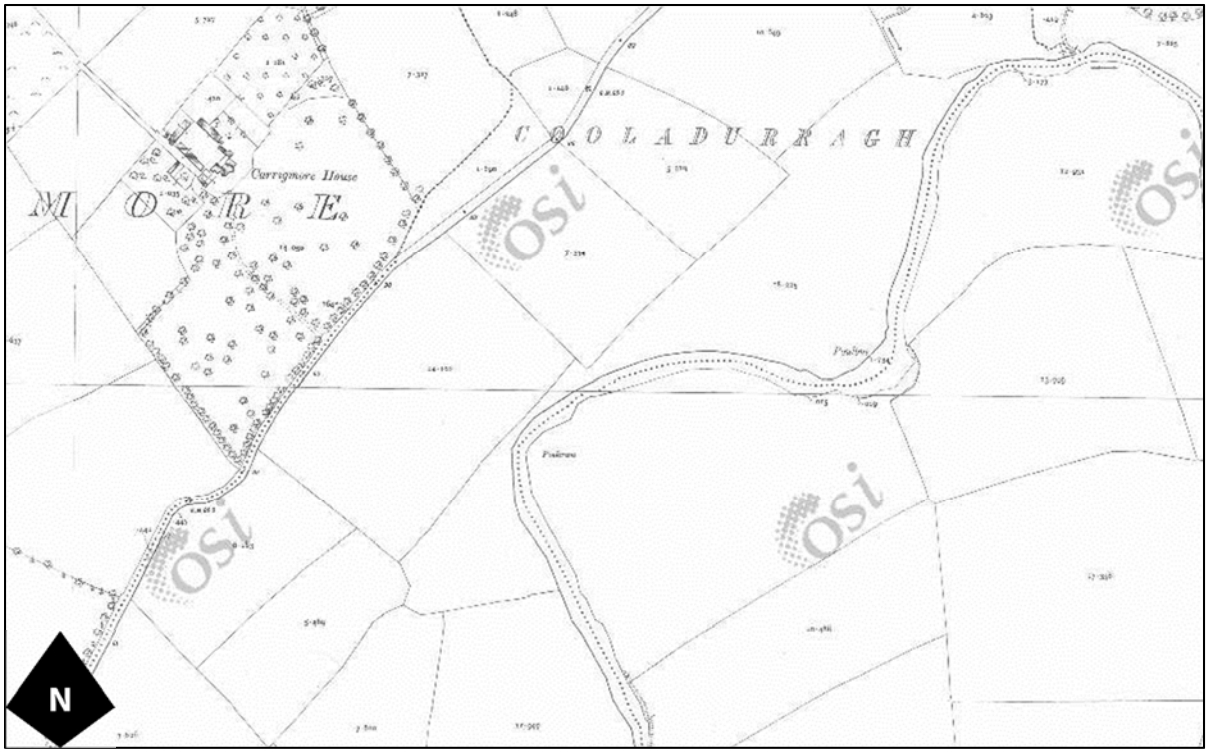


Figure 167. Second edition OS map of Cooladurragh townland



Figure 168. Aerial image of Cooladurragh townland (DG 2011 – 3)

2.3.5. Conna

Bateman (1717, map 35) provides no evidence for the presence of ringforts in his map of this townland. However, he does include some features of archaeological significance. In addition to Conna Castle and the bridge over the River bride, he also depicts two, previously unrecorded lime kilns. Both of these are located south of the river, adjacent to, and either side of the main road. One of these kilns is shown located in 'New Connah' and the other in 'Ould Connah'. Apparently, this townland was not included in Scalé's (1774) later survey. The first edition map created from the Ordnance Survey (1841, Sheet 46) provides no further evidence in this regard either. Nor does the map that followed the second edition revisions (1904, Sheet 46). However, crop marks suggesting the presence of two enclosures near to Conna castle is noted in the record (Power *et al*. 1994). The largest of these is *c*. 20m in diameter and the smaller just 10m. These were discovered as a result of an aerial survey commissioned by the Cork Archaeological Survey. That such structures were not noted in Bateman's (1717, map 35) earlier survey may perhaps indicate the length of time that these structures have not been visible on the landscape.

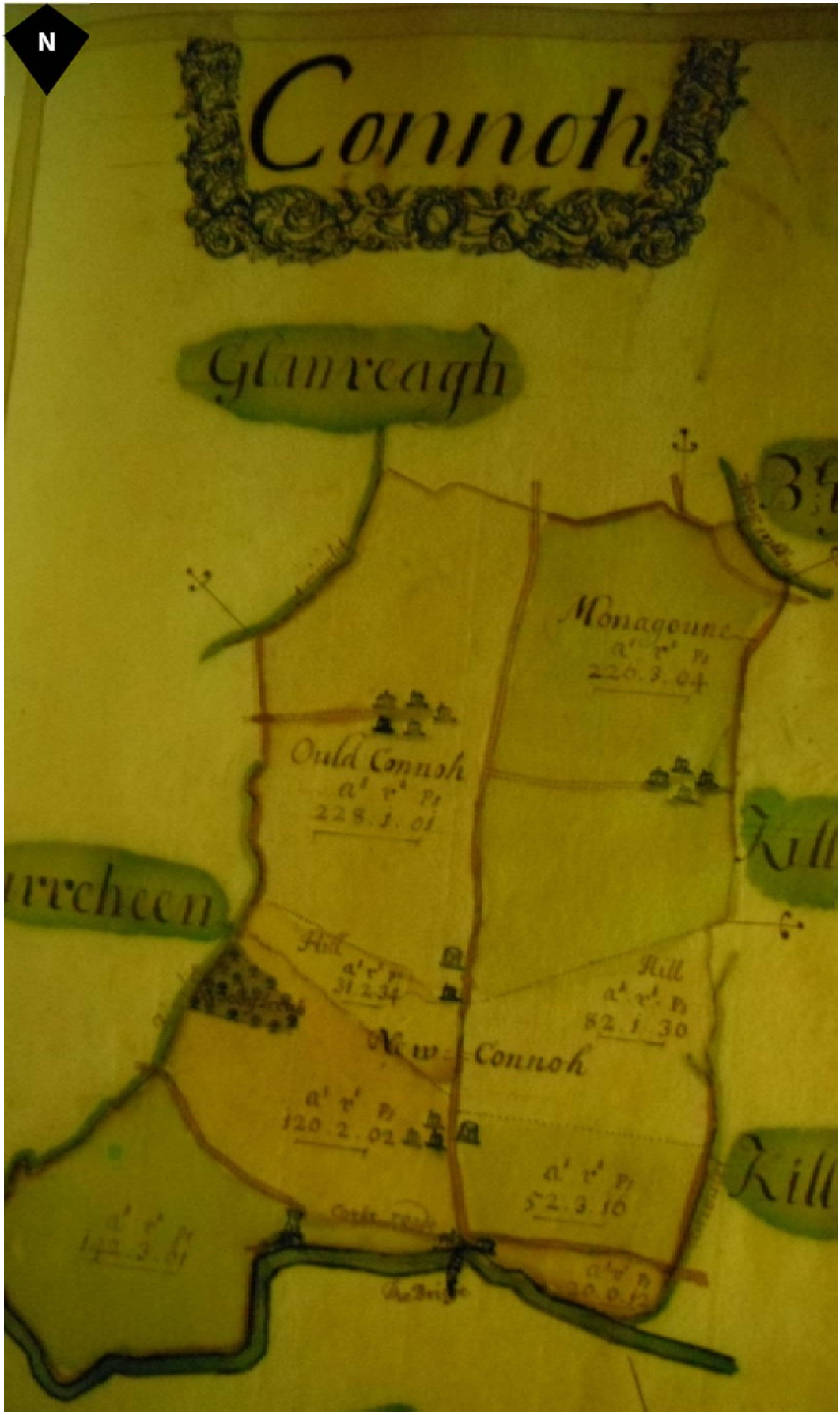


Figure 169. Bateman's map of Conna townland

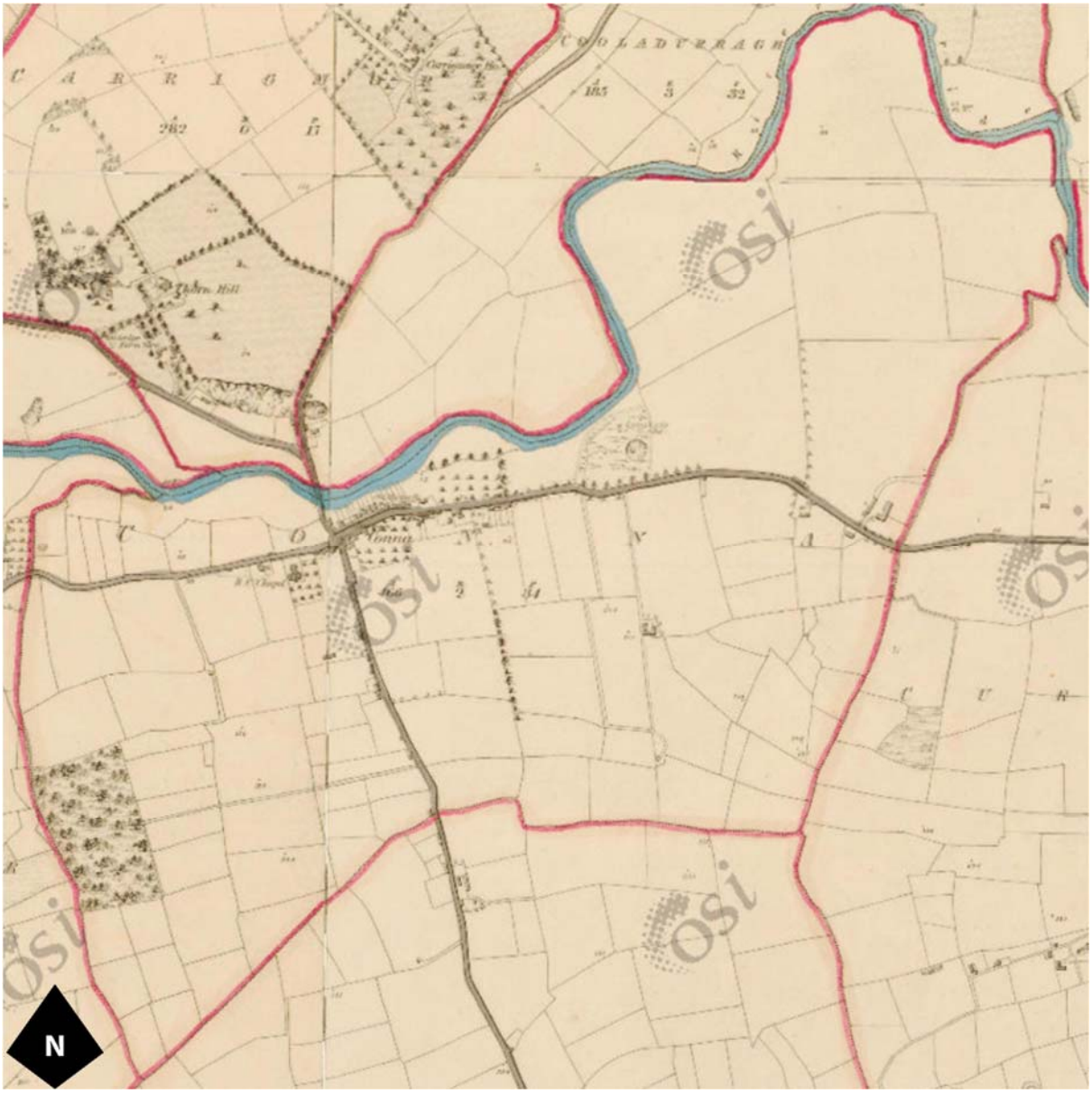


Figure 170. First edition OS map of Conna townland

2.3.6. Curraheen

In the map created following his survey, Bateman (1717, map 41) divides this townland into three geographical areas. 'All below the Road' – meaning the Cork road – 'All between the Road and Hill' and a southern section that he describes as 'Course Hill'. He includes no features of archaeological significance on his map however. Following Scalé's (1774, map 1a) later survey, the location of a ringfort, CO046-002, is noted in the south western area of the townland. This is the area noted in Bateman's (1717, map 41) survey as 'Course Hill' and this may explain why the monument was not perceived by Bateman. For this ringfort was still extant at the time of the Ordnance Survey (1841, Sheet 45) as it is clearly visible on the map. However, it had

been removed at some stage prior to the creation of the second edition OS map (1904, Sheet 45). There is no clear evidence for the location of this ringfort on available aerial images, despite the fact that the field was ploughed when one of these surveys was carried out (GE 2009).



Figure 171. Bateman's map of Curraheen townland

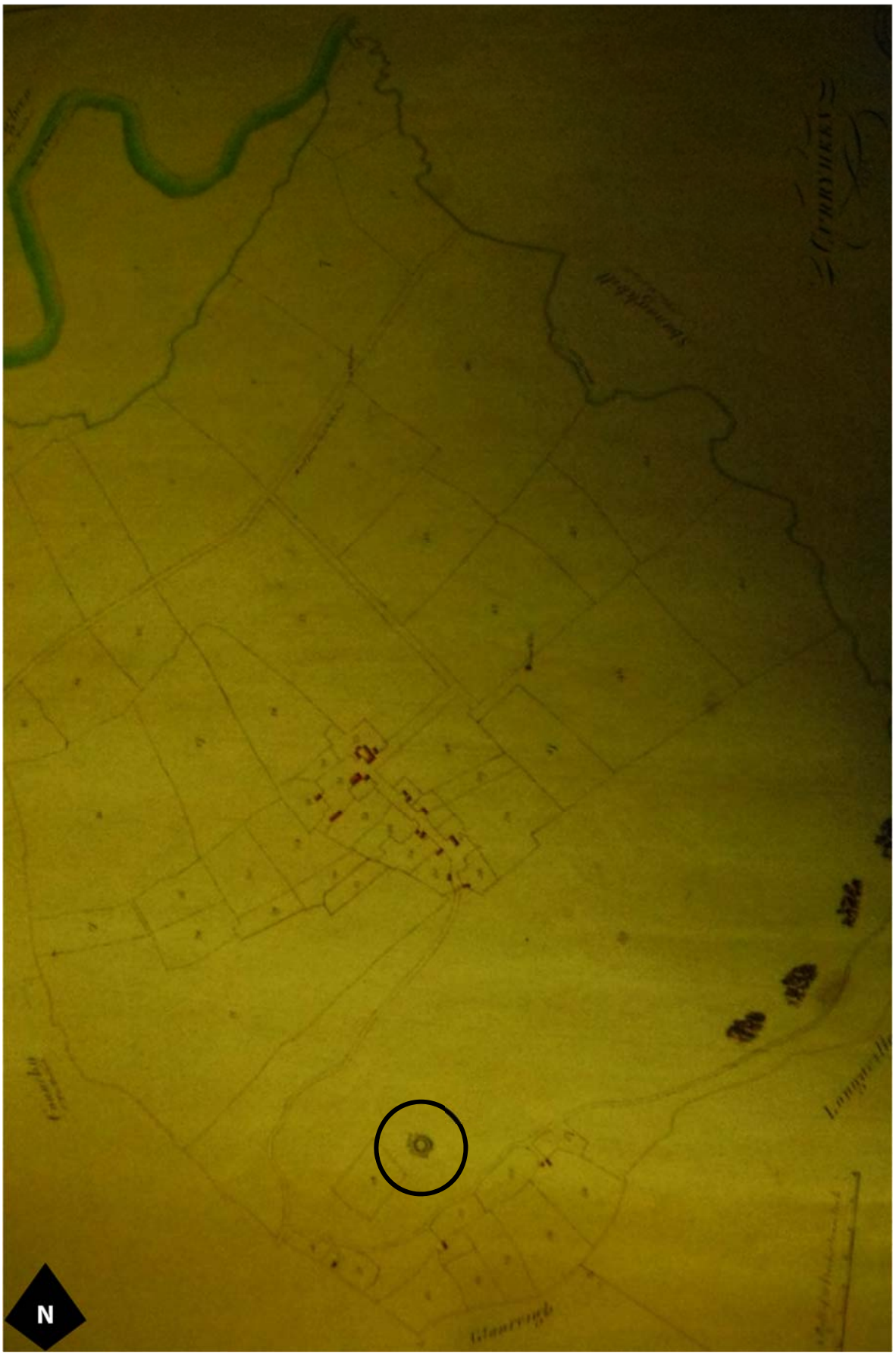


Figure 172. Scalé's map of Curraheen townland depicting ringfort CO046-002

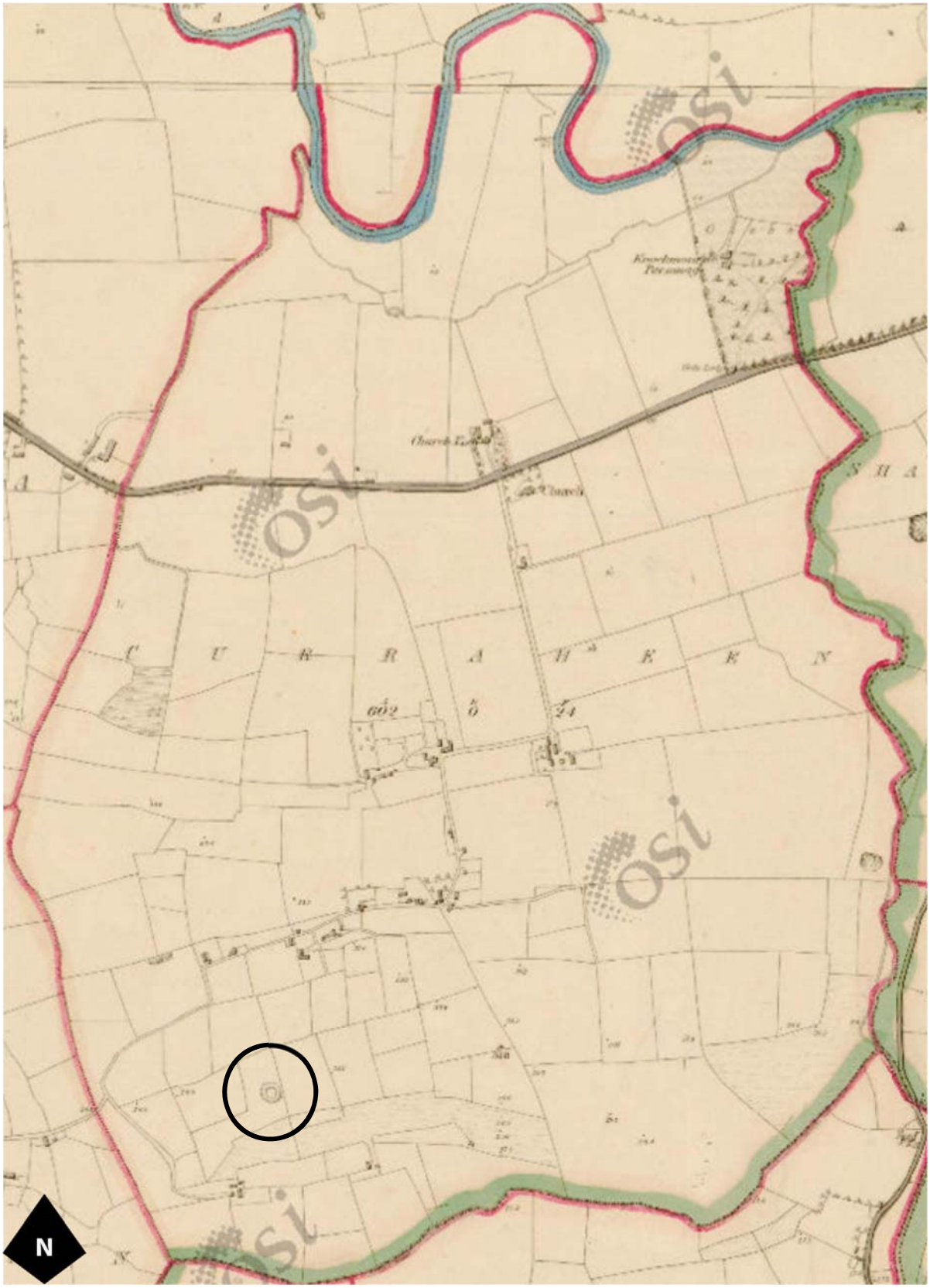


Figure 173. First edition OS map of Curraheen townland depicting ringfort CO046-002

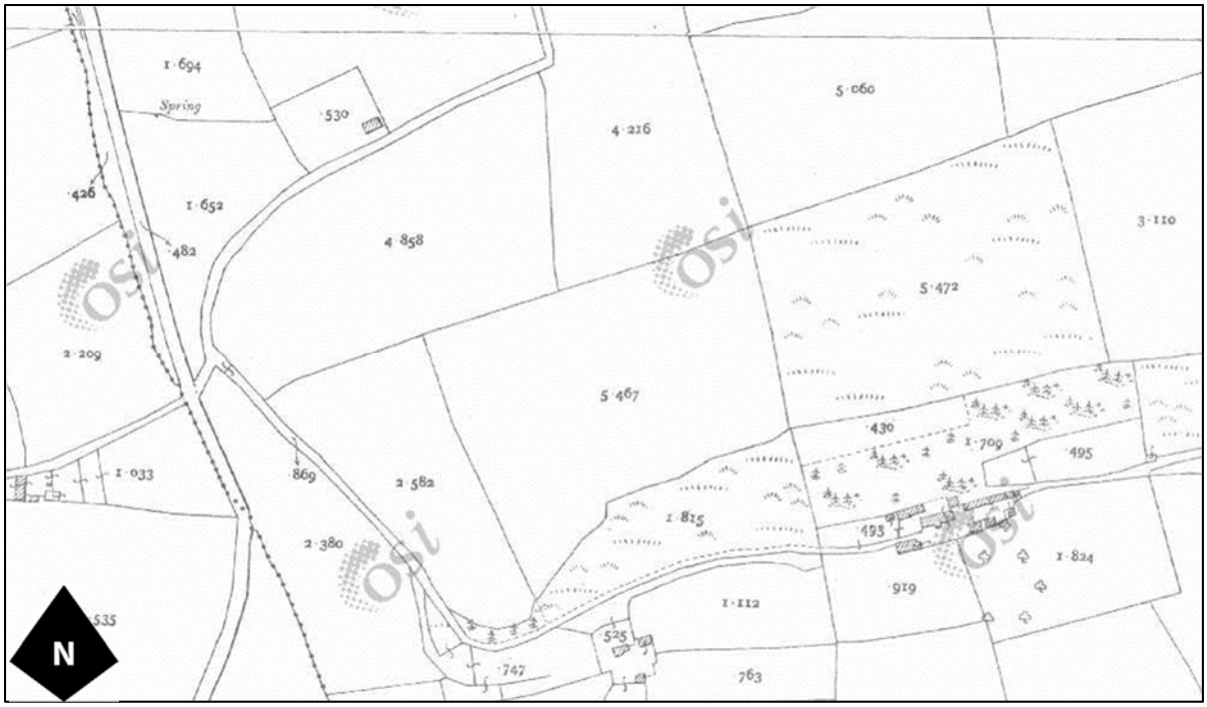


Figure 174. Second edition OS map of Curraheen townland



Figure 175. Aerial image of Curraheen townland depicting site of ringfort CO046-002 (GE 2009)

2.3.7. Kilclare

Strangely, Bateman (1717, map 51) includes no depiction of ringforts in the map created from his survey of this townland. This is peculiar because of the location of the three structures that are included in Scalé's (1774, map 6a) later survey of this same townland. It should be noted that Bateman (1717, map 51) surveyed only the area that now comprises the townland of Kilclare Upper. That is the area south of the river Bride. Whereas, Scalé (1774, map 6a) surveyed with is now both Kilclare Upper and Lower. On Scalé's map two of the three recorded ringforts, CO045-122001 & CO045-029, this latter associated with a possible souterrain, CO045-128, are located in close proximity to the road that parallels the river. The position of this road is also noted on Bateman's (1717, map 51) earlier map. Bateman had also subdivided this townland into several distinct areas. For example, 'The East part above the Road' and 'The West part above the Road'. He also depicts a limekiln adjacent to the boundary between these two sectors. In addition, he also shows a cluster of buildings further to the south.

The aforementioned lime kiln is also shown on Scalé's (1774, 6a) map. The third recorded ringfort, CO045-033, is depicted further south from this location, in the general area where Bateman (1717, map 51) had included the settlement site. The proximity of these three monuments to other manmade structures that are included on Bateman's map raises questions concerning, both, the visibility of these sites on the ground and also the diligence with which such structures were noted in the earlier survey. In any event, both of these earlier surveys failed to include another ringfort, CO045-030, located north of the road. It is, however, shown on the first edition (1841, Sheet 45) map, as is the ringfort situated furthest to the south, CO045-033. However, another ringfort, CO045-029, may have been difficult to perceive as its location had by this time been covered in woodland. For this structure is again shown on the map resulting from the second edition revision (1904, Sheet 45). The most southerly ringfort, CO045-033, is also shown on this map and the structure north of the road, CO045-030, is depicted as a semi-circular field boundary. An examination of available aerial images allows the location of ringfort, CO045-033, to be confirmed through the presence of a clearly defined circular crop mark (DG 2011 – 3). The possibility of locating other ringforts in this townland by this method is hampered by the presence of trees in the general area.

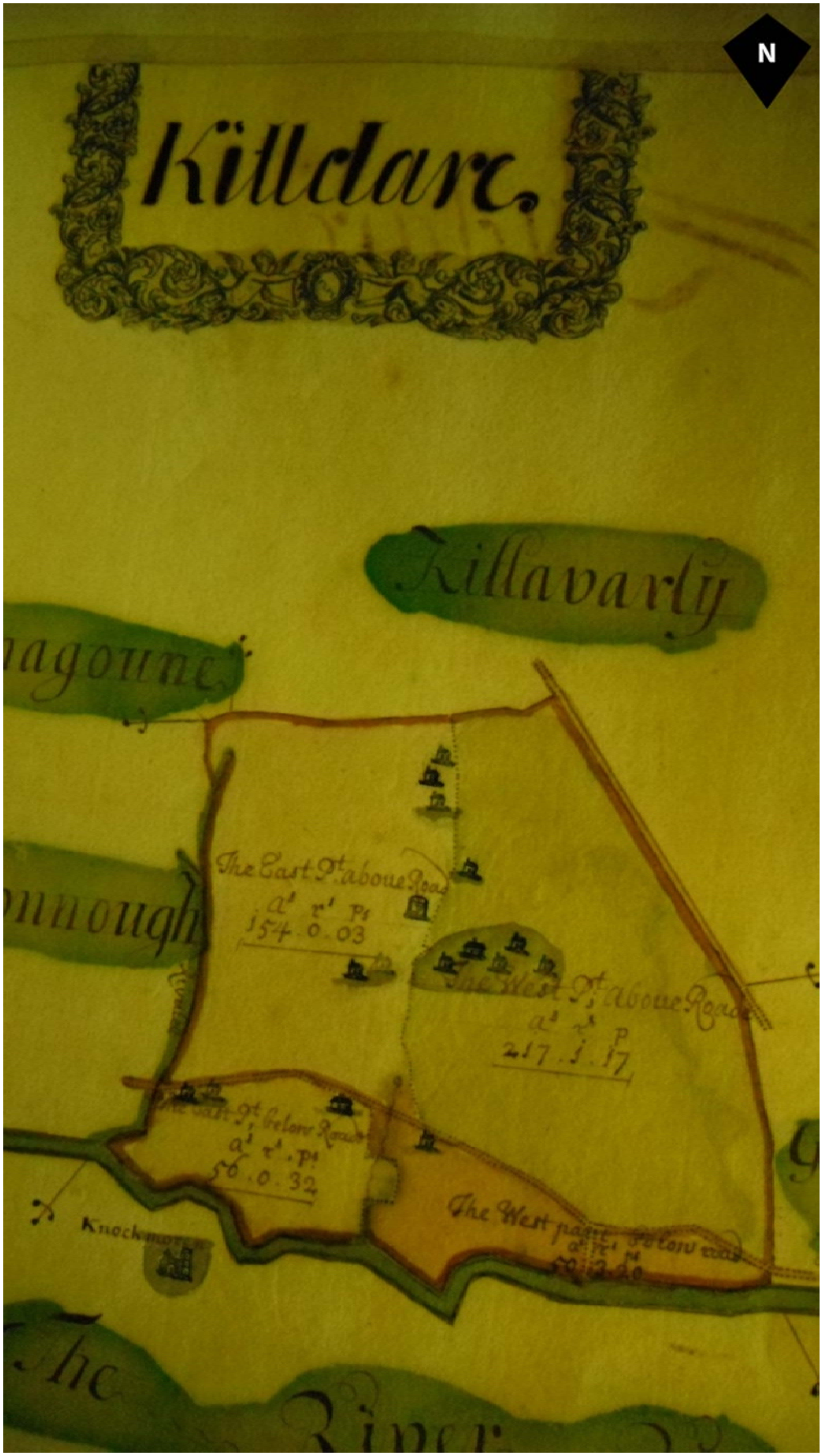


Figure 176. Bateman's map of Kilclare townland, now Kilclare Upper



Figure 177. Scalé's map of Kilclare Upper and Kilclare Lower townlands depicting ringforts 1. CO045-033, 2. CO045-122001 & 3. CO045-029

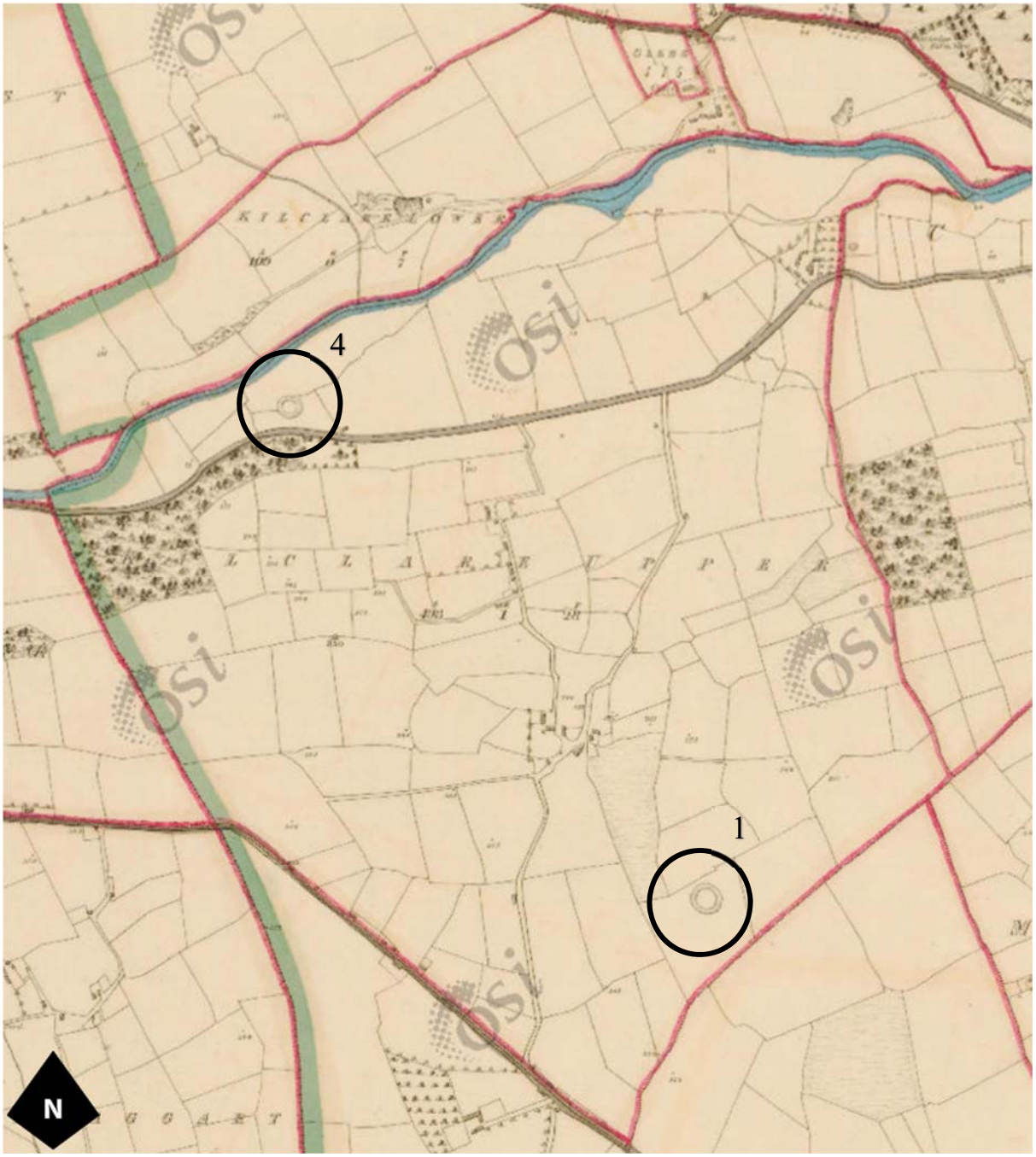


Figure 178. First edition OS map of Kilclare Upper townland depicting ringforts 1. CO045-033 and 4. CO045-030

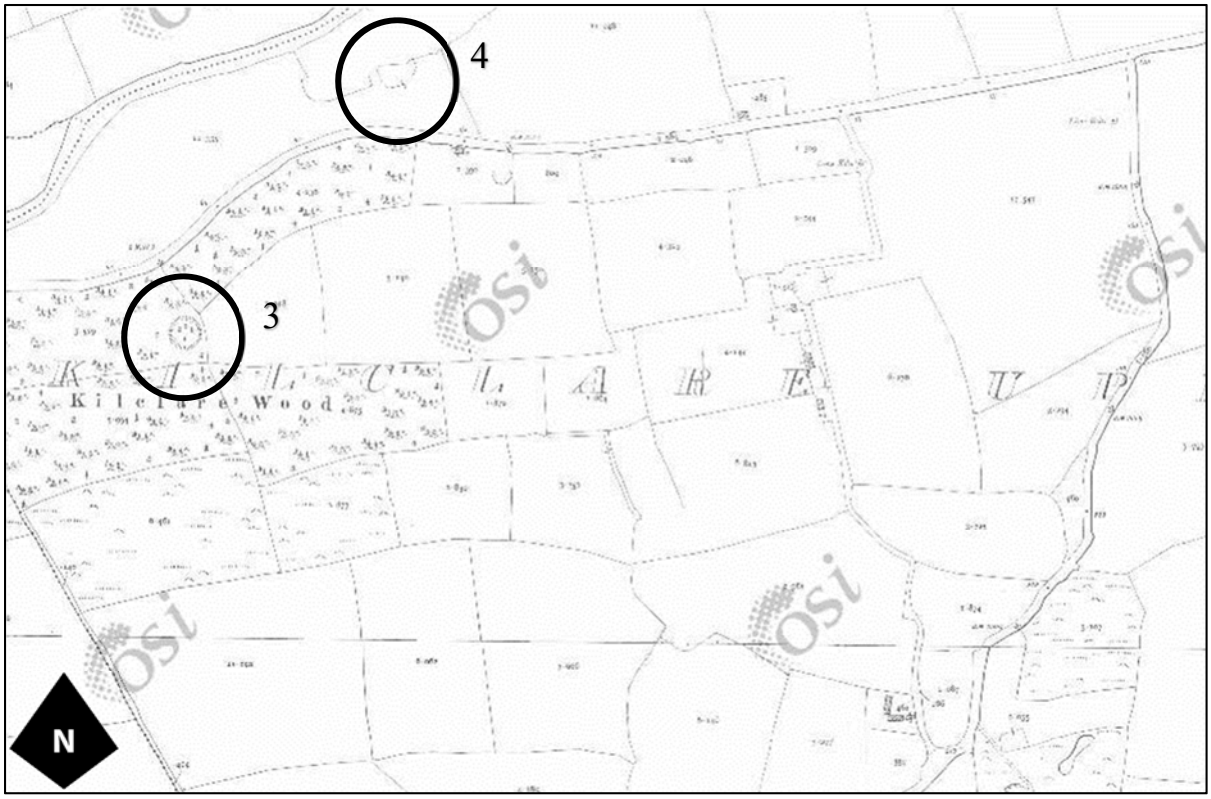


Figure 179. Second edition OS map of Killclare Upper townland depicting ringfort 3. CO045-029 and site of ringfort 4. CO045-030

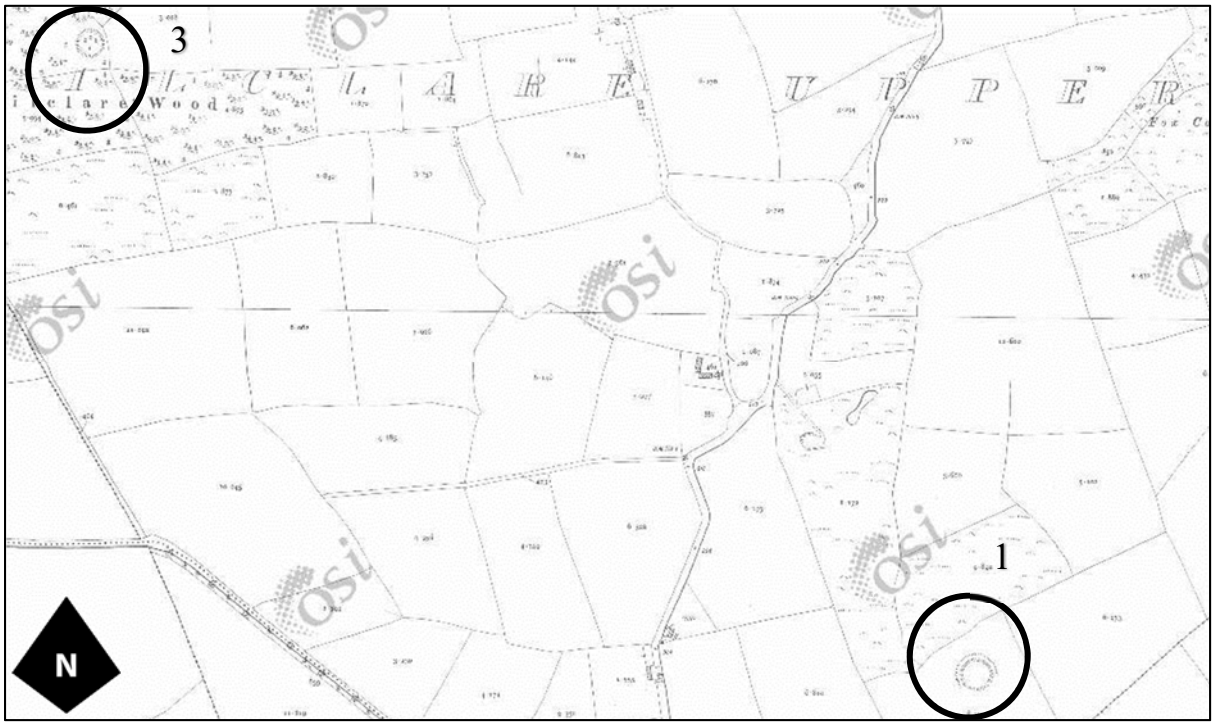


Figure 180. Second edition OS map of Killclare Upper townland depicting ringforts 1. CO045-033 and 3. CO045-029



Figure 181. Aerial image of part of Kilclare Upper townland depicting site of ringfort 1. CO045-033 (DG 2011 – 3)

2.3.8. Killavarilly

Interestingly, here again Bateman (1717, map 52) provides no evidence for the existence of any ringforts within this townland. However, Scalé (1774, map 9a) clearly depicts the presence of one in the map resulting from his later survey. This example, CO045-145, is located close to, and west of, the 'Youghal Road' that is also shown on Bateman's map. On Scalé's map this site is shown to be associated with a nearby lime kiln. It was often the case that such a later feature would be incorporated into the bank of a ringfort. If that was here the case, it would seem to indicate that the ringfort may have been in a reasonable state of repair prior to the construction of the lime kiln. One possible explanation for Bateman (1717, map 52) not including this site is that the ground slopes away to the south-west from the road (Google Maps [GM] 2009). This then is likely to have hidden the ringfort from view. There is no evidence for the location of this structure on either the first edition OS (1841, Sheet 45) map nor on the second edition map created following the revisions (1904, Sheet 45). Photographs from recent aerial surveys offer no clue as the eventual location of this monument either (DG 2011 - 3; GE 2009 & 2107).

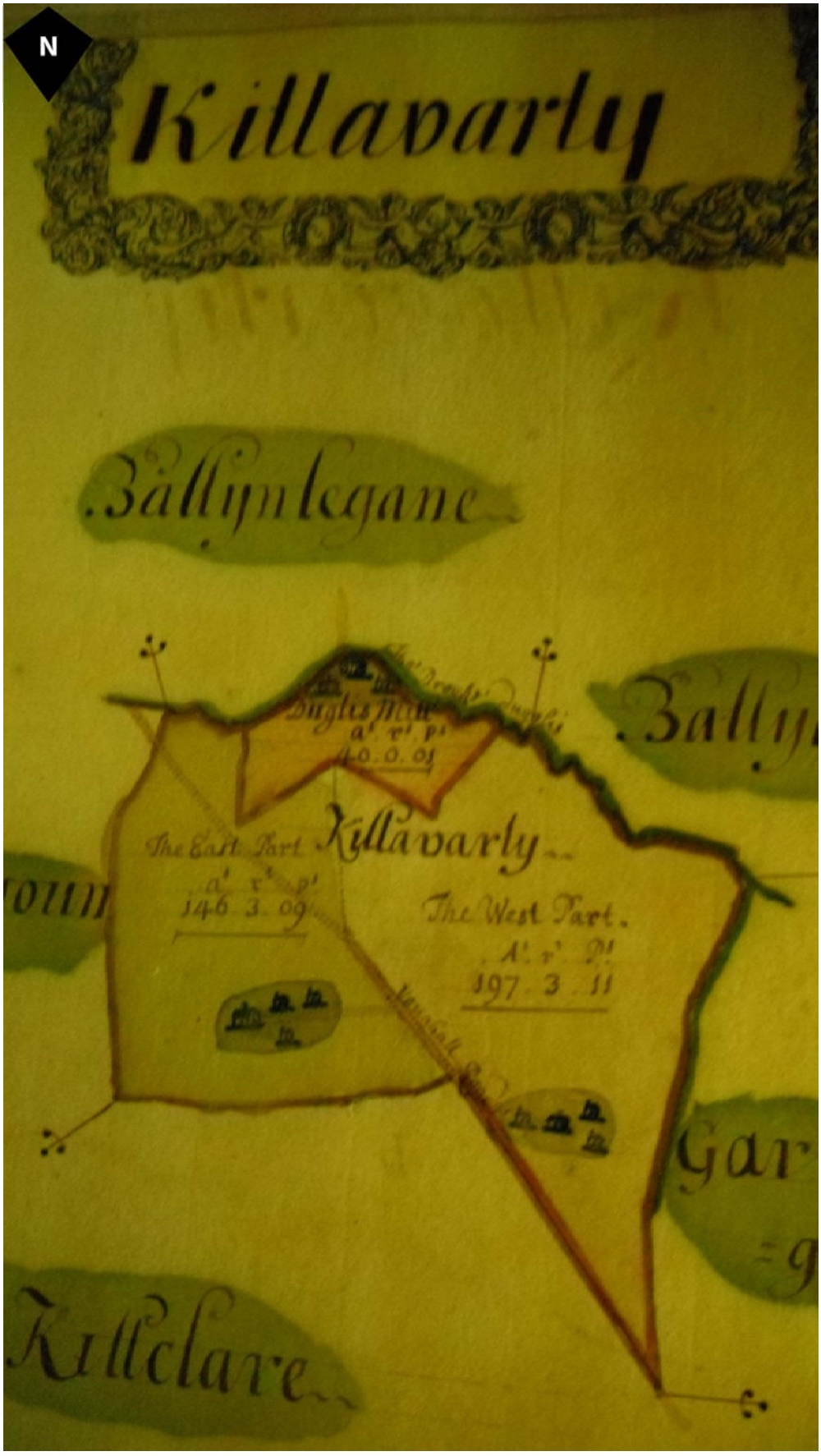


Figure 182. Bateman's map of Killavarilly townland

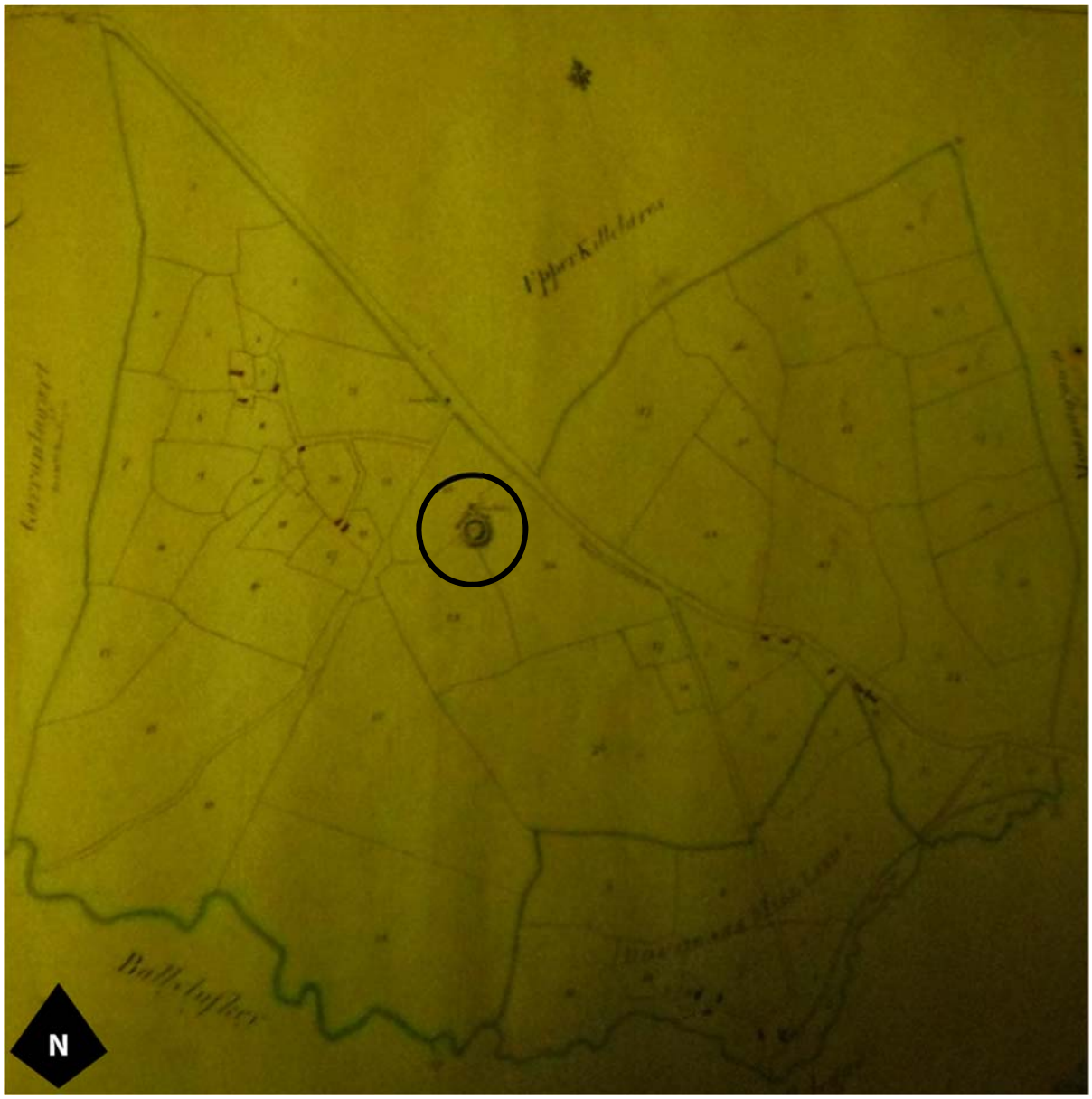


Figure 183. Scalé's map of Killavarilly townland depicting ringfort CO045-145

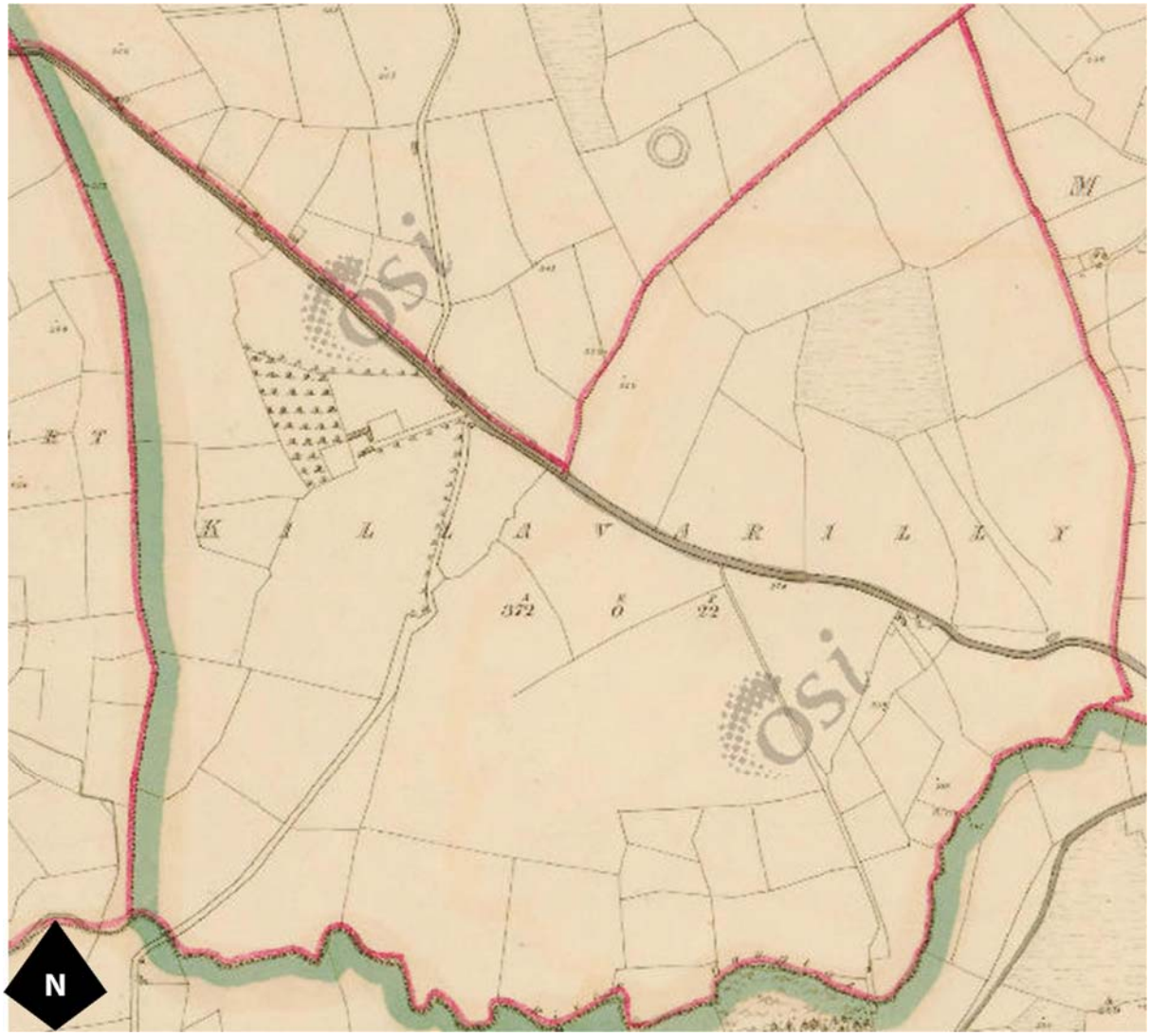


Figure 184. First edition OS map of Killavarilly townland

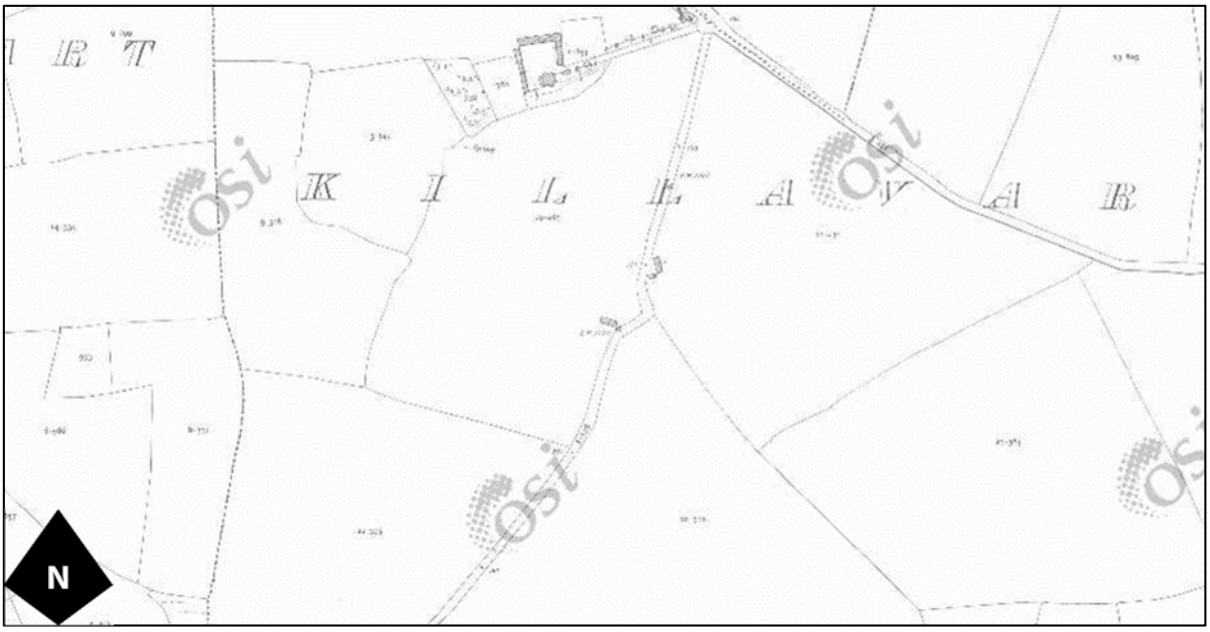


Figure 185. Second edition OS map of Killavarilly townland



Figure 186. Aerial image of Killavarilly townland depicting site of ringfort CO045-145 (DG 2011 – 3)

2.3.9. Knockastickane

This townland does not appear to have been surveyed by Bateman (1717). On the map created by Scalé (1774, map 3a) following his survey of the area, the existence of a ringfort is shown. It is located in what later became the townland of Carrigmore and it is here that it is shown on the first edition (1841, Sheet 36) OS map. There is no concrete evidence of any features of archaeological interest, either in the second edition (1905, Sheet 36) OS map or on images from recent aerial surveys of the townland (DG 2011 - 3). However, a circular area of discolouration centred on grid coordinates, 592821-594863, may indicate a site worthy of further examination (DG 2011 - 3; GE 2017).

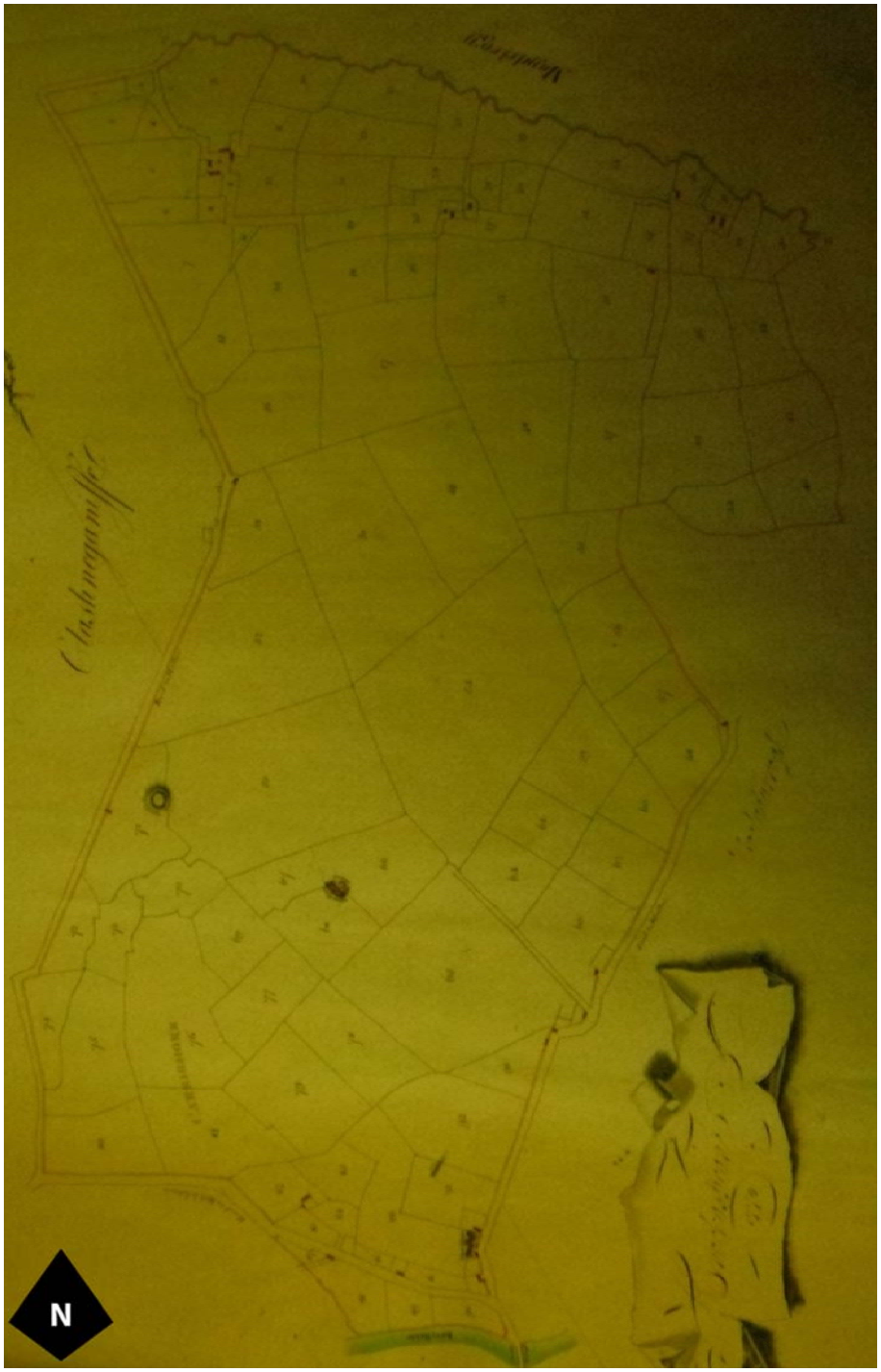


Figure 187. Scalé's map of Knockastickane townland



Figure 188. First edition OS map of Knockastickane townland



Figure 189. Aerial image of part of Knockastickane townland (DG 2011 – 3)

2.3.10. Monagoun

This townland is shown on Bateman's (1717, 35) map as being closely associated with the adjacent townland of 'Ould Connah', which is located on the other side of the north-south road. No evidence for any archaeological features are included for this area however. Although Bateman (*ibid.*) does depict a previously unrecorded lime kiln in the north-west corner of 'Ould Connah'. Only a small cluster of buildings is shown close to the western boundary of Monagoun. These townlands do not appear to have been surveyed by Scalé (1774). This latter townland is shown on the first edition (1841, Sheet 46) as having been incorporated into Monagoun. No further evidence is presented though for other archaeological features. Neither the second edition OS map (1904, Sheet 46) nor recent aerial images (DG 2011 - 3; GE 2017) offer any indications either as the eventual location within this townland of any ringforts.



Figure 190. Bateman's map of Monagoun townland

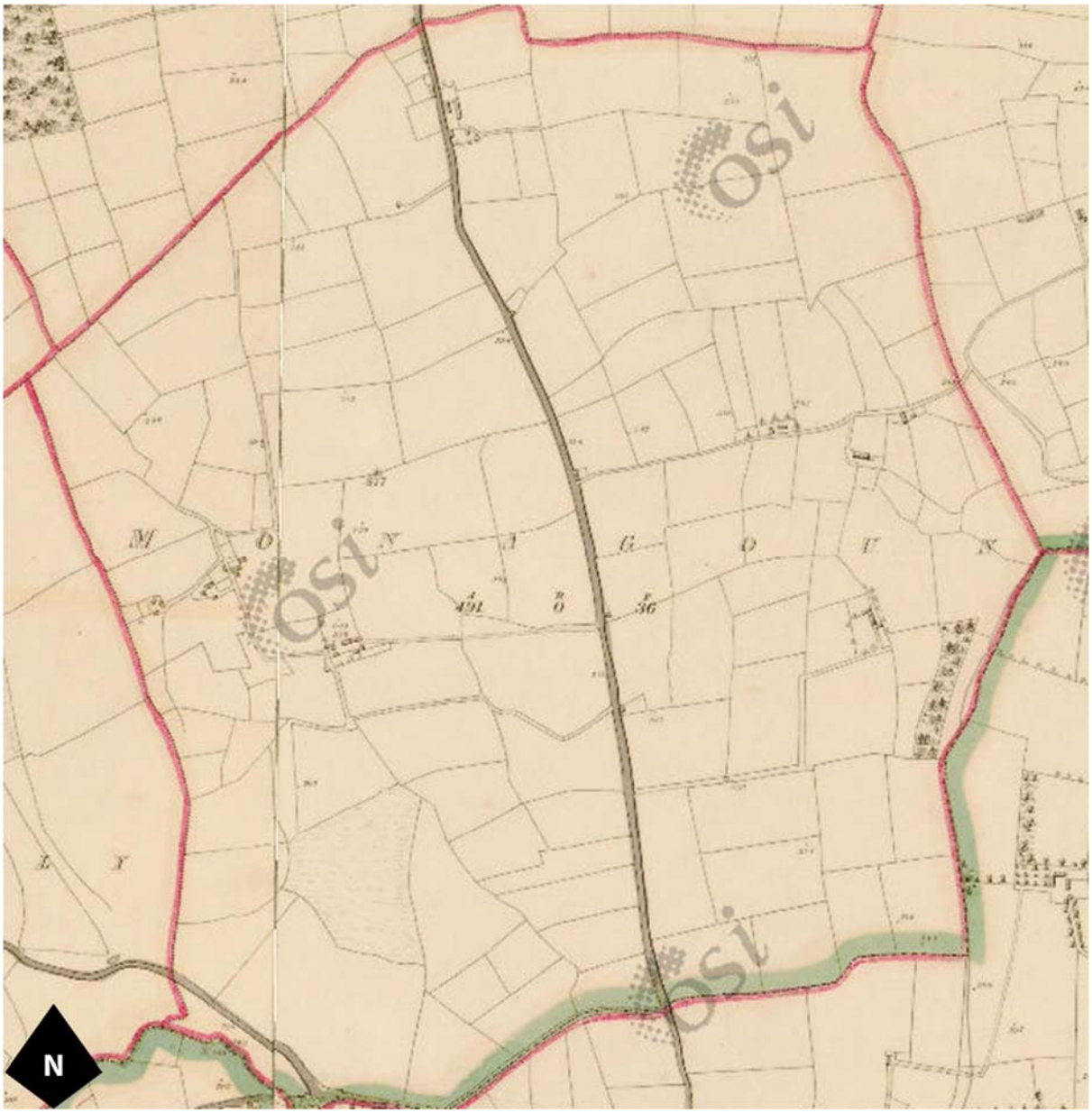


Figure 191. First edition OS map of Monagoun

2.4. Mogeely parish

2.4.1. Ballyclogh

This townland was surveyed by Bateman (1717, map 28) and was presented in conjunction with two adjacent townlands, Gortnafiry and Lacknatooss. Although this latter is located across the Owenaboy [Glenaboy] River in County Waterford. A north-south running road is shown within this townland. In addition, a single house with an encircling orchard is shown in the south-east corner. However, there are no features of archaeological importance highlighted in Bateman's

map. Scalé (1774, map 6b), on his map, also includes this north-south running road and also shows a house in the general area of that shown on the earlier map. However, he also depicts an example of a ringfort, which is recorded and bears the SMR no. CO046-040. This example is located east of the aforementioned road and opposite from the entrance avenue to the settlement site. In common with other fields noted in this survey the interior of this monument is numbered, the only field monument to be so noted in Scalé's (1774, map 6b) survey.

In the accompanying index it is also noted that this ringfort had been assigned the name 'Dean's Fort' – obviously a corruption of Dane's Fort – and that the enclosed area is of '0 acres, 2 roods, 16 perches'. This corresponds to 96 perches and, assuming that Scalé used imperial measurements, this can be converted to 0.37 of an acre or 0.149 of a hectare. For ease of comparison this can then be converted to 1490 square metres. In the archaeological record the diameters of this field monument are given as '27m north-south' and '31.8m east-west'. The area of this ellipse can also be calculated and gives a figure for the interior of *c*. 670 square metres. It may be possible to explain this discrepancy for the record also states that the inner bank of this ringfort has a height of just 0.2m; whereas, the outer bank has a much more noticeable height of 0.9m (NMS 2018). Perhaps then this may have increased the interior surface perceived by Scalé or indeed he may have included the entirety of the monument in his calculations.

On the first edition (1841, Sheet 46) OS map this example is also highlighted, although it is depicted on this map as being oval in shape. On the second edition (1904, Sheet 46) map that followed from the later revisions, it is shown as a circular feature with, perhaps, the outer bank incorporated into several field boundaries that surround the monument. Although the majority of these field boundaries have been removed this ringfort is still presently extant and is defined by a circular ring of trees (NMS 2018). An examination of the landscape setting for this ringfort shows it to be located on the forward slope of a hill that rise towards the west from the above noted roadway that has long been present in this townland (GM 2009). As such, if Bateman (1717, map 28) had traversed the townland by this road, or trackway, this ringfort should have been visible to him. Again, however, it must be noted that his depiction of the road is most distinct where it crosses the townland boundary. Perhaps then this is a further indication that Bateman (*ibid.*) focused predominately on establishing these boundaries and on noting other features visible from these points.

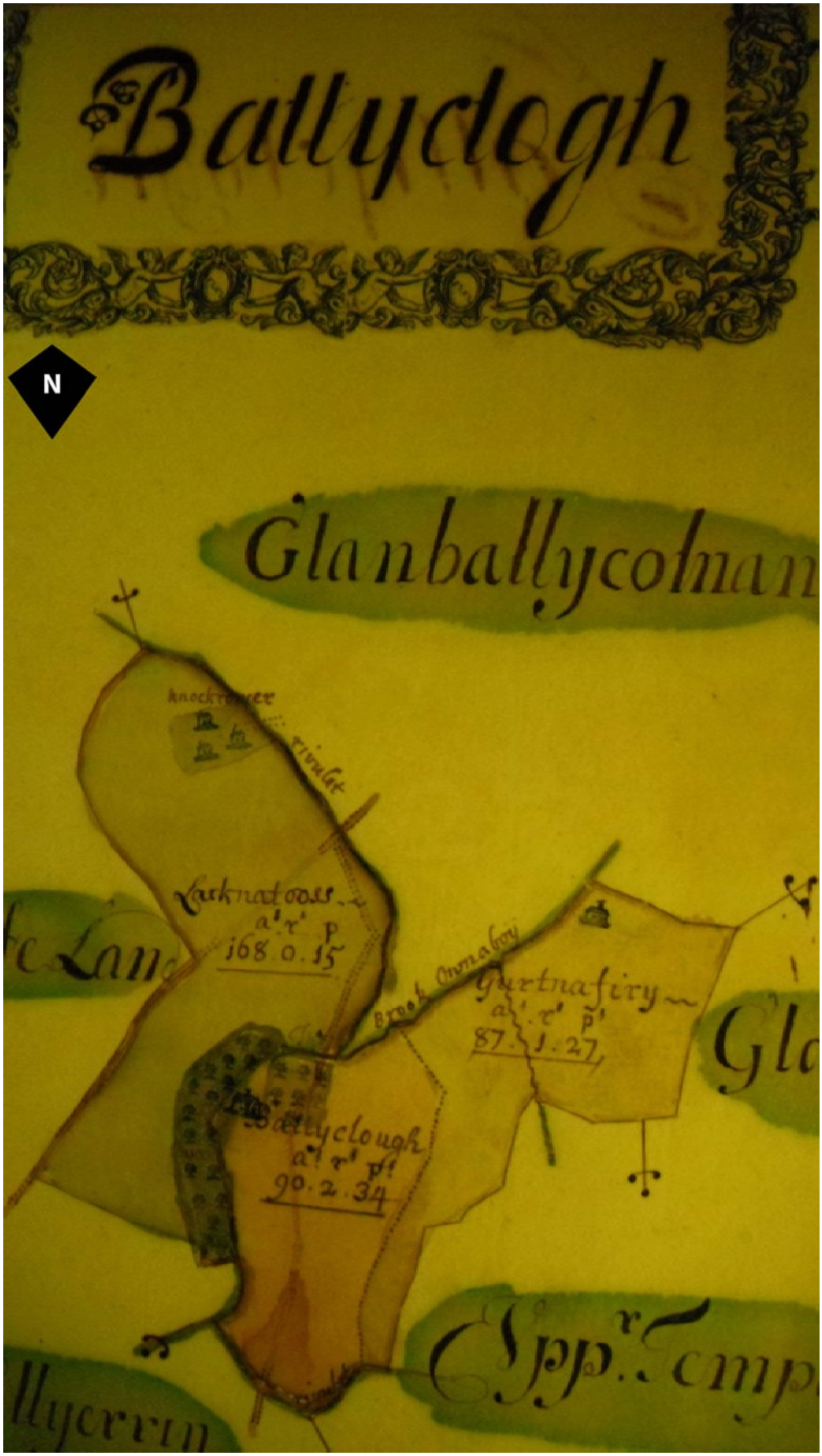


Figure 192. Bateman's map of Ballyclogh townland

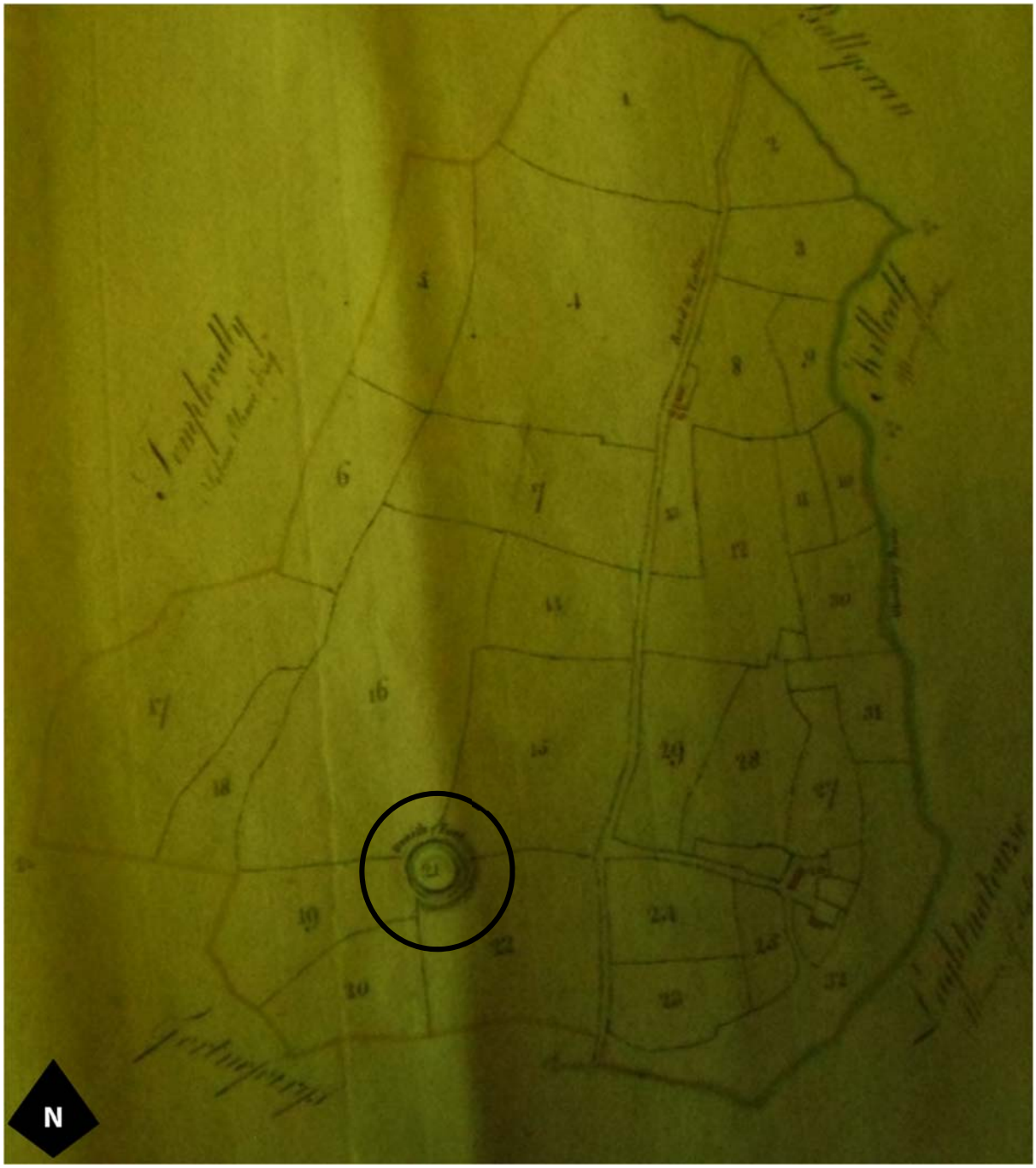


Figure 193. Scalé's map of Ballyclogh townland depicting ringfort CO046-040



Figure 194. First edition OS map of Ballyclogh townland depicting ringfort CO046-040

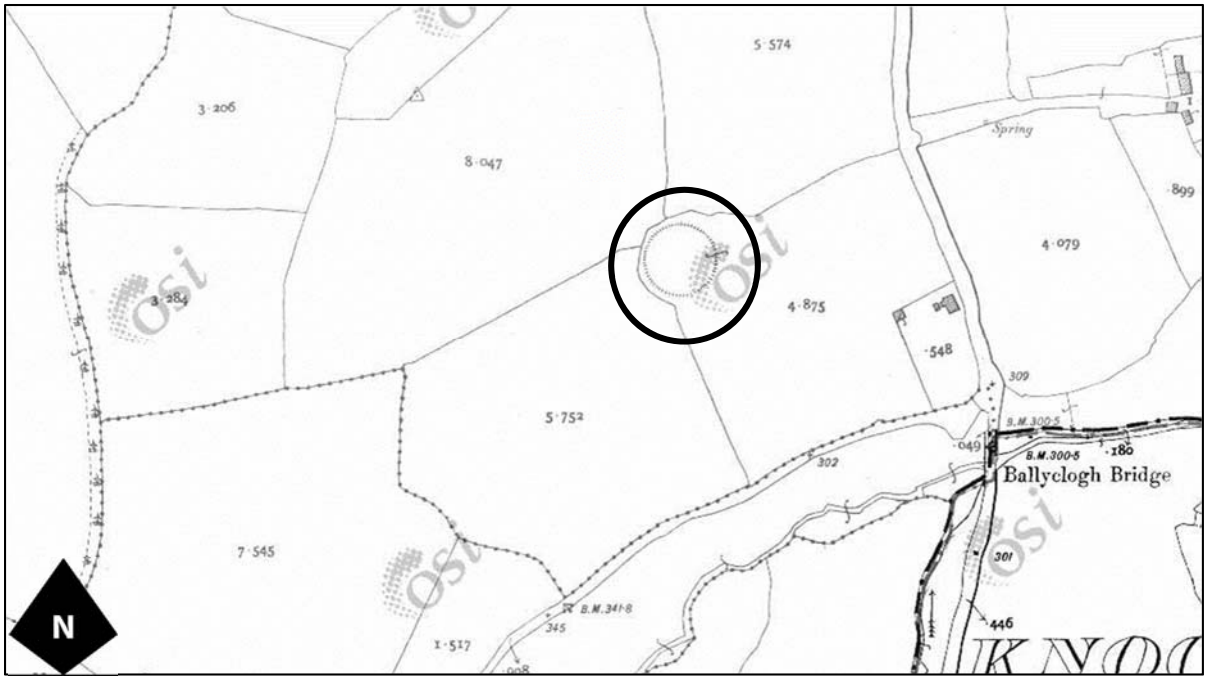


Figure 195. Second edition OS map of Ballyclogh townland depicting ringfort CO046-040



Figure 196. Aerial image of Ballyclogh townland depicting ringfort CO046-040 (DG 2011 – 3)

2.4.2. Ballycullane

The presence of four ringforts is recorded in the register for this townland (NMS, 2018). Three of these correspond to examples depicted by Bateman (1717, map 33) in the then north-west corner of his map for this same townland. This three are shown south of a stream and distributed along the northern townland boundary. They have been attributed the SMR numbers of CO046-016001, CO046-069 & CO046-079. Although the exact location of the latter two ringforts is not claimed. There is another reference in the record to a further ringfort, CO046-038, located to the south-east. However, this is not included in Bateman's map. This townland does not appear to have been surveyed by Scalé (1774). Major changes had taken place in regards to the townland boundaries prior to the first edition (1841, Sheet 46) OS maps being created. The townland had been divided into two, between Ballycullane and Slievedoctor, and several fields in the north-east sector were transferred to the adjacent townland of Lisnabrin. However, the retention of field boundaries allows the earlier boundaries to be determined and all the noted ringforts have remained within Ballycullane townland.

On the first edition map also only the most westerly of the three northerly ringforts is depicted. Although the existence of a 'cave', CO046-016002, in its interior is noted, thereby reinforcing the notion of this enclosure as a ringfort. In addition, the solitary ringfort to the south-east, CO046-038, is also shown. On the second edition (1904, Sheet 46) map that was created following the revision of available data, only this latter ringfort is shown. Indeed, this ringfort is still extant and is defined by a circular pattern of tree growth (DG 2011 - 3). However, possible confirmation of Bateman's (1717, map 33) location of the three ringforts along the northern boundary may be seen in the presence of a potential crop mark in that general area. This circular feature is centred on ITM grid coordinates, 595774-590442, and has a possible diameter of *c*. 34m.



Figure 197. Bateman's map of Ballycullane townland depicting ringforts 1. CO046-016001, 2. CO046-069 & 3. CO046-079

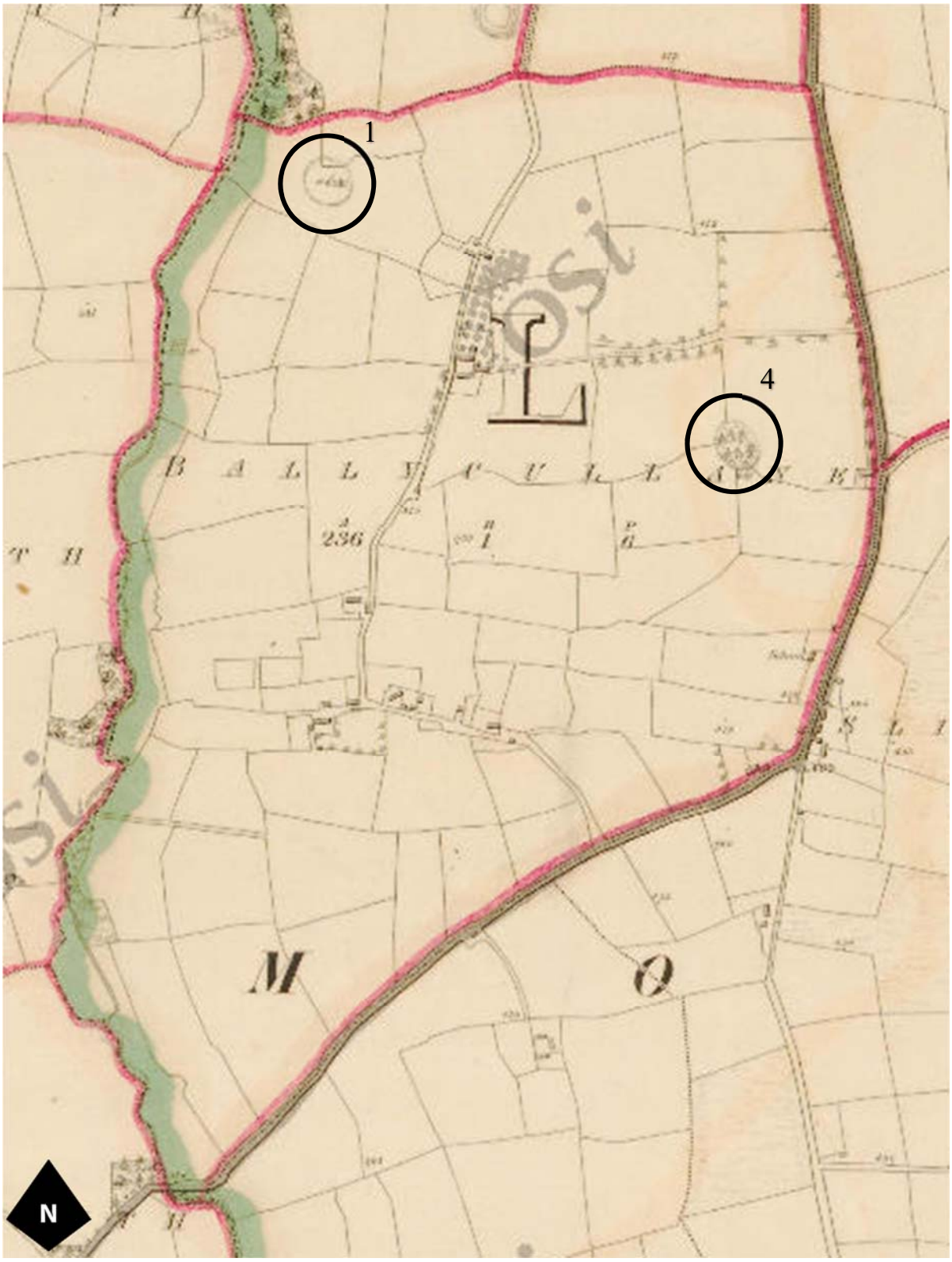


Figure 198. First edition OS map of Ballycullane townland depicting ringforts 1. CO046-016001 & 4. CO046-038

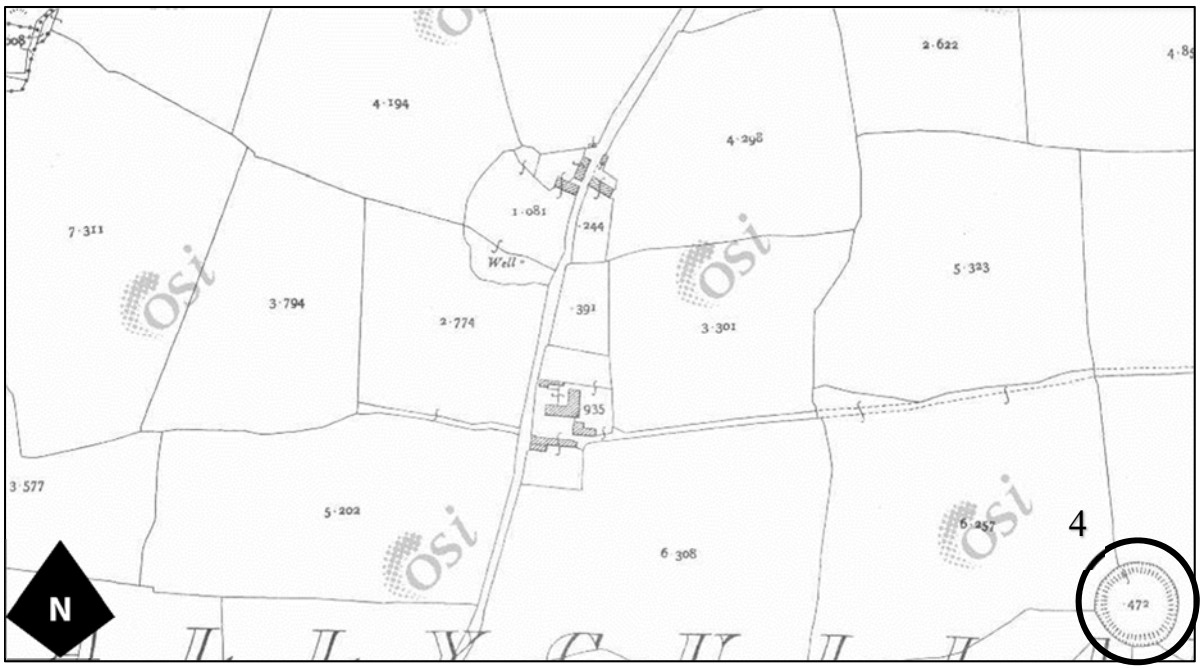


Figure 199. Second edition OS map of Ballycullane townland depicting ringfort 4. CO046-038



Figure 200. Aerial image of Ballycullane townland depicting ringfort 4. CO046-038 (DG 2011 – 3)

2.4.3. Ballyerrin

There is no record in the register for the eventual presence of ringforts within this townland (NMS 2018). Bateman (1717, map 27) provides no further evidence for these features in his map of this same townland. He does, however, include more mundane features, like the road that traverses the townland in a north-south direction and a small settlement in the south –east quadrant. This townland was also included in Scalé's (1774, map 5b) later survey and no suggestion of the existence of archaeological features is contained on the map which resulted. The aforementioned road is included, though the previously noted settlement is not. Just a single feature of interest, a lime kiln, is noted in the OS (1841 & 1904, Sheet 46) maps. A study of images from recent aerial surveys of this small townland offers no further clues for any other features (DG 2011 – 3; GE 2017). This despite the fact that a good number of the fields are shown as having been recently ploughed.

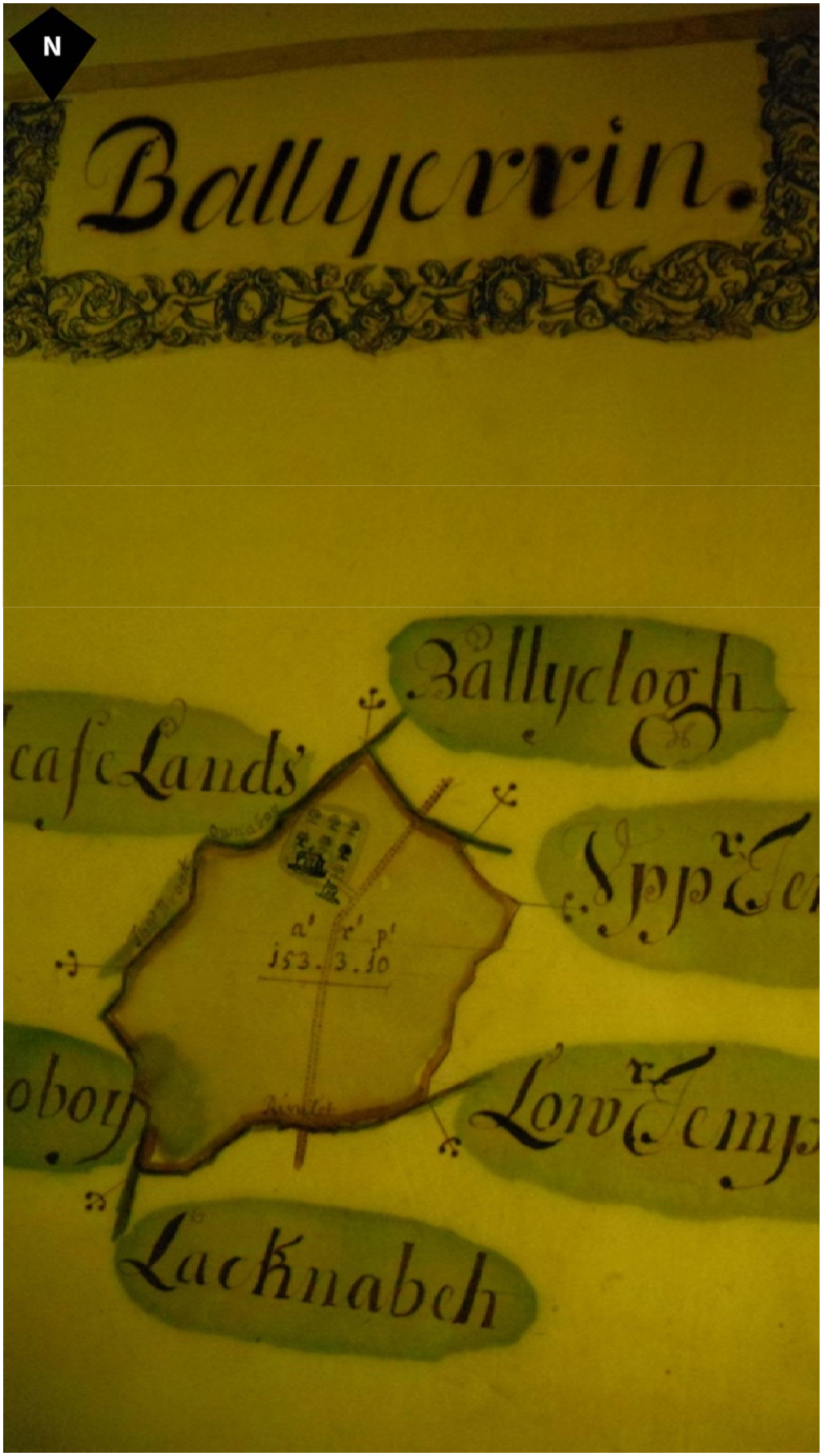


Figure 201. Bateman's map of Ballyerrin townland

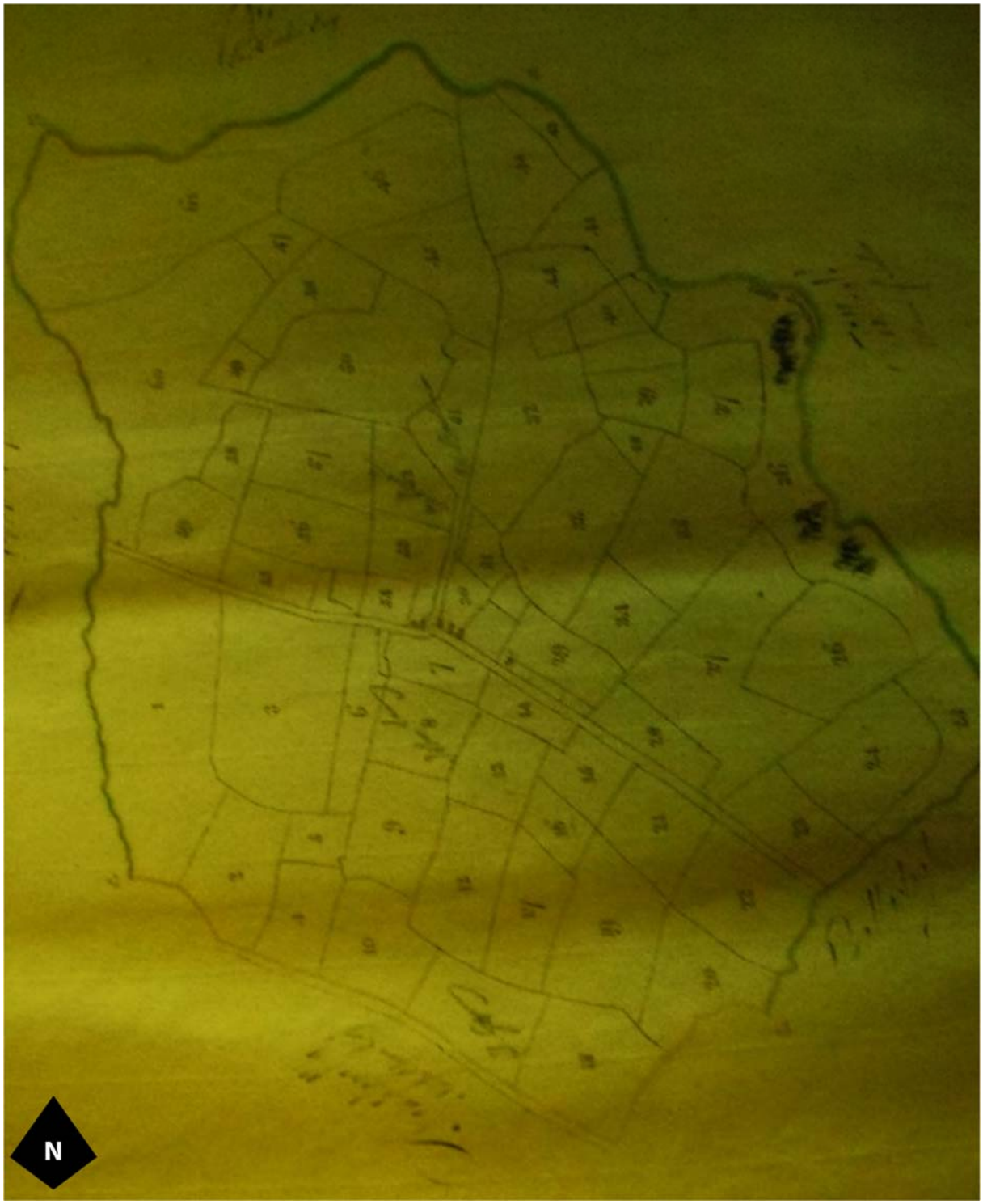


Figure 202. Scalé's map of Ballyerrin townland

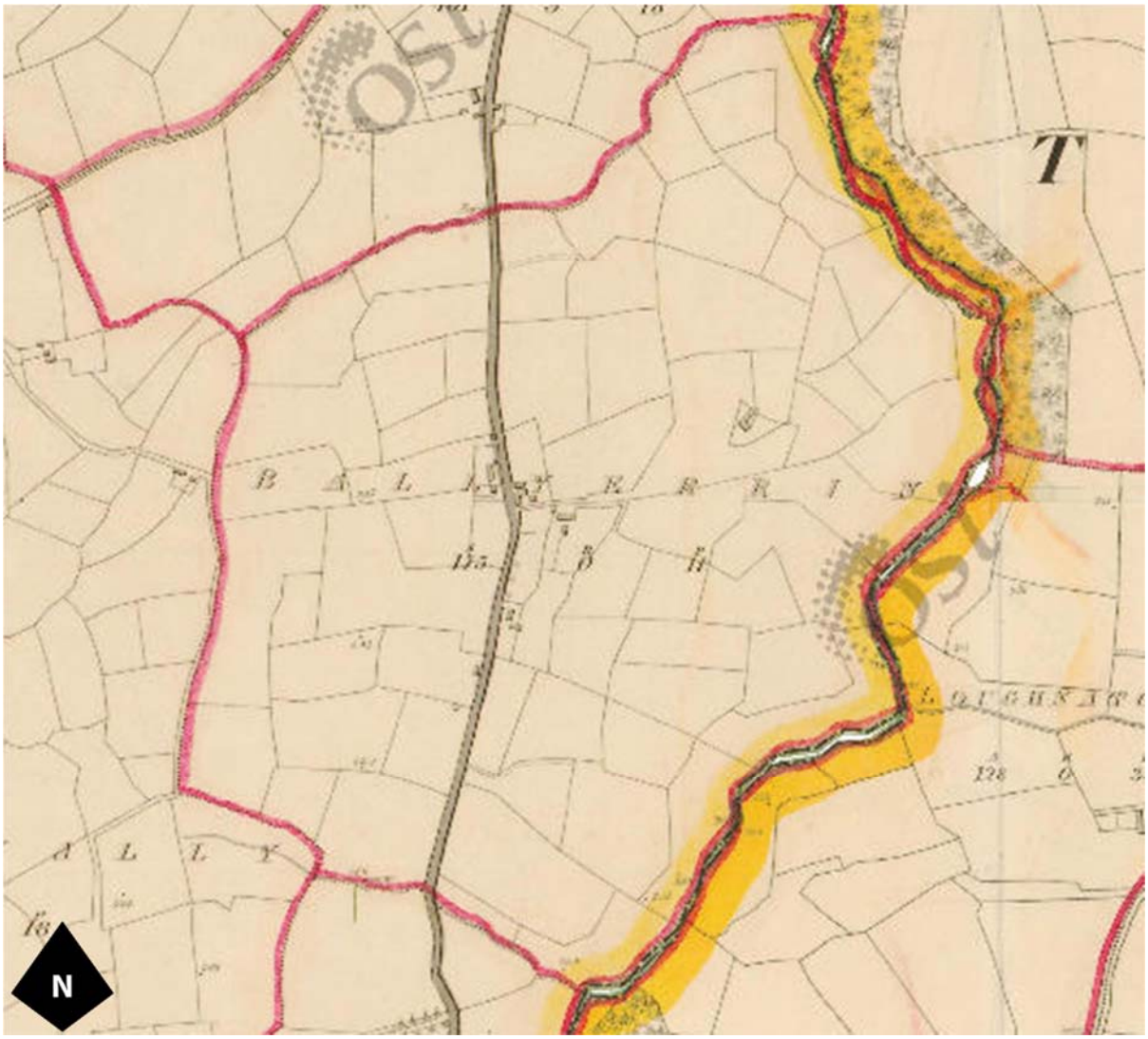


Figure 203. First edition OS map (1841) of Ballyerrin townland

2.4.4. Glasshouse

In his map of this townland, Bateman (1717, map 25) also portrays the adjacent townland of Knockacurrane. These two townlands are shown divided by a small stream. A group of two houses are shown near the southern townland boundary of Knockacurrane and a row of three houses and an orchard are depicted near the northern boundary of Glasshouse. A road also runs just north of this latter row of houses. Interestingly, here again this roadway is shown most distinctly where it follows or crosses these boundaries. In the interior of the townland a faint double line is drawn to connect these points. Scalé (1774, map 2b) also surveyed this townland. In the map that resulted from this no evidence for the existence of field monuments of any description is included. Although, by this time the two abovementioned townlands had been

amalgamated into a single townland, Glasshouse. The first edition (1841, Sheet 46) OS map provides no such evidence either. Indeed, neither does the map that was created following later revisions of this survey (OSI 1904, Sheet 46). However, the presence of an enclosure, CO046-027, is noted in the register and it is visible on recent aerial photographs. This enclosure is noted as having an internal diameter of 16m north-south and as such seems unlikely, given these dimensions, to be a ringfort (NMS 2018).



Figure 204. Bateman's map of Glasshouse townland

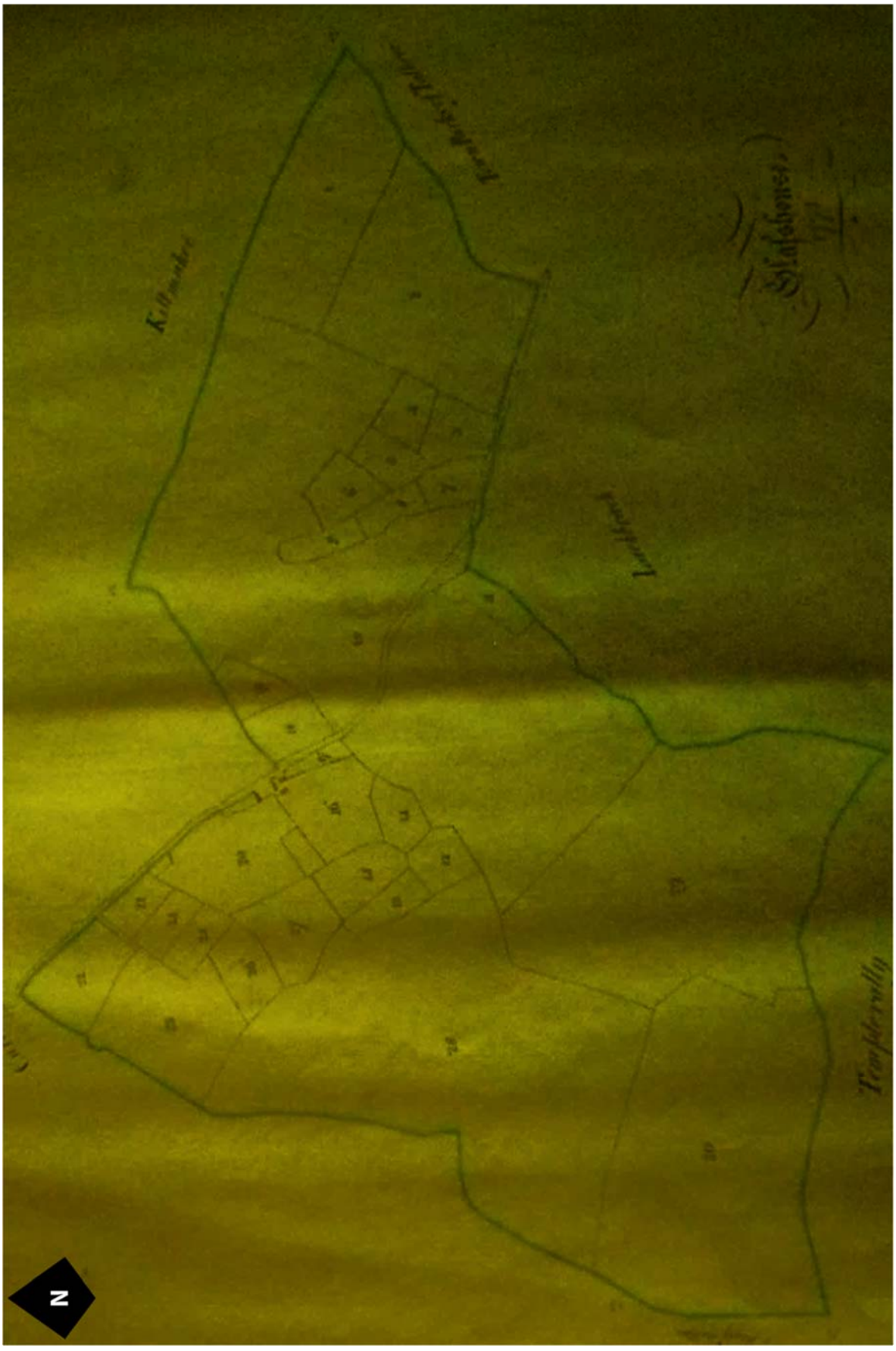


Figure 205. Scalé's map of Glasshouse townland

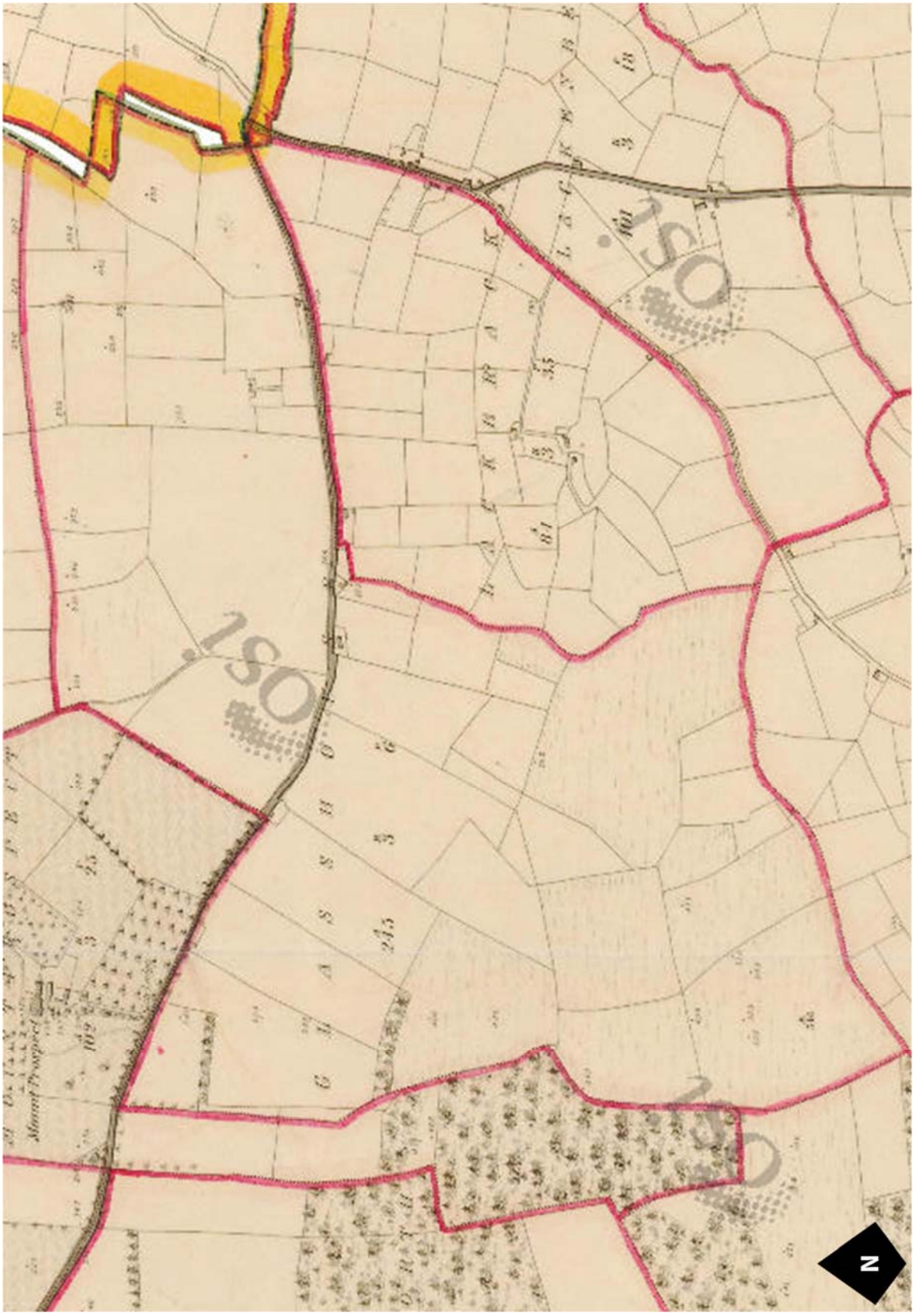


Figure 206. First edition OS map of Glasshouse townland

2.4.5. Gortnafira

The Archaeological Survey Database refers to the presence of a single ringfort, CO046-052, in this townland (NMS 2018). However, no evidence for such is provide by the map that details the survey of this townland carried out by Bateman (1717, map 28). This seems to be an unusual feature of some of Bateman's work. For a subsequent map by Scalé (1774, map 7b) clearly shows this ringfort located on the townland boundary. Indeed, the boundary had been adapted to follow the shape of the ringfort. Although, it must be noted that the map which Bateman (1717, map 28) created contained two other townlands also and, perhaps, it was a matter of scale that led to this omission. Of interest also is the presence of a trackway, on Scalé's (1774, 7b) map, that joins a settlement on the other side of the townland and this ringfort. The existence of this trackway suggest that the ringfort had some significance for the inhabitants. The position of this ringfort is also confirmed by the first edition (1841, Sheet 46) OS map. This is also the case on the second edition (1904, Sheet 46) map. Indeed, this ringfort is still extant and can clearly be seen on recent aerial images (DG 2011 - 3; GE 2009 & 2017).

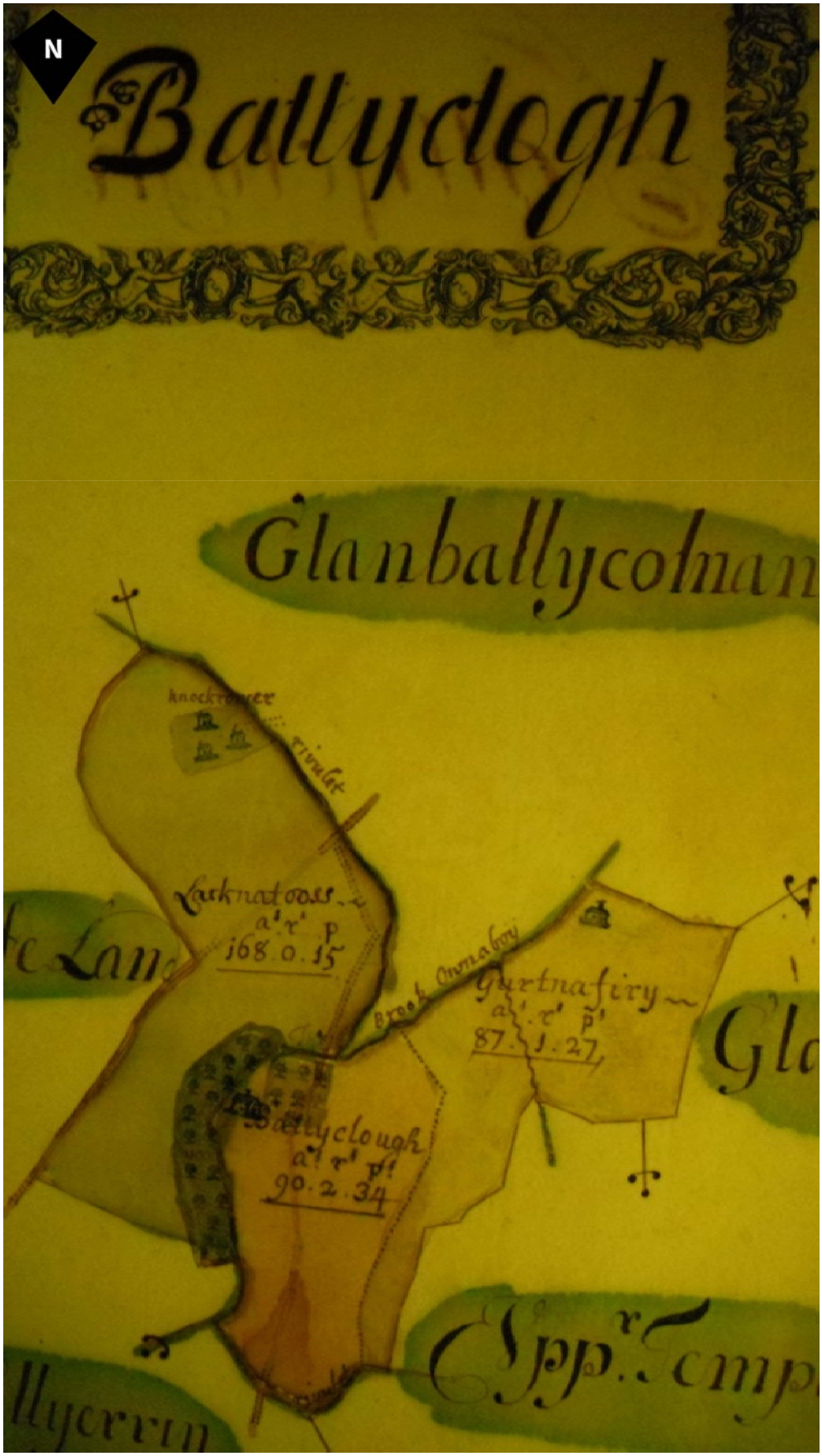


Figure 207. Bateman's map of Gortnafira townland

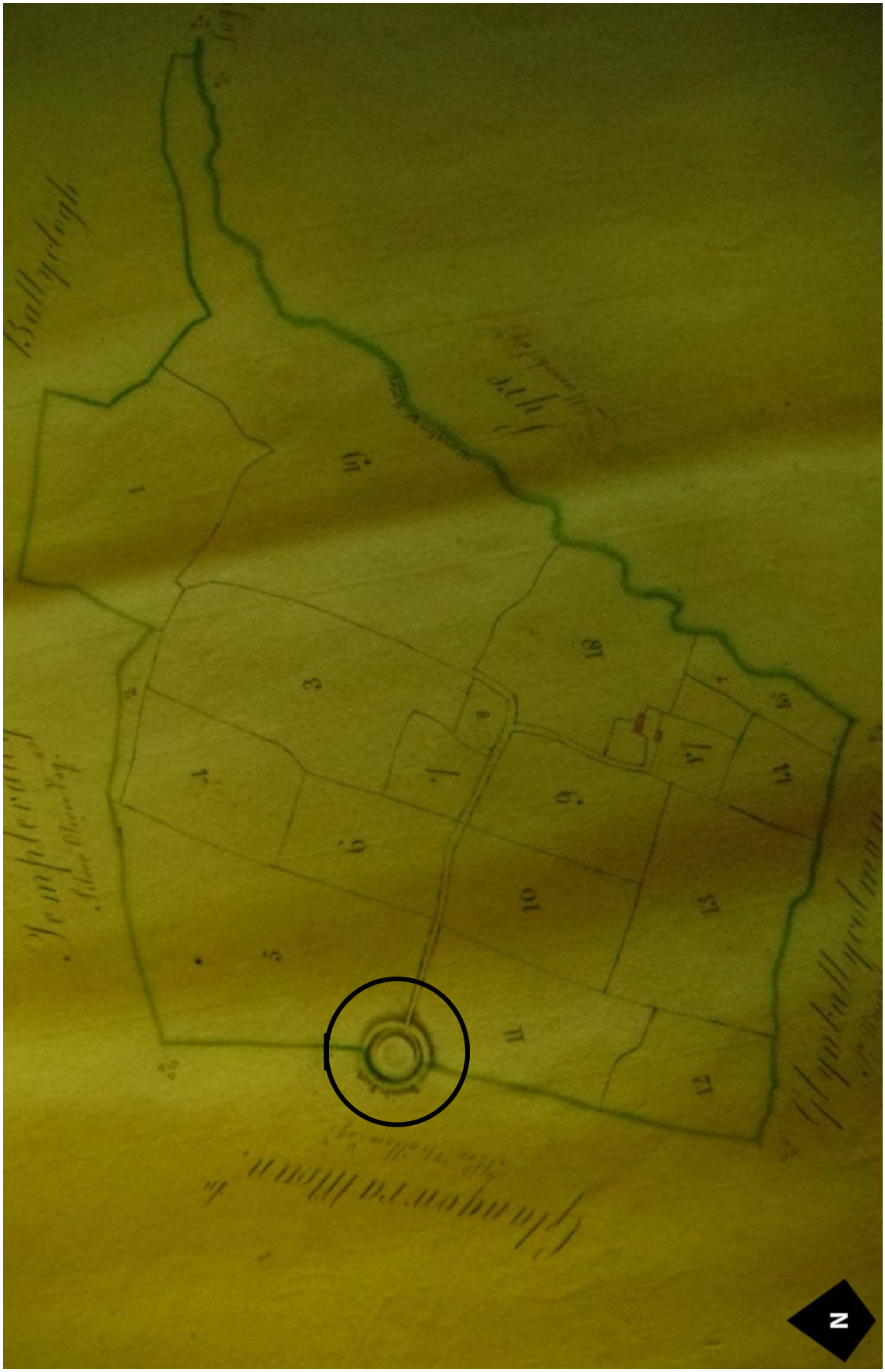


Figure 208. Scalé's map of Gortnafira townland depicting ringfort CO046-052

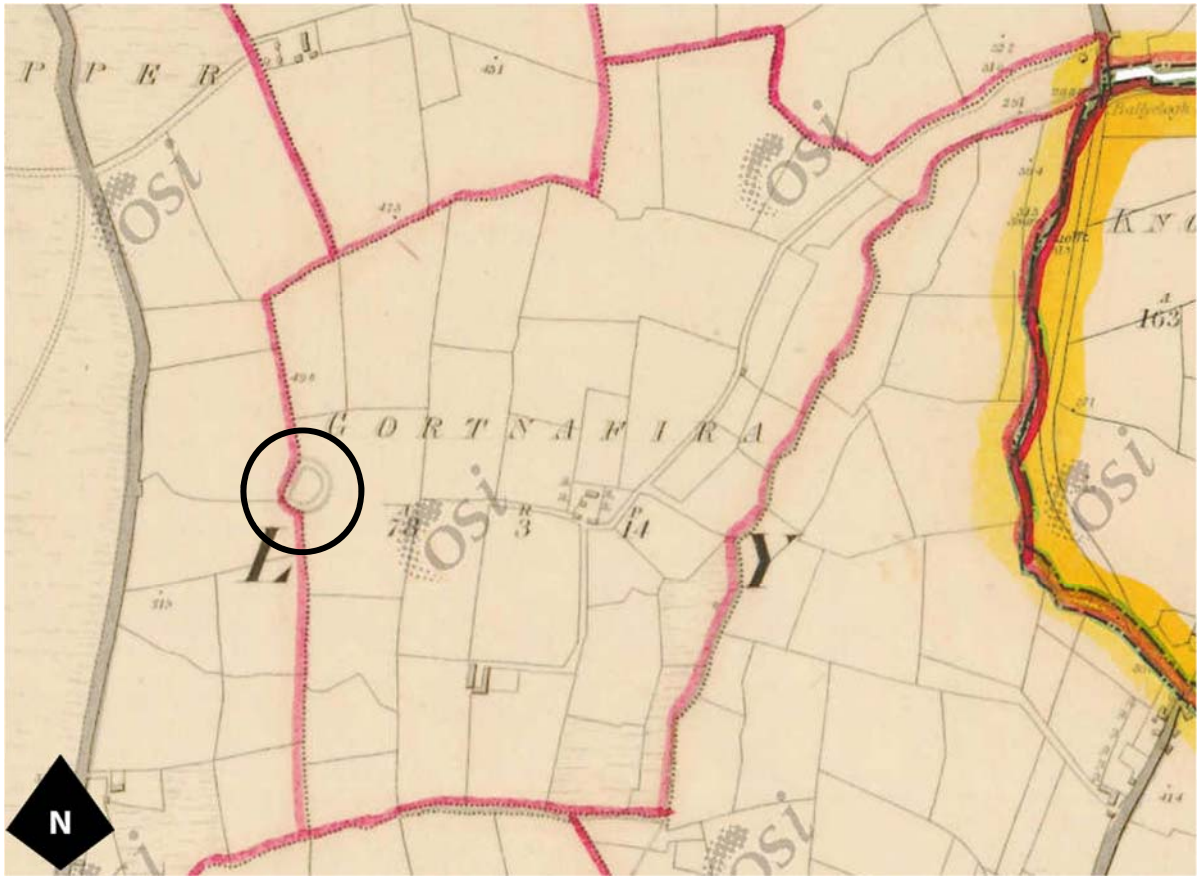


Figure 209. First edition OS map of Gortnafira townland depicting ringfort CO046-052

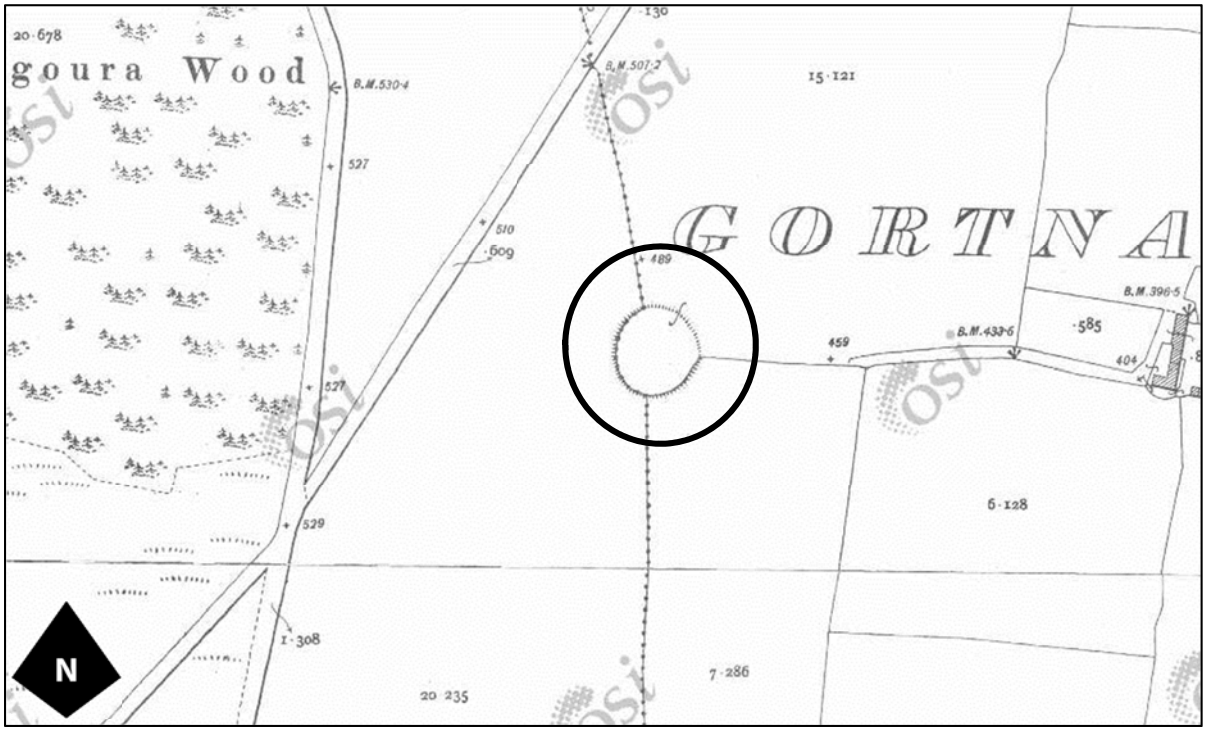


Figure 210. Second edition OS map of Gortnafira townland depicting ringfort CO046-052



Figure 211. Aerial image of Gortnafira townland depicting ringfort CO046-052 (DG 2011-3)

2.4.6. Kilcronat

This townland was also surveyed by Bateman (1717, map 34). Bateman divided this townland into two distinct areas. 'All ye Inland' in the north-west quadrant, where a small settlement of several smaller houses are clustered around a larger example. He also shows this area traversed by a number of streams and also notes the presence of bog land close to the western boundary. The other sector is noted as 'All ye Mountain' and the stylised representation of heights gives an indication of the nature of this terrain. However, no feature of archaeological interest in recorded on this map. This townland dos not seem to have been included in the survey undertaken by Scalé (1774). In common with all others, however, it was depicted in map form following the Ordnance Survey (OSI 1841, Sheet 46). On this map, the location of a single ringfort, CO046-049001, is noted. This location is also highlighted in second edition (1904, Sheet 46) OS map from the revisions at the beginning of the 20th century. This ringfort is still

extant and is shown on recent aerial images as heavily overgrown (DG 2011 – 3). The outer bank is defined by a circular pattern of tree growth. In addition, an association with a souterrain, CO046-049002, reinforces the claim for this enclosure as a ringfort.



Figure 212. Bateman's map of Kilcronat townland

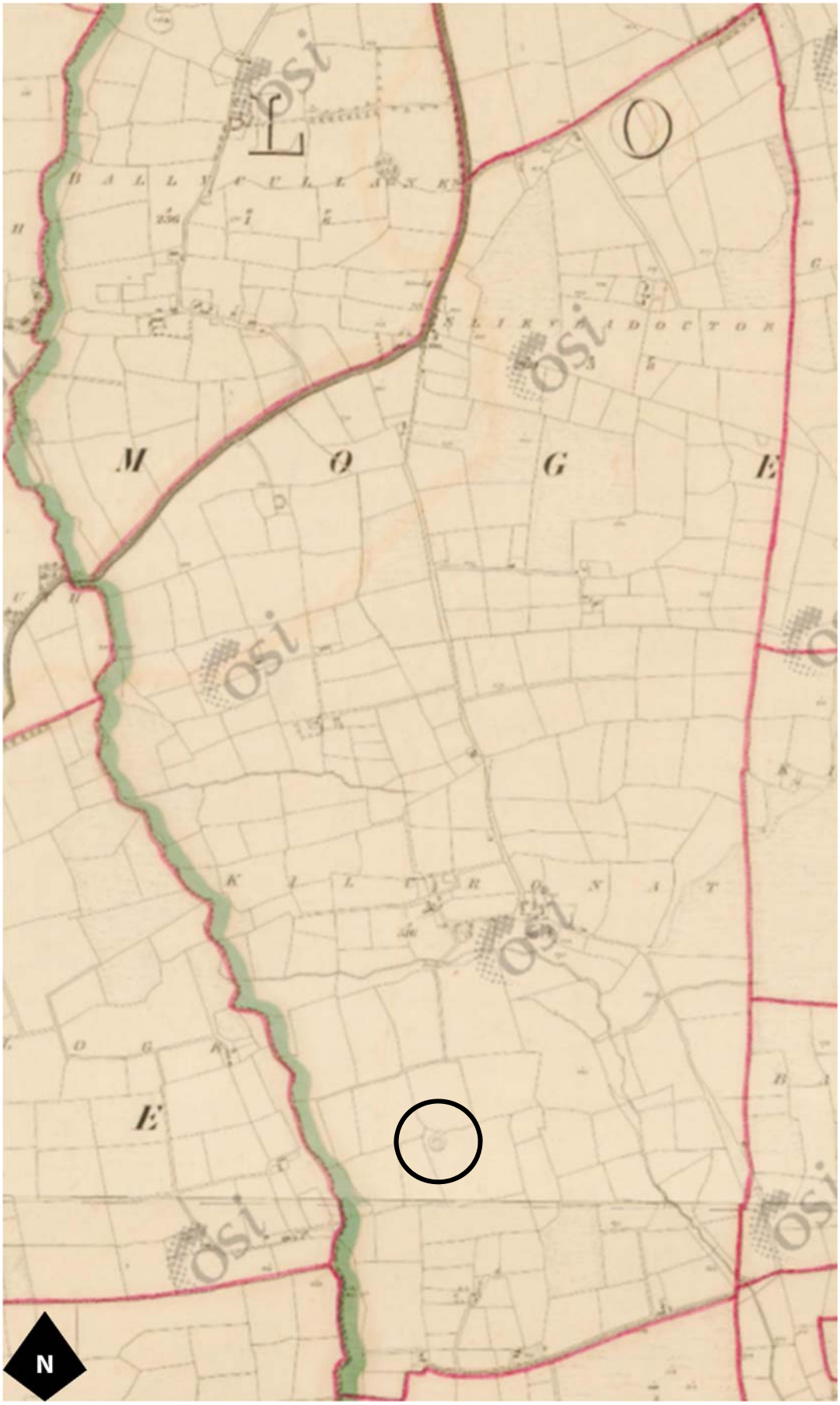


Figure 213. First edition OS map of Kilcronat townland depicting ringfort CO046-049001



Figure 214. Close up of first edition OS map of Kilcronat townland depicting ringfort CO046-049001

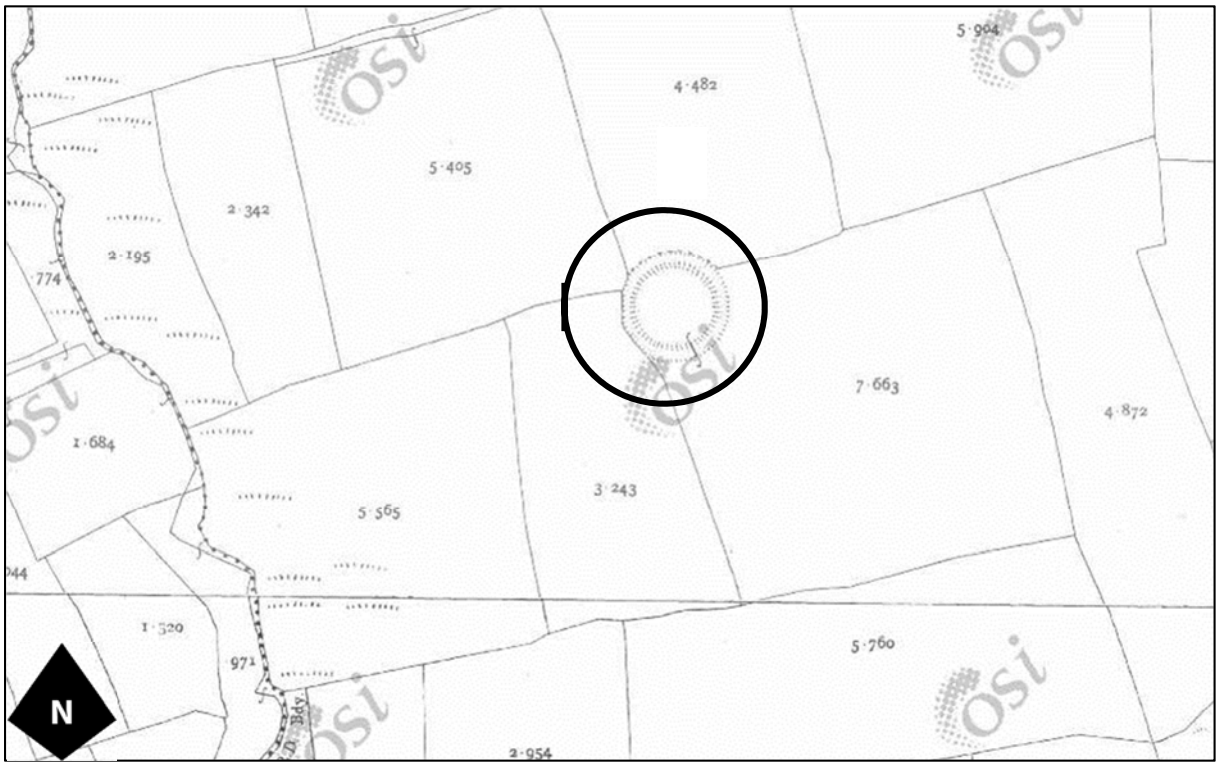


Figure 215. Close up of second edition OS map of Kilcronat townland depicting ringfort CO046-049001



Figure 216. Aerial image of Kilcronat townland depicting ringfort CO046-049001 (DG 2011-3)

2.4.7. Kilmacow

It should be noted at the beginning that this townland was the site of the establishment of an ironworks by the Earl of Cork, Richard Boyle, at some stage prior to 1609 (McCracken 1957, 128). Bateman (1717, map 24) later also included this townland in his survey of the region. As was often his practice, he further divides this townland into distinct areas. Here, he refers to these as 'Above ye Roade' and 'Beloe ye Roade', thereby using the east-west running road as a marker. Clustered either side of this road though weighted towards the eastern side of the townland, Bateman (*ibid.*) depicts an extended settlement. This site is further divided by a stream and is shown in a wooded environment. On the outskirts, he portrays a castle in stylised representation. There is also shown a, previously unrecorded, lime kiln adjacent to this site. However, on this map no evidence for the eventual presence of ringforts is included.

Immediately south of the river Bride, however, an area of just over 40 acres [*c.* 16 ha] is highlighted as 'Russells houlding'. This entire townland was also surveyed at a later date by Scalé (1774, map 1b). By this time, the area previously noted as 'Russells houlding' seem to form part of the townland of Limekilnclose. Another feature of note is that Scalé (*ibid.*) depicts a square moated site, referred to as a 'Dane's Fort', south of the aforementioned road. He also

highlights the existence of ‘Kilmacow castle’, CO046-066, and notes the presence of the lime kiln slightly to the south-east of it. These sites are not included on the map (1841, Sheet 46) created following the Ordnance survey. Although the general area of the moated site, CO046-078, is indicated by a small square field. This feature is still visible on the map (1904, Sheet 46) created following the early 20th century revisions. While presently, an examination of images from recent surveys show the southern and eastern limits of this site to be defined by field boundaries and the western and northern by linear crop marks of approximately 55m in length. No similar evidence is available for the presence of ringforts however.

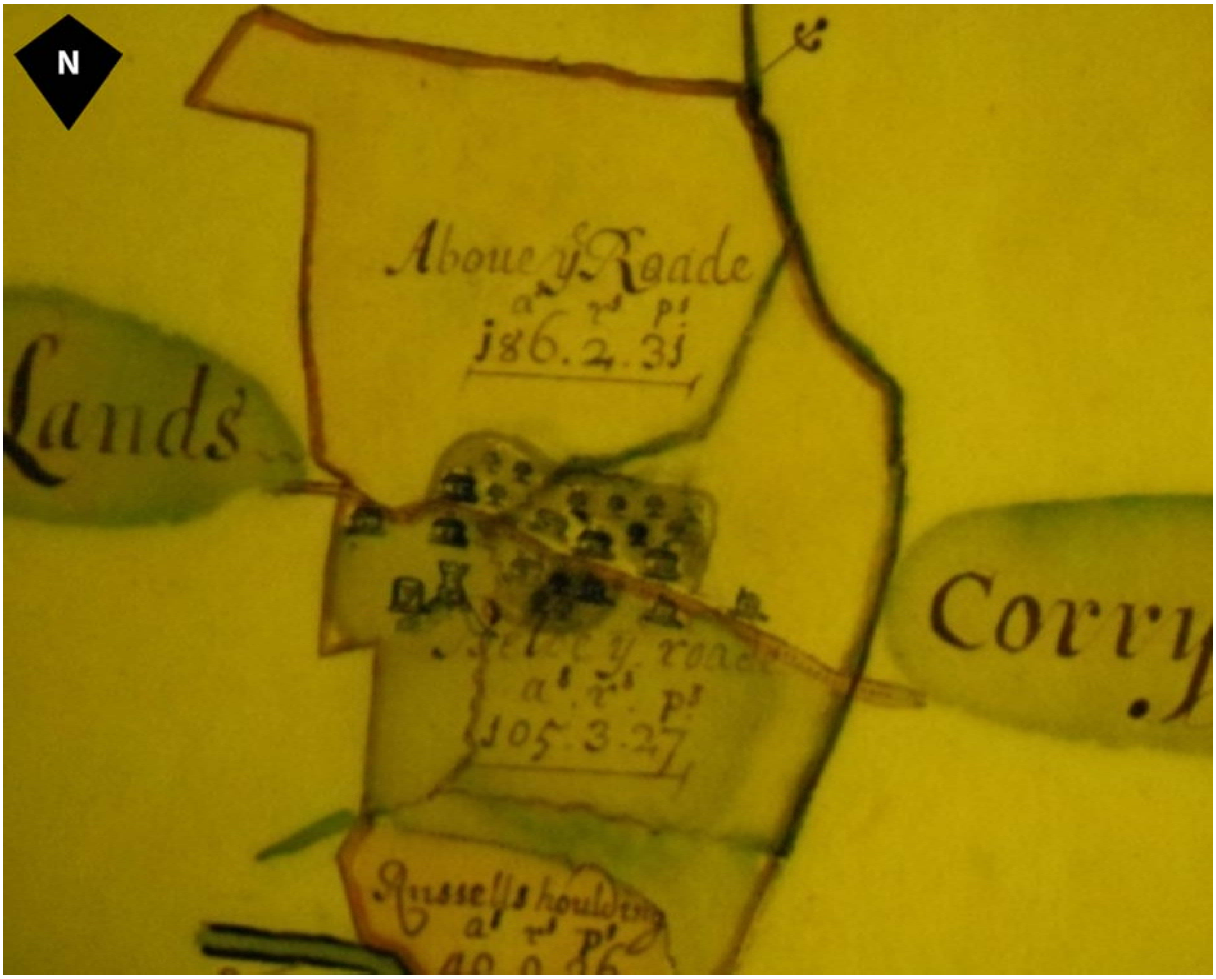


Figure 217. Bateman’s map of Kilmacow townland

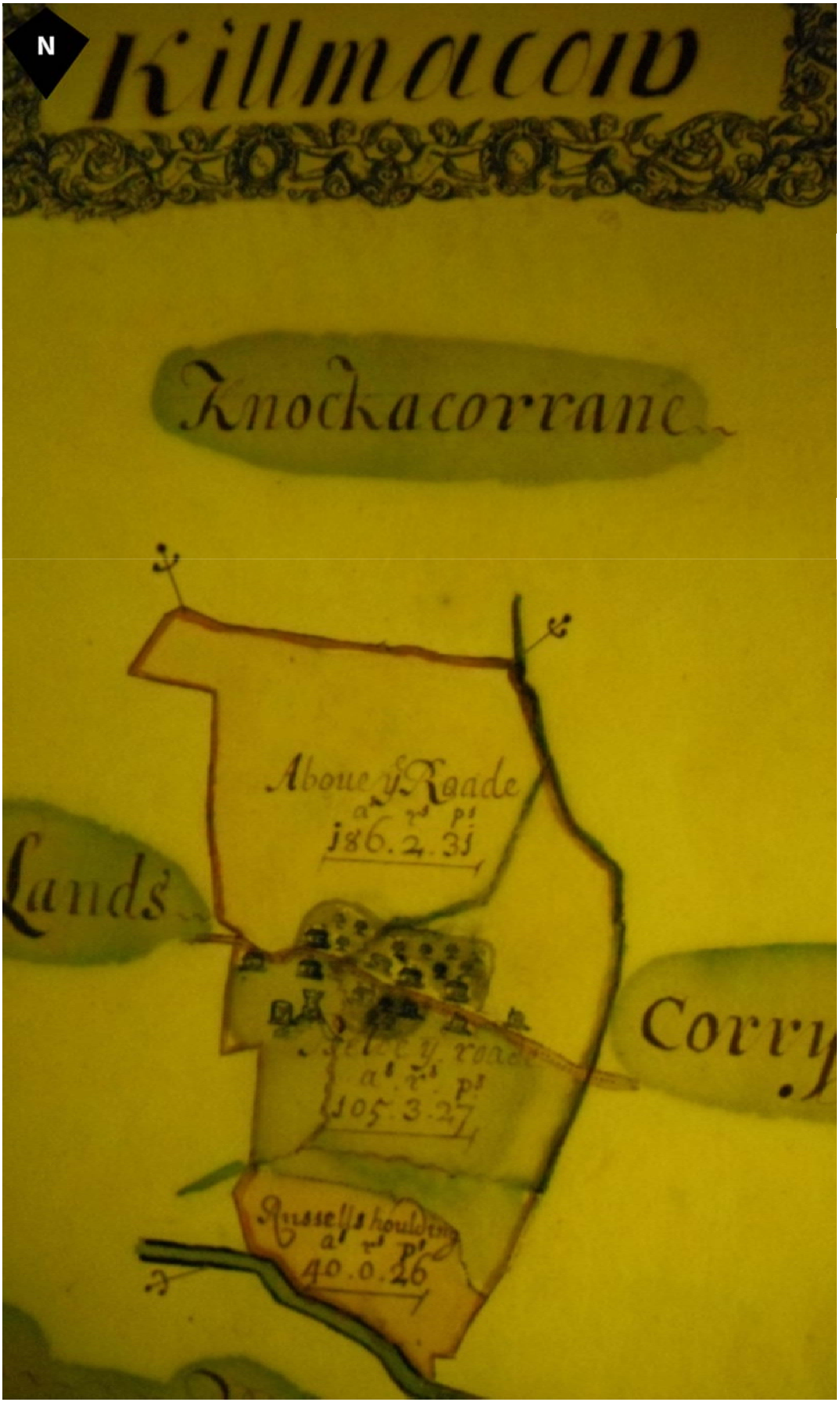


Figure 218. Bateman's map of Kilmacow townland

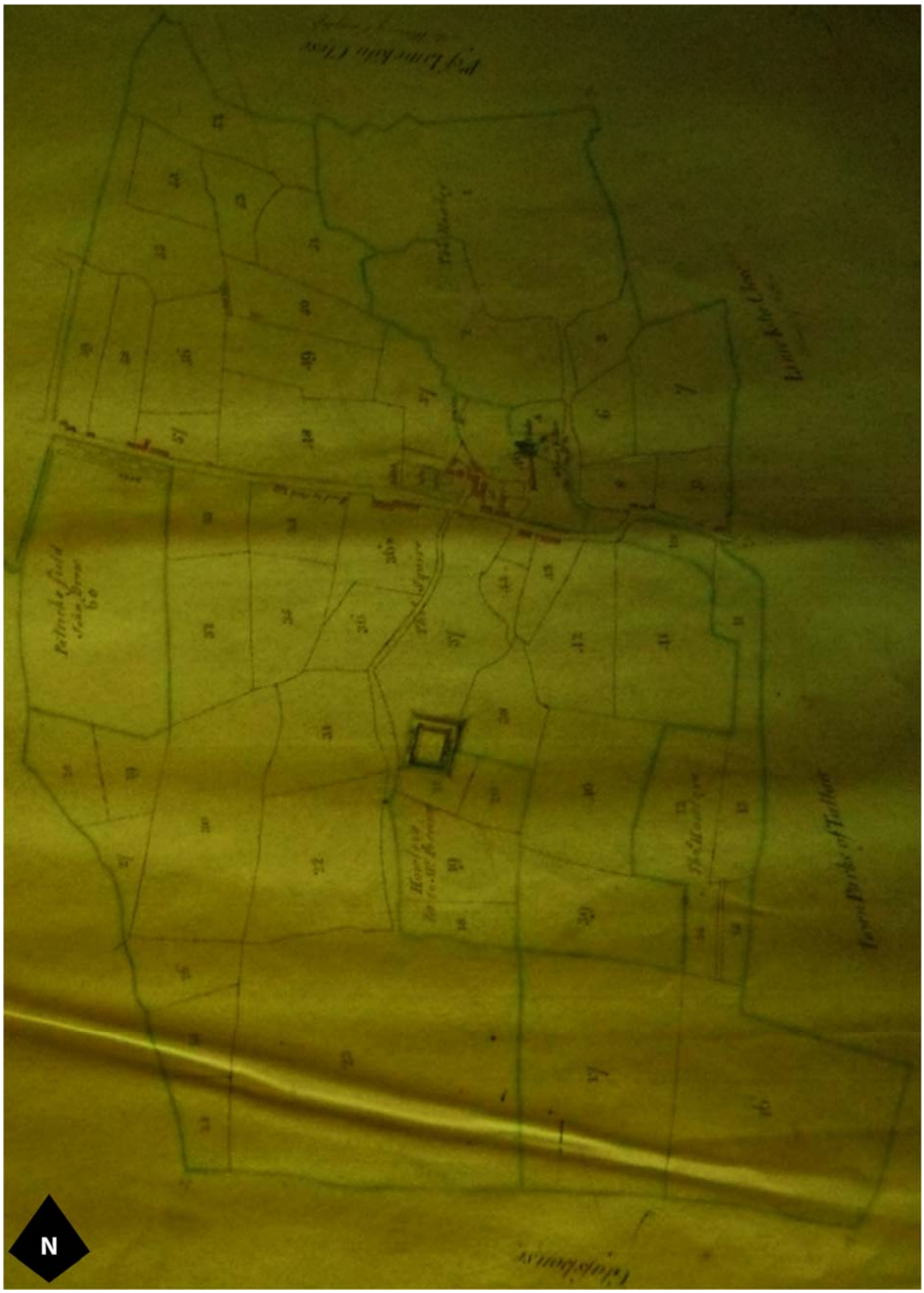


Figure 219. Scalé's map of Kilmacow townland

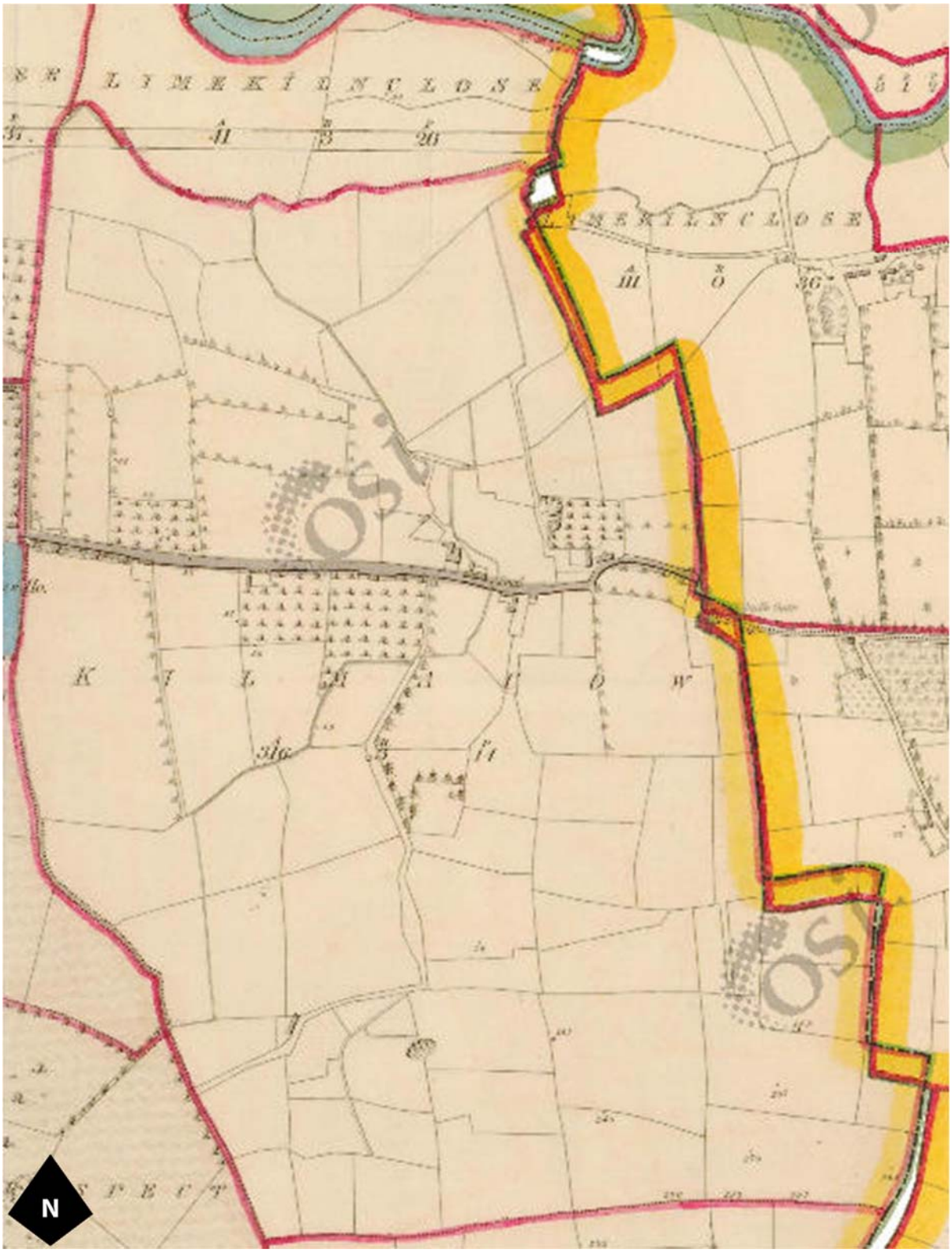


Figure 220. First edition OS map of Kilmacow townland

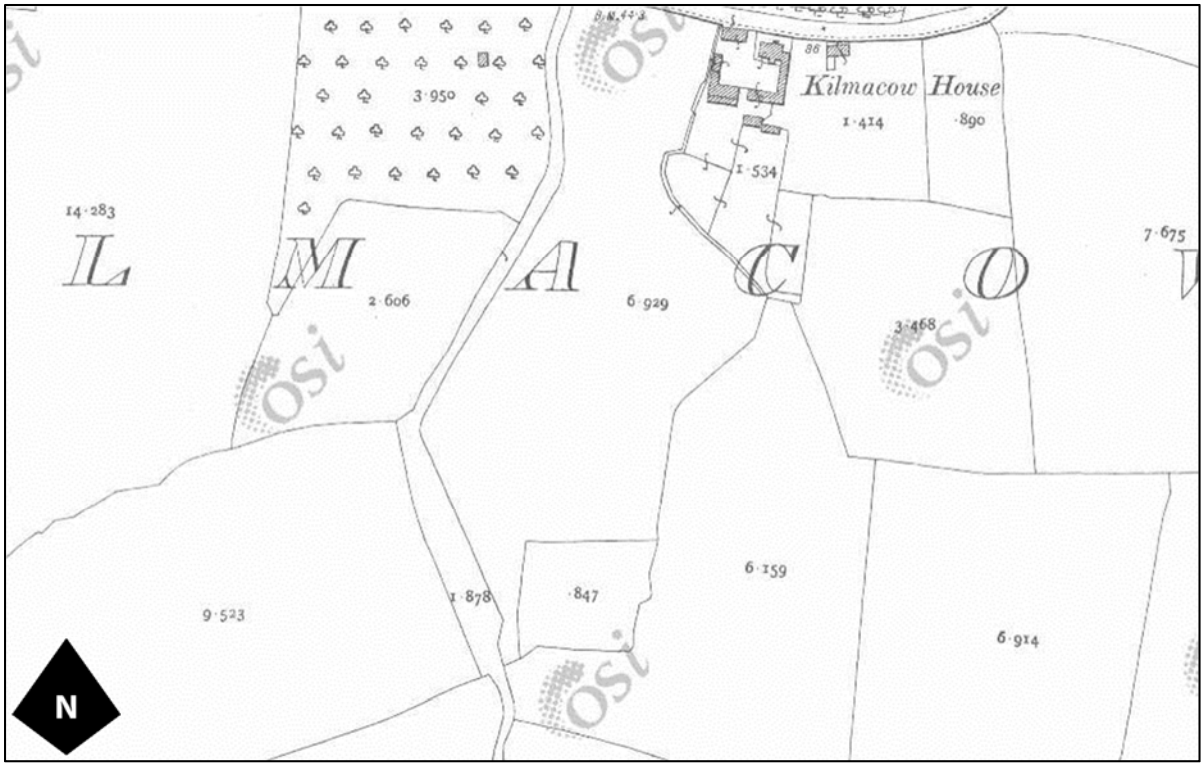


Figure 221. Second edition OS map of Kilmacow townland depicting general area of moated site CO046-078



Figure 222. Aerial image of Kilmacow townland depicting general area of moated site CO046-078 (DG 2011 – 3)

2.4.8. Knockacorrane

This townland was shown by Bateman (1717, map 25) as a separate townland adjacent to that of Glasshouse. However, by the time of Scalé's survey (1774, map 2b) it had been incorporated into the latter townland. It has remained as such to this day. There are no features of archaeological interest evident within the area previously defined as Knockacurrane (see above).

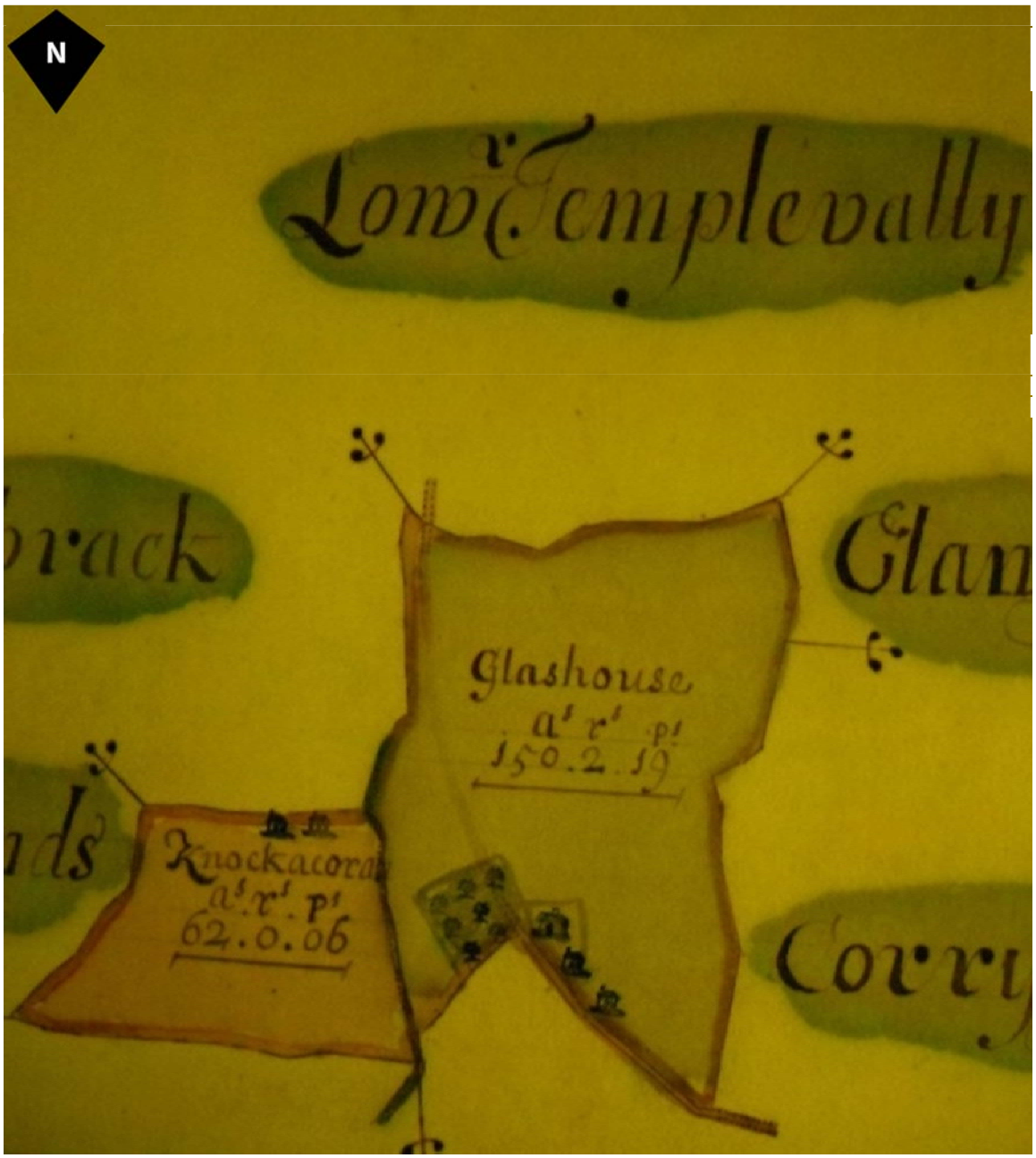


Figure 223. Bateman's map of Knockacorrane townland

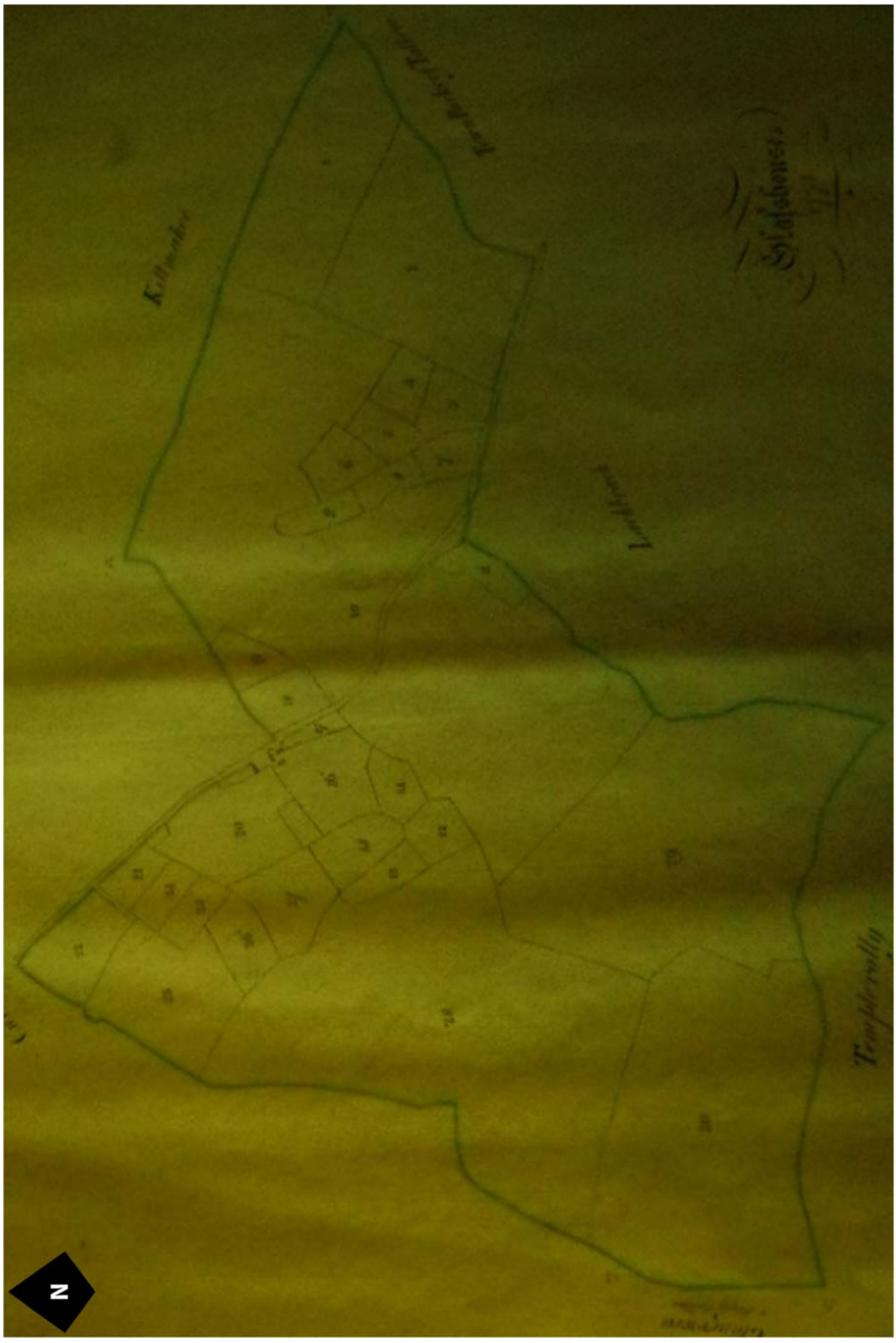


Figure 224. Scalé's map of Knockacorrane townland

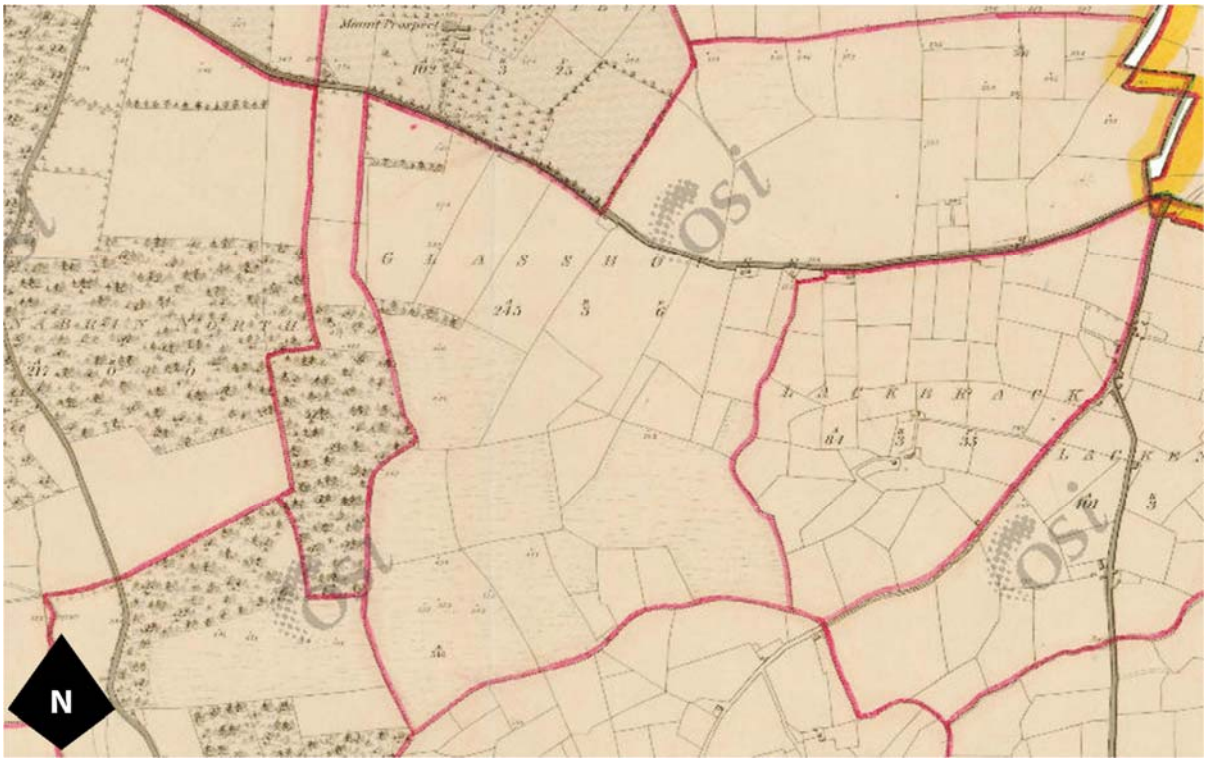


Figure 225. First edition OS map of Knockacorrane townland

2.4.9. Lackbrack

Bateman (1717, map 26) provides one example of a ringfort in his depiction of this townland. This monument, CO046-067, is depicted very close to the western boundary. Scalé (1774, map 3b) also included this townland in his survey. Unfortunately, by this time the previously noted ringfort appears to no longer exist. There are no other archaeological features noted by Scalé in his map. Neither the first edition (1841, Sheet 46) OS map nor that which resulted from the later revisions (1904, Sheet 46) do so either. Available aerial imagery provides an indication for the eventual existence of a ringfort in the general area indicated on Bateman's (1717, 26) map. A circular crop mark can be seen close to the western townland boundary and associated to the south with a later field boundary (GE 2016).

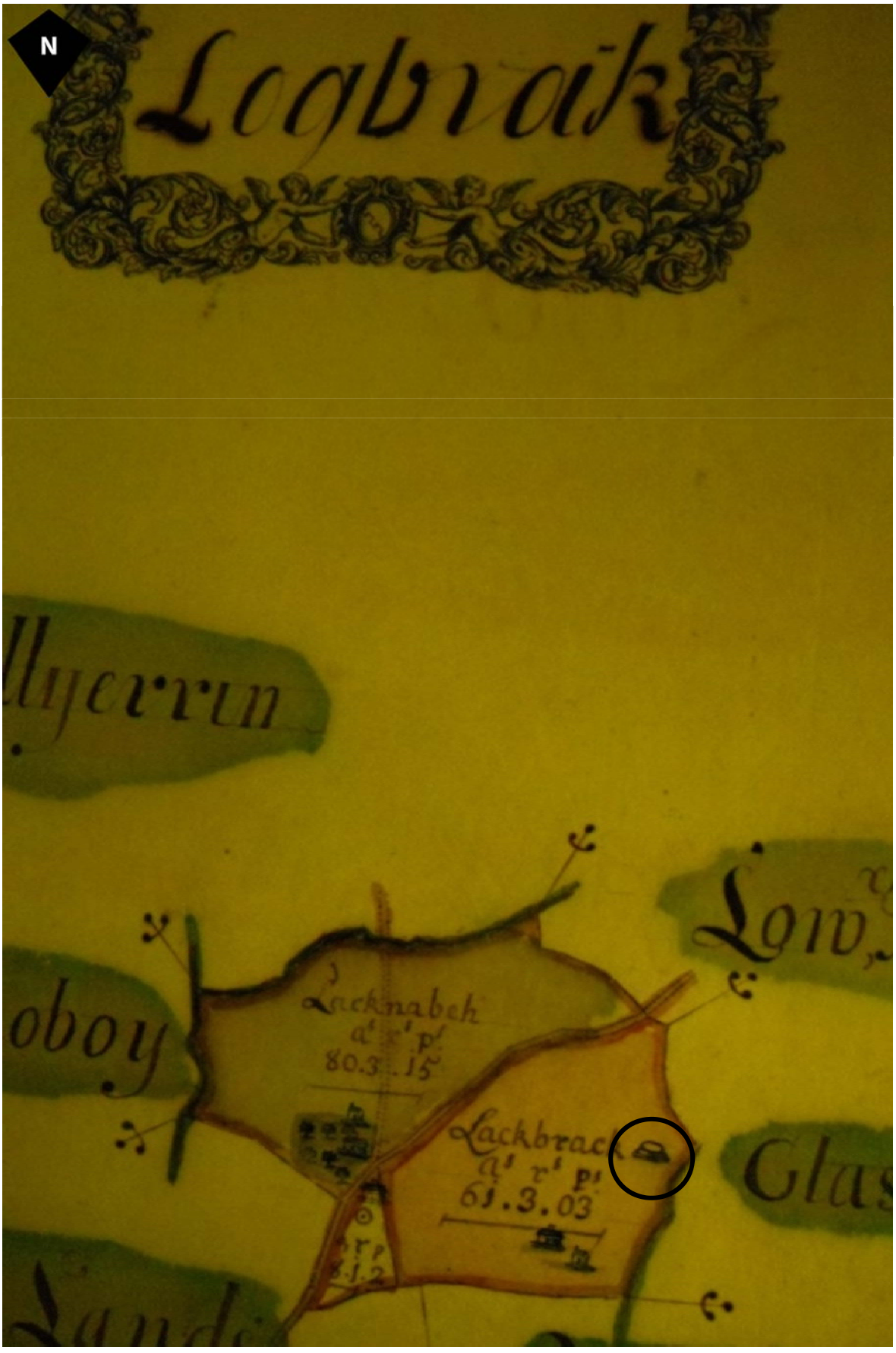


Figure 226. Bateman's map of Lackbrack townland depicting ringfort CO046-067

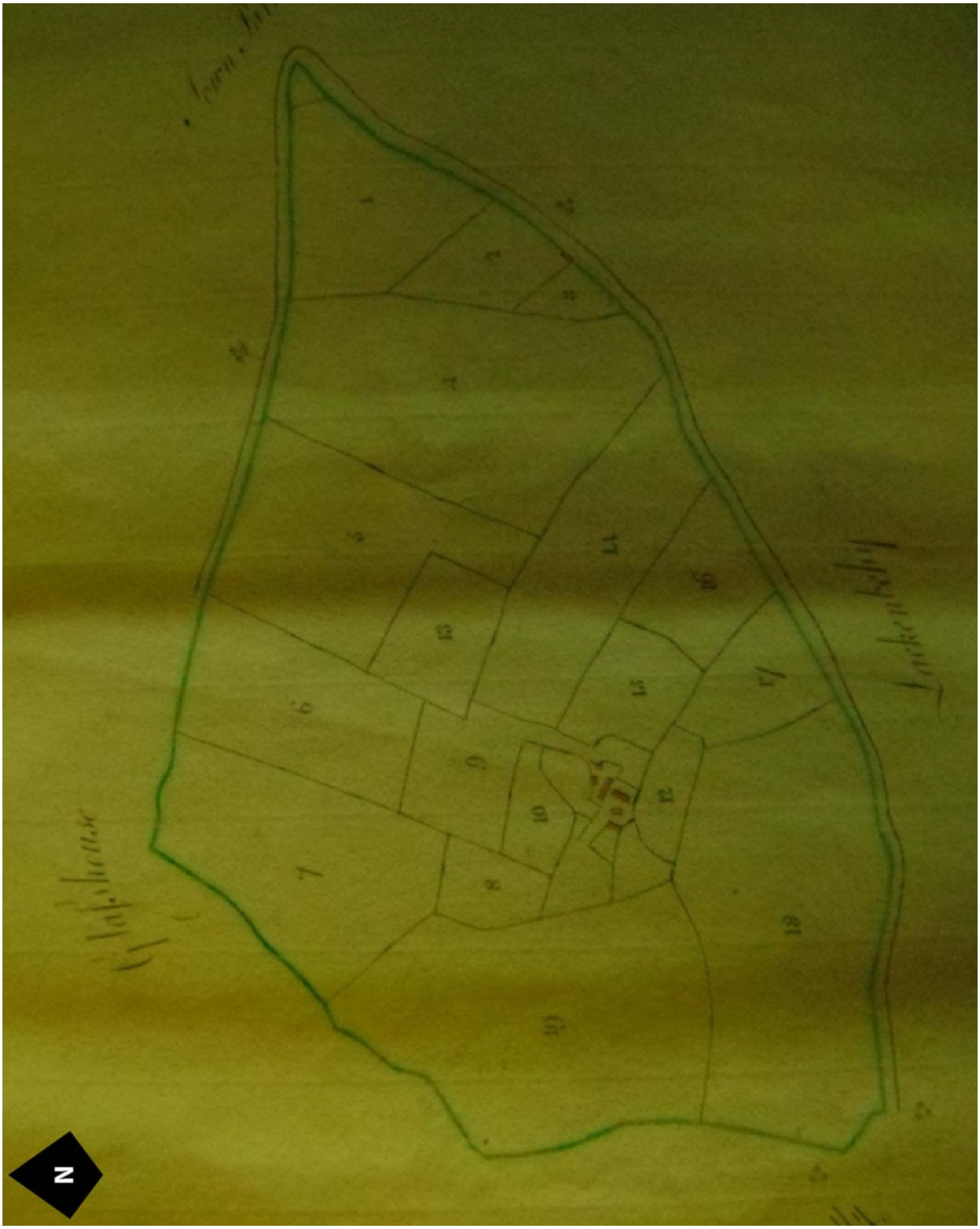


Figure 227. Scalé's map of Lackbrack townland

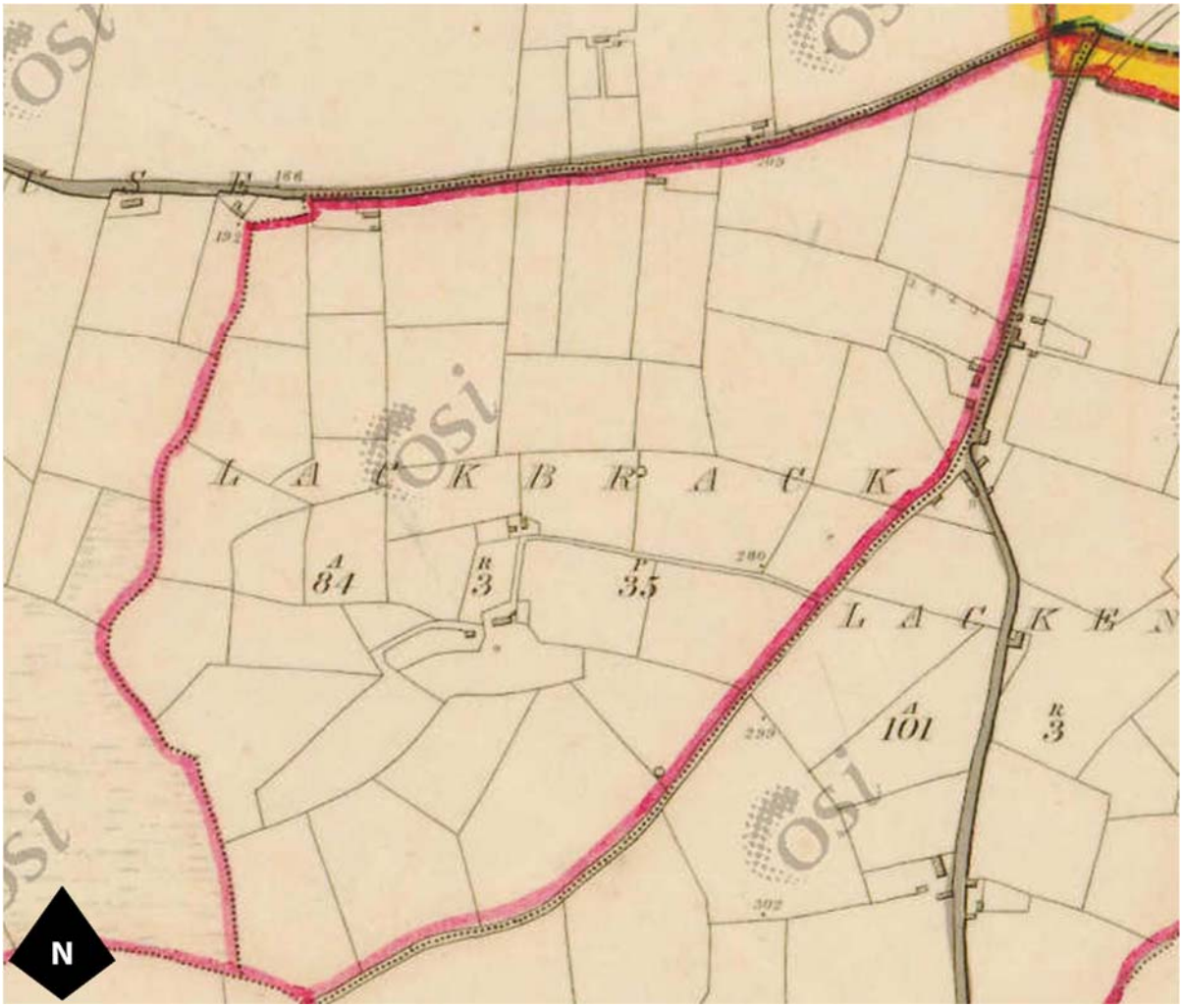


Figure 228. First edition OS map of Lackbrack townland

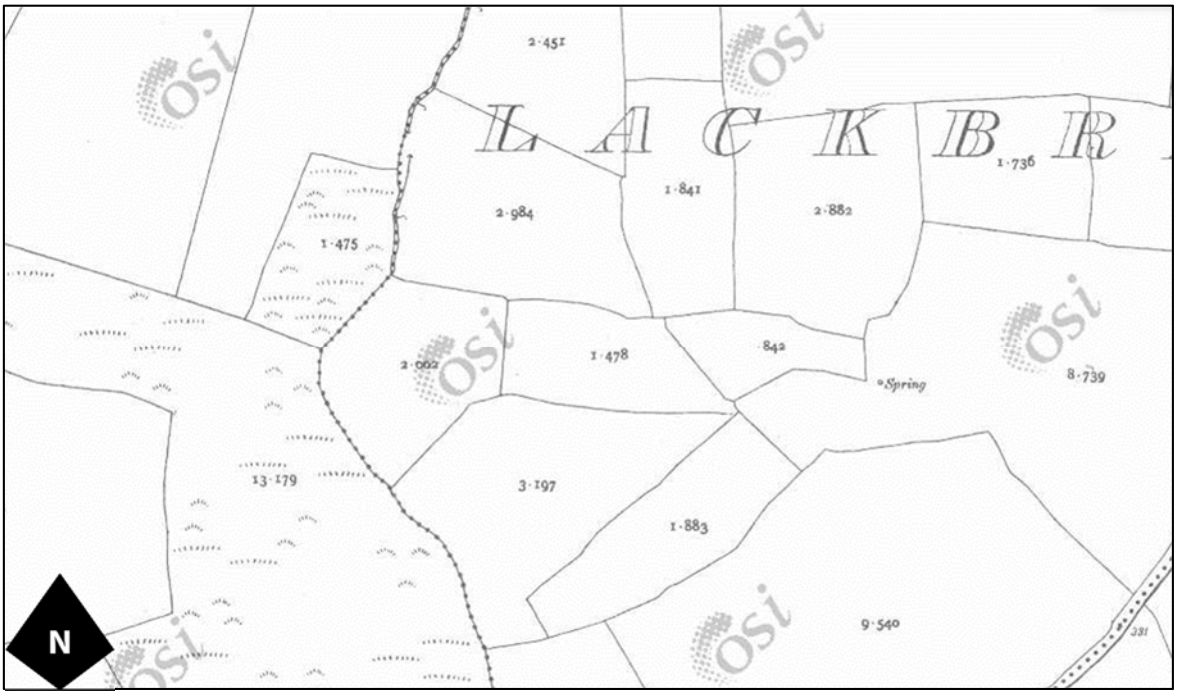


Figure 229. Second edition OS map of Lackbrack townland



Figure 230. Aerial image of Lackbrack townland depicting site of ringfort CO046-067 (GE 2016)

2.4.10. Lackenbehy

This townland is included with the above townland and another smaller piece of land in the map created by Bateman (1717, map 26). It is referred to as 'Lacknabeh' and while no archaeological features are shown, two houses and possibly an orchard are shown near the boundary with Lackbrack townland. This townland was also surveyed by Scalé (1774, map 4b). In the map created following this survey Scalé depicts a, previously unrecorded, square moated site in the eastern area of this townland. This feature is located south-east of a road junction and roughly half way between this junction and the Glenaboy River that marks the eastern boundary. The first edition (1841, Sheet 46) map contains no reference to this monument. Although the townland seems to have gained some ground at the expense of the town parks of Tallow by this stage. The map created following the later revisions (1904, Sheet 46) contains no reference to this moated site either. An examination of recently created aerial images offers no definitive proof as to the eventual location of this site either (DG 2011 – 3; BM 2018; GE 2009-17).

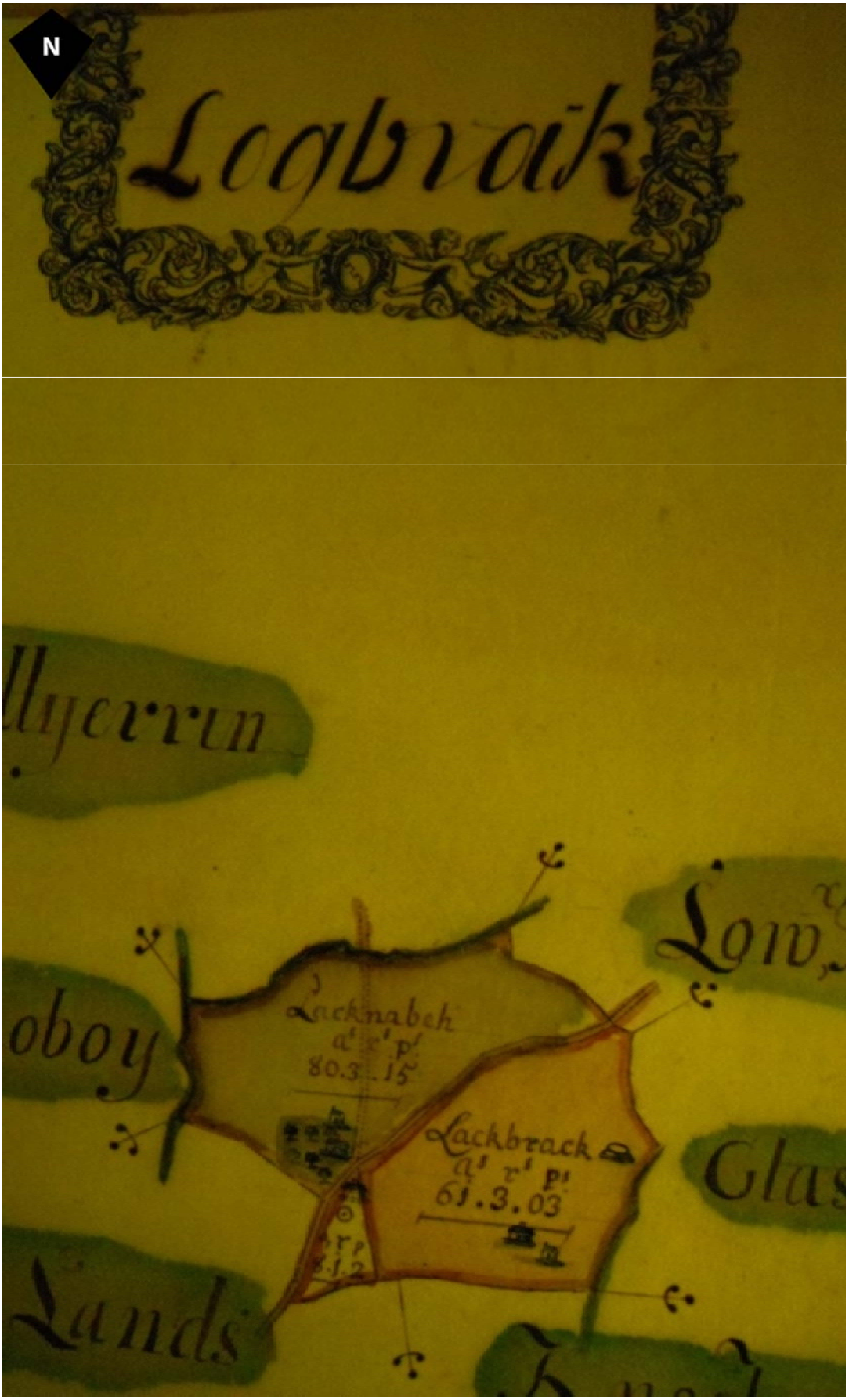


Figure 231. Bateman's map of Lackenbehy townland

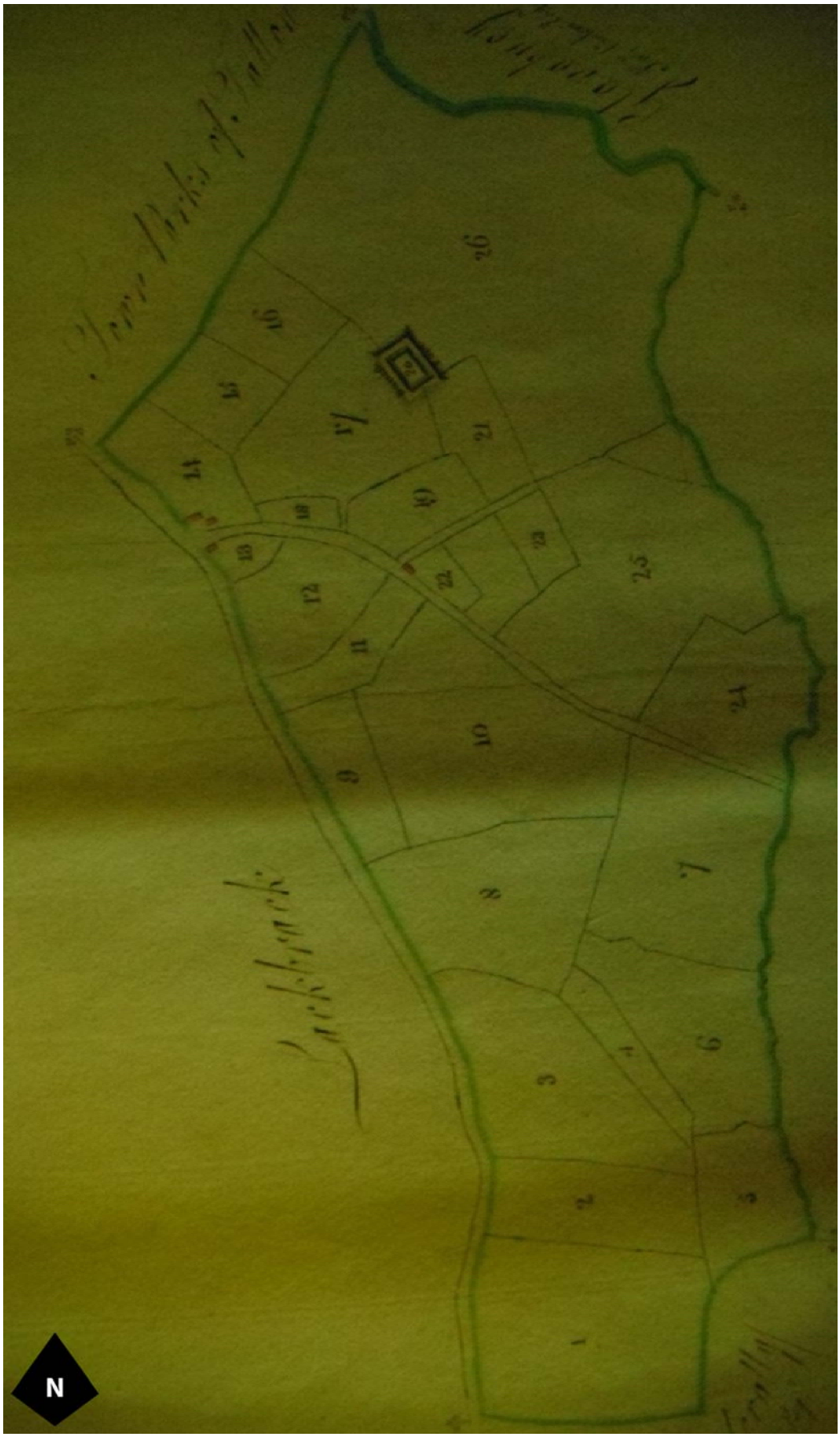


Figure 232. Scalé's map of Lackenbehy townland

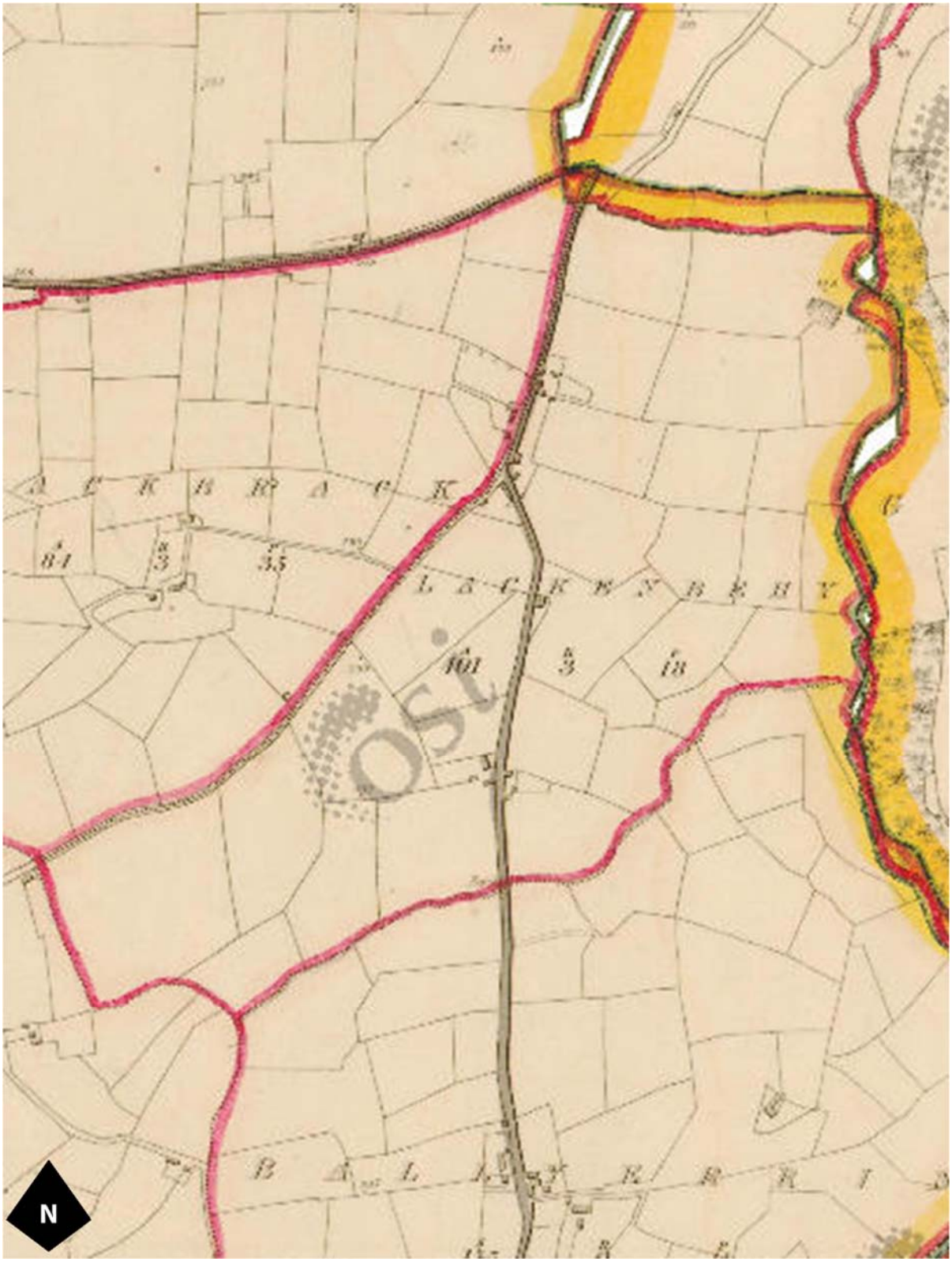


Figure 233. First edition OS map of Lackenbehy townland

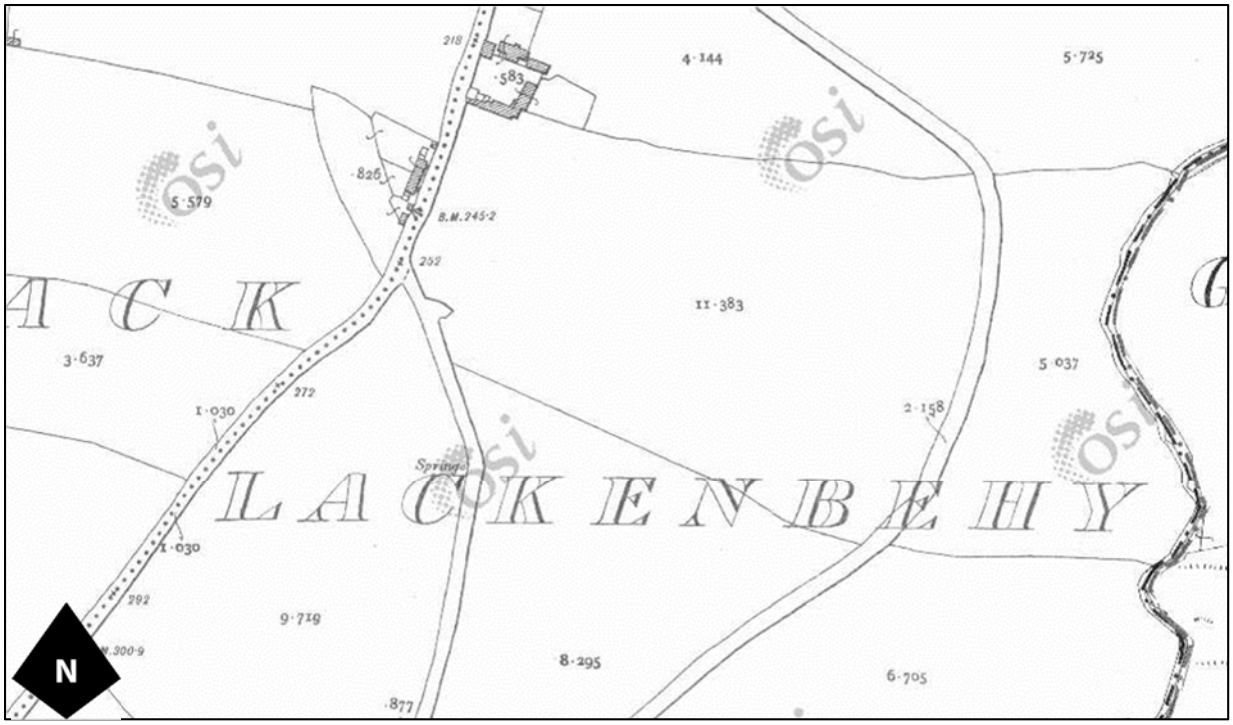


Figure 234. Second edition OS map of Lackenbehy townland



Figure 235. Aerial image of Lackenbehy townland (GE 2016)

2.4.11. Mogeely Lower

Bateman's map (1717, map 30) shows five ringforts in this townland, staggered across the centre of the townland in an east-west direction. They are gathered in two groups: one group of three monuments situated in a triangular arrangement, with the apex pointing north, close to the eastern boundary of the townland; the second consisting of two ringforts organised in an NW-SE direction close to its western boundary. In fact, the ringfort to the NW is shown as being on the boundary itself. Four of these are recognised with SMR No.'s, with the monument closest to the eastern boundary being CO046-009 and the ringfort located to the northwest of this being CO046-074. One of the ringforts on the western side is CO046-006 while the other is CO046-068 (NMS 2017). By 1774, with the production of Scalé's map (*ibid*, map 10b), one ringfort from each of these groups was no longer visible.

One of these apparently levelled sites appears to be the one which formed the left base angle of the triangle of ringforts on the eastern boundary, while the other might be that which was located on the western boundary. If that were so it would be located to the northwest of CO046-006. Although, it has been claimed that the missing monument may have been located at the south-east point of this axis, it is here that the point attributed to CO046-068 is located (NMS 2017). The first edition OS map shows the loss of an additional ringfort, CO046-074, from the grouping on the eastern side of the townland (OSI 1841, Sheet 46), leaving just two remaining ringforts, CO046-006 and CO046-009. Modern images show that only the latter ringfort is still visible, and it was noted as being 'defined by an earthen bank' 1.3m in external height (Power *et al.* 1994, 145). A circular discolouration of the soil on recently ploughed fields, on either side of a dividing fence may indicate the location of CO046-006 (NMS 2017). A soil mark to the north-west may correspond the monument depicted on Bateman's map. There also appears to be a soil mark immediately south of CO046-009. A well-defined circular area can be seen on satellite images where the location of CO046-068 is designated (BM 2017). However, this covers quite a large area, *c.* 100m, and seems too large to represent a ringfort.

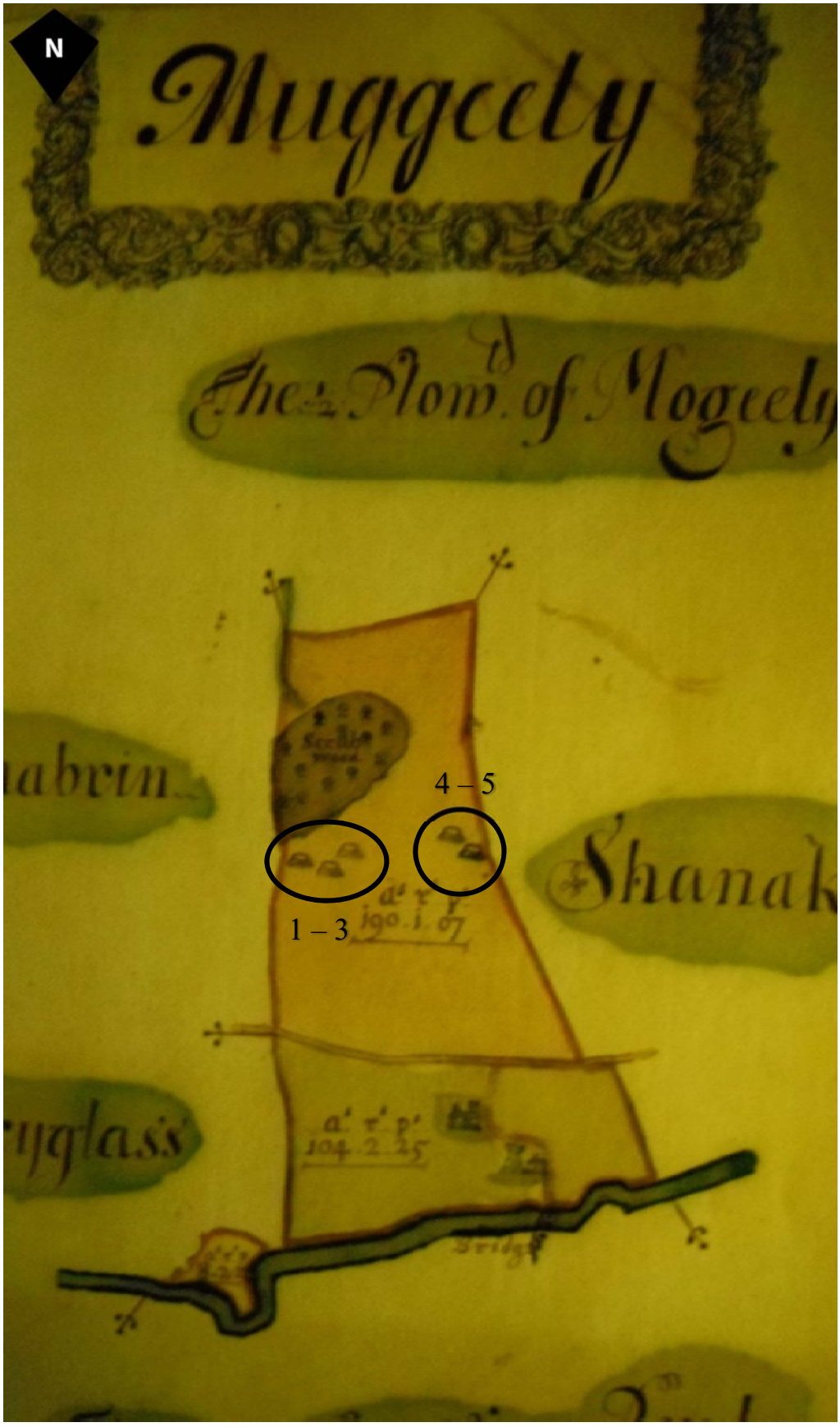


Figure 236. Bateman's map of Mogeely Lower townland depicting ringforts 1. CO046-074, 2. CO046-009, 3. Unrecorded, 4. CO046-006, and 5. CO046-068

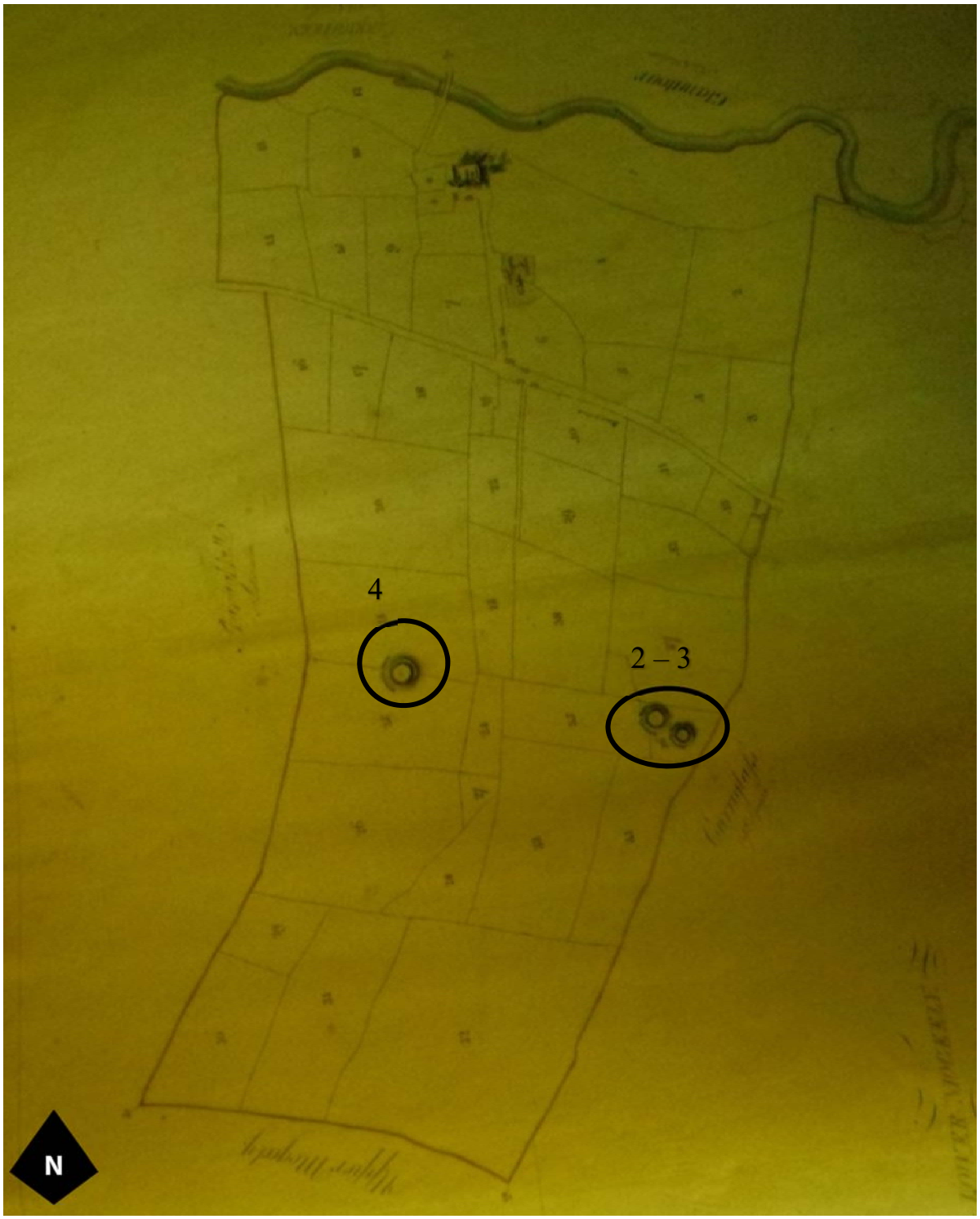


Figure 235. Scalé's map of Mogeely Lower townland depicting ringforts 2. CO046-009, 3. unrecorded and 4. CO046-006

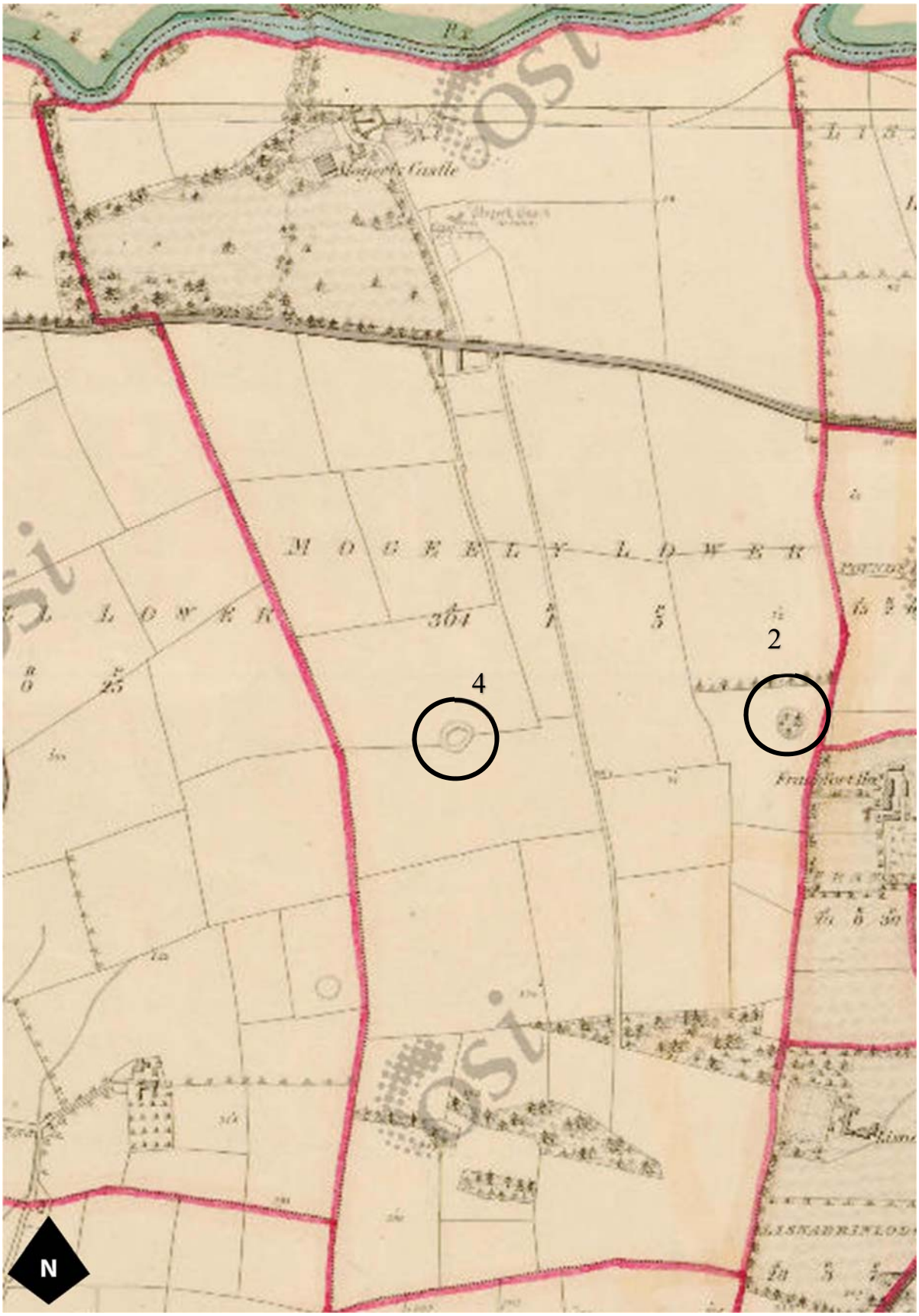


Figure 236. First edition OS map of Mogeely Lower townland depicting ringforts 2. CO046-009 and 4. CO046-006



Figure 237. Second edition OS map of Mogeely Lower townland depicting ringfort 2. CO046-009



Figure 238. Aerial image of Mogeely Lower townland depicting ringfort 2. CO046-009 (DG 2011-3)

2.4.12. Mogeely Upper

Bateman (1717, map 31) indicates the presence of a ringfort in the south-west corner of this townland. However, neither Scalé (1774, map 9b) nor the first edition OS Map (1841, Sheet 46) have any indication of a monument in this position and consequently the site has no SMR number. Fortunately, an examination of aerial images shows a very distinct semi-circular crop mark in the position indicated on Bateman's map (BM 2017). This soil mark is also in very close proximity to ringfort, CO046-005, located in the adjacent townland of Shanakill Upper. In this case it appears that the received wisdom concerning the depiction of monuments on cartographic sources can be accepted and, again bearing in mind Scalés thorough effort at depiction of such antiquities, that at some stage between 1717 and 1774 this ringfort was levelled. Further examination might show a link between this occurrence and the construction of the road along the boundary of the two townlands mentioned. On a final note, the small area located between these two townlands may have, at the time of Bateman's (1717, map 31) survey, contained a mill. It is shown on this map as a single house and nearby a circular disc is imprinted. Perhaps Bateman indicated such structures using a combination of stamps and in fact the disc should have been superimposed on the house. In any case no evidence for its existence is discernible presently.

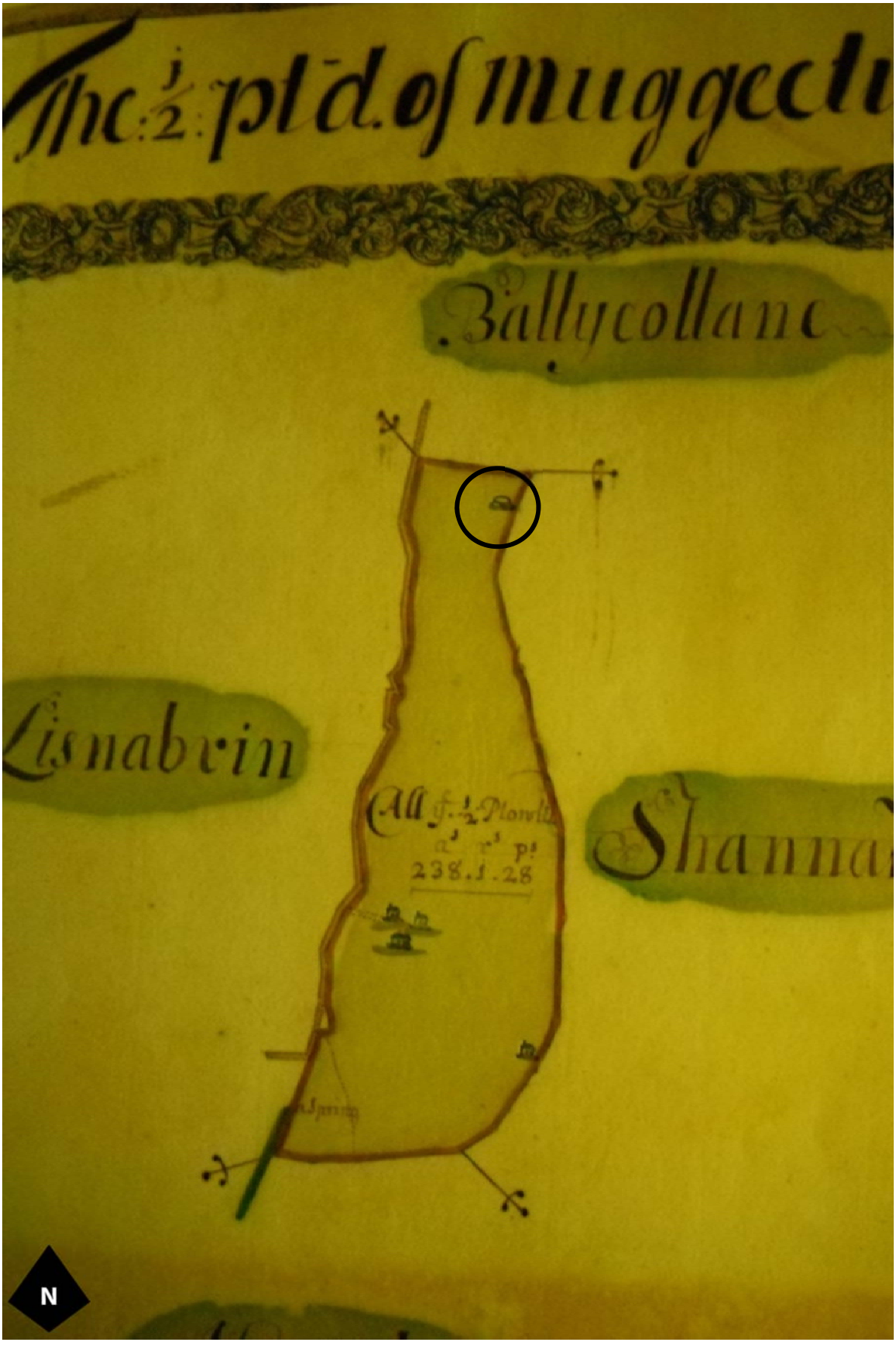


Figure 239. Bateman's map of Mogeely Upper townland depicting previously unrecorded site



Figure 240. Scalé's map of Mogeely Upper townland



Figure 241. First edition OS map of Mogeely Upper townland



Figure 242. Second edition OS map of Mogeely Upper townland



Figure 243. Aerial image of Mogeely Upper townland depicting site of unrecorded site (BM 2016)

2.4.13. Shankill

Bateman (1717, map 32) provides no evidence for ringforts in his map of this townland. He does, however, again divide this townland into distinct geographical areas. This townland is divided into an upper, middle and lower part, with the lower part further divided into the part above the Cork road and the part below this road. He shows settlements in both the lower and middle parts of this townland. In addition, in the lower part above the road he provides evidence for a, previously unrecorded, water powered mill close to the western boundary. In fact, this site appears to be fed by a mill race diverted from the stream that marks this boundary and which the mill train re-enters further downstream. This townland does not appear to have been included in Scalé's (1774) survey. Also, at some stage prior to the creation of the first edition (1841, Sheet 46) OS map this townland was divided in two, Shanakill Upper and Lower.

The line of this division seems somewhat arbitrary as it does not follow any readily identifiable natural or major man made feature. It is recorded on this map that a single ringfort is located in each of these townlands. The example located in Shanakill Lower, CO046-005, is shown in the south-east quadrant near the south-eastern townland boundary. Whereas, the ringfort situated in Shanakill Upper, CO046-017001, is located almost exactly in the south eastern corner of this townland (*ibid.*). This example is also shown on the second edition (1904, Sheet 46) map. A portion of the second, outer, bank is also depicted. On this map, however, the ringfort located in Shanakill Lower is no longer visible. Recent aerial photographs confirm this but an indication of the original position of this monument can be ascertained with the presence of a circular crop mark of c. 30m in diameter. The ringfort in Shanakill Upper is also shown as a circular tree covered area. Furthermore, an association with a souterrain, CO046-017002, bolsters the claim that this site is indeed a ringfort. In addition, the general location for the mill depicted by Bateman (1717, map 32) can also be identified on these images. The now tree lined streams that were originally both the mill race and mill train can be seen converging at grid coordinates, 594936-592894, and it is likely around this area that any remains of this site would be found.

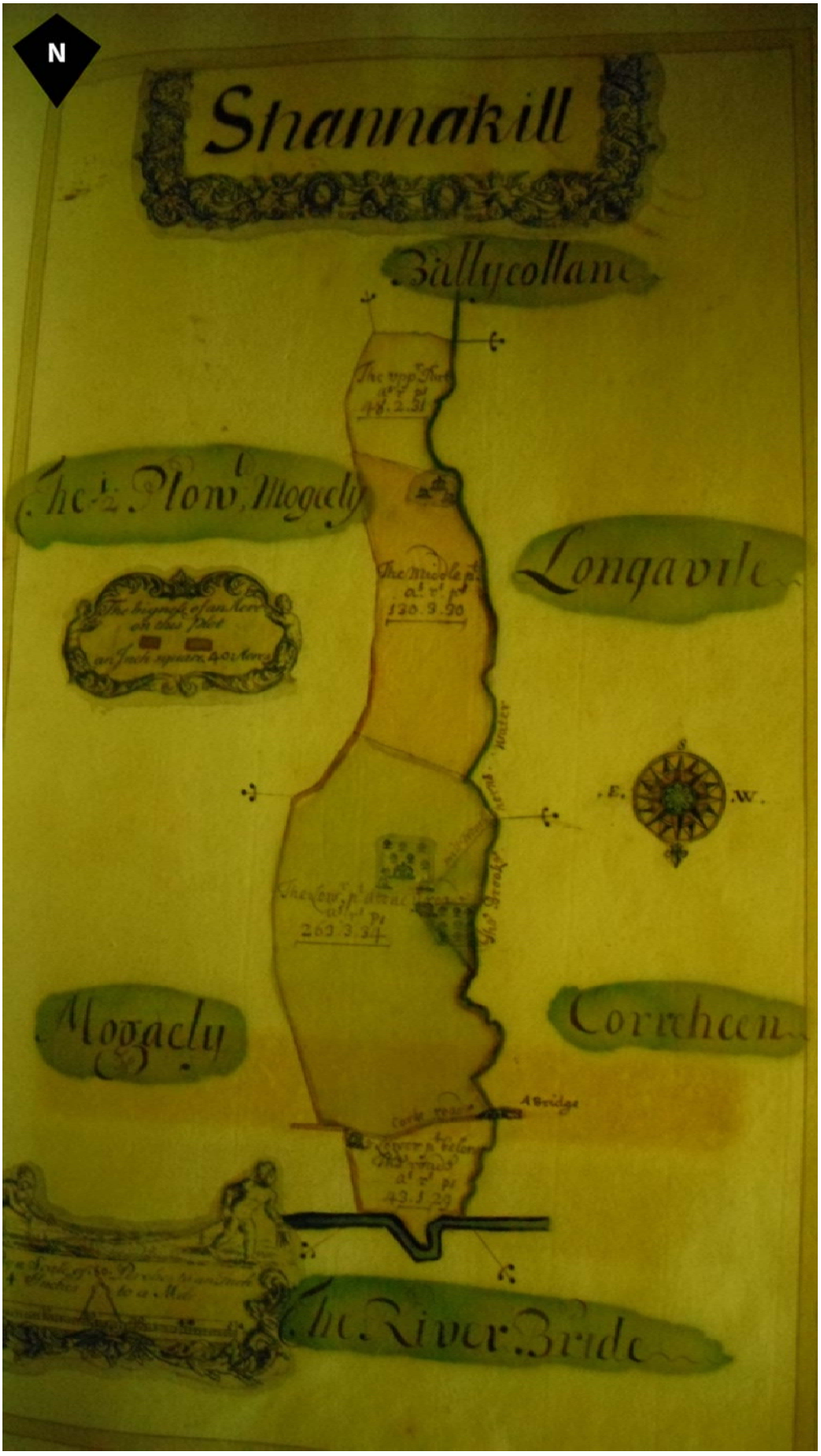


Figure 244. Bateman's map of Shanakill townland

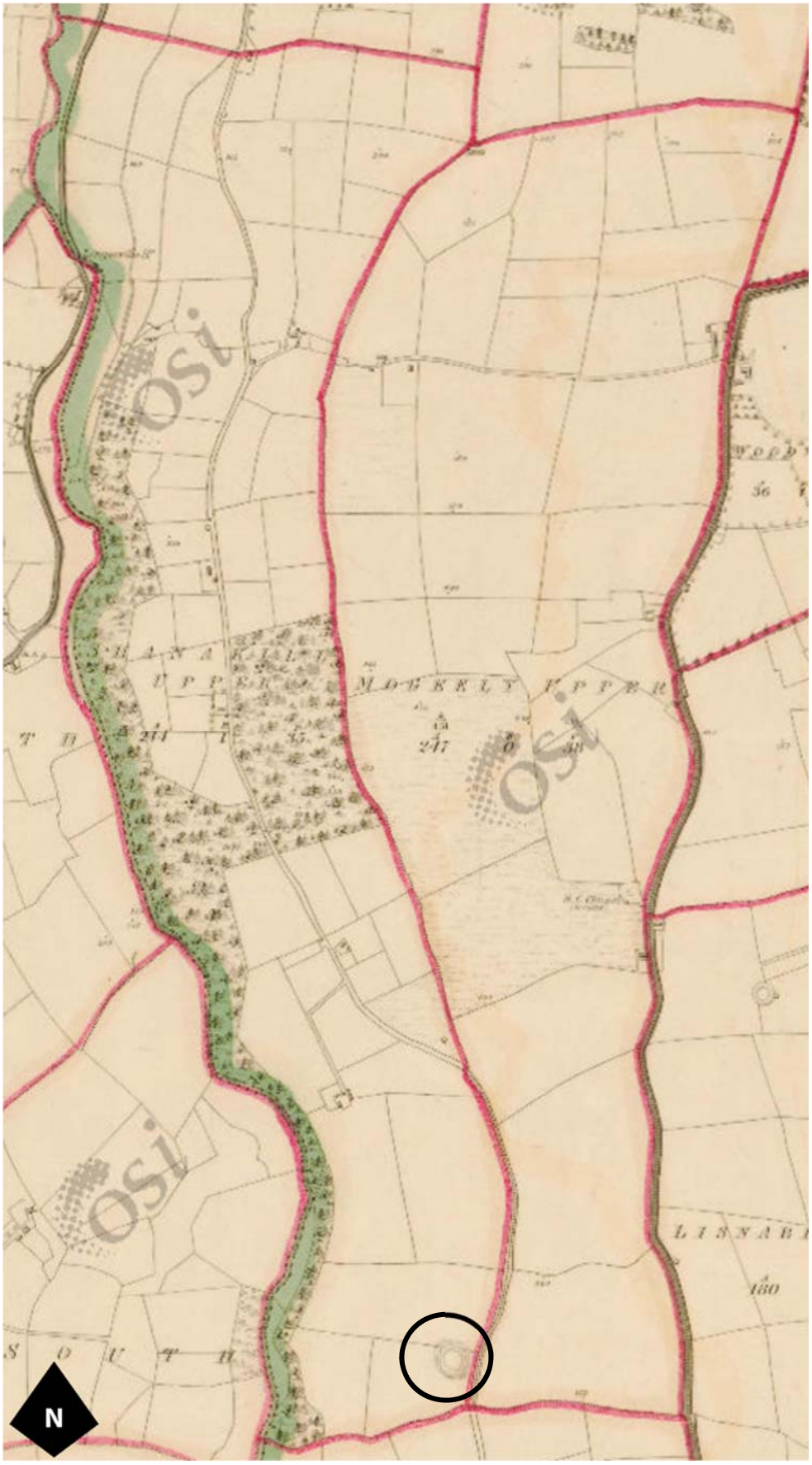


Figure 245. First edition OS map of Shanakill Lower townland depicting ringfort CO046-005

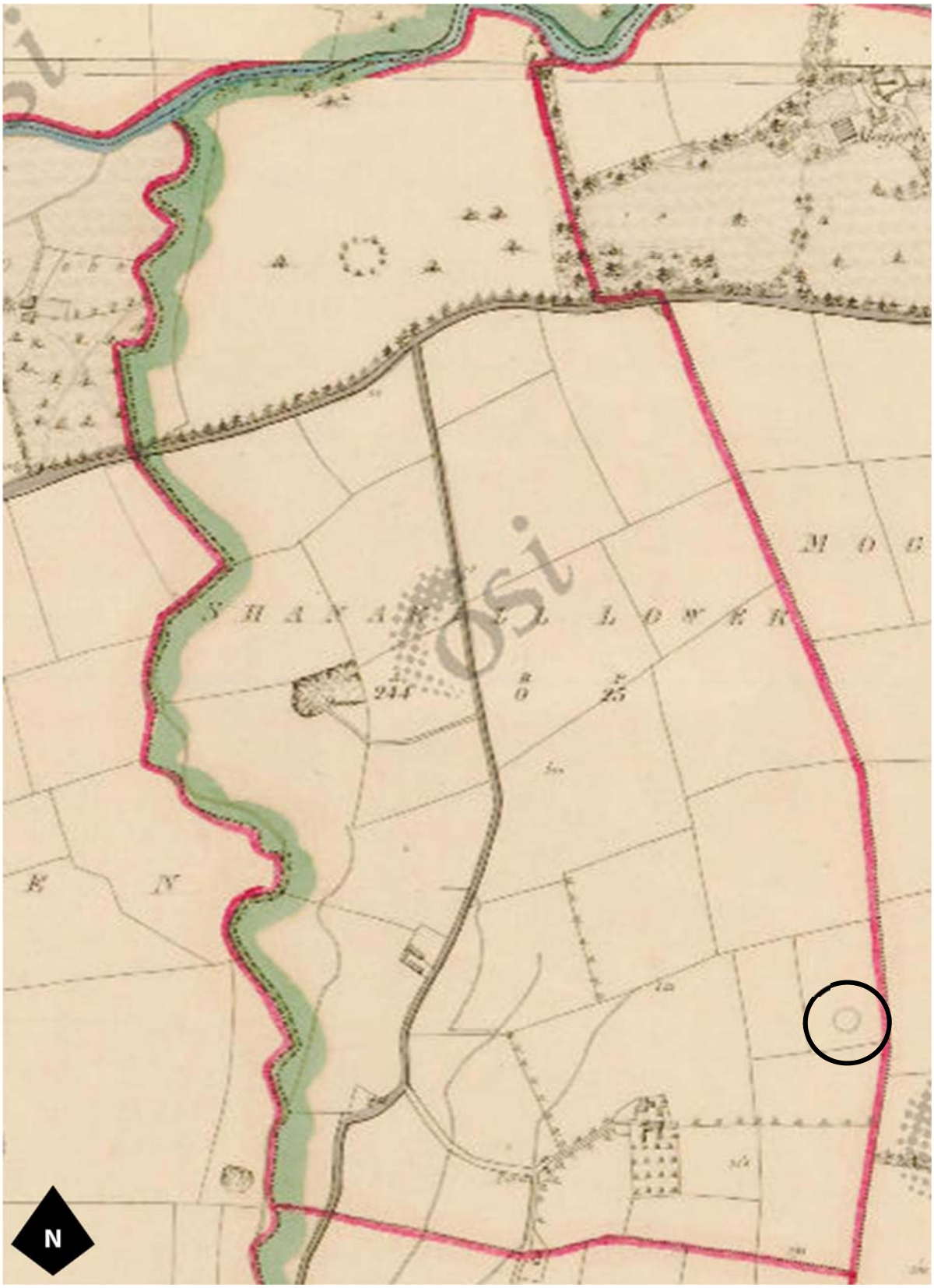


Figure 246. First edition OS map of Shanakill Upper townland depicting ringfort CO046-017001

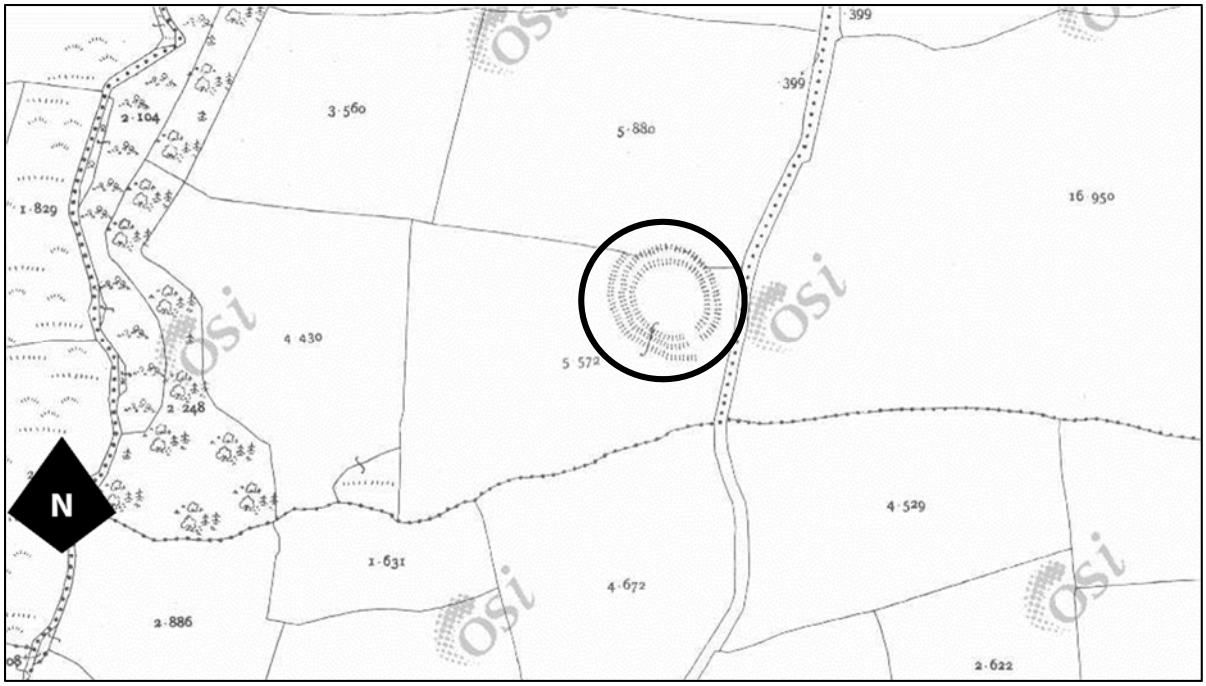


Figure 247. Second edition OS map of Shanakill Lower townland depicting ringfort CO046-005



Figure 248. Second edition OS map of Shanakill Upper townland



Figure 249. Aerial image of Shanakill Upper townland depicting ringfort CO046-005 (BM 2016)



Figure 250. Aerial image of Shanakill Lower townland depicting site of ringfort 2. CO046-017001 and X. unrecorded grist mill (GE 2017)

CATALOGUE CHAPTER 3:

KINALMEAKY, CO. CORK.

14,754.11ha

Evidence of Ring-forts in certain townlands of the Parishes of Brinny, Desertseges, Kilbrogan, Killowen, Kinneigh, Murragh, and Templemartin, Co. Cork:
(Formerly part of the Devonshire Estates)
Study Area No. 2

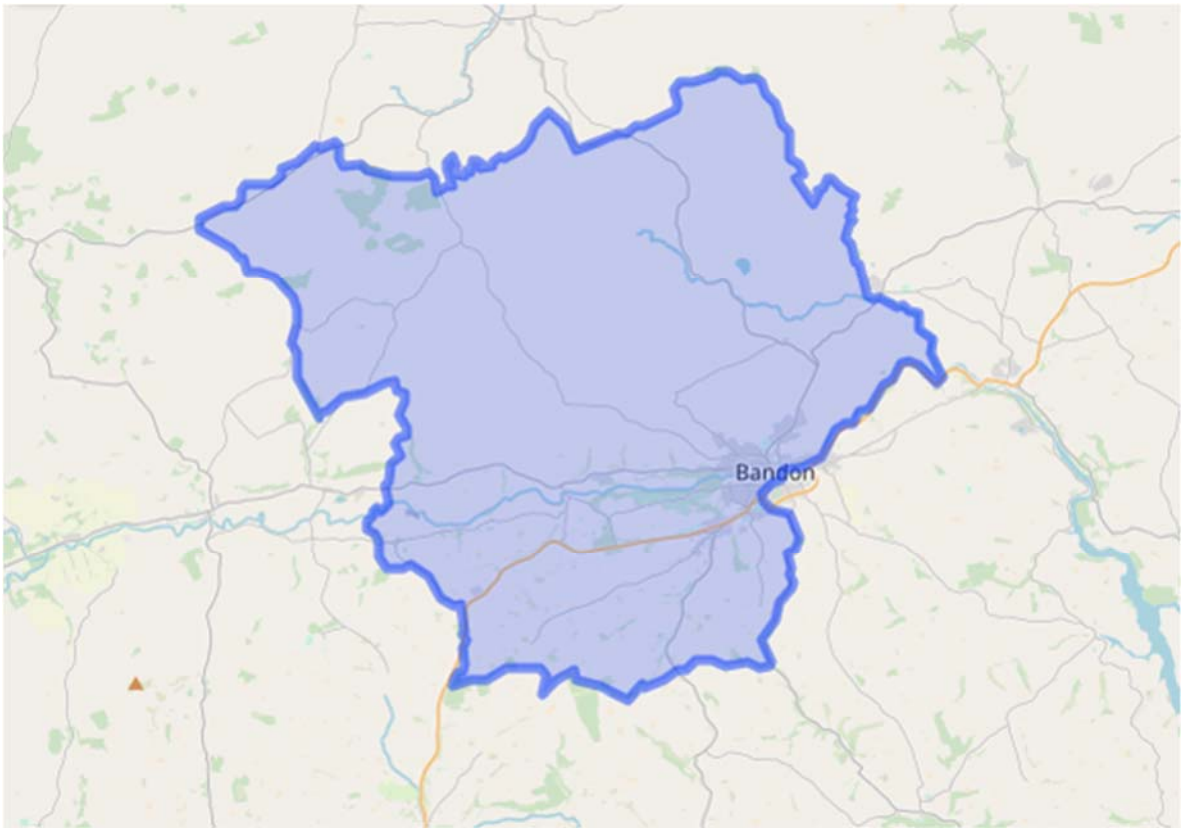


Figure 1. Barony map of Kinalmeaky, Co. Cork

	Scalé	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
TOTAL	49	33	22	14	56	27	60
Townlands	20/38	16/38	15/38	12/38	22/38	17/38	24/38

Figure 2. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Kinalmeaky barony, Co. Cork

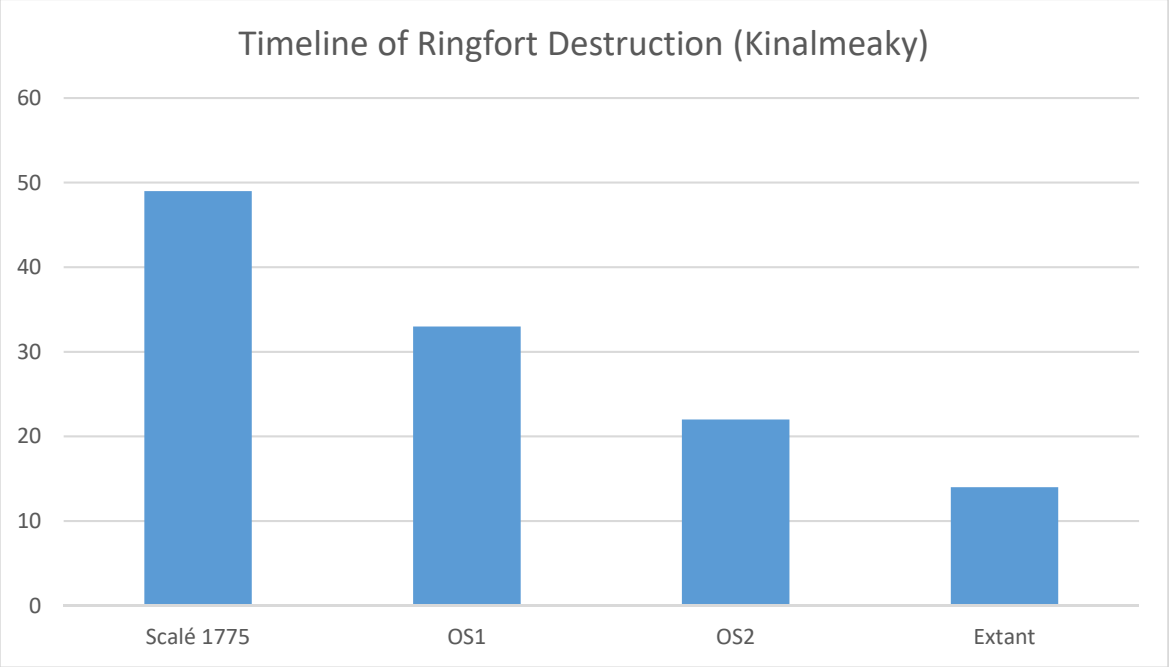


Figure 3. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Kinalmeaky barony, Co. Cork

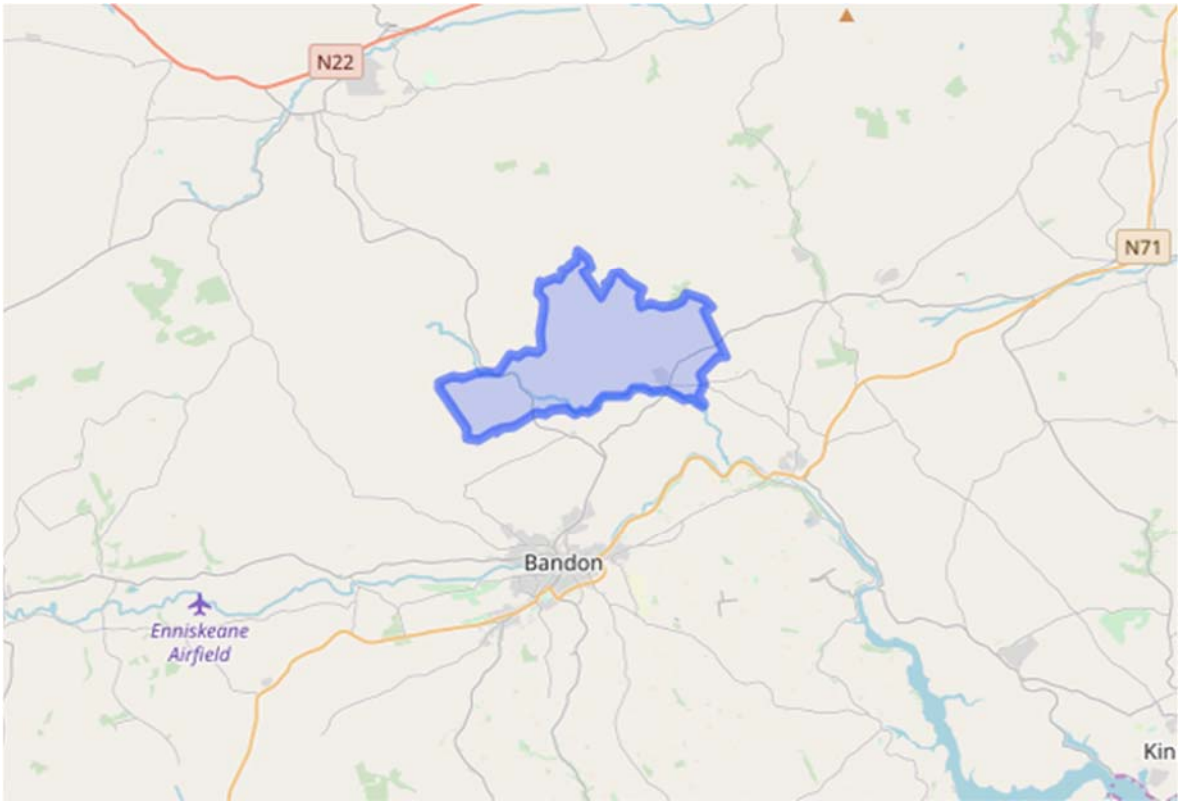


Figure 4. Parish map of Brinny, Co. Cork

	Scalé	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Castlenalacht	2	1	1	1	2	1	2
Finnas	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Kilmore	2	1	1	1	2	1	3
Kilnagnady	5	4	1	1	4	1	5
Kilpatrick	3	1	0	0	5	0	5
Moneen	2	2	1	0	2	0	2
Ringforts	14	9	4	3	16	3	18
Townlands	5/6	5/6	4/6	3/6	6/6	3/6	6/6

Figure 5. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Brinny parish, Co. Cork

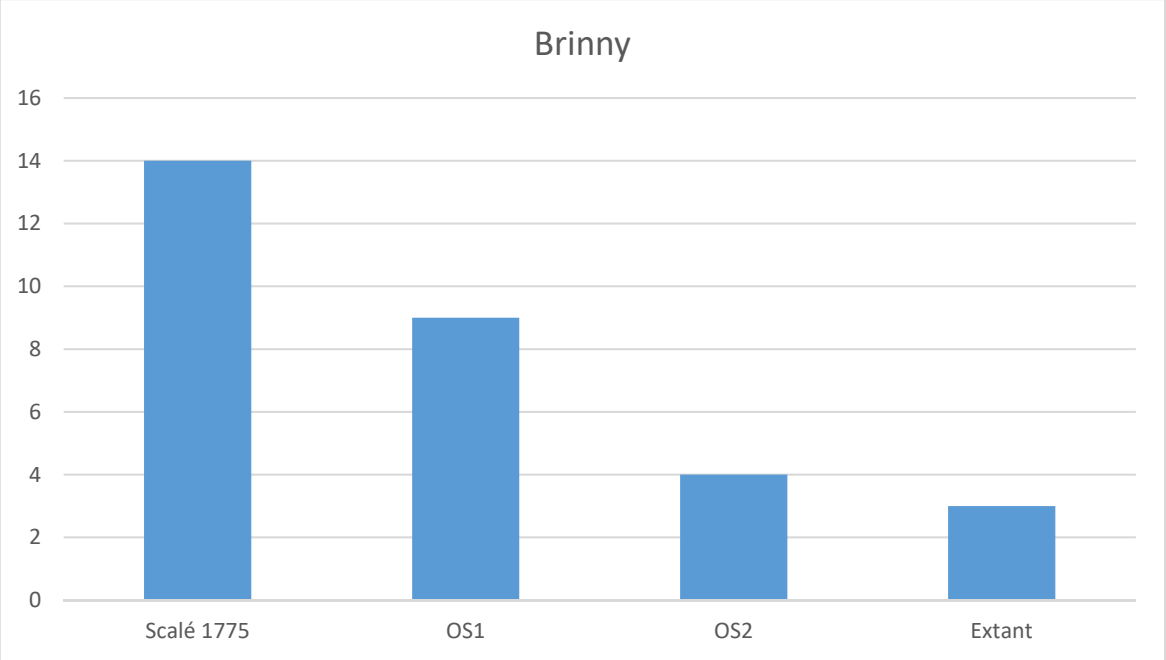


Figure 6. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Brinny parish

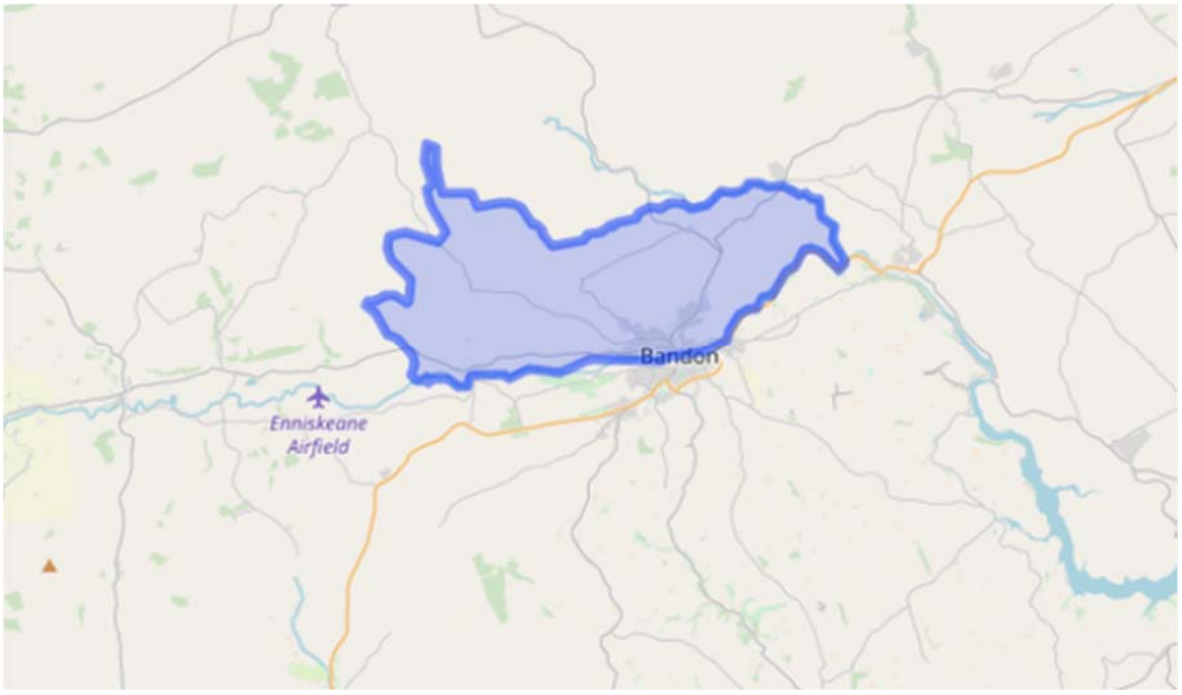


Figure 7. Parish map of Kilbrogan, Co. Cork

	Scalé	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Callatrim	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
Carhoon E	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Carhoon W	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Coolfadda	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Derrycool	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Laragh	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Littlesilver	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mallowgaton	2	2	2	2	3	1	3
Mishells	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shinagh	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ringforts	5	2	2	2	6	5	9
Townlands	4/10	1/10	1/10	1/10	4/10	4/10	6/10

Figure 8. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Kilbrogan parish, Co. Cork

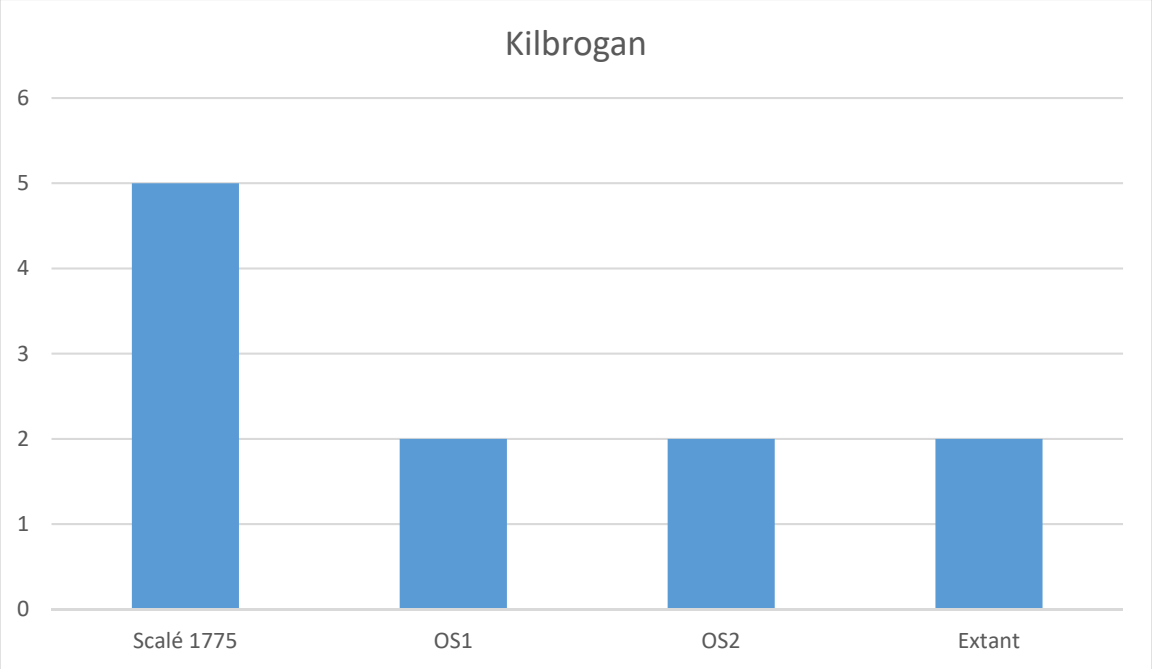


Figure 9. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Kilbrogan parish

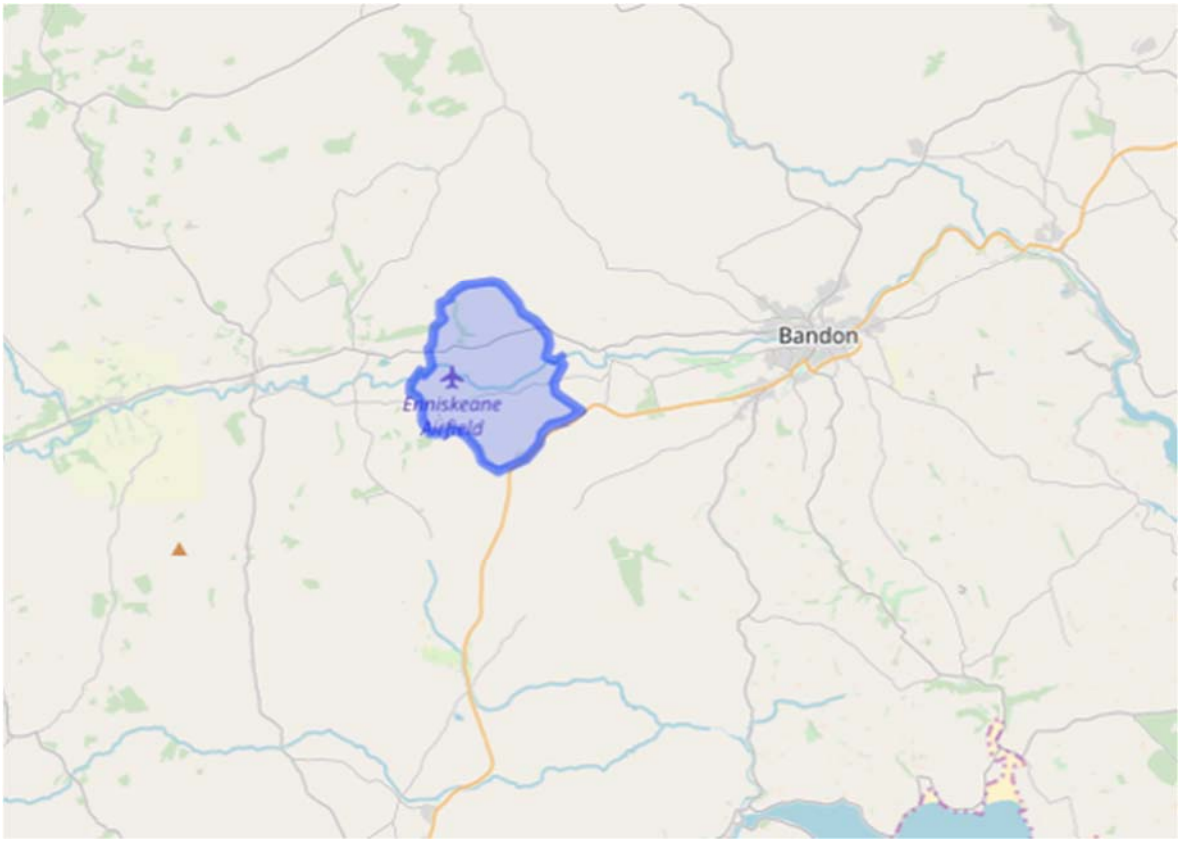


Figure 10. Parish map of Killowen, Co. Cork

	Scalé	OS 1	OS 2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Killowen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mawbeg E	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mawbeg W	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mawmore E	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mawmore W	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tullyglass	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ringforts	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Townlands	0/6	0/6	0/6	0/6	0/6	0/6	0/6

Figure 11. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Killowen parish, Co. Cork

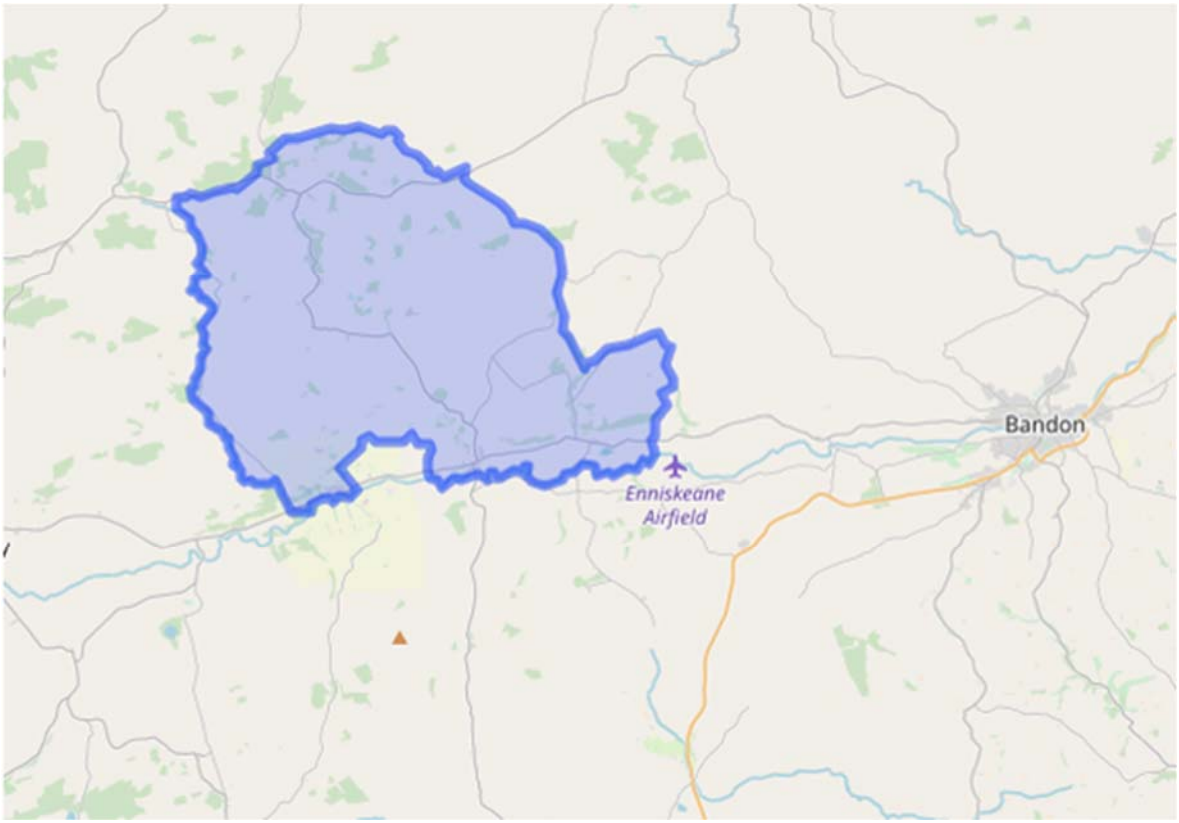


Figure 13. Parish map of Kinneigh, Co. Cork

	Scalé	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
KilnagranaghEast	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KilnacranaghWest	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
Teadies lwr	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
Teadies Uppr	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ringforts	1	2	2	1	2	2	2

Figure 14. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Kinneigh parish, Co. Cork

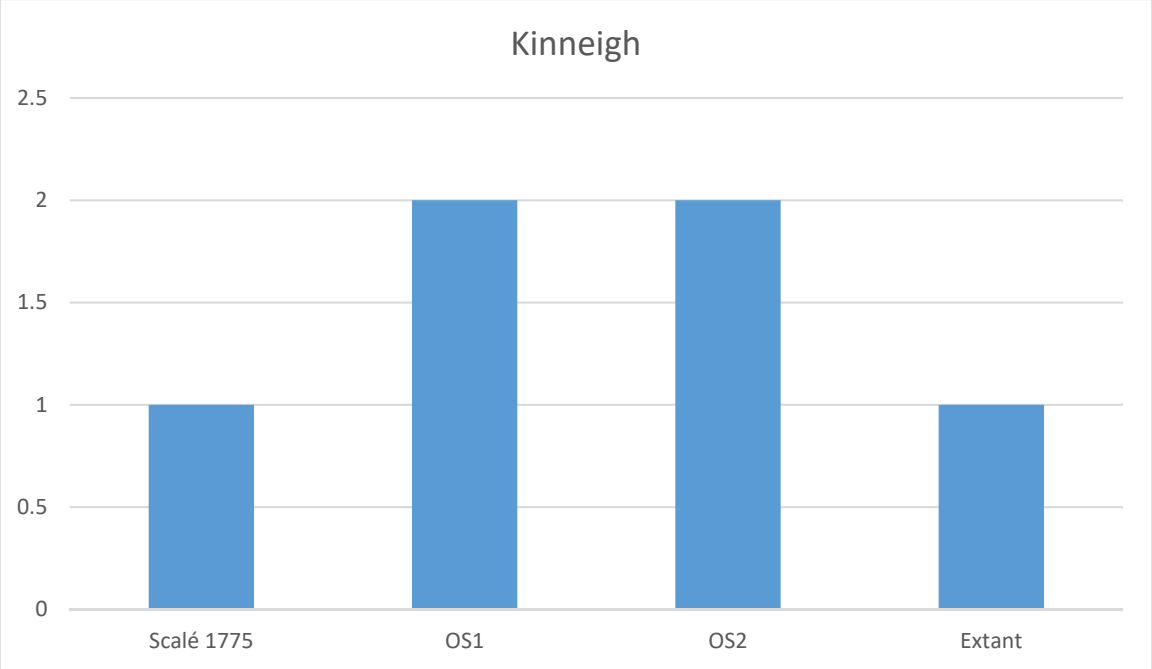


Figure 15. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Kinneigh parish

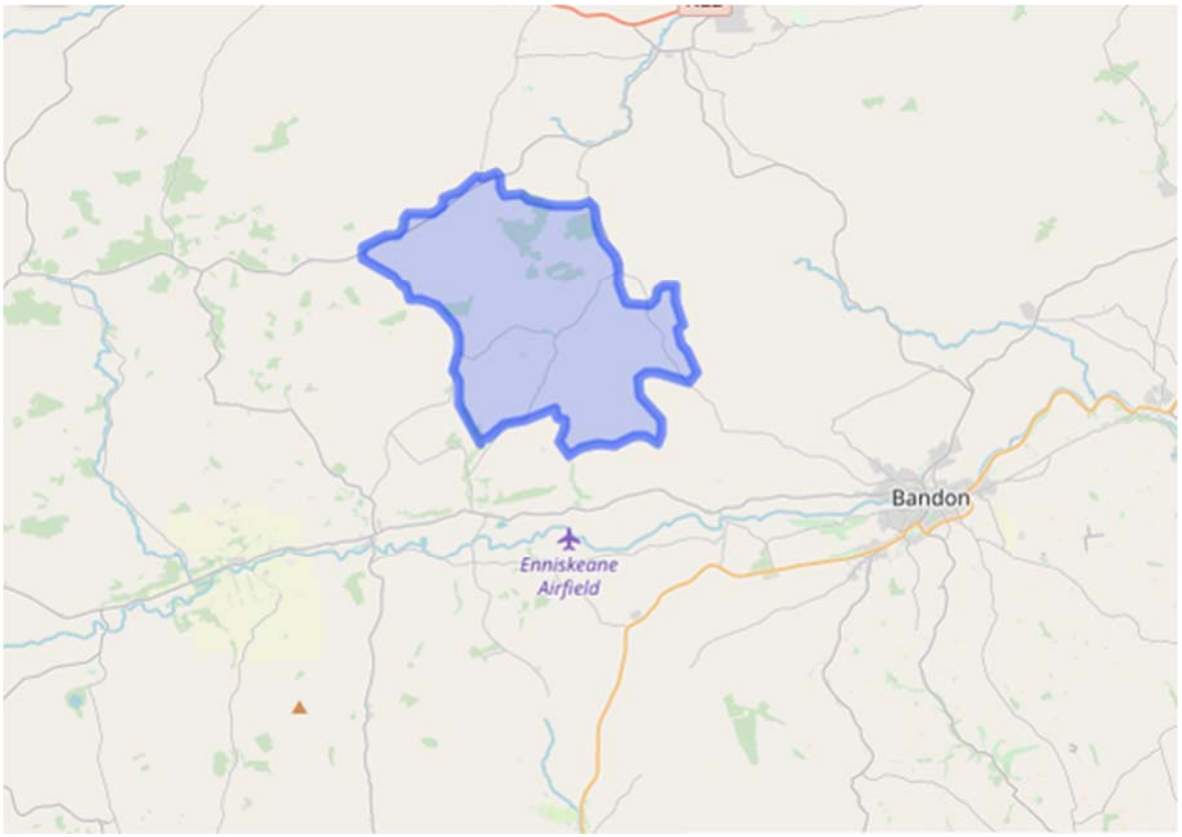


Figure 16. Parish map of Murragh, Co. Cork

	Scalé	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Dromavane	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Murragh	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Sranaviddoqe	1	0	0	1	2	1	2
Tullyglass	3	4	2	2	4	3	4
Ringforts	5	4	2	3	7	4	7

Figure 17. Table showing rate of ringfort decline Murragh parish, Co. Cork

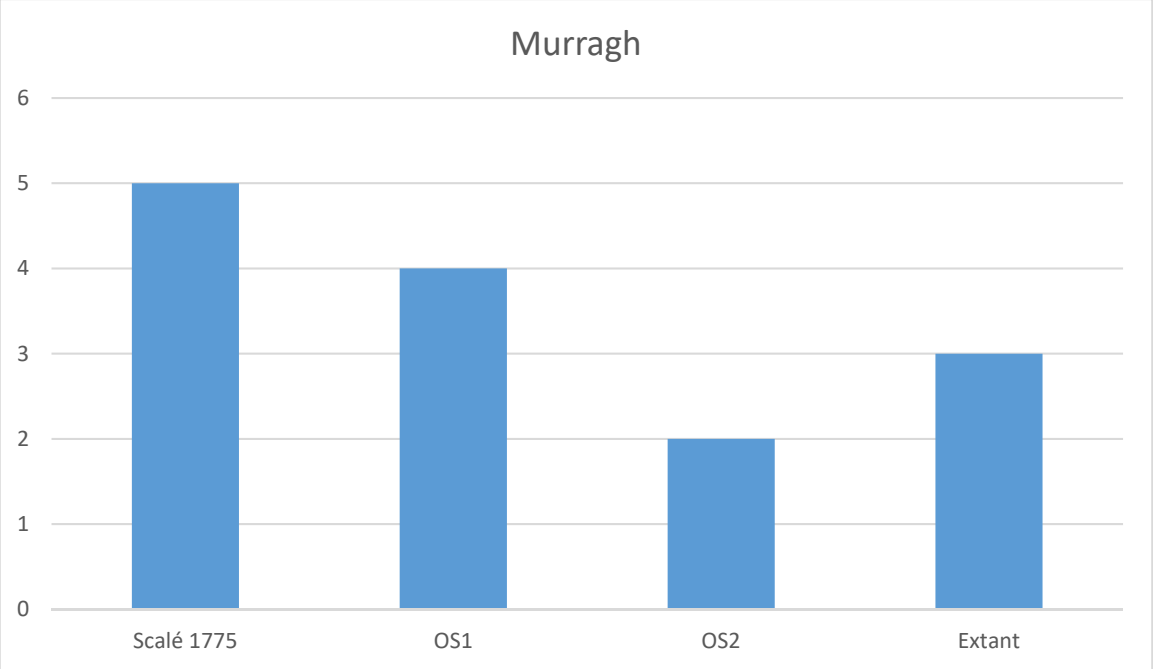


Figure 18. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Murragh parish

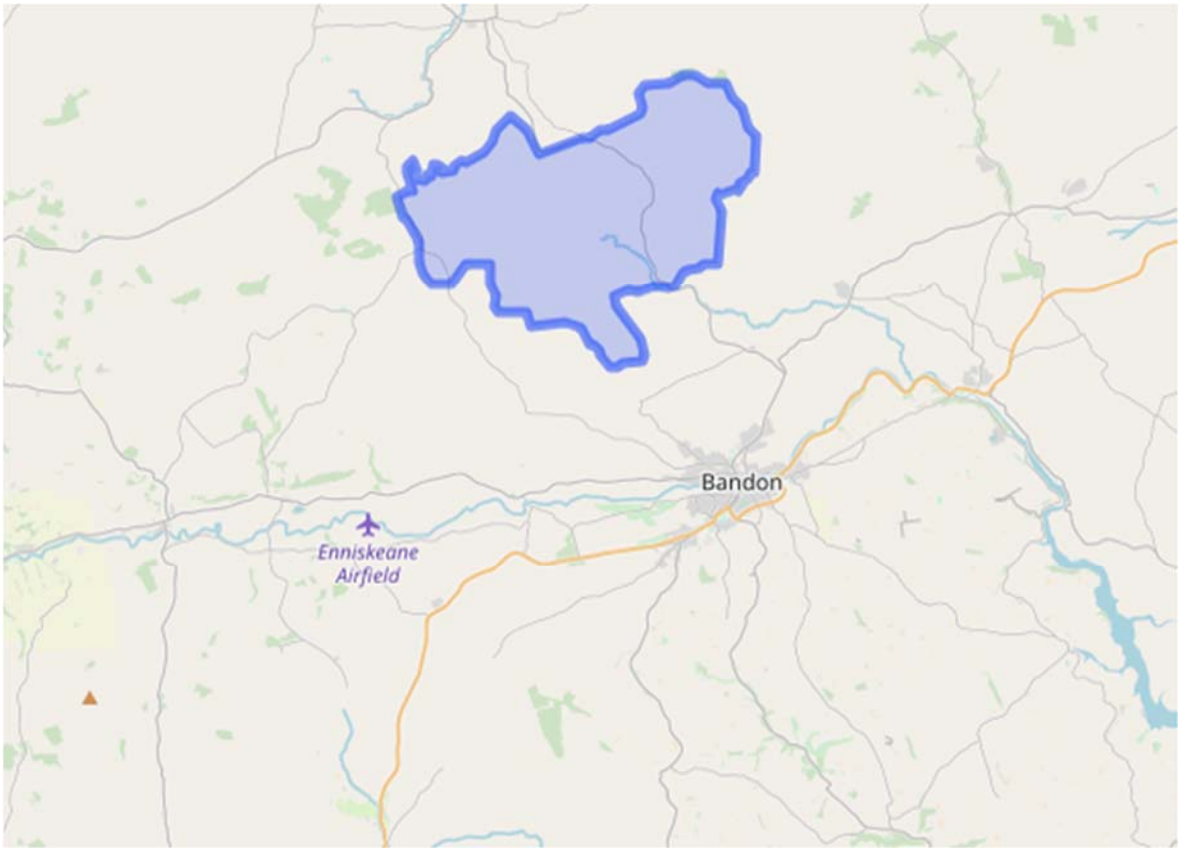


Figure 19. Parish map of Templemartin, Co. Cork

	Scalé	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Castlenalacht	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
Garranes	6	5	3	1	7	4	7
Kilbarry	1	1	1	0	1	1	1
Moneen	7	4	3	1	7	4	7
Moskeagh	4	2	2	1	4	2	4
Scariffe	2	2	1	1	2	2	2
Scartnamuck	3	1	1	1	3	1	3
Shanacloyne	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ringforts	24	16	12	5	25	14	25

Figure 20. Table showing rate of ringfort decline Templemartin parish, Co. Cork

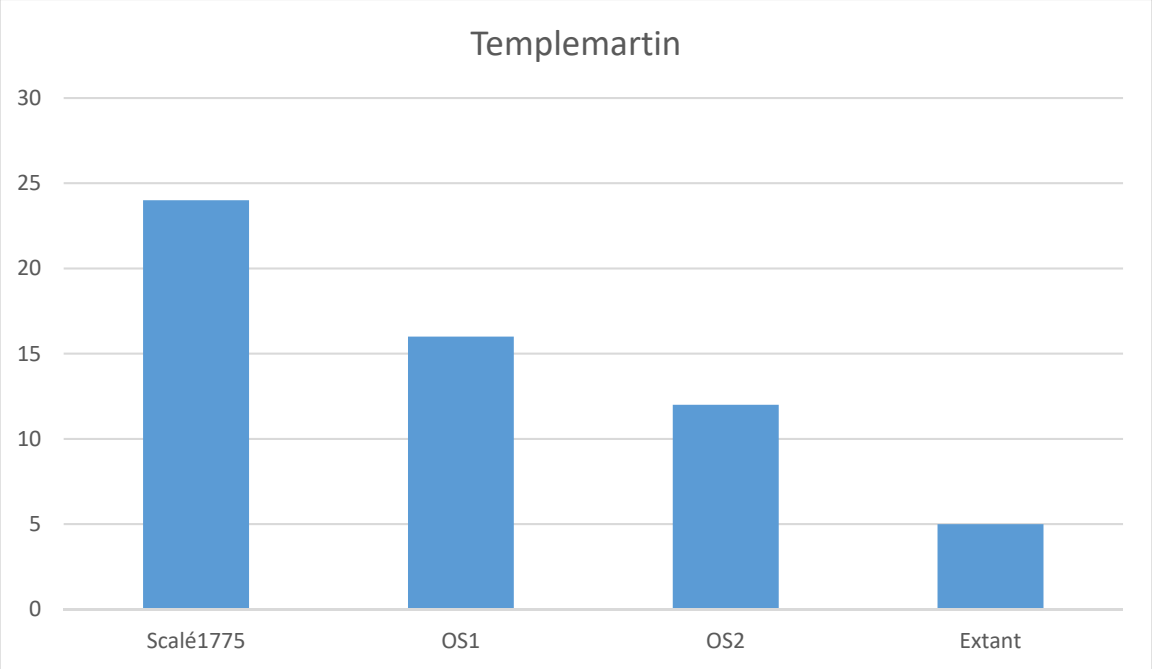


Figure 21. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Templemartin parish

The townland descriptions herein are arranged in alphabetical order, initially by parish and within this grouping by townland. The illustrations that accompany each description are presented in chronological order, beginning with the earliest available images. In this barony this will include those of Scalé (1775). These estate surveys will be followed by the first and second editions of the Ordnance Survey maps. Finally, modern images from aerial surveys will also be included.

3. KINALMEAKY.

3.1. Brinny parish

3.1.1. Castlenalact

There are three ringforts recorded in the register for this entire townland, CO096-011, CO096-114 & CO096-049. Furthermore, this townland is divided between the parishes of Templemartin and Brinny. However, Scalé (1775, map 32) again shows this townland as a single unit. He also depicts two of these three ringforts, CO096-011, CO096-114, on this map. A lime kiln attached to one on the townland boundary. On the map produced by the Ordnance survey (1841, Sheet 96) the ringfort CO096-011, is clearly shown and the ringfort, CO096-049 is shown as a sub-rectangular feature. The illustration of this ringfort appears more rounded in the second edition revision and, again, CO096-011 is clearly depicted (1904, Sheet 96). On neither of these maps is location of CO096-114 shown. Later, O Ríordáin (1931, 68) surveyed 'a double ramparted lios' at the location of CO096-011 and the Archaeological Survey of Cork (Power *et al.* 1992) notes that it was levelled around 1980. Presently there are no ringforts extant in this townland. However, aerial photographs, particularly Google Earth (2015) appears to confirm the location of CO096-049 by a circular crop mark of *c*. 34m in diameter.



Figure 22. Scalé's map of Castlenalact townland depicting ringforts 1. CO096-011 and 3. CO096-114

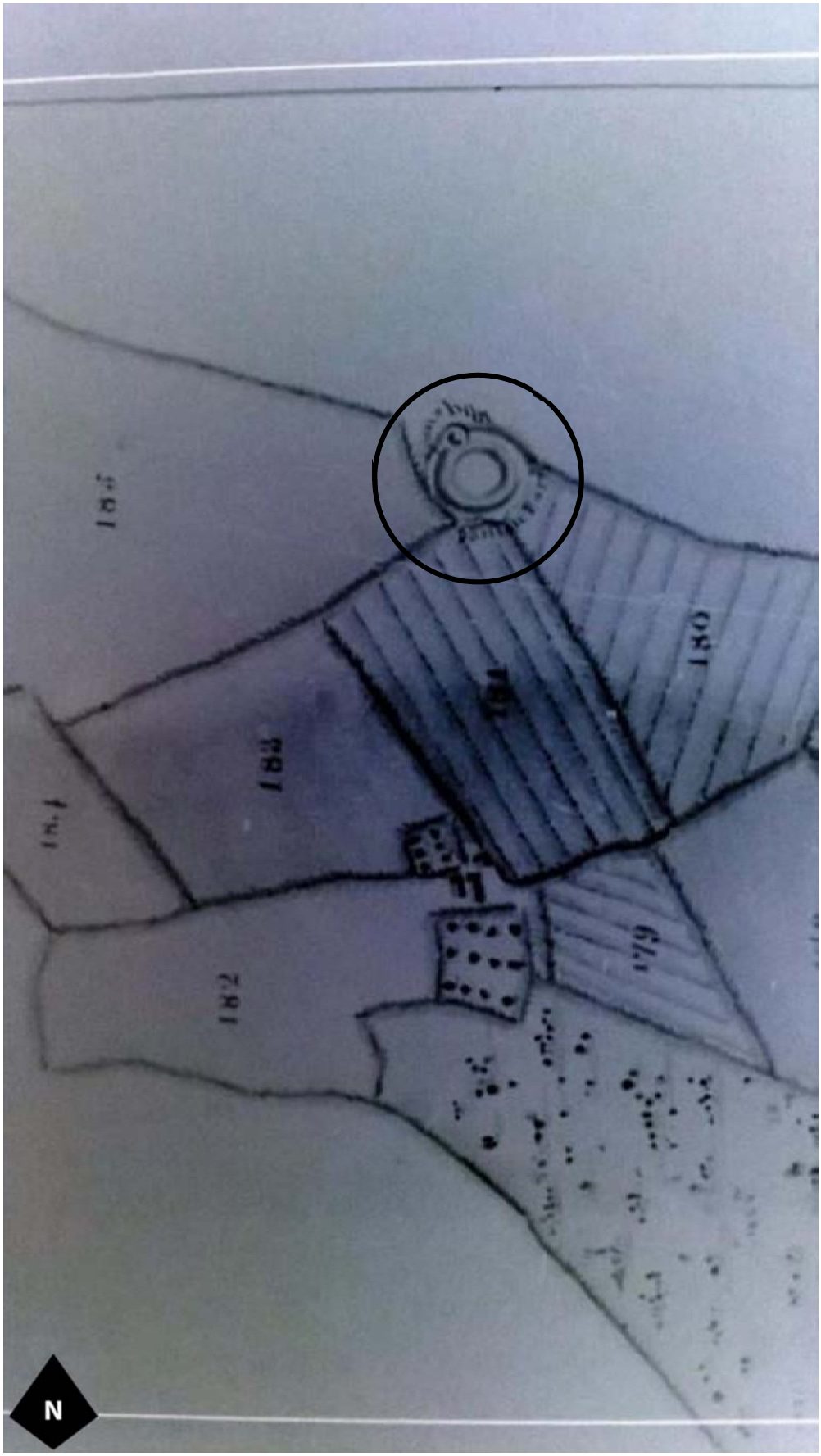


Figure 23. Scalé's map of Castlenalact depicting ringfort CO096-011

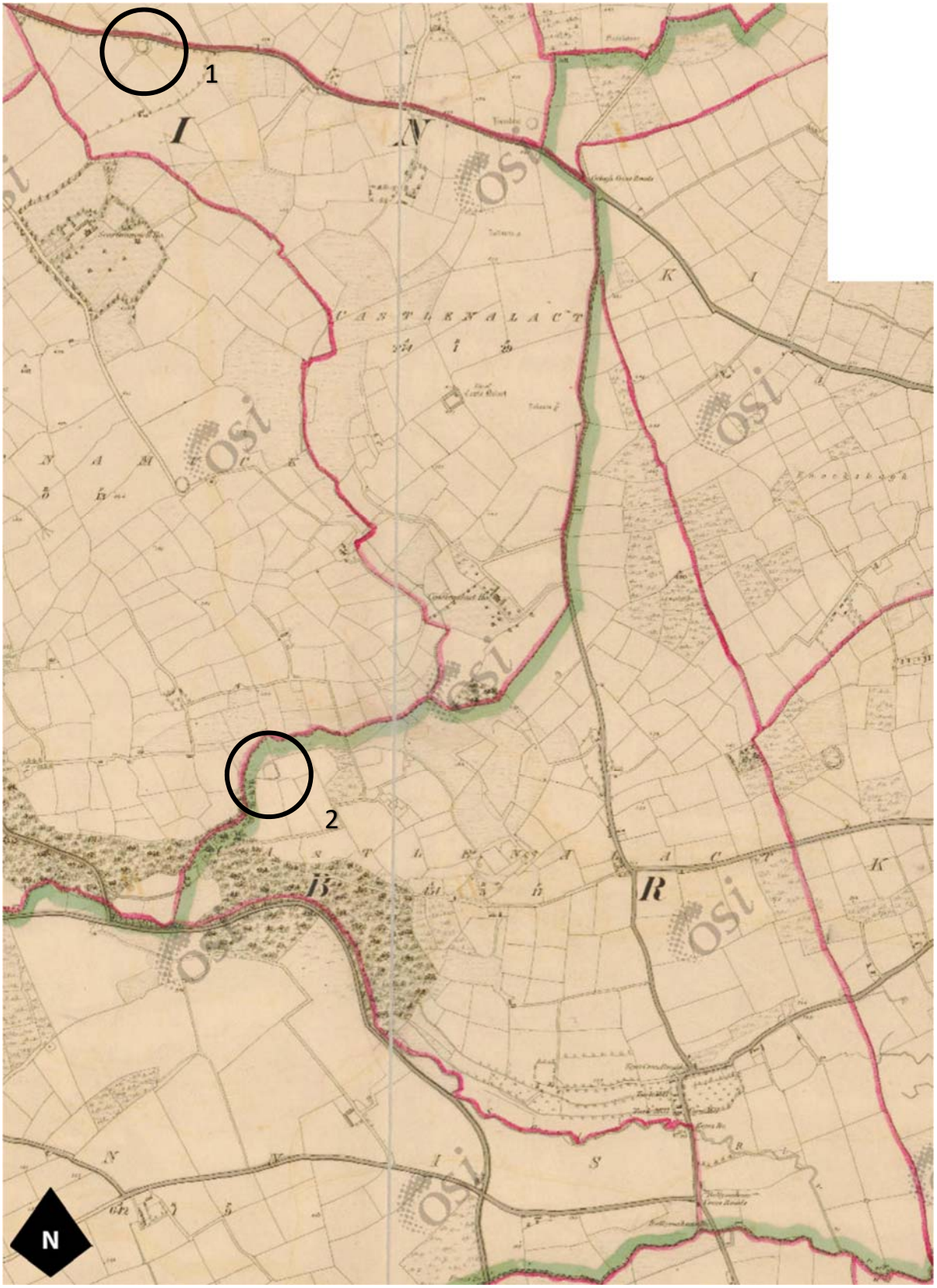


Figure 24. First edition OS map of Castlenalact townland depicting ringfort 1. CO096-011 and 2. CO096-049

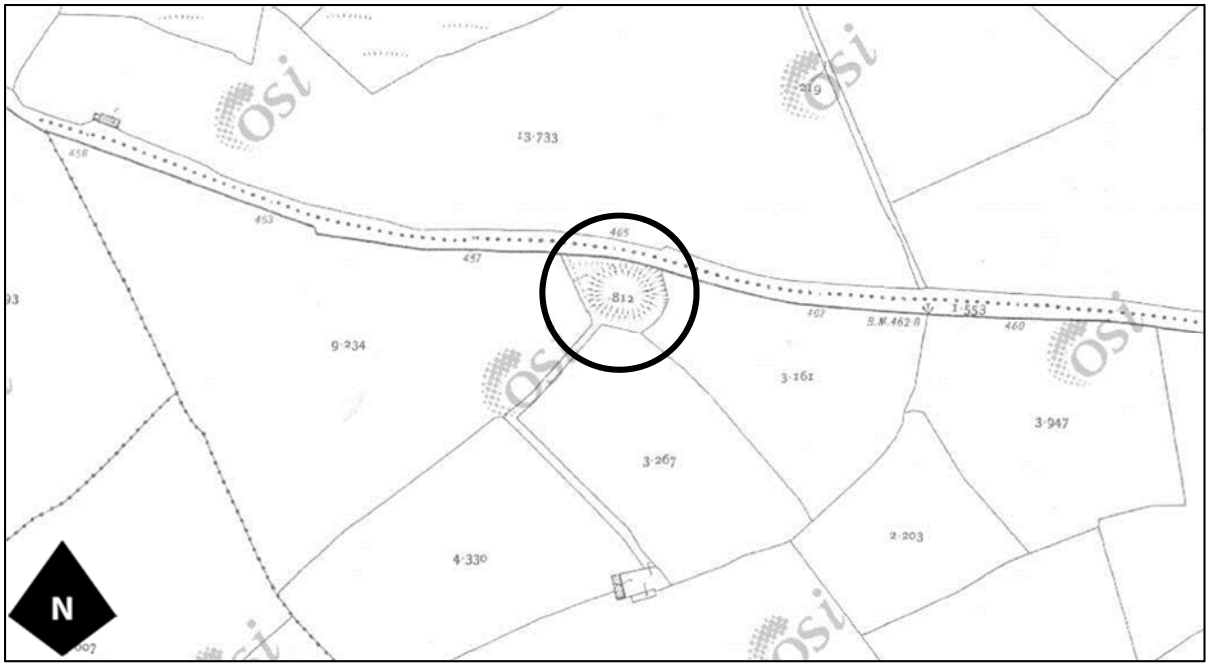


Figure 25. Second edition OS map of Castlenalact townland depicting ringfort CO096-011

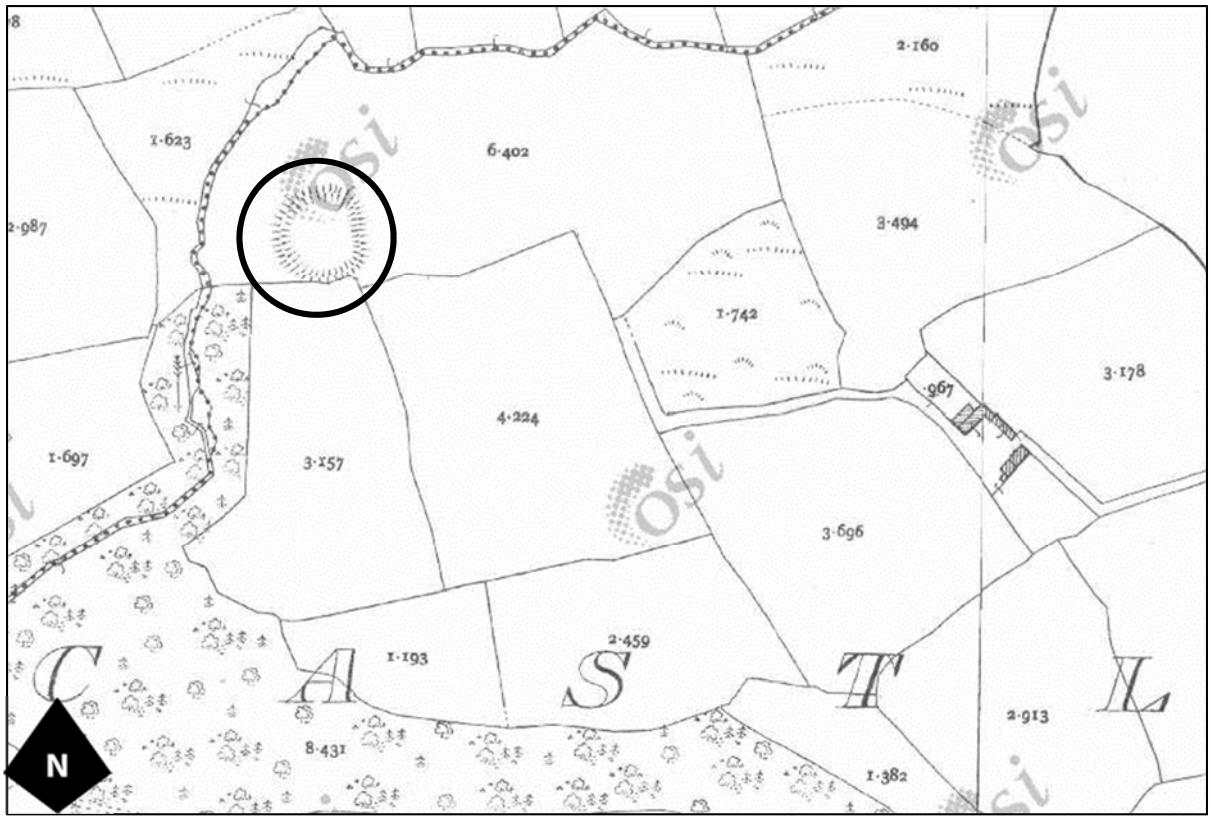


Figure 26. Second edition OS map of Castlenalact depicting ringfort CO096-049



Figure 27. Aerial image of Castlenalact townland depicting site of ringfort CO096-011 (GE 2015)



Figure 28. Aerial image of Castlenalact townland depicting site of ringfort CO096-049 (GE 2015)



Figure 29. Aerial image of Castlenalact townland depicting site of ringfort CO096-114 (GE 2015)

3.1.2. Finnis

There are no field monuments recorded for this townland in the Archaeological Survey database (NMS 2018). Neither does Scalé (1775, map 24) include any depiction of similar in the map created from his survey. Although, he does include a square structure (a stable?) south of the west-east running road that bisects the townland. There is no indication of the presence of field monument within this townland on ether of the OS maps (1841 & 1904, Sheet 96). However, O'Ríordáin (1932, 19) mentioned the presence of a levelled ringfort 'on Murphy's land' within the townland. Is it possible that this refers to the square structure depicted by Scalé? Images from recent aerial surveys provide no clue as to the possible location for this potential monument (DG 2011 – 3; GE 2012-5).



Figure 30. Scalé's map of Finnis townland

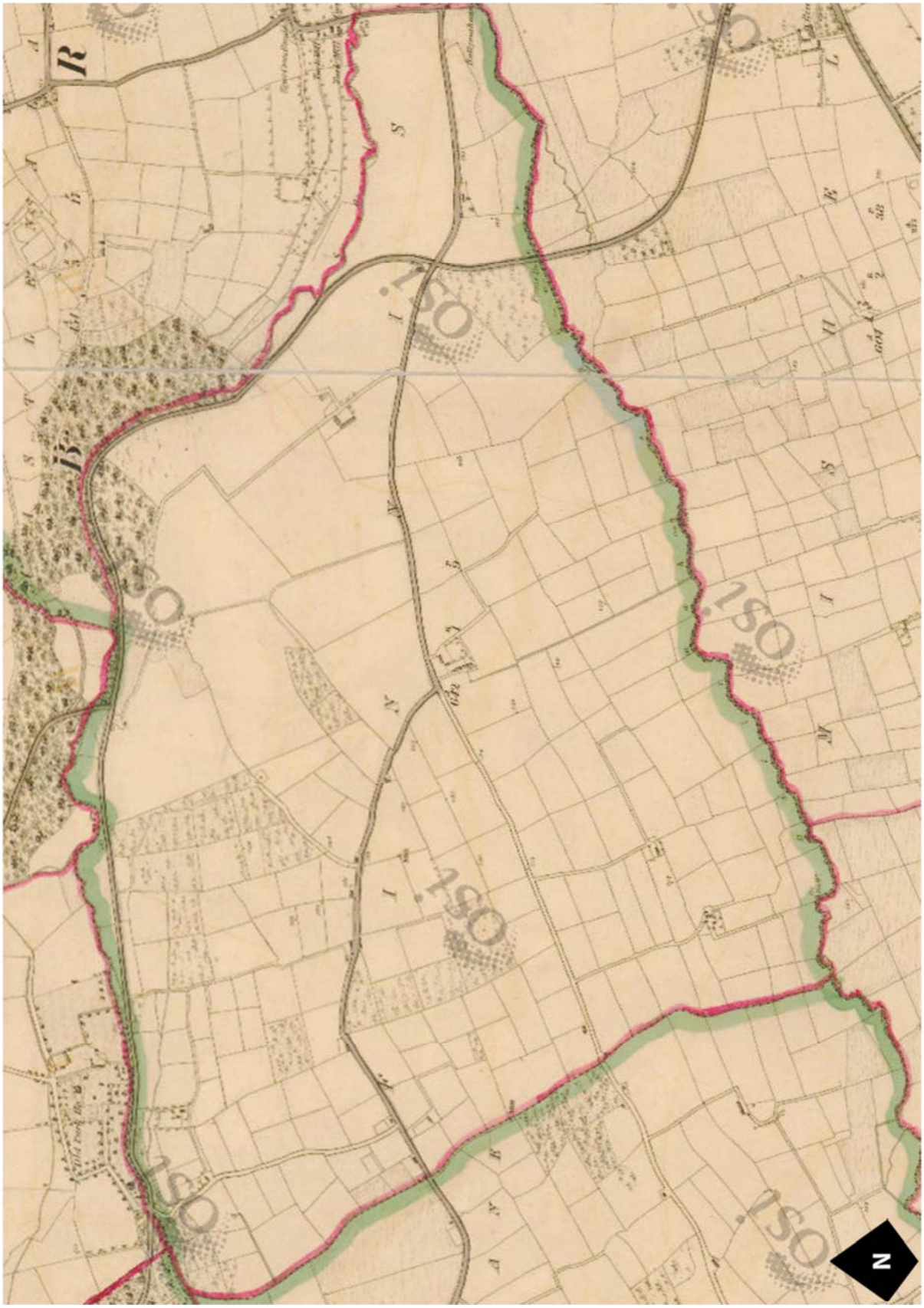


Figure 31. First edition map of Finnis townland



Figure 32. Aerial image of Finnis townland (DG 2011 – 3)

3.1.3. Kilmore

Scalé (1775, map 33) depicts two ringforts on his map of this townland. These are recorded in the register as CO096-052 and CO096-088. Although, this latter example is recorded as a square moated site. Another moated site, CO096-054, is located in the northern area of this townland and it and ringfort CO096-088 are clearly shown on the first edition OS map (1841, Sheet 96). These monuments are also shown on the map associated with the second edition revisions (1904). On modern aerial photographs of this townland both the ringforts, CO096-052 & CO096-088, are shown (DG 2011 – 3). There is further reference in the register to the location of another ringfort, CO096-053001. However, examination of sources for aerial imagery (DG 2011 – 3; GE 2012 – 5; BM 2018) provides no evidence for the location of this potential monument. Incidentally, the survey database also contains references to two *fulachtai fia* within this townland, CO096-118 & CO096-089. However, Scalé (1775, map 33) appears to depict two lime kilns at these corresponding locations. Perhaps it is these more recent features which produced the spread of burnt material often associated with *fulachtai fia*.



Figure 33. Scalé's map of Kilmore townland depicting ringfort 1. CO096-088 and 2. CO096-052

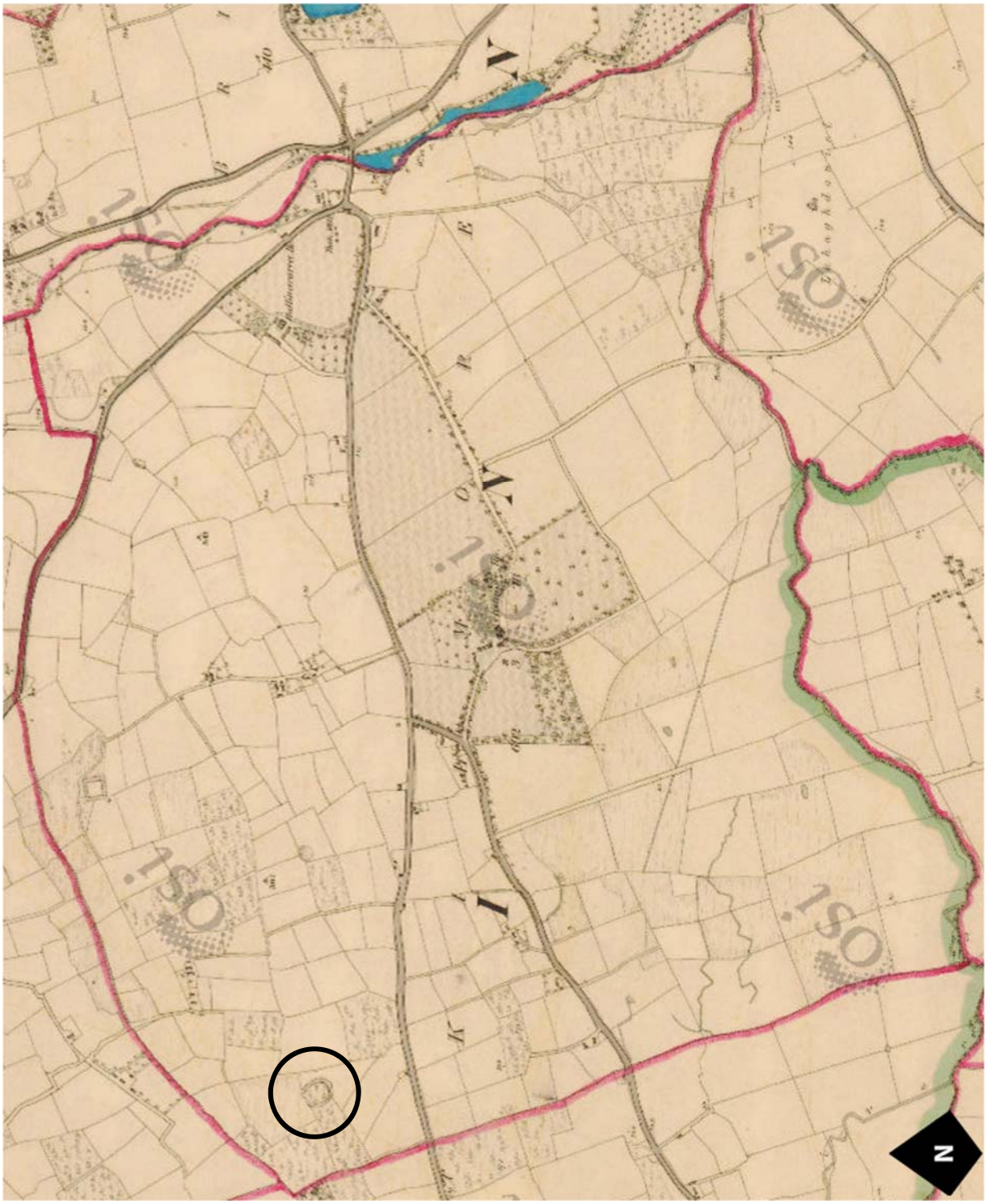


Figure 34. First edition OS map of Kilmore townland depicting ringfort CO096-088

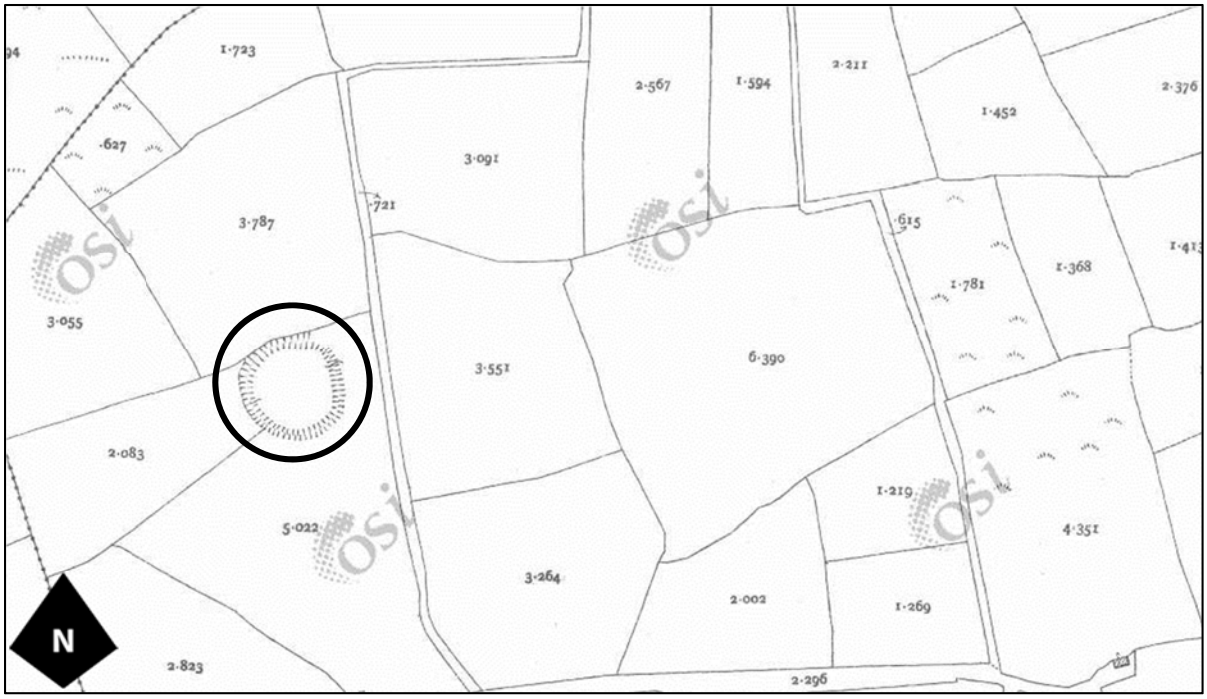


Figure 35. Second edition OS map of Kilmore townland depicting ringfort CO096-088



Figure 36. Aerial image of Kilmore townland depicting ringfort CO096-088

(DG 2011 – 3)

3.1.4. Kilnagnady

Scalé (1775, map 34) depicts a total of five ringforts in his survey of this townland, including one key-hole shaped example. These are also included in the register and have been attributed the SMR numbers of CO096-019001, CO096-020, CO096-021001, CO096-028 & CO096-085. On the first edition OS map (1841, Sheet 96) of this townland, the unusual key-hole shaped example (CO096-085) had disappeared. Although there is reference in the Archaeological Inventory of County Cork. 'Volume 1: West Cork' to the use of this location as burial ground (Power *et al.* 1992). This activity is often associated with ringforts and as such may indicate the presence here of such a monument. In addition, another ringfort, CO096-020, is shown as a faint outline on this first OS map and the adjacent ringfort, CO096-021001, is shown bisected by a field boundary (OSI 1841, Sheet 96). In the maps of the second edition revisions, only the bivallate ringfort, CO096-028 is shown as extant (OSI 1904, Sheet 96). Although, the location of both CO096-019001 and CO096-020 are indicated by a curved field boundary. This former ringfort is presently still in existence and can be clearly seen on modern aerial photographs (DG 2011 – 3; GE 2012 – 5). These aerial images also appear to confirm the location of ringfort no. CO096-020 with the presence of a soil mark and a curved field boundary (*ibid*).



Figure 37. Scalé's map of Kilnagnady townland



Figure 38. Scalé's map of Kilnagnady townland depicting ringforts 1. CO096-019001, 2. CO096-020, 3. CO096-021001, 4. CO096-028 and 5. CO096-085

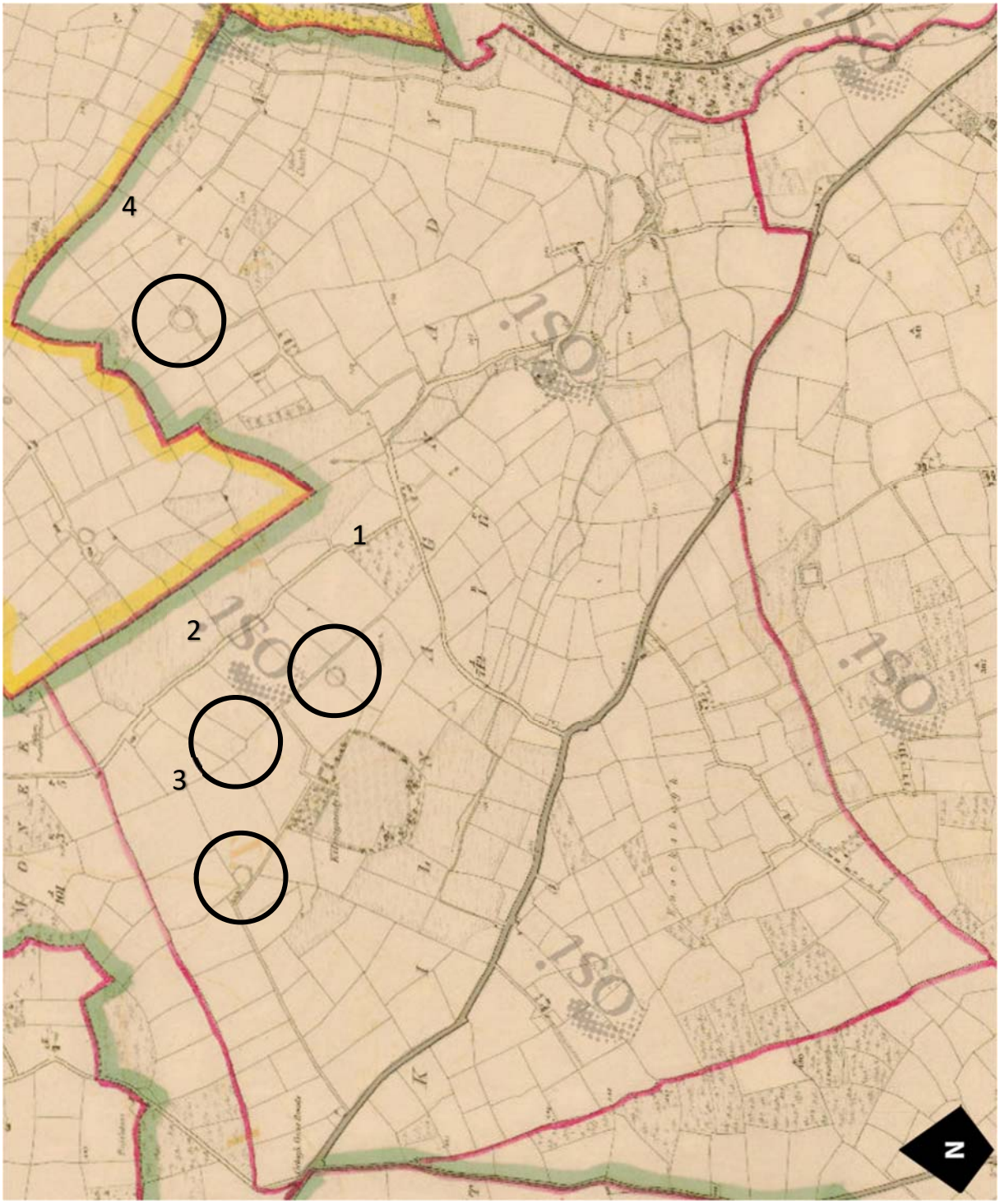


Figure 39. First edition OS map of Kilnagnady townland depicting ringforts 1. CO096-019001, 2. CO096-020, 3. CO096-021001 and 4. CO096-028

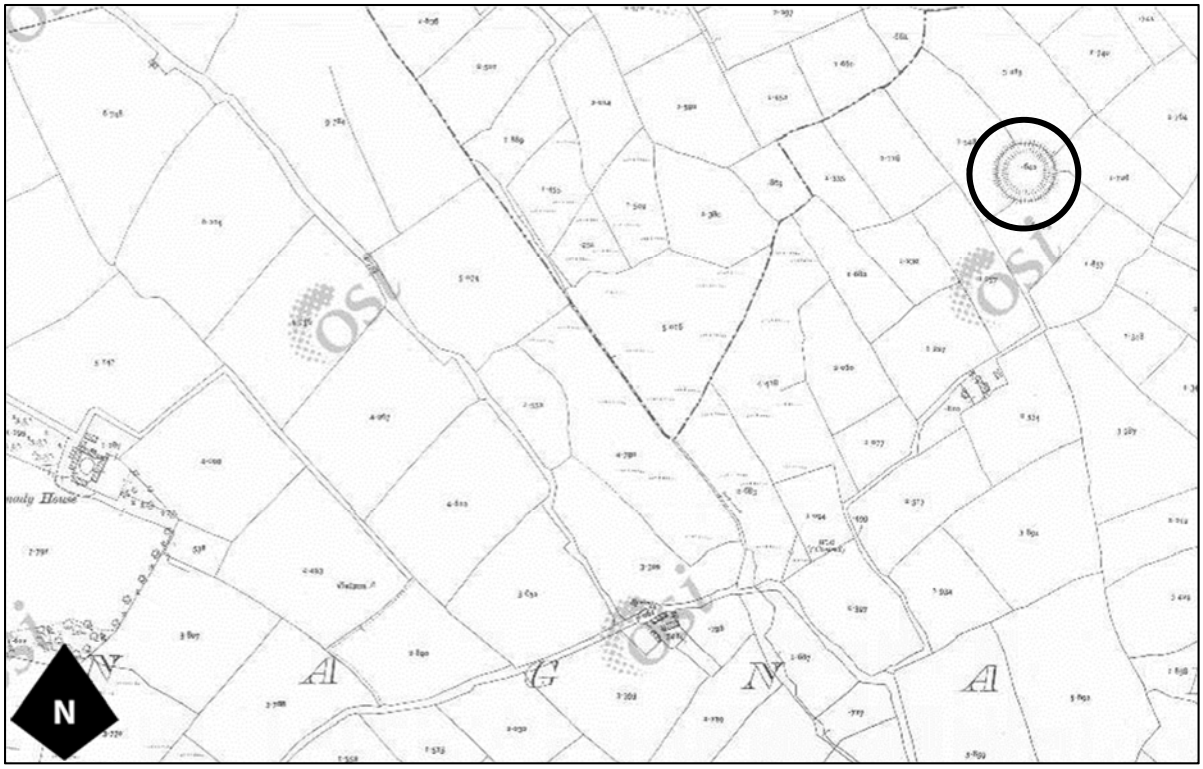


Figure 40. Second edition OS map of Kilnagnady townland depicting ringfort CO096-028



Figure 41. Aerial image of Kilnagnady townland depicting ringforts CO096-028 (DG 2011 – 3)

3.1.5. Kilpatrick

This townland had contained, at an earlier time, the aforementioned ironworks established by the East India Company at the confluence of the Brinny and Bandon Rivers. As such it might be expected that it would be most affected by forestry growth, a deciding factor in siting the works, and the subsequent tree felling associated with the functioning of the site. Scalé (1775, maps 36 – 37) depicts three ringforts within this townland. These are recorded on the archaeological survey database and have the SMR numbers of CO096-109, CO096-057 & CO096-108001. On the first edition OS maps (1841, Sheet 96), only ringfort CO096-057 survives. Although, the northern boundary is truncated by the road running between Kilpatrick and Brinny and the eastern boundary by an entrance laneway leading from this road to Brothersfort House. However, this map includes a further ringfort, CO096-058, in proximity to Brothersfort House that had not been noticed by Scalé (1775, map 37). In any event, by the time of the second edition revisions (1904, Sheet 96) no ringforts remain extant in this townland.

Recent aerial photographs indicate the possible location of ringfort CO096-108001 with a possible soil mark and a curved field boundary. The database also contains an earlier reference to a possible ringfort associated with a souterrain, CO096-103001. However, this number has presently been removed from the register. Nevertheless, examination of aerial photographs, that show the location of this above mentioned souterrain in a ploughed field, appear to show a circular soil mark centred on the ITM grid coordinates, 551802-558939. This co-location of monuments appears to confirm this as the location of a ringfort and may suggest one that was levelled prior to Scalé's 1775 survey. Another souterrain, CO096-082, is recorded at the ITM grid coordinates, 552213-558629. The Archaeological Inventory of County Cork (Power *et al.* 1992) remarks that this souterrain was exposed '*c.* 40 years ago' when the weight of machinery caused the ground to collapse. However, recent aerial photographs of this location offer no evidence for the presence here also of a ringfort (DG 2011 – 3; GE 2012 – 5).



Figure 42. Scalé's map of Kilpatrick townland depicting ringforts CO096-109, 1. CO096-057 & CO096-108001

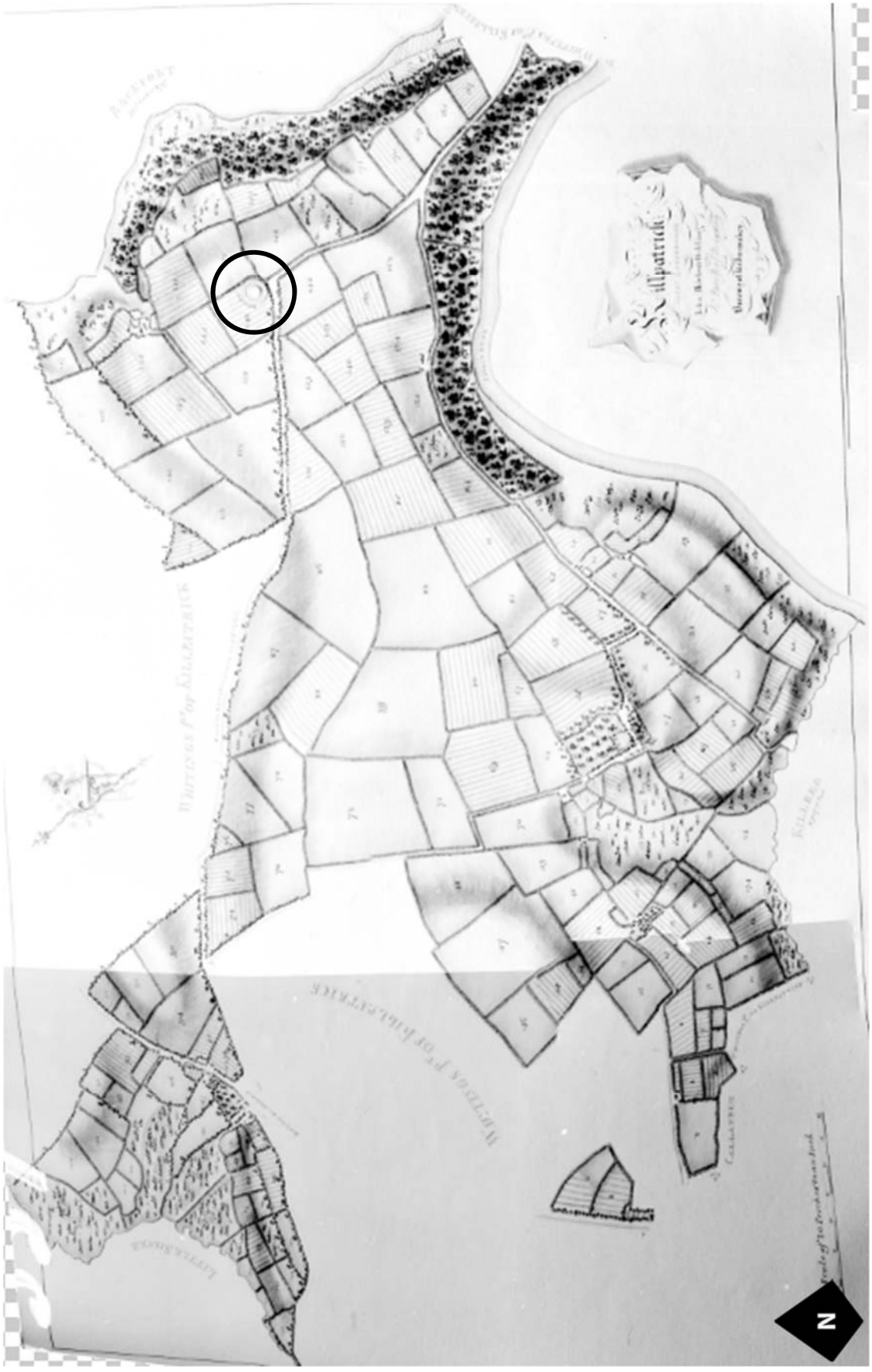


Figure 43. Scalé's map of Kilpatrick townland depicting ringfort CO096-109

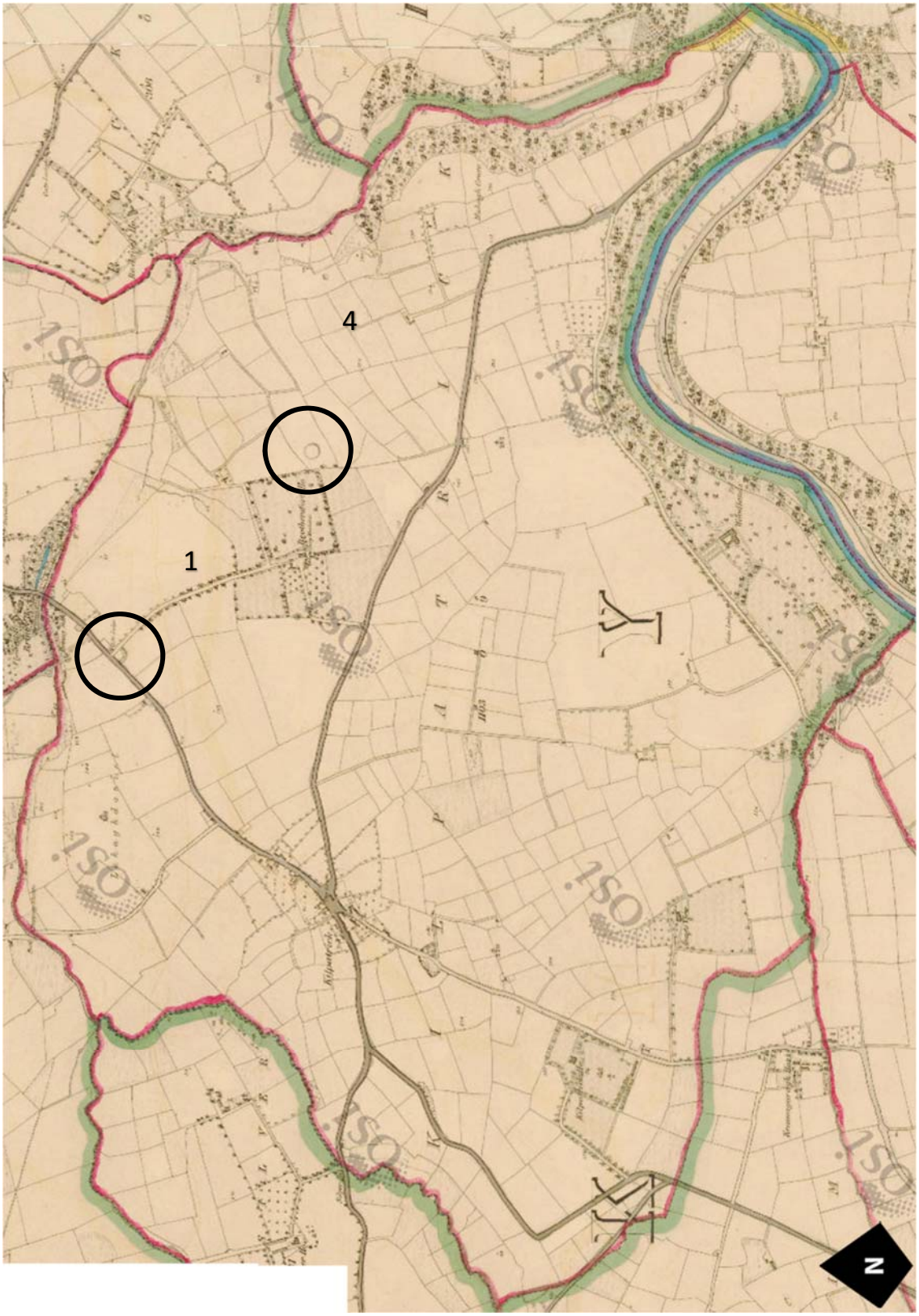


Figure 44. First edition OS map of Kilpatrick townland depicting ringforts 1. CO096-057 and 4. CO096-058



Figure 45. Aerial image of Kilpatrick townland depicting site of ringforts 1. CO096-057, 2. CO096-108001, 3. CO096-109 and 4. CO096-058 (DG 2011 – 3)

3.1.6. Moneen

This townland is nowadays divided between the parishes of Brinny and Templemartin, both in the barony of Kinalmeaky. However, at the time of Scalé's survey it was depicted as a complete unit. As such it is decided to address this townland in a like manner and so the description of the townland is included under the heading of Templemartin parish. Although it will be included separately under the two parish headings in the accompanying graph. Interestingly, the register contains reference to the presence of two enclosures in the Brinny section of this townland. However, examination of the OS maps (1841 & 1904, Sheet 96) show the parish boundary to base to the south of one of these, Moylelisheen or CO096-017001. Thereby placing it in Templemartin parish. However, in the creation of the accompanying graph the normal convention, allocating it to Brinny, will be followed.

3.2. Kilbrogan parish

3.2.1. Callatrim

Scalé (1775, map 35) depicts one ringfort within the boundaries of this townland. This monument is recorded and carries the SMR number of CO096-072. Unfortunately, by the time of the first edition OS maps (1841, Sheet 96) this ringfort had been levelled, although its location is indicated by a curve in the field boundary. This curved section of the boundary ditch is still visible in modern aerial images and one in particular (GE 2015) highlights a possible cropmark that may be a continuation of the bank of this monument.



Figure 46. Scalé's map of Callatrim townland depicting ringfort CO096-072

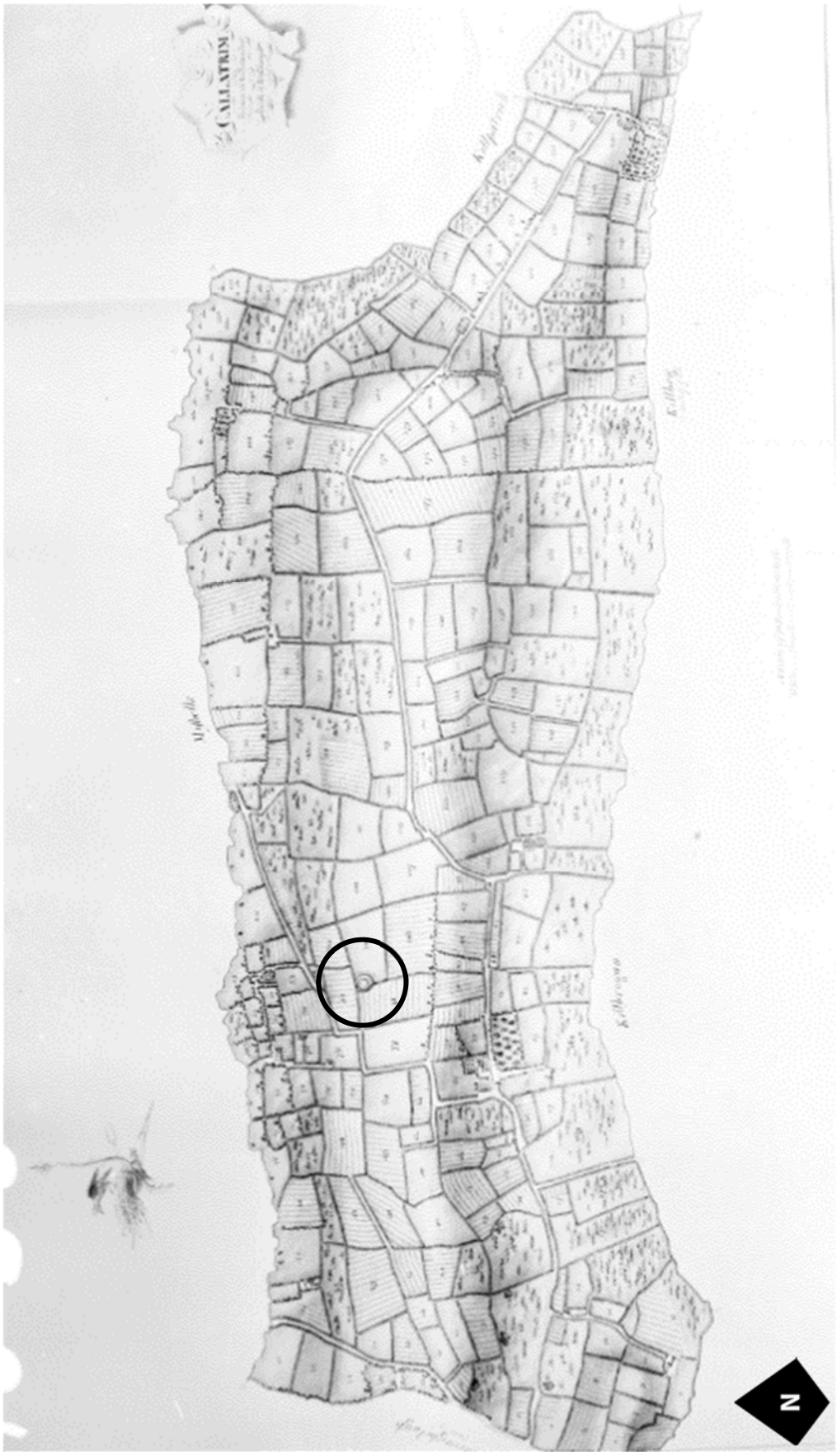


Figure 47. Scalé's map of Callatrim townland depicting ringfort CO096-072

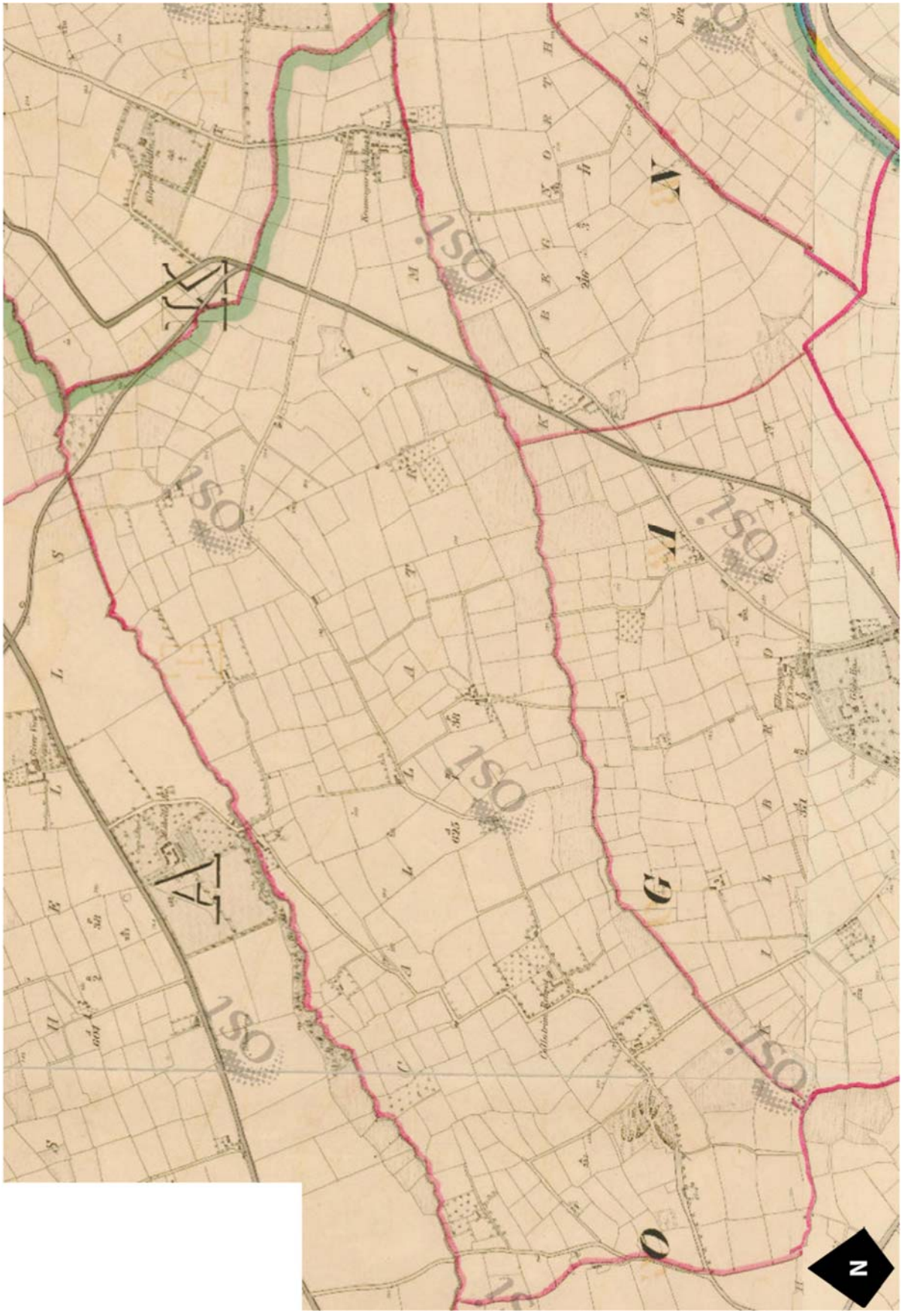


Figure 48. First edition OS map of Callatrim townland

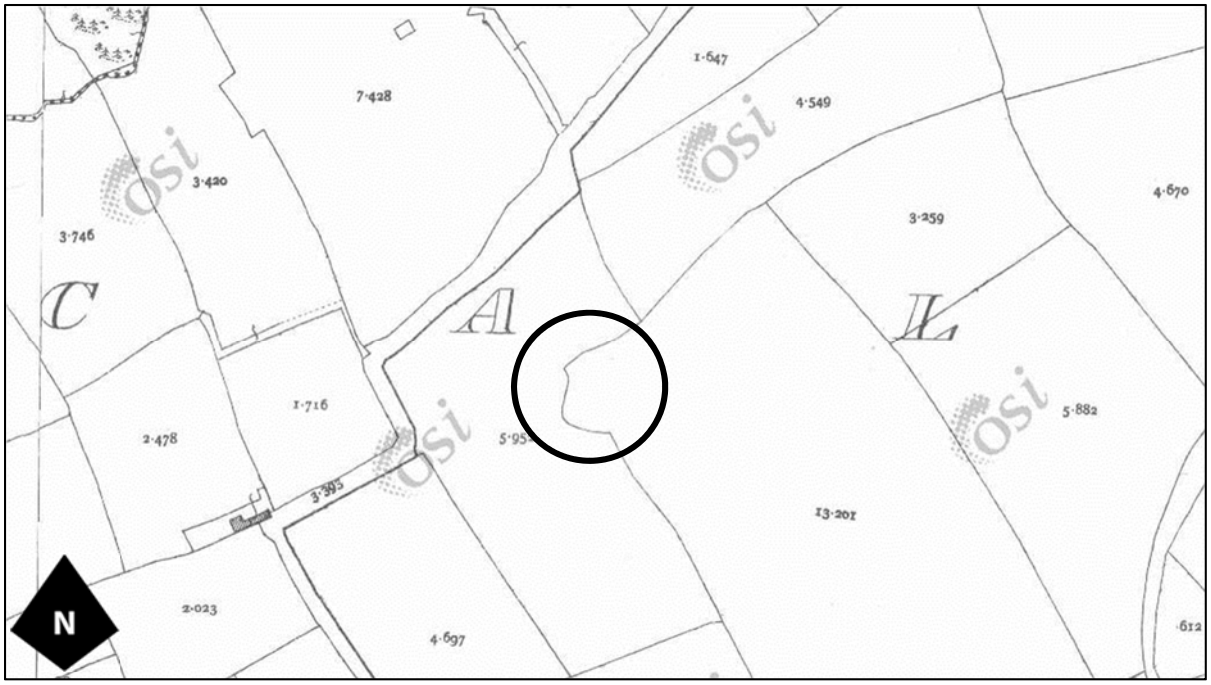


Figure 49. Second edition OS map of Callatrim townland depicting site of ringfort CO096-072



Figure 50. Aerial image of Callatrim townland depicting site of ringfort CO096-072 (DG 2011 – 3)

3.2.2. Carhoon East

The database refers to one ringfort in this townland and assigned the SMR number of CO110-107. Scalé (1775, map 5) also depicts this monument and shows it to have been adapted for later use by the construction of a house along a section of the ringforts bank. Drawing on local information, O Ríordáin (1933) remarks that the enclosed space was used at one time as a haggard, a storage area for hay, grain or fodder. By the time of the first edition OS maps (1841 – 2, Sheet 110) the farmyard had been extensively developed and there is no sign of the ringfort. Neither does the second edition revision contain an indication as to the location of this monument (OSI 1903, Sheet 110). Inspection of readily available aerial imagery does show the presence of a segmented circular area of brush, roughly 37m in diameter, adjacent to and west of the present day farmyard. Perhaps this may be associated with the earlier ringfort. Although it must also be stated that it may also just be an area of waste ground.

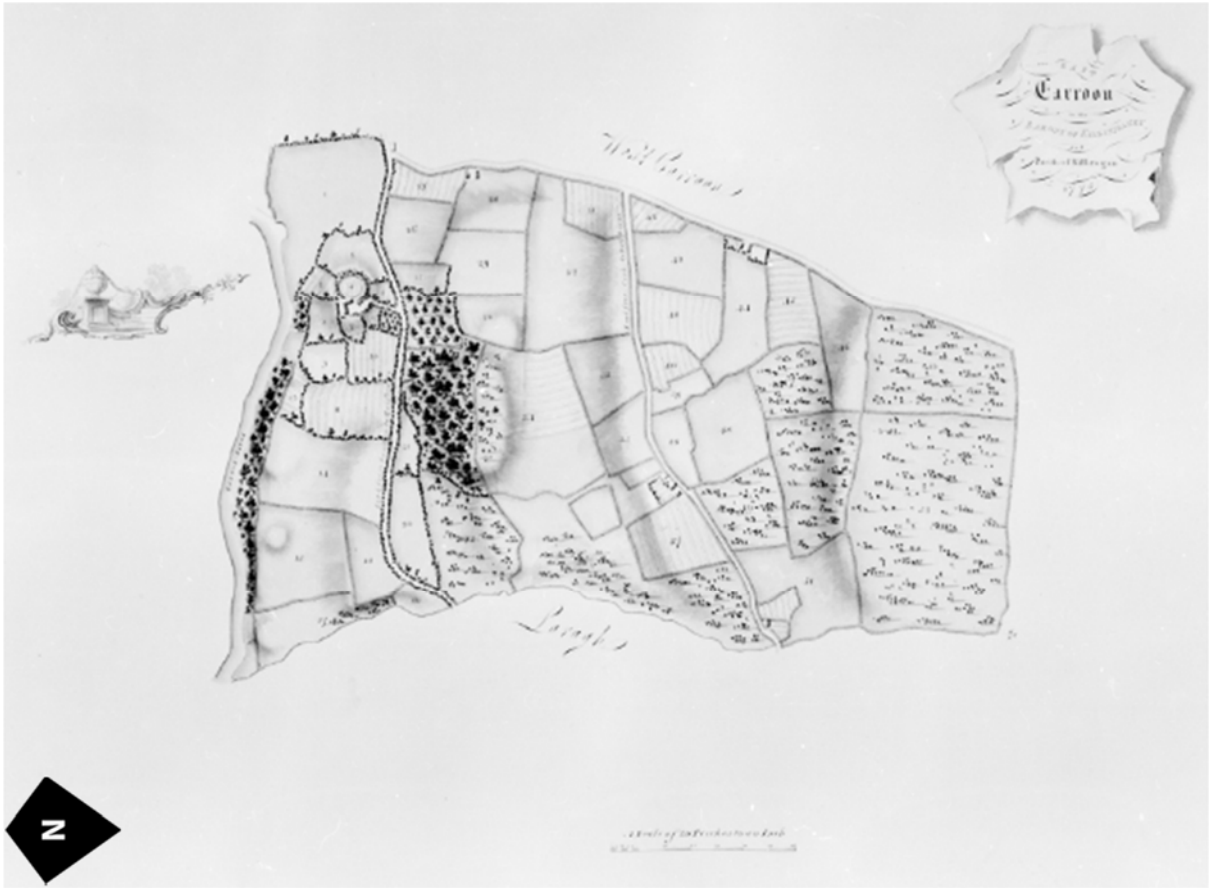


Figure 51. Scalé's map of Carhoon East townland



Figure 52. Scalé's map of Carhoon East townland depicting ringfort CO110-107

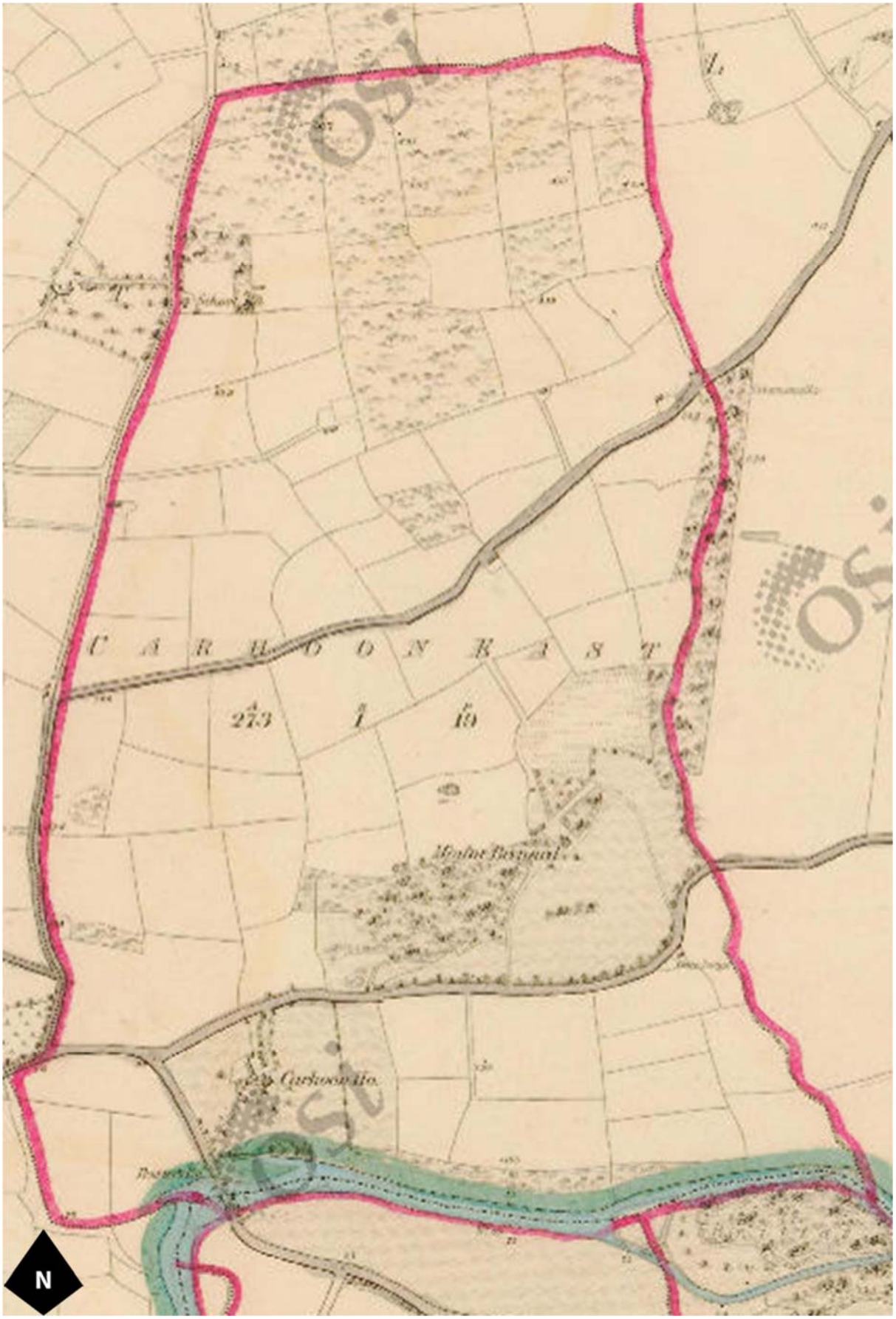


Figure 53. First edition OS map of Carhoon East townland

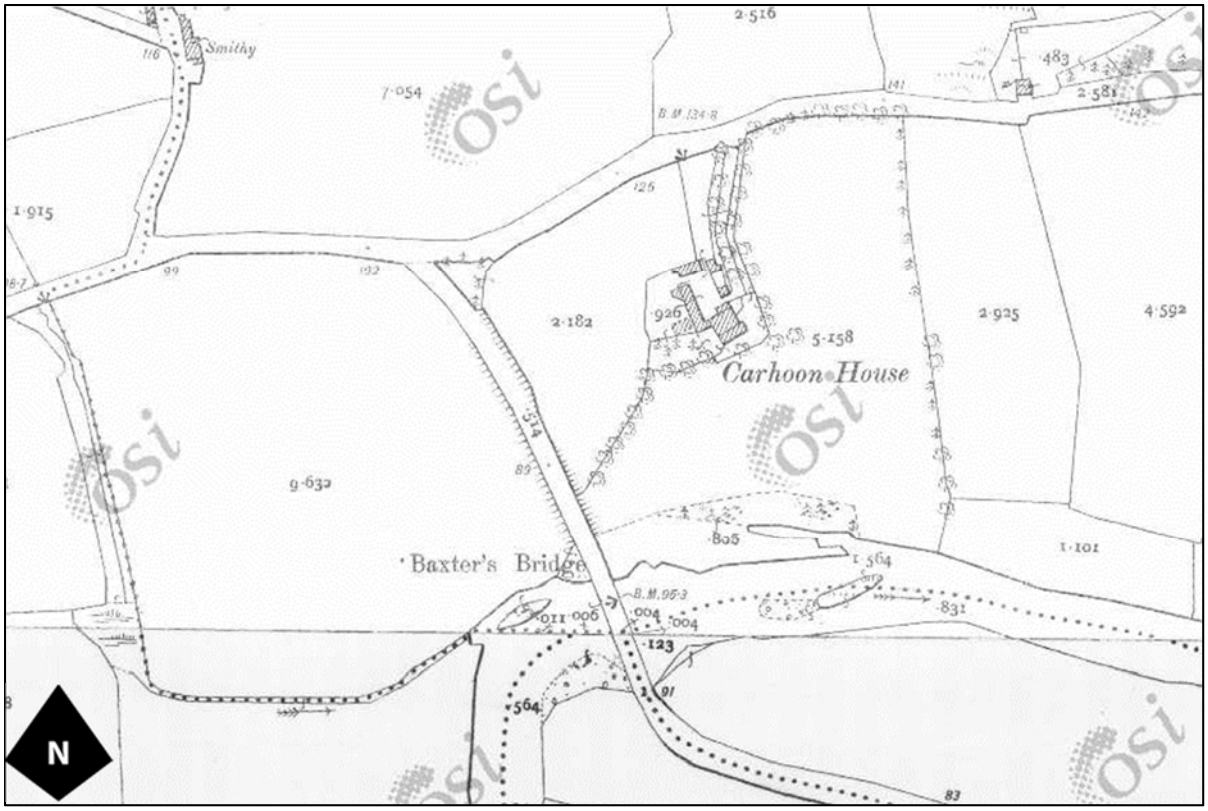


Figure 54. Second edition OS map of Carhoon East townland



Figure 55. Aerial image of Carhoon East townland depicting site of ringfort CO110-107 (DG 2011 – 3)

3.2.3. Carhoon West

There is no reference to the existence of ringforts, or indeed to any monument, contained within the database for this townland (NMS 2018). Neither is there any evidence provided by Scalé (1775, map 6) in his map. This apparent lack of features is confirmed in the subsequent OS maps (1841-2, Sheet 110; 1903, Sheet 110). However, examination of recent aerial imagery clearly shows evidence of a circular soil mark, approximately 34m in diameter, located at the ITM grid coordinates, 543918-556156. Further investigation of this location through a more indepth photogrammetry image available from a commercial survey company, Blue Sky Survey, would tend to confirm the presence of a feature. This image depicts a circular area of smoother terrain in comparison to the surrounding environment and it also indicates the presence of a depressed rectangular feature in the interior of the circular area. Another possible site is evident on imagery also provided by Blue Sky Survey (2018). These images shows a potential crop mark centred roughly on the ITM coordinates of 543034-556104. This potential site is visible on a 25cm photograph image and also on an infrared image. This potential site is not visible, however, on any of the other available map sources for this townland.



Figure 56. Close up of Scalé's map of Carhoon West townland

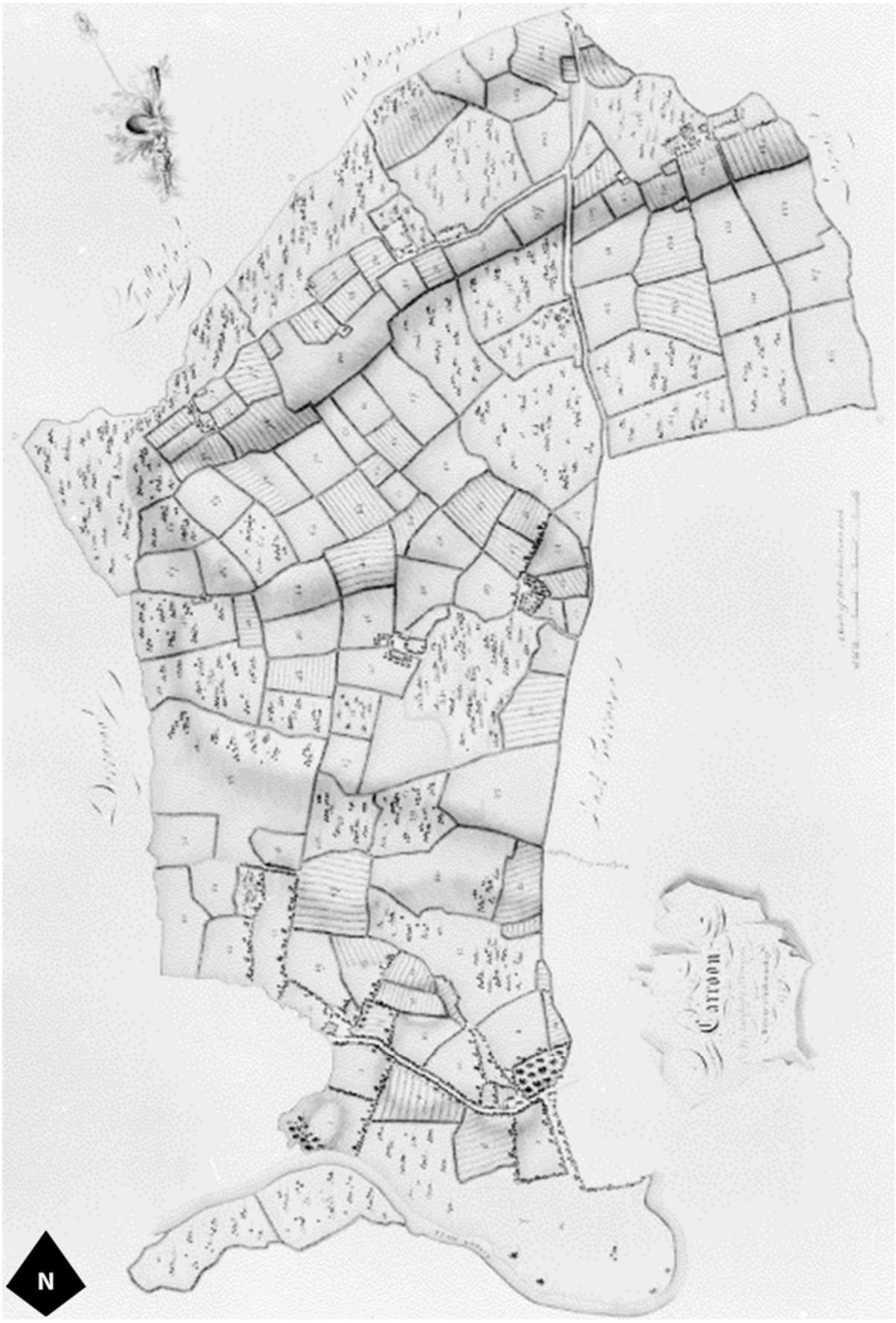


Figure 57. Scalé's map of Carhoon West townland

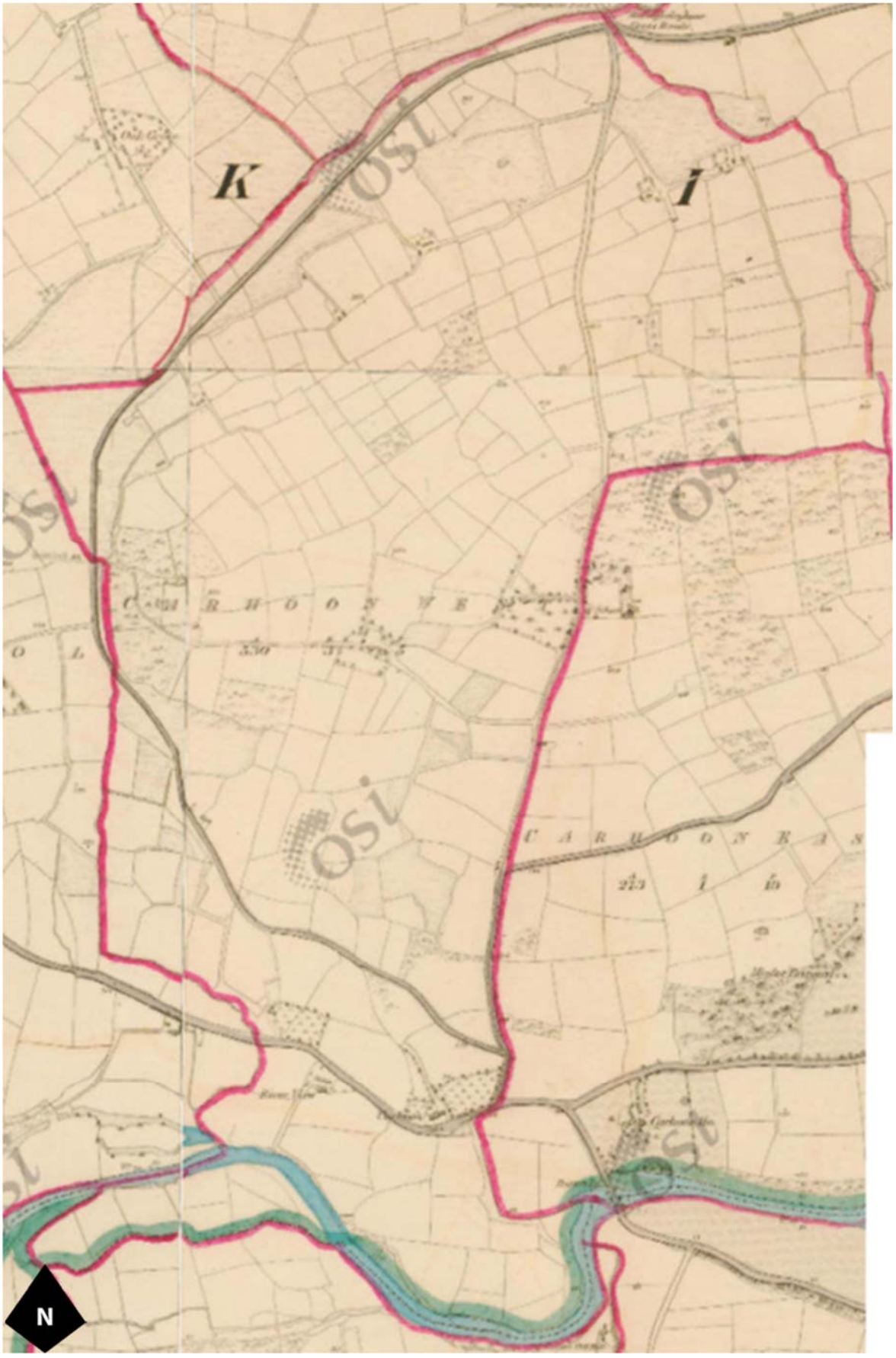


Figure 58. First edition OS map of Carhoon West townland



Figure 59. Aerial image of Carhoon West townland depicting 1. previously unrecorded site (DG 2011 – 3)



Figure 60. Close up aerial image of Carhoon West townland depicting 1. previously unrecorded site (DG 2011 – 3)

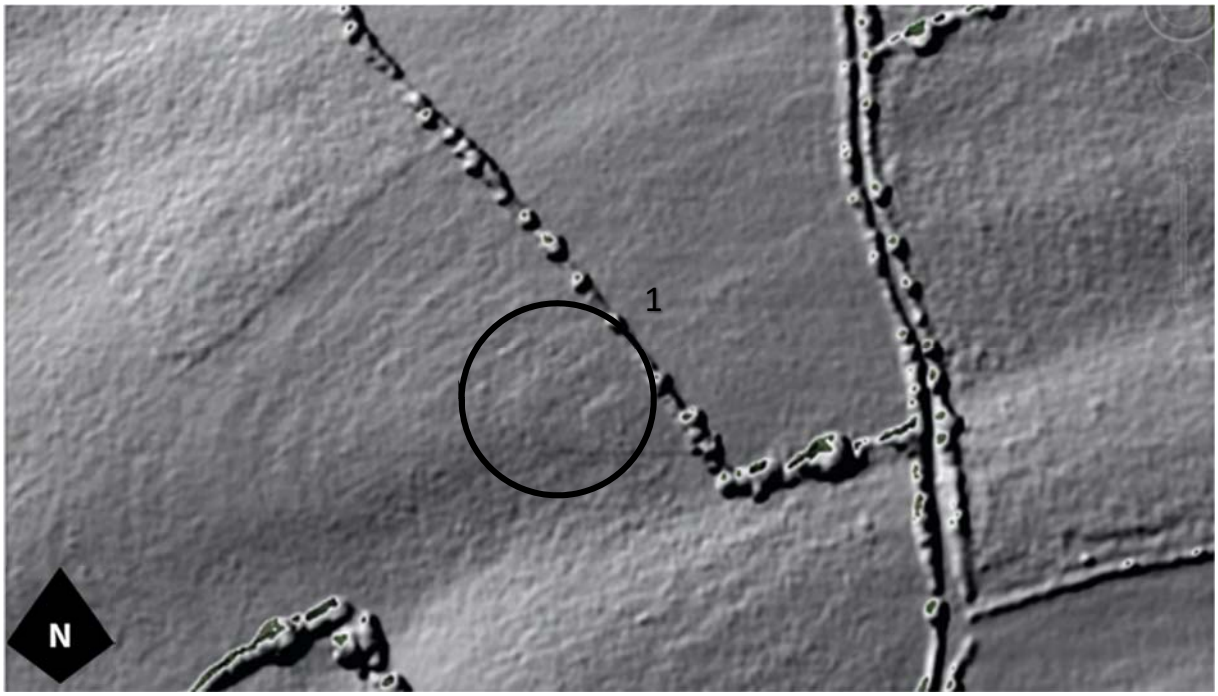


Figure 61. Photogrammetry image of Carhoon West townland depicting 1. previously unrecorded site (BSS 2018)



Figure 62. High resolution 25cm aerial image of Carhoon West townland depicting 2. previously unrecorded site (BSS 2018)

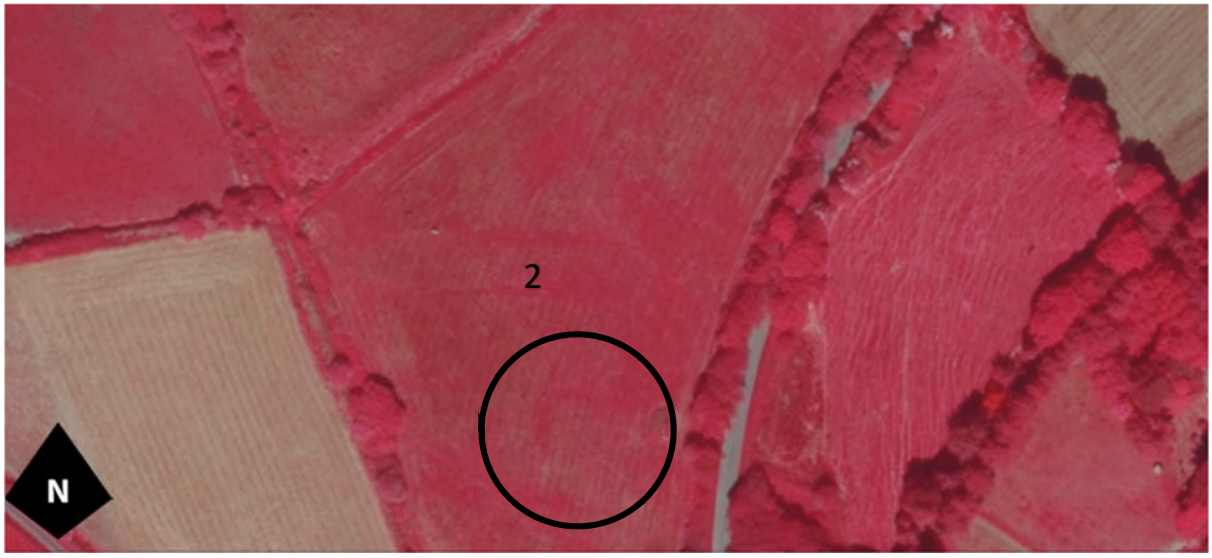


Figure 63. Infra-red aerial image of Carhoon West townland depicting 2. previously unrecorded site (BSS 2018)

3.2.4. Coolfadda

In Scalé's map, this townland is shown as containing one ringfort (1775, map 2). A later field boundary running east to west incorporates this monument. However, by the first edition OS map this ringfort has been destroyed and the adjacent field boundaries also removed to create one larger field (OSI 1841 – 2, Sheet 110). It is probable that these two developments were simultaneous. Nevertheless, this ringfort is included in the SMR and bears the number CO110-082. In his survey of this barony, O Ríordáin (1933, 19) notes that the outline of this 'lios' is plainly visible in the field. Unfortunately, the use of current aerial imagery is hindered because the site is now the location of a small housing estate. O Ríordáin (*ibid.*) also remarks on the presence of another ringfort, CO110-083, on a nearby farm within this townland. This is indicated by a 'sunken circular area … about 36 yards in diameter' and a local tradition of an association with a souterrain. Although, the reference to this ringfort has presently been revised on the Archaeological Inventory of County Cork (Power *et al.* 1994).

However, if such a ringfort did at one time exist, the fact that such a ringfort in good farmland and in proximity to the town of Bandon was not depicted by Scalé may suggest that it had been destroyed prior to his 1775 survey. Furthermore, the possible location of another ringfort is remarked upon by Smith (1750). He notes that a church, Christchurch, in Bandon town had been built, in 1625, on the site of a 'Danish intrenchment' (*ibid.* Vol I, 237). This

claim may be confirmed through reference to an early map of the town. This map contained within the Hardiman atlas depicts the town of 'Bandonbridge'. On it a church, in all likelihood Christchurch due to its location, is noted as 'the church in the fort' (TCD MS 1209/47). Bearing in mind the established connection between the 'Danes' and 'Raths', this may indeed be evidence of the re-use of such locations at a later period. Also, while speculative if this 'Fort' was originally a rath this is also evidence for the destruction of these sites at the beginning of the 17th century.

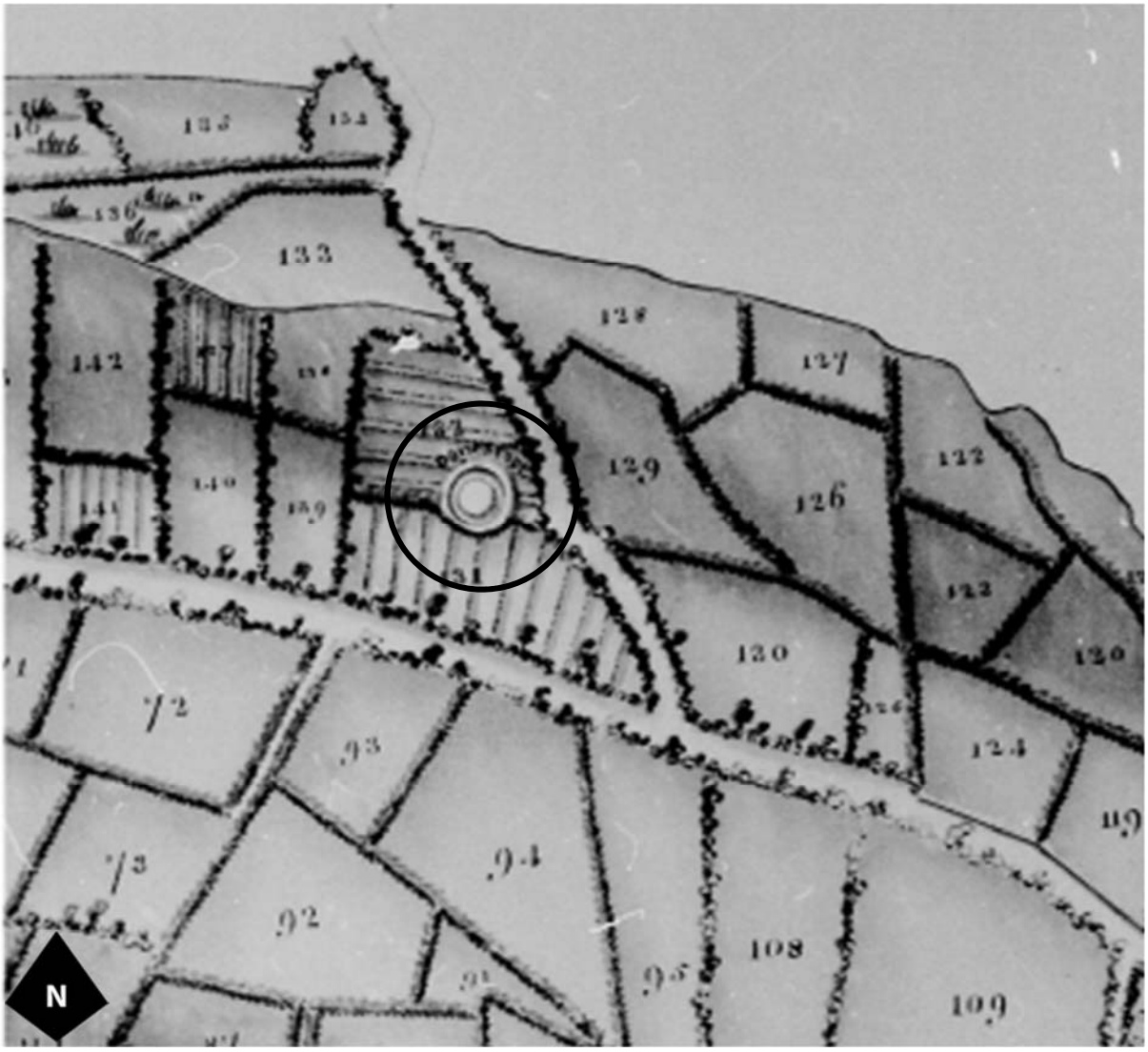


Figure 64. Close up of Scalé's map of Coolfadda townland depicting ringfort CO110-082

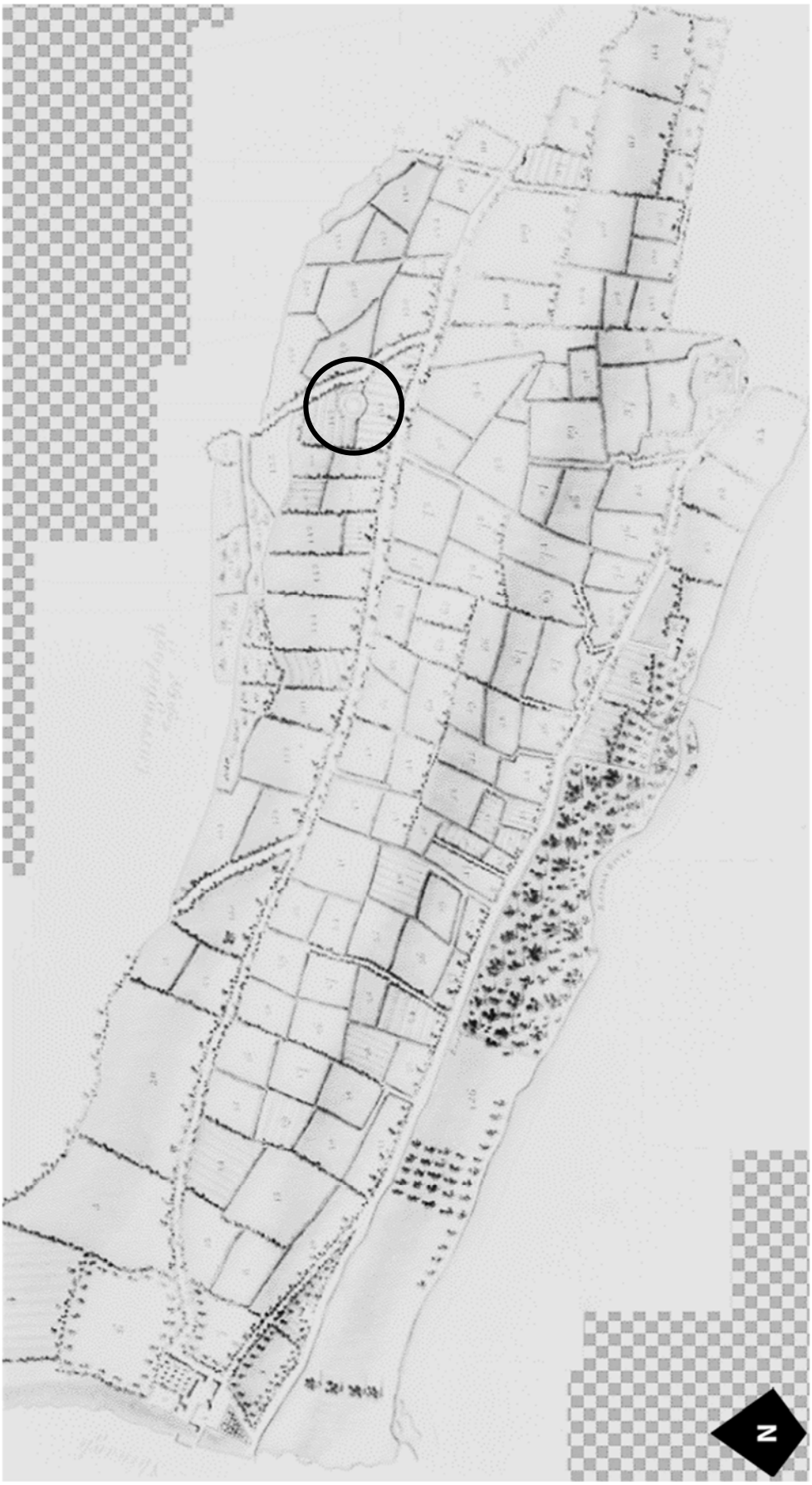


Figure 65. Scalé's map of Coolfadda townland depicting ringfort CO110-082

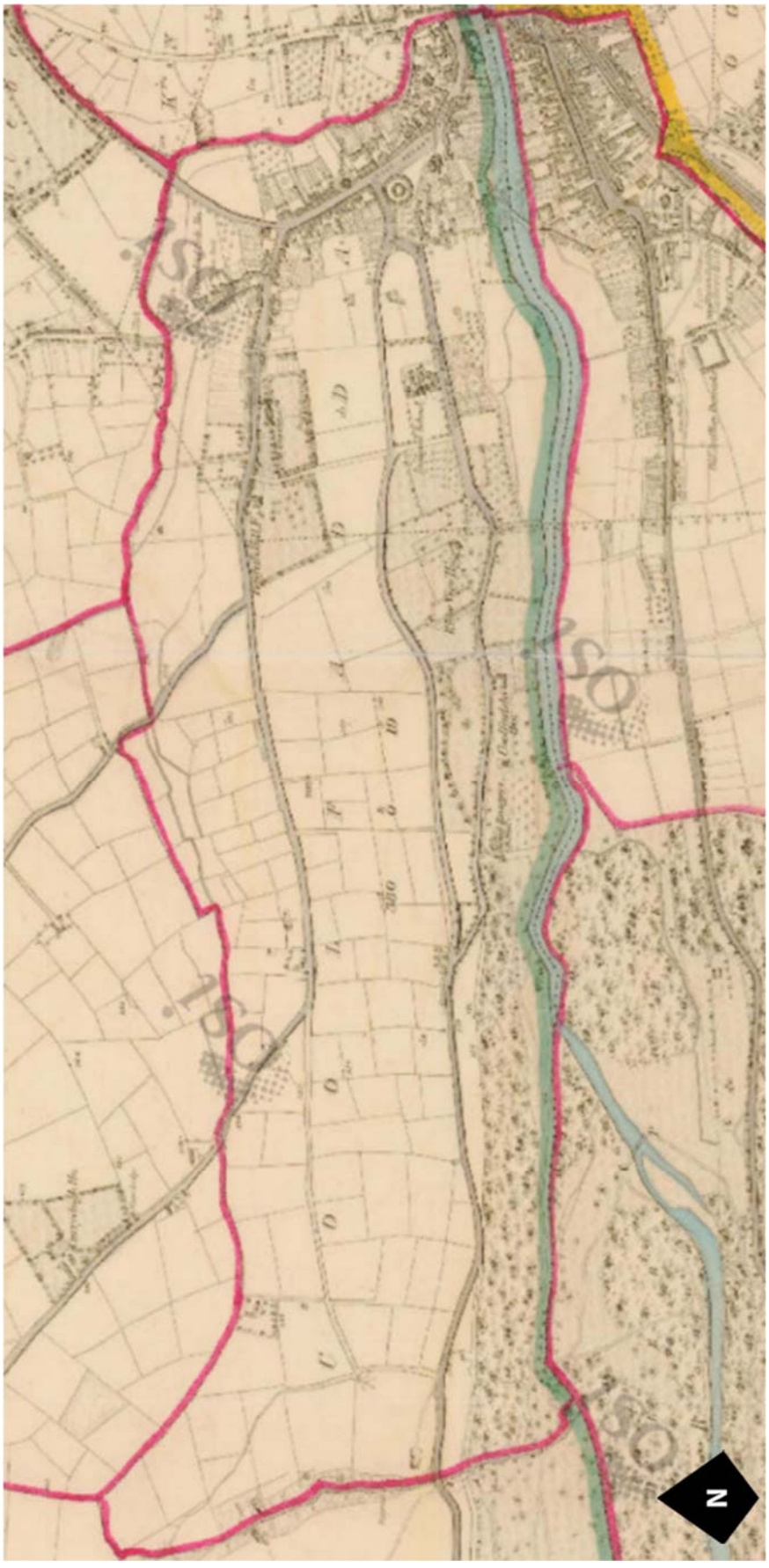


Figure 66. First edition OS map of Coolfadda townland



Figure 67. Second edition map (1903) of Coolfadda townland



Figure 68. Aerial image of Coolfadda townland depicting site of ringfort CO110-082 (DG 2011 – 3)

3.2.5. Derrycool

There is no evidence for ringforts in this townland. None is contained within available cartographic sources, such as Scalé (1775, map 7) or on either of the OS maps (1841 – 2, Sheet

109; 1903, Sheet 109). Neither is there any indication on available aerial imagery, for example, DG 2011 – 3 or Google Earth [GE] 2102, 2013 &2015.



Figure 69. Scalé's map of Derrycool townland

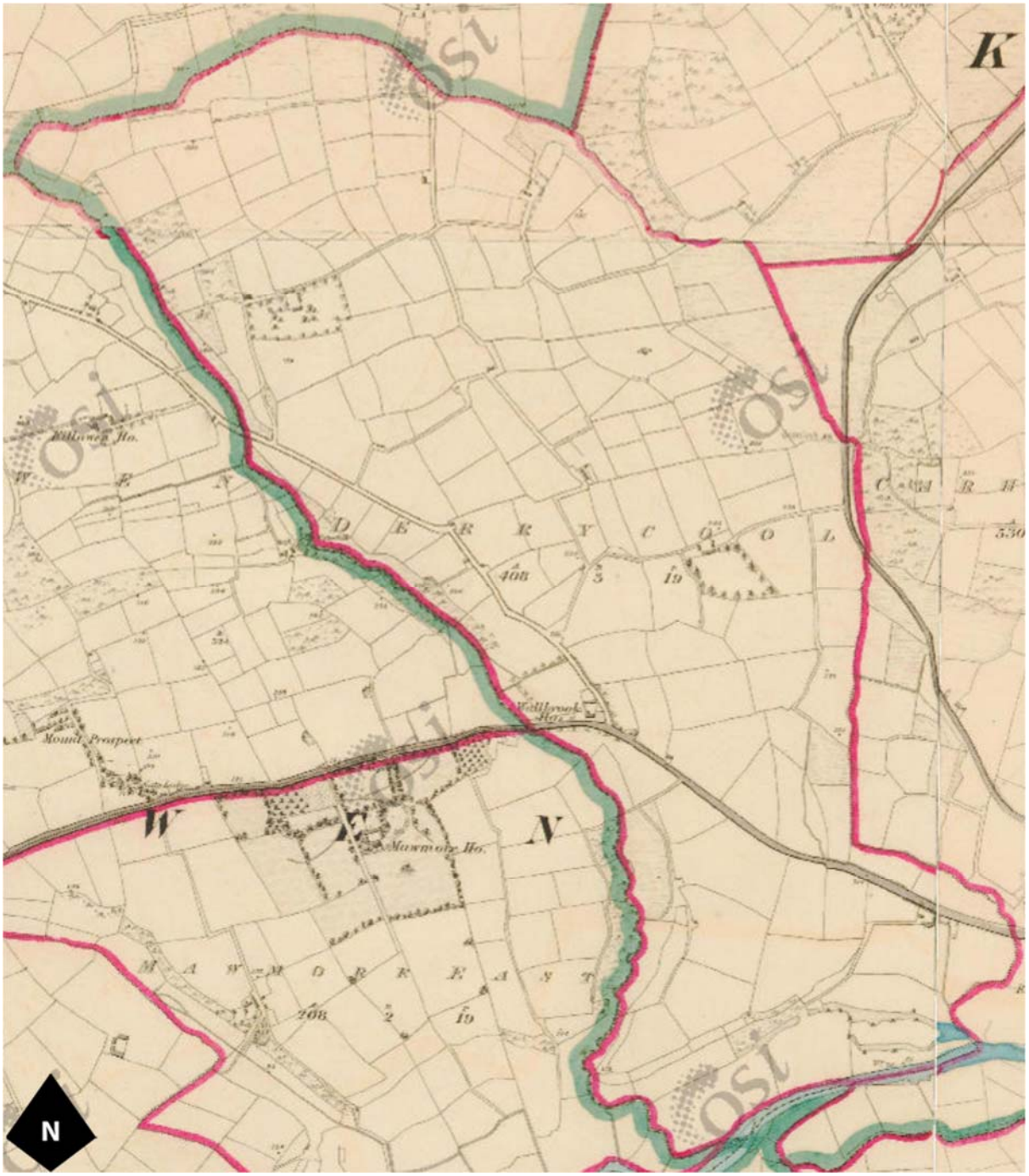


Figure 70. First edition OS map of Derrycool townland

3.2.6. Laragh

Again no evidence is available for the presence of ringforts in this townland. O'Ríordáin (1933, 17-18) had noted local tradition pertaining to a 'cill and graveyard' here. This possible monument is included in the SMR with the number CO096-079 and is located at the ITM grid coordinates of 545189-557123. On the first edition OS map (1841 – 2, Sheet 110) this recorded

feature is in close proximity to a road junction, which were often favoured locations for such sites. Such features as this are quite often associated with ringforts. However, an examination of Scalé's map (1775, map 4) shows a sub rectangular field at this location with no suggestion in the layout of the field boundaries that this may originally have been a ringfort. Examination of aerial images of the site, however, appear to show the presence of an oval crop mark, approximately 27m in diameter along its long axis, at this location (DG 2011 – 3).



Figure 71. Scalé's map of Laragh townland

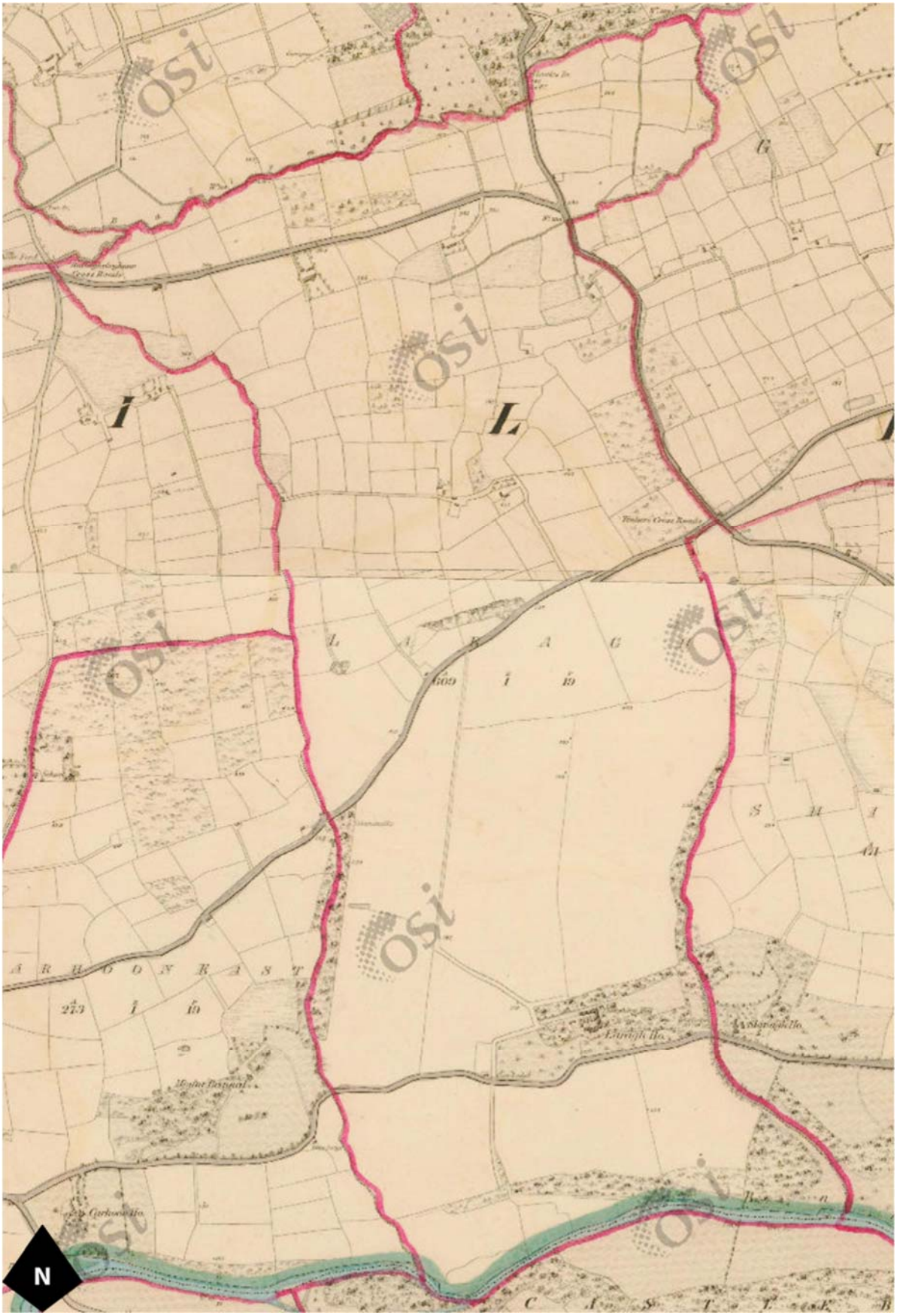


Figure 72. First edition OS map of Laragh townland

3.2.7. Littlesilver

No information is contained in the Archaeological Survey Database for this townland in regards to ringforts (NMS 2017). Nothing shown either on the earliest available estate map (Scalé, 1775, map 5). Likewise, for the Ordnance Survey (OS) maps (1841, Sheet 96) and (1904, Sheet 96). Examination of aerial images provides no evidence either (DG 2011 – 3; GE 2012 – 7).

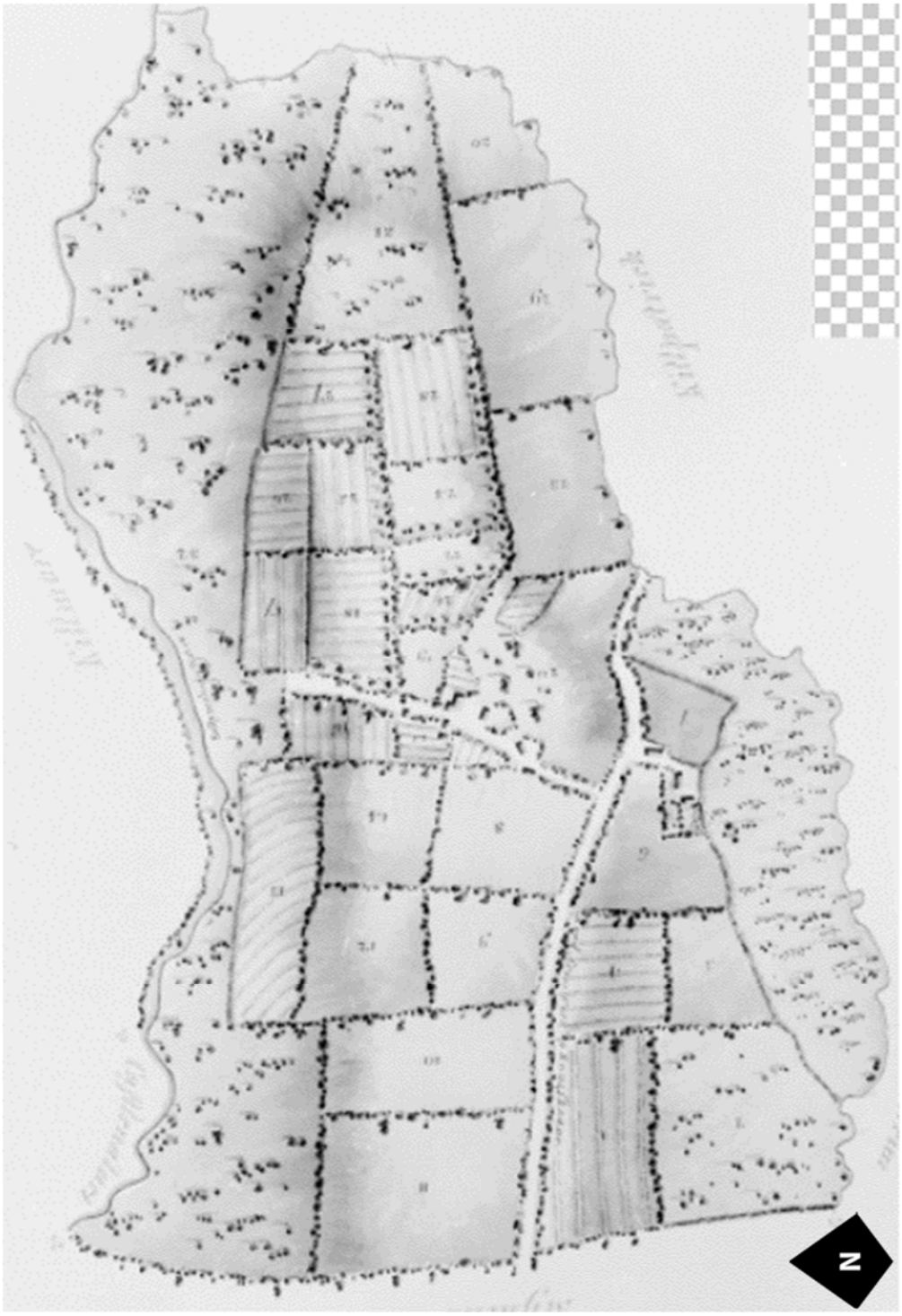


Figure 73. Scalé's map of Littlesilver townland



Figure 74. First edition OS map of Littlesilver townland

3.2.8. Mallowgaton

The National Monument database refers to the existence of three ringforts within this townland. These have been attributed the SMR numbers, running west to east, of CO095-094, CO096-060001 & CO096-061001. The map of this townland that resulted from Scalé's (1775, map 21) survey depicts just two of these, CO095-094 and CO096-060001. However, a curved field boundary indicates the location of the third ringfort, CO096-061001, in this townland. The confirmation that this is indeed a ringfort, and also the presence of a souterrain, is contained within a much later survey, concerned with ringfort destruction in the area (Hurley & Hurley 1979, 51). This then is clear evidence that, as expected, some level of ringfort destruction was carried out in this region prior to Scalé's survey of 1775. The first edition OS maps also highlight the continued presence of the two aforementioned ringforts (OSI 1841, Sheet 96). These two ringforts are also shown on the second edition revisions (OSI 1904, Sheet 96).

Indeed, it was not until 1979 that ringfort, CO096-060001, was destroyed (Hurley & Hurley 1979, 50-51). Ringfort, CO095-094, is however extant.



Figure 75. Scalé's map of Mallowgaton townland depicting ringfort's 1. CO095-094 and 2. CO096-060001

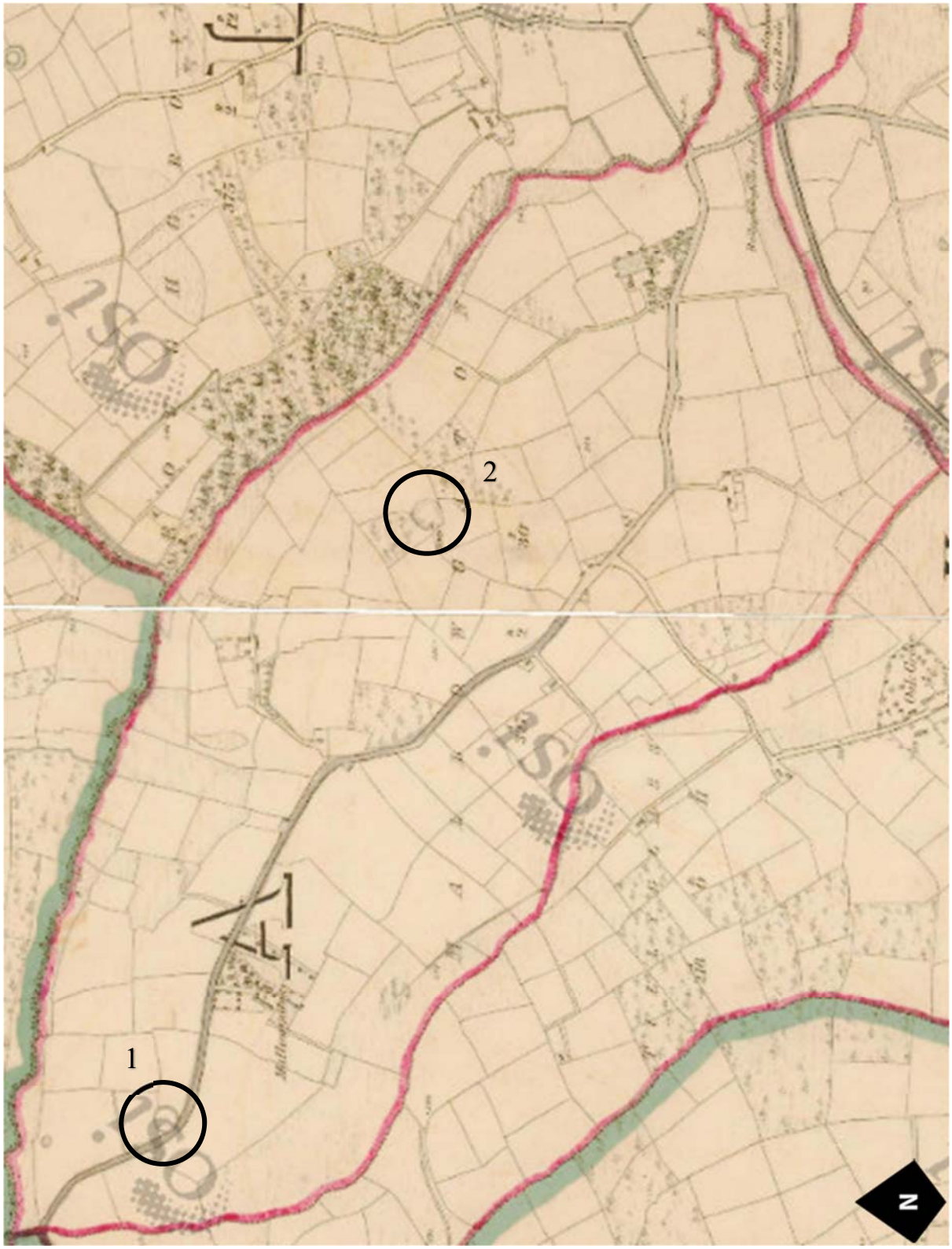


Figure 76. First edition OS map of Mallowgaton townland depicting ringfort's 1. CO095-094 and 2. CO096-060001

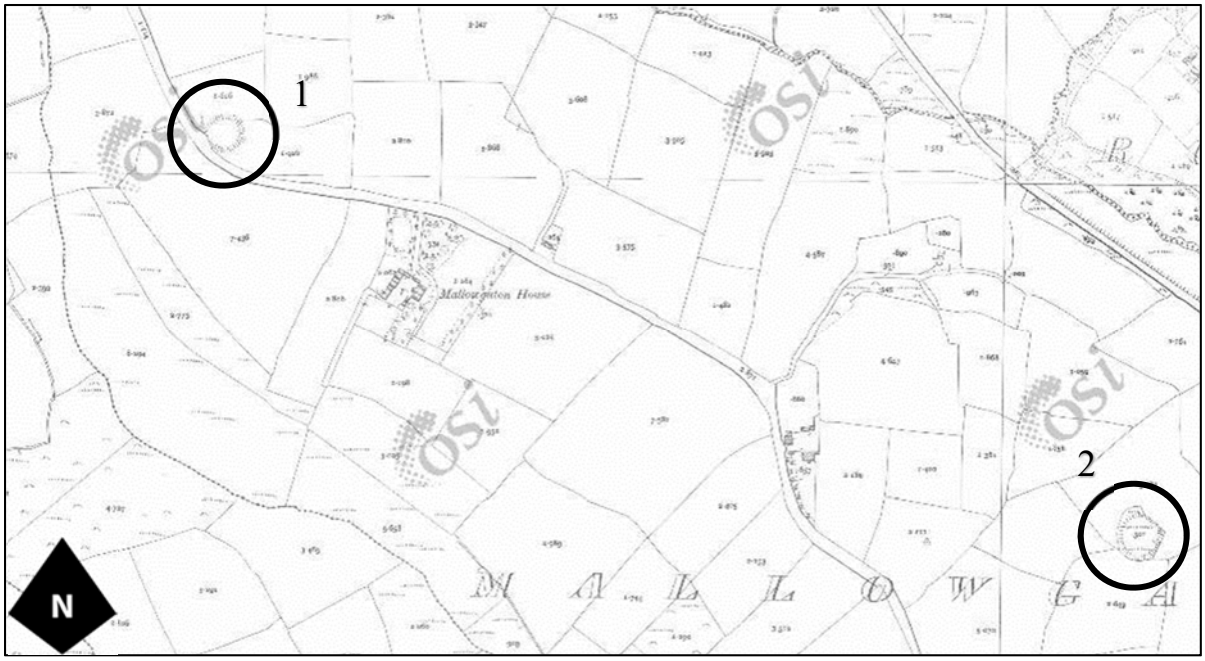


Figure 77. Second edition OS map of Mallowgaton townland depicting ringfort's 1. CO095-094 and 2. CO096-060001



Figure 78. Aerial image of Mallowgaton townland depicting ringfort CO095-094 (DG 2011 – 3)

3.2.9. Mishells

No evidence on either Scalé's (1775, map 22) or on either of the OS maps (1841, Sheet 96; 1904, Sheet 96) that might indicate the presence of ringforts within this townland. Examination of available aerial images accessible through a variety of sites (DG 2011 – 3; BM 2018; GE 2012 – 5) show no evidence for ringforts here either.

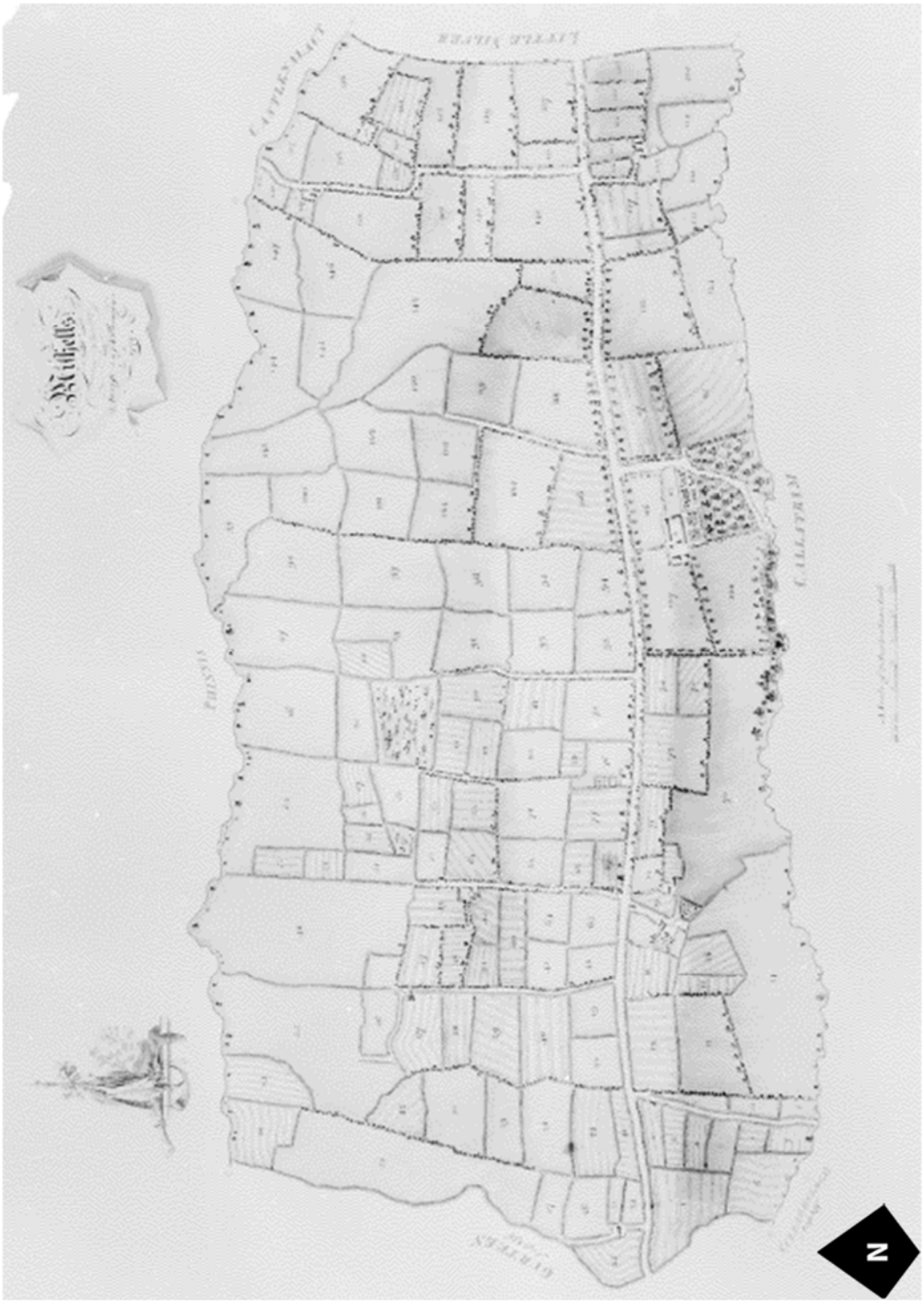


Figure 79. Scalé's map of Mishells townland

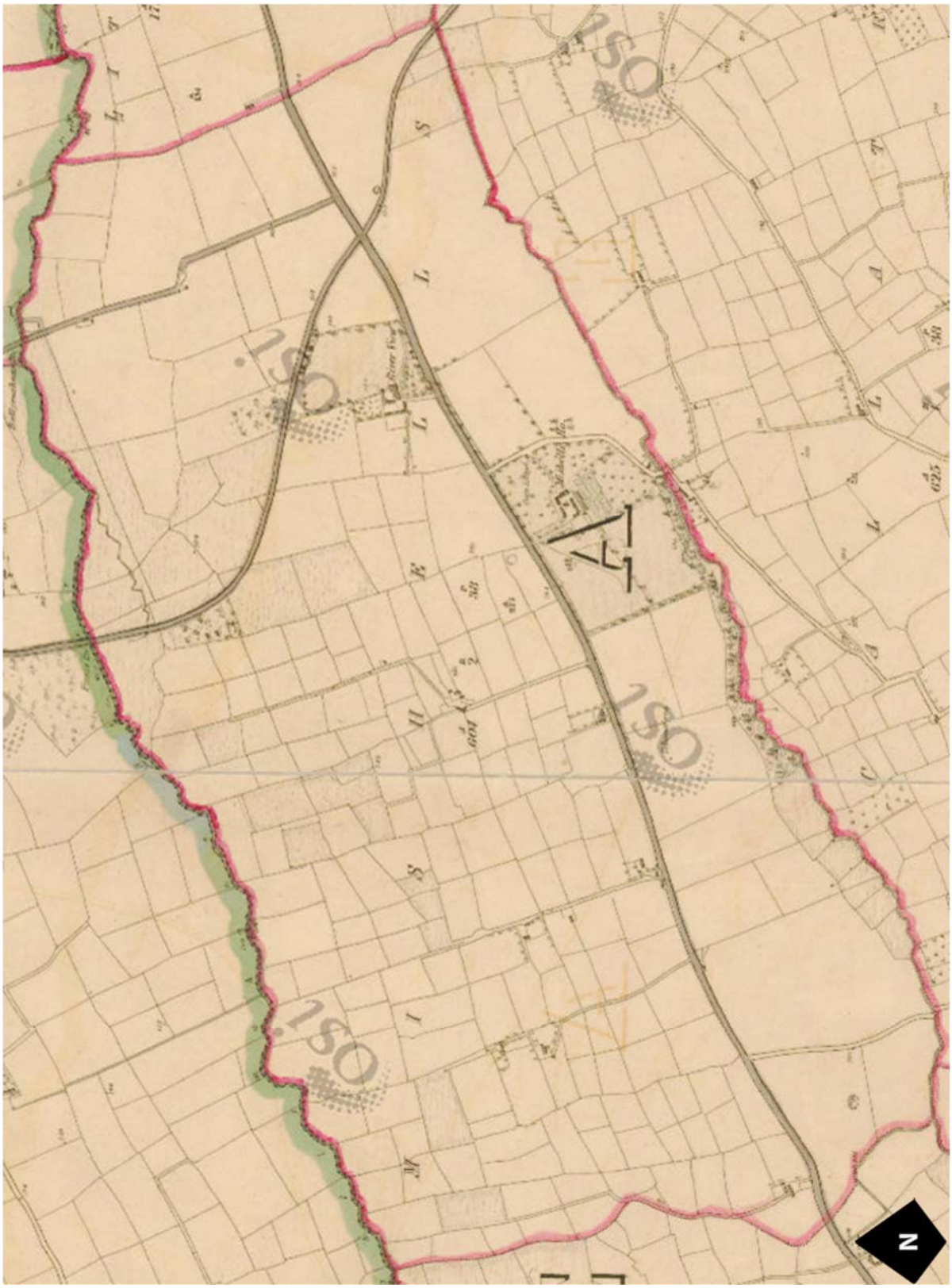


Figure 80. First edition OS map of Mishells townland

3.2.10. Shinagh

No evidence for ringforts within this townland is presented on Scalé's (1775, 3) map. However, he does depict two square moated sites. The Archaeological Survey Database (NMS 2018) contains reference to an earlier semi-circular feature, CO110-014, located in the north bank of the old course of the Bandon River. However, this feature is shown within the adjacent townland of Coolfadda (OSI 1841 – 2, Sheet 110). Investigation of the available aerial images for this townland, particularly around ITM grid reference 546803-554991 shows no sign of soil marks even though the surrounding area is shown as having been ploughed (DG 2011 – 3; GE 2015).

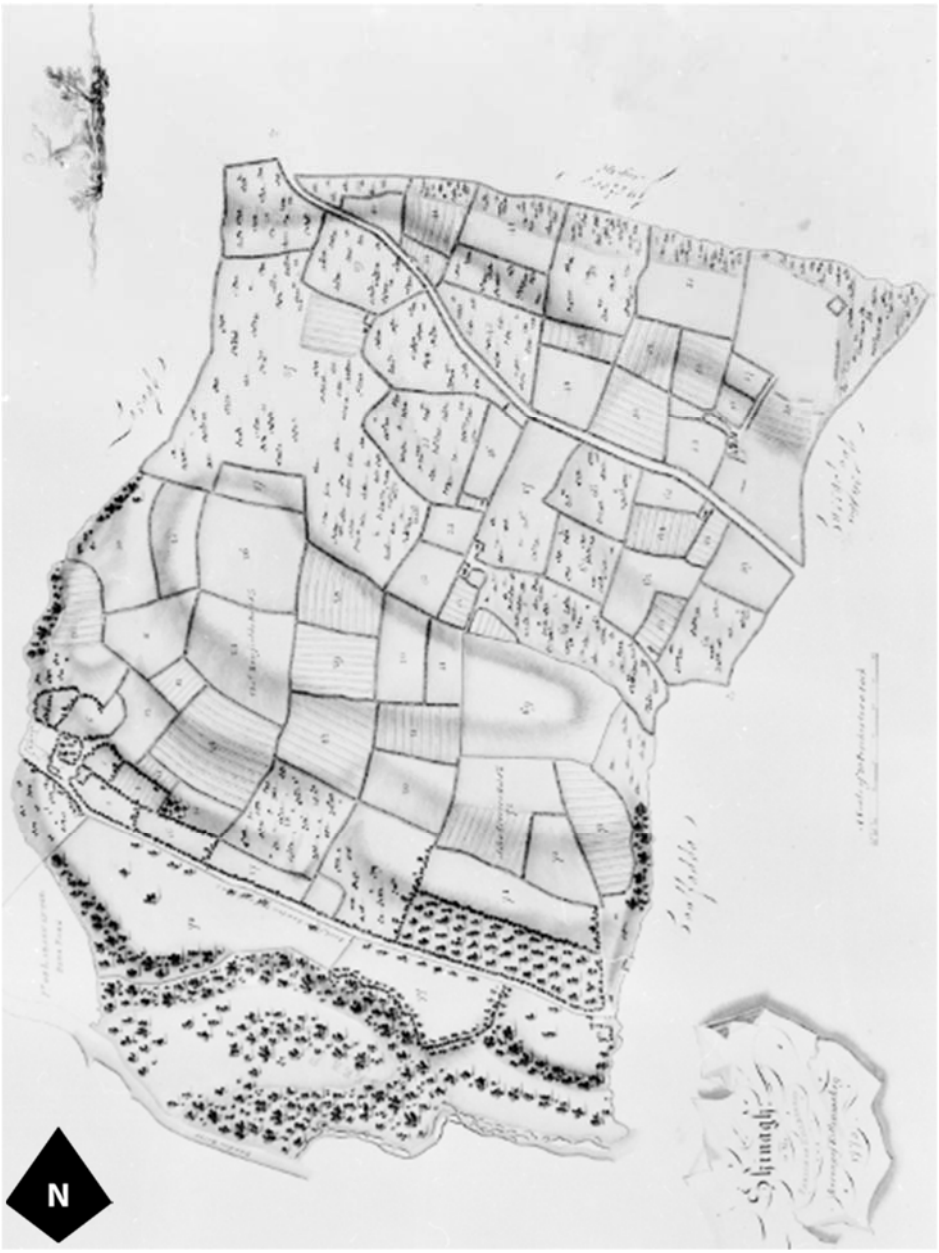


Figure 81. Scalé's map of Shinagh townland

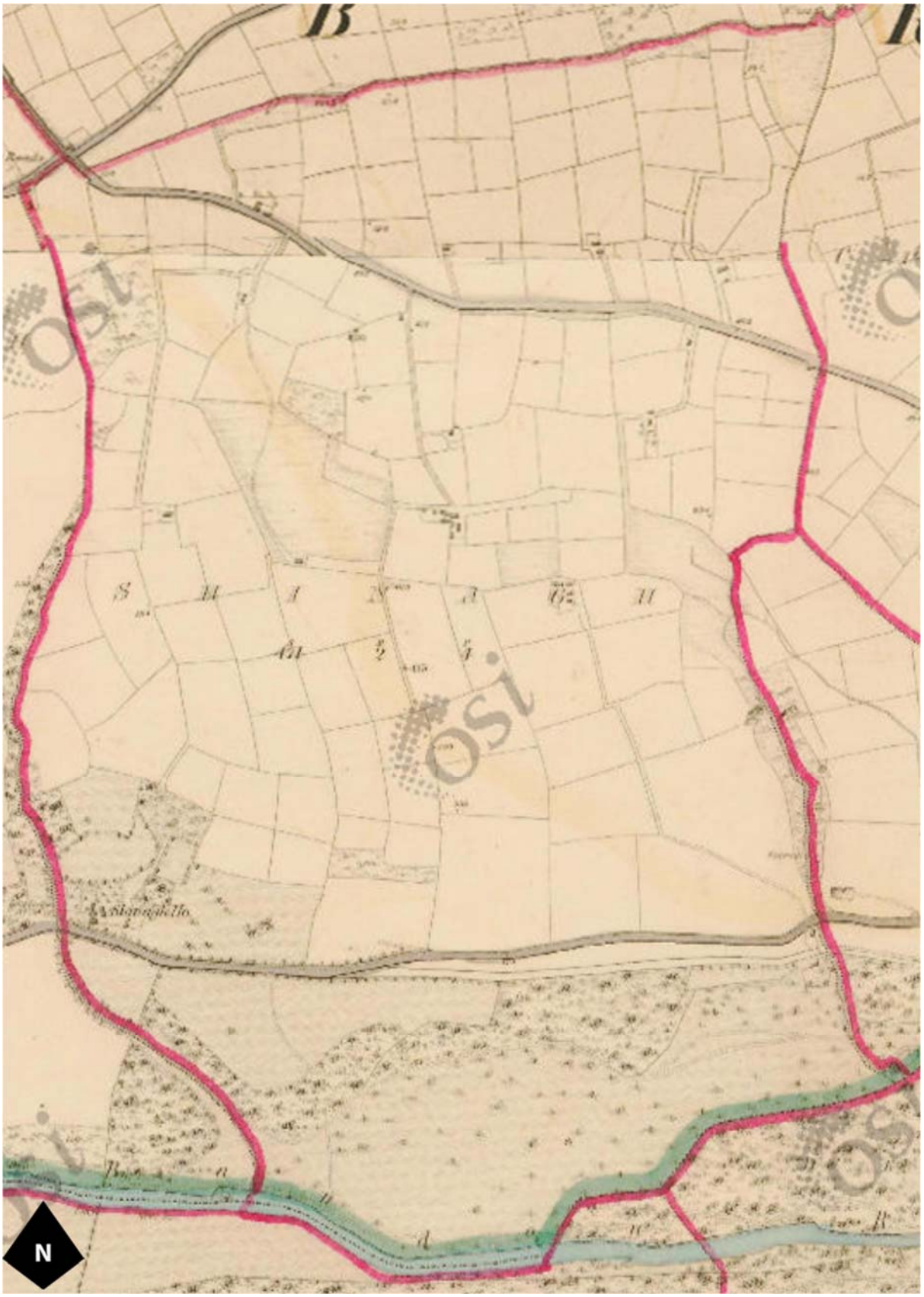


Figure 82. First edition OS map of Shinagh townland

3.3. Killowen parish

3.3.1. Killowen

There is no available evidence for the presence of a ringfort in this townland. Neither on Scalé's map (1775, map 10) nor on either of the Ordnance Survey maps (1841-2 & 1903, Sheet 109). Examination of available aerial imagery provides no evidence of the possible presence of ringforts here either (DG 2011 – 3; GE 2015).



Figure 83. Scalé's map of Killowen townland

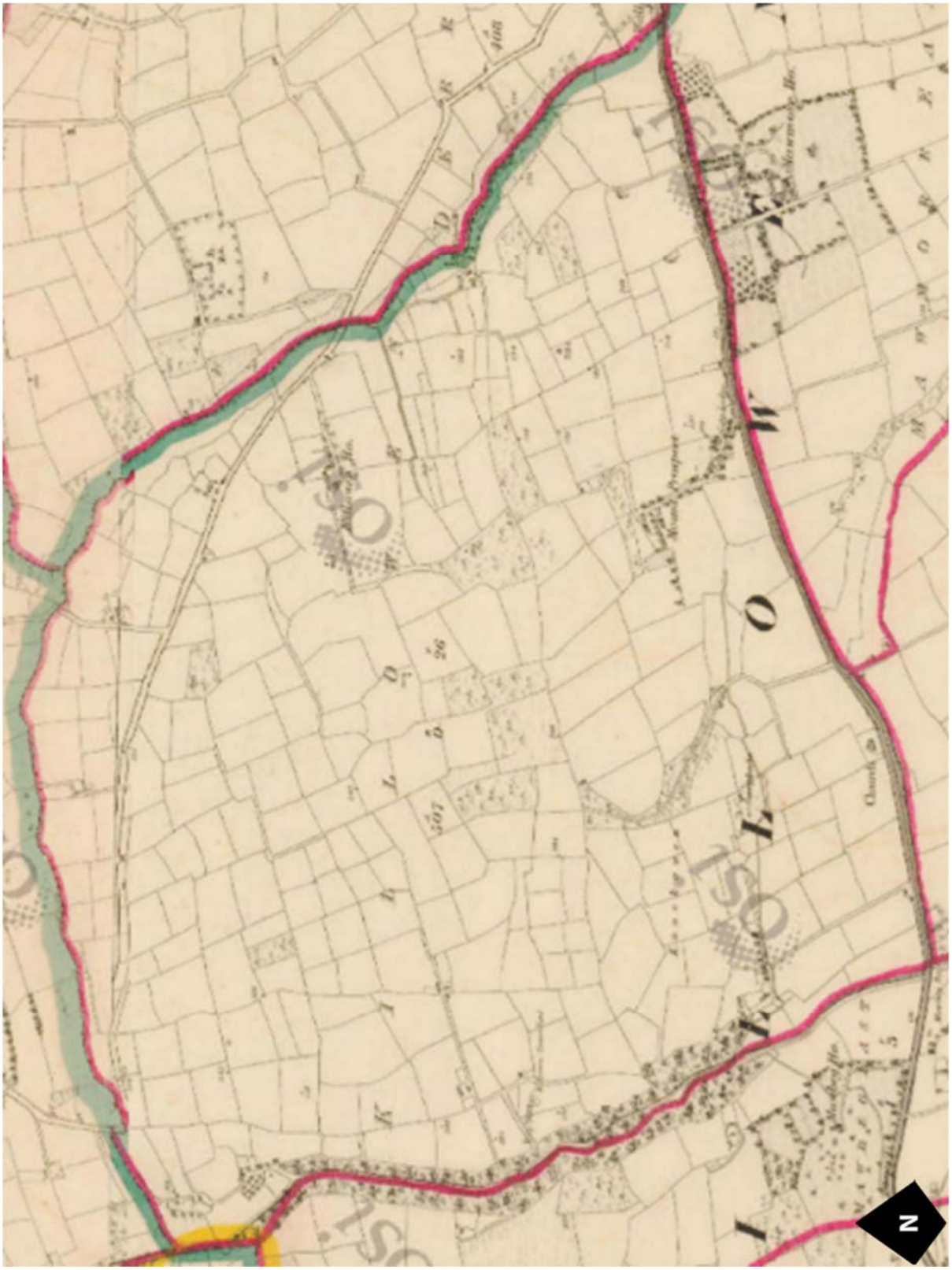


Figure 84. First edition OS map of Killowen townland

3.3.2. Mawbeg East

There is also no evidence provided by cartographic sources as to the potential location of ringforts within this townland. Although Scalé (1775, map 11) depicts a complete square moated site, CO109-017, in the south-east corner of the townland. So taking into account his normally conscientious attitude to the depiction of enclosed sites, it seems probable that if a ringfort were present at the time of survey such would have been included in the visual representation of it. Later maps provide no evidence concerning the presence of ringforts here either (OSI 1841-2 & 1903, Sheet 109). Neither does an examination of modern aerial imagery suggest the presence of such monuments within this townland (DG 2011 – 3; GE 2015).



Figure 85. Scalé's map of Mawbeg East townland

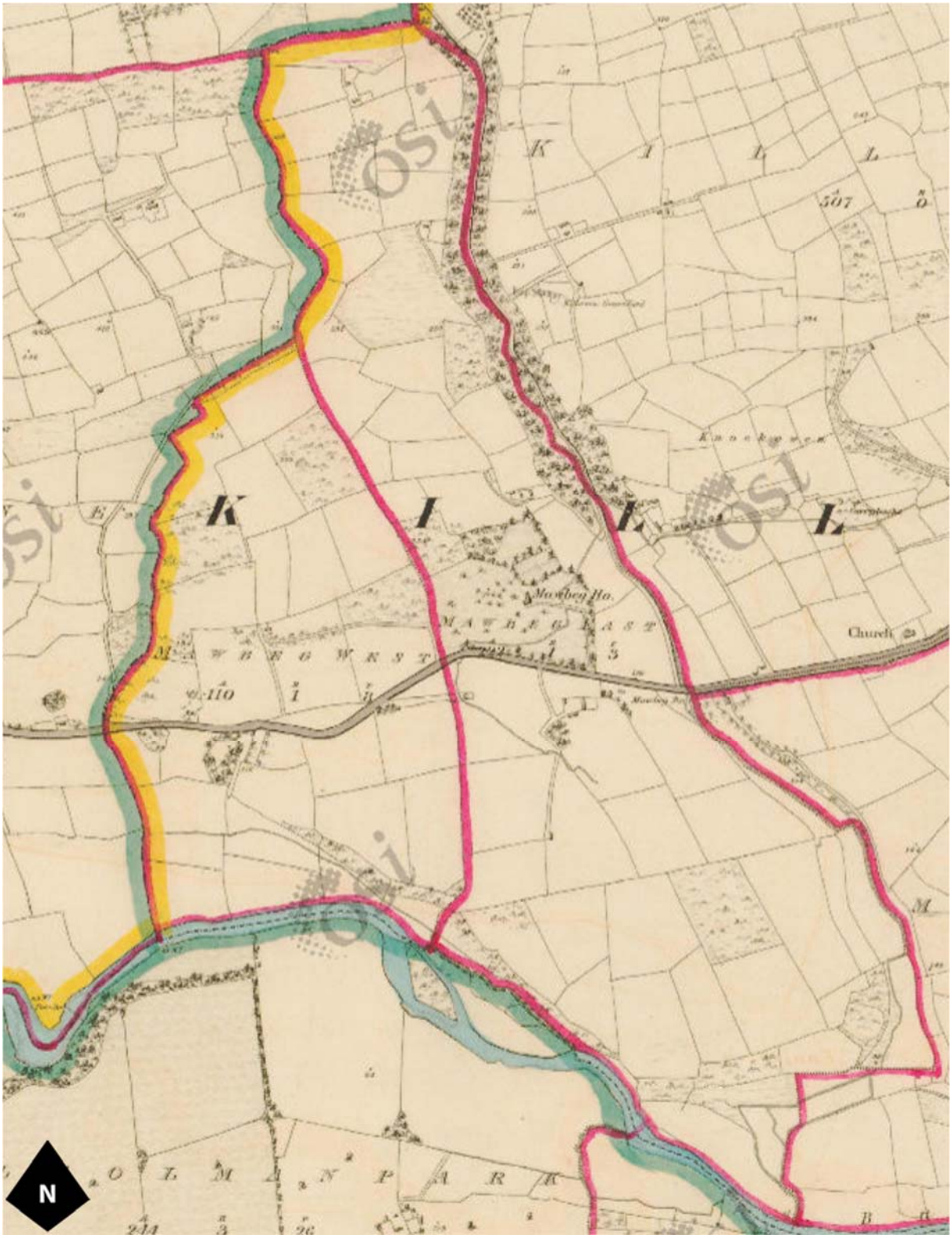


Figure 86. First edition OS map of Mawbeg East townland

3.3.3. Mawbeg West

This townland is even smaller having an extent of just under 40 hectares. There are no recorded monuments within this small area. Cartographic sources provide no evidence for the previous existence of any such either. Neither Scalé (1775, map 12) nor the OS maps (1841-2 & 1903, Sheet 109). Study of aerial imagery of this townland offers no further evidence (DG 2011 – 3; GE 2015).

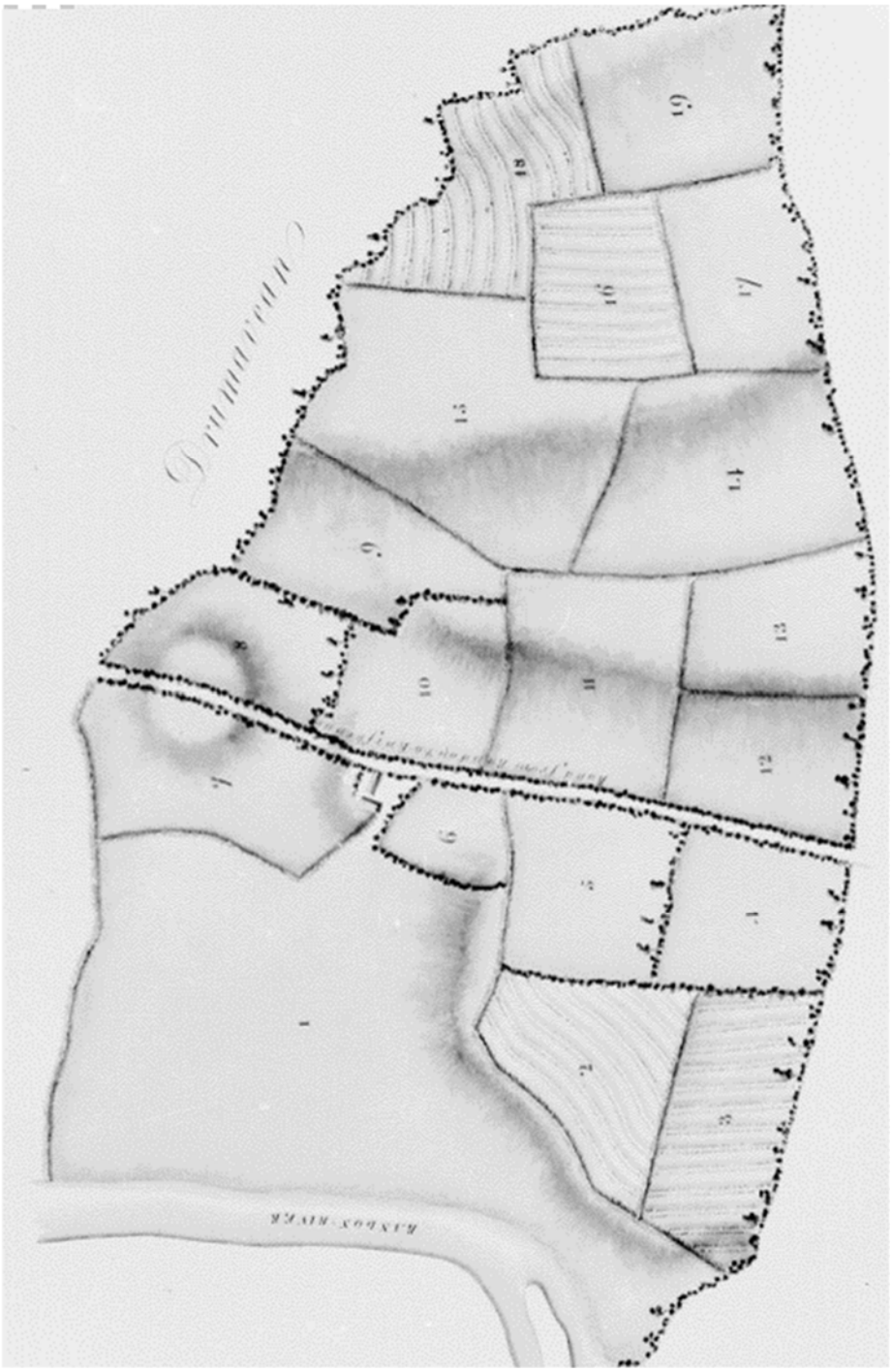


Figure 87. Scalé's map of Mawbeg West townland

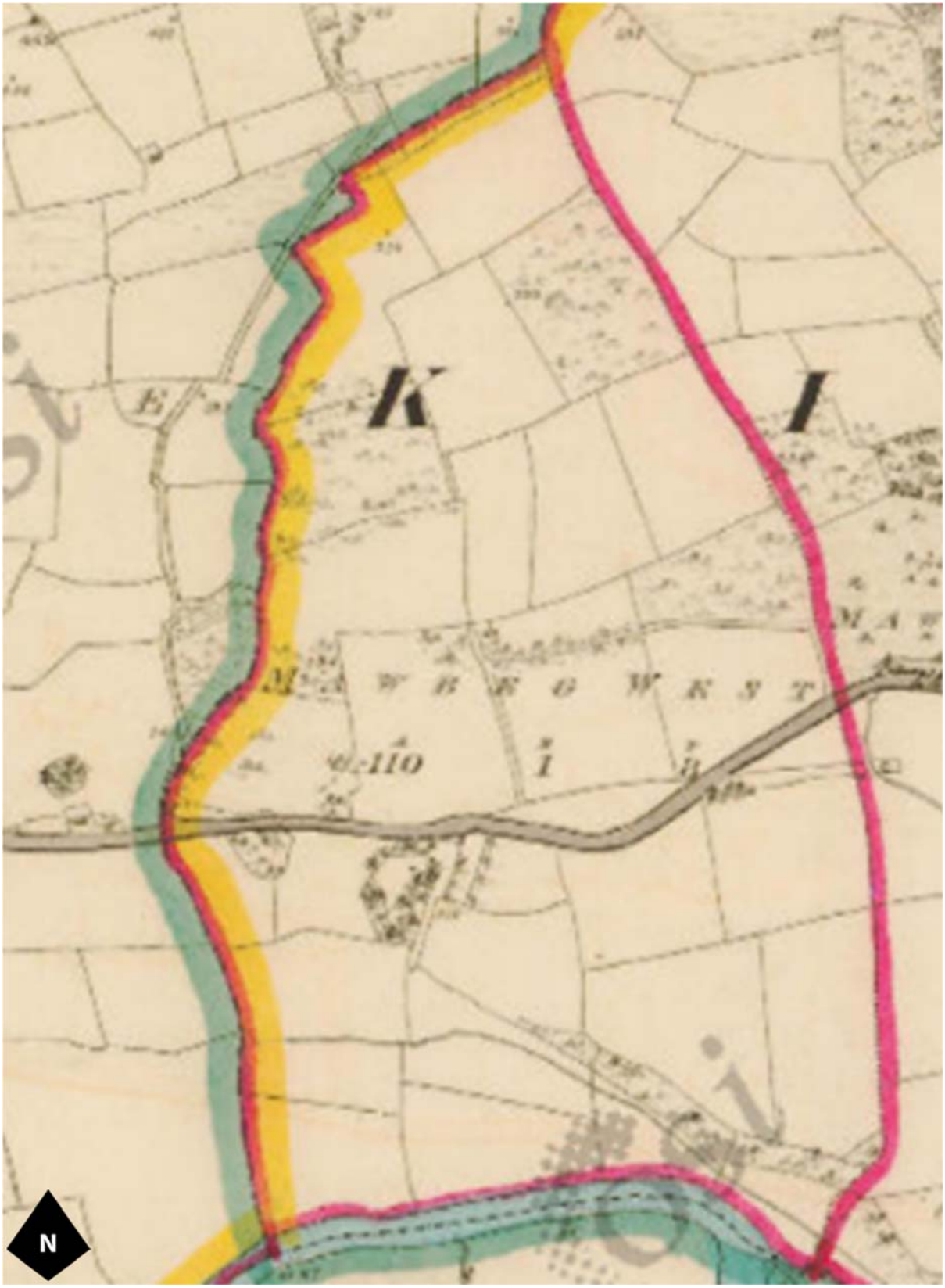


Figure 88. First edition OS map of Mawbeg West townland

3.3.4. Mawmore East

No evidence exists within this townland either for the eventual presence of any field monument. Scalé (1775, map 8) depicts just two cultivated fields out of a total of 26. There is no further indication of the eventual existence of field monuments here on either of the OS maps (1841 – 2 & 1903, Sheet 109). Aerial images offer no clearer indication in this search (DG 2011 – 3; GE 2015).

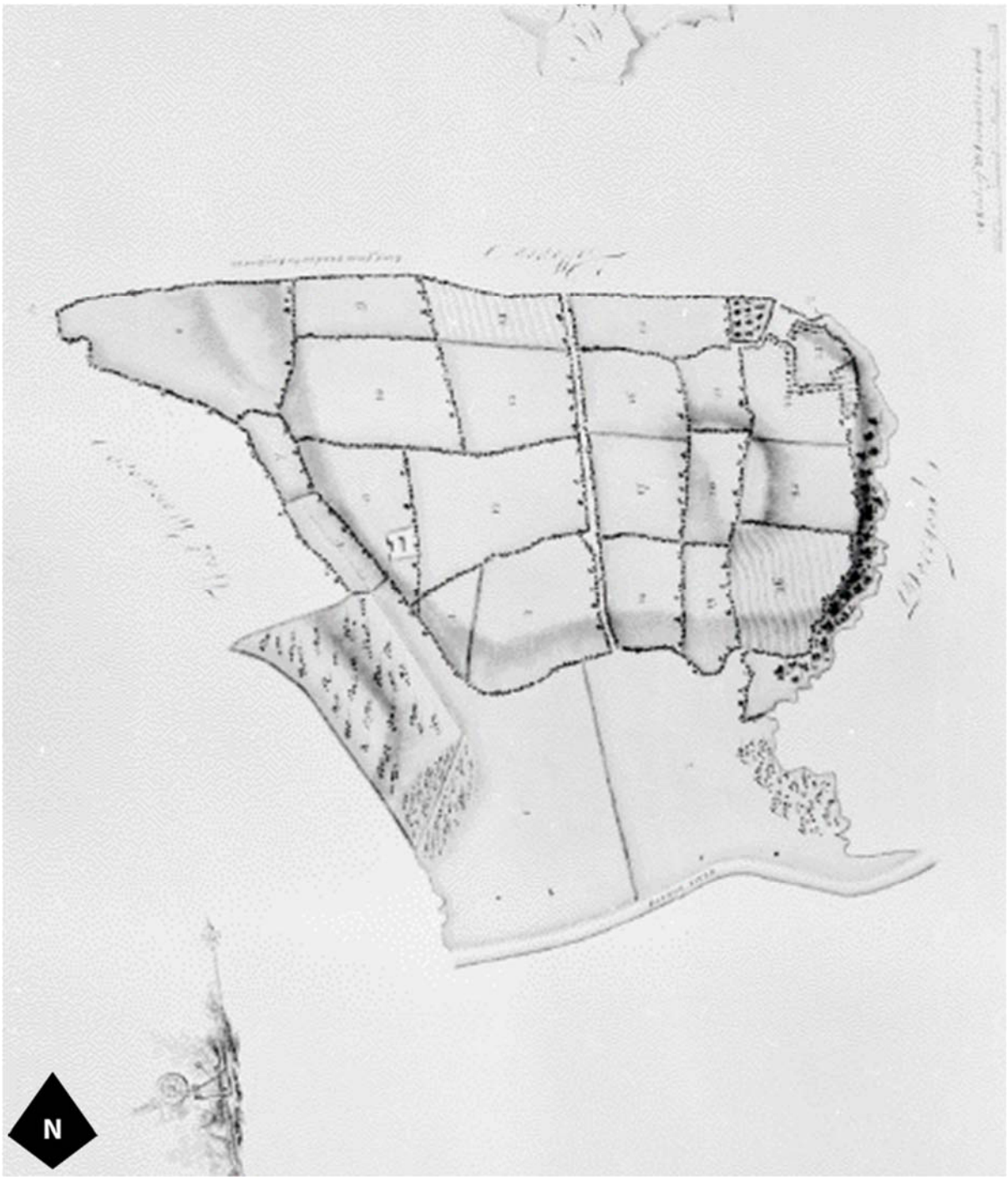


Figure 89. Scalé's map of Mawmore East townland

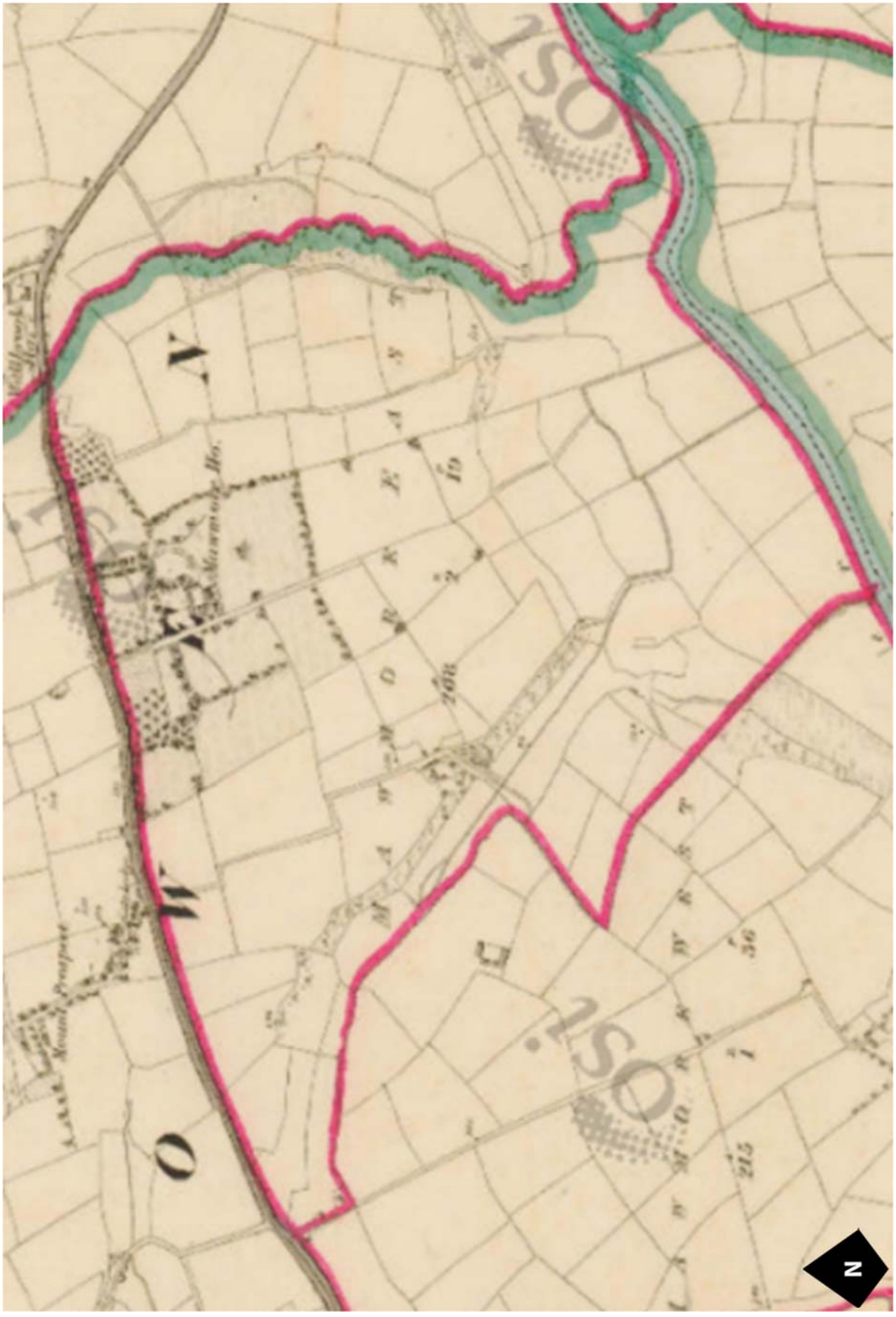


Figure 90. First edition OS map of Mawmore East townland

3.3.5. Mawmore West

Again for this townland there is no indication provided by either Scalé (1775, map 9) or by the OS maps (1841-2 & 1903, Sheet 109) for the presence of ringforts. The NMS database refers to local tradition concerning a possible burial ground, CO109-076, in this townland. Such sites are quite often associated with ringforts. However, an examination of aerial images of the particular field, which had been ploughed at the time of survey, shows no evidence, such as soil marks or crop marks, that this might have been the case here (DG 2011 – 3; GE 2015).

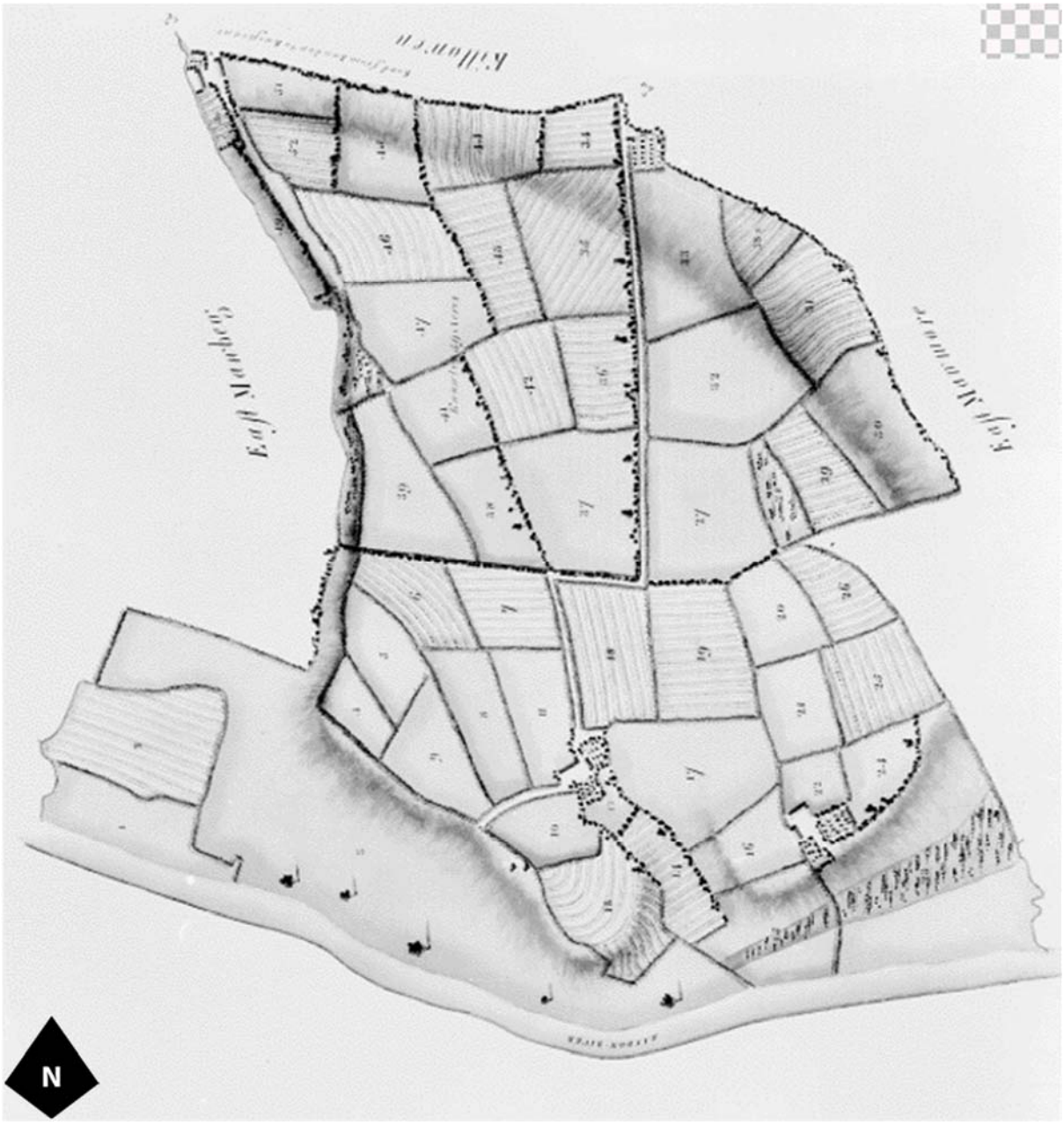


Figure 91. Scalé's map of Mawmore West townland

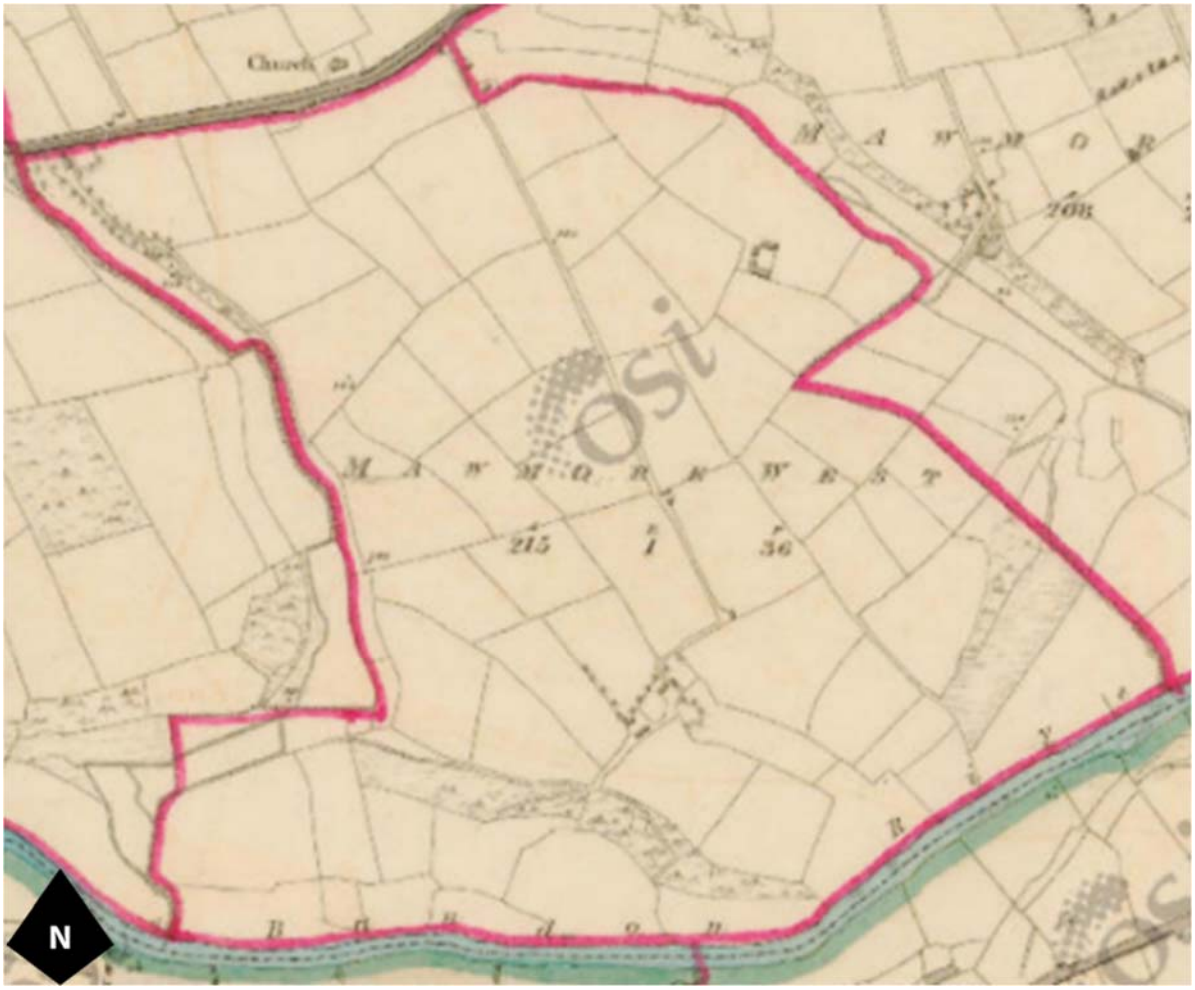


Figure 92. First edition OS map of Mawmore West townland

3.3.6. *Tullyglass*

A part of the townland of Tullyglass is included in this parish. However, Scalé (1775) treated it as a complete unit. It was decided to follow this convention and to describe it as such also. For this reason, it is included under the heading of Murragh parish. However, the separate parish headings will be respected when constructing the graph showing the timeline of ringfort destruction. In any event no definitive ringforts are present in this section of the townland. However, Ó Riordáin (1935, 50-1) noted having examined a souterrain here. This is included on the record and has the SMR number of CO095-096. It may also be associated with a structure no longer visible at ground level. Study of aerial imagery appears to show a possible crop mark of approximately 29.5m in overall diameter, centred on the ITM grid coordinates: 542849-556827 (GE 2013). However, while this may suggest further study is needed and for the lack of proof this potential site will not be included in the graph.

3.4. Kinneigh parish

3.4.1. Kilnacranagh

Scalé (1775, map 17) provides no indication for the presence of a ringfort in his depiction of this townland. However, the Archaeological Survey Database (NMS 2018) refers to a 'cashel', CO109-004, of 49m diameter north-south and of 42.7m east-west. More significantly this monument is noted as having a height of 1.7m. Between Scalé's 1775 survey and the Ordnance survey of 1841-2 this townland had been divided into two, east and west, along a pre-existing road running north-south. Following this, the cashel was located in the townland of Kilnacranagh West. It is again noted in the second edition OS map (1903, Sheet 109) as having an interior area of 0.394 of an acre [0.159 ha.]. Consideration of aerial images show this monument to be still intact (DG 2011 – 3). All this information would indicate that such a monument is, and always was, a dominant feature on the landscape.

Therefore, there seems no justification for Scalé not including it on his map of the townland (1775, map 17). Particularly as he normally appears to have been conscientious in his depiction of ringforts within other townlands. One possible explanation could be that the area where the cashel was located appears to have been, in Scalé's time, a mixture of rough, stony, uneven ground and bogland with no field systems close by. The absence of field boundaries, that would have required intricate survey, may have diverted Scalé's attention. Whereas, the rough nature of the terrain may have hindered the proper investigation of the area. In addition, it may also have camouflaged any monuments if seen at a distance.



Figure 93. Scalé's map of Kilnacranagh townland (1775)



Figure 94. Scalé's map of Kilnacranagh townland (1775)

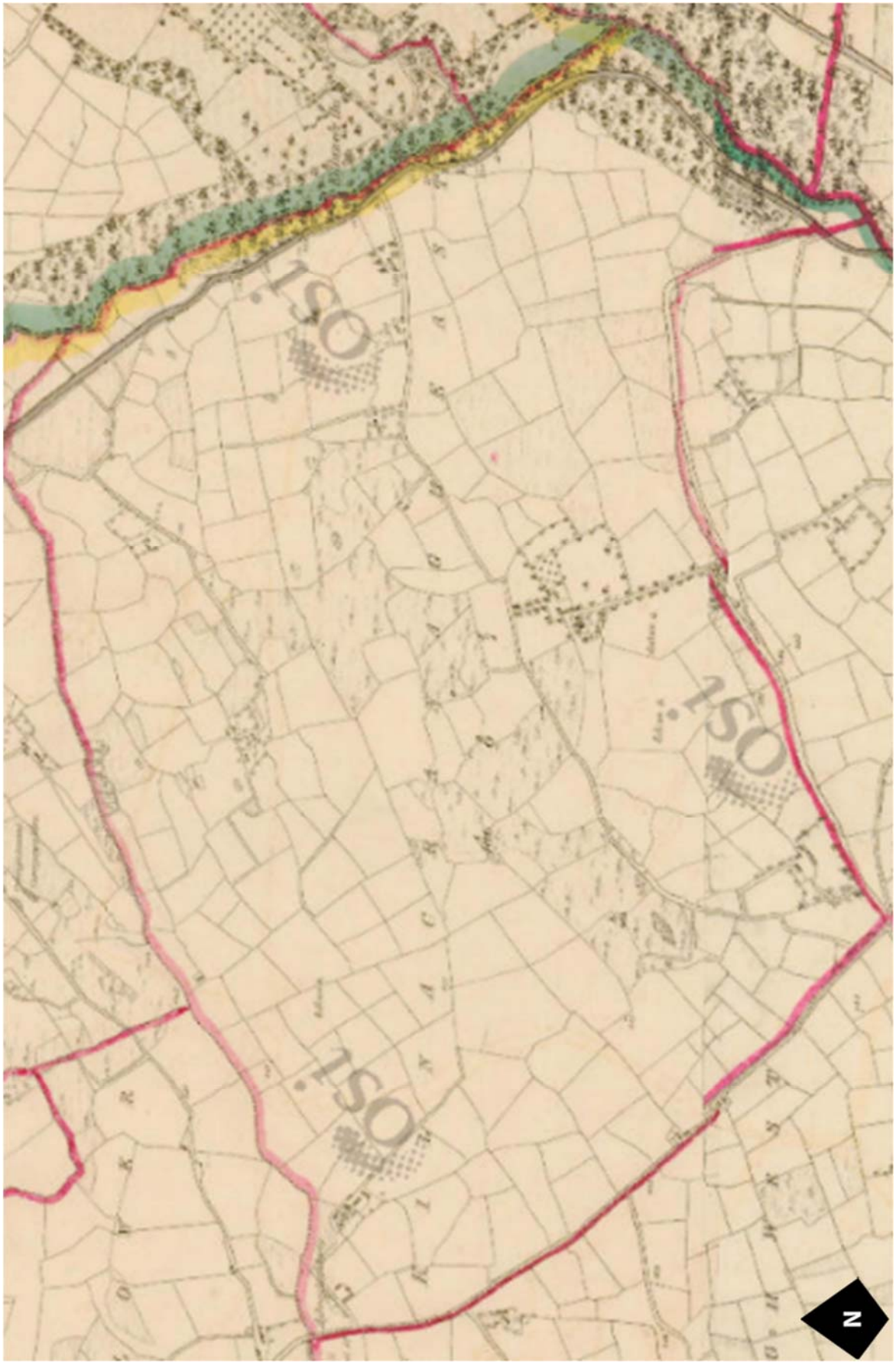


Figure 95. First edition OS map of Kilnacranagh East townland

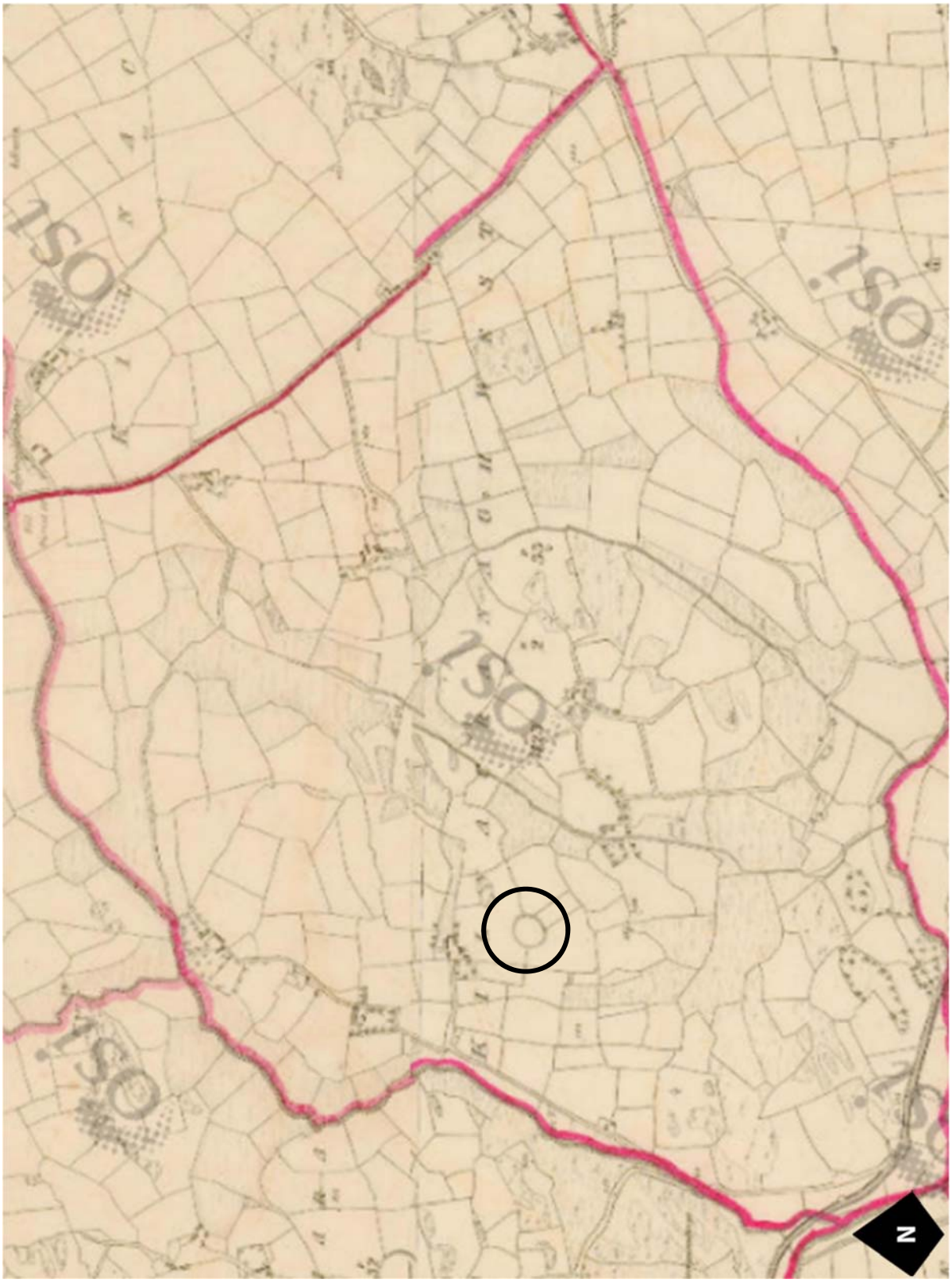


Figure 96. First edition OS map of Kilnacranagh West townland depicting ringfort CO109-004

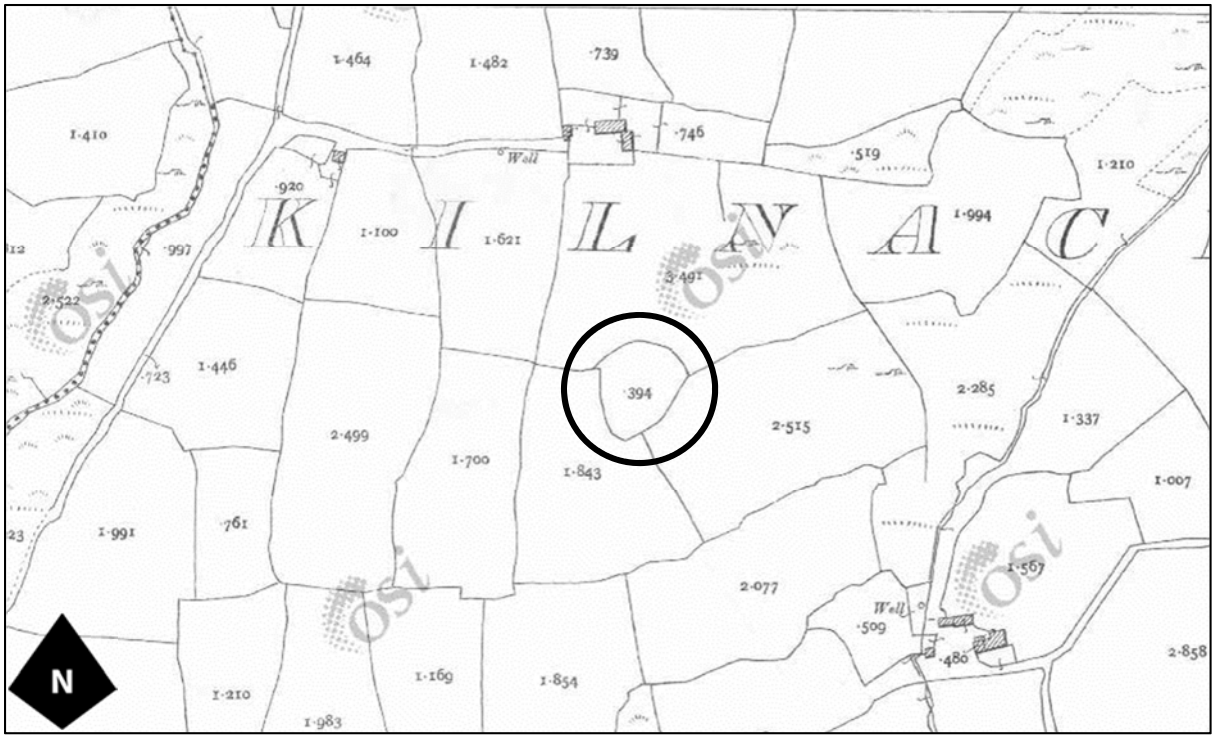


Figure 97. Second edition OS map of Kilnacranagh West townland depicting ringfort CO109-004



Figure 98. Aerial image of Kilnacranagh West townland depicting ringfort CO109-004 (DG 2011 – 3)

3.4.2. Teadies

One ringfort is depicted in Scalé's (1775, 15) map of this townland. This ringfort, CO109-008001, is located south of the Bandon to Enniskeane road and almost directly north of a loop in the Bandon River. By the time of the Ordnance Survey (1841 – 2), this townland had also been divided into two separate townlands (upper and lower), with the above mentioned road used to create the boundary. An incomplete enclosure is depicted at this location on the second edition OS map and the loop in the river is noted as 'Rock Hole' (OSI 1903, Sheet 109). Recent aerial images show this monument as having been levelled. Although in one particular image a crop mark may perhaps be identified (DG 2011 – 3).



Figure 99. Scalé's map of Teadies (close up) depicting ringfort CO109-004



Figure 100. Scalé's map of Teadies townland depicting ringfort CO109-004

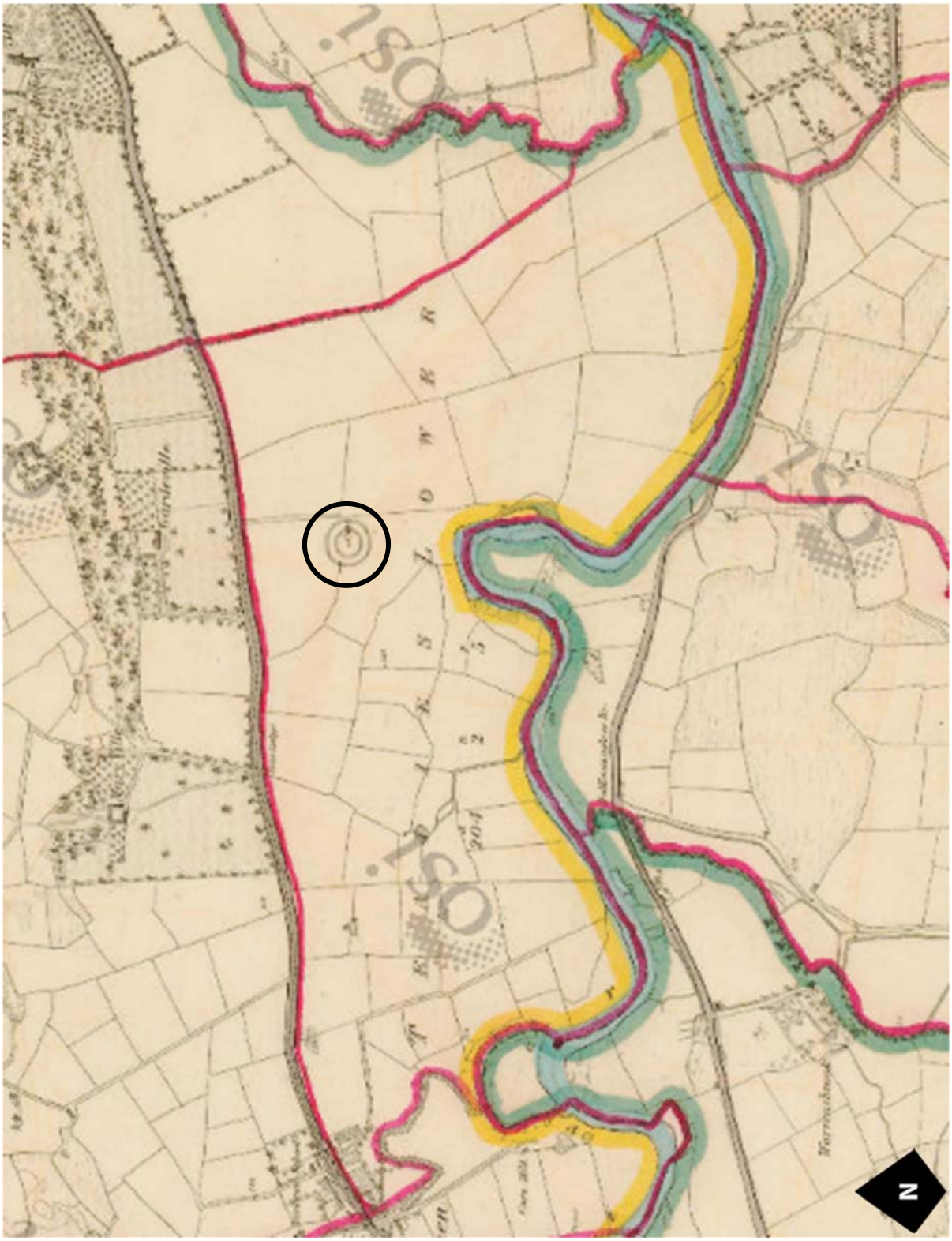


Figure 101. First edition OS map of Teadies Lower townland depicting ringfort CO109-004

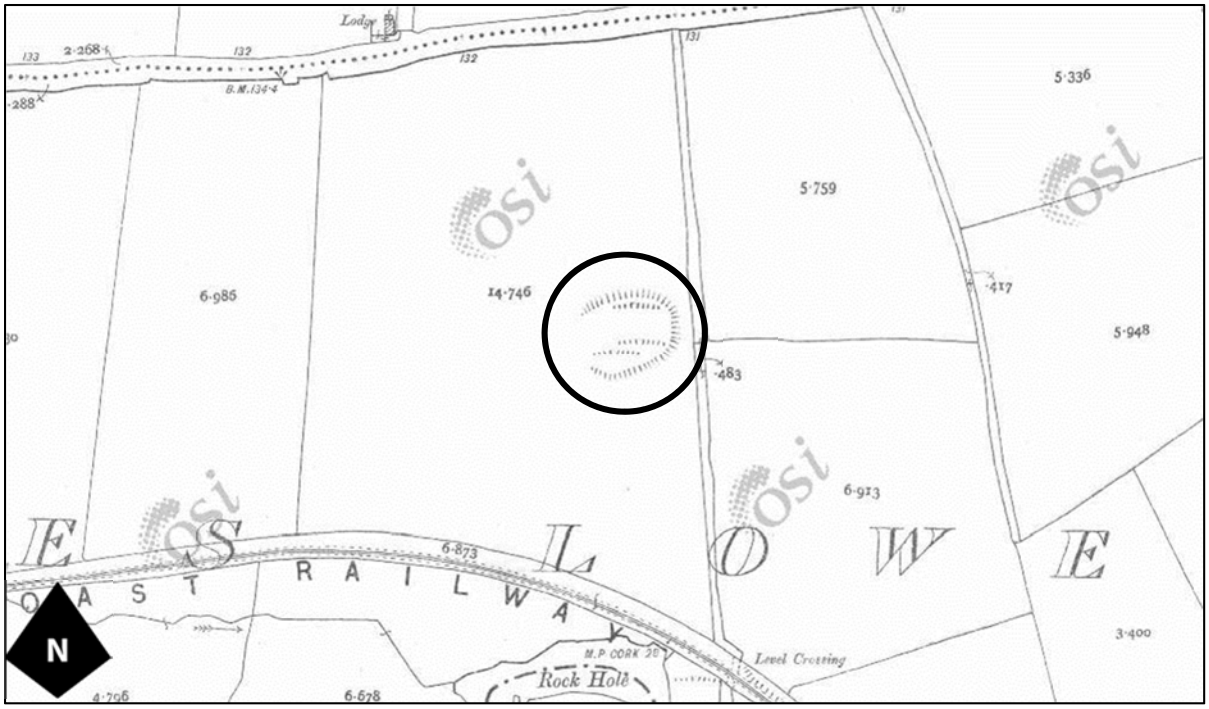


Figure 102. Second edition OS map of Teadies Lower townland depicting ringfort CO109-004



Figure 103. Aerial image of Teadies Lower townland depicting site of ringfort CO109-004 (DG 2011 – 3)

3.5. Murragh parish

3.5.1. Dromavane

There is no record on the NMS database for the presence of ringforts in this townland. Neither Scalé (1775, map 13) or the OS maps (1841 – 2 & 1903, Sheet 109) contain indications to the contrary. Aerial imagery provides no further clues either (DG 2011 – 3; GE 2009 – 15).



Figure 104. Scalé's map of Dromavane townland

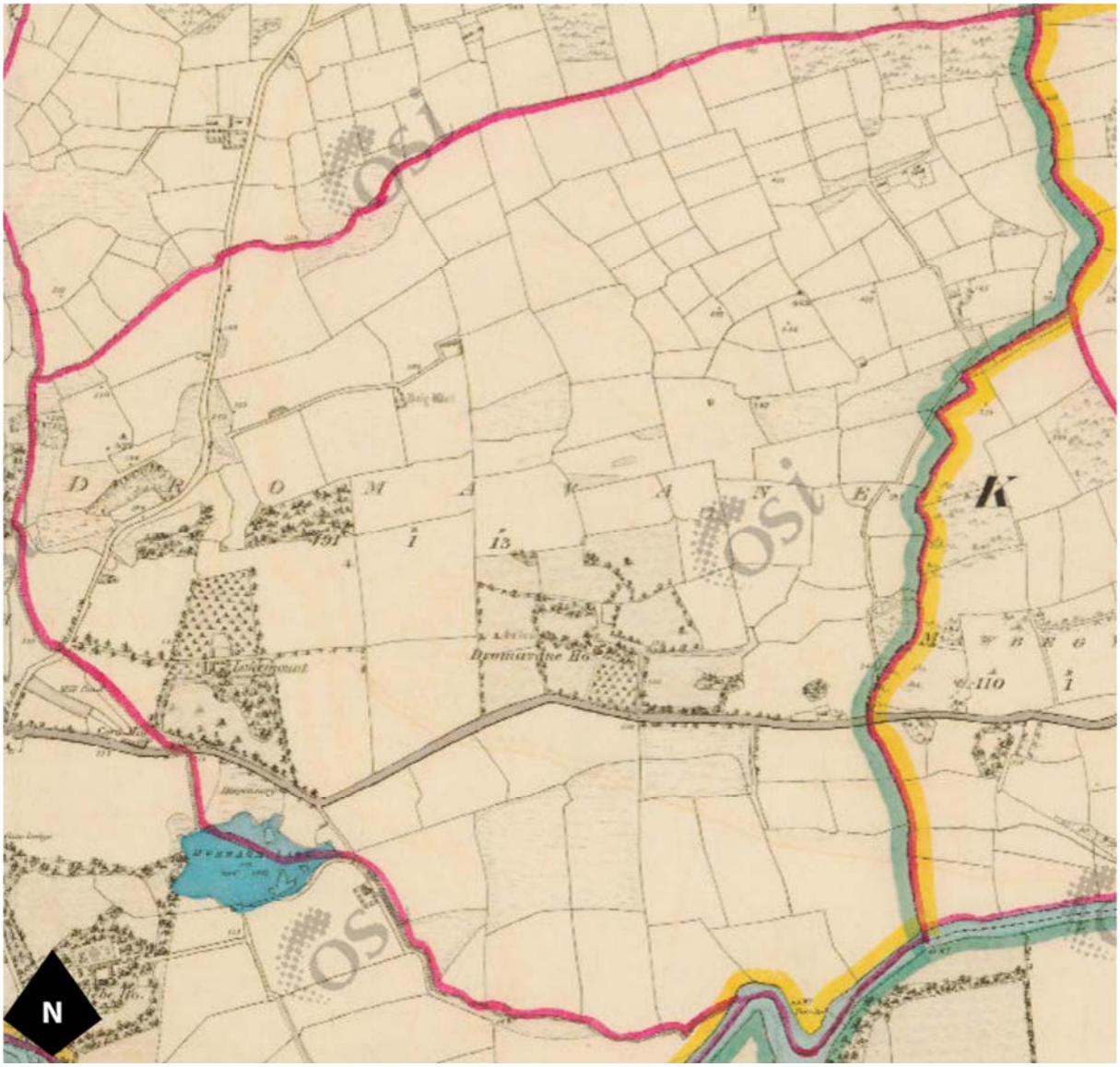


Figure 105. First edition OS map of Dromavane townland

3.5.2. Murragh

Scalé (1775, map 14) highlights a semi-circular feature in the south of this townland. This feature is located on a bluff overlooking the Bandon River and is slightly to the west of Murragh [Moragh] church. Scalé refers to this feature as a 'Danes Fort', his usual terminology for such a field monument, whether circular or square enclosures. This monument is recorded on the NMS database and bears the SMR number of CO109-069. On the first edition OS maps contain no reference to a feature at this location although the adjacent church is shown (OSI 1841 – 2 & 1903, 109). This site was visited during the middle of the 19th century and it was noted that what remained was 'a long ridge like mound' that measured over 24m in length and

approximately 3.5m in height. It was also noted that the site had been seriously eroded on the river side (Windele 1843). No further evidence as to the location or condition of this site is available in later maps or in the range of aerial surveys undertaken at different times and showing differing conditions (DG 2011 – 3; GE 2009-2015).



Figure 106. Scalé's map of Murragh townland depicting ringfort CO109-069

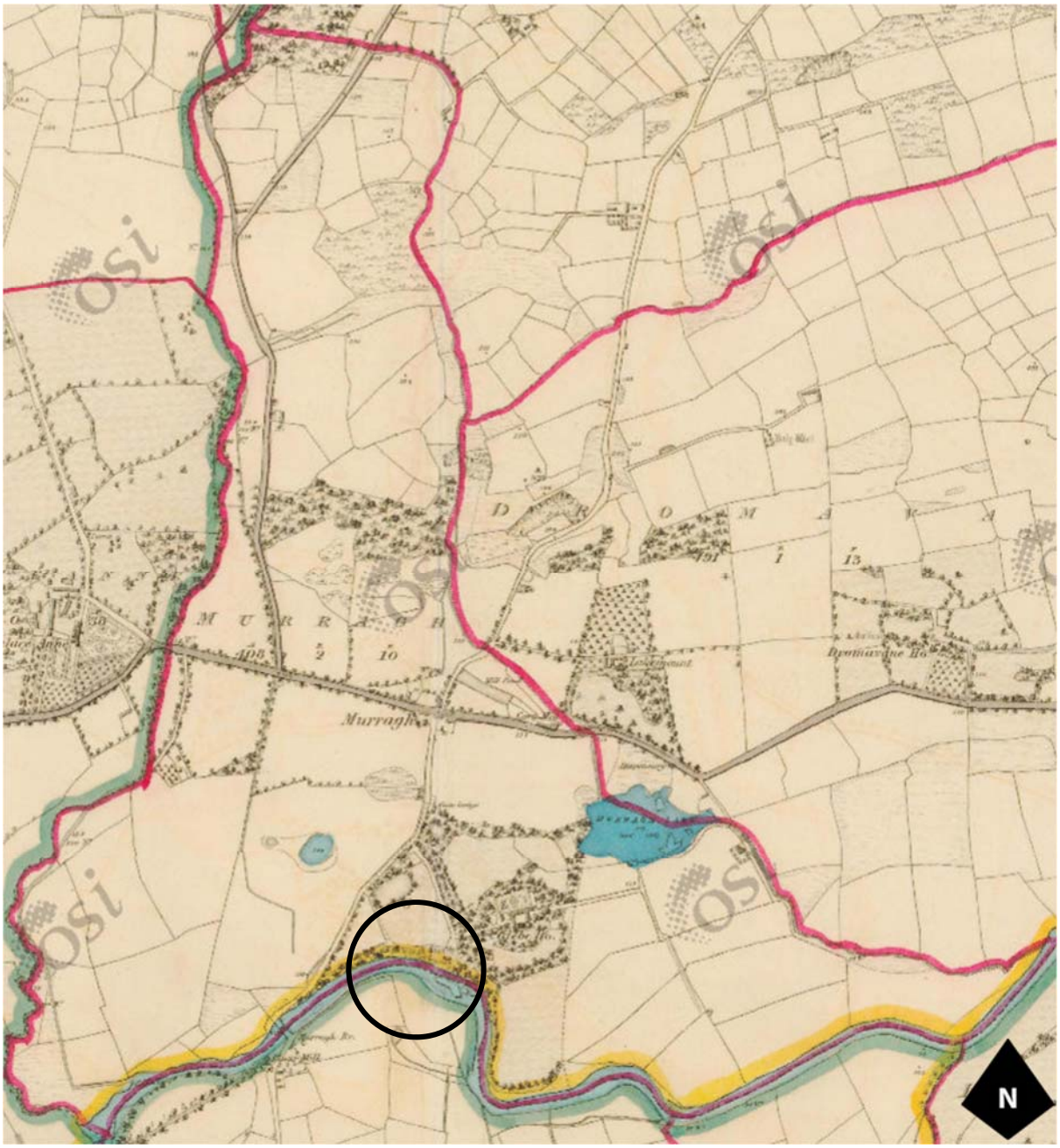


Figure 107. First edition OS map of Murragh townland depicting site of ringfort CO109-069

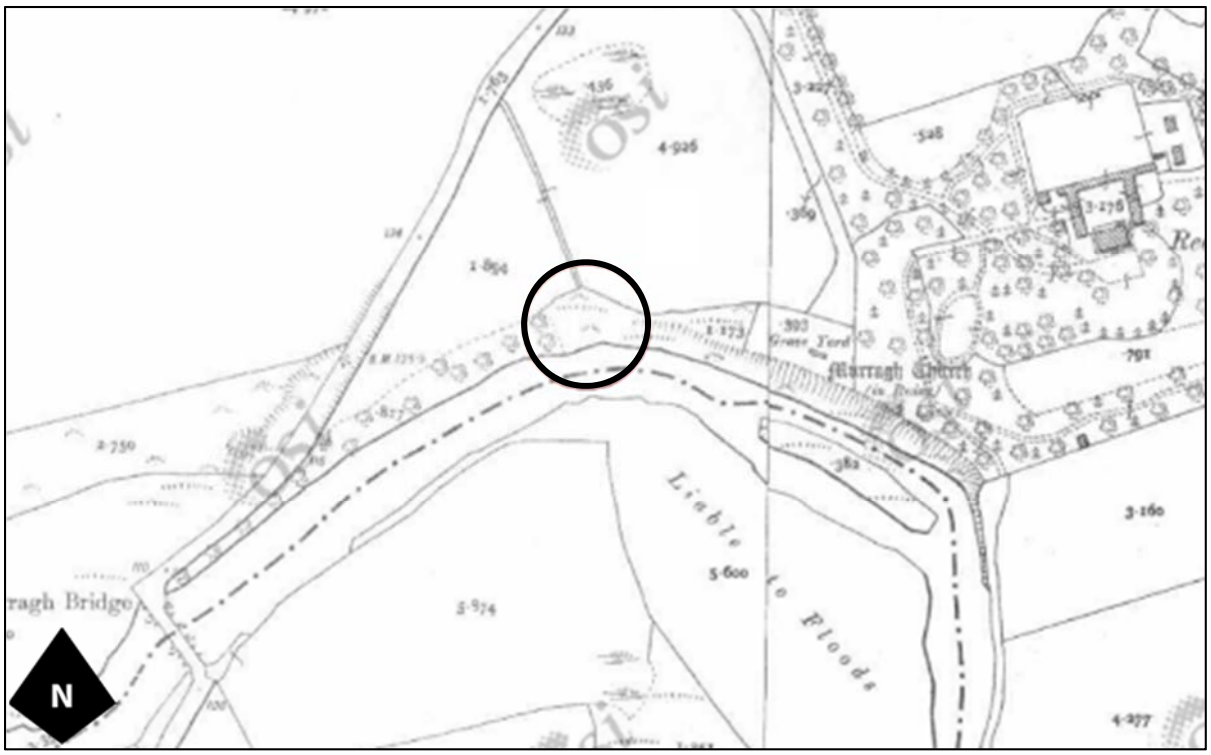


Figure 108. Second edition OS map (1903) of Murragh townland depicting site of ringfort CO109-069



Figure 109. Aerial image of Murragh townland depicting site of ringfort CO109-069 (DG 2011 – 3)

3.5.3. Sranavidoque

The NMS database refers to two monuments in this townland. A ringfort, CO109-077, and a cliff edge fort, CO095-089. This latter monument is described in the Archaeological Inventory of County Cork as being a roughly 'semi-circular area defined by cliff-like straight edge' to the north (Power *et al.* 1992. Vol 1). However, Scalé (1775, map 18) shows this monument as a fully circular feature set back from the bank of the boundary stream. At the time of the first edition OS maps (1841-2, Sheet 95) this fort is depicted as the above described semi-circular feature with the steam now forming the northern extent. Perhaps this later appearance could be the result of an eroding action by the water. In any event, Scalé (1775, map 18) neglects any mention of the ringfort further within this townland. Neither is this monument shown on any subsequent maps (OSI 1841 – 2 &1904, Sheet 95).

Nevertheless, study of aerial imagery clearly shows an outline of trees at this location, ITM grid coordinates 539045-556219. This is especially evident on a Google Earth image from 2013. The archaeological inventory for the county provides a description of this monument. It has a diameter of approximately 29m and is defined by a low bank of stone and earth 0.5m in height (Power *et al.* 1992). That this monument is presently identifiable but was missed by both Scalé (1775) and the OS teams (1841-2 & 1904) may suggest that it had degraded, or rather eroded, naturally over time than that a deliberate attempt had been made to destroy it. This may again raise the question as to at what stage a structure may be considered demolished? Incidentally, Scalé (1775, map 18) also depicts a lime kiln in this townland that is not recorded on the NMS database. This is located in the south-east quadrant of the townland roughly in the area of ITM grid coordinates, 539585-556184.

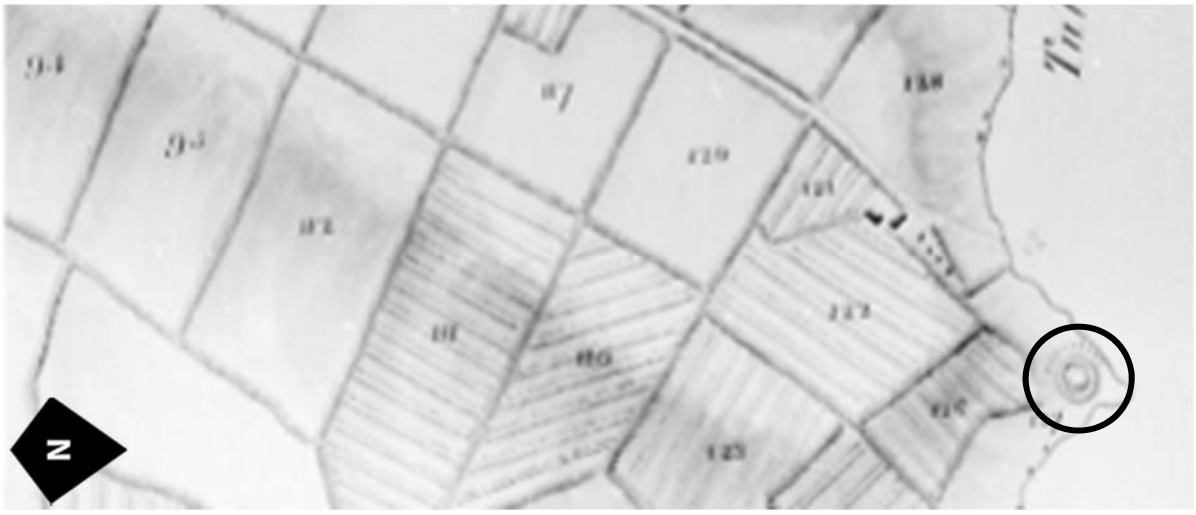


Figure 110. Scalé's map of Sranavidoque depicting enclosure CO095-089 (close up)



Figure 111. Scalé's map of Sranavidoque townland depicting enclosure CO095-089

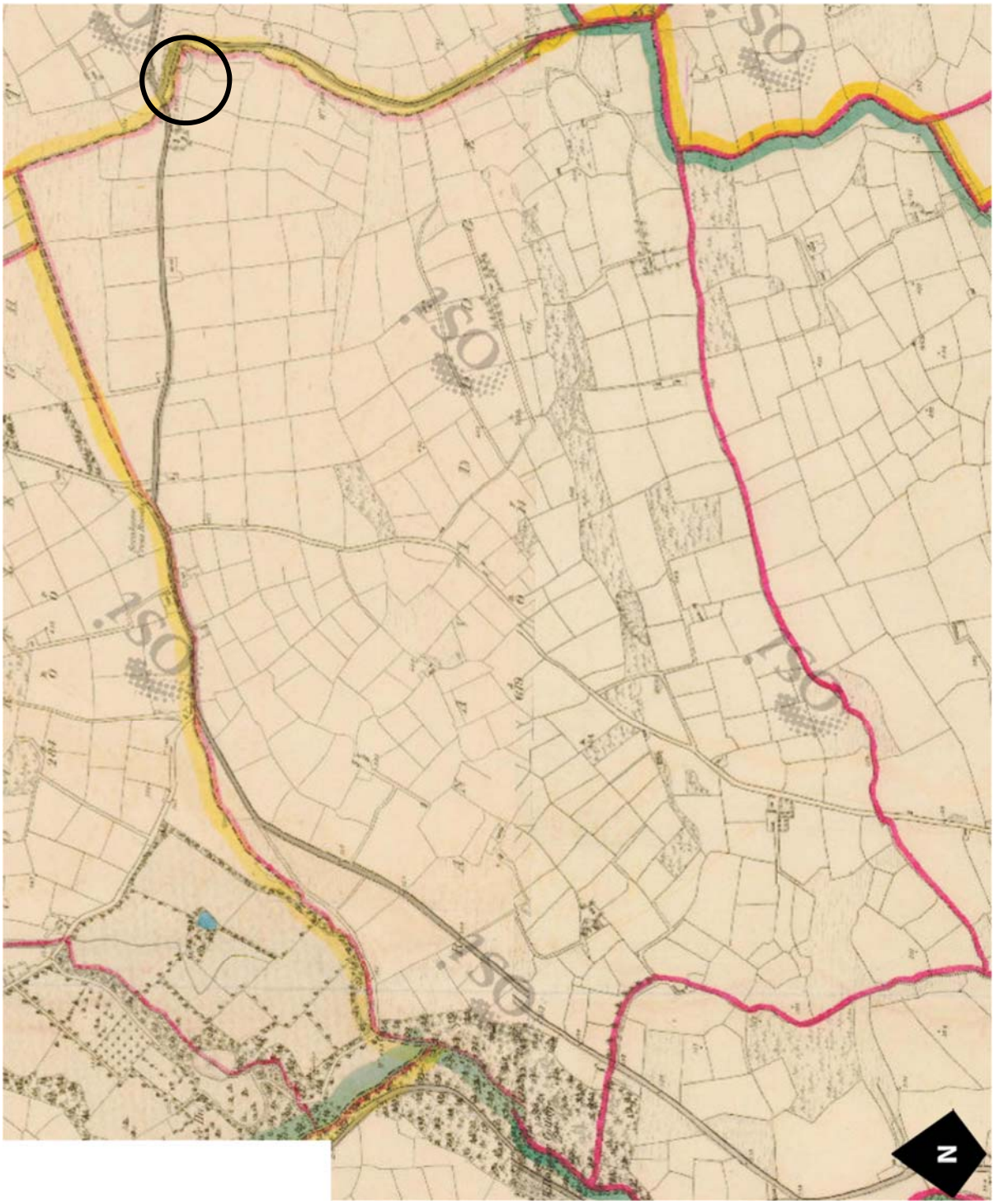


Figure 112. First edition OS map of Sranavidoque townland depicting enclosure CO095-089



Figure 113. Aerial image of Sranavidoque townland depicting enclosure CO095-089 (GE 2013)



Figure 113. Aerial image of Sranavidoque townland depicting ringfort CO109-077 (DG 2011 – 3)

3.5.4. Tullyglass

Scalé (1775, maps 19-20) depicts three ringforts in his map of this townland. Of note is the fact that this townland is divided between the parishes of Murragh and Killowen. As usual, Scalé portrays this townland as a single unit. These three noted ringforts are also recorded in the register and bear the SMR numbers CO095-091, CO095-092 & CO095-093. These monuments are also included in the first edition OS map of the townland (1841-2, Sheet 95). In addition, another feature, a cashel, CO095-090 is also included, although it had not been recorded by Scalé (1775, map 19). It is again perplexing that Scalé did not record this circular field monument bearing in mind his normally meticulous approach to this task. It may be noted, however, that the field where it is located had been depicted as bog land at the time of the 1775 survey.

Also, it is mentioned in the register that the walls of this monument are but 0.5m high. These may be two reasons why they were not recorded in the earlier survey. It may also be possible that an unusual feature such as a cashel may have been dismissed by him as a more modern construction. Interestingly, he also failed to include another example of a cashel in his survey of another townland in this area (1775, map 17). In any case, the map accompanying the second edition revision clearly shows the adjacent ringforts of CO095-091 and CO095-093 (OSI 1904, Sheet 95). Presently, two ringforts are shown as extant, CO095-091 & CO095-090, although the latter appears as a low outline. The possible location of CO095-093 is shown by way of a curved field boundary on the eastern edge (DG 2011 – 3).



Figure 114. Scalé's map of Tullyglass townland depicting ringforts 1. CO095-091, 2. CO095-092 & 3. CO095-093

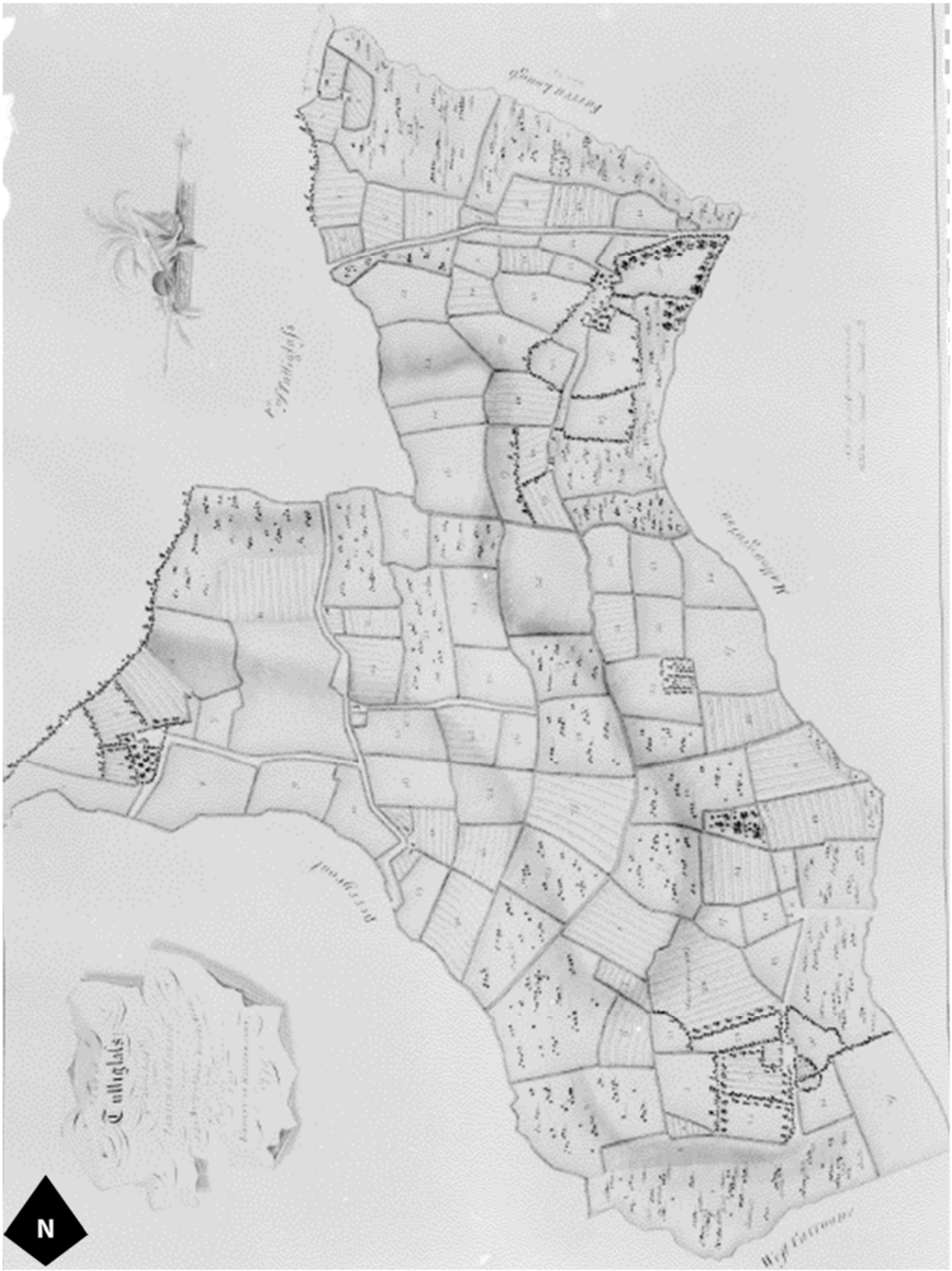


Figure 115. Scalé's map of Tullyglass townland

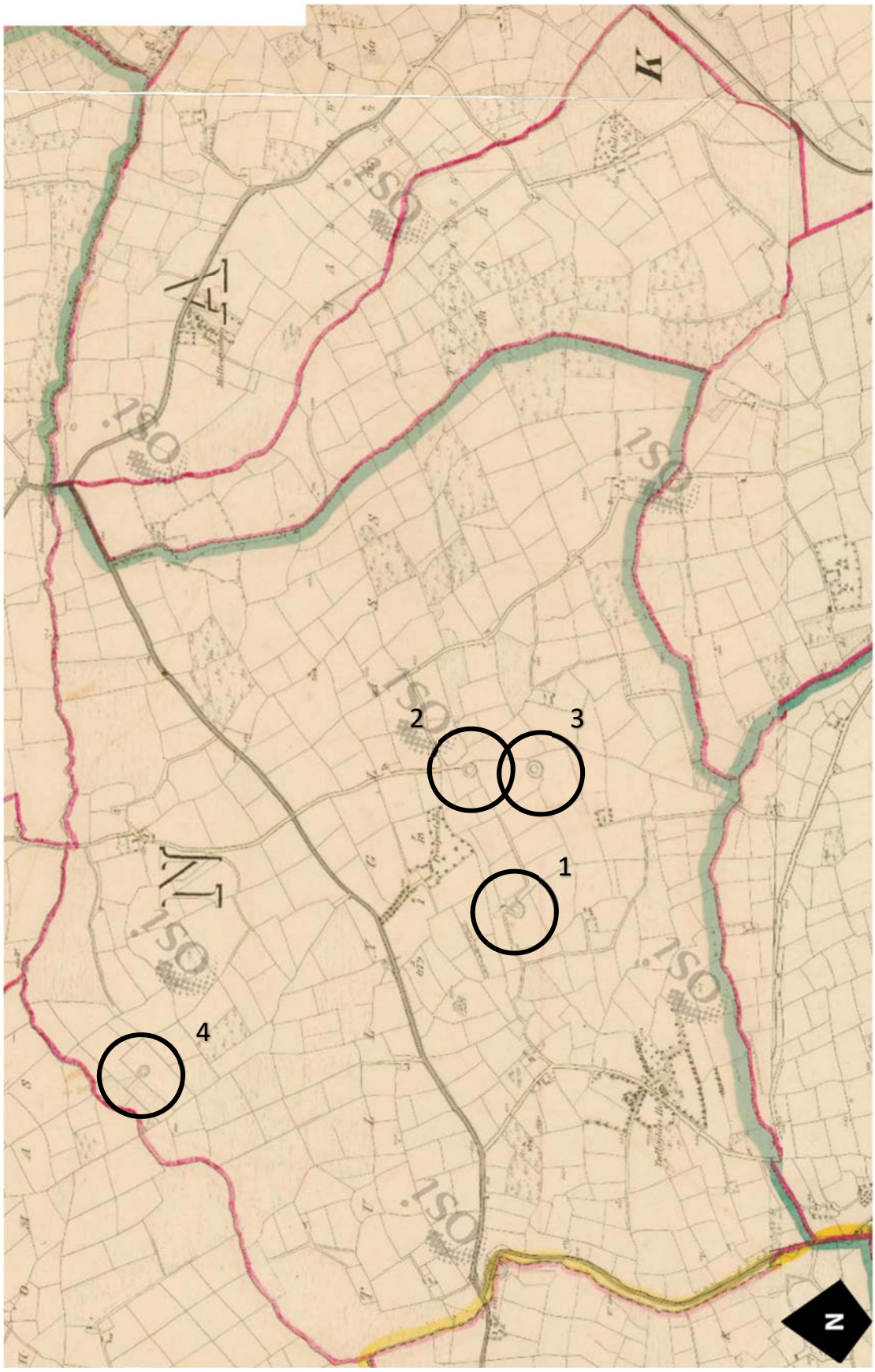


Figure 116. First edition OS map of Tullyglass townland depicting ringforts 1. CO095-091, 2. CO095-092, 3. CO095-093 and 4. CO095-090

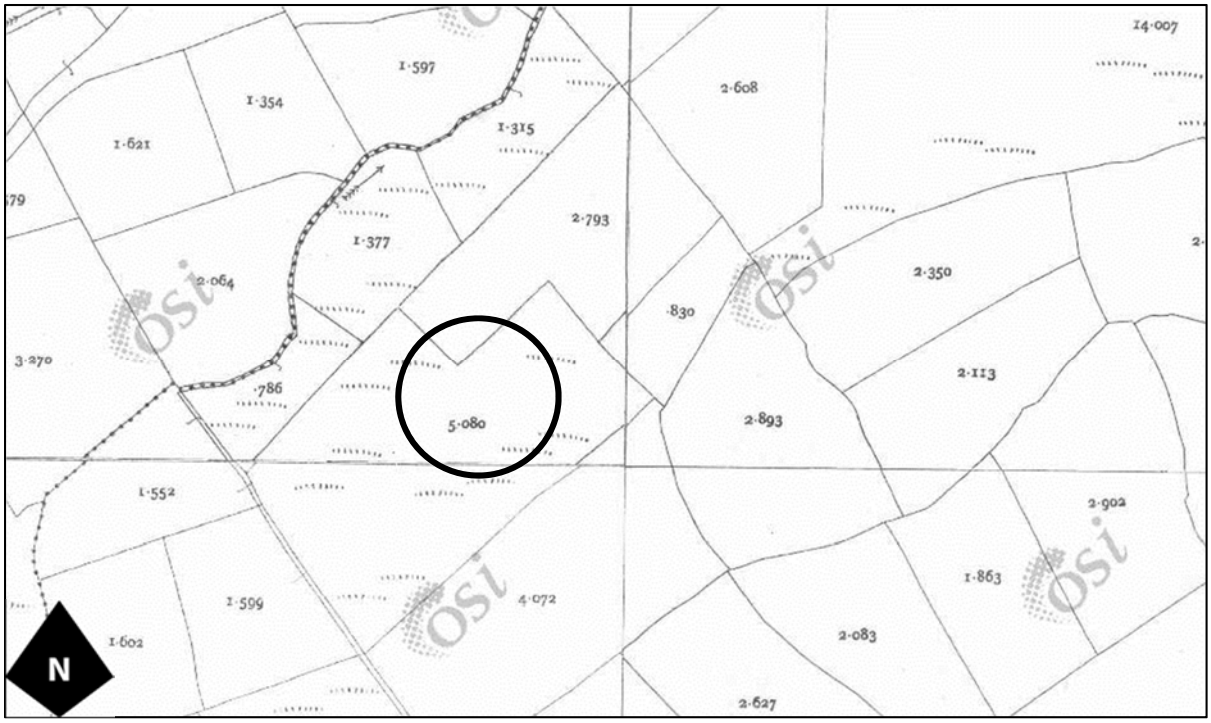


Figure 117. Second edition OS map of Tullyglass townland depicting site of ringfort CO095-090

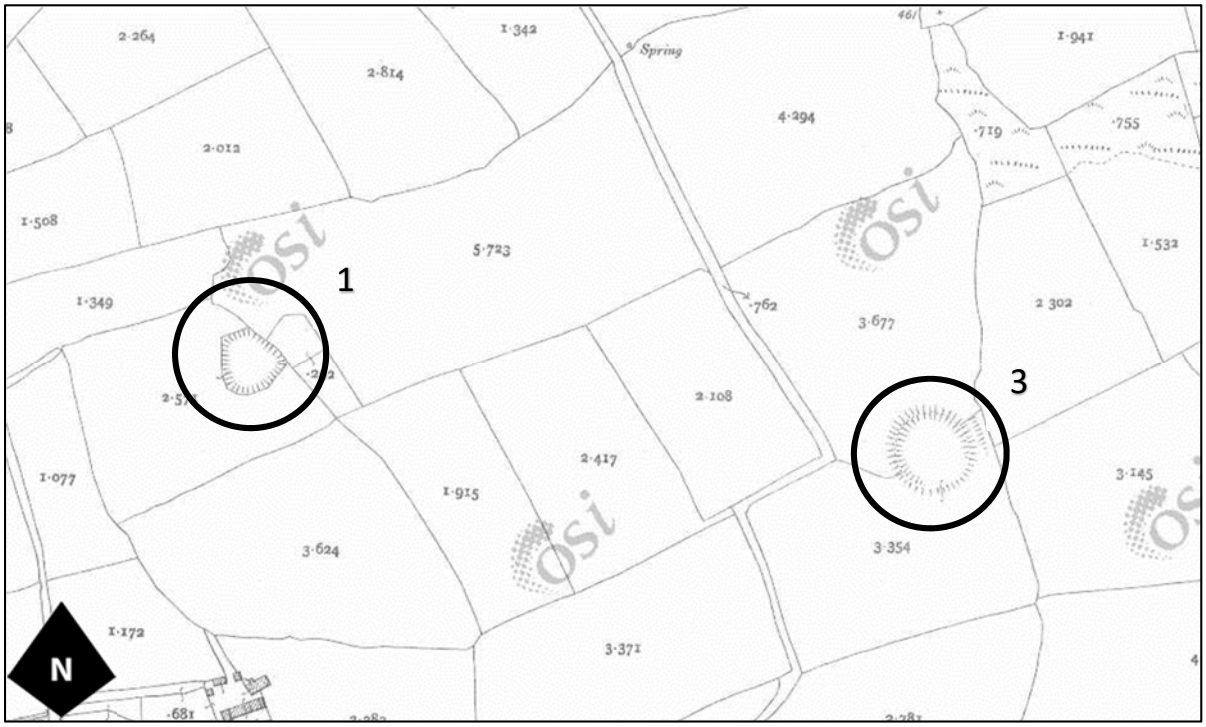


Figure 118. Second edition OS map of Tullyglass townland depicting ringforts 1. CO095-091, and 3. CO095-093



Figure 119. Aerial image of Tullyglass townland depicting ringfort CO095-090 (DG 2011 – 3)



Figure 120. Aerial image of Tullyglass townland depicting ringfort 1. CO095-091 and site of ringforts 2. CO095-092 & 3. CO095-093 (GE 2013)

3.6. Templemartin parish

3.6.1. Garranes

This townland is perhaps one of the most important of the entire study area. It, along with the adjacent townland of Moneen, contains a very high concentration of ringforts. This survival rate may be a reflection on the location of these two townlands. For it is in contrast to townlands closer to the Bandon River, such as Mawbeg East and West, as well as Mawmore East and West. Perhaps it is also a reflection of the long standing importance of this area as confirmed by the location here of the 'Royal' trivallate ringfort, *Lisnacaheragh*, which is attributed the SMR number of CO084-084. The importance of this area for archaeology can be understood by reference to the series of important excavations undertaken at this particular monument (Ó Ríordáin 1941 – 2). This programme of excavations of the wider area continues to the present day. The imposing nature of this concentration of ringforts must also have been appreciated by earlier investigators such as Bernard Scalé. In the map developed from his survey of the townland Scalé (1775, map 29) includes a total of six ringforts and attempts to highlight their difference in size.

The most imposing of these is the aforementioned *Lisnacaheragh*, CO084-084. Also shown is the adjacent ringfort of *Lisnamanroe*, CO084-083. Slightly to the south-east of these the un-named ringfort, CO084-085001, is shown in the garden of Garranes house and further east again Scalé (*ibid.*) depicts two more ringforts, CO084-088 & CO084-136. Almost directly south from *Lisnacaheragh*, the ringfort of *Lisheenagreine*, CO084-090001, is also shown on Scalé's map. The field where this ringfort in located is shown on this map as having been ploughed. Curiously, in contrast to other examples where the furrows normally end at the bank of the ringfort, here the furrows continue in a straight line over the faint outline of the ringfort. It is almost as if the field had been disturbed to an extent that the ringfort may not have been discernible and the outline may have been added later. This is in addition to the other interesting example of the ringfort of *Lisnaboul,* CO096-010. This has been discussed above, including the fact that Scalé does not show it at all. However again here the field where it is located is shown as having been ploughed. It seems possible to make a stronger argument that this monument was by this time degraded to such a degree that it can be considered destroyed.

Later, in the maps (1842, Sheet 84) that result from the Ordnance Survey of the mid-19th century the ringfort of *Lisheenagreine*, CO0084-090001 is not shown at all. The same is true of the un-named ringfort, CO084-136. Although an indication of its location is shown by a

curved field boundary. In contrast, the location of the ringfort of *Lisnaboul*, CO096-090001, is clearly shown as a circular feature on the map (OSI 1841, Sheet 96). However, by the time of the second edition revisions only the trivallete fort of *Lisnacaheragh*, CO084-084 and the un-named ringfort, CO084-085001, in the garden of Garranes house are complete. Further south, the ringfort of *Lisheenagreine*, CO084-090001, is finally named and shown as a semi-circular feature on this map (OSI 1903, Sheet 84). Furthermore, the previous locations of *Lisnamroe*, CO084-083 and *Lisnaboul*, CO096-010, are acknowledged by use of a cross and having the phrase 'site of' attached to their names. The possible locations of the other two ringforts, CO084-088 & CO084-136, are indicated by the presence of curved field boundaries (*ibid.*).

In the present, the only one of these which remains extant is the trivallete ringfort of *Lisnacaheragh*, CO084-084. However, an examination of aerial photographs shows a distinctive circular crop mark of approximately 40m at the location of *Lisheenagreine*, CO084-090001. There is another possible crop mark at the location of the ringfort, CO084-088, and also a curved field boundary that may mark the southern extent of the monument (NMS 2018). There is, however, no indication as to the location of the other ringforts recorded by Scalé (1775, 29). A more in-depth aerial survey was undertaken in this area by a commercial company, Blue Sky Survey [BSS] in 2015. Examination of the photogrammetric imagery from this survey confirms the existence of *Lisnaboul*, CO096-090001. It shows a clear circular feature of *c*. 32m diameter and a darker band at its exterior which may correspond to the external ditch (see attached image below). This survey also shows a large semi-circular crop mark of approximately 70m in diameter at the location of *Lisnamanroe*, CO084-083. Some form of differentiation from the surrounding environment at the noted location of *Lisheenagreine*, CO084-090001, may also be determined. A curved field boundary may still mark the southern boundary of ringfort, CO084-088, and it may be possible to perceive some form of disturbance on the ground at the possible location of the close by ringfort, CO084-136.



Figure 121. Scalé's map of Garranes townland depicting ringforts 1. CO084-084, 2. CO084-083, 3. CO084-085001, 4. CO084-088, 5. CO084-136 and 6. CO084-090001

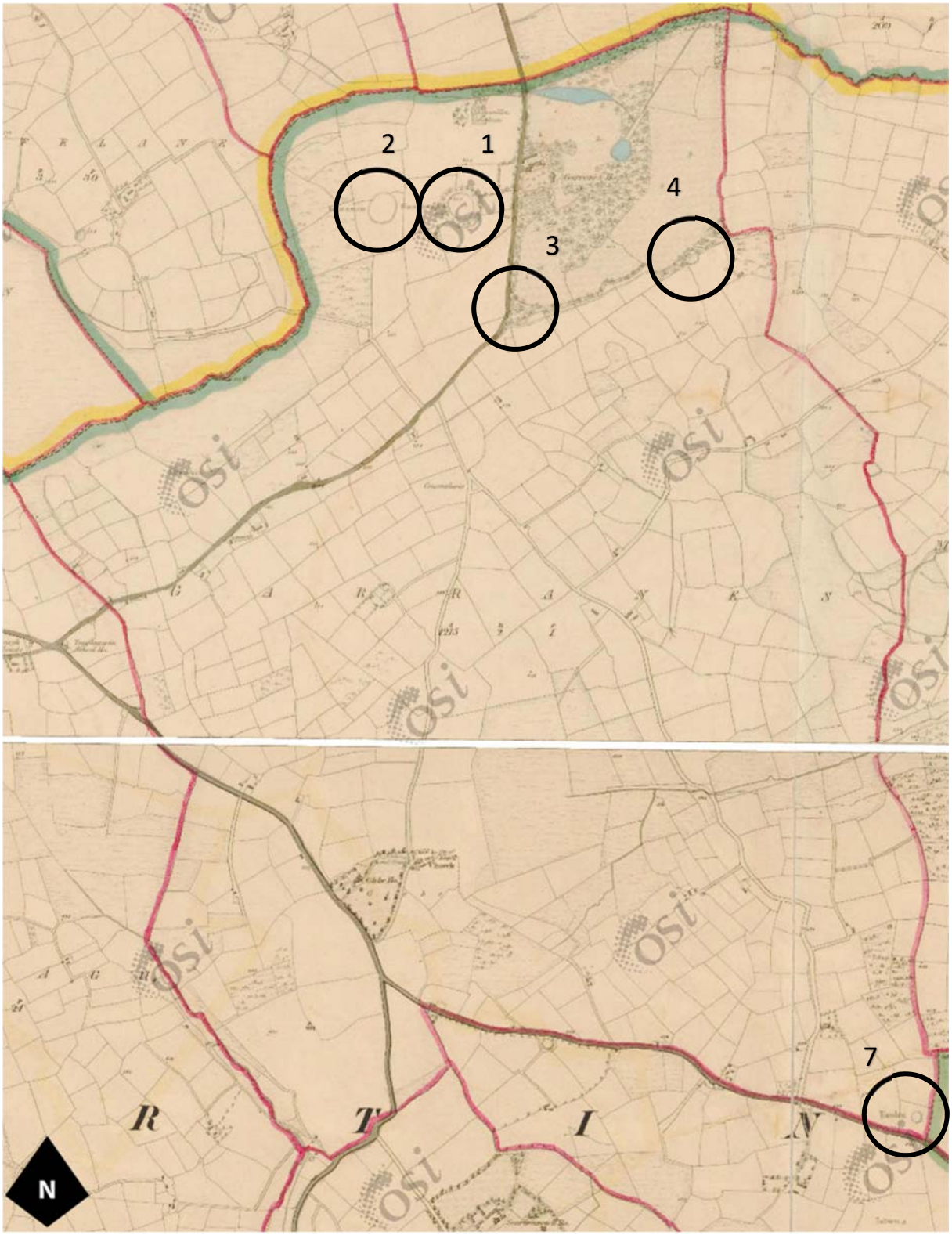


Figure 122. First edition OS map of Garranes townland depicting ringforts 1. CO084-084, 2. CO084-083, 3. CO084-085001, 4. CO084-088 and 7. CO096-010

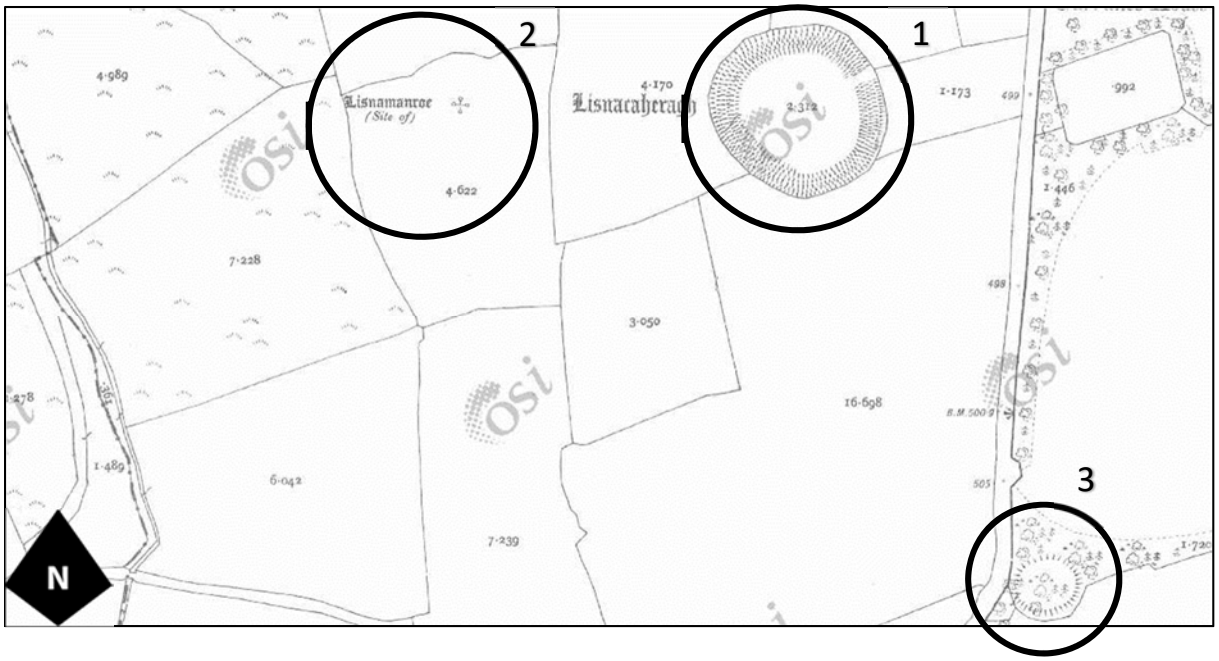


Figure 123. Second edition OS map (1903) of Garranes townland depicting ringforts 1. CO084-084, 2. CO084-083 and 3. CO084-085001

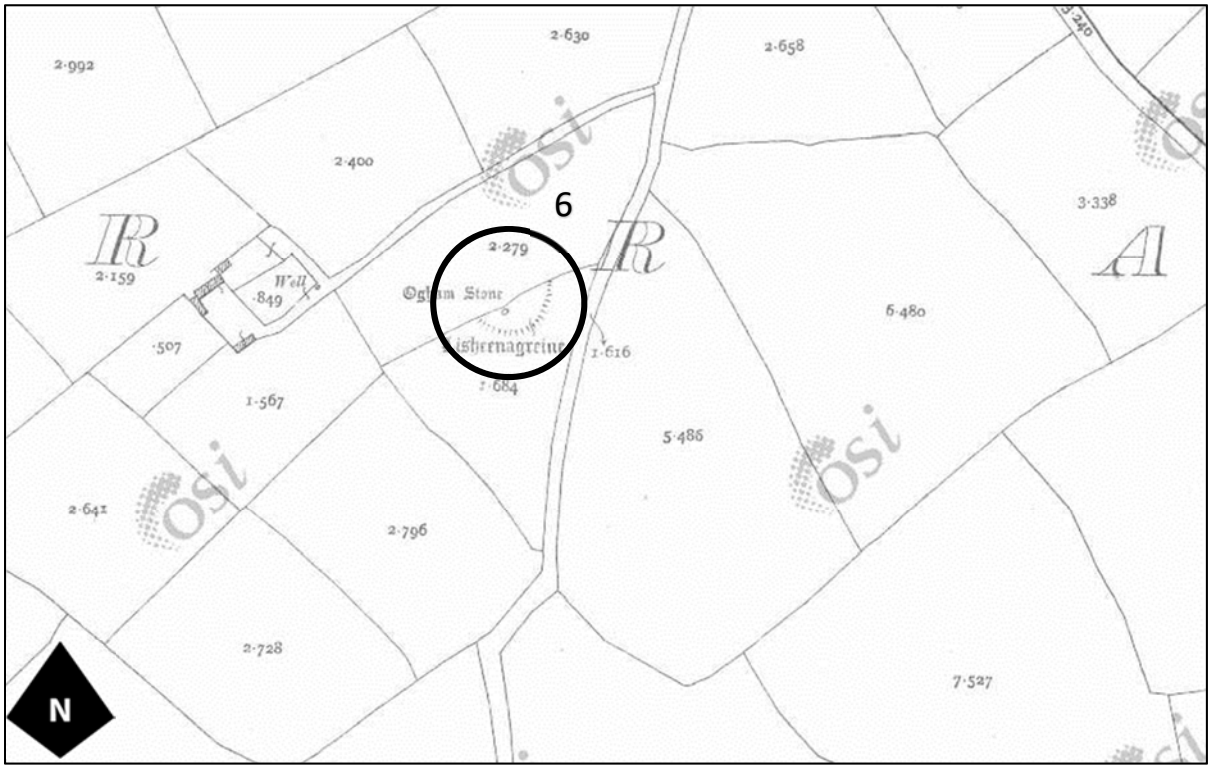


Figure 124. Second edition OS map of Garranes townland depicting ringfort 6. CO084-090001

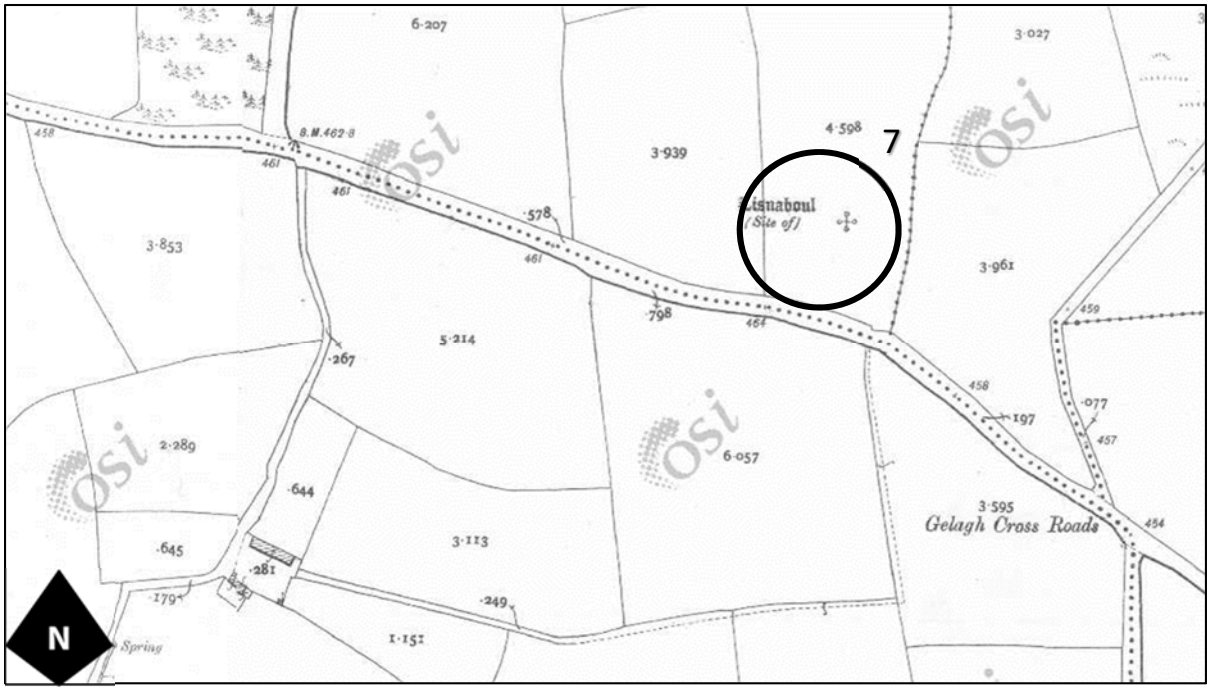


Figure 125. Second edition OS map of Garranes townland depicting site of ringfort 7. CO096-010



Figure 126. General photogrammetry images of Garranes townland (BSS 2018)



Figure 127. Aerial image of Garranes townland depicting ringfort 1. CO084-084 and site of ringforts 2. CO084-083, 3. CO084-085001, 4. CO084-088 and 5. CO084-136 (DG 2011 – 3)



Figure 128. Photogrammetry image of Garranes townland depicting ringfort 1. CO084-084 and site of ringforts 2. CO084-083, 3. CO084-085001, 4. CO084-088 and 5. CO084-136 (BSS 2018)



Figure 129. Aerial image of Garranes townland depicting site of ringfort 6. CO084-090001 (DG 2011 – 3)

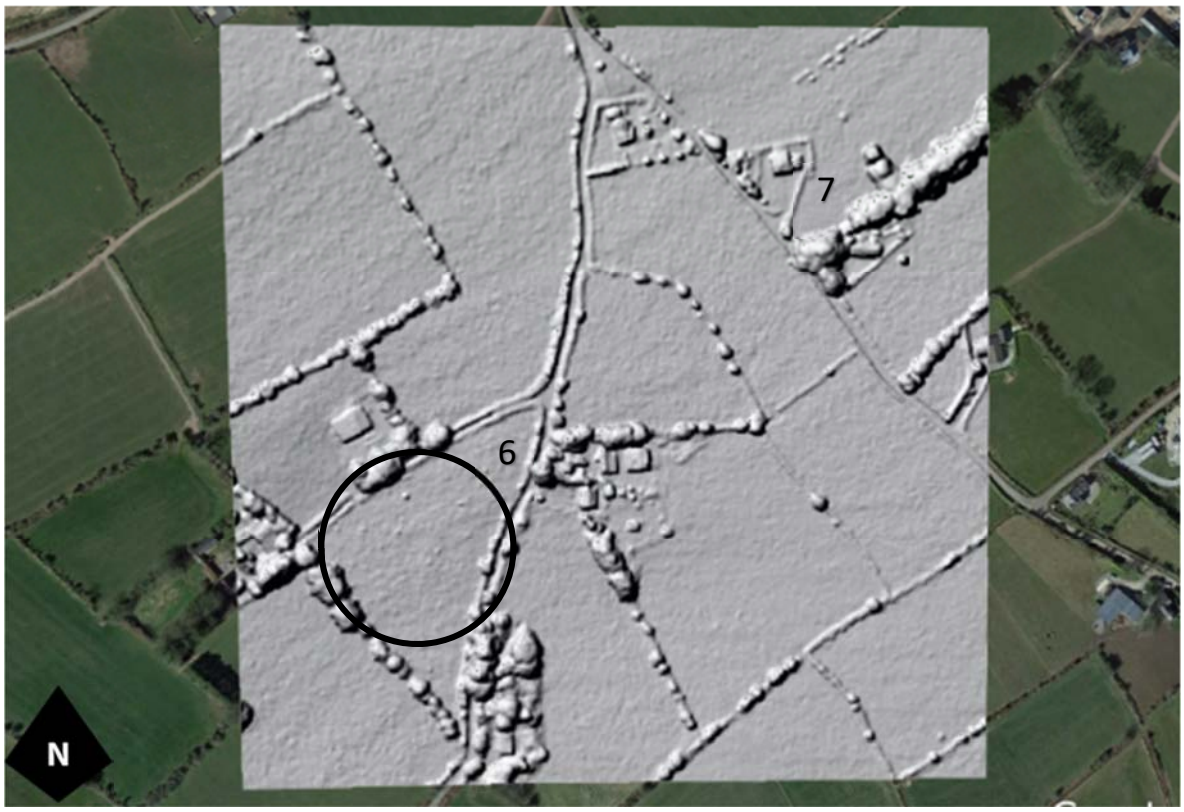


Figure 130. Photogrammetry image of Garranes townland depicting site of ringfort 6. CO084-090001 (BSS 2018)



Figure 131. Aerial image of Garranes townland depicting site of ringfort 7. CO096-010 (DG 2011 – 3)

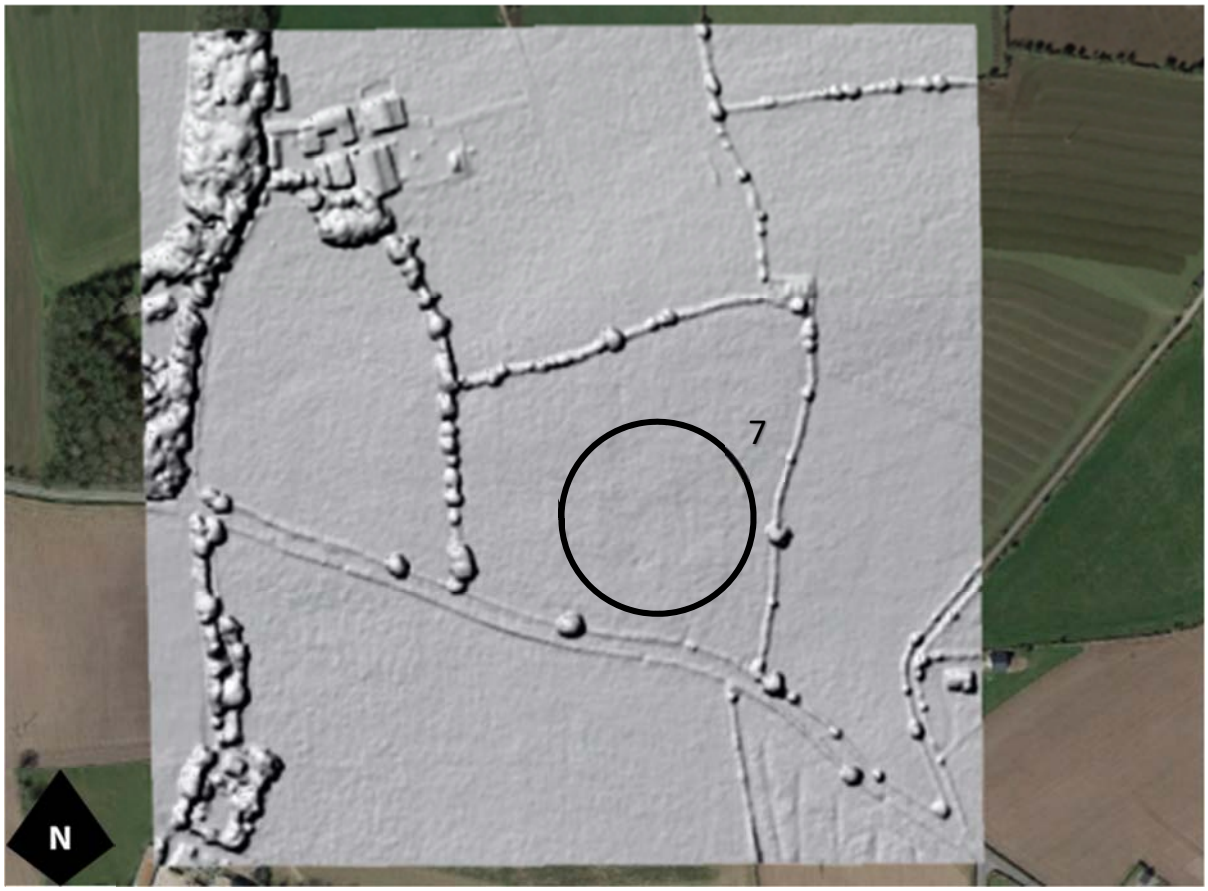


Figure 132. Photogrammetry image of Garranes townland depicting site of ringfort 7. CO096-010 (BSS 2018)

3.6.2. Kilbarry

Scalé (1775, map 27) includes a single ringfort in his depiction of this townland. This monument is also recorded and has the SMR number of CO096-003. On the first edition OS (1841, Sheet 96) map, this monument is clearly depicted immediately west of the main north-south running road. It is furthermore included in the second edition revisions (OSI 1904, Sheet 96). In his survey of this barony, O Ríordáin (1931, 61) remarked upon the 'remains of a large circular earthwork about 57 yards [*c*. 55m] in diameter' and concluded that it 'was probably a lios'. This claim appears to be supported by the presence of a souterrain, CO096-081, in the interior of this area. This monument is presently no longer visible above ground; however, an examination of aerial imagery clearly shows a well-defined circular crop mark at this location (NMS 2018).



Figure 133. Scalé's map of Kilbarry townland depicting ringfort CO096-003



Figure 134. First edition OS map of Kilbarry townland depicting ringfort CO096-003

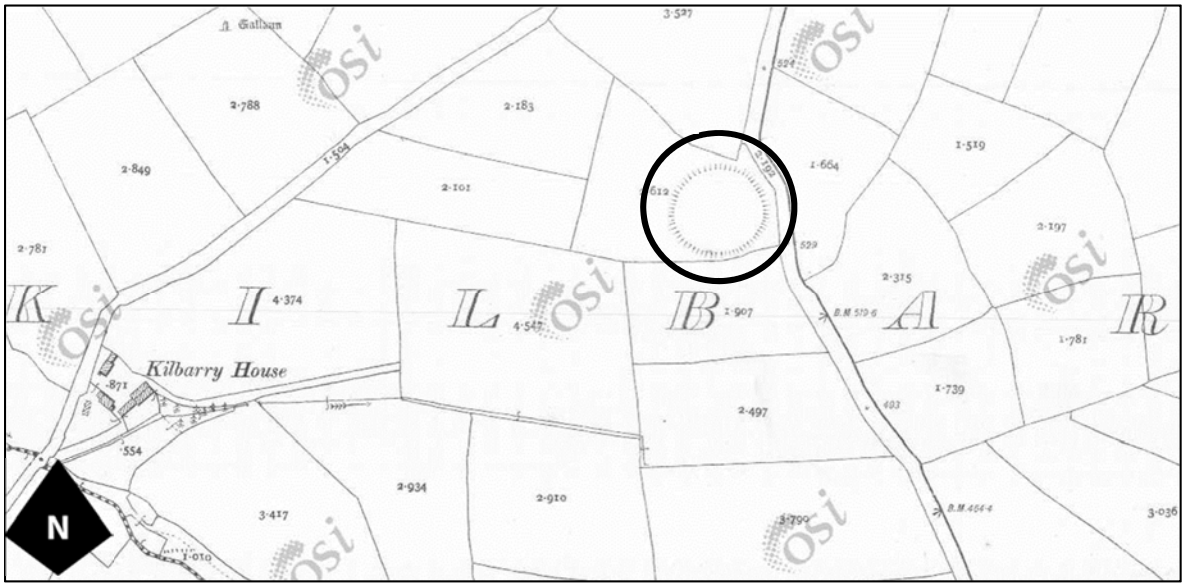


Figure 135. Second edition OS map of Kilbarry townland depicting ringfort CO096-003



Figure 136. Aerial image of Kilbarry townland depicting site of ringfort CO096-003 (DG 2011 – 3)

3.6.3. Moneen

This townland is divided between two parishes of this barony, Brinny and Templemartin. Scalé (1775, map 30) shows it, however, as a single unit in the map that resulted from his survey. On this map Scalé depicts a total of nine ringforts. Seven in the parish of Templemartin and two in that of Brinny. Each of these are also recorded in the NMS database and have each been assigned an SMR number. The seven that are located in Templemartin parish carry the numbers CO084-095 to CO084-099 and CO084-137 & CO084-138. Those in Brinny parish have the SMR numbers of CO096-017001 & CO096-086. At the time of the first edition OS maps (1842, Sheet 84), of those ringforts noted in Templemartin parish three are depicted as circular features, CO084-096, CO084-098 &CO084-099. Another ringfort included in Scalé's earlier map, CO084-095, is shown here as a square enclosure.

Also, the database contains a reference to the discovery of a souterrain just over 200m and slightly to the south-east of ringfort, CO084-137. The Archaeological Inventory of County Cork (Power *et al.* 2009) notes that this souterrain was discovered during agricultural improvement work during the 1980's. This type of feature is quite frequently associated, and located within, ringforts. The presence of one here may indicate the earlier existence of a now levelled ringfort, that was not noted by Scalé (1775, map 30). The two ringforts noted by Scalé in Brinny parish are also depicted on the first edition OS maps (1841, Sheet 96). Although,

here they are both represented as sub-rectangular features. Ringfort no. CO096-017001 is now named as *Moylelisheen* and, strangely, although it is recorded as being in Brinny parish the boundary appears to run outside its southern edge, thus placing it in Templemartin parish. The other ringfort, CO096-086 is also noted on this occasion as a *killeen* or unofficial burial ground. Again this is a later development that was frequently associated with ringforts.

By the time of the second edition revisions to these maps, and as is almost always the case, only two ringforts are depicted in the Templemartin portion of this townland (OSI 1903, Sheet 84). These are CO084-096 and CO084-097. In addition, the ringfort, CO084-095, is shown as a rectangular field that juts outward at the western boundary of the townland. By this time also the ringfort noted as a *killeen*, CO096-086, has been removed and *Moylelisheen*, CO096-017001, is shown as a circular feature and the presence of a souterrain, CO096-017002, appears to confirm that this monument is indeed a ringfort. Modern aerial photographs show that only the bivallete ringfort, CO084-096, survives in either part of this townland (NMS 2018). Although, the nearby example of CO084-095 is shown as a three sided feature on the field boundary. Further north, the location of ringforts, CO084-097 & CO084-098, are indicated by circular crop marks (GE 2012; DG 2011 – 3). Further south into the townland the location of ringfort, CO084-099 may also be confirmed through examination of aerial images (DG 2011 – 3; GE 2012 – 5). There is no further evidence within the available range of aerial images (DG 2011 – 3; GE 2012 – 5; BM 2018) which would allow the location of the other noted ringforts to be confirmed.



Figure 137. Scalé's map of Moneen townland depicting ringforts 1. CO084-095, 2. CO084-096, 3. CO084-097, 4. CO084-098, 5. CO084-099, 6. CO084-137, 7. CO084-138, 8. CO096-017001 & 9. CO096-086

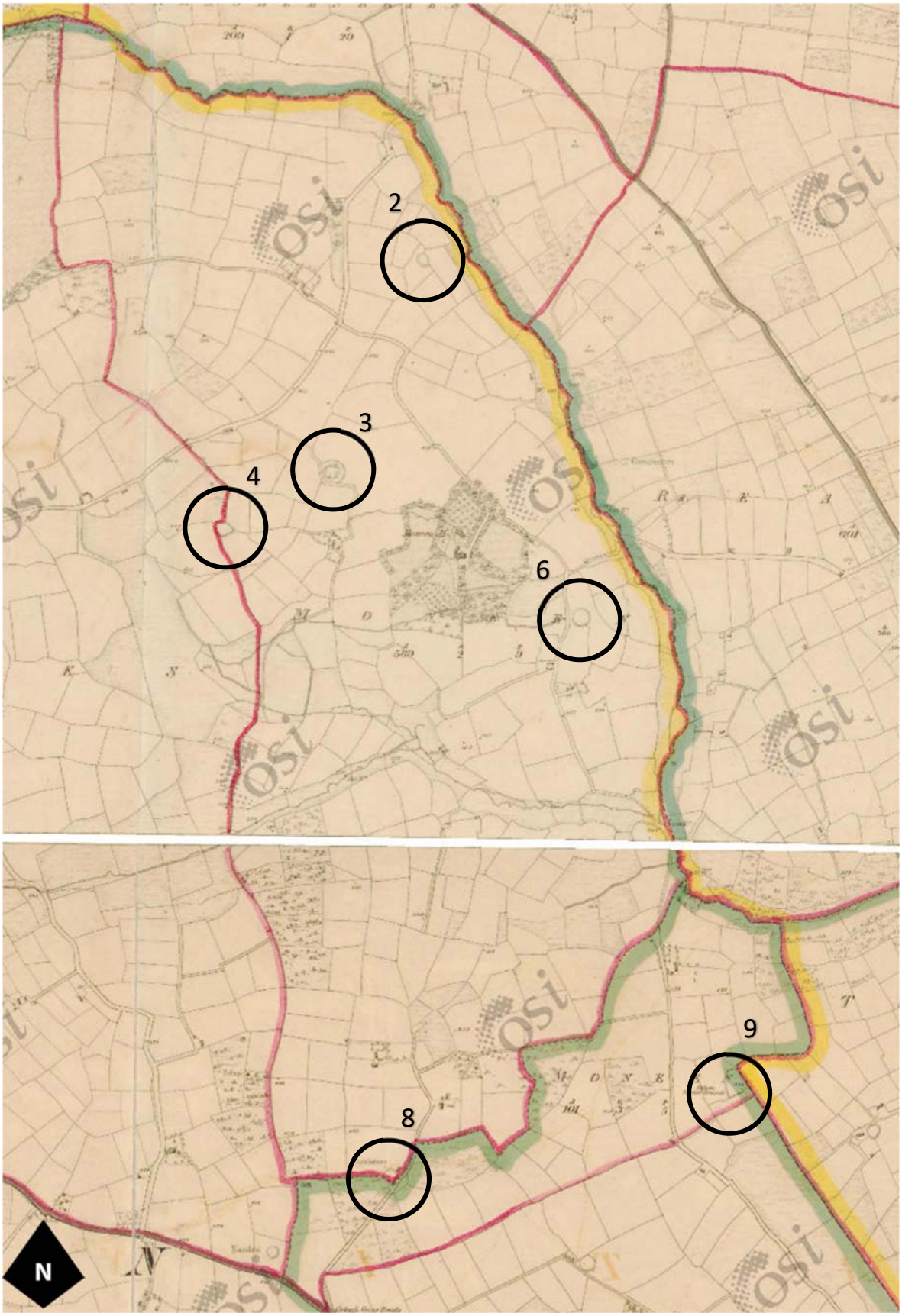


Figure 138. First edition OS map of Moneen townland depicting ringforts 2. CO084-096, 3. CO084-097, 4. CO084-098, 6. CO084-137, 8. CO096-017001 & 9. CO096-086

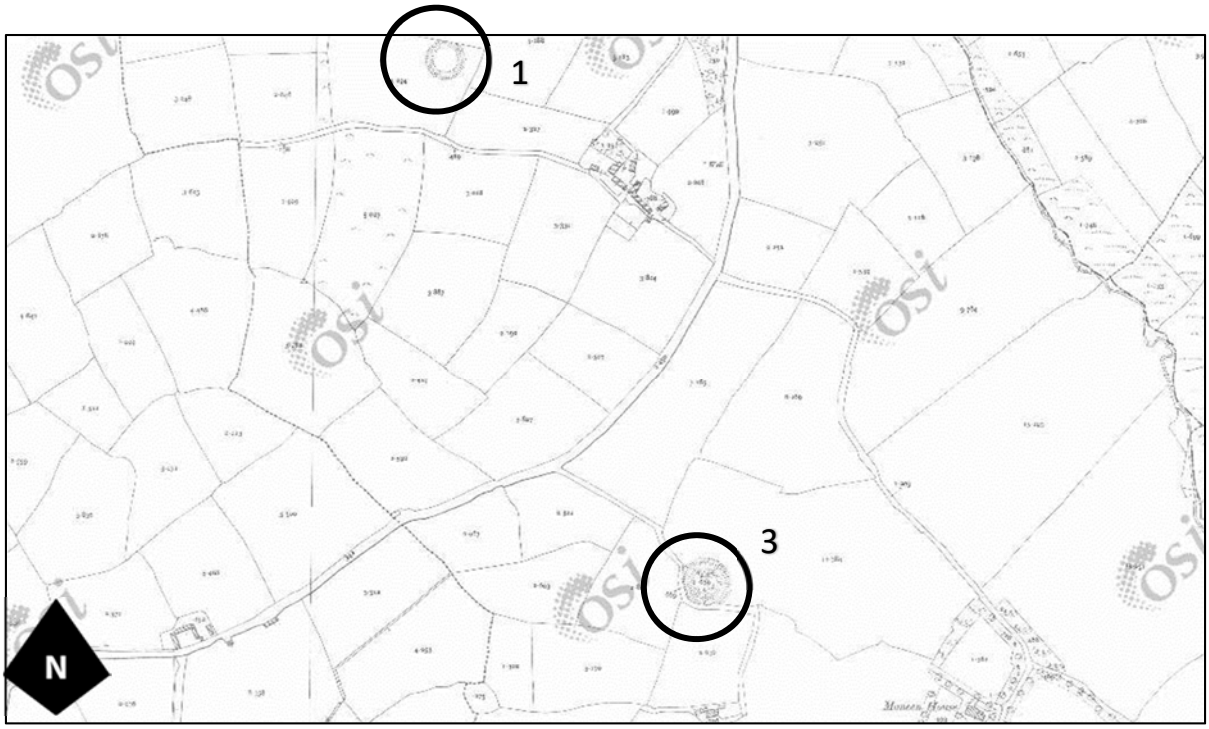


Figure 139. Second edition OS map of Moneen townland depicting ringforts 1. CO084-095 and 3. CO084-097

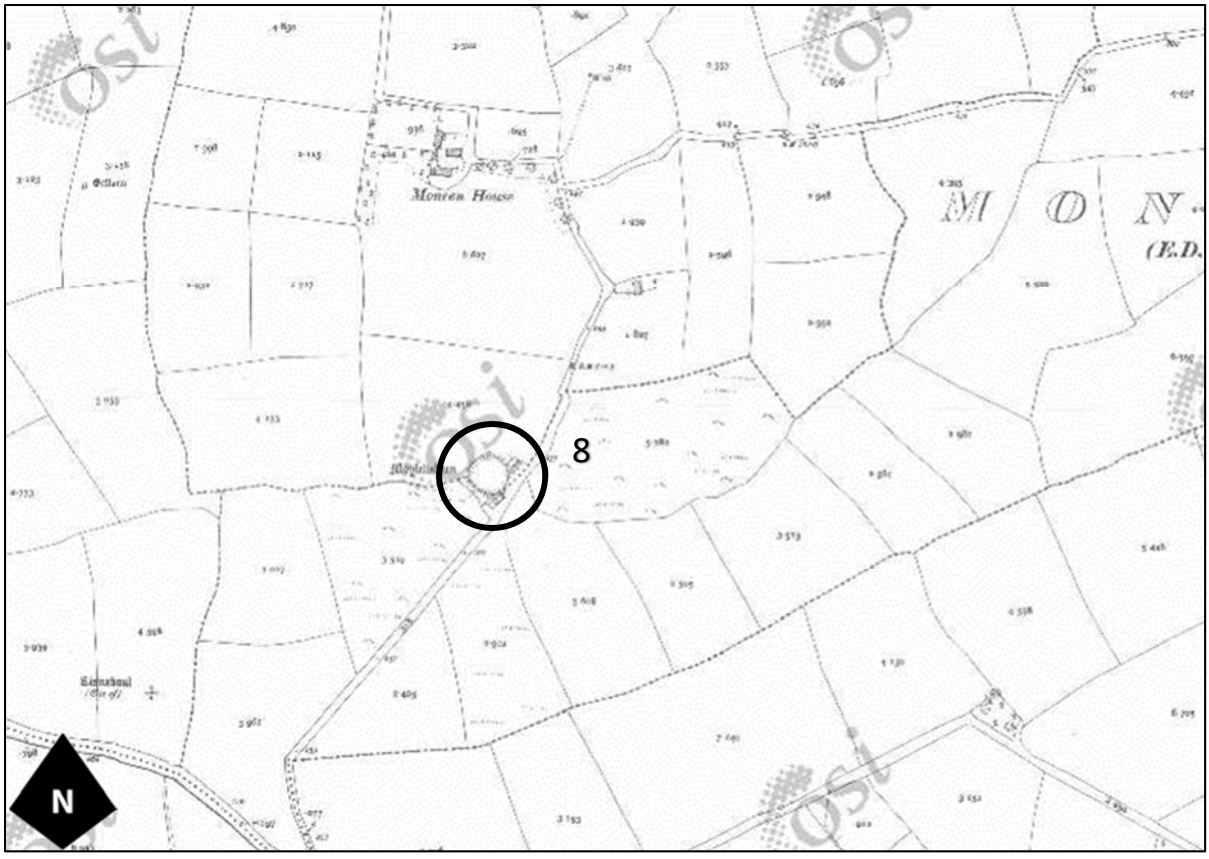


Figure 140. Second edition OS map of Moneen townland depicting ringfort 8. CO096-017001



Figure 141. Aerial image of Moneen townland depicting ringfort 3. CO084-097 and site of ringforts 1. CO084-095, 2. CO084-096, 4. CO084-098, 5. CO084-099, 6. CO084-137 and 7. CO084-138 (DG 2011 – 3)



Figure 142. Aerial image of Moneen townland depicting site of ringforts 8. CO096-017001 and 9. CO096-086 (DG 2011 – 3)

3.6.4. Moskeagh

Scalé (1775, map 26) depicts four ringforts, or 'Danes Forts', in his map of this townland. These monuments are also entered in the register and have been assigned the SMR numbers of CO096-110, CO096-111, CO096-007001 & CO084-077. An association of this latter fort with a souterrain, CO096-007002, would reinforce the identification of the former structure as a ringfort. By the time of the first edition OS map (1841, Sheet 96 & 1842, Sheet 84) two of these ringforts, CO096-110 & CO096-111, are no longer visible. Although, on the second

edition map (1904, Sheet 96), the location of this latter monument is indicated by a curved field boundary to the south and south-east. Both CO096-007001 and CO084-077 are shown as extant on this map however. A study of aerial imagery from recent surveys shows one ringfort, CO096-007001, to be extant. Furthermore, the eventual location of CO084-077 is confirmed by the presence of a curved field boundary to the west and a soil mark that depicts the eastern half of the bank (DG 2011 – 3; GE 2009 – 17).



Figure 143. Scalé's map of Moskeagh townland depicting ringforts 1. CO096-110, 2. CO096-111, 3. CO096-007001 & 4. CO084-077

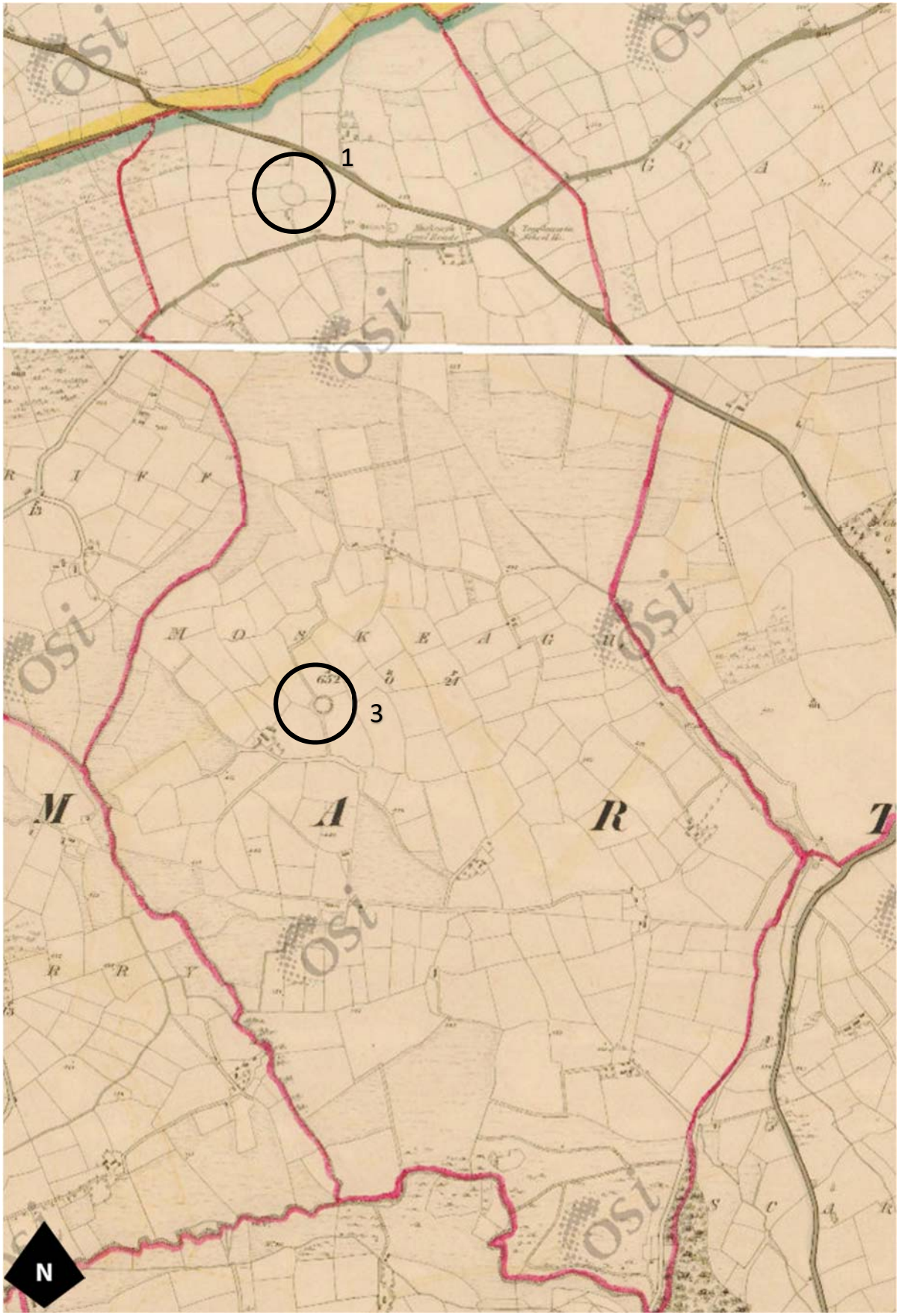


Figure 144. First edition OS map of Moskeagh townland depicting ringforts 1. CO096-110 and 3. CO096-007001

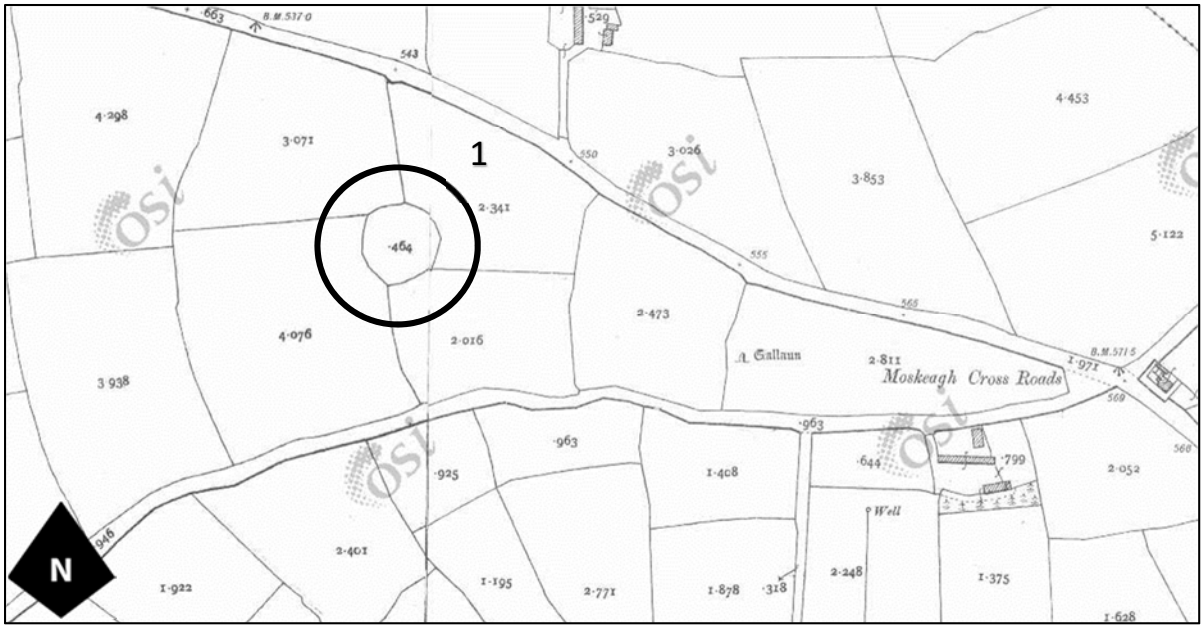


Figure 145. Second edition OS map of Moskeagh townland depicting ringfort 1. CO096-110

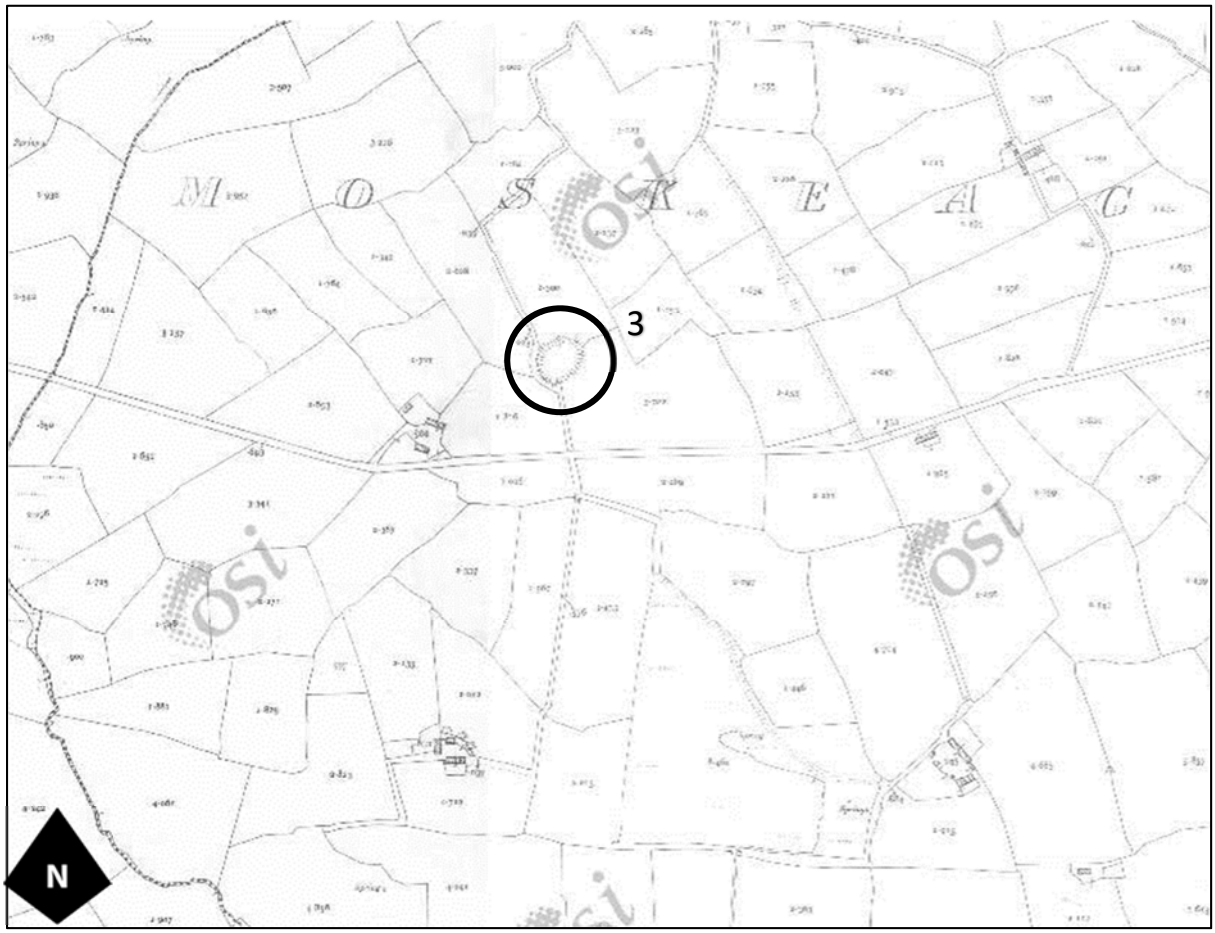


Figure 146. Second edition OS map of Moskeagh townland depicting ringfort 3. CO096-007001



Figure 147. Aerial image of Moskeagh townland depicting ringfort 3. CO096-007001 and sites of ringforts 1. CO096-110, 2. CO096-111 & 4. CO084-077 (DG 2011 – 3)

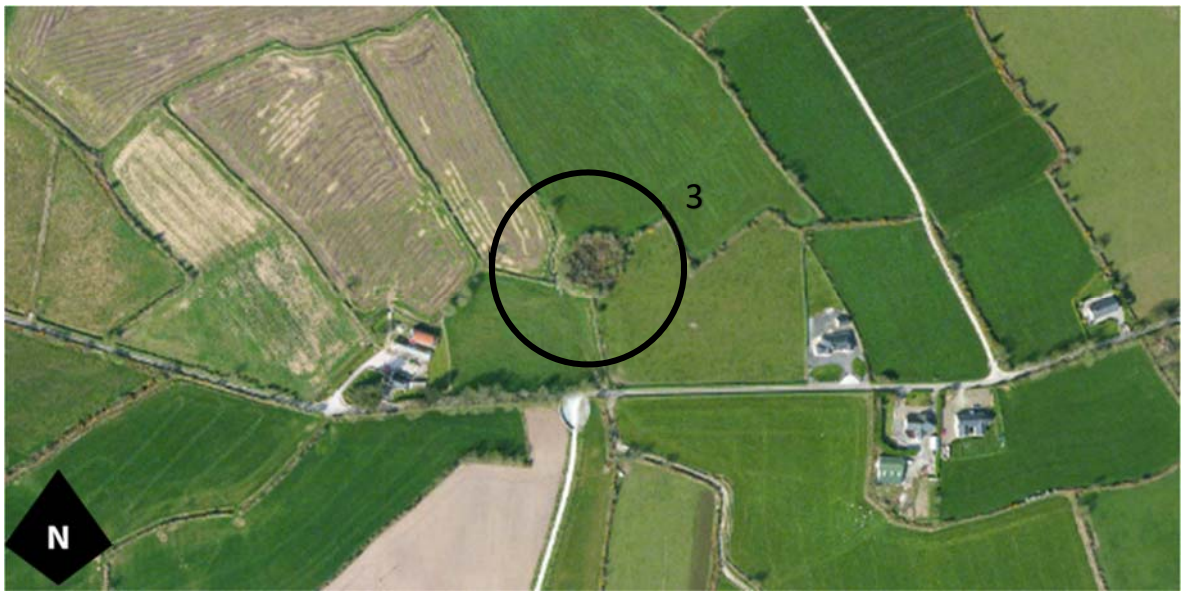


Figure 148. Aerial image of Moskeagh townland depicting ringfort 3. CO096-007001 (DG 2011 – 3)



Figure 149. Aerial image of Moskeagh townland depicting site of ringforts 1. CO096-110 (DG 2011 – 3)

3.6.5. Scarriff

Scalé (1775, map 28) includes a depiction of two ringforts on his map of this townland. These are also recorded in the NMS database and bear the SMR numbers of CO096-006 and CO096-005. Both of these monuments are visible on the first edition OS map (1841, Sheet 96). However, by the time of the second edition revisions ringfort, CO096-006 is no longer depicted. O Ríordáin (1931, 58) noticed the remains of this monument and referred to it as a 'single ramparted lios … 29 yards in diameter [c.29m]'. While this ringfort is no longer extant examination of aerial images clearly indicates a circular crop mark centred on the grid coordinates, 545175-562229 (GE 2012 – 3). The other ringfort within this townland is shown on the first edition 1841 map as having trees planted in its interior. It is again shown on the second edition (1904, Sheet 96) map. It is extant at present and is defined by a ring of tree growth (NMS 2018).



Figure 150. Scalé's map of Scarriff townland depicting ringforts 1. CO096-006 and 2. CO096-005

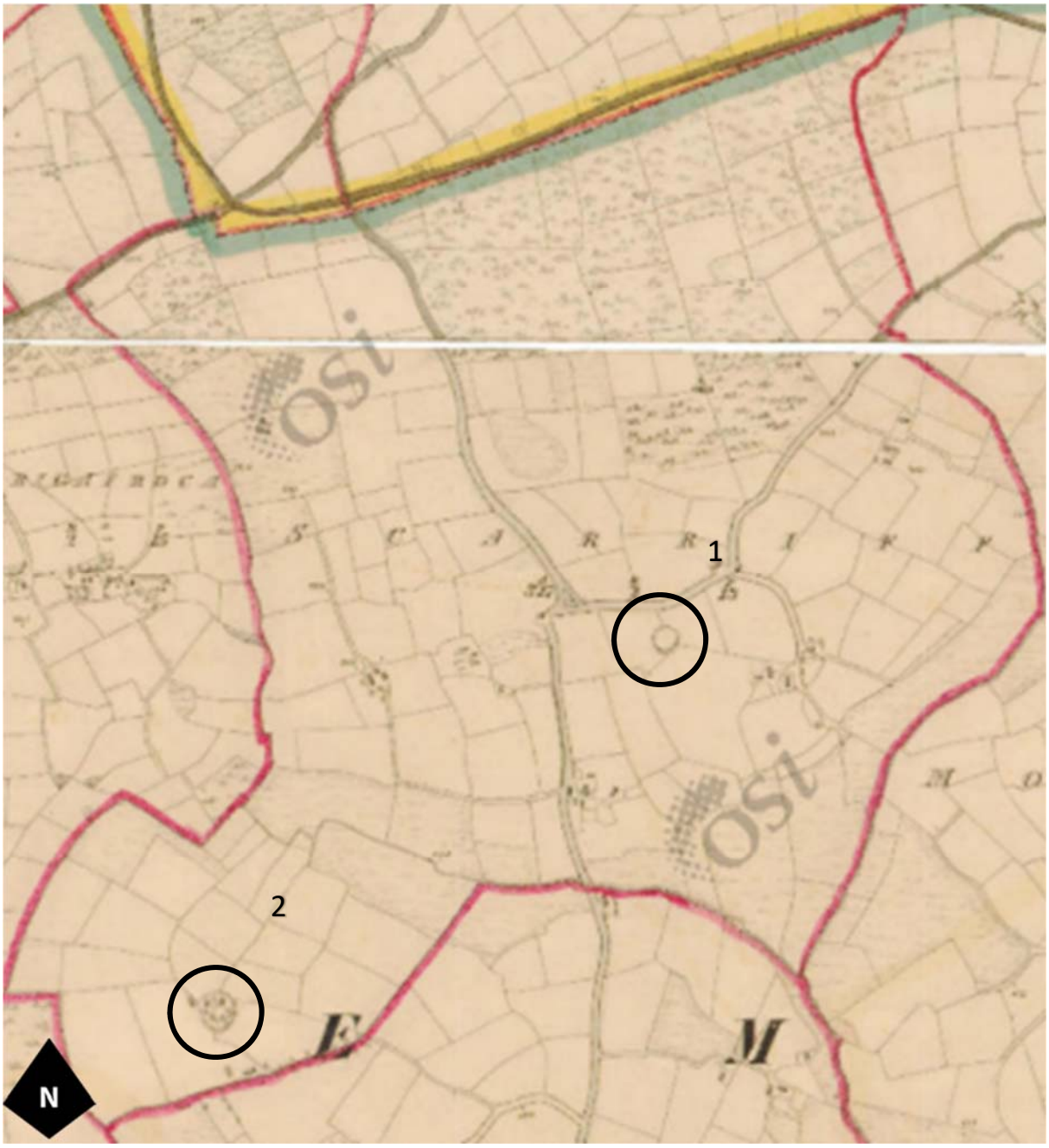


Figure 151. First edition OS map of Scarriff townland depicting ringforts 1. CO096-006 and 2. CO096-005

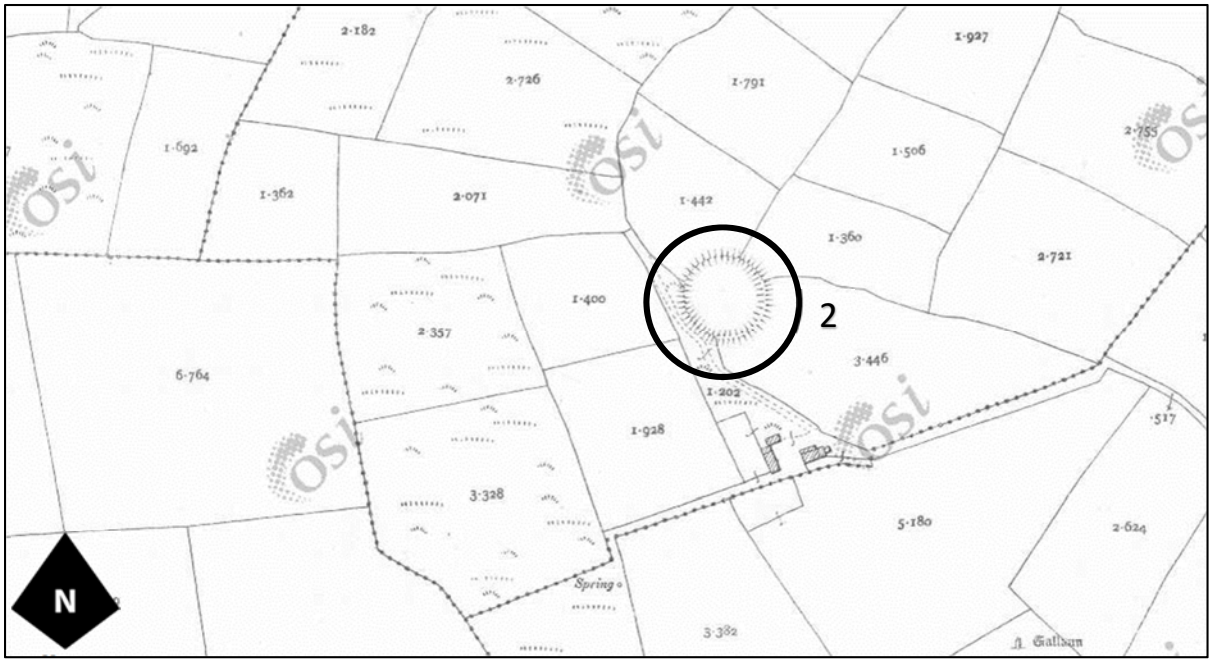


Figure 152. Second edition OS map of Scarriff townland depicting ringfort 2. CO096-005



Figure 153. Aerial image of Scarriff townland depicting ringfort 2. CO096-005 and site of ringfort 1. CO096-006 (DG 2011 – 3)



Figure 154. Close up aerial image of Scarriff townland depicting ringfort 2. CO096-005 (DG 2011 – 3)

3.6.6. Scartnamuck

There are three ringforts, or 'Dane's Forts' depicted by Scalé (1775, map 31) in his map of this townland. One of which he depicts as an elliptical shape, in addition to the two regular circular shaped ones. These monuments are also recorded and were attributed the SMR numbers of CO096-112, CO096-016 and CO096-113. Unfortunately, only one ringfort, CO096-016, is included in the first edition OS map (1841, Sheet 96). This ringfort is also depicted in the second edition revisions of 1904 and, indeed, is still extant. The south-west and south-east sections of its bank have been incorporated into field boundaries and the remainder of its outline is defined by a ring of tree growth (DG 2011 – 3). Again unfortunately, a study of a range of current aerial images provides no indication as to the location of the other two ringforts noted in this townland (DG 2011 – 3; GE 2009 – 17). Nor indeed of the interesting form of the ringfort, CO096-112, shown on the earlier 1775 map.

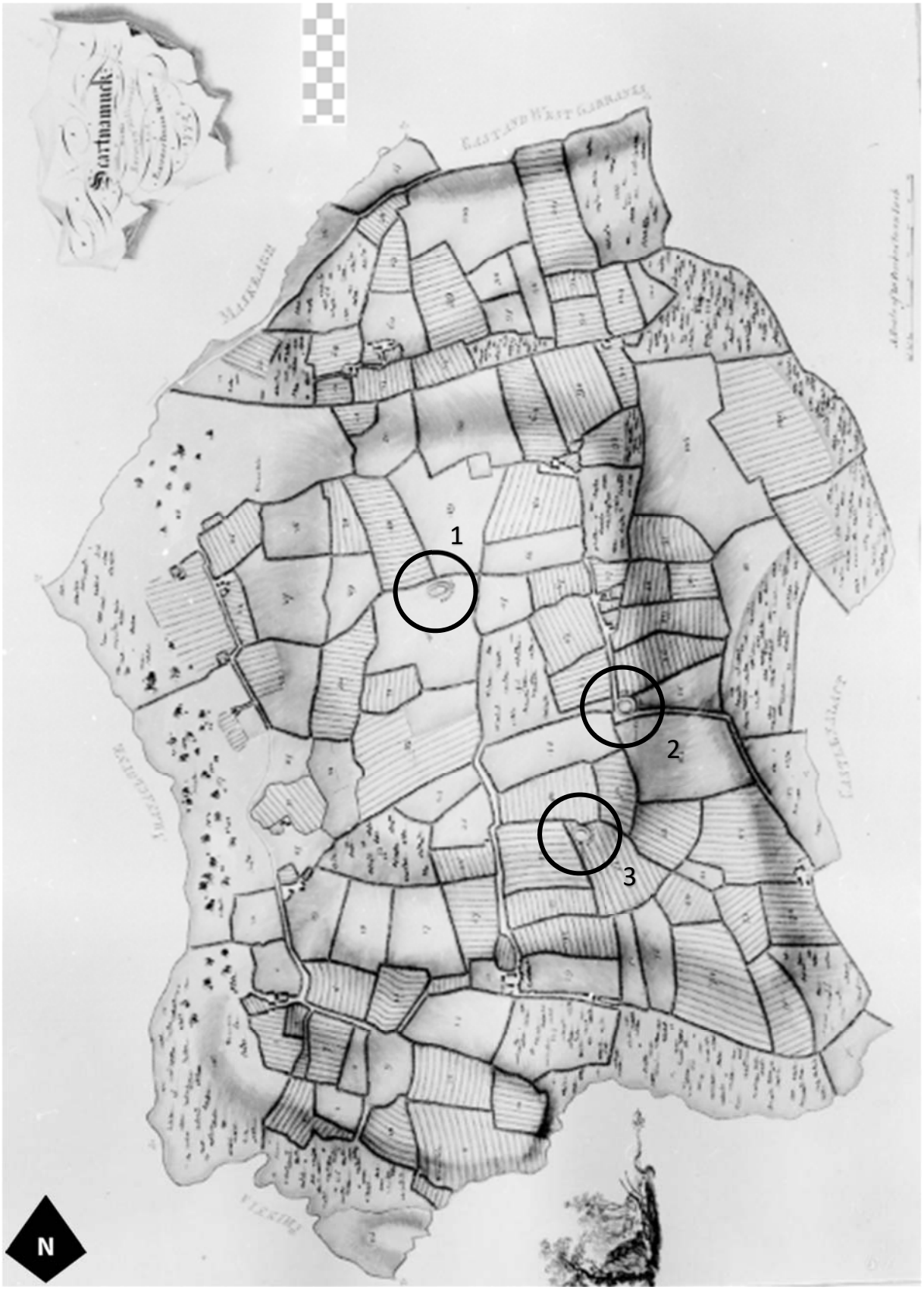


Figure 156. Scalé's map of Scartnamuck townland depicting ringforts CO096-112, CO096-016 and CO096-113

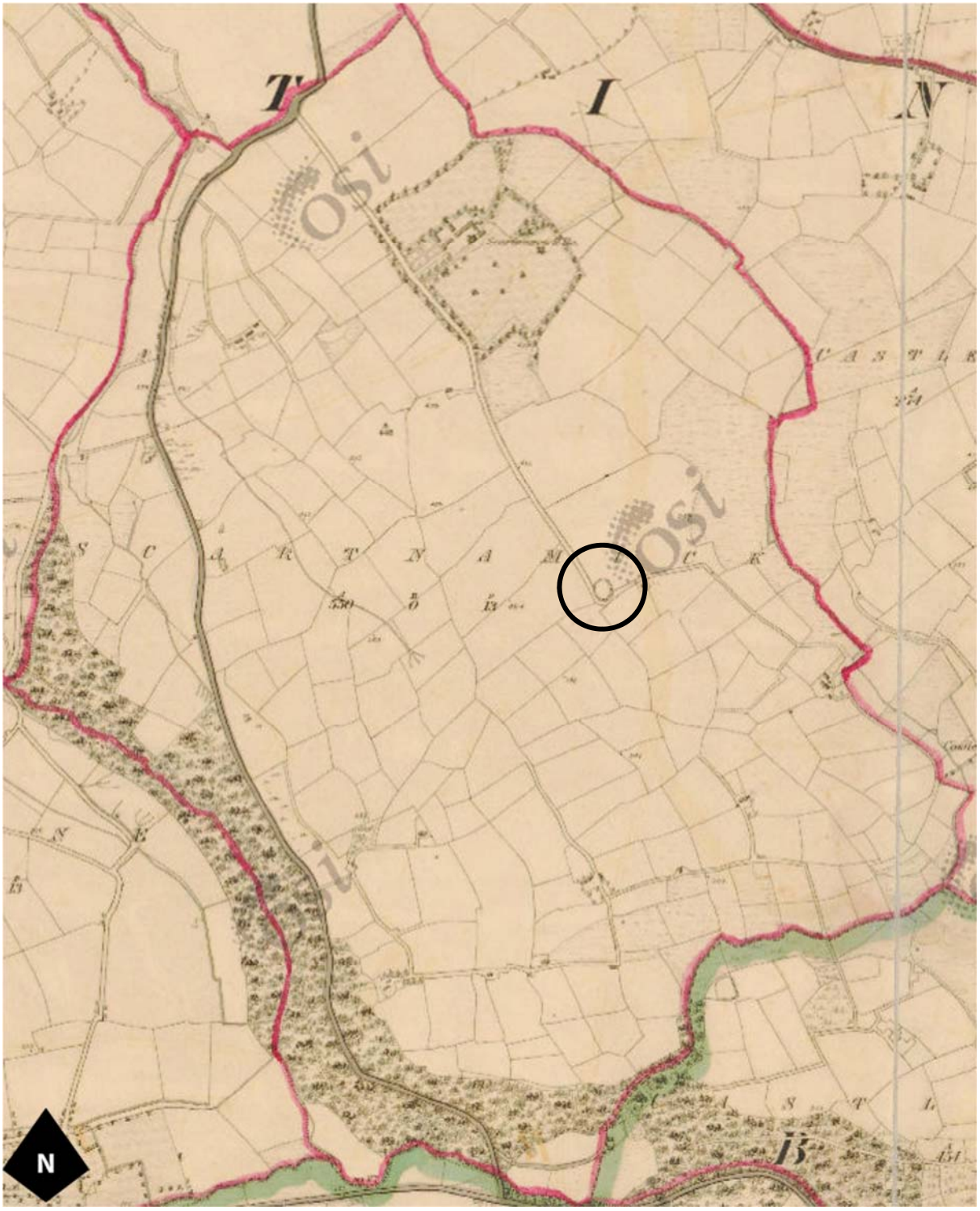


Figure 157. First edition OS map of Scartnamuck townland depicting ringfort CO096-016

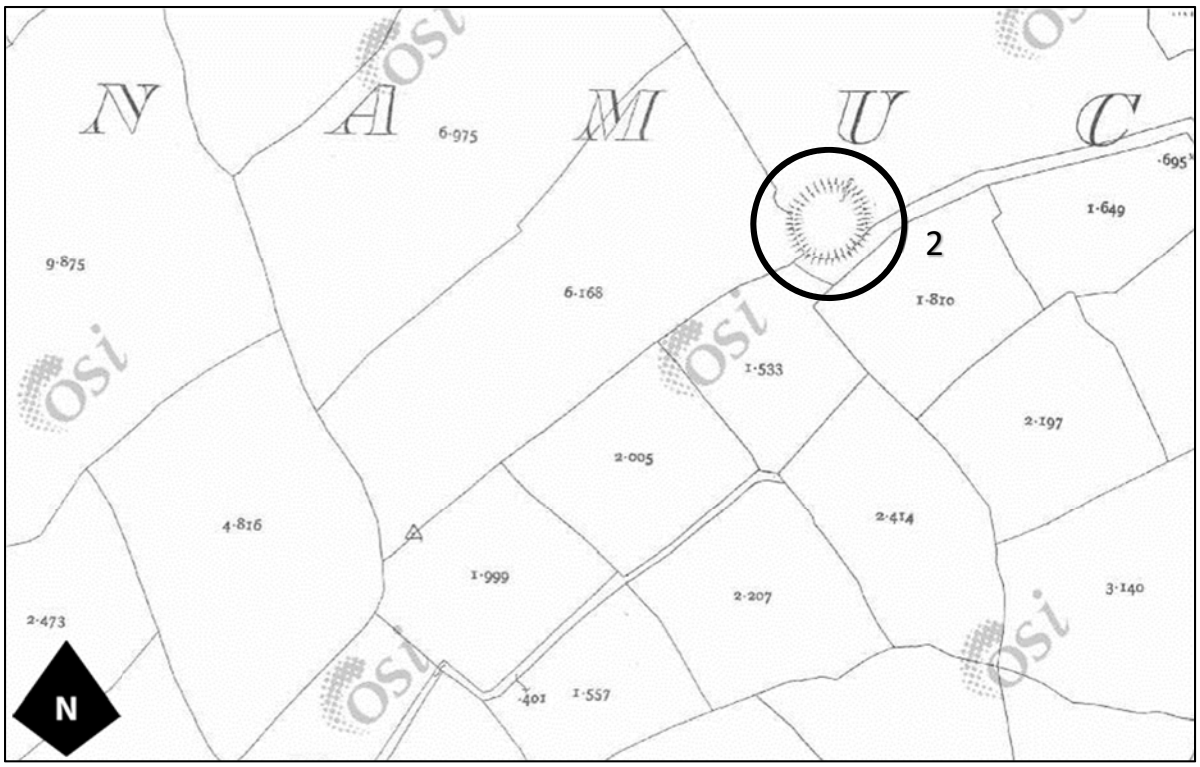


Figure 158. Second edition OS map of Scartnamuck townland depicting ringfort CO096-016



Figure 159. Aerial image of Scartnamuck townland depicting ringforts CO096-112, CO096-016 and CO096-113 (DG 2011 – 3)



Figure 160. Close up aerial image of Scartnamuck depicting ringfort CO096-016 (DG 2011 – 3)

3.6.7. Shanacloyne

There is no record on the register of the presence of field monuments, including, ringforts within this townland (NMS 2108). The map created following the early survey carried out by Scalé (1775, map 24) provides no evidence for the eventual location of such sites within this townland either. Neither the first edition OS map (1841, Sheet 96) nor the second edition map (1904, Sheet 96) that resulted from the subsequent revision of the initial data clarifies this issue. Examination of available aerial imagery, NMS (2018) or Google Earth (2009 – 17) provides no clearer indication of the eventual presence here of field monuments, among these ringforts.

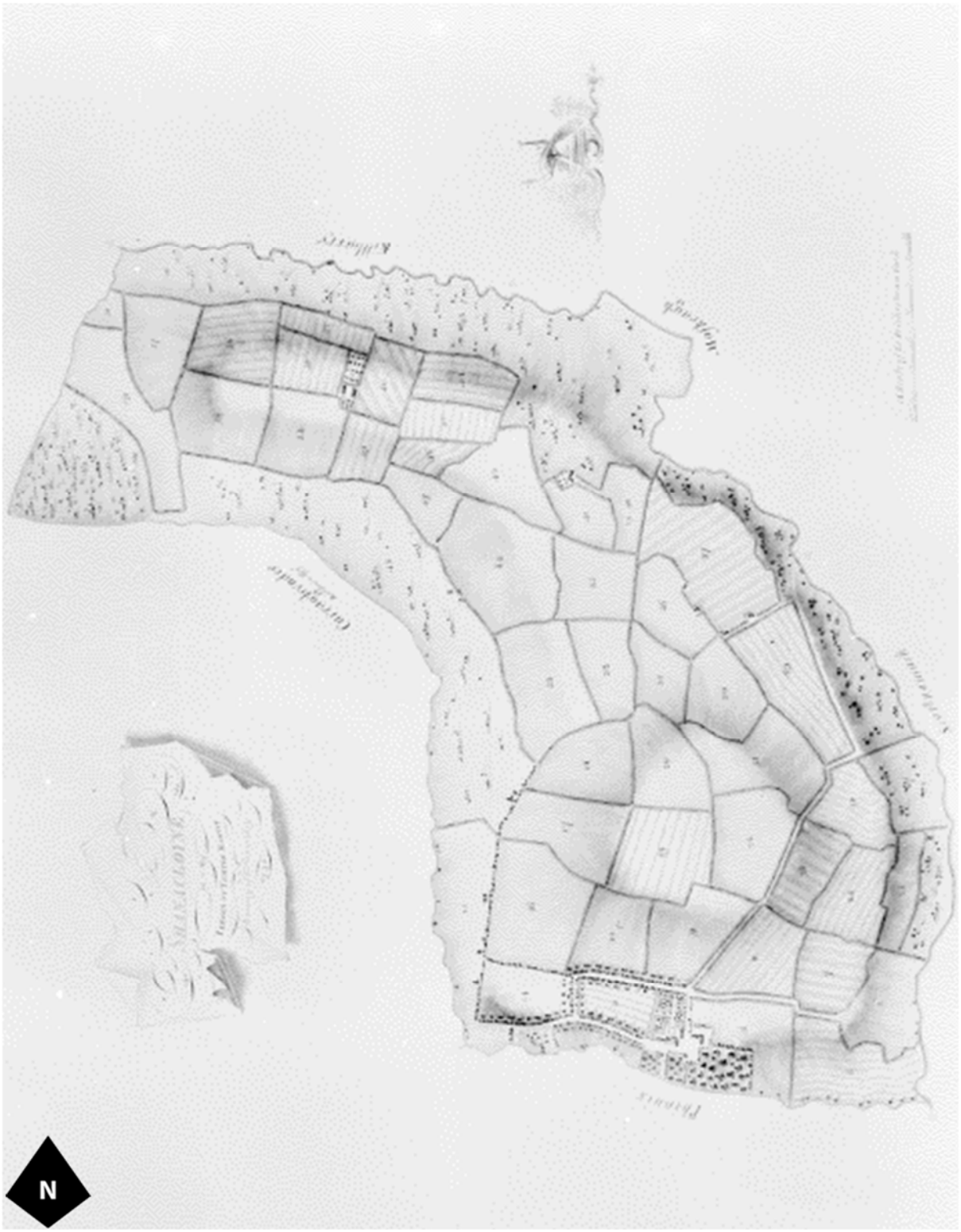


Figure 161. Scalé's map of Shanacloyne townland

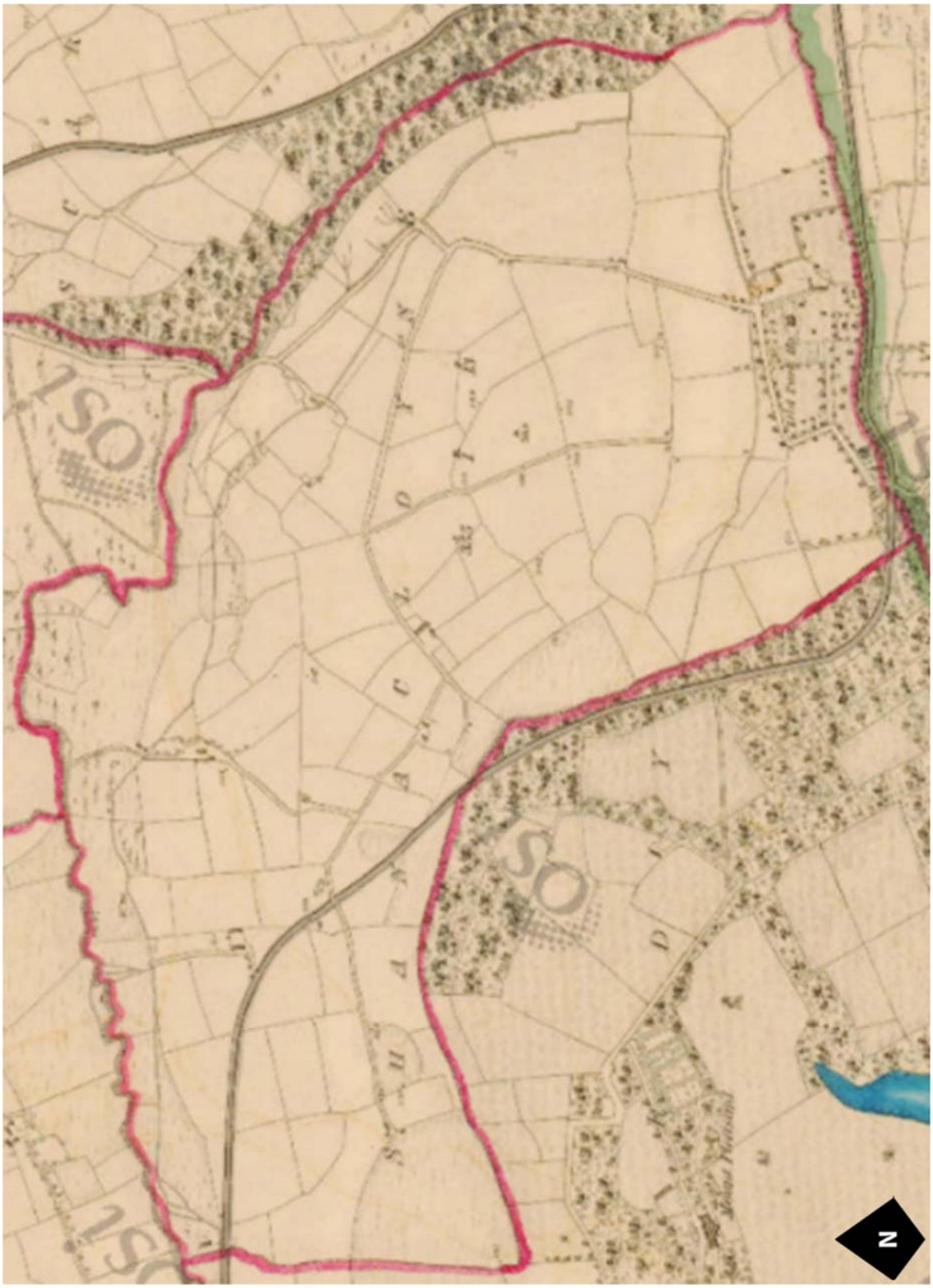


Figure 162. First edition OS map of Shanacloyne townland

CATALOGUE CHAPTER 4:

IKEATHY & OUGHTERANY,

CO. KILDARE

10,431.90 HECTARES

Evidence for Ringforts in certain Townlands of the Parishes of Balraheen, Cloncurry, Clonshanbo, Donadea, Dunmurraghill, Kilcock, Mainham, and Sculloguestown, Co. Kildare:

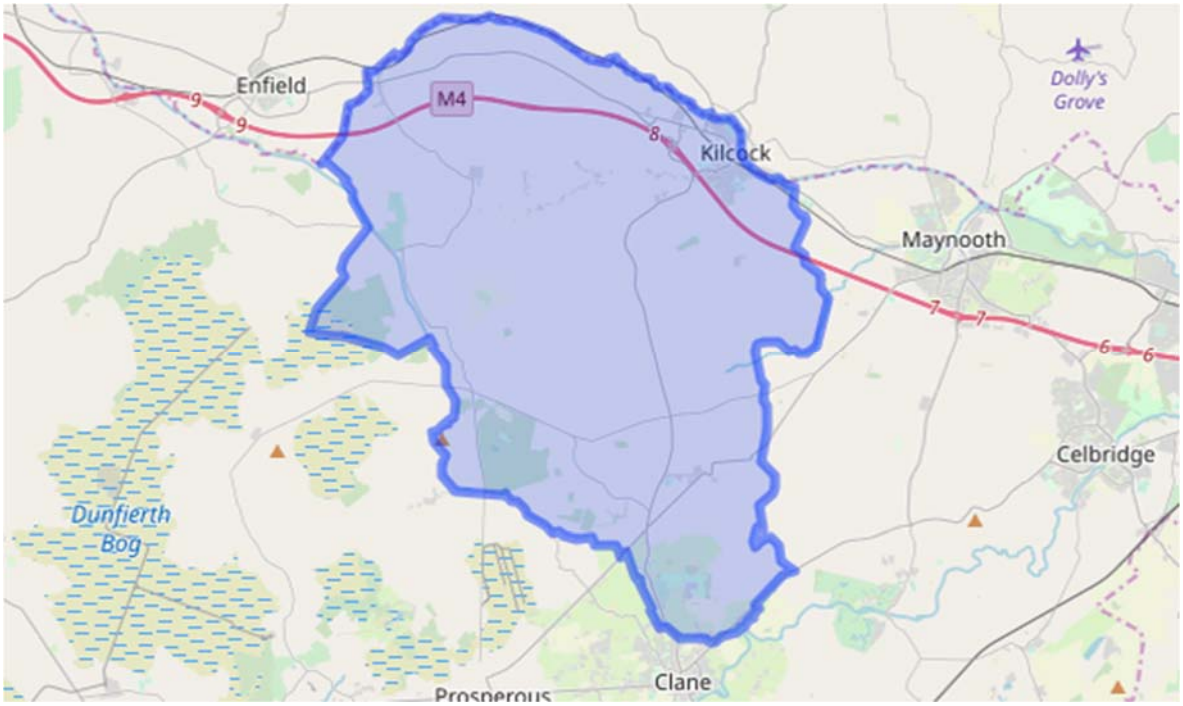


Figure 1. Barony map of Ikeathy and Oughterany, Co. Kildare

	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
NMR/Townlands	7/80	5/80	2/80	22/80	24/80	24/80
TOTAL	8	5	2	34	39	40

Figure 2. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Ikeathy and Oughterany barony, Co. Kildare

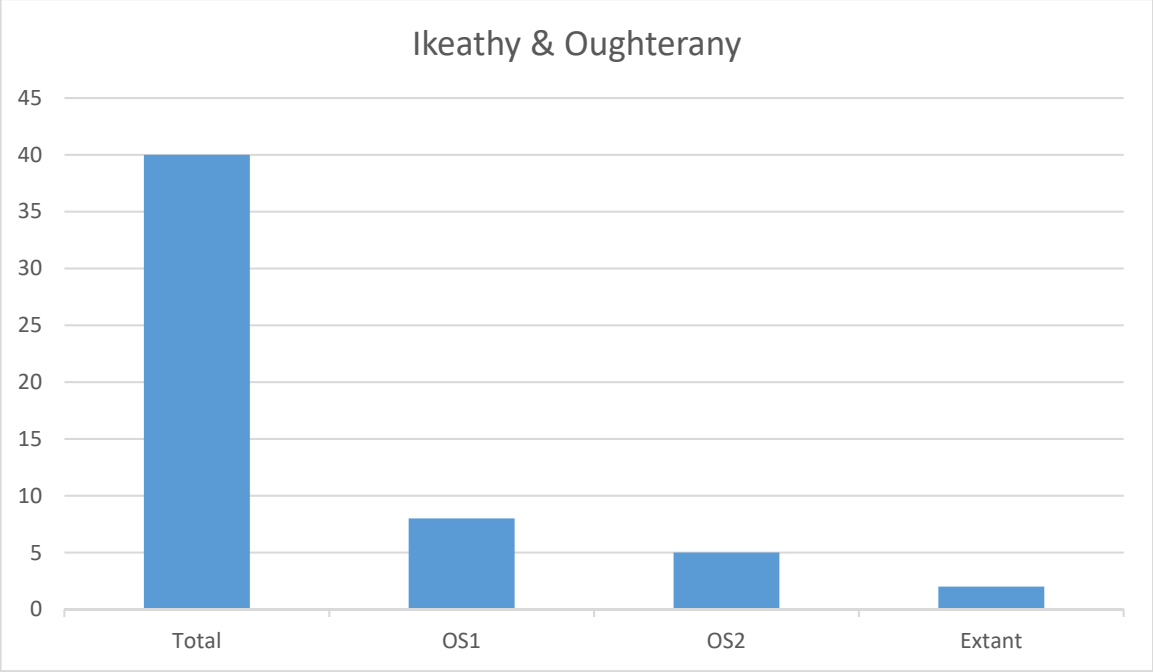


Figure 3. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Ikeathy and Oughterany barony, Co. Kildare

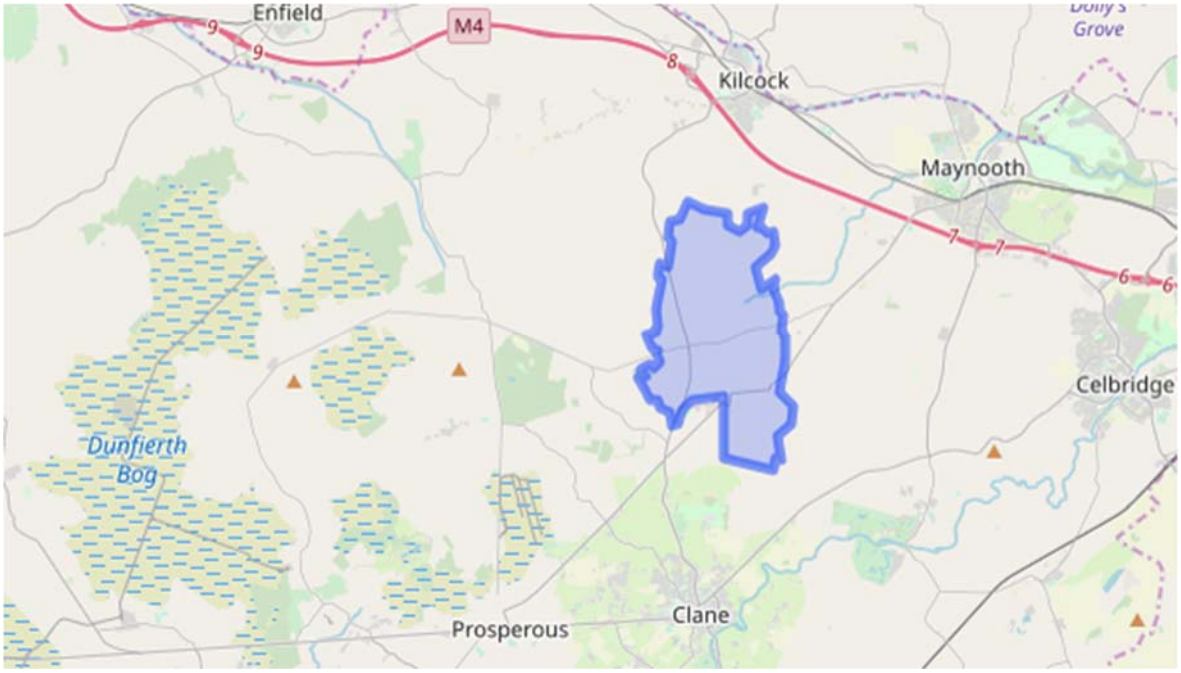


Figure 4. Parish map of Balraheen, Co. Kildare

	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Baltracey	0	0	0	1	1	1
Barreen	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clonduff	0	0	0	1	1	1
Clonfert N.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clonfert S.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Graigepootle	0	0	0	0	0	0
Painestown	0	0	0	0	0	0
Raheen	0	0	0	1	1	1
Raheen Old	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rathcoffey Dem.	1	1	1	3	3	3
Rathcoffey N.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rathcoffey S.	0	0	0	0	0	0
NMR/Townlands	1/12	1/12	1/12	4/12	4/12	4/12
TOTAL	1	1	1	6	6	6

Figure 5. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Balraheen parish, Co. Kildare

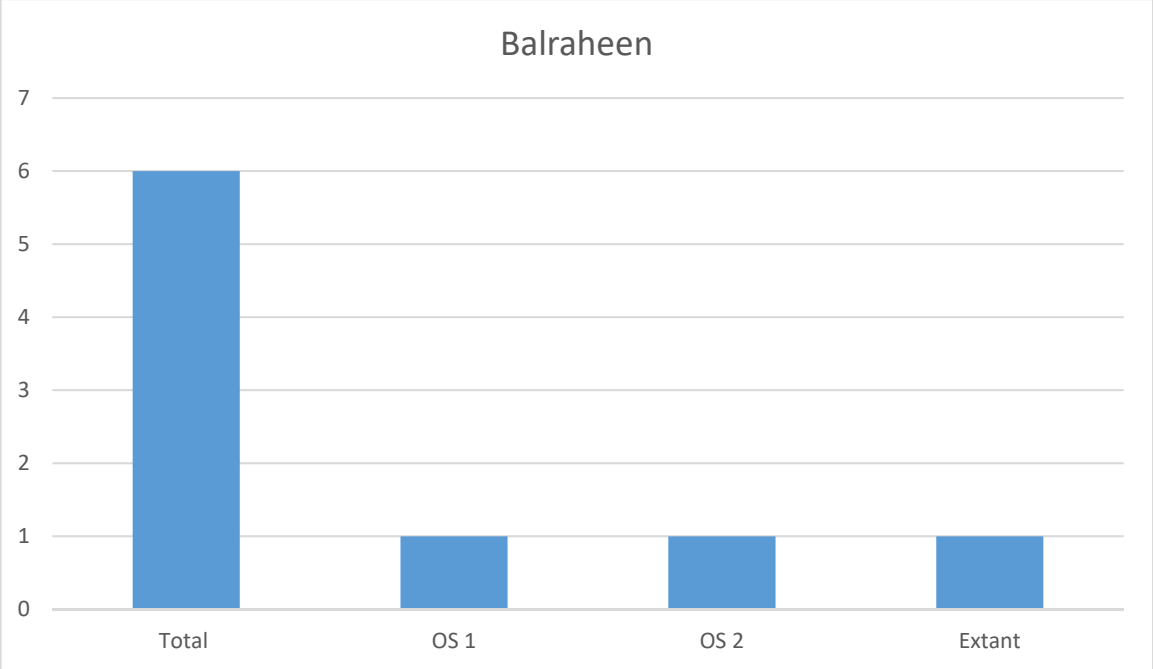


Figure 6. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Balraheen parish

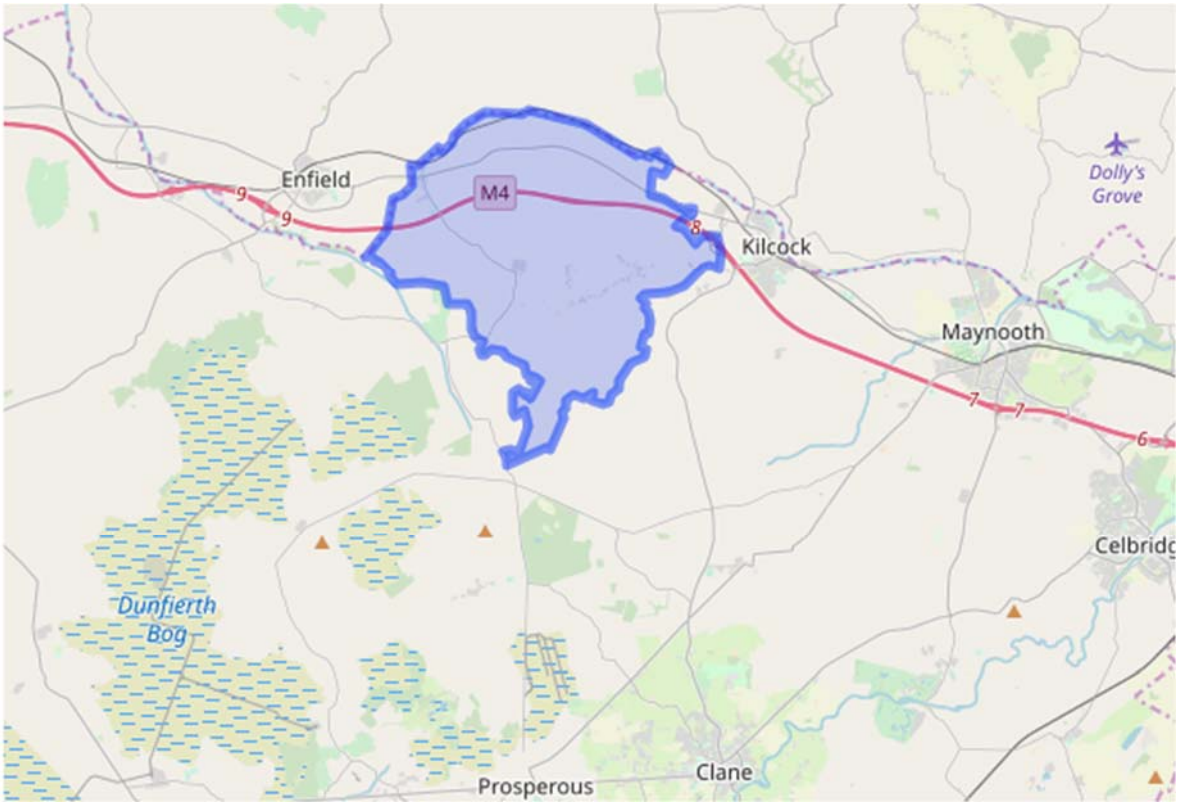


Figure 7. Parish map of Cloncurry, Co. Kildare

	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Ballycaghan	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballycanon	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballykeelan	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballynakill	1	0	0	2	2	2
Ballyvoneen	0	0	0	0	1	1
Cappagh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloncurry	0	0	0	1	1	1
Corcoranstown	0	0	0	2	2	2
Fanaghs	2	1	1	3	3	3
Graigerooth	0	0	0	2	2	2
Grange	1	0	0	1	1	1
Kilbride	0	0	0	1	1	1
Kilbrook	0	0	0	0	0	0
Killeighter	0	0	0	0	0	0

Killickaweeny	0	0	0	0	1	1
Kilmagorroge	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lugadoo	0	0	0	0	0	0
Newtown	0	0	0	1	1	1
Nicholastown	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ovidstown	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pitchfordstown	0	0	0	1	1	2
Tirmoghan Co.	0	0	0	0	0	0
NMR/Townlands	3/22	1/22	1/22	9/22	11/22	11/22
TOTAL	4	1	1	14	16	17

Figure 8. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Cloncurry parish, Co. Kildare

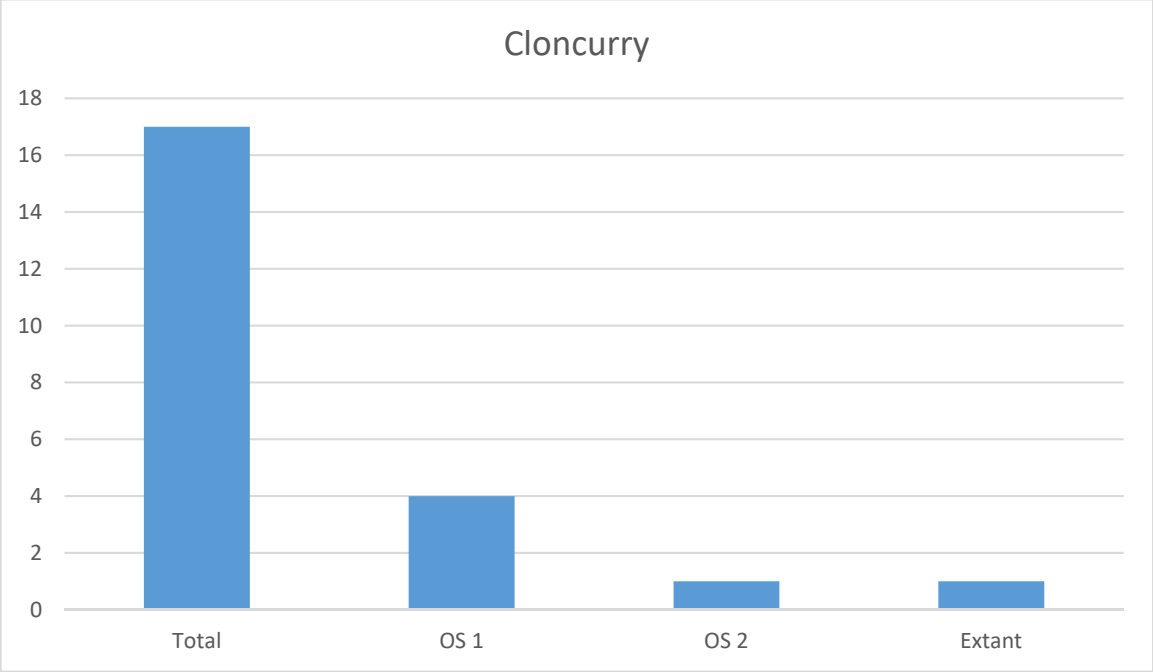


Figure 9. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Cloncurry parish

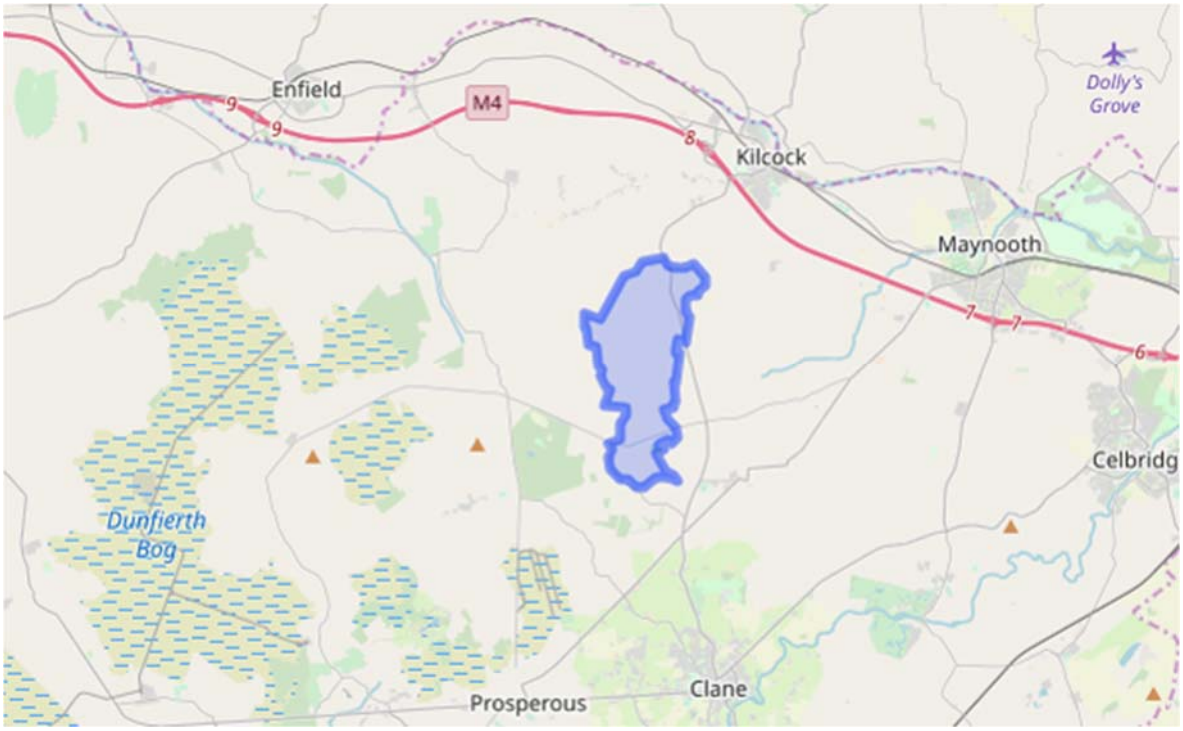


Figure 10. Parish map of Clonshanbo, Co. Kildare

	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Aghafullim	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballybrack	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballyloughan	0	0	0	0	0	0
Belgard	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clonshanbo	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farranadum	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hodgestown	0	0	0	0	0	0
Loughtown	0	0	0	0	0	0
NMR/Townlands	0/8	0/8	0/8	0/8	0/8	0/8
TOTAL	0	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 11. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Clonshanbo parish, Co. Kildare

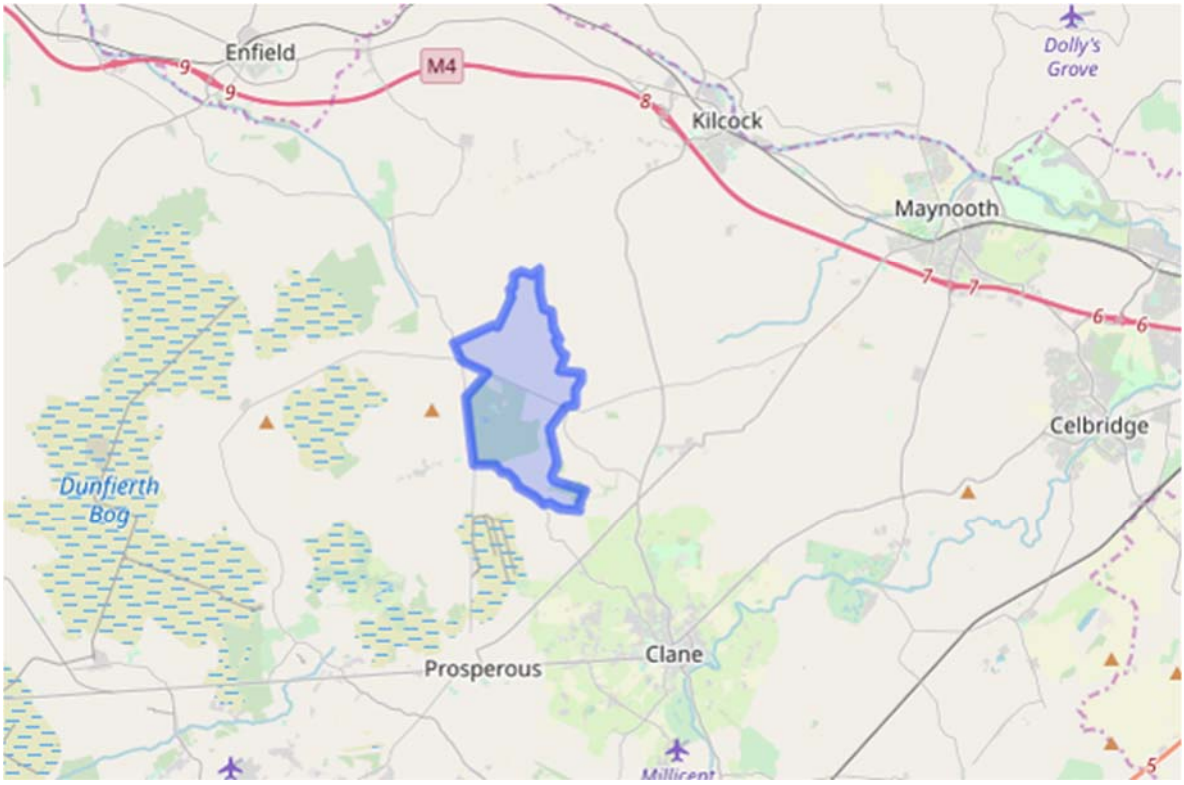


Figure 13. Parish map of Donadea, Co. Kildare

	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Cooltrim N.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cooltrim S.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Donadea	1	1	0	1	1	1
Donadea D.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kilmurry	0	0	0	0	0	0
KilnamoraghN.	0	0	0	0	0	0
KilnamoraghS.	0	0	0	0	0	0
NMR/Townlands	1/7	1/7	0/7	1/7	1/7	1/7
TOTAL	1	1	0	1	1	1

Figure 14. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Donadea parish, Co. Kildare

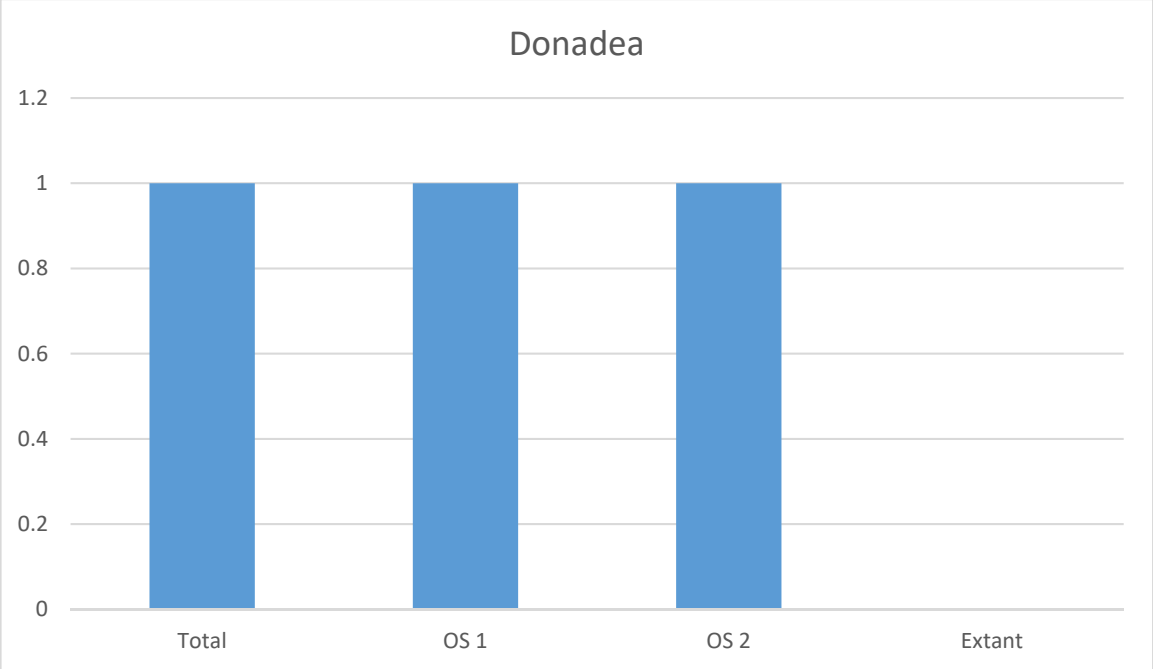


Figure 15. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Donadea parish

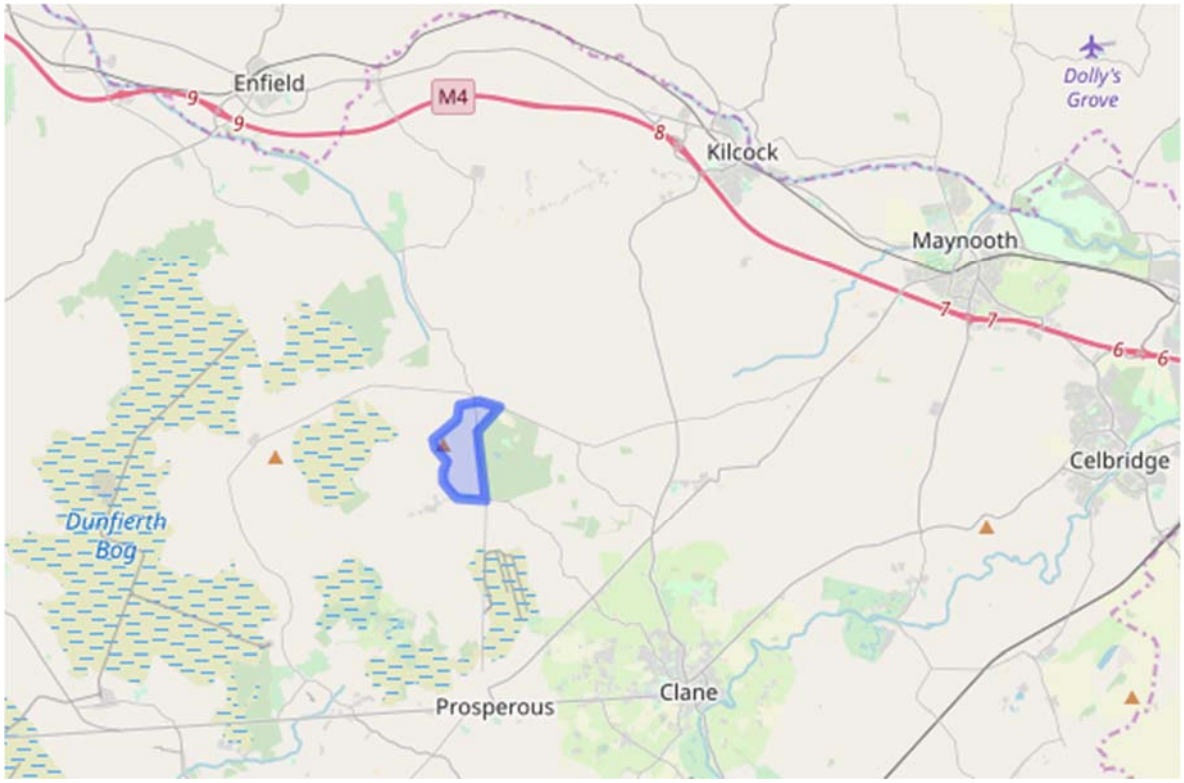


Figure 16. Parish map of Dunmurraghill, Co. Kildare

	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Dunmurraghill	0	0	0	0	0	0
NMR/Townlands	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1
TOTAL	0	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 17. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Dunmurraghill townland, Co. Kildare

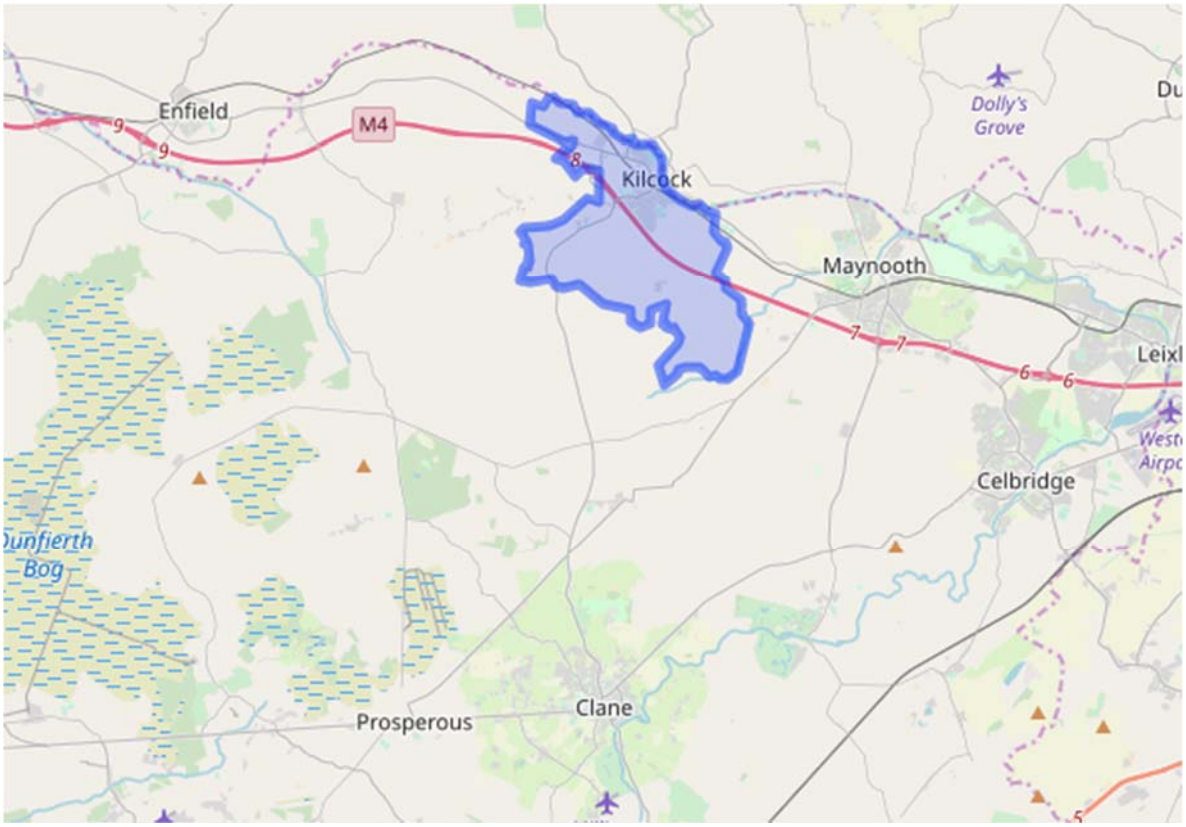


Figure 19. Parish map of Kilcock, Co. Kildare

	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Boycetown	0	0	0	0	0	0
Branganstown	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clonsast	0	0	0	0	0	0
Commons E.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Commons S.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Commons W.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Courtown Gr.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Courtown Li.	0	0	0	1	1	1
Duncreevan	0	0	0	1	1	1
Gragadder	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hodgestown	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kilcock	0	0	0	0	0	0
Laragh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Laragh Dem.	0	0	0	0	0	0

Newtownlaragh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Portgloriam	1	1	0	1	2	2
Roestown	0	0	0	0	0	0
NMR/Townlands	1/17	1/17	0/17	3/17	3/17	3/17
TOTAL	1	1	0	3	4	4

Figure 20. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Kilcock parish, Co. Kildare

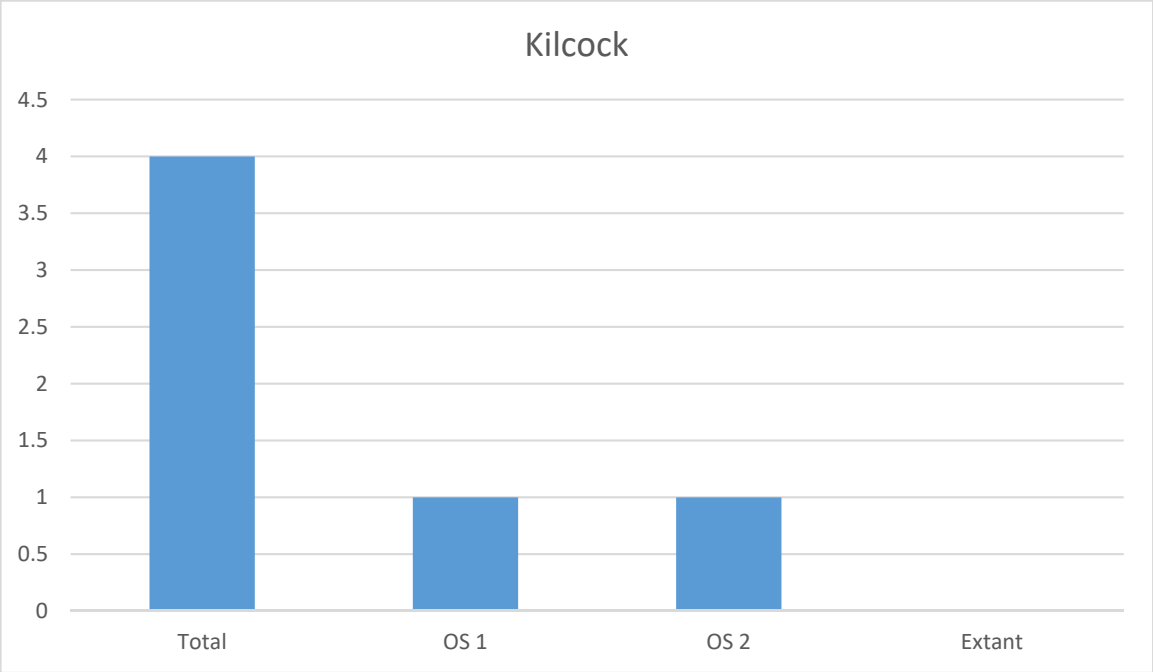


Figure 21. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Kilcock parish

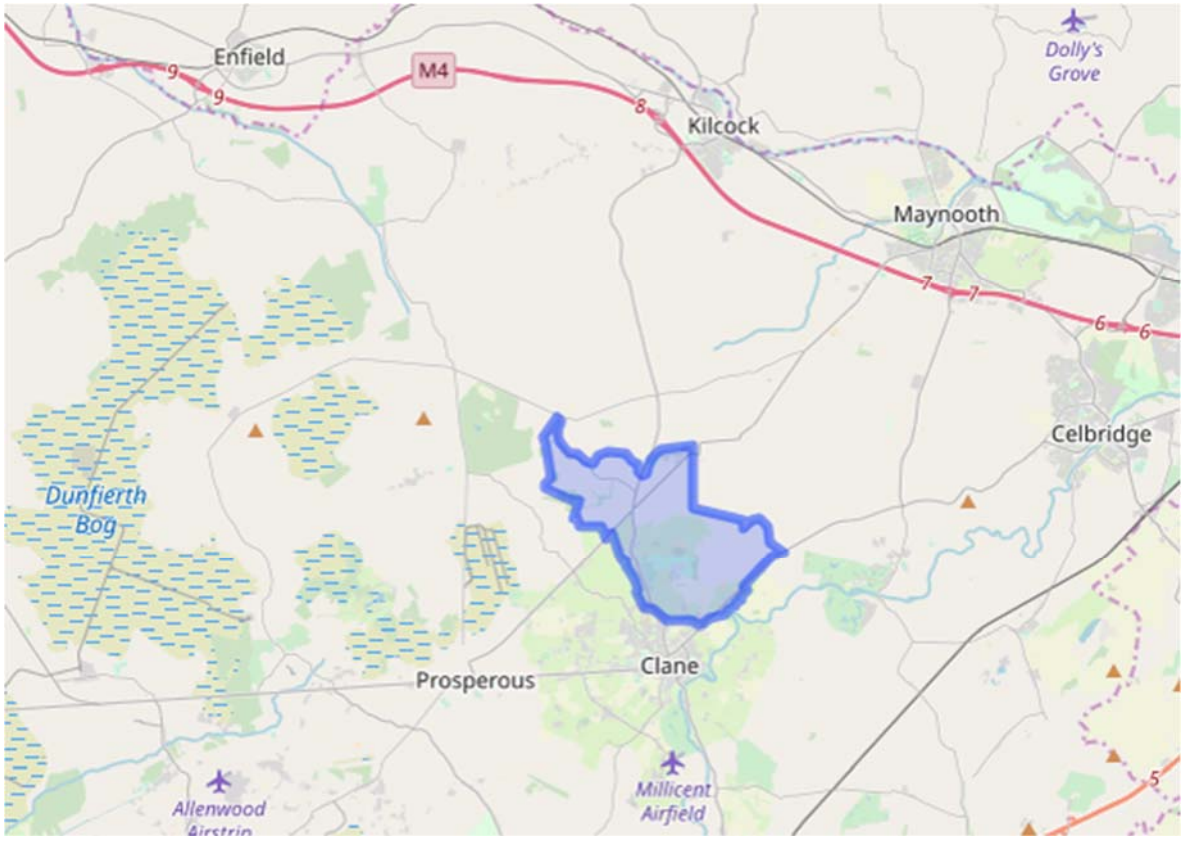


Figure 22. Parish map of Mainham, Co. Kildare

	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Boherhole	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clongowes	0	0	0	3	5	5
Common	0	0	0	0	0	0
Danielstown	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mainham	0	0	0	0	0	0
Moortown	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mountarmstrong	0	0	0	0	0	0
Richardstown	0	0	0	4	4	4
NMR/Townlands	0/8	0/8	0/8	2/8	2/8	2/8
TOTAL	0	0	0	7	9	9

Figure 23. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Mainham parish, Co. Kildare

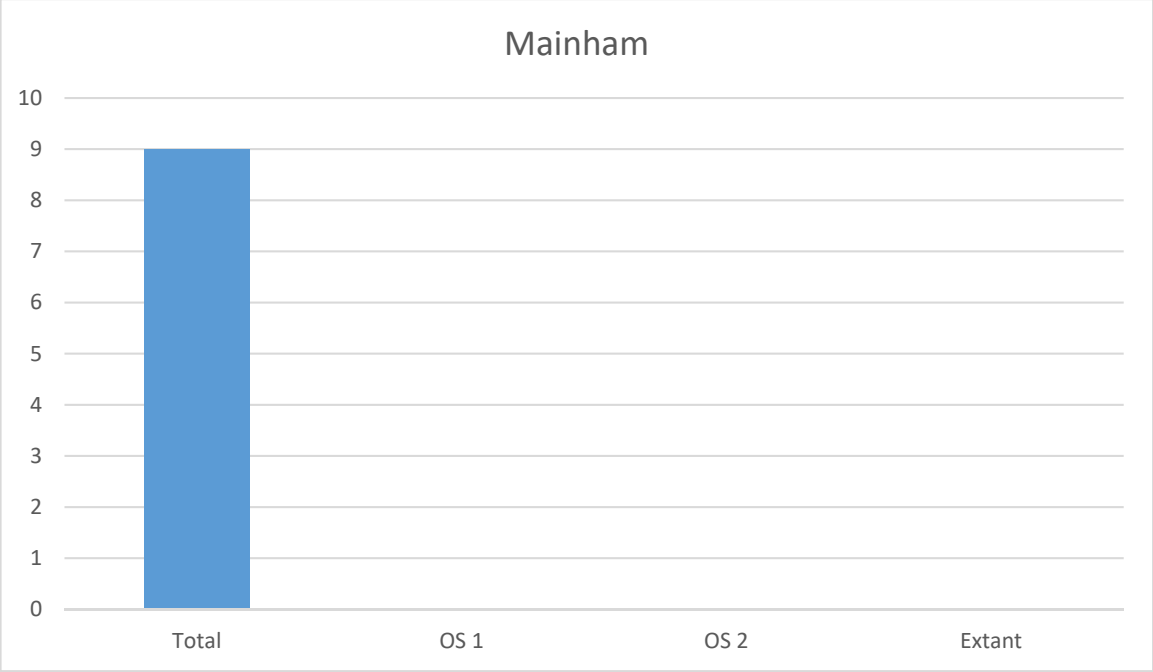


Figure 24. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Mainham parish

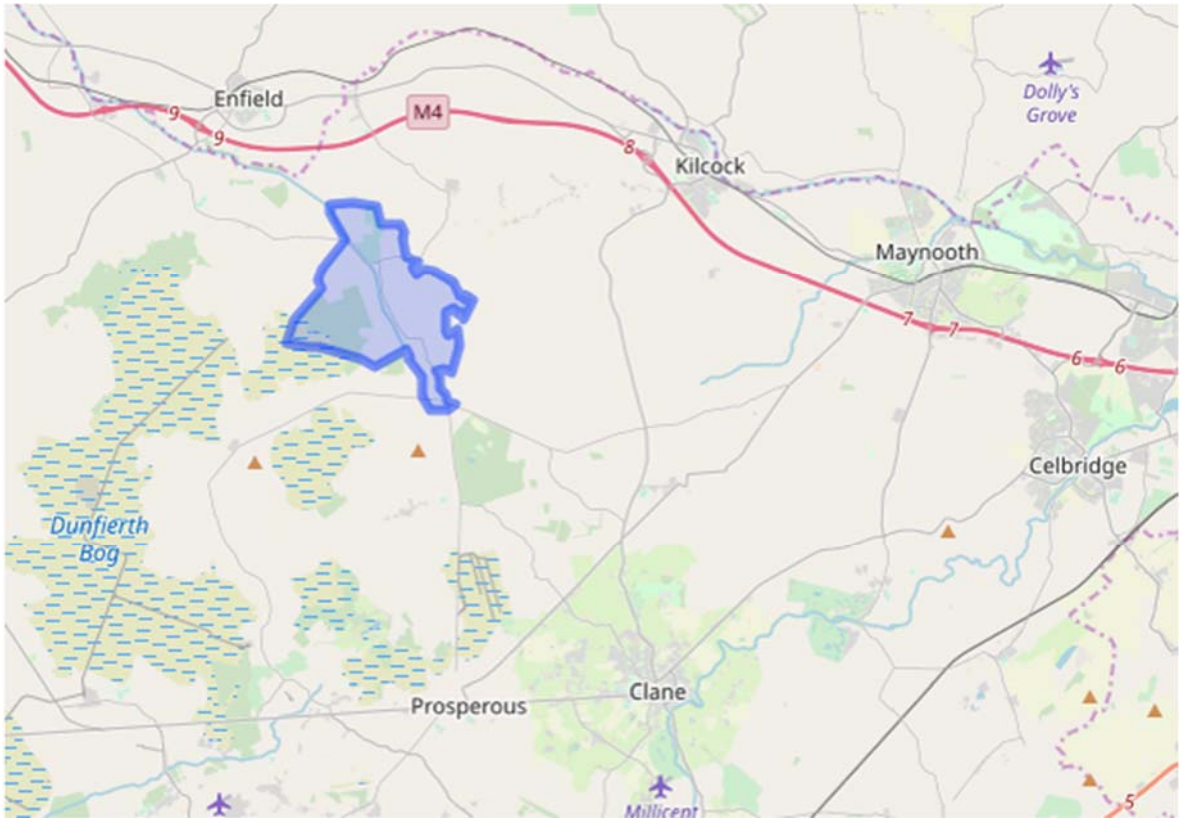


Figure 25. Parish map of Sculloguestown, Co. Kildare

	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Ballyteigh	0	0	0	1	1	1
Hortland	1	1	0	1	1	1
Knockanally	0	0	0	1	1	1
Newtownhortland	0	0	0	0	0	0
Newtownmonneenl.	0	0	0	0	0	0
NMR/Townlands	1/5	1/5	0/5	3/5	3/5	3/5
TOTAL	1	1	0	3	3	3

Figure 26. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Sculloguestown parish, Co. Kildare

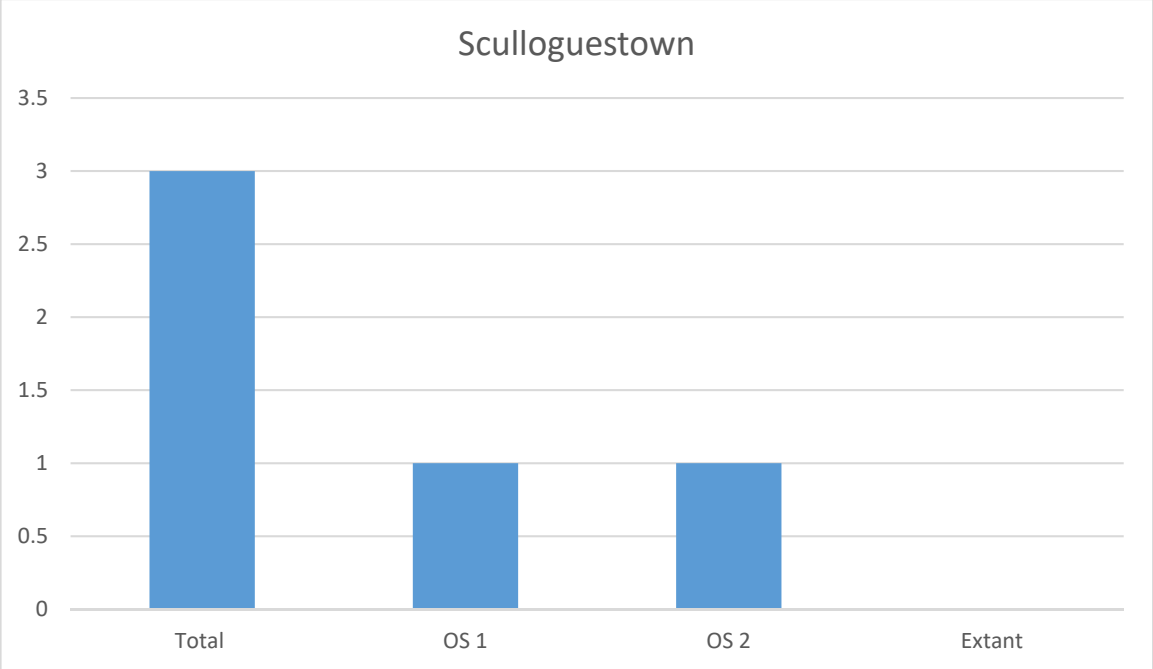


Figure 27. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Sculloguestown parish

The townland descriptions herein are arranged in alphabetical order, initially by parish and within this grouping by townland. The illustrations that accompany each description are presented in chronological order, beginning with the earliest available images. In this barony this will include those of Taylor (1783). The maps from this county survey will be followed by the first and second editions of the Ordnance Survey maps. Finally, modern images from aerial surveys will also be included.

4. IKEATHY & OUGHTERANY

4.1. Balraheen parish

4.1.1. Ballyvoneen

The map of this townland created following the completion of the Ordnance survey (1838, Sheet 4) include no representation of eventual ringforts. However, an earlier survey undertaken by Taylor (1783) depicts a circular enclosure within the boundaries of this townland. Strangely, Taylor (*ibid.*) also noted the name of the townland as Ballyvolane. This circular enclosure is shown located on high ground south west of the entrance to Ballyynakill house. A line drawn from this entrance to a distinctive curve on the river Blackwater near the western boundary of the townland clips the north western edge of this high ground. It is still possible to align these two features on modern aerial images and this allows the general area of this enclosure to be determined. This high ground is also observable on Google Maps street view (2009) and a view from a side road off the L1007 allows for its commanding nature to be perceived.

Aerial imagery from a recent survey (Google Earth 28/06/2018 [GE 2018]) shows the ground on top of this knoll to be rough in nature and also to have been disturbed, possibly quarried, at some stage. This disturbance renders the study of the site for possible crop marks difficult, if not impossible. However, the centre of this feature may be located at ITM grid coordinates: 680719-739930. There is a record of a ringfort in this townland on the National Monument Service [NMS] database. This structure, KD004-020, is noted as being shown on Taylors (1783) map, although it is also noted that the scale of this map hinders the locating of

this site. If the recorded ringfort corresponds to this present site then perhaps this description may facilitate the correct positioning of this structure. This recent survey of June 2018 was carried out while the area was experiencing drought conditions and this facilitated the discovery of previously unrecorded sites. One such site appears to be also located in the townland of Ballyvoneen. This eventual structure is visible as a crop mark that is centred on ITM grid coordinates: 679677-740191. This crop mark indicates a circular enclosure defined by the presence of a fosse. The overall diameter of the area enclosed by this fosse is approximately 79m.

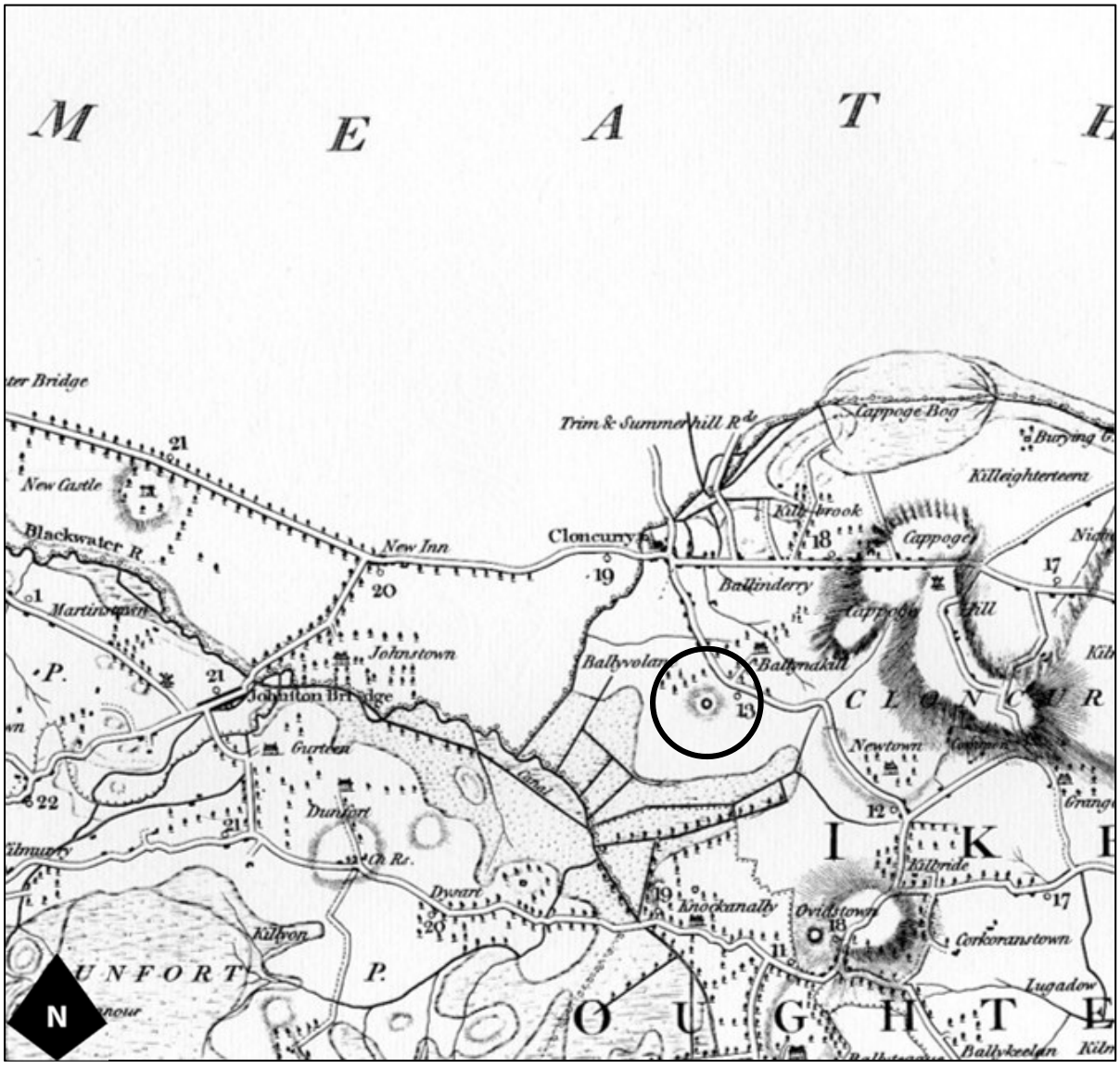


Figure 28. Taylor's map of Ballyvoneen townland depicting enclosure KD004-020



Figure 29. First edition OS map of Ballyvoneen townland



Figure 30. Aerial image of Ballyvoneen townland depicting site of enclosure KD004-020 (GE 2018)

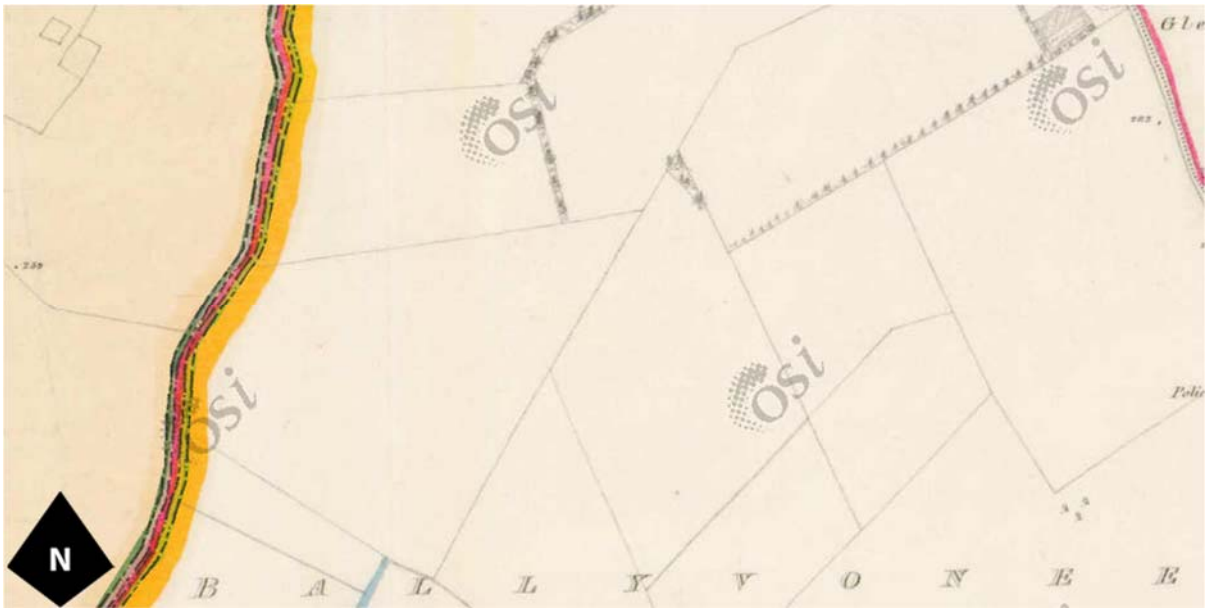


Figure 31. First edition OS map (1838) of Ballyvoneen townland



Figure 32. Aerial image of Ballyvoneen townland depicting site of previously unrecorded enclosure (GE 2018)

4.1.2. Baltracey

The survey database contains a reference to the eventual presence of an enclosure in this townland (NMS 2018). This enclosure has been attributed the SMR number of KD010-031. The presence of this feature was uncovered through study of Geological Survey of Ireland aerial photographs. This national survey was carried out over several years from the mid-1970's (GSI 1973-8). This image depicts a circular enclosure of approximately 40m in diameter. However, there is no above ground evidence for this structure as far back as the first edition OS maps (1837, Sheet 10). Examination of other, more recent, aerial images provide no evidence for the location of this enclosure. In addition, although this general location was also surveyed during drought conditions this year (2018), this particular field was under grass. As a result, these ground conditions do not provide as much of a differentiation as a field under tillage.

Therefore, the precise location of this site as a crop mark is rendered more difficult. However, the eastern boundary of this site may be associated with an adjacent curved field boundary. Nevertheless, these drought conditions of the summer of 2018 do allow, in specific contexts, for the discovery of previously unrecorded sites. One such example is located in the south-east corner of this townland. Here, a D-shaped enclosure, centred on grid coordinates: 688354-733565, can be identified. This site is also visible as a crop mark, (GE 2018), and is not recorded on the survey database or represented on earlier maps of the townland (Taylor 1783 & OSI 1837, Sheet 10). This extent of this enclosure appears to be defined by a slightly darker line, suggesting a fosse. This darker band encloses an area of approximately 26m in diameter.



Figure 33. First edition OS map of Baltracey townland



Figure 34. Aerial image of Baltracey townland depicting site of enclosure KD010-031 (GE 2018)

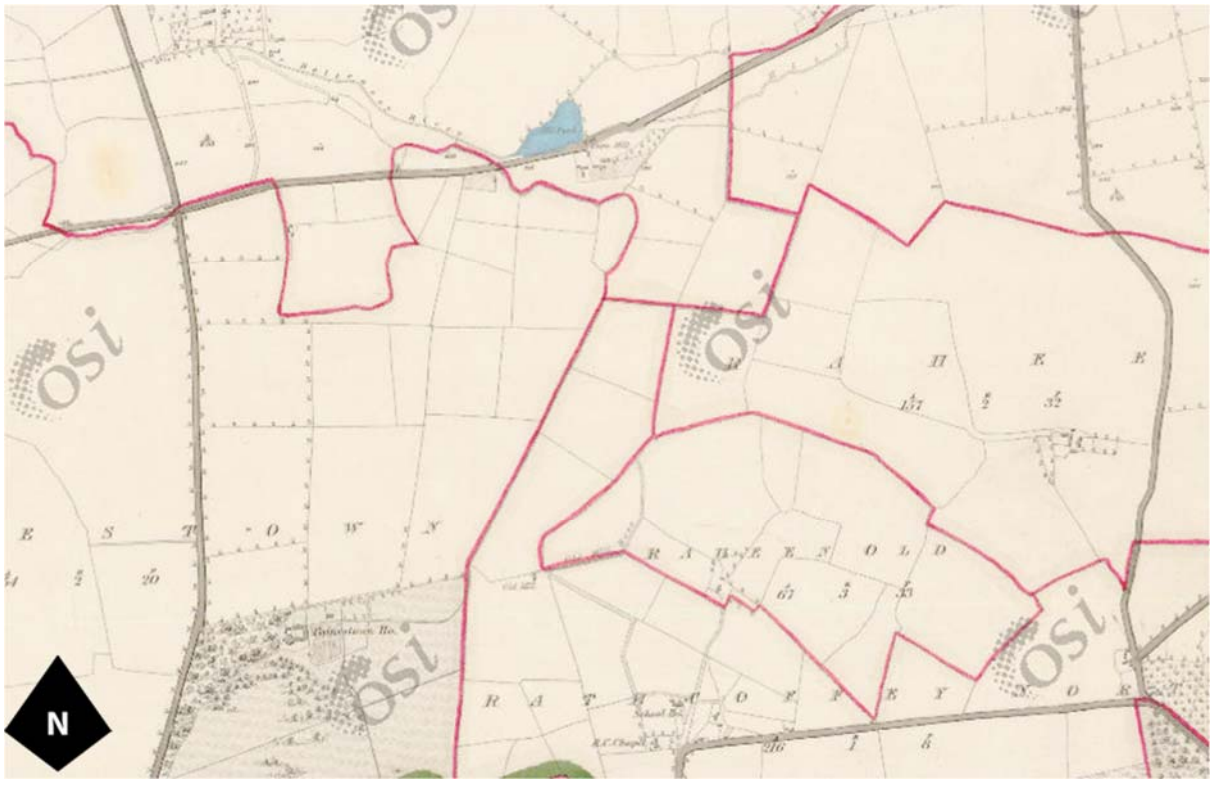


Figure 35. First edition OS map of Baltracey townland



Figure 36. Aerial image of Baltracey townland depicting site of previously unrecorded enclosure (GE 2018)

4.1.3. Clonduff

The survey database contains a record of a ring fort in this townland. This structure has been attributed the SMR number of KD010-002. It was discovered through study of a range of aerial imagery produced as a result of surveys carried out by Cambridge University [CUCAP 1963-1970]. The particular image below is from a flight undertaken in 1970. This oblique black and white image shows a circular feature defined by a band of apparently lower ground suggesting the area of the associated fosse (*ibid*, BDU 041). The survey database records the diameter of the enclosed area as being slightly oval and approximately 47m N – S & 40m E – W. There is, however, no evidence of this structure being depicted on any early maps of the townland, including either Taylors (1783) or the first edition OS map (1837, Sheet 10). Thereby, suggesting that this structure had been levelled at some stage prior to the latter survey at least and possibly also prior to Taylors earlier one.

Evidence for the location of this site is present on recent aerial images (NMS 2018 & GE 2018). A clearer impression is available on Google Earth, again due to drought conditions. Study of this image shows an oval crop mark, the southern section of which is traversed by a later field boundary. The field to the north of this boundary is under tillage and therefore

provides a clearer picture of the structure. This crop mark is centred on grid coordinates: 686810-736097. It also appears to show the dimensions of this structure as being c. 67m N – S and c. 56m E – W. On this image there also appears to be another, thinner, dark band outside of that signifying the fosse. This line parallels the line of the fosse at a distance of about 4.5m and may suggest an outer fosse and perhaps a counterscarp.

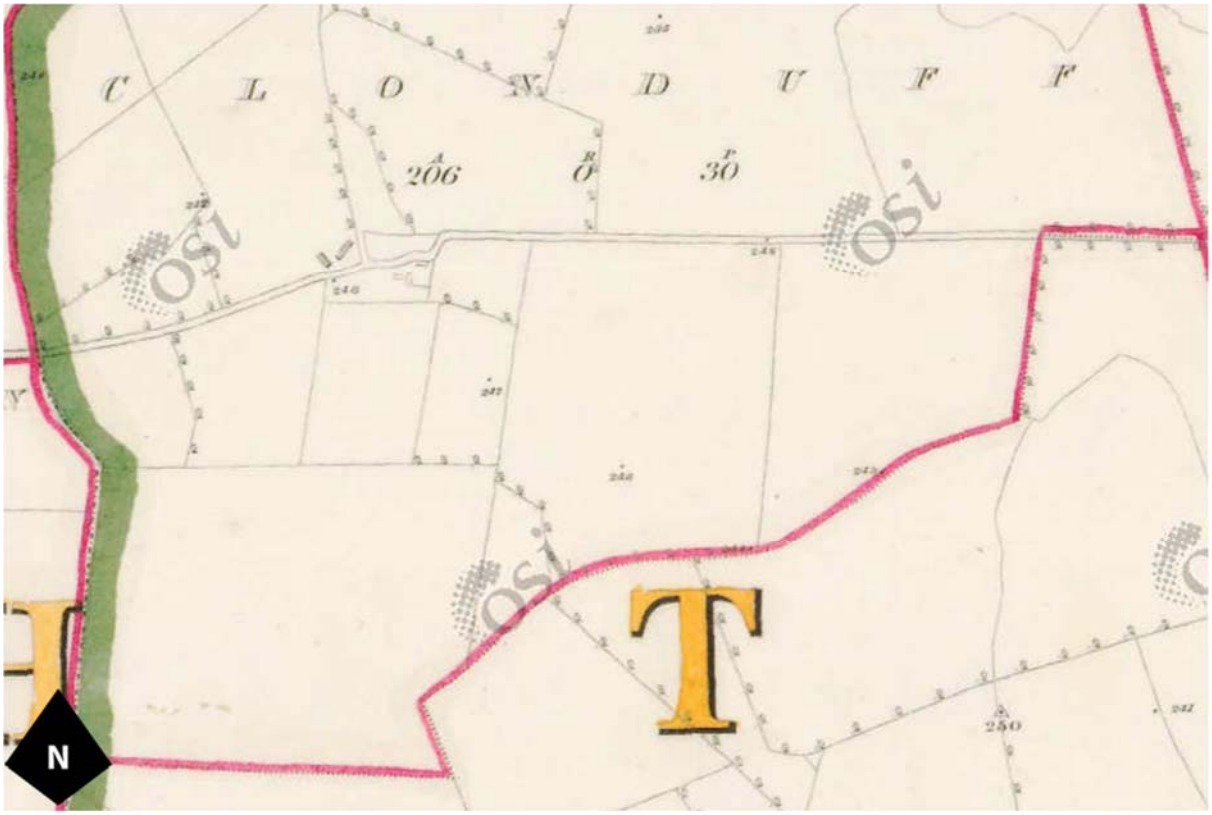


Figure 37. First edition OS map of Clonduff townland

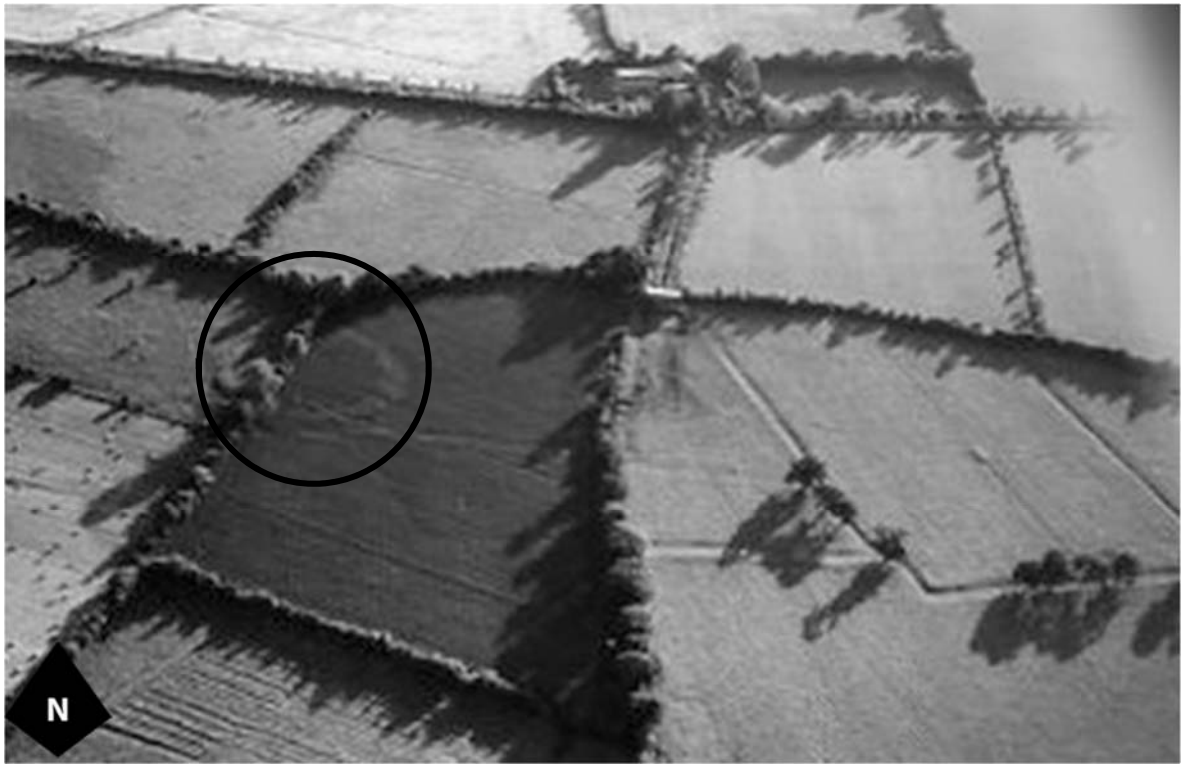


Figure 38. CUCAP aerial image of Clonduff townland depicting site of enclosure KD010-002 (BDU 041, 1970)



Figure 39. Aerial image of Clonduff townland depicting site of enclosure KD010-002 (GE 2018)

4.1.4. Raheen

At the beginning of the study of this barony the survey database (NMS 2018) contained no record of ringforts within this townland. The earlier large-scale maps contain no representation of the eventual presence of such structures either (Taylor 1783; OSI 1838). However, study of aerial images from a survey undertaken during the recent summer clearly shows evidence for the presence of an enclosure (GE 2018). This underground extent of this structure is visible as a crop mark and this covers an area of approximately 32m in diameter. This enclosed area is centred on ITM grid coordinates: 688238-733424. The presence of this structure has been reported to the National Monument Service. It has now been included in the database and attributed the SMR number of KD010-053. It has been recorded as an unclassified ringfort. This classification is due in part to the place name information available in reference to the townland name of Raheen.



Figure 40. First edition OS map of Raheen townland



Figure 41. Aerial image of Raheen townland depicting site of ringfort KD010-053 (GE 2018)

4.1.5. Rathcoffey Demesne

A record for one ringfort is contained within the survey database (NMS 2018). This structure is noted as an unclassified ringfort and has been included in the SMR with the number of KD010-016. It is represented on the first edition OS map (1837, Sheet 10) integrated into the demesne landscape in a wooded section near the northeast boundary. It is still visible today and aerial images show it to be now located as an island in a grain field. This structure measures *c.*32.1m N – S & *c.*28.9m E – W and is one of the few extant ringforts in this barony (NMS 2018). The presence of some enclosures are also noted for this townland. Both of these are located north of Rathcoffey house and are only visible as crop marks on an aerial survey undertaken during this summer (GE 2018). One of these is centred on grid coordinates: 688788-732382 and is included in the SMR with the number, KD010-043.

The crop mark indicates a circular enclosure of approximately 24m diameter. It is noted in the database that this site could in fact be a post-1700 landscape feature, notably a tree-ring (NMS 2018). The general area is shown as wooded on the first edition OS map of the townland and the specific location of this monument may be associated with a grove of trees (OSI 1837, Sheet 10). However, as the darkly coloured defining line may indicate a fosse and

because of the form and size of this feature it has been decided to include it in this study. It may be possible that this is an earlier monument later adapted into a landscape feature. The other recorded enclosure is located approximately 80m to the south west of enclosure, KD010-043. This location of this enclosure is also defined by a crop mark, uncovered during this study, and is centred on grid coordinates: 688727-732328.

This crop mark encloses an area of approximately 25m in diameter and is now recorded in the SMR with the number, KD010-046. Another recorded feature is included in this study of the townland. This feature is located at: 688787-731851 and is recorded on the database as a probable post-1700 tree ring. However, it is now studied as a consequence of its form, circular and defined by a darker ring that may signify a fosse, and because of its size, *c*. 28m in diameter. For this may represent an earlier structure that was later adapted for use as a landscape feature. In addition, there is no evidence of such landscape features on earlier maps of the area (Noble & Keenan 1752; Taylor 1783). This may be a reflection on the scale of these maps; however, neither is there any depiction of such features on the large scale OS maps (1837 & 1911).



Figure 42. Noble and Keenan map of Co. Kildare (1752)

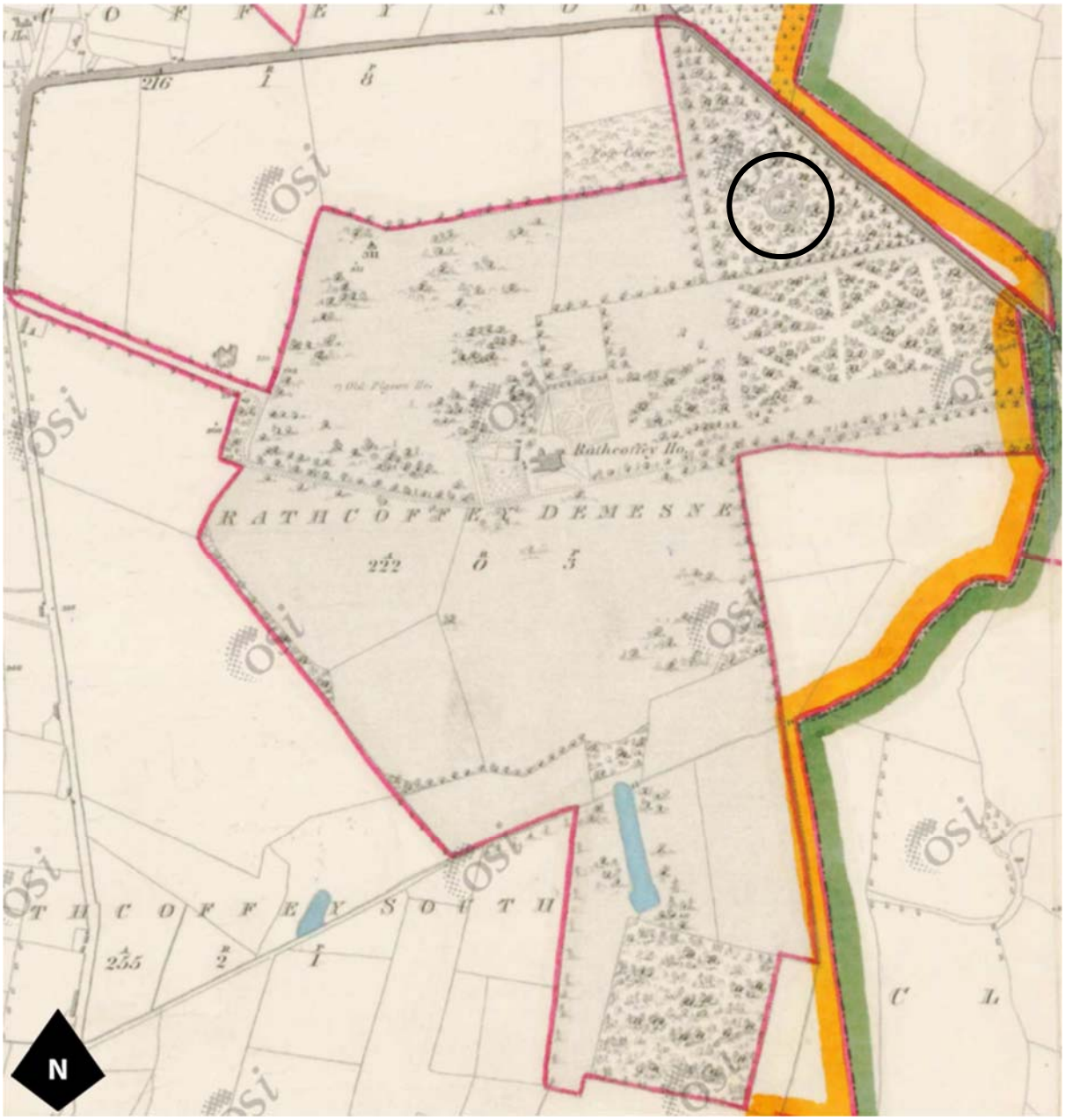


Figure 43. First edition OS map of Rathcoffey Demesne townland depicting ringfort KD010-016



Figure 45. Aerial image of Rathcoffey Demesne townland depicting ringfort 1. KD010-016 and site of enclosures 2. KD010-043, 3. KD010-046 and 4. KD010-044 (GE 2018)



Figure 46. Close up aerial image of Rathcoffey Demesne townland depicting site of enclosures 2. KD010-043 and 3. KD010-046 (GE 2018)



Figure 47. Close up aerial image of Rathcoffey Demesne townland depicting ringfort KD010-016 (GE 2018)



Figure 48. Close up aerial image of Rathcoffey Demesne townland depicting site of enclosure KD010-044 (GE 2018)

4.2. Cloncurry parish

4.2.1. Ballynakill

The survey database contains a reference to a ringfort in this townland. This monument has been attributed the SMR number: KD004-035. This feature is depicted on the first edition OS map of the area as a rhomboid tree filled feature in the northeastern corner of the townland. (1838, Sheet 4). On the second edition map (1871, Sheet 4), a grove of trees is shown in this particular location. It is no longer extant but the outline of this feature is clearly visible on aerial images (DG 2011 – 3; GE 2018). These images show a circular crop mark located just north of the M4 motorway and having an interior diameter of *c*.38m (NMS 2018). Furthermore, this examination of aerial imagery has allowed the discovery of another enclosure located within this townland. This enclosure is centred on: 680966-740796 and is *c*.20m in diameter.

However, there is no evidence for this enclosure depicted in any of the earlier available maps (Taylor 1783; OSI 1838 & 1911, Sheet 4). Whereas, the National Monument Service Digital Globe image does show a circular area of undisturbed ground in a harvested field (DG

2011 – 3). Another aerial image highlights this circular area as being now defined by a darker outer ring, possibly suggesting a fosse. There is also a further patch of darkened ground in the centre of this enclosure. The presence of this crop mark has been reported to the NMS and it is now included in the database as marking the location of an enclosure and has been given the SMR number of KD004-054. Further examination of aerial images indicates that this circular feature was ploughed out at some stage between 2013 and 2016 (GE 2013-2016)

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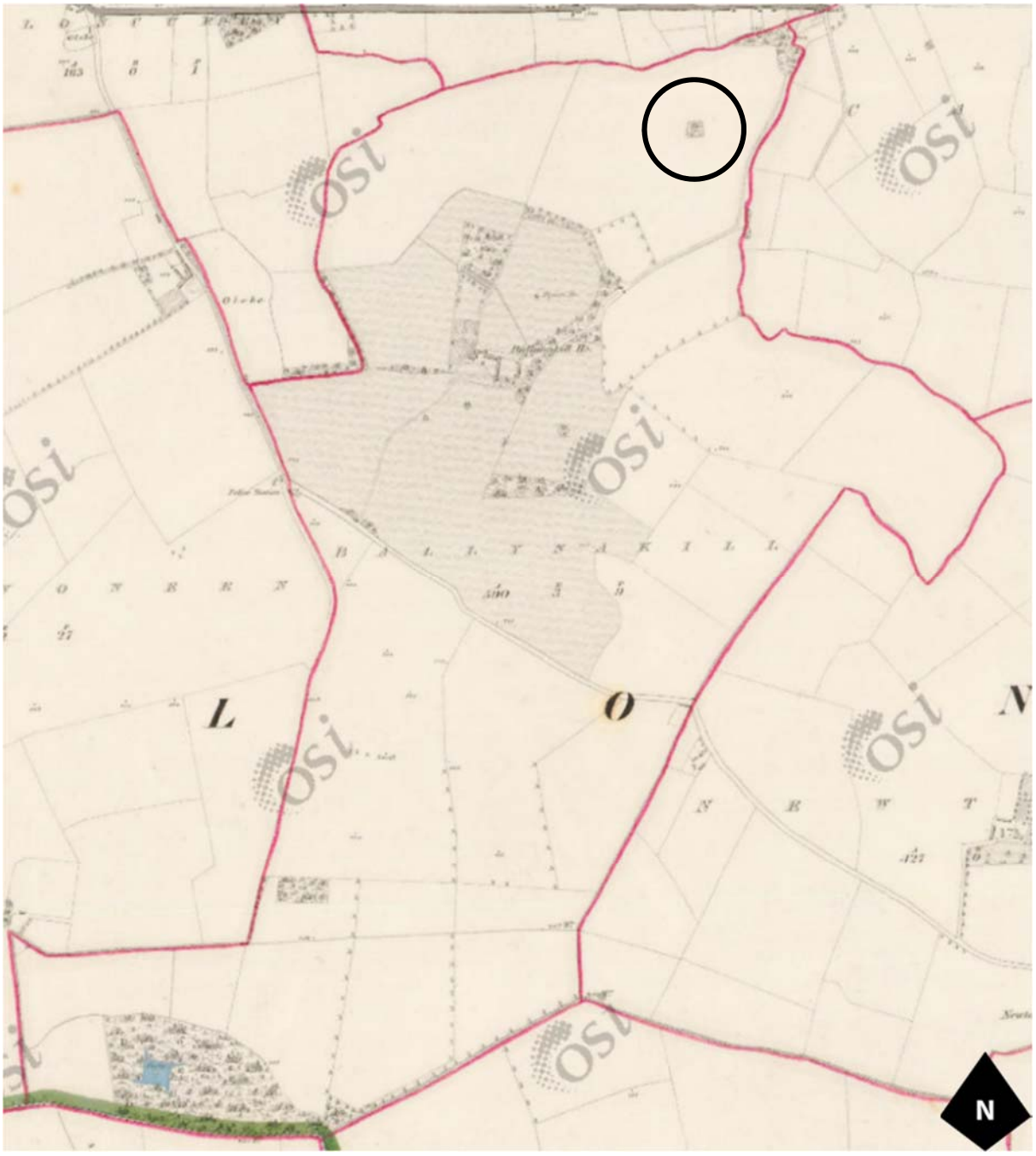


Figure 49. First edition OS map of Ballynakill townland depicting ringfort KD004-035

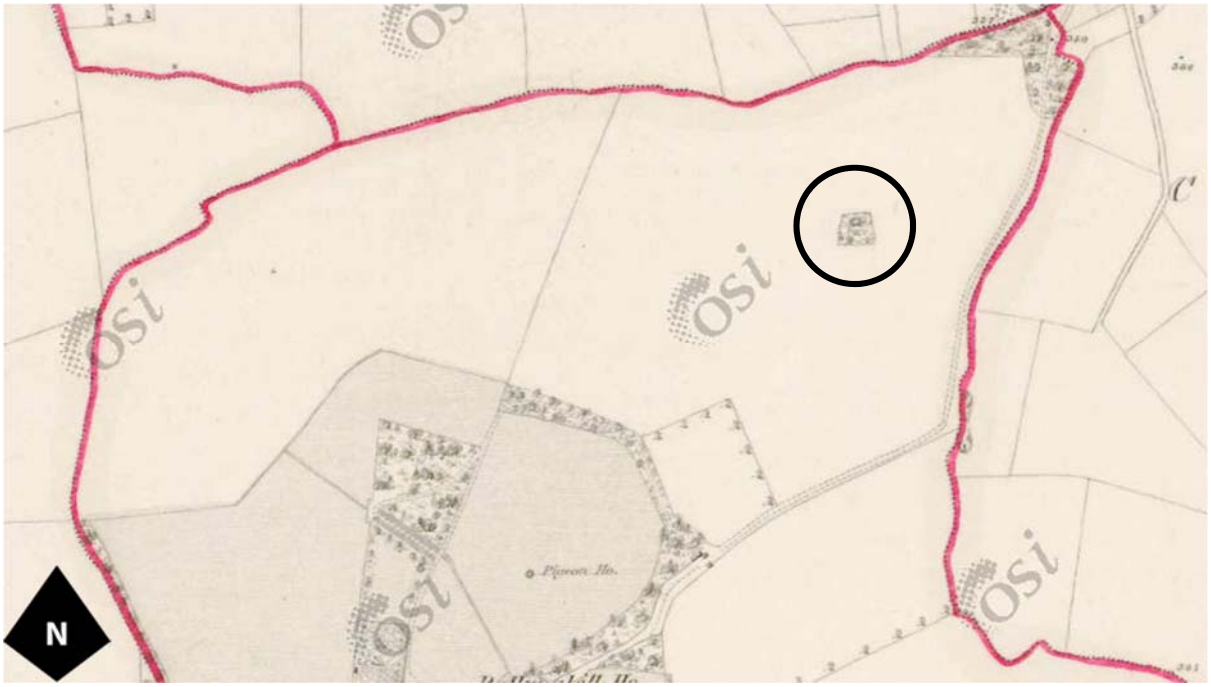


Figure 50. Close up of first edition OS map of Ballynakill townland depicting ringfort KD004-035



Figure 51. Aerial image of Ballynakill townland depicting site of ringfort KD004-035 and enclosure KD004-054 (GE 2018)

4.2.2. Cloncurry

Examination of aerial imagery available following a survey carried out during the drought conditions of the summer 2018 has also allowed for the discovery of a previously unrecorded enclosure in this townland. This location of this structure is visible as a crop mark on such images (GE 2018). This site is defined by an enclosed area marked by a circular band of darker ground *c*.2.5m in diameter, again suggestive of a fosse. This enclosed space is centred on ITM grid coordinates: 680735-740791 and is approximately 20m in diameter. This structure would have been situated about 40m south of a sunken trackway (KD004-021008) and perhaps the choice of such a location may have been a deliberate decision. There is no evidence on any of the earlier maps that this structure was extant at the time these surveys were carried out (Taylor 1783; OSI 1838, Sheet 4). However, the eventual presence of an archaeological feature at this location has been reported to the NMS and it is now included in the database with the SMR number: KD004-051.



Figure 52. Close up of first edition OS map (1838) of Cloncurry townland

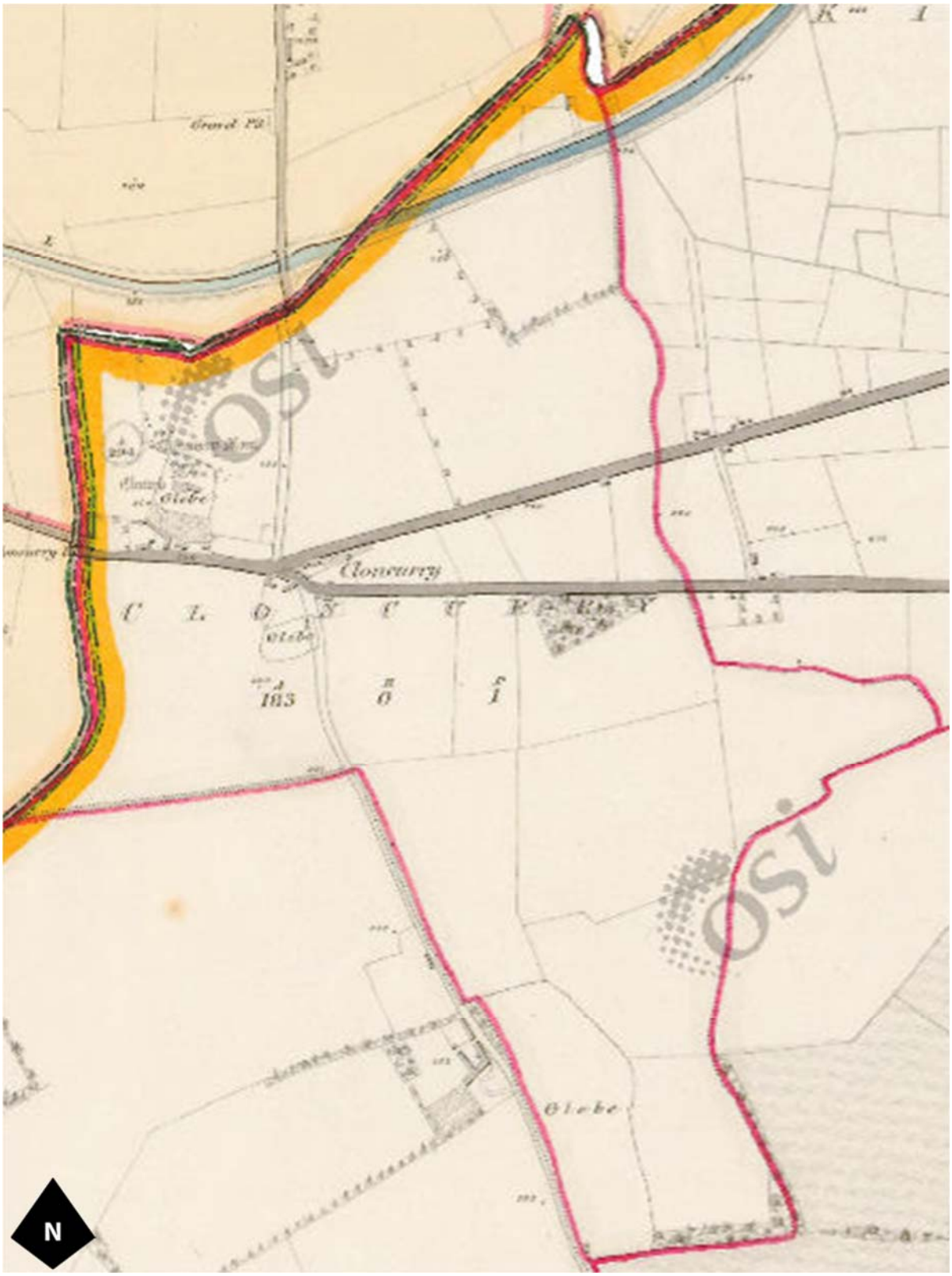


Figure 53. First edition OS map of Cloncurry townland



Figure 54. Aerial image of Cloncurry townland depicting site of enclosure KD004-051 (GE 2018)

4.2.3. Corcoranstown

This is another extremely interesting townland to study. There is no evidence for the presence of any field monuments here included on the large-scale, first edition OS maps (1838, Sheet 4). Neither is evidence of any sites on the digital globe imagery (NMS 2018). However, examination of recent aerial imagery does allow for the discovery of previously unrecorded sites (GE 28/06/2018). Study of these recent images permits the discovery of several sites, all located in the western quadrant of the townland however. The existence of two of these enclosures had previously been reported (NMS: Murphy 07/2018). These were then included in the survey database and given the SMR numbers: KD004-045 & KD004-046. However, the perpendicular view available on Google Earth, combined with the drought conditions of the summer of 2018, allow for the perception of a clearer image. This allows the diameter, and overall form, of these two structures to be ascertained.

KD004-045 appears to be a circular enclosure of *c*. 26m diameter overall. The centre of this structure, ITM grid coordinates: 682129-737765, seems to be indicated by the presence of an area of dark ground. The second structure, KD004-046, appears to be another circular enclosure of approximately 26m diameter. There also appears to be a smaller circular enclosure of *c*. 5m diameter located in its centre, ITM grid coordinates: 682132-737844. Furthermore, an annex is attached, in an arc, to the east of the larger circular structure. This annex is approximately 10m at its widest diameter, directly to the east. Two other enclosures have become visible as a result of this study. These have also been reported to the NMS and are now entered into the database. These structures have been given the SMR numbers of KD004-050 & KD004-053 respectively. The latter of these is a circular enclosure, defined by a single fosse, approximately 46m in diameter. This structure is centred on the grid coordinates: 682331-737338. The more impressive of these two sites, KD004-050, is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 682138-737867. This structure seems to be a roughly circular enclosure approximately 50m in overall diameter, with a smaller enclosure of *c*. 9m diameter located in its NW quadrant. This site appears to overlap with a previously described site, KD004-046.

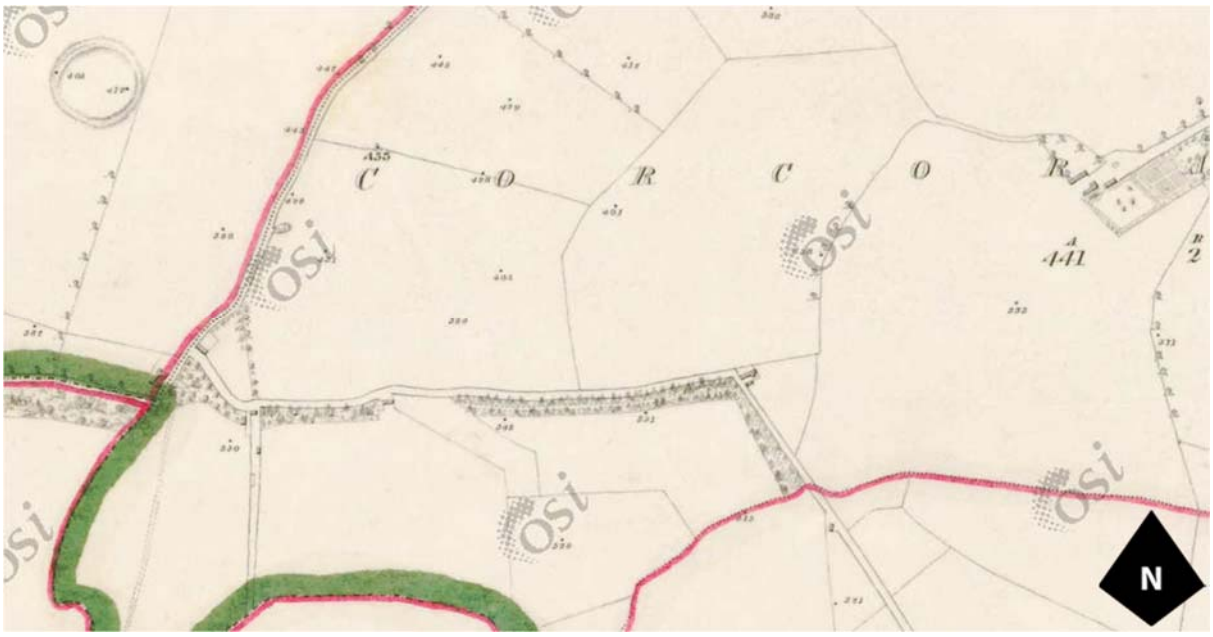


Figure 55. Close up of first edition OS map of Corcoranstown townland

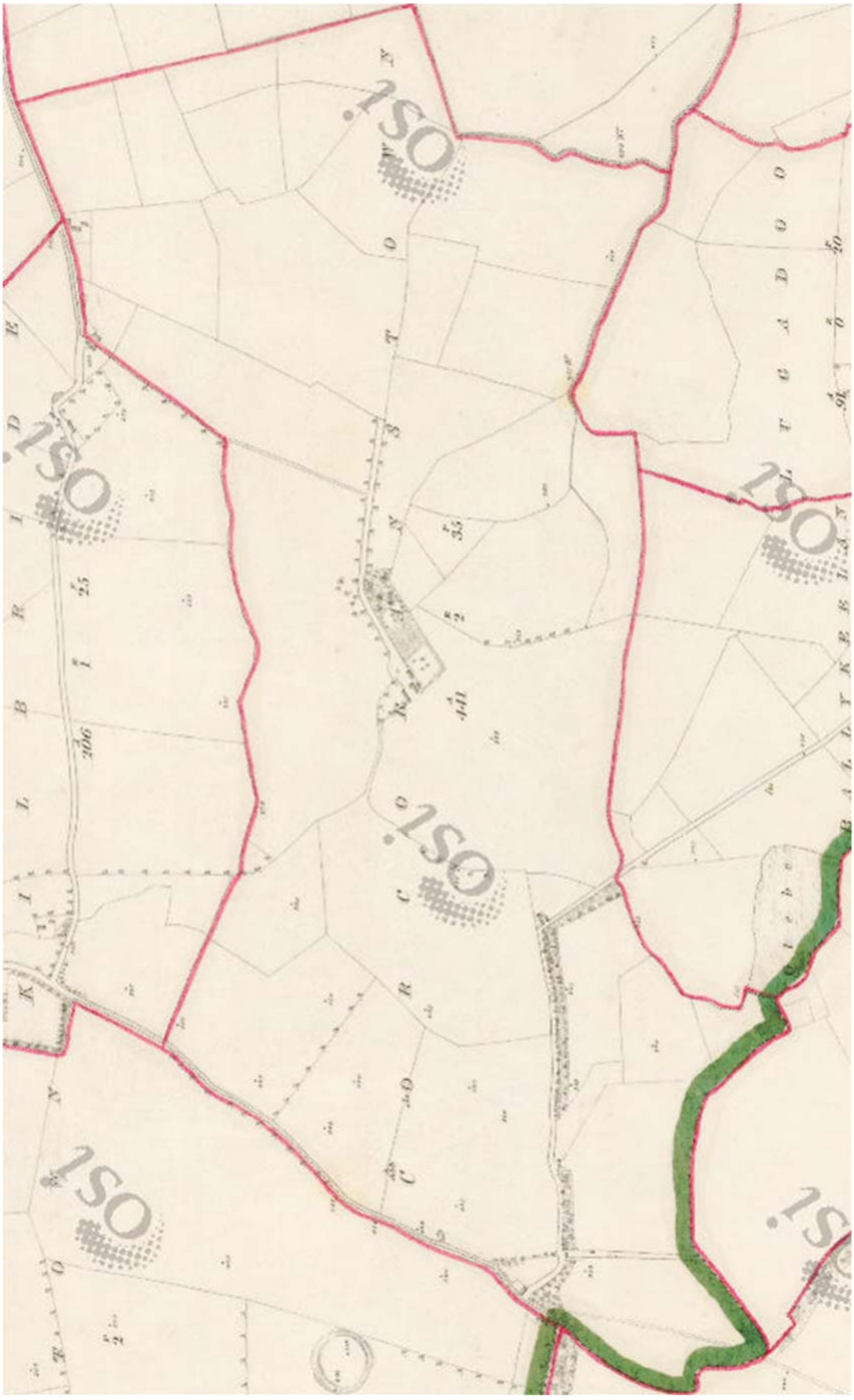


Figure 56. First edition OS map of Corcoranstown townland

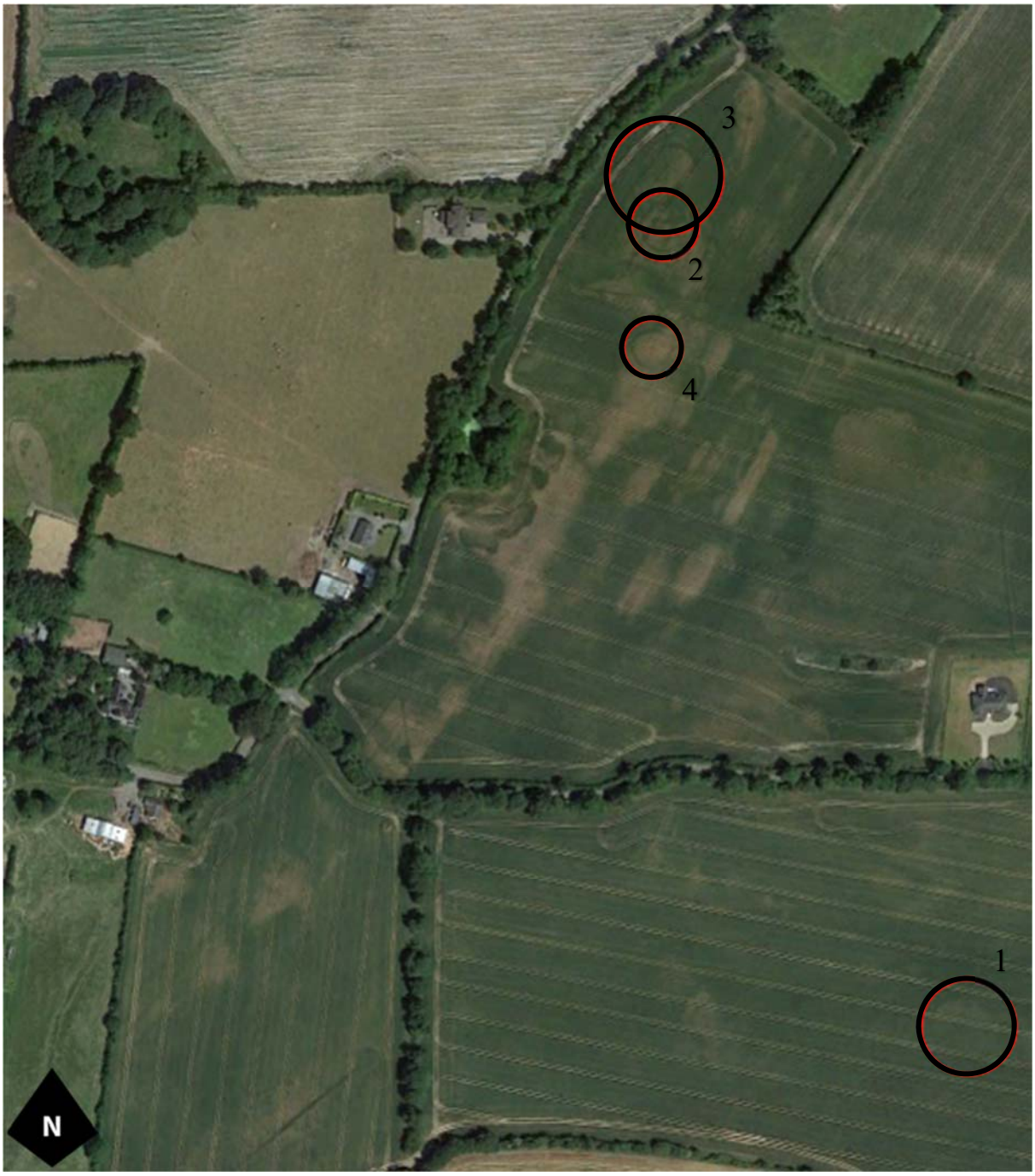


Figure 57. Aerial image of Corcoranstown townland depicting site of enclosures 1. KD004-045, 2. KD004-046, 3. KD004-050 and 4. KD004-053 (GE 2018)



Figure 58. Aerial image of part of Corcoranstown townland depicting site of enclosure KD004-045 (GE 2018)



Figure 59. Aerial image of part of Corcoranstown townland depicting site of enclosures 2. KD004-046, 3. KD004-050 and 4. KD004-053 (GE 2018)

4.2.4. Fanaghs

This townland contains one of the only extant ringforts left in this barony. This ringfort, KD009-004, is clearly visible on the first and second edition OS maps (1837 & 1871, Sheet 9). This structure is centred on ITM grid coordinates: 683337-735018 and measures 29m E – W and 25m N – S (NMS 2018). It is still visible on recent aerial images and these show the southern boundary to be incorporated into a field boundary. The remainder of the structure is defined by the surrounding fosse. The entire site is now surrounded on the three remaining sides by what appears to be a plantation of trees. Another ringfort is also depicted on the first edition OS map of this townland. This one is also included in the database and carries the SMR number of KD009-003. This structure is centred on ITM grid coordinates: 682925-735757 and is noted as being approximately 60m in diameter (NMS 2018).

By the time of the second edition OS maps (1871, Sheet 9), created following later revisions, this ringfort is no longer visible. This destruction may have been associated with a wider campaign of field clearance in this particular area. However, the outline of this structure is still visible as a crop mark on both Digital Globe (2011 – 3) and Google Earth (2018). On Digital Globe this outline is visible as a shadow mark created by the shallow remains of the fosse. Whereas, on Google Earth it is detectable because of a band of differing vegetation. One further enclosure was uncovered during this study of this area. This has now also been reported to the NMS and is included in the database with the SMR number: KD009-043. This enclosure is visible as a crop mark centred on ITM grid coordinates: 682961-734954. Again, this is due to the drought conditions of this past summer. This crop mark shows a circular band of darker coloured vegetation that enclosed an area of about 28m in diameter.

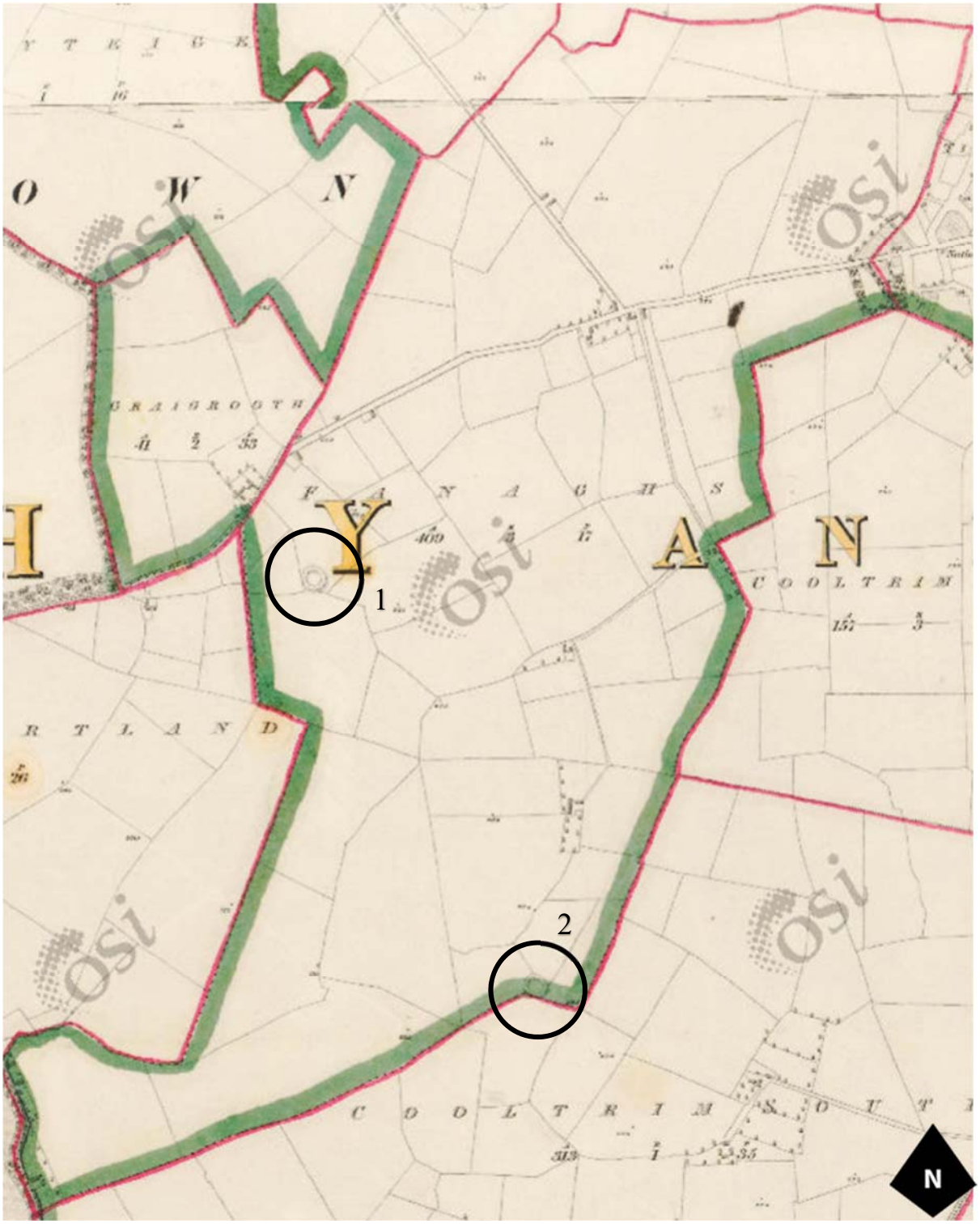


Figure 60. First edition OS map of Fanaghs townland depicting ringforts 1. KD009-003 and 2. KD009-004

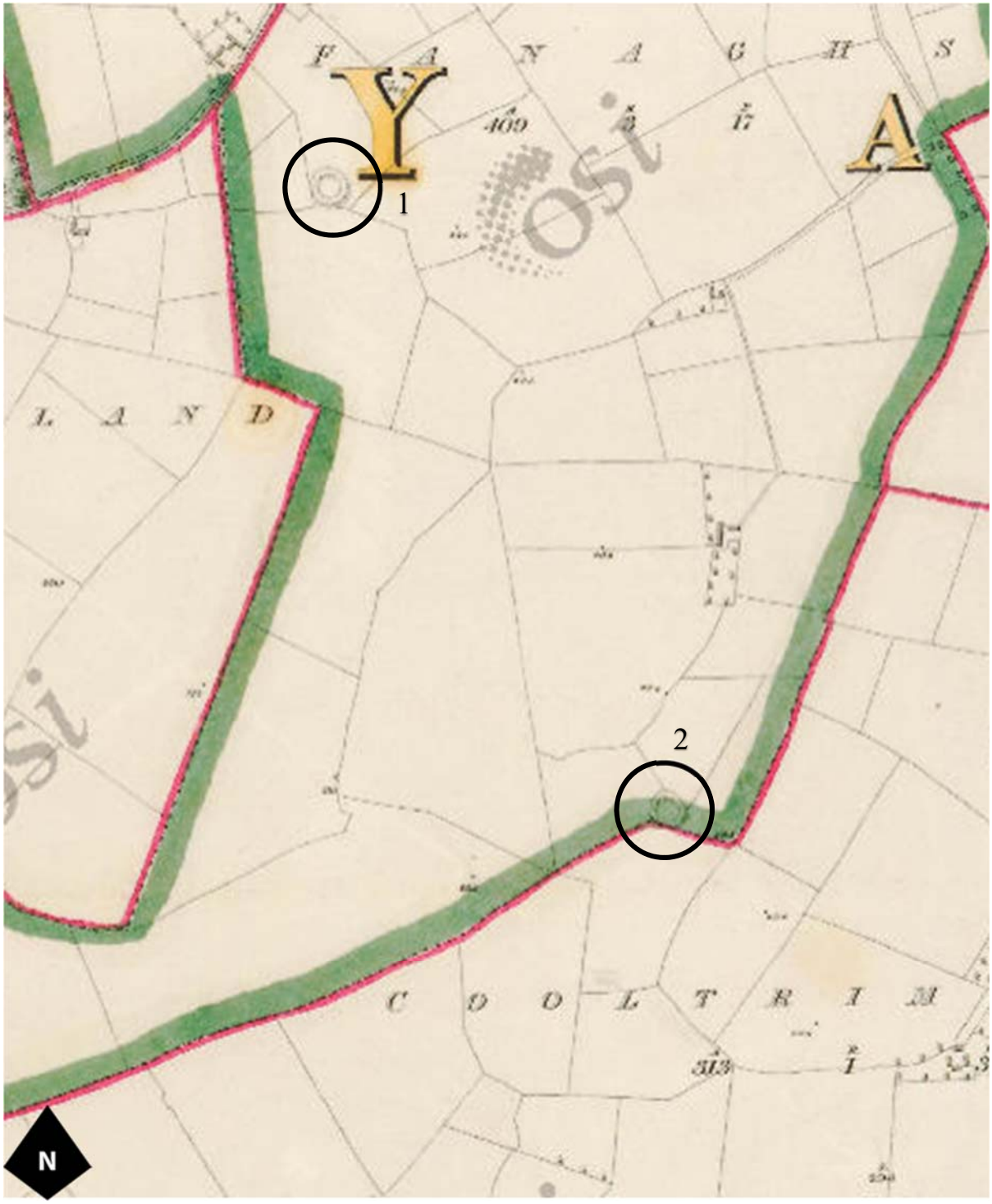


Figure 61. Close up of first edition OS map of Fanaghs townland depicting ringforts 1. KD009-003 and 2. KD009-004



Figure 62. Aerial image of Fanaghs townland depicting ringfort 2. KD009-004, site of ringfort 1. KD009-003, and site of enclosure 3. KD009-043 (GE 2018)



Figure 63. Close up aerial image of Fanaghs townland depicting ringfort 2. KD009-004 and site of enclosure 3. KD009-043 (GE 2018)



Figure 64. Close up aerial image of Fanaghs townland depicting site of ringfort 1. KD009-003 (GE 2018)

4.2.5. Graigerooth

This is one of a number of townlands in this barony where no enclosures or ringforts are depicted on the early OS maps (1837 & 1911, Sheet 9). Neither were there any recorded on the survey database (NMS 2018). However, an examination of recent aerial images has allowed for the discovery of two previously unrecorded sites. These are both included on the register as concentric enclosures. As such they will not be included in the final calculations of potential ringforts in this barony. Nevertheless, it is felt that it may be of benefit to provide a brief description of these sites. This may serve to highlight the existence of such sites in previously apparently sterile areas. The northern most of these sites is centred on ITM grid coordinates: 682680-736177.

This feature is defined by two circular bands of darker ground. The outer of these bands encloses an area of approximately 56m; whereas, the inner band encloses an area of roughly 36m. The northern quadrant of the site is bisected by a later field boundary running east west and visible on the first edition OS map (1837, Sheet 9). This feature has been reported to the NMS and has been attributed the SMR number: KD009-040. The more southern of these two

sites is centred on ITM grid coordinates: 682574-736032. This feature is also defined by two dark circular bands, perhaps denoting the presence of fosses. The outer of these encloses an area of approximately 60m in diameter. The inner band encloses in turn an area of *c*32m. The existence of this site has also been reported to the NMS and it now carries the SMR number of KD009-039.

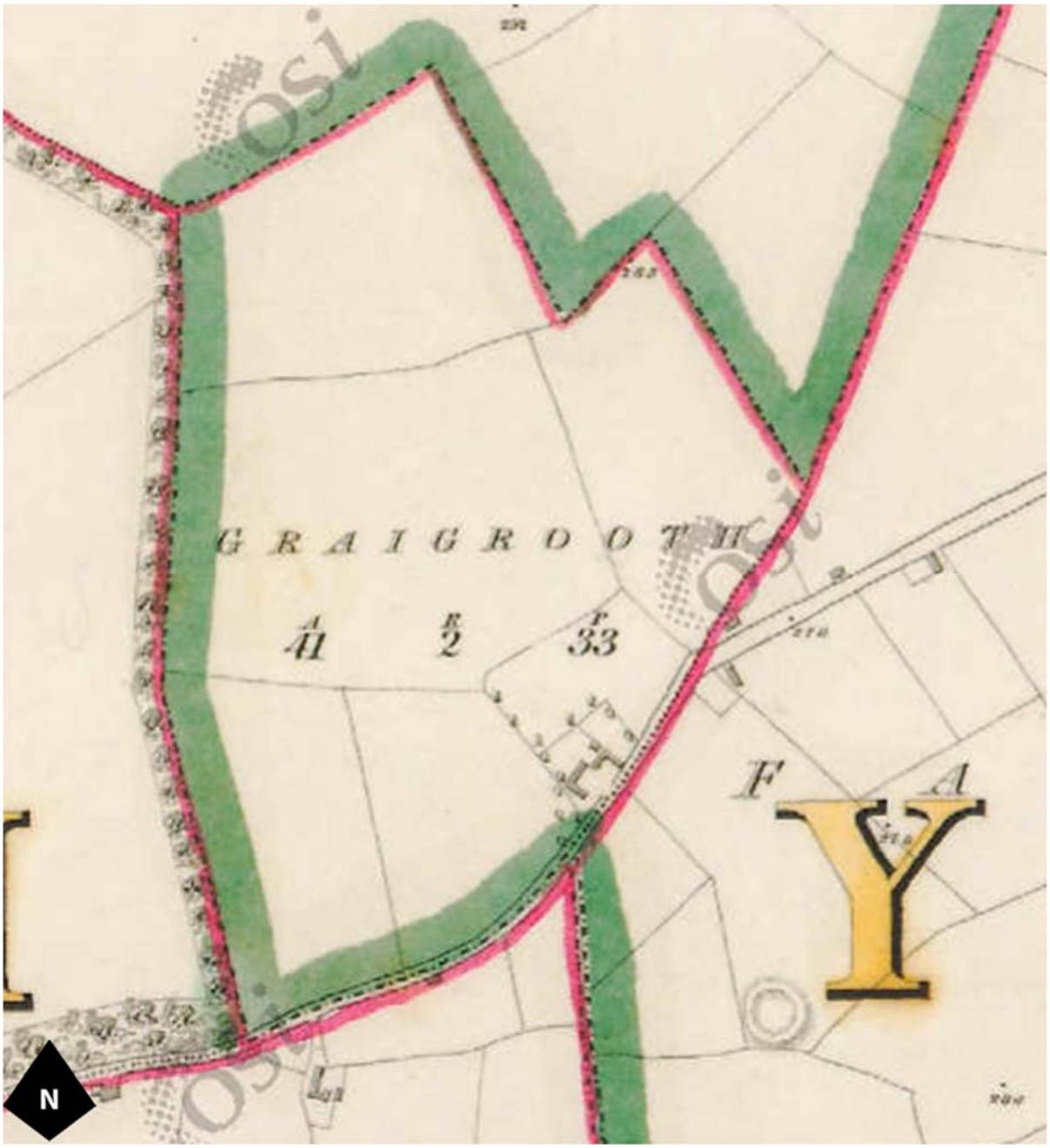


Figure 65. First edition OS map of Graigrooth townland



Figure 66. Aerial image of Graigrooth townland depicting enclosures 1. KD009-039 and 2. KD009-040 (GE 2018)



Figure 67. Close up aerial image of Graigrooth townland depicting enclosures 1. KD009-039 and 2. KD009-040 (GE 2018)

4.2.6. Grange

The survey database contains a reference to the eventual presence of a ringfort within this townland. This structure has the SMR number KD004-028 and is recorded as being located at grid coordinates: 684010-738935. On the first edition OS map (1838, Sheet 4) the site is shown as an enclosed area filled with trees. Although by the time of the second edition revisions (1871, Sheet 4) this had been modified to show an unenclosed tree ring. The structure is no longer extant, although it is further noted that a shallow fosse defines an area of *c*. 26m at this location (NMS: Conroy 2011). The outline of the structure is clearly visible on aerial images from a recent survey (GE 2018). These show a crop mark that appears to define an area of around 35m in diameter. There may also be evidence of a smaller enclosure of *c*. 5m diameter in the SW part of the interior of this stricture. The entire site is now helpfully enclosed within a track created for riding out.

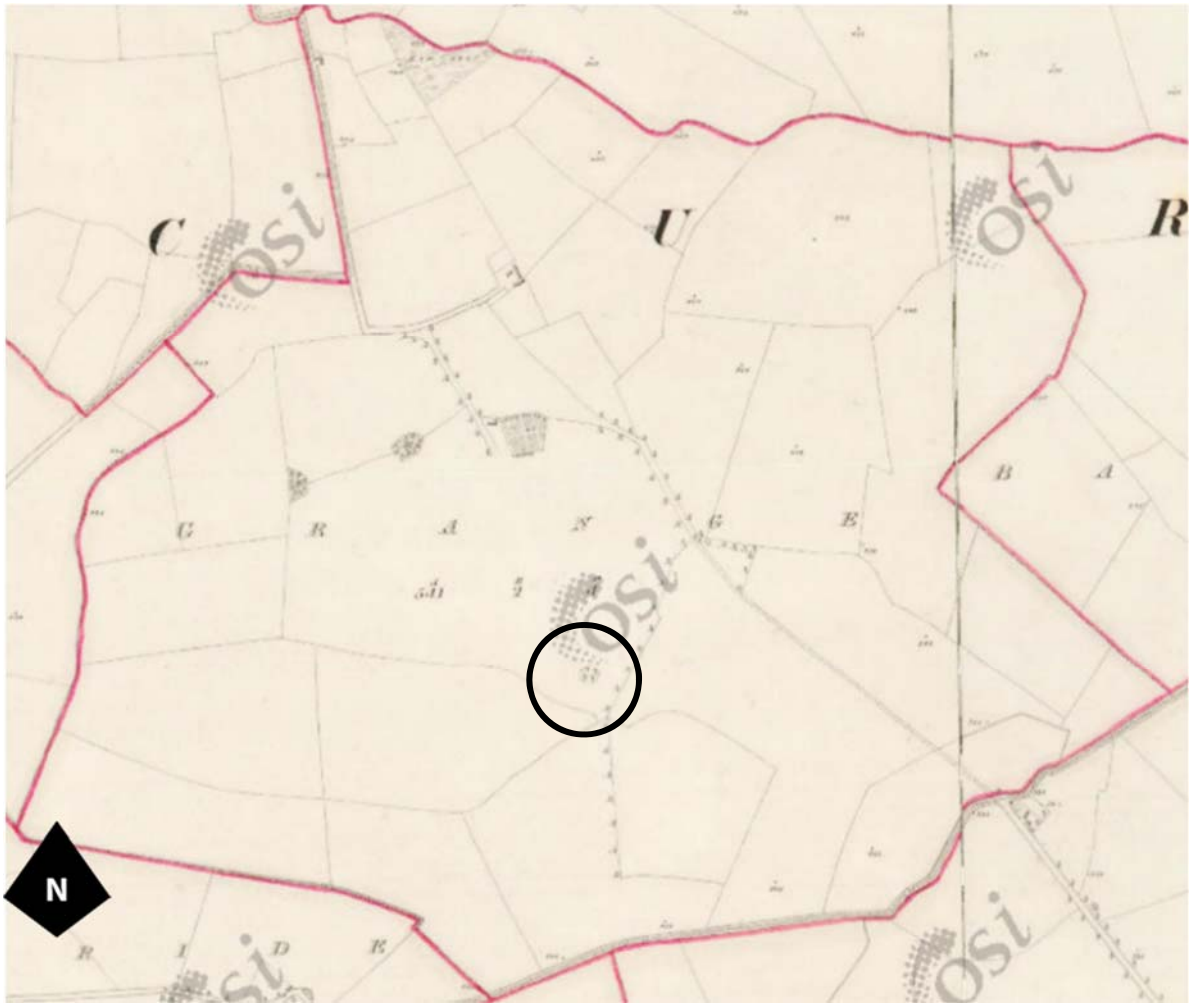


Figure 68. First edition OS map of Grange townland depicting ringfort KD004-028

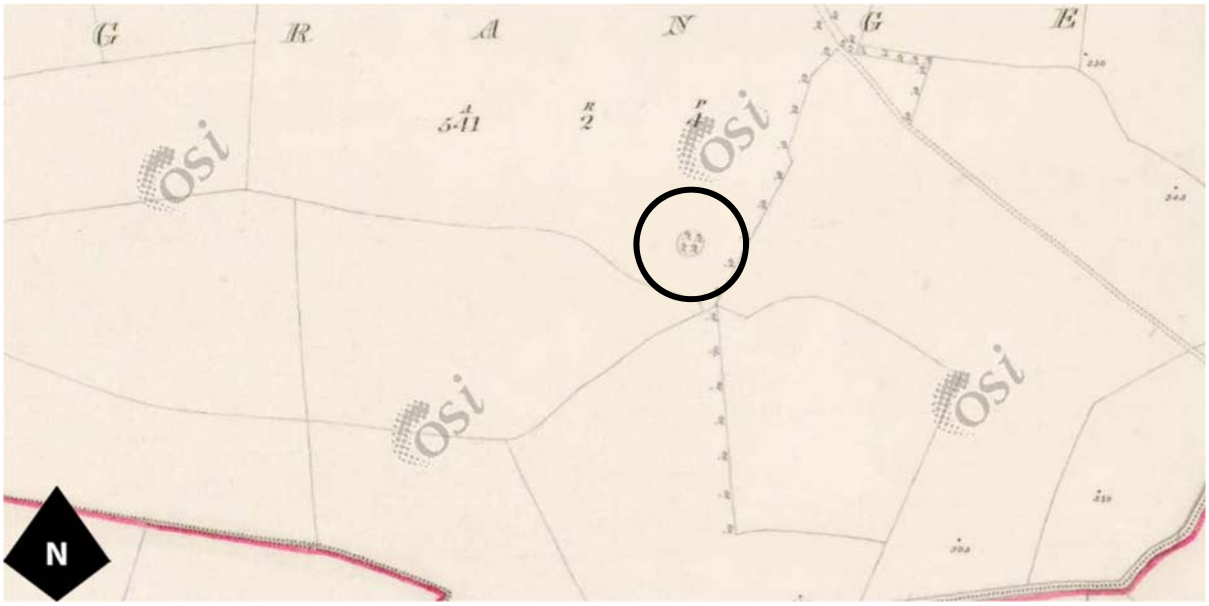


Figure 69. Close up of first edition OS map of Grange townland depicting ringfort KD004-028



Figure 70. Aerial image of Grange townland depicting site of ringfort KD004-028 (GE 2018)

4.2.7. Kilbride

The survey database refers to the presence in this townland of a ringfort. This structure is recorded with the SMR number of KD004-027. The site location is centred on the ITM grid coordinates: 682803-738677. Neither the first edition OS map (1838, Sheet 4) nor the subsequent second edition revised map (1871, Sheet 4) provide any evidence of the presence of this structure. However, it is clearly visible on a black and white aerial image, shown below, from the 1970's (CUCAP BDL001). This shows a circular enclosure, the western side of which appears slightly flatter in outline. This structure is also visible as a scorch mark in a more recent image. (GE 28/06/2018). Here also the western side of the outline appears flatter in nature. However, in contrast to the majority of crop marks visible in this barony, this enclosed area is defined by a band of lighter coloured terrain.

This enclosing band varies from *c*. 5m to *c*. 10m in diameter. This feature has an overall diameter of *c*. 70m, and an internal diameter of *c*. 51m, measured from north to south. This enclosure is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 682803-738677. An examination of recently created aerial images for this townland also permitted the discovery of another enclosure. There is no evidence for the presence of this enclosure in any early maps (Taylor 1783) nor in either of the OS maps (1838 & 1911, Sheet 4). However, this structure is visible as a crop mark as a result of weather conditions during the summer of 2018. This circular feature is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 682661-738193 and encloses an area of *c*. 58m in diameter. The presence of this feature has been reported to the NMS and while it is scheduled for inclusion in the next revision, it has been attributed the SMR number of KD004-056.



Figure 71. First edition OS map of Kilbride townland

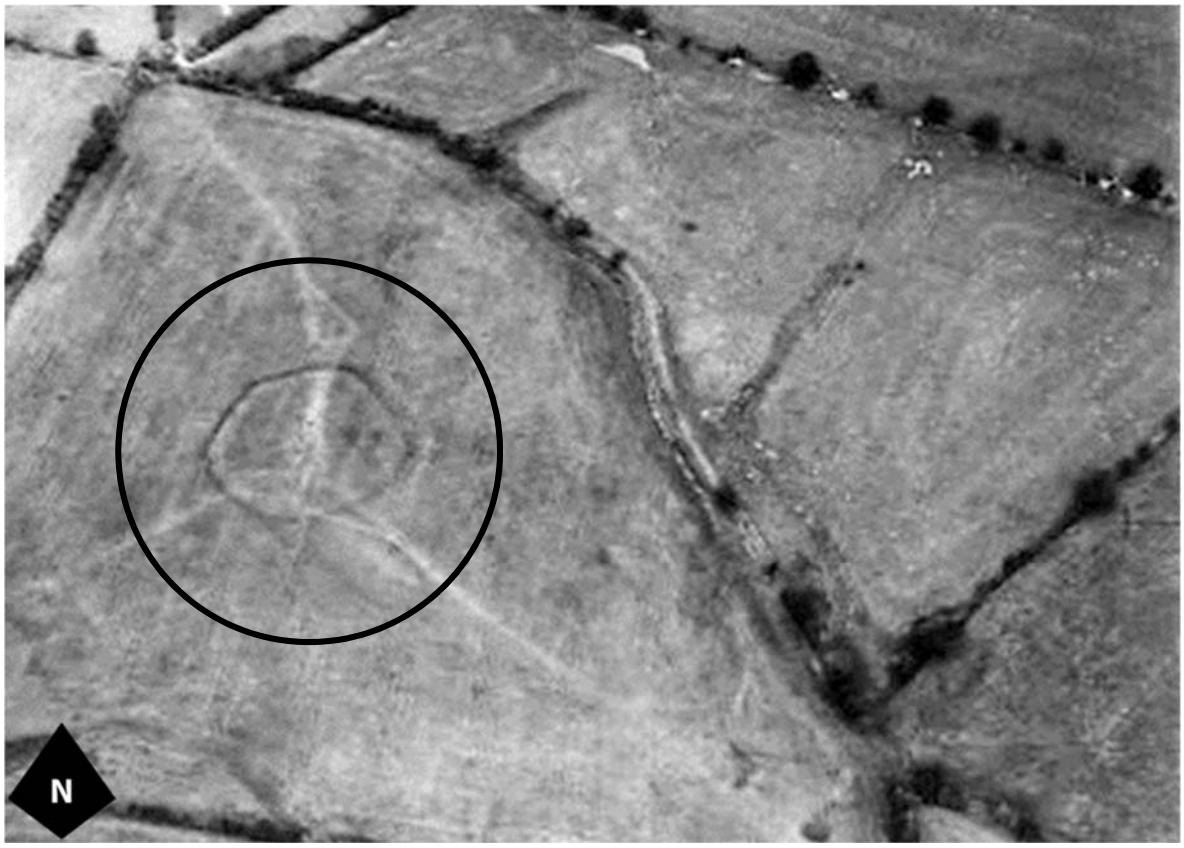


Figure 72. CUCAP aerial image of part of Kilbride townland depicting site of ringfort KD004-027 (BDL001, 1970)



Figure 73. Aerial image of part of Kilbride townland depicting site of ringfort KD004-027 (GE 2018)

4.2.8. Killickaweeny

Neither of the available early maps such as Noble & Keenan (1752) or Taylor (1783) show the presence of ringforts here. Although it should be mentioned that perhaps the earlier of these maps is not at large enough scale to properly show field monuments. The larger scale OS maps (1838 & 1911) allow no further clarification. However, examination of aerial images from a survey undertaken during the summer of 2018 does provide a suggestion as to the eventual presence of a similar feature. This potential structure is located in a field that is criss-crossed by lines in all directions. These may mark drainage ditches and small square enclosures. As a result the possible circular feature does not present a neat and separate form. Because of the inability to confirm the form and dimensions of this feature, it has not been reported to the NMS. As things now stand it will not be included in the overall discussion of this barony either. However, this mark may represent a circular enclosure of *c* 32m in diameter. This potential site is centred on ITM coordinates of 683635-740334.



Figure 74. Aerial image of Killickaweeny townland depicting previously unrecorded enclosure (GE 2018)

4.2.9. Newtown

Prior to this study there existed no evidence for the presence of ringforts in this townland. Nor indeed was the any evidence in regards to archaeological monuments in general. No evidence is included on Taylor's (1783) map or on either of the OS maps (1838 & 1911, Sheet 4). However, recently created aerial images do provide such evidence (GE 28/06/18). On these images the outline of a circular enclosure is visible as a crop mark. This feature is defined by a circular band of darker coloured terrain, perhaps suggesting the presence of a fosse. This enclosure is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 683129-739360 and enclosed an area of *c*. 35m in diameter. The existence of this crop mark has been reported to the NMS and it has been attributed the SMR number: KD004-052.

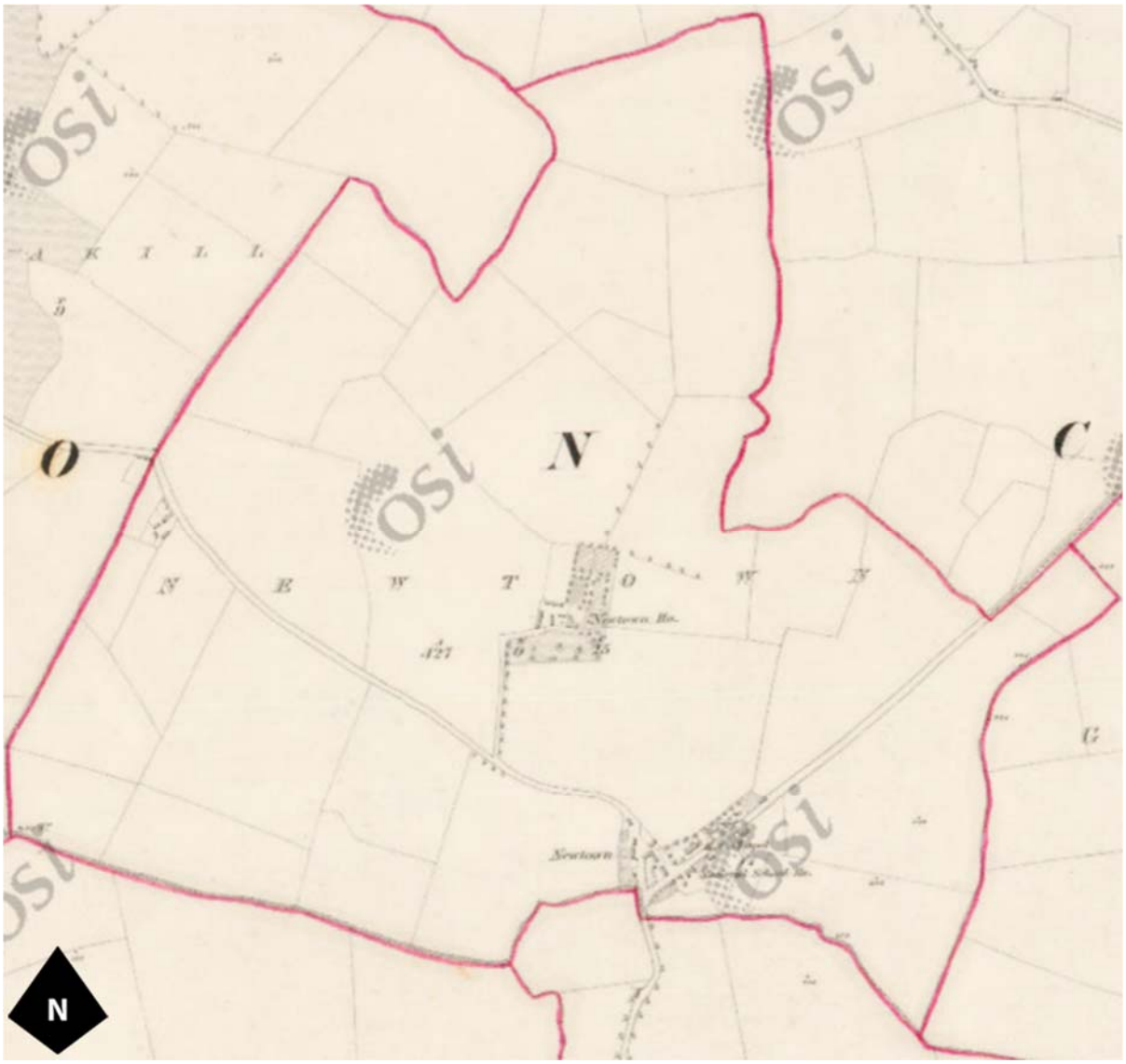


Figure 75. First edition OS map of Newtown townland



Figure 76. Aerial image of Newtown townland depicting site of enclosure KD004-052 (GE 2018)

4.2.10. Pitchfordstown

The survey database contains a reference to a ringfort located in this townland. This site carries the SMR number of KD005-007. There is, however, no reference to this monument being extant in either of the large scale OS maps of the area (1837 & 1911, Sheet 5). The eventual location of this ringfort is indicated by a curved field boundary that appears to mark half of the monument toward the south west. The outlines of this boundary are more straight sided on the first edition OS map (1837, Sheet 5). This eventual monument is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 685799-739850. An examination of Digital Globe images provides a hint of the outline of the remainder of this structure (NMS 2018).

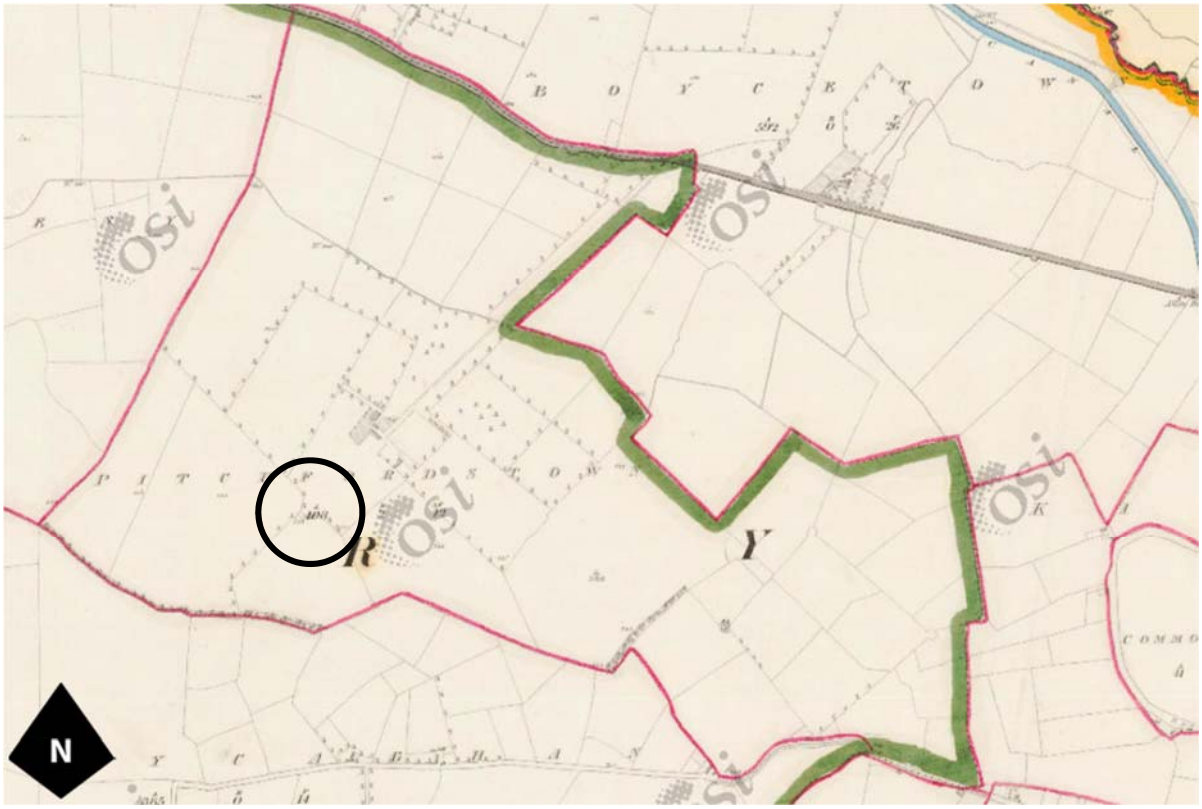


Figure 77. First edition OS map of Pitchfordstown townland depicting site of ringfort KD005-007

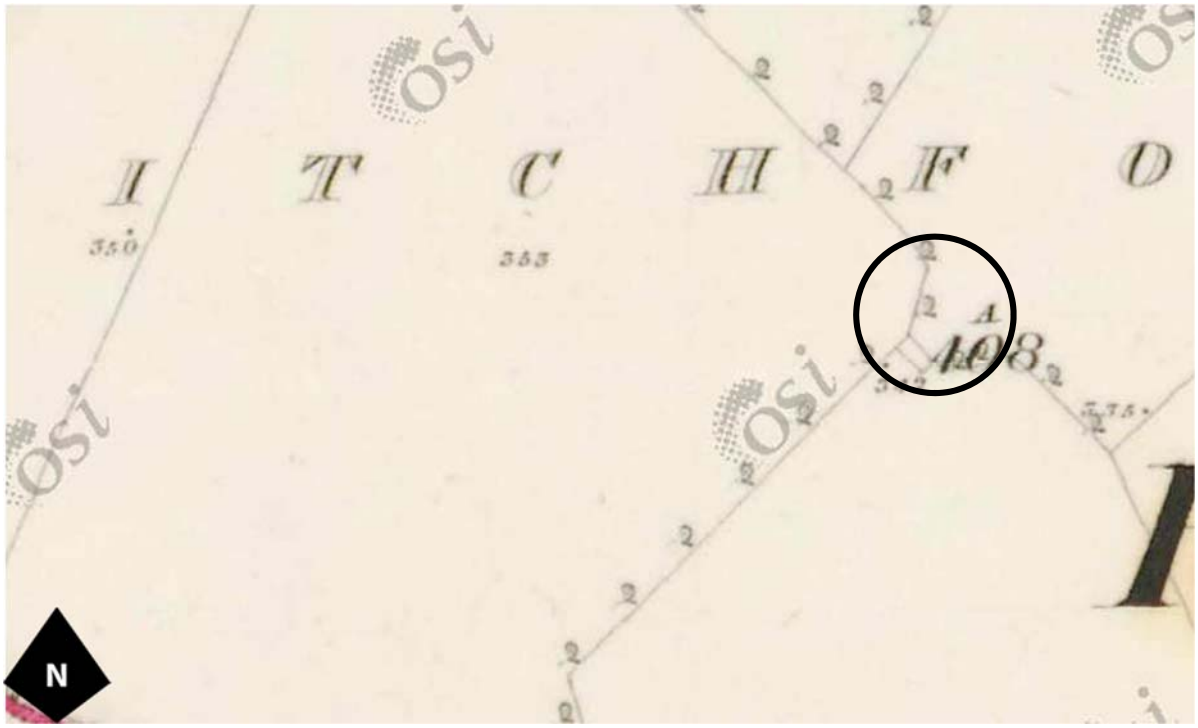


Figure 78. Close up of first edition OS map of Pitchfordstown townland depicting site of ringfort KD005-007



Figure 79. Aerial image of Pitchfordstown townland depicting site of ringfort KD005-007 (DG 2011 – 3)

4.3. Clonshanbo

At present, unfortunately, there is no evidence available to support an argument for the eventual presence of ringforts within this parish. In fact, several of the townlands in this parish – Aghafullim, Ballybrack, Belgard & Farranadum – contain no records for any field monuments at all. An examination of some of the remaining townlands, however, has uncovered some previously unrecorded sites. One of these is located in the townland of Clonshanbo itself. This refers to the large enclosure: KD010-055. It would be expected that similar terrain and ground cover throughout the parish would have facilitated the discovery of further sites if they had, at some stage, been present.

4.4. Donadea

4.4.1. Cooltrim South

Prior to the beginning of this study the townland of Cooltrim south was another that contained no record for the presence of field monuments. Thankfully, an aerial survey was carried out during the drought conditions of the summer of 2018. Examination of the images created following this survey allowed for the discovery of the existence of an enclosure here. This site is visible as a crop mark and is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 682996-734751 (GE 2018). This crop mark appears to indicate the previous existence of a d-shaped enclosure, *c*. 52m in diameter, and also the possible presence of an annex attached to the south-east portion of the larger structure. The presence of this crop mark has been reported to the NMS and the site has now been attributed the SMR number: KD009-041. The size and form of this structure appears to indicate that it may not have been a ringfort and as such it may not be included in the final calculations. However, it was decided to include it in the catalogue to emphasise again that a certain and in some cases strong level of field monuments destruction appears to have occurred prior to the Ordnance Survey of the mid-19th century.



Figure 80. First edition OS map of Cooltrim South townland



Figure 80. First edition OS map of Cooltrim South townland



Figure 81. Aerial image of Cooltrim South townland depicting site of enclosure KD009-041 (GE 2018)

4.4.2. Donadea

The presence of a ringfort within this townland is recorded on the survey database (NMS 2018). This structure is centred on grid coordinates 684258-734468 and has been given the SMR number of KD009-005. This existence of this monument is also depicted on the first and second edition OS maps (1837 & 1871, Sheet 5). Unfortunately, this monument is no longer extant. It can still be seen, however, as a crop mark on images from a recent aerial survey (GE 2018). These images show a multivallate structure defined by the presence of three fosses. This structure has an overall diameter of *c*. 89m. It also has an internal diameter of approximately 51m. The inner fosse appears to be the widest with a width of *c*. 5m. Whereas, the two narrower outer fosses appear to be spaced from it at regular intervals of about 6 metres. Although, at the north western area of the ringfort the two inner fosses appear to blend together.



Figure 82. First edition OS map of Donadea North townland showing ringfort KD009-005



Figure 83. Aerial image of part of Donadea townland (GE2018), showing site of ringfort KD009-005

4.5. Dunmurraghill

This parish appears to consist of just one townland, also named Dunmurraghill. There is no evidence included on any of the earlier maps to denote the eventual existence here of any ringforts. (Taylor 1783; OSI 1837 &1911). Neither is there any record on the survey database (NMS 2018). Close examination of aerial images created following a recent survey provide no clearer picture (GE 2018). Although a large enclosure, KD009-023, with an overall diameter of about 130m and an internal enclosed space of *c*. 50m was located near the western boundary of this townland.

4.6. Kilcock

4.6.1. Courtown Little

This was another townland that prior to this study provided no evidence for the presence of any field monuments, including ringforts. No evidence is available from either Taylor's (1783) map or from the subsequent OS maps (1838 & 1911). However, examination of images from a recent aerial survey permit the location of one such feature (GE 2018). This is visible as a circular crop mark enclosing an area of approximately 39m in diameter. This site is located in the south west part of the townland and is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 688228-738049. The presence of this feature has been reported to the NMS and it is now included in the register with the SMR number of KD005-034 (NMS 2018).



Figure 84. First edition OS map of Courtown Little townland



Figure 85. Aerial image of part of Courtown Little townland depicting site of enclosure KD005-034 (GE 2018)

4.6.2. Duncreevan

The early maps available for this townland contain no reference to the presence of ringforts. Nevertheless, the presence of one is noted in the survey database as a result of local knowledge (NMS 2018). A local man is quoted as claiming that the remains of a ringfort were uncovered here during harvest work. An injunction never to plough this area is also noted (Lynch 1999, 88). This information, in conjunction with the place name indicator of '*Dun*' led to this site being included in the survey database with the SMR number of KD005-020. The outline of this site may be partially visible centred on the ITM grid coordinates: 686917-738794.

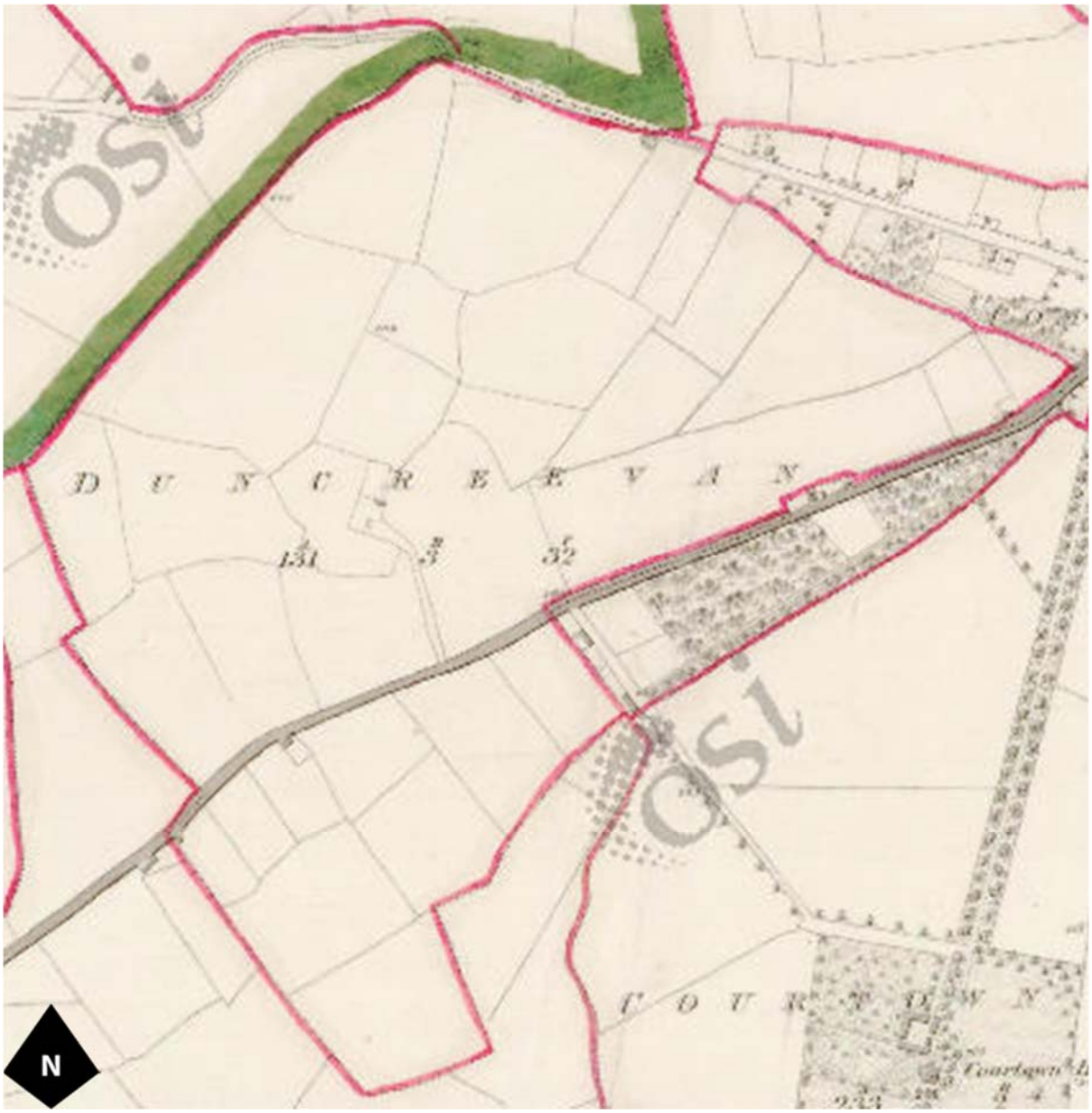


Figure 86. First edition OS map of Duncreevan townland

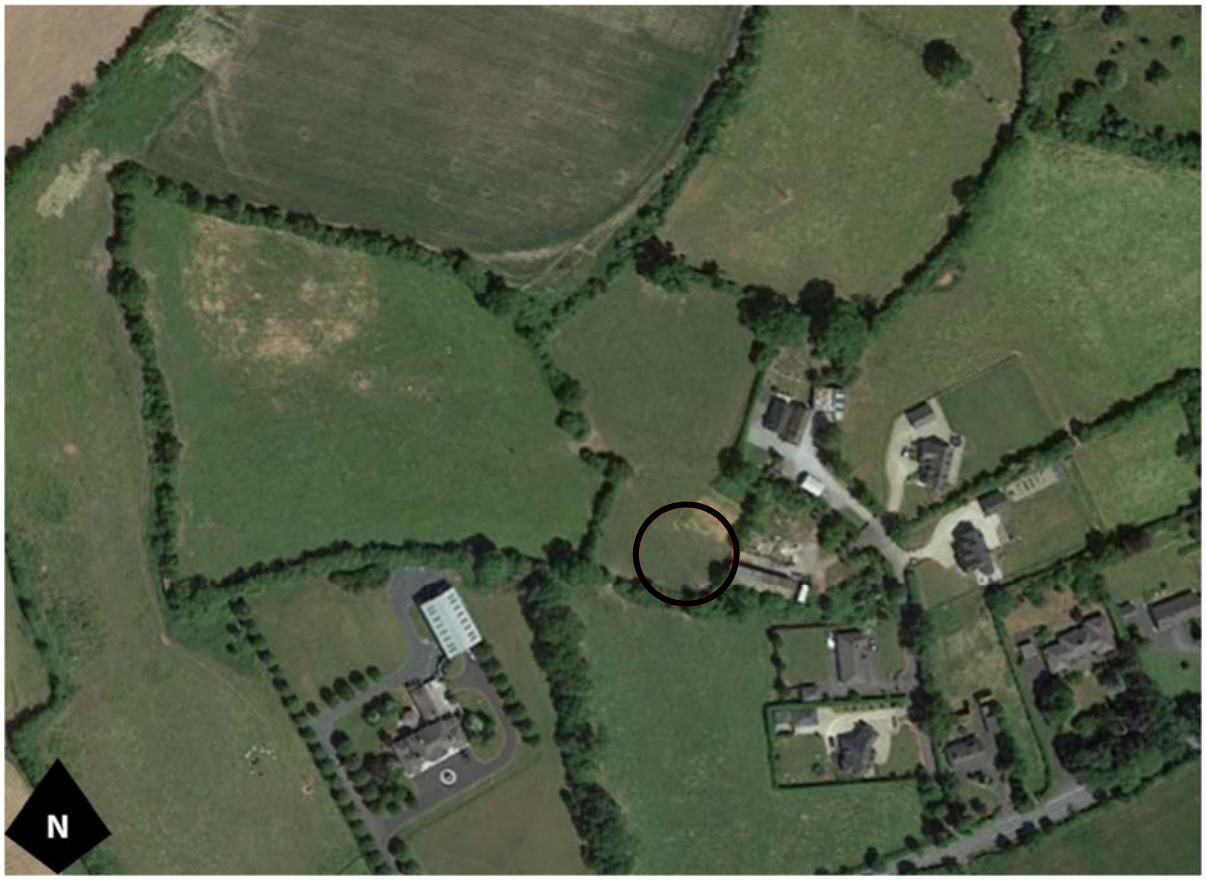


Figure 87. Aerial image of Duncreevan townland depicting site of ringfort KD005-020 (GE 2018)

4.6.3. Portgloriam

The survey database refers to a ringfort, KD005-005, located in this townland. This monument is shown on both the first and second edition OS maps (1837 & 1871) of the area. However, it is no longer extant, as it was apparently levelled in 1954, and by 1972 had largely disappeared (NMS 2018). Again, in this instance the coincidence of an aerial survey carried out during unusually dry conditions permits a greater understanding of the form of this monument. Images resulting from this survey show a circular crop mark, defined by a thin dark line, with an internal diameter of approximately 25m (GE 2018). This enclosure is itself surrounded by two further, slightly irregular shaped, fosses. The area within the innermost of these has an approximate diameter of 46m. Whereas, the outermost encloses an area of *c*. 66m overall in diameter. It also seems to be separated from the middle fosse by a distance of *c*. 6.5m. This latter fosse is itself separated from the inner circular enclosure by a distance of about 16m. Later field boundaries appear to have accommodated this structure.

In addition, during the course of this study the presence of another circular enclosure was uncovered. This enclosure is represented on none of the early available maps for the area (Taylor 1783; OSI 1837 & 1911, Sheet 5). However, it is visible on recent aerial images as a crop mark (GE 2018). This site is located roughly 1.10km north west of the previously discussed ringfort, KD005-005, and is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 686761-737615. This feature is defined by a band of darkened ground that encloses an area of *c.* 34m in diameter. The northern portion of the site also appears to have been traversed by a later field boundary. The National Monument Service have recently been notified of the presence of this site. It has now been included in the register as an enclosure and has been given the SMR number of KD005-035.



Figure 88. First edition OS map of Portgloriam townland depicting ringfort KD005-005



Figure 89. Aerial image of Portgloriam townland depicting site of ringfort 1. KD005-005 and enclosure 2. KD005-035 (GE 2018)



Figure 90. Aerial image of Portgloriam townland depicting site of ringfort KD005-005 (GE 2018)



Figure 91. Aerial image of Portgloriam townland depicting site of enclosure KD005-035 (GE 2018)

4.7. Mainham

4.7.1. Clongowes

The first edition OS map (1837, Sheet 10) of this townland depicts the presence of an enclosure. This monument, KD010-032, is recorded as being a tree covered enclosure of *c*. 40m. By the time of the second edition OS map (1871, Sheet 10) the enclosing structure is no longer shown and the location is marked by the presence of several trees. It has been suggested that because of its form and location this structure may have been a ringfort that was later planted (Conroy 2011). This monument is no longer extant but its location may be discerned through examination of recent aerial images (GE 2018). Two further enclosures are recorded also as a result of aerial surveys. These particular surveys were carried out by the geography department of Cambridge University. These specific enclosures are visible as crop marks on a black and white photograph (CUCAP; ALV010 1965).

Drawing from this image, the northern most of these two sites, KD014-010, is recorded at ITM grid coordinates of 687438-729525 and as having an approximate diameter of 35m

(NMS 2018). Whereas, the second crop mark is clearly visible at the top of the black and white image below. This site, KD014-011, is recorded at the grid coordinates of 687372-729179 and as enclosing an area of *c*. 30m diameter. Both the form and location of these sites indicate that these have the potential to have originally been ringforts. Further examination of recent aerial images allows for the discovery of another previously unrecorded site (GE 2018). This site is visible as a crop mark and is centred on the ITM grid coordinates: 687518-728776. This appears to be an oval enclosure with the approximate dimensions of 39m E – W and 28m N – S. An attached annex (18m x 9m) is also visible at the eastern side of this structure. This site has been reported to the NMS and has now been attributed the SMR number of KD014-078.

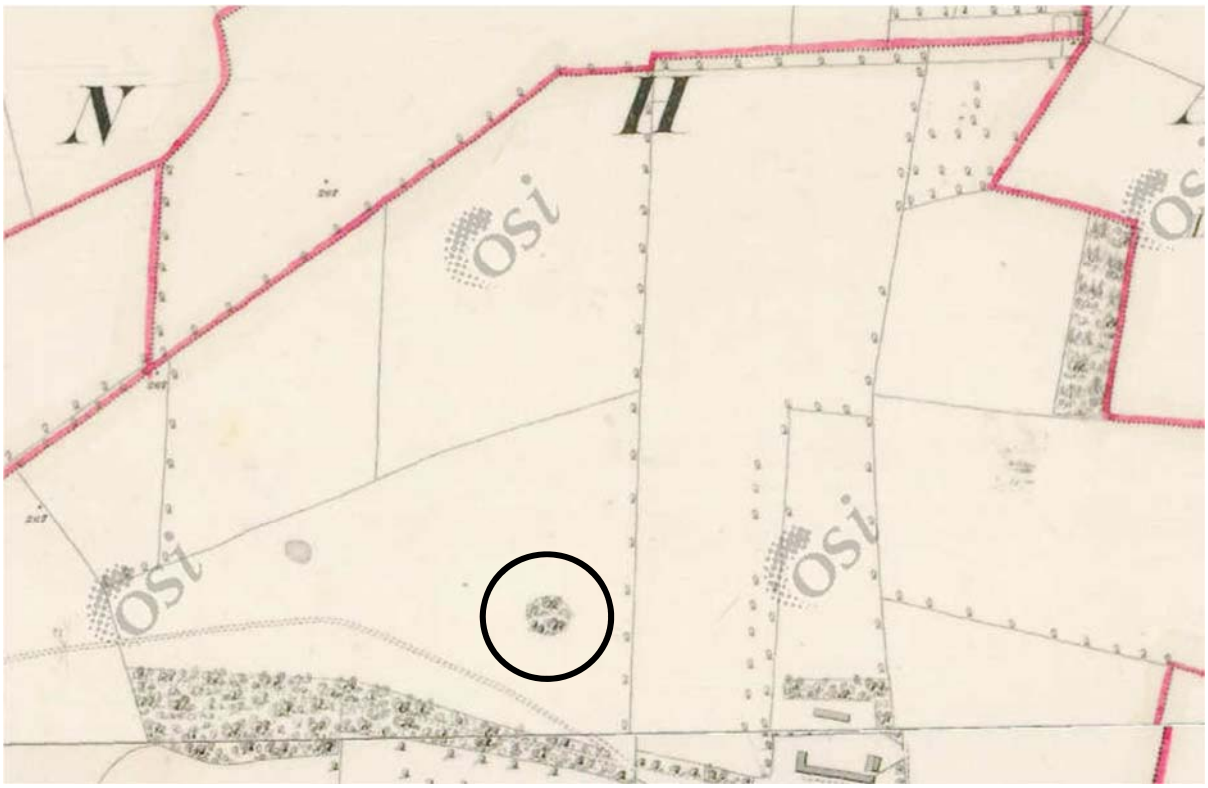


Figure 92. Part of the first edition OS map of Clongowes townland depicting enclosure KD010-032

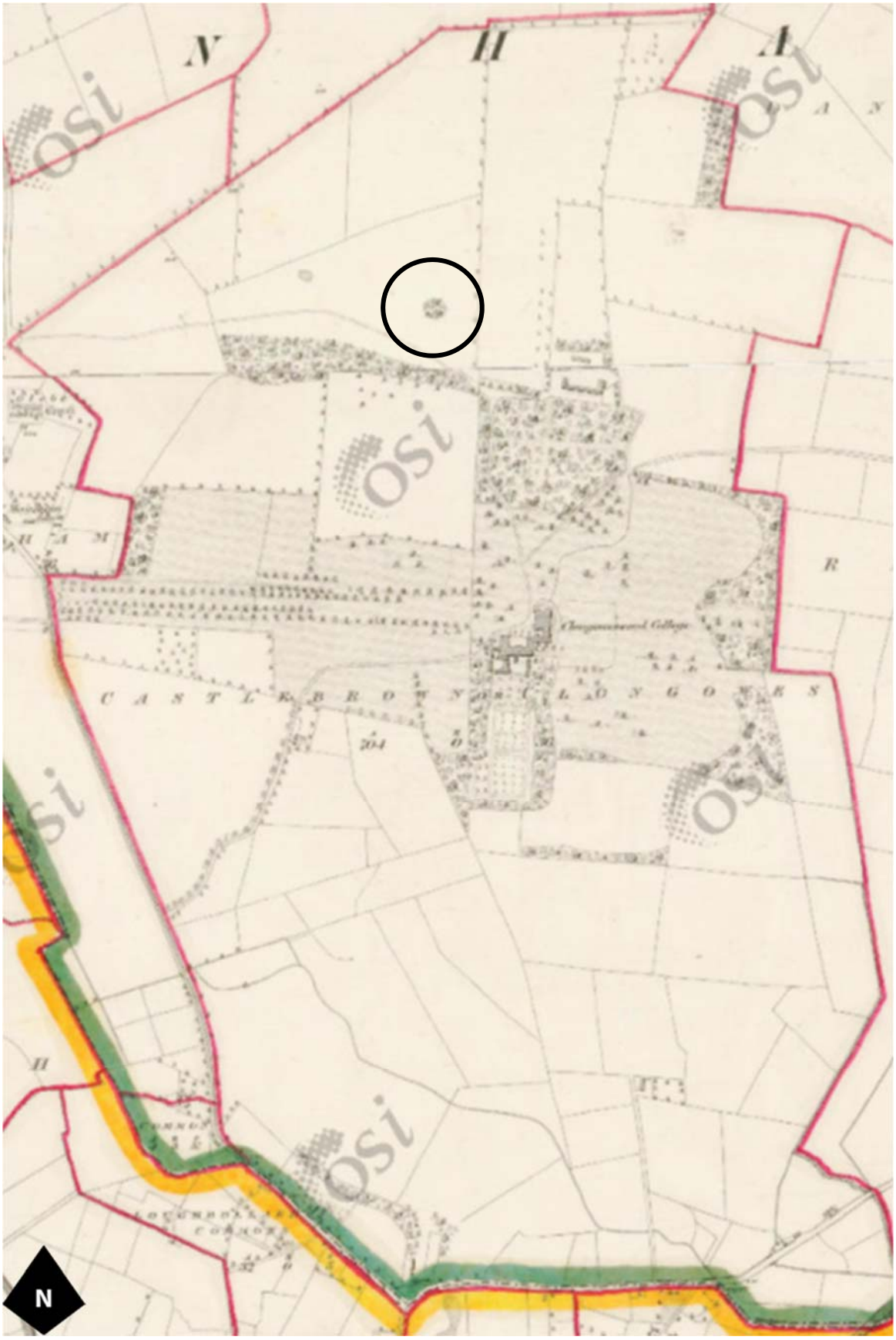


Figure 93. First edition OS map of Clongowes townland depicting enclosure KD010-032

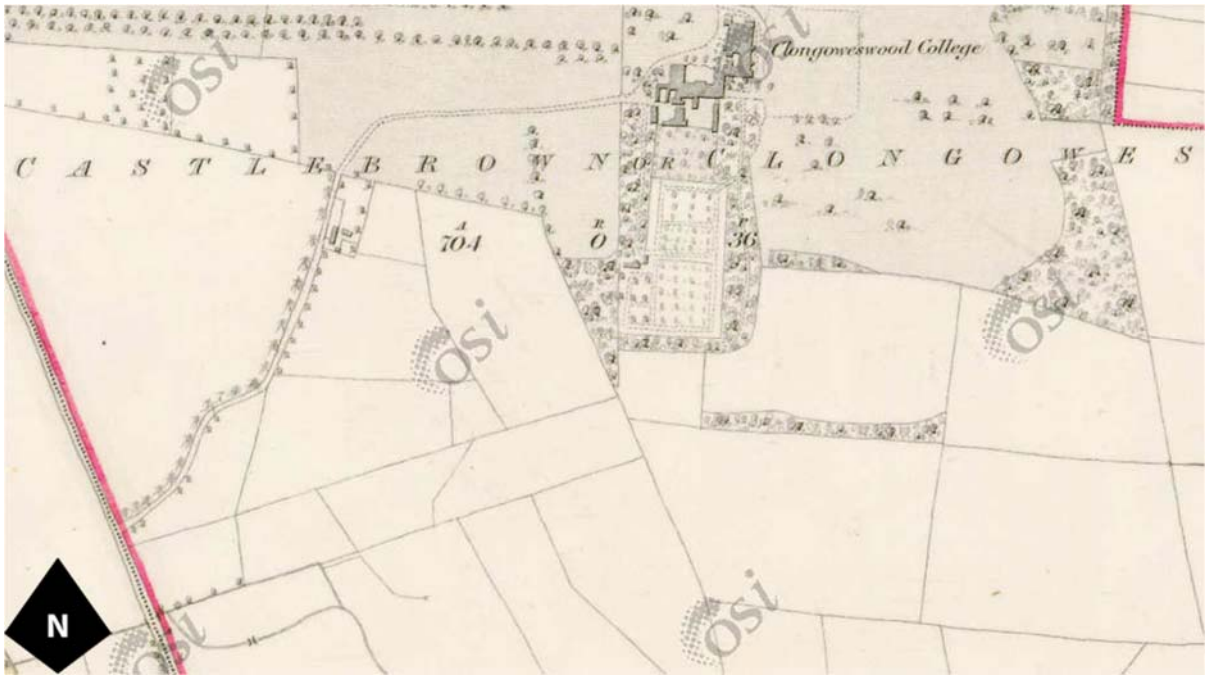


Figure 94. Part of the first edition OS map of Clongowes townland



Figure 95. CUCAP aerial image of part of Clongowes townland depicting site of enclosure KD014-011 (ALV010 1965)



Figure 96. Aerial image of part of Clongowes townland depicting site of enclosure KD010-032 (GE 2018)



Figure 97. Aerial image of part of Clongowes townland depicting site of enclosure KD014-011 (GE 2018)

Figure 98. Aerial image of part of Clongowes townland depicting site of enclosure KD014-078 (GE 2018)

4.7.2. Richardstown

Prior to this study the survey database contained a reference to the presence of one enclosure, KD010-039, in this townland. This site and its attached annex was discovered through the examination of aerial imagery (Barrett 1989). It should be noted that here again there seems to be no earlier record of the presence of enclosures or ringforts in this locality (OSI 1837 & 1911, Sheet 10). Examination of more recent aerial images led to the location of several more field monuments to be discovered (GE 2018). Two of these seem to be enclosures large enough to perhaps correspond in dimension and form to ringforts. The first of these sites is centred on ITM grid coordinates: 689276-729940. The extent of this feature is defined by a band of darkened soil enclosing an area of *c*. 59m in diameter.

A gap in this surrounding band to the NNE may indicate an entrance that seems orientated in relation to a smaller enclosure some distance away. The National Monument Service has been notified of the presence of this site and it has been attributed the SMR number of KD014-064. Another crop mark defining an enclosure was discovered *c*.350m to the north east of site KD010-039. This site is centred on the grid coordinates of 689522-730693 and encloses an area of *c*.38m in diameter. This site appears to be traversed by a later field boundary running in a roughly north-south direction. This site too has been reported to the NMS and now bears the SMR number of KD014-070. It is notable that this townland, for which no field monuments were recorded on either of the earlier OS maps (1837 & 1911), now has six recorded sites as a result of recent aerial surveys.

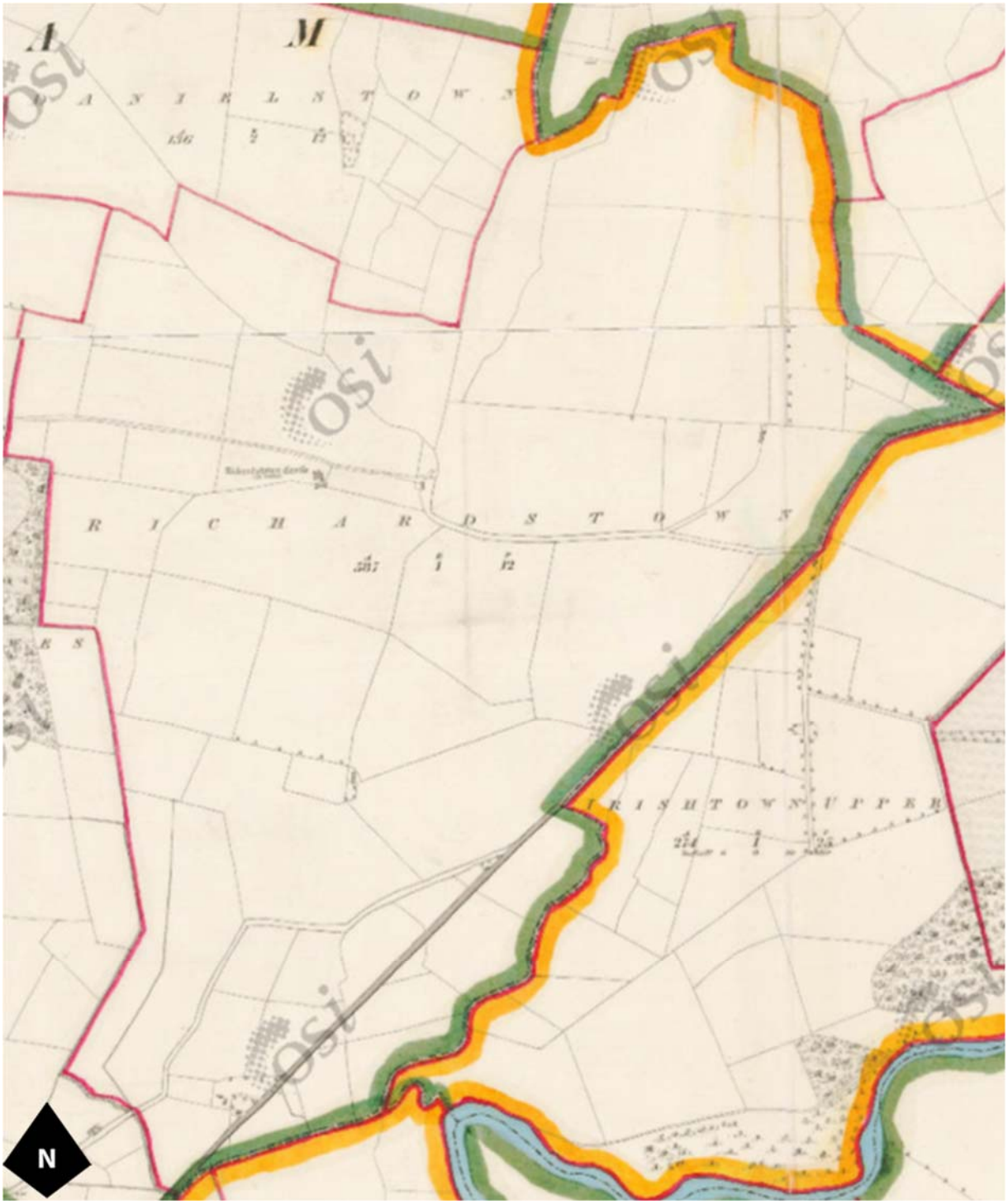


Figure 99. First edition OS map of Richardstown townland

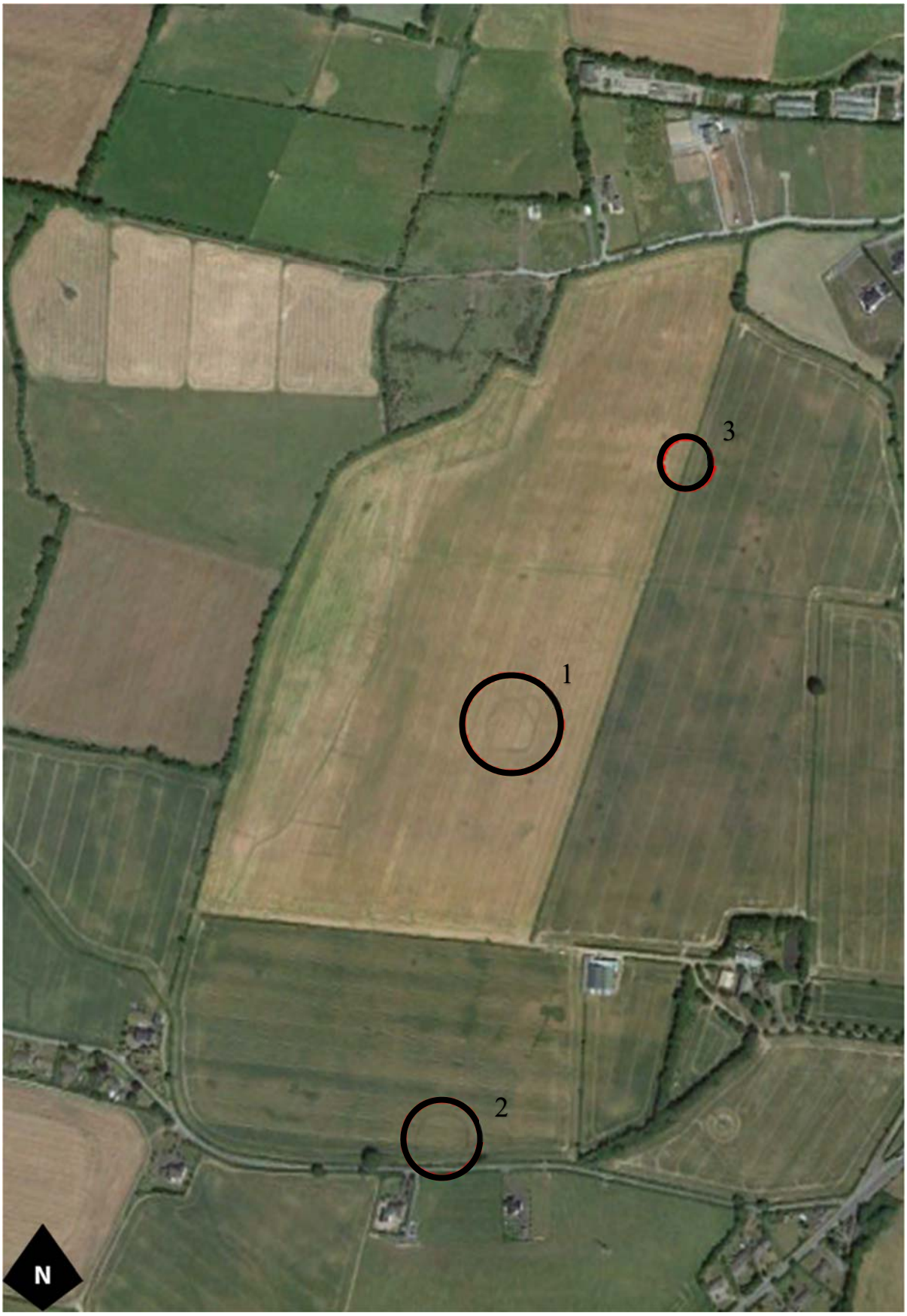


Figure 100. Aerial image of Richardstown townland depicting site of enclosures 1. KD010-039, 2. KD014-064 and 3. KD014-070 (GE 2018)



Figure 101. Aerial image of part of Richardstown townland depicting site of enclosure KD014-064 (GE 2018)



Figure 102. Aerial image of part of Richardstown townland depicting site of enclosure KD010-039 (GE 2018)



Figure 103. Aerial image of part of Richardstown townland depicting site of enclosure KD014-070 (GE 2018)

4.8. Sculloguestown

4.8.1. Ballyteige

This is another townland that prior to this study provided no evidence for the presence of field monuments. Neither of the OS maps (1838 & 1911, Sheet 4) nor the earlier maps by Taylor (1783) contradict this record. However, a study of recent aerial images strongly suggest that this may not have always been the case (GE 2018). These images depict a crop mark that appears to define a circular multivallate (possibly trivallate) enclosure. This feature is centred on the grid coordinates of 682195-737034. This structure appears to have an overall diameter of approximately 80m and an internal diameter of about 50m. The presence of this site has now been relayed to the NMS and has been attributed the SMR number of KD004-049.

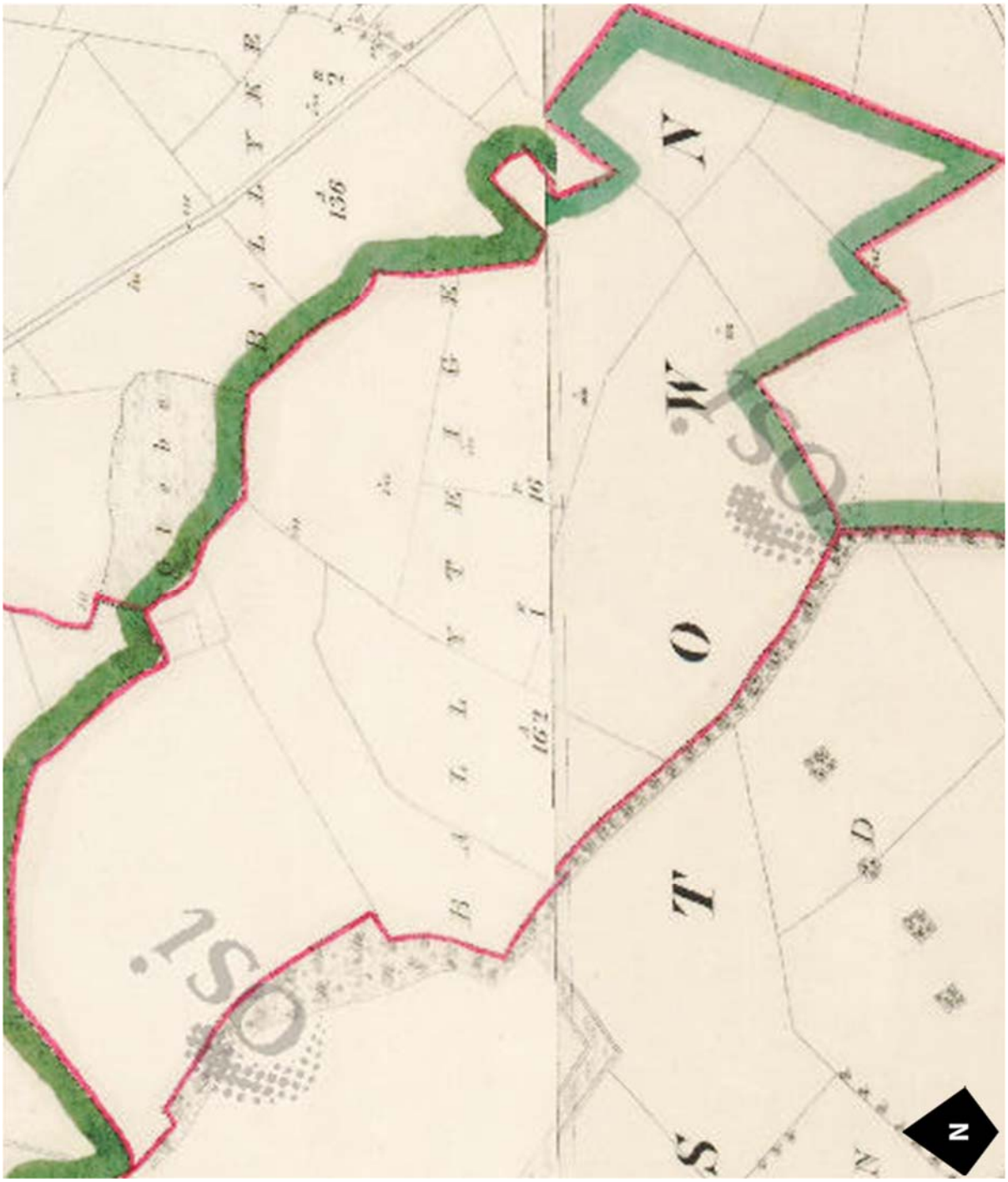


Figure 104. First edition OS map of Ballyteige townland



Figure 104. Aerial image of Ballyteige townland depicting site of enclosure KD004-049 (GE 2018)



Figure 105. Close up aerial image of Ballyteige townland depicting site of enclosure KD004-049 (GE 2018)

4.8.2. Hortland

The presence of a ringfort is recorded on the database for this townland (NMS 2018). On the database this site is recorded as an unclassified ringfort and carries the SMR number of KD009-002. On the first edition OS map (1837, Sheet 9) this site is shown as the location of a tree filled circular enclosure. A field boundary that runs north-west to south-east touch's the exterior of this circular enclosure. On the later second edition OS map (1871, Sheet 9) this enclosure is shown in the same position and having the same form, but now empty of woodland. This site is no longer extant. However, the location of this enclosure can be discerned on recent aerial images. These images show a circular crop mark that encloses an area of approximately 38m in diameter (GE 2108). This enclosure is centred on the ITM grid coordinates: 682145-736265 and the north western limit of this site is now marked by a driveway to a private house.

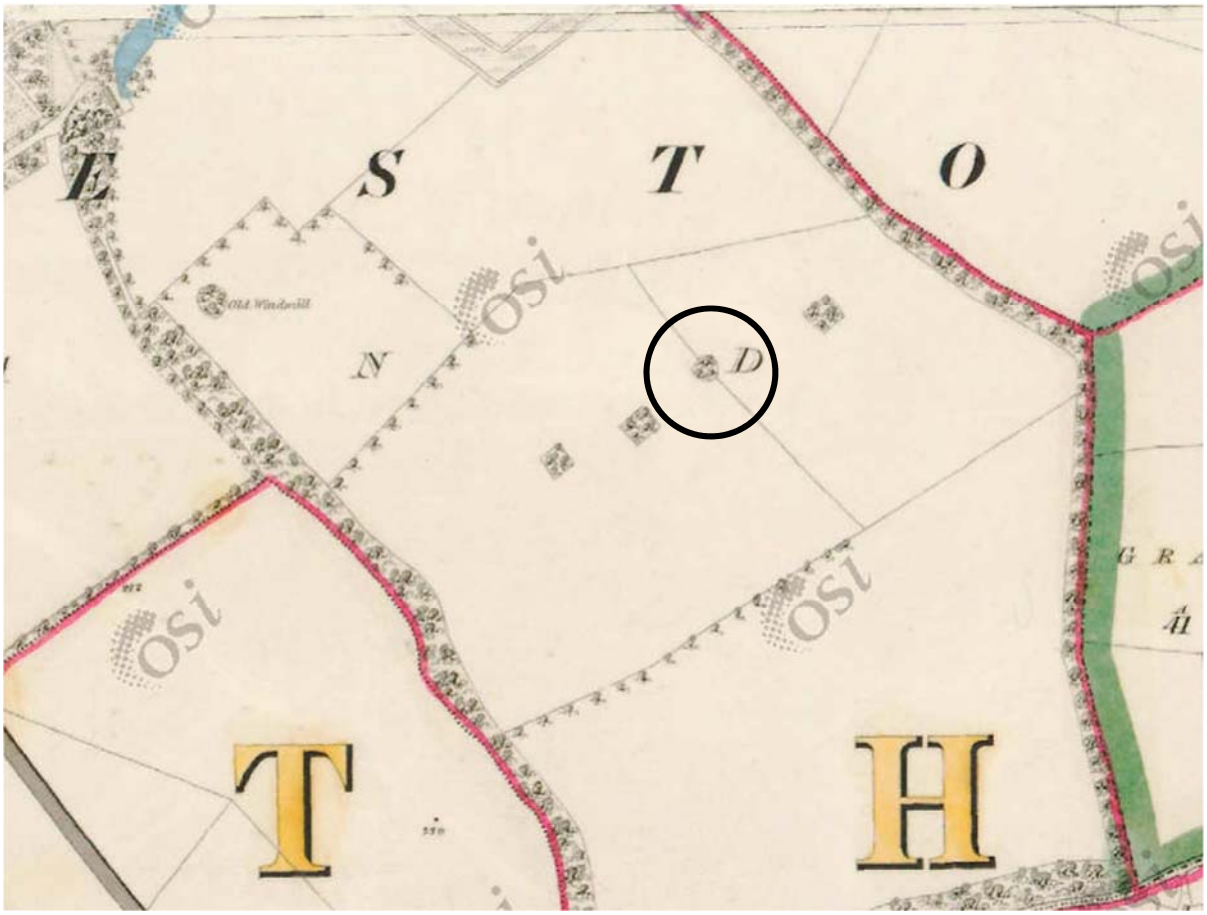


Figure 106. First edition OS map of part of Hortland townland depicting ringfort KD009-002

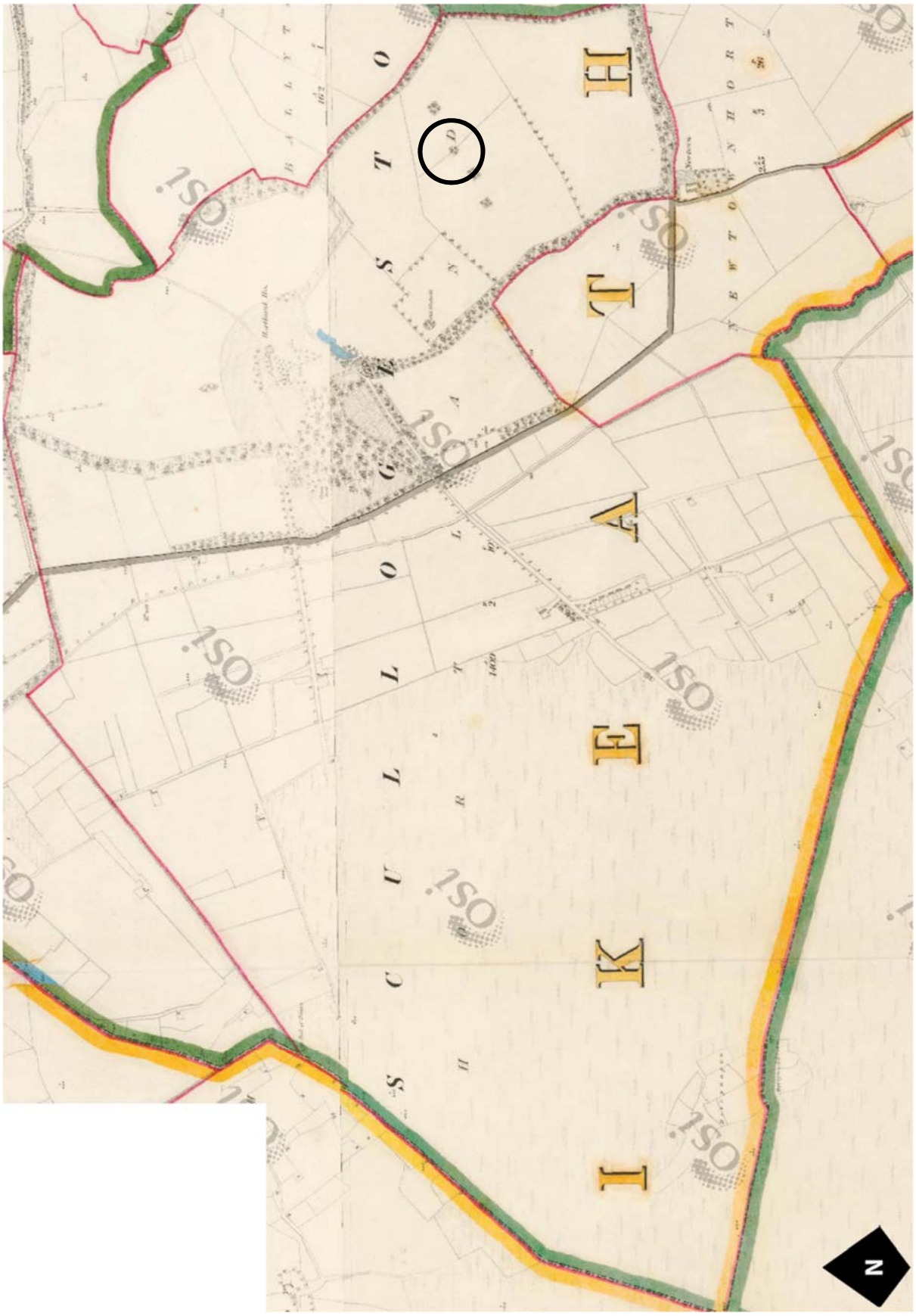


Figure 107. First edition OS map of Hortland townland depicting ringfort KD009-002



Figure 108. Aerial image of Hortland townland depicting site of ringfort KD009-00 (GE 2018)

4.8.3. Knockanally

The survey database contains a reference to the presence of a ringfort, KD004-015, in this townland. Indeed, this site is shown as a circular enclosure on Taylor's (1783) map of county Kildare. However, it is not shown on the first edition OS map of the area (1838, Sheet 4). A feature is again depicted in this location on the second edition OS map created following later revisions (1871, Sheet 4). On this map the feature is shown as a slightly oval enclosure with the interior covered in mixed woodland. A clarification in regards to the location of this structure is possible through reference to recently created aerial images (GE 2018). These images show a large enclosure defined by a band of vegetation, particularly the western quadrant, and by a parallel external band seen as a scorch mark. This scorch mark defines an overall area of *c*. 73m in diameter, with an internal diameter of *c*. 58m. This circular feature is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 680578-738191. The exterior of the eastern and southern part of this structure appears to be defined by a modern trackway. Finally, the

location of this feature, visible on recent images, appears to be at a slight distance from where it is recorded on the database (GE 2018).

Figure 109. Taylors map of Knockanally townland depicting ringfort KD004-015

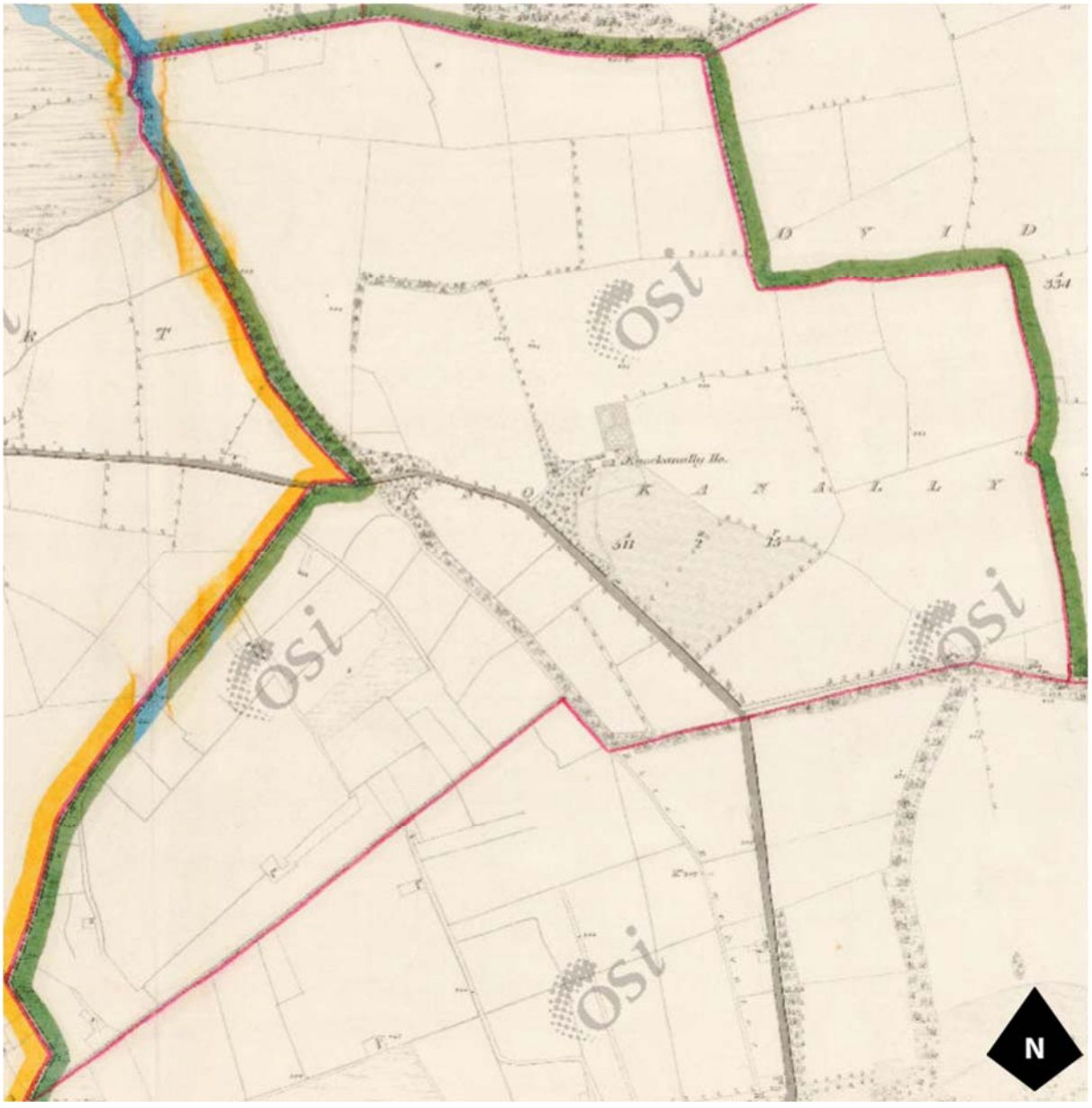


Figure 110. First edition OS map of Knockanally townland



Figure 111. First edition OS map of Knockanally townland depicting site of ringfort KD004-015

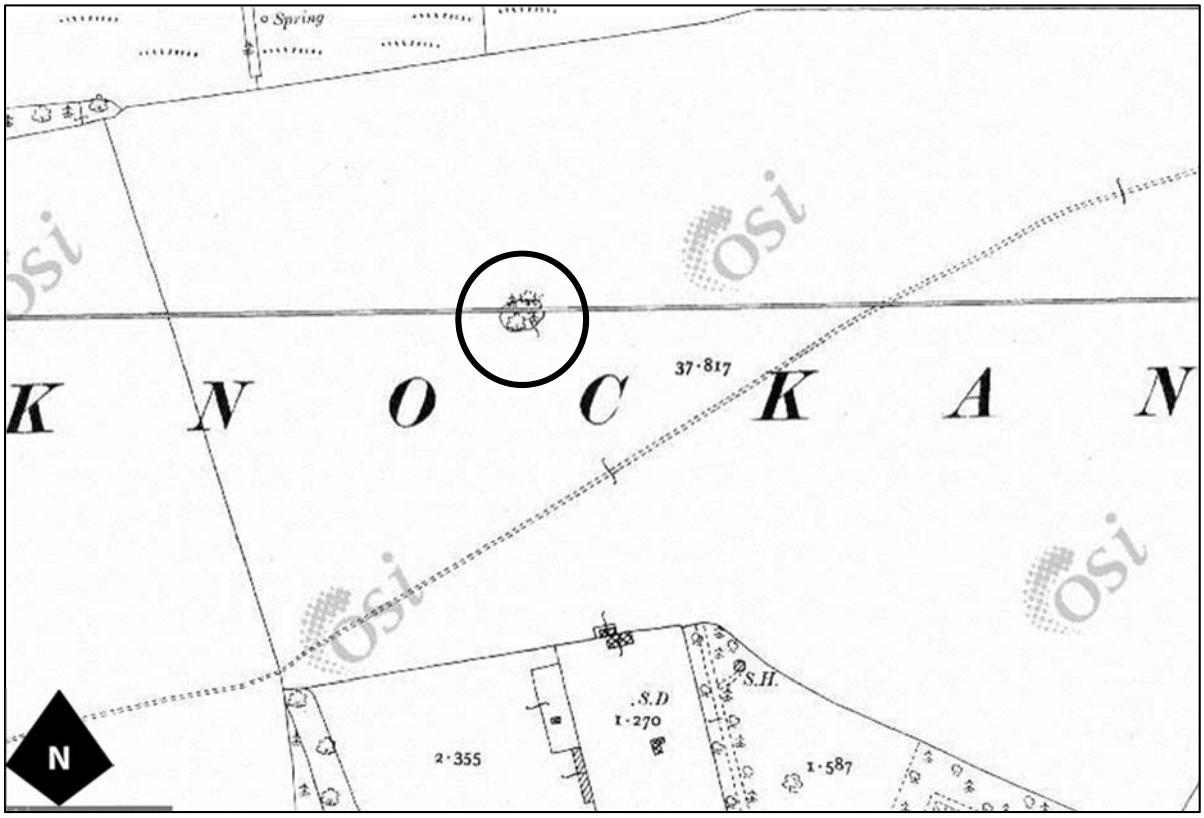


Figure 112. Second edition OS map of Knockanally townland depicting ringfort KD004-015

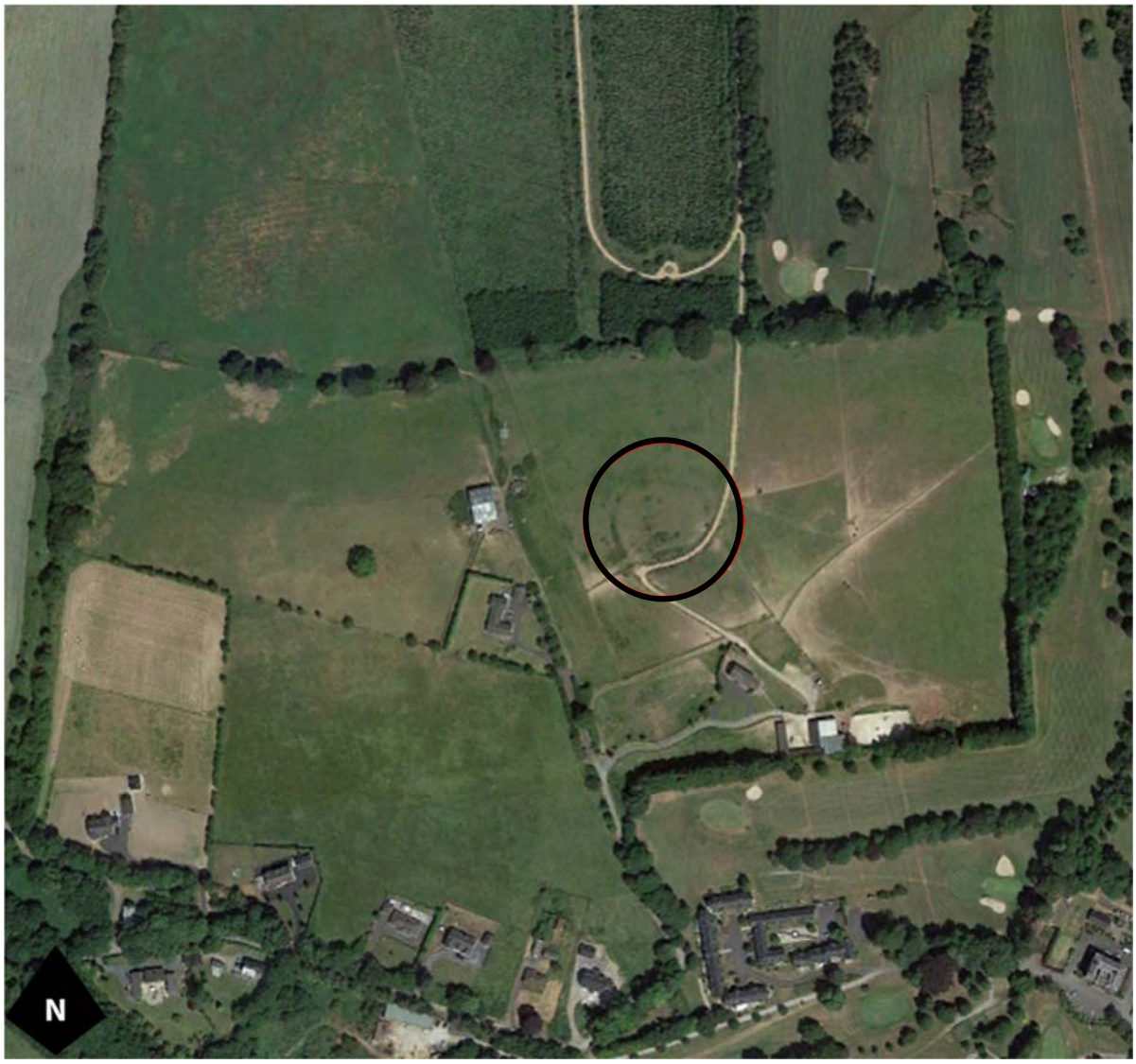


Figure 111. Aerial image of Knockanally townland depicting site of ringfort KD004-015 (GE 2018)

CATALOGUE CHAPTER 5:

KILLCULLEN, CO. KILDARE

3,451 HECTARES

Evidence for Ringforts in certain Townlands of the Parishes of Kilcullen and Tully, Co. Kildare:

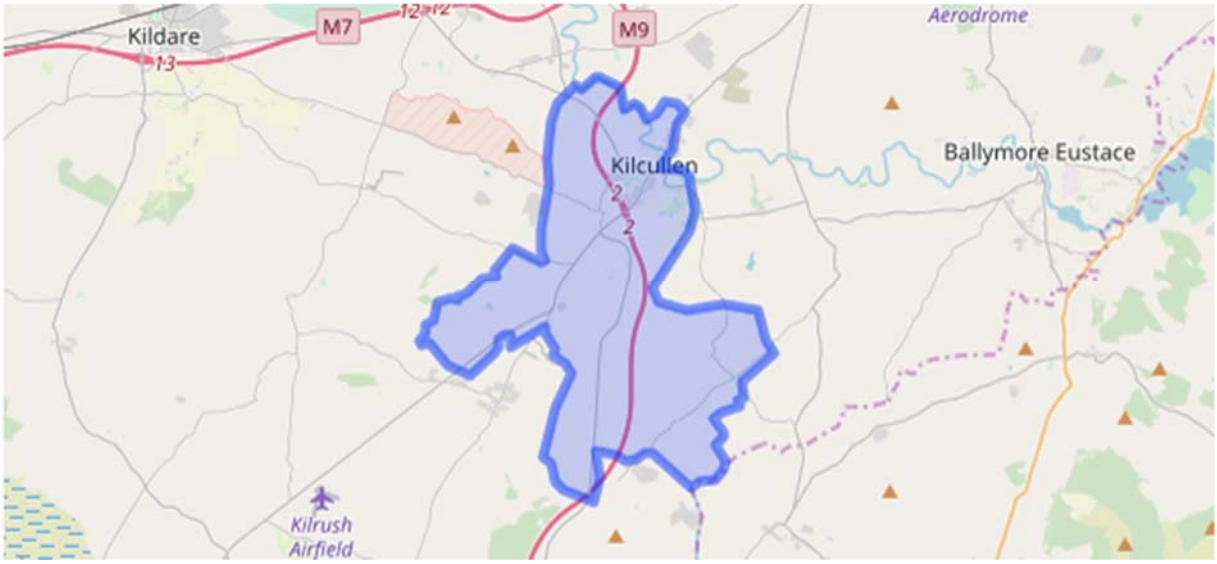


Figure 1. Barony map of Kilcullen, Co. Kildare

	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
NMR/Townlands	3/25	2/25	0/25	9/25	10/25	12/25
TOTAL	3	2	0	14	20	22

Figure 2. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Kilcullen barony, Co. Kildare

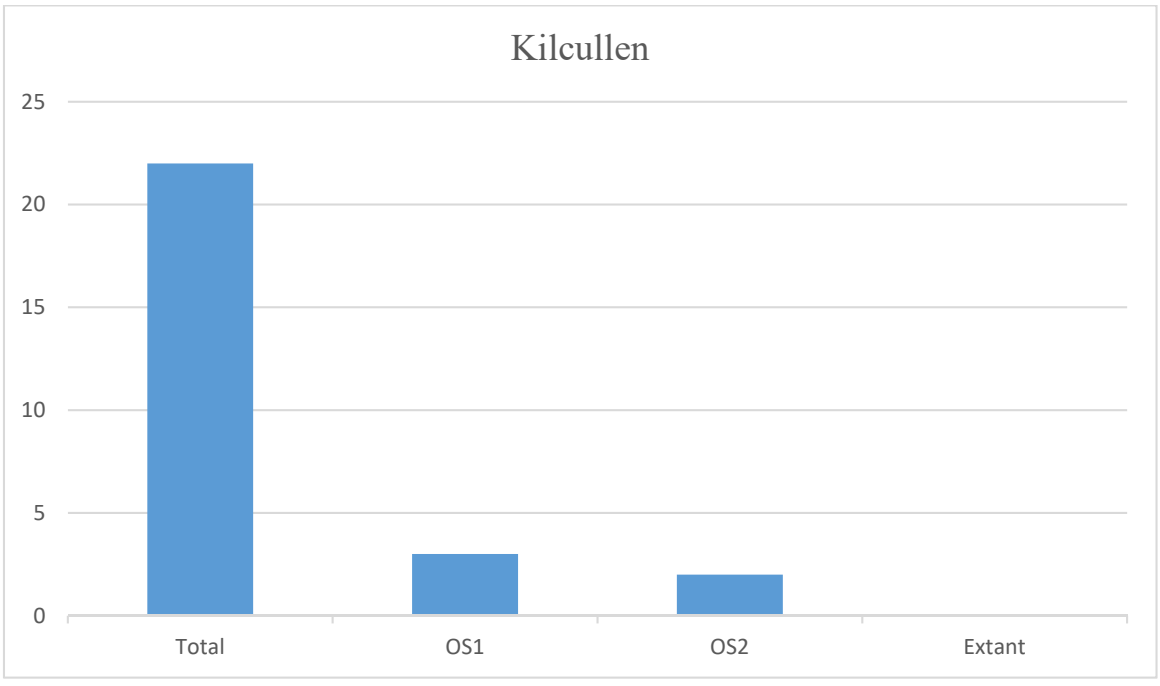


Figure 3. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Kilcullen barony, Co. Kildare

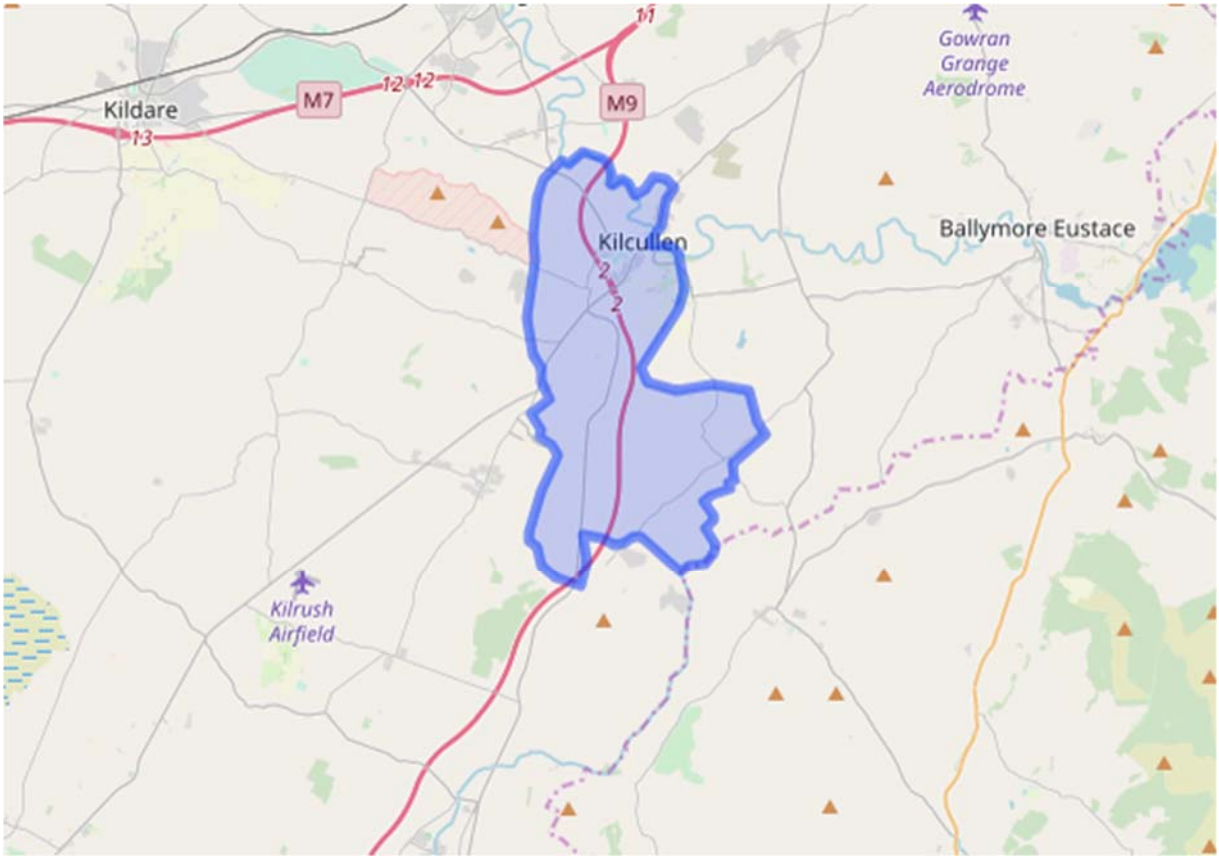


Figure 4. Parish map of Kilcullen, Co. Kildare

	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Baronsland	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cartersbog	0	0	0	0	1	1
Castlefish,	0	0	0	0	0	0
Castlemartin	0	0	0	0	0	0
Common	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dalkinstown	1	1	0	1	2	2
Gilbinstown	0	0	0	0	0	0
Glebe North	0	0	0	0	0	0
Glebe South	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gormanstown	0	0	0	1	1	1
Halverstown	0	0	0	0	1	1
Kilcullenbridge	0	0	0	2	3	3
Kilgowan	0	0	0	3	4	4

Killinane	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kineagh	0	0	0	1	1	1
Knockaulin	1	0	0	2	2	2
Knockbounce	0	0	0	1	0	1
Nicholastown	0	0	0	0	0	0
Oldkilcullen	0	0	0	1	0	1
Sunnyhill	0	0	0	0	0	0
Toberogan	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yellowbogcommon	0	0	0	0	0	0
NMR/Townlands	2/22	1/22	0/22	8/22	8/22	10/22
TOTAL	2	1	0	13	16	18

Figure 5. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Kilcullen parish, Co. Kildare

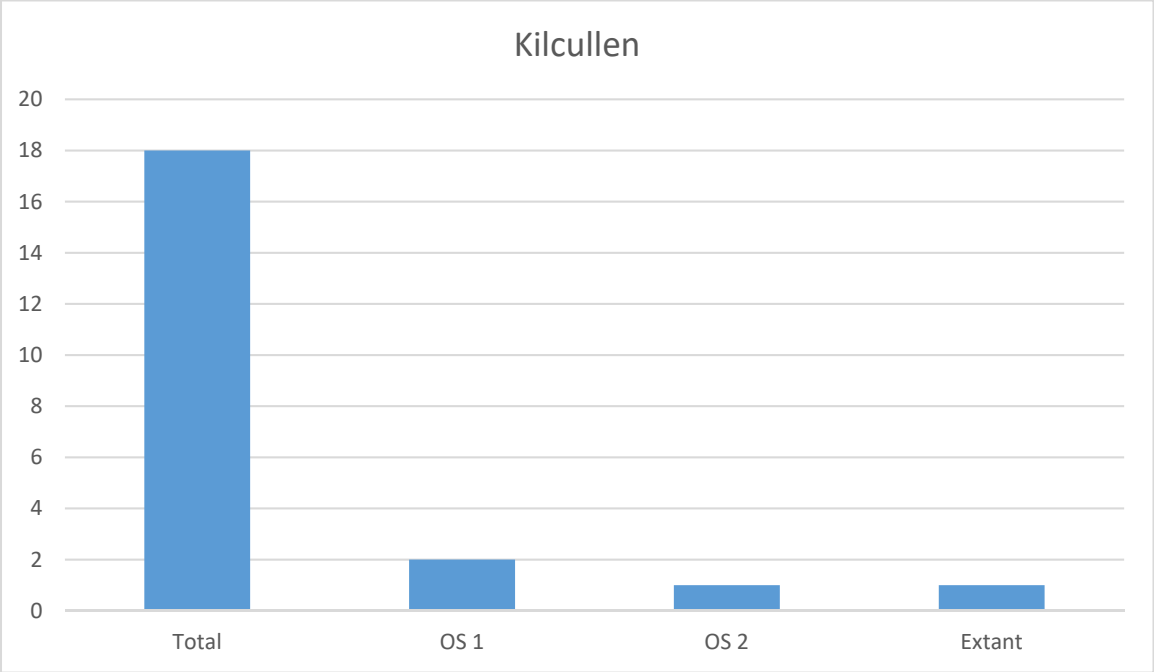


Figure 6. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Kilcullen parish

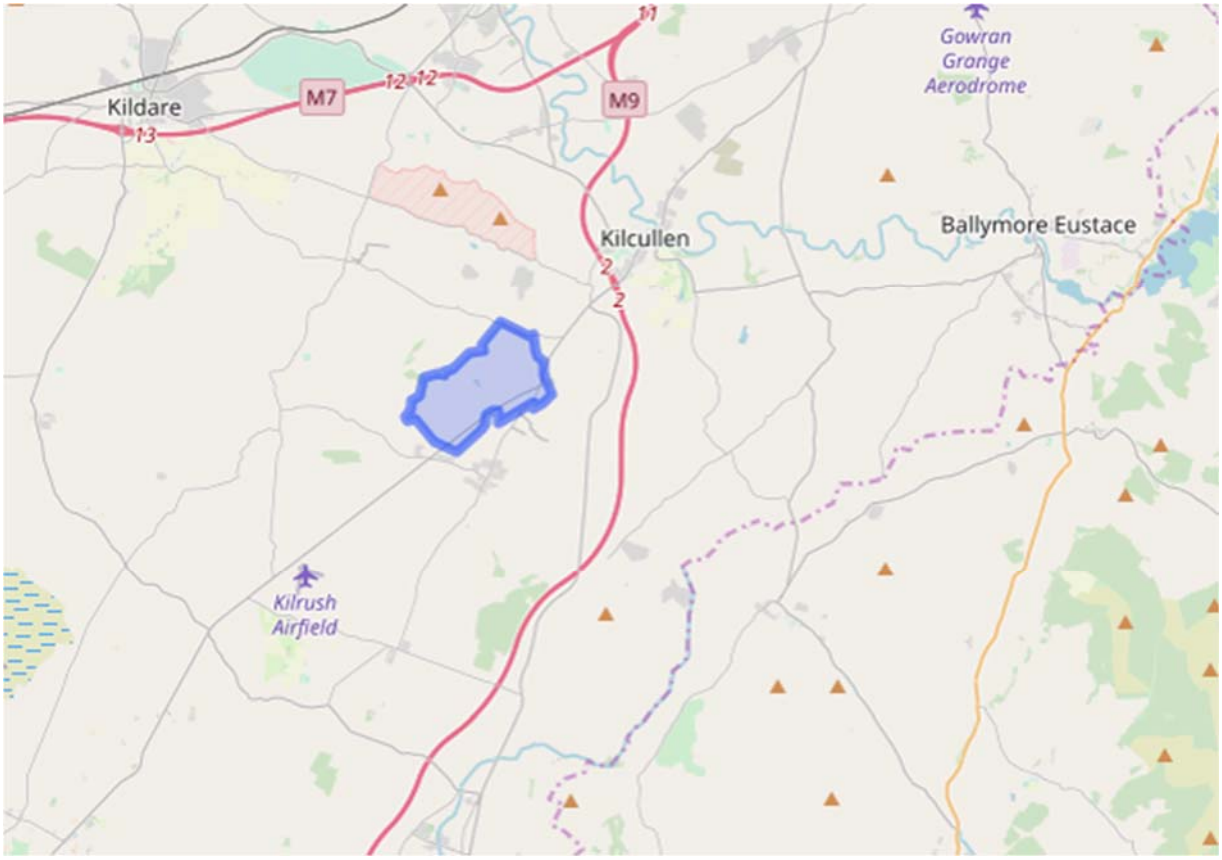


Figure 7. Parish map of Tully, Co. Kildare

	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Moortown	0	0	0	0	3	3
Moortowncastle	1	1	0	1	1	1
Thomastown	0	0	0	0	0	0
NMR/Townlands	1/3	1/3	0/3	1/3	2/3	2/3
TOTAL	1	1	0	1	4	4

Figure 8. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Tully parish, Co. Kildare

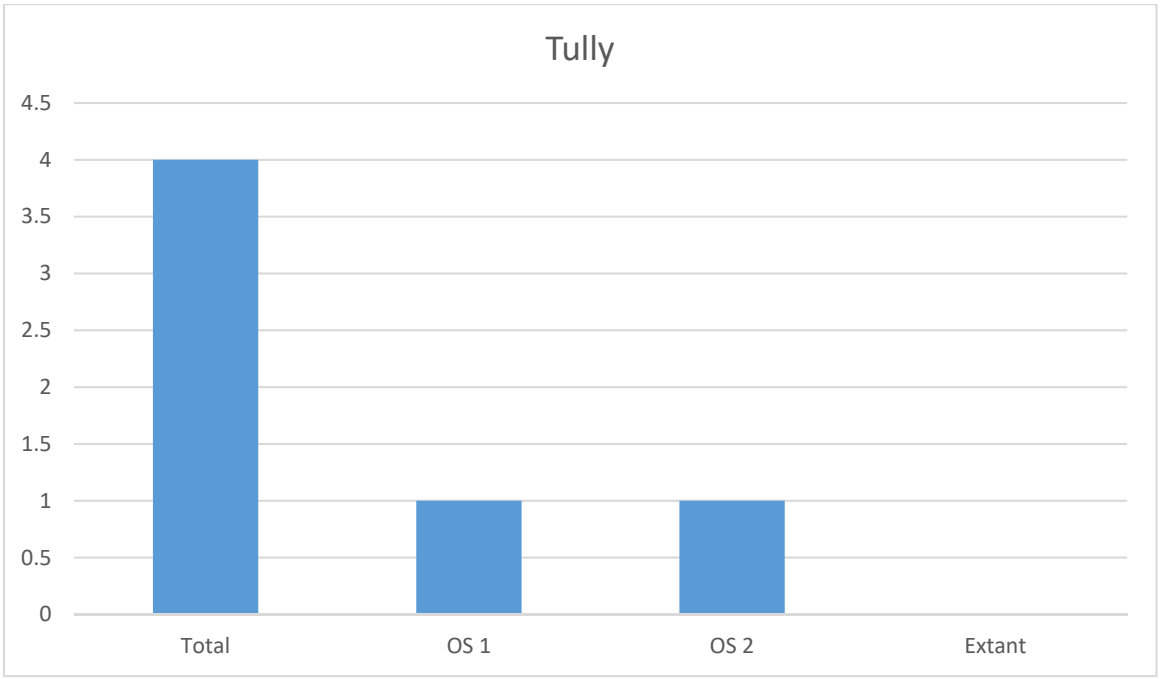


Figure 9. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Tully parish

The townland descriptions herein are arranged in alphabetical order, initially by parish and within this grouping by townland. The illustrations that accompany each description are presented in chronological order, beginning with the earliest available images. In this barony this will include those of Taylor (1783). The maps from this county survey will be followed by the first and second editions of the Ordnance Survey maps. Finally, modern images from aerial surveys will also be included.

5. KILCULLEN

5.1. Kilcullen parish

5.1.1. Cartersbog

There is no record concerning the eventual presence of ringforts in this small townland. Neither is there any representation of such monuments on either Taylor's (1783) map or on the available OS maps. However, examination of recent images drawn from an aerial survey carried out during the summer of 2018 may indicate that one such monument may have existed here. These images also depict a number of field boundaries that run in a general northwest to southeast direction. These field boundaries are visible on the second edition OS map (1871). On the aerial image, the line of the furthest south of these appears to be disrupted towards the centre of the field. A semi-circular bulge can be seen extending towards the southwest. On the opposite side, a similar circular line of darker ground can also be seen. These circular segments may represent a partial outline of a crop mark marking the presence of an enclosure. On the other hand, this outline may correspond to a natural feature, like a pond. For this reason, this potential feature has not been reported to the National Monument Service and will not be included in the calculations of possible sites for this barony. It is described, however, to highlight some of the potential difficulties in confirming the presence of sites here and to suggest that more sites may have existed than can be perceived nowadays.



Figure 10. First edition OS map of Cartersbog townland

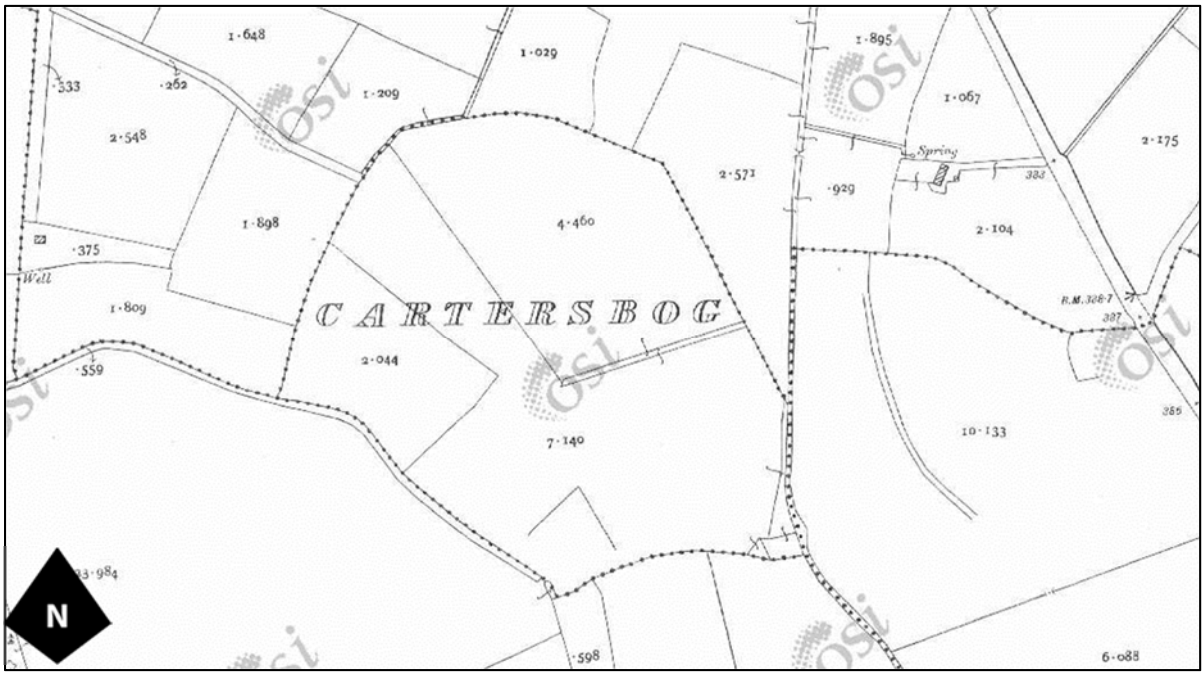


Figure 11. Second edition OS map of Cartersbog townland



Figure 12. Aerial image of Cartersbog townland (GE 2018)

5.1.2. Dalkinstown

There is one record in the database of the existence of a ringfort, KD032-007, in this townland (NMS 2018). This sub-circular structure is also depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, Sheet 32) of this area. This monument is shown in the northwest sector of the townland and its western boundary is defined by a later field boundary. It is again depicted in a like manner on the second edition map (1871, Sheet 32). This site is noted in the archaeological database as being defined by a 'low earthen bank' with an estimated external height of *c.*1m (NMS 2018). Images available on Google Earth (2009) appear to show this bank still in existence. Furthermore, these images also show a series of east-west running lines in the interior of the fort. These ridgelines may be the result of the construction of lazy beds to use the interior of the site for cultivation. However, by 2018, images from an aerial survey flown on the 28th of June show wheel tracks in the grain, probably from a tractor spraying the crop, continuing in an unbroken line across the site (GE 2018).

However, the extent of the site is clearly visible as a crop mark due to drought conditions. A line of darker ground clearly shows the sub-circular nature of the original site. In addition, another crop mark is visible in this latter image (*ibid.*). There is no indication on either of the

OS maps (1839 & 1871) for the existence of this site. In addition, prior to this study there was no record of this site in the database. This crop mark is visible as a circular band of darker ground, roughly 2.5m in width, which encloses an area of approximately 34m in diameter. This site is located about 90m SSE of the above-mentioned ringfort, KD032-007, and is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 681955-703643. The presence of this feature has now been reported to the NMS. It has been included in the database as an enclosure and has been attributed the SMR number of KD032-084 (NMS 2019). The non-representation of this site on earlier maps, such as Taylor's (1783) and the first edition OS map (1837, Sheet 32) suggest that some level of field monument destruction may have occurred prior to this time.



Figure 13. First edition OS map of Dalkinstown townland showing ringfort KD032-007

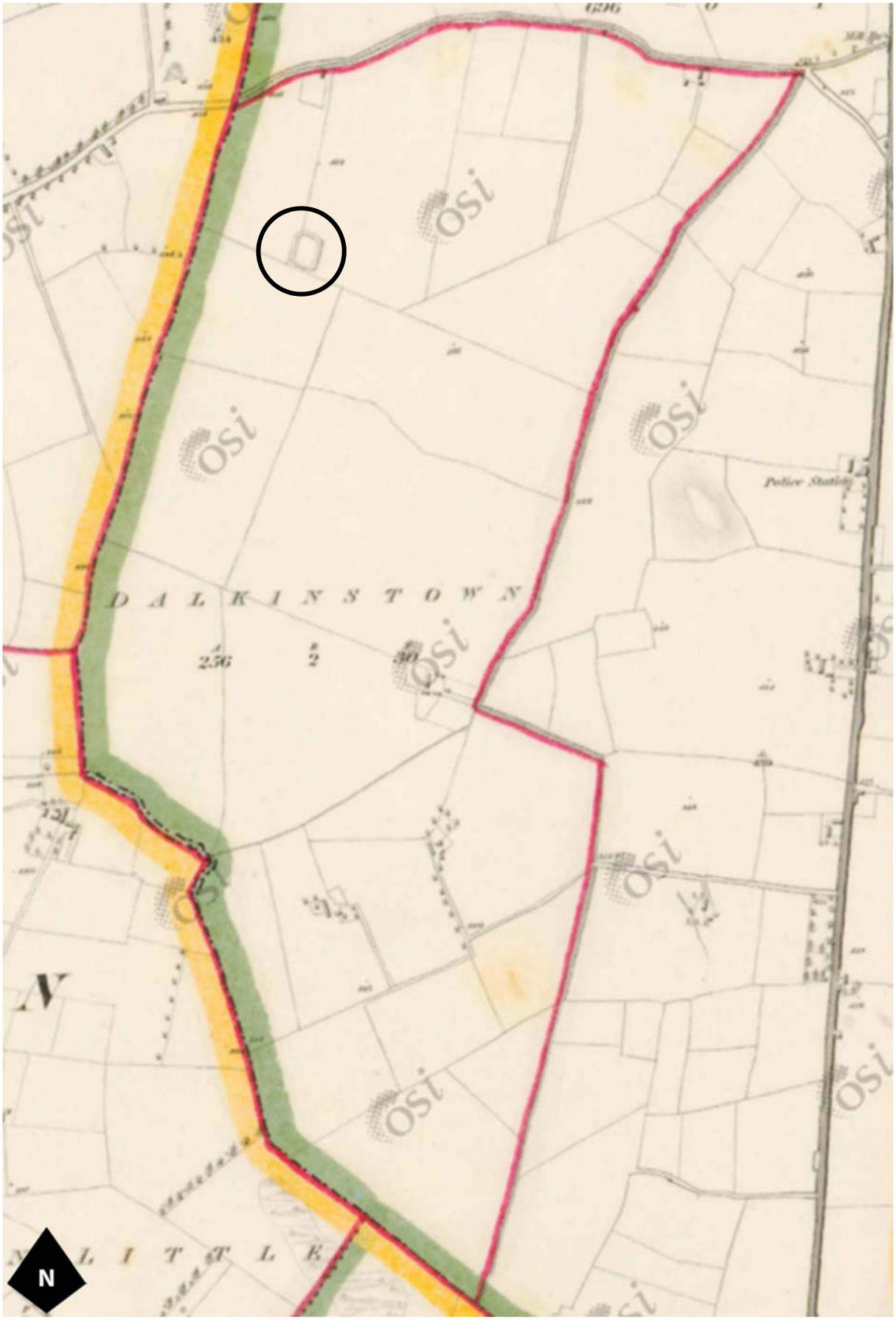


Figure 14. First edition OS map of Dalkinstown townland showing ringfort KD032-007

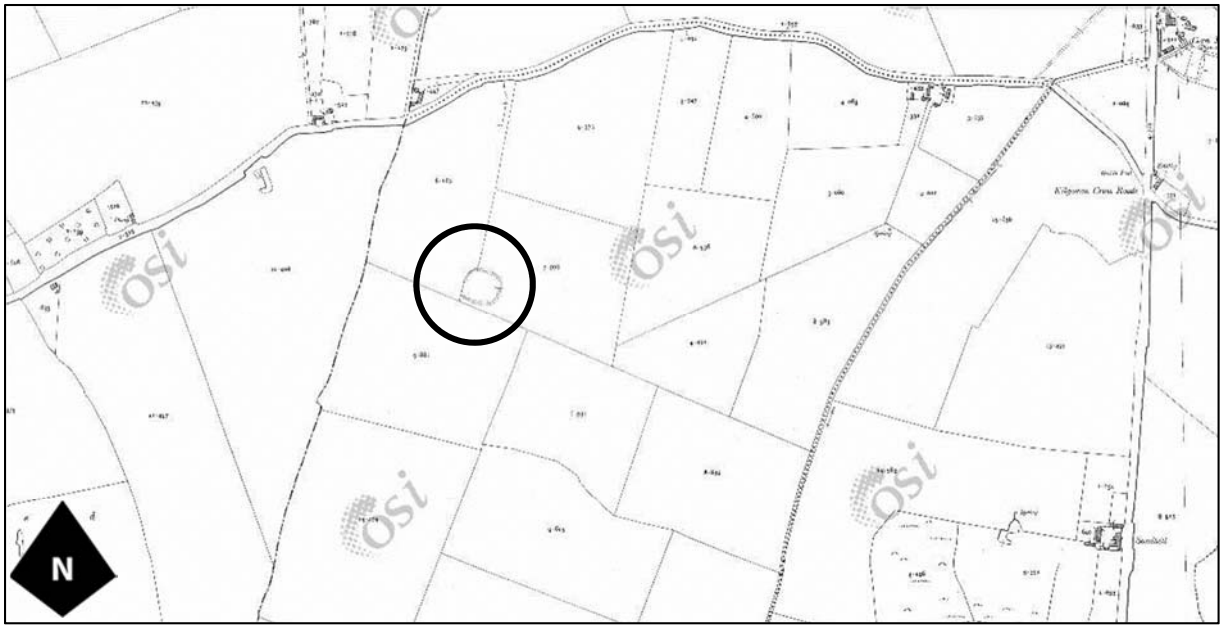


Figure 15. Second edition OS map of Dalkinstown townland showing ringfort KD032-007



Figure 16. Aerial image of Dalkinstown townland showing ringfort KD032-007 (GE 2009)



Figure 17. Aerial image of Dalkinstown townland showing site of ringfort 1. KD032-007 and enclosure 2. KD032-084 (GE 2018)

5.1.3. Gormanstown

The presence of a circular field monument, KD029-037, in this townland is recorded in the database (NMS 2018). This enclosure is not visible on any of the earlier maps of this region (Taylor 1783; OSI 1837 & 1871). However, it noted as being visible on a 'high altitude' photograph from a survey by the Geological Survey of Ireland (NMS 2018). As a result, it is recorded as enclosing an area of *c*. 40m and as being centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 685818-705588. Examination of more recent aerial images (GE 28/06/18) may confirm the location of this site. For there appears to be a change in vegetation in this general area that may follow a circular pattern. However, as the field is under grass and not grain, drought conditions have not created as much of a contrast in ground conditions. As such, a clearer picture is not available and the confirmation of the location of this site is not possible using this image.



Figure 18. First edition OS map of part of Gormanstown townland

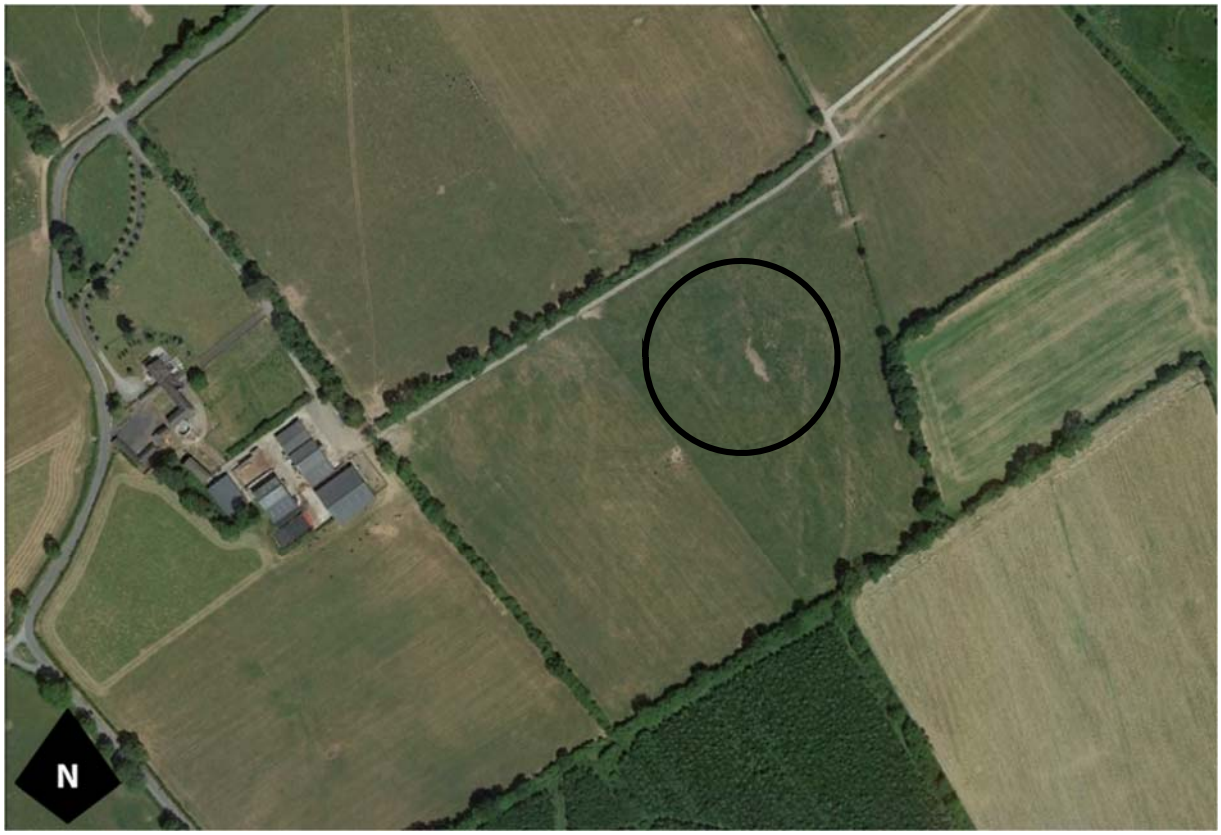


Figure 19. Aerial image of part of Gormanstown townland showing site of ringfort KD029-037 (GE 2018)

5.1.4. Halverstown

Until recently, no record for a circular field monument was included in the archaeological record for this townland. For example, the first edition OS map (1837, Sheet 28) shows no representation of such a monument. However, the second edition OS map (1871, Sheet 28) depicts an oval feature just west of the road running between Halverstown cross roads and Halverstown National School. Drought conditions during the summer of 2018 permitted the re-discovery of this feature. The existence of this feature was reported to the NMS (NMS: Reid 2018). It is now included in the database as an enclosure, with the SMR number of KD028-089. This enclosure is centred on the grid coordinates, 682726-705570, and encloses an area of approximately 30m NW – SE by 40m NE – SW.

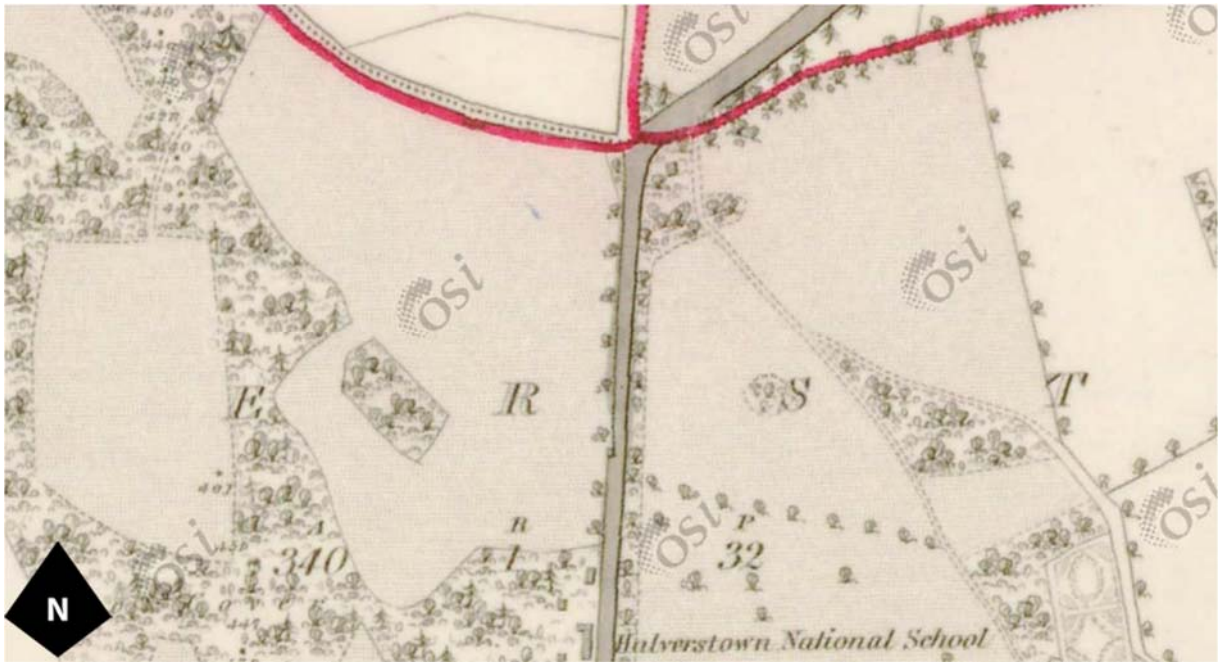


Figure 20. First edition OS map of part of Halverstown townland

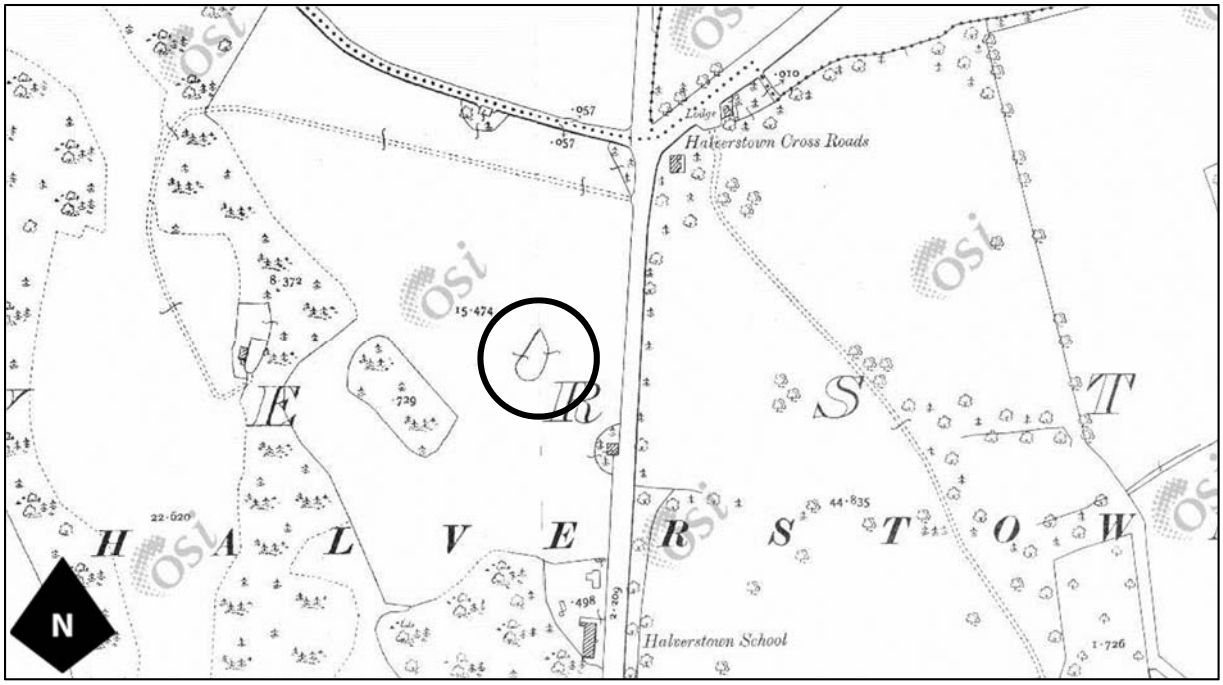


Figure 21. Second edition OS map of part of Halverstown townland showing enclosure KD028-089

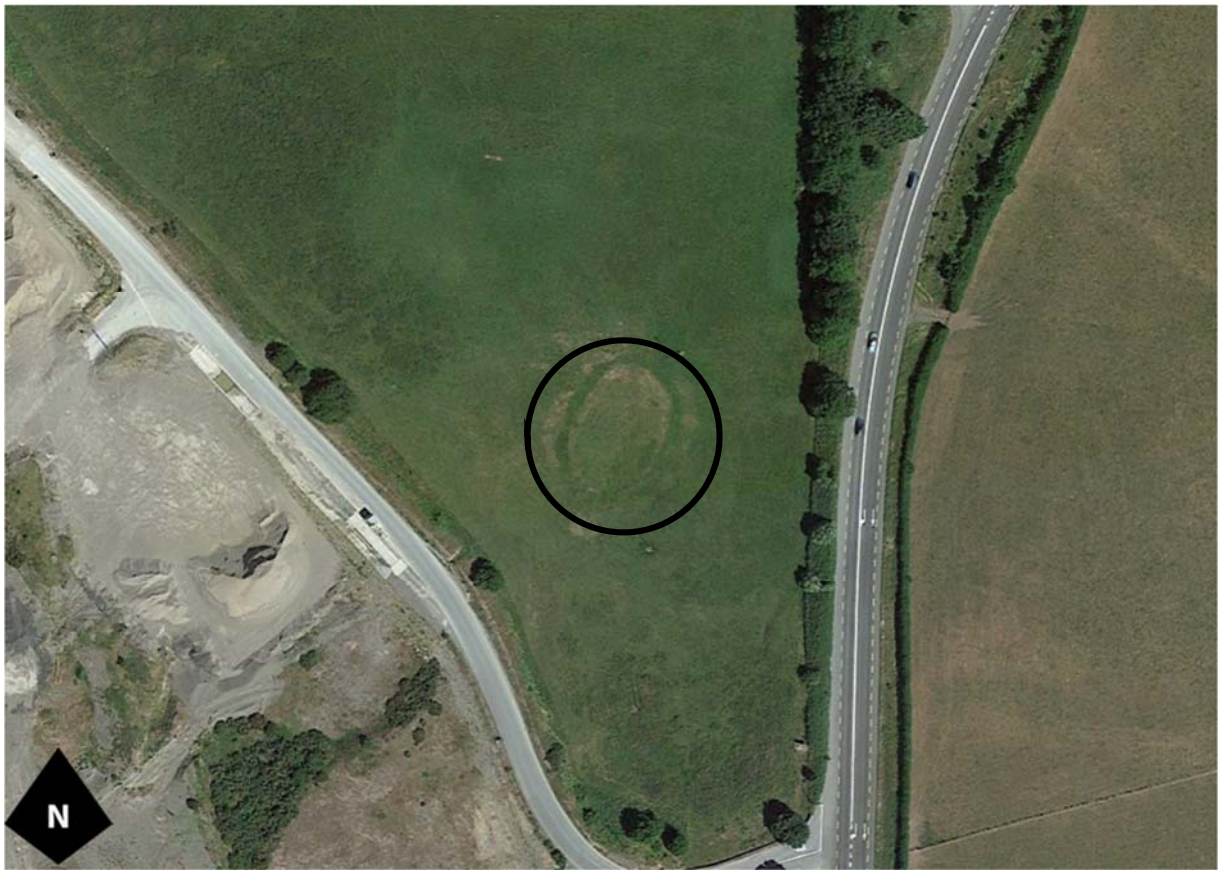


Figure 22. Aerial image of part of Halverstown townland showing site of enclosure KD028-089 (GE 2018)

5.1.5. Kilcullenbridge

This is another townland for which early maps, either Taylor's (1783) or the first edition Ordnance Survey (1837, Sheet 28), contain no reference to the presence of ringforts. A study of aerial images also shows that no ringforts are extant in this particular area. However, there is evidence that at one time ringforts are likely to have indeed been present. An initial indication came about through the study of aerial photographs created by the Cambridge University geography department. An image from this series of surveys depicts a portion of this townland. In this particular image, two circular crop marks are shown just west of the portion of Kilcullenbridge north of the river (CUCAP; ASU093 1967). This photograph was taken from the north and so the northernmost crop mark is nearer the viewer. This crop mark is now included in the database and has the SMR number of KD028-026. This enclosure is centred on the ITM grid coordinates 684208-710403 and the darker band of ground defines an area of about 25m in diameter (NMS 2018).

Another crop mark, located further south, is also visible on this aerial image (CUCAP; ASU093 1967). This feature is also now included in the database and bears the number of KD028-027. This particular crop mark encloses an area of *c*.20m in diameter and is centred on 684211-710342. Both of these crop marks are visible on ore recent aerial images (GE 28/06/2018). Although a comparison of this modern image and the CUCAP image from 1967 may, show KD028-027 to be located slightly further south than it is recorded. In addition, another crop mark is clearly visible on this most recent image. This is located approximately 260m form KD028-026 in a roughly northerly direction. This circular feature is also located about 70m SE of another monument, KD028-024. This site has been reported to the NMS (NMS: Corlett 2018) and it is now included in the database with the SMR number KD028-087. This particular crop mark is centred on 684224-710638 and encloses an area of *c*. 25m in diameter. A further crop mark may also be visible as a result of this survey. This appears to be located in the same field as KD028-026 and KD028-027. Although, this potential site is located near to the western boundary of this field. This possible feature is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 684138-710284 and encloses an area of approximately 20m diameter.



Figure 23. First edition OS map of Kilcullenbridge townland



Figure 24. First edition OS map of part of Kilcullenbridge townland

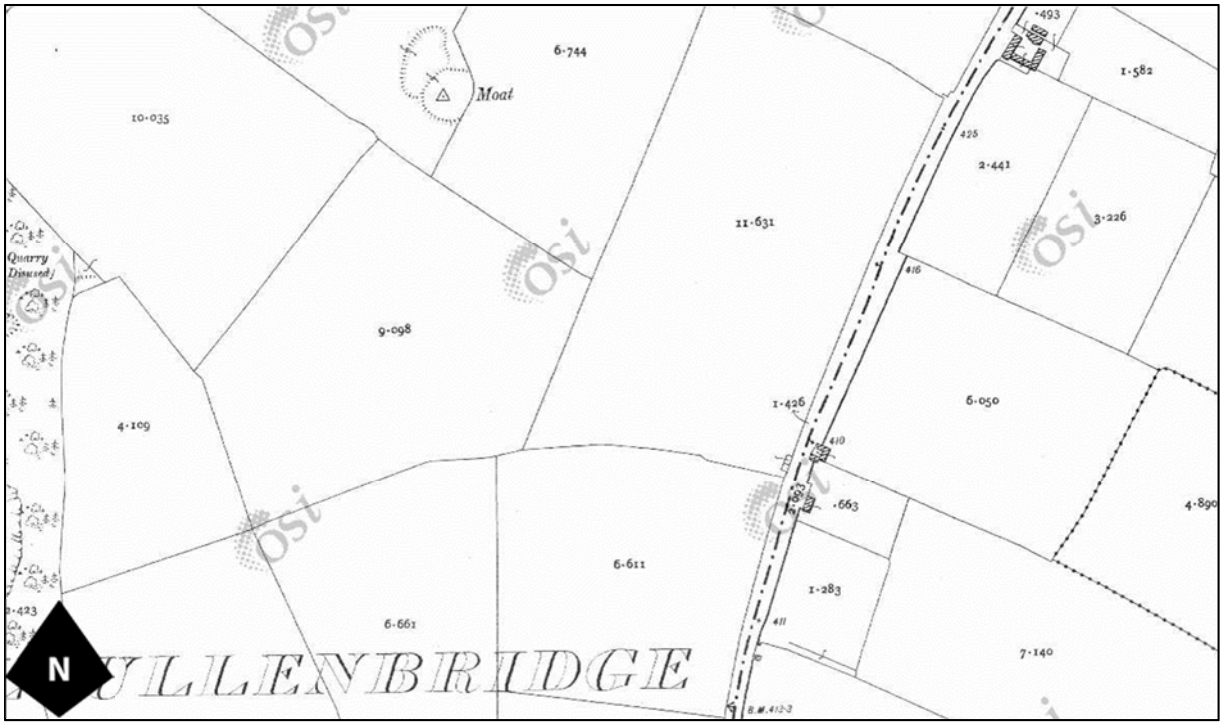


Figure 25. Second edition OS map of part of Kilcullenbridge townland

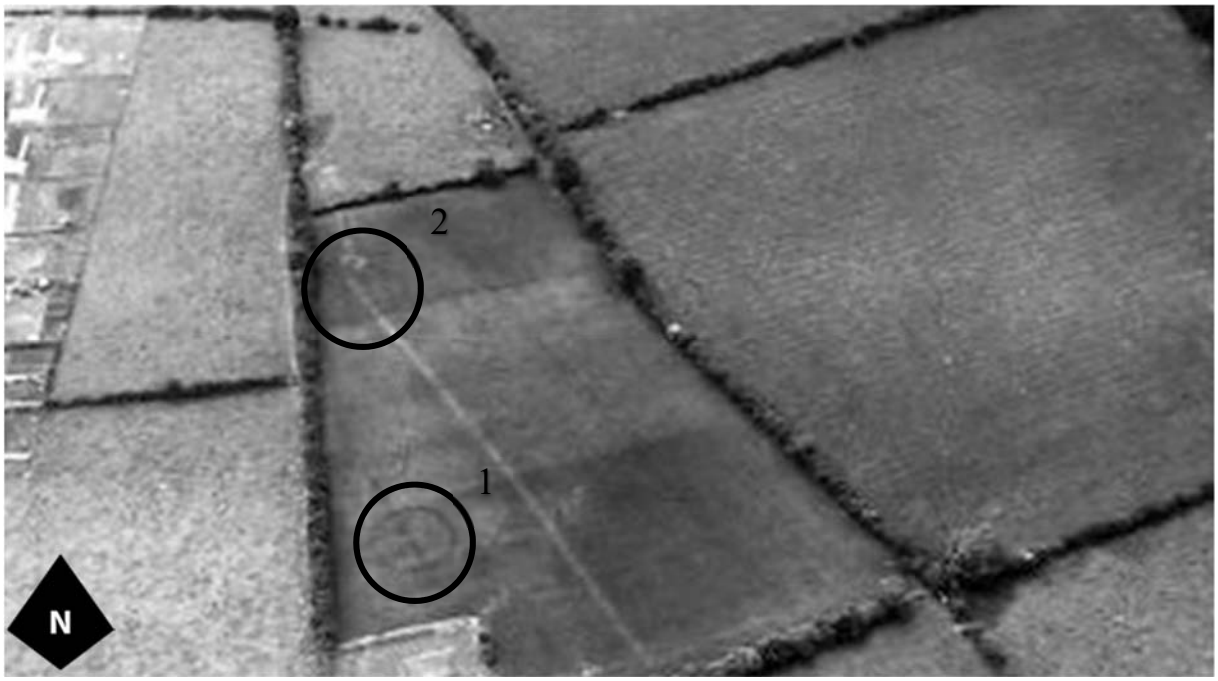


Figure 26. CUCAP aerial image of part of Kilcullenbridge townland showing site of enclosures KD028-026 and KD028-027 (ASU093, 1967)



Figure 27. Aerial image of part of Kilcullenbridge townland showing site of enclosure KD028-026 (GE 2018)



Figure 28. Aerial image of part of Kilcullenbridge townland showing site of enclosure KD028-087 (GE 2018)

5.1.6. Kilgowan

Prior to this study the archaeological record contained reference to the presence of several circular field monuments (NMS 2019). These relate to two enclosures, KD032-008 and KD032-009, and another enclosure attributed a general location because of place name information. An area in the middle of the townland and just west of a north-south running road is marked with the name 'raheens' on the first edition OS map (1837, Sheet 32). However, none of the earliest maps of this townland provides evidence for the physical presence of these monuments (Taylor 1783). The two former enclosures became visible through the study of aerial images created by the Cambridge University geography department (CUCAP; AYL090 1969). The location of these two crop marks is confirmed in recent aerial images from a survey carried out in June 2018. They are located roughly 40m apart and area situated on a NE-SW axis. The crop mark KD032-008 is centred on 682312-704575 and encloses an area of *c*14m in diameter. Whereas, KD032-009 is centred on 682340-704601 and encloses an area of approximately 17m in diameter (GE 2018). As such, these sites are probably identified correctly in the database as ring ditches or barrows, despite a larger diameter being attributed to them in this record (NMS 2019)

However, a closer examination of this most recent aerial survey has permitted the discovery of further crop marks whose apparent diameter does correspond to that expected of a ringfort. Two of these are located north of the area noted with the name 'raheens' on the first OS map of the townland. The northern most of these is visible as a partial crop mark, is centred on the ITM coordinates 682613-704724, and encloses an area of *c*.33m diameter. The other site, located to the southeast, is centred on the grid coordinates 682705-704609 and encloses an area that is about 27m in diameter. The presence of both of these features has been reported to the NMS and they are both now scheduled for inclusion on the database with the SMR numbers, KD032-081 and KD032-082 respectively (NMS 2018). Another crop mark is also visible at some distance from the two above-mentioned sites and near a section of the southern townland boundary. This site is centred on the grid coordinates, 682361-704067, and encloses an area of approximately 22m in diameter. This site is also now reported to the NMS and has been attributed the SMR number of KD032-085. Thus the examination of aerial images has allowed several sites to be discovered and this in a townland where solely one monument, 'long stone' – KD032-012001 – is recorded on the first edition OS map (1837, Sheet 32).

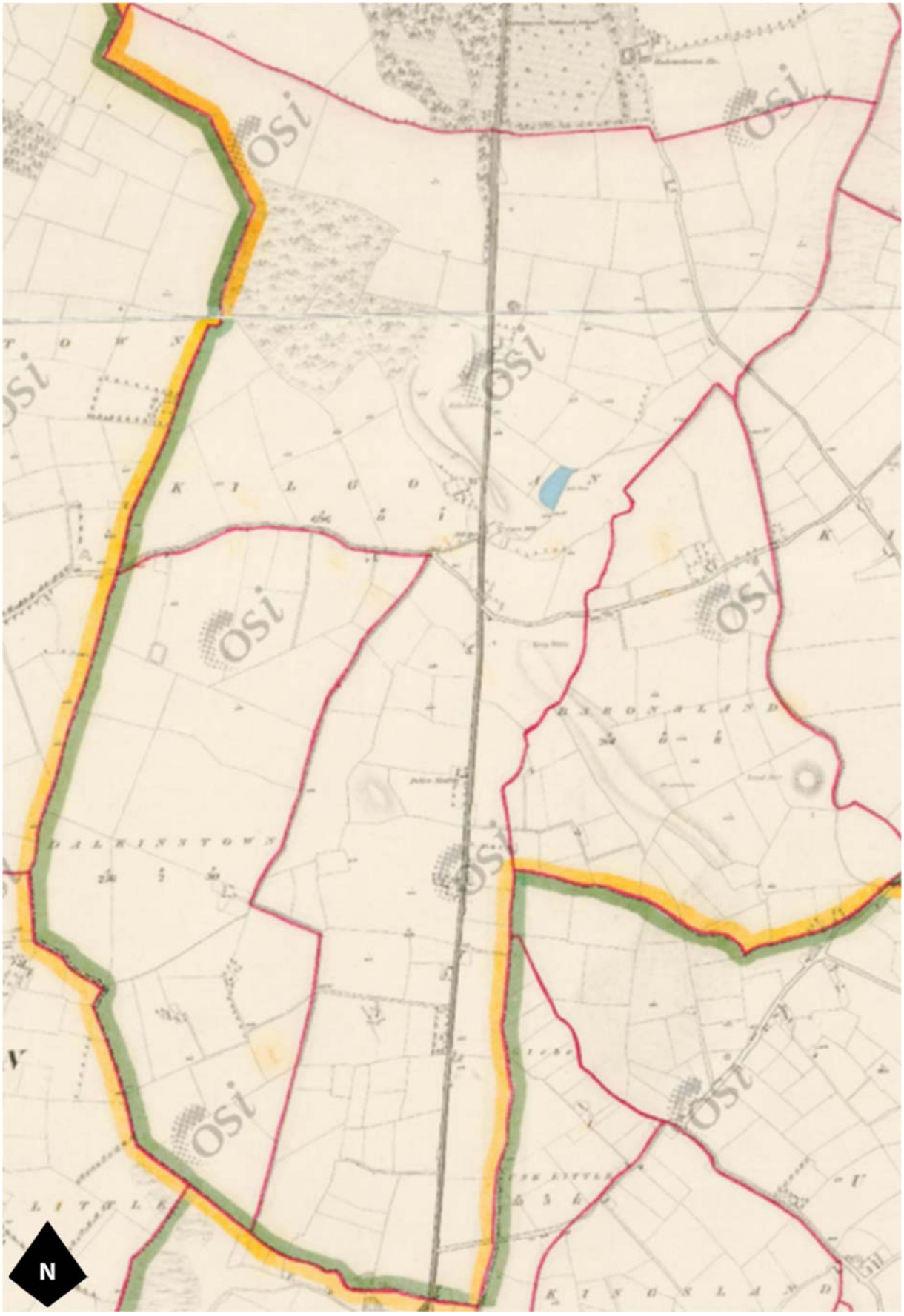


Figure 29. First edition OS map of Kilgowan townland



Figure 30. First edition OS map of part of Kilgowan townland (Raheens)

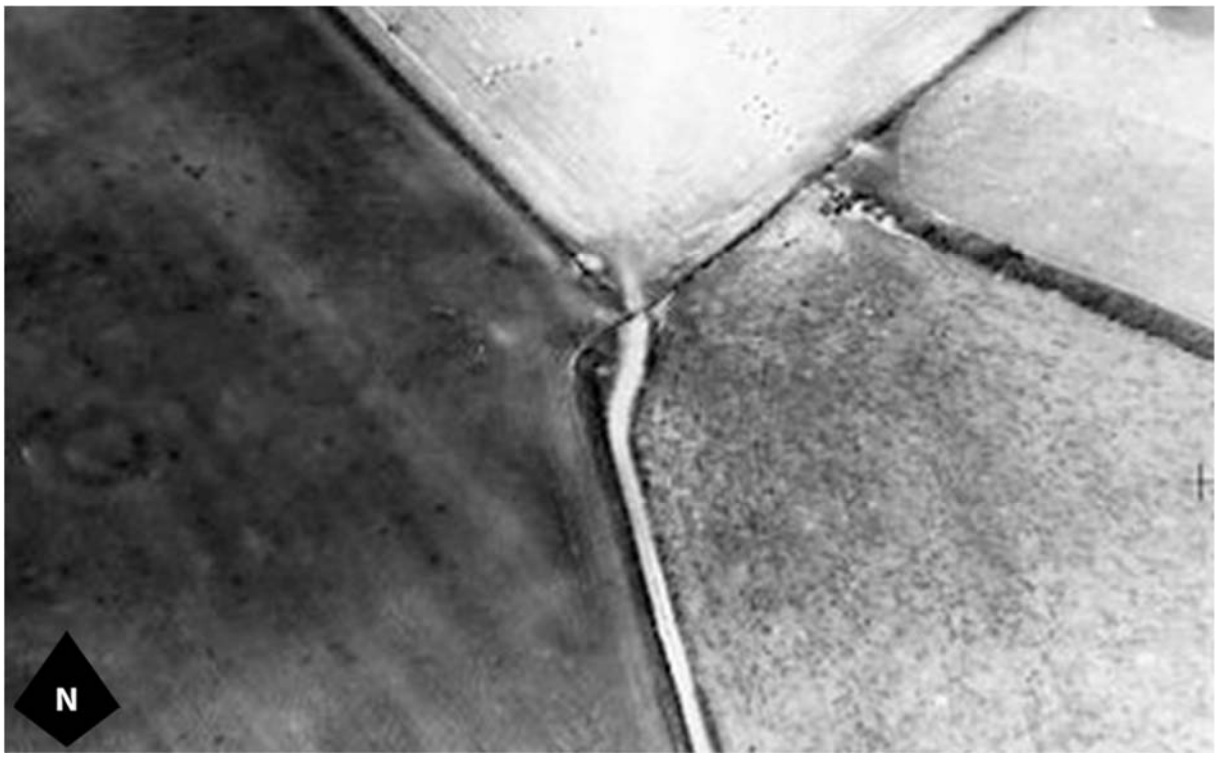


Figure 31. CUCAP aerial image of part of Kilgowan townland (AYL090 1969)



Figure 32. Aerial image of part of Kilgowan townland (GE 2018)



Figure 33. Aerial image of part of Kilgowan townland (Raheens) showing site of enclosure KD032-081 (GE 2018)



Figure 34. Aerial image of part of Kilgowan townland (Raheens) showing site of enclosure KD032-082 (GE 2018)



Figure 35. Aerial image of part of Kilgowan townland (Raheens) showing site of enclosure KD032-085 (GE 2018)

5.1.7. Kineagh

This is another townland where a 'rath' is depicted on Taylor's (1783) map. Again, this is recorded as an enclosure and carries the SMR number KD028-021. This may possibly be a reflection on Taylor's practice of representing most circular features of a particular size in a similar manner. On the first edition OS (1837, Sheet 28) map of this townland this area is shown as a heavily wooded copse and this would hinder the discovery of ground features. On later maps (OSI 1871 & Cassini 1939-40, Sheet 28) this area is still shown as being wooded in nature. Modern aerial images appear to show a crop mark in the recorded location, 681950-710718, for this monument at the edge of an esker (GE 2018). This circular crop mark of darker coloured grass encloses an area of *c*.33m in diameter. The existence of two possible rectangular annexes to the north of that showing the enclosure is also visible on this image (*ibid.*).

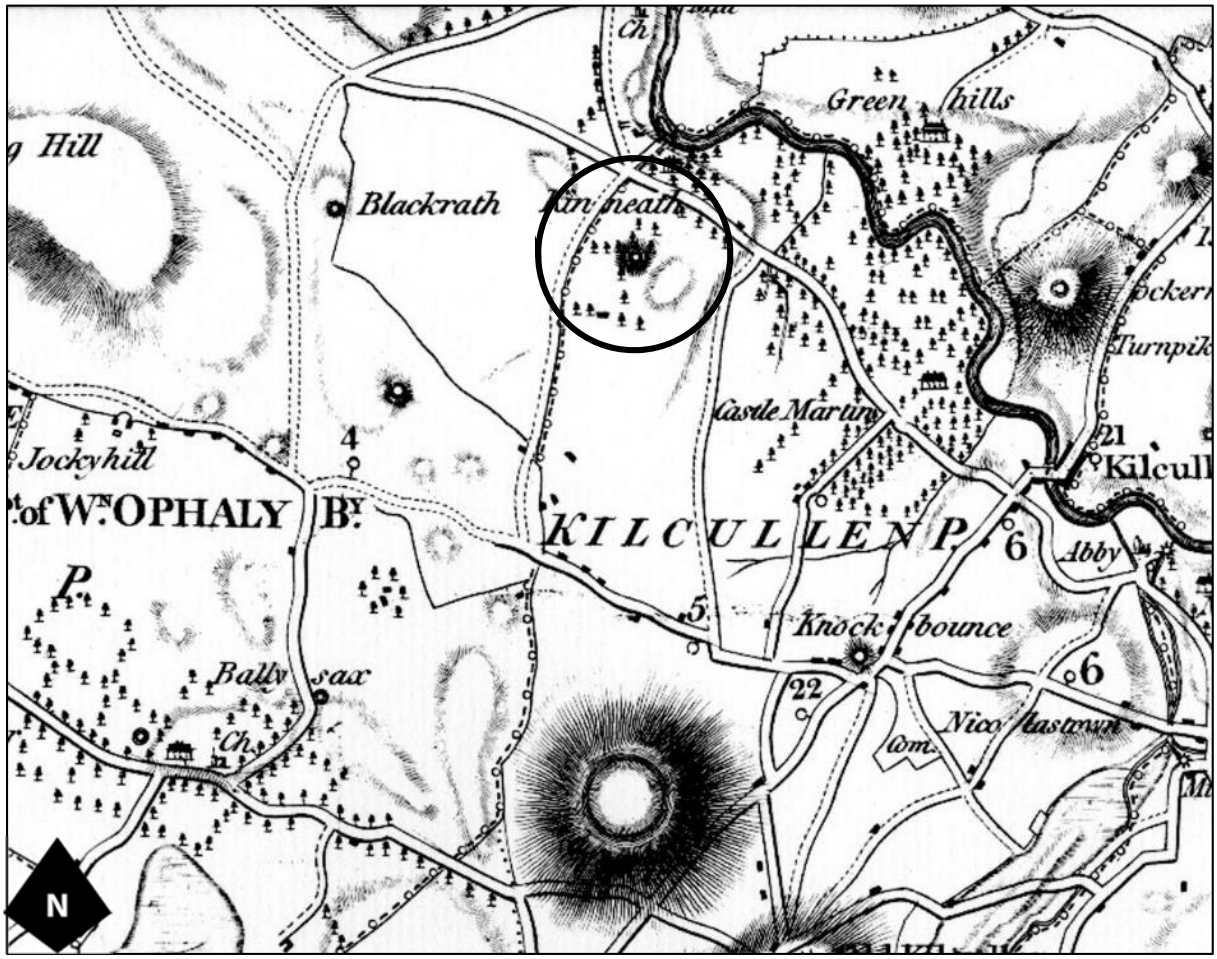


Figure 36. Taylor's map of Kineagh townland showing enclosure KD028-021

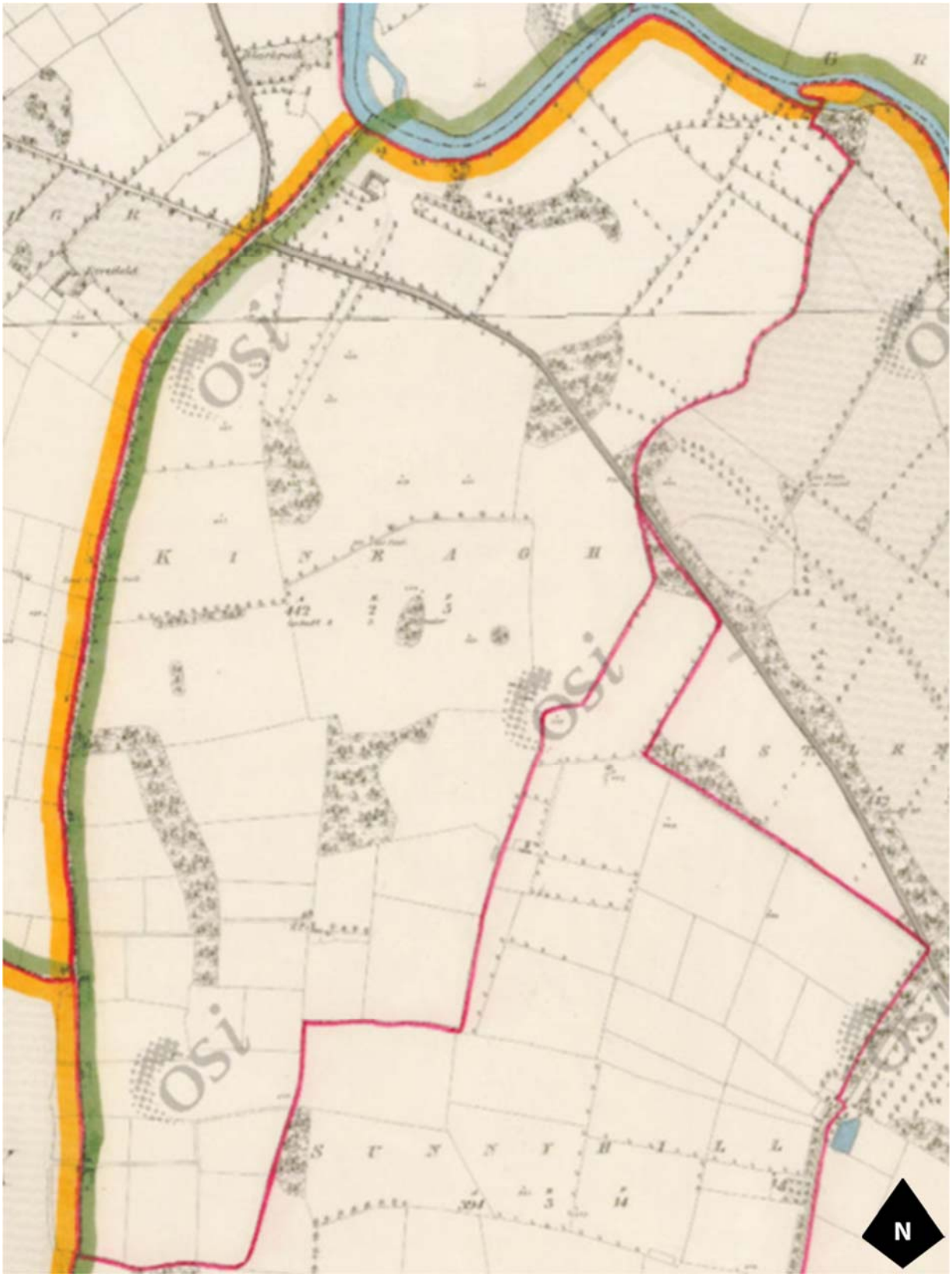


Figure 37. First edition OS map of Kineagh townland

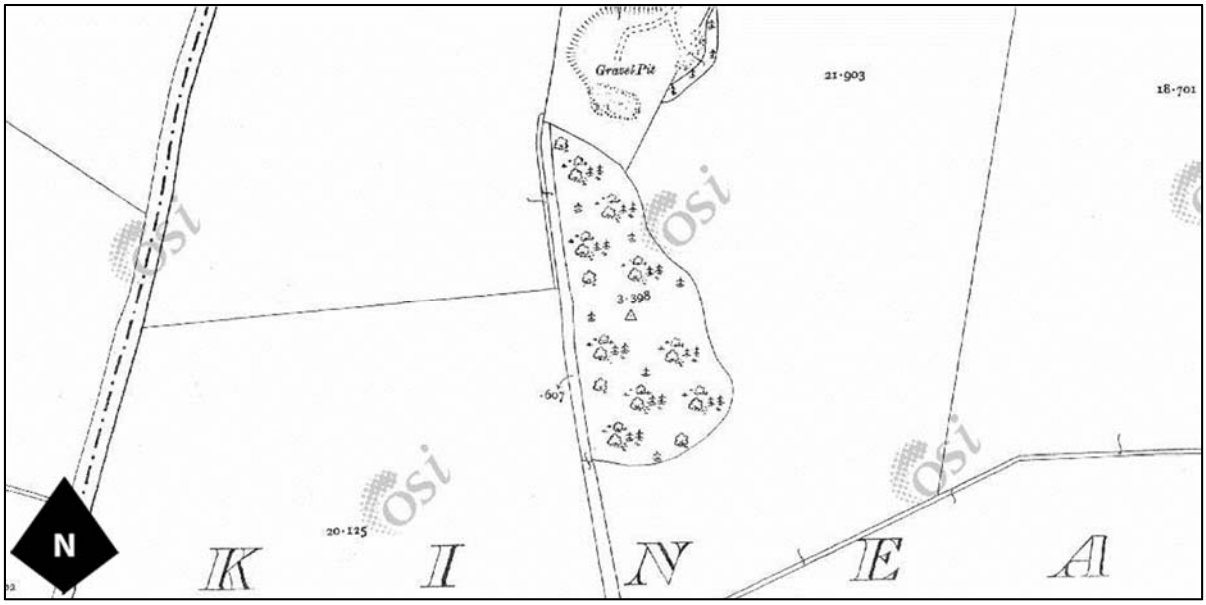


Figure 38. Second edition OS map of part of Kineagh townland showing general location of enclosure KD028-021



Figure 39. Aerial image of part of Kineagh townland showing site of enclosure KD028-021 (GE 2018)

5.1.8. Knockaulin

The archaeological record contains a reference to two ringforts of interest in this townland. One of these is depicted on a steep hilltop on the south-western boundary and that gives the townland its name. This is shown as a circular enclosure on the first edition OS map (1837, Sheet 28) of the area. This structure is also noted in the OS letters, by John O'Donovan (1837) as a 'rath on the apex of the hill' and as having a diameter of 'about 100ft [*c*.30m]. This has, however, been disputed following a later series of excavations (Wailes 1990, n.19). An examination of recent aerial imagery, however, does seem to indicate the presence of some type of circular feature on this hilltop (GE 2018). This crop mark is centred on the grid coordinates, 681969-707856 and appears to enclose an area of *c*.28m in diameter. In the archaeological database, this site bears the SMR number of KD028-038006.

Furthermore, there may be a wider enclosure that also radiates outward from this central point. This possible outer enclosure may enclose an area of *c*.100m in diameter. The other site of interest is not portrayed on either of the OS maps (1837, Sheet 28). It became visible through the study of aerial images produced following groups of surveys carried out by the geography department of Cambridge University (CUCAP; ASU090 1967). This crop mark is also included in the database, has the SMR number of KD028-037, and encloses an area of *c*.30m in diameter (NMS 2018). Unfortunately, no clear image of this particular area can be deduced from the study of recent aerial images (GE 2003-2018). In any event, these two sites will also be included in this study for conforming to the representation expected from the crop mark of a ringfort.



Figure 40. First edition OS map (1837) of Knockaulin townland showing enclosure KD028-038006

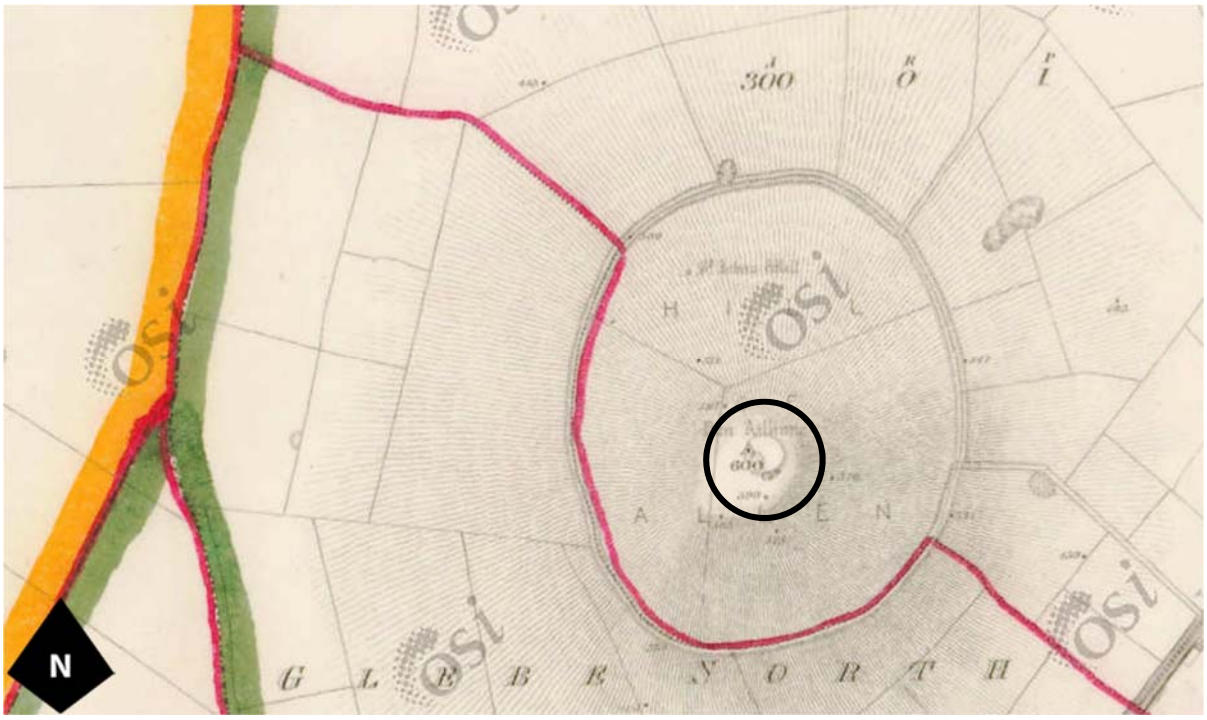


Figure 41. First edition OS map of Knockaulin townland (close up) showing enclosure KD028-038006



Figure 42. First edition OS map of Knockaulin townland showing general location of enclosure KD028-037

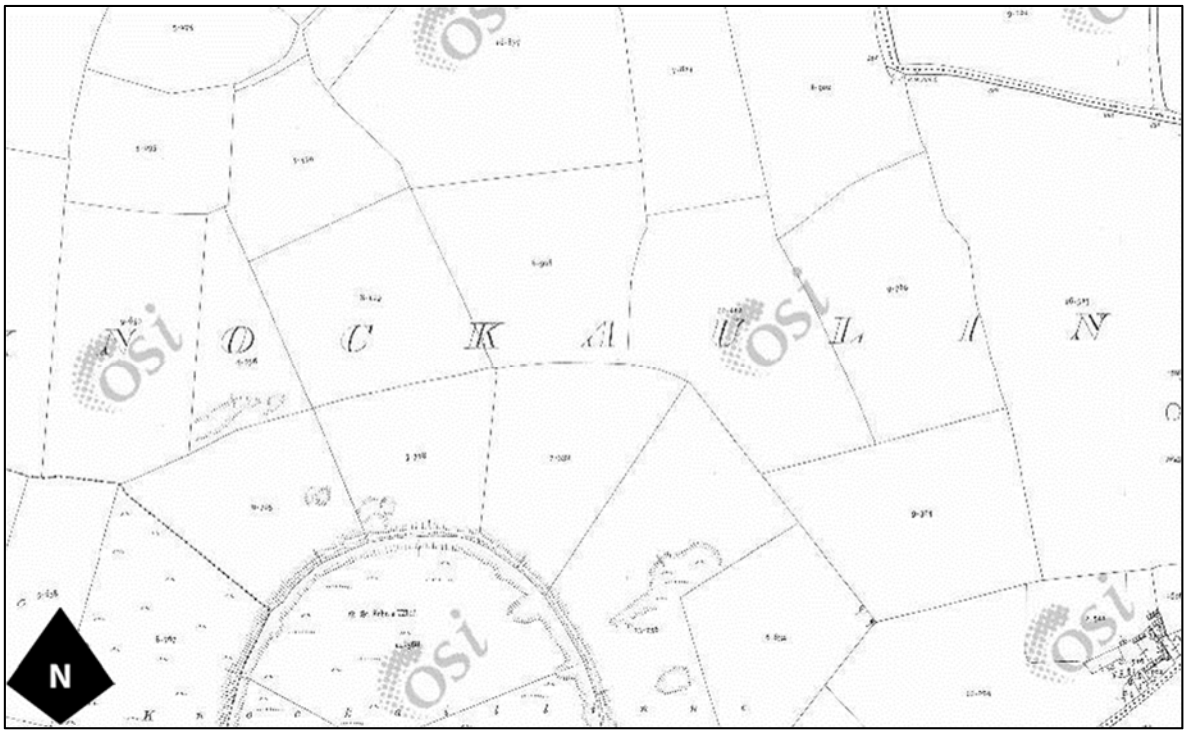


Figure 43. Second edition OS map of Knockaulin townland showing general location of enclosure KD028-037

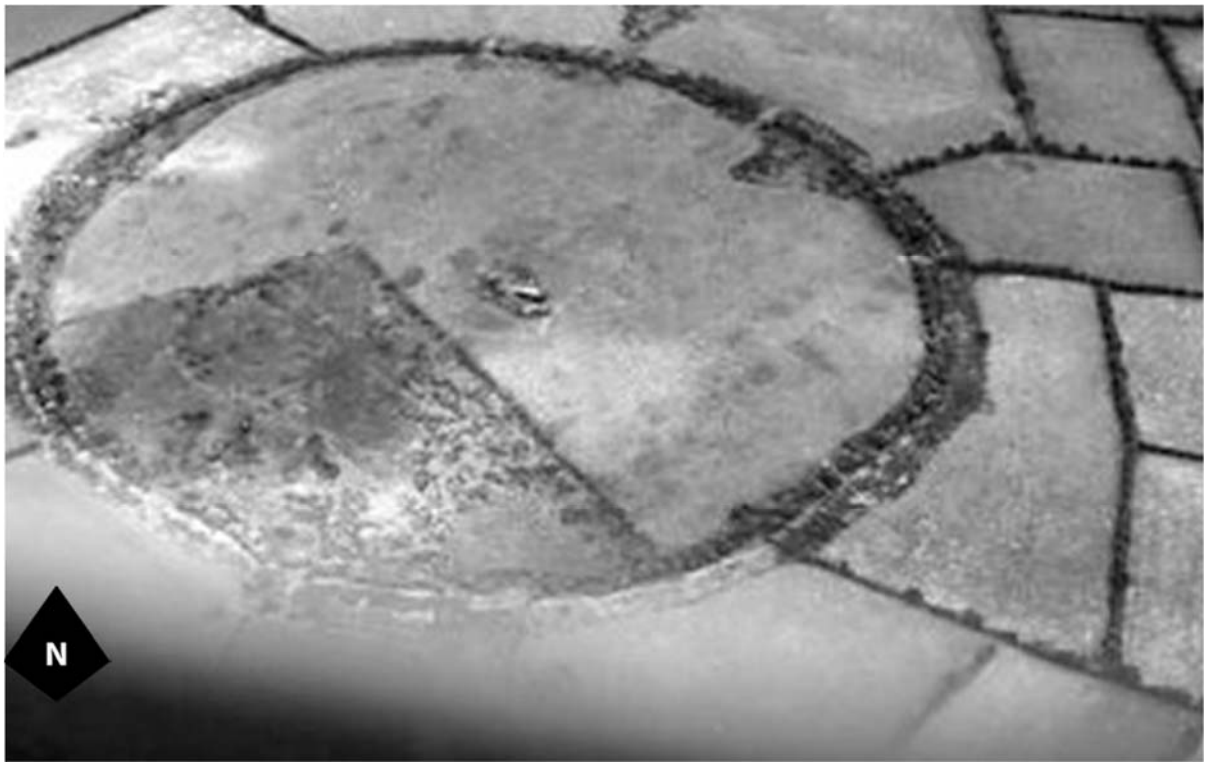


Figure 44. CUCAP aerial image of part of Knockaulin townland showing site of enclosure KD028-038006 (ASU090 1967)

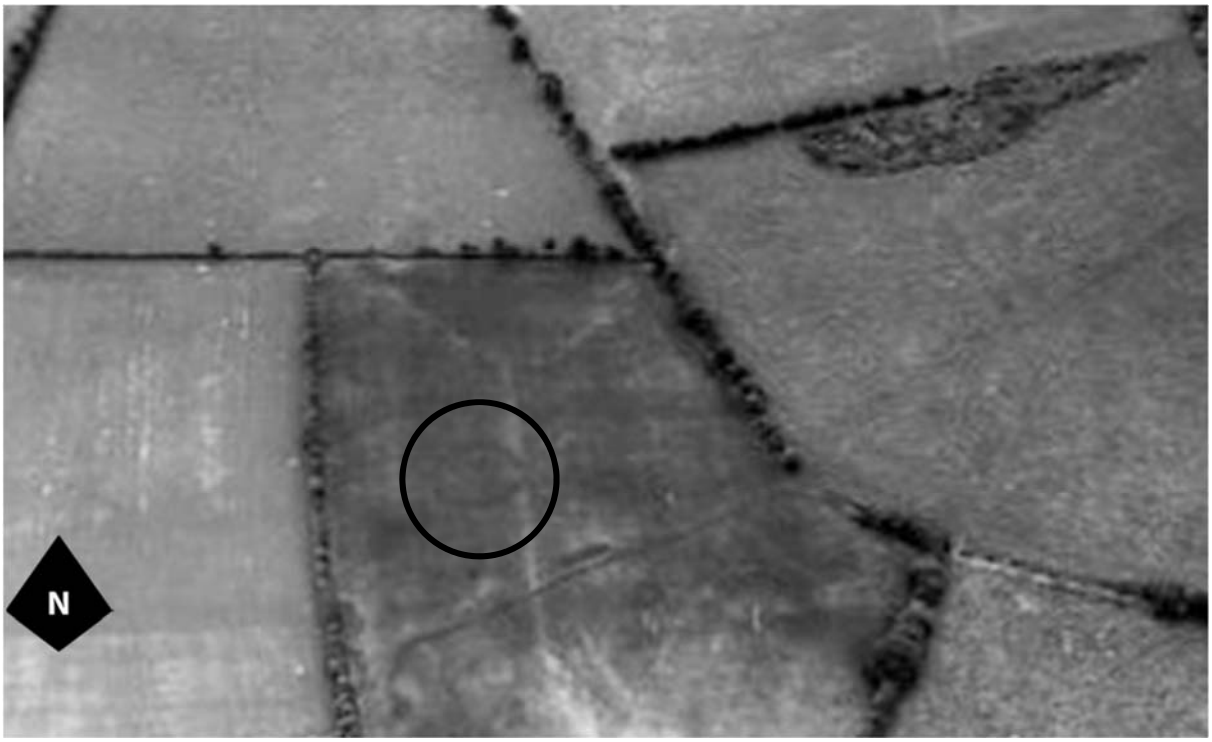


Figure 45. CUCAP aerial image of part of Knockaulin townland showing site of enclosure KD028-037 (ASU090 1967)



Figure 46. Aerial image of part of Knockaulin townland showing site of enclosure KD028-038006 (GE 2018)



Figure 47. Aerial image of part of Knockaulin townland showing site of enclosure KD028-037 (GE 2018)

5.1.9. Knockbounce

Taylor's (1783) map depicts a 'rath' in this townland. There is no reference to this site on any of the later OS maps. It is recorded, however, in the database as an enclosure and was given the SMR number KD028-039. This location in now adjacent to the junction of the M9 motorway and the R448 road. Such a location is likely to have been subjected to major disturbance during the construction of the motorway and, as a result, a clearer picture of the presence of any site here is unlikely. It is also recorded that prior to the beginning of construction, this area was 'trail-trenched' and no material of archaeological interest was discovered. This may have been the result of quarrying activity that is known to have occurred in the area. The combination of these potentially destructive activities render the discovery of any remaining evidence difficult. However, it remains possible that, at one time, this area did contain a ringfort and that it had been levelled between Taylor's (1783) map and the earliest OS map (1838) of the townland.

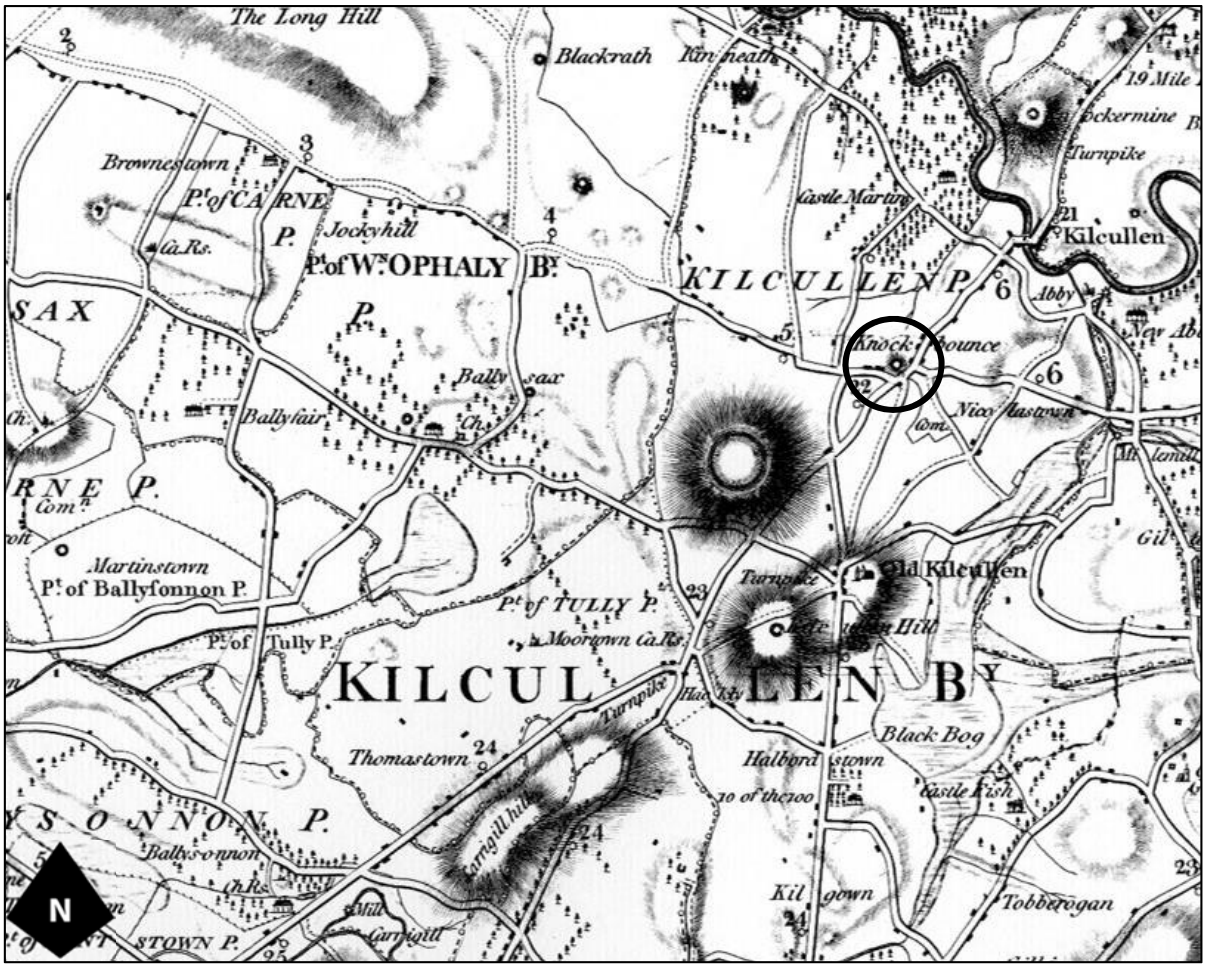


Figure 48. Taylor's map of Knockbounce townland showing enclosure KD028-039

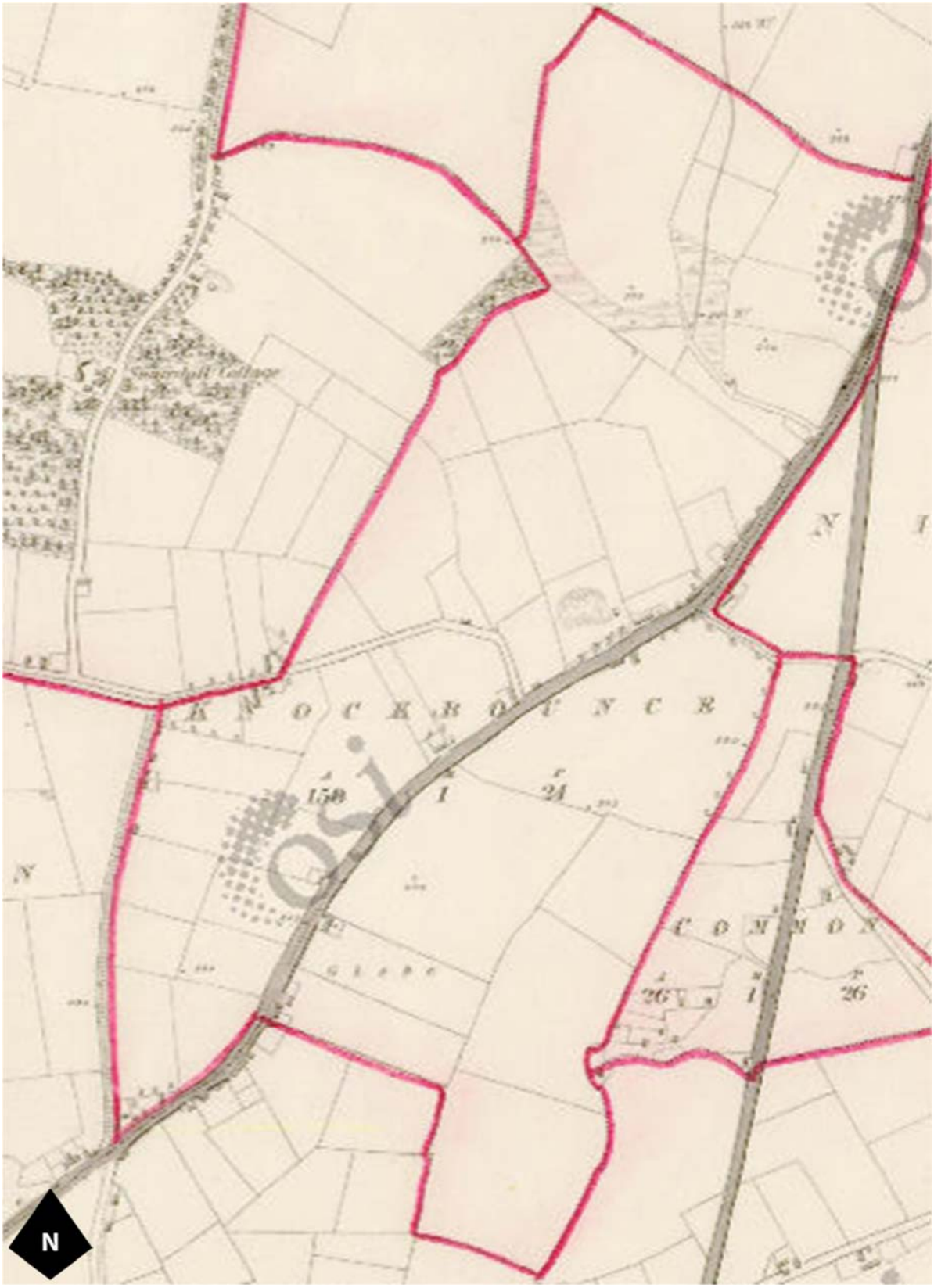


Figure 49. First edition map of Knockbounce townland

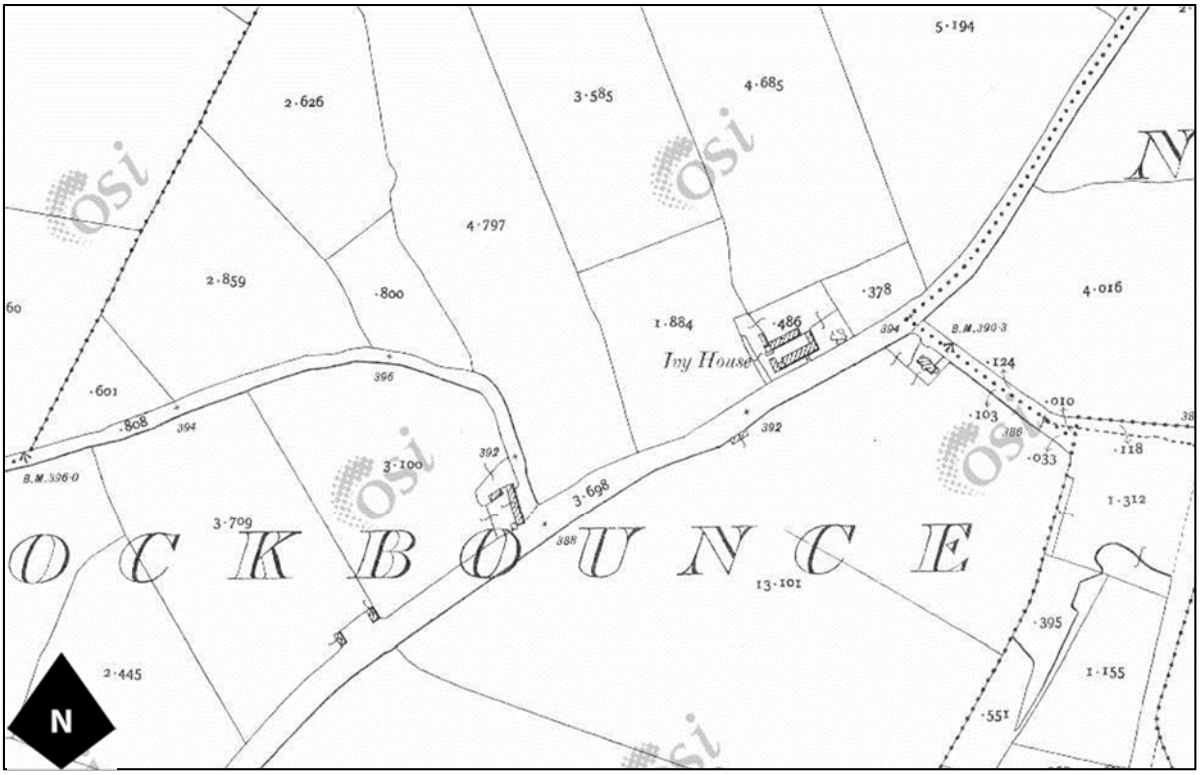


Figure 50. Second edition map of part of Knockbounce townland



Figure 51. Aerial image of part of Knockbounce townland (GE 2018)

5.1.10. Oldkilcullen

No record exists in the database for the definite presence of ringforts in this townland (NMS 2019). However, the presence of two circular enclosures is recorded in the archaeological survey database. The earliest large-scale map of this townland shows a symbol normally used to depict 'raths' on a hilltop (Taylor 1783). This enclosure is shown on another early map, this one created by Longfield in 1809 (NLI; Ms. 21 F 34/28). On this map, a circular site, noted as a 'moat', is shown just south of the road marked as 'Green Road called Drawwell Lane'. However, no similar detail is shown on either of the OS maps (1838 & 1871, Sheet 28). In addition, that this site is the location of a trigonometrical station and the height, 594ft, [*c*.181m] is also noted. This location is now noted, however, as the site of a bowl barrow, KD028-048 and a recent aerial image shows this general area as a piece of waste ground, exempted from cultivation, unlike the surrounding countryside. That said, a Digital Globe image clearly shows a monument here and depicts the extent of this monument through a crop mark around the central mound.

Another slightly later map, also by Longfield (1815), depicts a further enclosure. This enclosure is shown as a double-banked feature at a crossroads near Fair Green. Again, there is no reference to this site in the later maps of this townland (OSI 1838 & 1871, Sheet 28). On more recent aerial images this location is shown as part of a garden and the associated work render it difficult to perceive any low level features that may remain (GE 2018). Despite these modern restrictions, these two latter sites will be included in this study and in the final calculation of ringfort numbers.

Evidence of the presence of the third enclosure became apparent during this study. This partial crop mark is located just west of the road between Oldkilcullin and Fair Green. This partial crop mark became visible as a result of recent aerial survey (GE 2018) and is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of: 682804-707515. It has been reported to the NMS and is now included in the register with the SMR number of KD028-061.

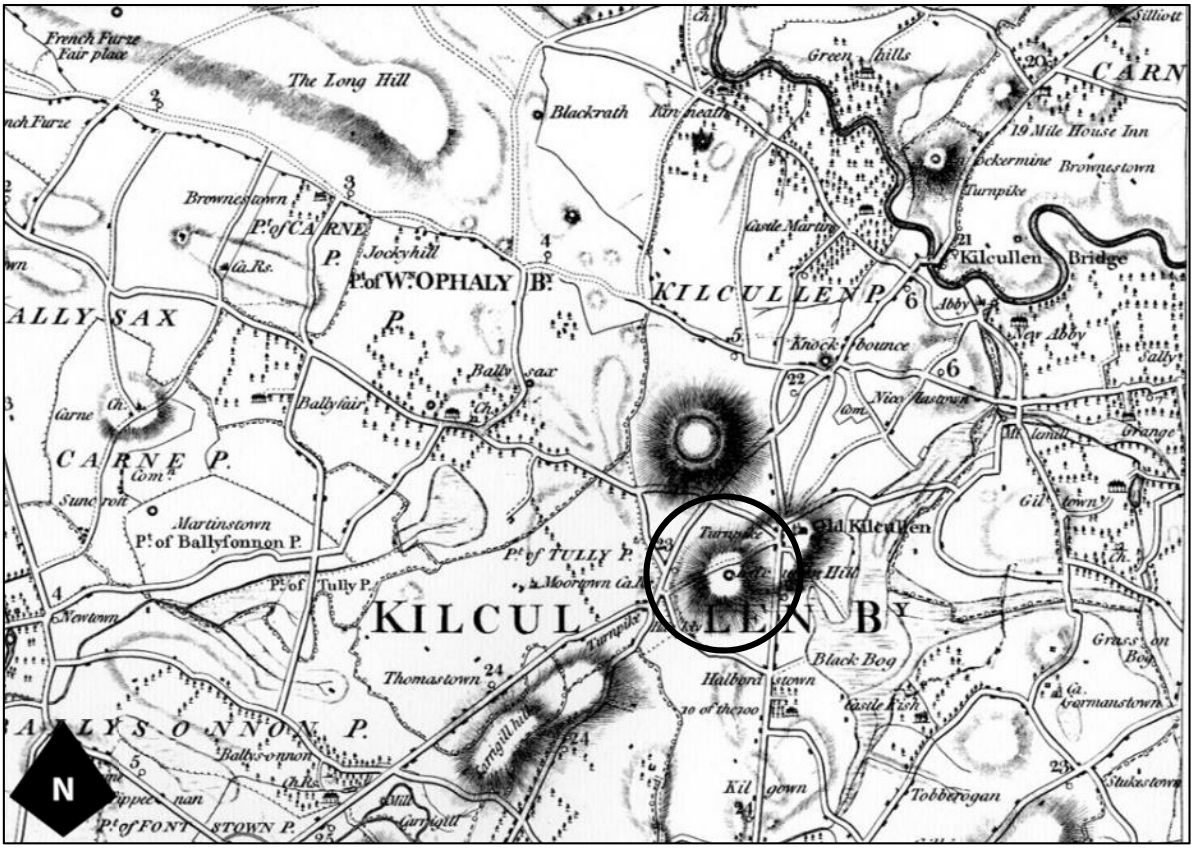


Figure 52. Taylor's map of Oldkilcullen townland depicting barrow KD028-048



Figure 53. Longfield's 1809 map of Oldkilcullen townland depicting barrow KD028-048 as a 'moat' (NLI; Ms. 21 F 34/28)



Figure 54. Close up of Longfield's 1809 map of Oldkilcullen townland depicting barrow KD028-048 as a 'moat' (NLI; Ms. 21 F 34/28)

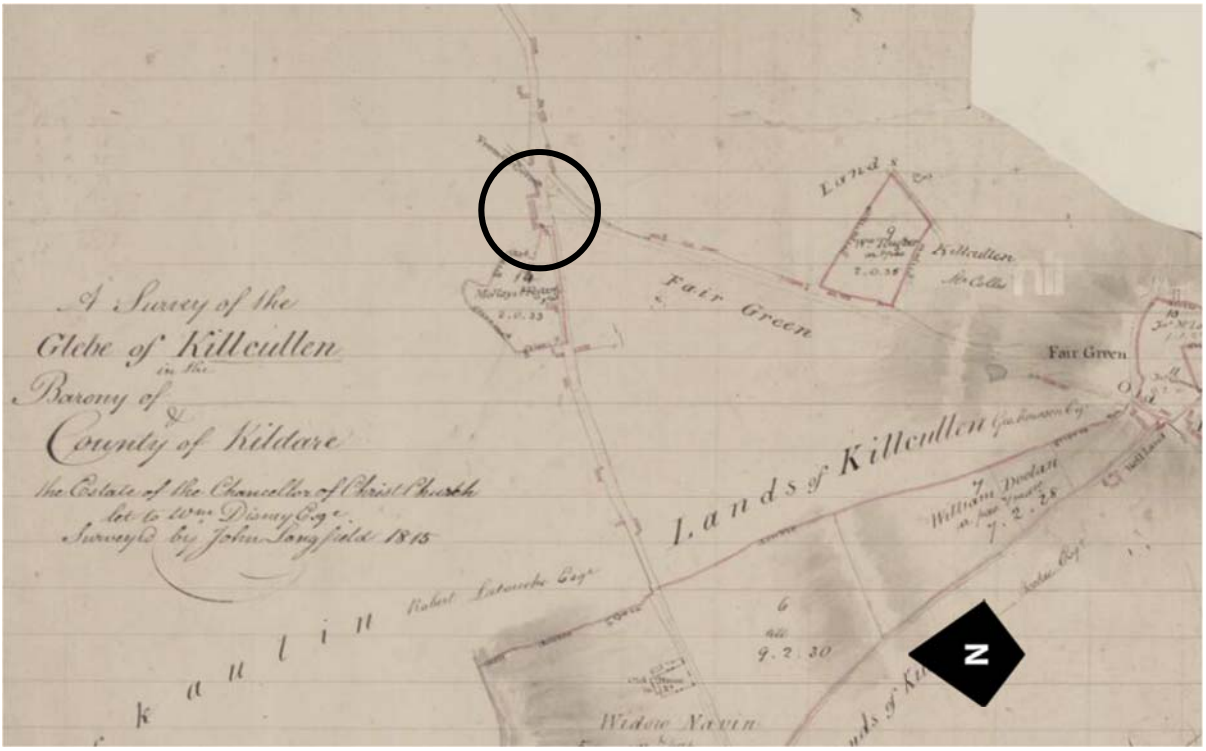


Figure 55. Longfield's 1815 map of Oldkilcullen townland depicting enclosure (MS 21 F. 34 /29)



Figure 56. Close up of Longfield's 1815 map of Oldkilcullen townland depicting enclosure (MS 21 F. 34 /29)

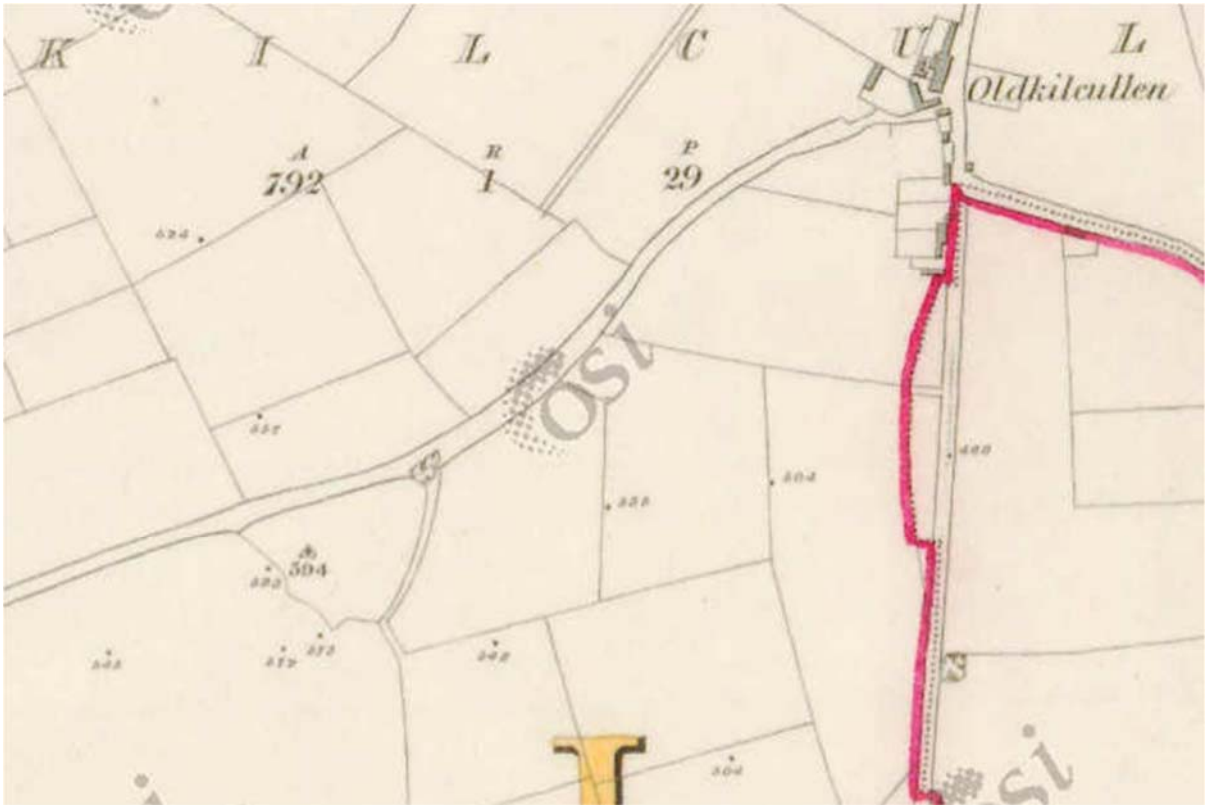


Figure 57. First edition OS map of part of Oldkilcullen townland depicting general location of barrow KD028-048

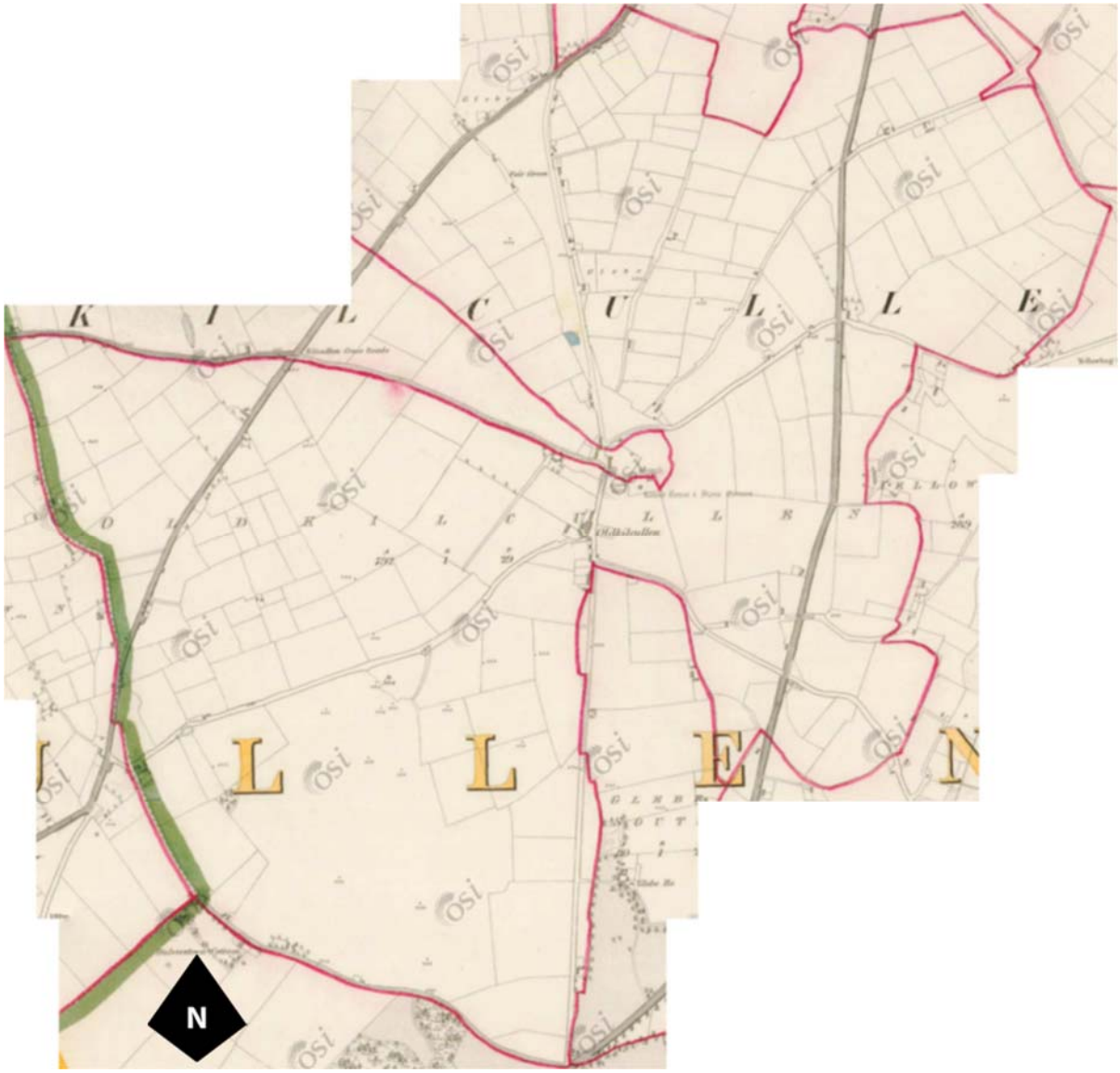


Figure 58. First edition OS map of Oldkilcullen townland



Figure 59. Aerial image of part of Oldkilcullen townland depicting site of barrow KD028-048 (DG 2011 – 3)



Figure 60. Aerial image of part of Oldkilcullen townland depicting site of barrow KD028-048 (DG 2011 – 3)



Figure 61. First edition OS map of Oldkilcullen depicting general location of enclosure KD028-061



Figure 62. Aerial image of part of Oldkilcullen townland depicting general location of enclosure (GE 2018)

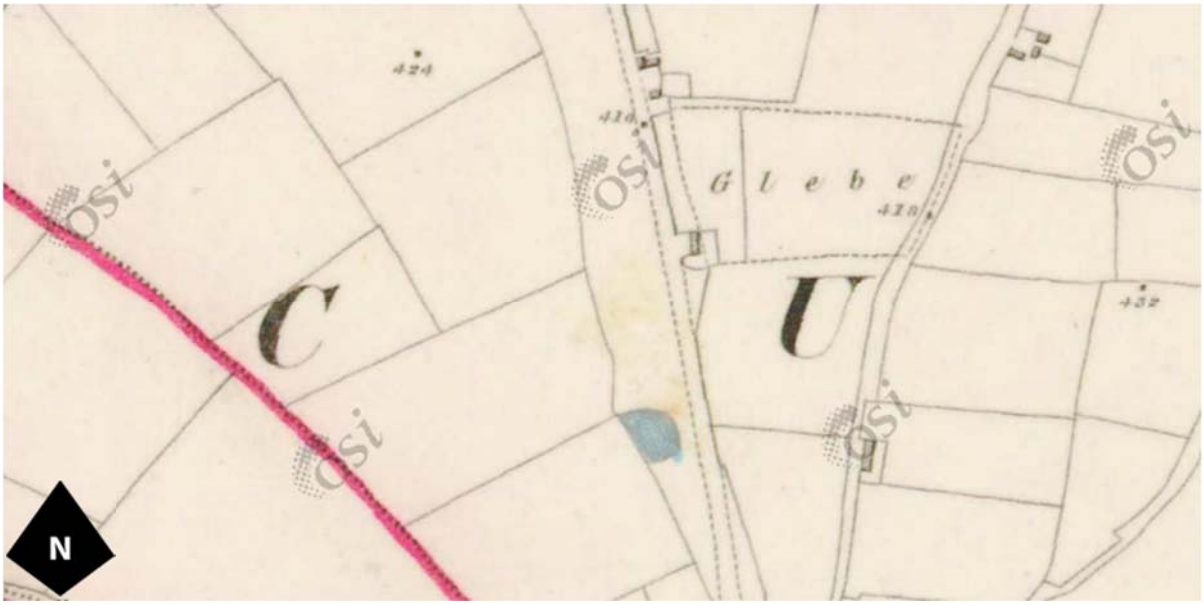


Figure 63. First edition OS map of Oldkilcullen townland depicting general location of enclosure KD028-061

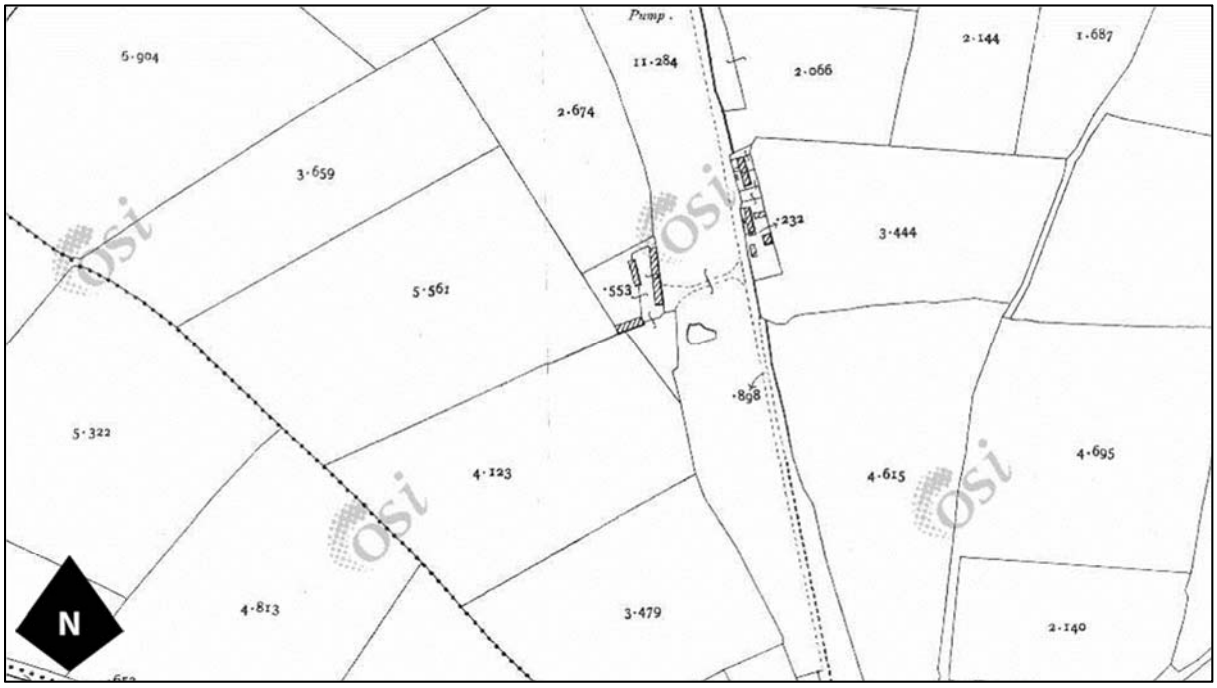


Figure 64. Second edition OS map of Oldkilcullen townland depicting general location of enclosure KD028-061



Figure 65. Aerial image of part of Oldkilcullen townland depicting site of enclosure KD028-061 (GE 2018)

5.2. Tully parish

5.2.1. Moortown

The archaeological record contains a reference to the presence of a possible ringfort in this townland. However, it is recorded as an enclosure and has been given the SMR number of KD028-053001. This is because it forms part of a wider complex of sites. The first edition OS map (1837, Sheet 28) shows this general area to be defined by an oval hachured line. On the second edition map (1871, Sheet 28) this area is more clearly defined with the north-western portion now noted as a graveyard and the southern portion defined by a roughly circular bank. Incidentally, a disused quarry is shown located about 30m further to the southeast. On a still later map, the southern area above is now referred to as 'Rath Nua' (Cassini 1939-40). The database also contains a reference to this site as having been a ringfort with a diameter of 29m in diameter (NMS 2019). For this reason, it will be included in this study and in the final calculation in regards to ringfort numbers in this barony.

Several sites of interest have been uncovered as the result of the drought conditions of summer 2018. One of these is visible as a bivallate crop mark, KD028-086, of *c*.22.5m in

diameter and located at 680747-707118. However, none of these sites corresponds to what may be expected where the eventual presence of a ringfort might be expected. As such, these sites will not be included in this study. That said, another interesting feature is visible on some aerial imagery (GE 2009). This site is located slightly further to the southeast of the above-mentioned ringfort. It is located about 67m south-southeast from the southeast corner of the graveyard. This bivallate crop mark is centred on the grid coordinates 681248-705981 and it encloses an overall area of 12m NW-SE and 14m NE-SW. However, on the second edition OS map (1871, 28) this location corresponds to the southeastern edge of an area noted as a disused quarry. The extent of this area can also be seen on an earlier aerial image (GE 2009). This strongly suggests that this bivallate feature is likely to have been affected by quarrying activity. This then brings into play the question the level of quarrying undertaken here and the whether any evidence of ny earlier monument would have remained.

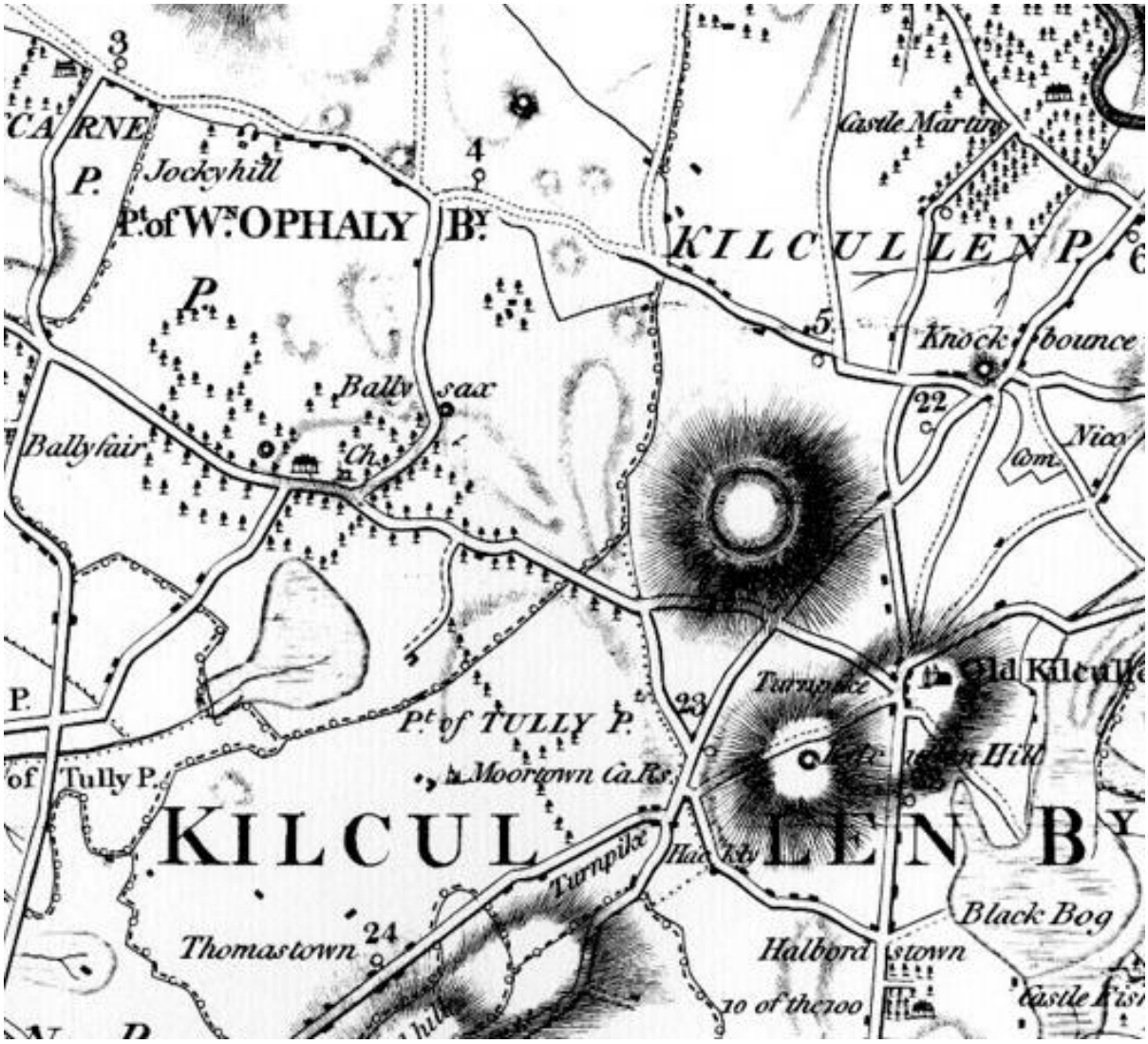


Figure 66. Taylor's map depicting Moortown townland

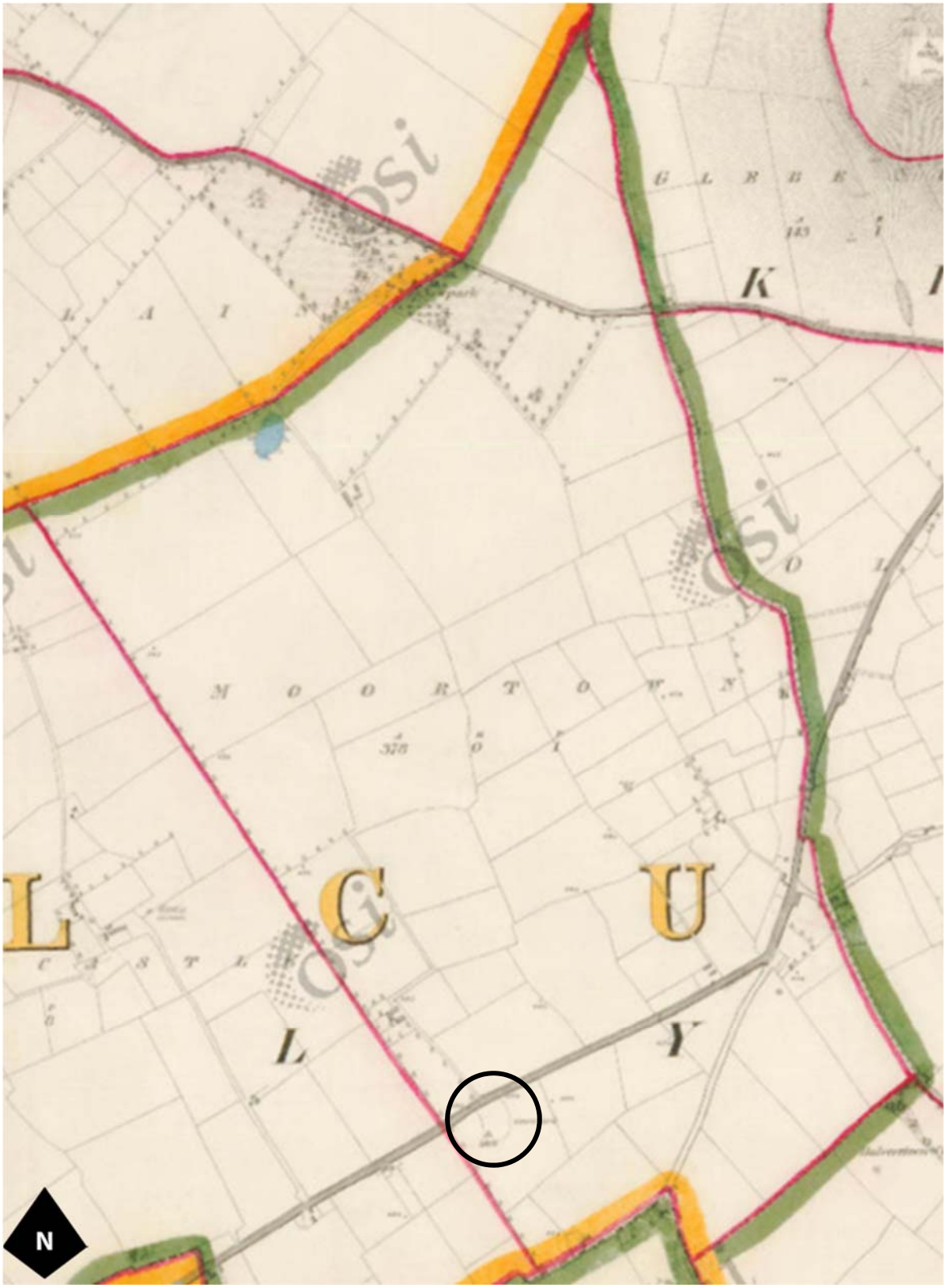


Figure 67. First edition OS map of Moortown townland depicting enclosure KD028-053001



Figure 68. First edition OS map of Moortown townland depicting enclosure KD028-053001 (close up)

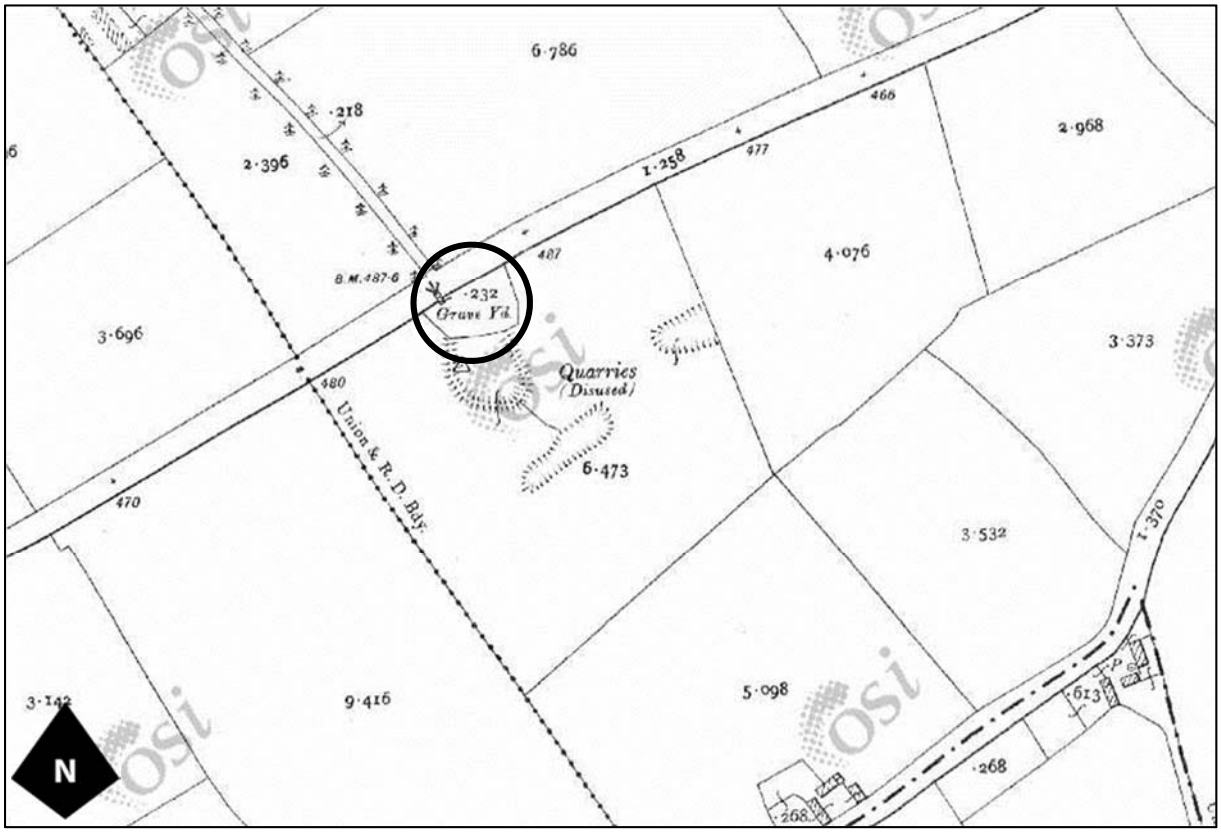


Figure 69. Second edition OS map of Moortown townland depicting enclosure KD028-053001 (close up)

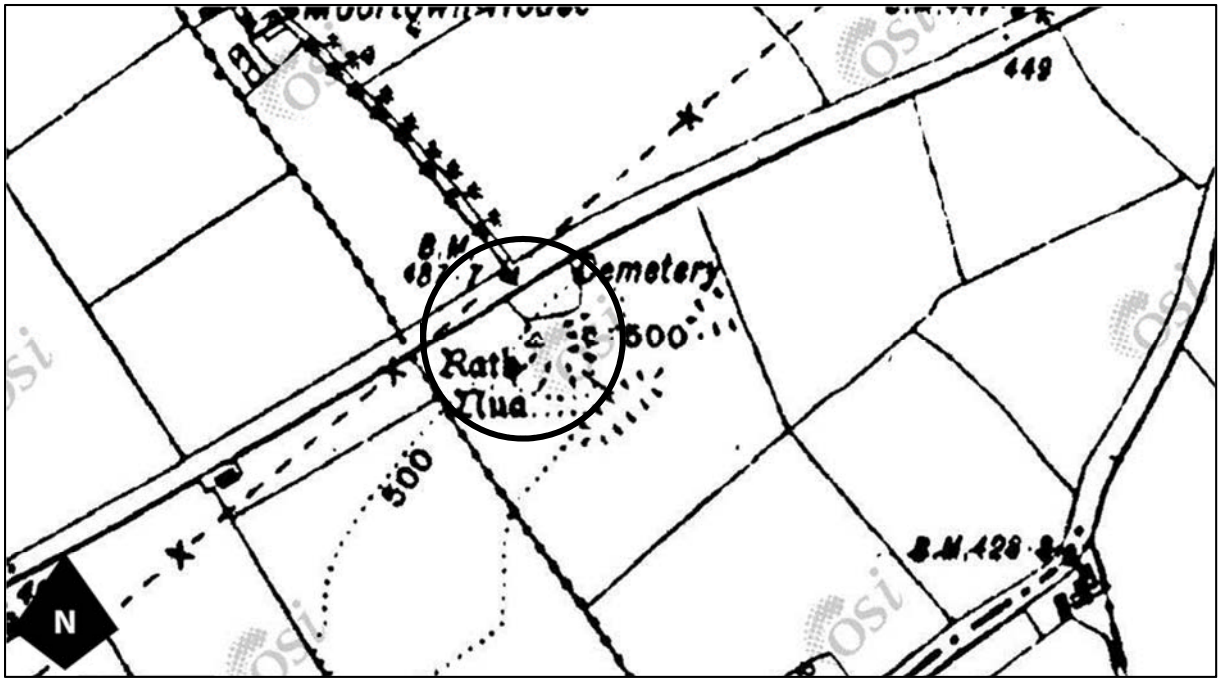


Figure 70. Third edition OS map of Moortown townland depicting enclosure KD028-053001 (close up)



Figure 71. Aerial image of Moortown townland depicting enclosure KD028-053001 (DG 2011 – 3)



Figure 72. Aerial image of Moortown townland depicting enclosure KD028-053001 (GE 2009)



Figure 73. Aerial image of Moortown townland depicting enclosure KD028-053001 (GE 2018)

5.2.2. Moortowncastle

The first edition OS map (1837, Sheet 28) depicts a circular field monument in the southwest corner of this townland. A ring of trees further defines this feature. This enclosure is entered in the archaeological database as a ringfort with the SMR number of KD028-052. On the map created following later revisions, however, no representation of this ringfort is included. However, it is also noted that this ringfort was not levelled until 'sometime between 1953 and 1955' (NMS 2019). A Digital Globe image (2011 – 3) may provide an indication as to the original location of this site. The field where it is recorded is now under grass and a change in vegetation and ground cover may indicate the extent of this enclosed area. The centre of this possible crop mark is located at the ITM grid coordinates of 680204-705671 and it may enclose an area of *c*. 31m.

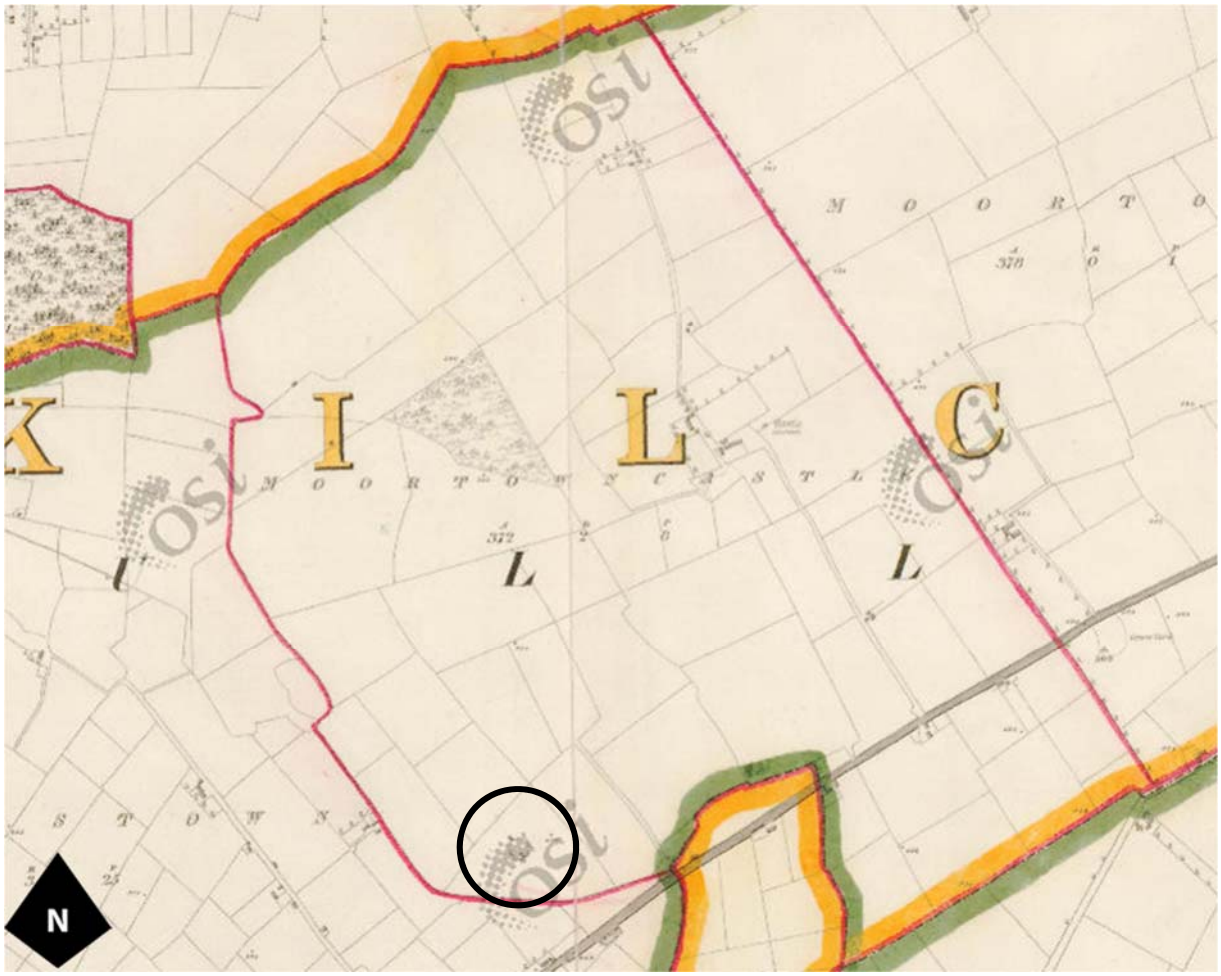


Figure 74. First edition OS map (1837) of Moortowncastle townland depicting enclosure KD028-052

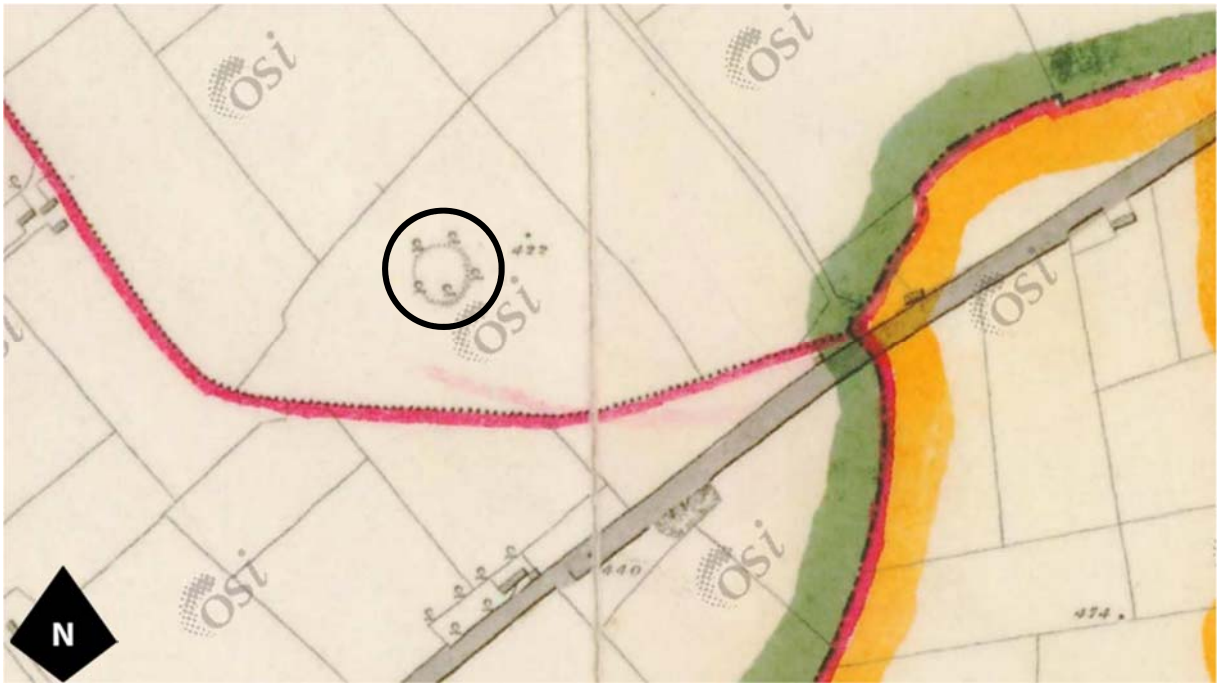


Figure 75. First edition OS map of Moortowncastle depicting enclosure KD028-052

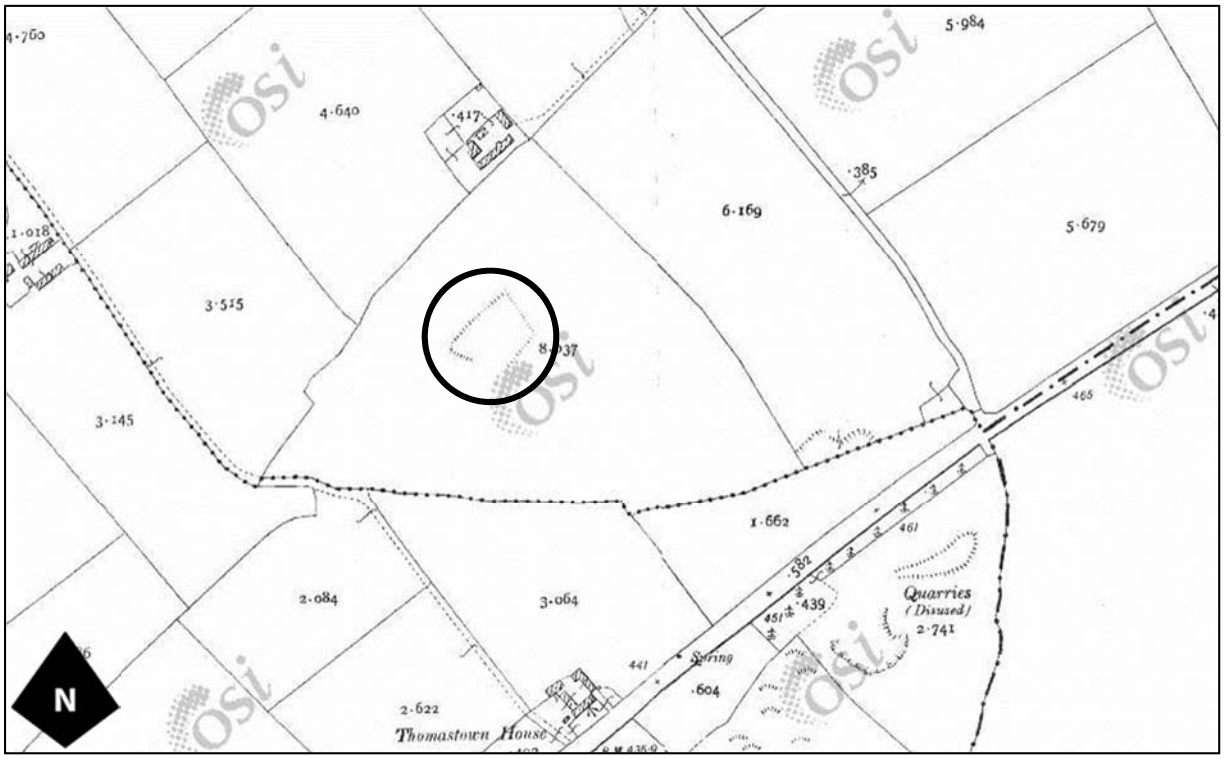


Figure 76. Second edition OS map of Moortowncastle depicting enclosure KD028-052



Figure 77. Close up aerial image of Moortowncastle townland depicting site of enclosure KD028-052 (GE 2018)

CATALOGUE CHAPTER 6:

CASTLEREAGH, CO. ROSCOMMON

33,528.65 HECTARES

Evidence for Ringforts in certain Townlands of the Parishes of Ballintober, Baslick, Kilcorkery, Kilkeevin, and Kiltullagh, Co. Roscommon

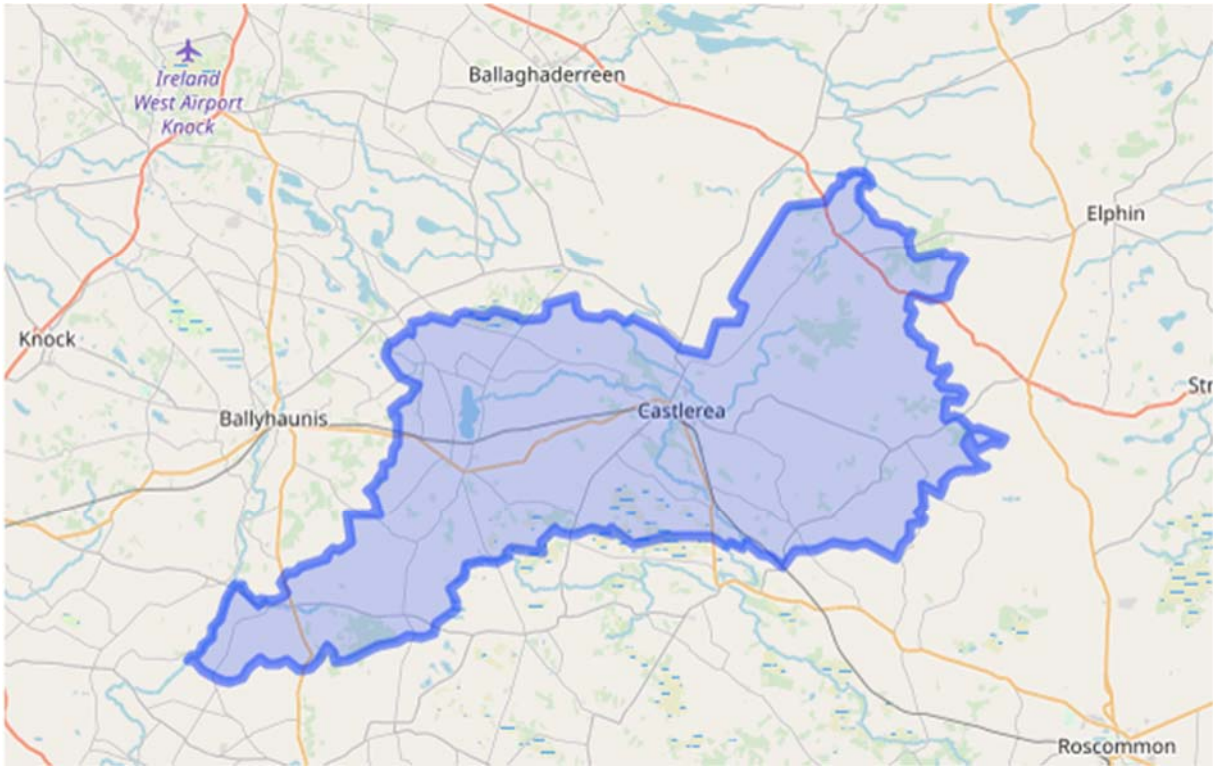


Figure 1. Barony map of Castlereagh, Co. Roscommon

	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
NMR/Townlands	83/264	76/264	53/264	98/264	89/264	99/264
TOTAL	136	123	83	190	170	191

Figure 2. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Castlereagh barony, Co. Roscommon

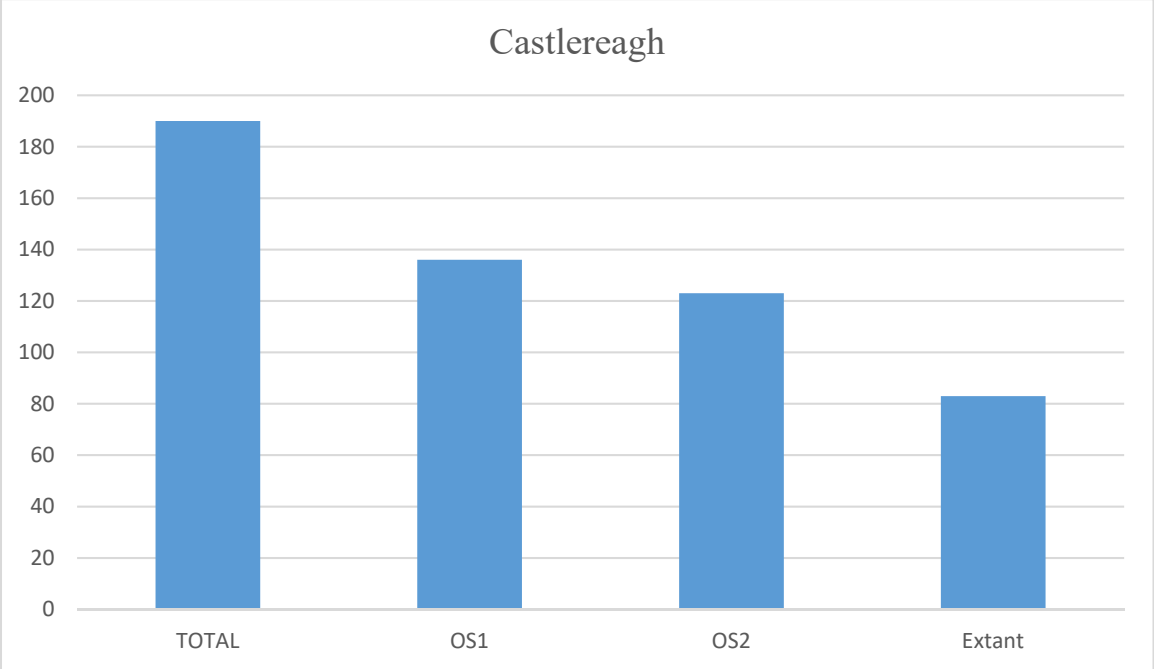


Figure 3. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Castlereagh barony, Co. Roscommon

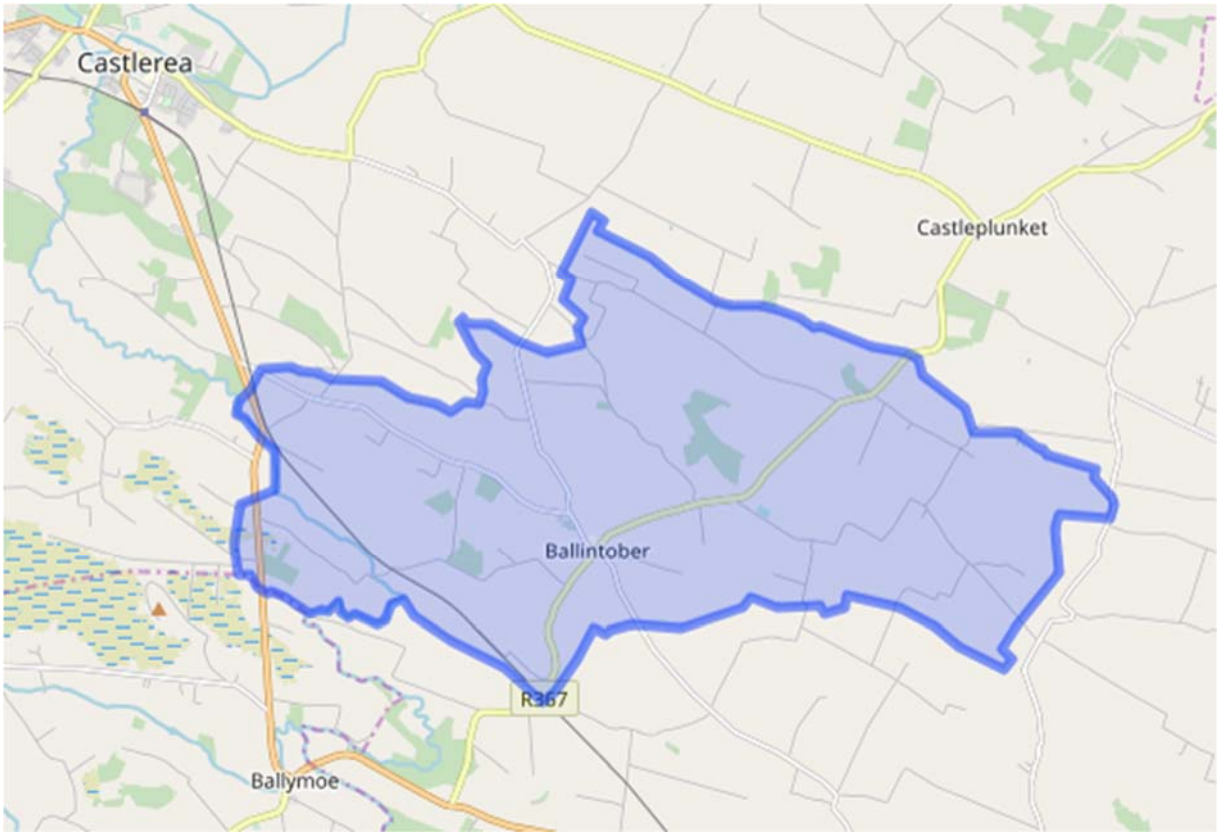


Figure 4. Parish map of Ballintober, Co. Roscommon

	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Adragool	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ardnamullagh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballintober	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballyfinegan	1	1	1	2	2	2
Bohagh	4	3	2	5	4	5
Brackloon	0	0	0	0	0	0
Carrowbaun	0	0	0	0	0	0
Carrowreagh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cleaboy	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloonykerny	0	0	0	0	0	0
Enfield	1	1	1	1	1	1
Frenchlawn	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gortboy	0	0	0	0	0	0
Keelty	1	1	1	1	1	1

Kennyborough	0	0	0	0	0	0
Knockalaghta(S)	0	0	0	1	1	1
Knockalaghta(W)	1	1	0	1	1	1
Rathnalulleagh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Raveege	1	1	1	1	1	1
Rosmeen	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shankoagh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Timanagh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Toberkeagh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Willsgrove	0	0	0	0	0	0
NMR/Townlands	6/24	6/24	5/24	7/24	7/24	7/24
TOTAL	10	9	7	12	11	12

Figure 5. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Ballintober parish, Co. Roscommon

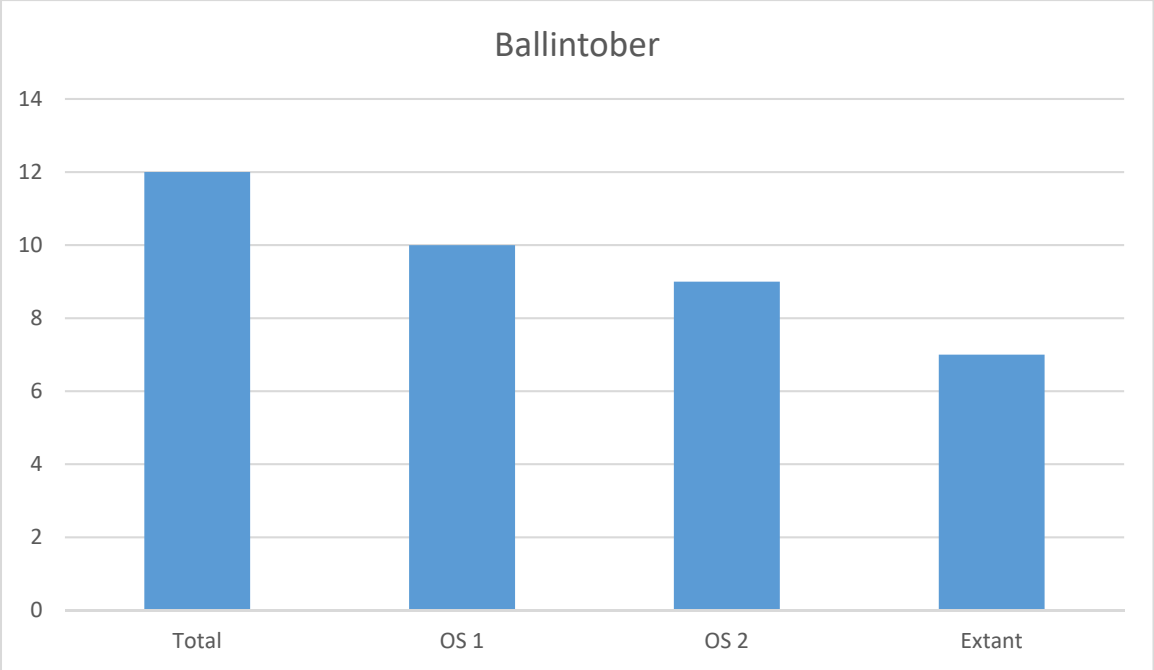


Figure 6. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Ballintober parish

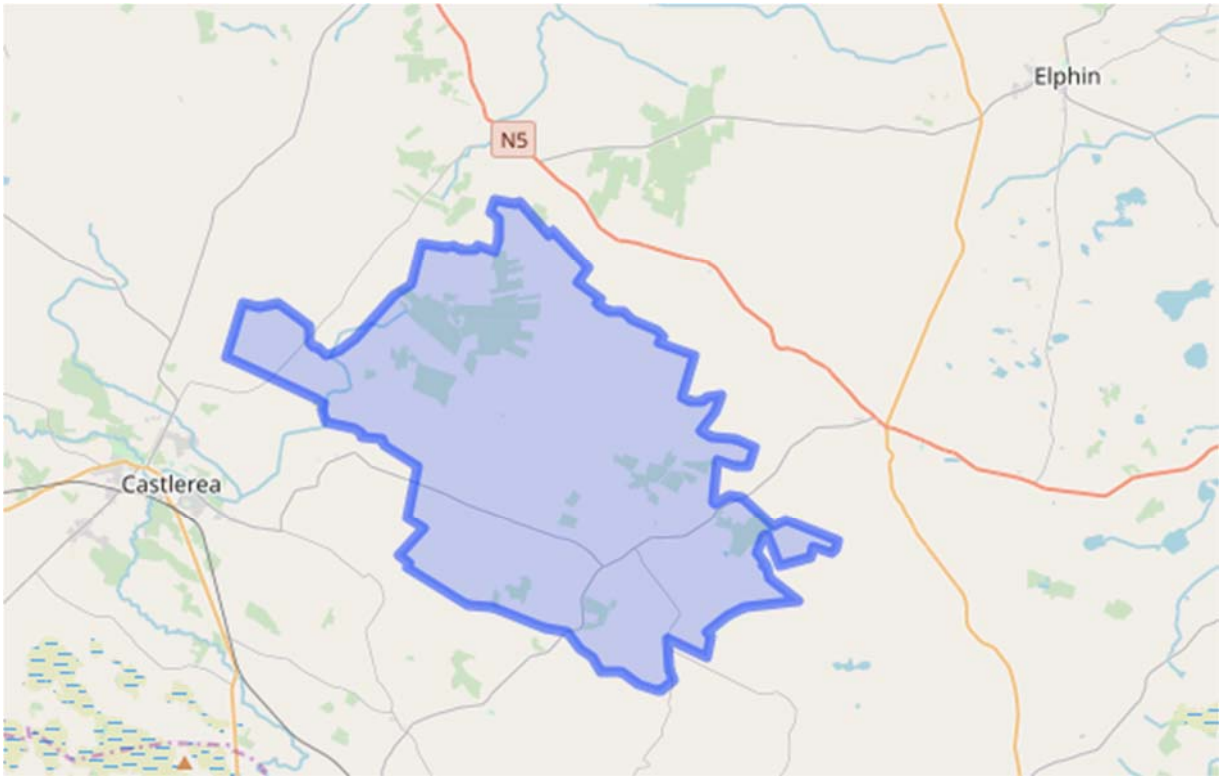


Figure 7. Parish map of Baslick, Co. Roscommon

	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Ardeevin	2	2	2	3	3	3
Ballaghabawbeg	2	2	2	4	2	4
Ballindollaghan(Crump)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballindollaghan(Knox)	0	0	0	1	0	1
Balloony	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballyglass	4	5	5	7	7	7
Baslick	0	0	0	0	0	0
Caddellbrook	0	0	0	0	0	0
Carnakit	2	1	1	3	3	3
Carrowbaun	0	0	0	0	0	0
Carrowkeel	1	1	1	1	1	1
Castleplunket	1	1	1	1	1	1
Castleruby	0	0	0	0	0	0
Castleteheen	1	1	0	2	2	2
Cloonbard	0	1	0	1	0	1

Corlis	2	2	2	3	3	3
Drishaghaun East	1	0	0	1	0	1
Drishaghaun West	0	0	0	0	0	0
Emlagh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farranawillin	0	0	0	0	0	0
Glenvela	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gortnasillagh	0	1	1	2	2	2
Heathfield	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kanefield	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kilmurry	1	2	2	2	2	2
Knockalegan East	0	0	0	0	0	0
Knockalegan West	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lisheen	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lismurtagh	2	2	2	2	2	2
Lissalway	3	3	1	4	4	4
Lissawardy	2	2	1	2	2	2
Milltown	0	0	0	2	1	2
Mullygollan	1	1	0	1	1	1
Pollranny	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rahardagh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rathfuadagh	3	3	3	3	3	3
Rathmoyle	0	1	0	1	1	1
Rusheen	0	0	0	0	0	0
Slevin	0	0	0	0	0	0
Toberelva	0	0	0	0	1	1
Toneragh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tonroe	0	1	1	2	2	2
NMR/Townlands	15/42	18/42	14/42	21/42	19/42	21/42
TOTAL	28	32	25	47	43	48

Figure 8. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Baslick parish, Co. Roscommon

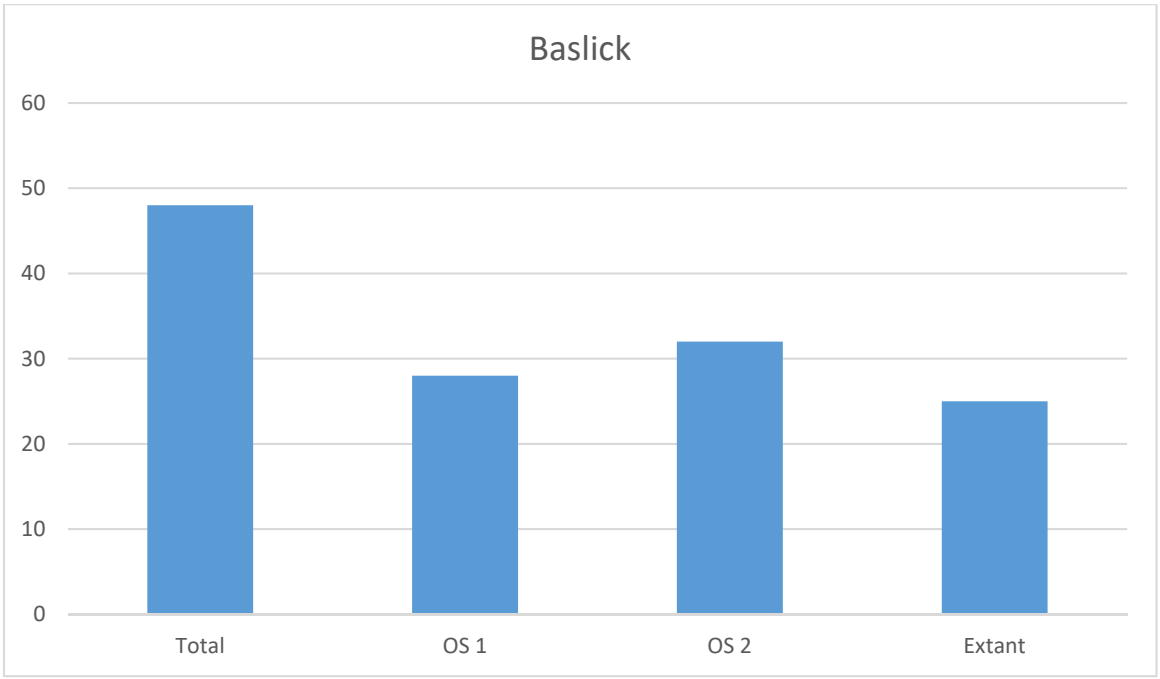


Figure 9. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Baslick parish

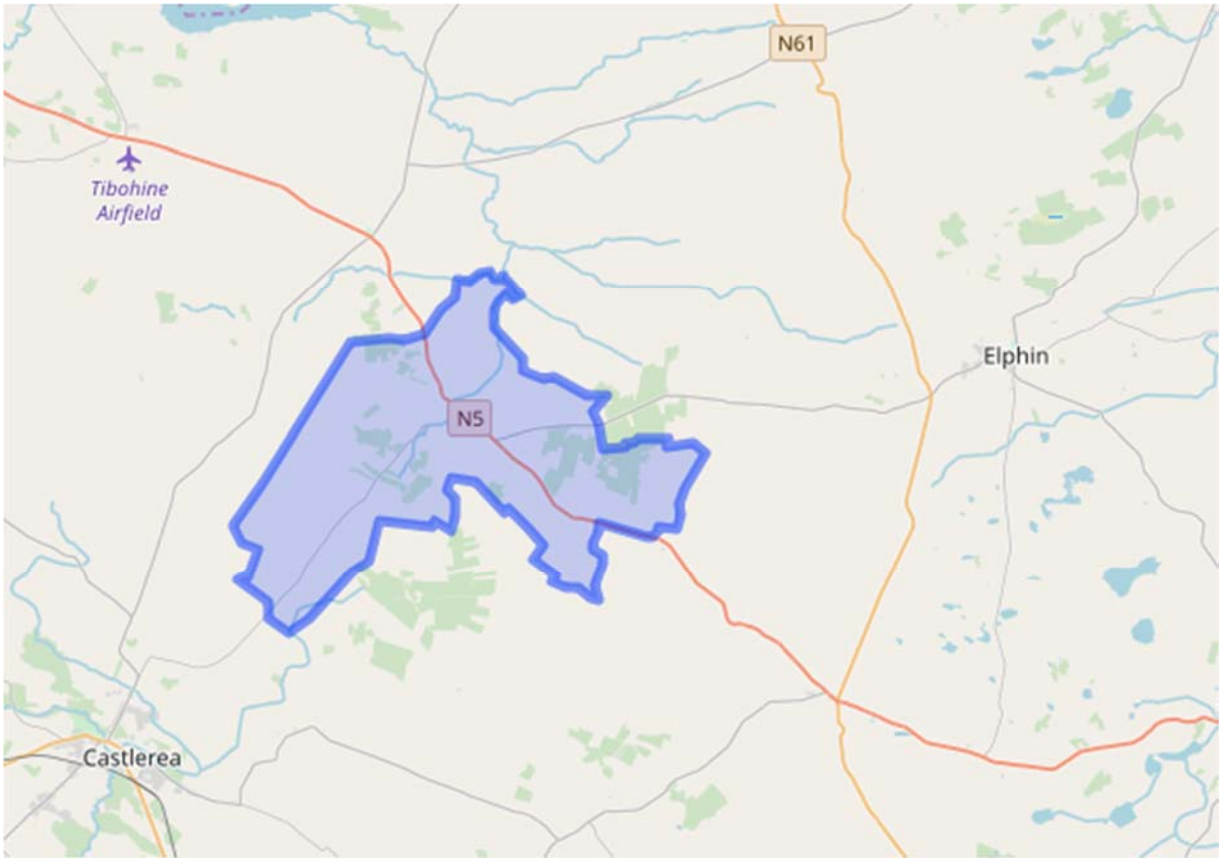


Figure 10. Parish map of Kilcorkery, Co. Roscommon

	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Arraghan	2	2	2	2	2	2
Ballaghcullia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballincool	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballyconboy	2	2	2	2	2	2
Ballynahowna	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bellanagare	1	1	1	1	1	1
Brackloon	0	0	0	0	0	0
Carrowreagh	1	1	1	1	1	1
Cashel	0	1	0	1	1	1
Cashelnagole	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cornamucklagh and Falmore	1	1	1	2	2	2
Deerpark	0	0	0	0	0	0
Derreen	1	0	0	1	0	1

Drummin	1	1	1	1	1	1
Gortagoyne	2	2	2	2	2	2
Kilcorkery	0	0	0	0	0	0
Killaster	0	1	0	1	1	1
Knockroe	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lugakeeran	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mountdruid	0	0	0	0	0	0
Peak	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rathkineely	1	1	1	2	2	2
Rathnallog	4	3	3	4	4	4
Tullaghan	1	1	1	1	1	1
Tully	1	0	0	2	1	2
NMR/Townlands	12/25	12/25	10/25	14/25	13/25	14/25
TOTAL	18	18	15	23	21	23

Figure 11. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Kilcorkery parish, Co. Roscommon

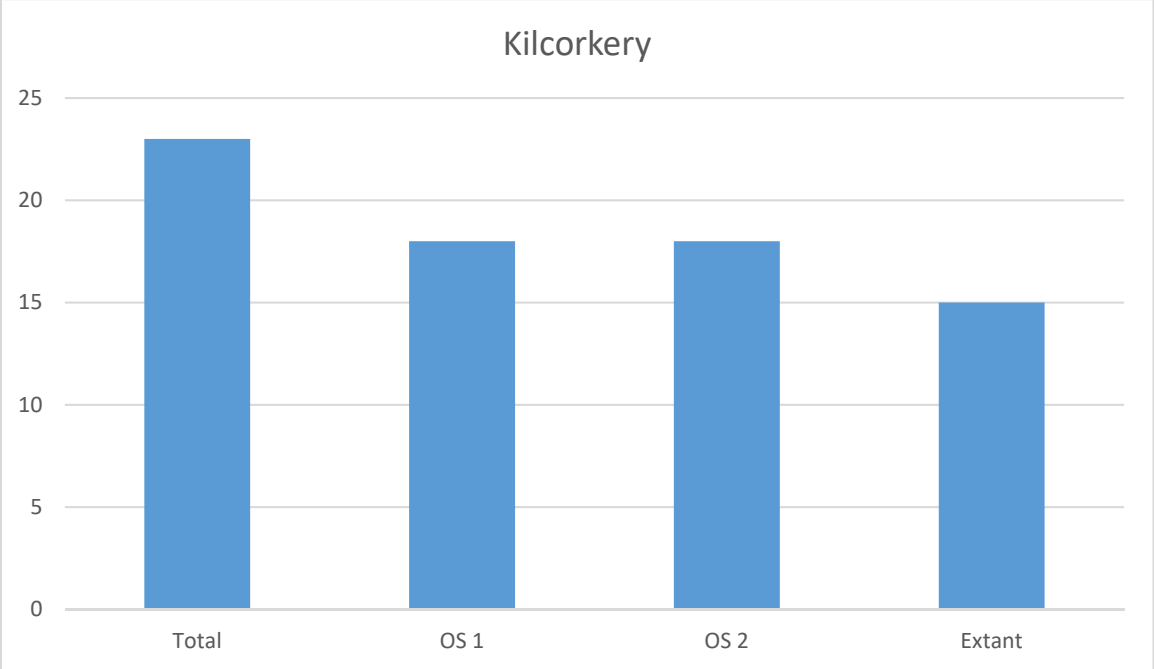


Figure 12. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Kilcorkery parish

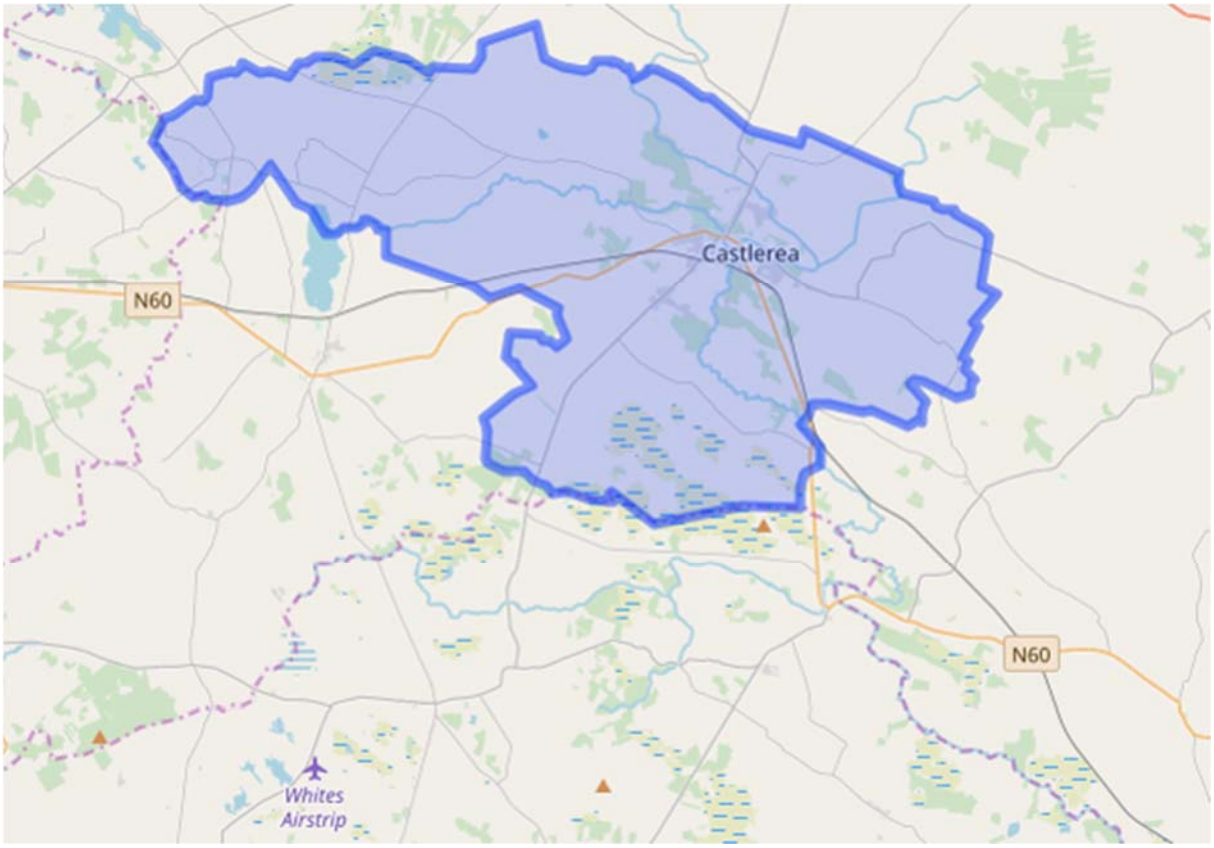


Figure 13. Parish map of Kilkeevin, Co. Roscommon

	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Annagh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Annaghmaghera	1	1	0	1	1	1
Ardass	0	0	0	0	0	0
Arm	2	1	1	3	3	3
Ballindrumlea	1	0	0	1	1	1
Ballinphuill	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballymulrennan	1	1	1	1	1	1
Beagh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Breanabeg	0	0	0	0	0	0
Caher	2	1	0	2	2	2
Carradooan	0	0	0	0	0	0
Carrowgarve	0	0	0	0	0	0
Carrowkeel	1	1	1	1	1	1
Carrowmore	0	0	0	0	0	0

Castlereagh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloonaff	0	0	0	1	0	1
Cloonalis	1	0	0	1	0	1
Cloonavindin	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloonbonniff	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clooncah	1	1	0	1	1	1
Clooncan	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloonchambers	2	2	2	2	2	2
Cloonconra	2	1	0	2	0	3
Clooncoose N.	1	1	1	1	1	1
Clooncoose S.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clooncraffield	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clooncran	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloondacarra	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloondacarra B.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloonelt	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloonfad	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloonfelliv	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloonfower	1	1	0	1	1	1
Cloonkeen	9	9	3	11	9	11
Cloonlatieve	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloonree	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloonroughan	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloonsuck	3	2	2	3	3	3
Cloontarsna	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloontrask	0	0	0	1	1	1
Creggameen	0	0	0	1	0	1
Creggancor	1	0	0	1	1	1
Creggaslin	1	1	1	1	1	1
Creglahan	0	0	0	0	0	0
Demesne	1	1	0	3	3	3
Derreen	1	0	0	1	1	1

Drumalough	2	2	0	3	3	3
Emlagh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Foughil	0	0	0	0	0	0
Harristown	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kilmore	2	1	1	2	2	2
Knockmurry	1	0	0	1	1	1
Knockroe	0	0	0	0	0	0
Leveelick	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lisboy	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lisliddy	0	0	0	0	0	0
Listhomasroe	0	0	0	0	0	0
Longford	0	0	0	0	0	0
Meelickaduff	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mewlaghmore	0	0	0	0	0	0
Moor	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rampark	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rathbarna	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rathleg	1	1	1	1	1	1
Southpark Dem.	1	1	1	1	1	1
Taghnarra	0	0	0	0	0	0
Taghnoose	0	0	0	0	0	0
Termon Beg	0	0	0	0	0	0
Termon More	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tonrevagh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trien	0	0	0	0	0	0
Willsbrook	0	0	0	0	0	0
NMR/Townlands	23/72	18/72	11/72	26/72	22/72	26/72
TOTAL	39	29	15	48	41	49

Figure 14. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Kilkeevin parish, Co. Roscommon

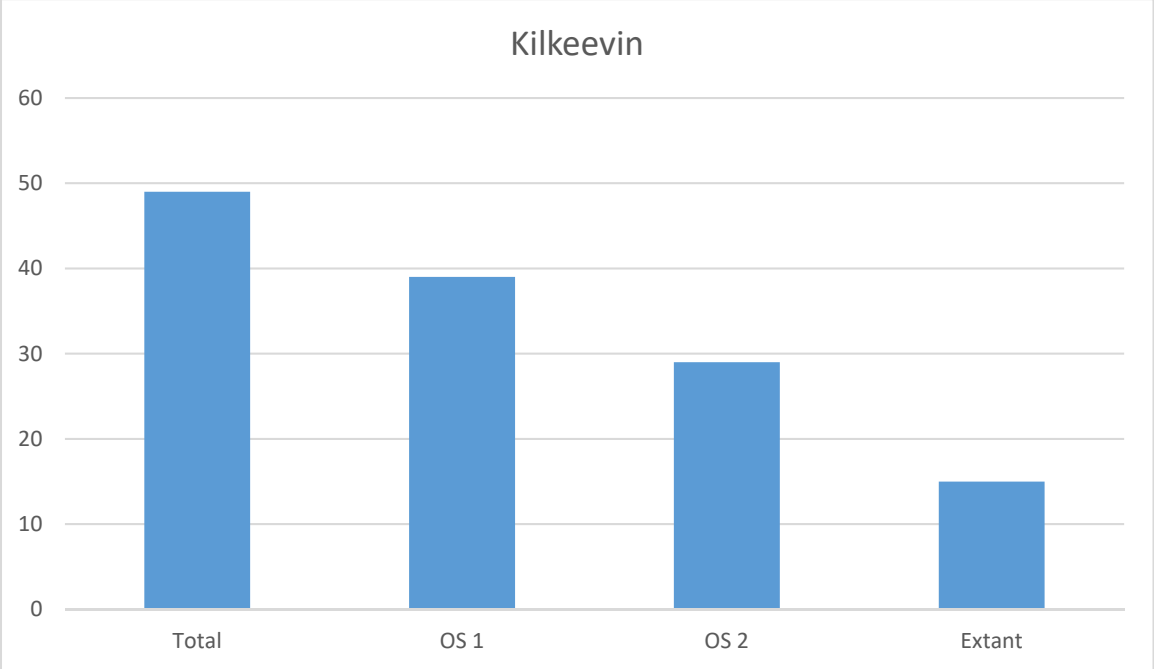


Figure 15. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Kilkeevin parish

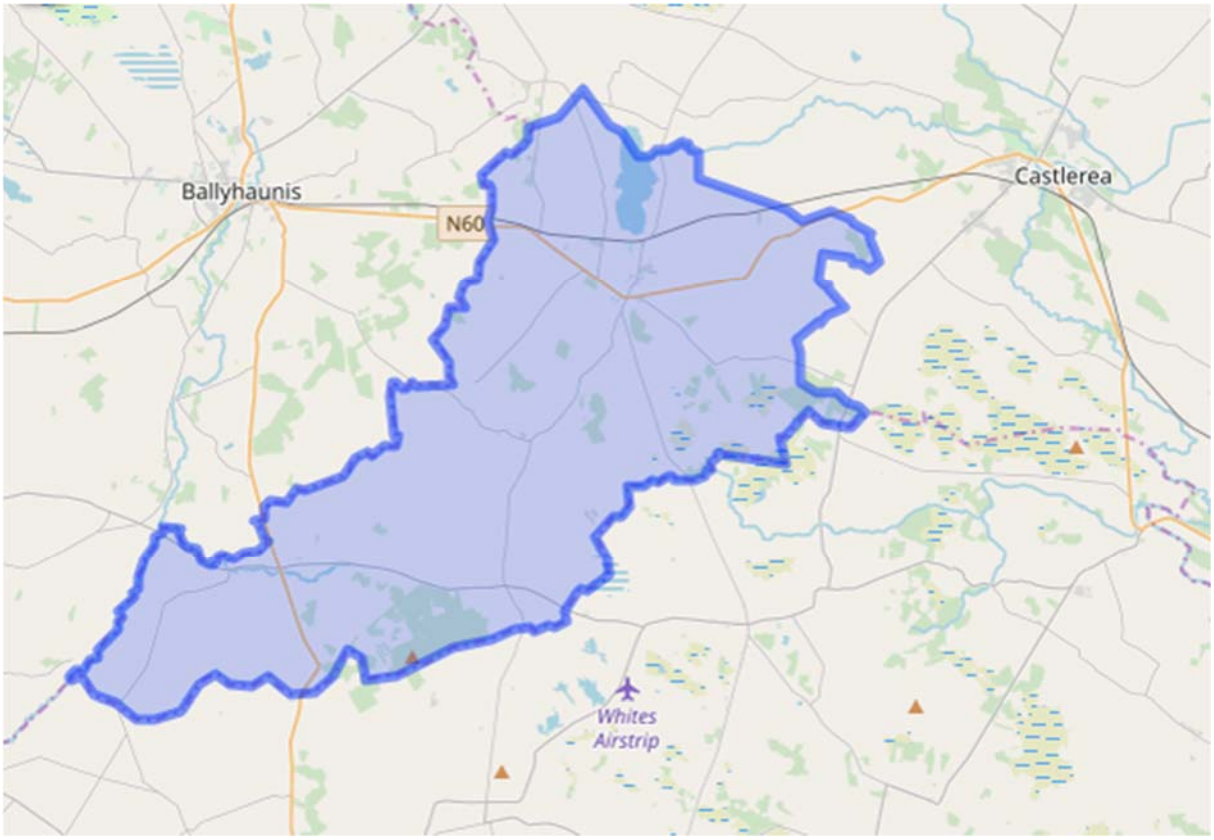


Figure 16. Parish map of Kiltullagh, Co. Roscommon

	OS1	OS2	Extant	NMS	Aerial	Total
Altore	1	1	1	3	3	3
Attishane	1	0	0	1	1	1
Ballinlough	1	1	0	1	1	1
Ballinloughquarter	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballinross	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballybane	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballybane Lower	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballybane Upper	0	0	0	0	0	0
Barrinagh	3	3	2	5	4	5
Benmore	0	0	0	0	0	0
Betal	0	0	0	0	0	0
Carraghs East	2	0	0	2	0	2
Carraghs West	1	0	0	1	0	1
Carrick	1	0	0	3	3	3

Carrowreagh	1	1	0	1	1	1
Cashel	1	1	1	4	4	4
Cashlieve	1	1	1	1	1	1
Castlequarter	1	1	1	4	4	4
Churchquarter	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clogher Lower	3	3	3	4	4	4
Clogher Upper	2	0	0	2	1	2
Cloonalough	1	1	0	1	1	1
Clooncalgy	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clooncalgy Beg	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clooncalgy More	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clooncrim	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloonerkaun	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloonfad East	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloonfad West	1	0	0	0	0	1
Cloonfineen	1	1	0	1	1	1
Clooninisclin	0	0	0	1	1	1
Cloonkeehan East	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloonkeehan Wes	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloonlee	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloonlish	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloonreliagh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clydagh Lower	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clydagh Upper	0	0	0	0	0	0
Commons	0	0	0	0	0	0
Coolatinny	0	0	0	0	0	0
Coolcam	2	2	2	2	2	2
Coolougher	0	0	0	0	0	0
Coosaun	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cornabanny	0	0	0	0	0	0
Corrasluastia	0	0	0	0	0	0
Culkeen	0	0	0	0	0	0

Curragh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Derreendorragh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Derreenteige	0	0	0	0	0	0
Derryharraun East	0	0	0	0	0	0
Derryharraun Wes	0	0	0	0	0	0
Derrylahan	0	0	0	0	0	0
Derryvung	0	0	0	0	0	0
Falledeen	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fiddaun	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fortaugustus	0	0	0	0	0	0
Foxborough	0	0	0	0	0	0
Garranlahan Beg	1	1	0	1	1	1
Garranlahan More	0	0	0	0	0	0
Glenmore	0	1	0	1	1	1
Glenties	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gortamarle	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gorteenacammadil	1	2	1	2	2	2
Grange	1	1	0	1	1	1
Hundredacres	0	0	0	0	0	0
Keyfield	1	0	0	1	1	1
Kiltullagh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Laughil	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lisnagroob	1	1	0	1	1	1
Lowberry	0	0	0	0	0	0
Marystown	0	0	0	0	0	0
Meelick	0	0	0	0	0	0
Meelickroe	0	0	0	0	0	0
Meeltraun (Daniel Kelly),	0	0	0	0	0	0
Meeltraun (Denis Kelly)	0	0	0	0	0	0

Meeltraun (O' Flyn)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Meeltraun (Wills)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Milltown	0	0	0	0	0	0
Moanvane	3	3	3	3	3	3
Moigh Lower	0	0	0	0	0	0
Moigh Upper	2	2	0	2	2	2
Mountain Lower	0	0	0	1	1	1
Mountain Upper	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mountdelvin	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pollanalty East	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pollanalty West	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pollanarroo	2	2	2	2	2	2
Pollanea Lower	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pollanea Upper	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pollaphuca	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rabbitburrow	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rathlena	4	4	2	4	4	4
Roadquarter	0	0	0	0	0	0
Scregg	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spring Gardens	0	1	1	2	2	2
Srah	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stonepark	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stonepark North	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stonepark South	1	1	1	1	1	1
Swinefield	0	0	0	0	0	0
Willsborough	0	0	0	0	0	0
NMR/Townlands	27/101	22/101	13/101	30/101	28/101	31/101
TOTAL	41	35	21	59	54	59

Figure 17. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Kiltullagh parish, Co. Roscommon

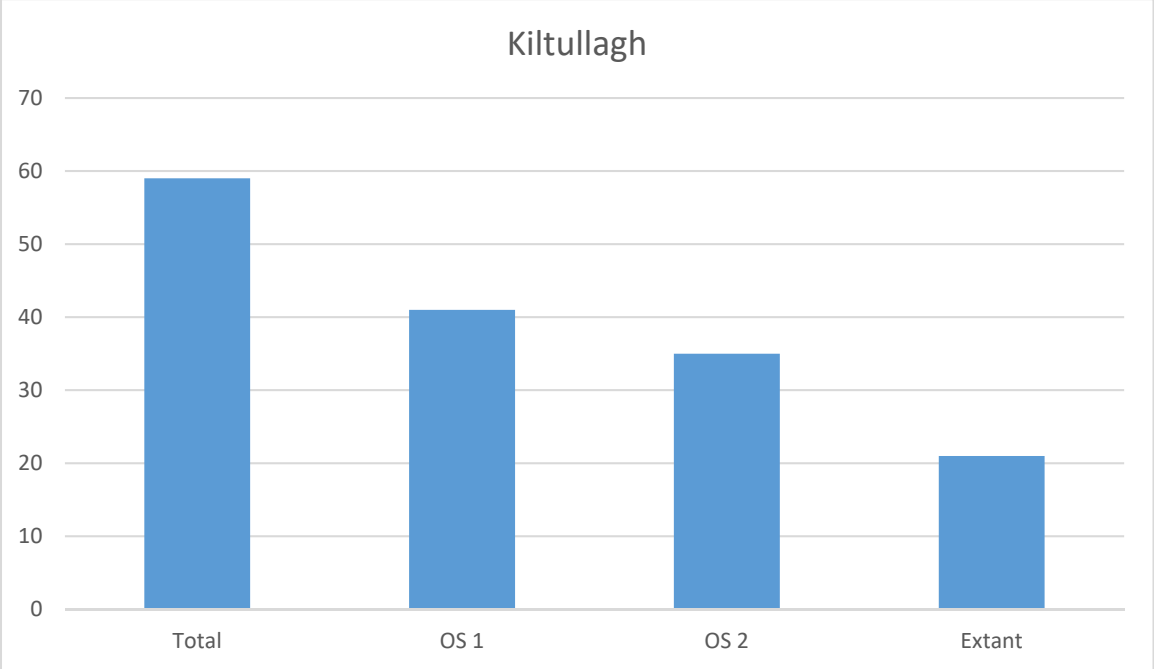


Figure 18. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Kiltullagh parish

The townland descriptions herein are arranged in alphabetical order, initially by parish and within this grouping by townland. The illustrations that accompany each description are presented in chronological order, beginning with the earliest available images. In this barony this will include some estate maps. These maps will be followed by the first and second editions of the Ordnance Survey maps. Finally, modern images from aerial surveys will also be included.

6. CASTLEREAGH

6.1. Ballintober parish

6.1.1. Ballyfinegan

The archaeological record contains reference the existence of two ringforts in this townland (NMS 2019). The first of these, RO034-006, is shown on the first edition OS map (1837, Sheet 34) of the area. It is also shown on the second edition OS map created following later revisions. It is also depicted with the southeast corner of the structure disturbed. On this map is also included the name 'Rath Meel' or 'bald' or 'denuded' rath (OSI 1837, Sheet 34). This monument is still extant and is visible on aerial images from Google Earth [GE] (24/03/17). Here the area of disturbance is shown, in addition to the original line of the structure outlined further to the southeast. The second recorded ringfort, RO034-007, is not depicted on either of the OS maps (1837 & 1891). Neither is there any above ground evidence marking its location presently visible. However, a circular crop mark is visible on, both, Digital Globe (2019) and Google Earth (2017) images. This may indicate that this structure was levelled at some stage prior to the undertaking of the 19th century Ordnance Survey. This crop mark is centred on the ITM grid coordinates, 573070-773933, and encloses an area of *c*.55m diameter overall. A further circular enclosure is shown on the first edition OS (1837, Sheet 34) map. This is recorded as an earthwork, RO034-003, and is noted as having a depicted diameter of *c*.30m. This structure is not shown on any later map nor is it visible on available aerial imaging (GE 2010 & 2017).

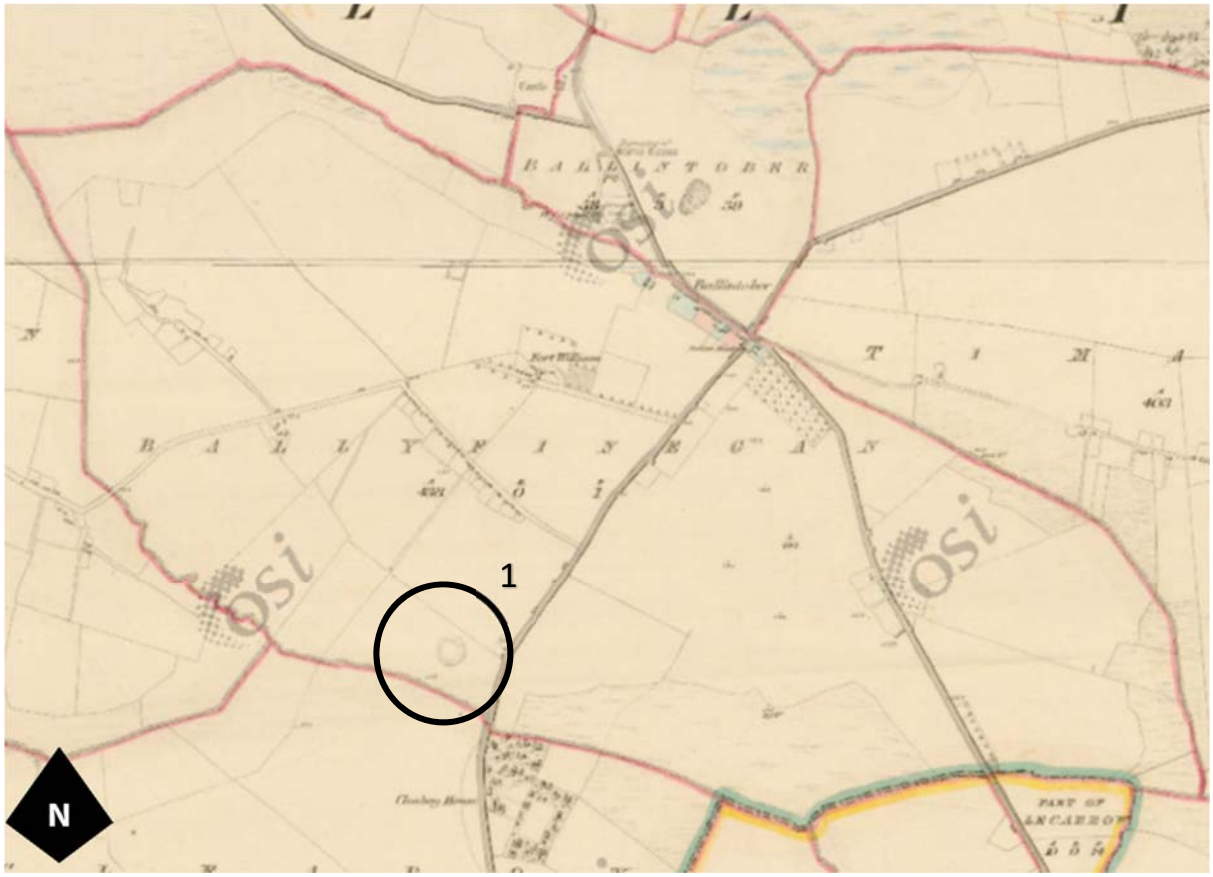


Figure 19. First edition OS map (1837) of Ballyfinegan townland, showing ringfort 1. RO034-006



Figure 20. First edition OS map (1837) of Ballyfinegan townland, showing ringfort 1. RO034-006 (close up)

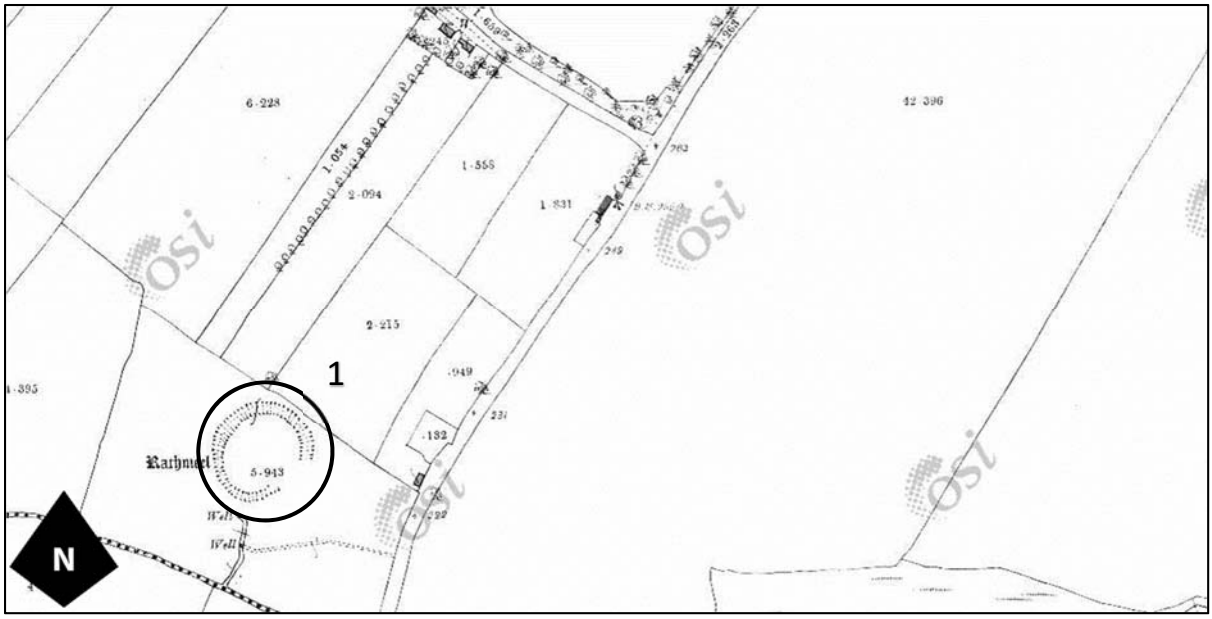


Figure 21. Second edition OS map (1891) of Ballyfinegan townland showing ringfort 1. RO034-006 (close up)



Figure 22. Aerial image of Ballyfinegan townland (DG 2011 – 3), showing locations of 1. RO034-006 and 2. RO034-007



Figure 23. Aerial image of Ballyfinegan townland (GE 2017), showing locations of 1. RO034-006 and 2. RO034-007

6.1.2. Bohagh

The existence of five ringforts is noted on the archaeological record for this townland (NMS 2019). However, just four examples of this monument type are depicted, in a roughly north west to southeast direction, on the first edition OS map (1837, Sheet 27). The furthest south east of these, RO027-039, is also depicted on later maps and is indeed still extant (GE 24/3/17). The next fort along this line to the north west, RO027-038, is shown on the second edition OS map. However, by the time of the 1927 revision of the 6-inch maps, this structure is now longer shown and, of course, it is no longer extant. However, a vague outline visible on aerial imagery may indicate the eventual location of this site (GE 2017). The middle ringfort of this string of structures, RO027-037, is also shown on the second edition OS map of this townland and on the later revision of the 6 inch map (1927, 27). The outline of this structure is still easily visible on both Digital Globe (2019) and Google Earth [GE] (2017). This structure, defined by its fosse, is centred on the grid coordinates, 573173-777214 and encloses an area of *c*. 20m. The location of the fourth structure shown on the 1837 map, RO027-036, is noted on the later second

edition map as being the site of a fort. Although it is no longer extant, a circular crop mark, centred on grid 573001-777401, may confirm the location of this site (GE 2017). The last ringfort recorded for this townland, RO027-083, is shown on none of the earlier maps. However, another circular crop mark approximately 100m further to the northwest from RO027-036 seems to confirm the previous existence of this structure. This site is centred on the ITM grid coordinates, 572891-777504 and encloses an area of around '56m NW-SE and 49m NE-SW' (NMS 2019). It is also noted that these latter coordinates may be the correct location for RO027-036 but the visibility of separate crop marks, as shown below, may confirm the presence of two separate sites.

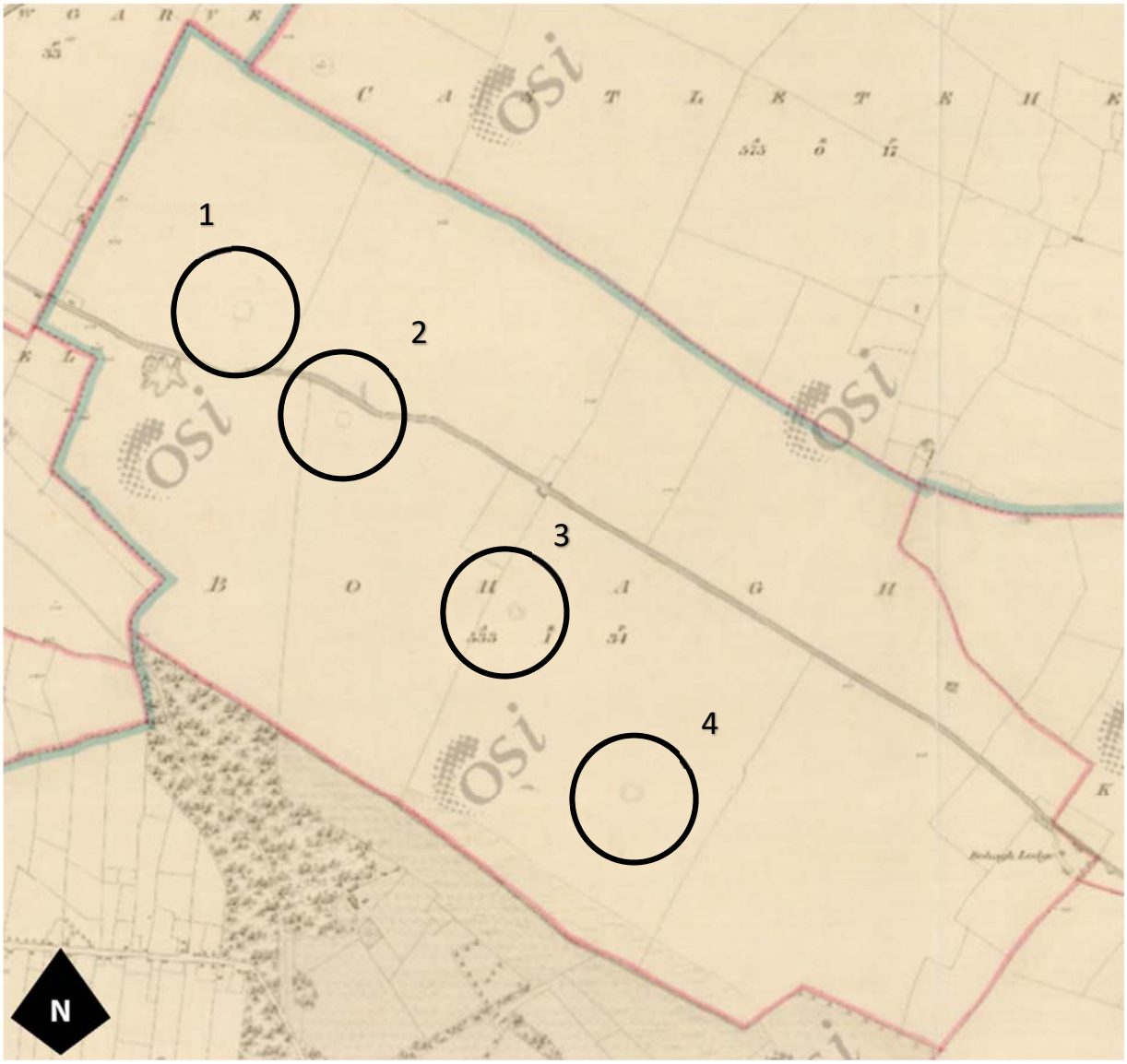


Figure 24. First edition OS map (1837) of Bohagh, showing ringforts 1. RO027-036, 2. RO027-037, 3. RO027-038 & 4. RO027-039



Figure 25. First edition OS map (1837) of Bohagh, showing ringforts 1. RO027-036, 2. RO027-037, 3. RO027-038 & 4. RO027-039 (close up)

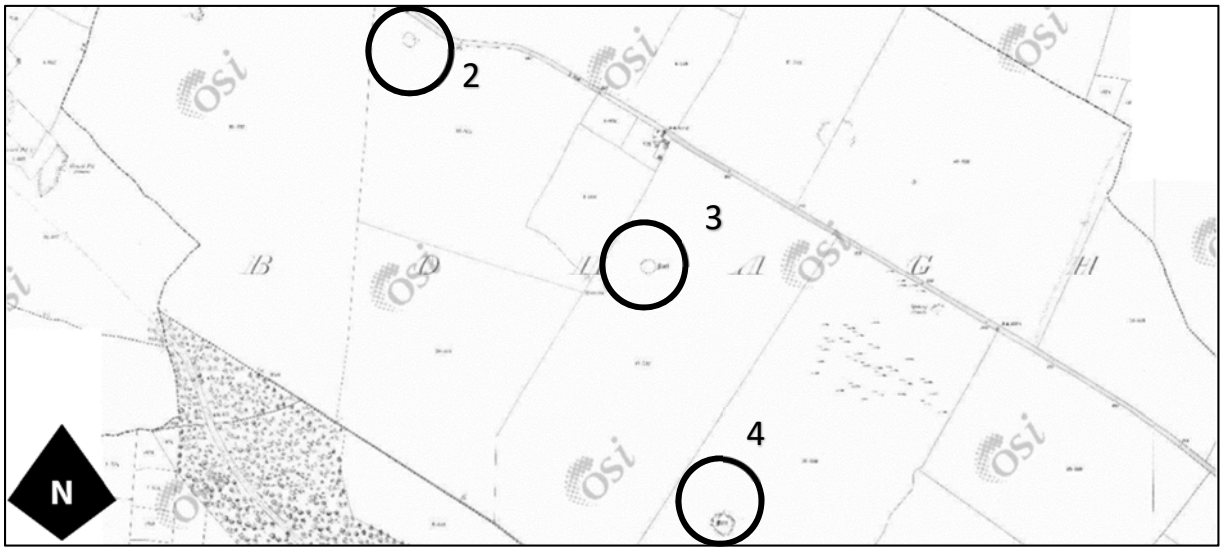


Figure 26. Second edition OS map (1891) of Bohagh, showing ringforts 2. RO027-037, 3. RO027-038 & 4. RO027-039



Figure 27. Aerial image of Bohagh (GE 2017) showing ringfort 4. RO027-039 (close up)



Figure 28. Aerial image of Bohagh showing site of ringforts 1. RO027-036, 2. RO027-037 & 5. RO027-083 (GE 2017)

6.1.3. Enfield

The presence of a single ringfort is recorded within this townland (NMS 2019). On the first edition OS map (1837, Sheet 27) of this townland this structure, RO027-052, is shown *c*. 400m northwest of Enfield House. On the later second edition OS map, the interior of this fort is shown as being tree filled. This ringfort is still extant and is visible on aerial images (Digital Globe [DG] 2011-2013). It is located in the northeast corner of a field and is defined in places by a circle of trees and shrubs, in others by its fosse.

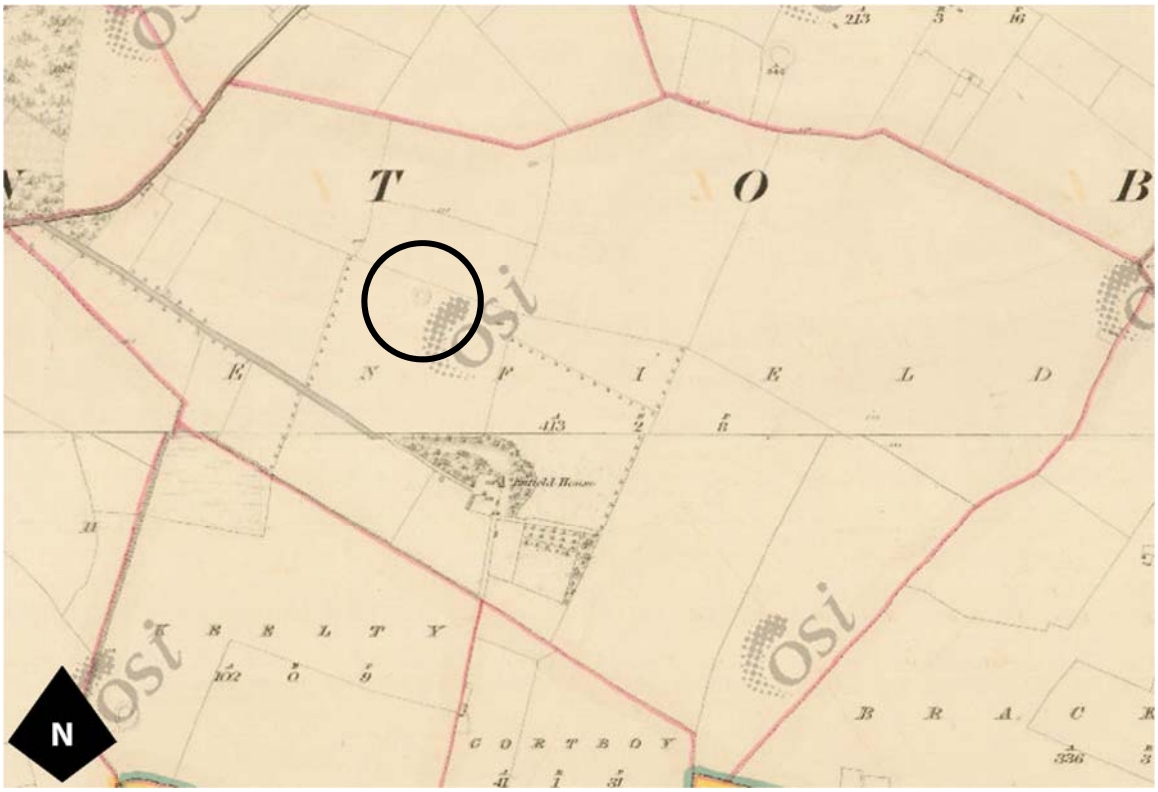


Figure 29. First edition OS map (1837) of Enfield townland, showing ringfort, RO027-052

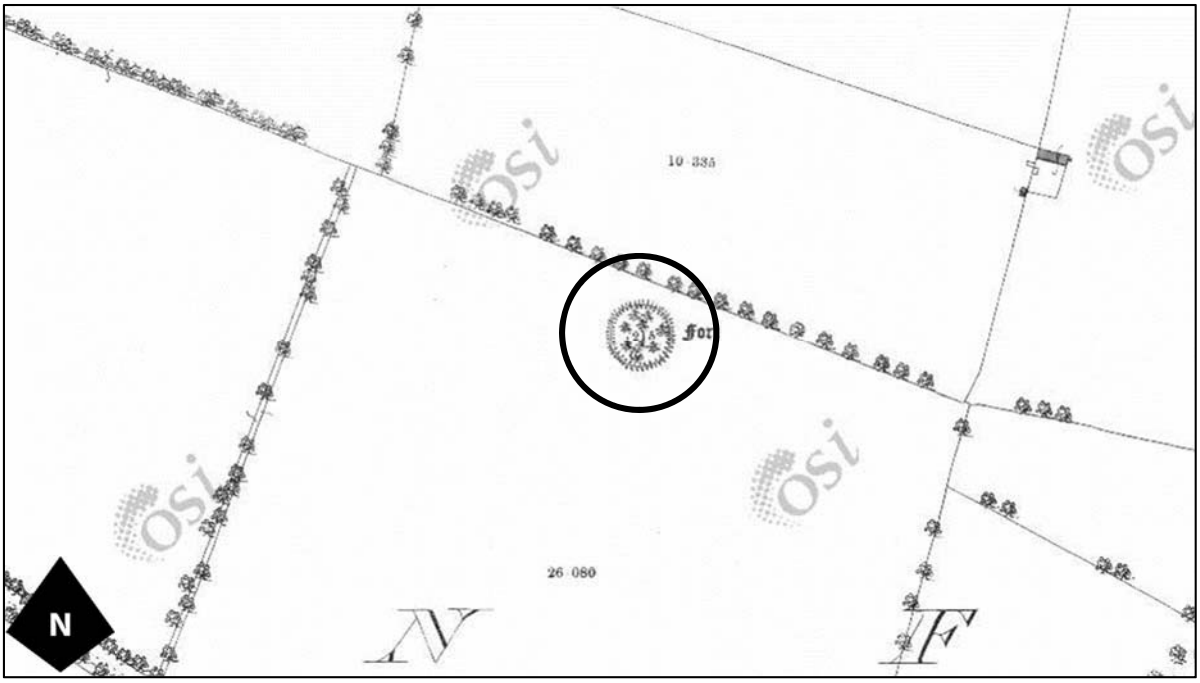


Figure 30. Second edition OS map (1891) of Enfield townland showing ringfort RO027-052



Figure 31. Aerial image of Enfield townland showing ringfort RO027-052 (GE 2017)

6.1.4. Keelty

Here again, the presence of a single ringfort is recorded on the archaeological database (NMS 2019). This structure, RO034-010, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, Sheet 34) as located in the southwest corner of this townland. It is again visible on the later second edition map and, indeed, is still visible on recent aerial images. This structure is depicted on one set of these as having an opening to the southeast (DG 2011-2013). On another set, the entirety of the defining fosse is more clearly visible (GE 2017).

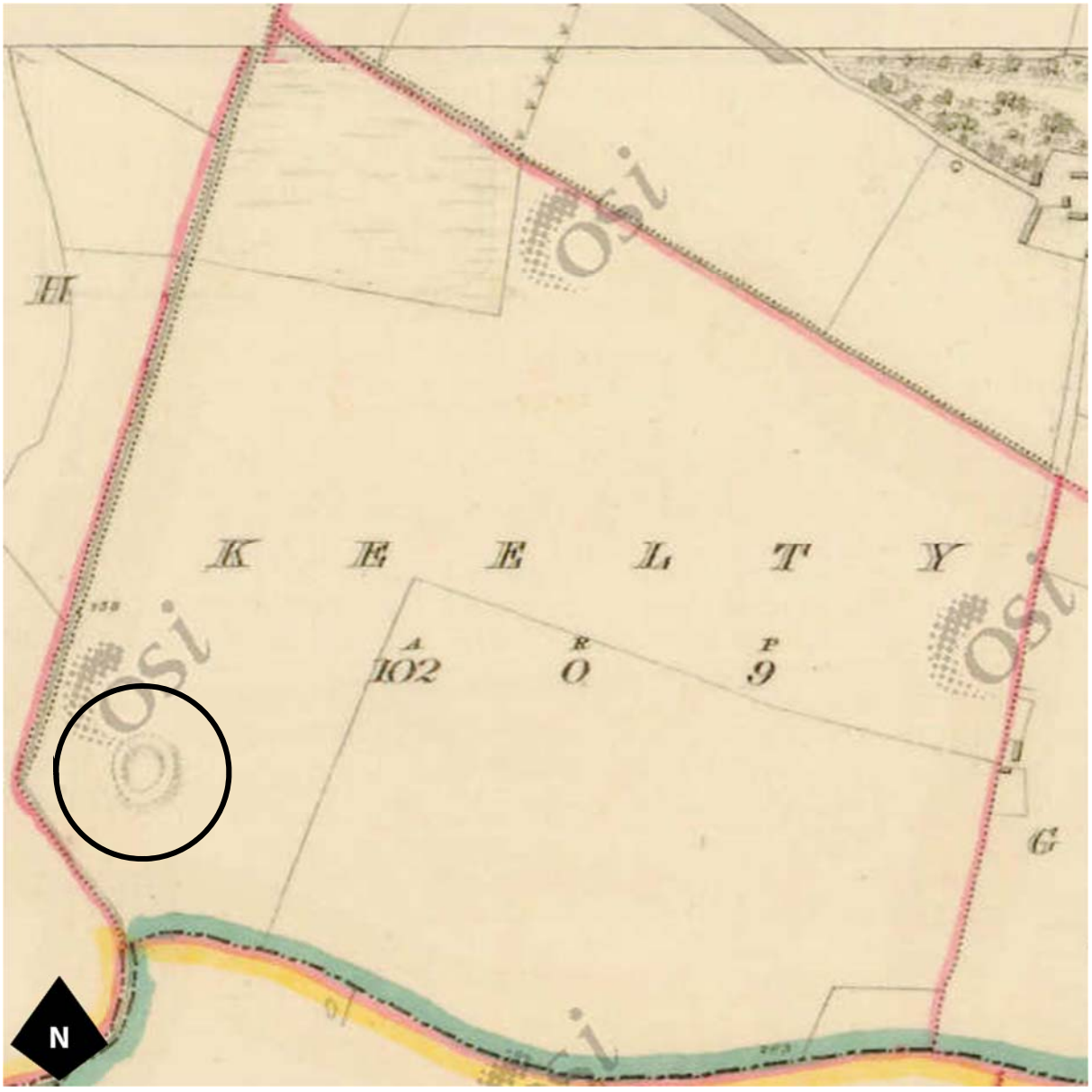


Figure 32. First edition OS map (1837) of Keelty townland showing ringfort RO034-010

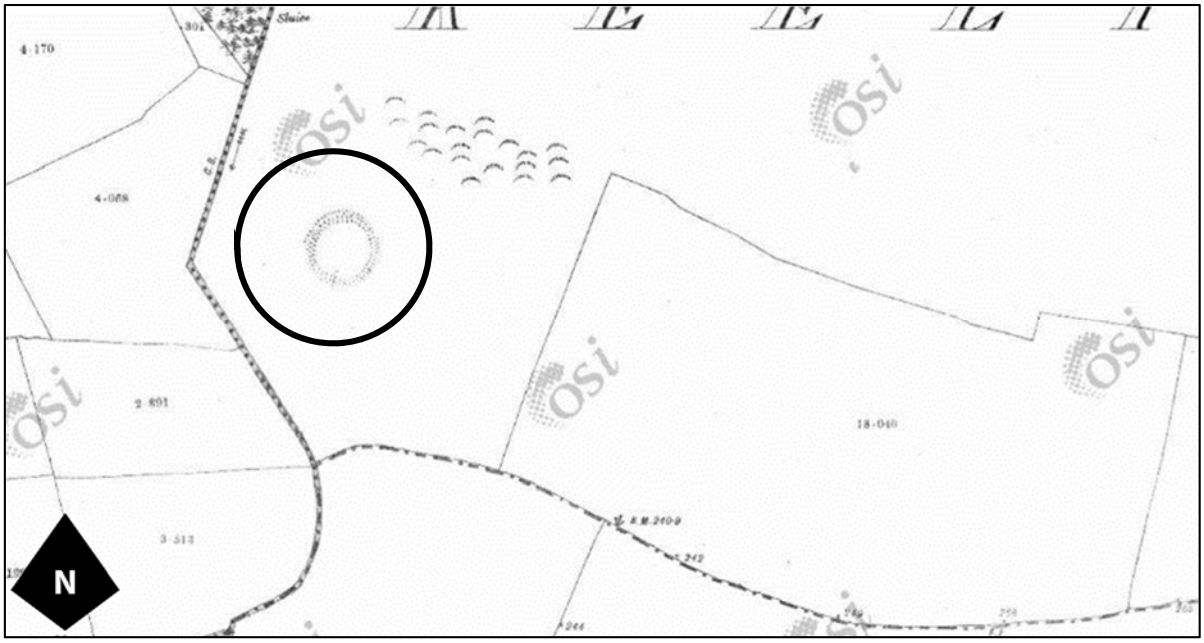


Figure 33. Second edition OS map (1891) of Keelty townland showing ringfort RO034-010



Figure 34. Aerial image of Keelty townland (DG 2011 – 3) showing ringfort RO034-010



Figure 34. Aerial image of Keelty townland showing ringfort RO034-010 (DG 2017)

6.1.5. Knockalaghta (Wills)

Within the boundaries of this townland the existence of just one ringfort, RO027-040, is noted in the archaeological record (NMS 2019). This feature is shown on both editions of the 6 inch OS map (1837 & 1927, Sheet 27). However, recent aerial images show it to be no longer extant (DG 2011-2013). However, another set of aerial images clearly show a crop mark at this noted location. This crop mark is especially visible on a night time survey carried out on June 19 2010 by Google Earth. It is located in the southeast corner of the field and encloses an area of approximately 40m. Another strange circular feature is visible at the opposite, northwest corner, of this same field. This feature is located *c*. 135m northwest of the above-mentioned ringfort and seems centred on ITM grid coordinates, 574791-775999. It appears to be defined by a darker band of grass that encloses an area of about 36m in diameter. An equally strange feature, that may resemble a depiction of a bird in flight, appears visible in its interior. The presence of this feature was reported to the NMS. However, it was decided not to include it in the database as it was concluded that it was likely to have been a later feature, such as a quarry.

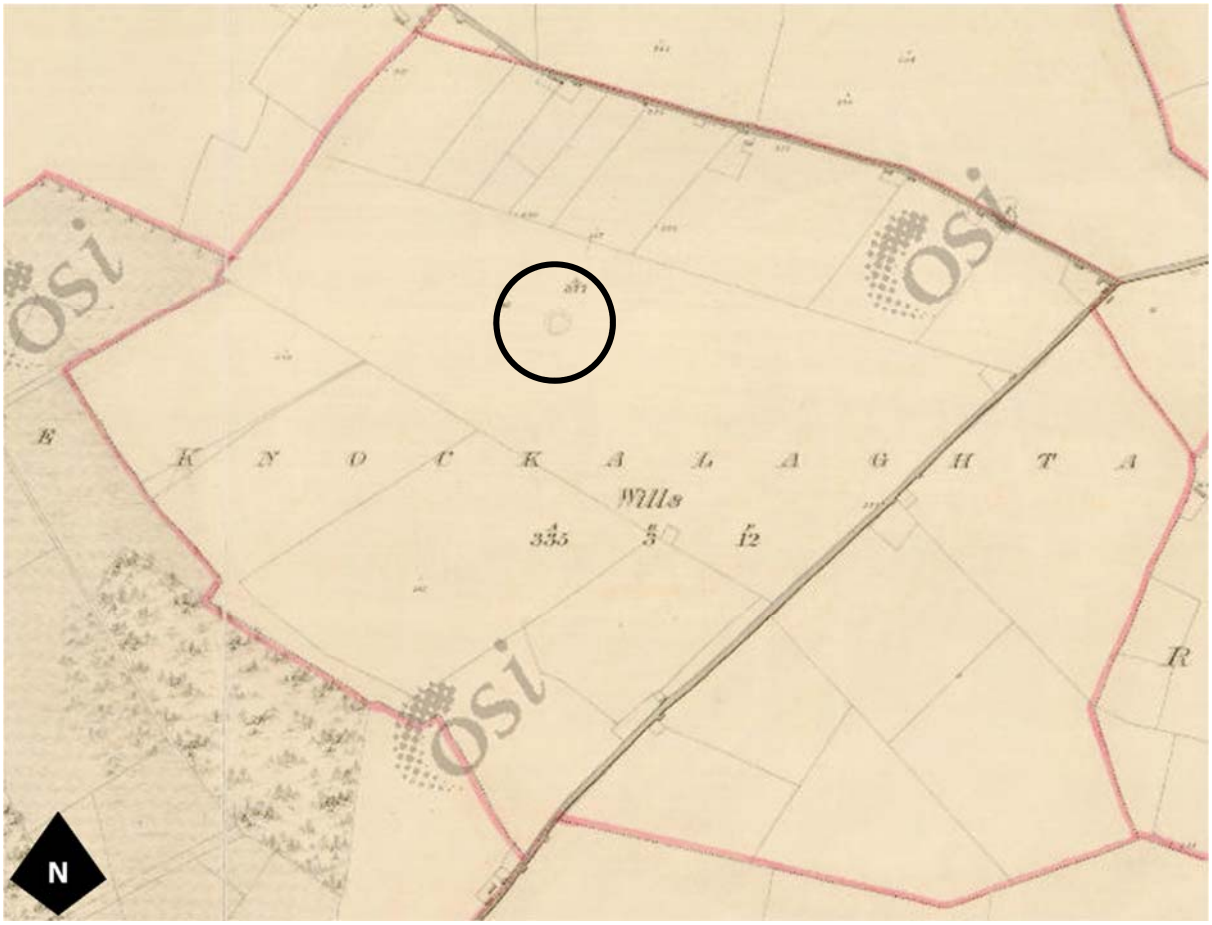


Figure 35. First edition OS map of Knockalaghta (Wills) townland showing ringfort RO027-040

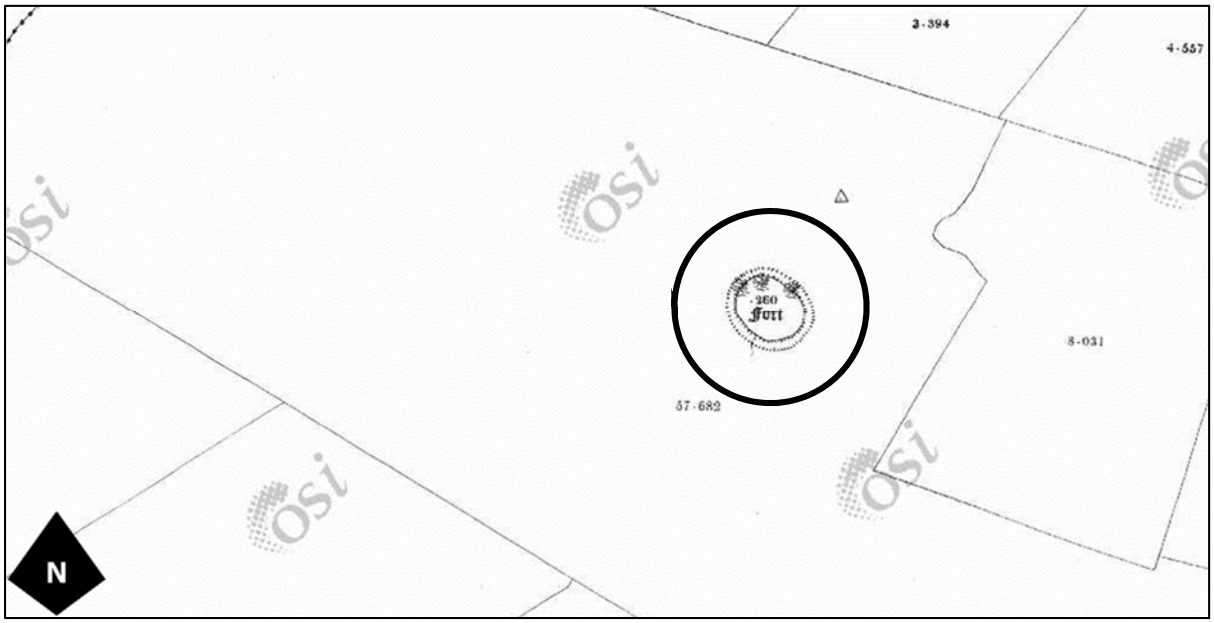


Figure 36. Second edition OS map of Knockalaghta (Wills) townland showing ringfort RO027-040

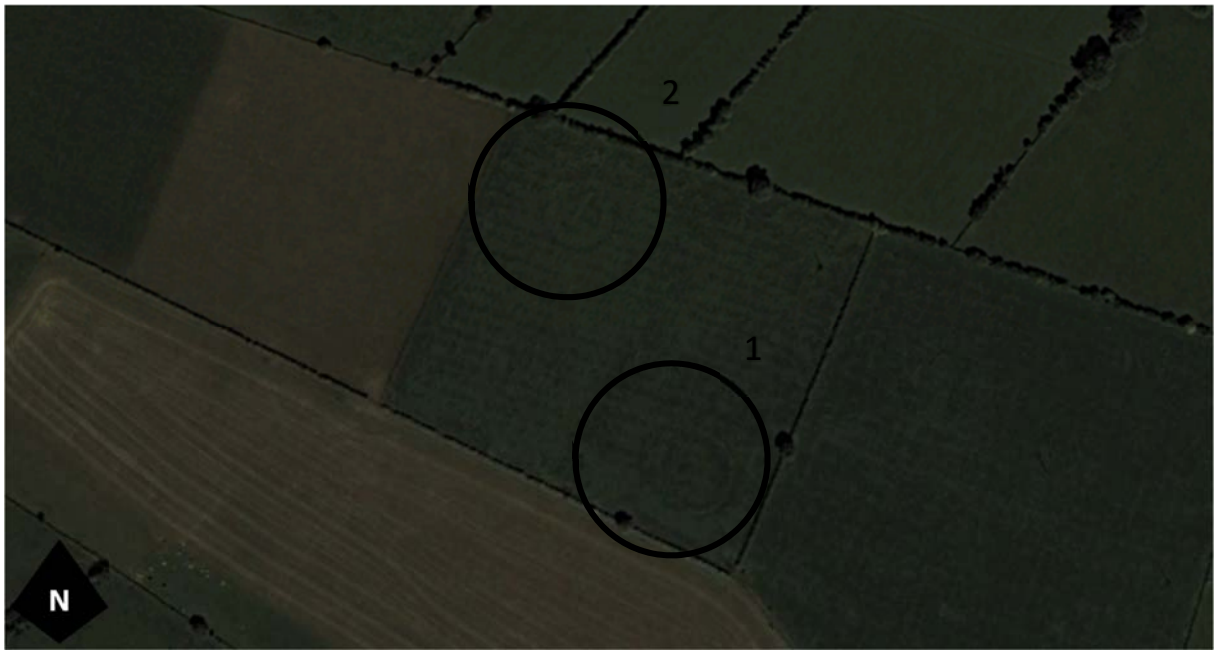


Figure 37. Aerial image of Knockalaghta (Wills) townland showing ringfort 1. RO027-040 and 2. previously unrecorded site

6.1.6. Raveege

Once again, the archaeological record contains a reference to the existence of a single ringfort within this townland (NMS 2019). This monument, RO027-053, is shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 27) located in the southwest corner of the townland. A height marker (344ft) is noted on the southern section of its bank. This hilltop fort is also clearly shown on later maps (1895 & 1927, 27). Indeed, this ringfort is still extant and can is visible on recent aerial images defined by a double band of trees atop both banks (DG 2011-2013).

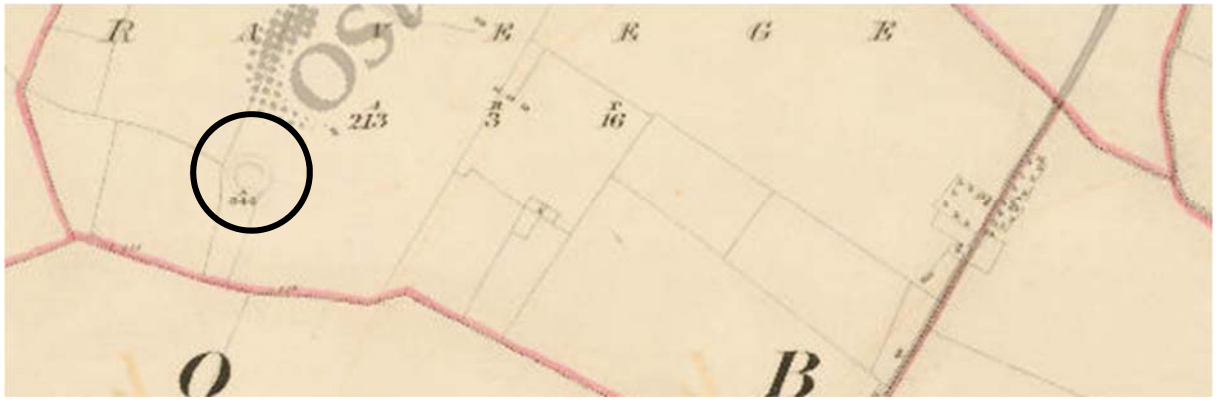


Figure 38. First edition OS map of Raveege townland showing ringfort RO027-053

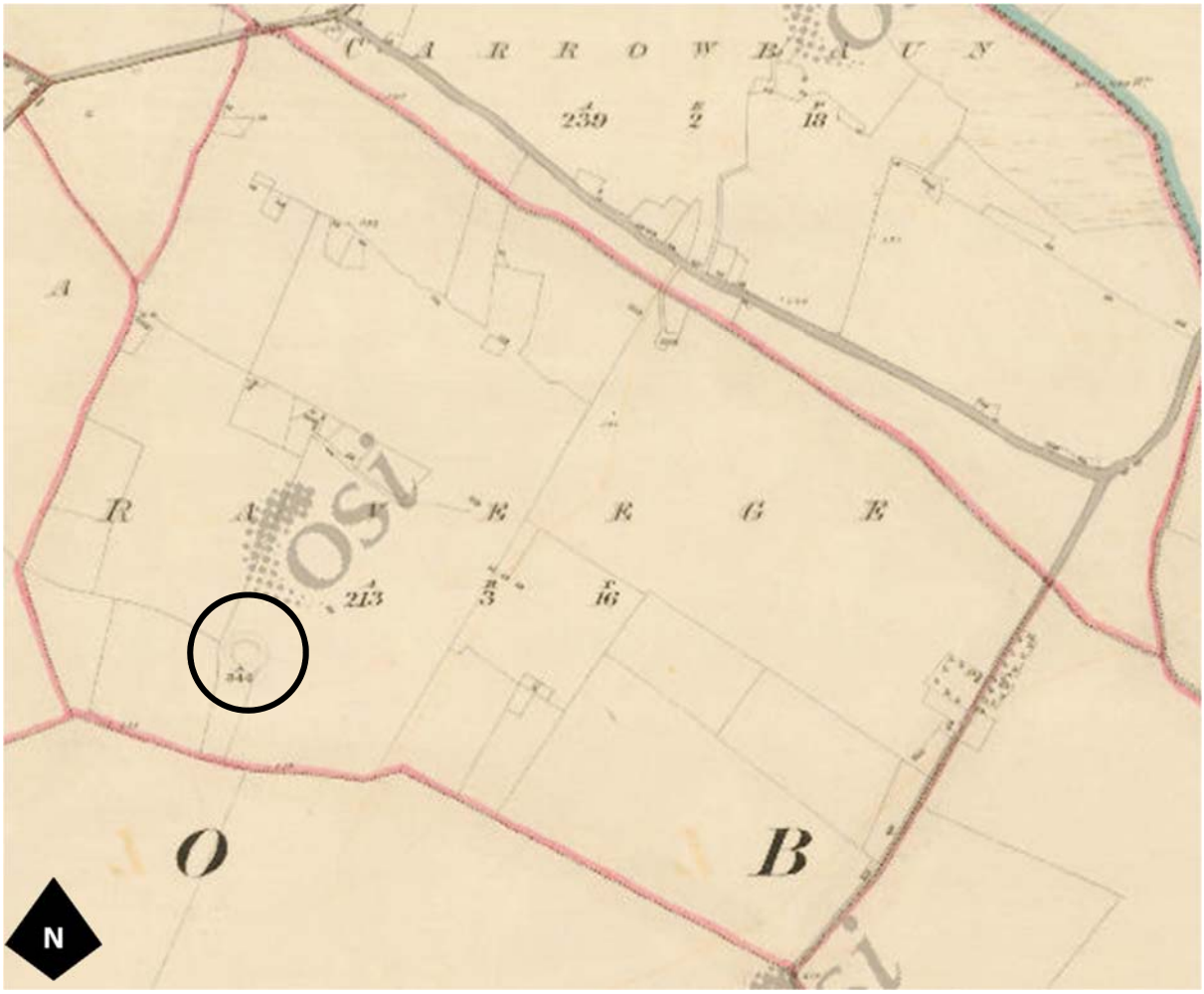


Figure 39. First edition OS map of Raveege townland showing ringfort RO027-053

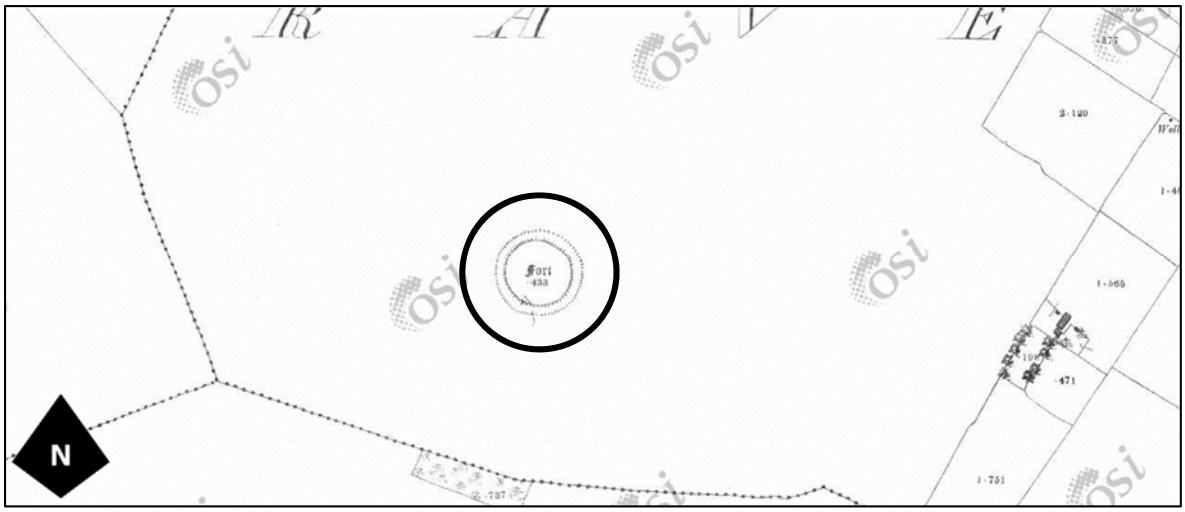


Figure 40. Second edition OS map of Raveege townland showing ringfort RO027-053



Figure 41. Aerial image of Raveege townland showing ringfort RO027-053 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 42. Aerial image of Raveege townland showing ringfort RO027-053 (GE 2017)

6.2. Baslick parish

6.2.1. Ardeevin

The presence of two ringforts are recorded on the database for this townland (NMS 2109). Only one of these, RO027-043, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 27) of the area. On this map, it is referred to with the name 'Ardeevin Fort'. It is also shown on later maps, such as the second edition OS map and the even later revision of the 6 inch map (1927, 27). It is still

visible on more recent aerial images (DG 2011-2013 & GE, 2017). On these, the structure is visible as an oval feature defined by its fosse. The second recorded ringfort, however, is not depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 27). This monument, RO027-030, is depicted on the later second edition OS map and on the even later revision of the 6inch map (1927, 27). Again, it is visible on the aerial images mentioned above (DG 2011-2013; GE 2017). On these, it is visible as a denuded circular feature defined by its fosse, particularly on the northern side.

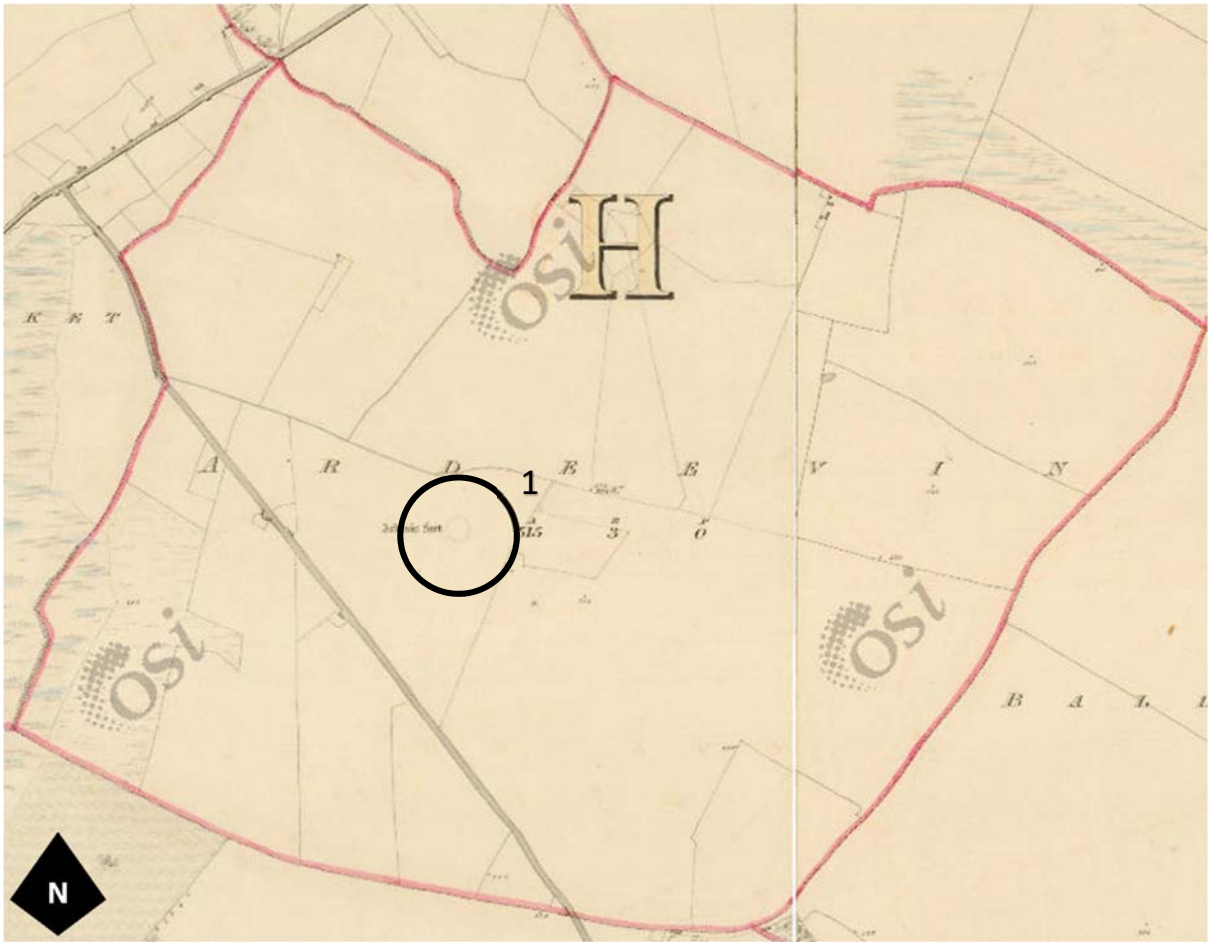


Figure 43. First edition OS map of Ardeevin townland showing ringfort 1. RO027-043

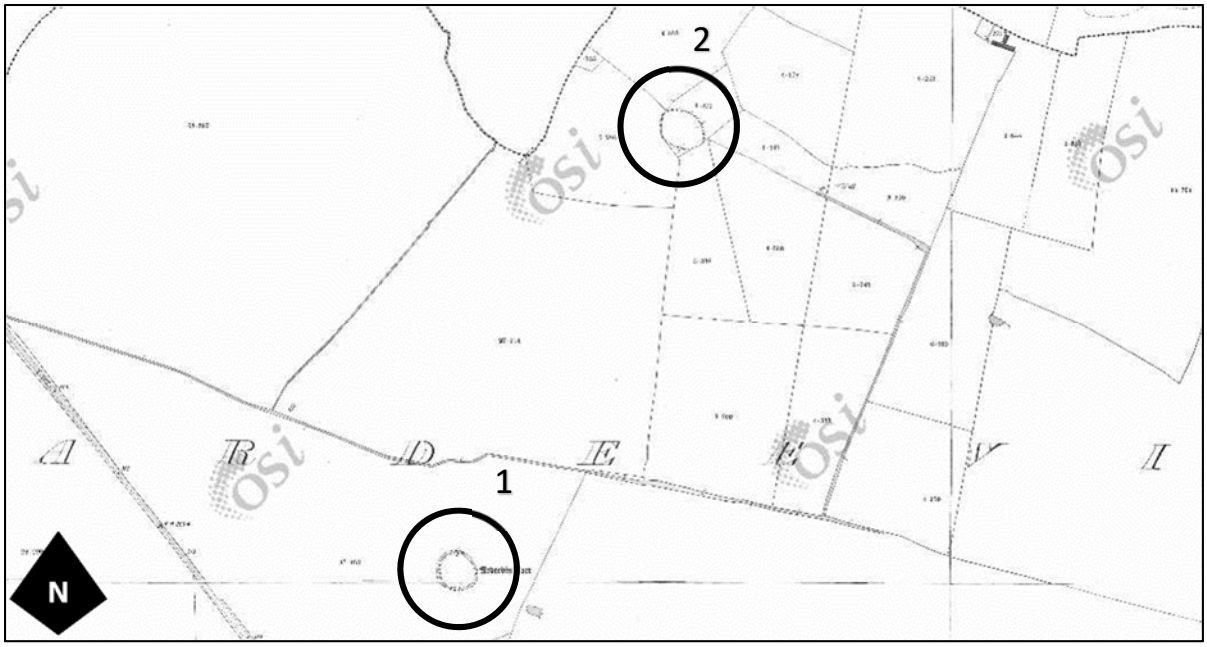


Figure 44. Second edition OS map of Ardeevin townland showing ringforts 1. RO027-043 and 2. RO027-030



Figure 45. Aerial image of Ardeevin townland showing ringforts 1. RO027-043 and 2. RO027-030 (DG 2011-3)

6.2.2. Ballaghabawbeg

Two ringforts are depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 28) of this townland. The first of these, RO028-119001, is centred on the grid coordinates 580373-777573 and is shown later maps (1837, 28; 1927, 28). It is still visible on recent aerial images (DG 2011-2013; GE 2017) where it is shown as a denuded circular feature defined by a fosse and with an entrance to the northeast. The second of these features, RO028-120, is located around 140m to the southeast of this former structure. It is also shown as a complete circular structure on later maps (OSI 1927, 28). Whereas, on modern aerial images it is shown also as a denuded structure with a gap or an entrance to the northwest, facing the other ringfort, RO028-119001. That said there are also two further ringforts recorded as having been present in this townland (NMS 2019). However, these are not shown on any of the available maps. Although, they are visible as crop marks on recent aerial imagery (DG 2011-2013). The larger of these crop marks, RO028-118, is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 580387-777623 and encloses an area of approximately 31m. The final recorded ringfort in this townland, RO028-117, is centred on the grid coordinates of 580688-777763 and encompasses an area of *c*.25m in diameter.

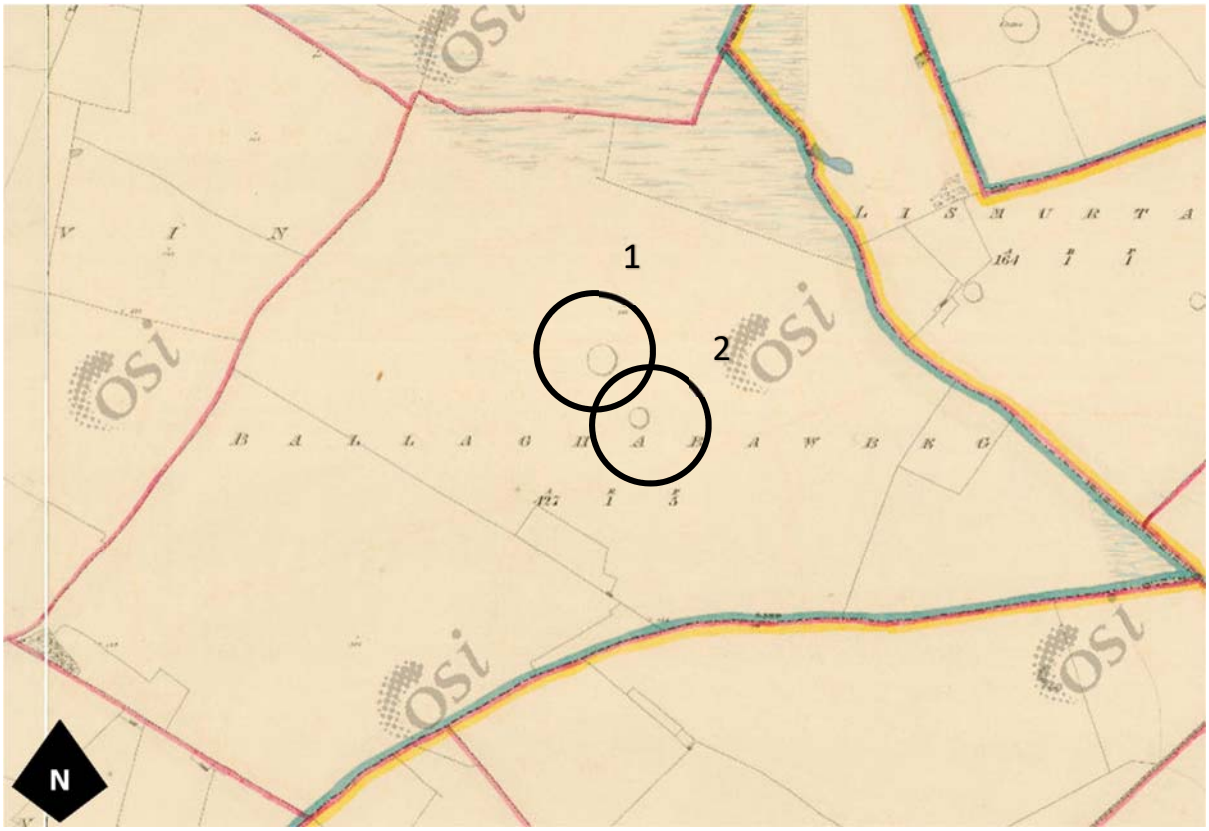


Figure 46. First edition OS map of Ballaghabawbeg townland showing ringforts 1. RO028-119001 and 2. RO028-120

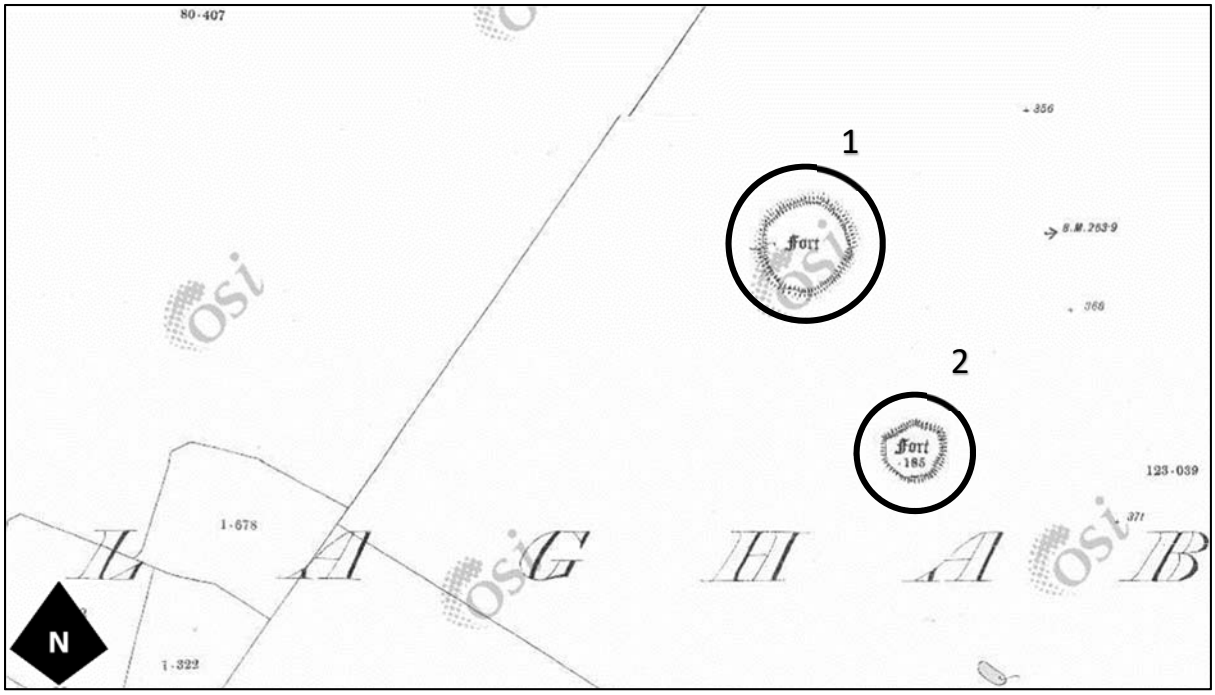


Figure 47. Second edition OS map of Ballaghabawbeg townland showing ringforts 1. RO028-119001 and 2. RO028-120



Figure 48. Aerial image of Ballaghabawbeg townland showing ringforts 1. RO028-119001 and 2. RO028-120 and 3. RO028-118 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 49. Aerial image of Ballaghabawbeg townland showing ringfort 4. RO028-117 (DG 2011-3)

6.2.3. Ballyglass

Seven ringforts are recorded on the archaeological database as being present, or having been present, in this townland (NMS 2019). Four of these are depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 21) of the area. The four of these, RO021-026, RO021-027, RO021-029 & RO021-048, are also depicted on later maps and are still extant. Another of these seven recorded monuments, RO021-024, is not depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 21). However, on the later map created following the revision of the Ordnance Survey information, it is shown as a curved arc at the southeast of the assigned location. The extent of this structure is visible on more modern aerial imagery, wherein the western portion of the site is shown as having been disturbed by a field boundary. The non-representation of this site on the earliest map and its depiction as a partial site on later maps may suggest that this site had been degraded at some stage prior to the undertaking of the initial survey. Two further ringforts are recorded for this townland, RO021-087001 and RO021-098, but are depicted on none of the available maps (OSI 1837 & 1895 & 1927). These are shown, however, on aerial imagery as crop marks (DG 2011-2013). One of these sites, RO021-087001, is located towards the north boundary of the townland and centred on the grid coordinates of 574579-784755. This crop mark encloses an area of 49m NW-SE and 44m NE-SW (NMS, 2019). The centre of the second of these oval crop marks, RO021-098, is located at the ITM grid coordinates: 576049-784695 and encloses

an area of 31m by 24m. The evidence available here suggest that three out of the seven recorded ringforts in this townland had been damaged or levelled prior to the middle of the 19th century.



Figure 50. First edition OS map of Ballyglass townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-026, 2. RO021-027, 3. RO021-029 & 4. RO021-048

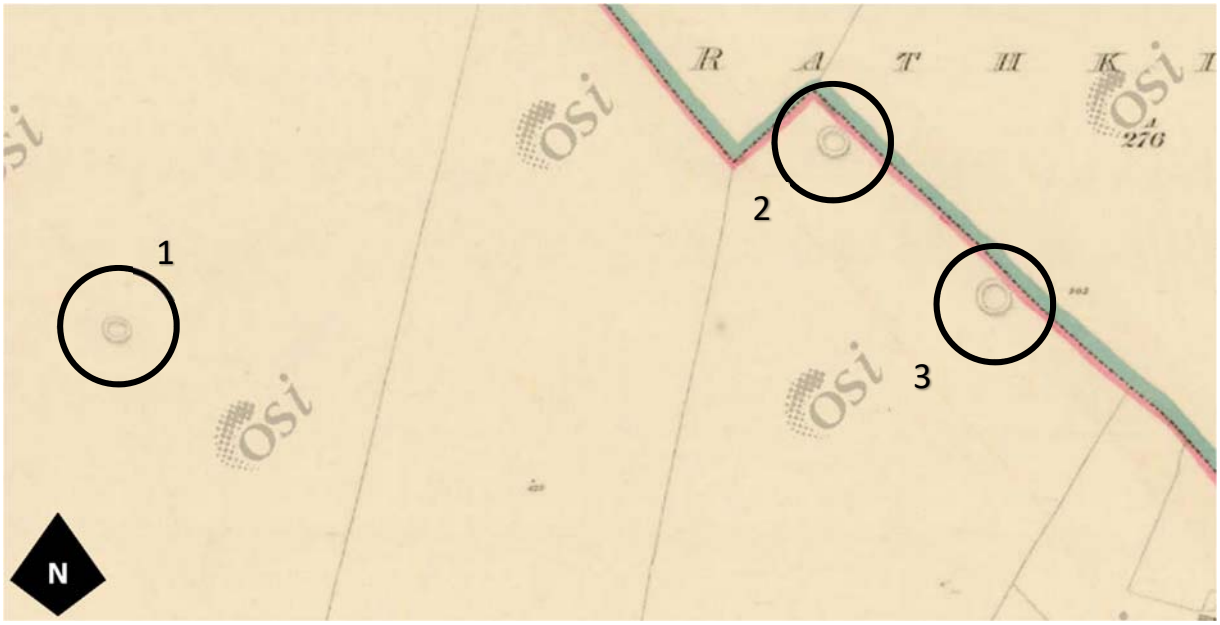


Figure 51. First edition OS map of Ballyglass townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-026, 2. RO021-027 and 3. RO021-029



Figure 52. First edition OS map of Ballyglass townland showing ringfort 4. RO021-048

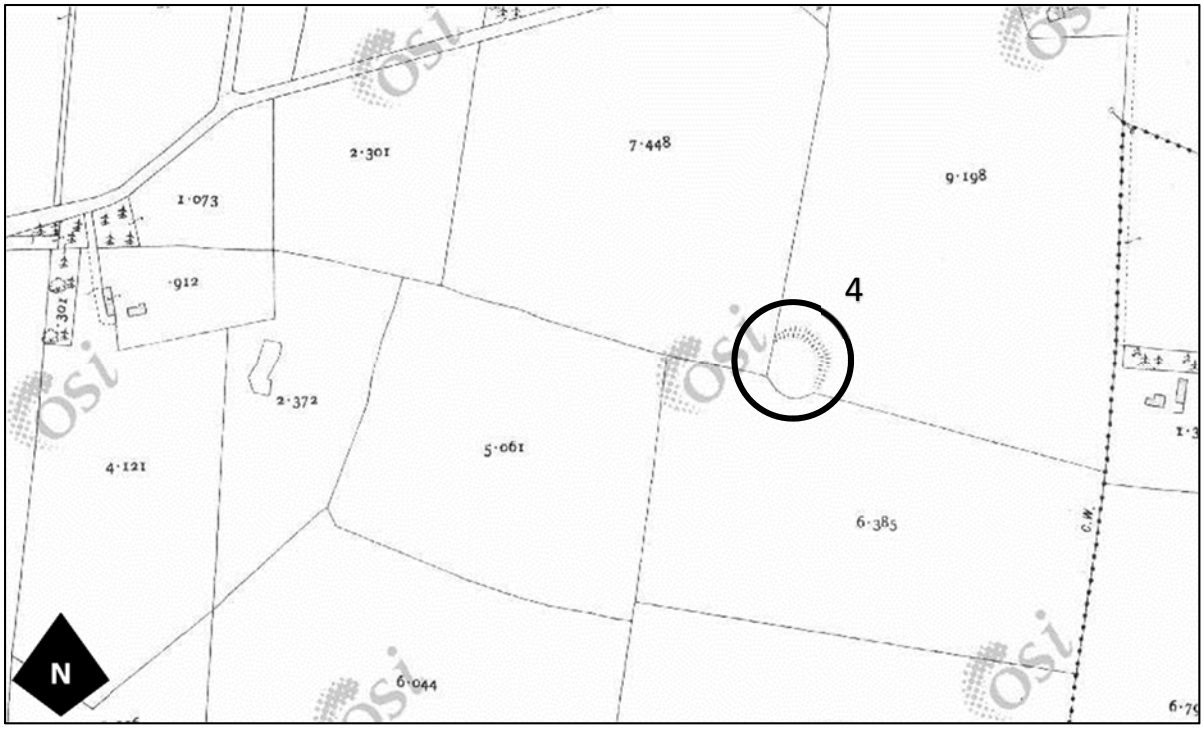


Figure 53. Second edition OS map of Ballyglass townland showing ringfort 4. RO021-048

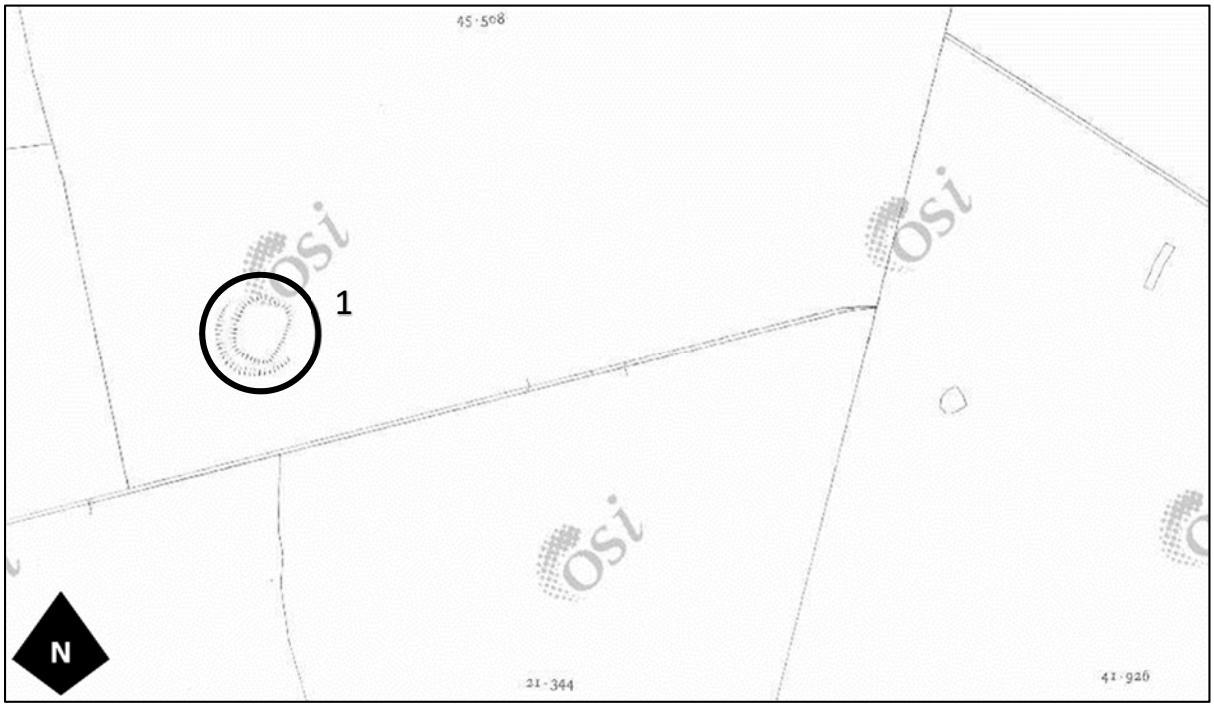


Figure 54. Second edition OS map of Ballyglass townland showing ringfort 1. RO021-026

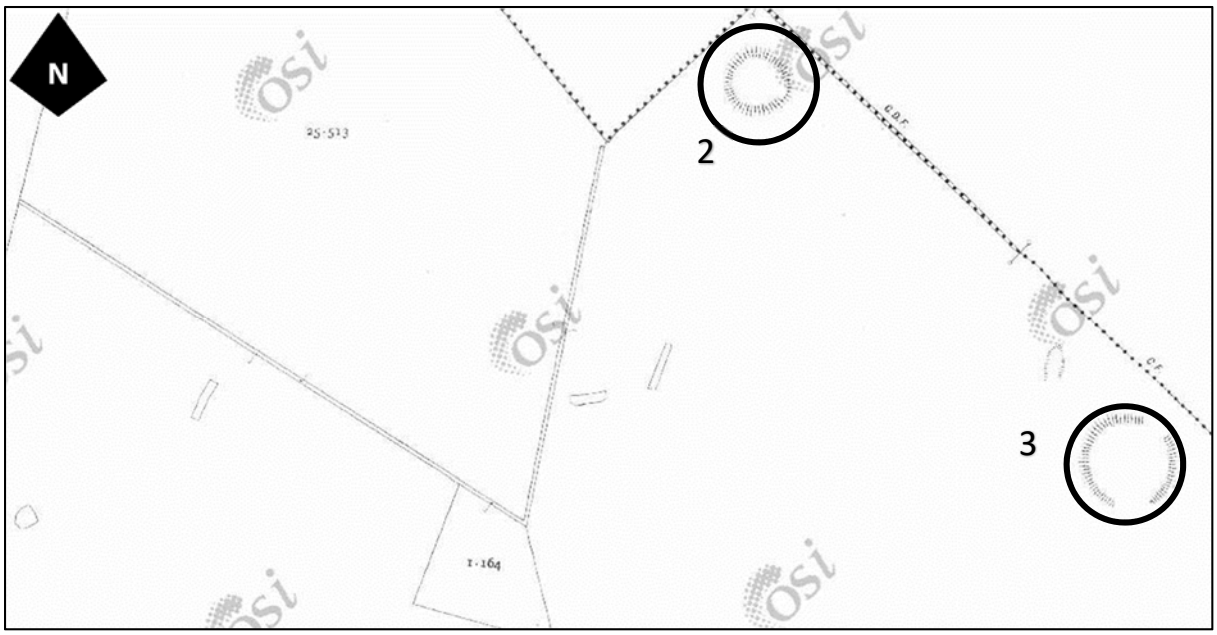


Figure 55. Second edition OS map of Ballyglass townland showing ringforts 2. RO021-027 and 3. RO021-029

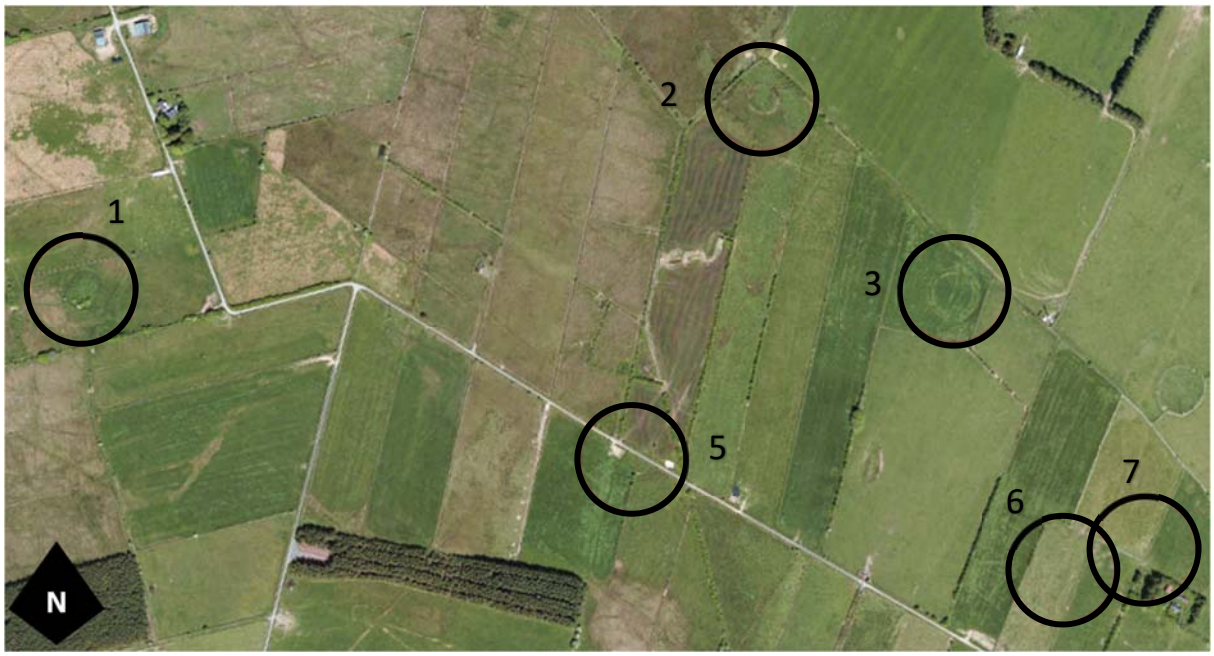


Figure 56. Aerial image of Ballyglass townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-026, 2. RO021-027, 3. RO021-029, 5. RO021-098 and site of enclosures 6. RO021-102001 & 7. RO021-102002 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 57. Aerial image of Ballyglass townland showing site of ringforts 8. RO021-024 and 9. RO021-087001 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 58. Aerial image of Ballyglass townland showing ringfort 4. RO021-048 and site of enclosure 10. RO021-098 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 59. Aerial image of Ballyglass showing ringforts 2. RO021-027 and 3. RO021-029 (GE 2016)



Figure 60. Aerial image of Ballyglass townland showing ringfort 1. RO021-026 (GE 2016)



Figure 61. Aerial image of Ballyglass townland showing ringfort 4. RO021-048 (GE 2016)

6.2.4. Carnakit

The archaeological record contains reference to the presence of four ringforts in this townland (NMS 2019). Three of these are depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 21) covering this same area. Two of these, RO021-042024 & RO021-042032, are further depicted on later maps are in fact still extant. Another of these monuments, RO021-042026, is no longer depicted on these later maps. However, the location of this site is confirmed by the presence of a crop mark that is centred on 578837-782159 and encloses an area of *c*. 28 m (GE 2017). The final site recorded in this townland as a ringfort is only visible as a crop mark. This site is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 579003-782128. This D-shaped feature encloses an area of 48.5 N-S and 21m E-W (NMS 2019). Again, this highlights a destruction rate of 50% for the recorded ringforts in this townland.

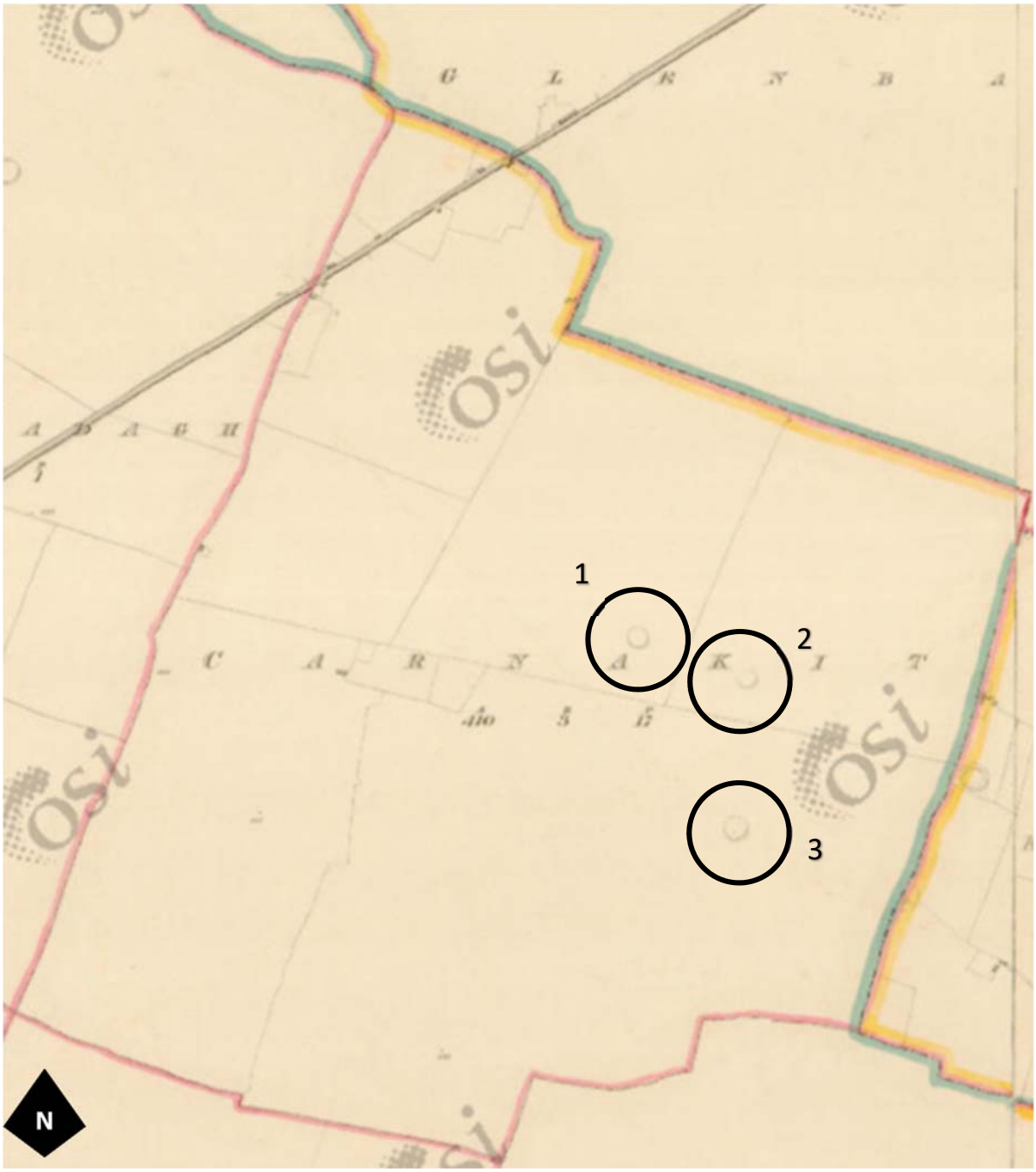


Figure 62. First edition OS map of Carnakit townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-042024, 2. RO021-042026 & 3. RO021-042032

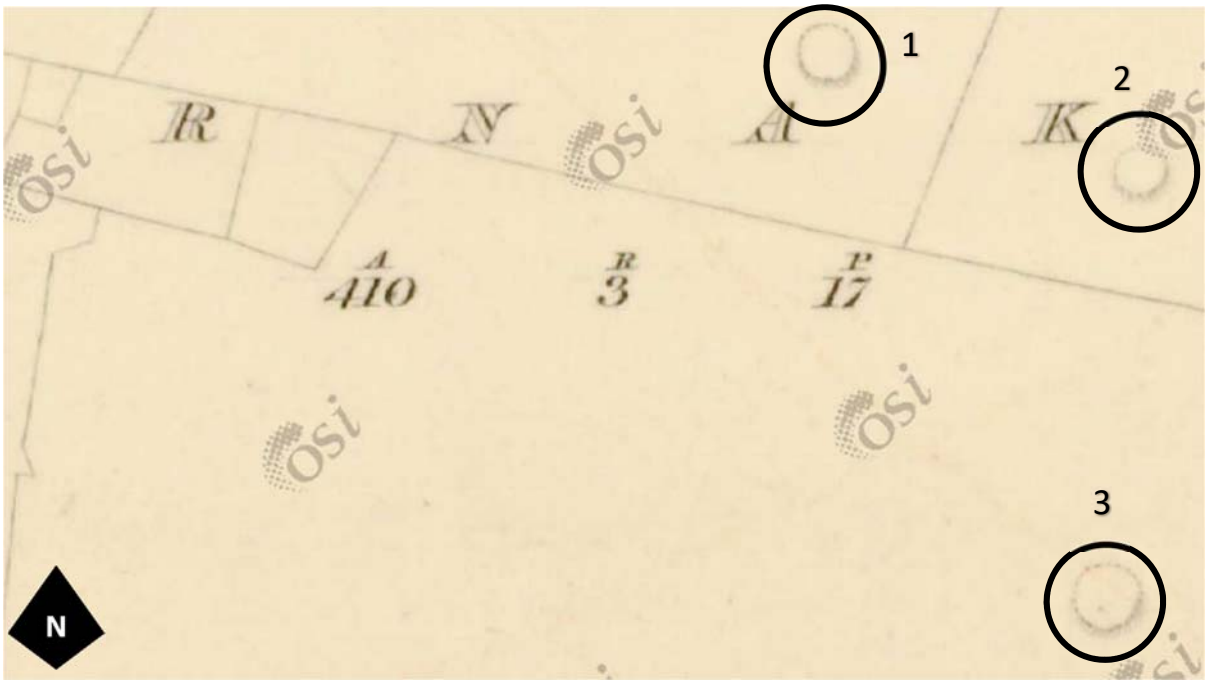


Figure 63. First edition OS map of Carnakit townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-042024, 2. RO021-042026 & 3. RO021-042032

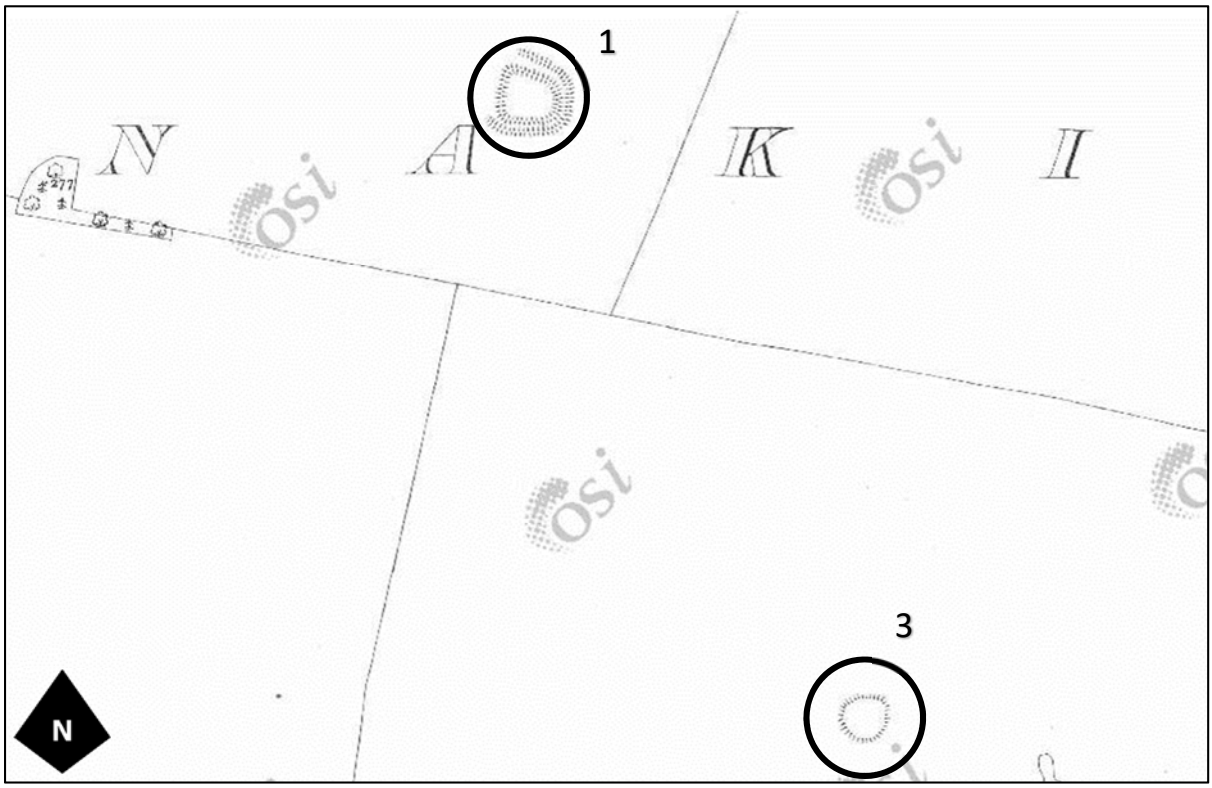


Figure 64. Second edition OS map of Carnakit townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-042024 & 3. RO021-042032



Figure 65. Aerial image of Carnakit townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-042024, 2. RO021-042026, 3. RO021-042032 & 4.



Figure 66. Aerial image of Carnakit townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-042024, 2. RO021-042026, 3. RO021-042032 & 4.

6.2.5. Carrowkeel

A single example of this particular monument type is included in the database for this townland (NMS 2019). This sub-circular ringfort has a diameter 36m by 31m and is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 578755-779678. This monument, RO027-024001, is not depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 27). It is, however, depicted on the later second edition OS map. That said, it is no longer extent. However, the eventual location of this site is confirmed through the presence of a crop mark (GE 2017). This location is now surrounded by a forestry plantation and unfortunately, in one area this tree growth encroaches on the south-eastern corner of this crop mark.

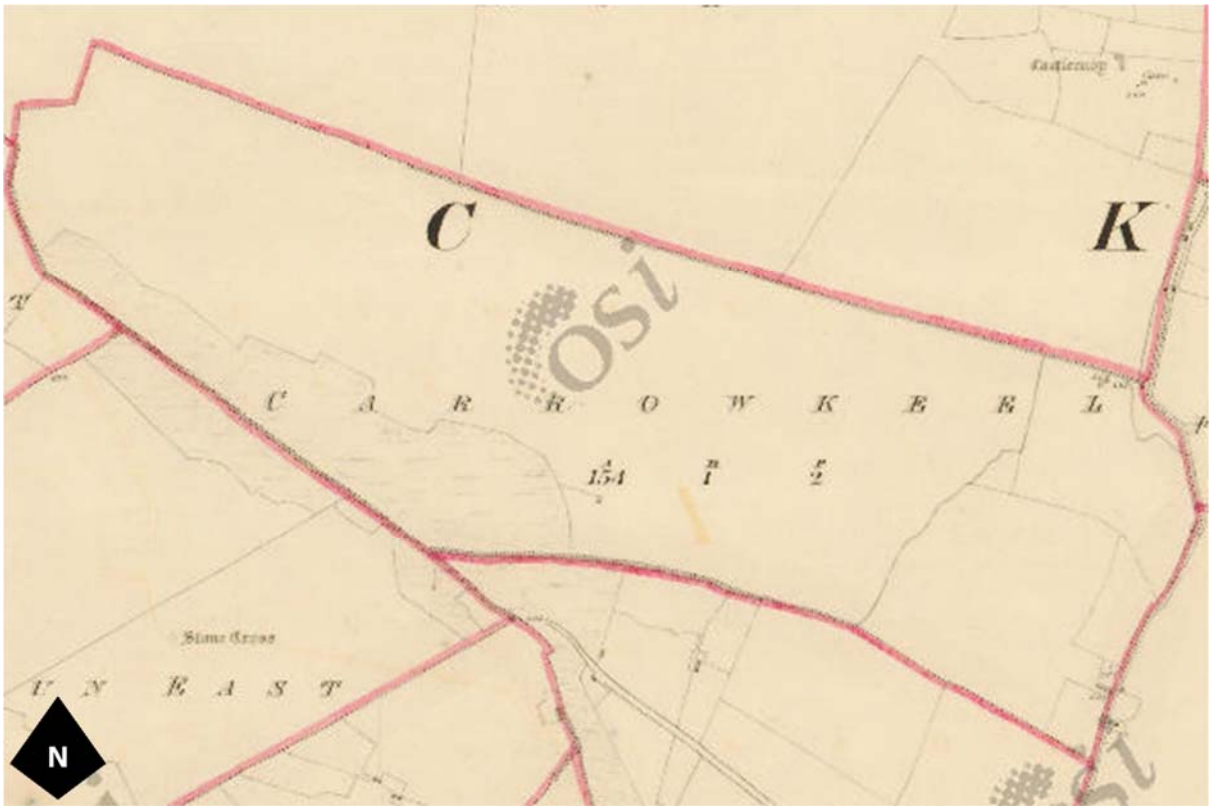


Figure 67. First edition OS map of Carrowkeel townland



Figure 68. First edition OS map of Carrowkeel townland showing general location of ringfort RO027-024001 (close up)

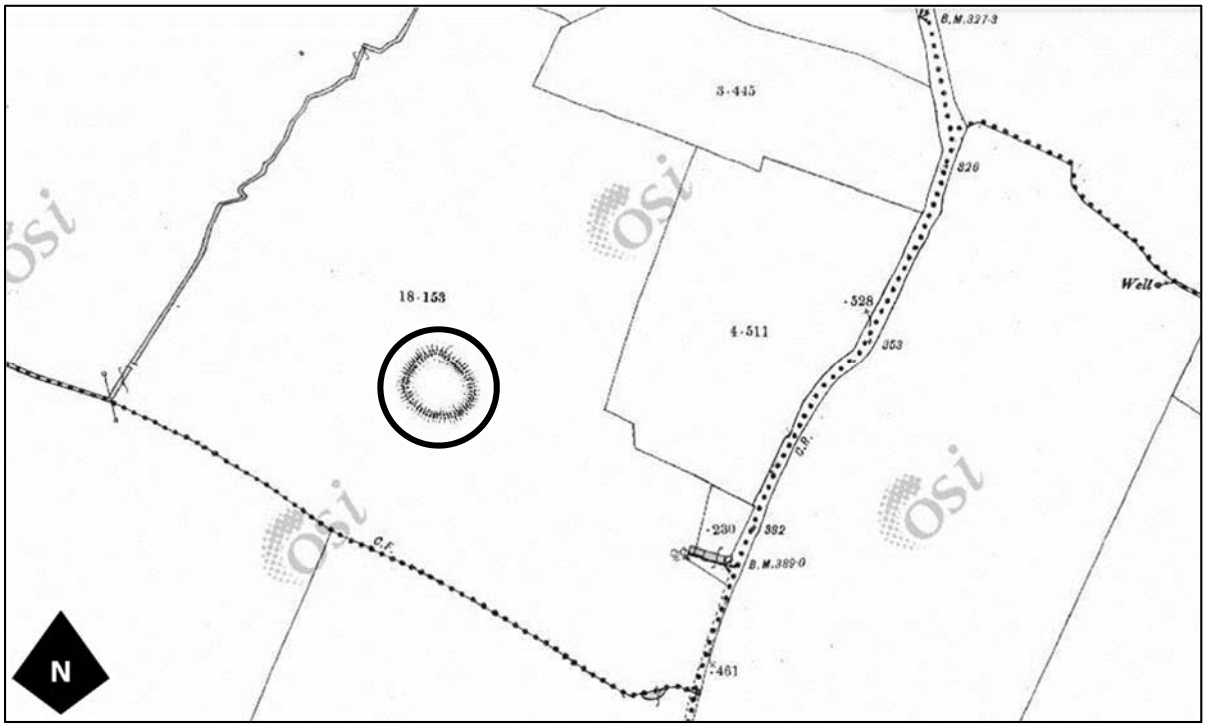


Figure 69. Second edition OS map of Carrowkeel townland showing ringfort RO027-024001 (close up)



Figure 70. Aerial image of Carrowkeel townland showing site of ringfort RO027-024001 (DG 2011-3)

6.2.6. Castleplunket

Here again, a unique example of a ringfort is referenced in the archaeological record (NMS 2019). This ringfort, RO027-056001, is depicted on both of the OS maps (1837 & 1895, 27). This monument is centred on the grid coordinates of 577825-778795 and encloses an area with a diameter of *c*.50m. Although on the second edition OS map, the northern portion of the interior of this ringfort is shown as having been disturbed through an enlargement of the fosse. This disturbance is still visible on modern aerial images (GE 2017). However, the original outline of this structure is discernible through the combination of the presence of a crop mark and because of a curved parallel field boundary

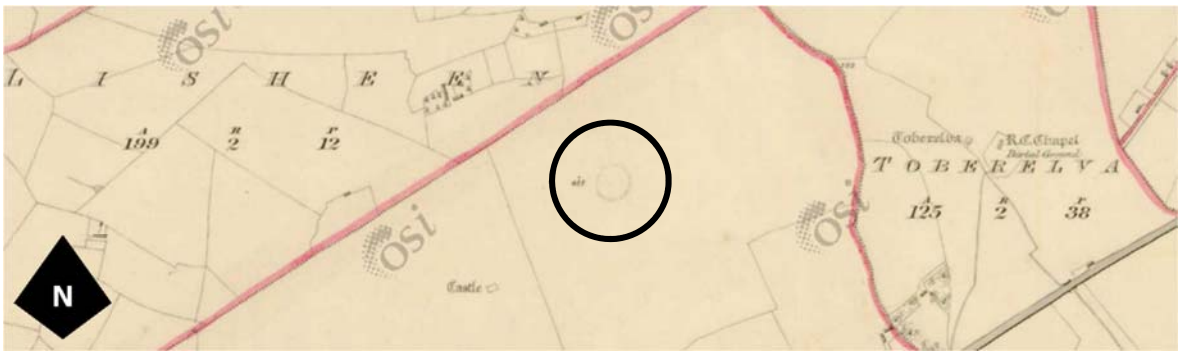


Figure 71. First edition OS map of Castleplunket townland showing ringfort RO027-056001

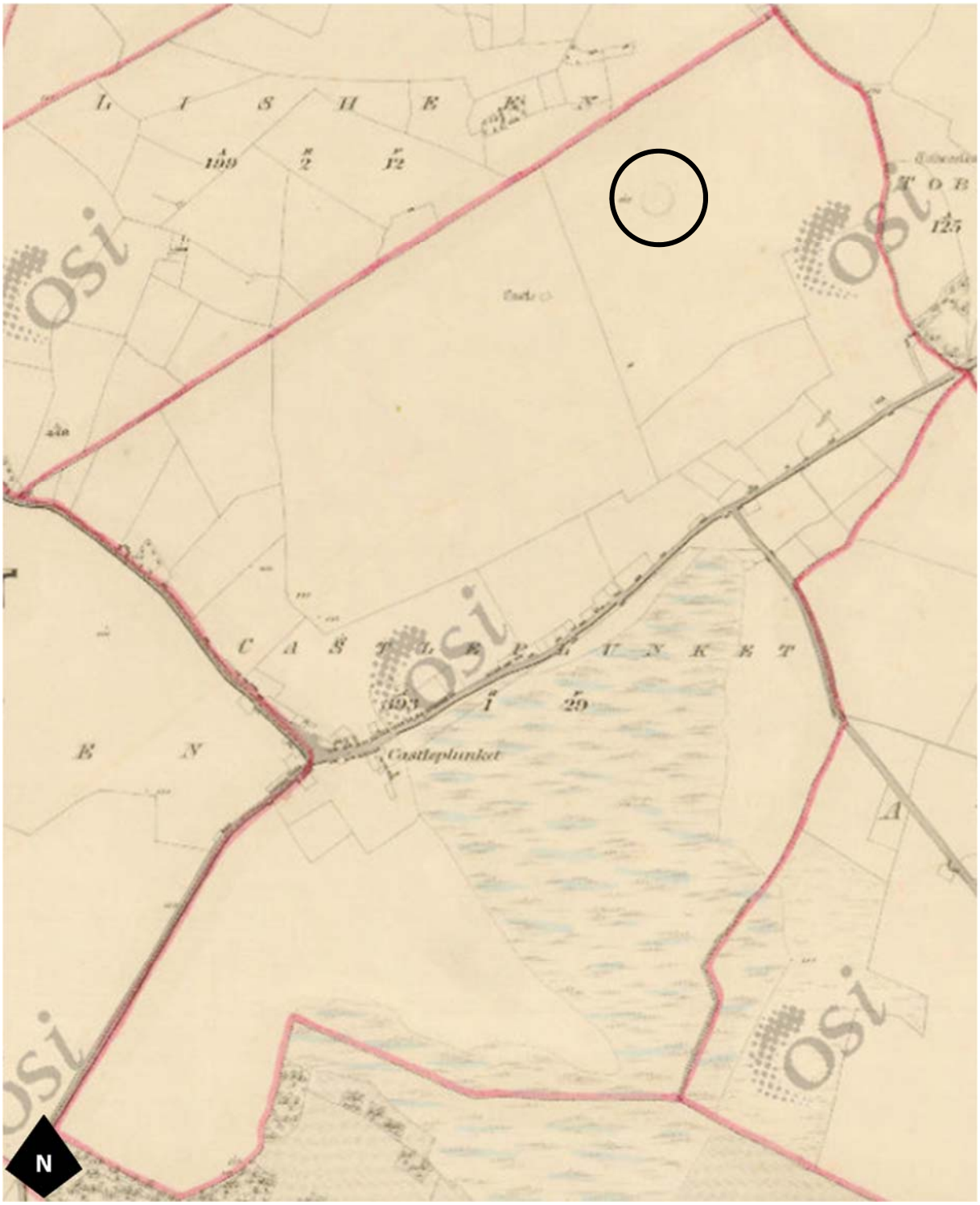


Figure 72. First edition OS map of Castleplunket townland showing ringfort RO027-056001

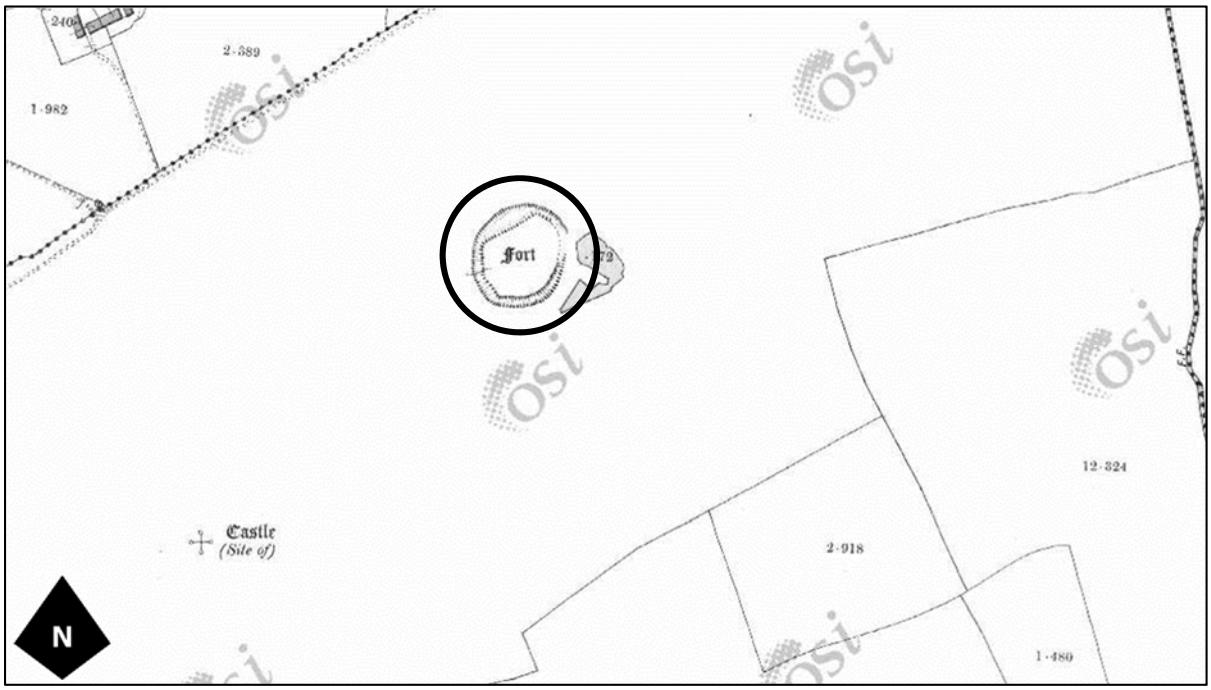


Figure 73. Second edition OS map of Castleplunket townland showing ringfort RO027-056001



Figure 74. Aerial image of Castleplunket townland showing ringfort RO027-056001 (GE 2016)

6.2.7. Castleteheen

There is a reference to the eventual presence in this townland of two ringforts. The first of these, RO027-015, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 27) of the locality. It is also shown on the subsequent revised second edition OS map of the same area. However, it is no longer shown as extant on modern aerial images (GE 2017). That said the location of this monument could be discerned because of the presence of a crop mark located in the southwest corner of this townland. The second of the recorded monuments, RO027-017001, is not depicted on any of the available OS maps that cover this townland. Nevertheless, it too is visible as a crop mark on modern aerial imagery (DG 2011-2013; GE 2010 & 2017). This crop mark, which encloses an area of *c*.58m in diameter, is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 574713-777986. In addition, the existence of a souterrain, RO027-075, is also recorded within this townland (NMS 2019). These features are very often associated with ringforts. An examination of recent aerial images created as the result of an aerial survey (GE 24/03/2017) shows a vague circular outline in the immediate vicinity of this recorded site. This may indicate the original presence of a ringfort at this location.

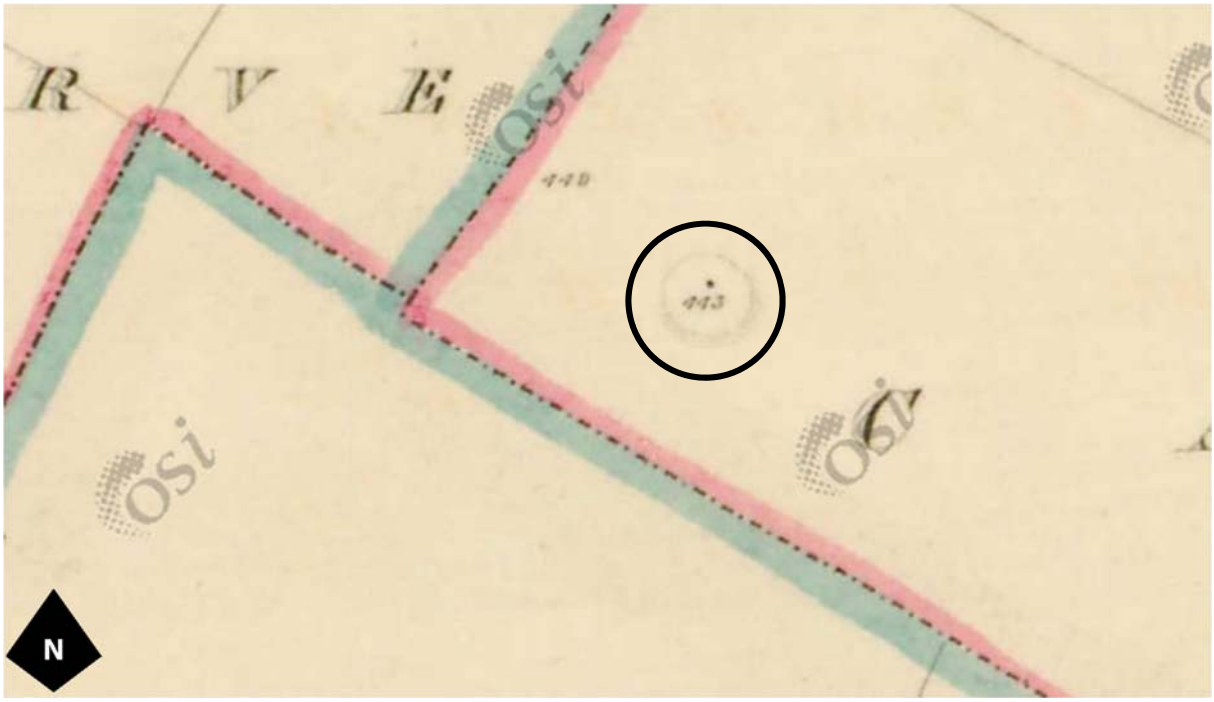


Figure 75. First edition OS map of Castleteheen townland showing ringfort RO027-015 (close up)



Figure 76. First edition OS map of Castleteheen townland showing ringfort RO027-015

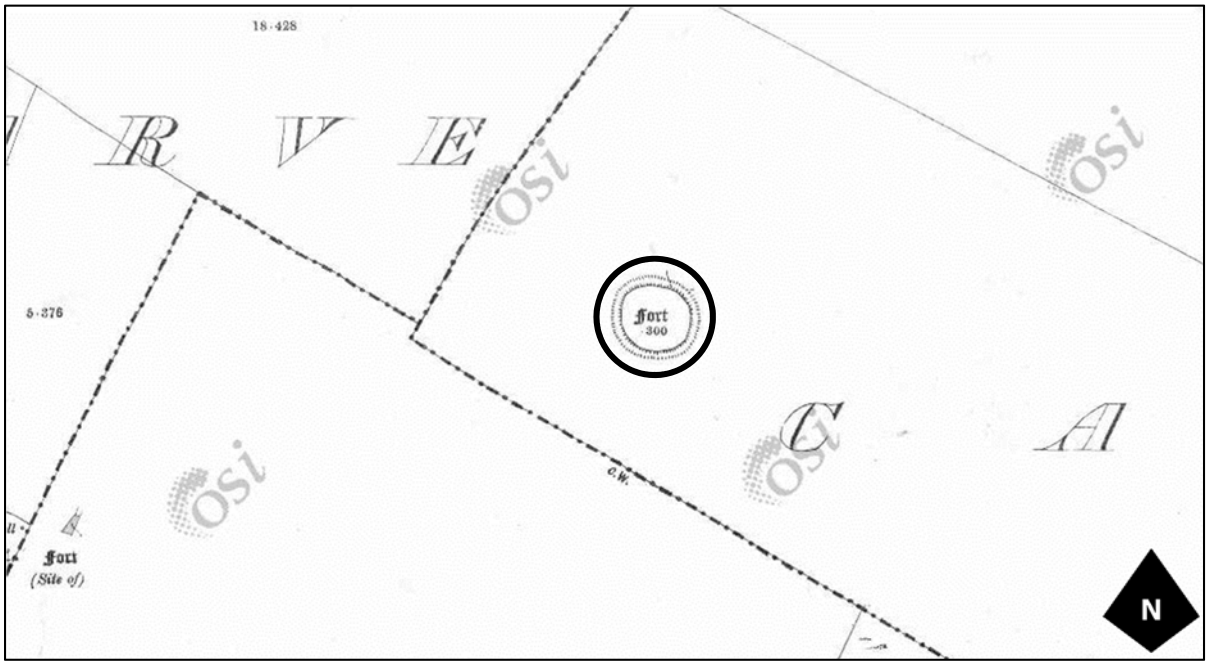


Figure 77. Second edition OS map of Castleteheen townland showing ringfort RO027-015 (close up)



Figure 78. Aerial image of Castleteheen townland showing site of ringfort RO027-015 (GE 2016) (close up)



Figure 79. Aerial image of Castleteheen townland showing site of ringfort RO027-015 (DG 2011-3)

6.2.8. Cloonbard

A pre OS estate map of this townland refers to the existence of two 'forts' or ringforts here (NLI: MS 21 F. 44/ 48). Unfortunately, this early map is undated and was attributed the date range of between 1770 and 1840. Both of these depicted structures are shown located south east of, and parallel to, a road running through the townland in a NE-SW direction. Drawing on their inclusion on this estate map, both of these structures were, at one time, included in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). However, one of these sites is now noted as a redundant record and is perceived to be a naturally occurring feature, namely a 'filled in swallow hole' (*ibid.*). However, where such features are recorded elsewhere on this map, such as in the townland of Ardass, the mapmaker has taken the trouble to depict these in a different manner. In addition, a strong interest is also shown in the depiction of other features, such a gravel pits and church sites.

This interest in the correct depiction of landscape features suggests the ability to perceive correctly such monuments when encountered. Moreover, the presence of a confirmed ringfort close by for comparison may have facilitated this perception. In any event, neither of these two structures are depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 21) of the area. However, the confirmed example, RO021-044, is shown on the following OS map (1895, 21) created because of subsequent revision of available information. Unfortunately, it is no longer extant but remains visible as a crop mark (DG 2011-3). The second of these sites, RO021-057, is not shown on any of the available OS maps. On modern aerial imagery, the site is visible as a rush filled circular feature, *c*.30m in diameter. It also appears to be surrounded by an outer circular band of darker ground that has a diameter of *c*.58m and which extends beyond the noted site by *c*.16m (NMS 2019).

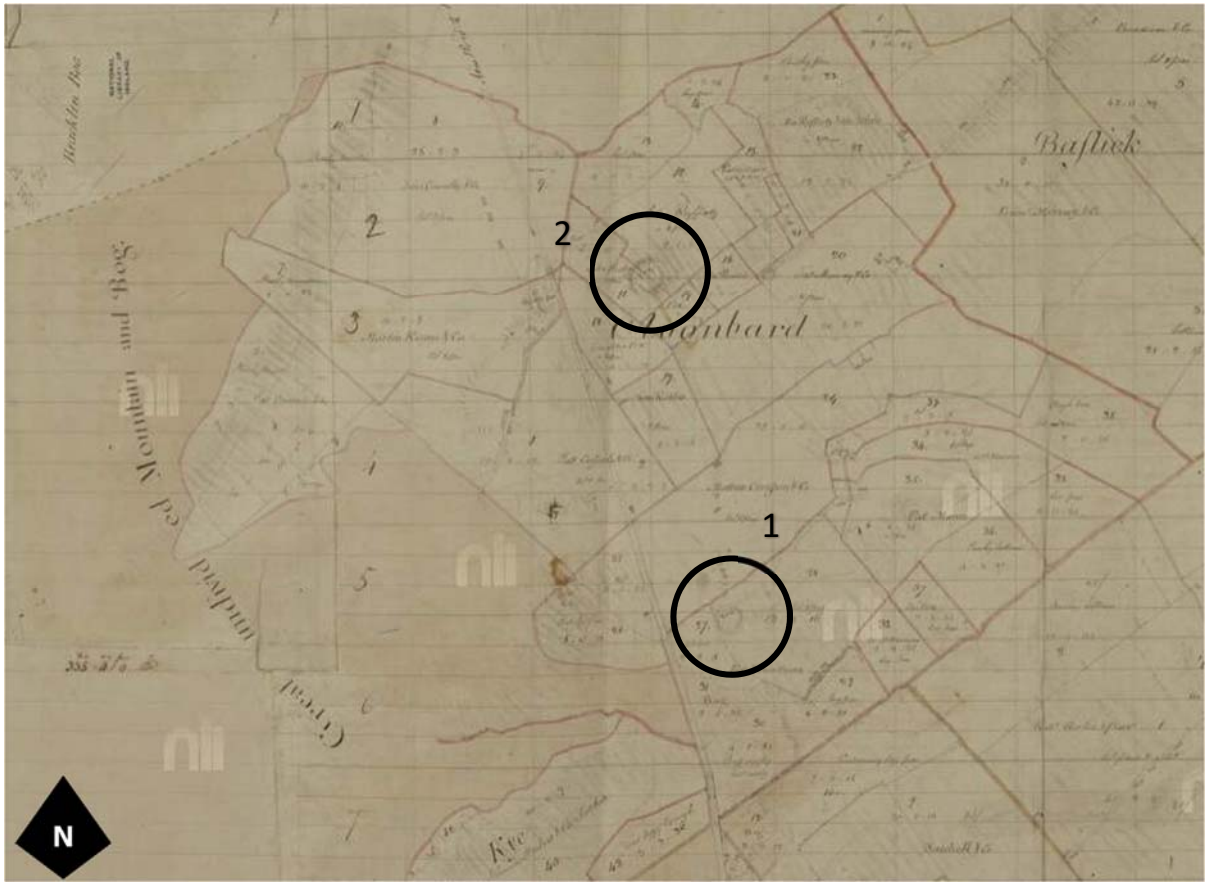


Figure 80. Estate map of Cloonbard townland showing forts 1. RO021-057 and 2. RO021-044 (NLI: MS 21 F. 44/ 48)

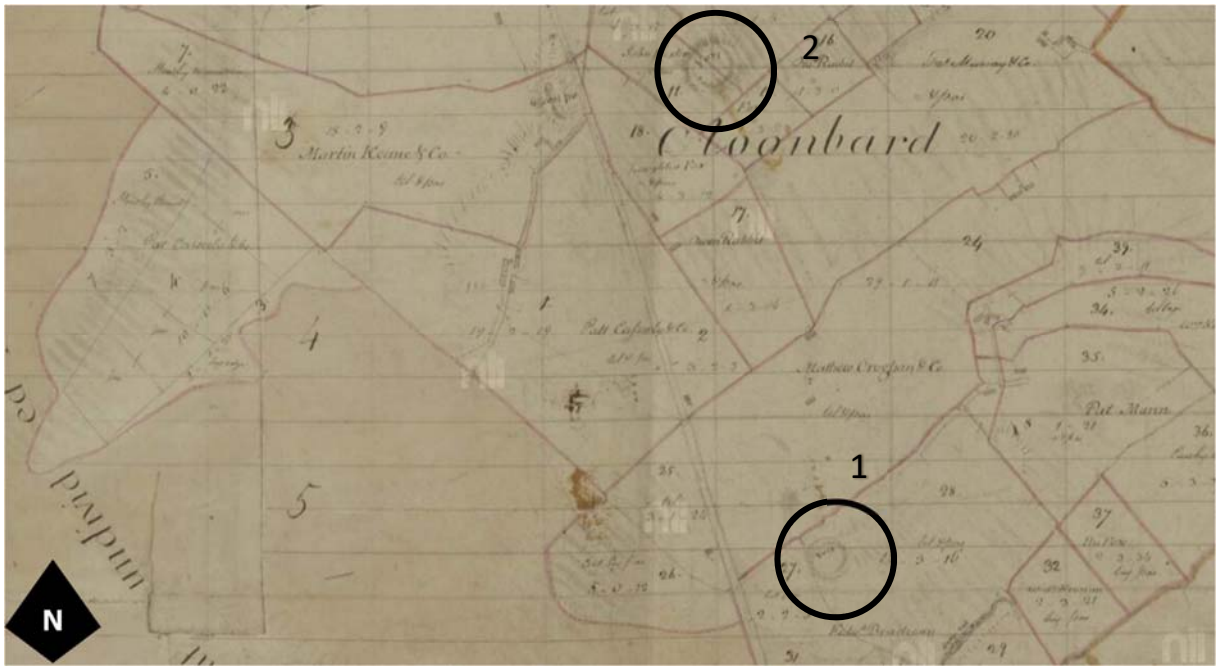


Figure 81. Estate map of Cloonbard townland showing forts 1. RO021-057 and 2. RO021-044 (NLI: MS 21 F. 44/ 48) (close up)



Figure 82. First edition OS map of Cloonbard townland

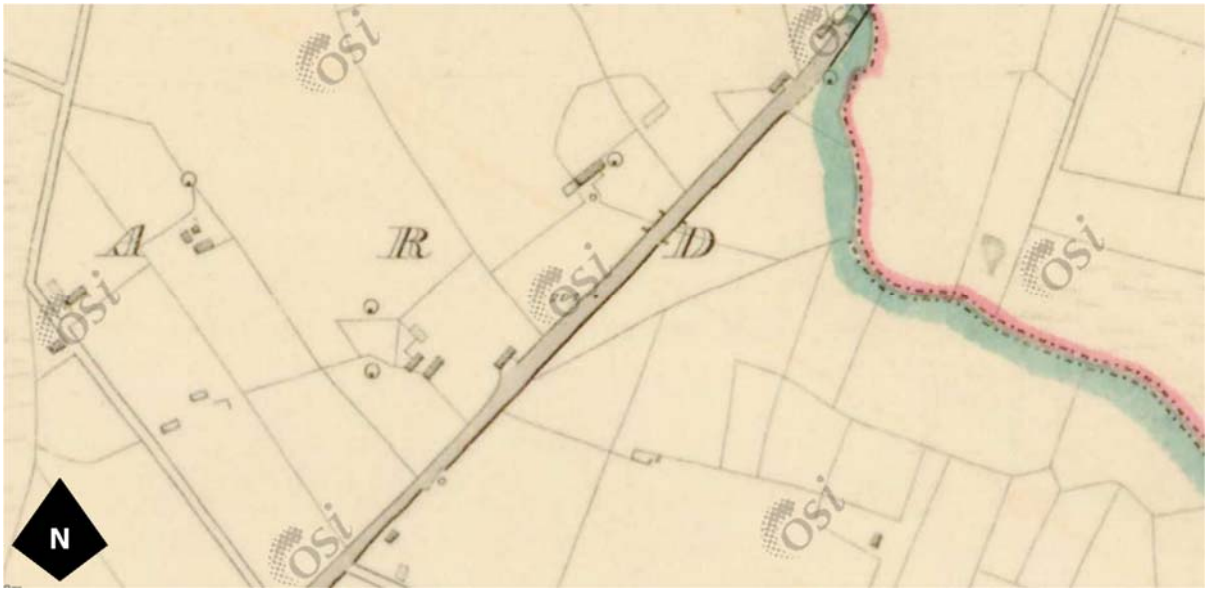


Figure 83. First edition OS map of Cloonbard townland showing location of ringfort RO021-044 (close up)

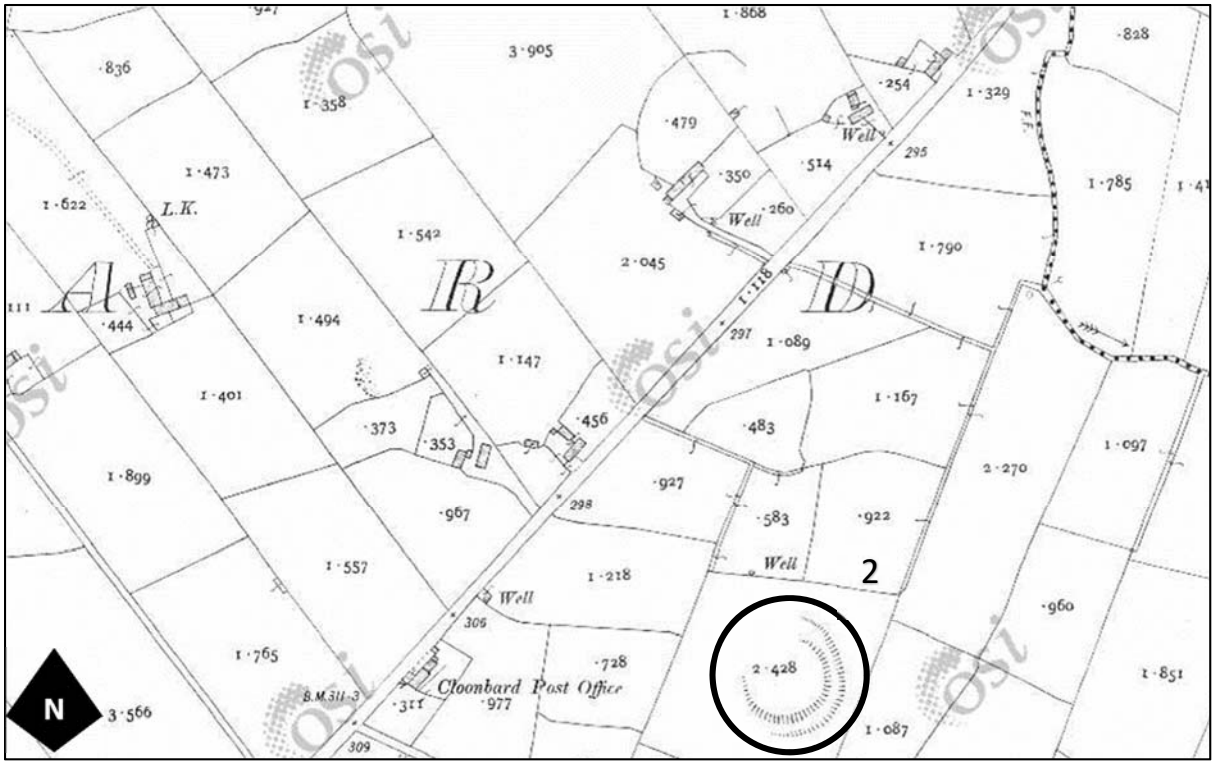


Figure 84. Second edition OS map of Cloonbard townland showing ringfort 2. RO021-044



Figure 85. Aerial image of Cloonbard townland showing site of ringfort 2. RO021-044



Figure 86. Aerial image of Cloonbard townland showing site of ringfort 2. RO021-044 (close up)

6.2.9. Corlis

Another undated, though apparently pre-OS, estate map of this particular townland contains a depiction of three circular enclosures (NLI: MS 21 F. 44/ 57). These are shown in a rough line running in a NE-SW direction. Two of these structures are referred to as 'forts', though the third has no accompanying description. However, just two of these structures, RO021-045 & RO021-046, are shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 21) of this area. Both of these recorded ringforts are also shown on the revised second edition OS map. Indeed, these structures are still extant and are visible on modern aerial images (DG 2011-2013; GE 2010 & 2017). These images also permit the location of the third recorded ringfort, RO021-059, to be confirmed. This site is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 571499-782408 and it encloses an area of *c*.25m in diameter.

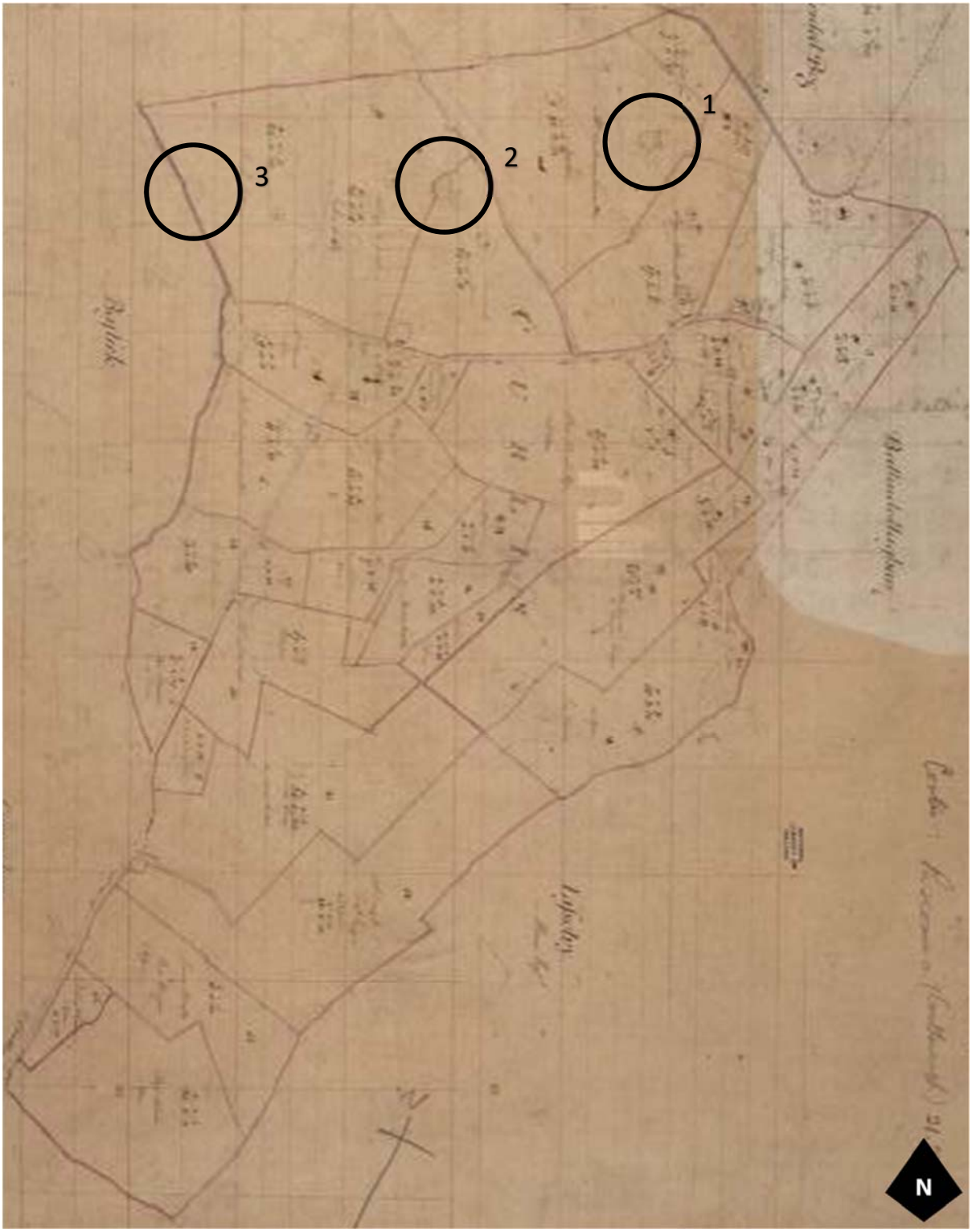


Figure 87. Estate map of Corlis townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-045, 2. RO021-046 & 3. RO021-059 (NLI: MS 21 F. 44/ 57)



Figure 88. Estate map of Corlis townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-045 and 2. RO021-046 (NLI: MS 21 F. 44/ 57)



Figure 89. Estate map of Corlis townland showing ringforts 2. RO021-046 and 3. RO021-059 (NLI: MS 21 F. 44/ 57)

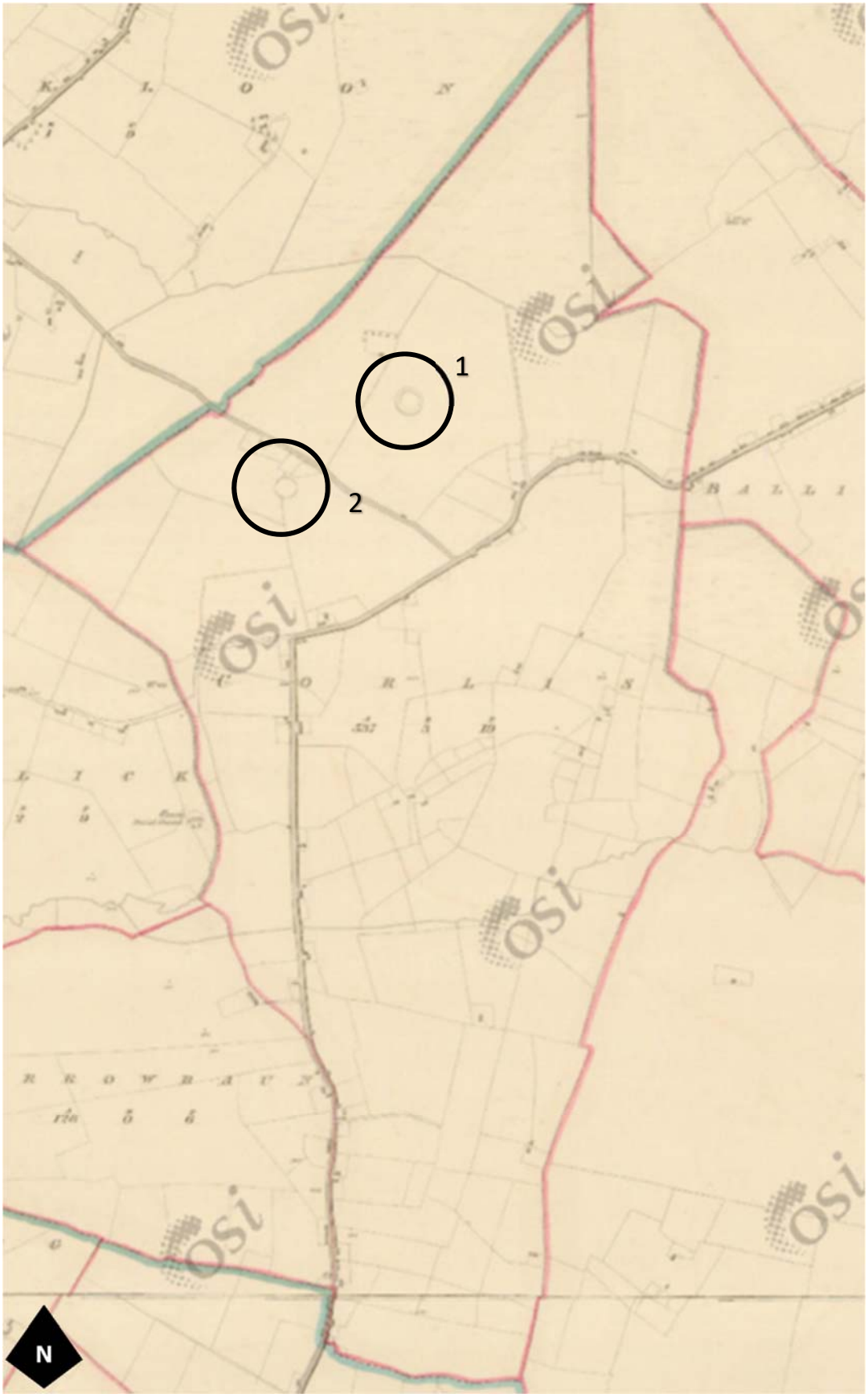


Figure 90. First edition OS map of Corlis townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-045 and 2. RO021-046

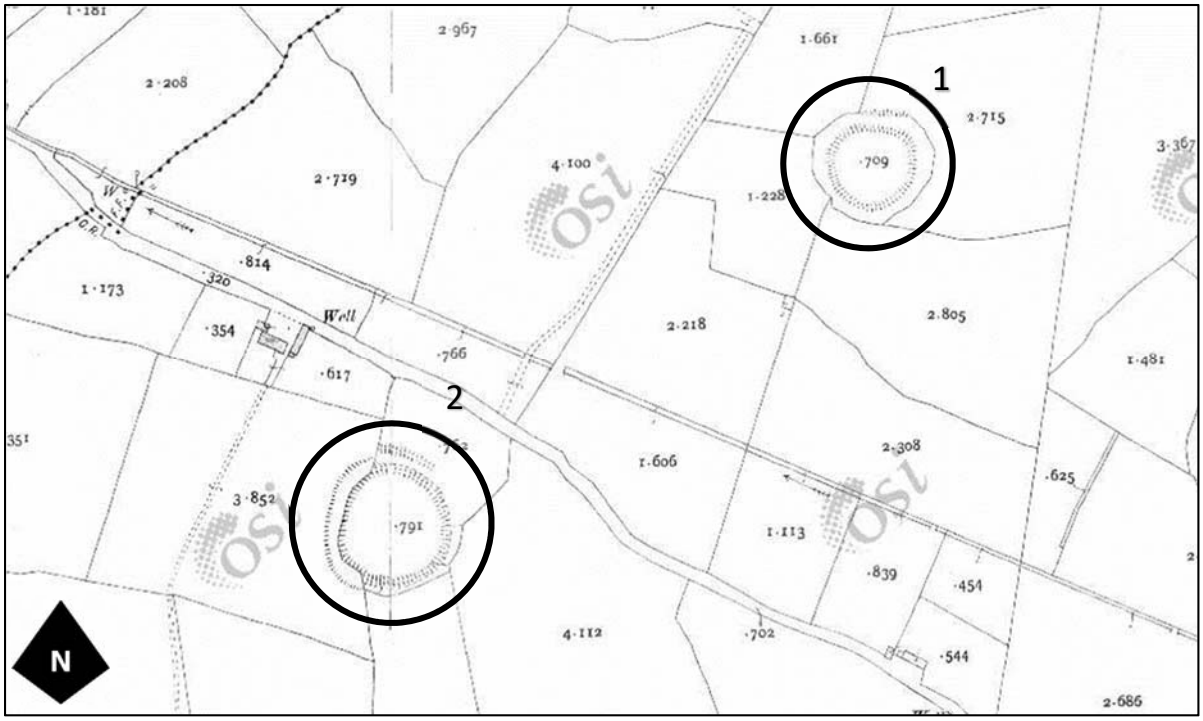


Figure 91. Second edition OS map of Corlis townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-045 and 2. RO021-046 (close up)



Figure 92. Aerial image of Corlis townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-045 and 2. RO021-046 and site of ringfort 3. RO021-059 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 93. Aerial image of Corlis townland showing site of ringfort 3. RO021-059 (DG 2011-3)

6.2.10. Drishaghaun East

A circular enclosure is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 27) of this townland. This has been recorded as an 'earthwork' and attributed the SMR number of RO027-026 (NMS 2019). On the revised second edition OS map, this location is marked with a cross and the notation 'Fort (Site of)'. No above ground evidence is visible at this general location on modern aerial imagery (DG 2011-2013; GE 2010 & 2017). Furthermore, the presence of a row of trees that cast shadow on the possible location of this site hinders the search for possible evidence of a crop mark. Because this site was considered a 'fort', prior to and after its destruction, it is decided to include it in the overall calculations for ringfort numbers in this barony and their change over time.

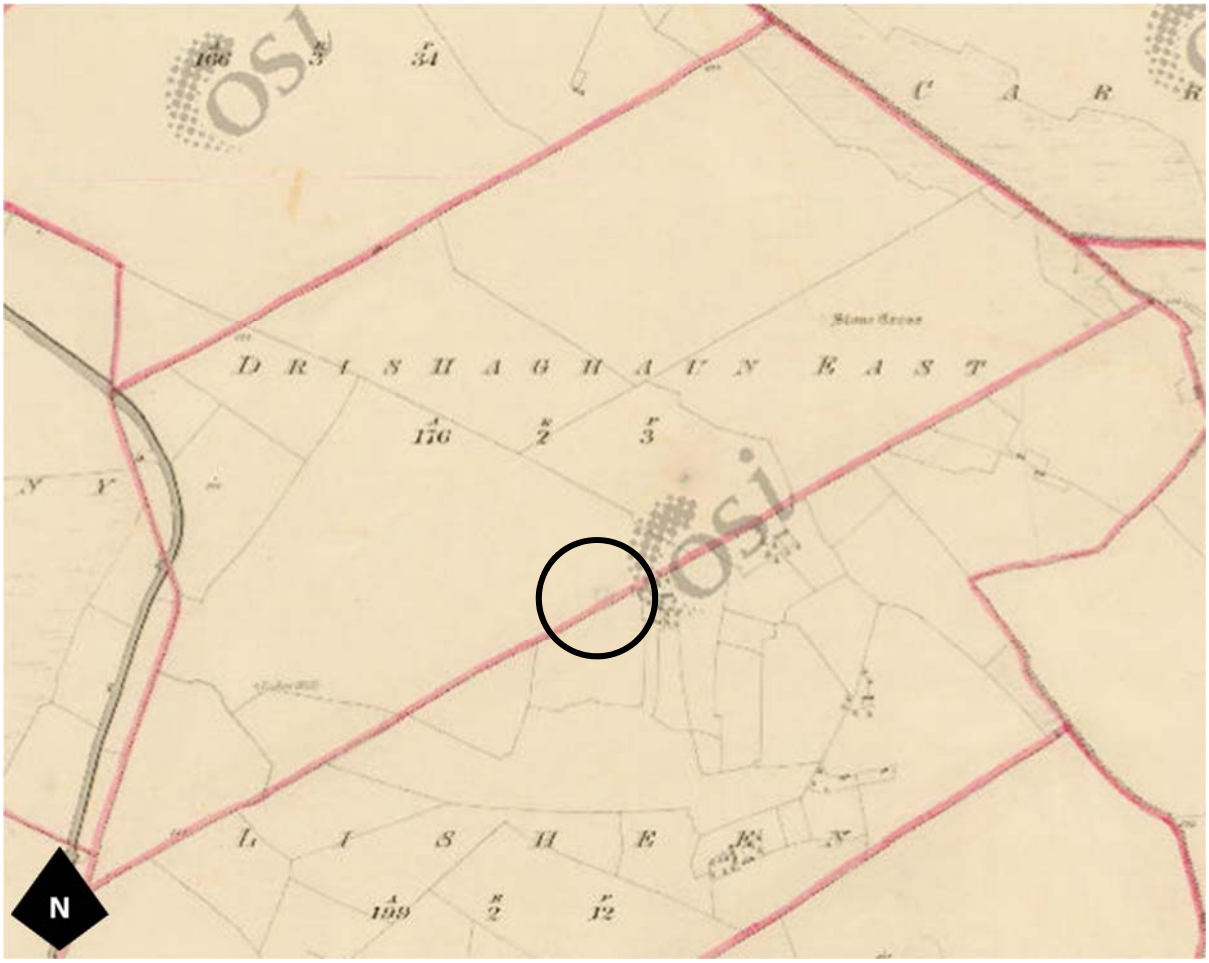


Figure 94. First edition OS map of Drishaghaun East townland showing ringfort RO027-026

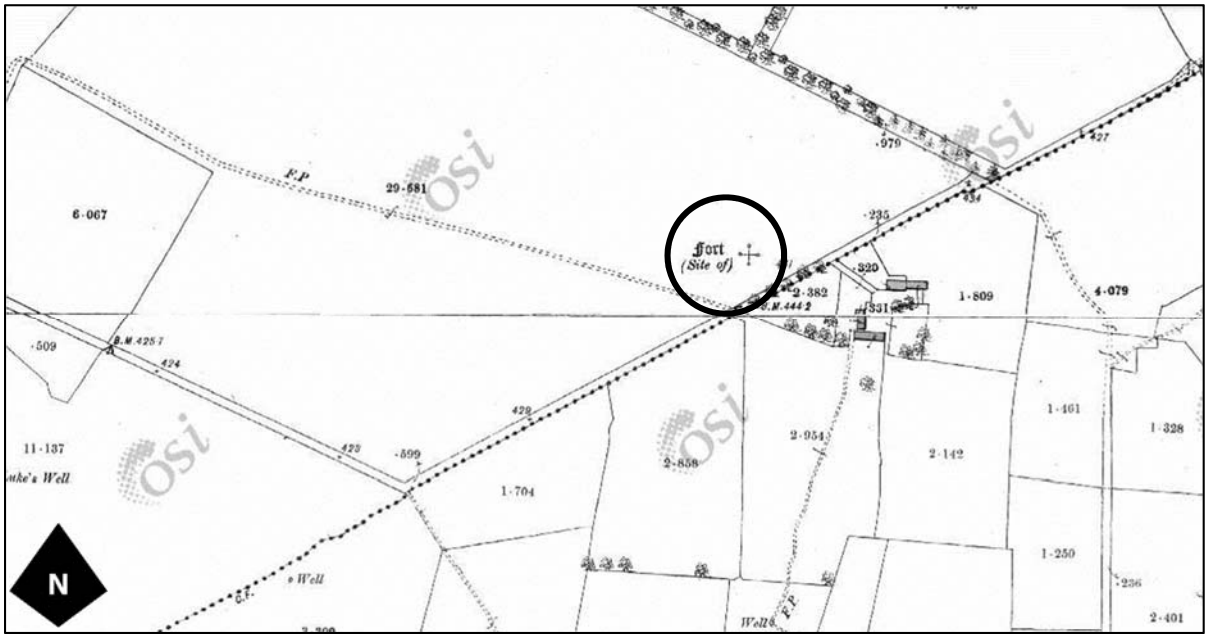


Figure 95. Second edition OS map of Drishaghaun East townland showing ringfort RO027-026



Figure 96. Aerial image of Drishaghaun East townland showing site of ringfort RO027-026

6.2.11. Gortnasillagh

The existence of two ringforts is noted within this townland in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). Neither of these, however, are depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 21) of the area. One of these recorded ringforts, RO021-080, is depicted on the following second edition 25-inch map and on the even later revised 6-inch one (1927, 21). Curiously, this structure was apparently described, at one time, as a 'ring-barrow' (Herity 1983, 137). In any case, this structure is visible on modern aerial images as a denuded enclosure that is defined by a fosse (GE 2015). Seemingly, an outer band of darker ground that extends c.5m from this fosse further surrounds it. The second ringfort, RO021-079, is not visible on any of the available maps of the townland. It is, however, visible at the described location as a D-shaped enclosure (DG 2011-2013). This crop mark is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 577104-781781 and encloses an area of approximately 47m E-W and 49m N-S.

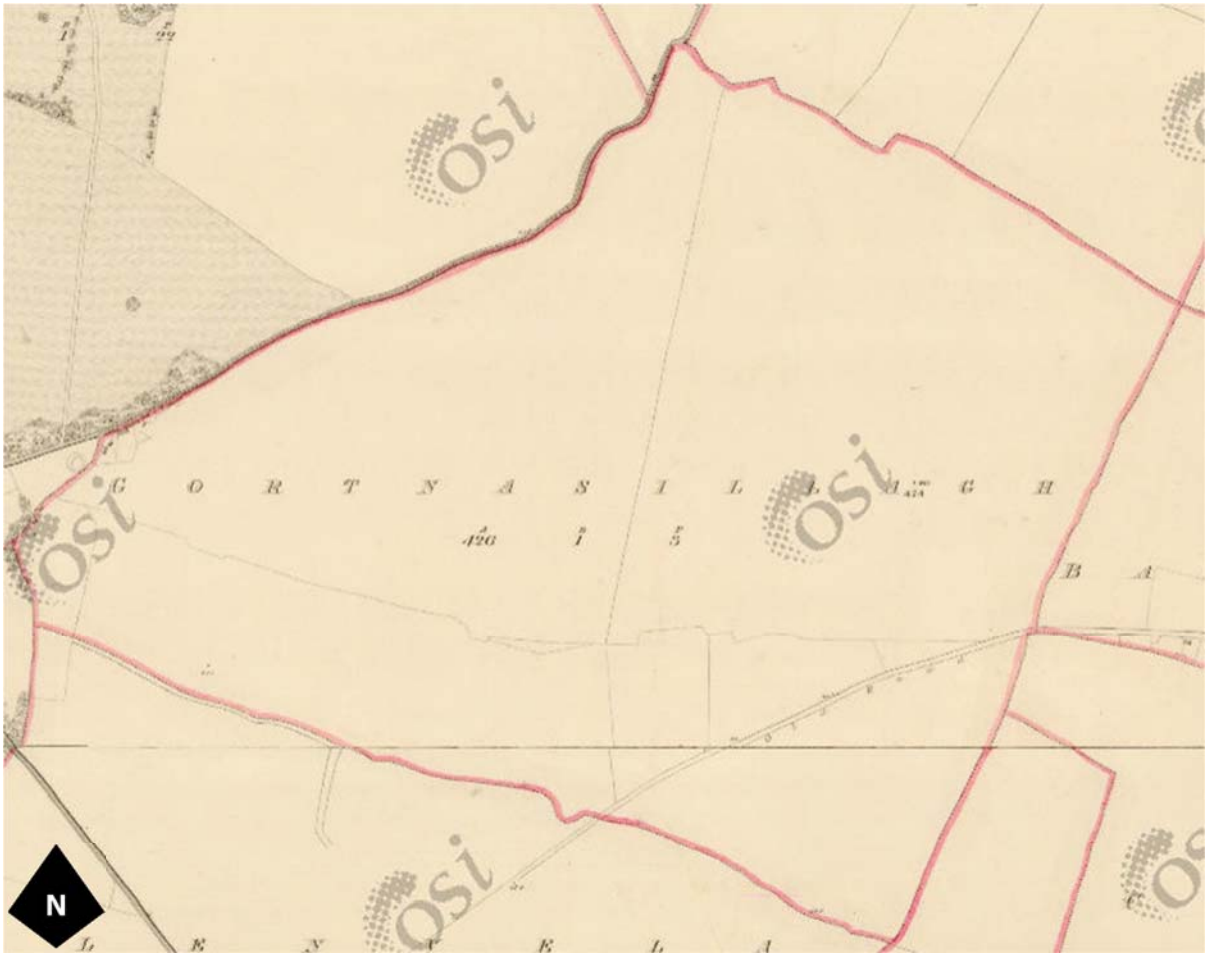


Figure 97. First edition OS map of Gortnasillagh townland

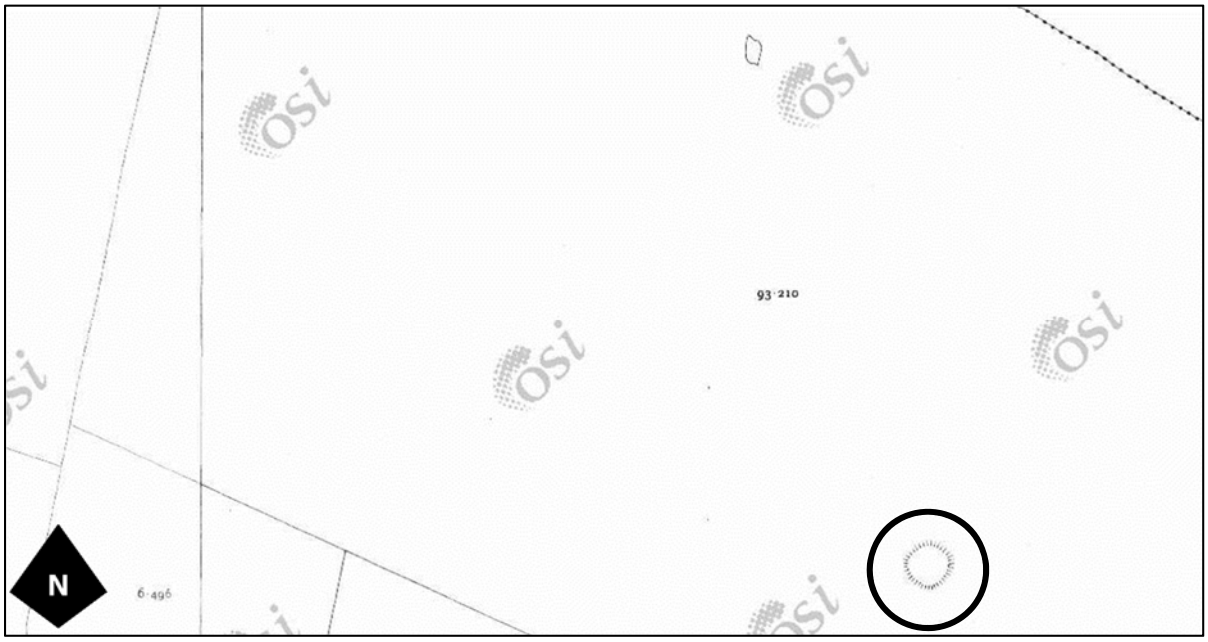


Figure 98. Second edition OS map of Gortnasillagh townland showing ringfort RO021-080



Figure 99. Aerial image of Gortnasillagh townland showing ringfort 1. RO021-080 and site of ringfort 2. RO021-079 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 100. Aerial image of Gortnasillagh townland showing ringfort 1. RO021-080 and site of ringfort 2. RO021-079

6.2.12. Kilmurry

The archaeological record contains mention of two ringforts in this townland (NMS 2019). One of these, RO021-068, is shown on the first edition of the OS map (1837, 21) of this locality. However, it shown just on the other side of the boundary with the neighbouring townland of Rathmoyle. Although by the time of the second edition revised OS map, the boundary had been moved and this ringfort is now in this specific townland. It is also visible on modern aerial images as an enclosure that is defined by a low-level bank of earth (GE 2015). The second recorded site, RO021-067, is not shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 21). It is, however, depicted on the revised second edition map of the same area and on the even later revised 6-inch map as a tree filled enclosure. This monument can be considered still extant and is visible as a circular enclosure defined by a ring of trees and shrubs (DG 2011-2013).



Figure 101. First edition OS map of Kilmore townland showing ringfort RO021-068



Figure 102. First edition OS map of Kilmurry townland showing ringfort RO021-068

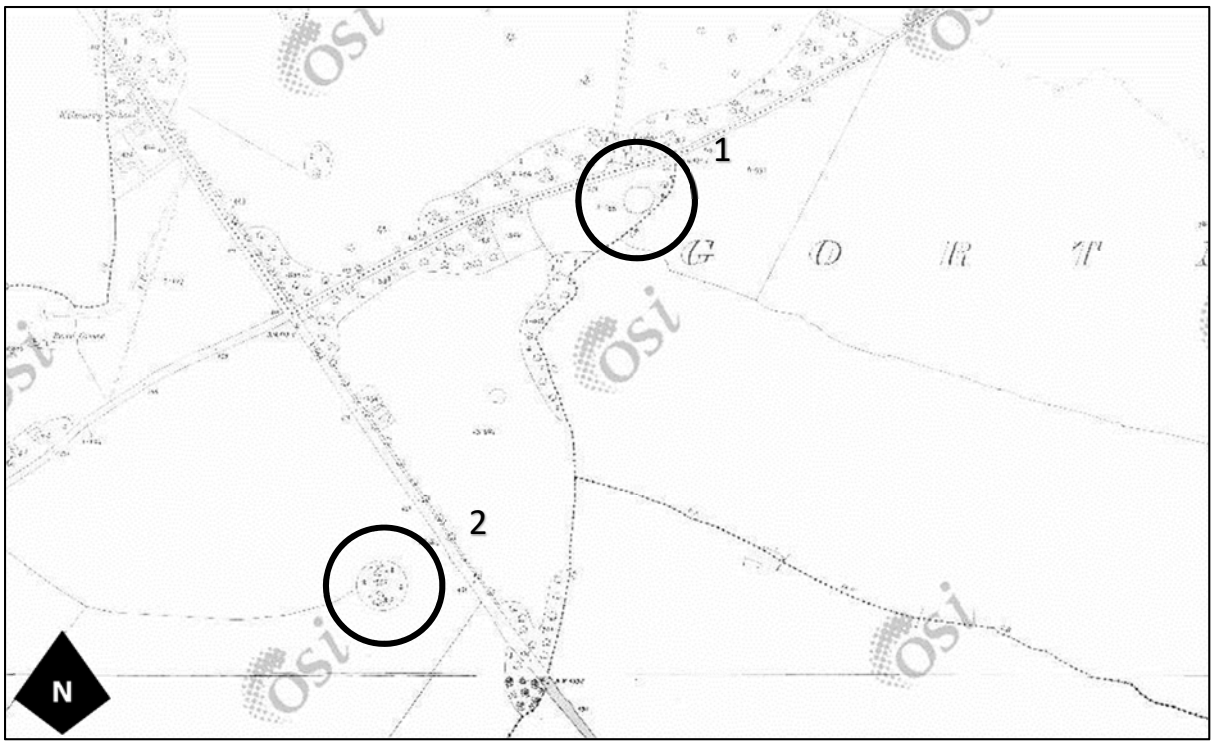


Figure 103. Second edition OS map of Kilmurry townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-068 and 2. RO021-067



Figure 104. Aerial image of Kilmurry townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-068 and 2. RO021-067

6.2.13. Lismurtagh

Again, here in this townland, two ringforts, RO028-059001 and RO028-112, are included in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). These two ringforts are also depicted on subsequent maps of the townland (OSI 1837 & 1927, 28). Indeed, these structures are still extant and are visible on modern aerial imagery, though denuded of vegetation and each defined by a fosse (GE 2015).

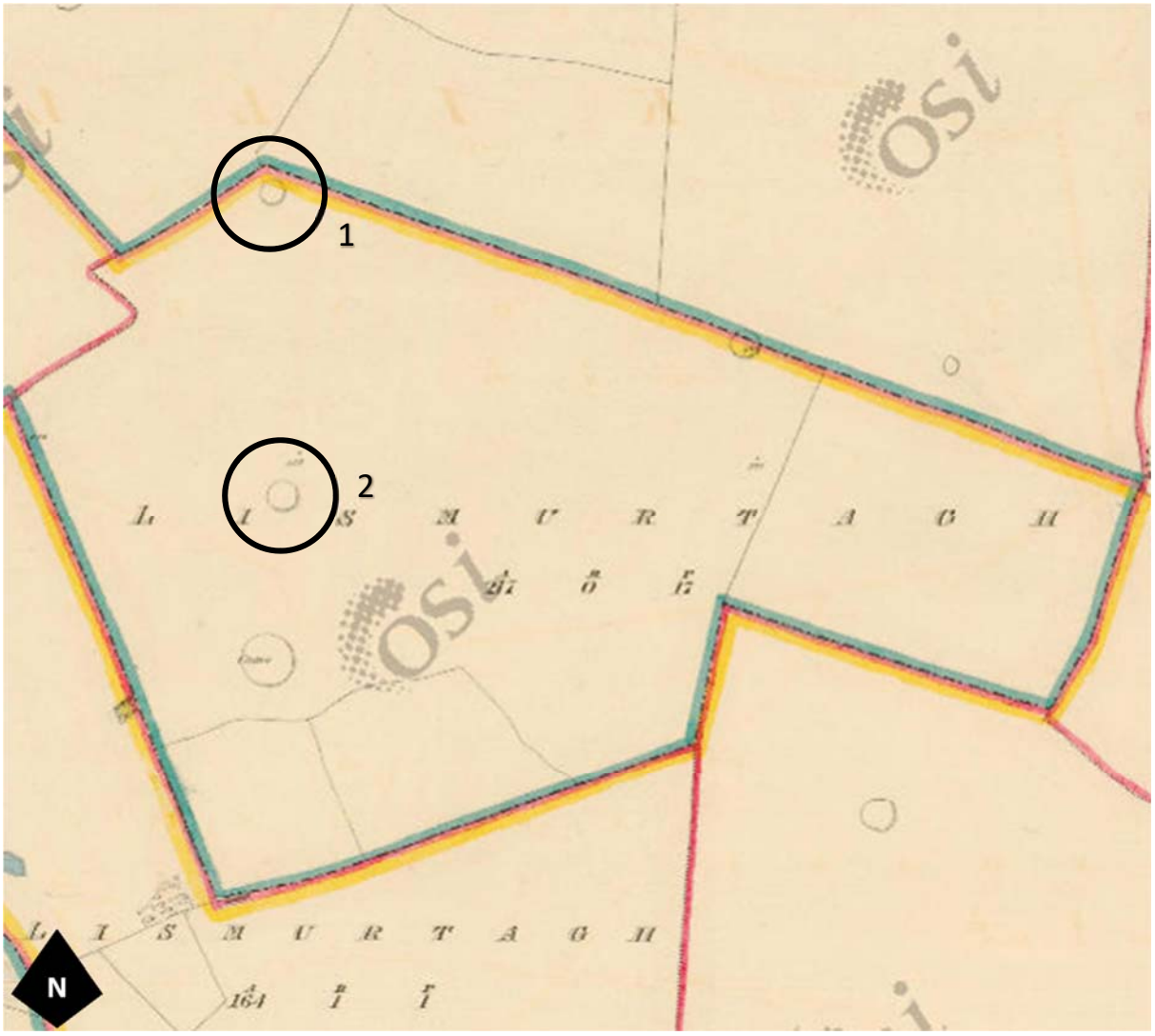


Figure 105. First edition OS map of Lismurtagh townland showing ringforts 1. RO028-059001 and 2. RO028-112

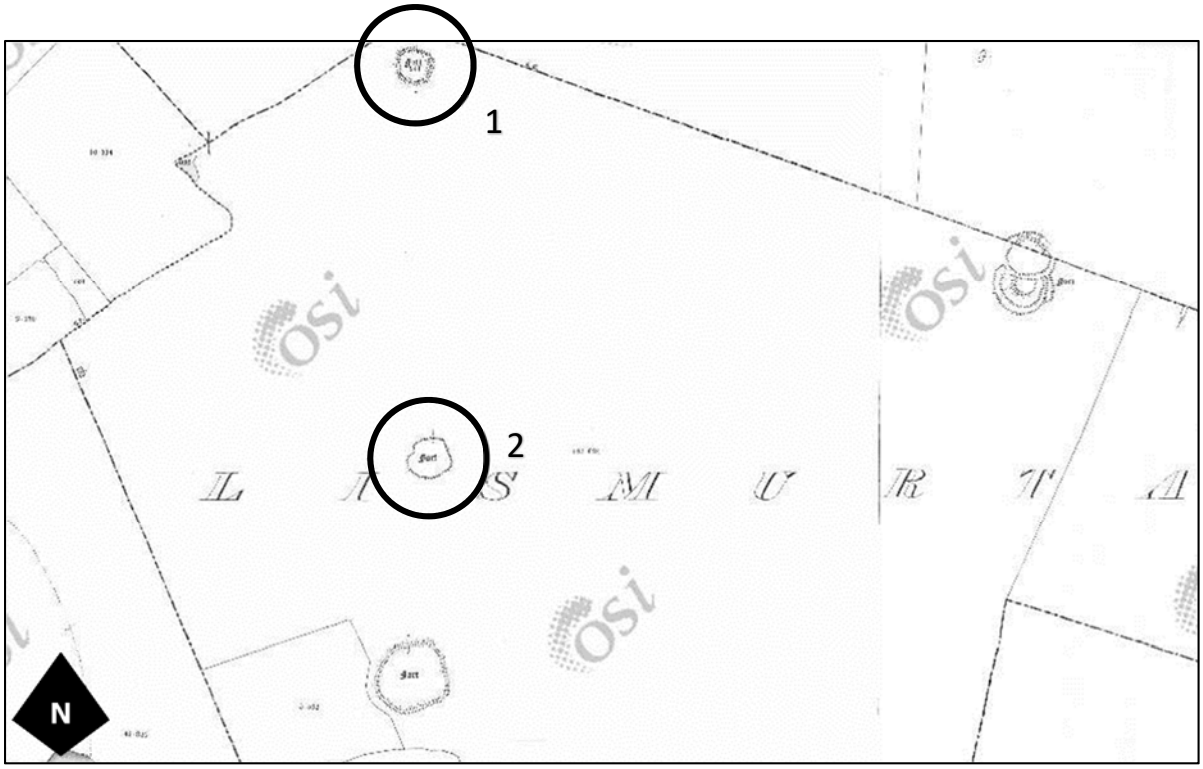


Figure 106. Second edition OS map of Lismurtagh townland showing ringforts 1. RO028-059001 and 2. RO028-112



Figure 107. Aerial image of Lismurtagh townland showing ringforts 1. RO028-059001 and 2. RO028-112 (DG 2011-3)

6.2.14. Lissalway

The archaeological record contains references to the eventual presence of four ringforts within the boundaries of this townland (NMS 2019). Three of these, RO021-061, RO027-007 & RO027-010, are depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 21 & 27) of this locality. These three enclosures are also shown on subsequent maps and indeed are still visible on modern images from aerial surveys (DG 2011-2013; GE 2010 & 2017). The fourth of these ringforts, RO027-005, is not shown on any of the available maps. However, the location and eventual size of this enclosure can be confirmed through the presence of a crop mark. This crop mark is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 572583-780677 and it encloses an area roughly 36m in diameter.

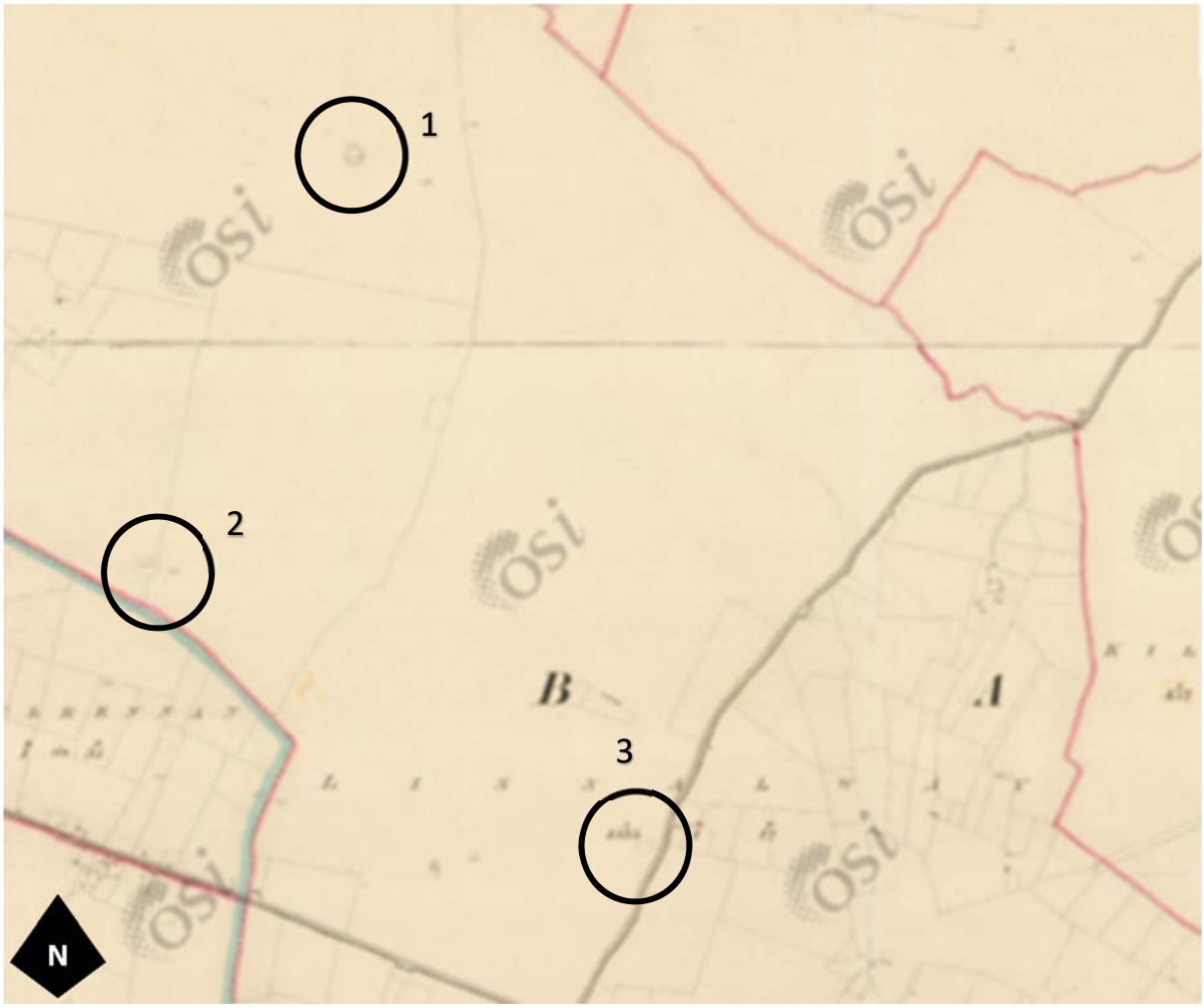


Figure 108. First edition OS map of Lissalway townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-061, 2. RO027-007 & 3. RO027-010



Figure 109. First edition OS map of Lissalway townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-061, 2. RO027-007 & 3. RO027-010

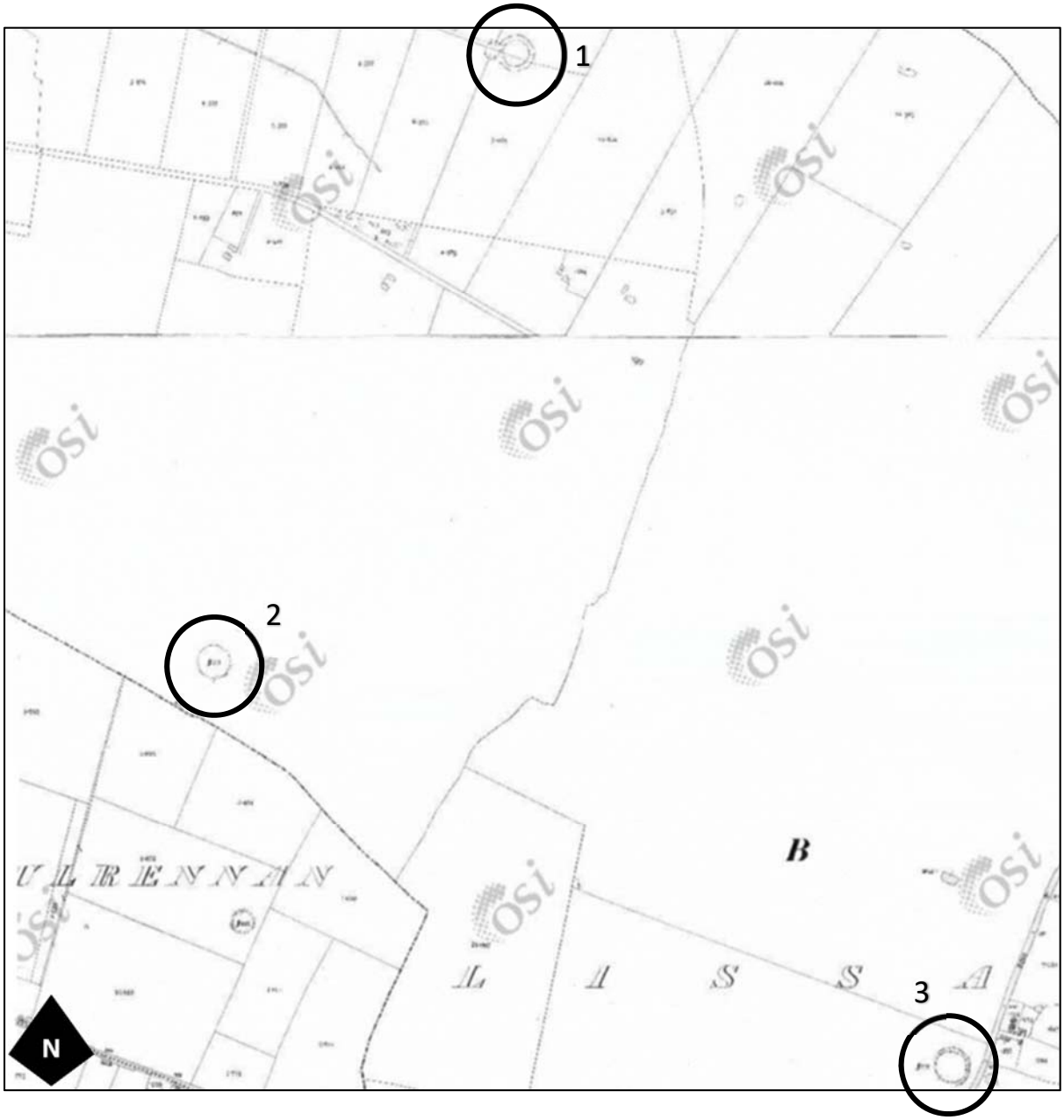


Figure 110. Second edition OS map of Lissalway townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-061, 2. RO027-007 & 3. RO027-010



Figure 111. Aerial image of Lissalway townland showing ringfort 1. RO021-061 (GE 2017)



Figure 112. Aerial image of Lissalway townland showing ringforts 2. RO027-007 and 4. RO027-005 (GE 2017)



Figure 113. Aerial image of Lissalway townland showing ringfort 3. RO027-010 (GE 2017)

6.2.15. Lissawaddy

Again, in this townland two ringforts are recorded in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). Both of these monuments, RO028-002 & RO028-004, are shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 28) of this locality. Both are also shown on the second edition OS map. However, one of these, RO028-002, is shown as a complete enclosure, surrounded by another outer bank. Whereas, the second ringfort, RO028-004, is shown as a partial enclosure with the southeast corner shown as having been disturbed. On modern aerial images the former structure, RO028-002, is visible as a complete enclosure defined as a double ring of trees and a counter scarp in places (DG 2011-3). The latter site, RO028-004, is still visible, though as a denuded partial enclosure.

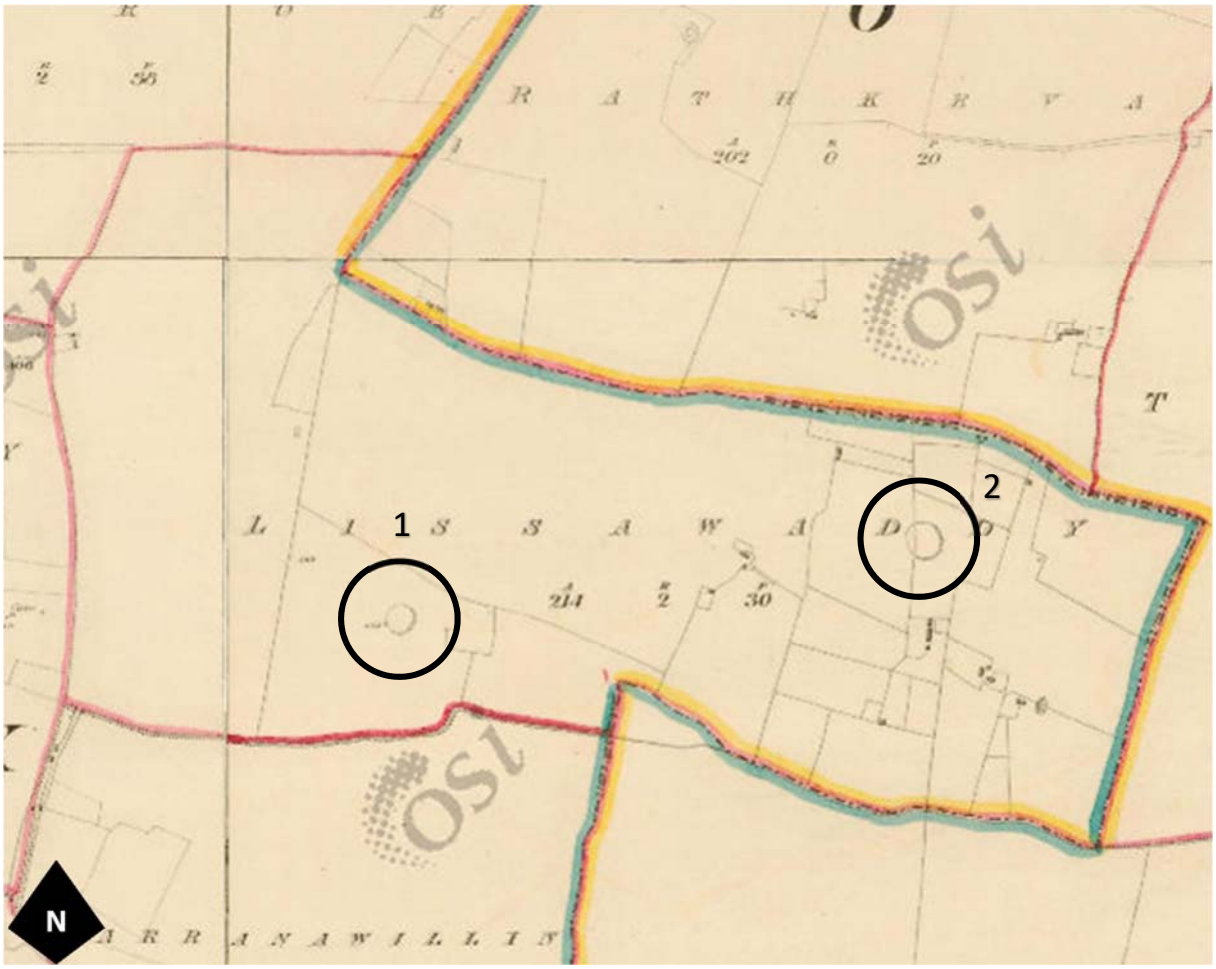


Figure 114. First edition OS map of Lissawaddy townland showing ringforts 1. RO028-002 & 2. RO028-004

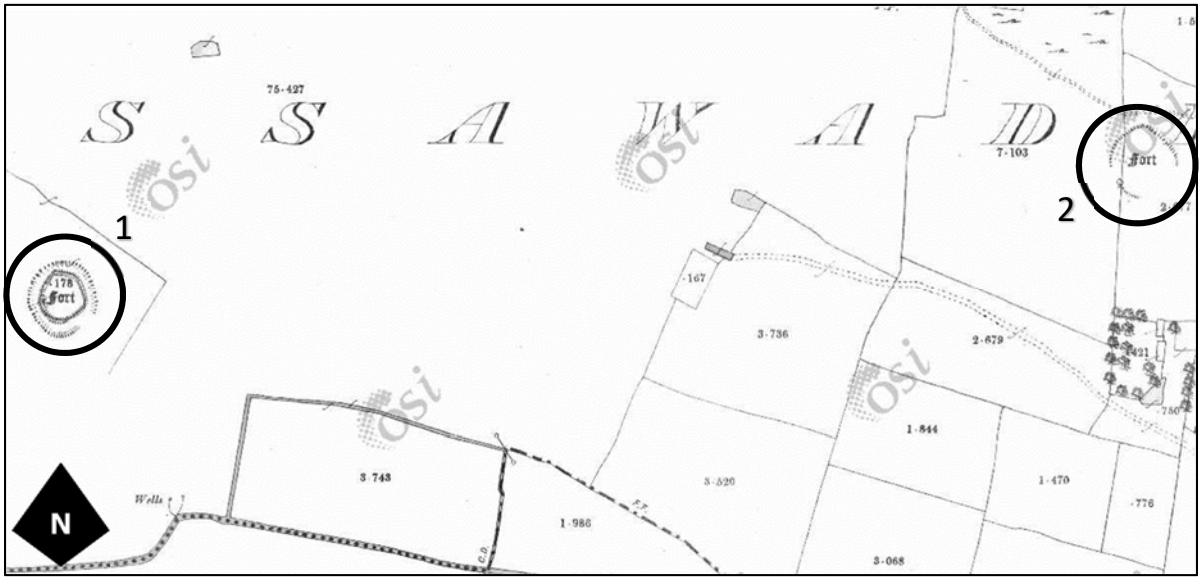


Figure 115. Second edition OS map of Lissawaddy townland showing ringforts 1. RO028-002 & 2. RO028-004



Figure 116. Aerial image of Lissawaddy townland showing ringforts 1. RO028-002 & 2. RO028-004

6.2.16. Mullygollan

The presence of a unique ringfort is recorded on the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). This example, RO028-051, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 28) and on the latest available revised 6inch map (1930, 28). It is further noted that this ringfort had been levelled around about 1975. It may now be visible as a vague crop mark on both Google Earth (2010) and Digital Globe (2019).

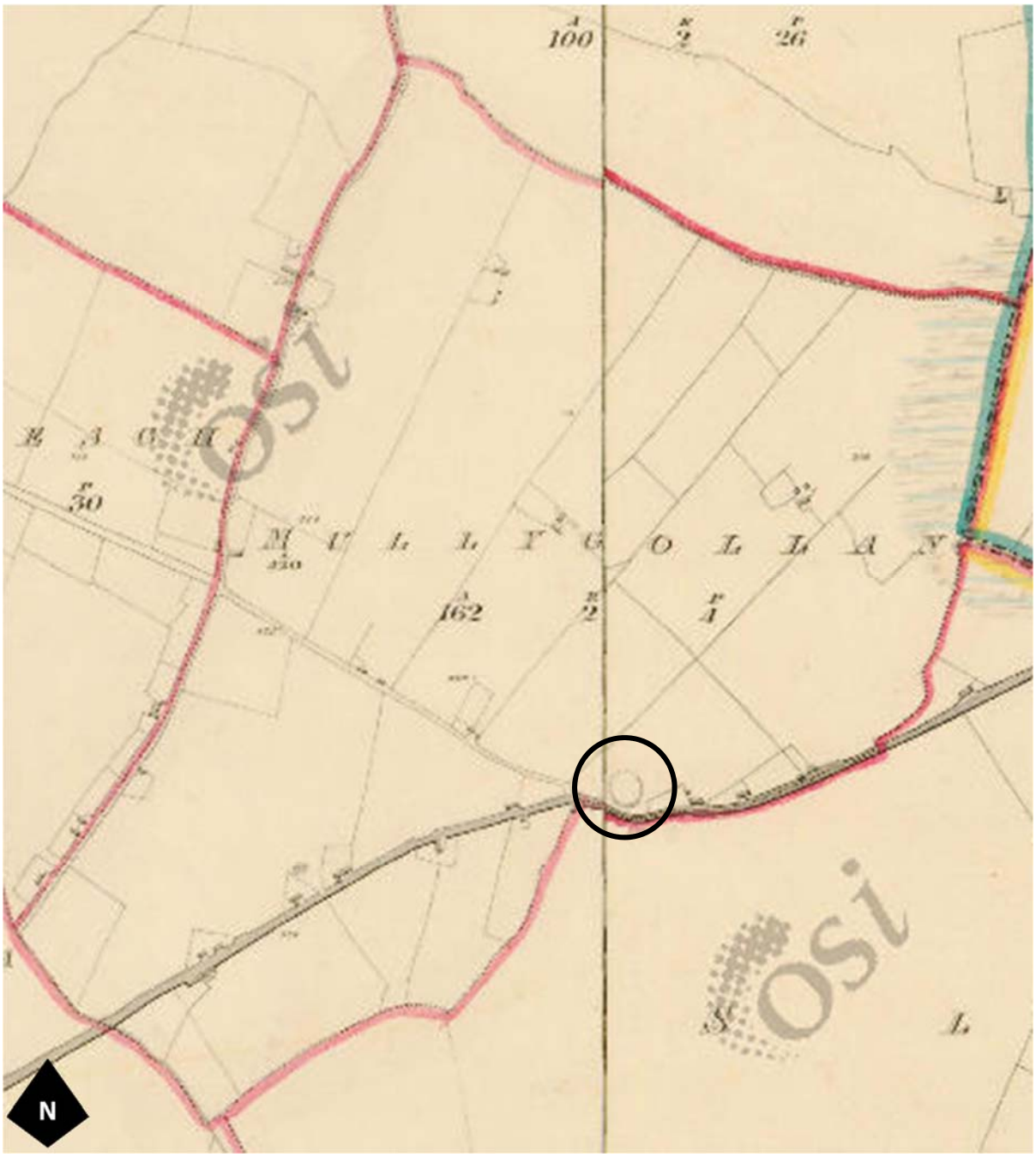


Figure 117. First edition OS map of Mullygollan townland showing ringfort RO028-051

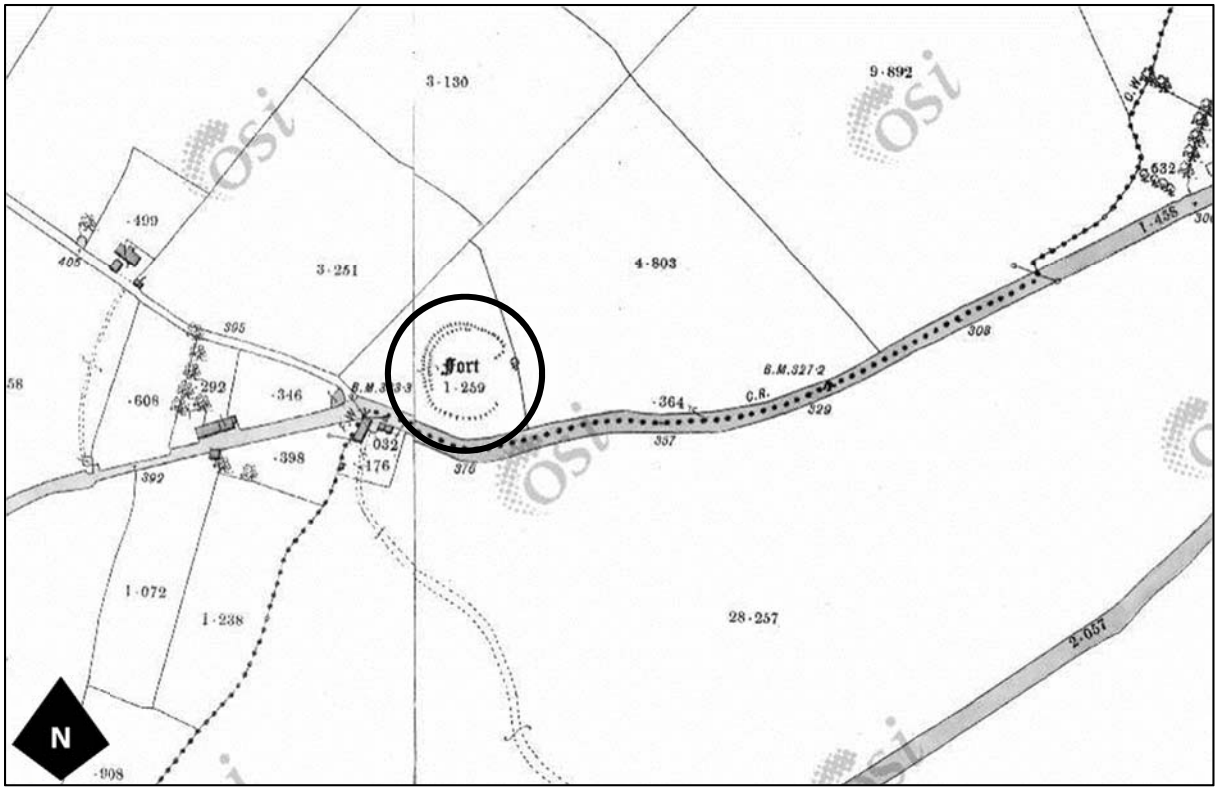


Figure 118. Second edition OS map of Mullygollan townland showing ringfort RO028-051



Figure 119. Aerial image of Mullygollan townland showing site of ringfort RO028-051

6.2.17. Rathfuadagh

The archaeological database records the presence of three ringforts, RO021-056001, RO021-076 & RO021-077, in this townland (NMS 2019). However, one of these structures, RO021-056001, is not shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 21) of the townland. Curiously, it is depicted on the revised second edition OS map and is accompanied by the annotation 'Rathfuadagh'. The other two ringforts, RO021-076 & RO021-077, are depicted on the earliest OS map and on the later revised editions. On modern images from aerial surveys these three monuments are visible as complete, though denuded, enclosures defined by low-level banks.

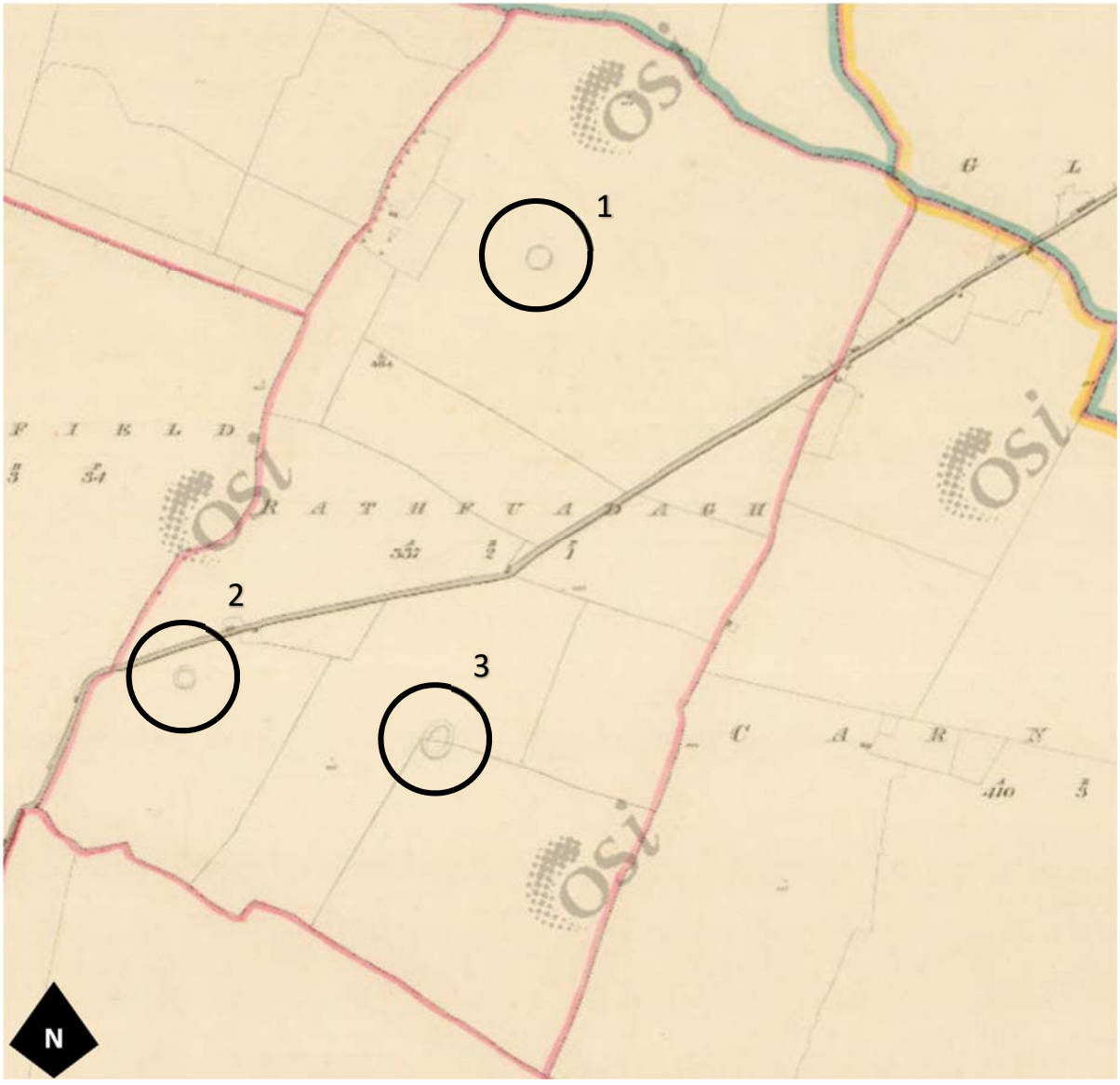


Figure 120. First edition OS map of Rathfuadagh townland showing ringforts
1. RO021-056001, 2. RO021-076 & 3. RO021-077

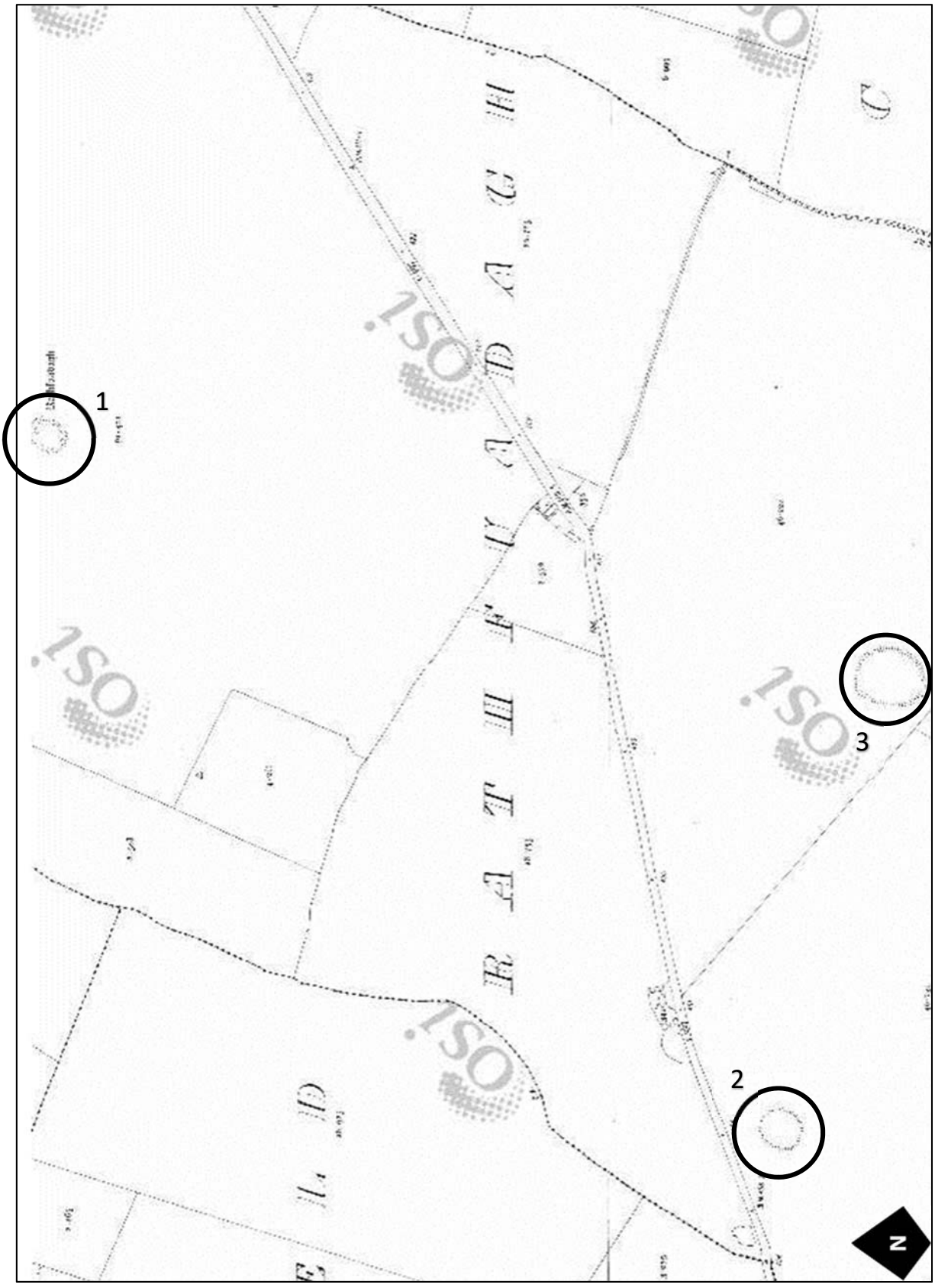


Figure 121. Second edition OS map of Rathfuadagh townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-056001, 2. RO021-076 & 3. RO021-077



Figure 122. Aerial image of Rathfuadagh townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-056001, 2. RO021-076 & 3. RO021-077 (GE 2017)

6.2.18. Rathmoyle

As noted above, the first edition of the OS map (1837, 21) has a depiction of a ringfort, RO021-068. Later, due to a boundary change this ringfort was shifted to the neighbouring townland of Kilmurry. Nevertheless, this townland does contain another example of this monument type. Again strangely, this structure, RO021-065001, is not shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 21) of this locality. It is shown, however, on the later revised editions and may still be considered extant (DG 2011-2013). It is visible as a denuded low-level structure (GE 2010 & 2015).

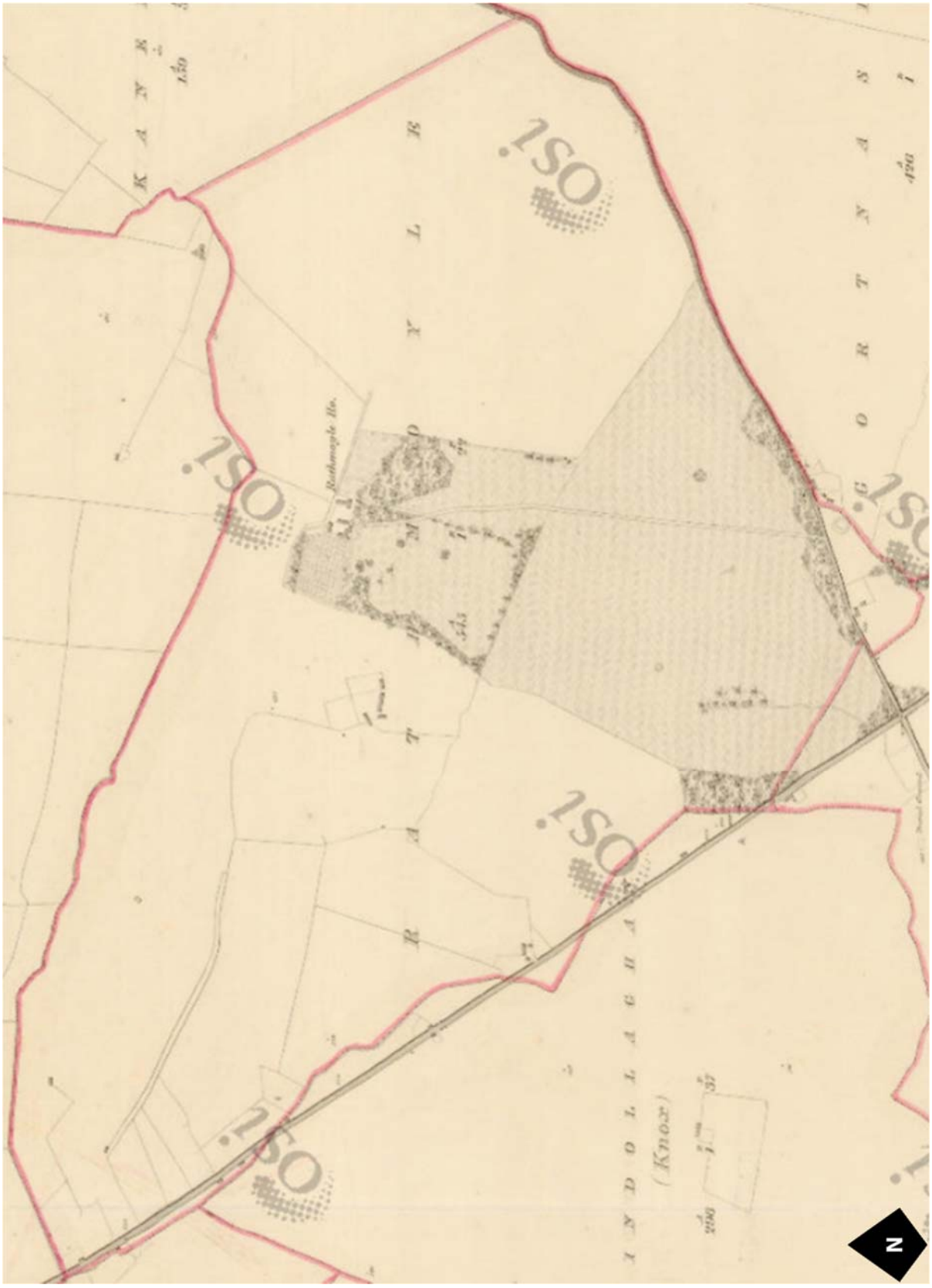


Figure 123. First edition OS map of Rathmoyle townland

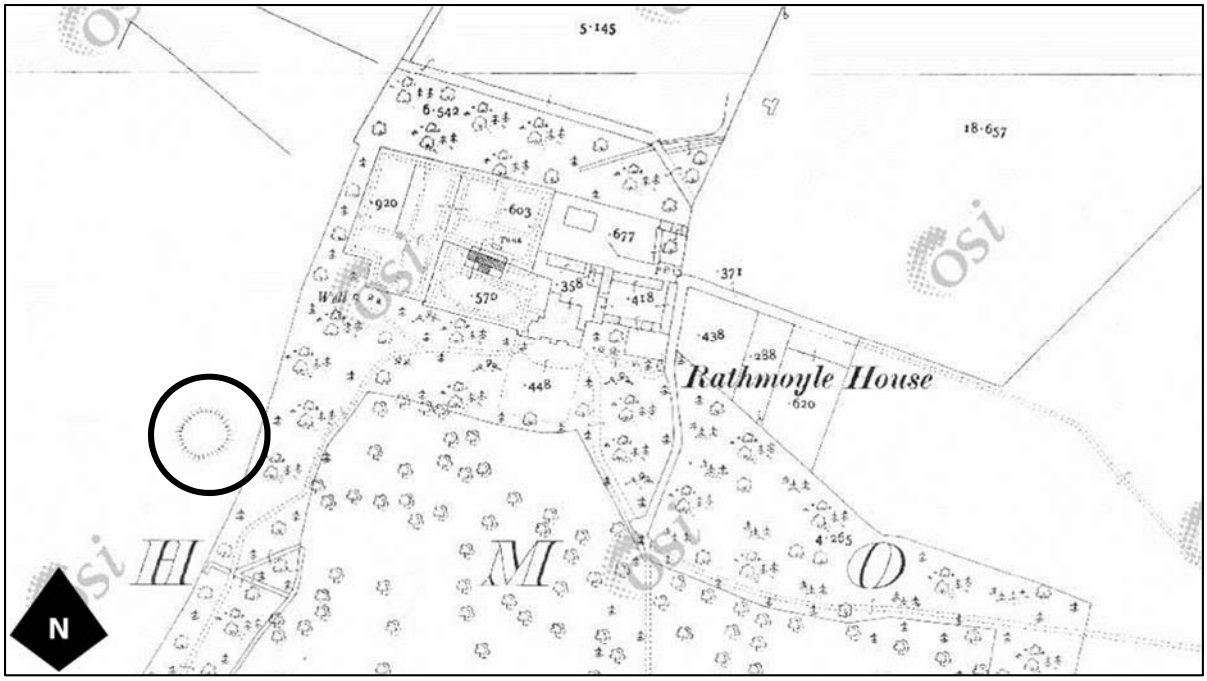


Figure 124. Second edition OS map of Rathmoyle townland showing ringfort RO021-065001



Figure 125. Aerial image of Rathmoyle townland showing ringfort RO021-065001 (GE 2015)

6.2.19. Tonroe

The archaeological database records the presence of two ringforts in this townland (NMS 2019). However, neither of these are shown on the first edition of the OS map (1837, 21) of this townland. One of these examples of this monument type, RO021-042039, is depicted on the later revised edition of the OS map (1895, 21). This example is visible on modern aerial images where the site is depicted surrounded by a fence (DG 2011-3). The second of these ringforts, RO021-042037, is now visible as a crop mark. This enclosure is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 578620-781306 and encloses an area of approximately 49m in diameter.



Figure 126. First edition OS map of Tonroe townland

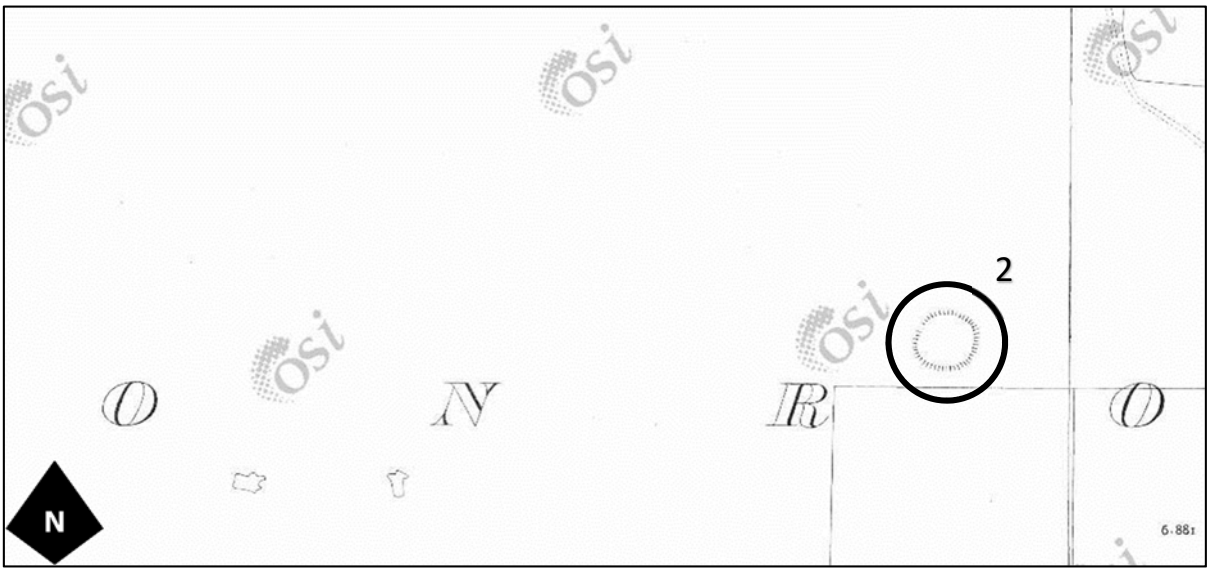


Figure 127. Second edition OS map of Tonroe townland showing ringfort 2. RO021-042039



Figure 128. Aerial image of Tonroe townland showing site of ringforts 1. RO021-042037 and 2. RO021-042037 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 129. Aerial image of Tonroe townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-042037 and 2. RO021-042039 (GE 2017)

6.3. Kilcorkery parish

6.3.1. Arraghan

There are three monuments recorded within this townland in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). Two of these, RO021-006001 & RO021006003, are recognised as ringforts. The third of the recorded monuments, RO021-006002, is regarded as a children's burial ground. The surprising fact is that these three sites are all located in the same location. The children's burial ground, RO021-006002, is situated within the cashel, RO021-006001, and this is located within the interior the ringfort, RO021-006003 (*ibid*). This latter monument is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 21) of the townland. This structure is also depicted on the later, revised, second edition OS map. It is still visible on modern aerial images and can therefore be considered extant (DG 2011-3). This site can be seen as a circular feature defined as a tree and shrub filled enclosure.



Figure 130. First edition OS map of Arraghan townland showing cashel RO021-006001, children's burial ground RO021-006002 and rath RO021006003

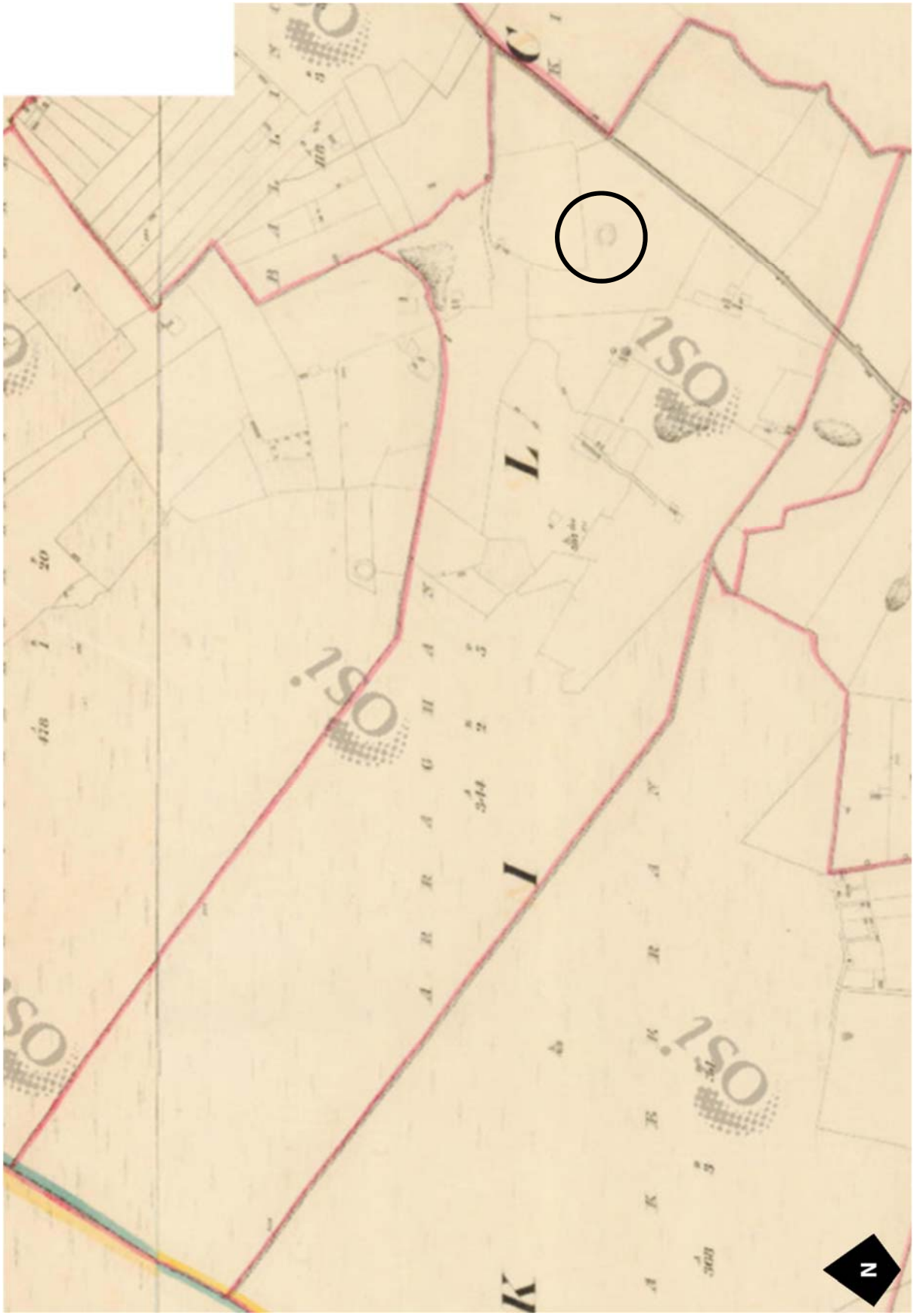


Figure 131. First edition OS map of Arraghan townland showing cashel RO021-006001, children's burial ground RO021-006002 and rath RO021006003

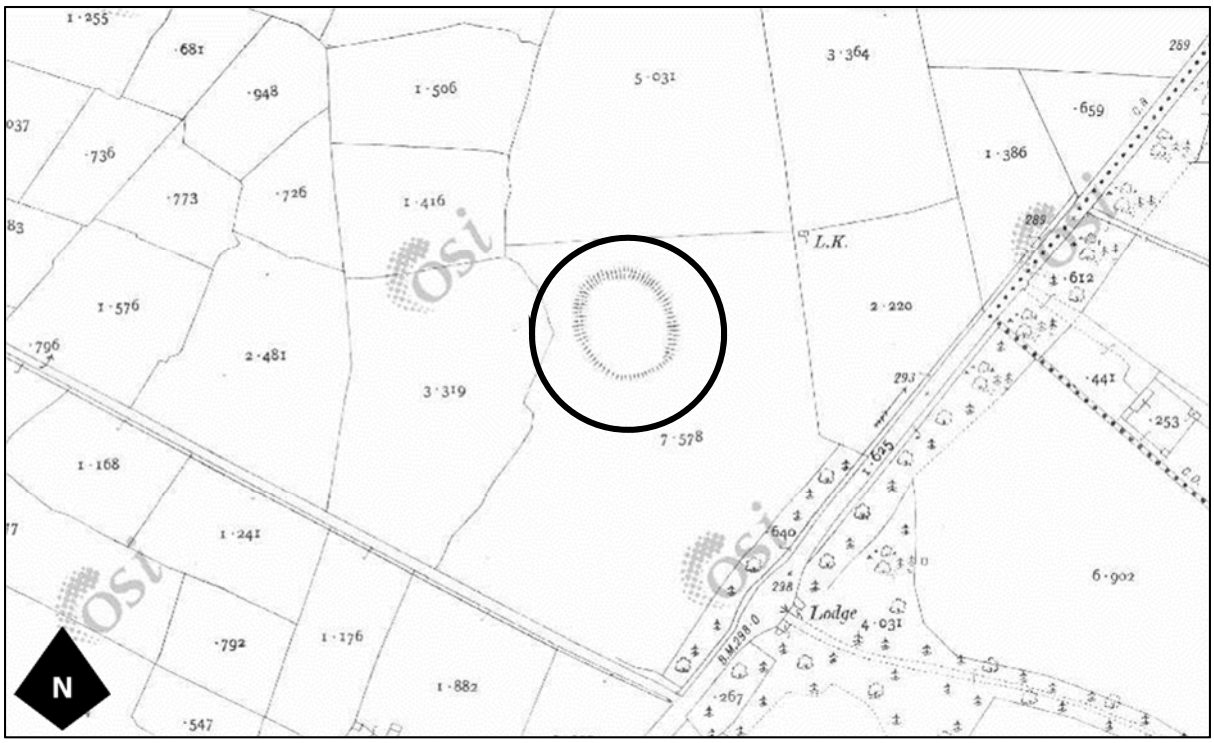


Figure 132. Second edition OS map of Arraghan townland showing cashel RO021-006001, children's burial ground RO021-006002 and rath RO021006003



Figure 133. Aerial image of Arraghan townland showing cashel RO021-006001, children's burial ground RO021-006002 and rath RO021-006003 (GE 2017)

6.3.2. Ballyconboy

The presence of three circular enclosures is recorded on the database within this townland (NMS 2019). Two of these, RO021-018 & RO022-056001, are recorded as ringforts and the third, RO022-056015, is recorded as an earthwork. Each of these enclosures is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 21 & 22) that covers this area, with RO022-056015 noted as 'Knockanstanly'. Both this enclosure and one of the ringforts, RO022-056001, are depicted on the later second edition OS map as partial enclosures. Whereas, the final ringfort, RO021-018, is shown as a complete enclosure and with a possible entrance to the southeast. Unfortunately, none of these sites is extant. Although they can still be seen as crop marks at their respective locations (DG 2011-2013).



Figure 134. First edition OS map of Ballyconboy townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-018 & 2. RO022-056001 and earthwork 3. RO022-056015



Figure 135. First edition OS map of Ballyconboy townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-018 & 2. RO022-056001 (close up)

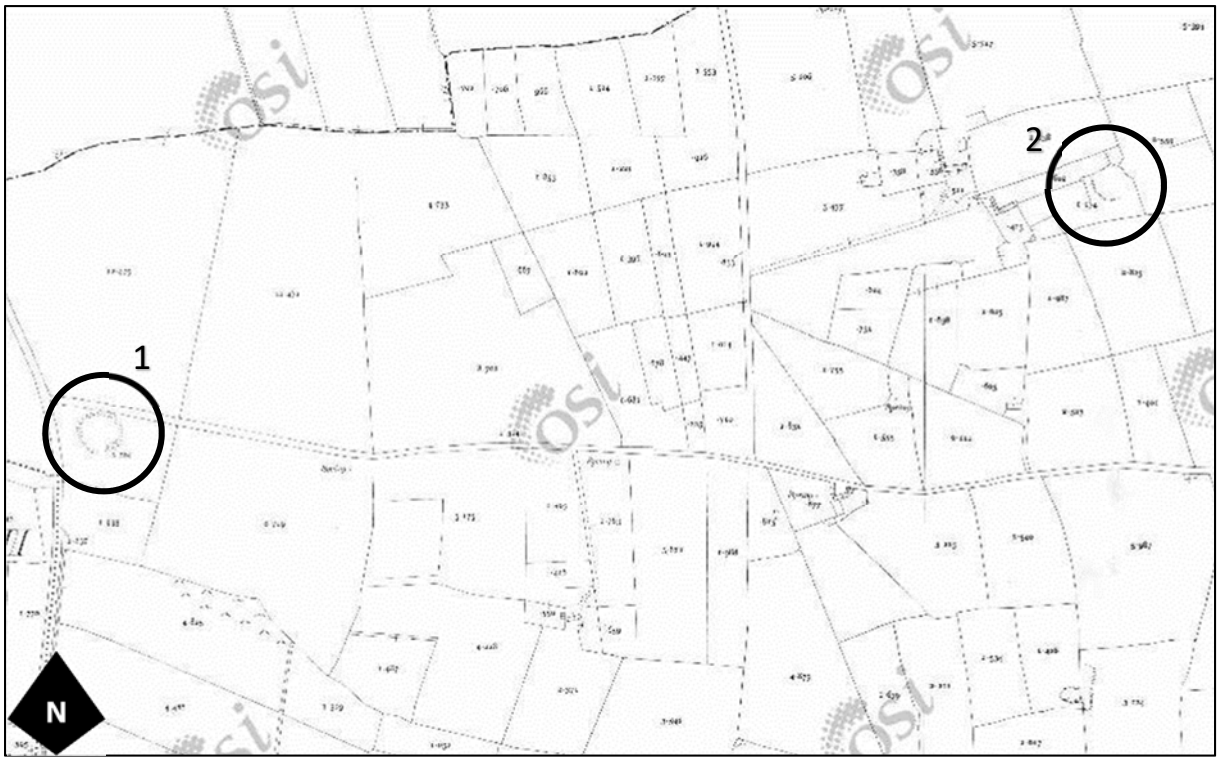


Figure 136. Second edition OS map of Ballyconboy townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-018 & 2. RO022-056001



Figure 137. Aerial image of Ballyconboy townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-018 & 2. RO022-056001 (DG 2011-3)

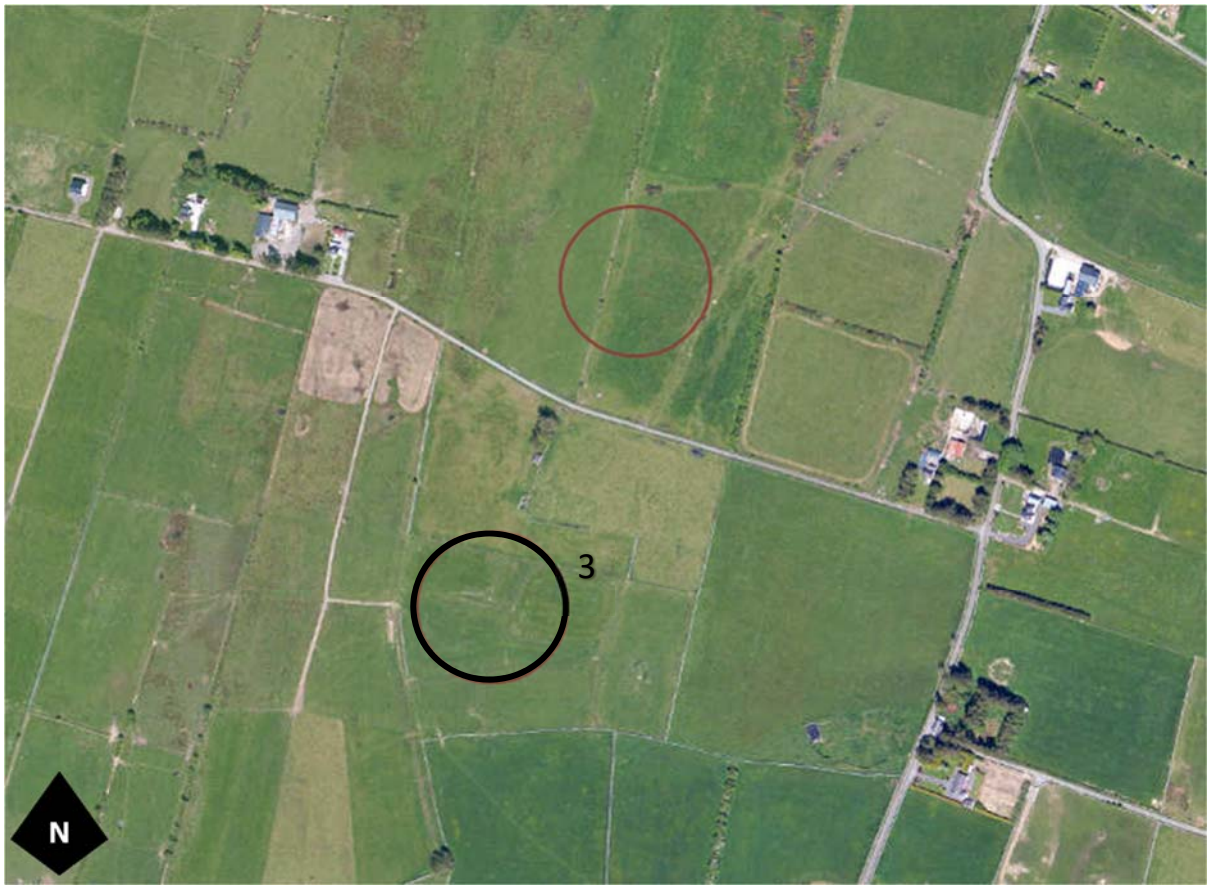


Figure 138. Aerial image of Ballyconboy townland showing site of earthwork 3. RO022-056015 and enclosure RO022-056008 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 139. Aerial image of Ballyconboy townland showing ringfort RO021-018 (GE 2017)



Figure 140. Aerial image of Ballyconboy townland showing ringfort RO022-056001 (GE 2017)

6.3.4. Bellanagare

The existence of three enclosures, RO015-074001, RO015-074002 & RO015-074004, is noted in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). As can be seen from the above numbering these enclosures are located in close proximity to each other. One, RO015-074002, is shown as a tree filled enclosure on the first edition OS map (1837, 15) and the later revised version of this map (1914, 15). It is now visible, for the most part, as a crop mark centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 575099-788140. This crop mark encloses an approximate diameter (GE 2015). One of the other two recorded enclosures, RO015-074004, is located just to the north of, and perhaps to a degree under, the initially described enclosure. The final third site, RO015-074001, is recorded in the database as being located in the interior of the visible, initially described, enclosure (GE 2015).

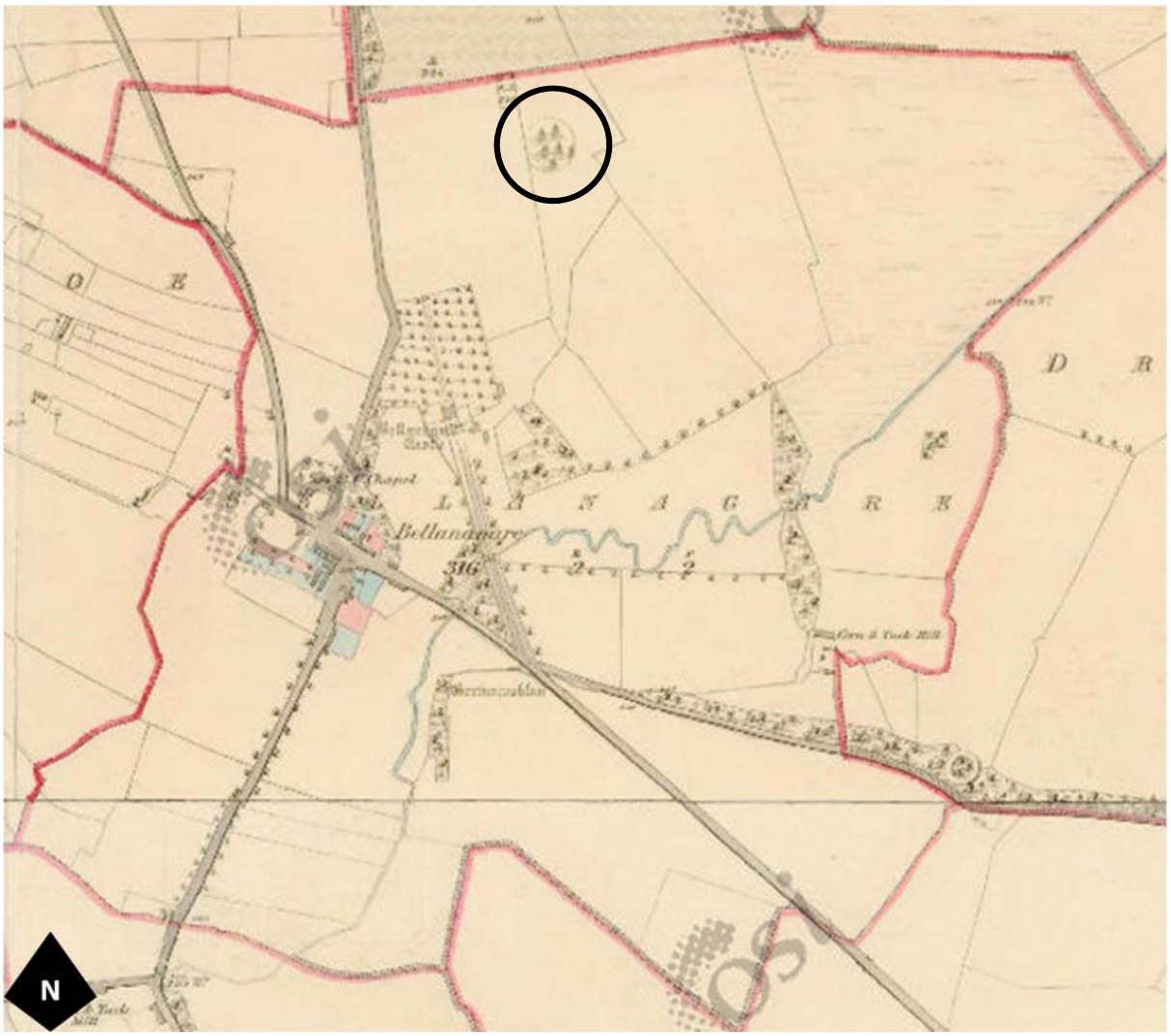


Figure 141. First edition OS map of Bellanagare townland showing enclosures RO015-074001, RO015-074002 & RO015-074004

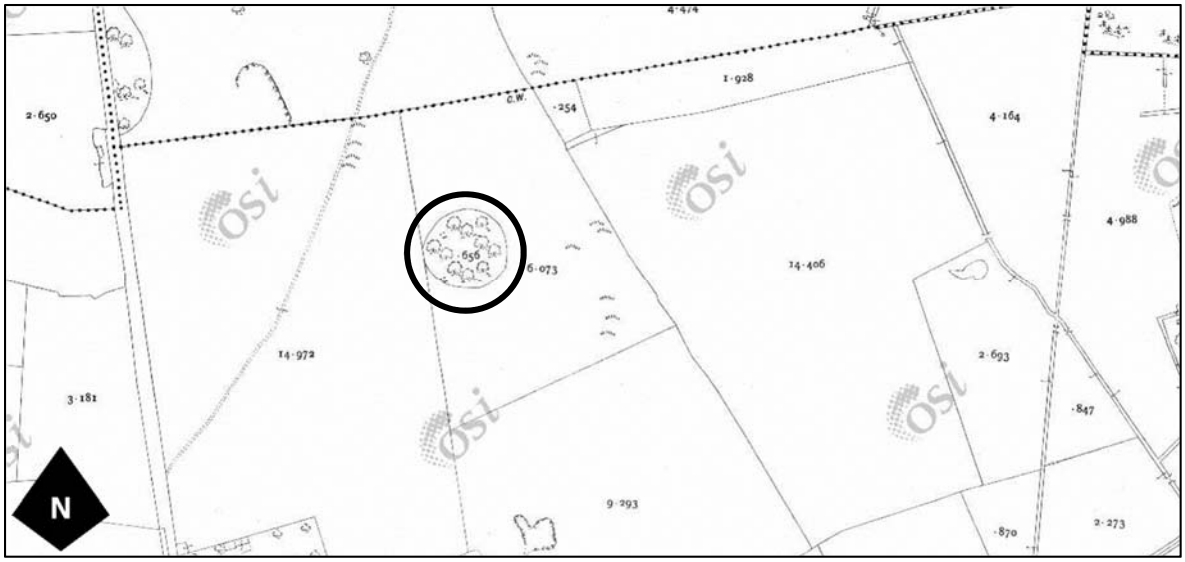


Figure 142. Second edition OS map of Bellanagare Bellanagare townland showing enclosures RO015-074001, RO015-074002 & RO015-074004



Figure 143. Aerial image of Bellanagare townland showing enclosures RO015-074001, RO015-074002 & RO015-074004 (GE 2015)

6.3.5. Carrowreagh

A unique example of this studied monument type is recorded within this townland (NMS 2019). This ringfort, RO021-017, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 21) of this locality. It is also shown on the revised second edition OS map, with a possible entrance shown at its southwest corner. Unfortunately, it is no longer extant but can be seen as a crop mark (DG 2011-2013). This crop mark is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 577373-785787 and this location is surrounded by modern forestry plantation.

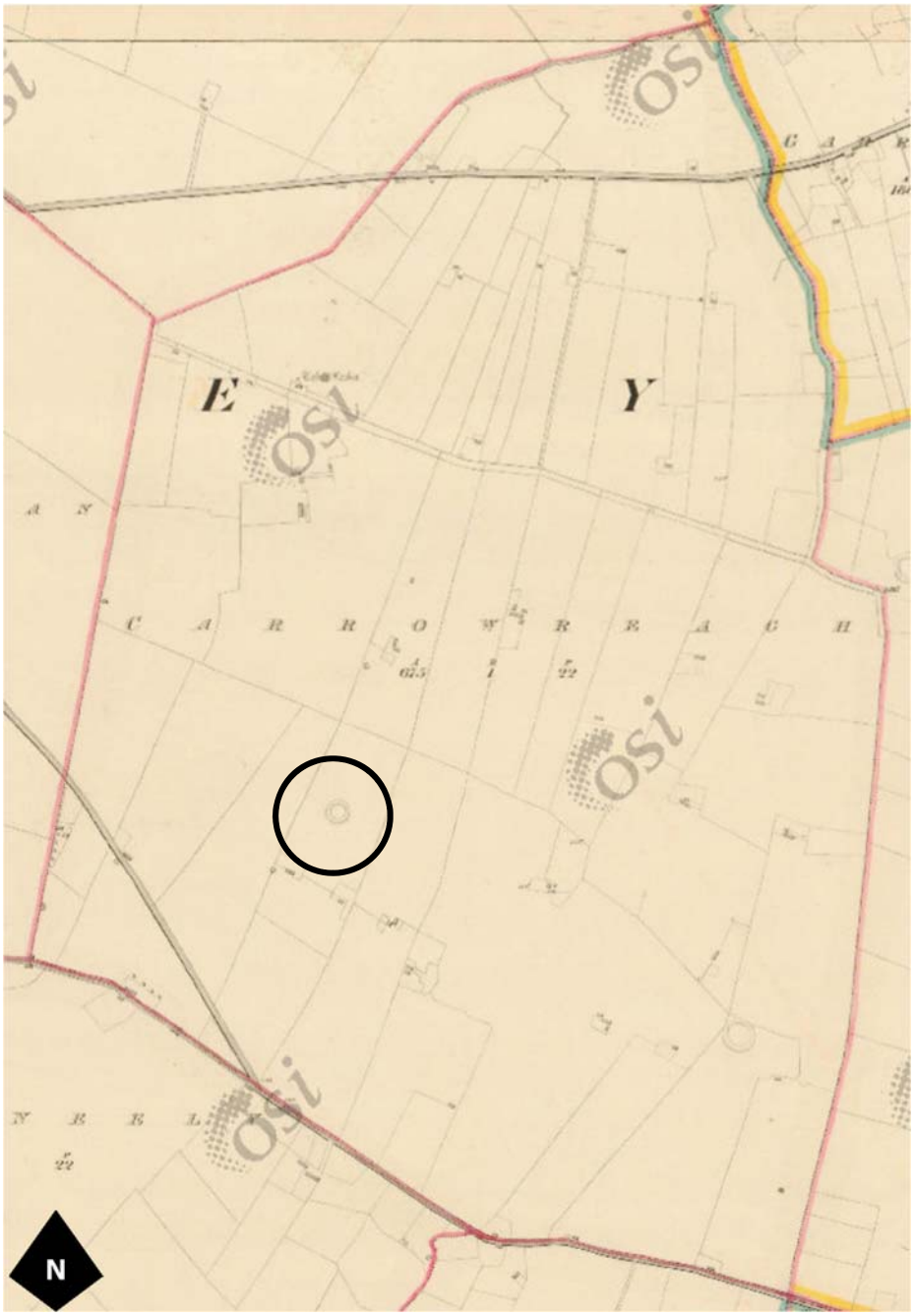


Figure 144. First edition OS map of Carrowreagh townland showing ringfort RO021-017

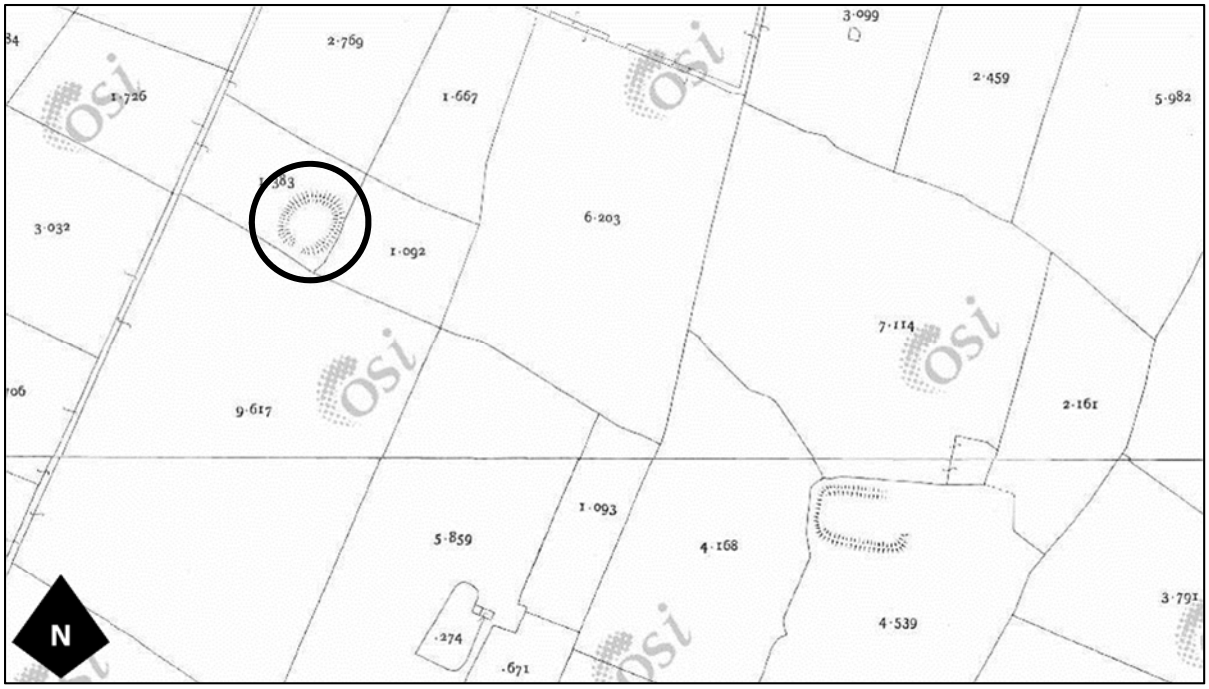


Figure 145. Second edition OS map of Carrowreagh townland showing ringfort RO021-017



Figure 146. Aerial image of Carrowreagh townland showing site of ringfort RO021-017 (GE 2017)

6.3.6. Cashel

The archaeological database records the presence of a single example of this general monument type within this townland (NMS 2019). This monument, RO015-046, is recorded as a cashel. Nevertheless, it is not depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 15) of this particular area. It is shown, however, on the later revised editions of maps that cover this townland. Unfortunately, it is no longer extant. Although the location of this site may be confirmed through the presence of a faint crop mark (DG 2011-2013).

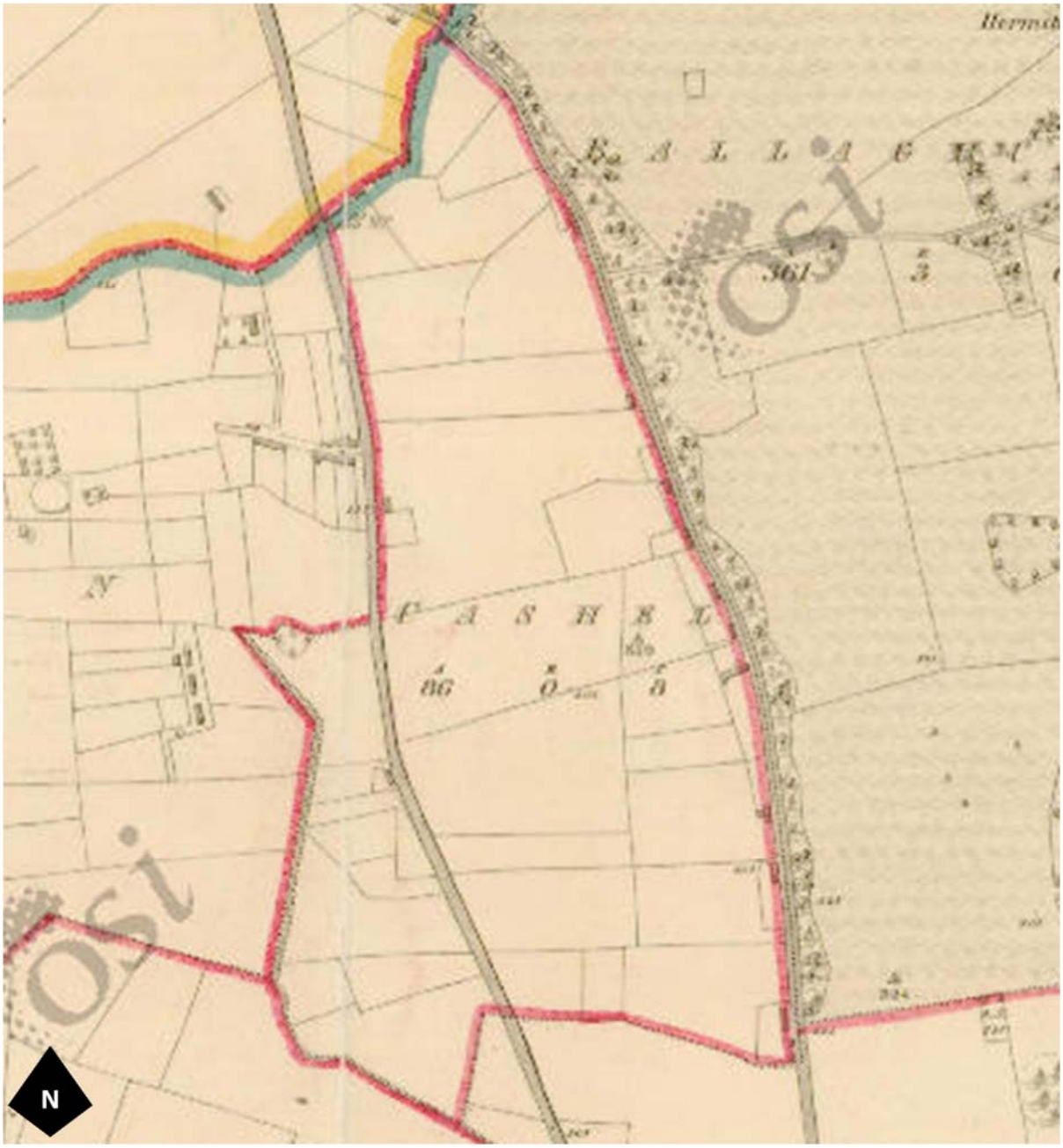


Figure 147. First edition OS map of Cashel townland

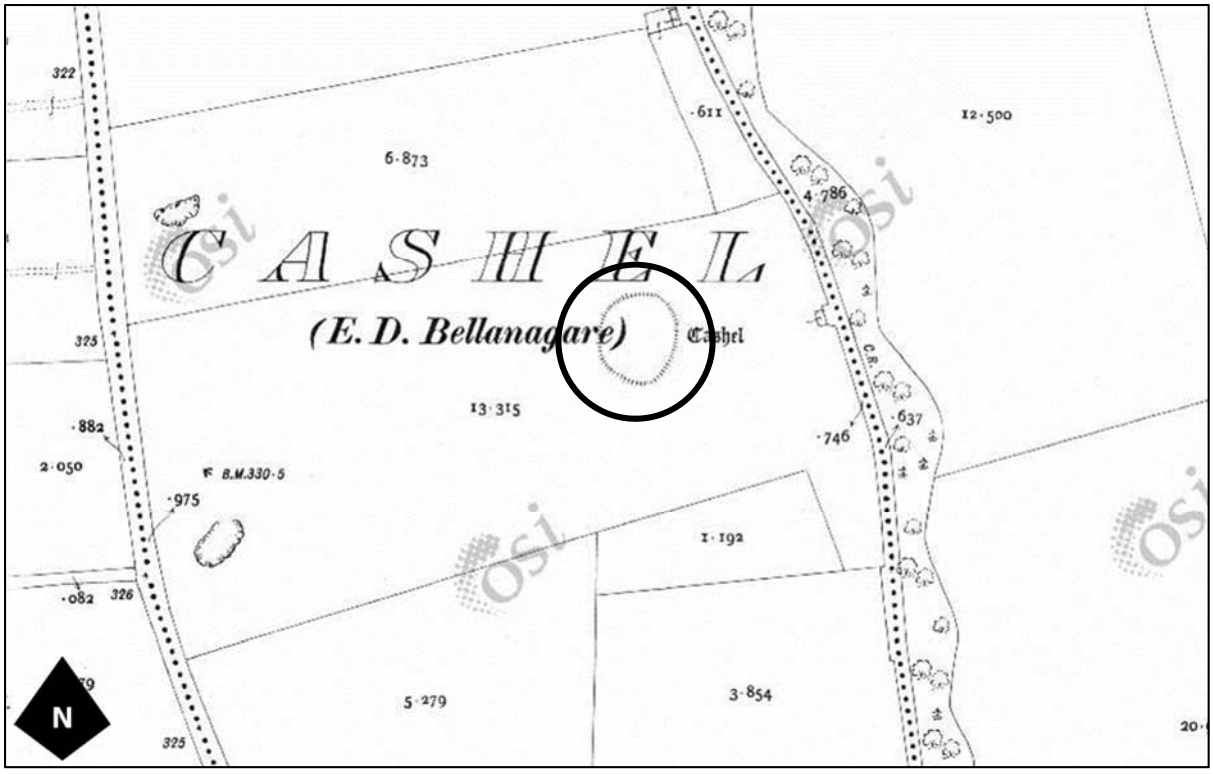


Figure 148. Second edition OS map of Cashel townland showing cashel RO015-046



Figure 149. Aerial image of Cashel townland showing site of cashel RO015-046

6.3.7. Cornamucklagh and Falmore

The presence of two cashels is recorded within the boundaries of this townland in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). The first of these, RO015-043001, is not shown on the first edition of the OS map (1837, 15) that covers this same area. However, it is shown as a partial enclosure on the second edition OS map. A later field boundary is shown traversing this site and the presence of a small rectangular field is shown to the southeast of this field wall. These two features are still visible and the remainder of the cashel is visible as a crop mark. This feature is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 573550-787410. The second recorded cashel in this townland is located near the southern boundary. This enclosure, RO021-004, is depicted on the first edition of the OS map (1837, 21). It is not, however, shown on any of the later revised maps that cover the townland (1891 & 1928, 21). The location of this cashel is now surrounded by forestry plantation, though its general location may be discerned because of a gap in this forest (DG 2011-2013).

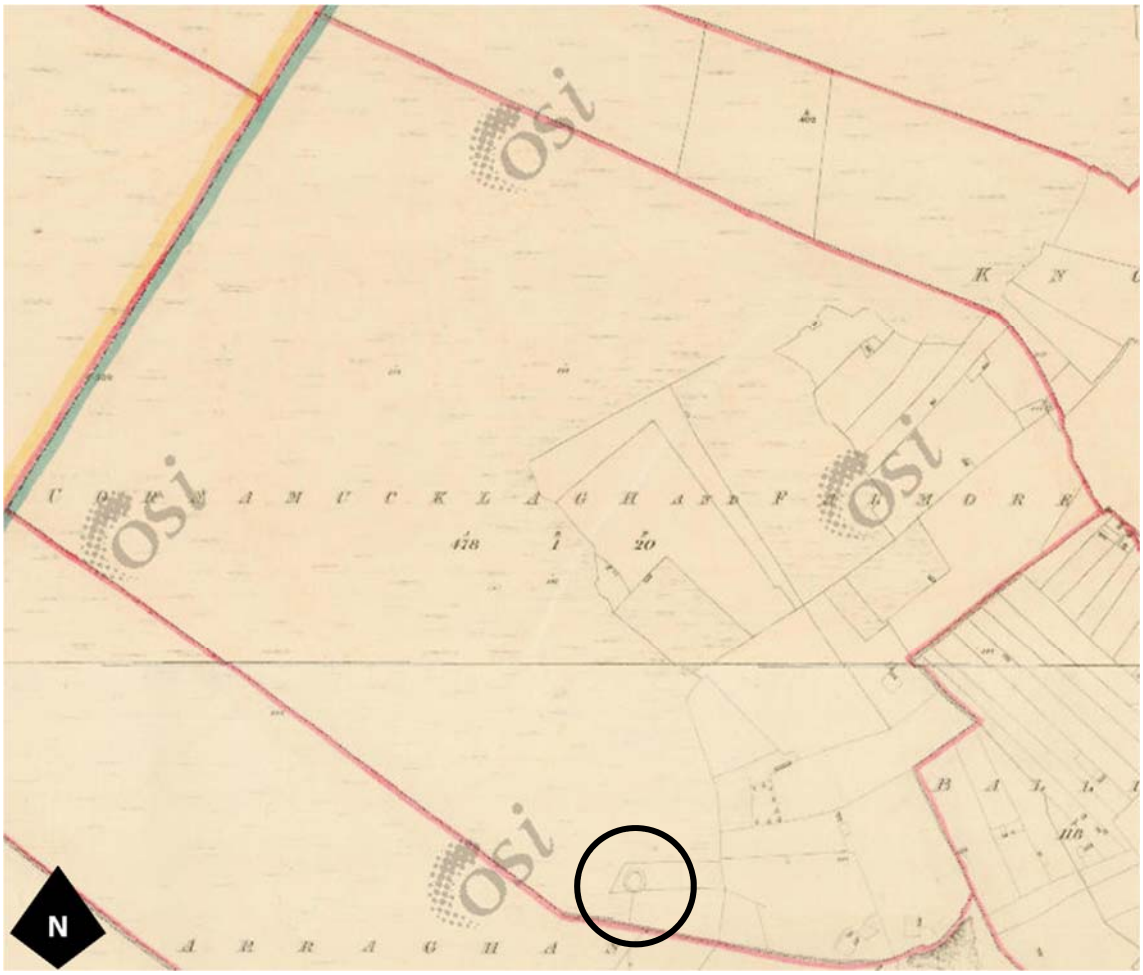


Figure 150. First edition OS map of Cornamucklagh and Falmore townland showing cashel RO021-004

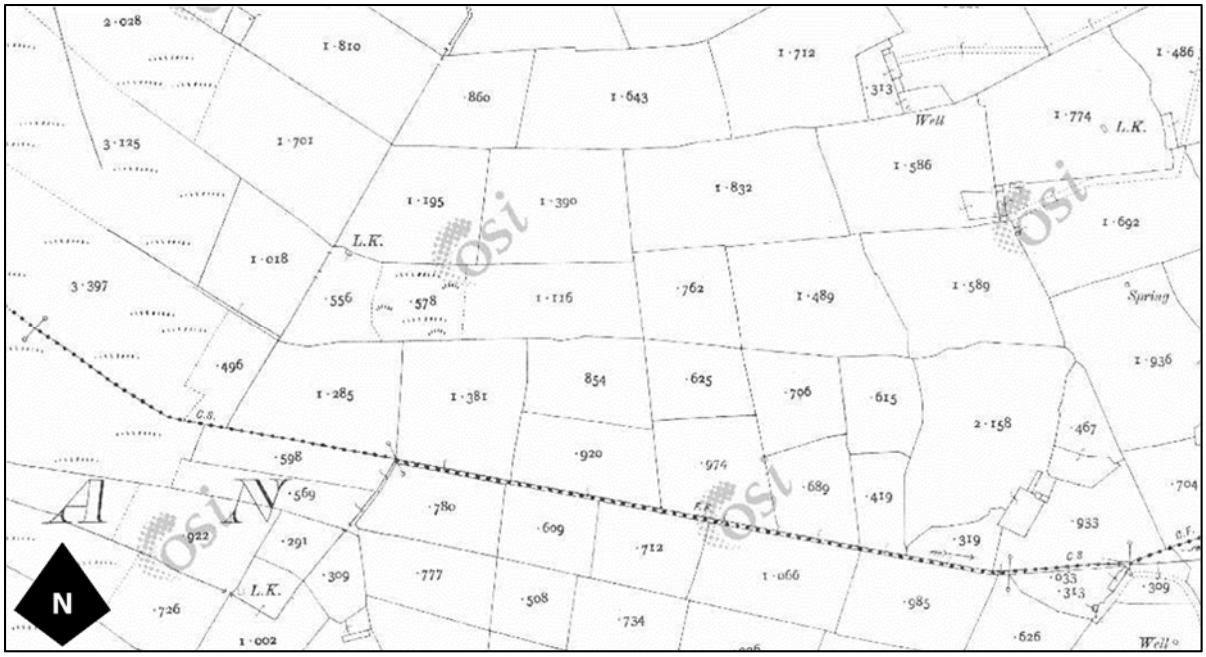


Figure 151. Second edition OS map of Cornamucklagh and Falmore townland showing general location of cashel RO021-004

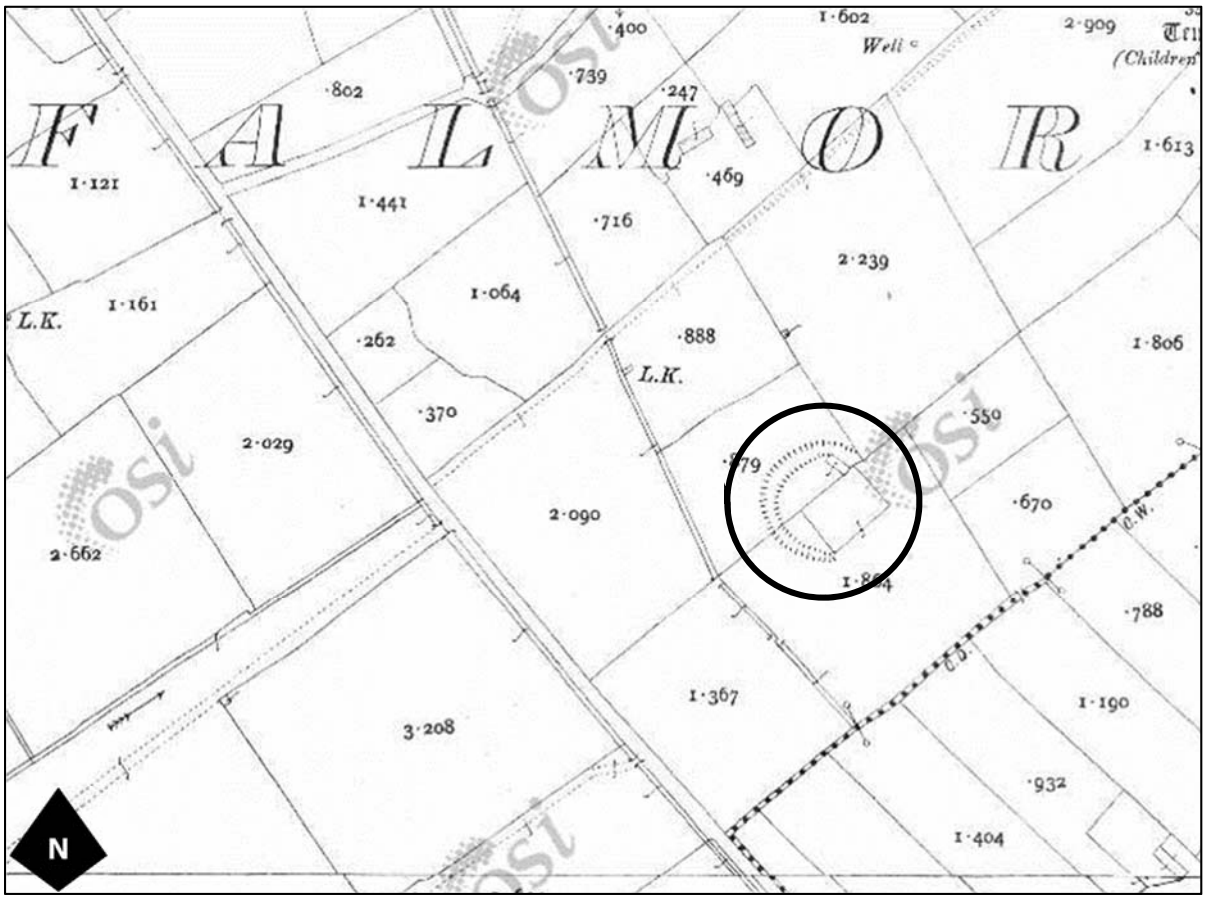


Figure 152. Second edition OS map of Cornamucklagh and Falmore townland showing cashel RO015-043001



Figure 153. Aerial image of Cornamucklagh and Falmore townland showing cashel RO015-043001



Figure 154. Aerial image of Cornamucklagh and Falmore showing site of cashel RO021-004

6.3.8. Derreen

In this townland again, the presence of a single ringfort is recorded in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). This monument, RO015-044, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 15) of this area. Again unfortunately, it is no longer shown on any of the later maps that cover this townland. The location of this site is, however, visible because of the presence of a crop mark (GE 2015). This crop mark, which encloses an area of *c*.20m diameter, is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 574099-788739.



Figure 155. First edition OS map of Derreen townland showing ringfort RO015-044

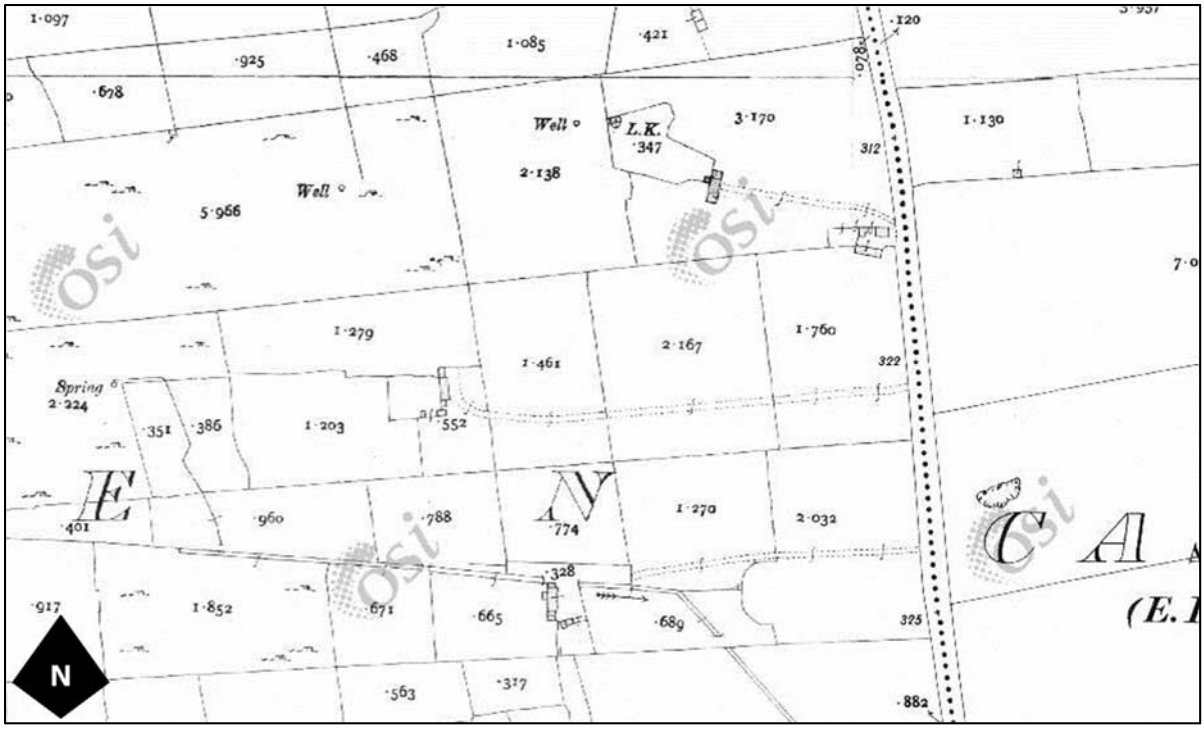


Figure 156. Second edition OS map of Derreen townland showing location of ringfort RO015-044



Figure 157. Aerial image of Derreen townland showing site of ringfort RO015-044 (GE 2017)

6.3.9. Drummin

Here again, the presence of a unique ringfort is recorded in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). This rath, RO015-051002, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 15) of this townland. It is also shown on the later revised second edition of these same maps and the presence of an 'ogham stone' is noted in its interior. The outline of this monument is now visible at this location as a combination of a low bank and a tree ring. Because of this, the ringfort may be considered extant.

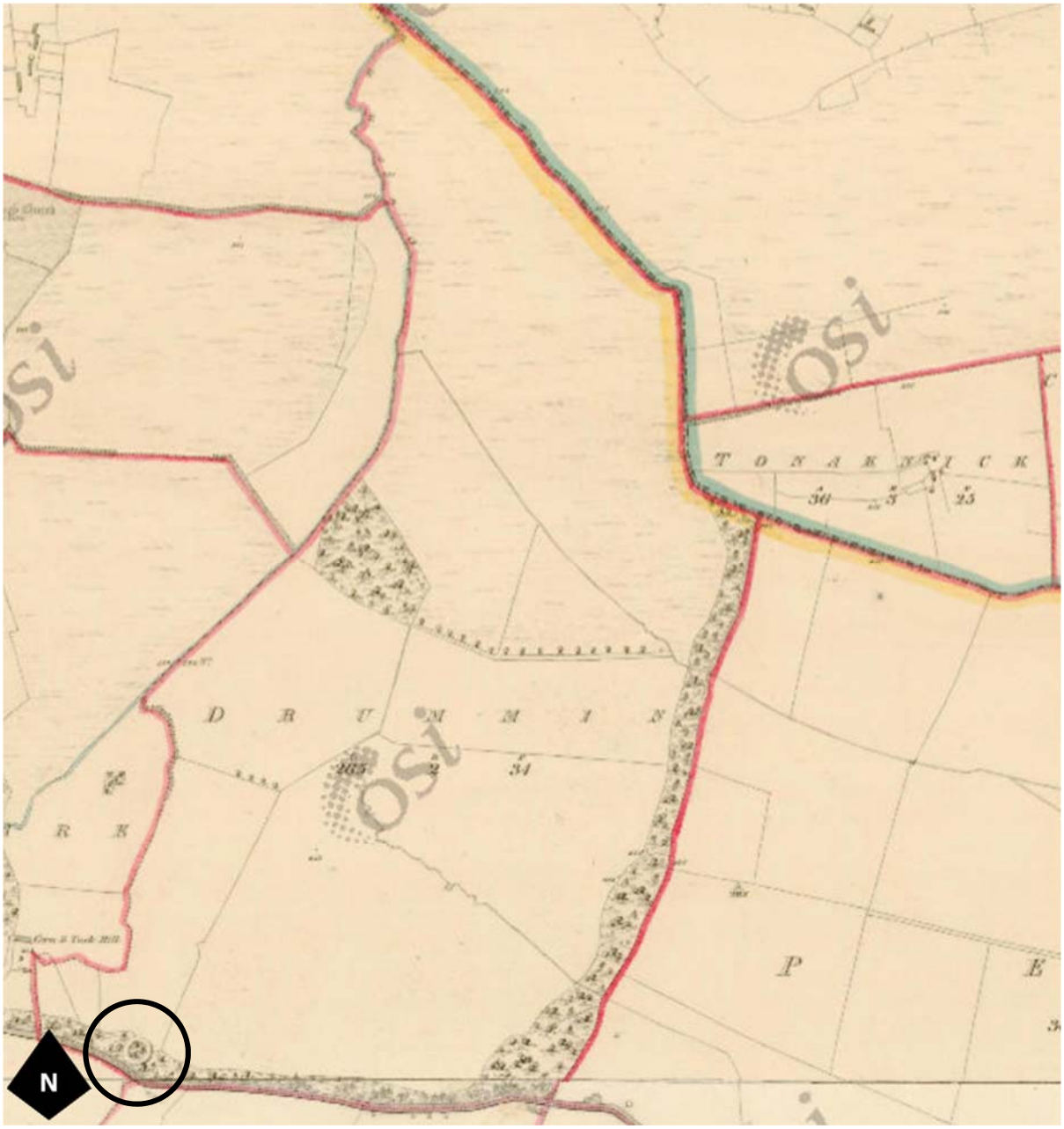


Figure 158. First edition OS map of Drummin townland showing ringfort RO015-051002

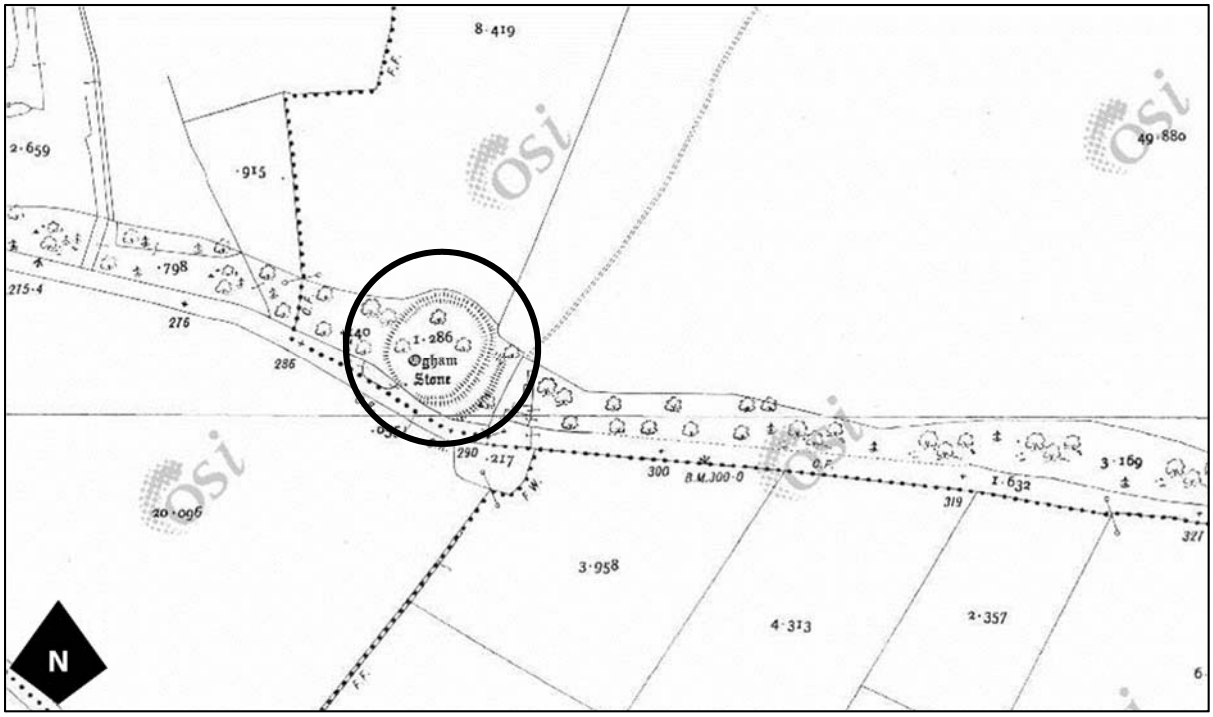


Figure 159. Second edition OS map of Drummin townland showing ringfort RO015-051002



Figure 160. Aerial image of Drummin townland showing ringfort RO015-051002 (GE 2017)

6.3.10. Gortnagoyne

The presence of two ringforts are recorded for this townland in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). The two of these monuments, RO021-012 & RO021-013, are shown on the first available map of the area (OSI 1837, 21). They are also depicted on the revised second edition, 25inch map and the even later revised 6inch map (*ibid*, 1891 & 1928, 21). Even more thankfully, these monuments are still extant and are visible as complete structures on recent aerial images (DG 2011-2013; GE 2015).

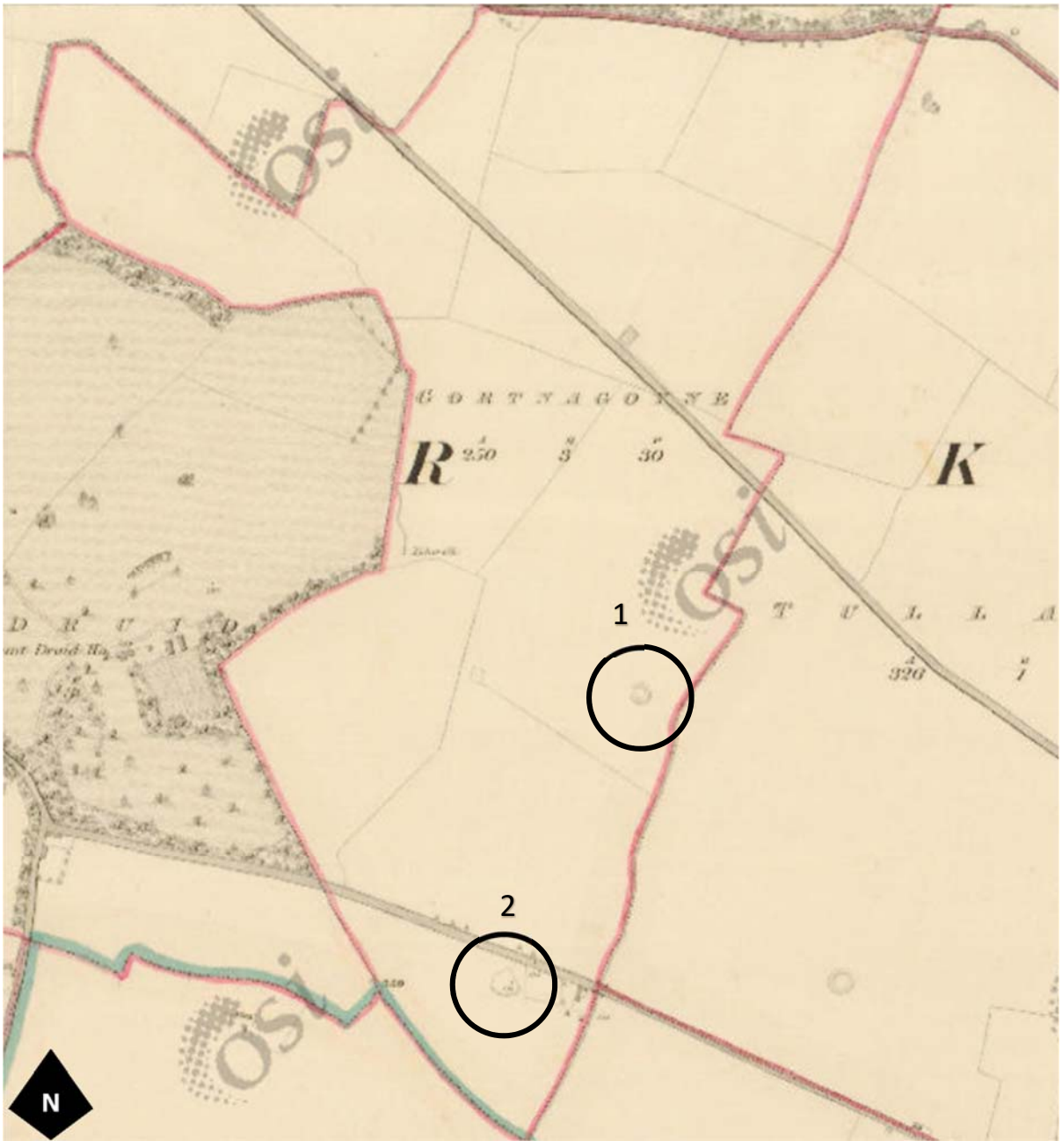


Figure 161. First edition OS map of Gortnagoyne townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-012 & 2. RO021-013

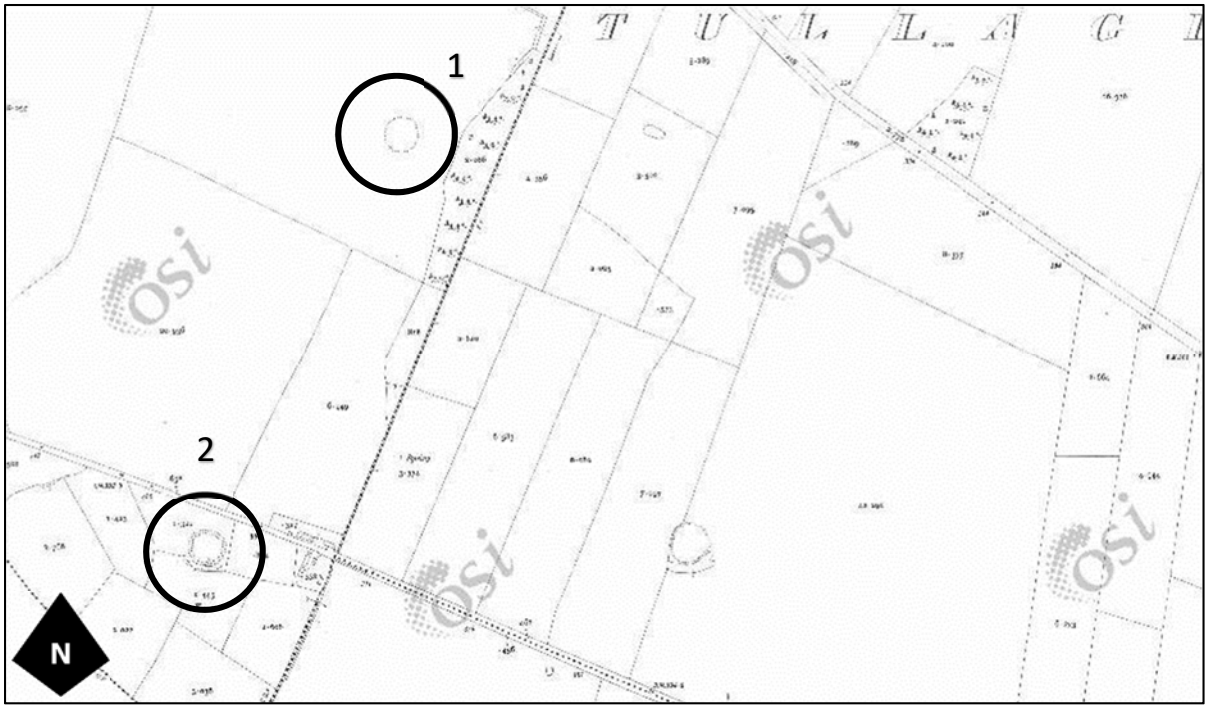


Figure 162. Second edition OS map of Gortnagoyne townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-012 & 2. RO021-013



Figure 163. Aerial image of Gortnagoyne townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-012 & 2. RO021-013 (GE 2017)

6.3.11. Killaster

The presence of a single enclosure is mentioned for this townland in the archaeological record (NMS 2019). Nevertheless, this structure, RO021-023001, is not shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 21) of this locality. However, it is depicted on later revised maps that cover this townland (OSI 1895 & 1916, 21). Unfortunately, it can no longer be considered extant. Its location can be confirmed by reference to modern aerial images (DG 2011-2013). These clearly show a roughly circular crop mark centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 574412-785453 and enclosing an area of *c*.42m in diameter. Although this feature is recorded as an enclosure, it will be included in the calculation of overall numbers for this study. This is due to the presence of a fosse and because the overall diameter of the site falls within the range that can be expected of a ringfort.

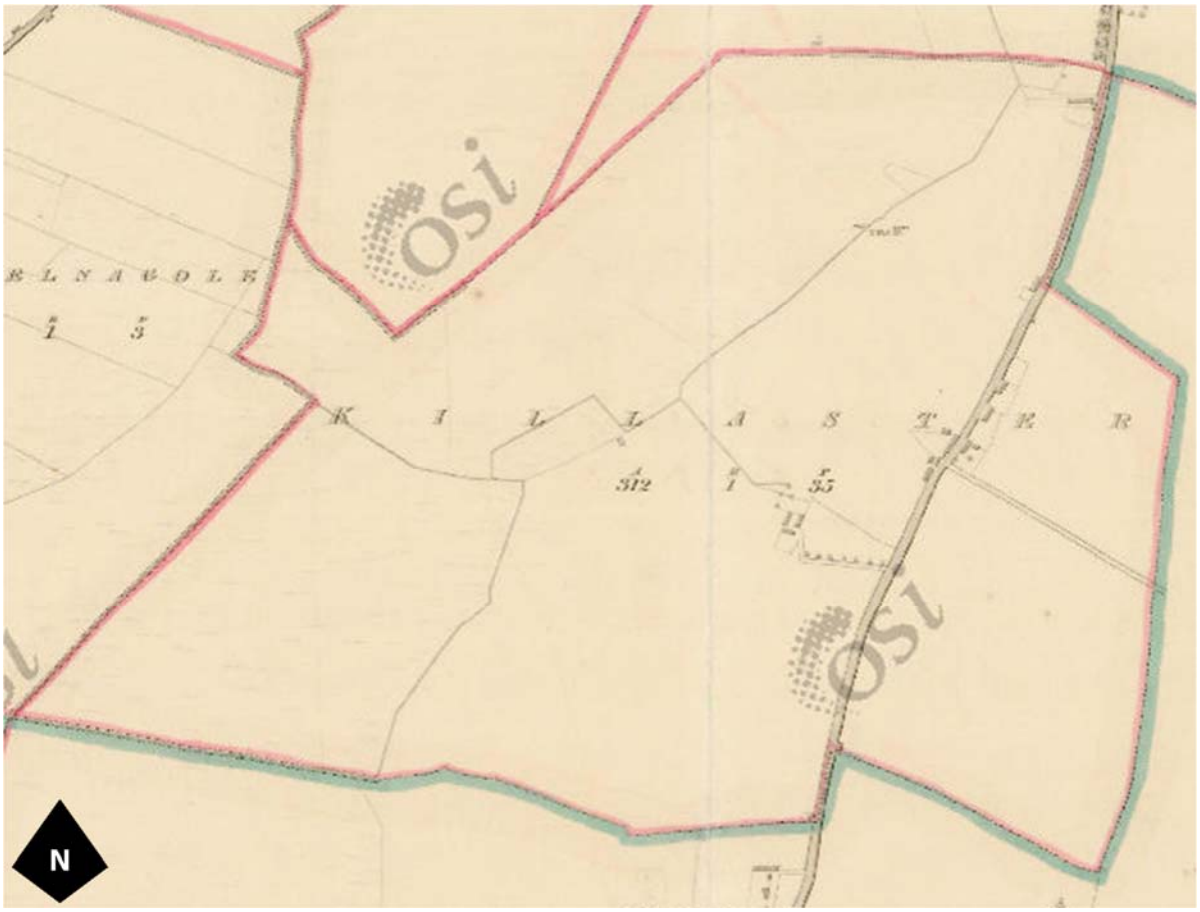


Figure 164. First edition OS map of Killaster townland

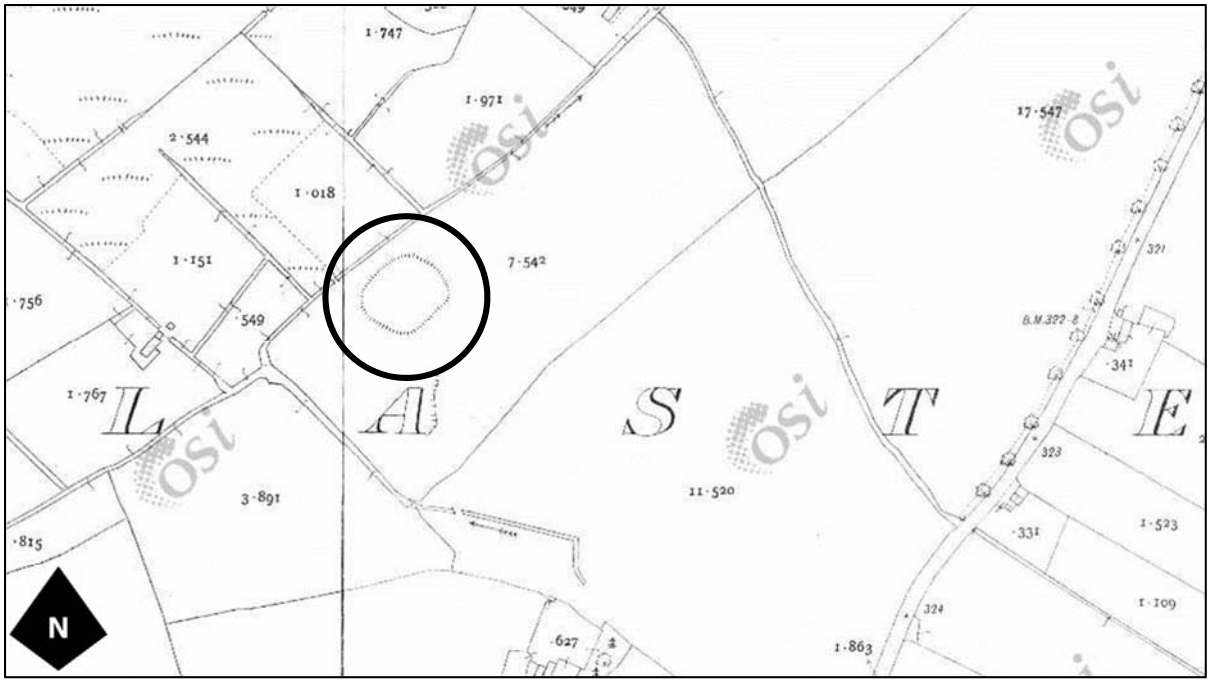


Figure 165. Second edition OS map of Killaster townland showing enclosure RO021-023001



Figure 166. Aerial image of Killaster townland showing site of enclosure RO021-023001

6.3.12. Rathkineely

The archaeological record contains reference to the eventual presence of two ringforts within the boundaries of this townland (NMS 2019). One of these structures, RO021-030, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 21) of the area. It is also shown on later revised map of the same locality (OSI 1895, 21) and, indeed, is still extant. It is visible on modern aerial images as a denuded structure that is defined by the presence of a bank. The other feature recorded as a ringfort in this townland, RO021-028, is not shown on any of these available maps. It is, however, visible as a crop mark on modern images created from an aerial survey of the region (GE 2015). This circular feature is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 576344-785145 and encloses an area of approximately 66m in overall diameter.

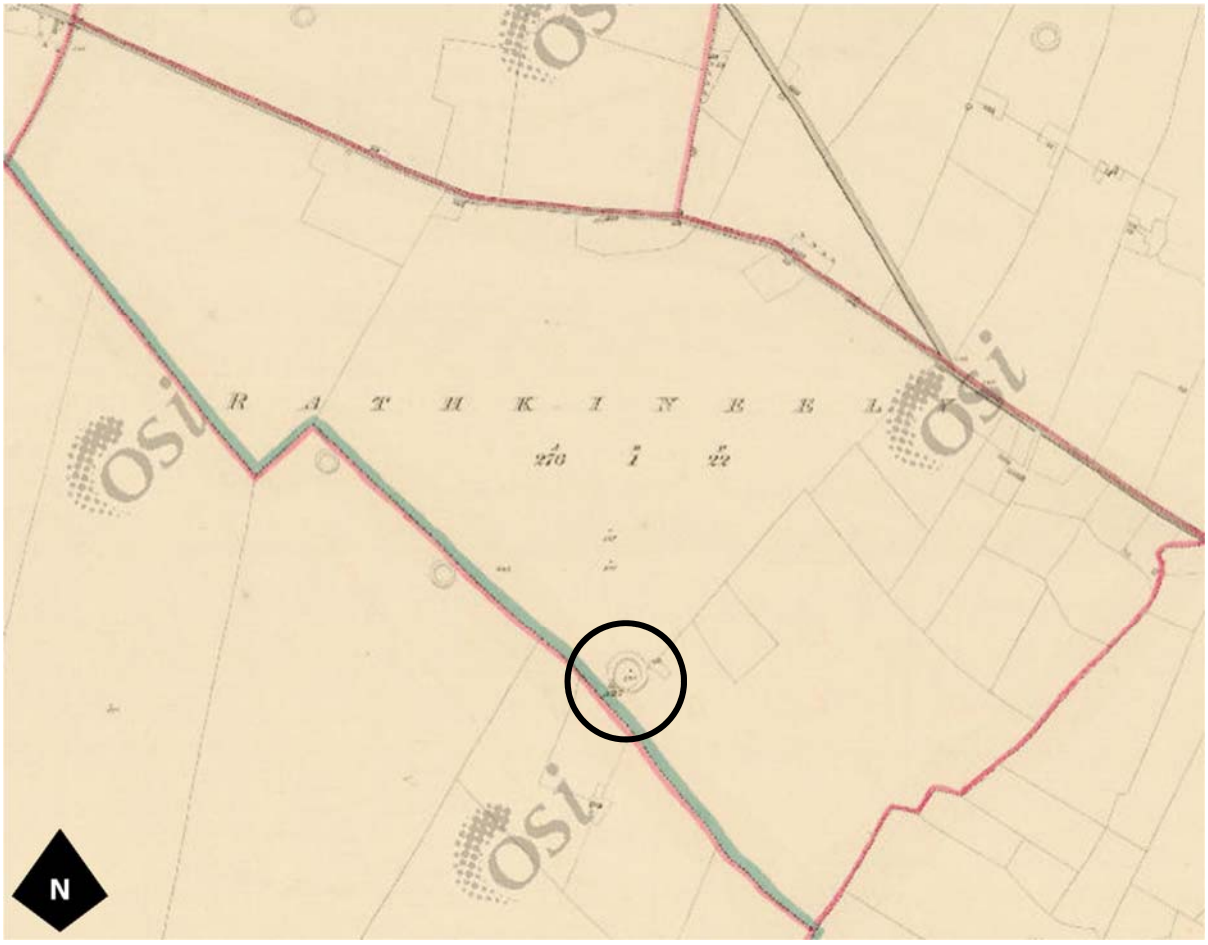


Figure 167. First edition OS map of Rathkineely townland showing ringfort RO021-030

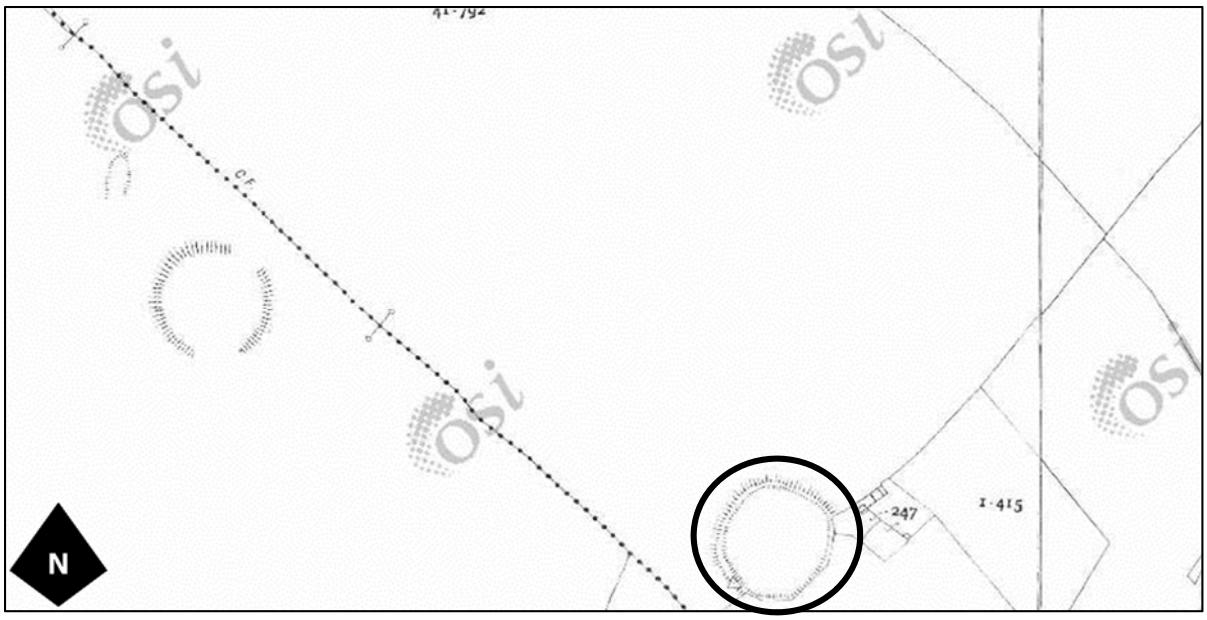


Figure 168. Second edition OS map of Rathkineely townland showing ringfort RO021-030



Figure 169. Aerial image of Rathkineely townland showing ringfort 1. RO021-030 and site of 2. ringfort RO021-028

6.3.13. Rathnallog

The presence of four ringforts is recorded for this townland in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). The four of these monuments are depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 21) of the area. The first of these, RO021-038, is further depicted on later revised versions of this map. Indeed, it is still extant and is visible on modern aerial imagery as being defined by a wide fosse and a partial ring of trees. The second of these recorded ringforts, RO021-040, is also depicted on the later maps of this townland and is extant. It can be seen on recent aerial images as an almost completely denuded structure (GE 2015). The third recorded example of this monument type, RO021-041, is depicted as a complete structure on the first edition OS map (1837, 21). However, by the time of the later second edition revised map, it is shown as having been divided by a field boundary at some intervening period. The portion of the ringfort located west of this boundary is shown on this map as having been levelled. The remainder of the ringfort has the name 'Rathnallog' attached to it. This partial enclosure is still visible on recent aerial imagery, where it is defined by its fosse (DG 2011-2013). The final ringfort noted for this townland, RO021-054, is also shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 21) of this area. It is further depicted on later maps and is still extant. This enclosure is especially visible on Google Earth imagery (2015), where it is defined as a low relief feature with a possible entrance to the northeast.



Figure 170. First edition OS map of Rathnallog townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-038, 2. RO021-040, 3. RO021-041 and 4. RO021-054

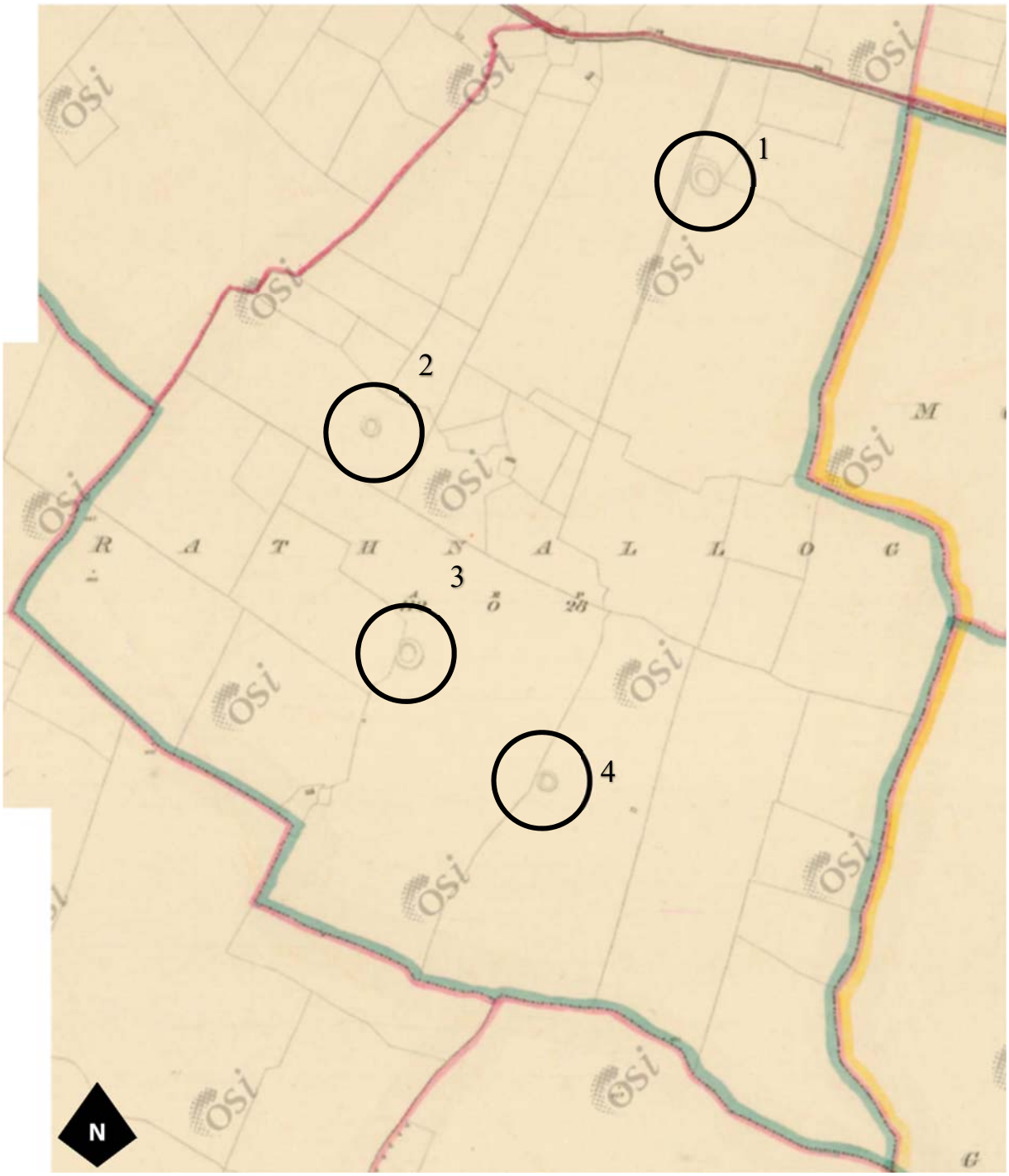


Figure 171. First edition OS map of Rathnallog townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-038, 2. RO021-040, 3. RO021-041 and 4. RO021-054

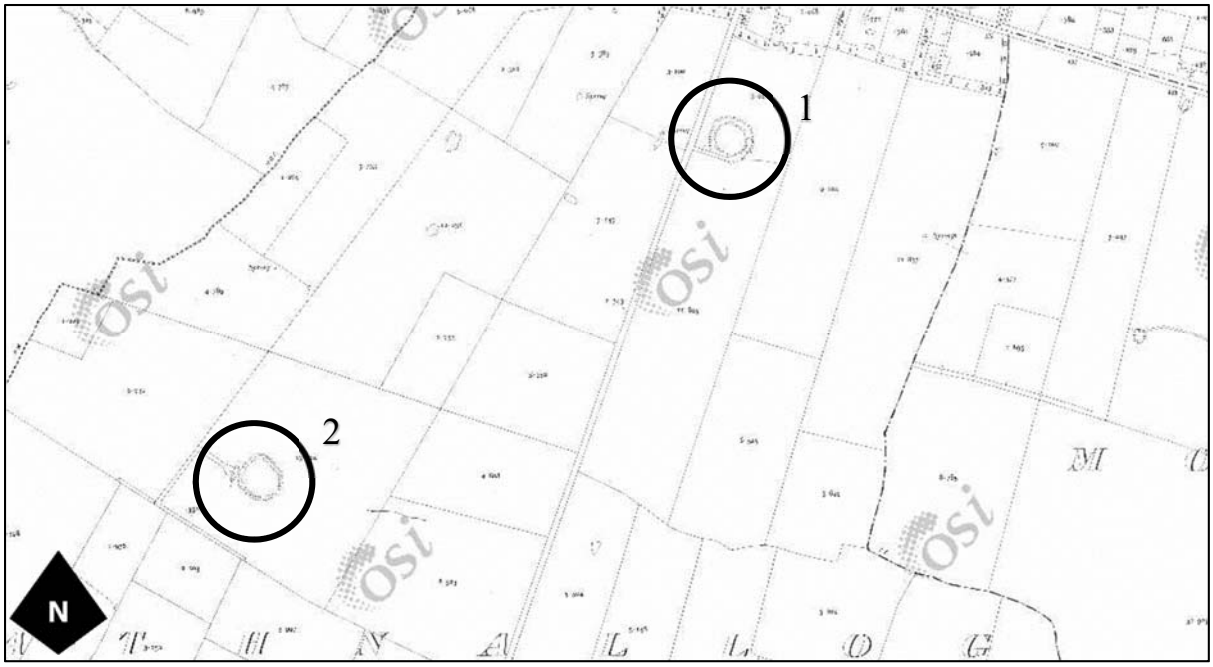


Figure 172. Second edition OS map of Rathnallog townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-038 and 2. RO021-040

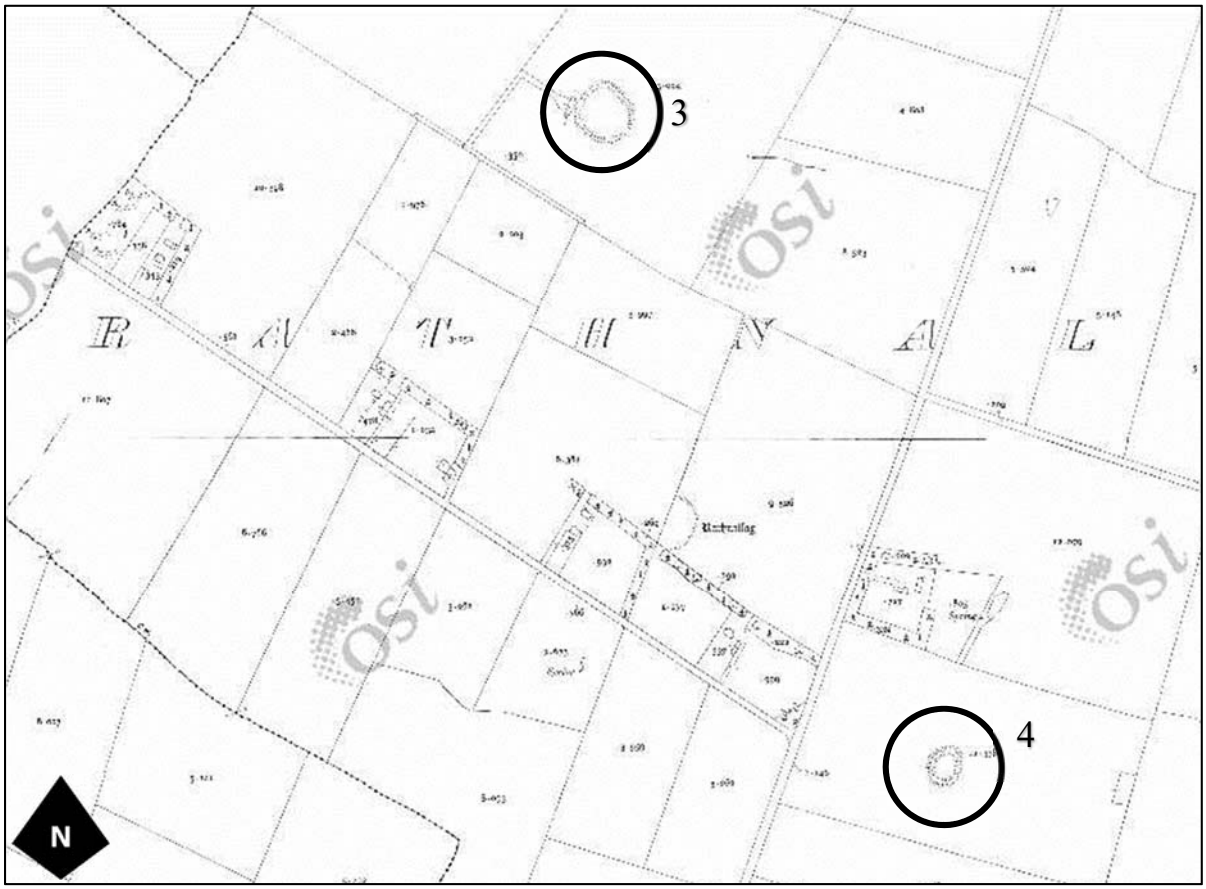


Figure 173. Second edition OS map of Rathnallog townland showing ringforts 3. RO021-041 and 4. RO021-054



Figure 174. Aerial image of Rathnallog townland showing ringforts 1. RO021-038, 2. RO021-040, 3. RO021-041 and 4. RO021-054 (GE 2017)

6.3.14. Tullaghan

One ringfort is recorded on the archaeological database for this townland. This monument, RO021-015, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 21) of the area. It is also shown on later maps of the townland and is, in fact, extant. It is visible on modern aerial imagery (GE 2015) as a completely denuded, low relief feature that is defined by the presence of a bank and fosse.

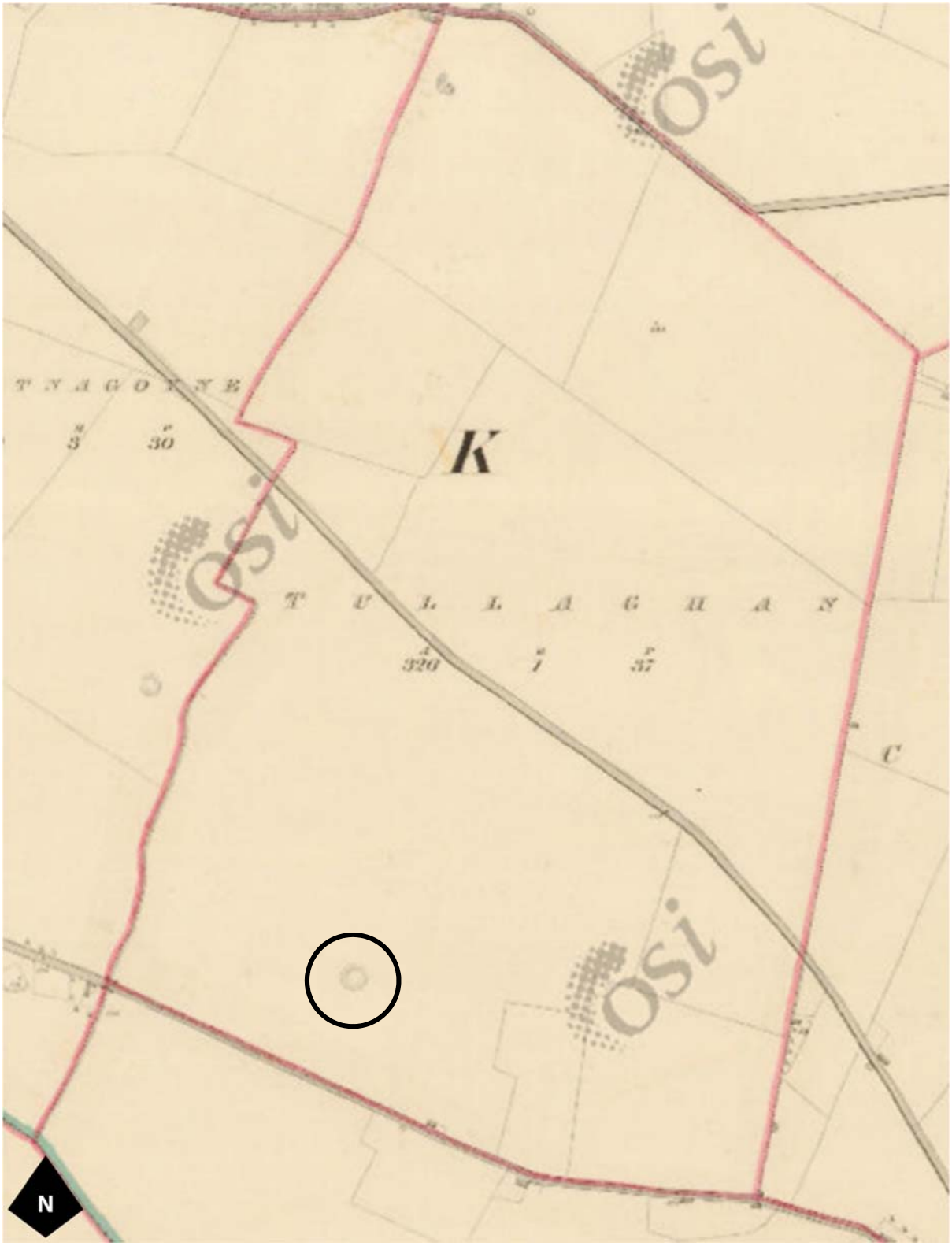


Figure 175. First edition OS map of Tullaghan townland showing ringfort RO021-015

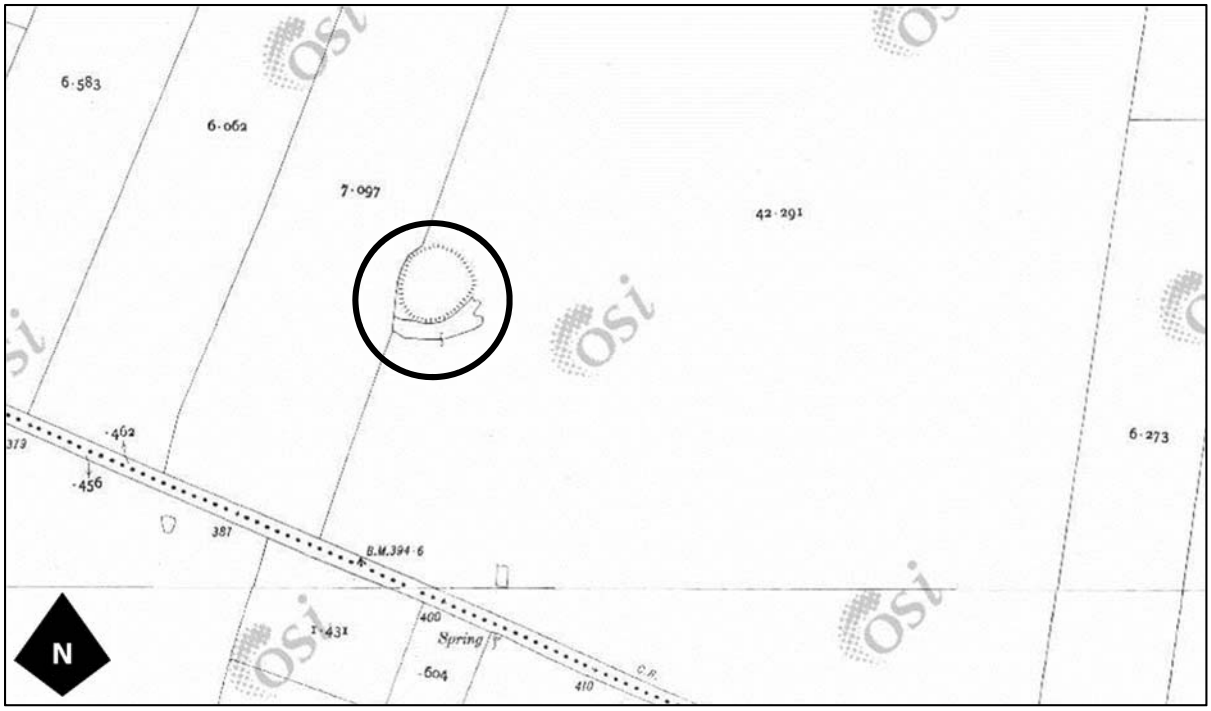


Figure 176. Second edition OS map of Tullaghan townland showing ringfort RO021-015



Figure 177. Aerial image of Tullaghan townland showing ringfort RO021-015

6.3.15. Tully

The presence of two circular enclosures is recorded for this townland in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). The presence of a souterrain is also recorded here. The first of the enclosures here, RO021-020, is recorded as a cashel. However, it is not depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 21) of this same area. Although it is shown on later revised maps of the townland. Unfortunately, this cashel is no longer extant. It is still visible, however, as a faint crop mark centred on grid coordinates, 572284-784838, and encloses an area of *c*.20m in diameter (GE 2010). Another enclosure, RO021-021, is recorded on database as an earthwork. It is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 21) but not on any later revised maps of the townland. Neither is it easily visible on modern aerial images as a crop mark (GE 2010). The noted souterrrain here, RO021-094, is not depicted on any of the available maps of the locality. However, the presence of a faint crop mark may be visible surrounding this recorded location. This possible crop mark is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 572228-784980 and may enclose an area of *c*.27m in diameter.

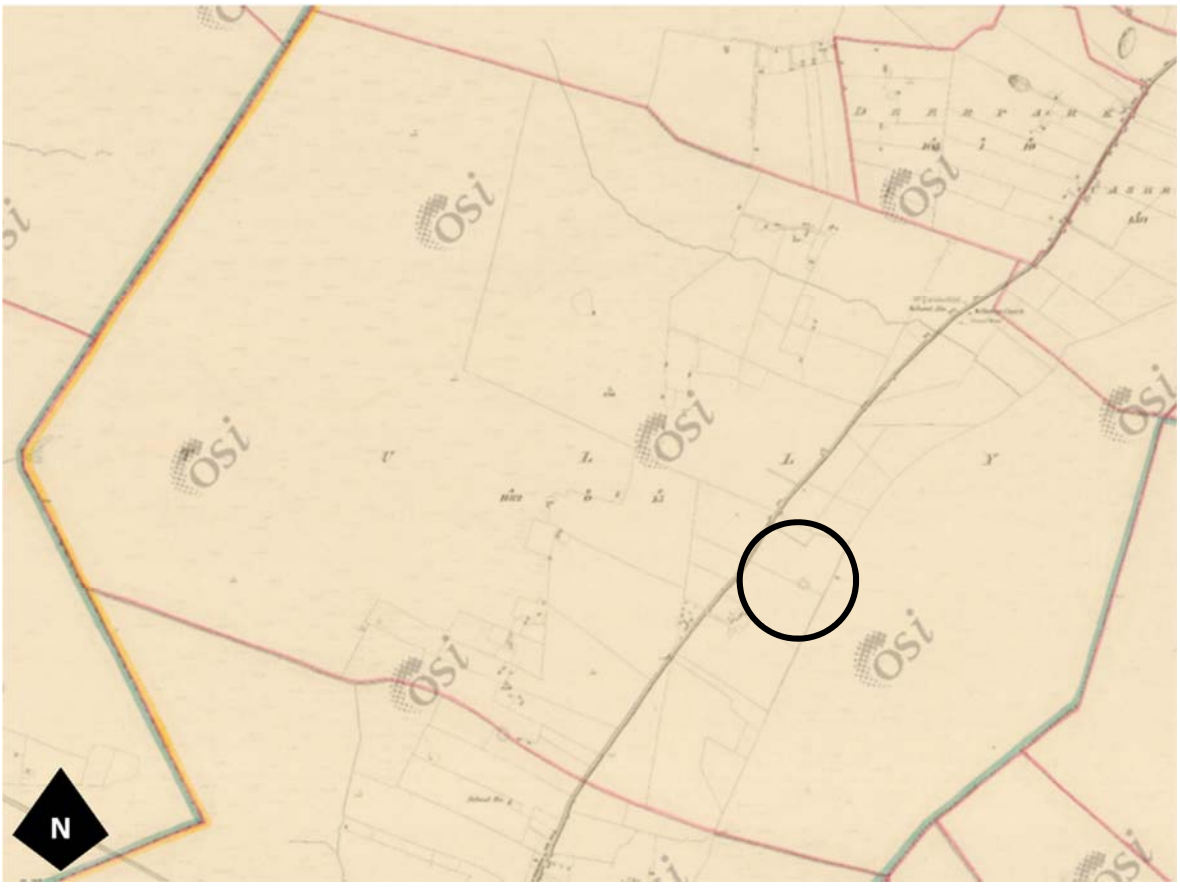


Figure 178. First edition OS map of Tully townland showing earthwork RO021-021



Figure 179. First edition OS map of Tully townland showing earthwork RO021-021

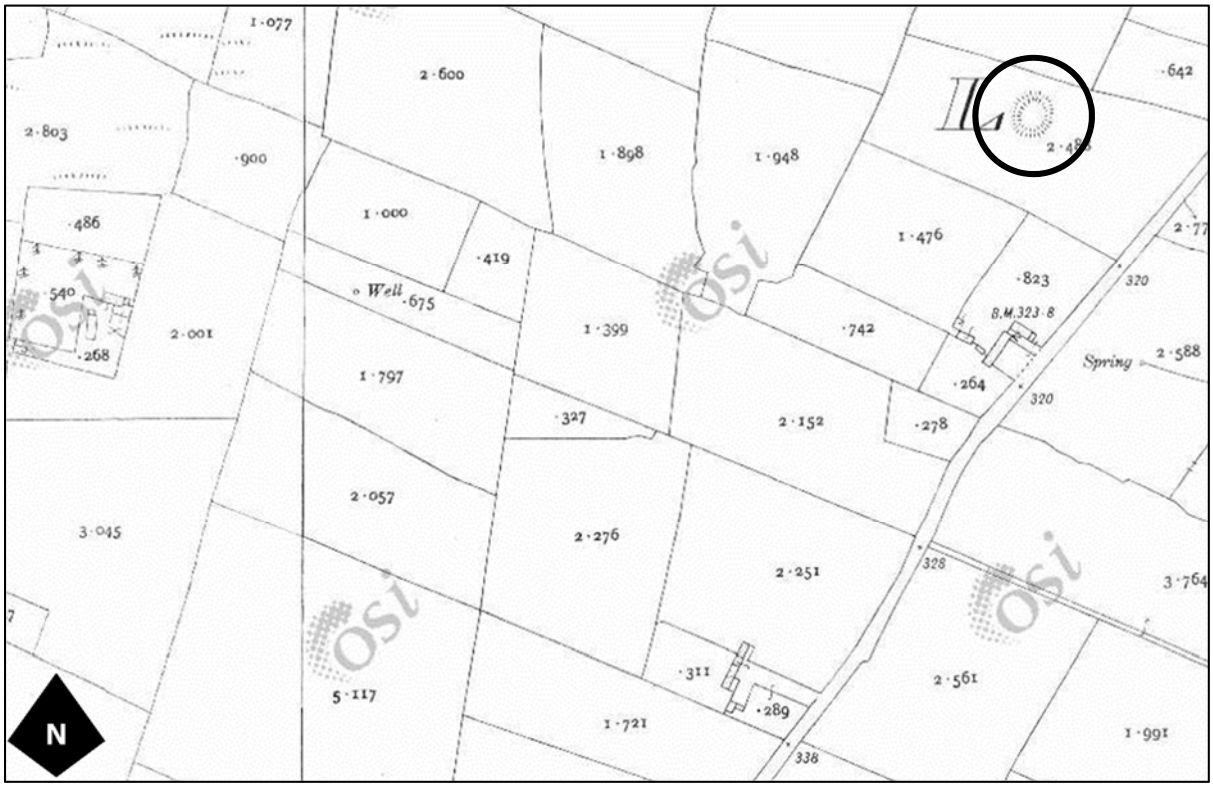


Figure 180. Second edition OS map of Tully townland showing cashel RO021-020

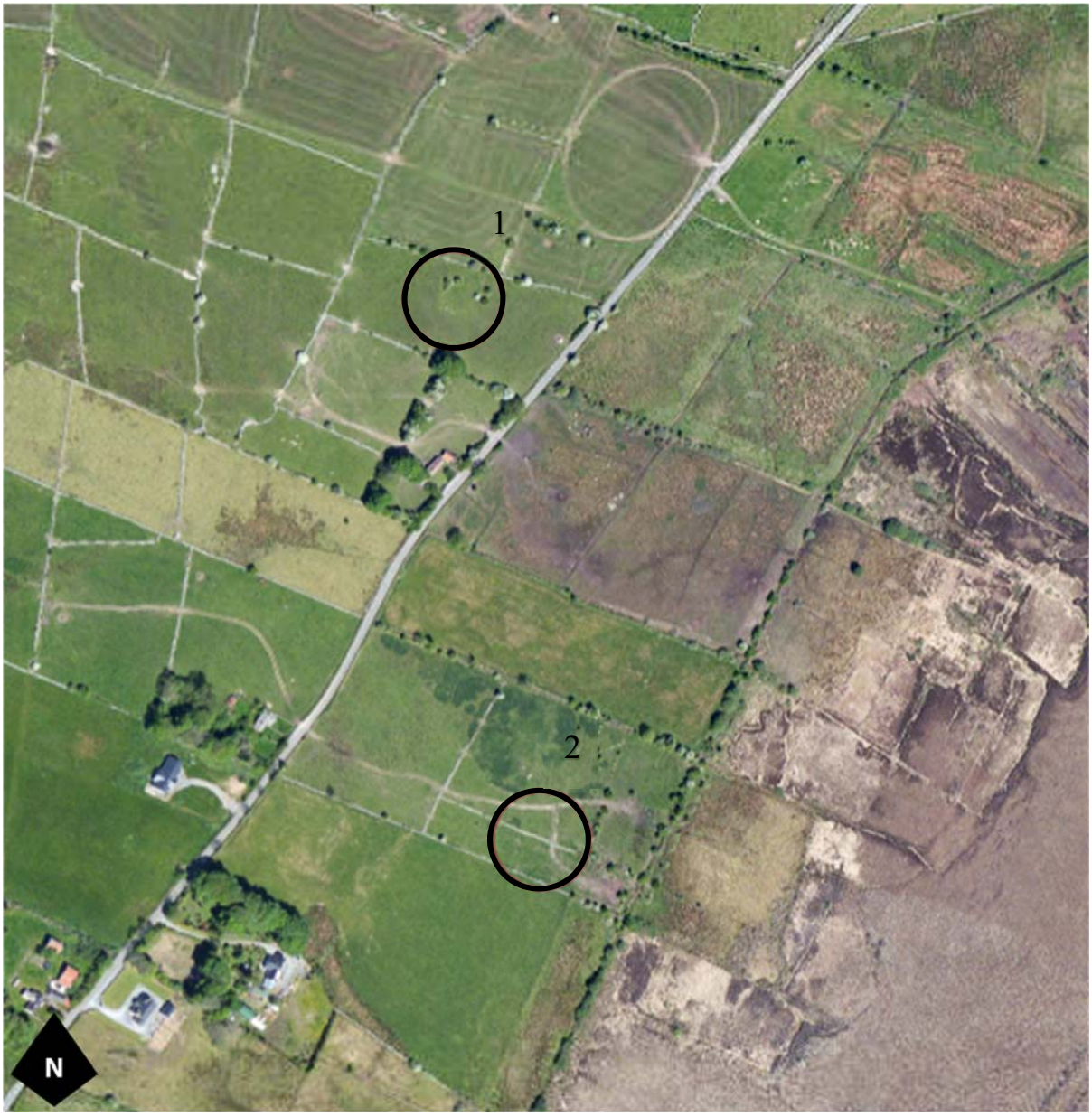


Figure 181. Aerial image of Tully townland showing site of cashel 1. RO021-020 and earthwork 2. RO021-021

6.4. Kilkeevin parish

6.4.1. Annaghmaghera

The archaeological database contains a record of the existence of one ringfort in this townland (NMS 2019). This example, RO020-026, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 20) that covers this area. On this map sheet the ringfort is shown as a complete enclosure, located within a small cultivated area in an otherwise unenclosed townland. On later, revised, maps of this

same townland, this monument is depicted as a partial enclosure with an opening towards the south (OSI 1895, 20). Unfortunately, this ringfort is no longer extant (DG 2011-2013). This location of this site, however, may be confirmed because of the presence of a faint crop mark. The western portion of this site is demarcated by a field boundary. In addition, the general area is surrounded to the north and east by modern forestry plantation. The curved nature of the edge of this forestry may parallel the extent of the ringfort boundary and may help to define it (GE 2010).

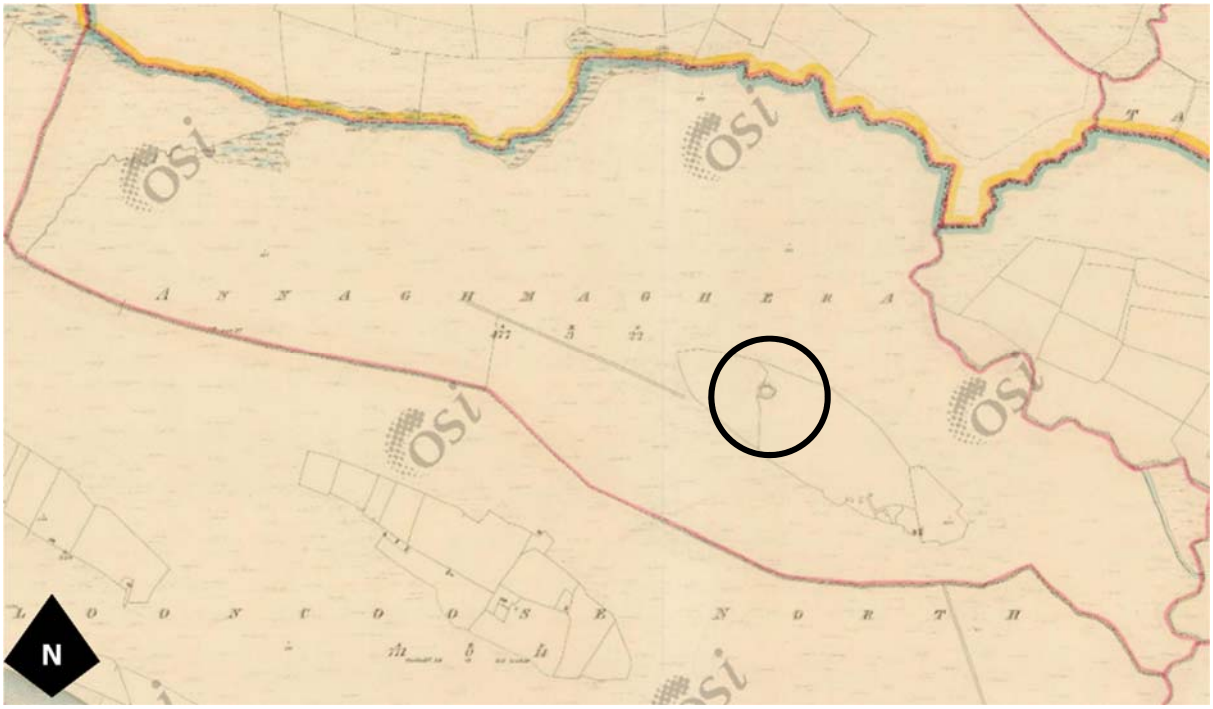


Figure 182. First edition OS map of Annaghmaghera townland showing ringfort RO020-026

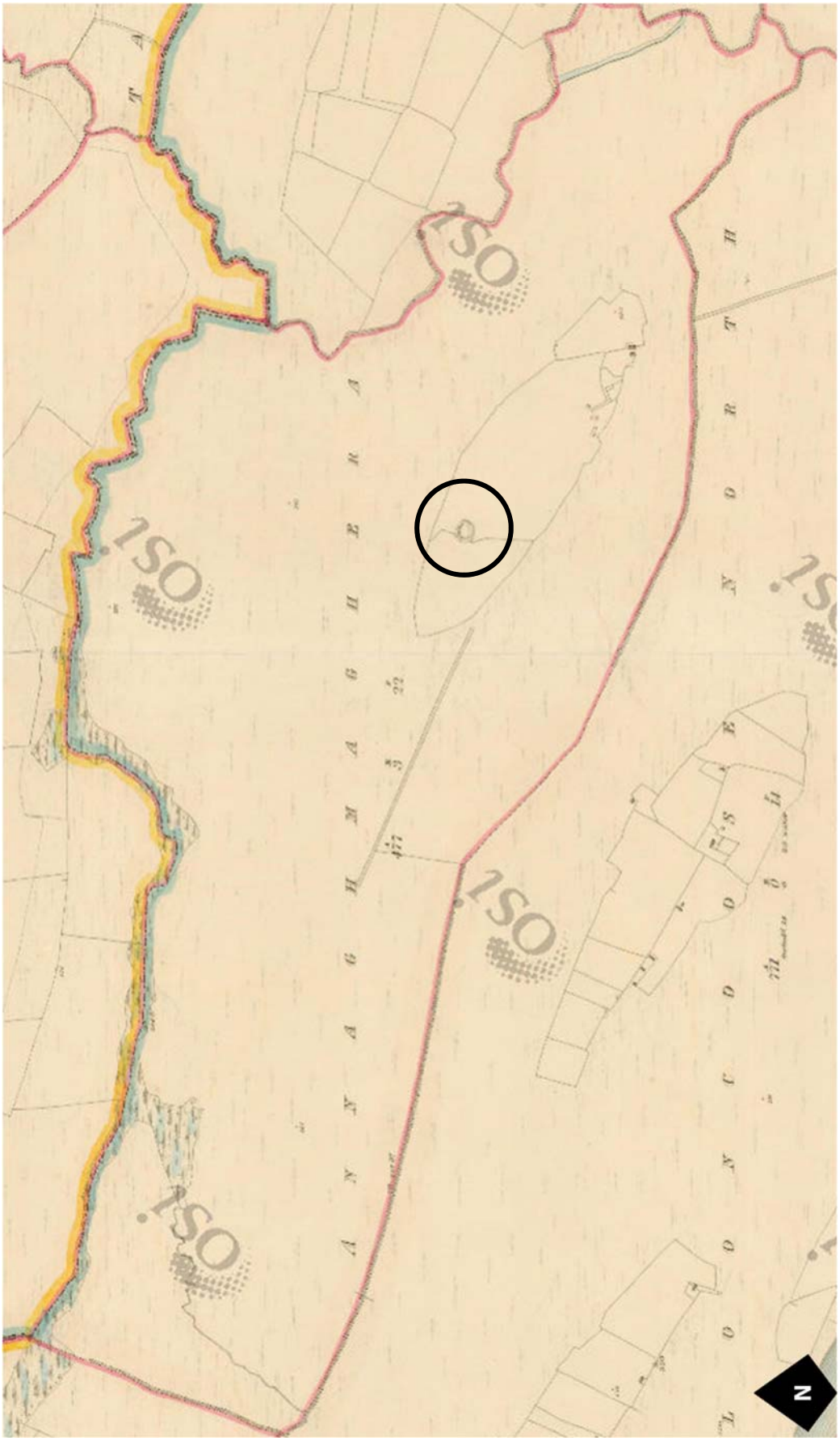


Figure 183. First edition OS map of Annaghmaghera townland showing ringfort RO020-026

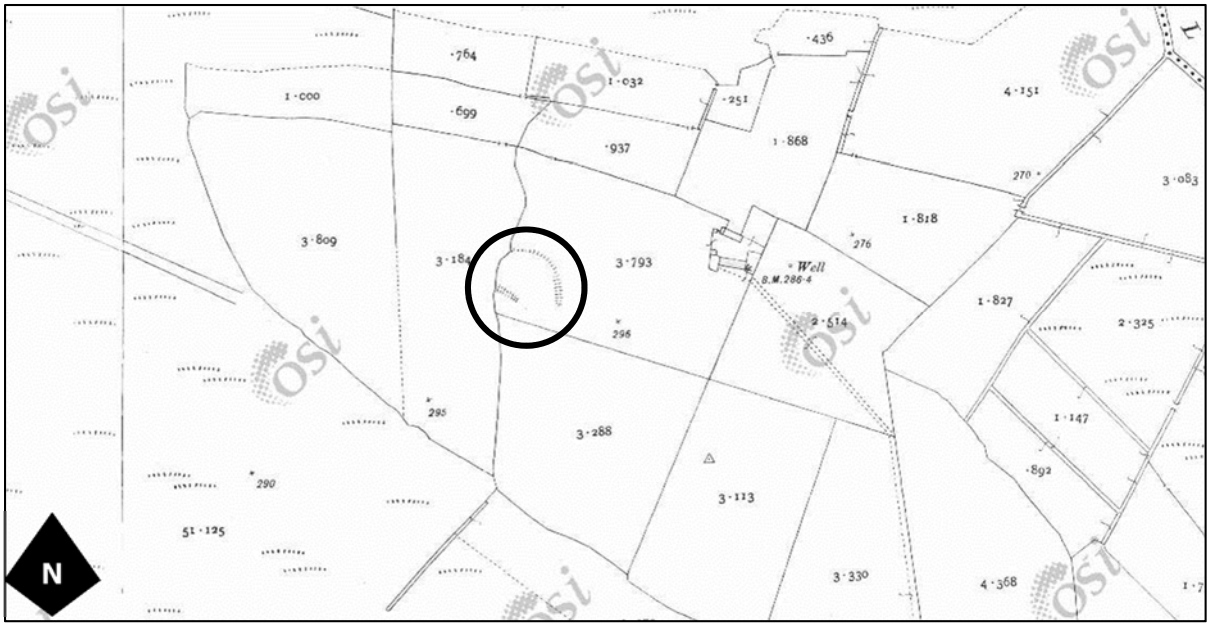


Figure 184. Second edition OS map of Annaghmaghera townland showing ringfort RO020-026



Figure 185. Aerial image of Annaghmaghera townland showing site of ringfort RO020-026 (GE 2010).

6.4.2. Arm

The existence of several circular field monuments within this townland is recorded in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). The first of these is recorded as a 'cashel' and this example, RO026-020, is shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 26) of the townland as a faint enclosure. This site is depicted on later maps as a tree filled enclosure (OSI 1895, 26). This structure is still intact and is still visible, on aerial images, as a tree filled enclosure (DG 2011-2013). Another recorded monument within this townland is noted as a 'ringfort'. This structure, RO026-039, is not visible on any available maps of this particular area. It is, however, visible as a partial crop mark (GE 2010). This site is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 566714-778924 and encloses a general area of approximately 36m in diameter. The presence of a third enclosure, RO026-024, is also noted within the boundaries of this particular townland. However, map sources appear to show that this site is located in the adjacent townland of Demesne (OSI 1837, 26).

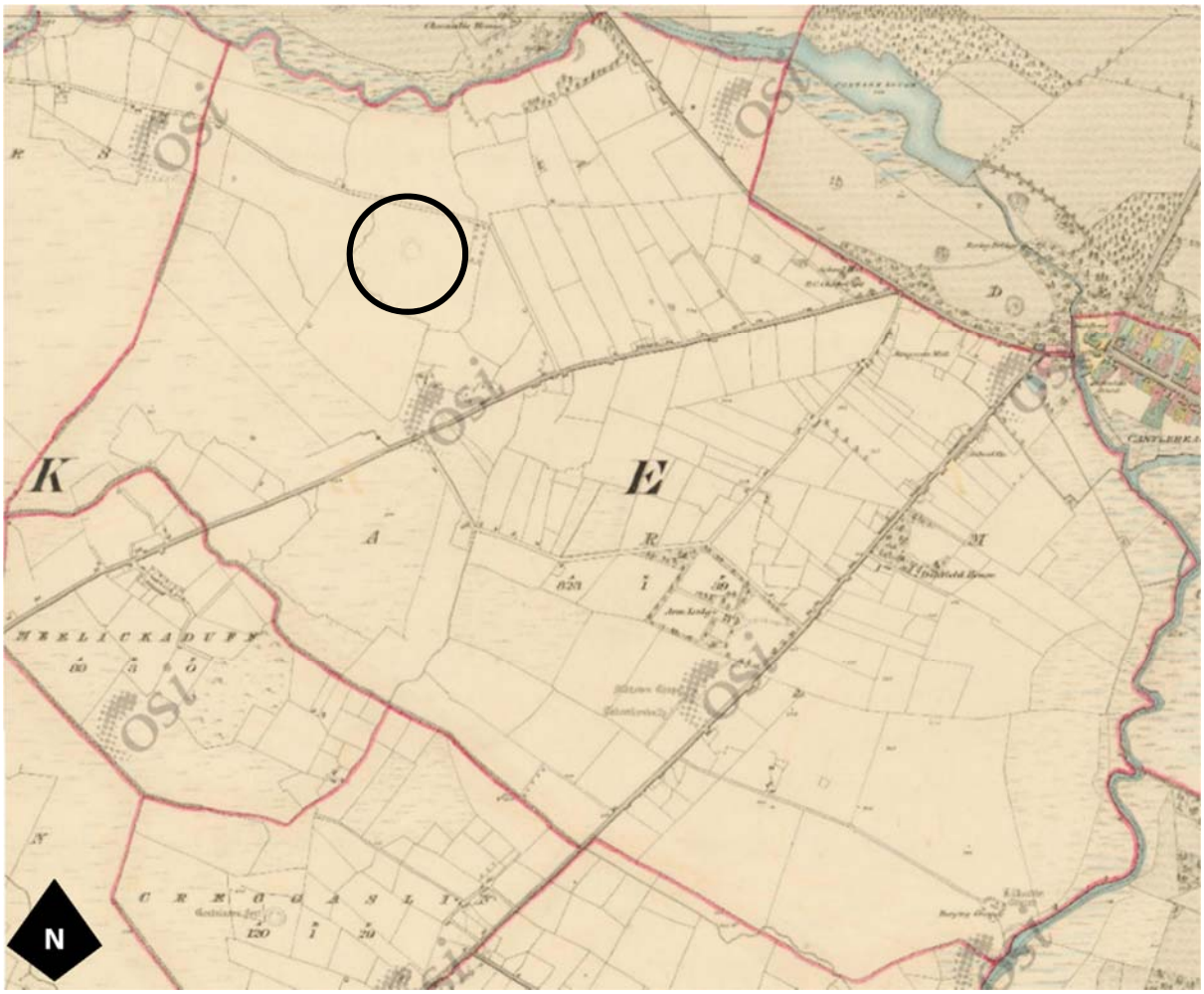


Figure 186. First edition OS map of Arm townland showing cashel RO026-020

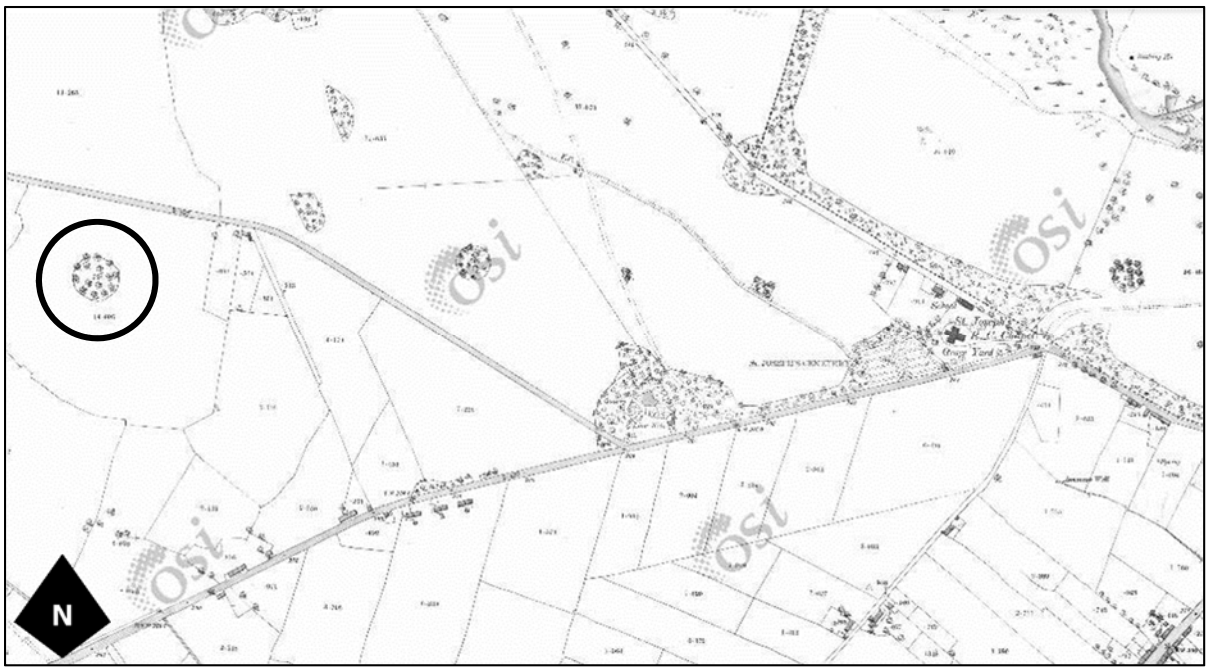


Figure 187. Second edition OS map of Arm townland showing cashel RO026-020



Figure 188. Aerial image of Arm showing site of ringfort RO026-039 (GE 2010)



Figure 189. Aerial image of Arm townland showing cashel RO026-020 (GE 2010)

6.4.3. Ballindrumlea

The presence of a single ringfort, RO020-041, is noted in the archaeological record for this townland (NMS 2019). This structure is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 20) that covers this particular area. On later, revised editions of this map, this ringfort is depicted as a partial enclosure, with just the western half of the site shown. It is presently visible on imagery created because of recent aerial surveys as a vague outline, some of which is defined by the presence of several trees (GE 2010; DG 2011-2013).



Figure 190. First edition OS map of Ballindrumlea townland showing ringfort RO020-041

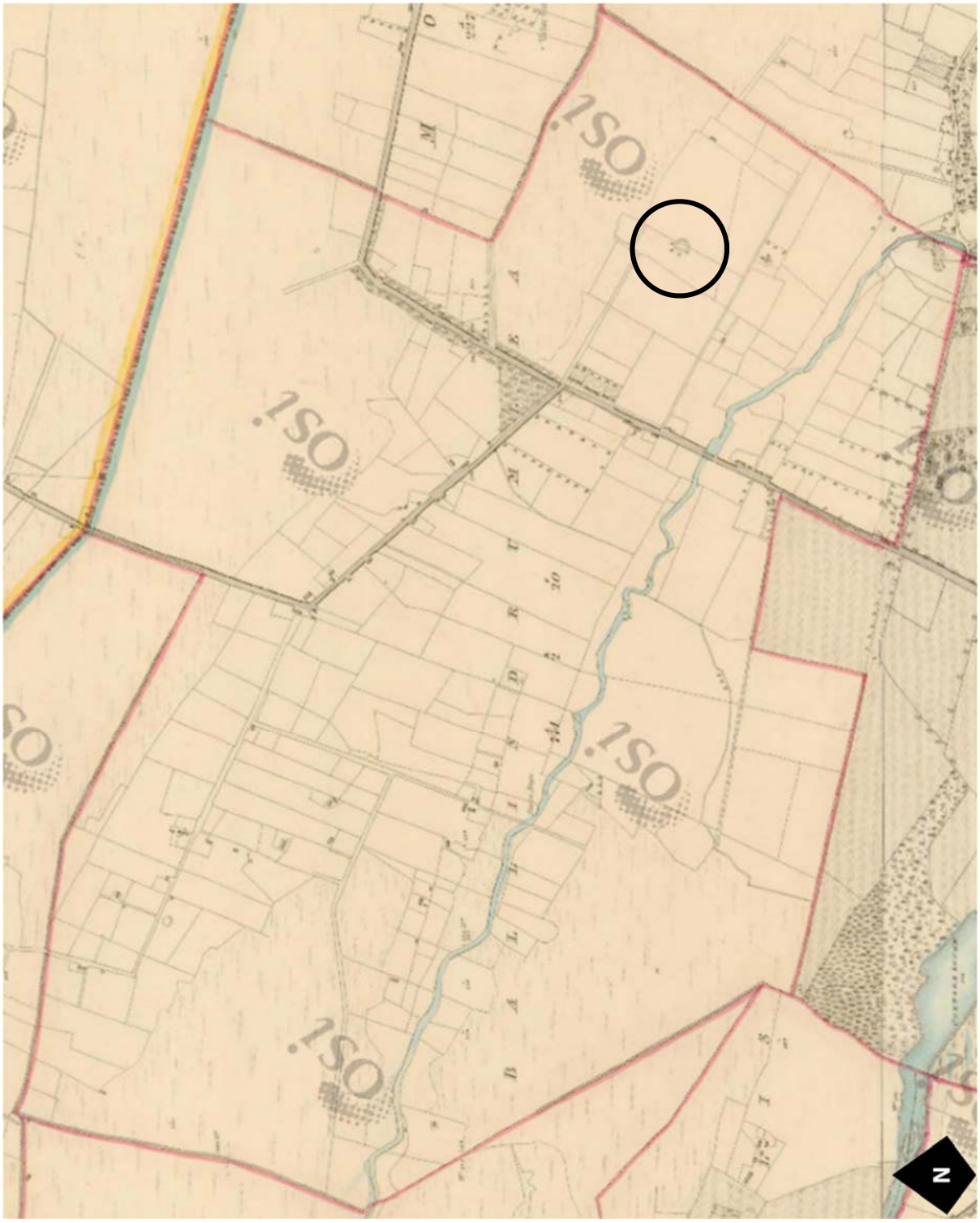


Figure 191. First edition OS map of Ballindrumlea townland showing ringfort RO020-041

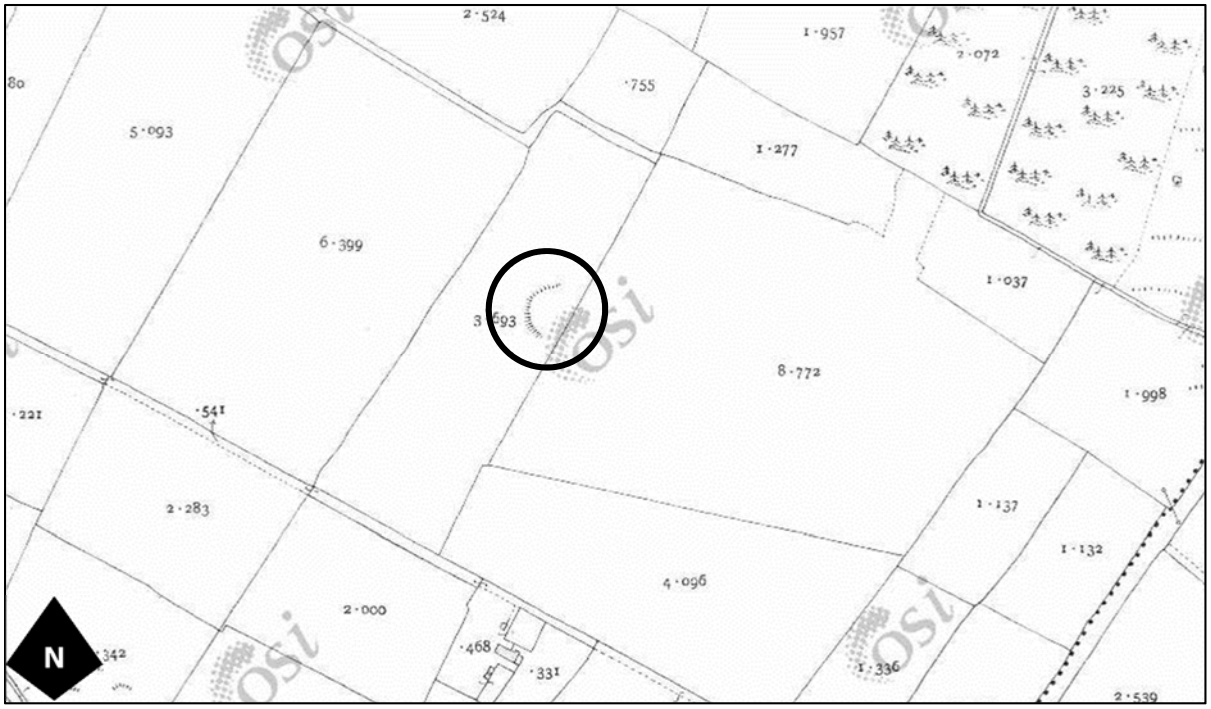


Figure 192. Second edition OS map of Ballindrumlea townland showing ringfort RO020-041



Figure 193. Aerial image of Ballindrumlea townland showing ringfort RO020-041 (GE 2010)

6.4.4. Ballymulrennan

Again, for this townland, the archaeological record contains a reference to the existence of a single ringfort within its boundaries (NMS 2019). This example, RO027-009, is shown on the first edition OS map (1827, 27) of this townland as a very faint circular feature. On the revised second edition map, this monument is clearly depicted and noted as a 'fort'. This structure may be considered still extant and is visible as a complete, though denuded, enclosure with a possible entrance at the southeast (DG 2011-2013). At some point, a more modern field boundary, running roughly north to south, cut through the north-western portion of this ringfort.



Figure 194. First edition OS map of Ballymulrennan townland showing ringfort RO027-009

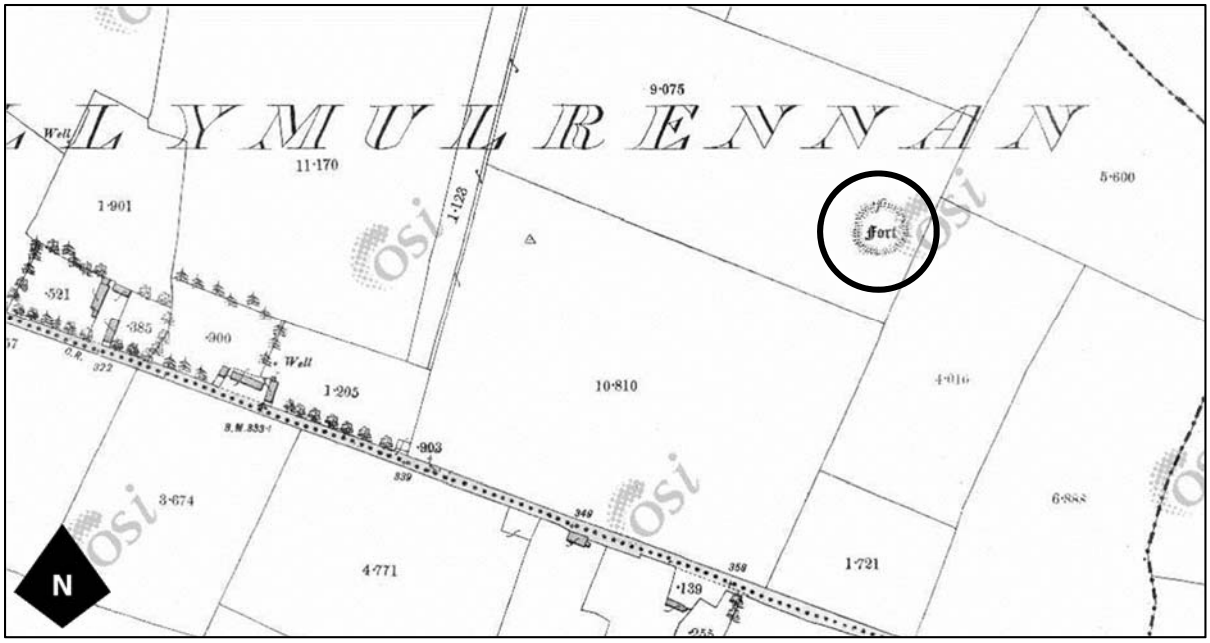


Figure 195. Second edition OS map of Ballymulrennan townland showing ringfort RO027-009



Figure 196. Aerial image of Ballymulrennan townland showing ringfort RO027-009 (DG 2011-3)

6.4.5. Caher

Within this townland, the existence of two ringforts is recorded in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). One of these, RO026-048, is shown on both the first and, revised, second edition OS maps (1837 & 1891, 26) that include this area. Unfortunately, this monument is no longer extant, nor is it clearly visible on recent aerial images (GE 2010). However, the general location of this monument may be defined by the presence of a partial tree ring (DG 2011-2013). The second of these recorded monuments, RO026-051, is depicted on the first edition OS map of this townland. However, on the second edition map the location is marked with a cross and the notation 'Fort (Site of)'. This monument cannot be considered extant but may be visible as a partial crop mark at the noted location (GE 2010; DG 2011-2013).

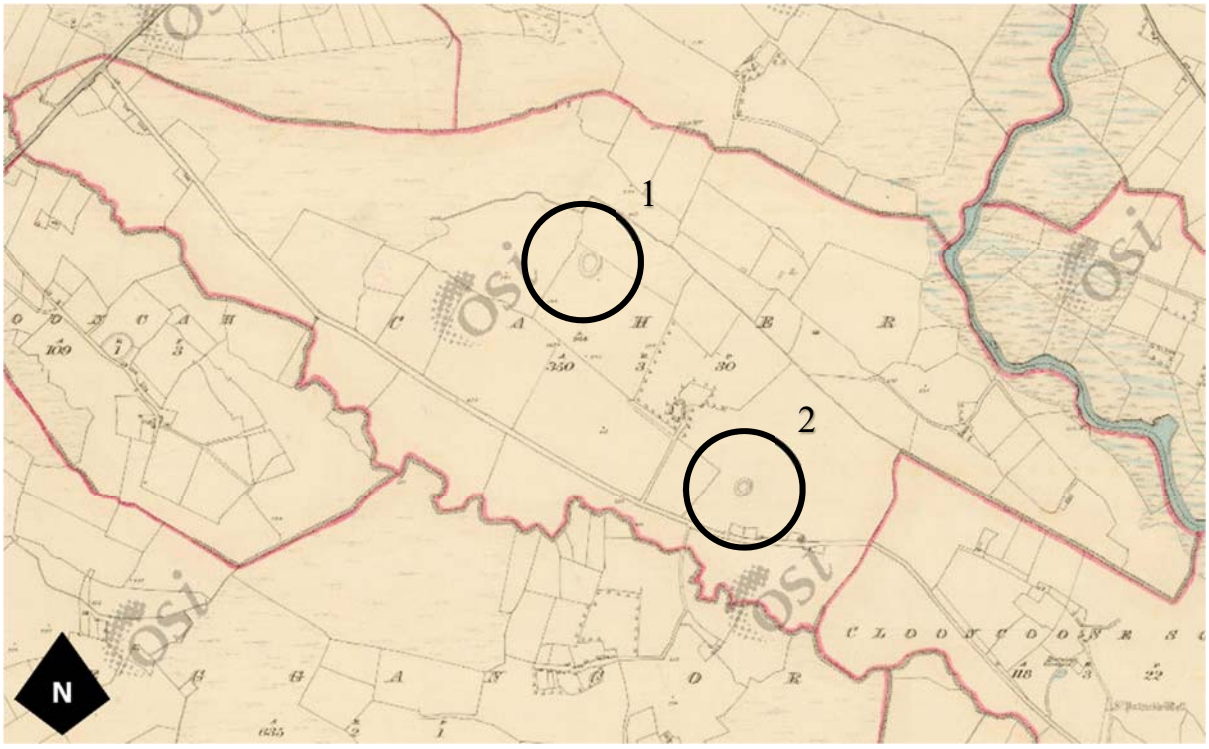


Figure 197. First edition OS map of Caher townland showing ringforts 1. RO026-048 and 2. RO026-051

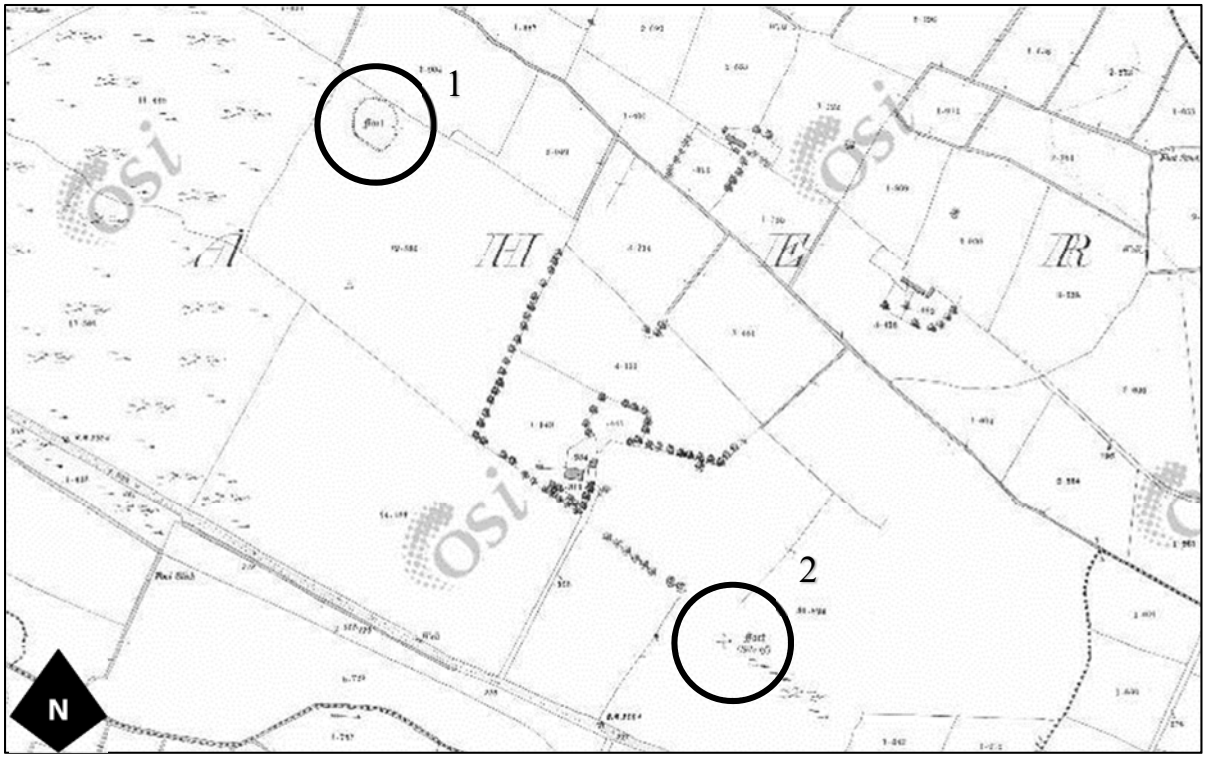


Figure 198. Second edition OS map of Caher townland showing ringfort 1. RO026-048 and site of ringfort 2. RO026-051



Figure 199. Aerial image of Caher townland showing sites of ringfort 1. RO026-048 and ringfort 2. RO026-051

6.4.6. Cloonaff

The eventual presence of a ringfort in this townland is suggested by the inclusion in the archaeological record of the presence of an enclosure here (NMS 2019). This possible example, RO020-054, is recorded due to a remark in the Ordnance Survey Name Book. These books contain ancillary information that was collected at the same time as the townland was first surveyed (1837). This particular book refers to the presence of a 'fort' here. However, a corresponding structure is not shown on any of the available maps. Presently, the majority of this townland is under forestry and most of the remainder of the land is bog. This greatly hinders the examination of aerial images in order to discover any trace of the location of this potential monument.



Figure 200. First edition OS map of Cloonaff townland



Figure 201. Aerial image of Cloonaff townland (GE 2010)

6.4.7. Cloonalis

The presence of a circular field monument is recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). However, this example, RO026-019, is recorded as an earthwork. It is shown on the firsts edition OS map (1837, 26) as a circular feature located in woodland between Cloonalis house and an eel weir on the river to the south-west. This feature is not depicted on the later, revised, maps of the townland. It does not appear to be extant and the use of aerial imagery to confirm its location and eventual form is hindered by the continued presence of woodland (GE 2010).



Figure 202. First edition OS map of Cloonalis townland showing earthwork RO026-019

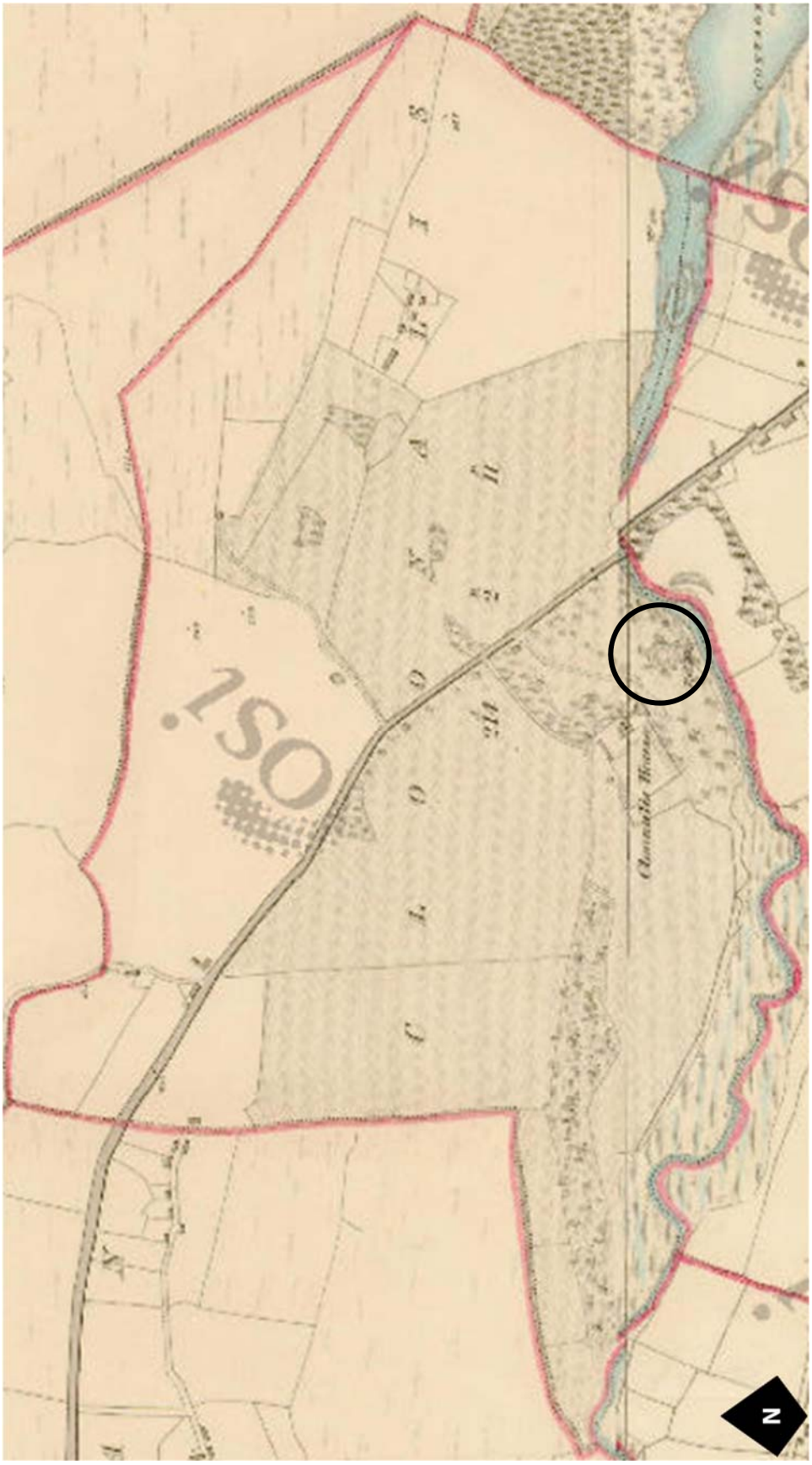


Figure 203. First edition OS map of Cloonalis Cloonalis townland showing earthwork RO026-019

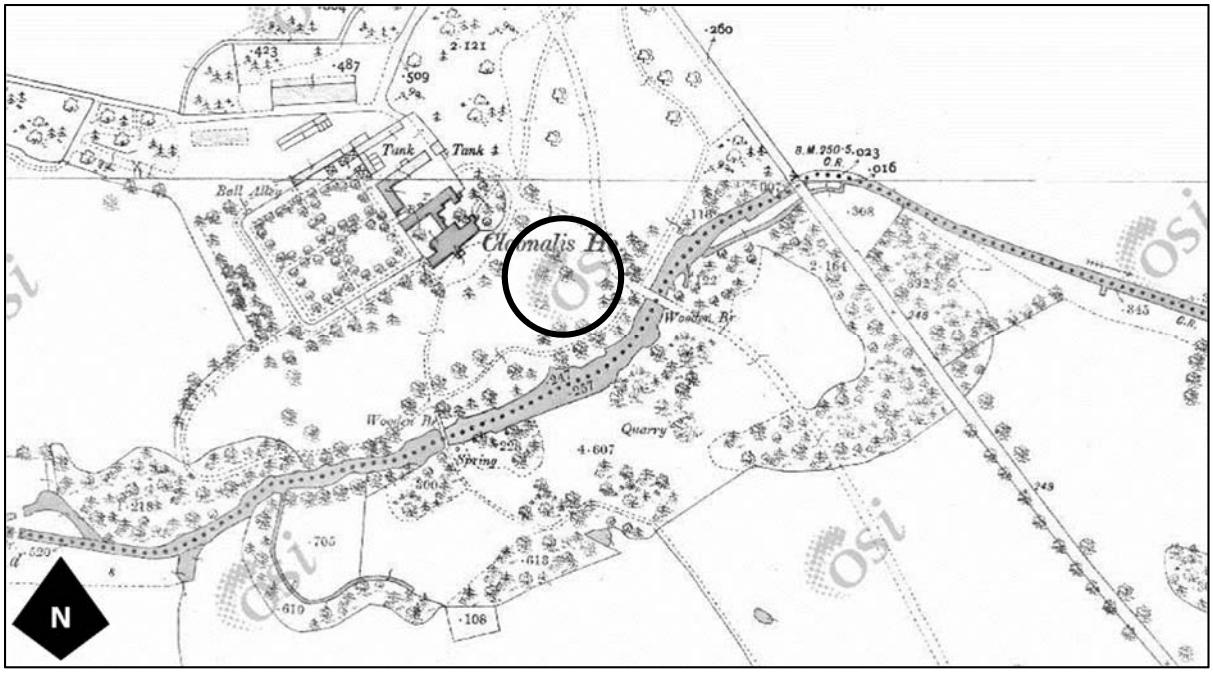


Figure 204. Second edition OS map of Cloonalis townland showing site of earthwork RO026-019

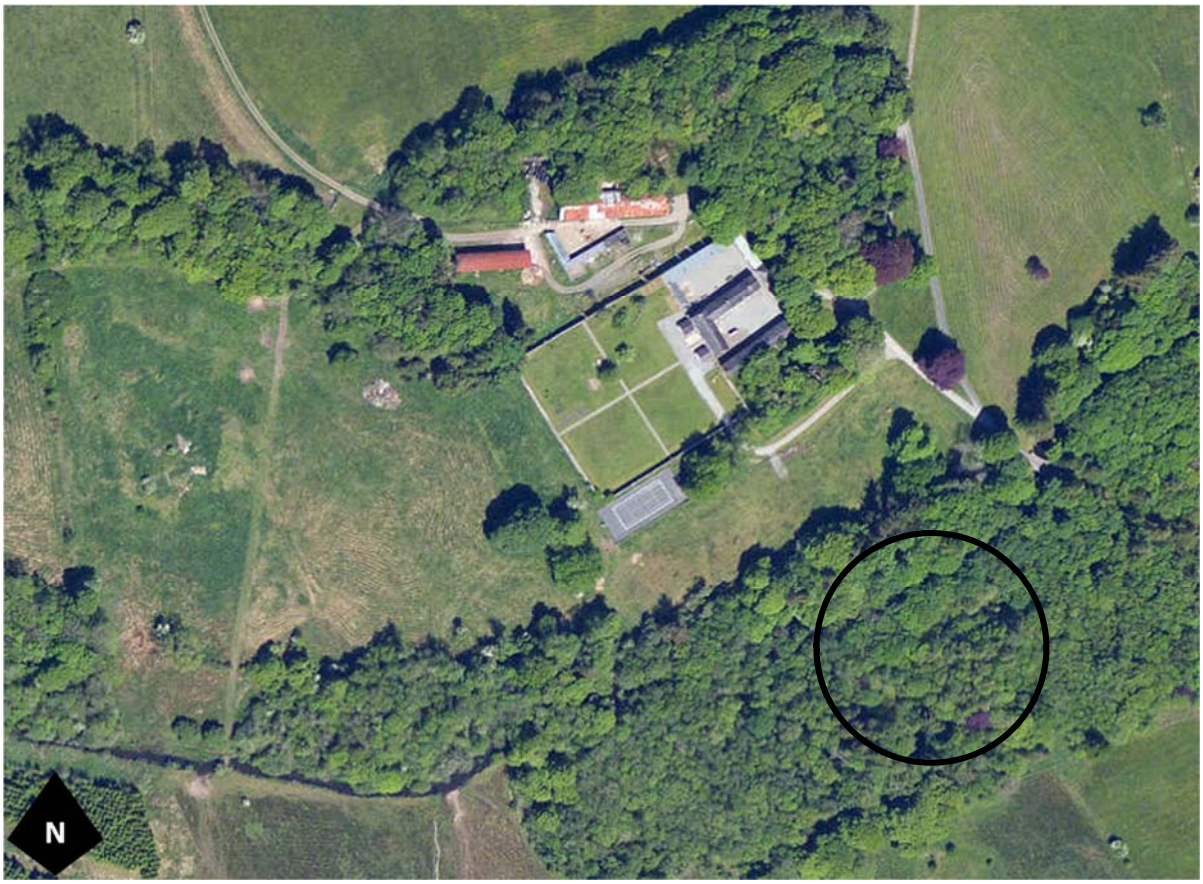


Figure 205. Aerial image of Cloonalis townland showing site of earthwork RO026-019 (DG 2010)

6.4.8. Clooncah

The archaeological database for this townland contains a reference to the existence of a single ringfort within its boundaries (NMS 2019). This example, RO026-049, is also shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 26) of the area. On the later revised second edition OS map, this feature is also shown with the added notation of it being a 'fort'. The location of this ringfort can be confirmed through reference to recent aerial images (DG 2011-2013).

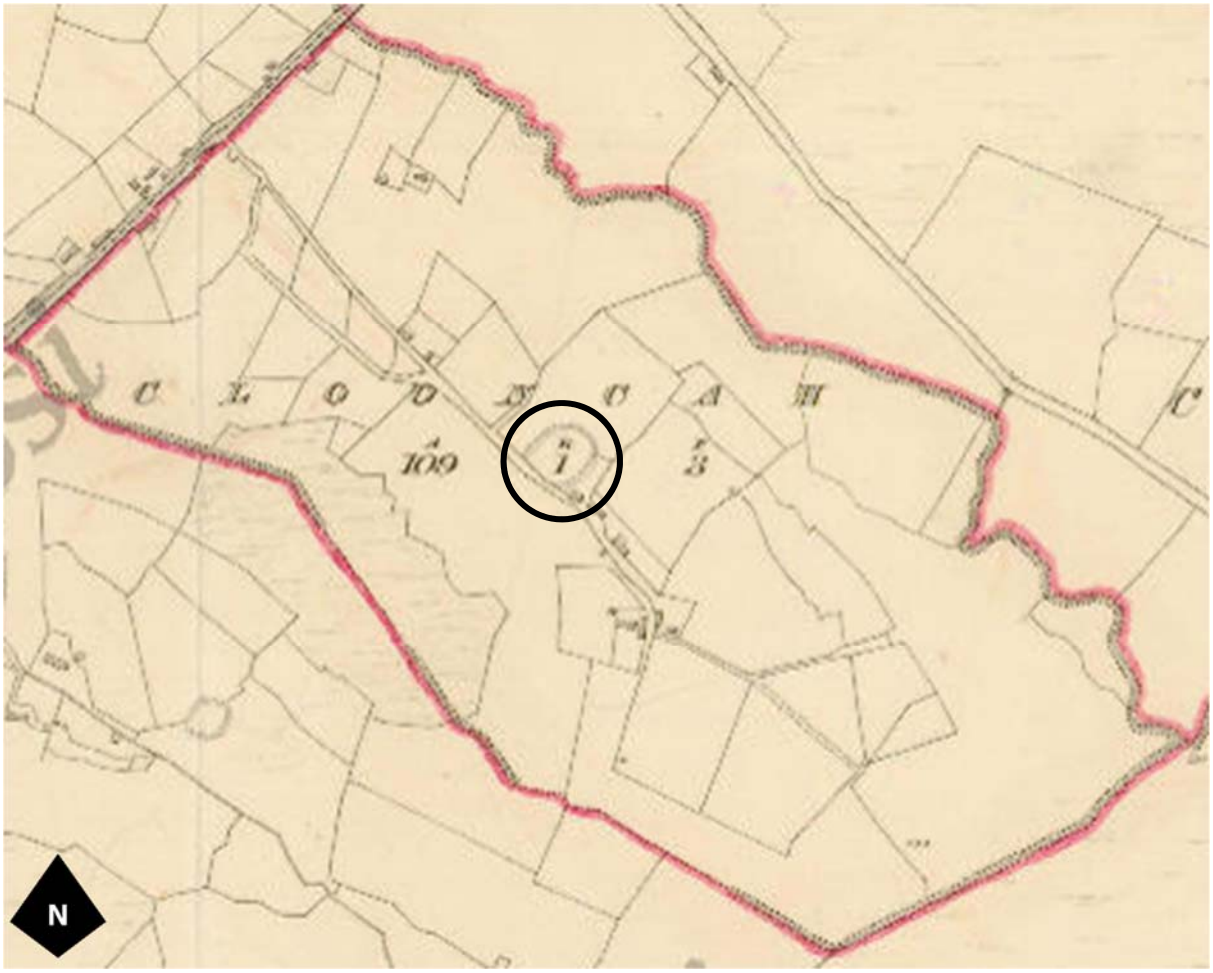


Figure 206. First edition OS map of Clooncah townland showing ringfort RO026-049

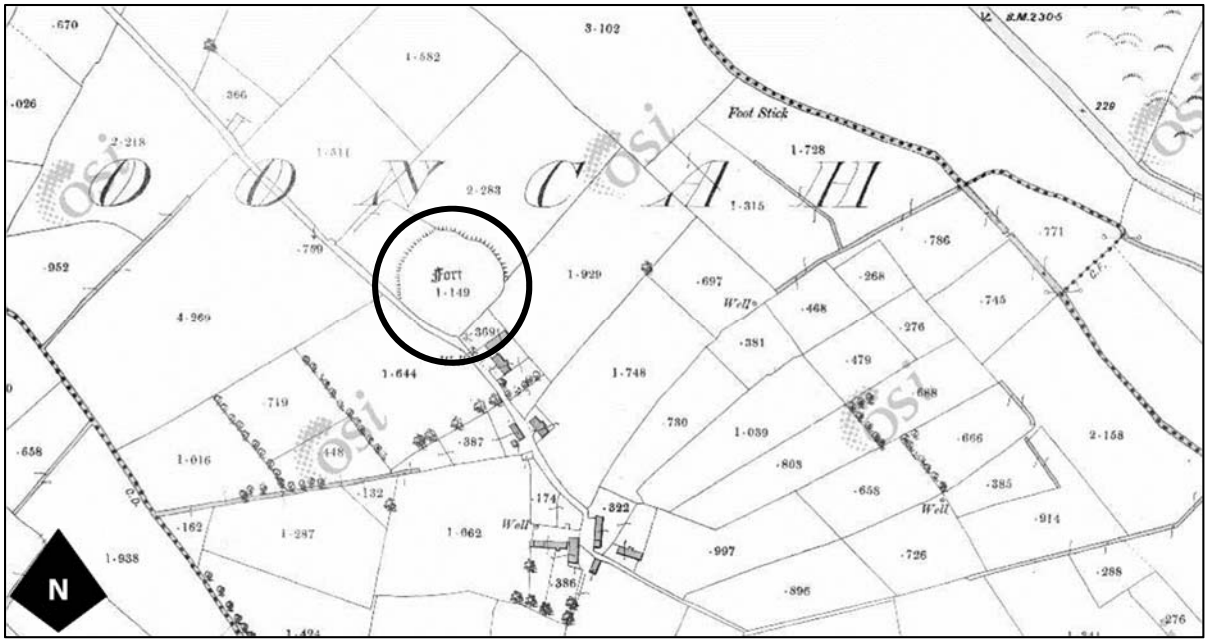


Figure 207. Second edition OS map of Clooncah townland showing ringfort RO026-049

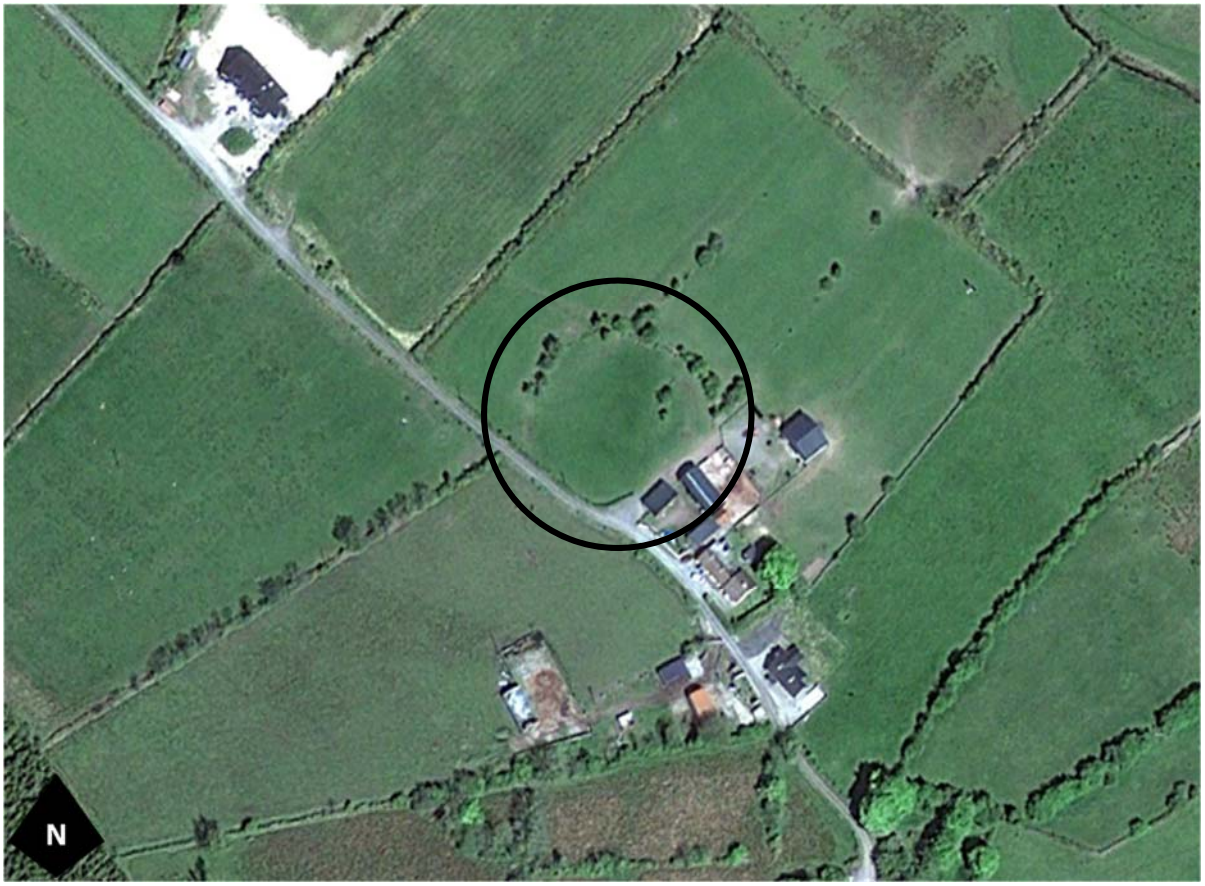


Figure 208. Aerial image of Clooncah townland showing site of ringfort RO026-049 (DG 2011-3)

6.4.9. Cloonchambers

Two examples of this monument type are recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). These two monuments, RO020-037 & RO026-008, are recorded as 'cashels'. Both of these structures are shown as forts on an undated estate map held in the National Library (NLI: MS 21 F. 44/ 50). Both of these 'cashels' are also shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 20 & 26), located south of a road running in an east-west direction through the townland. On the later revised edition of this map (1870, 20 & 26) one of these structures, RO026-008, is depicted and is noted as a 'fort'. Modern aerial imagery clearly shows this monument as a complete enclosure defined by a stone wall and a partial tree ring (GE 2018). The other 'cashel', RO020-037, is no longer extant but is visible as a crop mark, particularly on Google Earth imagery from 2010.

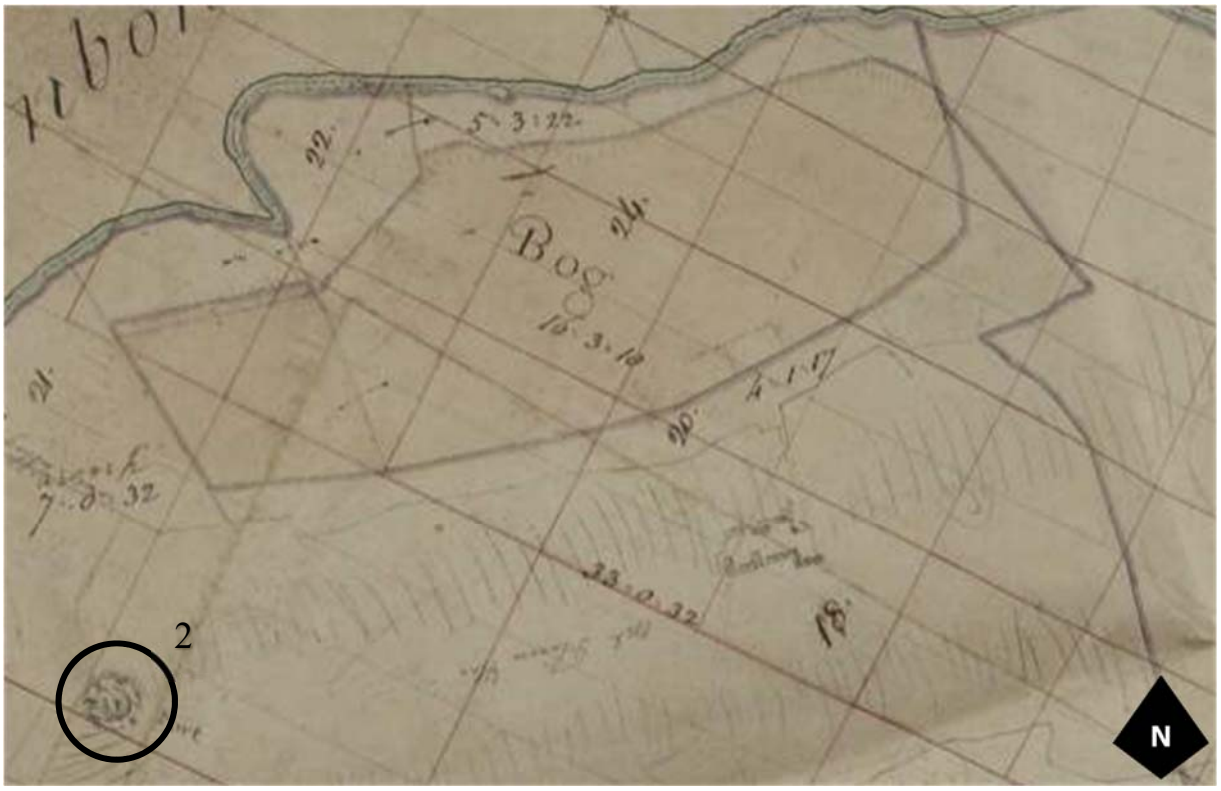


Figure 209. Estate map of Cloonchambers townland showing ringfort 2. RO026-008 (NLI: MS 21 F. 44/ 50)

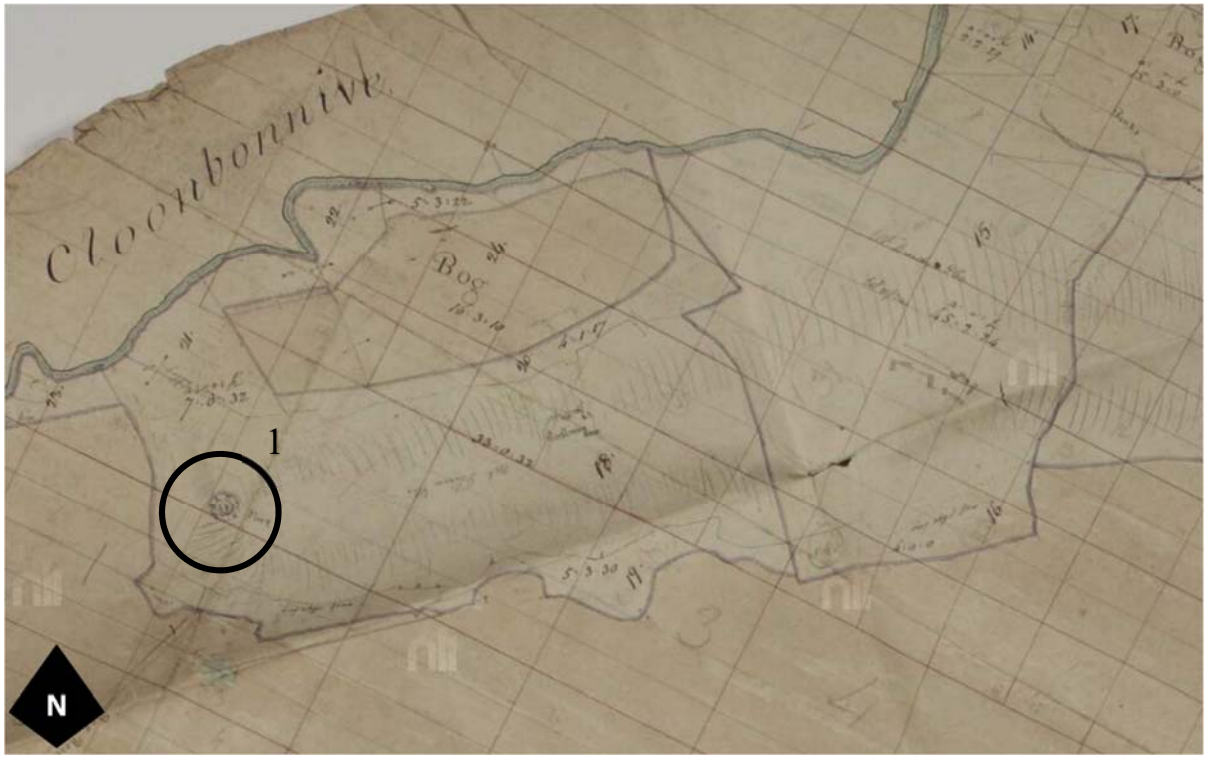


Figure 210. Estate map of Cloonchambers townland showing ringfort 1. RO020-037 (NLI: MS 21 F. 44/ 50)

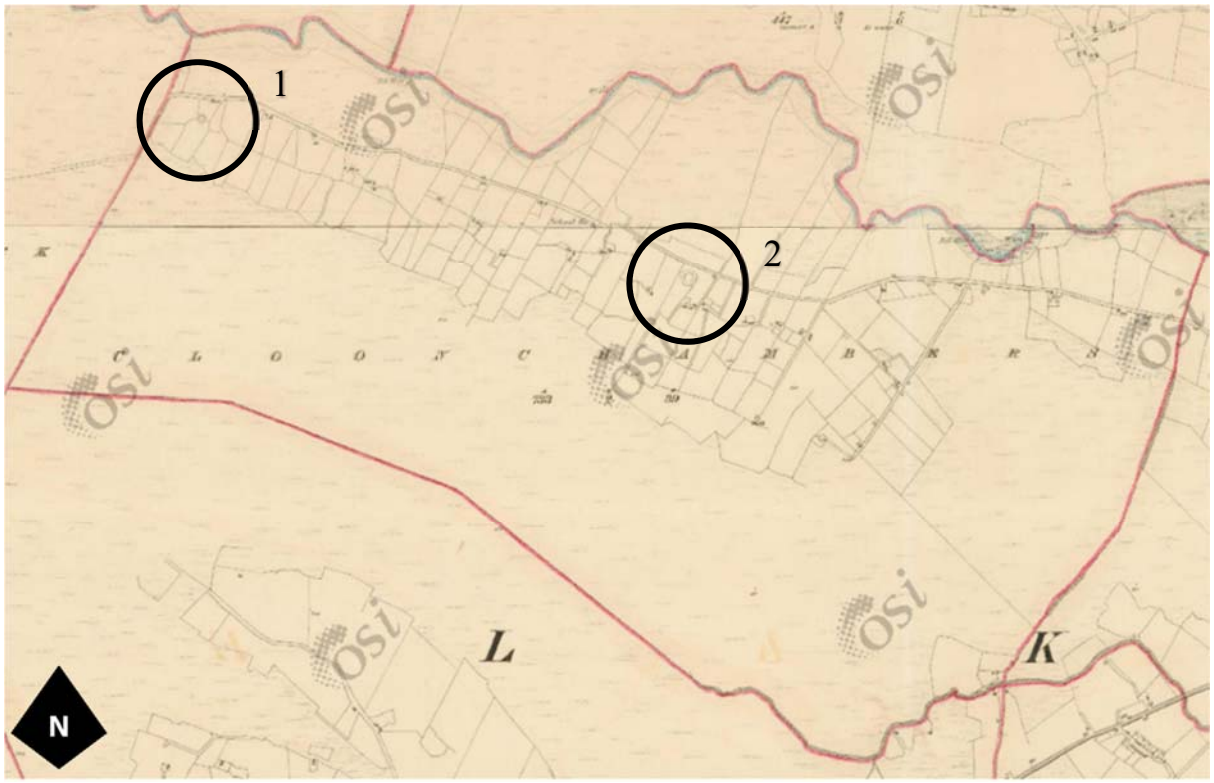


Figure 211. First edition OS map of Cloonchambers townland showing ringforts 1. RO020-037 & 2. RO026-008

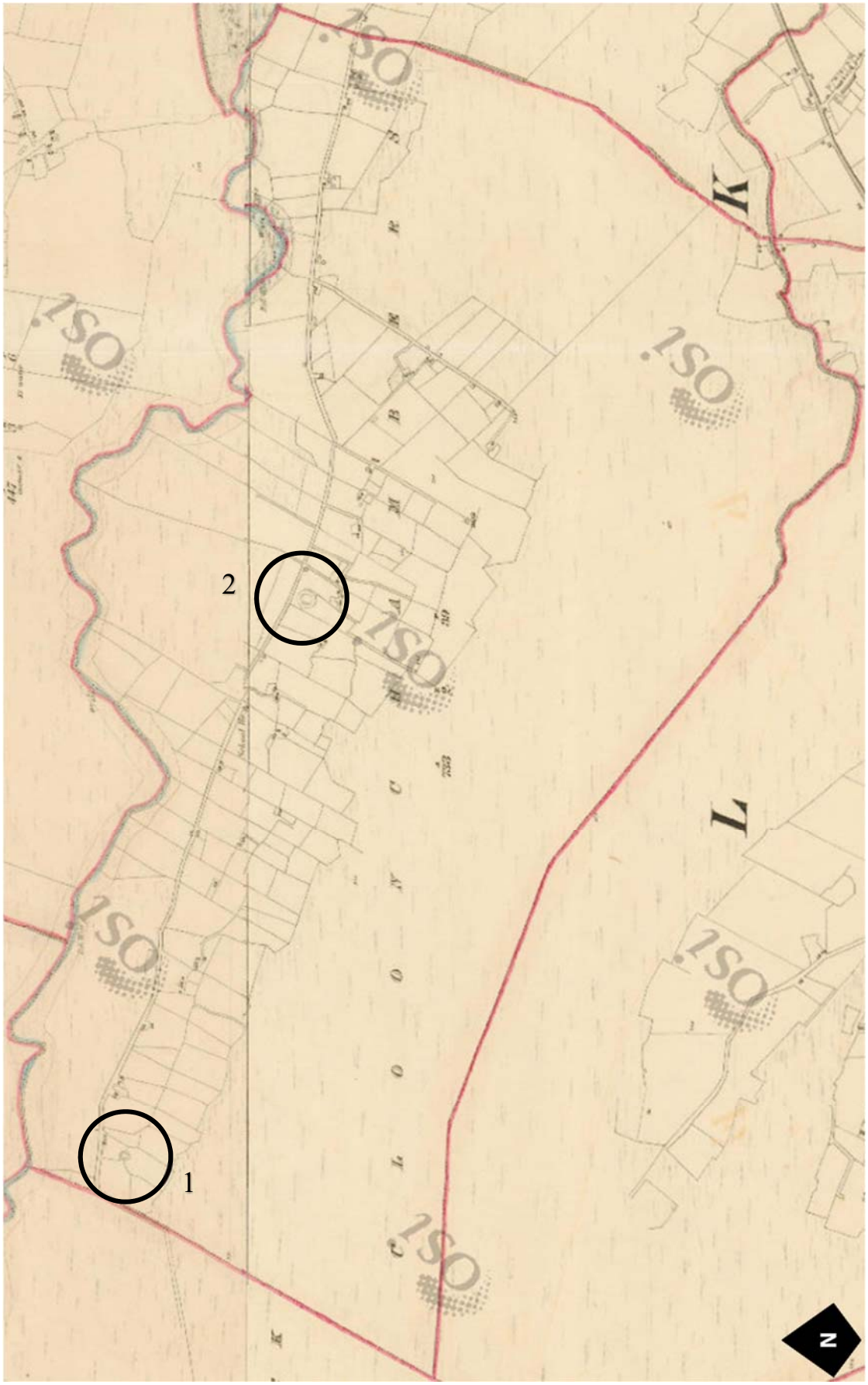

K
L
1
2
N

Figure 212. First edition OS map of Cloonchambers townland showing ringforts
1. RO020-037 & 2. RO026-008

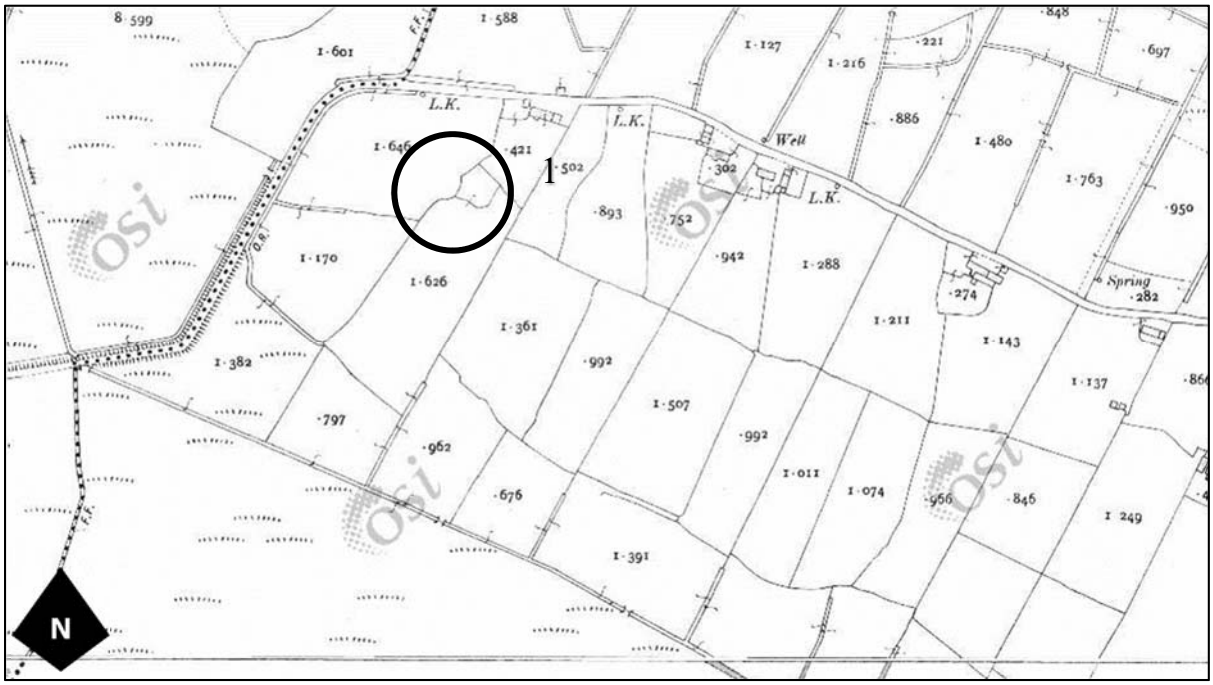


Figure 213. Second edition OS map of Cloonchambers townland showing ringfort
1. RO020-037

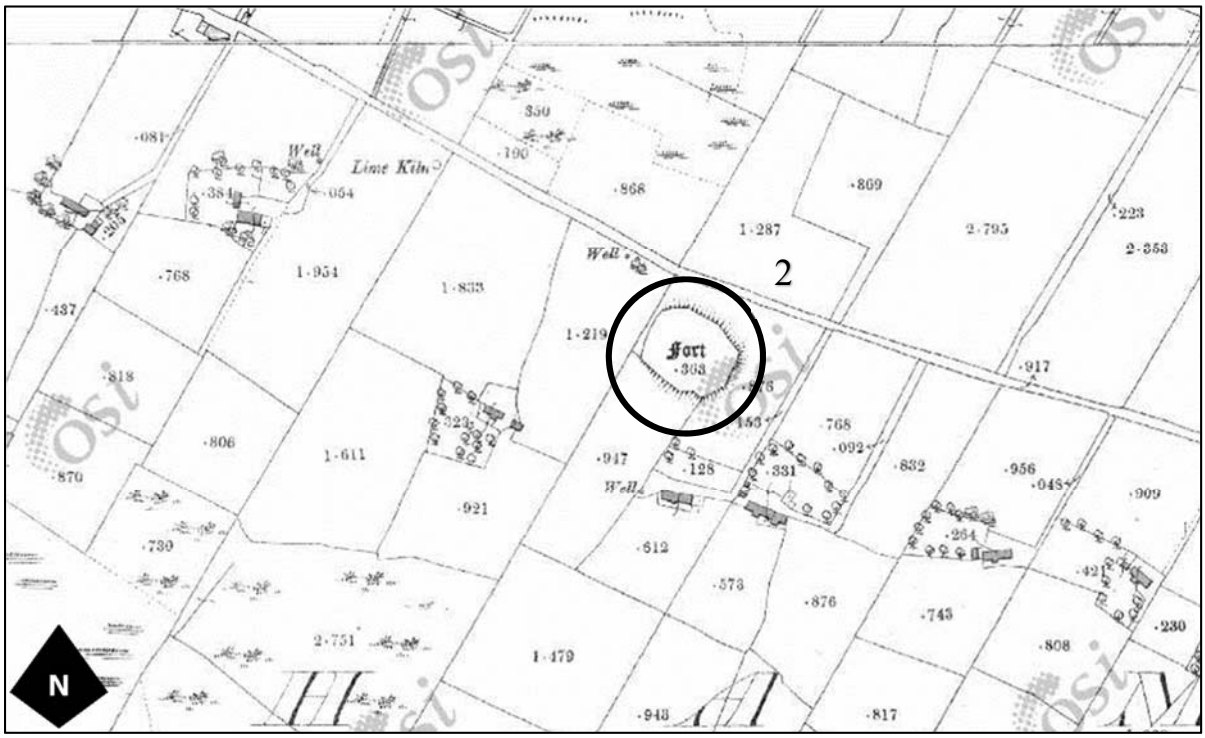


Figure 214. Second edition OS map of Cloonchambers townland showing ringfort
2. RO026-008



Figure 215. Aerial image of Cloonchambers townland showing ringfort 1. RO020-037 (GE 2010)



Figure 216. Aerial image of Cloonchambers townland showing ringfort 2. RO026-008 (GE 2018)

6.4.10. Cloonconra

Two circular features are recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). These features, RO026-005 & RO026-006, are noted in this database as 'earthworks'. They are located north of a road that runs east to west through the townland. These structures may also be discerned in an undated estate map held in the National Library (NLI: MS 21 F.

44/ 50). The easternmost earthwork, RO026-006, is noted on this map as a fort. Whereas, the second of these features, RO026-005, is un-noted but is visible just north of the road as a circular group of trees. These two features are also depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 26) that covers this townland. The westernmost of these earthworks, RO026-005, is also represented, and noted as a fort, in the revised second edition OS map of the area. The location of the other recorded circular feature, RO026-006, is marked with a cross and the notation 'Fort (Site of)'. Neither of these two structures are extant but the location of each can be confirmed by the presence of crop marks, particularly on google earth images from 2009.

There is also a third feature depicted as a fort on the above mentioned estate map Library (NLI: MS 21 F. 44/ 50). This circular, tree ringed, structure is located in the south-eastern section of the townland. Its general location appears to be between the road that bisects this townland and an area of bog land further south. This site is not depicted on any of the available editions of the OS maps that cover this townland. Furthermore, the study of recant aerial images provides no clearer indication of the possible location of this enclosure. This information on the presence of a potential monument in this townland has been communicated to the National Monument Service. However, it was decided that the unrecorded feature marked as a 'fort' on the estate map above probably represented a quarry and, as such, it did not merit inclusion in the record (M. Moore, pers. comm.). Nevertheless, this feature was regarded as a 'fort' at the time of this early maps creation and it is likely to have been treated as such. For this reason, these three features will be included in the study of ringfort numbers in this townland and in the overall destruction rates.

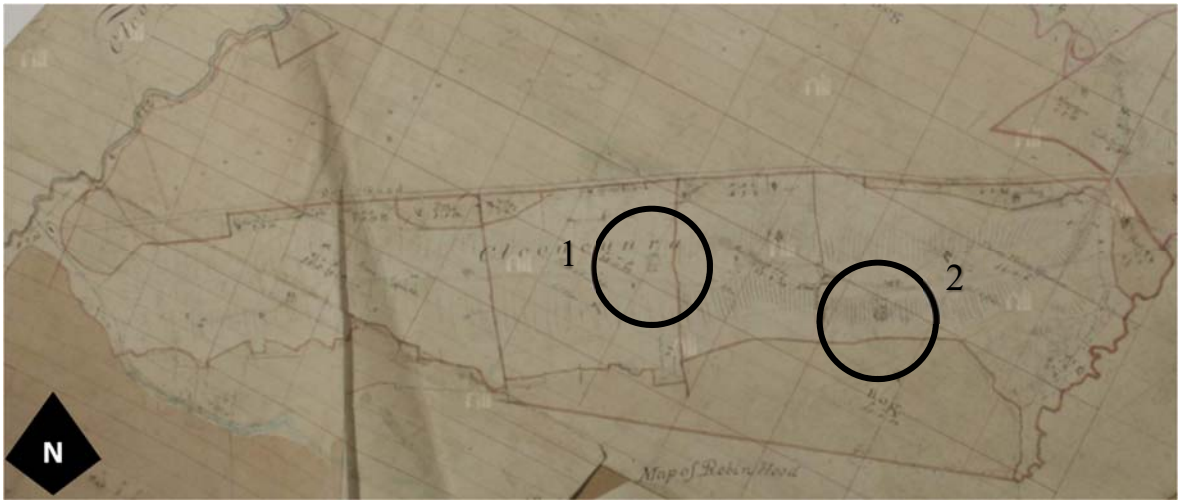


Figure 217. Estate map of Cloonconra townland showing earthworks 1. RO026-005 & 2. RO026-006 (NLI: MS 21 F. 44/ 50)



Figure 218. Estate map of Cloonconra townland showing earthworks 1. RO026-005 & 2. RO026-006 (NLI: MS 21 F. 44/ 50)

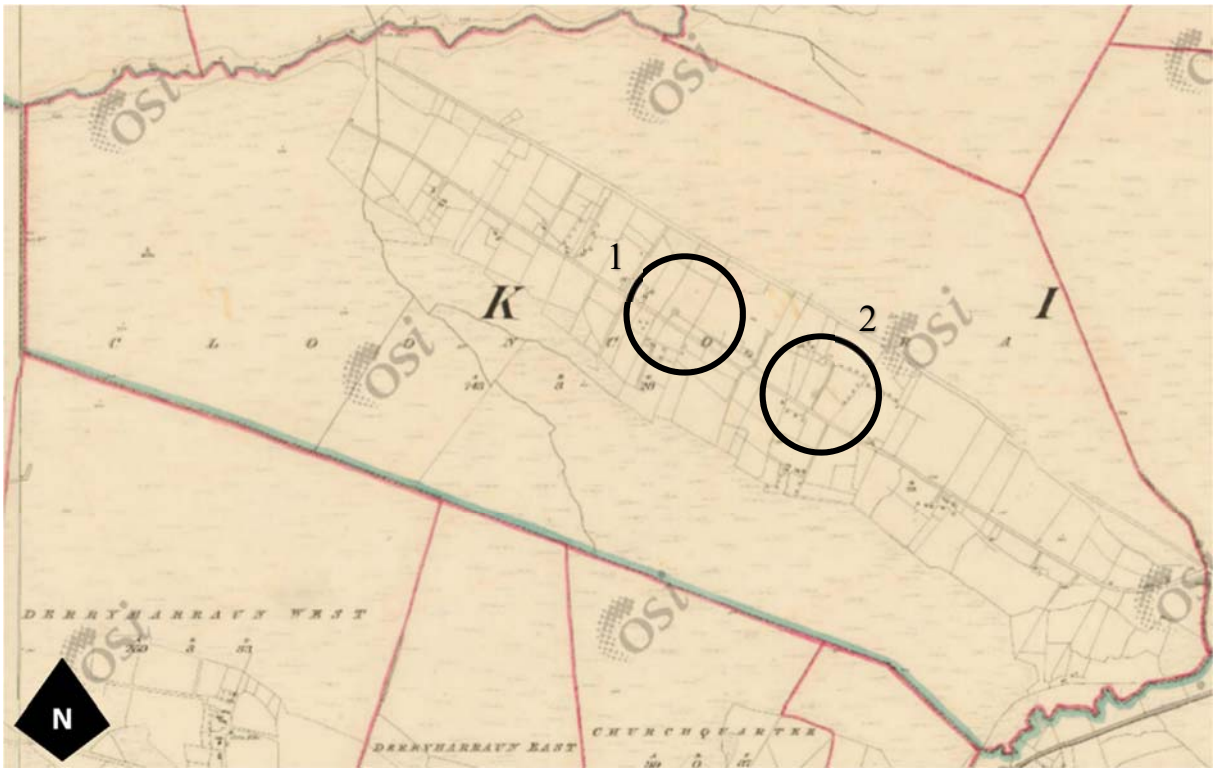


Figure 219. First edition OS map of Cloonconra townland showing earthworks 1. RO026-005 & 2. RO026-006

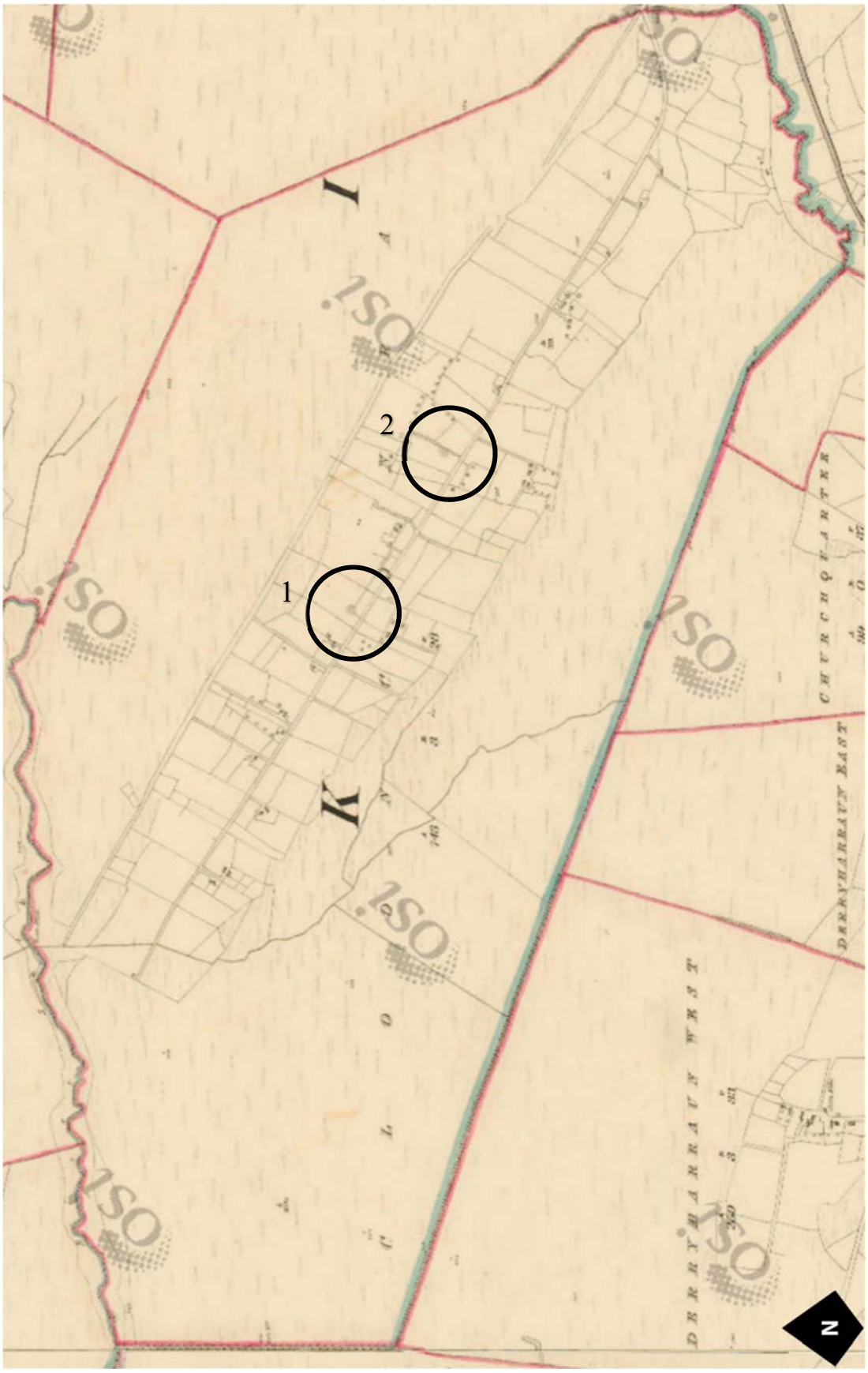


Figure 220. First edition OS map of Cloonconra townland showing earthworks 1. RO026-005 and 2. RO026-006

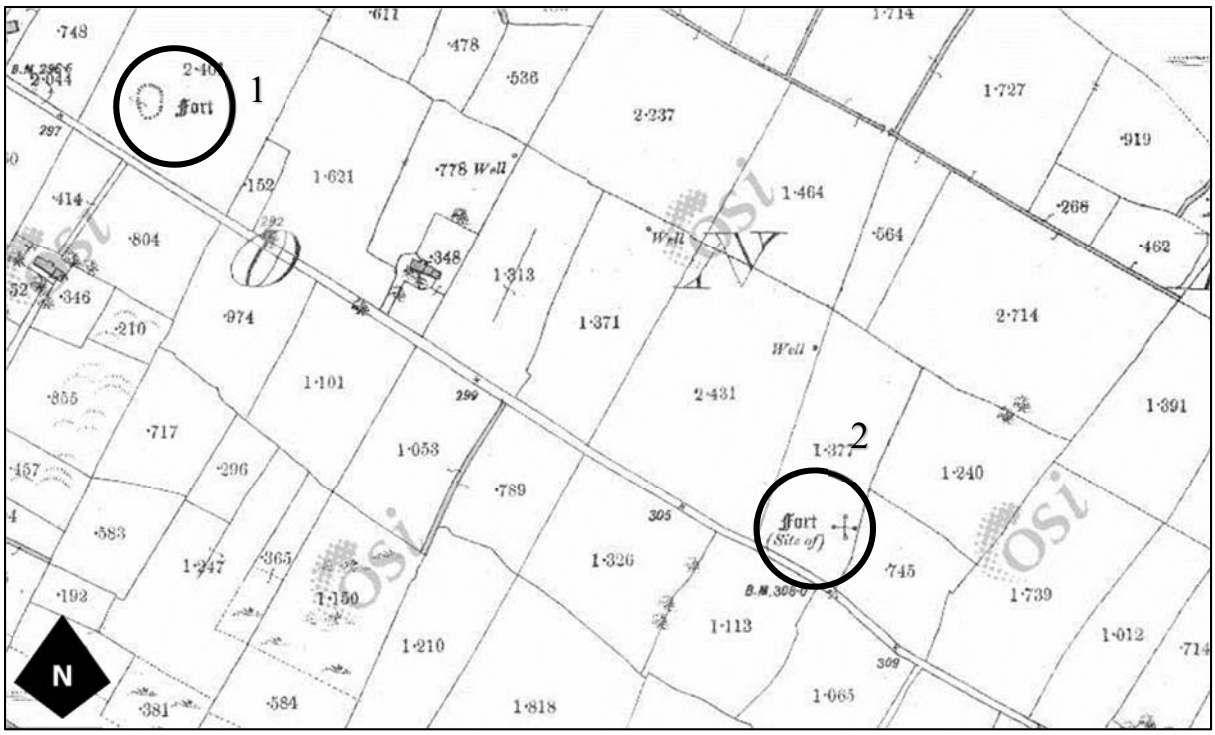


Figure 221. Second edition OS map of Cloonconra townland showing earthworks 1. RO026-005 and 2. RO026-006

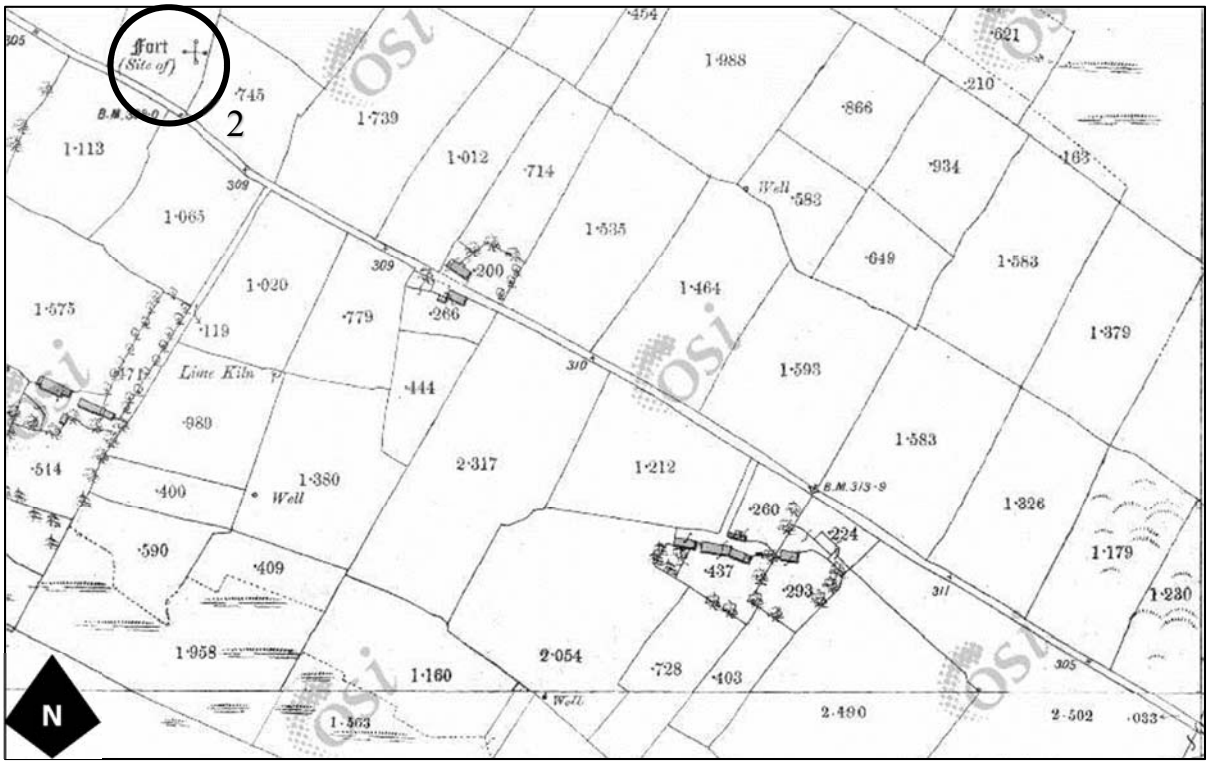


Figure 222. Second edition OS map of Cloonconra townland showing earthwork 2. RO026-006 and general location of third site shown on estate map



Figure 223. Aerial image of Cloonconra townland showing general location of earthworks shown on estate map (DG 2011-3)



Figure 224. Aerial image of Cloonconra townland showing site of earthworks 1. RO026-005 and 2. RO026-006 (GE 2010)

6.4.11. Clooncoose North

The presence of one example of a ringfort in this townland is recorded in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). This structure, RO020-038, is visible on the first edition OS map (1837, 20) of this area. On the later revised second edition map of this same townland, this rath is shown as a distorted sub-circular enclosure with evidence of quarrying activity in the northwest section of the boundary. This ringfort is presently extant and may be seen on modern aerial images where its structure is defined by a tree ring and a difference in ground conditions in the interior (GE 2010; DG 2011-3).

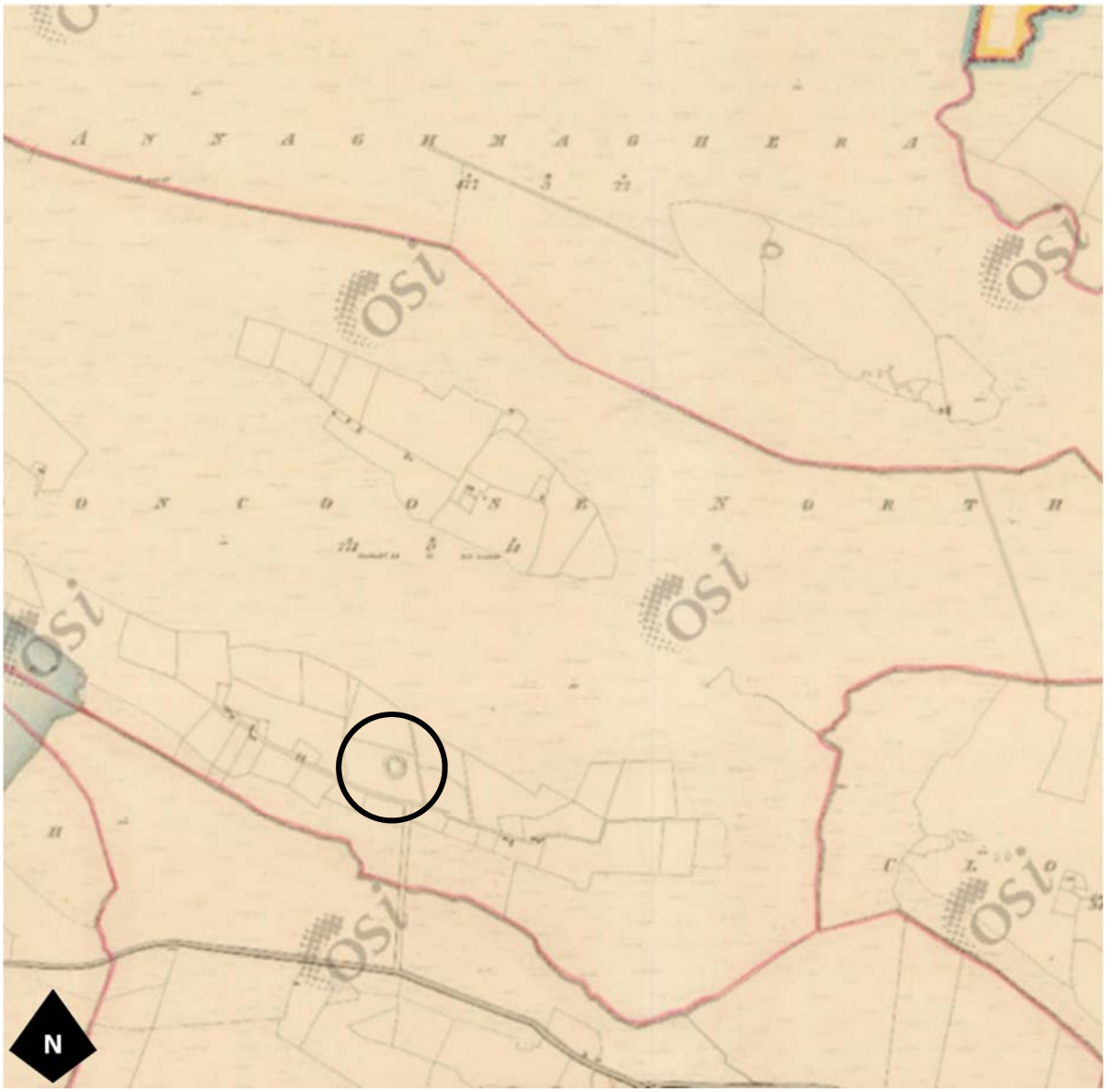


Figure 225. First edition OS map of Clooncoose North townland showing ringfort RO020-038

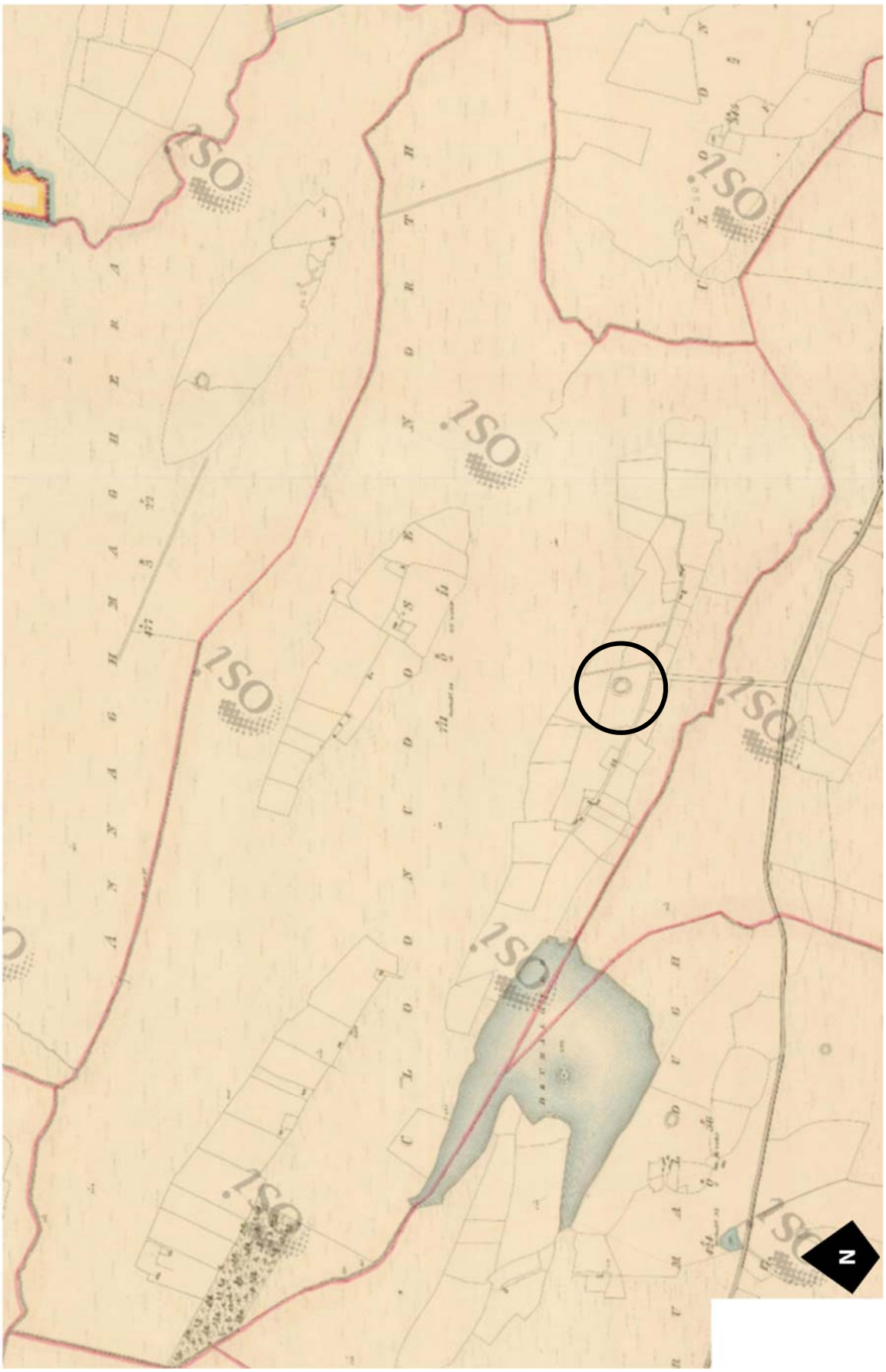


Figure 226. First edition OS map of Clooncoose North townland showing ringfort RO020-038

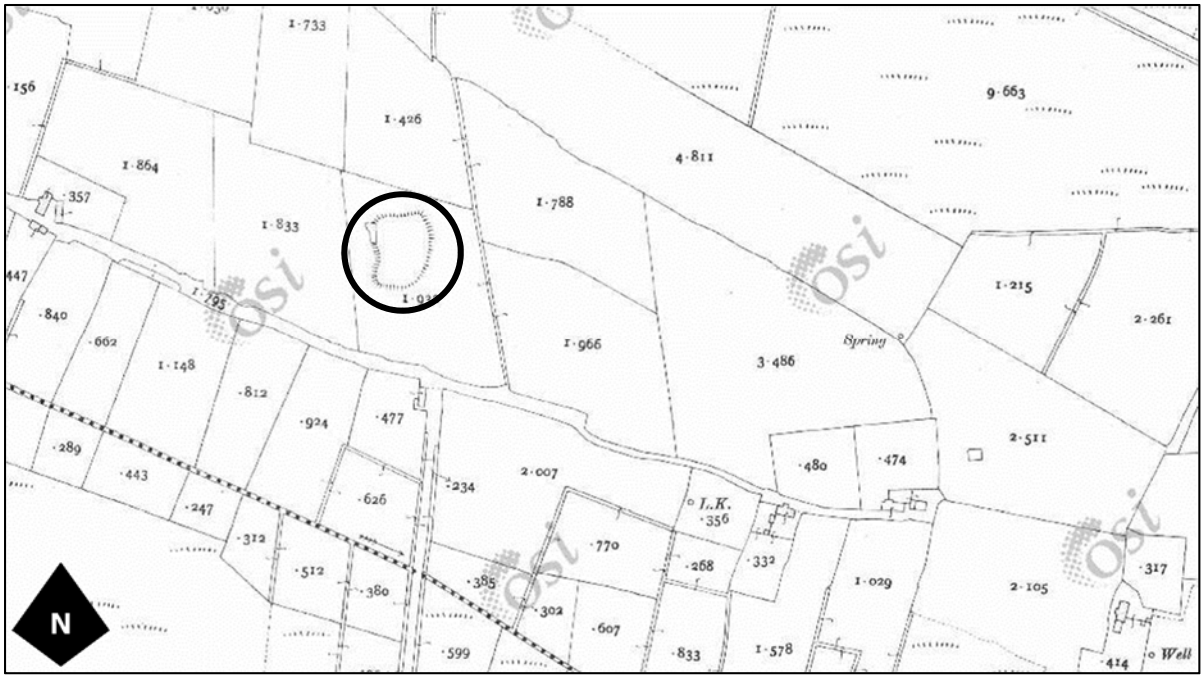


Figure 227. Second edition OS map of Clooncoose North townland showing ringfort RO020-038



Figure 228. Aerial image of Clooncoose North townland showing ringfort RO020-038 (GE 2010)

6.4.12. Cloonfower

Again, in this townland, the existence of a single ringfort is recorded in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). This 'rath', RO020-025, is shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 20) of the area. On the revised second edition OS map of this townland, this structure is also shown. On this map, it is depicted as being a misshapen circular feature, with an extension to the southeast. Furthermore, the north-western portion of this ringfort is shown truncated by a field boundary. This appears to show that a heavy amount of destruction had occurred by this time. Unfortunately, this structure is no longer extant. Although parts of it had been visible up to recent times (Gannon 1972). The location of this ringfort is visible with the presence of a crop mark (GE 2010). This circular outline is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 560810-782622 and encloses an area of *c*.31m in diameter.



Figure 229. First edition OS map of Cloonfower townland showing ringfort RO020-025

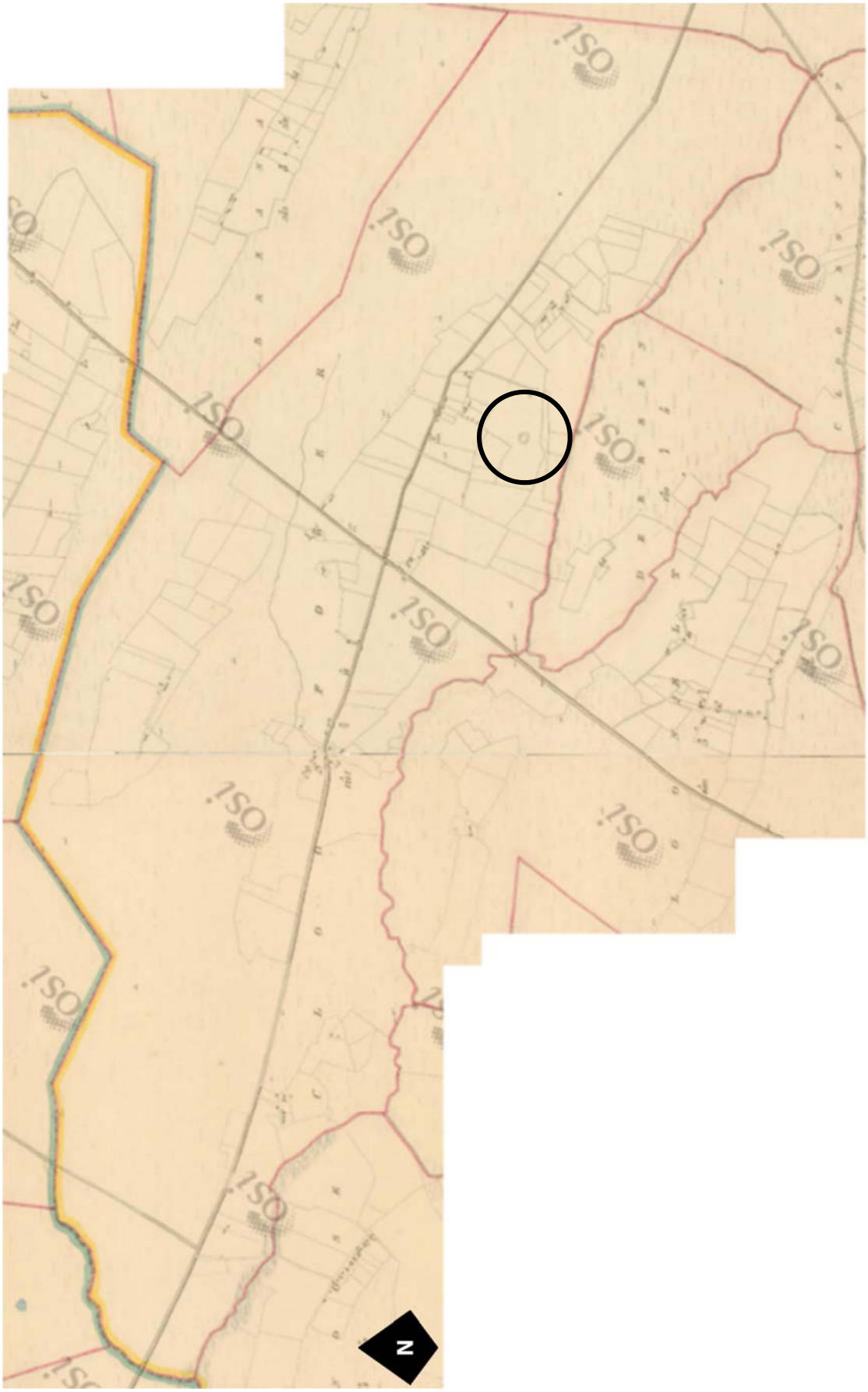


Figure 230. First edition OS map of Cloonfower townland showing ringfort RO020-025

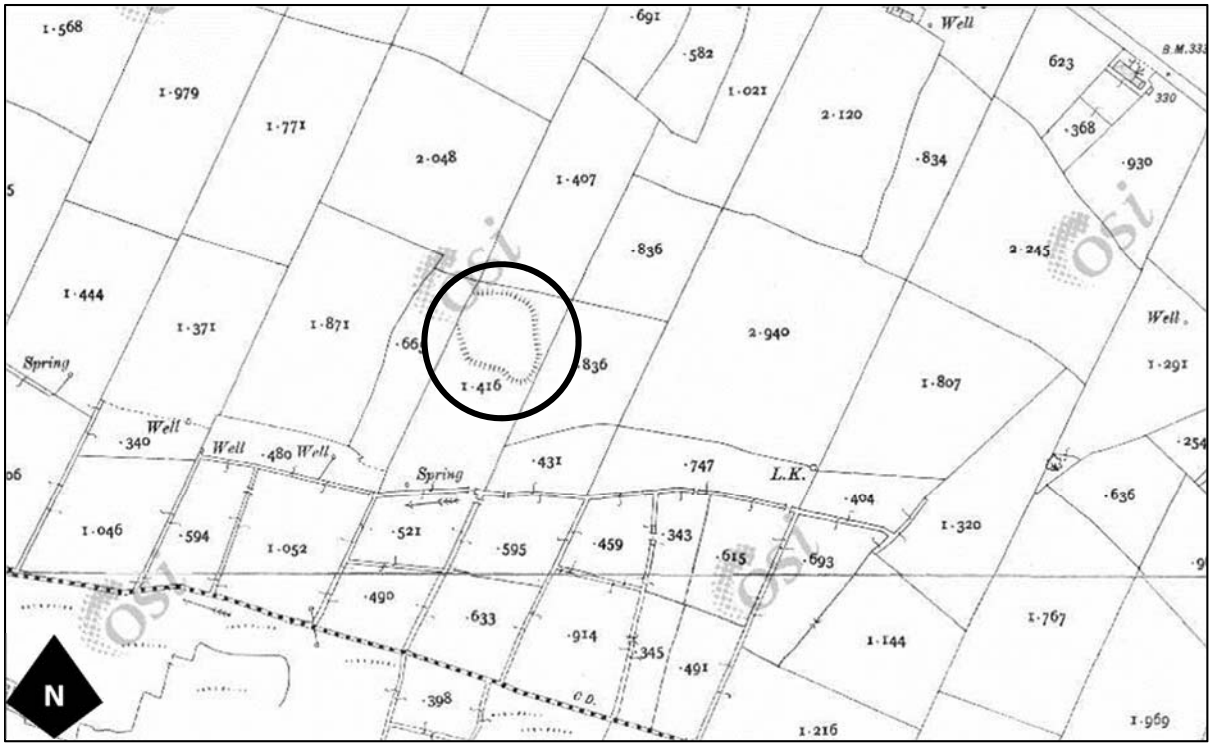


Figure 231. Second edition OS map of Cloonfower townland showing ringfort RO020-025

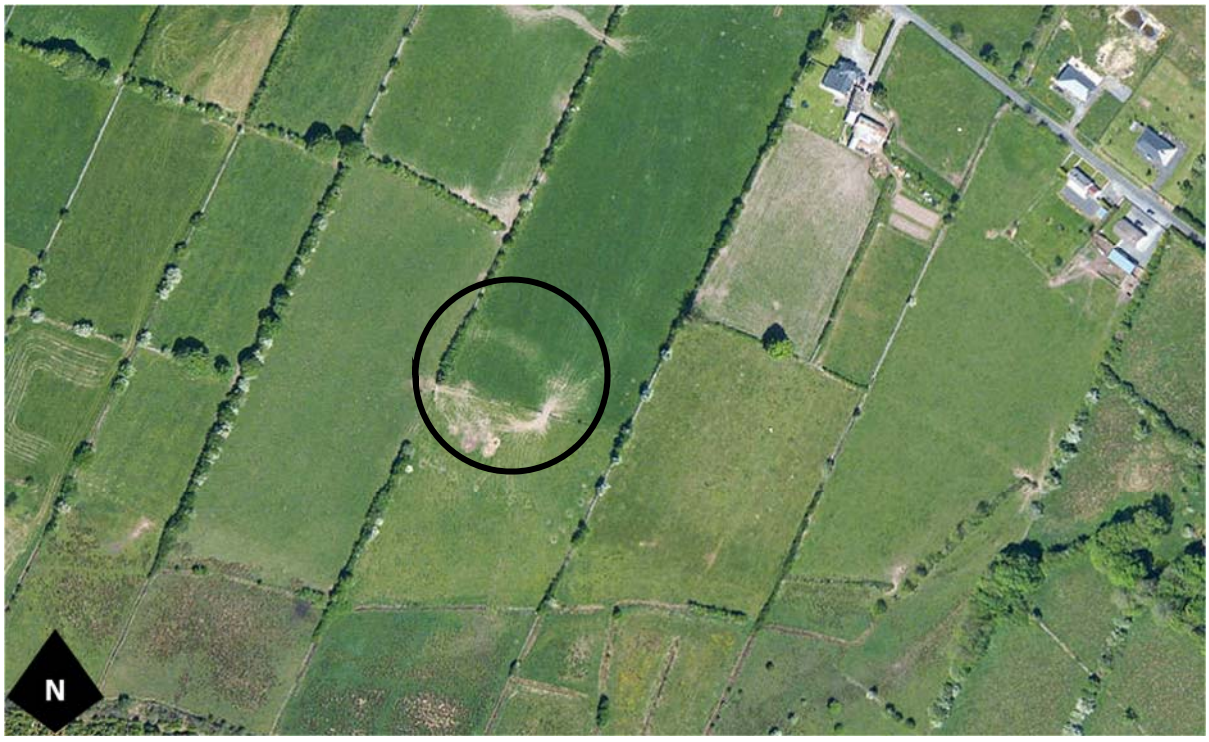


Figure 232. Aerial image of Cloonfower townland showing site of ringfort RO020-025 (GE 2010)

6.4.13. Cloonkeen

There are multiple examples of the monument type under examination recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). Ten of these are recorded as ringforts and there is a single example of a cashel recorded for this townland (NMS 2019). Strangely, this cashel, RO026-011001, is not depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 26) of this area. However, it is shown on the later revised versions of these maps. On the second edition OS map (1891, 26) this monument is depicted as a roughly circular enclosure, although the north-western section has been disturbed by a modern field boundary. This cashel may be considered extant and aerial images show that its location is defined by a combination of a low stone bank and a partial tree ring (GE 2018). The remainder of this monument type located in this townland will be studied in an ascending numerical order.

The first of these ringforts, RO026-009001, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 26) of the townland as a faint circular feature. It is more clearly represented on the revised second edition map. Although in this edition, only the northern half of the ringfort is shown, along with the notation of 'Fort (Remains of)'. Unfortunately, no above ground evidence for this structure remains visible (DG 2011-2013). However, its location can be confirmed because of the presence of a crop mark. This partial feature is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 563418-779341. The second of these ringforts, RO026-010, is depicted as an oval feature on the first edition of the OS map fort this townland. However, by the time of the creation of the revised second edition map this site appears to have been levelled as the location is marked with a cross and the notation 'Fort (Site of)'. As a result, no above ground evidence is visible on recent aerial images either (DG 2011-2013). Nor do any of these available images provide a suggestion as the eventual location of this site through the existence of a crop mark (GE 2010 & 2018).

The third of these recorded monuments, RO026-013, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 26) as a D-shaped enclosure, bounded to the south by a small pond. A clearer image of this ringfort is provided on the revised second edition map. Although, here again a portion of the ringfort, to the south, is disturbed by a modern field boundary. The pool indicated to the south of this on the original map is now shown as an area of damp marshy ground, possibly seasonally flooded. In modern times, the interior of the site has been traversed by a field boundary that runs slightly off the north-south axes. Only the south-eastern half of the ringfort

is now visible on aerial images (DG 2011-2013). Although the overall extent of the site is visible as a crop mark on the other side of the dividing boundary.

The fourth of the ringforts recorded here, RO026-014, is visible, as a tree ringed enclosure, on the first edition OS map of the area. This structure is located *c*.30m east of RO026-013 and is noted as 'Lissard Fort'. Again, it is more clearly visible on the revised second edition as an enclosure whose extent is defined by a tree ring. It is visible on modern aerial imagery as a low relief feature, where the definition of the outline is facilitated by the presence of an arc of trees (GE 2010). The fifth of these structures, RO026-015, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 26) as an oval feature. It is again visible on the revised second edition map, again with the added notation 'Fort', although the southern segment of the site is disturbed by a field boundary. Unfortunately, this ringfort is no longer extant. For apparently at some stage between the undertaking of a Google Earth survey (08/05/2010) and the present day (2019) a high level of clearance was carried out at this particular location and in the surrounding fields. In addition, the now enlarged field has been ploughed and this hinders the use of aerial imagery to identify the eventual location of this recorded monument (DG 2011-2013).

The sixth and seventh of the ringforts recorded in this townland are grouped together on the first edition OS map (1837, 26) under the name of 'Lisgall Forts'. On the revised second edition, the westernmost of these, RO026-017, is also depicted. However, the location of the adjoining ringfort, RO026-044, is marked, by convention, with a cross and the annotation 'Lisgall Fort (Site of)'. Neither of these structures can now be considered extant. Although, the precise location of both is discernible due to the existence of a crop mark (GE 2018). Furthermore, the eighth and ninth recorded ringfort located in this townland are also depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 26) as comprising the 'Lisnanultagh Forts'.

These structures, RO026-045001 & RO026-045002, are located in very close proximity to each other. What is more, they are also shown on the later revised edition of the OS map (1871, 26). It is again unfortunate that neither of these ringforts can be considered extant. Although their individual outline is again discernible through the presence of a crop map at each of these locations (GE 2009). The tenth ringfort, RO026-046, recorded for this townland is not, however, depicted on the first edition of the OS maps. It is clearly shown on the later revised map but in an area that is also depicted as poor marshy ground. This may account for its non-inclusion in the first edition map. It seems that this structure should also not be

considered extant. Although again here, the extent of the site is visible because of the presence of a crop mark (GE 2018).

An undated estate map of this, and surrounding townlands, is held in the National Library of Ireland in Dublin (NLI: MS 21 F. 44/ 50). This map depicts the majority of the ringforts described above. It also indicates the presence of a further 'fort' located to the west of that referred to as 'Lissard Fort'. This enclosure is also located to the south of a small group of houses, themselves built below a distinctive corner of the road. This stretch of road is still visible on the probably later first edition OS map (1837, 26) of the area. There is no evidence for the presence of this fort, however. This feature is not visible either on the later revised versions of the OS map nor is it presently extant. On modern aerial images, however, a crop mark is visible at this general location (GE 2010). This crop mark encloses an area of approximately 44m in diameter and is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 564069-779005. The existence of this feature has been reported to the National Monument Service. It was decided to include it on the Sites and Monuments Record as a ringfort – unclassified and it has been attributed the SMR number of RO026-069.



Figure 233. Estate map of Cloonkeen townland (NLI: MS 21 F. 44/ 50)



Figure 234. Estate map of Cloonkeen townland showing ringfort RO026-069 (NLI: MS 21 F. 44/ 50)



Figure 235. First edition OS map of Cloonkeen townland

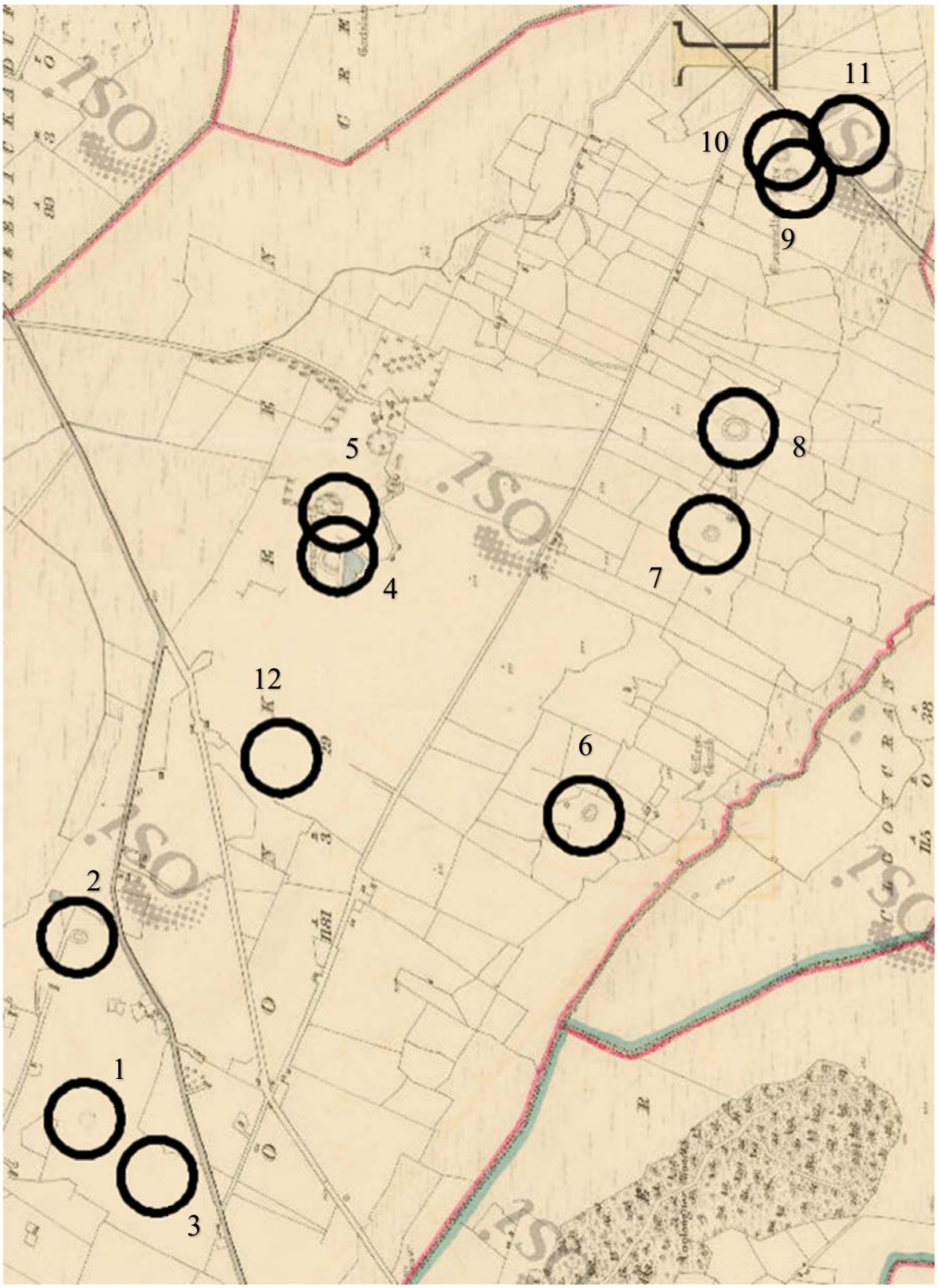


Figure 236. First edition OS map of Cloonkeen townland showing ringforts 1. RO026-009001, 2. RO026-010, 4. RO026-013, 5. RO026-014, 6. RO026-015, 7. RO026-017, 8. RO026-044, 9. RO026-045001, 10. RO026-045002, 11. RO026-046 and site of ringforts 3. RO026-011001 and 12. RO026-069

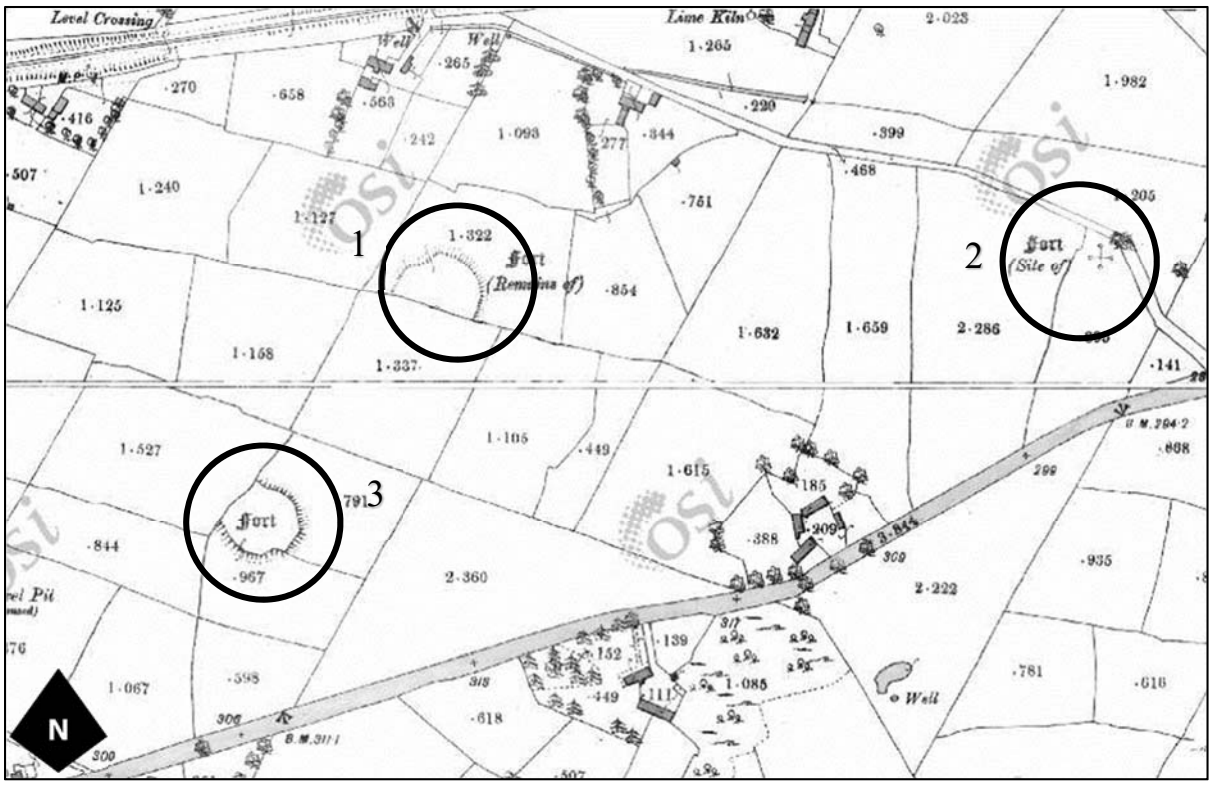


Figure 237. Second edition OS map of Cloonkeen townland showing ringforts 1. RO026-009001 & 3. RO026-011001 and site of ringfort 2. RO026-010

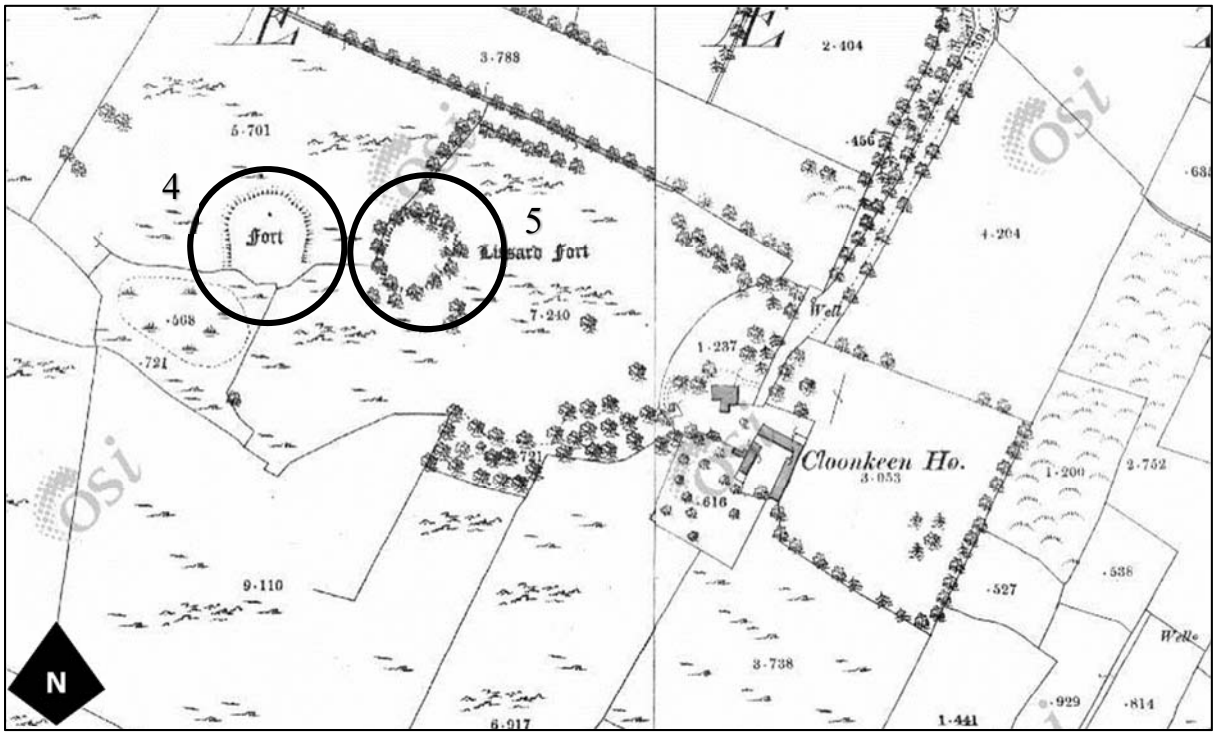


Figure 238. Second edition OS map of Cloonkeen townland showing ringforts 4. RO026-013 and 5. RO026-014

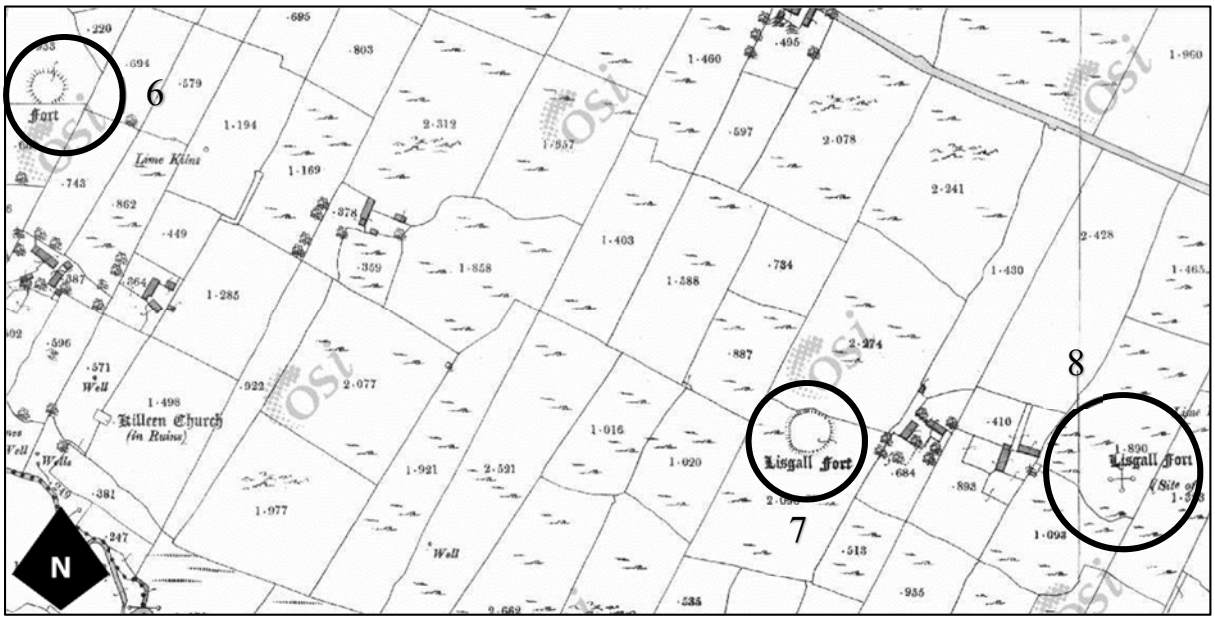


Figure 239. Second edition OS map of Cloonkeen townland showing ringfort 6. RO026-015, 7. RO026-017 and 8. RO026-044

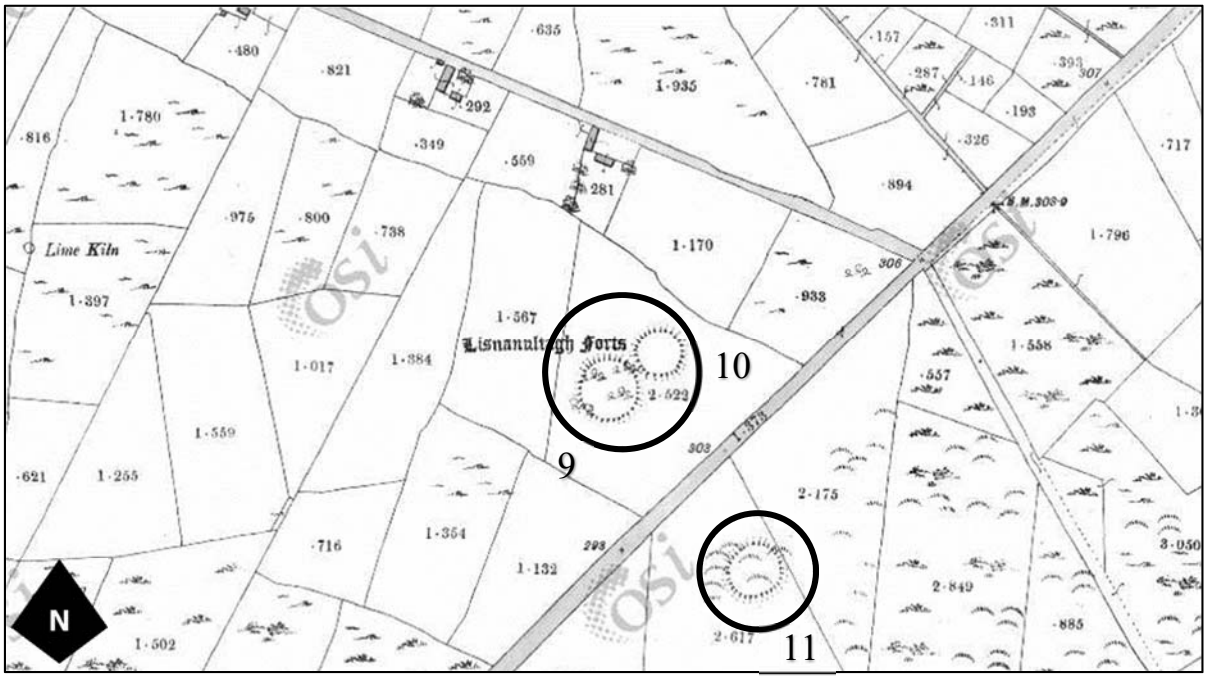


Figure 240. Second edition OS map of Cloonkeen townland showing ringforts 9. RO026-045001, 10. RO026-045002 and 11. RO026-046

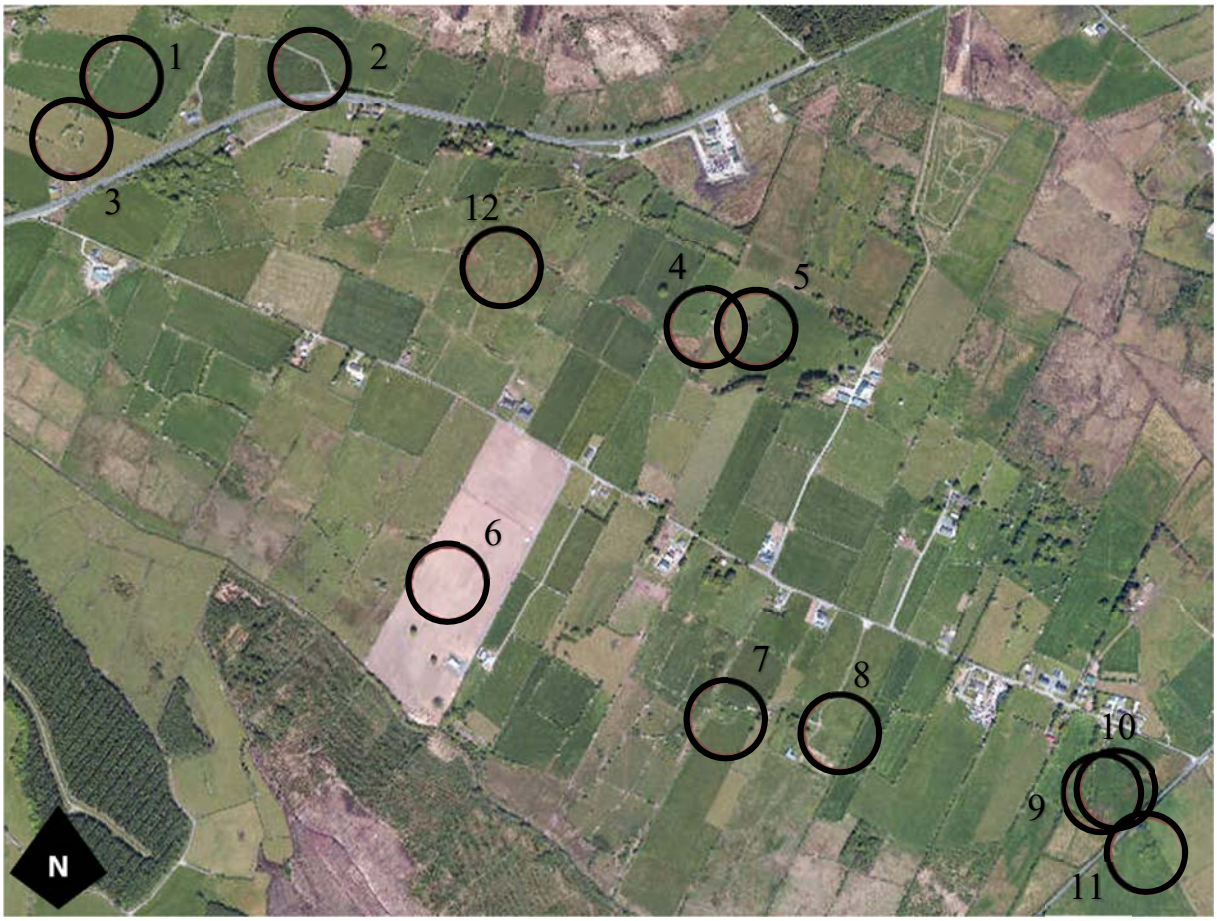


Figure 241. Aerial image of Cloonkeen townland showing ringforts 1. RO026-009001, 2. RO026-010, 3. RO026-011001, 4. RO026-013, 5. RO026-014, 6. RO026-015, 7. RO026-017, 8. RO026-044, 9. RO026-045001, 10. RO026-045002, 11. RO026-046 and site of ringfort 12. RO026-069 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 242. Aerial image of Cloonkeen townland showing ringfort RO026-011001



Figure 243. Aerial image of Cloonkeen townland showing ringfort RO026-015 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 244. Aerial image of Cloonkeen townland showing ringforts 8. RO026-044, 9. RO026-045001, 10. RO026-045002 and 11. RO026-046 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 245. Aerial image of Cloonkeen townland showing site of ringfort RO026-069 (GE 2010)

6.4.14. Cloonsuck

Three circular field monuments are recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). These three features are recorded as different monuments however. While two of these structures are recorded as ringforts, one, RO026-003, is recorded as a 'rath', another, RO0026-004, as a 'cashel'. Whereas, the third of these structures, RO020-031, is recorded as an earthwork. The three monuments are depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 20 & 26) that covers this townland. They are all located within a central band of cultivated land surrounded by bog. The cashel, RO026-004, is shown on this map as an oval feature. The rath, RO026-003, is shown here as having been at some earlier stage traversed by a field boundary. In addition, the feature noted as an earthwork, RO020-031, is also depicted as being traversed by a field boundary. Thus, these two latter structures may be considered interfered with even at this early stage.

On the later revised edition of this map no above ground evidence for the location of the earthwork, RO020-031, is visible. The rath, RO026-003, is shown as an almost complete enclosure, with just a portion of the bank missing to the north-west of the field boundary. Also on this map, the cashel is depicted as an elongated oval feature, the southern extent of which is disturbed by a field boundary. Both of these two latter features are still visible on recent aerial images (DG 2011-2013). The cashel, RO026-004, has maintained the same form as shown on the second edition OS map and its extent is defined by a ring of trees. The rath, RO026-003, is visible on these images as a mostly denuded, low relief circular feature. The location of the third recorded monument in this townland, RO020-031, can be discerned by the presence of a crop mark that is visible on modern aerial imagery (GE 2009). The mark of the field boundary that bisected this monument can also be seen. The circular crop mark is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 560540-781018 and appears to enclose an area of approximately 36m in diameter.

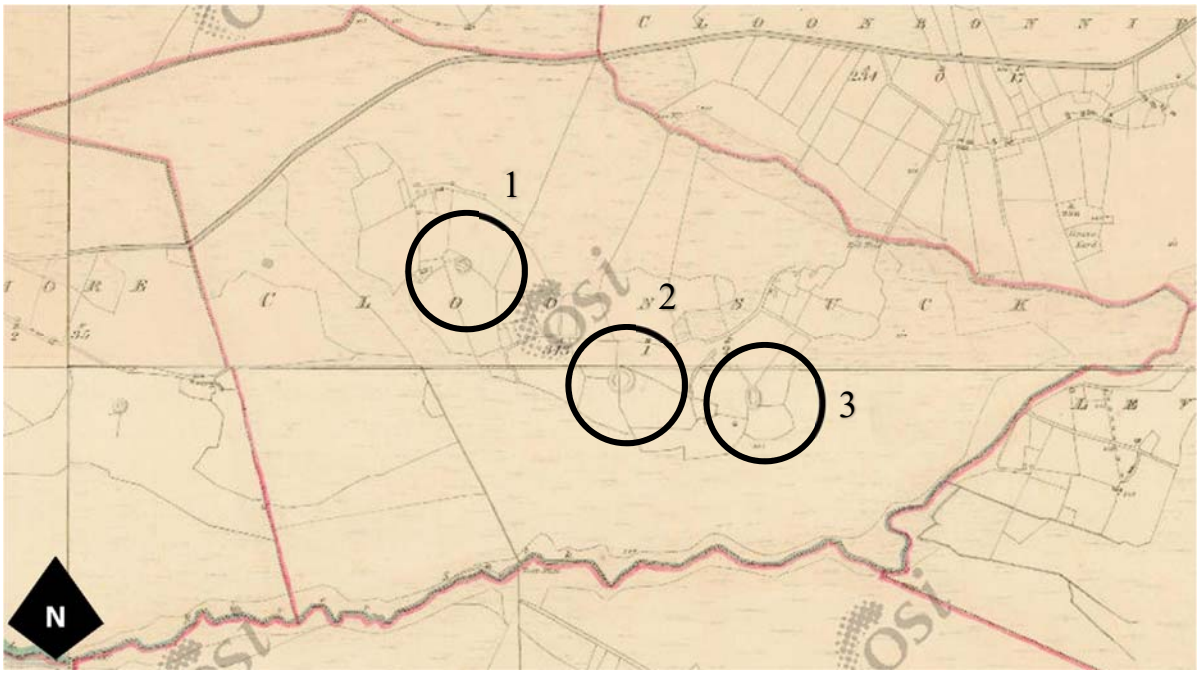


Figure 246. First edition OS map of Cloonsuck townland showing earthwork 1. RO020-031 and ringforts 2. RO026-003 and 3. RO026-004

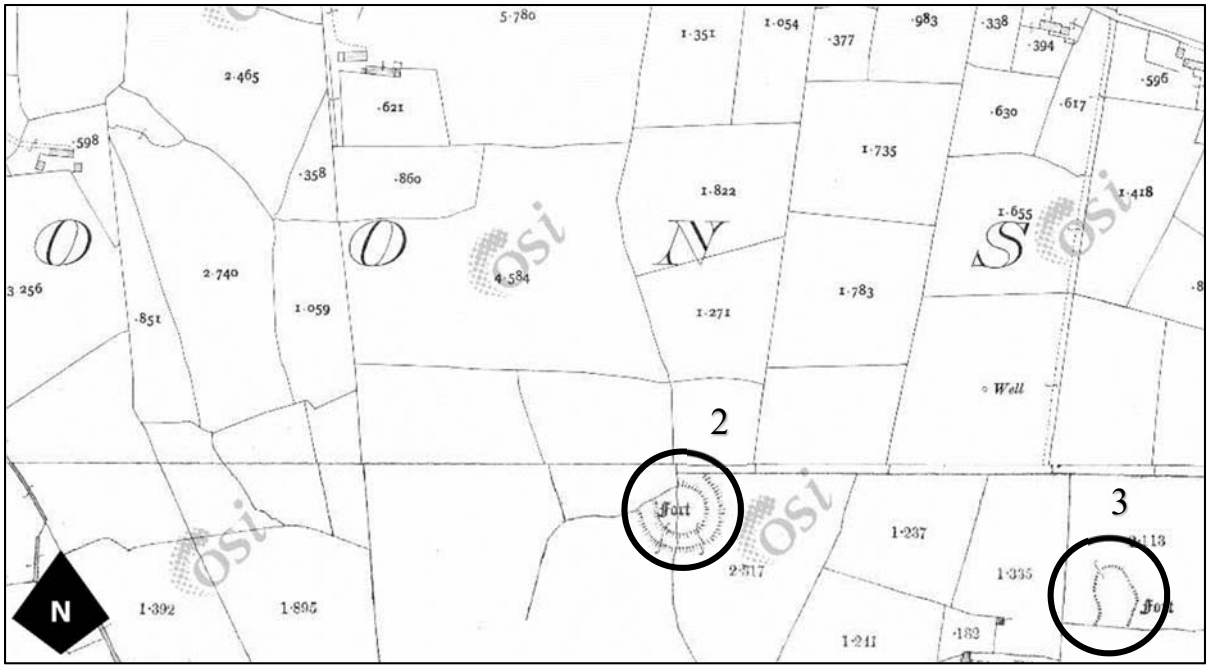


Figure 247. Second edition OS map of Cloonsuck townland showing ringforts 2. RO026-003 and 3. RO026-004



Figure 248. Aerial image of Cloonsuck townland showing site of earthwork 1. RO020-031 and ringforts 2. RO026-003 and 3. RO026-004



Figure 249. Aerial image of Cloonsuck townland showing ringforts 2. RO026-003 and 3. RO026-004

6.4.15. Creggancor

One example of this monument type is recorded for this townland (NMS 2019). This structure, RO026-050, is described as a rath and is depicted on the first edition OS amp (1837, 26) as an unusual rhomboid shaped enclosure. It is also defined by several bands of hachured lines, perhaps indicating some level of degeneration in appearance. An amount of subdivision in the surrounding landscape had occurred by the time of the second edition OS map (1891, 26) of the townland. Therefore, although the location where this monument is noted is now a small D-shaped field, it is not possible to identify positively whether this rath is still extant. In any event, this monument can no longer be considered so, as no above ground evidence is now visible (DG 2011-2013). However, a crop mark outline of a sub circular feature is visible at this location on recent aerial imagery (GE 2009). This crop mark is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 564622-777033 and encloses an area of *c*.43m in diameter.

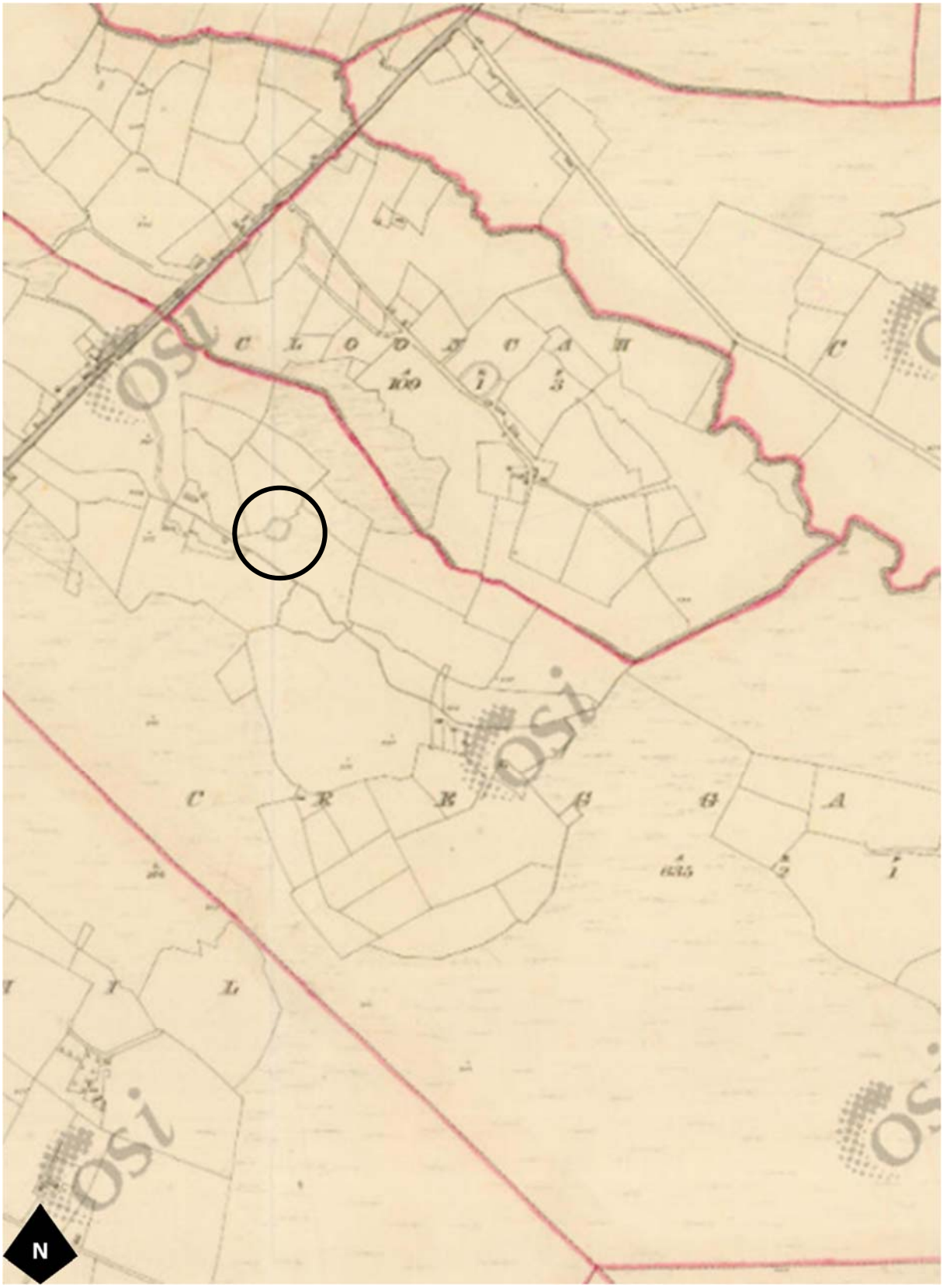


Figure 250. First edition OS map of Creggancor townland showing ringfort RO026-050

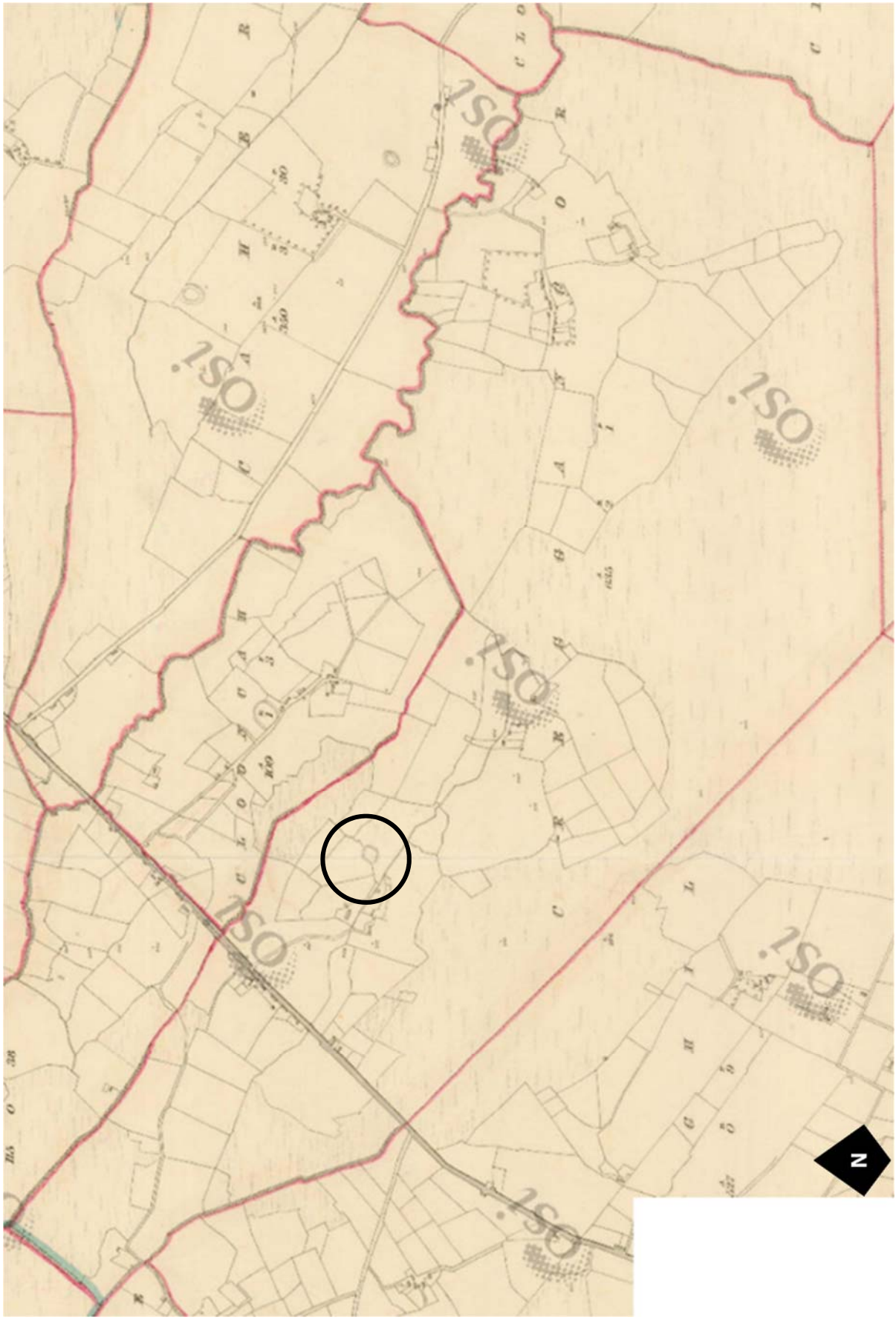


Figure 251. First edition OS map of Creggancor townland showing ringfort RO026-050

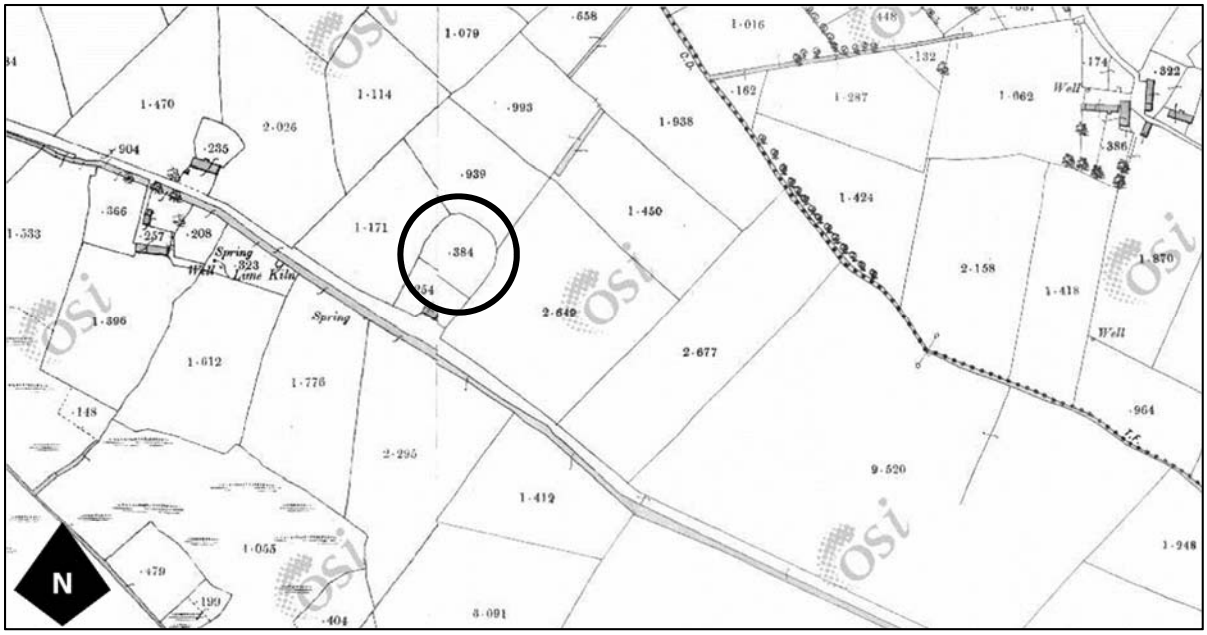


Figure 252. Second edition OS map of Creggancor townland showing ringfort RO026-050



Figure 253. Aerial image of Creggancor townland showing site of ringfort RO026-050 (GE 2009)

6.4.16. Creggaslin

A record of one ringfort is present in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). This rath, RO026-038, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 26) of the area, along with the notation that it was referred to locally as 'Gortalassa Fort'. It is again shown on the later revised edition of this OS map (1870, 26). Although on this map, the interior of the rath is shown as poor neglected ground. Thankfully, this structure is still extant and can be seen on modern aerial images (DG 2011-2013). This rath is located west of the village of Cloontrask and its extent can be defined by the presence of a ring of trees on its bank.

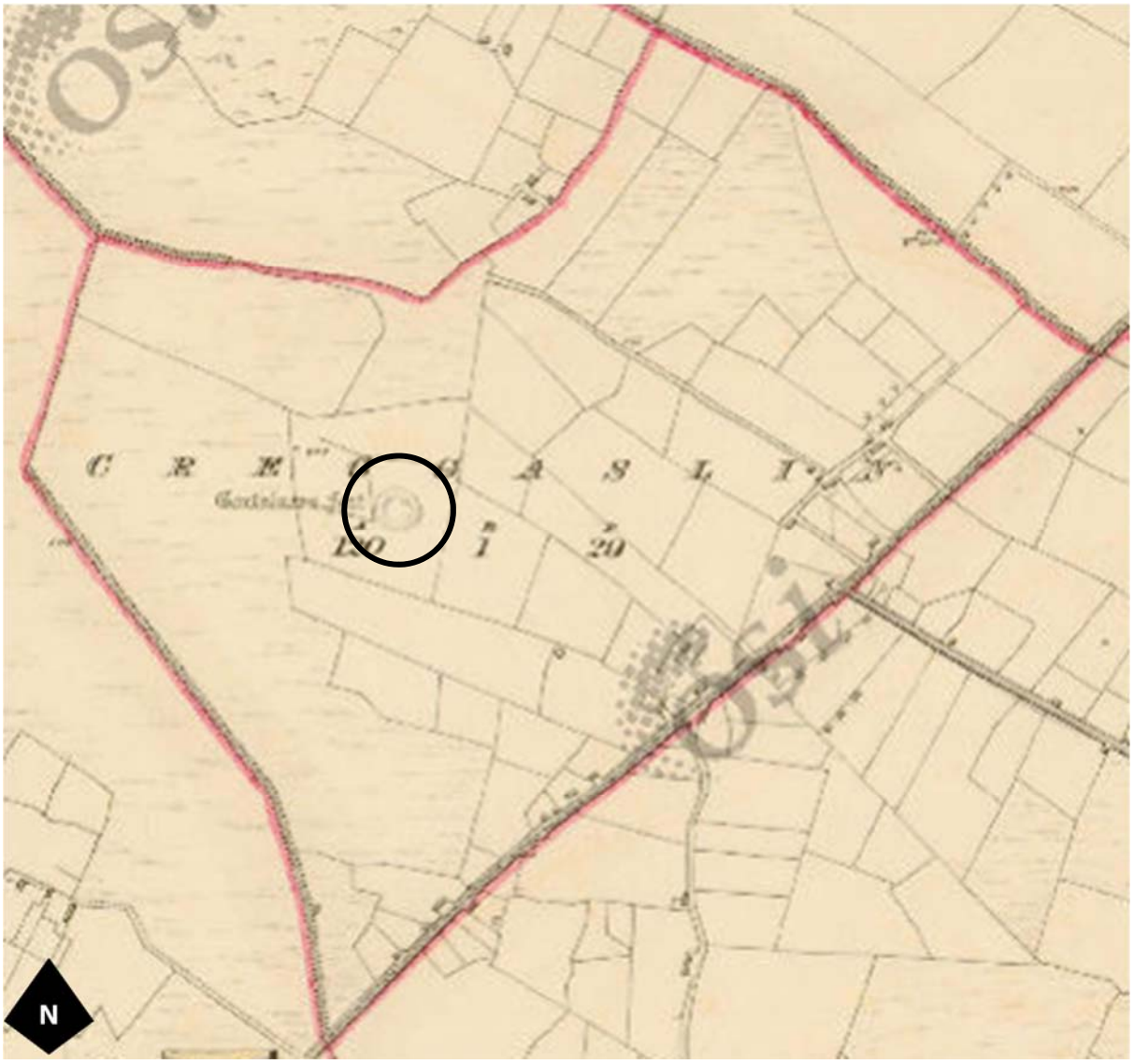


Figure 254. First edition OS map of Creggaslin townland showing ringfort RO026-038

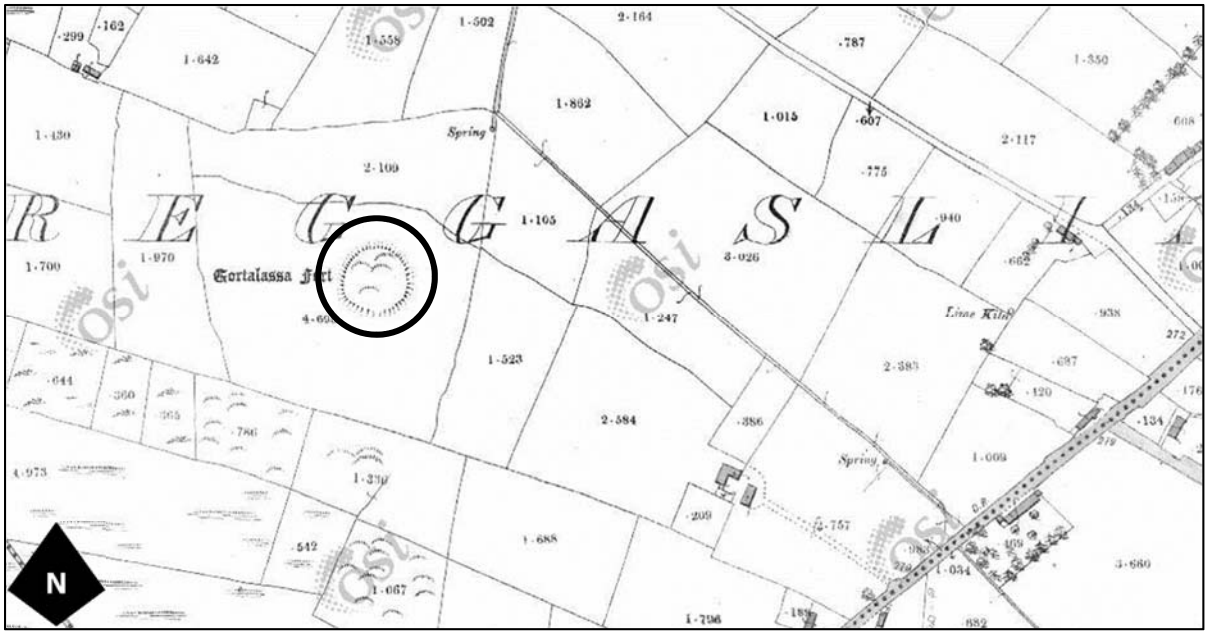


Figure 255. Second edition OS map of Creggaslin townland showing ringfort RO026-038



Figure 256. Aerial image of Creggaslin townland showing ringfort RO026-038 (DG 2011-3)

6.4.17. Demesne

The archaeological record refers to the presence of three ringforts in this townland (NMS 2019). Two of these, RO026-026 & RO026-030, are presently included in this database. Whereas, the third of these field monuments, RO026-027, is no longer included, as the area is now completely

urbanised. Perhaps it is now deemed that the protection afforded by such an inclusion is no longer warranted. This particular monument is depicted on an undated estate map as a 'fort' (NLI: Ms. 21 F. 44/ 62). Unfortunately, by the time the first edition OS map (1837, 26) of this townland was created this location, in proximity to Castlerea House, is shown as being heavily wooded. No sign of the 'fort' is included and this probably indicates that the estate map was created prior to this map. Neither are any available modern aerial images any assistance in locating the site of this monument. For the local mart and associated buildings now seem to occupy this area.

Another of these recorded circular features, RO026-030, is also shown on the above-mentioned estate map. On this representation, this structure is also referred to as a 'fort'. Again, however, on the first edition OS map (1837, 26) the area around the probable location of this site is depicted as being heavily wooded. The area remains in this state on later revised editions of this map. Recent aerial images also show this area as a copse of woodland that is separated from the nearby road by a row of modern houses (DG 2011-2013). However, following a test excavation of this site, there is a suggestion that this site, in fact, may be a tree ring and not a ringfort (Connolly 1998). Nevertheless, this site will be included in this study because having been referred to as a fort it would have been perceived as such by the local community and then treated in a similar manner.

The third recorded monument in this townland, RO026-026, is depicted on another estate map that is, however, similar in style to that above and may, therefore, have been created at a comparable time. This, also undated, map highlights a row of three circular features that extend parallel to the road that marks the south-western boundary of the townland (NLI: Ms. 21 F. 44/ 49). It is the enclosure furthest to the southeast that id noted as a ringfort. Whereas, the most imposing of these three features, located in the middle, is recorded as a tree ring. The third circular feature in this row is recorded as an enclosure, but has been attributed to the adjacent townland of Arm. The first edition OS map (1837, 26) of the townland also shows these features. Subsequent revised edition of this map still show both the ringfort, RO026-026, and the tree ring, RO026-025. However, the location of the enclosure, RO026-024, is marked by a clump of trees. Happily, these three features are now included on the grounds of a golf course. The area of the enclosure is now part of a fairway. The clubhouse appears to occupy the site of the tree ring. Whereas, the interior of the ringfort is now the location of a teeing off point and a bunker has been built in the interior and across the bank and fosse. Hopefully, it may sooth any

unfortunate golfer, who finds himself or herself within the bunker, to reflect upon the beauty and symmetry of this site.



Figure 257. Estate map of Demesne townland showing ringforts 2. RO026-027 and 3. RO026-030 (NLI: Ms. 21 F. 44/ 62)



Figure 258. Estate map of Demesne townland showing ringfort 1. RO026-026 (NLI: Ms. 21 F. 44/ 49)

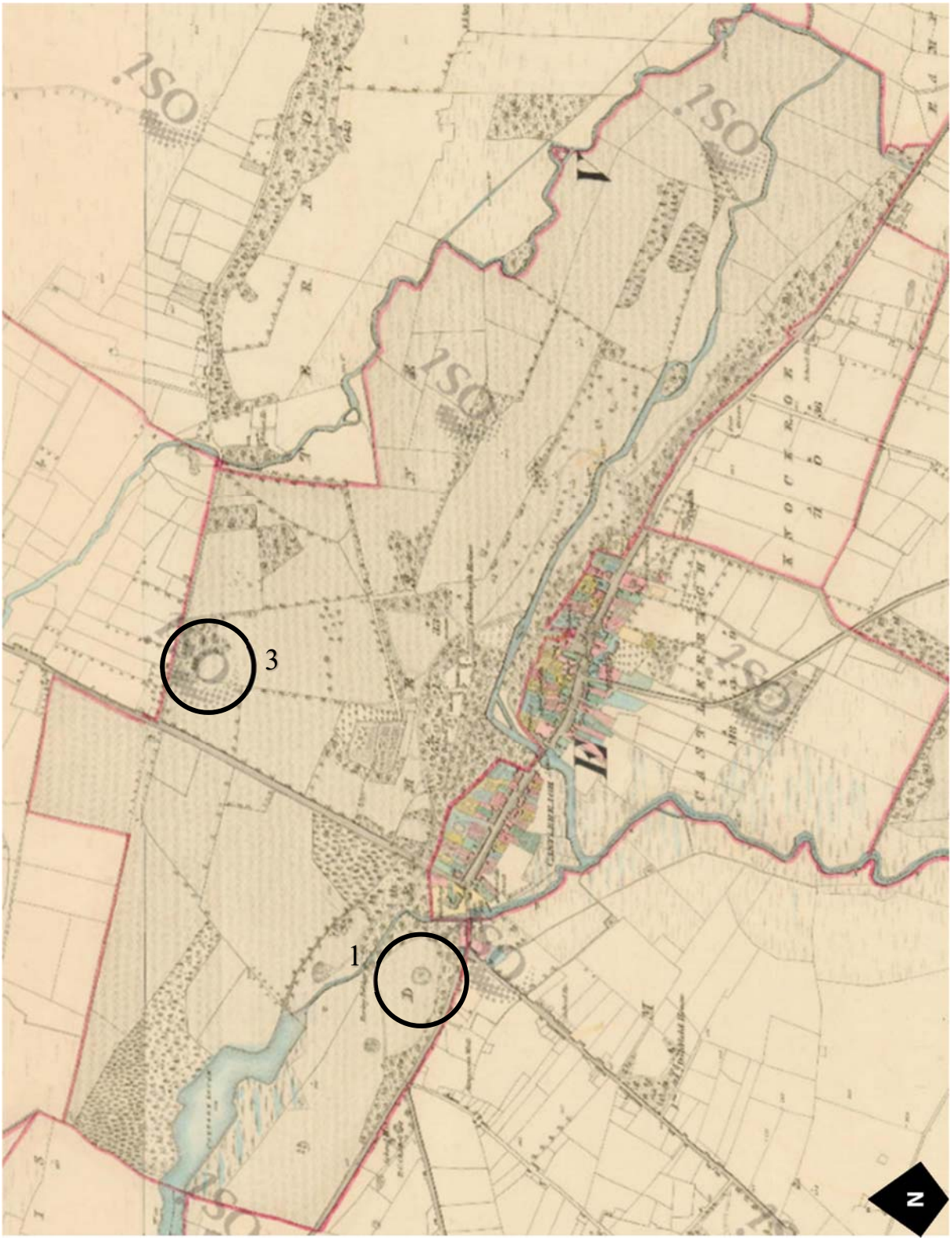


Figure 259. First edition OS map of Demesne townland showing ringforts 1. RO026-026 and 3. RO026-030

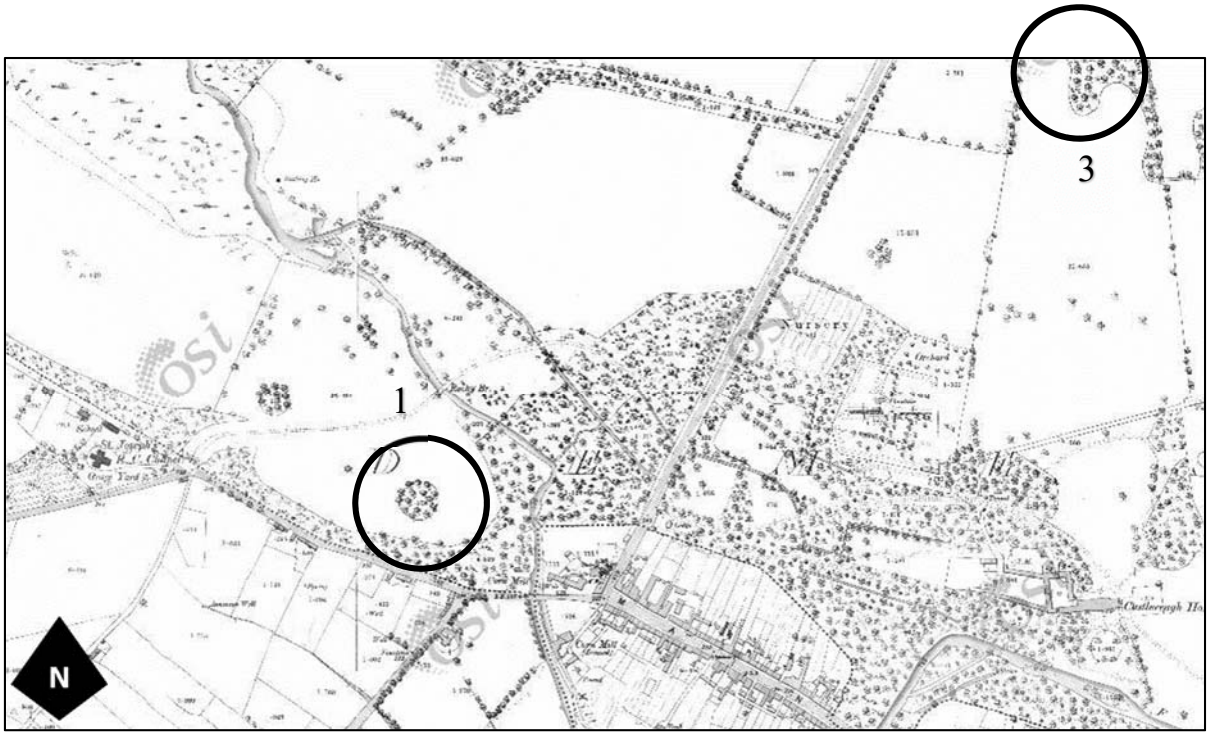


Figure 260. Second edition OS map of Demesne townland showing ringforts 1. RO026-026 and 3. RO026-030



Figure 261. Aerial image of Demesne townland showing ringforts 1. RO026-026 and 3. RO026-030 and site of ringfort 2. RO026-027 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 262. General aerial image of Demesne townland (DG 2011-3)

6.4.18. Drumalough

Reference to the existence of several field monuments within this townland are included in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). Three of these structures, RO020-032, RO020-033 & RO020-034, are recorded as ringforts. Whereas, the fourth, RO020-036, is recorded as an 'earthwork'. This particular feature and two of the ringforts, RO020-032 & RO020-034, are shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 20) of the area. On a later revised edition of this OS map (1895, 20) the two above mentioned ringforts are shown and the third recorded ringfort, RO020-033, is shown as a partial enclosure. No evidence is included as regards the location of the earthwork, RO020-036. This structure can no longer be considered extant but its location can be discerned because of the presence of a crop mark on recent aerial imagery (GE 2010). Perhaps one ringfort, RO020-034, can be said to survive as a low relief feature. The other two ringforts, RO020-032 & RO020-033, are shown on these images as having been probably levelled, or at least heavily disturbed. Although, here too their locations and extent can be defined through a combination of tree cover and crop marks (GE 2010 & 2018).

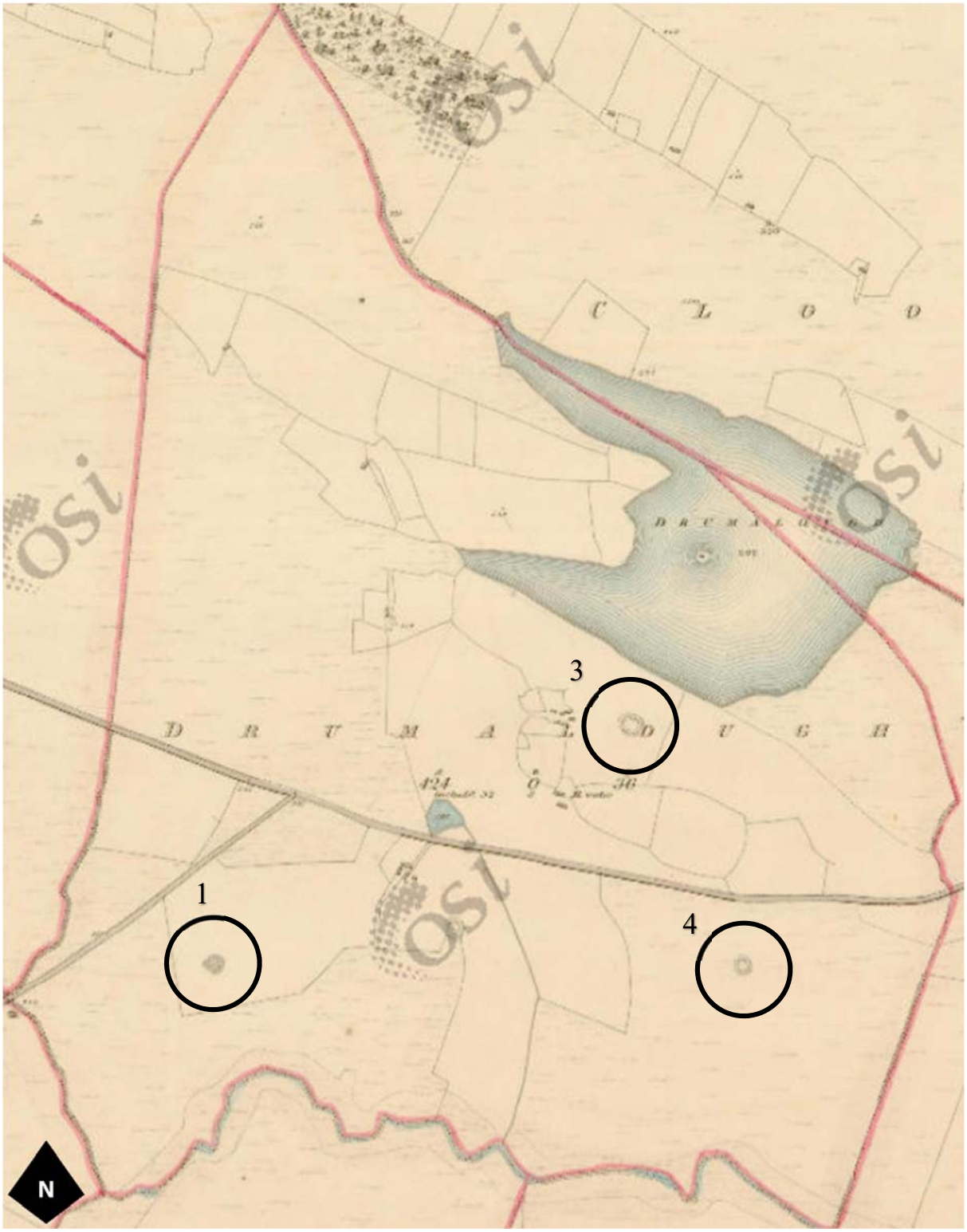


Figure 263. First edition OS map of Drumalough townland showing ringforts 1. RO020-032, 2. RO020-033 & 3. RO020-034 and earthwork 4. RO020-036

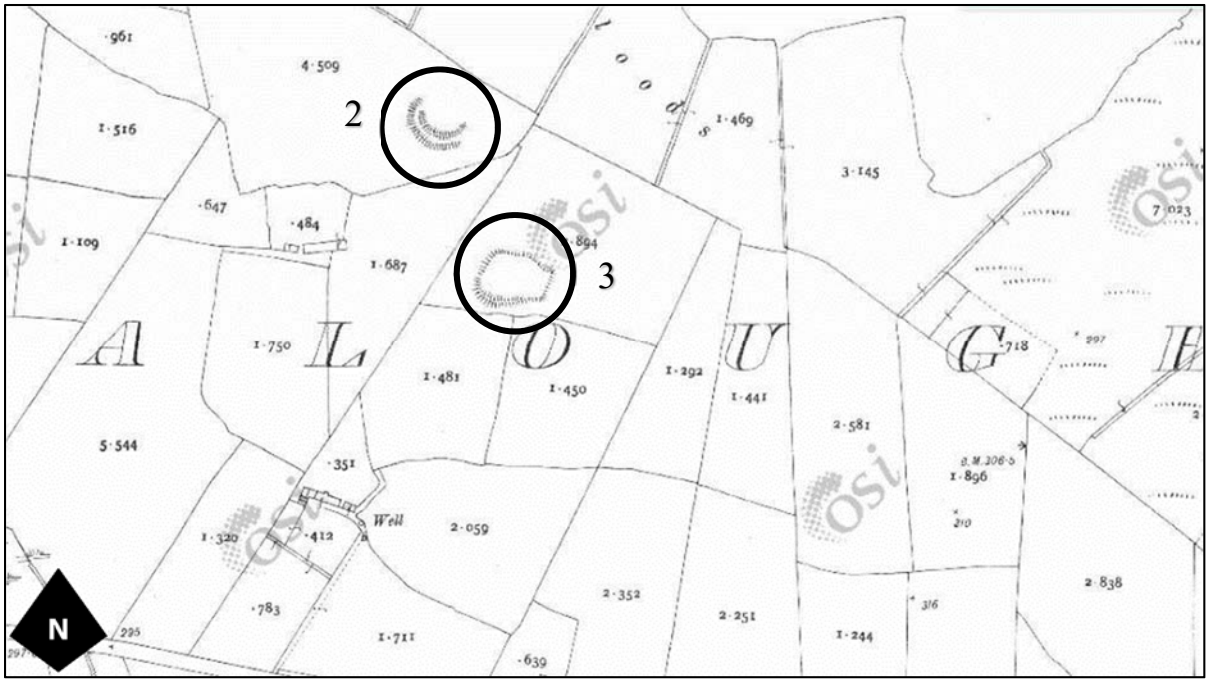


Figure 264. Second edition OS map of Drumalough townland showing ringforts 2. RO020-033 & 3. RO020-034

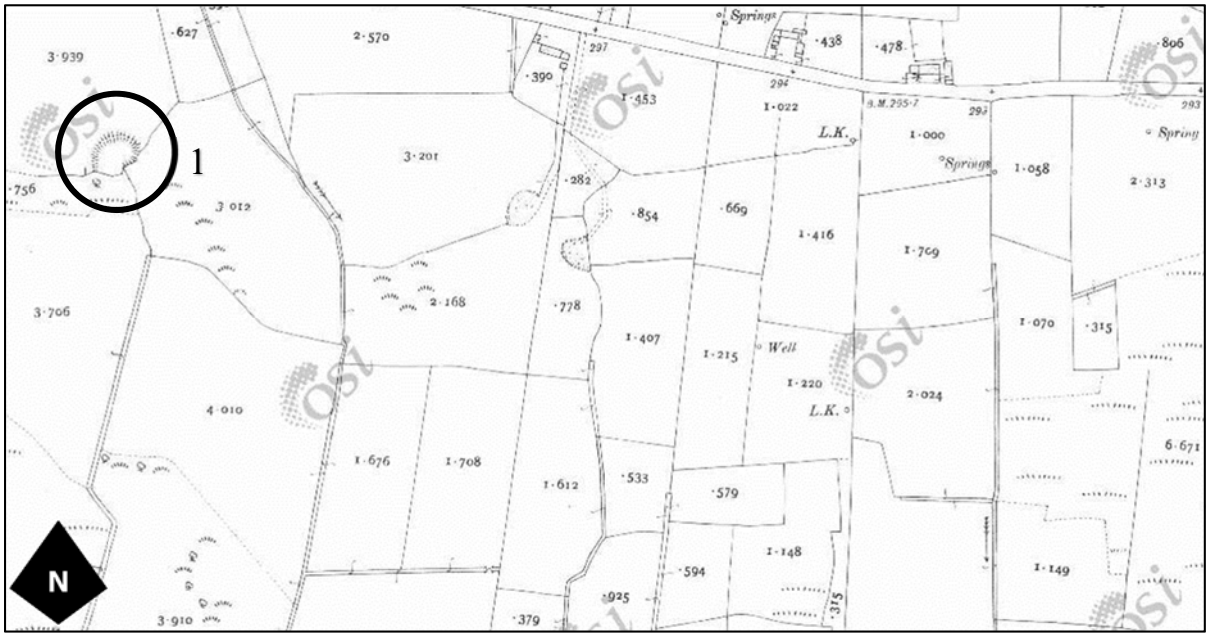


Figure 265. Second edition OS map of Drumalough townland showing ringfort 1. RO020-032

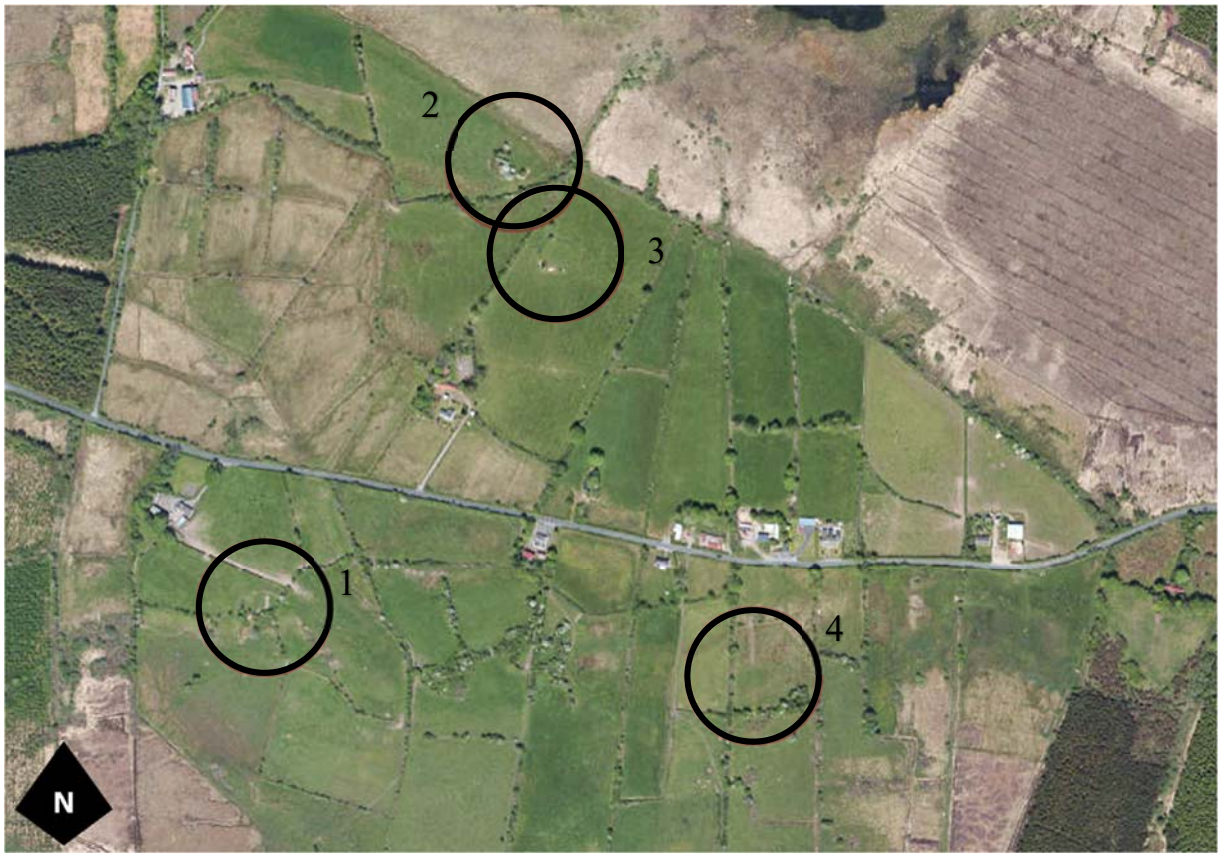


Figure 266. Aerial image of Drumalough townland showing sites of ringforts 1. RO020-032, 2. RO020-033 & 3. RO020-034 and earthwork 4. RO020-036 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 267. Aerial image of Drumalough townland showing ringfort 2. RO020-033 and site of ringfort 3. RO020-034 (GE 2017)



Figure 268. Aerial image of Drumalough townland showing site of ringfort 1. RO020-032 and earthwork 4. RO020-036 (GE 2017)

6.4.19. Kilmore

There is a variety of circular field monuments recorded as present in this townland in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). While, two of these features are recorded as ringforts, one, RO019-018, is recorded as a 'cashel'; and the second, RO026-001, is recorded as an earthen 'rath'. The third recorded structure, RO026-002, is recorded as an 'earthwork'. Both of the ringforts mentioned above are depicted on the first edition OS maps (1837, 19 & 26) that cover this townland. Strangely, there is no indication of the presence of the noted 'earthwork, RO026-002, on this map. It is, however, depicted on the revised second edition of this OS map and is noted as a 'mound'. Furthermore, on this map the location of the 'rath', RO026-001, is marked with a cross and the annotation of 'Fort (Site of)'. The 'cashel', RO019-018, is shown by a sub-circular hachured outline. Recent aerial images show this structure to have been heavily disturbed (GE 2006-2018). However, the form and extent of this 'cashel' are clearly visible in these images, particularly those of Google Earth surveys for the years 2006, 2009 & 2016. The eventual locations for the other two sites, RO026-001 & RO026-002, are impossible to ascertain due to a combination of existing tree cover and earlier quarrying activity. However, it is clear that neither of them are extant.

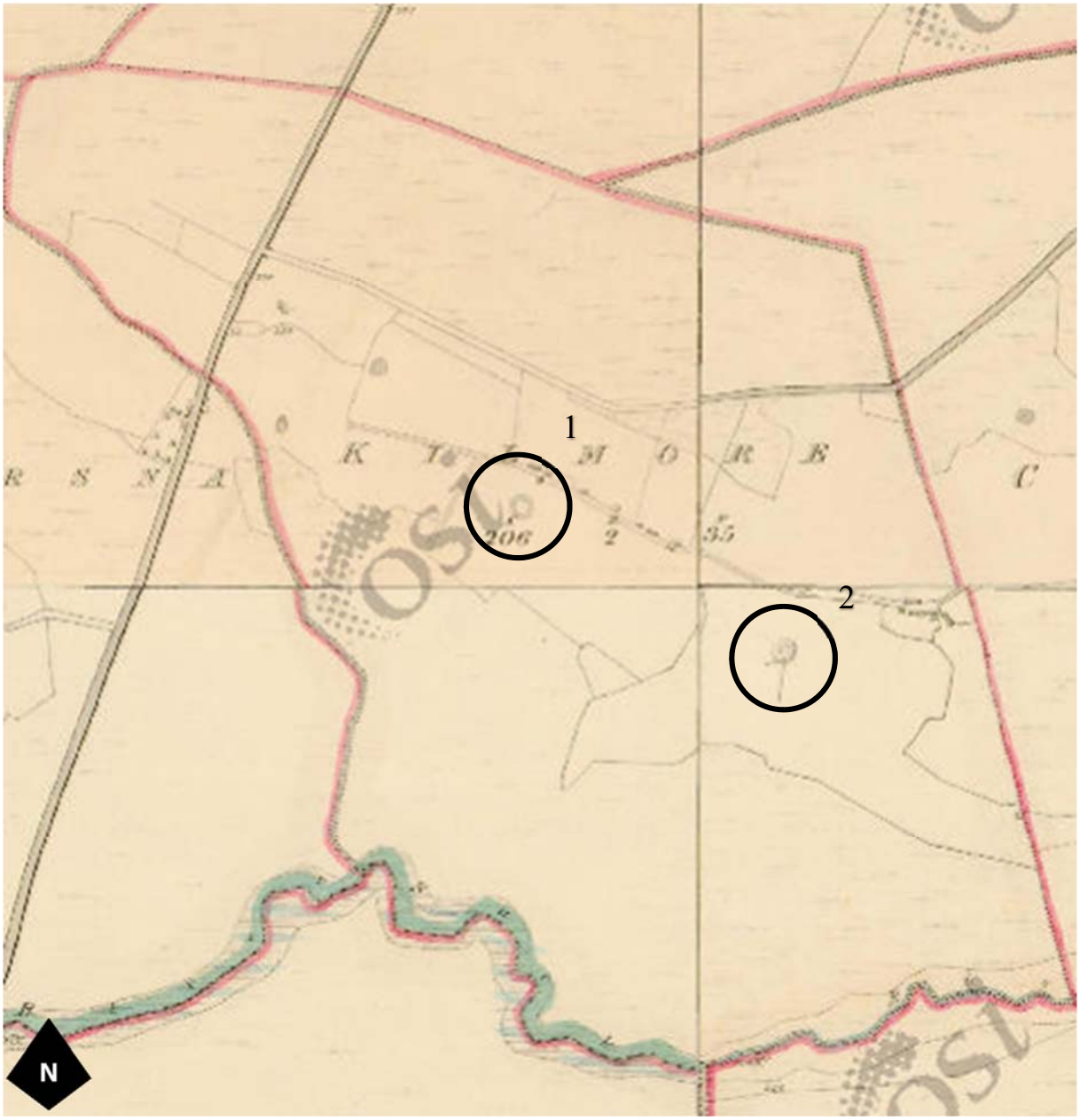


Figure 269. First edition OS map of Kilmore townland showing ringforts 1. RO019-018 and 2. RO026-001

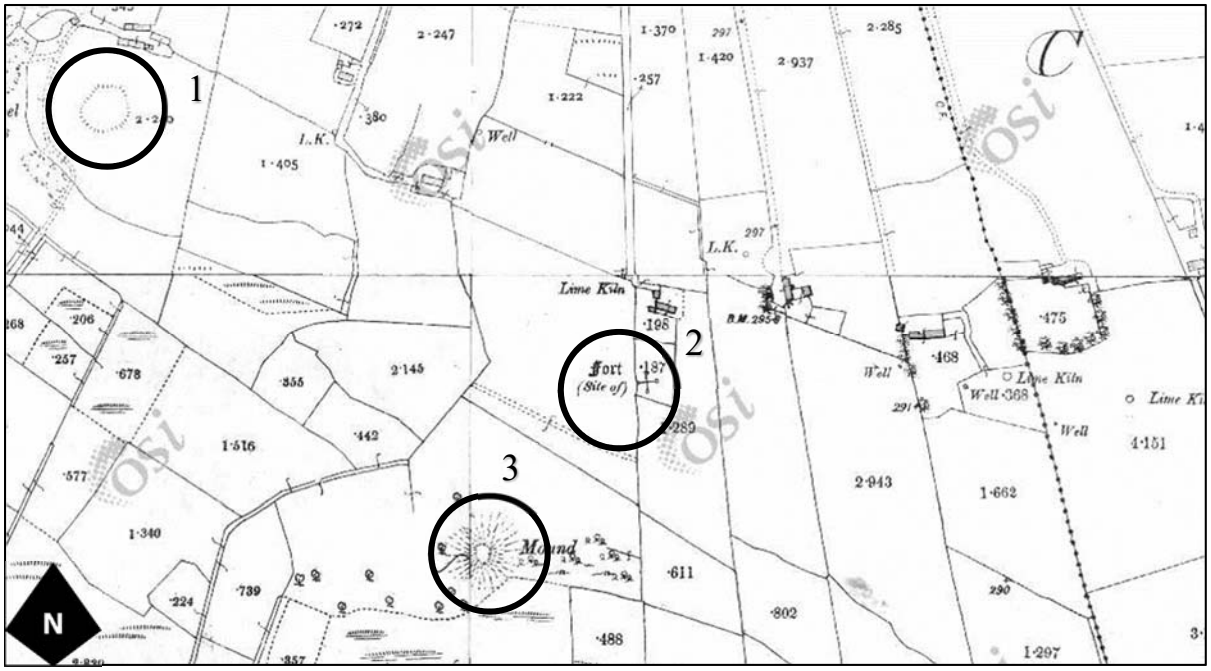


Figure 270. Second edition OS map of Kilmore townland showing ringforts 1. RO019-018, site of ringfort 2. RO026-001 and earthwork 3. RO026-002

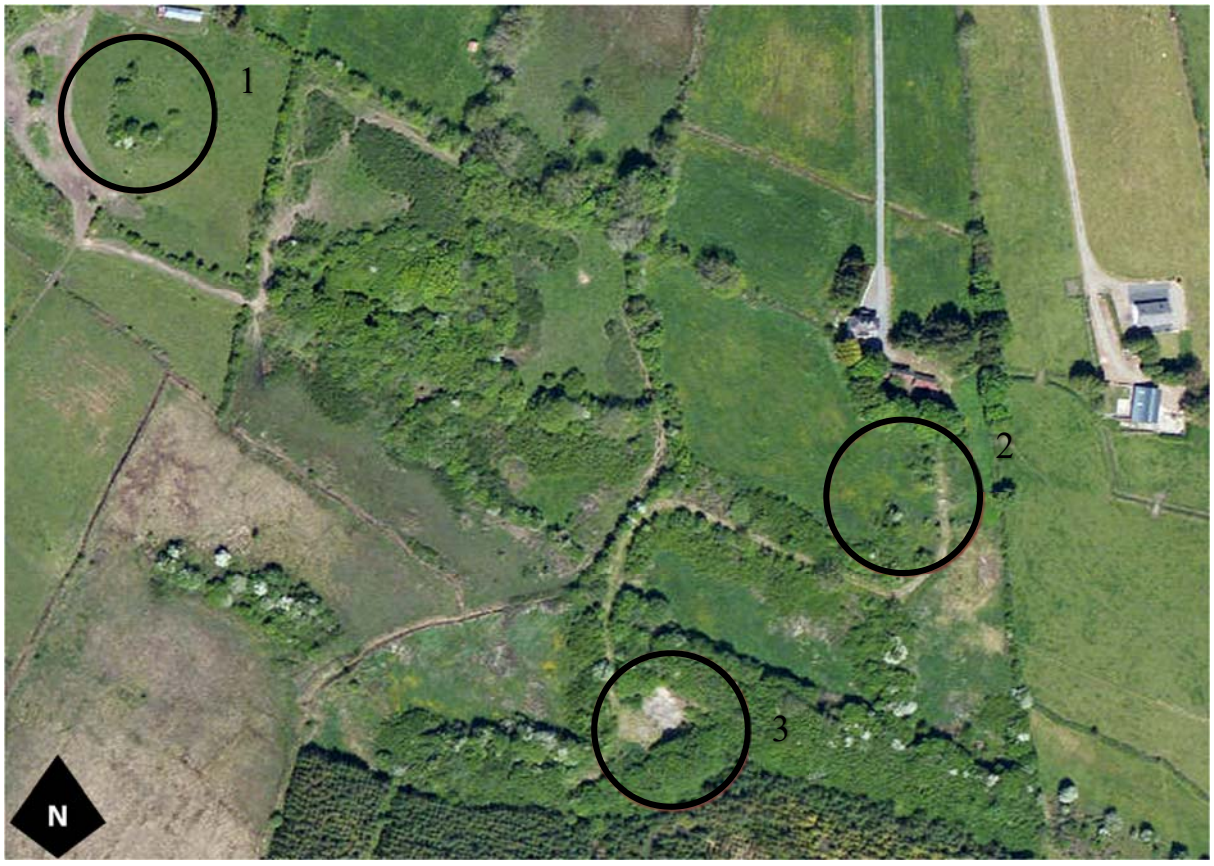


Figure 271. Aerial image of Kilmore townland showing site of ringforts 1. RO019-018, 2. RO026-001 and earthwork 3. RO026-002 (GE 2016)

6.4.20. Knockmurry

A single example of this studied monument type is recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). This ringfort, RO027-004, is shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 27) of this townland. It is depicted as a faint enclosure, located just north of the main road that runs roughly east west through the townland. It is also depicted on an undated estate map of the wider area held in the National Library (NLI: MS 21 F. 44/ 67). In any event, there is no evidence for this structure included in the revised second edition OS map of this area. Neither is there any visible above ground evidence for the presence of this monument at this general location on modern aerial images (GE 2010; DG 2011-2013).

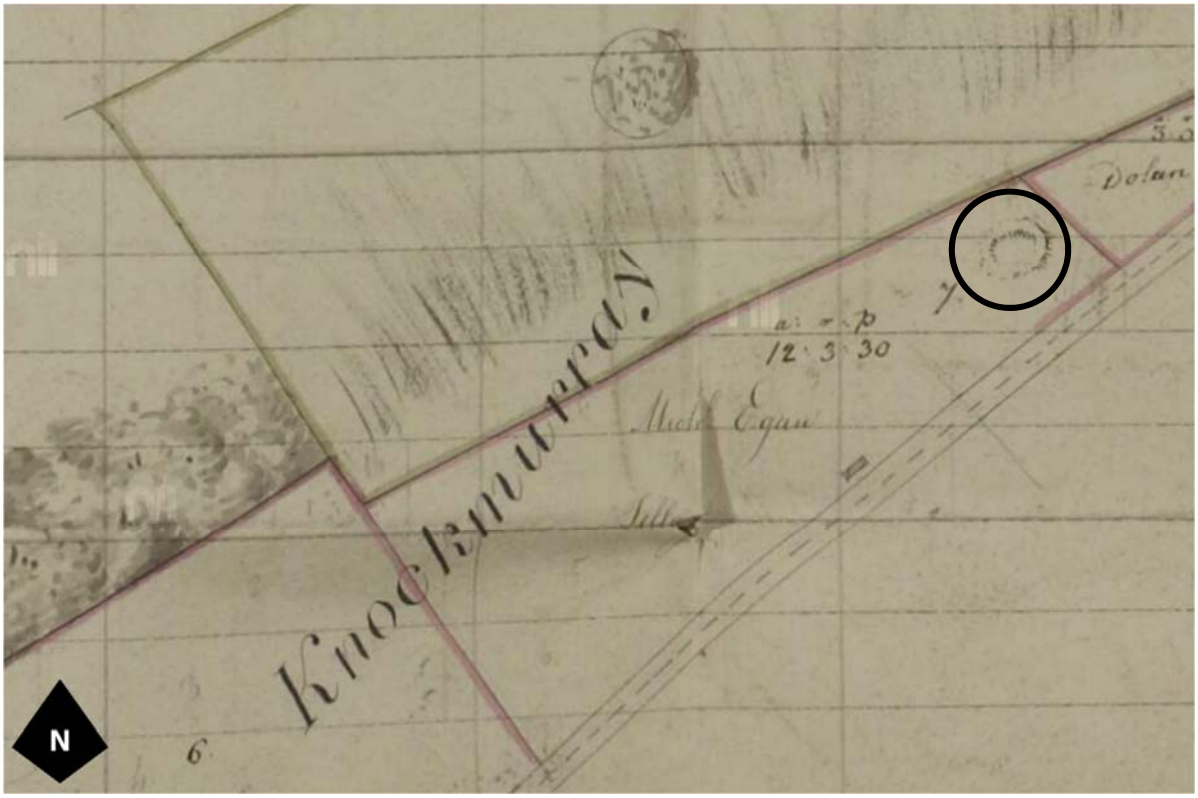


Figure 272. Estate map of Knockmurry townland showing ringfort RO027-004 (NLI: MS 21 F. 44/ 67)



Figure 273. First edition OS map of Knockmurry townland showing ringfort RO027-004

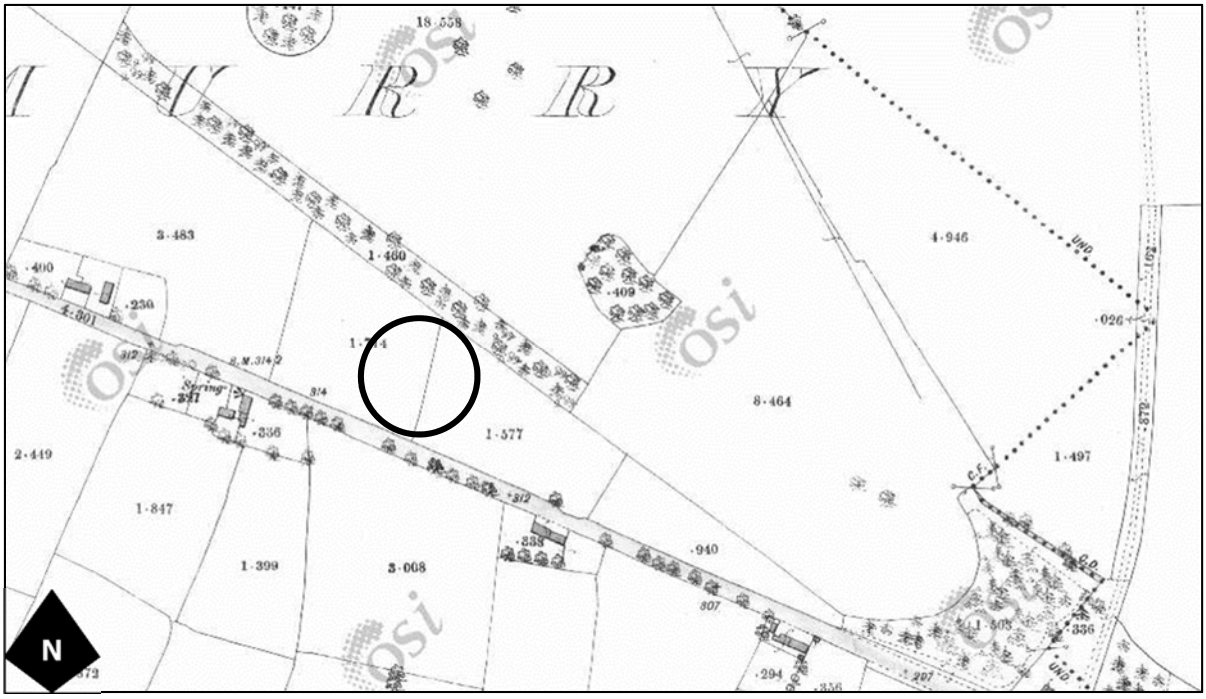


Figure 274. Second edition OS map of Knockmurry townland showing site of ringfort RO027-004

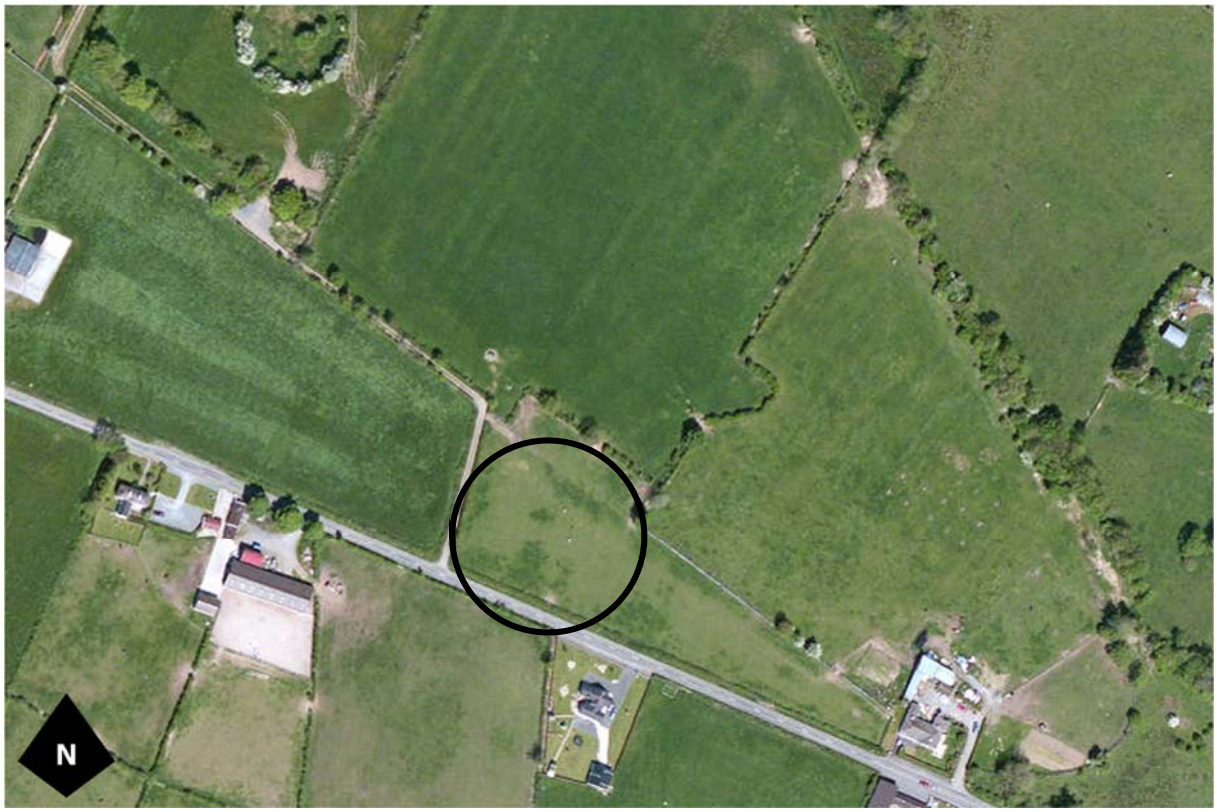


Figure 275. Aerial image of Knockmurry townland showing ringfort RO027-004 (GE 2010)

6.4.21. Rathleg

In this townland, also a single example of a ringfort is noted in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). This structure, RO027-001, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 27) of this townland. It is shown as a double-banked enclosure and is referred to as 'Lisallow'. On the subsequent revised second edition OS map, this structure is again noted as 'Lisallow' but is depicted with the eastern portion of the outer bank disturbed. Modern aerial images clearly show the outline and form of this monument. However, it has been heavily degraded. Although a clearer image of this structure as a low relief feature is visible on Google Earth images from 16/04/2010. This particular image also shows an entrance that spans the fosse and then pierces the bank on the eastern side of this ringfort.

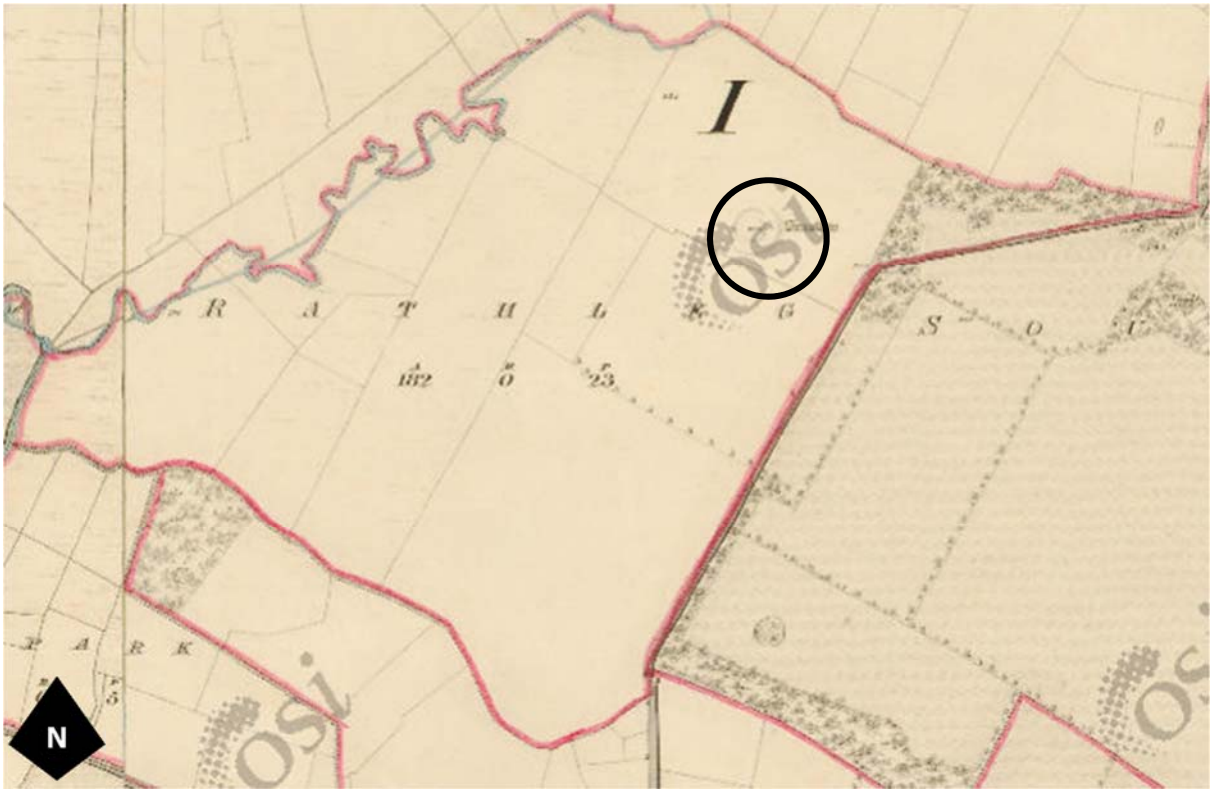


Figure 276. First edition OS map of Rathleg townland showing ringfort RO027-001

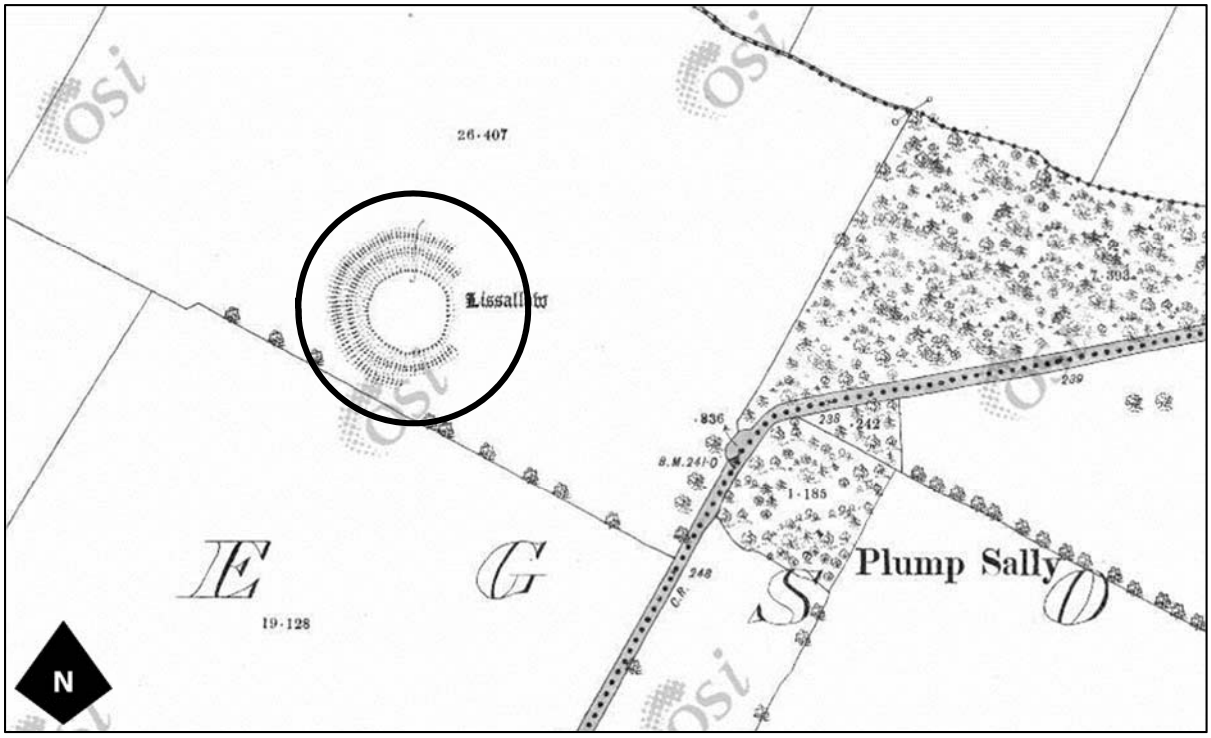


Figure 277. Second edition OS map of Rathleg townland showing ringfort RO027-001



Figure 278. Aerial image of Rathleg townland showing ringfort RO027-001 (GE 2010)

6.4.22. Southpark Demesne

The archaeological database contains a reference to the presence of a single ringfort in this townland (NMS 2019). This structure, RO027-002, is clearly shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 27) of this townland. This map also shows that the boundary with the neighbouring townland of Rathbarna skirts the southern extent of this ringfort. This ringfort is also shown on the revised second edition of this OS map, on which it is also referred to as 'Glenballagherin fort'. It survives on modern aerial imagery as a mostly denuded low relief feature (GE 2010). This structure is also depicted on an undated estate map of the area that is held in the National Library (NLI: MS 21 F. 44/ 67). Although undated, this map may date to as late as the 1780s when Southpark House, which is not depicted on it, was built, although perhaps the beginning of the layout of adjacent gardens may be seen. On this particular map, this field monument, RO027-001, is referred to as a 'fort'.

The existence of an enclosure had previously also been included in the archaeological register (NMS 2019). However, this feature, RO027-081, has now been removed from the record as it was felt to be a modern landscape feature. Part of the argument advanced for this was that lines indicative of lazy bed cultivation did not continue into the interior of the crop mark. However,

well-defined modern aerial images (GE 2010) do appear to show a continuation of these lines. Nevertheless, the earlier estate map mentioned above contains no evidence for the presence of this feature. A circular tree filled feature is shown, however, on the first edition OS map (1837, 27). In addition, a similar tree filled feature is depicted further to the north-west of this initially described feature. Crop marks confirming the location of these sites are visible on images from Google Earth (2010). The existence of the latter, larger circular feature was reported to the National Monument Service, because of its size and form. However, it was decided not to include this site in the archaeological database on the grounds that it was likely to be a 'post 1700 landscape feature' (M. Moore, pers. comm.).

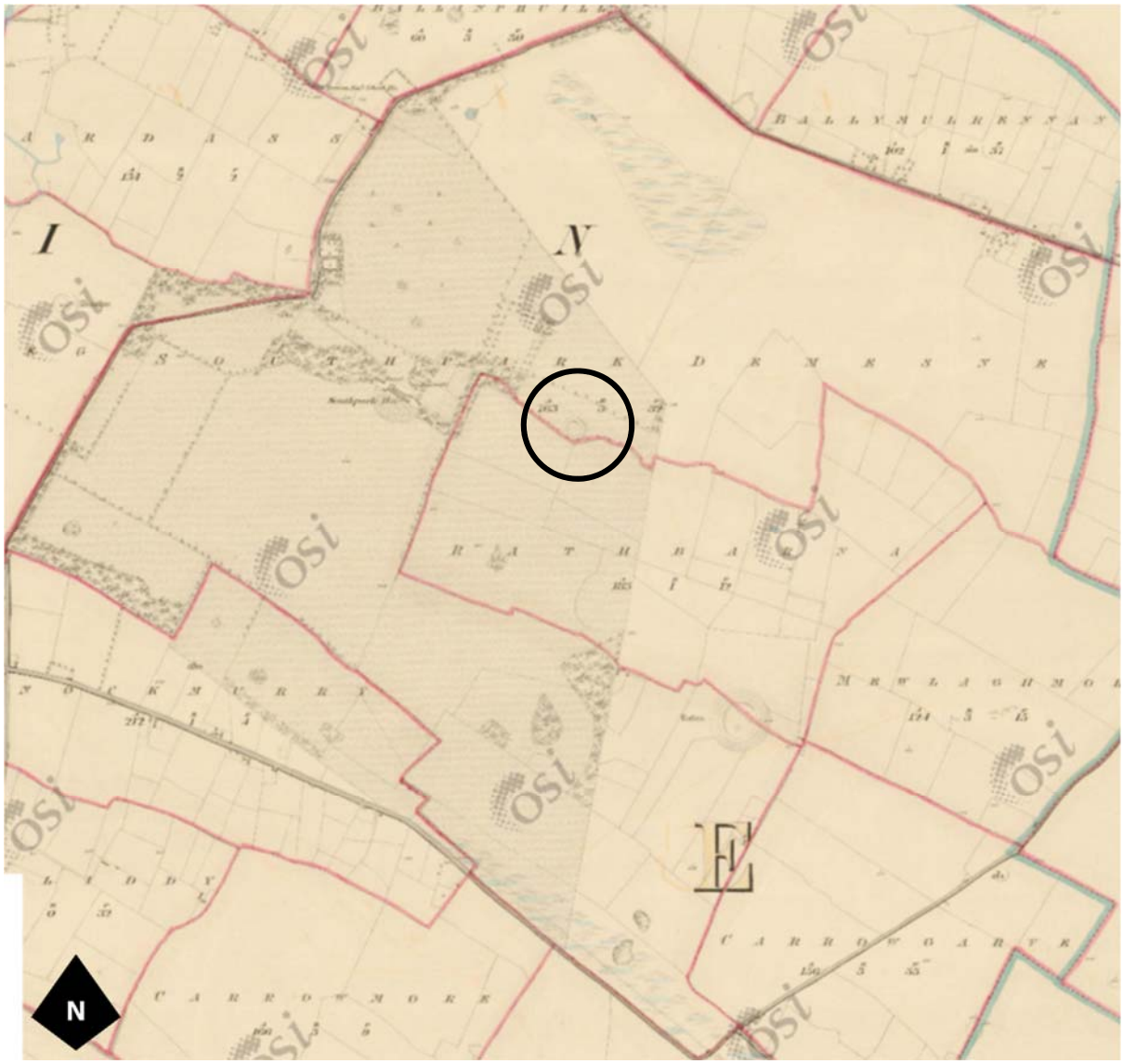


Figure 279. First edition OS map of Southpark Demesne townland showing ringfort RO027-002

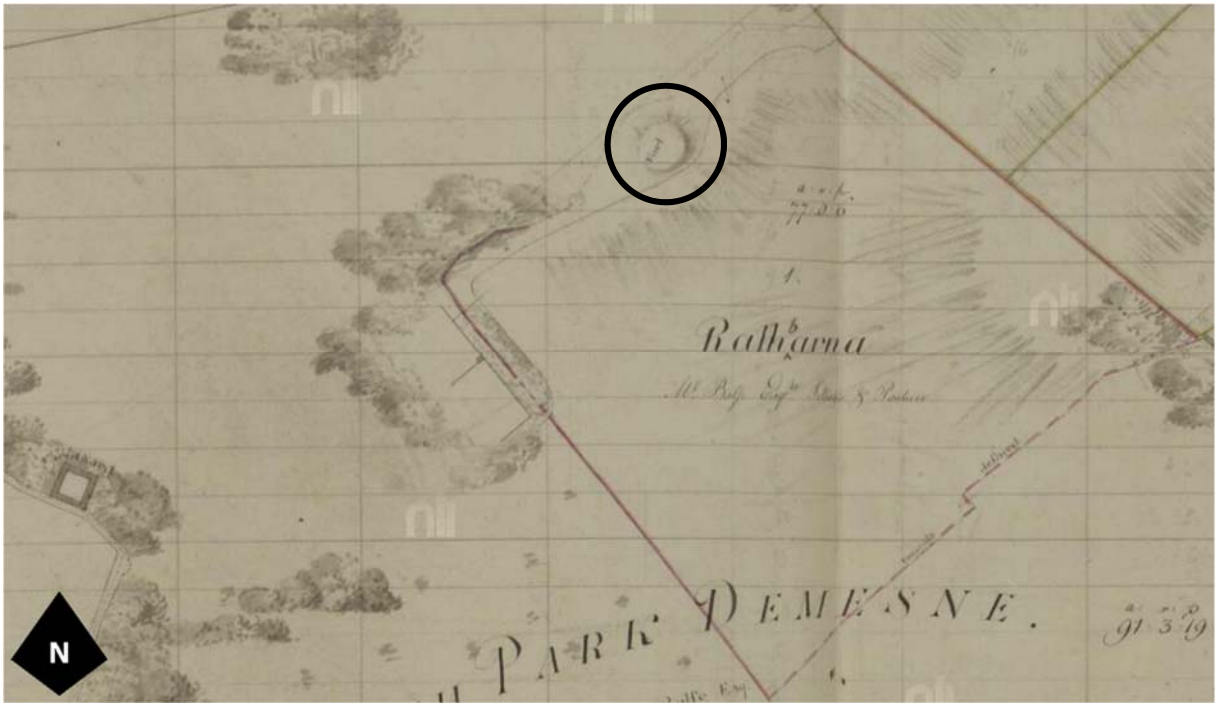


Figure 280. Estate map of Southpark Demesne townland showing ringfort RO027-002

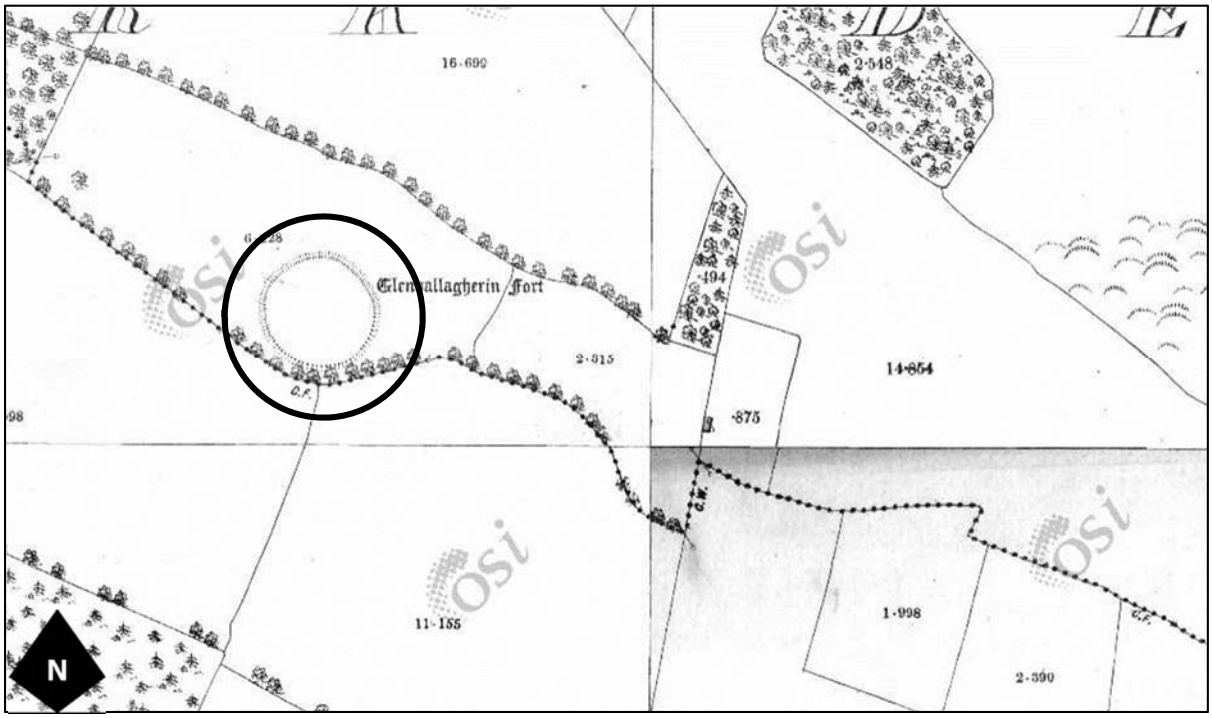


Figure 281. Second edition OS map of Southpark Demesne townland showing ringfort RO027-002

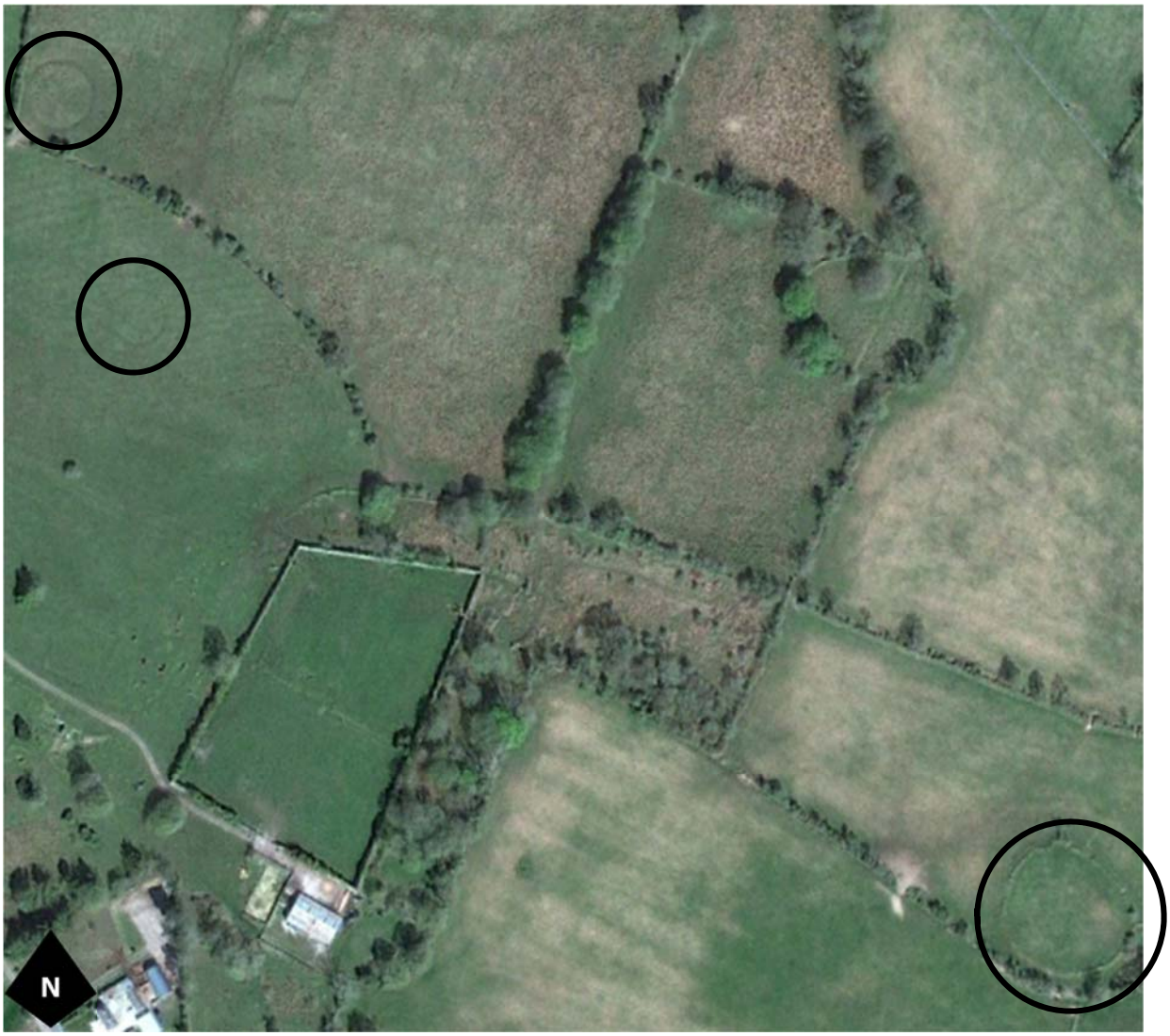


Figure 282. Aerial image of Southpark Demesne townland showing ringfort RO027-002 and cropmarks of two enclosures

6.5. Kiltullagh parish

6.5.1. Altore

The presence of three ringforts in this townland is recorded in the archaeological record (NMS 2019). These have been attributed the SMR numbers of RO032-036, RO032-039 & RO032-065. The first of these, RO032-036, is not shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 32) of the area. On the second edition map, the recorded location for this ringfort is depicted as a small

semi-circular field. It is only on the still later revision of the original 6in map (1928, 32) that the location this structure is depicted by a full circle. It is no longer extant. Neither is it visible on any of the available modern aerial images (GE 2009-2018; DG 2011-2013). The depiction of this location on a range of maps perhaps indicates that this ringfort had been degraded prior to the creation of the first OS map (1837, 32). Its inclusion in the later revised 6-inch map could be a result of diligence on the part of the compiler.

The second of these structures, RO032-039, is depicted on the first OS map of this townland. It is also shown on the subsequent revised editions of OS maps that cover this townland. Indeed, it is still extant and a ring of trees defines its outline. The remaining ringfort, RO032-065, is not shown on the first edition OS map of the area. Is it shown neither on the second edition nor on the revised 6-inch map from 1928. The outline of this structure is visible on modern aerial imagery though (DG 2011-2013). These show the site to be bisected in a northwest southwest direction by a field boundary. This field boundary is also visible on the first edition OS map and the effort to trace this would probably have uncovered the existence of the ringfort if it had been visible. This may indicate that the levelling of this ringfort may predate the creation of the first edition OS map (1837, 32) of the townland.



Figure 283. First edition OS map of Altore townland showing ringfort RO032-039

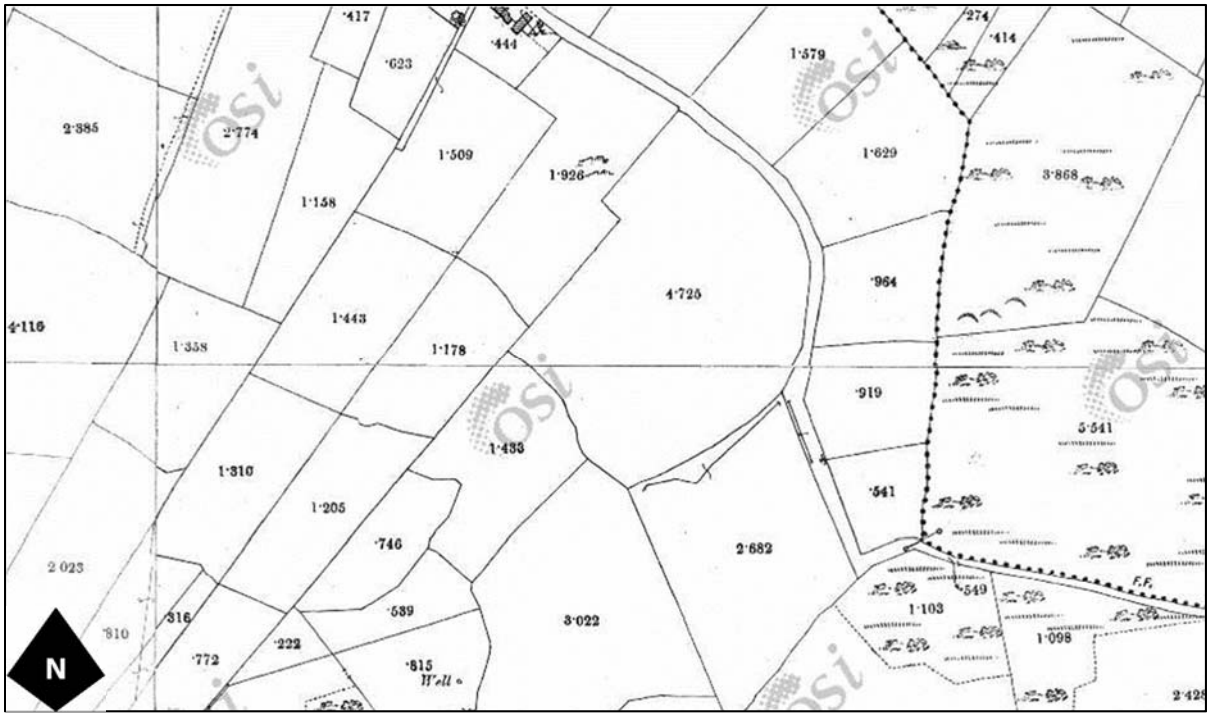


Figure 284. Second edition OS map of Altore townland showing general location of ringfort RO032-065

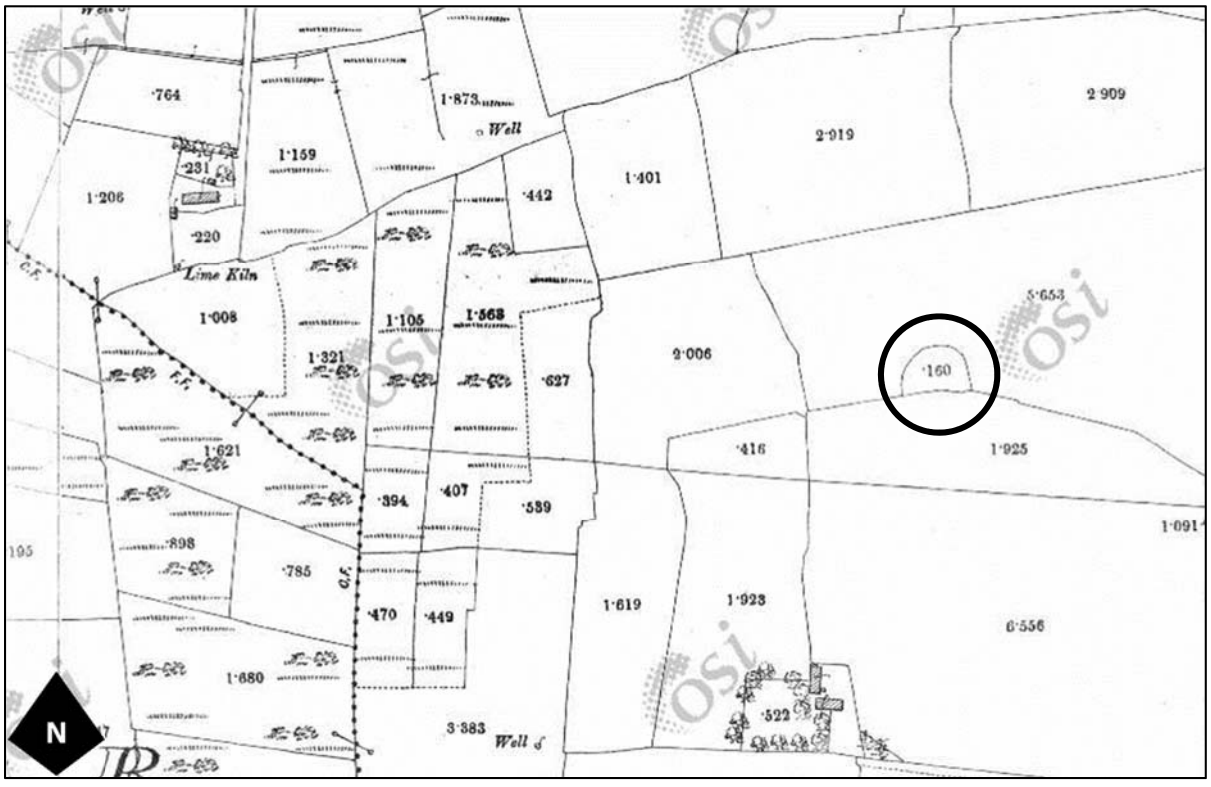


Figure 285. Second edition OS map of Altore townland showing ringfort RO032-036

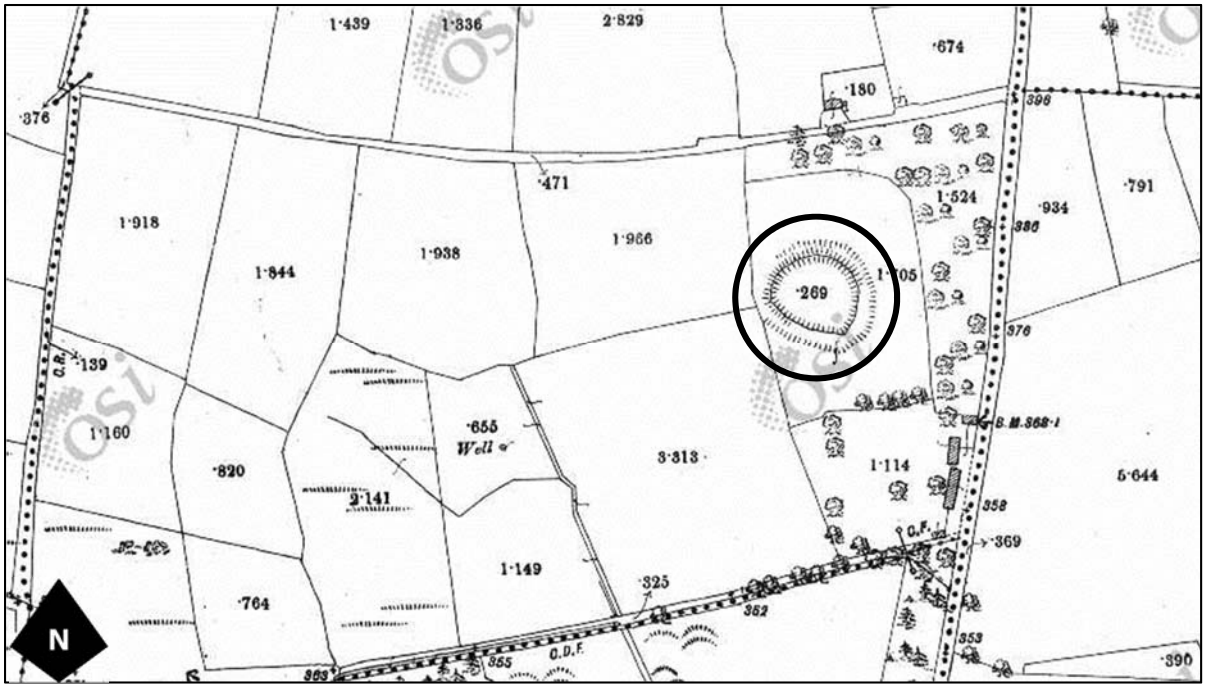


Figure 286. Second edition OS map of Altore townland showing ringfort RO032-039



Figure 287. Aerial image of Altore townland showing ringfort 1. RO032-039 and site of ringforts 2. RO032-036 & 3. RO032-065

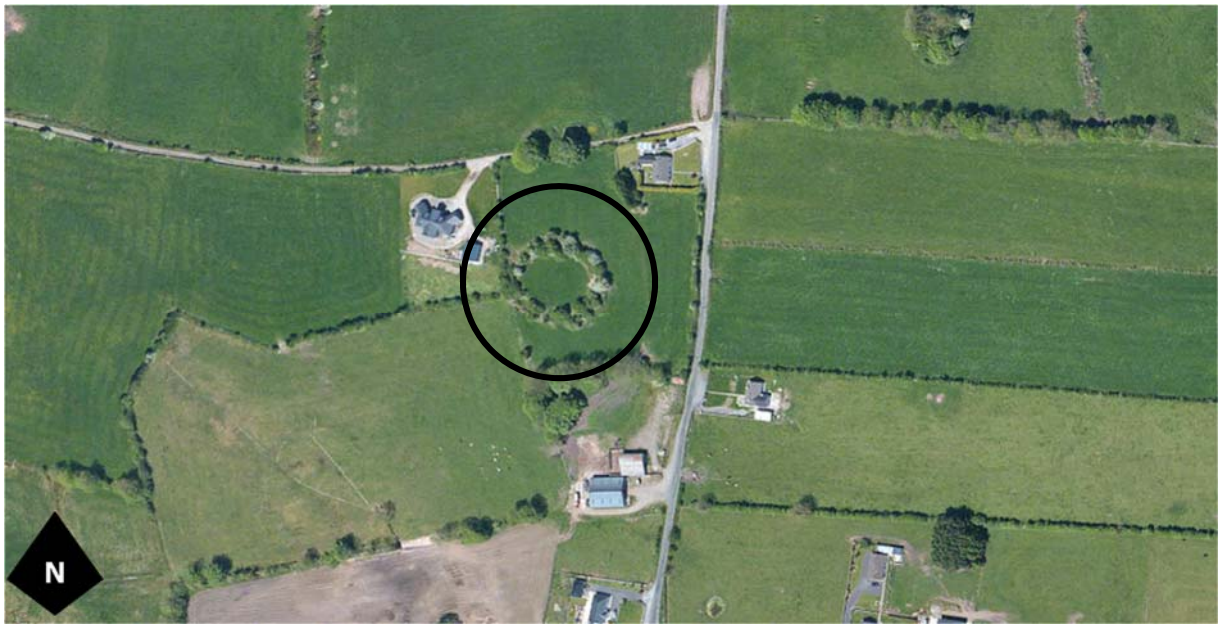


Figure 288. Aerial image of Altore townland showing ringfort RO032-039



Figure 289. Aerial image of Altore townland showing site of ringfort RO032-036



Figure 290. Aerial image of Altore townland showing site of ringfort RO032-065

6.5.2. Attishane

The archaeological record refers to the presence of a single ringfort in this townland. This structure, RO032-004, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 32) as 'Lissinaffrin'. This inclusion of the word 'affrin' seems to indicate a connection with religious use, perhaps as a location where Mass was said. In any case, this ringfort is shown on the revised second edition OS map of the townland as a partial enclosure. Modern aerial images show that this ringfort is no longer extant (DG 2011-2013). However, the outline of this site is clearly visible on Google earth images, particularly those from 2009 and 2016. These images show the fosse and an outer scarp except in the northern portion of this site that is shown to be heavily disturbed.

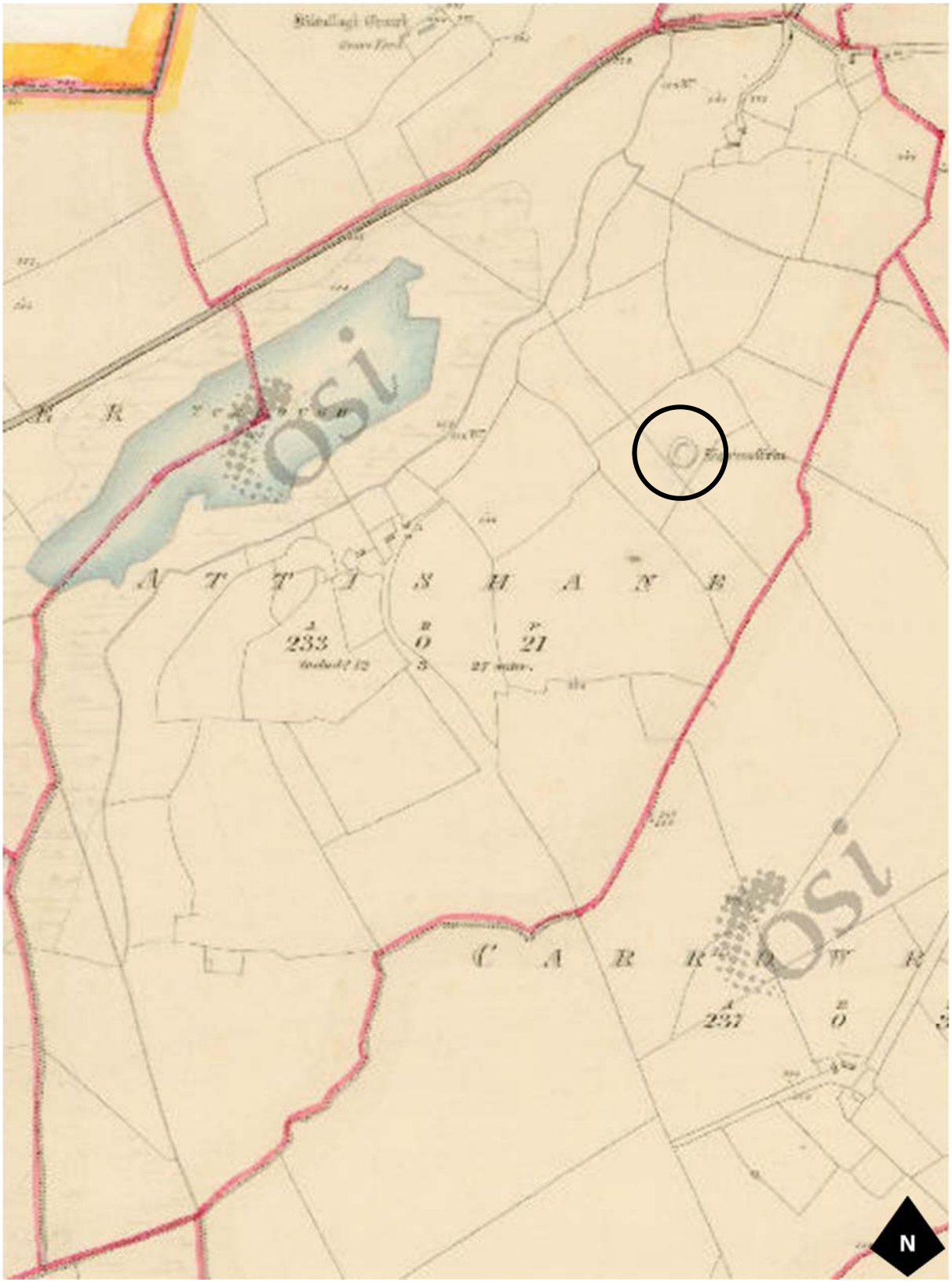


Figure 291. First edition OS map of Attishane townland showing ringfort RO032-004

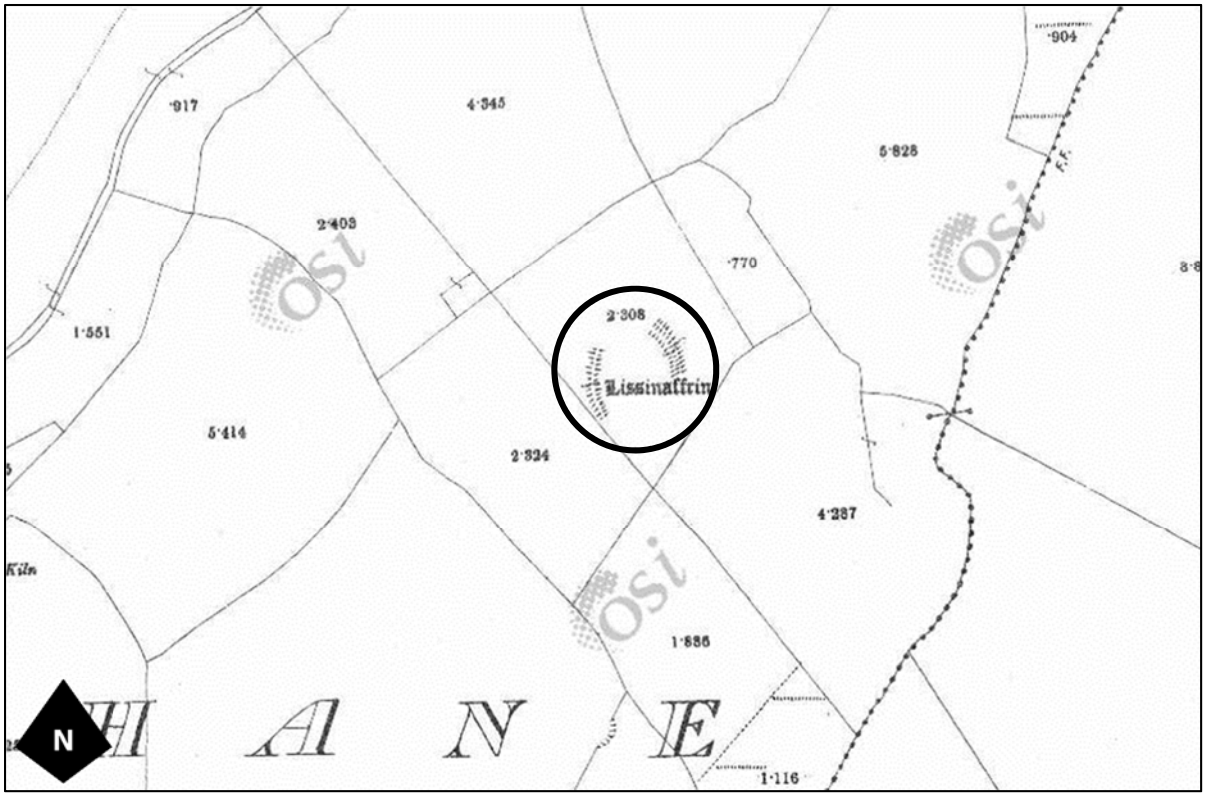


Figure 292. Second edition OS map of Attishane townland showing ringfort RO032-004



Figure 293. Aerial image of Attishane townland showing site of ringfort RO032-004 (GE 2016)

6.5.3. Ballinlough

The presence of one ringfort in this townland is included in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). This structure, RO025-017001, is shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 25) of this townland as a D-shaped enclosure. The straightened portion of this ringfort is to the south and is paralleled by a field boundary. On the revised second edition OS map of this same area, this ringfort is also shown as a D-shaped enclosure. However, on the map the straight part of the D is reversed and is now located at the northern end of the structure. At some prior stage, a road had been built just beyond this section and may have affected this part of the ringfort. On the still later revision of the original 6-inch map (1929, 25) the site is visible as a full circular enclosure. This structure can no longer be considered extant. Indeed, the variety of depictions of this structure may indicate that it had been subjected to interference even prior to the creation of the first edition OS map (1837, 25). However, the outline of this ringfort, and of the house recorded in its interior, can be easily discerned on recent aerial images. (DG 2011-2013).



Figure 294. First edition OS map of Ballinlough townland showing ringfort RO025-017001

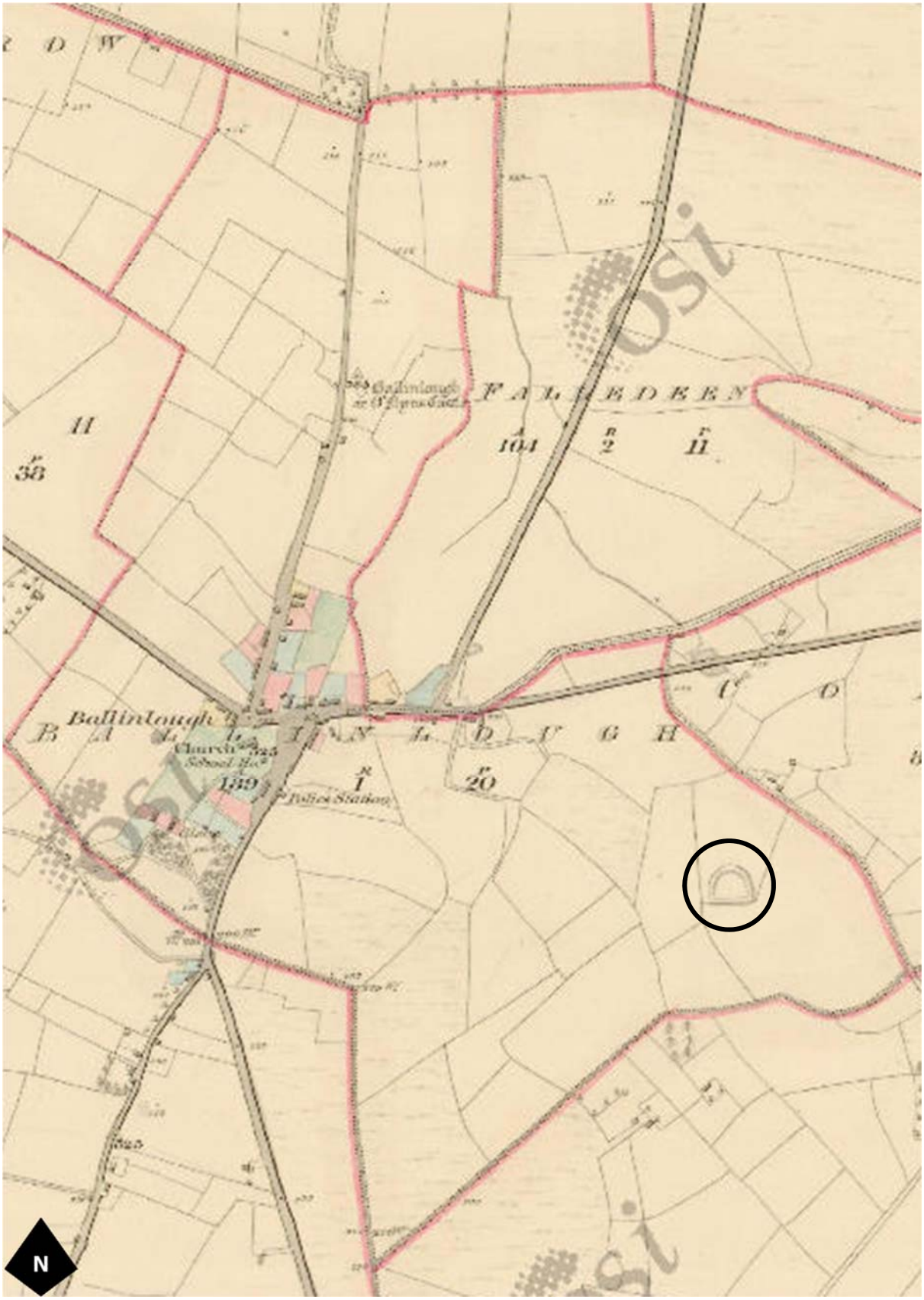


Figure 295. First edition OS map of Ballinlough townland showing ringfort RO025-017001

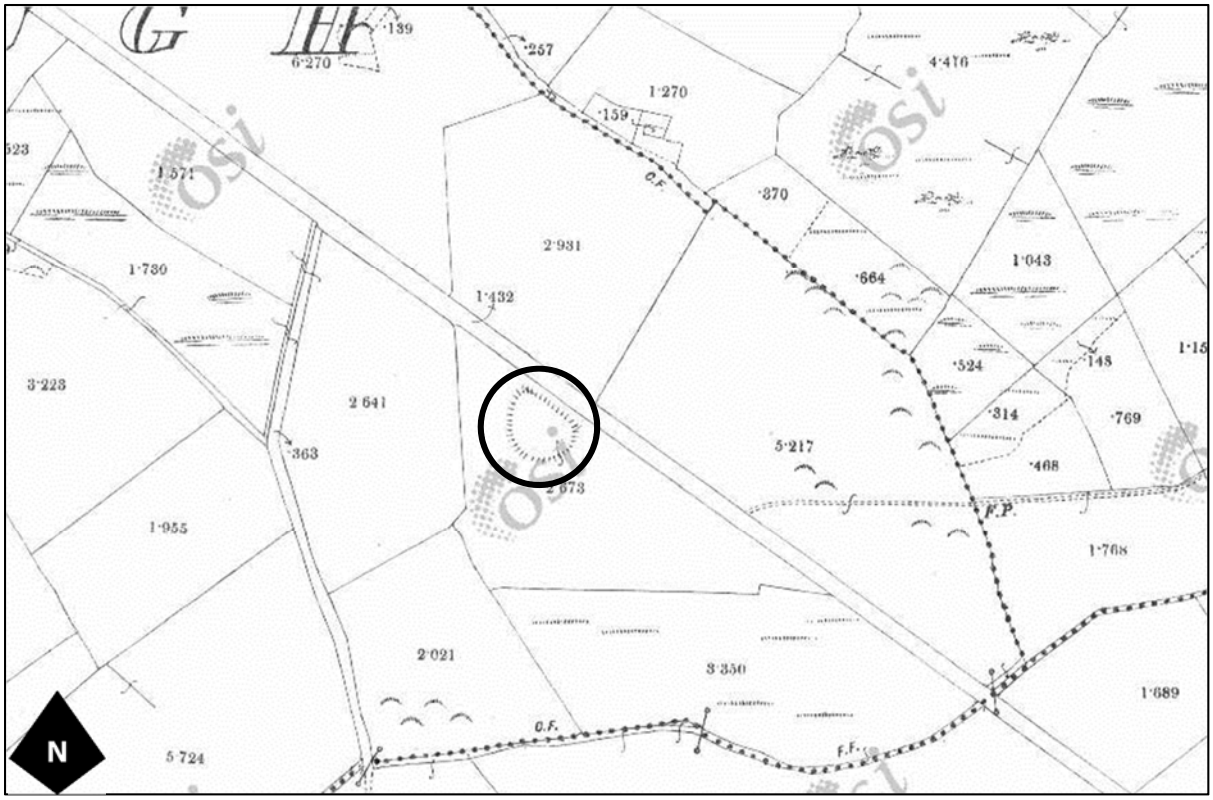


Figure 296. Second edition OS map of Ballinlough townland showing ringfort RO025-017001



Figure 297. Aerial image of Ballinlough townland showing site of ringfort RO025-017001 (DG 2011-3)

6.5.4. Barrinagh

The archaeological record contains references to the existence of five ringforts within the boundaries of this townland. One of these, however, RO032-008002, is no longer included in the database. The original inclusion of this possible feature was a result of local information that had indicated the presence of a 'fort' at this site. The remaining four ringforts RO032-005, RO032-006, RO032-007 & RO032-00801 are depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 32) of this townland. These four structures are again shown on the revised second edition map of the area. On the still later revised edition of the original 6in map (1928, 32), one of these ringforts, RO032-006, is no longer depicted. However, the fourth recorded ringfort RO032-00801, is shown. Unfortunately, neither it nor the earlier site, RO032-006, are presently extant. Thankfully, the two remaining structures, RO032-005 & RO032-007, are still visible (DG 2011-2013). Other aerial images from recent aerial surveys (GE 2009-2018) allow the location of the levelled sites to be determined. The site of RO032-006 is visible as a partial crop mark on Google Earth imagery from 18/03/2009 and that of RO032-008001 appears clearest on those of 14/03/2016.



Figure 298. First edition OS map of Barrinagh townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-005, 2. RO032-006, 3. RO032-007 & 4. RO032-00801

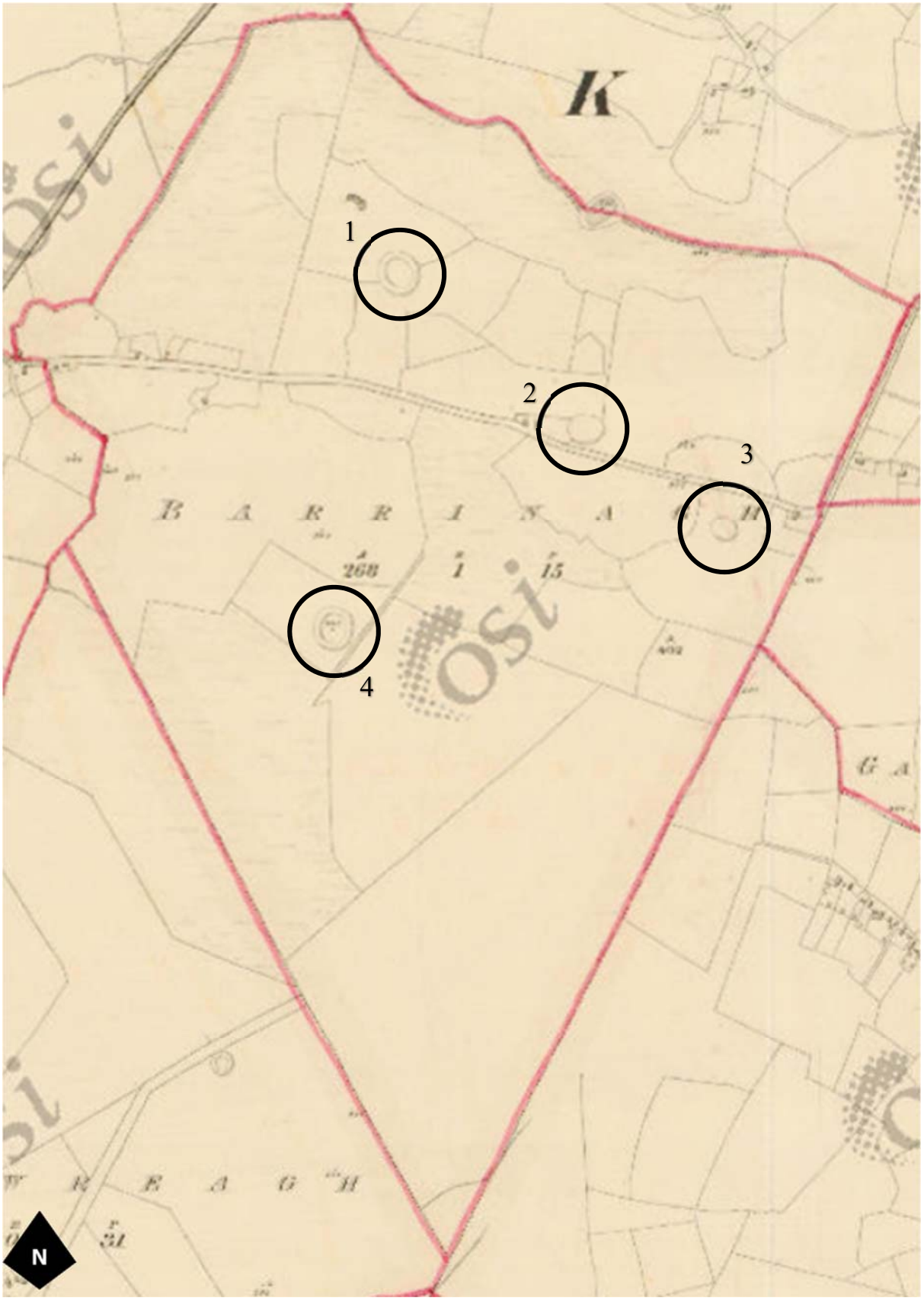


Figure 299. First edition OS map of Barrinagh townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-005, 2. RO032-006, 3. RO032-007 & 4. RO032-00801

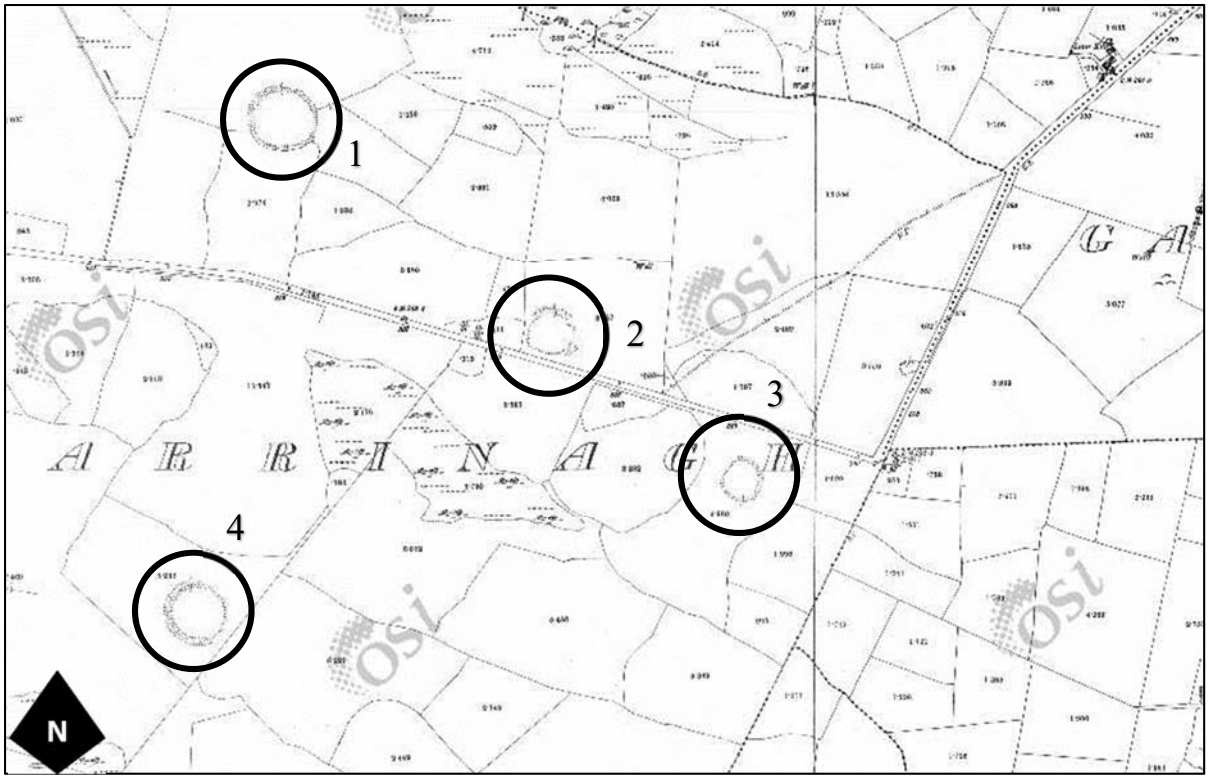


Figure 300. Second edition OS map of Barrinagh townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-005, 2. RO032-006, 3. RO032-007 & 4. RO032-00801



Figure 301. Aerial image of Barrinagh townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-005 & 3. RO032-007 and site of ringforts 2. RO032-006, 4. RO032-008001 and 5. RO032-008002 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 302. Aerial image of Barrinagh townland showing ringfort 1. RO032-005 and site of ringfort 2. RO032-006 (GE 2009)



Figure 303. Aerial image of Barrinagh townland showing ringfort 3. RO032-007 (GE 2009)



Figure 304. Aerial image of Barrinagh townland showing site of ringfort 4. RO032-008001 (GE 2016)

6.5.5. Carraghs East

The archaeological record refers to the presence of two circular field monuments in this townland (NMS 2019). One of these, RO026-056, is recorded as an earthwork. Whereas the second structure, RO026-058, is recorded as a 'cashel'. Both of these structures are depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 26) of this townland. On the revised second edition of this map, neither of these two enclosures are shown. However, the location of the 'cashel', RO026-058, is marked with a cross and, as is usual, the notation of 'Fort (Site of)'. As might be expected neither of these structures is extant. Although the location of the earthwork may be discernible due to the presence of a partial crop mark. (GE 2009-2018). In addition, the original position of the 'cashel' may be visible on recent aerial images (DG 2011-3). Strangely, the recorded location of this feature appears to be slightly at variance with where it is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 26) of the area.

Furthermore, the limekilns that are noted as being built into the eastern side of the structure are shown on this earlier map located slightly to the north of this ringfort. Taking this

OS map at face value would place this 'cashel' slightly to the south of its recorded position and in a different field. In any event, a portion of a circular crop mark appears to be visible in a field to the west and adjoining the boundary of the field where this cashel is recorded (GE 2009). This latter feature appears to be centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 560908-775507 and seems to measure roughly 13.6m from north to south. It may perhaps measure something similar east to west though a north-south running ditch for a house constructed in 2000 truncates the eastern part. In addition, the existence of another circular crop mark is visible elsewhere in this townland on these set of images (*ibid*). This crop mark is located approximately 240m southwest of the above-mentioned crop mark. This feature is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 560818-775292 and appears to measure roughly 15m east to west and 14m north-south.



Figure 305. First edition OS map of Carraghs East townland showing earthwork 1. RO026-056 and ringfort 2. RO026-058

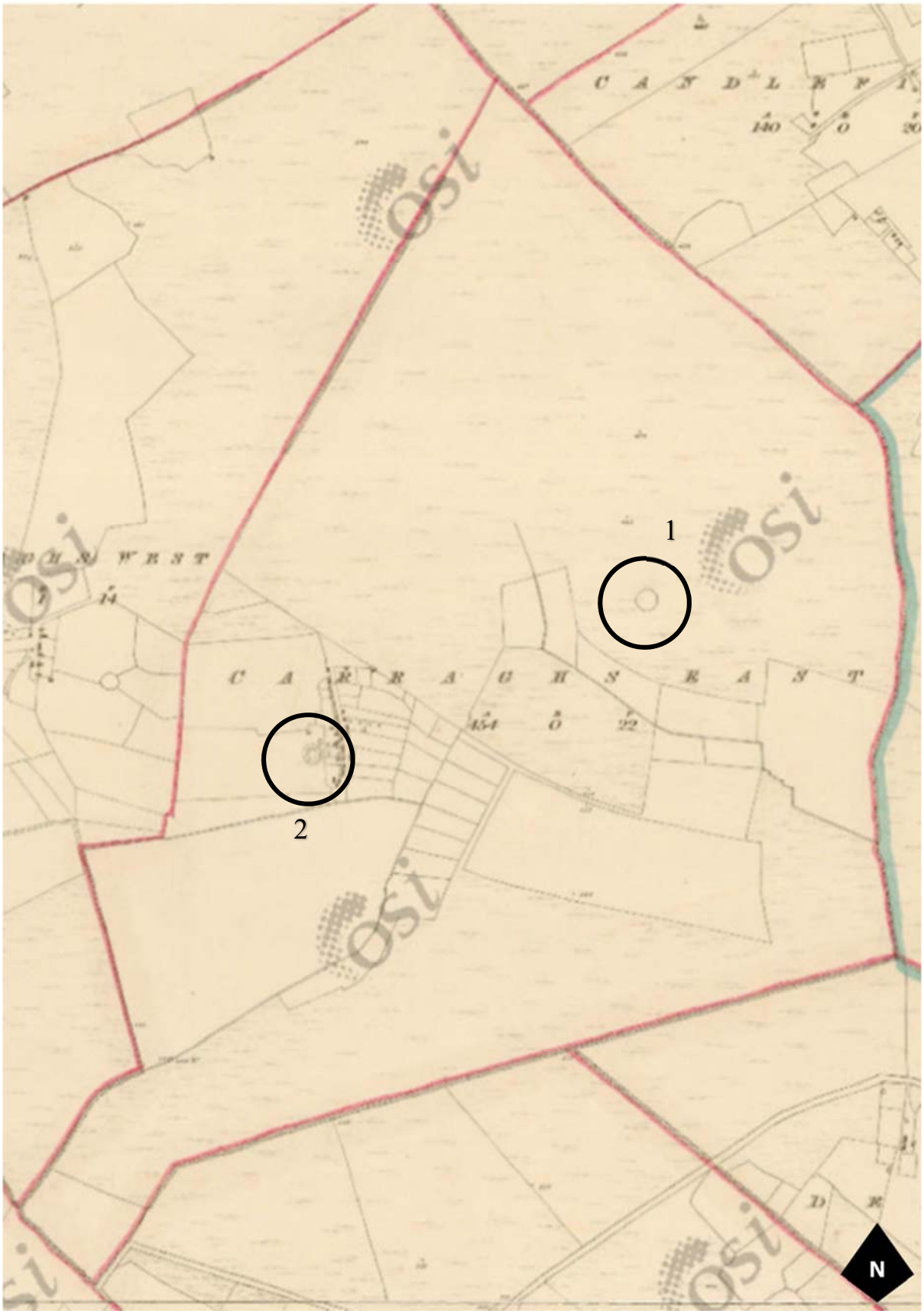


Figure 306. First edition OS map of Carraghs East townland showing earthwork 1. RO026-056 and ringfort 2. RO026-058

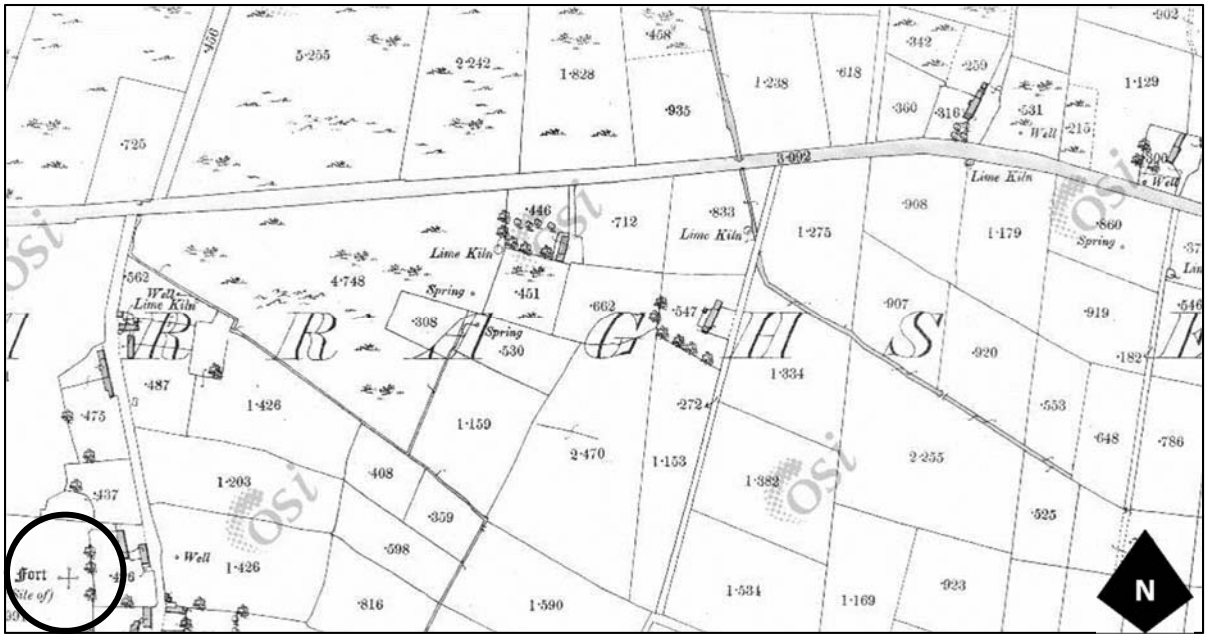


Figure 307. Second edition OS map of Carraghs East townland showing site of ringfort RO026-058



Figure 308. Aerial image of Carraghs East townland showing site of earthwork 1. RO026-056 and ringfort 2. RO026-058 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 309. Aerial image of Carraghs East townland showing general location of ringfort RO026-058 (GE 2009)



Figure 310. Aerial image of Carraghs East townland showing general location of earthwork RO026-056 (GE 2009)

6.5.6. Carraghs West

The presence of one circular field monument in this townland is recorded in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). This structure, RO026-057, is recorded as an earthwork. It is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 26) that covers this townland. However, it is not visible on the later revised edition of this map (1895, 26). Although between these two periods, a serious level of field adaption appears to have taken place, where those of a more geometrical pattern replace organically developed field boundaries. This earthwork is no longer extant. However, its location may be discernible with the presence of a crop mark on recent aerial images (GE 2009).



Figure 311. First edition OS map of Carraghs West townland showing earthwork RO026-057

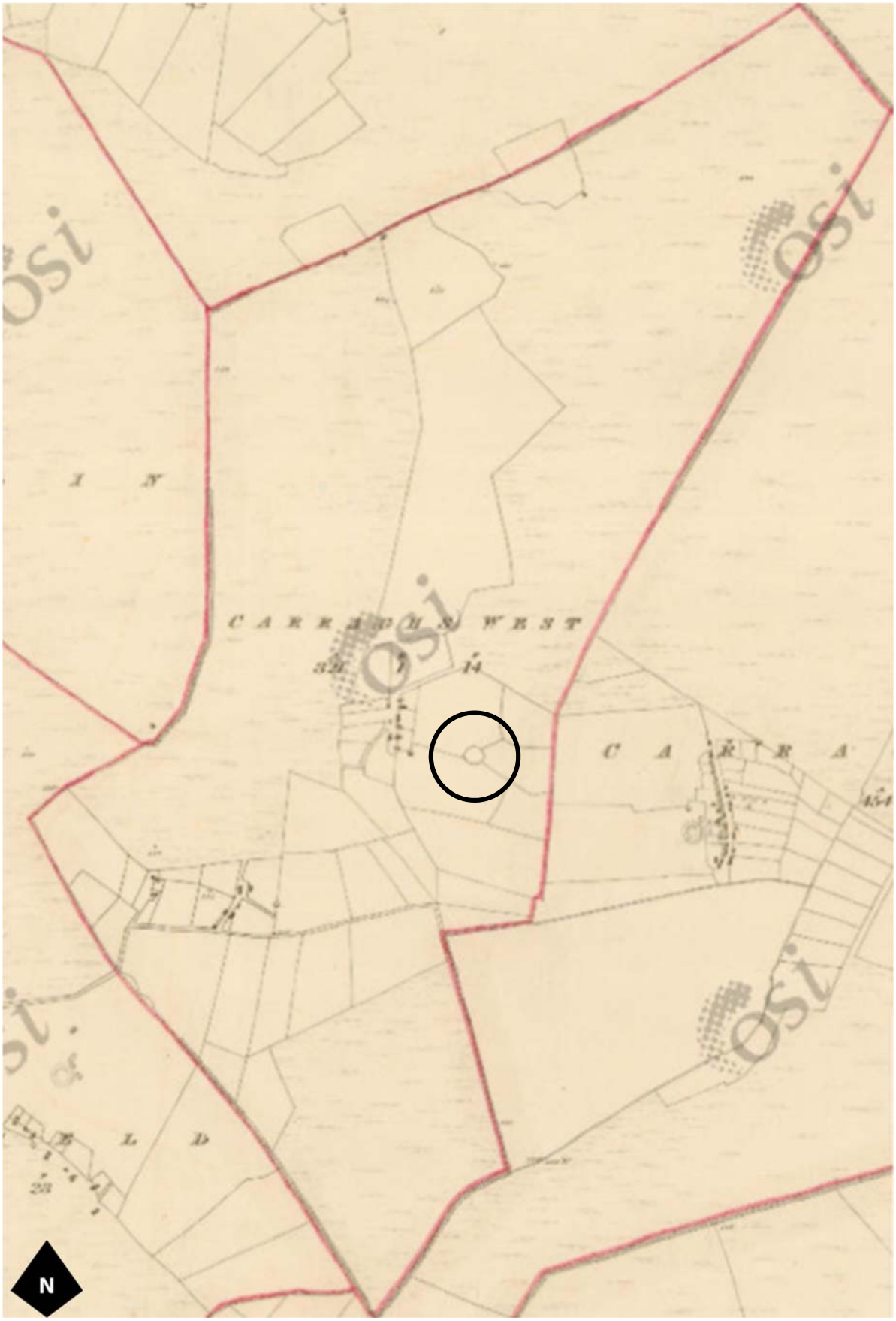


Figure 312. First edition OS map of Carraghs West townland showing earthwork RO026-057

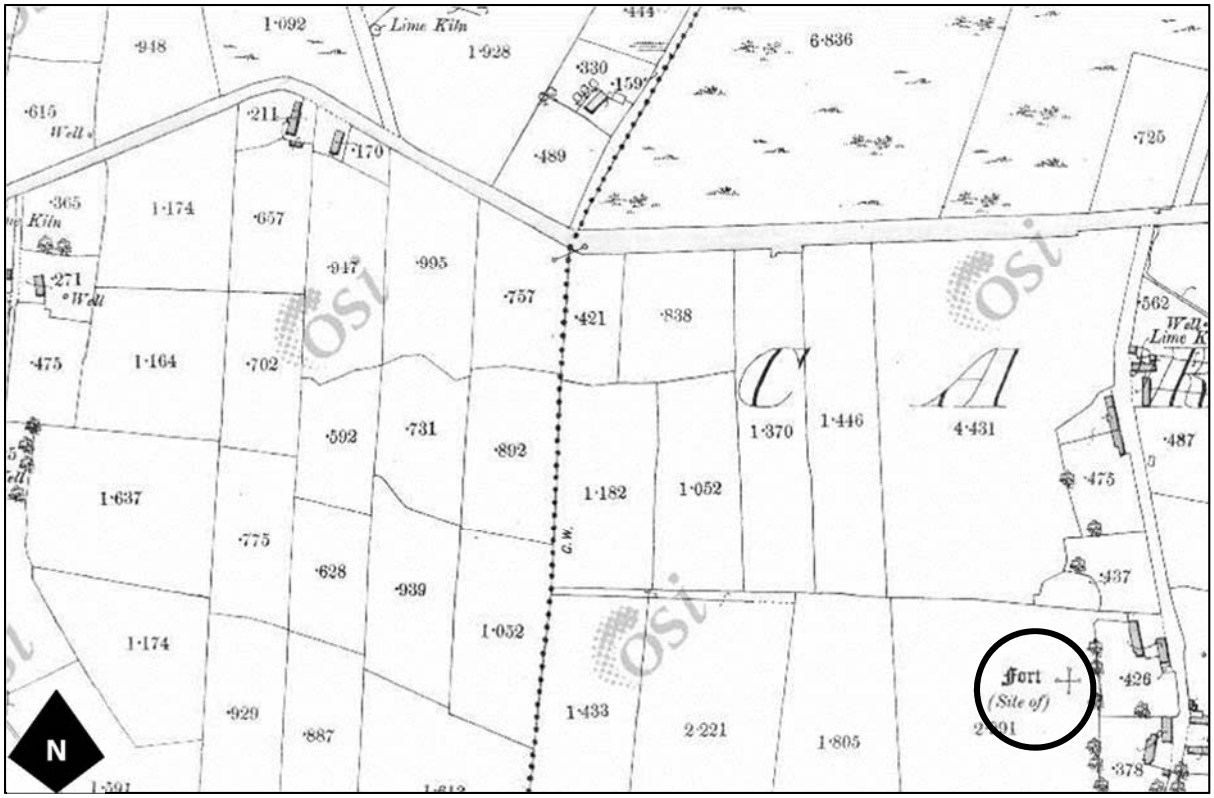


Figure 313. Second edition OS map of Carraghs West townland showing site of earthwork RO026-057



Figure 314. Aerial image of Carraghs West townland showing site of earthwork RO026-057 (DG 2011-3)

6.5.7. Carrick

The archaeological record refers to the existence of four circular field monuments in this townland (NMS 2019). Three of these, RO025-013, RO025-014001 & RO015, are recorded as ringforts, although two of these, RO025-013 & RO014001, are recorded as 'cashels' and the other, RO025-015, is recorded as a 'rath'. The fourth of these features, RO025-007, had been recorded as an enclosure as the result of evidence from aerial imagery. However, it is no longer possible to ascertain with any certainty the location of this site. For, a serious amount of field clearance has been carried out in this general area over the last few years. For instance, in Google Earth imagery from 2006 this area is shown as being heavily wooded and as containing several field boundaries. Later images (GE 2009) show that all the trees and most of the field boundaries had been removed. Furthermore, the rubble from the removal of these boundaries was then dumped at the recorded location for this enclosure. As a result, it now appears impossible to ascertain the location of this site with any precision.

Of the three remaining structures, the first 'cashel', RO025-013, is not depicted on any of the available OS maps (1837 & 1928, 25). Strangely, the surrounding field boundaries are visible on these maps and also on modern aerial images, wherein this structure is finally visible (DG 2011-3). This stone circular structure is also visible other clearer aerial images, as are the surrounding field boundaries (GE 2006-2018). Neither is the second recorded 'cashel', RO014001, depicted on any of the available OS maps (1837 & 1928, 25) of this townland. However, it is visible as a partial crop mark on modern aerial images (DG 2011-3). This crop mark is more clearly visible on images from Google earth aerial surveys, particularly the one carried out on the 20/02/2006. The fact that neither of these structures were depicted on any early maps raises the question as to their visibility during these periods of survey and revision. This then may pose the question as to their survival up to the earliest of these surveys during the 1830s.

The remaining circular field monument in this townland, the rath, RO025-015, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 25) of this townland. Here also it is shown as being skirted by a field boundary to the north. Subdivision of these fields and the layout of the surrounding area in a more geometrical pattern occurred between the creation of this map and the later revised second edition for this townland. On this OS map, this rath is also depicted, although now it is traversed by several field boundaries that meet in the middle. This in itself is likely to have been the occasion of major disturbance of this monument. This structure, RO025-015,

is unfortunately no longer extant. Although its outline was apparently visible until recent decades (Gannon, 1972). The location of this site is not possible on Digital Globe (2011-3) aerial imagery. It is, however, clearly visible as a crop mark on other aerial imagery (GE 2006-2018). On these images, particularly those from 2016, this crop mark is shown as enclosing an area of *c*. 38m in diameter and being centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 556475-777579.

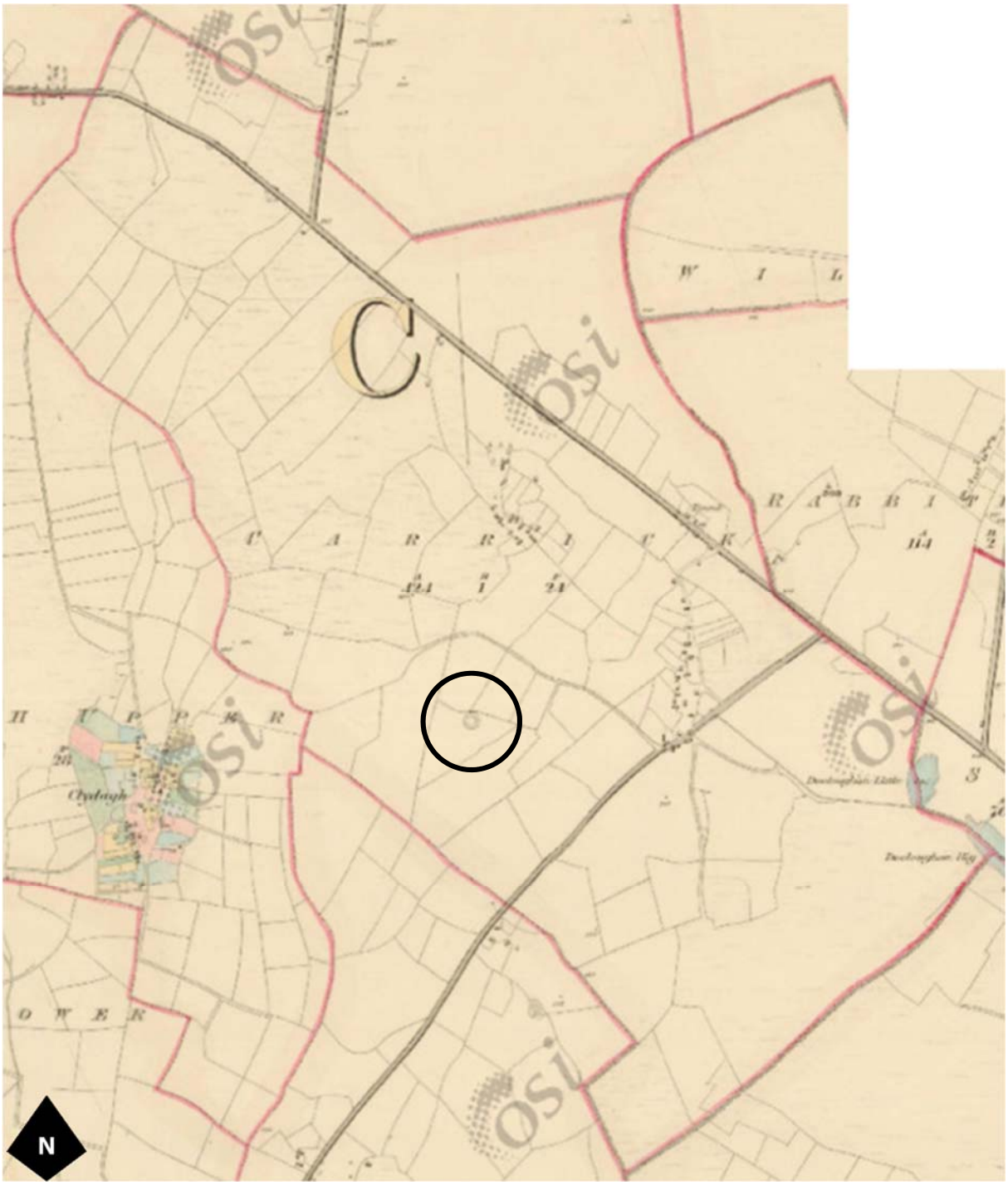


Figure 315. First edition OS map of Carrick townland showing ringfort RO025-015

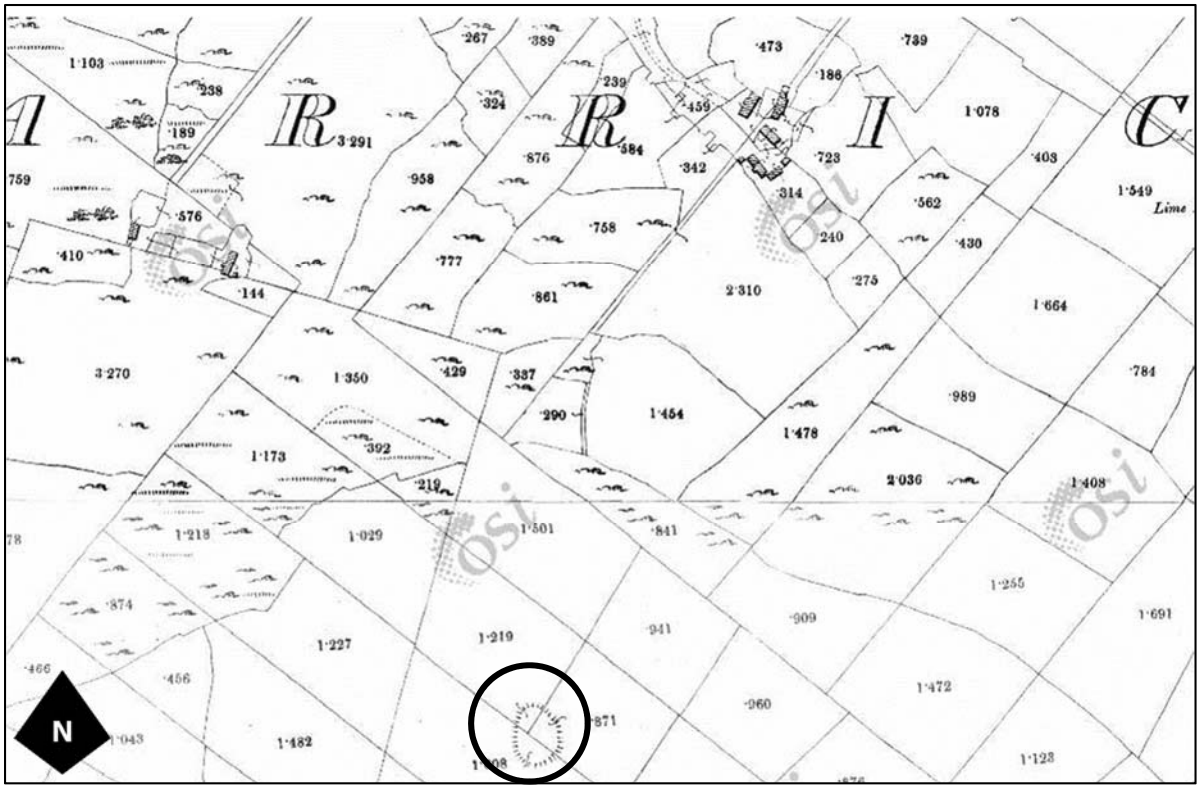


Figure 316. Second edition OS map of Carrick townland showing ringfort RO025-015



Figure 317. Aerial image of Carrick townland showing ringfort 1. RO025-013 and site of ringforts 2. RO025-015 & 3. RO014001 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 318. Aerial image of Carrick Carrick townland showing ringfort RO025-013 (GE 2016)

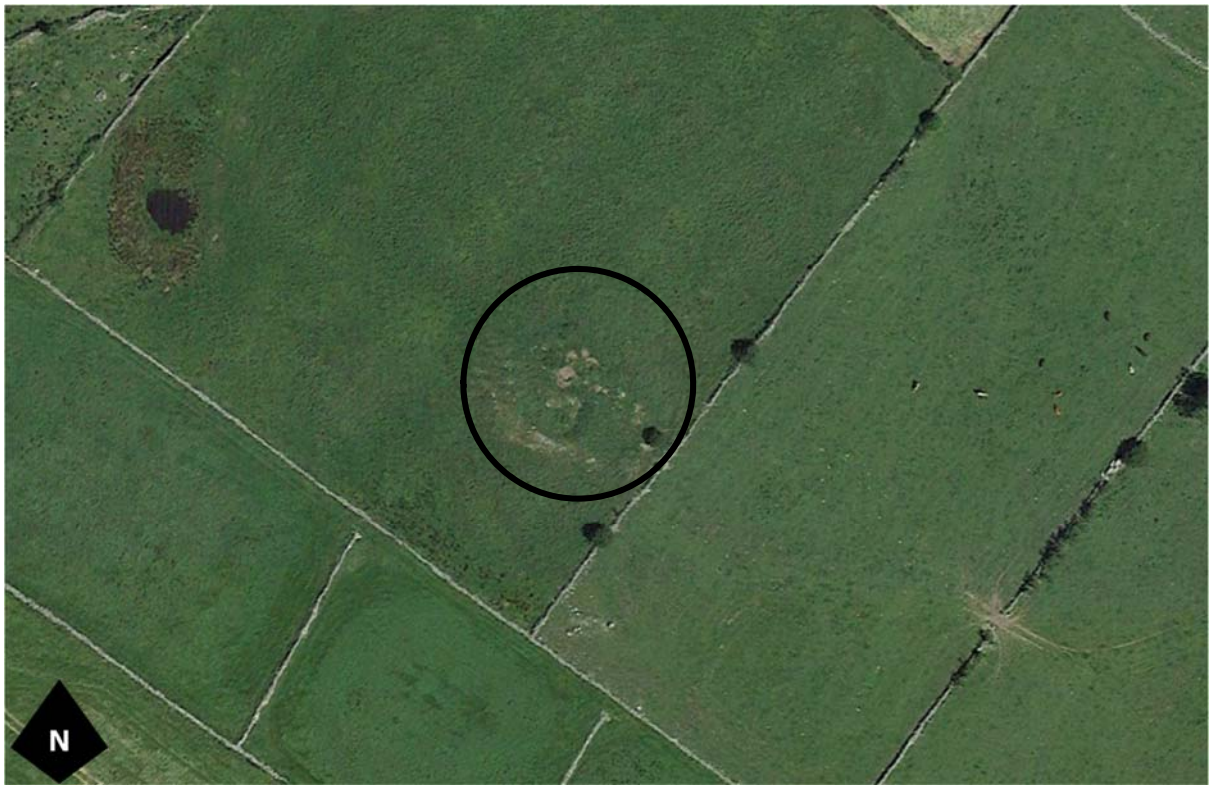


Figure 319. Aerial image of Carrick Carrick townland showing site of ringfort RO014001 (GE 2018)



Figure 320. Aerial image of Carrick Carrick townland showing site of ringfort RO025-015 (GE 2016)

6.5.8. Carrowreagh

A reference to the existence of a single ringfort in this townland is recorded in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). This feature, RO032-012, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 32) of this townland. On this map, it is shown to be skirted by a roadway to the northwest. This ringfort is also depicted on the revised second edition OS map (1891, 32) but on this map it is shown as a D-shaped enclosure with an area of disturbance in tis northeast part. This structure is not shown on the still later revised 6inch edition of the OS map for this area. Neither is it presently extant of visible on OS aerial images (DG 2011-3). It is, however, visible on other more distinct aerial images (GE 2009-18). On these images, the location of this structure may be conformed because of the presence of a crop mark. This crop mark is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 554076-772936 and encloses an area of approximately 33m in diameter.

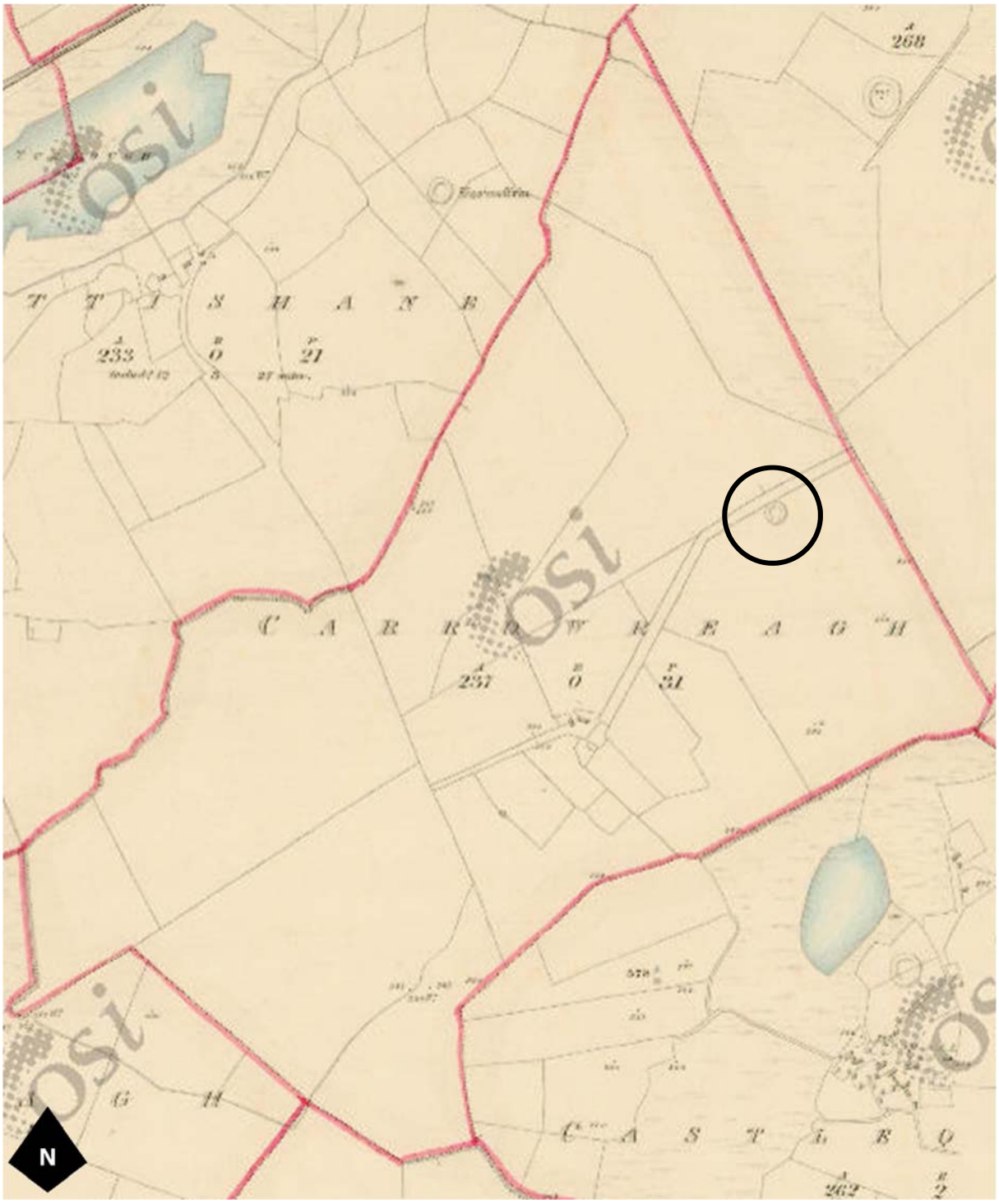


Figure 321. First edition OS map of Carrowreagh townland showing ringfort RO032-012

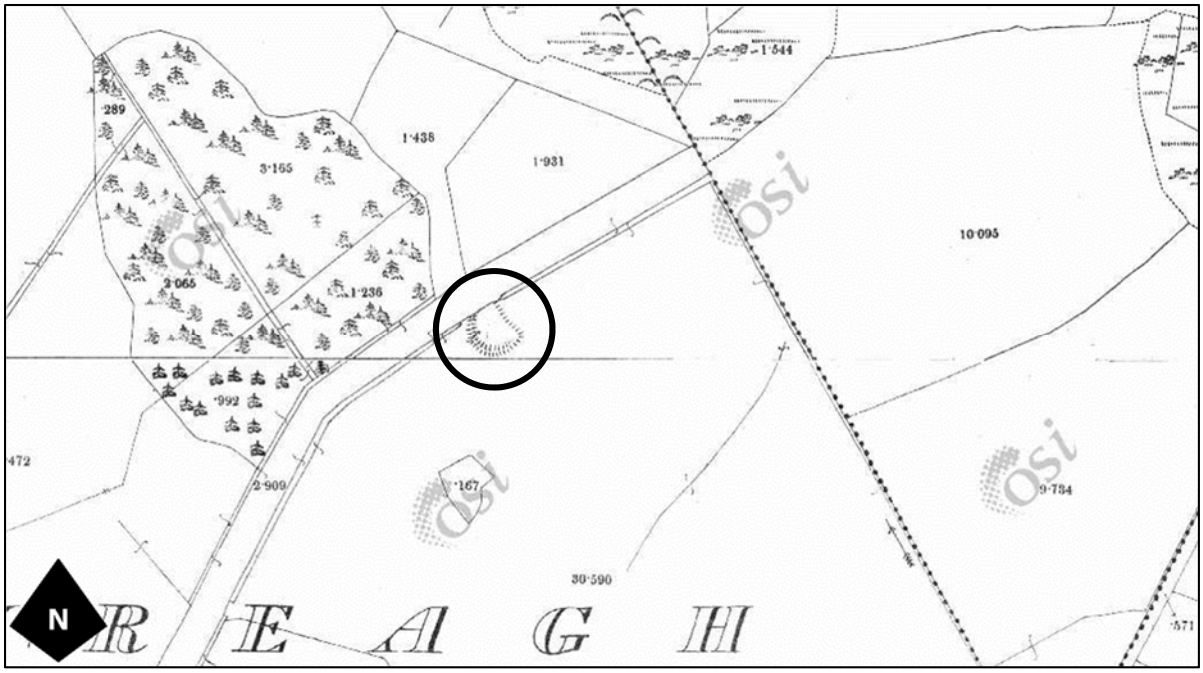


Figure 322. Second edition OS map of Carrowreagh townland showing ringfort RO032-012



Figure 323. Aerial image of Carrowreagh townland showing site of ringfort RO032-012 (GE 2009-2018)

6.5.9. Cashel

As may be expected from a townland thus named, the archaeological record contains mention of several ringforts, specifically 'cashels', in this townland (NMS 2019). The first of these structures, RO025-006, is not depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 25) of the townland. It is, however, shown on the revised second edition of this map as a semi-circular arc that is open to the north and where a curved field boundary further north delimits any possible extent for this monument. An identical representation is included in the later revision of the 6inch map (1928, 25). This monument is no longer extant. That said, the presence of a partial crop mark that corresponds to this crop mark allows this location to be confirmed (DG 2011-3). The second 'cashel', RO025-008001, recorded for this townland is not shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 25) either. This structure is not included on the revised second edition OS map, although the field where it is recorded is noted as marshland. A roughly D-shaped enclosure is shown, however, on the even later revised 6-inch version of the original OS map (1928, 25). This D-shaped enclosure is extant and it is noted in the record that it is referred to locally as 'Cashel Beg' (NMS 2019).

Furthermore, the presence of this structure, in conjunction with several others, is visible on aerial photographs from a survey flown by Cambridge University in the late 1960s (CUCAP: AYO074, 1969). On modern aerial imagery (GE 2016) the full outline of this enclosure is visible. The third of these enclosures, RO025-009, is also not depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 25) of this townland. However, it is shown on the revised second edition OS map as a circular enclosure bounded to the south by a field boundary. Again unfortunately, this 'cashel' is no longer extant. Although the eventual location of this structure can be discerned through the presence of a crop mark on aerial imagery (GE 2006). This crop mark is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 555334-778153 and appears to enclose an area of *c*.29m. The fourth of these structures, RO025-010001, is, however, depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 25) of this townland. It is noted on this map with the name 'Battery' and is connected to a group of houses to the north by a laneway. This 'cashel' is also included on the revised second edition of the OS map. On the even later revision of the original 6inch OS map (1928, 25) this structure is referred to as 'Cashelmore'. This structure is still extant and can be clearly seen on a range of modern aerial images (GE 2006-2018).

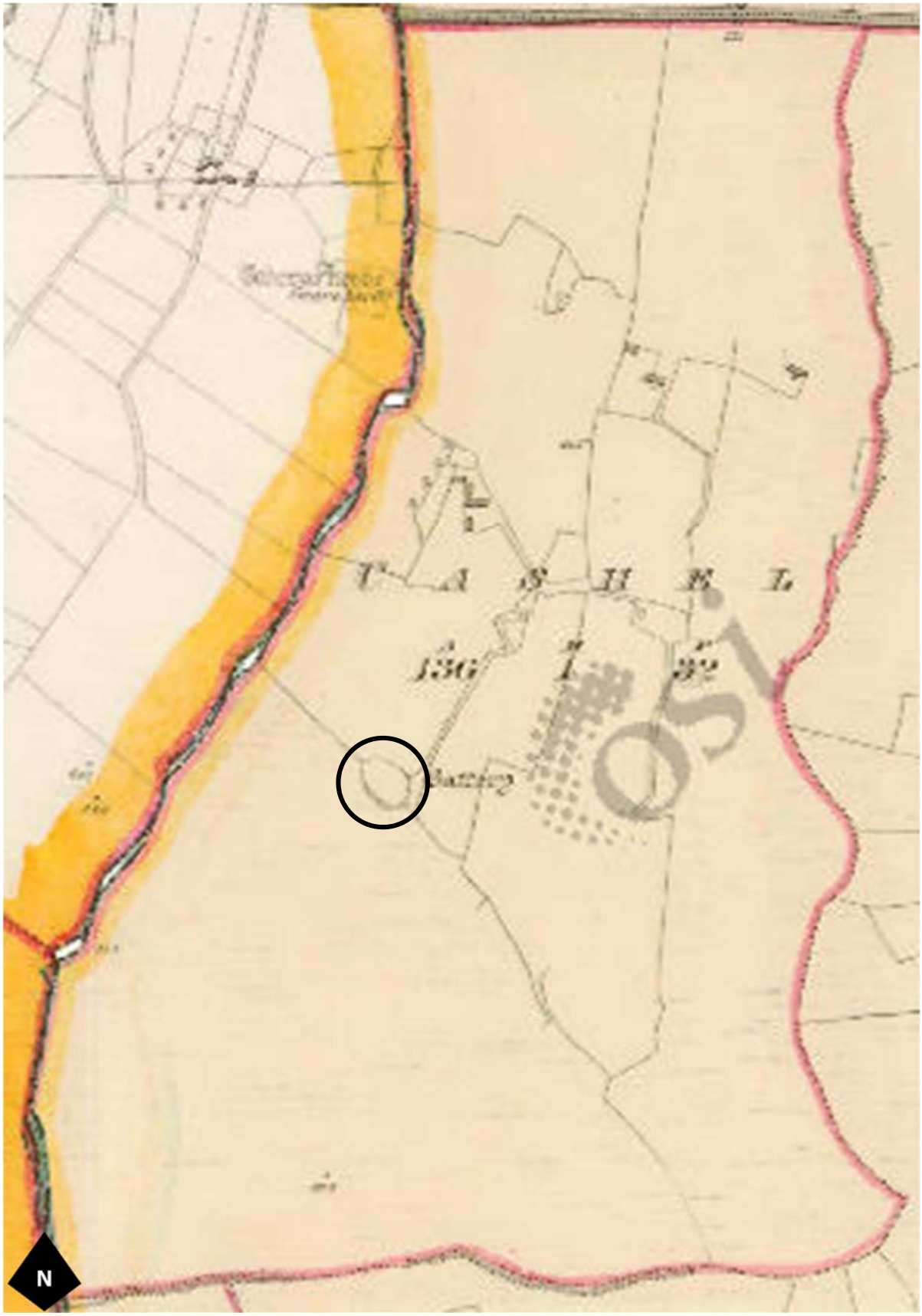


Figure 324. First edition OS map of Cashel townland showing ringfort RO025-010001

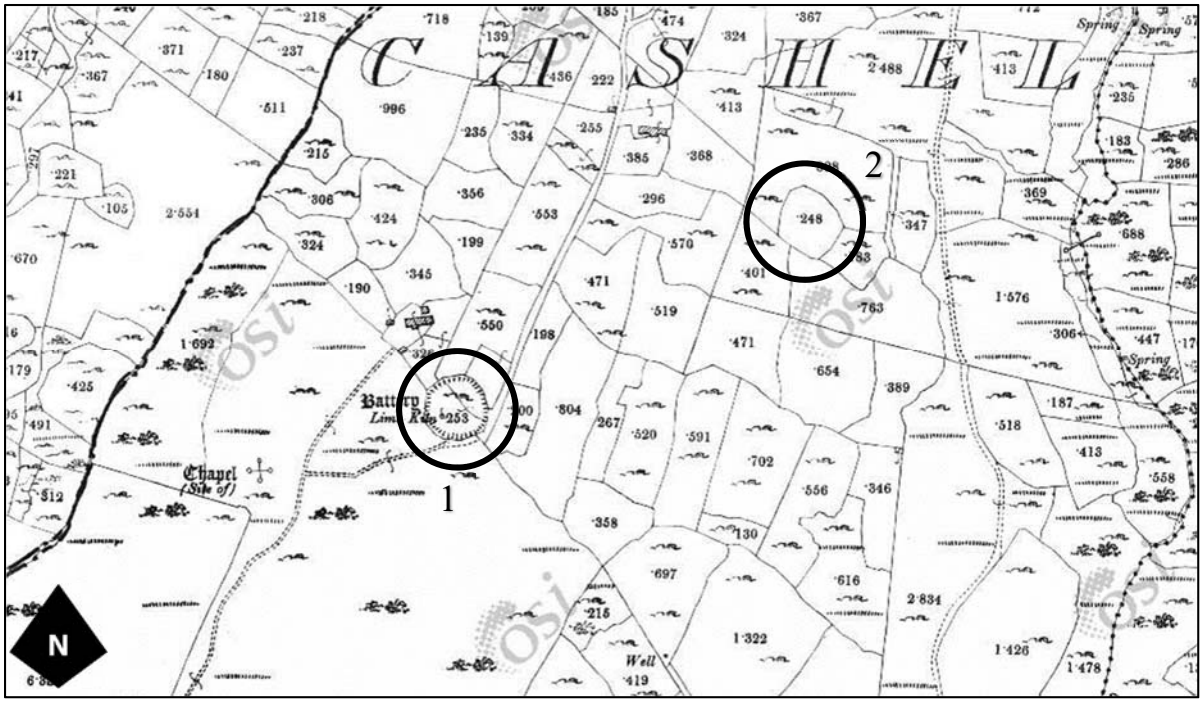


Figure 325. Second edition OS map of Cashel townland showing ringforts 1. RO025-010001 and 2. RO025-009

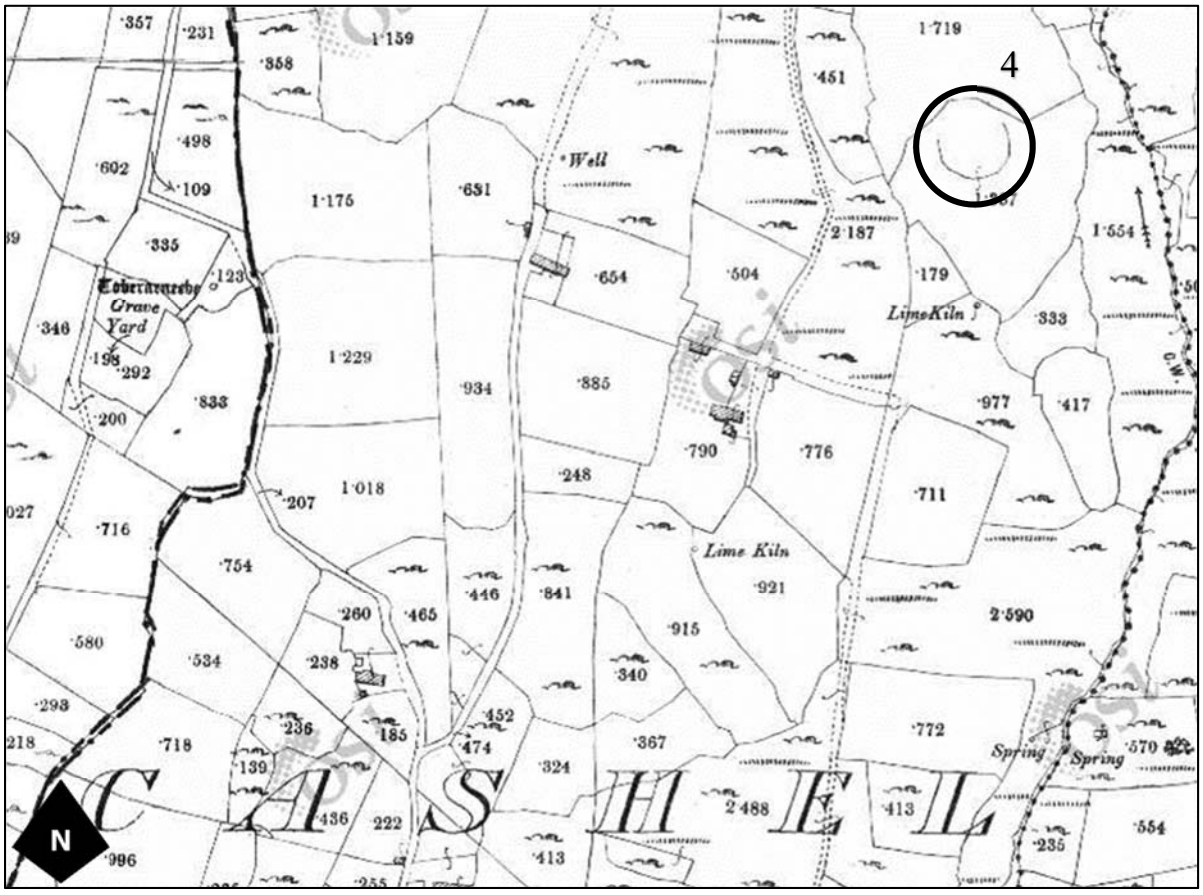


Figure 326. Second edition OS map of Cashel townland showing ringfort 4. RO025-006



Figure 327. CUCAP aerial image of Cashel (AYO074, 1969)



Figure 328. Aerial image of Cashel townland showing location of ringforts 1. RO025-010001, 2. RO025-009, 3. RO025-008001 & 4. RO025-006 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 329. Aerial image of Cashel townland showing ringfort 1. RO025-010001 and site of ringfort 2. RO025-009 & 3. RO025-008001 (GE 2018)



Figure 330. Aerial image of Cashel townland showing location of ringfort 4. RO025-006 (GE 2018)

6.5.10. Cashlieve

A single example of a ringfort is recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). This 'cashel', RO026-055, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 26) of the area as a roughly oval enclosure, that has been incorporated into a later farmyard. It is again depicted on the revised second edition version of this map. On this occasion, a building is shown located inside the ringfort at the southeast corner, closest to the other farm buildings. This structure is indeed still intact and is visible on modern aerial images (DG 2011-3). On this image a red roofed, possibly corrugated iron sheeting, farm building is shown in its interior.

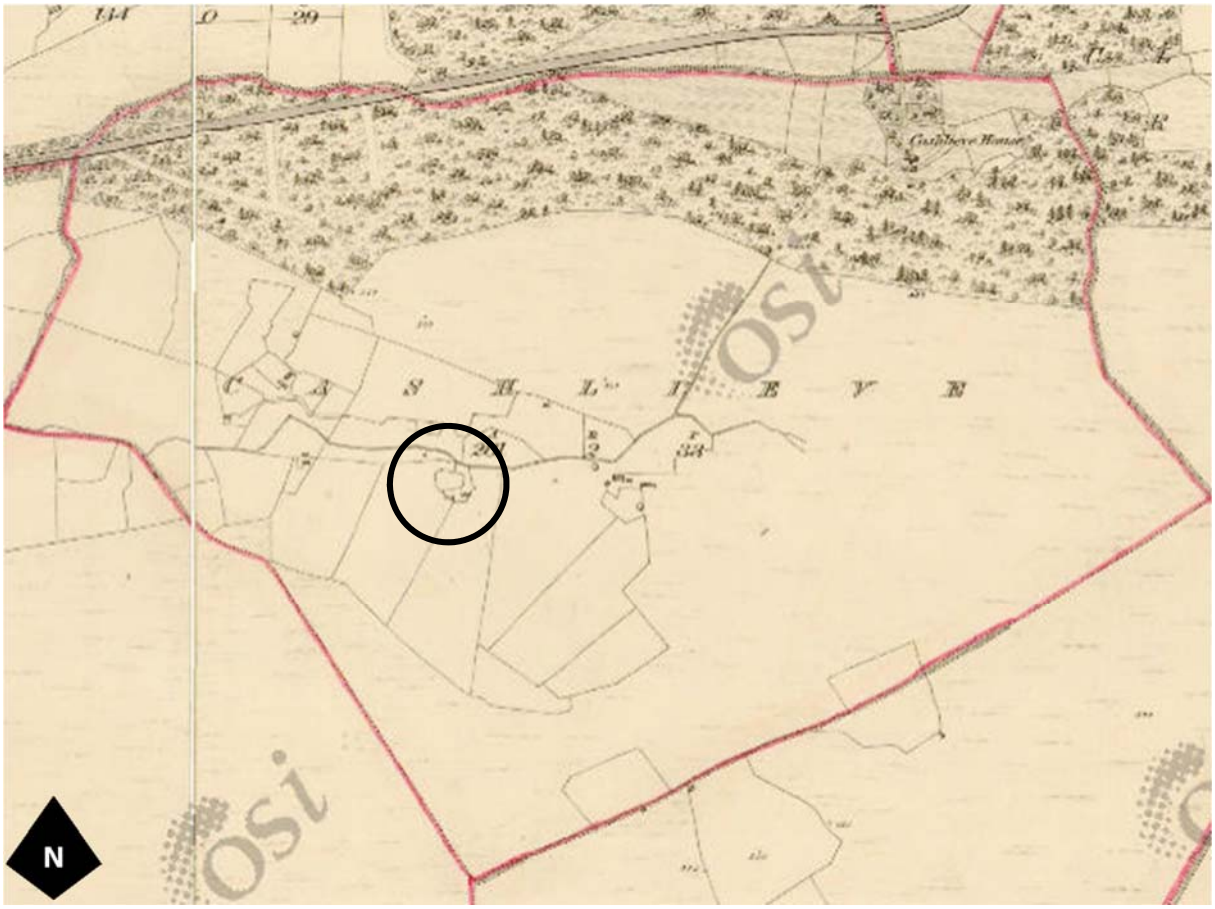


Figure 331. First edition OS map of Cashlieve townland showing ringfort RO026-055

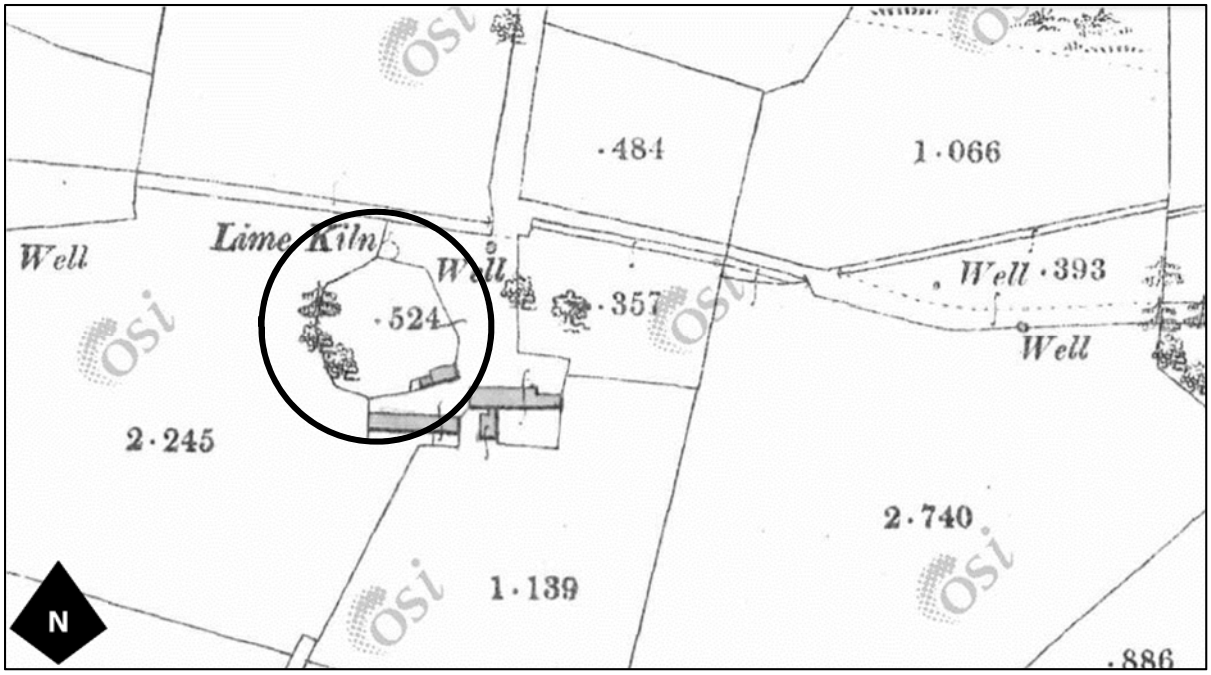


Figure 332. Second edition OS map of Cashlieve townland showing ringfort RO026-055



Figure 333. Aerial image of Cashlieve townland showing ringfort RO026-055

6.5.11. Castlequarter

Reference to the presence here of four ringforts is contained within the archaeological record (NMS 2019). Three of these, RO032-033001, RO032-034 and RO032-035 are depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 32) that covers this townland. On this map, this structure is shown bisected in a northeast-southwest direction by a field boundary. RO032-033001 is again depicted on the later revised second edition map of the same area, though on this edition the field boundary has been removed. Interestingly, on the still later revised edition of the original 6inch map (1928, 32) a new field boundary is shown running through the ringfort in a northwest-southeast direction. This structure is no longer extant. . On the second edition OS map RO032-035 and RO032-037001 are depicted as semi-circular features. The latter monument is also noted as the site of a children's burial ground. This site and that of ringfort RO032-034 remain visible on modern aerial images (GE 2009)

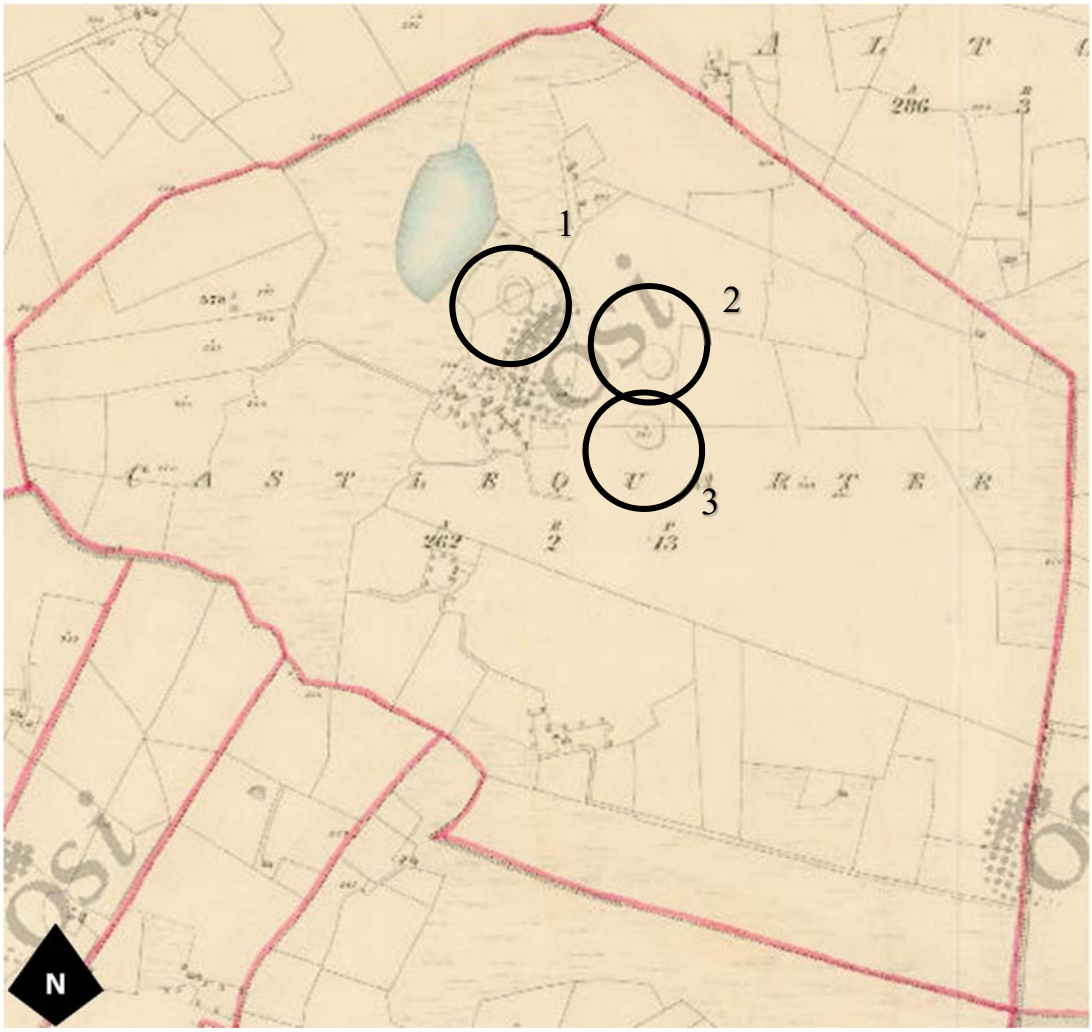


Figure 334. First edition OS map of Castlequarter townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-033001, 2. RO032-034 and 3. RO032-035

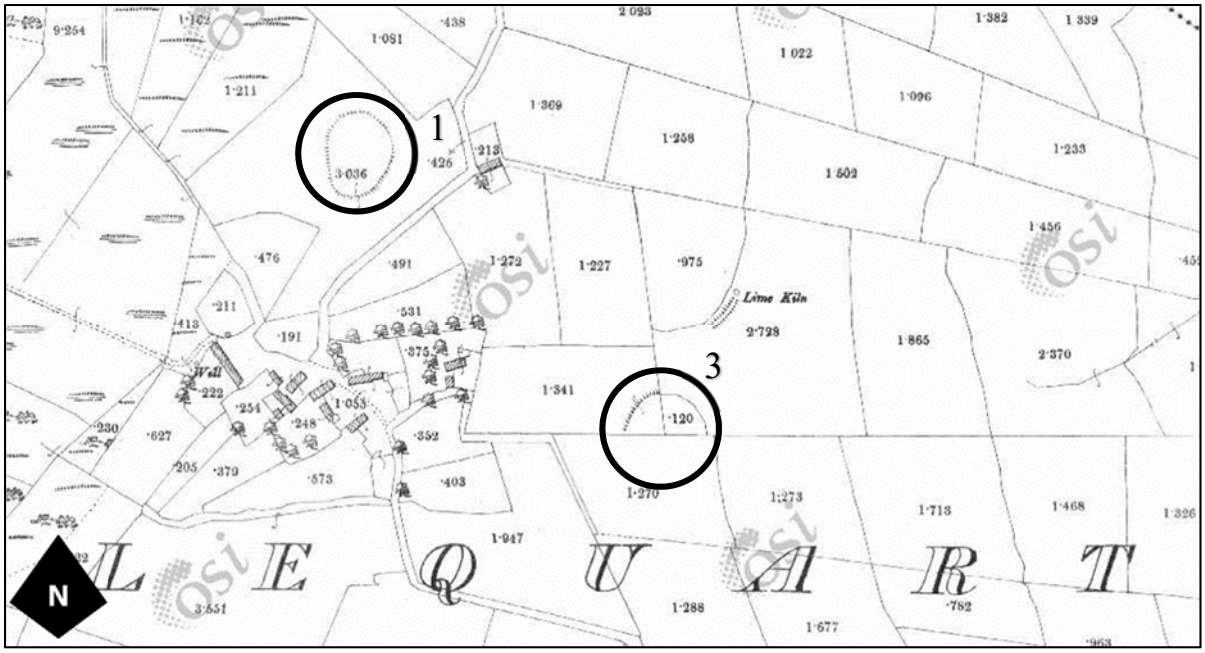


Figure 335. Second edition OS map of Castlequarter townland showing ringforts

1. RO032-033001, 2. RO032-035

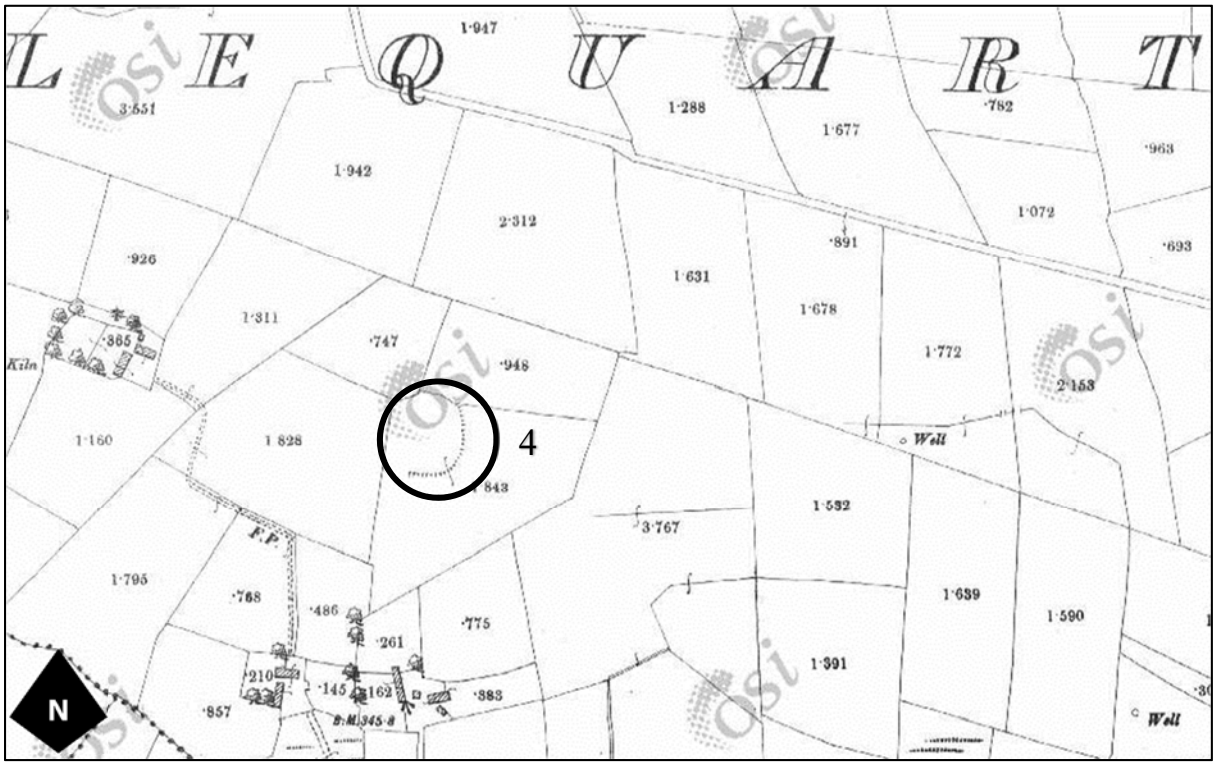


Figure 336. Second edition OS map of Castlequarter townland showing ringforts

4. RO032-037001



Figure 337. Aerial image of Castlequarter townland showing ringforts and site of ringforts



Figure 338. Aerial image of Castlequarter townland showing ringfort 4. RO032-037001



Figure 339. Aerial image of Castlequarter townland showing site of ringforts 2. RO032-034 and 3. RO032-035 (GE 2010)

6.5.12. Clogher Lower

There is mention of the presence of four ringforts in the archaeological record of this townland (NMS 2019). The first of these raths, RO032-058, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 32) of this same area. It is not, however, visible on the revised second edition of this map (1891, 32). In addition, it can be seen on this OS map that an amount of field boundary clearance has taken place in between times. As may be expected this monument is no longer extant (DG 2011-3). However, a crop mark is visible at its recorded location (GE 2016). This outline is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 555836-770567 and encloses an area of roughly 32m in diameter. The second recorded rath, RO032-062, is also visible on the first edition OS map (1837, 32) of this townland. On this map, this rath is depicted as a trivallate ringfort. It is also shown on later revised versions of this map even as late as the 1928 revision of the original 6-inch map. Indeed, this monument is still extant and is clearly visible on recent aerial images (DG 2011-3).

The third of these raths, RO032-063, is also depicted on the available OS maps from 1837 to 1928. It is also extant and visible on modern aerial imagery (DG 2011-3). However, the fourth of these structures, RO032-064, is not shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 32) of the area. It is visible on the later revised editions of the OS map for this townland. It, too, is still extant and can be seen on modern aerial images (DG 2011-3). These three monuments are also shown on an aerial survey from the late 1960s (CUCAP: AYS014, 1969). Although, on these images the northwest part of this monument is truncated by a modern field boundary. In addition to these monuments, a possible crop mark is visible further to the north and down slope of the rath, RO032-064. This potential crop mark encloses an area of *c.*46m in diameter and seems centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 556140-770277 (GE 2016).



Figure 340. First edition OS map of Clogher Lower townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-058, 2. RO032-062 and 3. RO032-063

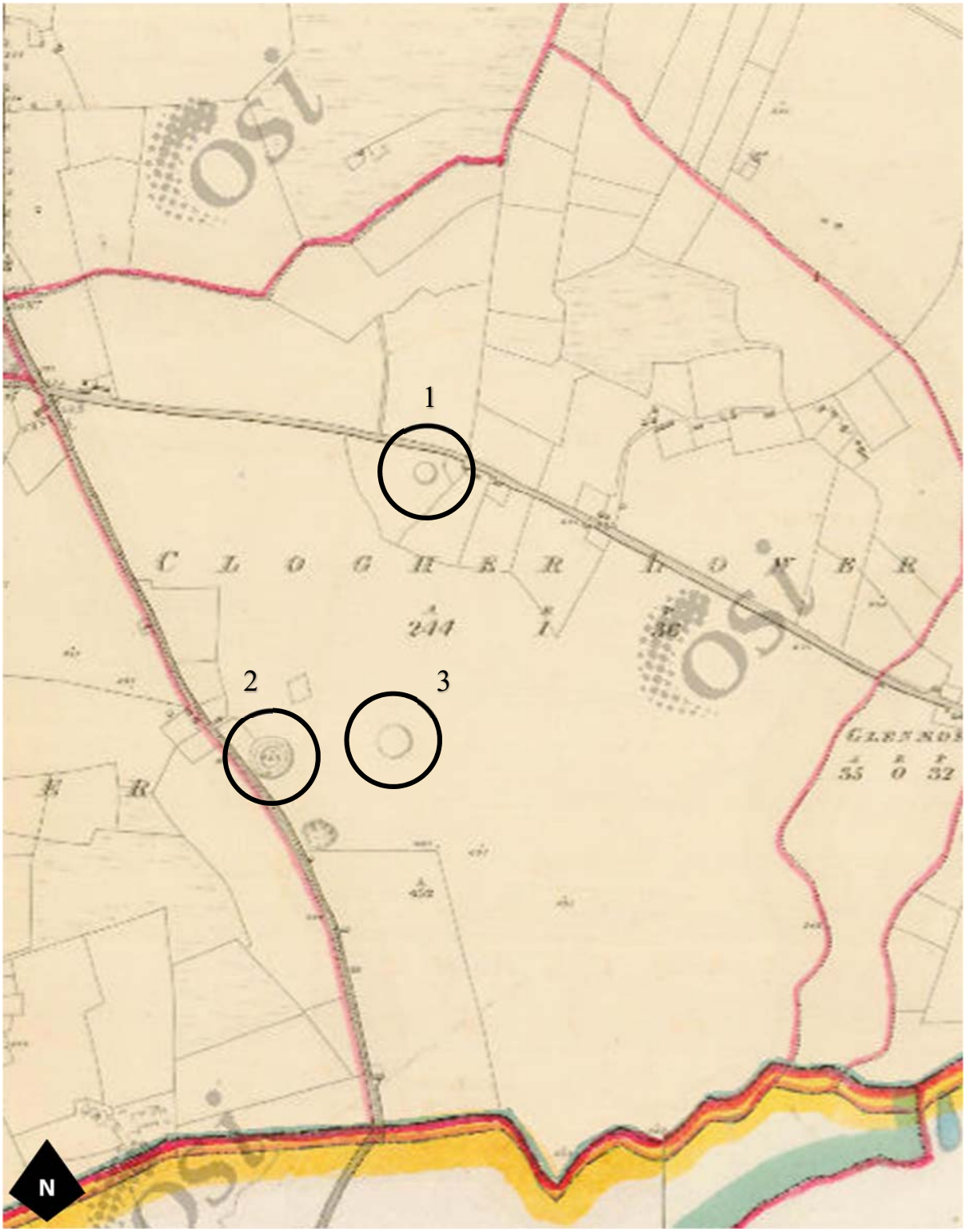


Figure 341. First edition OS map of Clogher Lower townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-058, 2. RO032-062 and 3. RO032-063

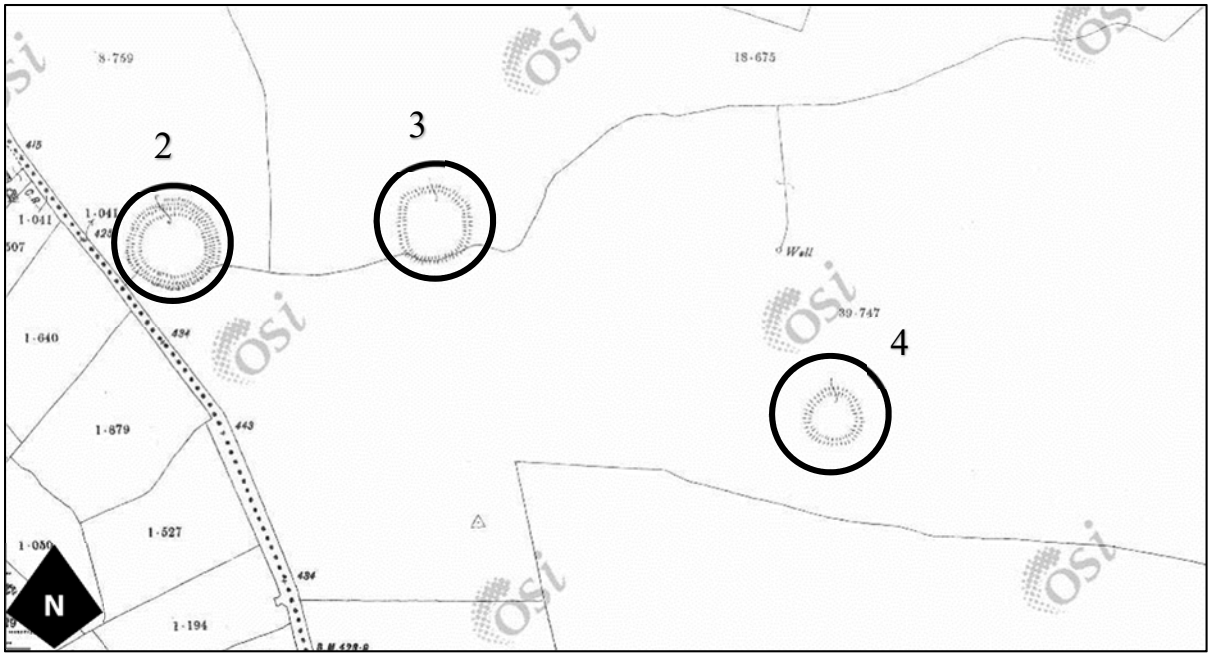


Figure 342. Second edition OS map of Clogher Lower townland showing ringforts 2. RO032-062, 3. RO032-063 and 4. RO032-064



Figure 343. CUCAP aerial image of Clogher Lower townland (AYS014, 1969)



Figure 344. Aerial image of Clogher Lower townland showing ringforts 2. RO032-062, 3. RO032-063 and 4. RO032-064



Figure 345. Aerial image of Clogher Lower townland showing ringforts 2. RO032-062, 3. RO032-063 & 4. RO032-064 and site of ringfort 1. RO032-058

6.5.13. Clogher Upper

The presence of two ringforts in this townland is recorded in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). The first of these, RO032-056 is recorded as a rath and is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 32) of the townland. It is not, unfortunately, visible on the revised second edition OS map. Nor is it visible on any available modern aerial imagery. Attempts to confirm the location of this site is hindered for the recorded position is now in the back garden of a recently built house (GE 2009-18). The second of the recorded raths here is also shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 32). On the later revised edition of this map (1895, 32) the only element of this rath that is depicted is a small segment of a hachured arc. It can also be seen on this map that a strong amount of field sub-division had been carried out in the time between the creations of these two editions. Presently, even this small portion of the rath is not visible (DG 2011-3). However, the faint outline of a crop mark, approximately 35m in diameter, appears centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 555094-770506.

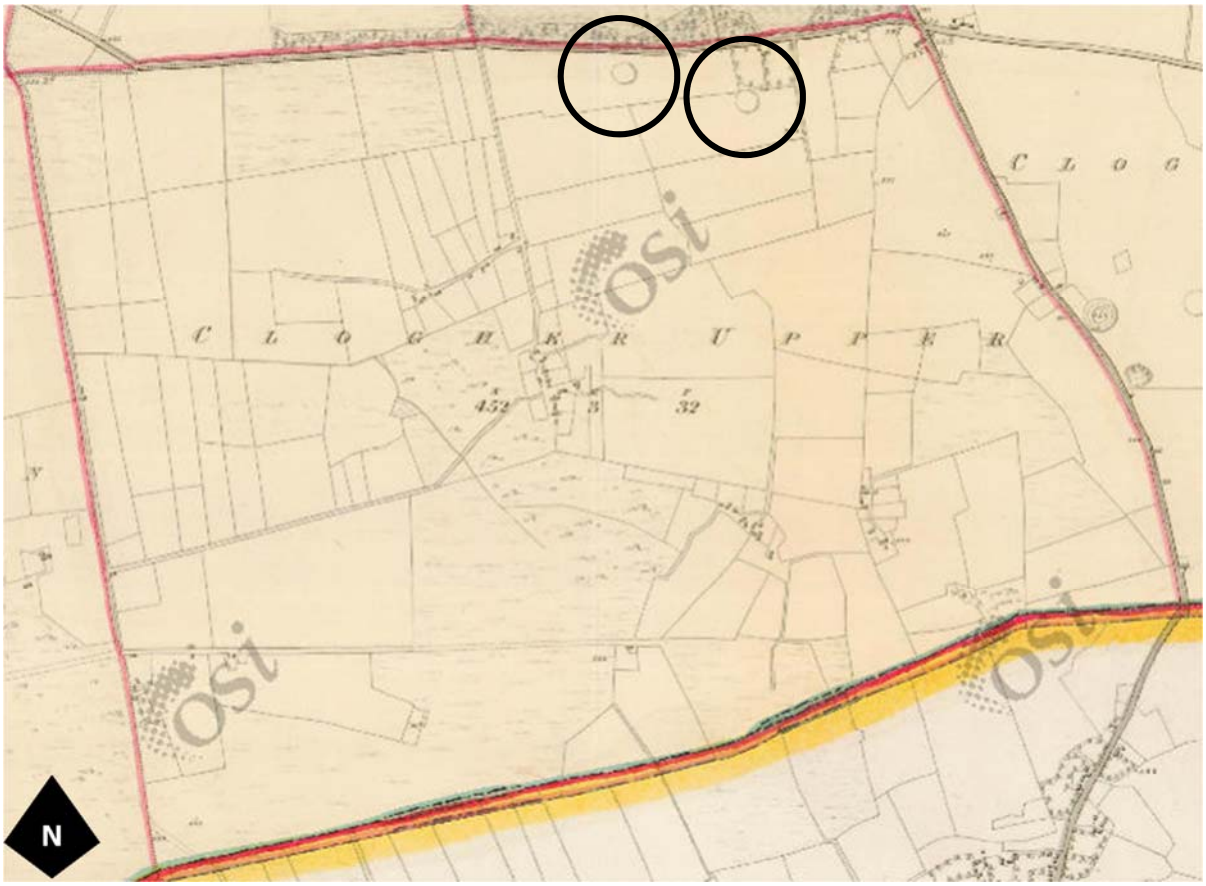


Figure 346. First edition OS map of Clogher Upper townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-056 and 2.

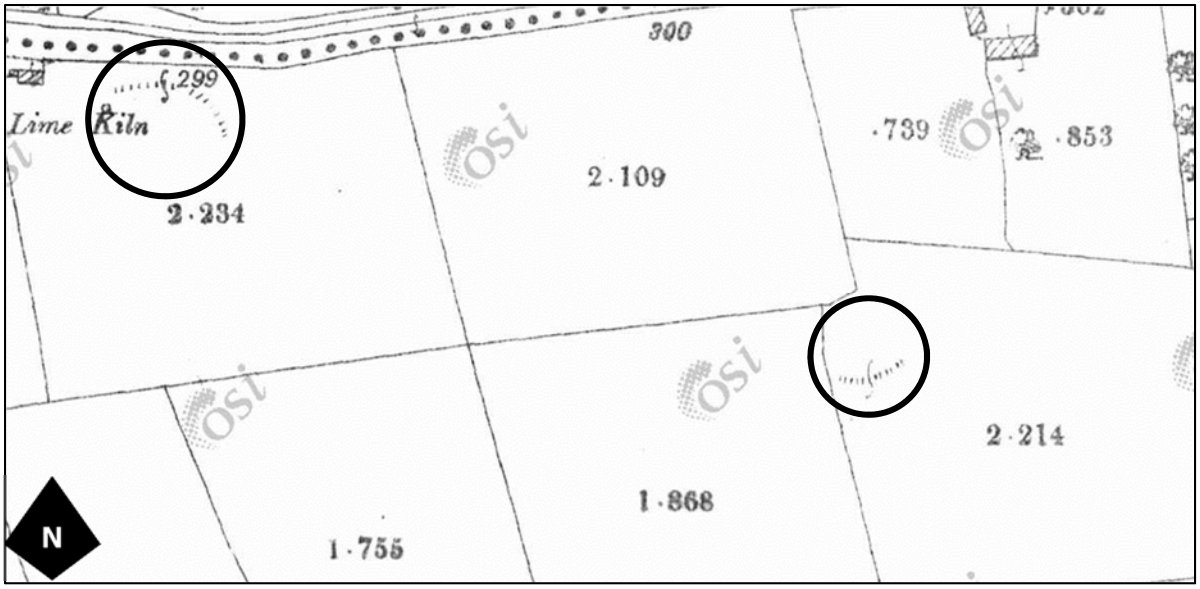


Figure 347. Second edition OS map of Clogher Upper townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-056 and 2.

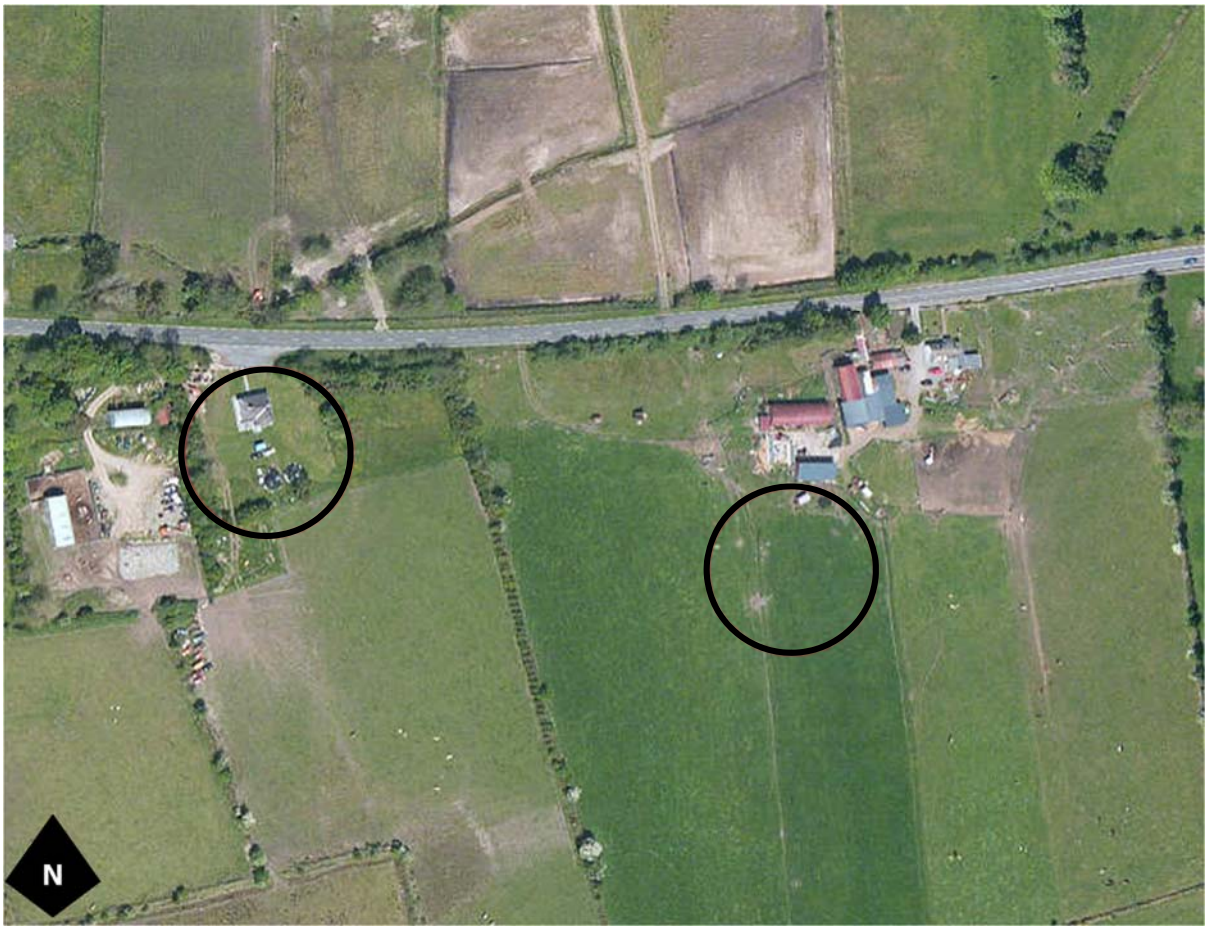


Figure 348. Aerial image of Clogher Upper townland showing site of ringforts 1. RO032-056 and 2. (DG 2011-3)

6.5.14. Cloonalough

A single example of this studied monument type is recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). This rath, RO025-002, is shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 25) that covers the area. On this map, it is named and although the name is difficult to decipher it may be that this monument was known locally as 'Dornura Fort'. A laneway connecting this structure to a group of buildings further south and the presence of a trigonometry station in the interior of this rath is also depicted on this map. This ringfort is also visible on the later revised edition of this map (1895, 25). It may be considered extant, for it is visible on recent aerial imagery as a low relief feature and is defined, in part, by a ring of trees (DG 2011-3). An oblique image created because of another aerial survey provides a clearer impression of the extent of this monument as it highlights the fosse (GE 2006).



Figure 349. First edition OS map of Cloonalough townland showing ringfort RO025-002



Figure 350. First edition OS map of Cloonalough townland showing ringfort RO025-002

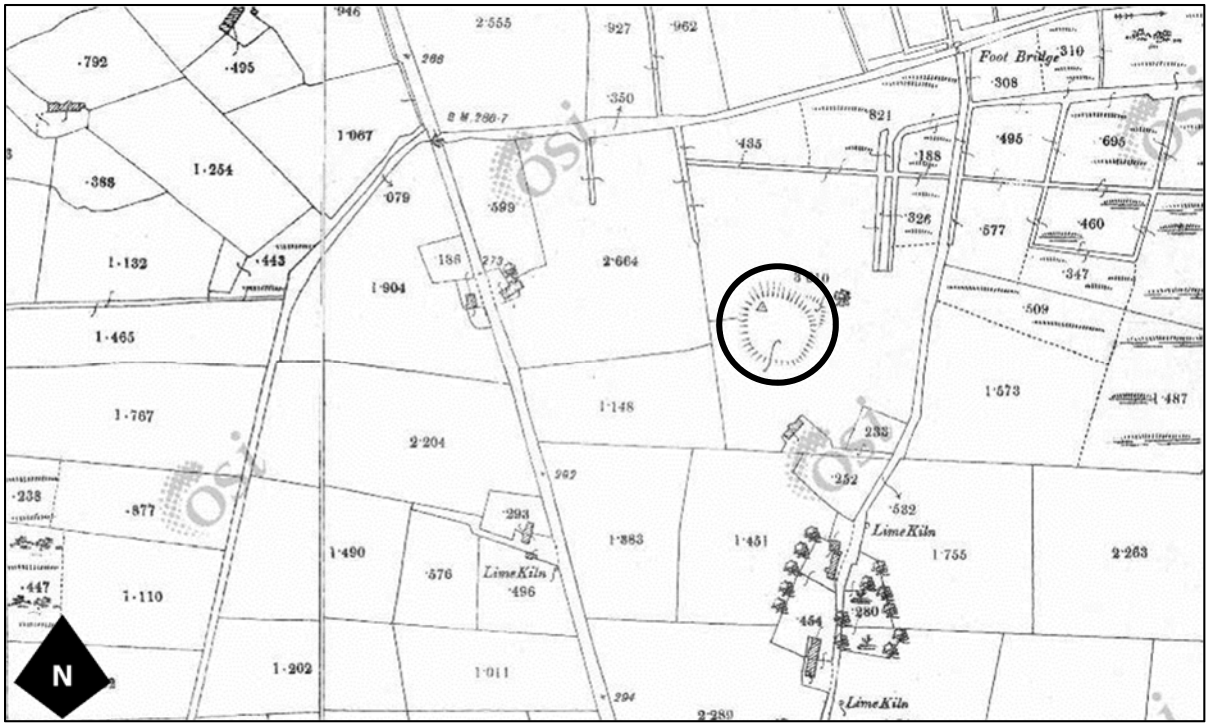


Figure 351. Second edition OS map of Cloonalough townland showing ringfort RO025-002



Figure 352. Aerial image of Cloonalough townland showing ringfort RO025-002 (DG 2011-3).

6.5.15. Cloonfad West

Within the boundaries of this townland, the presence of a single circular field monument had been noted and included in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). However, this structure, RO032-048, which had been recorded as an earthwork is no longer included in the register. Although, it is visible on the first edition OS map (1837, 32) of the area. It is no longer visible on the revised second edition of this map, nor is it extant. The previously recorded location for this monument is now part of a farmyard and the site is occupied in part by farm buildings (DG 2011-3). The construction of these sheds and the creation of the yard is likely to have caused significant damage to this site and it is probably for this reason that this monument was removed from the SMR.



Figure 353. First edition OS map of Cloonfad West townland showing earthwork RO032-048

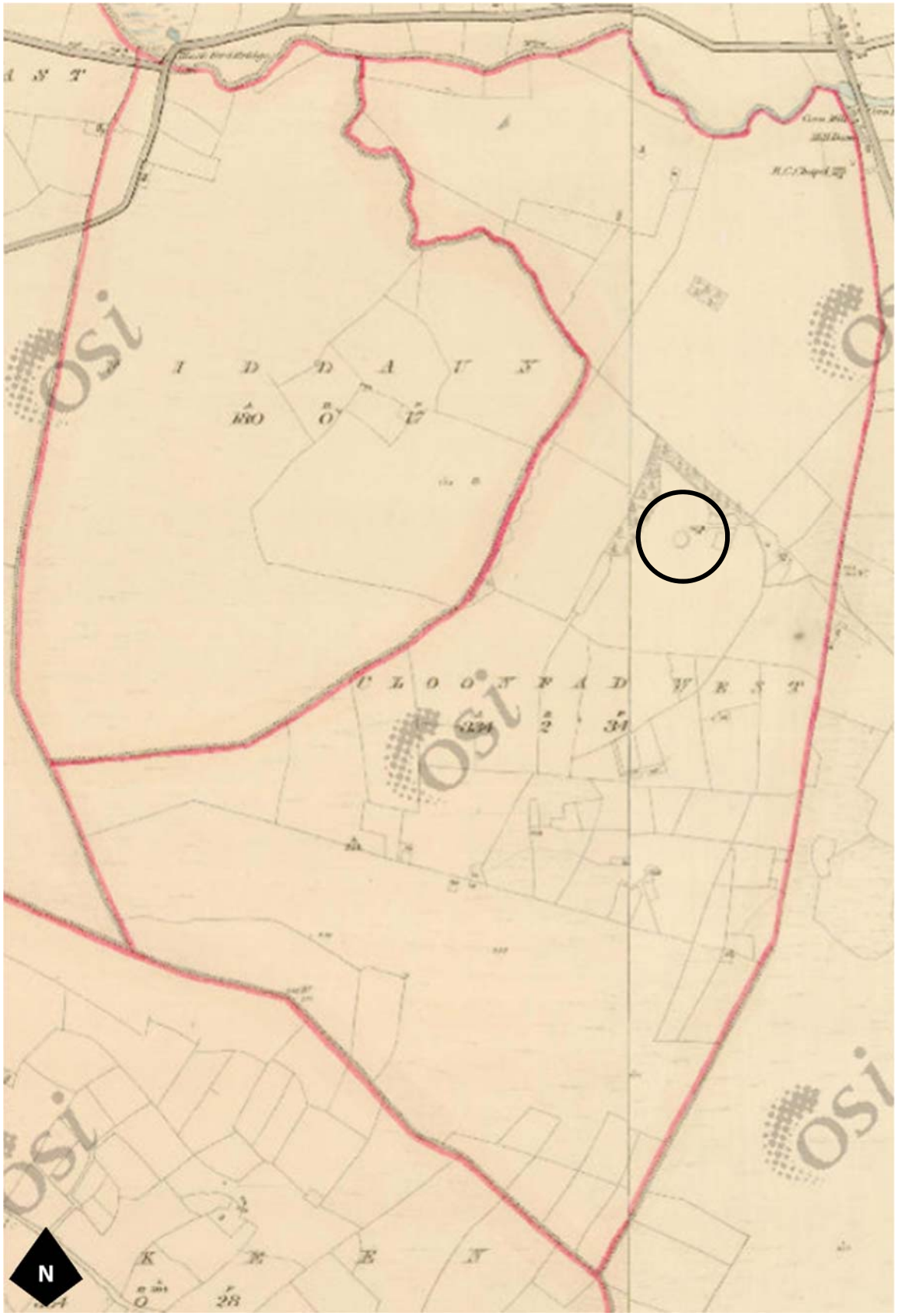


Figure 354. First edition OS map of Cloonfad West townland showing earthwork RO032-048

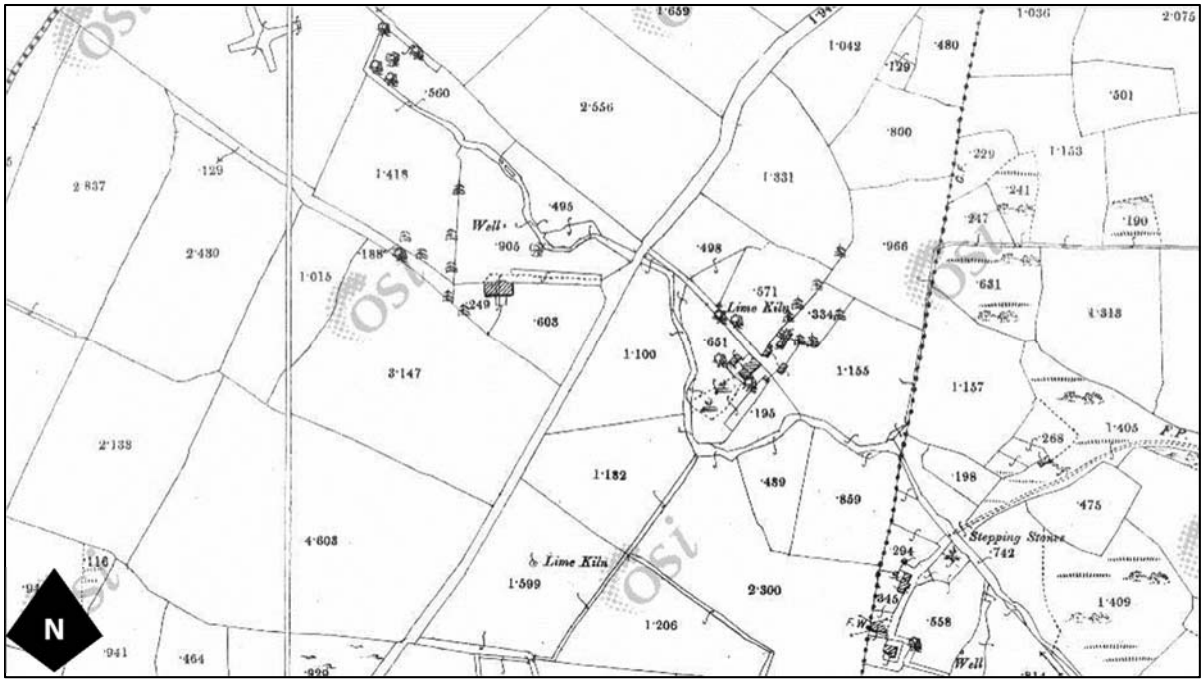


Figure 355. Second edition OS map of Cloonfad West townland showing general location of earthwork RO032-048



Figure 356. Aerial image of Cloonfad West townland showing site of earthwork RO032-048 (DG 2011-3)

6.5.16. Cloonfineen

Two circular features are depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 32) of this townland. One of these, RO032-027, is no longer included in the archaeological database. Testing (12E0434) undertaken in advance of the expansion of a nearby quarry revealed nothing of archaeological interest (Excavations.ie: Delany 2013). In any event, this site is now nearly consumed by the expanded quarry. The second of these features, RO032-028, is recorded as a 'rath'. It is also shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 32) of the area. This ringfort is also depicted on later versions of this map as late as the 1928 revision of the original 6-inch map. It is not now extant, however. Although, apparently elements of this structure were visible until the early 1970s (Gannon 1972). No clear indication of the location of this site is available from recent aerial imagery (GE 2009-18; DG 2011-3).



Figure 357. First edition OS map of Cloonfineen townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-027 and 2. RO032-028

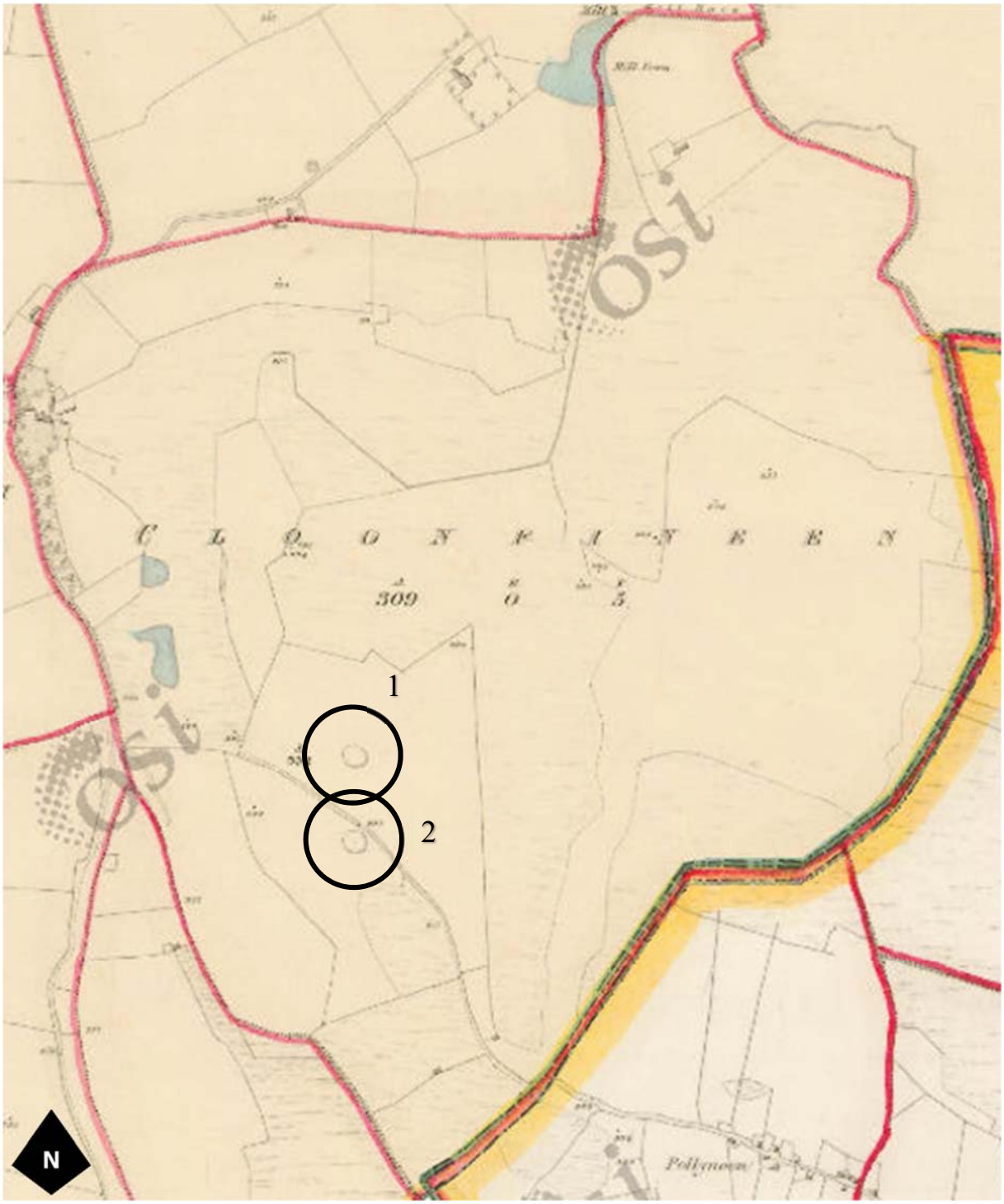


Figure 358. First edition OS map of Cloonfineen townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-027 and 2. RO032-028

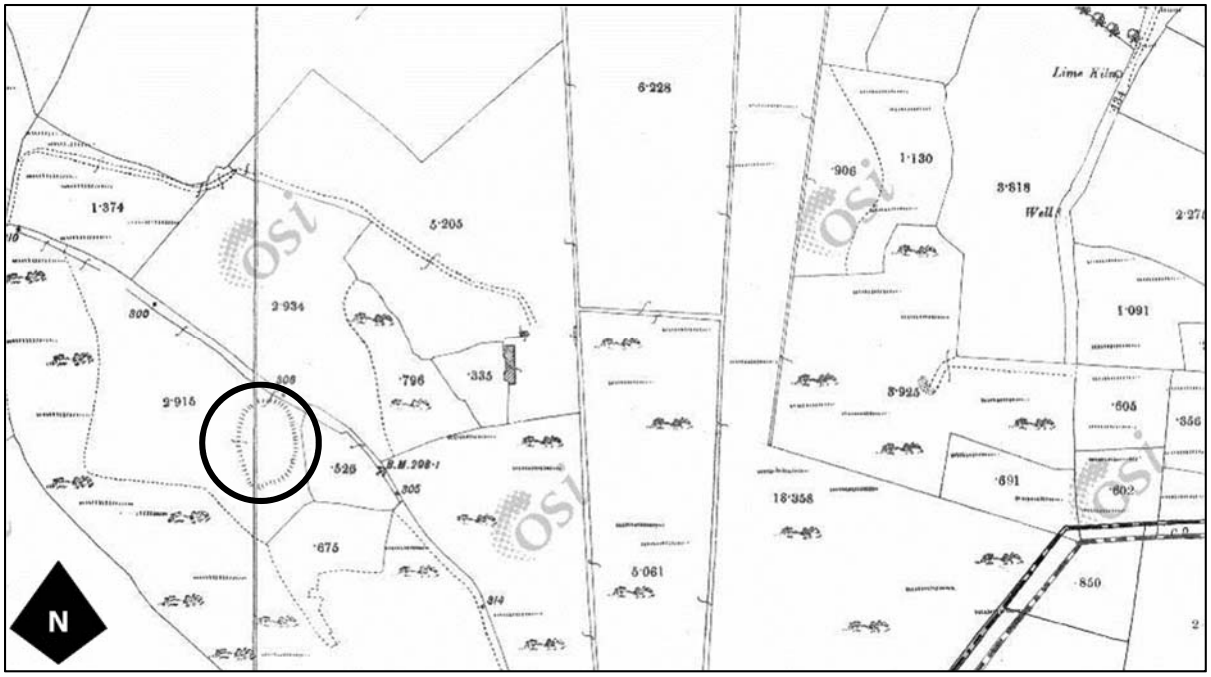


Figure 359. Second edition OS map of Cloonfineen townland showing ringfort RO032-028



Figure 360. Aerial image of Cloonfineen townland showing site of ringforts 1. RO032-027 and 2. RO032-028 (DG 2011-3)

6.5.17. Coolcam

The presence of two ringforts in this townland are recorded on the archaeological database (NMS 2019). The first of these 'raths', RO032-059001, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 32) that covers this townland. It is also visible on later editions and indeed is extant. It is visible on recent aerial images as a low relief feature (DG 2011-3). Although, the extent of this structure is more clearly visible on more modern images (GE 2016). The second of these 'raths', RO032-060, is also visible on the first edition OS map (1837, 32) and on later revised versions of this map. For instance, that version created in 1928 following the revision of the first 6-inch map. This structure is also still extant and is visible on aerial images as an enclosure defined by a ring of trees and filled with scrub (GE 2009-18).

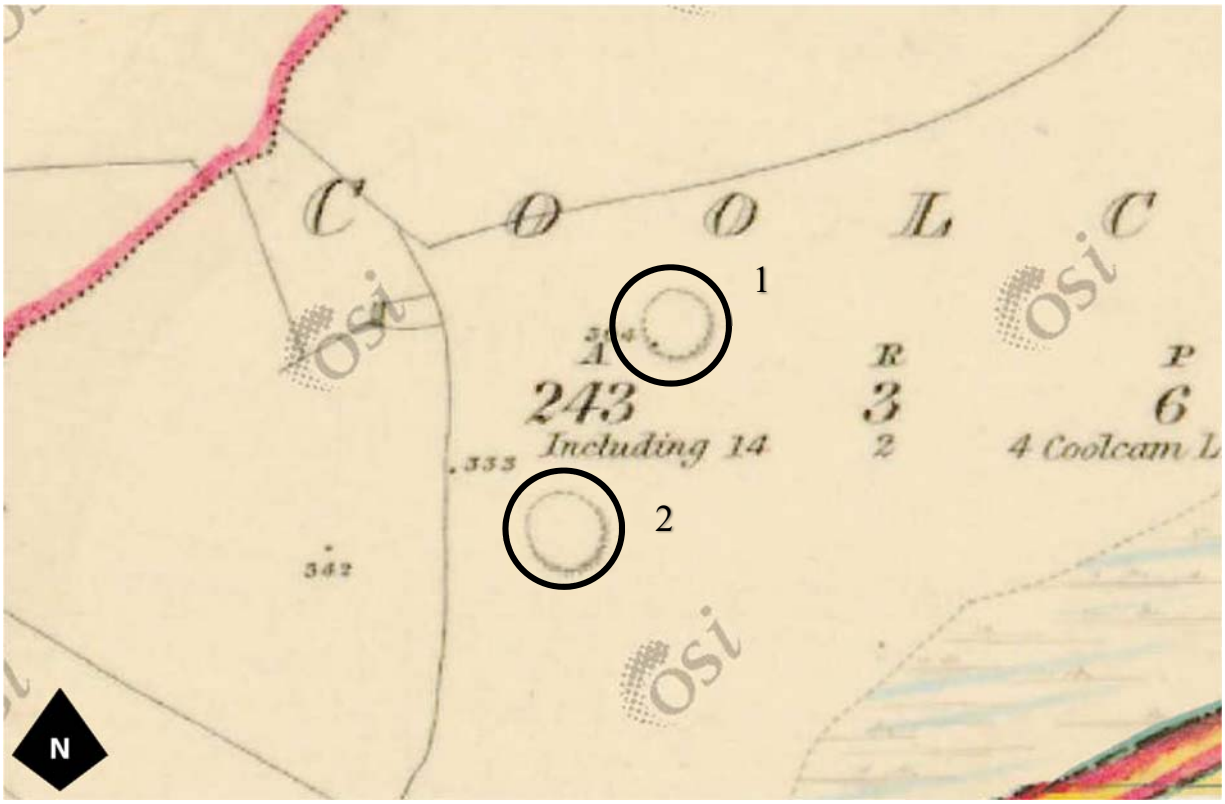


Figure 361. First edition OS map of Coolcam townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-059001 and 2. RO032-060



Figure 363. First edition OS map of Coolcam townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-059001 and 2. RO032-060

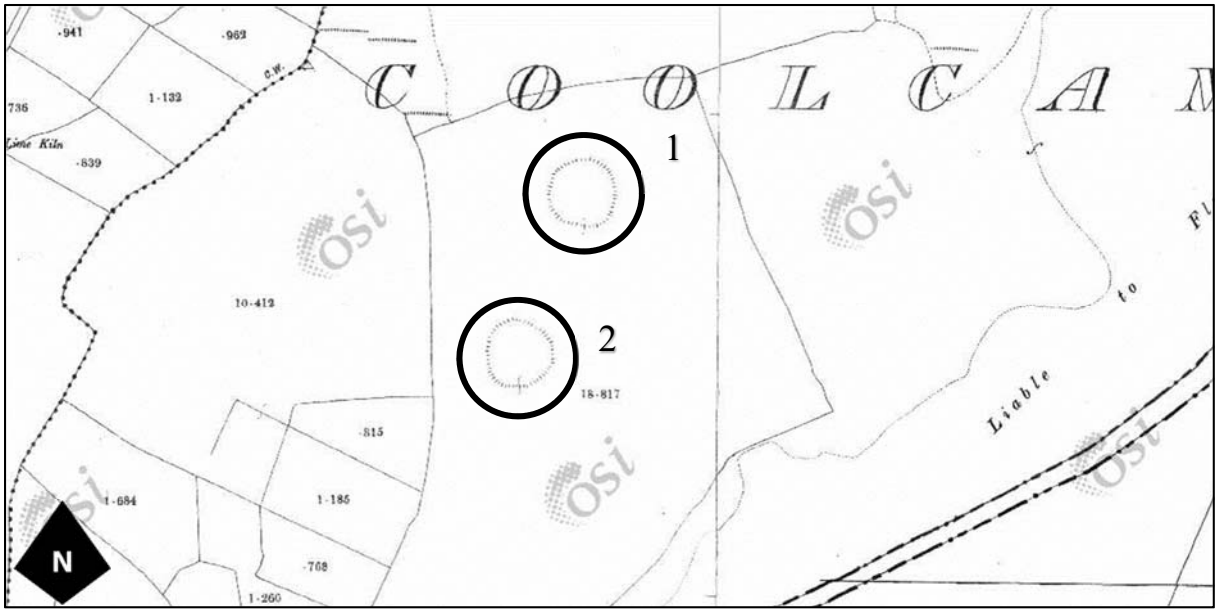


Figure 364. Second edition OS map of Coolcam townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-059001 and 2. RO032-060



Figure 365. Aerial image of Coolcam townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-059001 and 2. RO032-060 (GE 2009-18)

6.5.18. Garranlahan Beg

A single example of a ringfort is recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). This 'rath', RO032-017001, is shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 32) of this area. On the later revised second edition map, this ringfort is shown as an irregular sub-circular feature. In addition, the outline of the recorded house, RO032-017003, may also be visible on this map. The ringfort may no longer be considered as intact. Although, the form of its western boundary is shown in an adjacent field boundary. Whereas, the remainder of the structure is visible as a low relief feature (DG 2011-3). The outline and overall extent of this enclosure, along with the internal circular house, is visible more clearly on another set of aerial images (GE 2009-16).

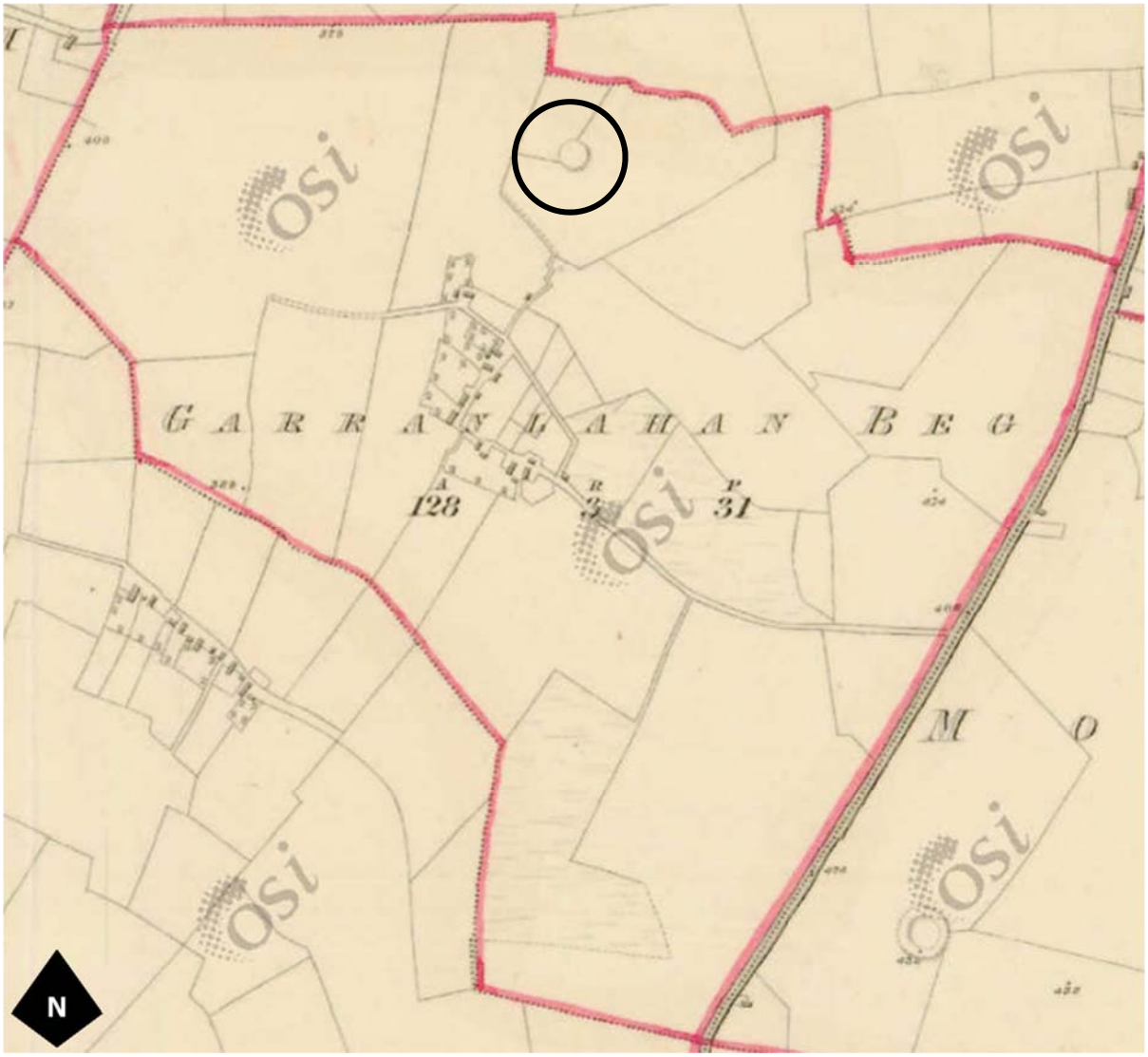


Figure 366. First edition OS map of Garranlahan Beg townland showing ringfort RO032-017001

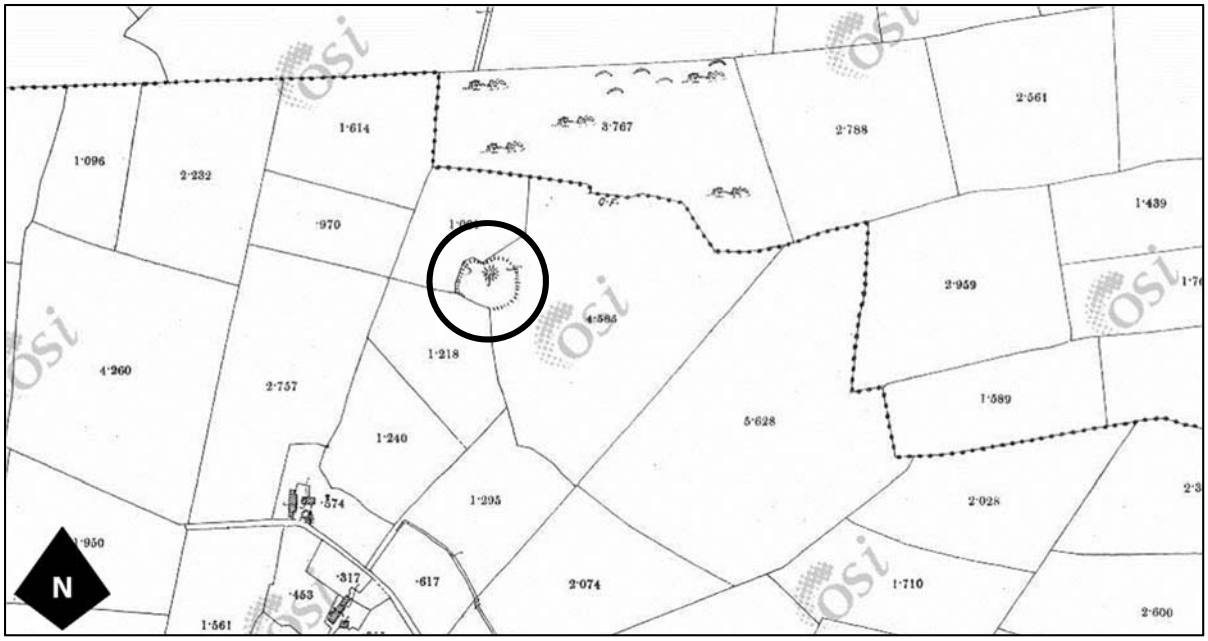


Figure 367. Second edition OS map of Garranlahan Beg townland showing ringfort RO032-017001



Figure 368. Aerial image of Garranlahan Beg townland showing site of ringfort RO032-017001 (GE 2009-16)

6.5.19. Glenmore

Here also, a single example of a ringfort is included in the archaeological record (NMS 2019). However, this structure is not visible on the first edition OS map (1837, 32) that is available for this townland. This ringfort, RO032-061, is shown though on the later revised edition of this map (1895, 32). On this map, it is shown as being bisected by a field boundary running northwest to southeast through the site. This field boundary is still in existence, although no evidence for the recorded monument is visible (DG 2011-3). In any case most of the land to the northeast of this field boundary, where the 'rath, was likely to have been located has since been quarried away. In addition, modern aerial images show this ground to be now backfilled with new soil and so the location of this site should be almost impossible (GE 2018).

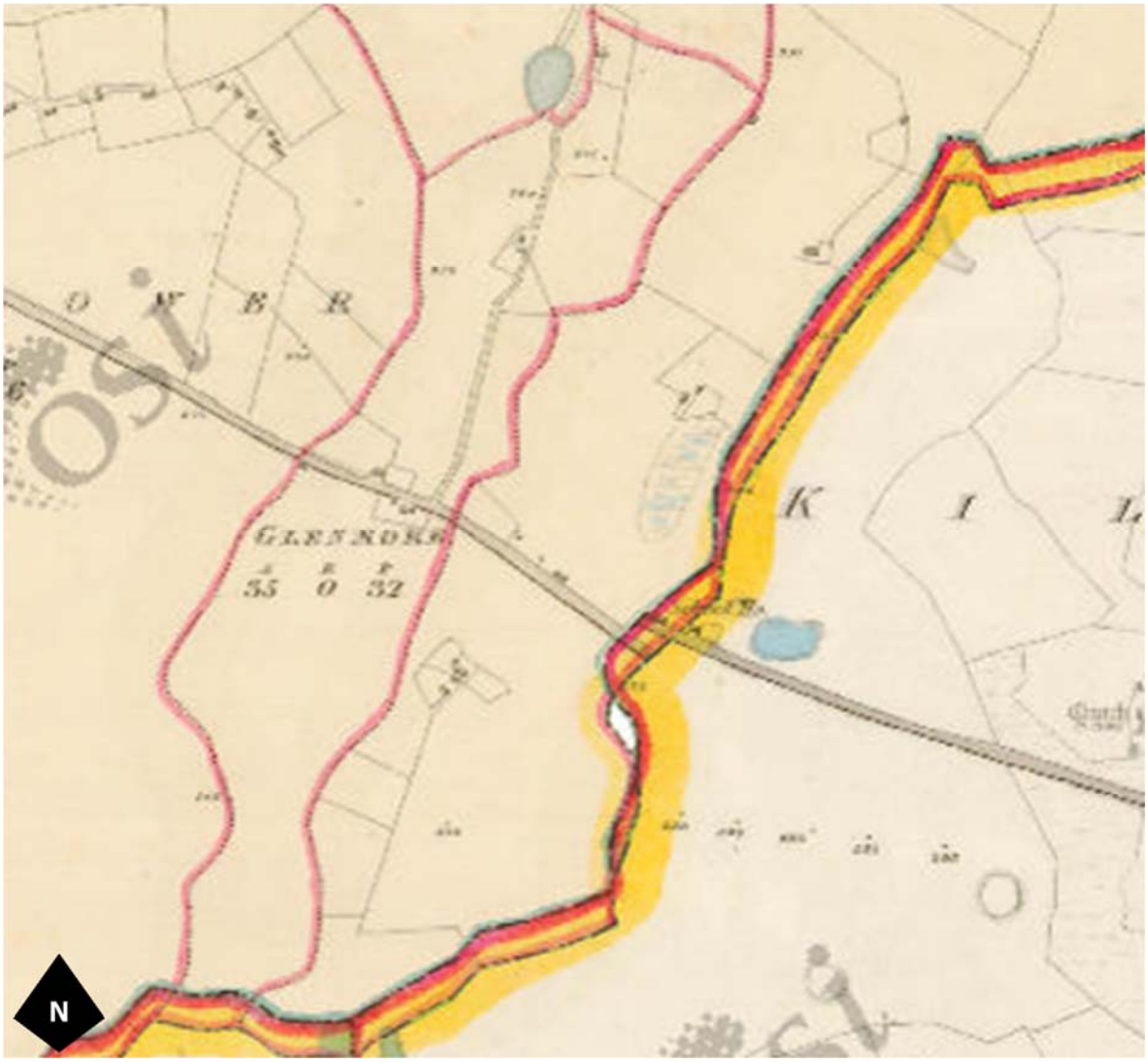


Figure 369. First edition OS map of Glenmore townland

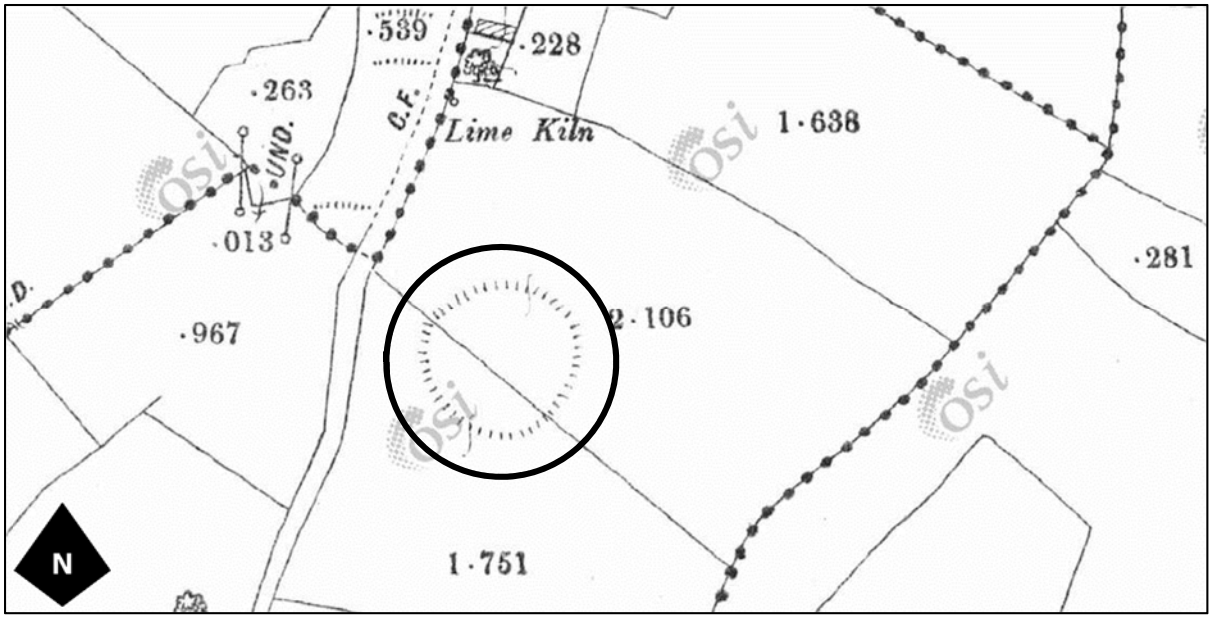


Figure 370. Second edition OS map of Glenmore townland showing ringfort RO032-061



Figure 371. Aerial image of Glenmore townland showing site of ringfort RO032-061 (GE 2018)

6.5.20. Gorteenacammadil

The existence of two ringforts within this townland is recorded in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). The first of these 'raths', RO032-030, however, is not shown on the first edition OS map of the area. It is visible on the later second edition map. Here, it is shown as a large circular feature divided into almost equal portions by a field boundary running northwest – southeast through the site. This ringfort is no longer extant, although the internal dividing wall in still intact and a small arc of the ringfort boundary remains attached at the north-western end. A further segment of the outline of this 'rath' is visible as a partial crop mark on another set of aerial images (DG 2011-3). The second recorded ringfort in this townland, RO032-031, is shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 32) of the area. The local name of the 'rath' is noted as either 'Lirevagh Fort' or 'Lisrebagh Fort'. It is also depicted on the revised second edition, although strangely on this map the structure is shown as a rectangular feature. This structure is still extant and its outline is noted as being 30m by 24m (DG 2011-3).



Figure 372. First edition OS map of Gorteenacammadil townland showing ringfort RO032-031



Figure 373. First edition OS map of Gorteenacammadil townland showing ringfort RO032-031

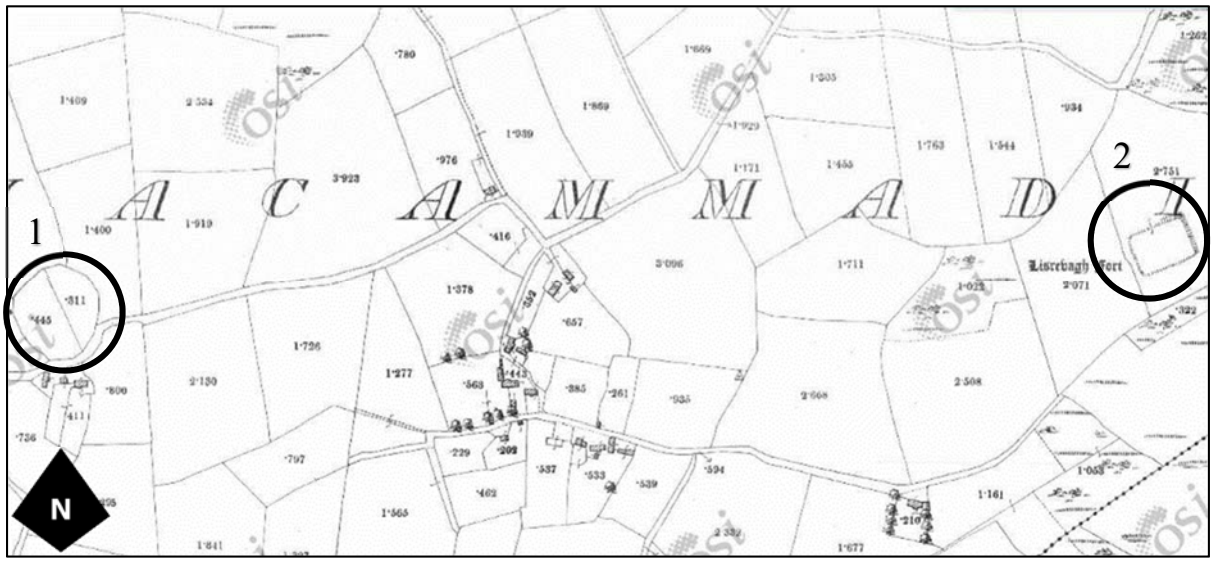


Figure 374. Second edition OS map of Gorteenacammadil townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-030 and 2. RO032-031



Figure 375. Aerial image of Gorteenacammadil townland showing ringfort RO032-031 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 376. Aerial image of Gorteenacammadil townland showing site of ringfort RO032-030 (DG 2011-3)

6.5.21. Grange

In this townland, also there is just a single example of a ringfort contained in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). This 'rath', RO025-025, is visible on the first edition OS map (1837, 25) of the area. It is also depicted on the revised second edition of this map. However, on this version, this ringfort is shown as being truncated to the east and to the south-west. This suggests that some level of interference with this structure occurred during the period between the makings of these two maps. This structure is no longer extant (DG 2011-3). Nevertheless, a crop mark detailing the outline of this feature, and the internal disturbance caused by quarrying, is clearly visible on recent aerial images (GE 2009-2016).

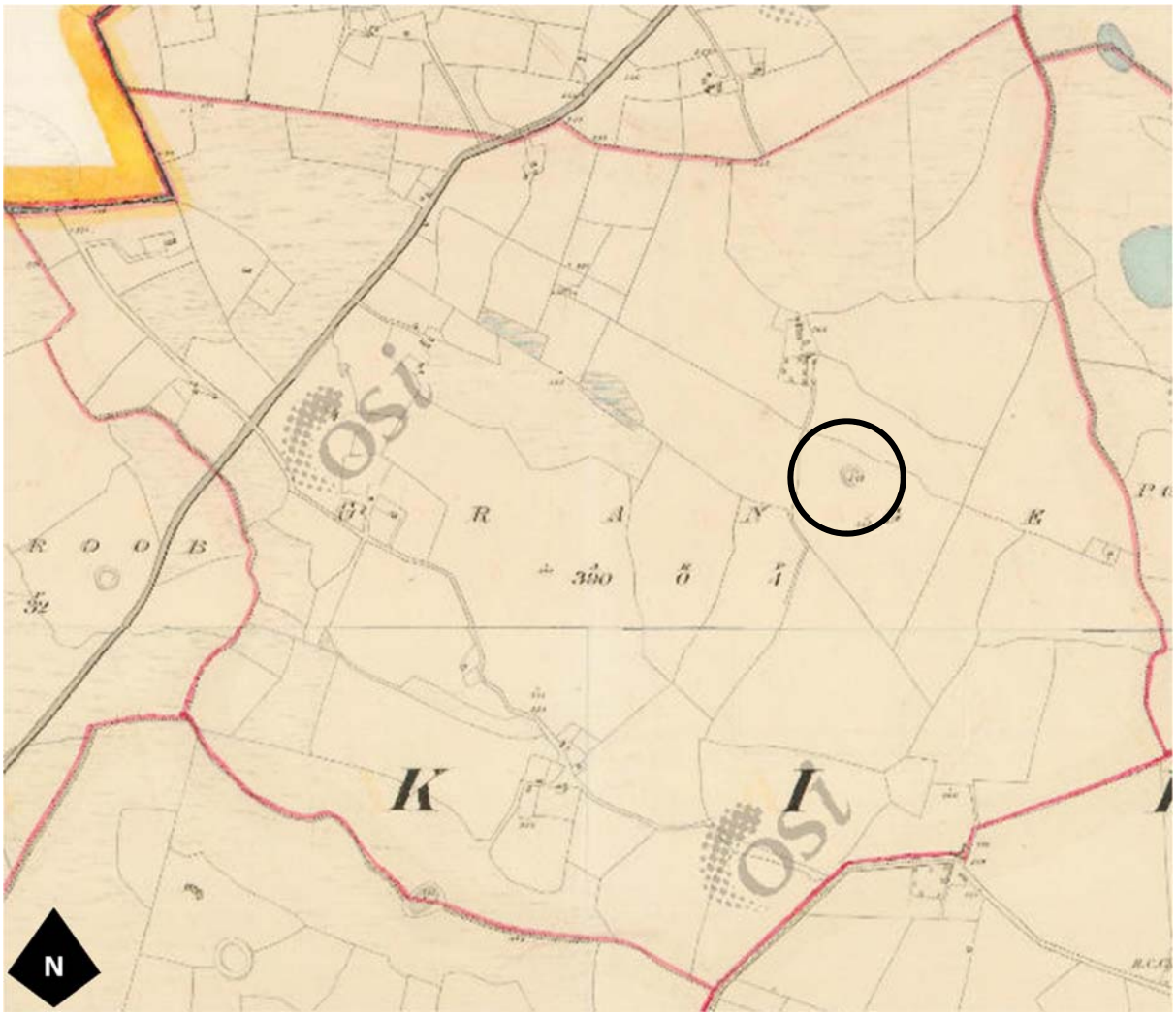


Figure 377. First edition OS map of Grange townland showing ringfort RO025-025

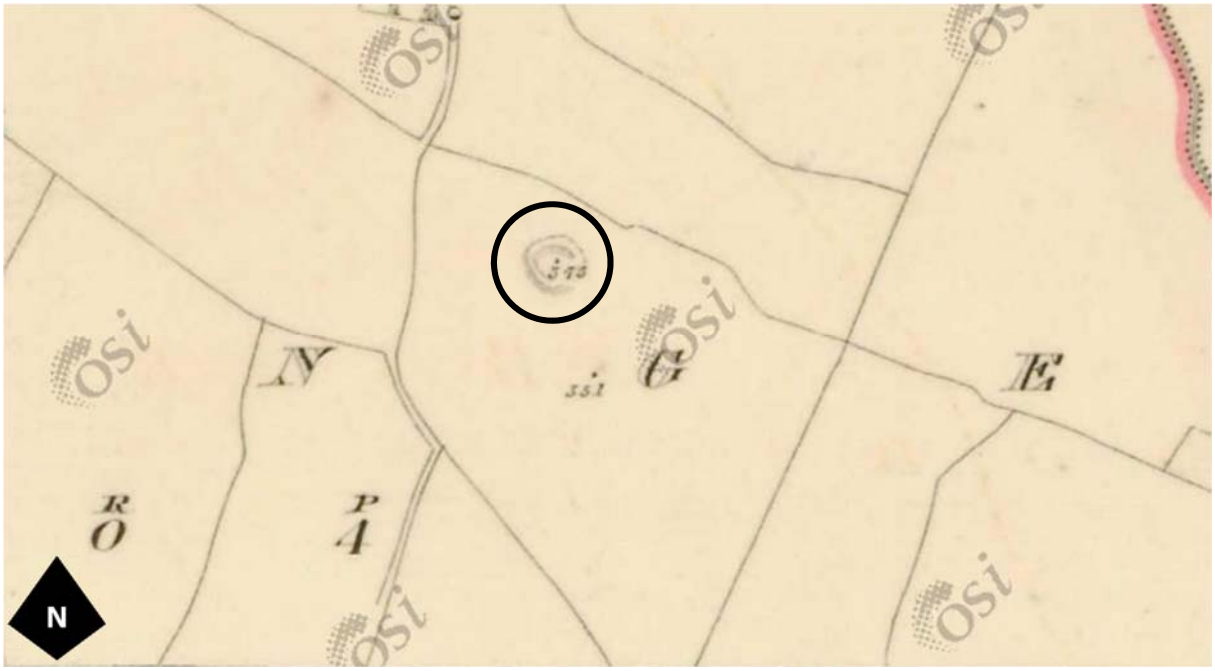


Figure 378. First edition OS map of Grange townland showing ringfort RO025-025

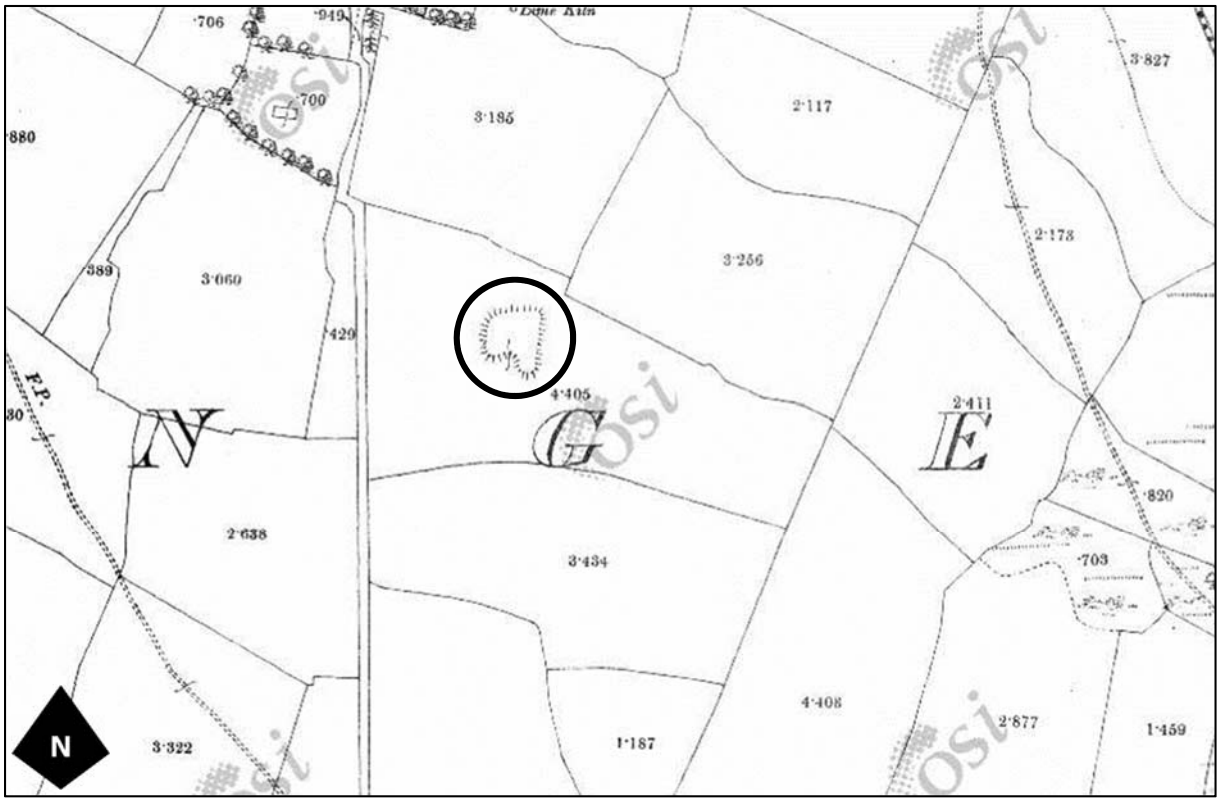


Figure 379. Second edition OS map of Grange townland showing ringfort RO025-025



Figure 380. Aerial image of Grange townland showing site of ringfort RO025-025 (GE 2009-16).

6.5.22. Keyfield

The archaeological record for this townland mentions the existence of a single ringfort, RO026-059, within its boundaries (NMS 2019). This structure is shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 26) that is available for this area. On the later revised second edition of this map only a hachured arc indicating the northwest section of the enclosure is visible, along with the notation of 'Fort (Remains of)'. This is an indication that to all intents this structure was seriously degraded at some point prior to the creation of this map. In addition, this area is now traversed by a field boundary that runs in a north-northeast to south-south-west direction. Perhaps unsurprisingly, this ringfort is no longer extant (DG 2011-3). Although the arc, mentioned above, and the remainder of the outline, southeast of the field boundary, are visible on modern aerial imagery (GE 2010).

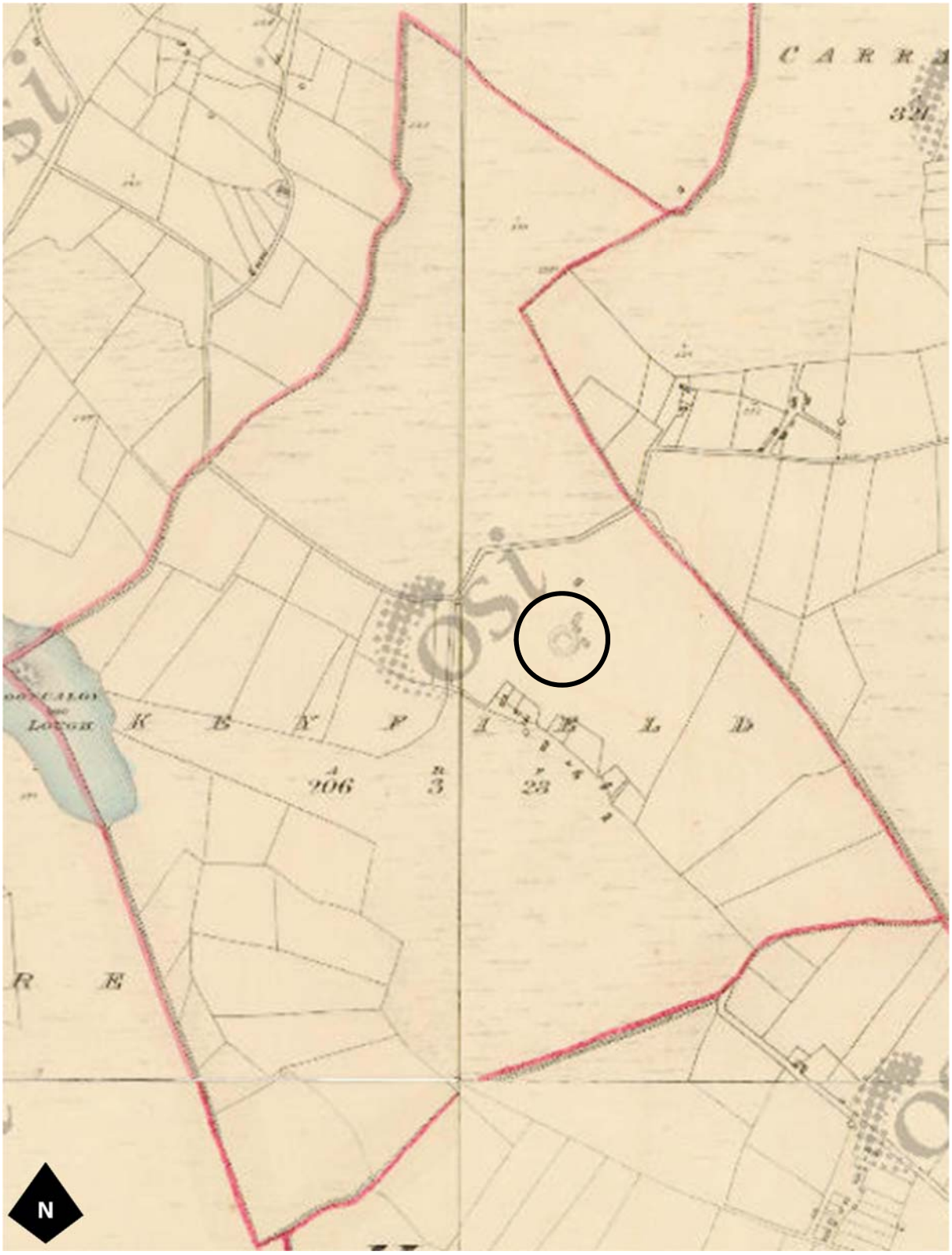


Figure 381. First edition OS map of Keyfield townland showing ringfort RO026-059

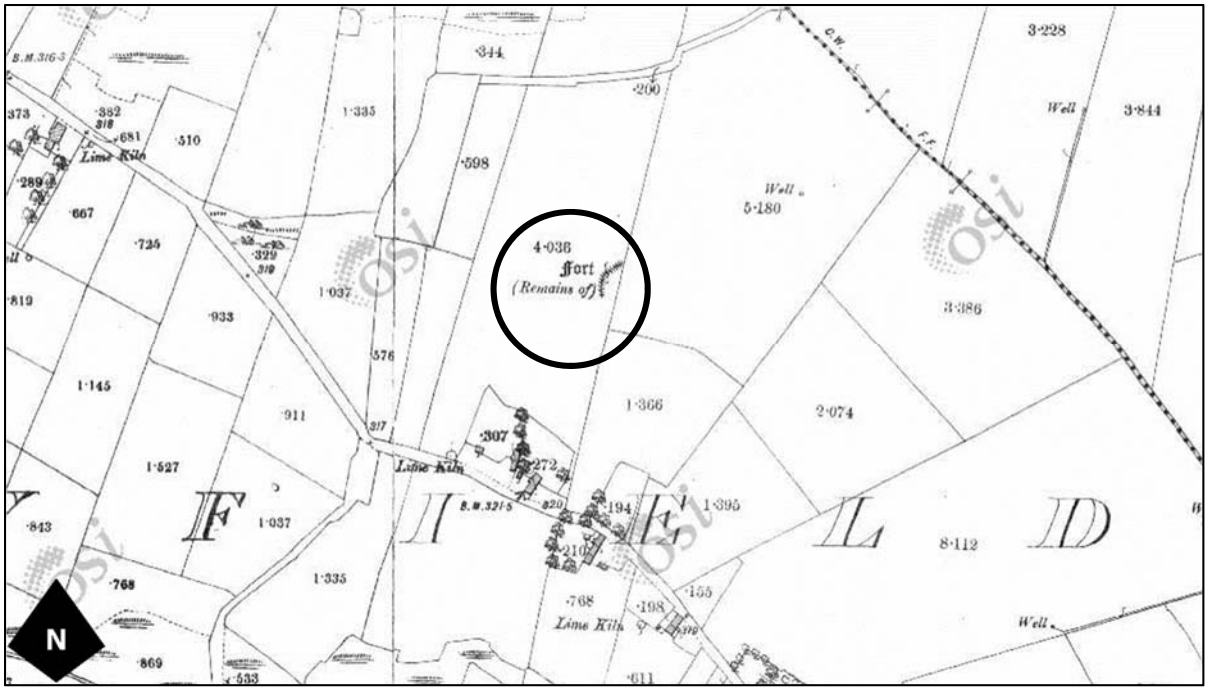


Figure 382. Second edition OS map of Keyfield townland showing site of ringfort RO026-059



Figure 383. Aerial image of Keyfield townland showing site of ringfort RO026-059 (GE 2010)

6.5.23. Lisnagroob

The archaeological record refers to the existence of one ringfort in this townland (NMS 2019). This rath, RO025-024, is visible on the first edition OS map (1837, 25) that covers the area. A portion of this structure is still visible on the revised second edition map. Here, it is shown with a section of an outer scarp visible outside the southwest part of the rath. In addition, a large part of the structure, located to the northeast of a dividing field boundary had been removed at this stage. This structure is presently no longer extant (DG 2011-3). Although, the outline of this feature is visible as a crop mark at its recorded location. It is also defined by the presence of an arc of trees at the southwest boundary of the site (GE 2016).

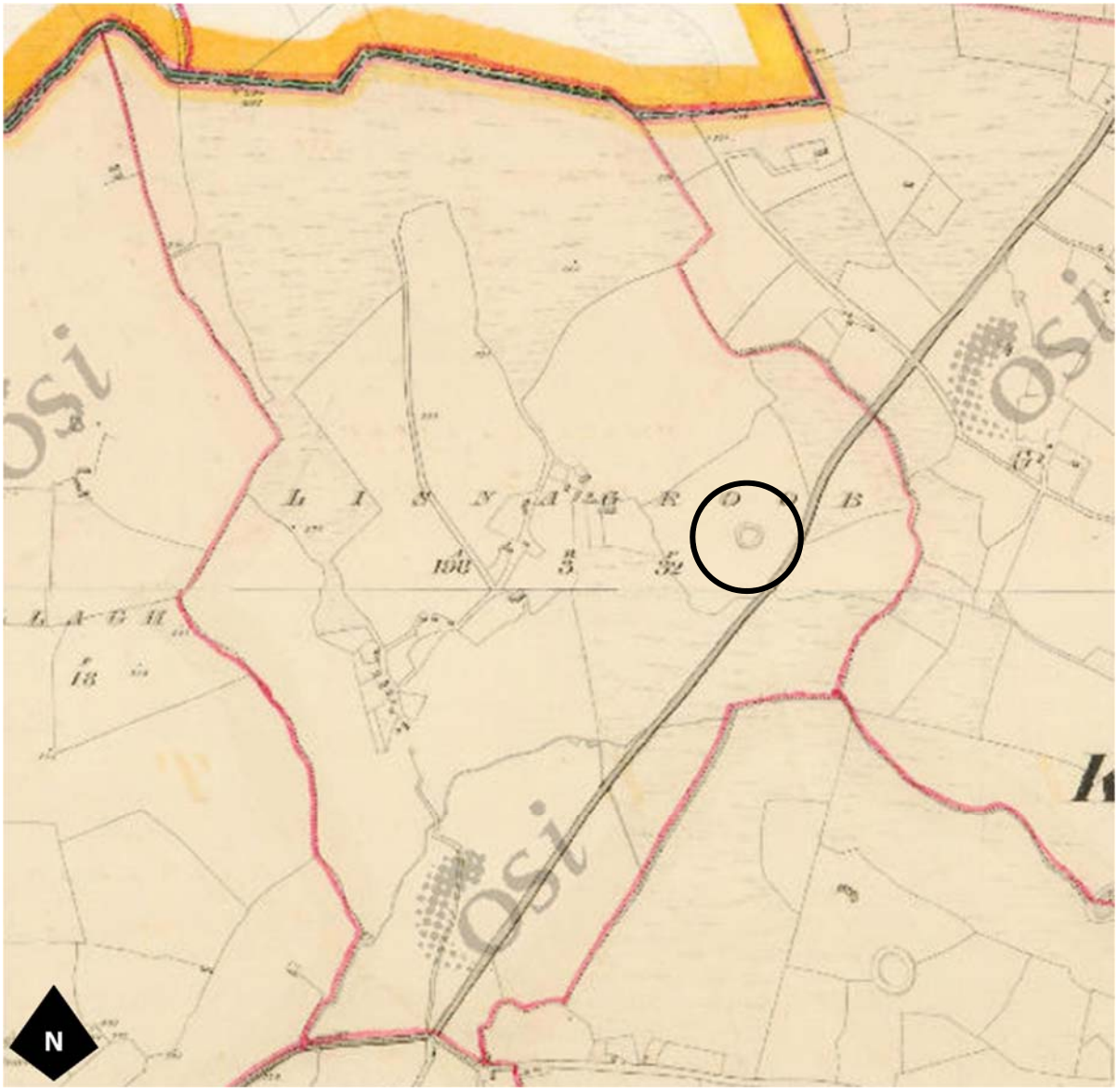


Figure 384. First edition OS map of Lisnagroob townland showing ringfort RO025-024

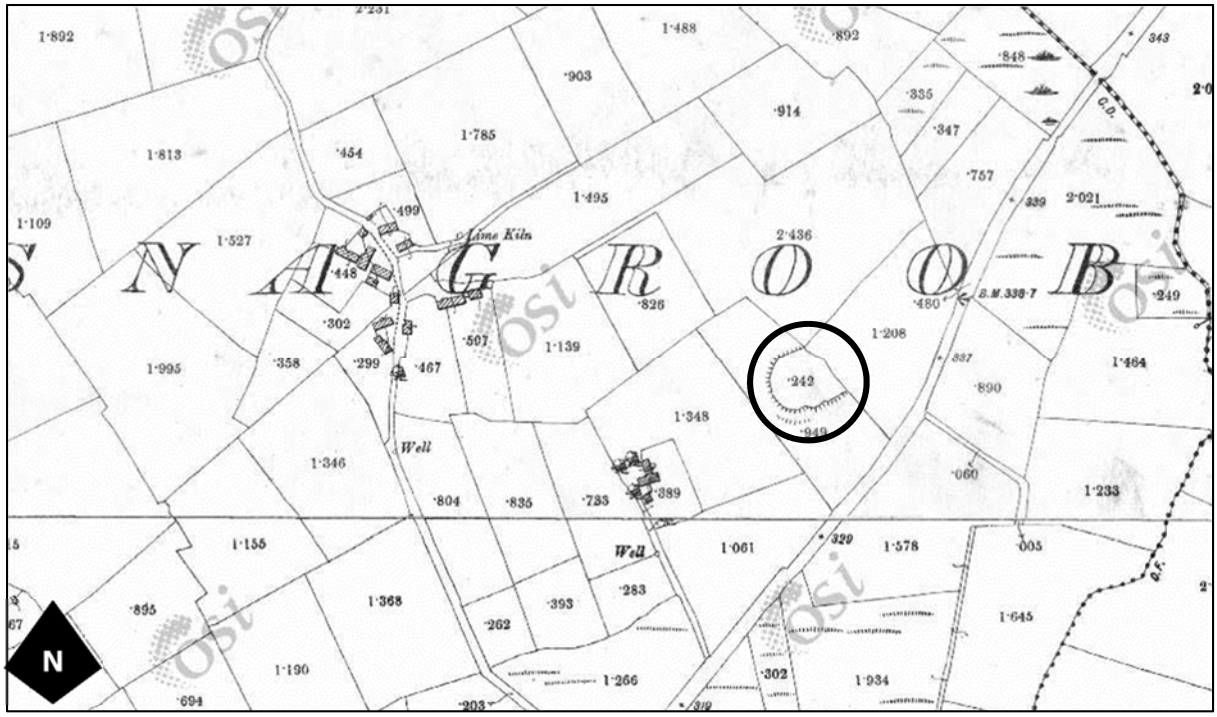


Figure 385. Second edition OS map of Lisnagroob townland showing ringfort RO025-024



Figure 386. Aerial image of Lisnagroob townland showing site of ringfort RO025-024 (GE 2016)

6.5.24. Moanvane

Three ringforts are recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). The first of these raths, RO032-018, is depicted on the first edition OS map that covers this area. It is also shown on the later revised second edition OS map. Indeed, this structure is still extant and is visible as a low relief feature on modern aerial images (DG 2011-3). The second of these raths, RO032-019, is also visible on the first edition OS map (1837, 32) of the townland. On this map, it is referred to as 'Moanvane Fort' and is shown as bisected by a north-south running field boundary. It is also depicted on the later revised edition of this map (1895, 32). Here, the structure is shown as having an addition of an entrance at the south. This structure, too, is presently visible as a low relief feature (DG 2011-3). The final recorded rath here, RO032-020, is shown on the first OS map as being located in the southwest corner of the townland. It is also visible on the revised second edition map of this same area. This rath is presently visible on modern aerial images as a low relief feature that is defined, in part, by a tree ring.

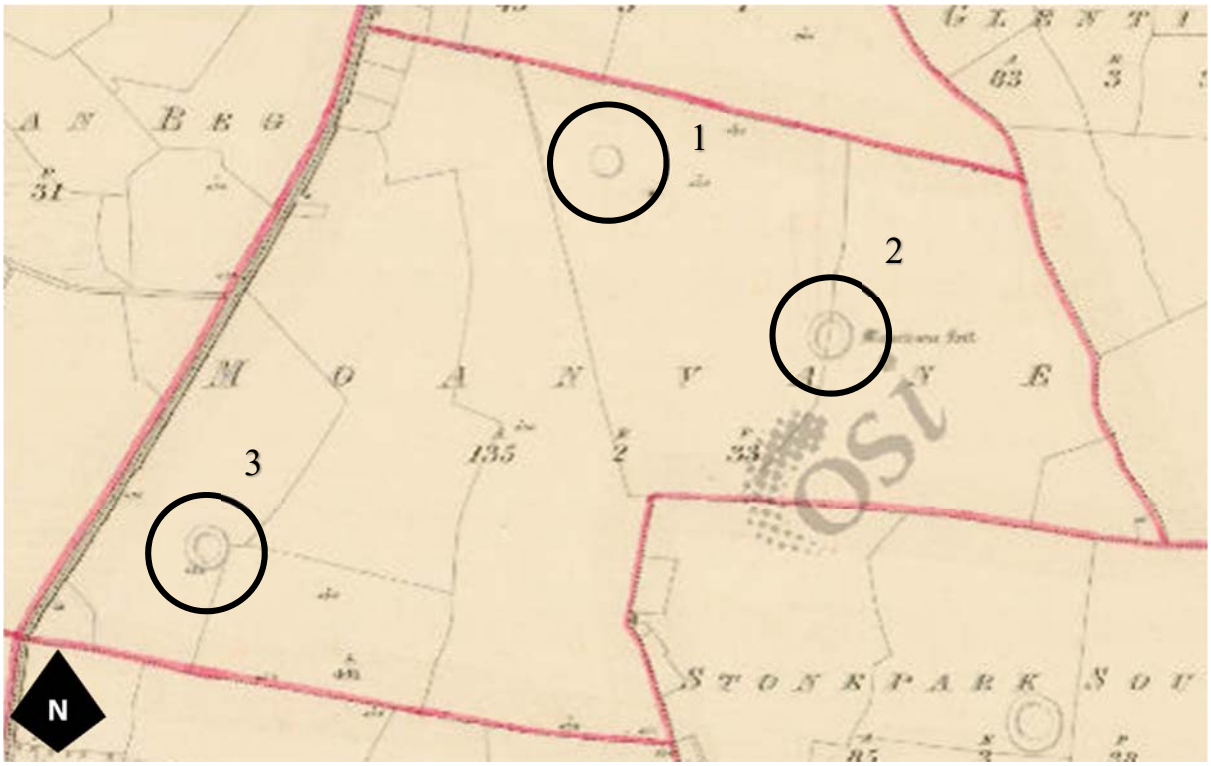


Figure 387. First edition OS map of Moanvane townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-018, 2. RO032-019 and 3. RO032-020

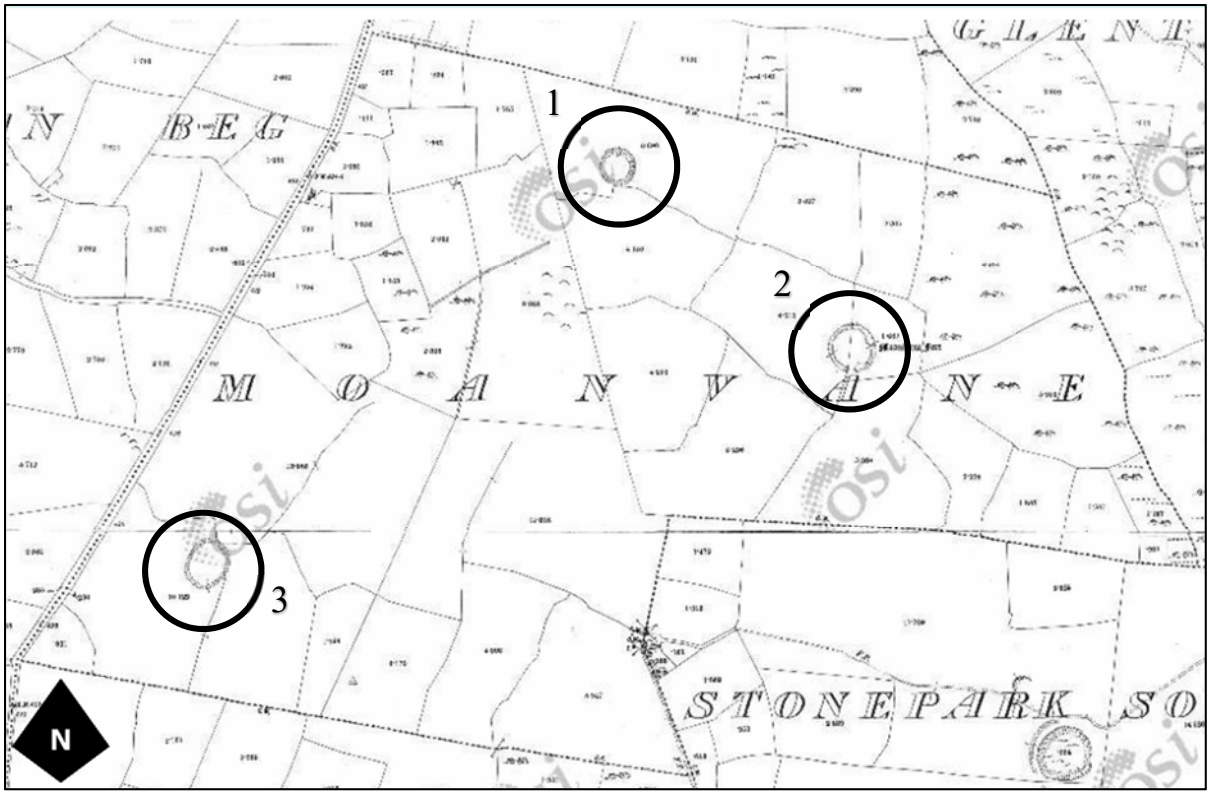


Figure 388. Second edition OS map of Moanvane townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-018, 2. RO032-019 and 3. RO032-020



Figure 389. Aerial image of Moanvane townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-018, 2. RO032-019 and 3. RO032-020

6.5.25. Moigh Upper

Reference to the existence of two ringforts in this townland are contained in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). One of these raths, RO032-003, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 32) of the area. Here, it is referred to as 'Lisheenabanragh Fort', which is possibly a corrupted spelling of 'Lisheenabanrígh'. This appellation usually has a mythological connotation as it translates as Small Fort of the Queen. Strangely then, the northwest of this structure is shown on this version of OS map as being truncated by a short stretch of a field boundary. On the later revised edition of this map (1895, 32) this field boundary is more clearly defined, as is the position of the rath on a spur of high ground overlooking seasonal wetland. This structure is presently extant and can be seen on aerial imagery as a low relief feature whose outline is defined by scrub (GE 2009-18; DG 2011-3). The second recorded feature in this townland, RO032-071, is actually located on the other side of the northwest boundary of this townland. As such, it is located in the neighbouring county of Mayo and will not be included in this study.

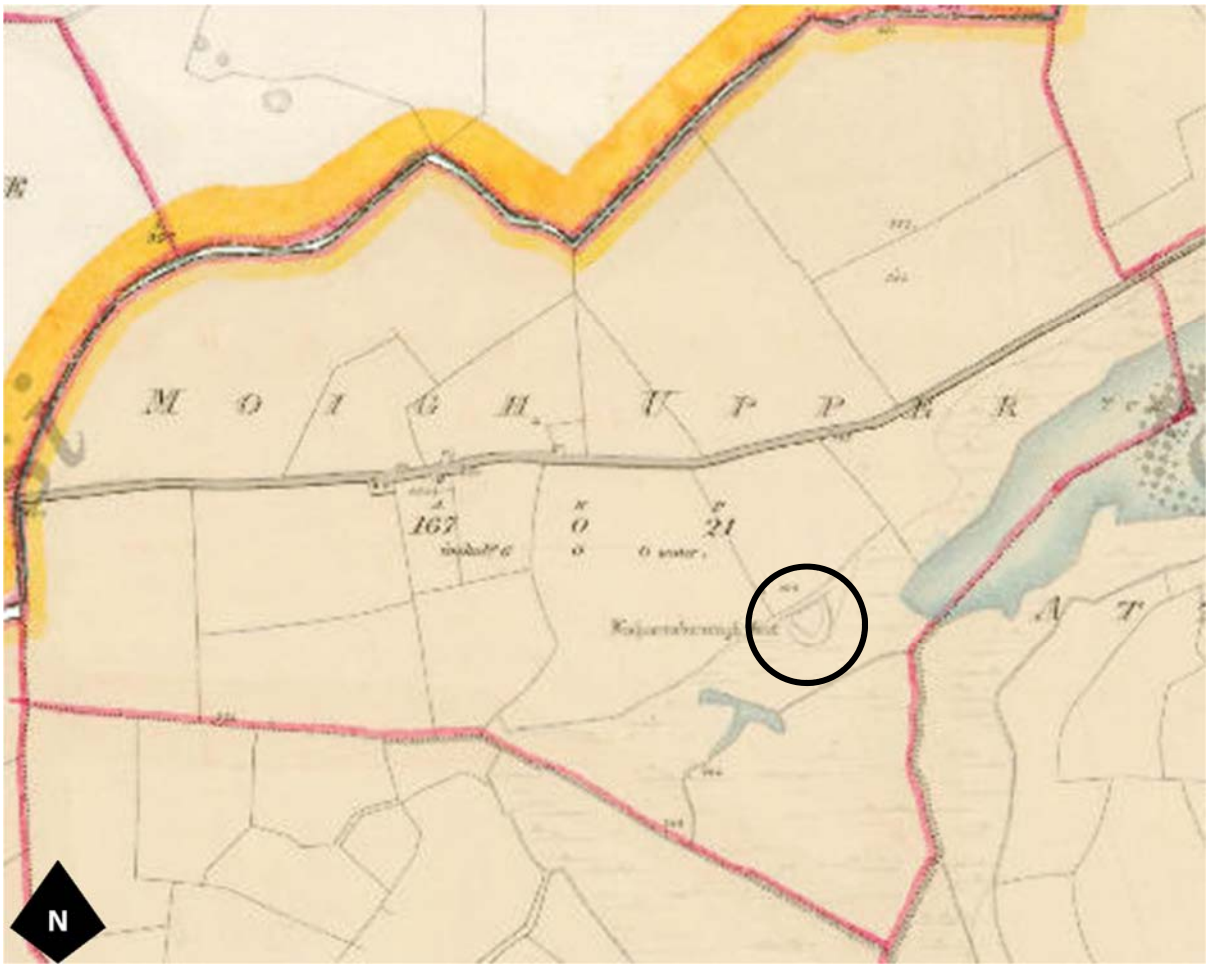


Figure 390. First edition OS map of Moigh Upper townland showing ringfort RO032-003

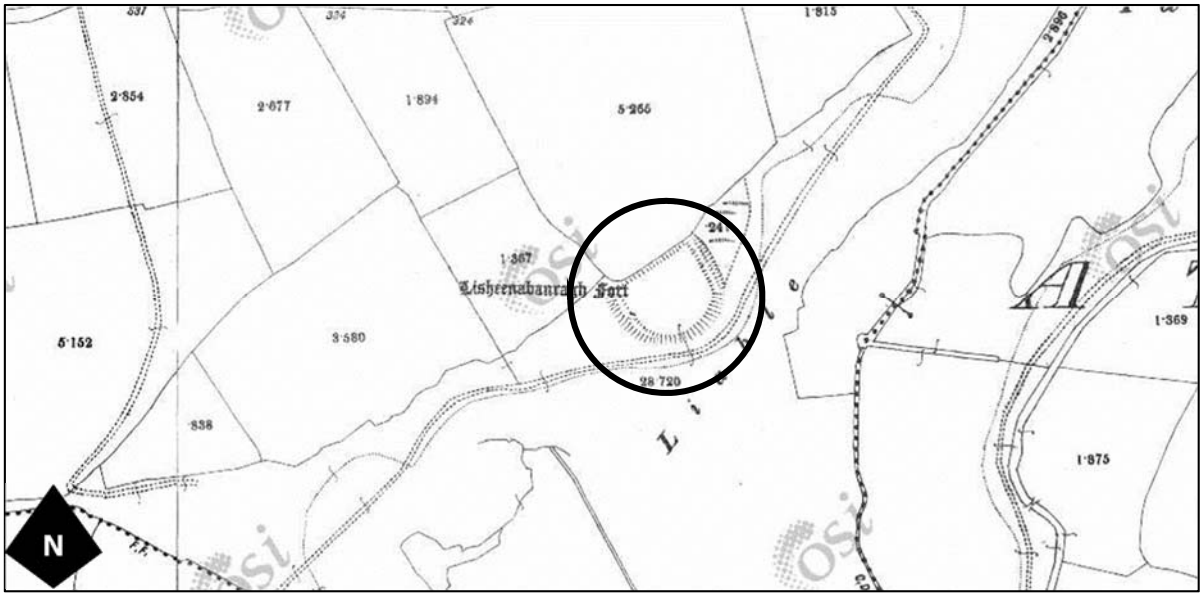


Figure 391. Second edition OS map of Moigh Upper townland showing ringfort RO032-003



Figure 392. Aerial image of Moigh Upper Upper townland showing ringfort RO032-003 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 393. Aerial image of Moigh Upper townland (GE 2009-18)

6.5.26. Pollanarroo

Reference to the existence of two ringforts in this townland are contained in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). The first of these 'raths', RO032-052, is shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 32) of the area. On the later revised edition of this map, it is still visible but is shown as being traversed by a field boundary in its southern sector. A comparison of these two maps clearly shows that a complete change in field layout had occurred during the intervening period. Thus suggesting that this interference with this structure may be a comparatively recent occurrence. The same may be said in regards to the second of the recorded ringforts, RO32-053, in this townland. This structure is also shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 32), where a field boundary is visible traversing along its northern boundary. On the revised second edition, this structure is more clearly defined, with the fosse especially more visible. Although here too a part of the 'rath' is traversed by a field boundary, this time at the east of the site. Thankfully, despite these interferences both these structures are still visible on modern aerial

images (GE 2009-18). However, in modern times an element of field enlargement has been carried out. These images show RO032-052 as a low relief feature and a comparison of the different surveys highlights the removal over time of some of the sparse vegetation by which the outline had been defined. The other structure, RO032-053, is visible as a ow relief feature that is defined by a tree ring and a section of the fosse to the south



Figure 394. First edition OS map of Pollanarroo townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-052 and 2. RO032-053

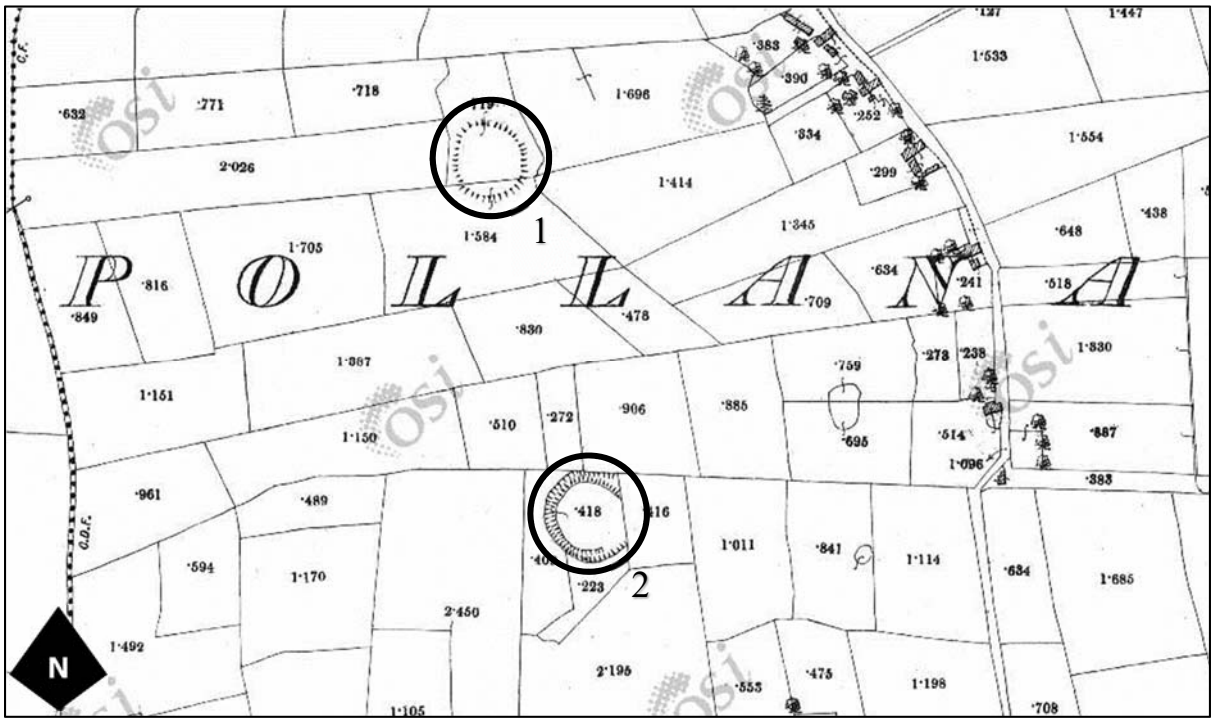


Figure 395. Second edition OS map of Pollanarroo townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-052 and 2. RO032-053



Figure 396. Aerial image of Pollanarroo townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-052 and 2. RO032-053 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 397. Aerial image of Pollanarroo townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-052 and 2. RO032-053 (GE 2009)

6.5.27. Rathlena

As might be expected because of this place name, several examples of 'raths' are present here. In all, the presence of four ringforts recorded in the archaeological record for this townland (NMS 2019). The most northerly located of these, RO032-042, is shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 32) of the area. In this version, the southwest, south and east of this structure has now been incorporated into a range of field boundaries. It is also to be seen on the revised second edition. However, in this version, the level of interference is more visible and is suggestive of an already severe level of disturbance. No above ground evidence remains visible at this recorded site. However, the field boundaries previously mentioned remain in place and the remainder of the structure is visible as a crop mark (GE 2009). The second of these 'raths', RO032-044, is also shown on the first edition OS map of the area. On this, it is referred to as

'Lisnamoe Fort'. On the later revised editions this ringfort is still visible, though now skirted by a field boundary to the east, and indeed it is still extant (GE 2009-18; DG 2011-3).

The third of these features, RO032-045001, is also depicted on the firsts available OS map as 'Lisheen Fort'. It is again visible on the later revised editions of this map. Although on these, the western bank has been incorporated into a field boundary. This structure remains extant as a low relief feature, whose outline is partially defined by a tree ring (DG 2011-3). The final recorded rath in this townland is again depicted on the first edition OS map (1837, 32). On this map, this structure is shown linked with a road to the east by a small laneway. Another passageway links this ringfort with fields to the west. This ringfort is also depicted on the later revised editions of this OS map. Indeed, and thankfully, this structure is still extant and is defined on recent aerial images by a double circumference of trees (GE 2009-18). In addition, one of the ringforts from this townland seems to be visible on a black and white aerial photograph from the 1960s (CUCAP: BDK090, 1970). On this website the site is noted as 'Rathlena', Ballinlough, Co. Roscommon.



Figure 398. First edition OS map of Rathlena townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-042, 2. RO032-044, 3. RO032-045001 and 4. RO032-047

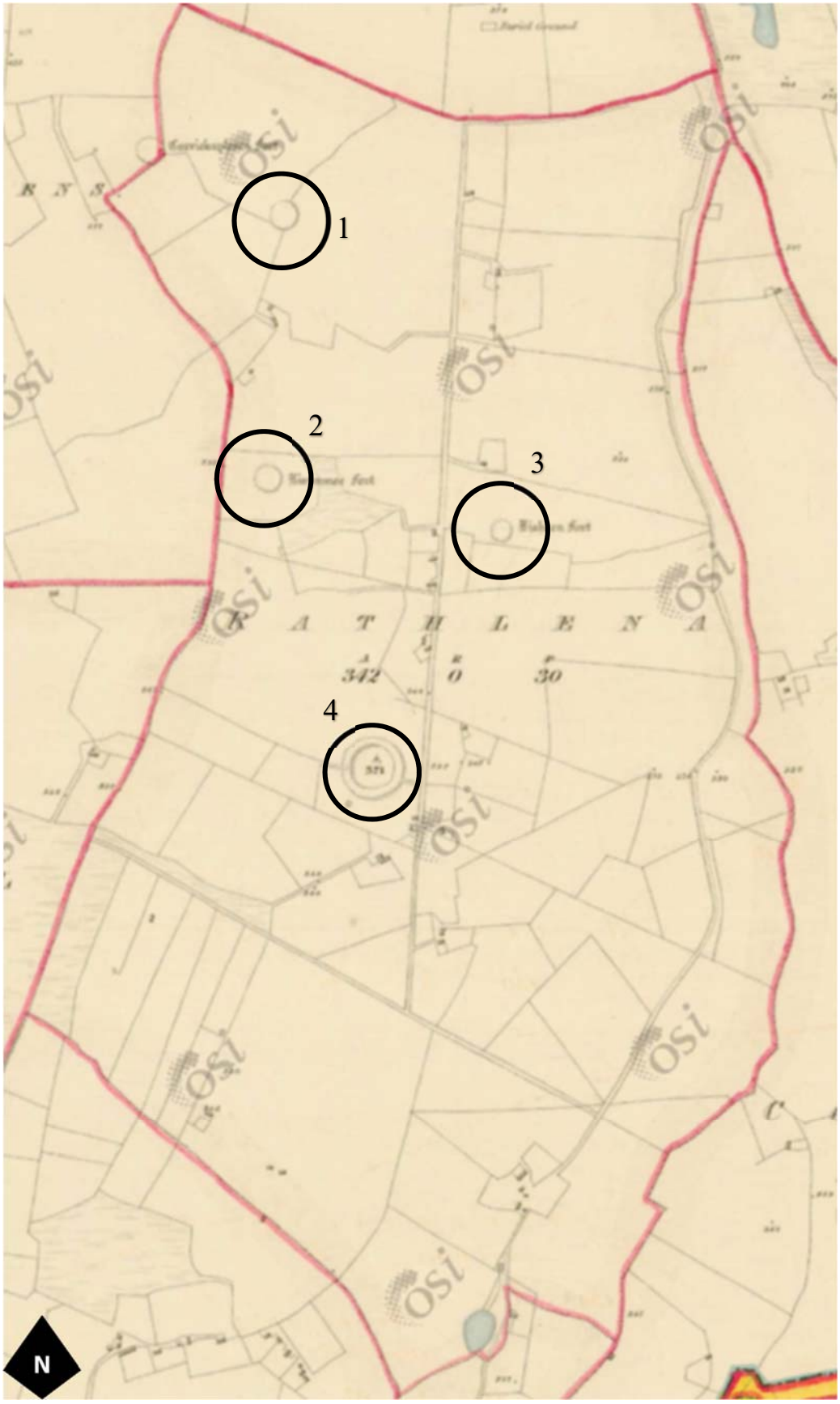


Figure 399. First edition OS map of Rathlena townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-042, 2. RO032-044, 3. RO032-045001 and 4. RO032-047

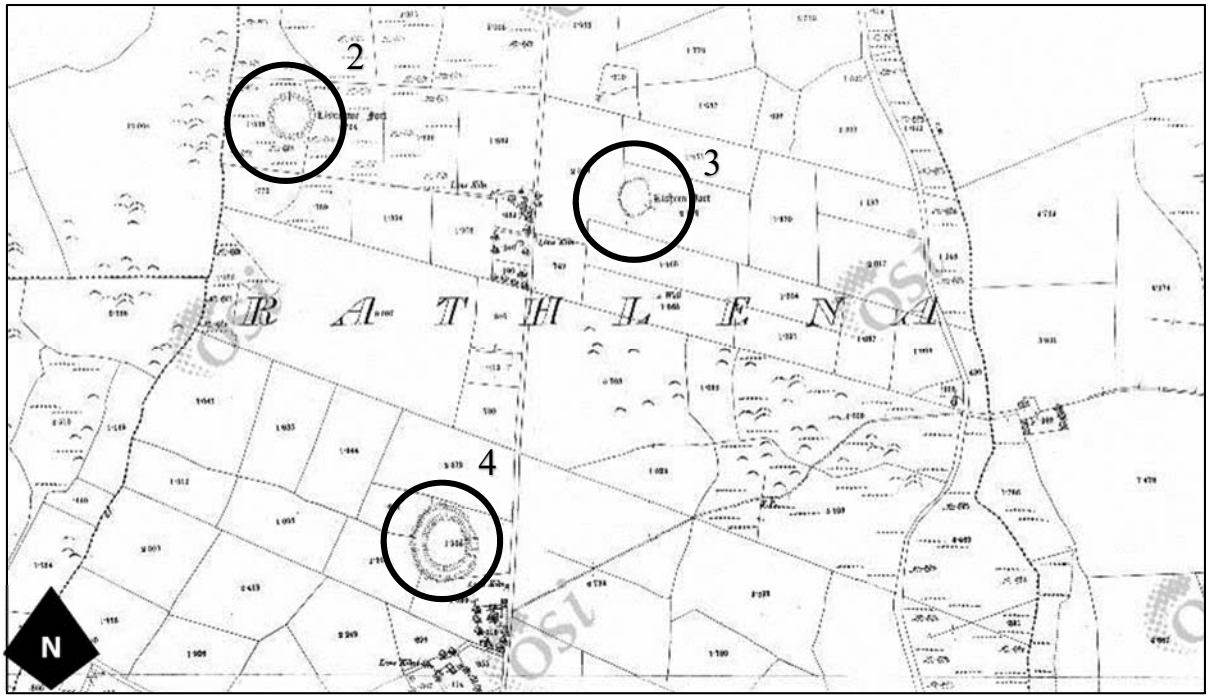


Figure 400. Second edition OS map of Rathlena townland showing ringforts 2. RO032-044, 3. RO032-045001 and 4. RO032-047

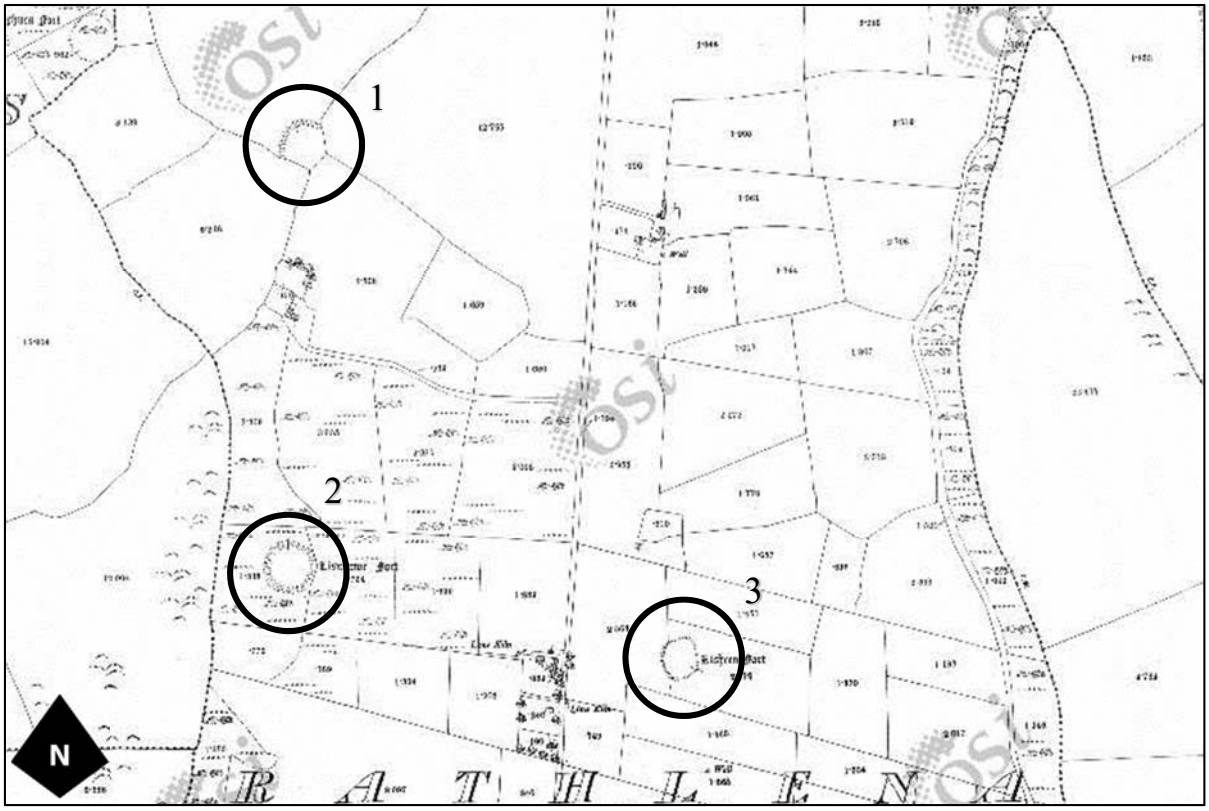


Figure 401. Second edition OS map of Rathlena townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-042, 2. RO032-044 and 3. RO032-045001



Figure 402. CUCAP aerial image of Rathlena townland (BDK090, 1970)



Figure 403. Aerial image of Rathlena townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-042, 2. RO032-044, 3. RO032-045001 and 4. RO032-04 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 404. Aerial image of Rathlena townland showing ringforts 2. RO032-044, 3. RO032-045001 and 4. RO032-047 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 405. Aerial image of Rathlena townland showing ringforts 1. RO032-042 and 2. RO032-044 (DG 2011-3)

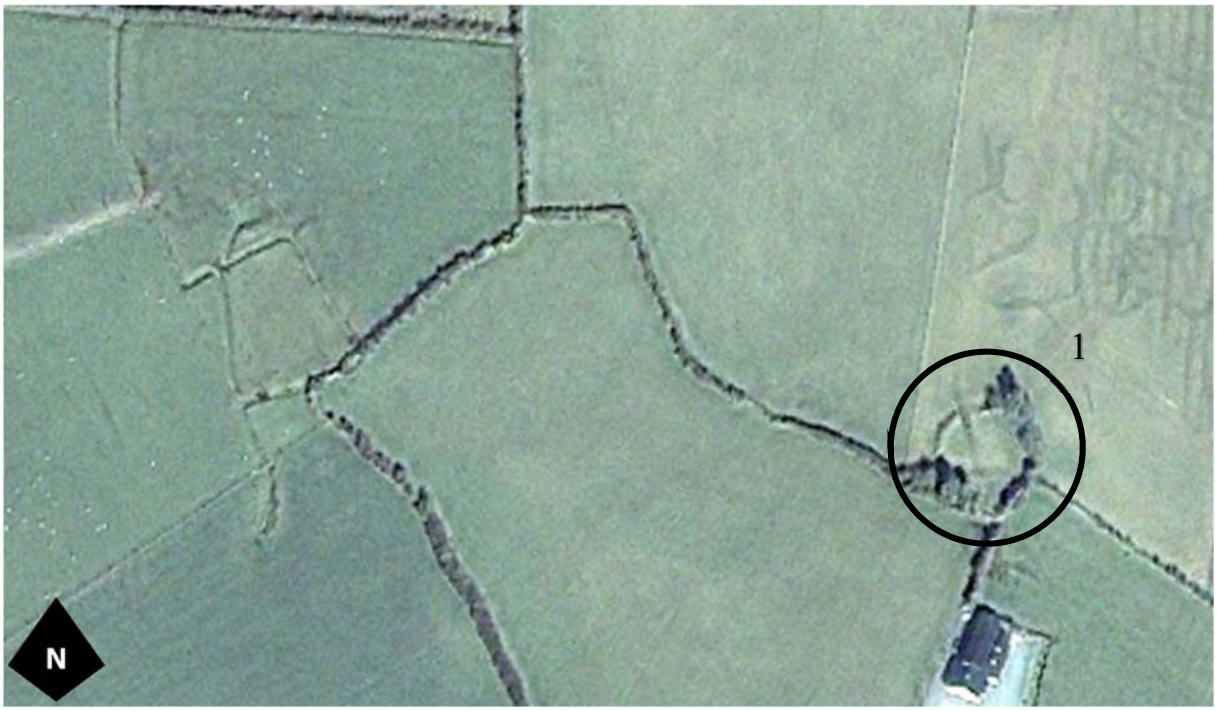


Figure 406. Aerial image of Rathlena townland showing ringfort 1. RO032-042 (GE 2009)

6.5.28. Spring Gardens

The presence of a ringfort in this townland is shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 32) that is available. However, this structure, RO032-041, is mentioned in the database as being located between this townland and the above-mentioned Rathlena. That said it is clearly visible in the maps sources that the townland division passes to the east and south of this structure and as such it should be included with this townland for this study. This ringfort is also visible on the later revised second edition OS map (1895, 32), where it is also noted as 'Carrikaphuca fort'. Here, the surrounding land is shown as poor marshy ground. It is no longer extant but using the recorded location as a reference a faint crop mark that defines this site is visible on modern aerial imagery (GE 2016). This circular outline is centred on the ITM grid coordinates of 556170-772310 and encloses an area of approximately 32m in diameter. The other structure that is recorded in this townland, RO032-046, is not, however, shown on the first edition OS map (1837, 32). It is shown, however, on the later revised edition located in the southwest corner of the townland. On this map, the structure is shown with part of the western section truncated by a north-south running field boundary. This site is visible on modern aerial imagery, where it is defined by a copse of trees. Although a portion of its northern outline is clearly visible on some images (GE 2016).



Figure 407. First edition OS map of Spring Gardens townland showing ringfort RO032-041

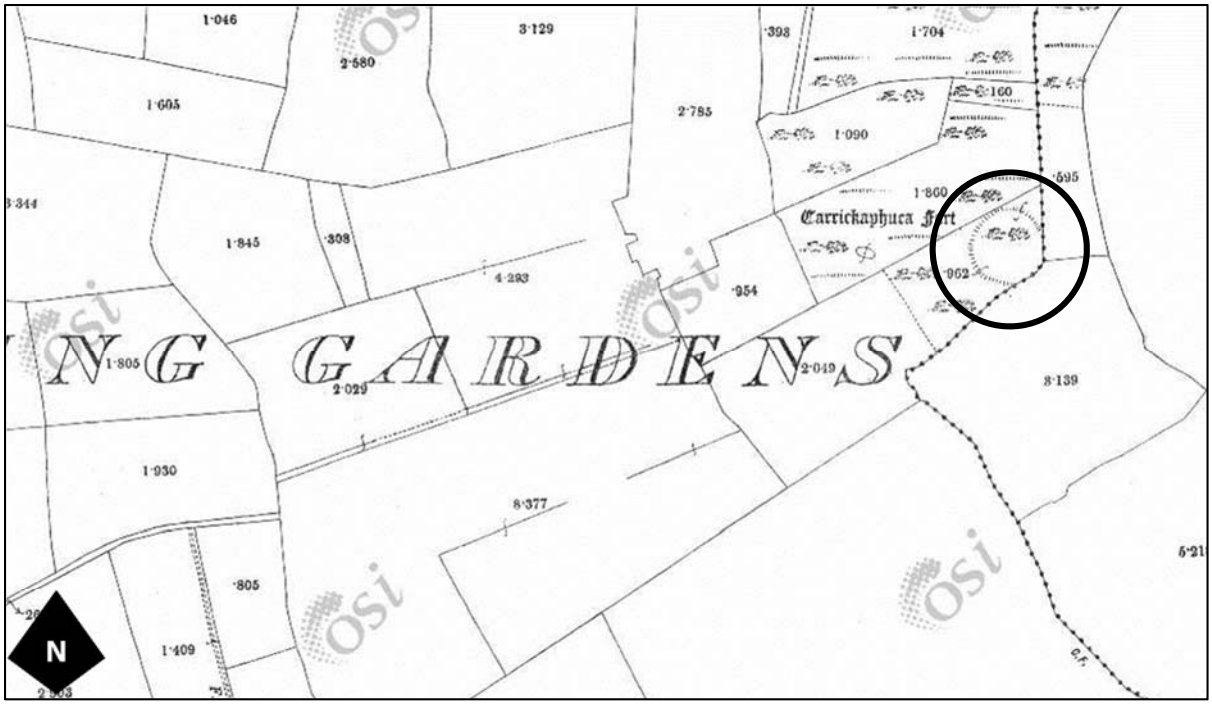


Figure 408. Second edition OS map of Spring Gardens townland showing ringfort RO032-041

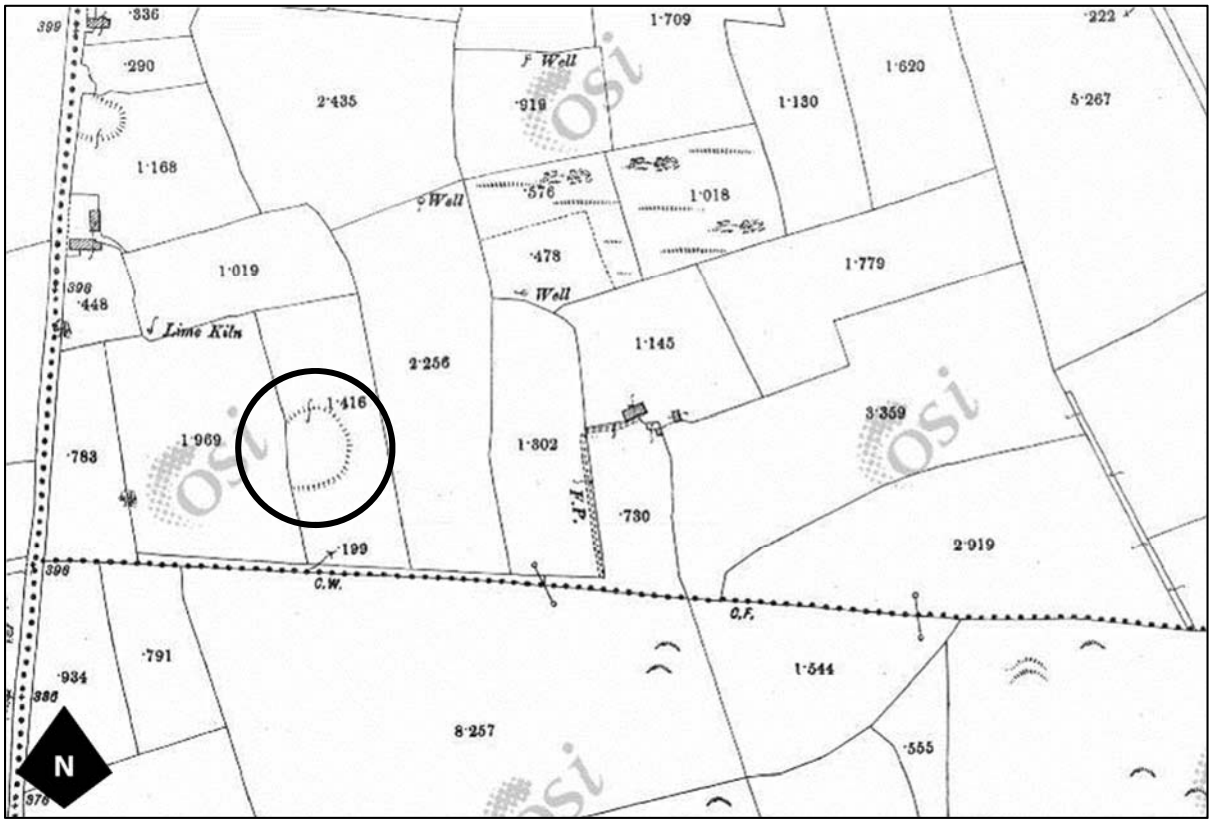


Figure 409. Second edition OS map of Spring Gardens townland showing ringfort RO032-046



Figure 410. Aerial image of Spring Gardens townland showing ringfort 2. RO032-046 and site of ringfort 1. RO032-041 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 411. Aerial image of part of Spring Gardens showing ringfort RO032-046 (GE2016)

6.5.29. Stonepark South

The recorded ringfort in this townland, RO032-023001, is shown as a double ringed enclosure on the firsts edition OS map (1837, 32) of the area. It is more clearly defined on the later revised edition of this map. Here, this structure is depicted with a section of the outer bank to the west and southwest visible. A rectangular enclosure attached to the south of this ringfort is also shown on this map. This region was also covered by aerial surveys carried out by the geography department of Cambridge University. The images of this site show this substantial structure, as well as the enclosure to the south (CUCAP: BDK084 1970). This image may also show that at some stage this enclosure continued eastward and then northward to enclose an area on that side of the ringfort. The ringfort is still visible on modern aerial images but the rectangular enclosure is no longer visible above ground (GE 2016). Although a faint outline of both this and the possible enclosure to the east of the ringfort is visible on this image.

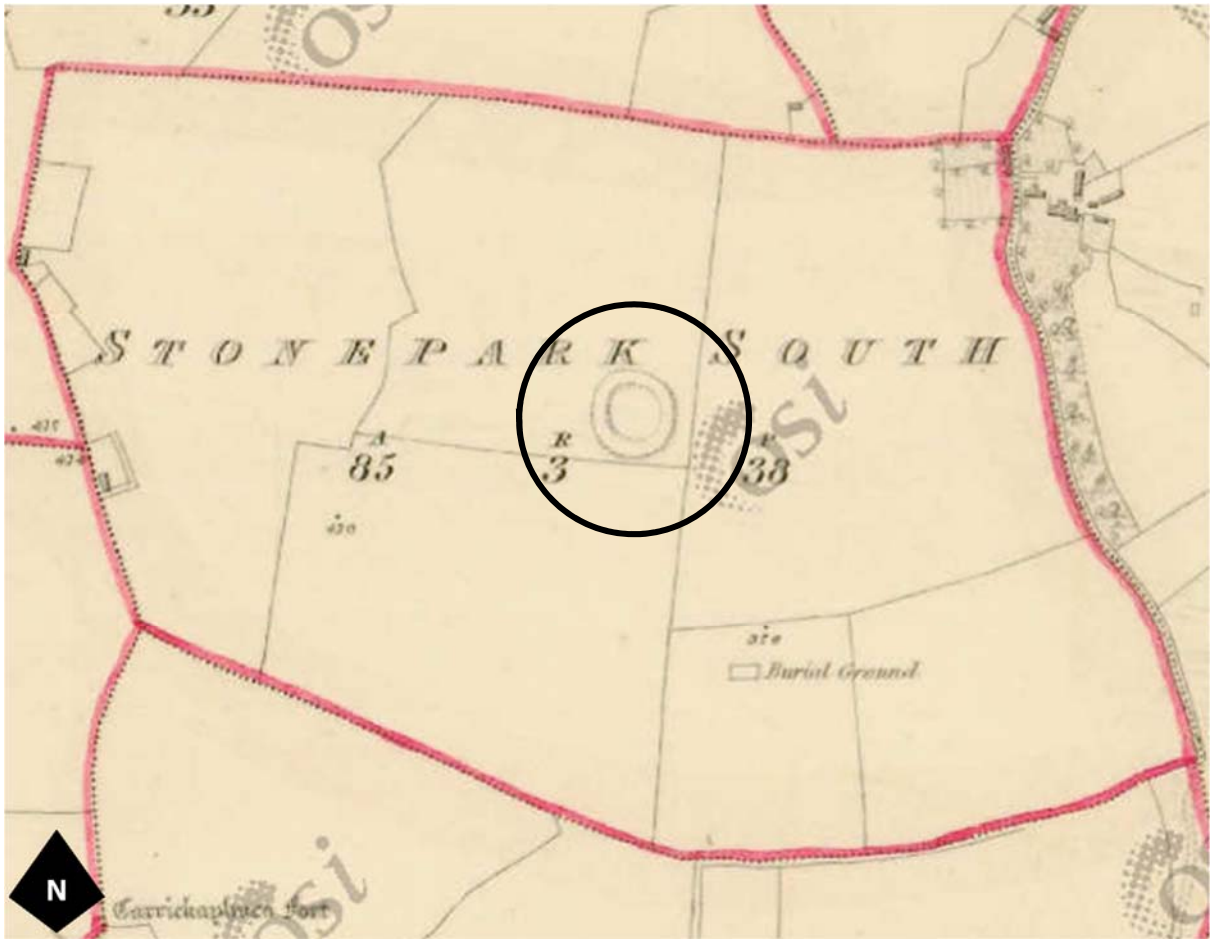


Figure 412. First edition OS map of Stonepark South townland showing ringfort RO032-023001

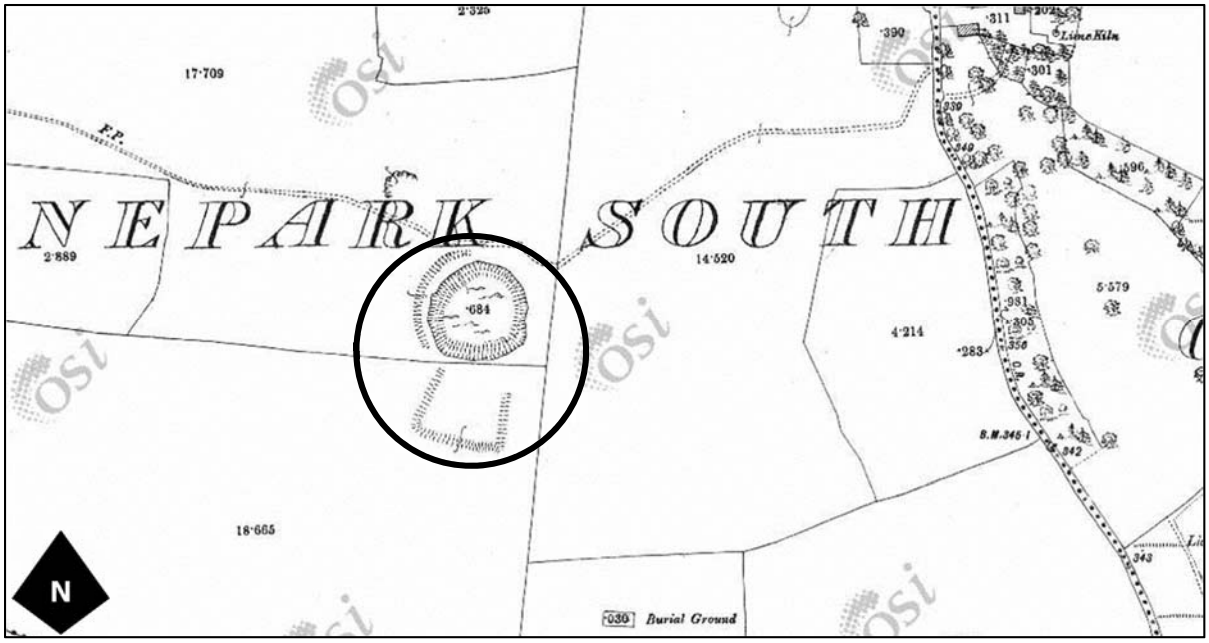


Figure 413. Second edition OS map of Stonepark South townland showing ringfort RO032-023001



Figure 414. CUCAP image of Stonepark South townland showing ringfort RO032-023001 (BDK084 1970)



Figure 415. Aerial image of part of Stonepark South townland showing ringfort RO032-023001 (GE 2016)

CATALOGUE CHAPTER 7:

IBRICKAN, CO. CLARE

23,138.79 HECTARES

Evidence for Ringforts in certain Townlands of the Parishes of Kilfarboy, Killard, Kilmacduane, and Kilmurry, Co. Clare.

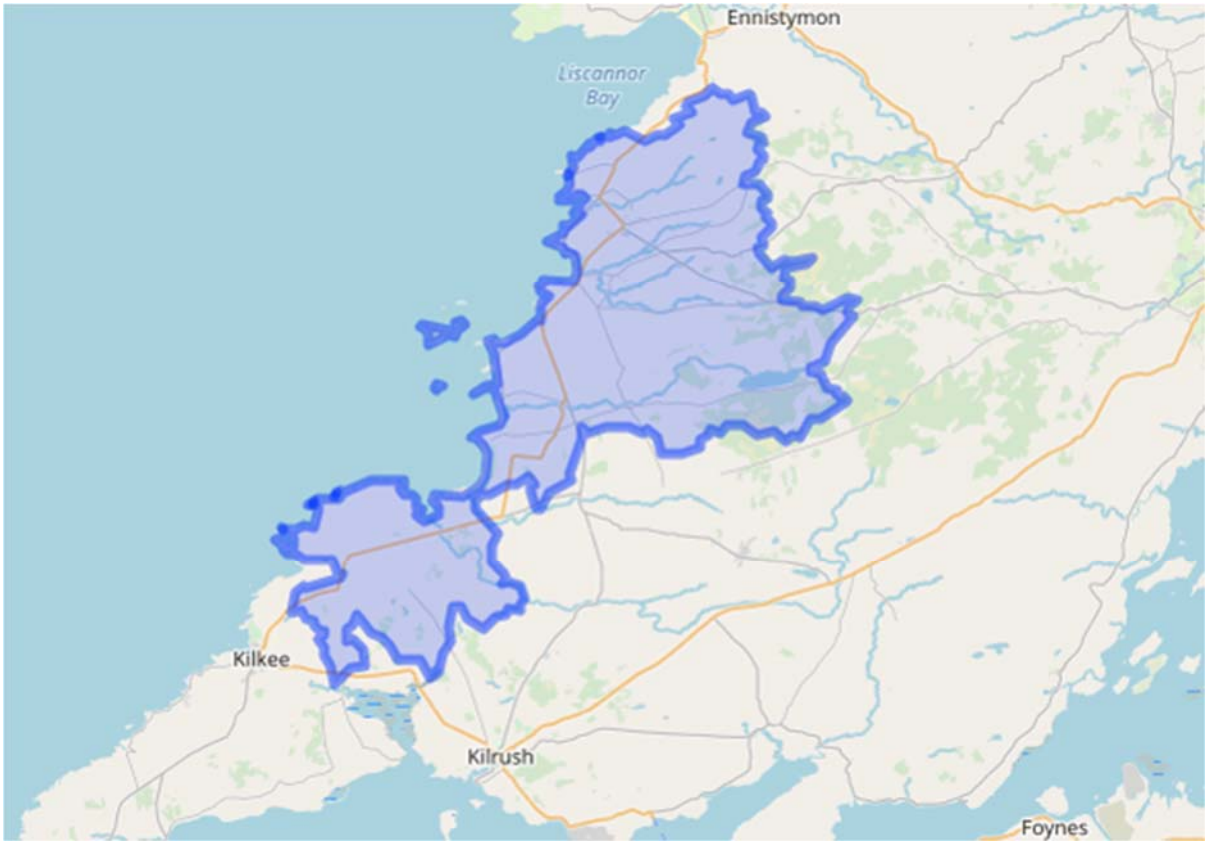


Figure 1. Barony map of Ibrickan, Co. Clare

	OS1	OS2	OS3	Extant	Aerial	Total
Townlands	65/109	64/109	64/109	55/109	67/109	72/109
Total	130	125	122	88	149	157

Figure 2. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Ibrickan barony, Co. Clare

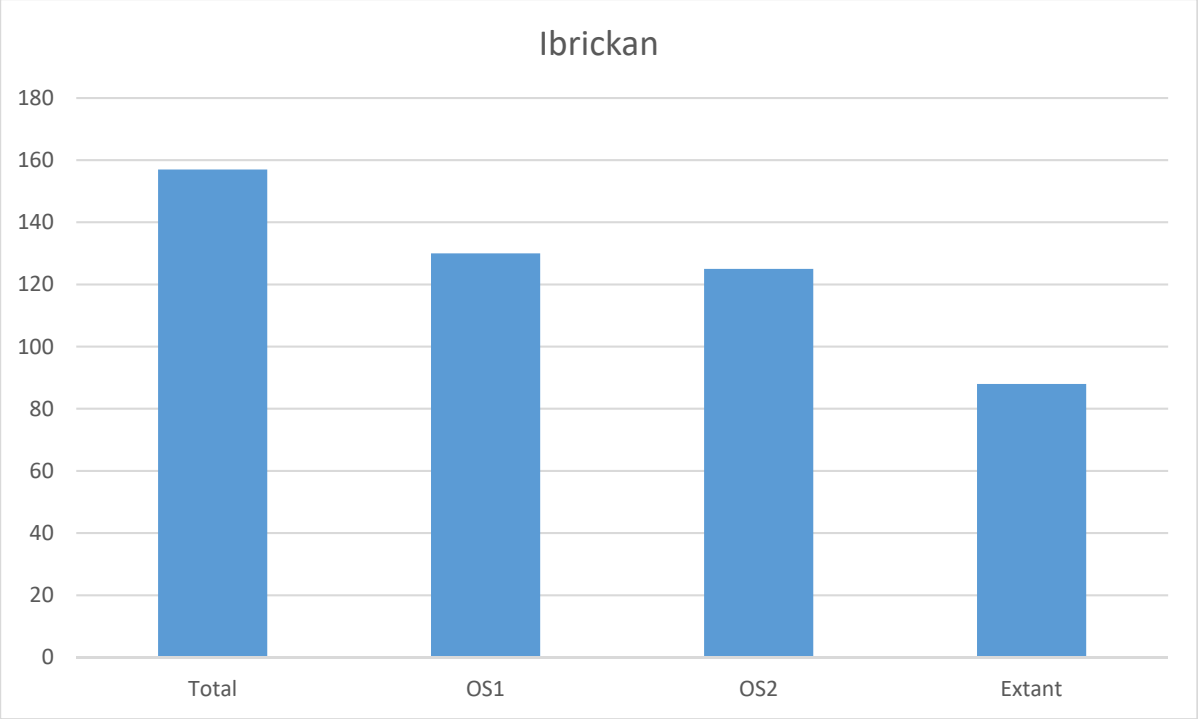


Figure 3. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Ibrickan barony, Co. Clare

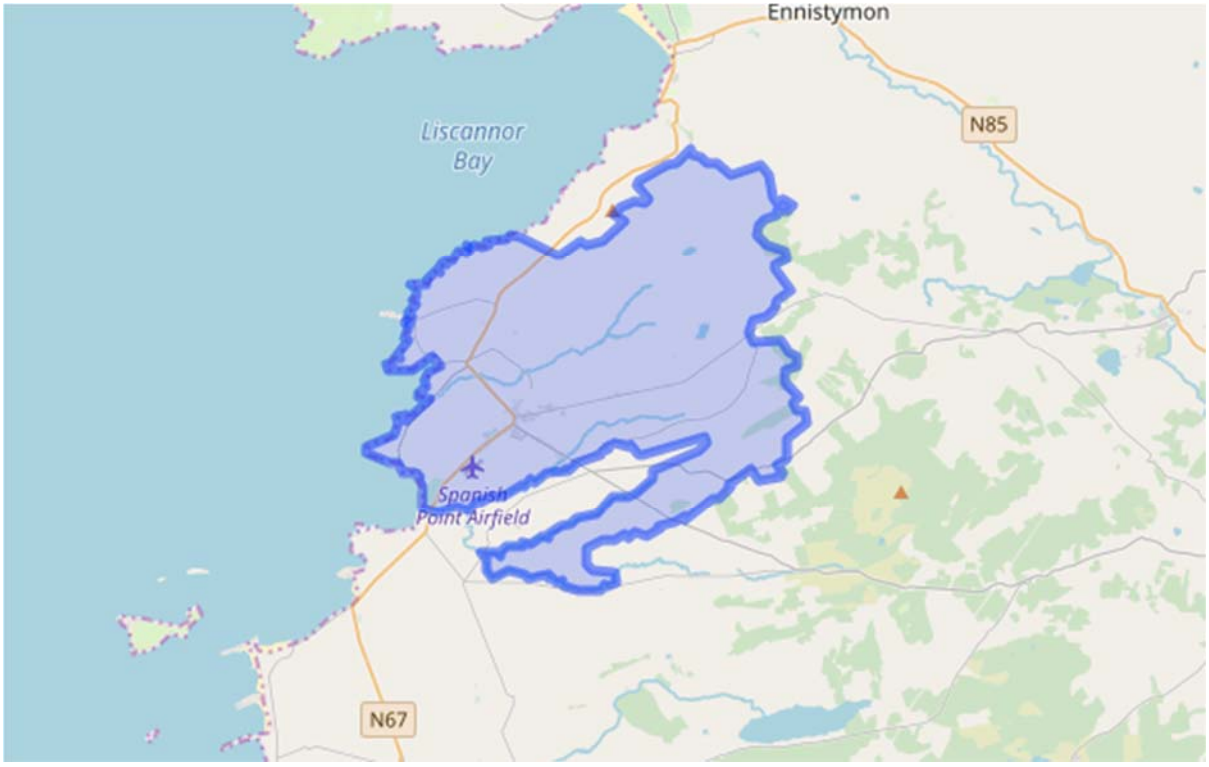


Figure 4. Parish map of Kilfarboy, Co. Clare

	OS1	OS2	OS3	Extant	Aerial	Total
Aillbrack	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ballynew	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballyvaskin N	3	2	2	2	2	3
Ballyvaskin S	3	2	2	1	2	3
Breaffy North	0	0	0	0	0	0
Breaffy South	0	0	0	0	0	0
Caherogan	0	0	0	0	0	0
Carrowkeel	1	1	1	0	0	1
Cloghaun Beg	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloghaun M	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloonbony	0	0	0	0	1	1
Clooneyogan N	1	0	0	0	0	1
Clooneyogan S	1	1	1	1	1	1
Drumbaun	1	1	1	1	1	1
Drummin	1	1	1	1	1	1

Fintra Beg	5	5	5	2	5	5
Fintra More	2	2	2	2	5	5
Freaghavaleen	1	0	0	0	0	1
Freaghcastle	0	0	0	0	0	0
Glendine N	0	0	0	0	0	0
Glendine S	0	0	0	0	0	1
Illaun	1	1	2	2	3	4
Illaunbaun	0	0	0	0	0	0
Kilcorcoran	1	2	2	2	3	3
Kildeema N	1	1	1	0	1	1
Kildeema S	3	1	1	0	3	3
Kilfarboy	2	2	2	2	2	2
Knockbrack	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lackamore	0	0	0	0	0	0
Leagard N	0	0	0	0	1	1
Leagard S	2	2	2	1	4	4
Leeds	1	1	1	0	1	1
Moy beg	2	1	1	1	2	2
Moy More	2	2	2	2	2	2
Poulawillin	2	3	3	2	3	3
Silverhill	2	2	2	2	2	2
Slievenalicka	0	0	0	0	0	0
Toor	1	1	1	1	1	1
Tooreen	0	0	0	0	0	0
Townlands	23/39	21/39	21/39	17/39	22/39	26/39
Total	40	35	36	26	47	54

Figure 5. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Kilfarboy parish, Co. Clare

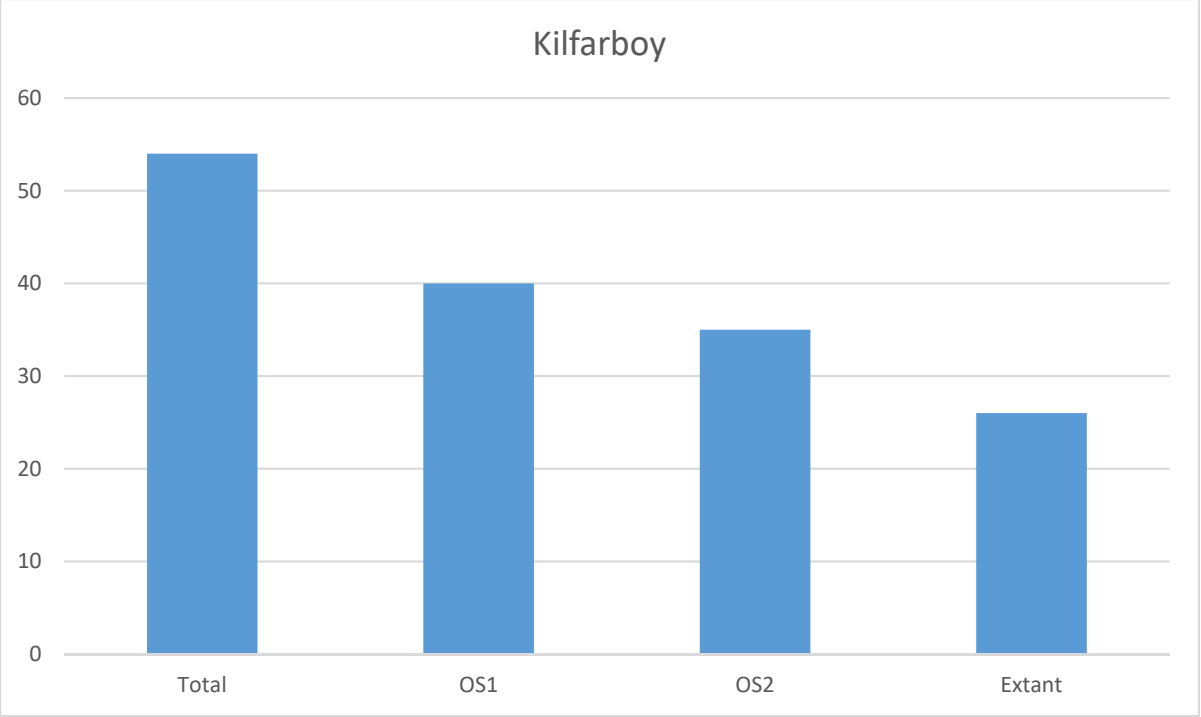


Figure 6. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Kilfarboy parish

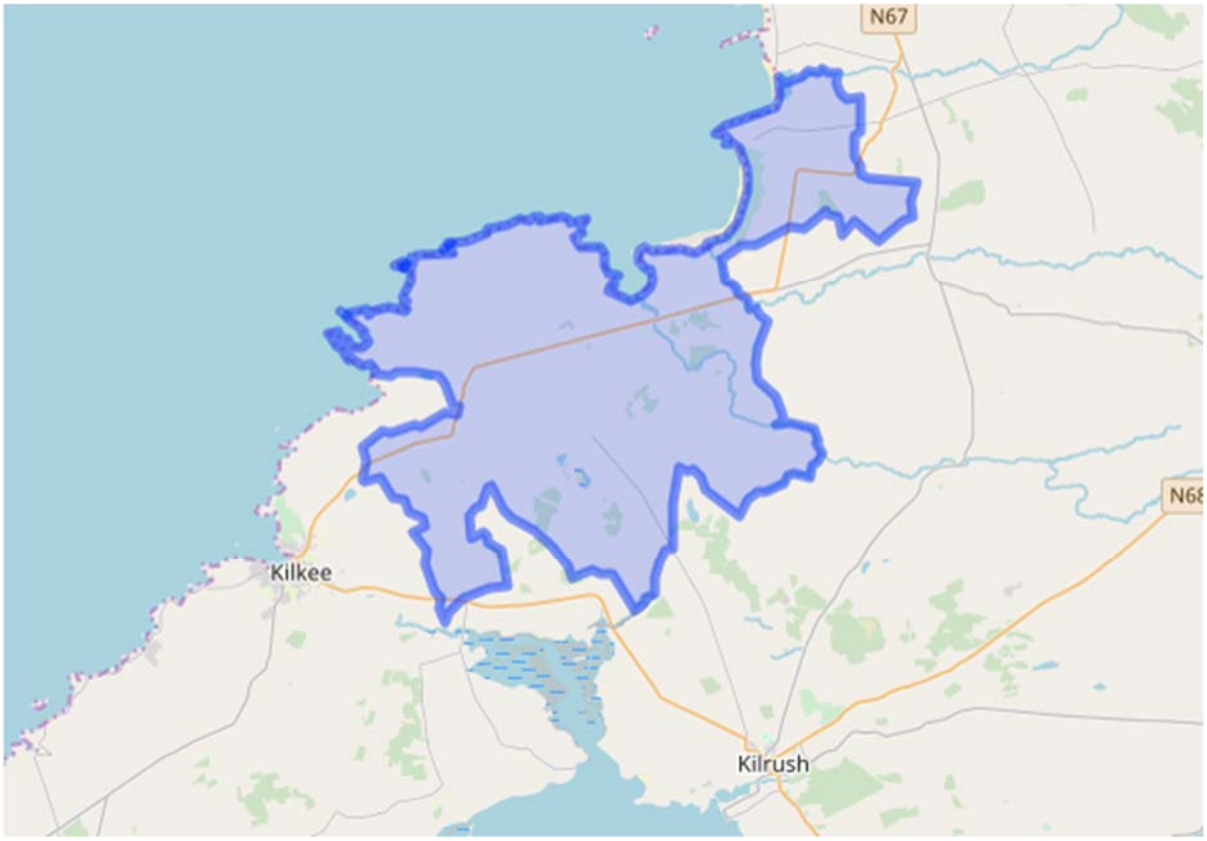


Figure 7. Parish map of Killard, Co. Clare

	OS1	OS2	OS3	Extant	Aerial	Total
Ballard	2	2	2	2	2	2
Caherlean	0	1	1	0	1	1
Carrowblough Beg	1	1	1	1	1	1
Carrowblough More	4	4	4	4	4	4
Carrowmore	1	1	1	1	1	1
Carrowmore N	0	0	0	0	0	0
Carrowmore S	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloon More	2	2	2	2	2	2
Cloonagarnaun	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doonbeg	1	1	1	1	1	1
Doonmore	9	9	7	2	9	9
Einagh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Glascloon	3	3	1	1	3	3
Killard	1	1	1	1	1	1

Lisgurreen	3	3	3	3	3	3
Lismuse	2	2	2	2	2	2
Mountrivers	1	1	1	1	1	1
Sragh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tullaher	1	2	2	1	3	3
Townlands	13/19	14/19	14/19	13/19	14/19	14/19
Total	31	33	29	22	34	34

Figure 8. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Killard parish, Co. Clare

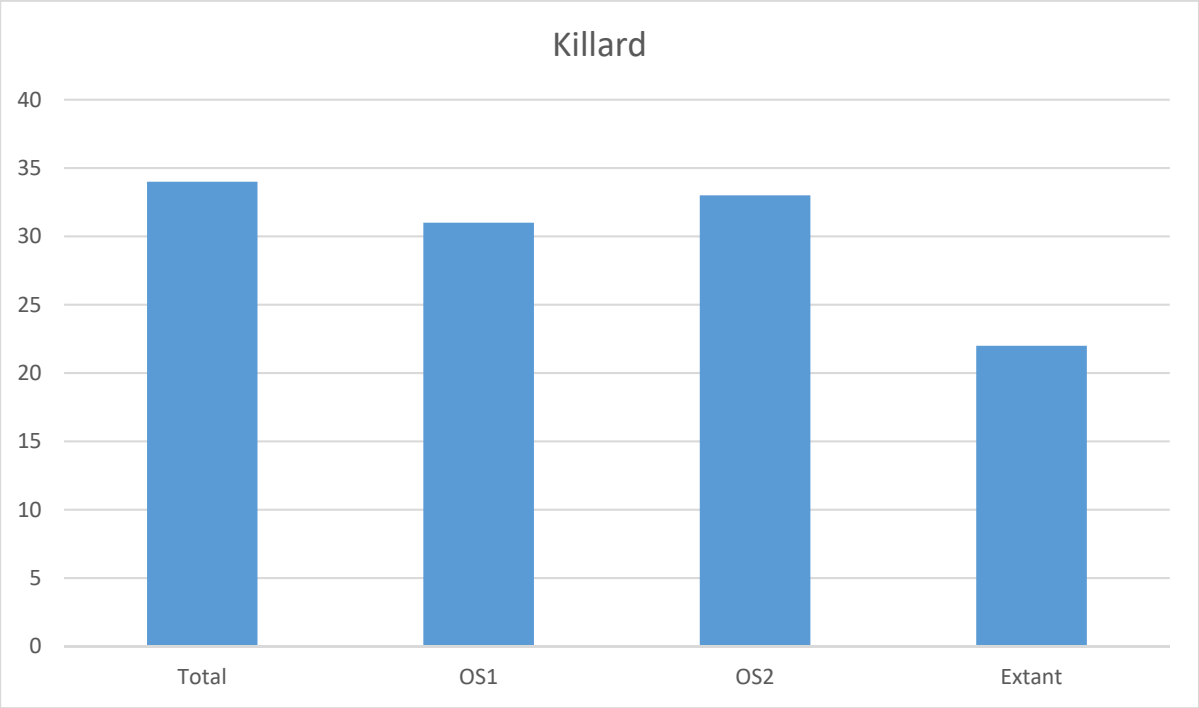


Figure 9. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Killard parish

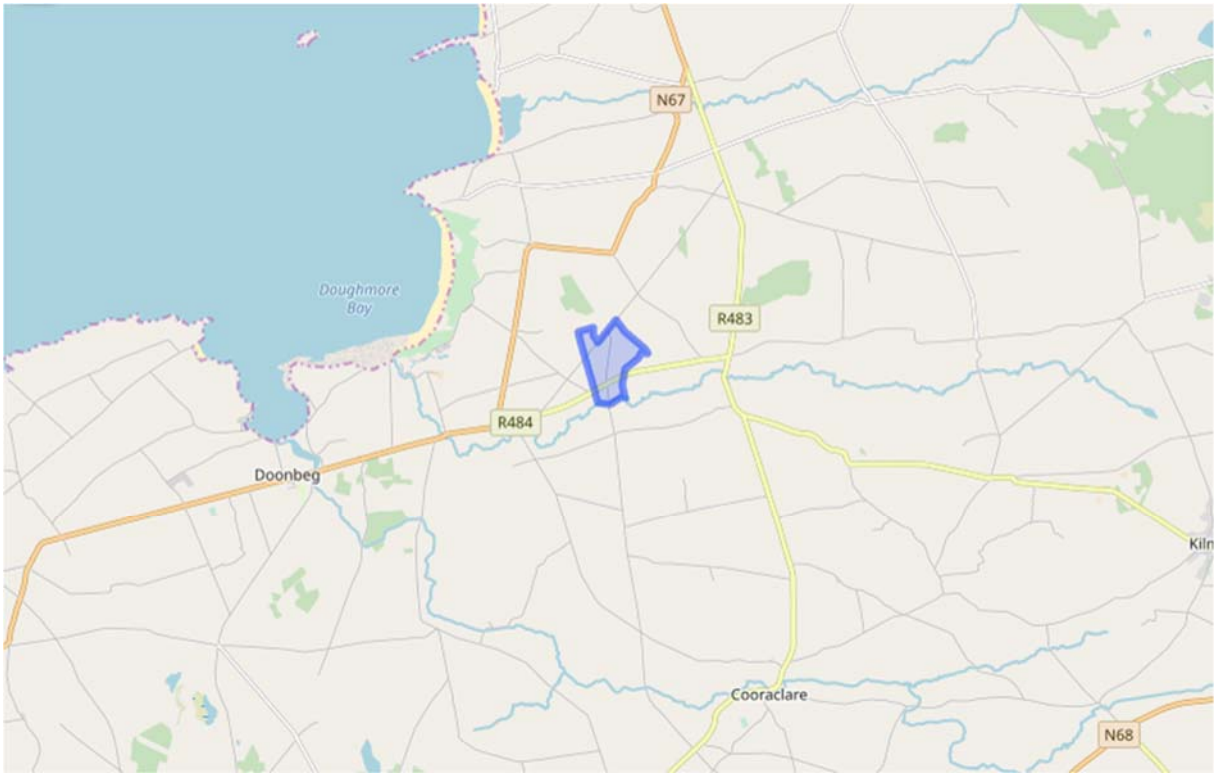


Figure 10. Townland map of Kilmacduane, Co. Clare

	OS1	OS2	OS3	Extant	Aerial	Total
Acres	0	0	0	0	0	0
Townlands	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 11. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Kilmacduane townland, Co. Clare

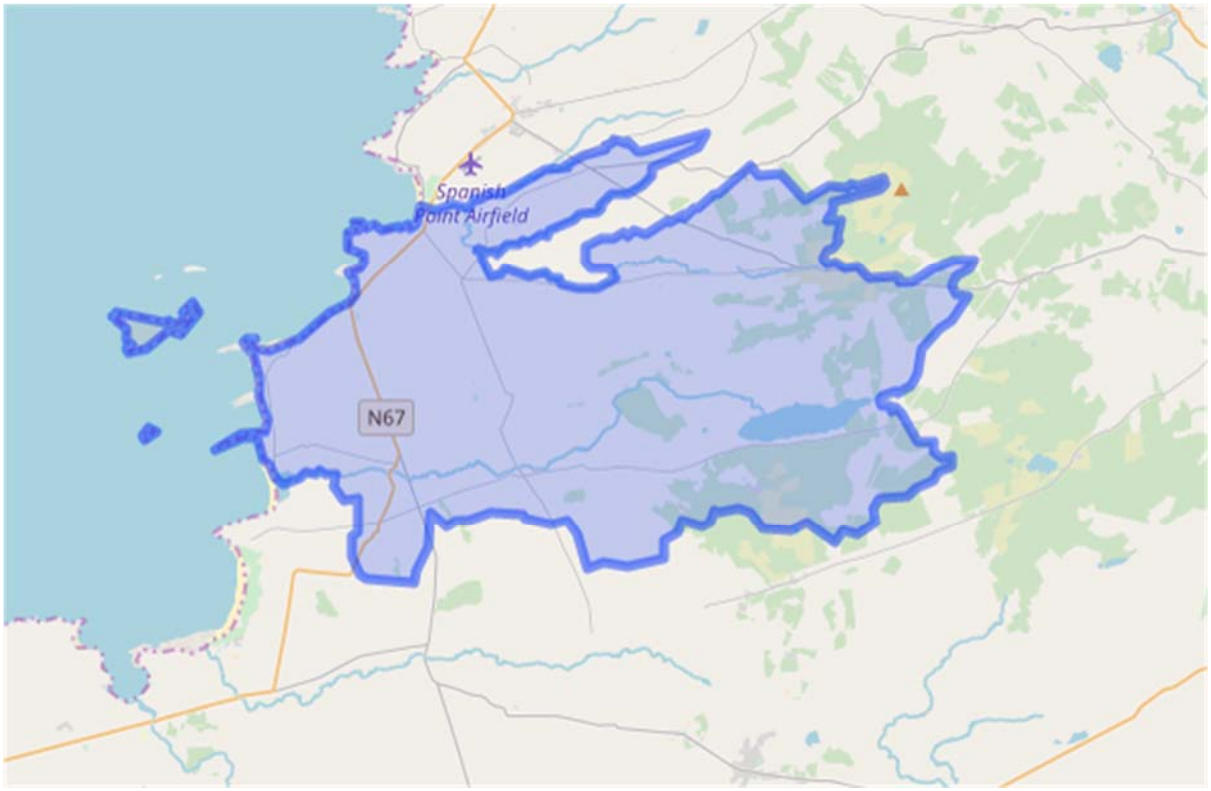


Figure 12. Parish map of Kilmurry, Co. Clare

	OS1	OS2	OS3	Extant	Aerial	Total
Annagh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ballymackea B	4	4	4	3	4	4
Ballymackea M	1	1	1	0	1	1
Caherrush	0	0	0	0	1	1
Carrowduff	3	2	2	2	3	3
Carrowlagan	1	1	1	1	1	1
Carrownagry S	0	0	0	0	0	0
Carrownagry N	2	2	2	1	3	3
Cloghauninchy	3	3	3	2	4	4
Cloghaunnatinny	3	4	4	2	4	4
Cloonadrum	2	2	2	2	2	2
Cloonlaheen E	0	1	1	0	1	1
Cloonlaheen M	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cloonlaheen W	3	3	3	1	3	3

Coor East	0	0	0	0	0	0
Coor West	2	2	2	1	3	3
Craggaknock E	0	0	0	0	0	0
Craggaknock W	2	2	2	1	2	2
Craggaun	2	2	2	2	2	2
Creevagh	0	0	0	0	0	0
Derreen	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doolough	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doonogan	4	4	4	4	4	4
Doonsallagh E	0	0	0	0	0	0
Doonsallagh W	3	2	2	2	3	3
Drummin						
Emlagh	1	1	1	1	1	1
Finnor Beg	1	1	1	1	1	1
Finnor More	3	3	3	3	3	3
Kilclehaun	1	1	1	1	1	1
Killernan	5	3	3	1	4	4
Knockanalban	1	2	2	0	3	3
Knockloskeraun	1	1	1	1	2	2
Knocknahila B	0	0	0	0	0	0
Knocknahila More (North)	0	0	0	0	0	1
Knocknahila More (South)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mattle Island	0	0	0	0	0	0
Molosky	3	3	3	3	3	3
Moyglass Beg	1	1	1	0	1	1
Moyglass More	2	1	1	1	2	2
Mutton Island	0	0	0	0	0	0
Quilty East	0	0	0	0	0	0
Quilty West	1	1	1	1	1	1
Rineroe	0	0	0	0	0	0

Seafield	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shanavogh East	0	0	0	0	0	0
Shanavogh West	2	2	2	2	2	2
Shandrum	0	0	0	0	0	0
Treanmanagh	1	0	0	0	1	1
Tromra East	2	2	2	1	2	2
Tromra West	0	0	0	0	0	0
Townlands	29/51	29/51	29/51	25/51	31/51	32/51
Total	59	57	57	40	68	69

Figure 13. Table showing rate of ringfort decline in Kilmurry parish, Co. Clare

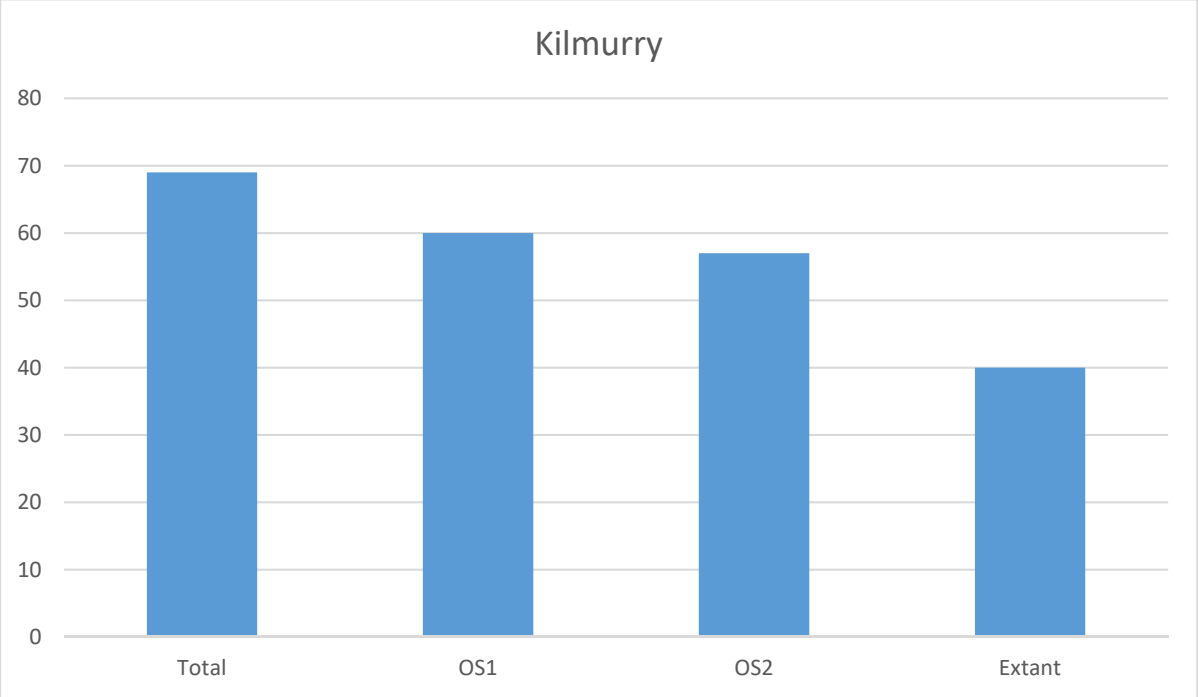


Figure 14. Bar chart showing ringfort survival in Kilmurry parish

The townland descriptions herein are arranged in alphabetical order, initially by parish and within this grouping by townland. The illustrations that accompany each description are presented in chronological order, beginning with the earliest available images. In this barony this will include those of the first and second editions of the Ordnance Survey maps. Finally, modern images from aerial surveys will also be included.

7. IBRICKAN

7.1. Kilfarboy parish

7.1.1. Aillbrack

The existence of one ringfort is mentioned in the archaeological record for this townland (NMS 2019). This rath, CL023-026, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 23) of the area. It is located on the boundary between this townland and that of Toor. A field boundary had been constructed through this monument at some time prior to the completion of this map. This ringfort is also visible on all subsequent editions of this map (1895 & 1916, 23) and is presently extant. It is particularly visible on aerial imagery from a survey undertaken by Google Earth in 2010.



Figure 15. First edition OS map of Aillbrack townland depicting ringfort CL023-026

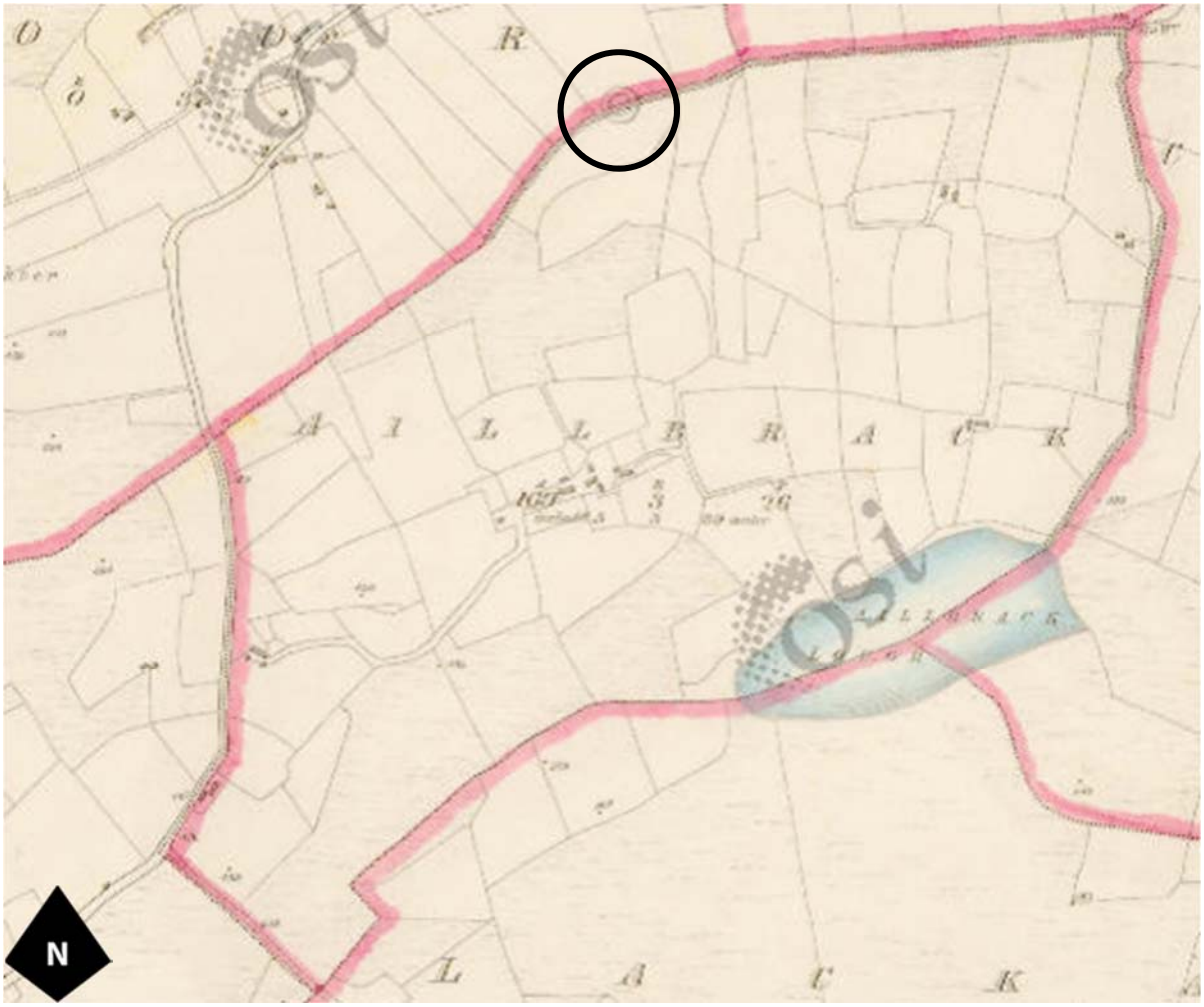


Figure 16. First edition OS map of Aillbrack townland depicting ringfort CL023-026

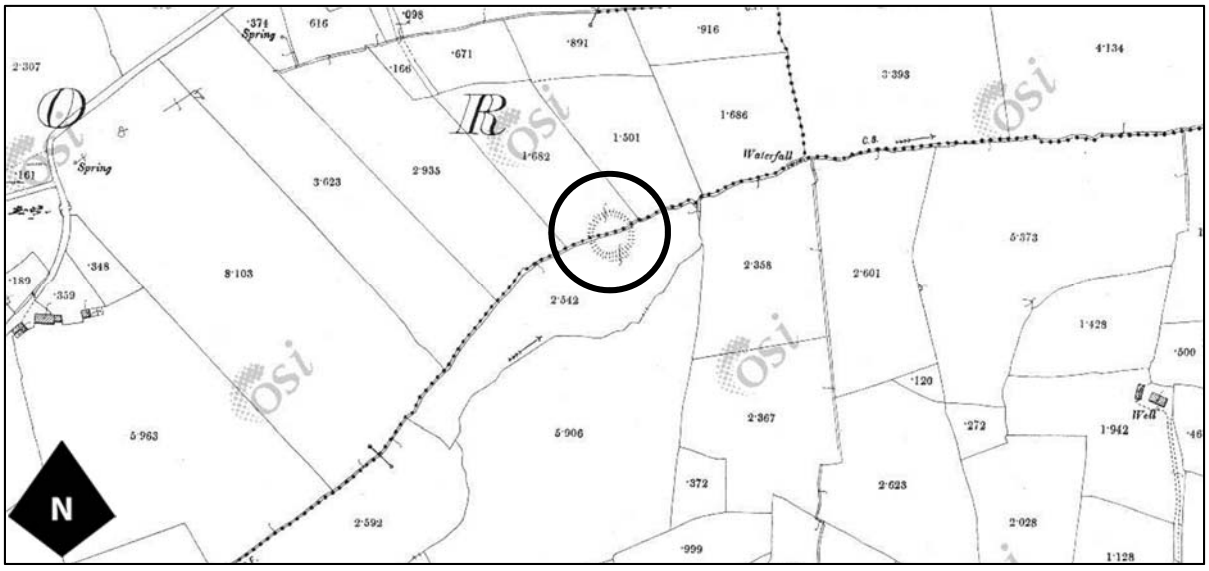


Figure 17. Second edition OS map of Aillbrack townland depicting ringfort CL023-026



Figure 18. Aerial image of Aillbrack townland depicting ringfort CL023-026 (GE 2010)

7.1.2. Ballyvaskin North

The presence of three ringforts are recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). These three raths, CL023-039 to CL023-041, are clearly visible on the first edition OS map (1840, 23). By the time of the revised second edition map (1895, 23), one of these raths, CL023-039, is no longer visible. However, the existence of this monument can be confirmed because of the presence of a crop mark at its recorded location (Google Earth [GE] 2018). The two remaining ringforts, CL023-040 and CL023-041, are both depicted on subsequent OS maps of the townland and are presently extant (Digital Globe [DG] 2011-3).

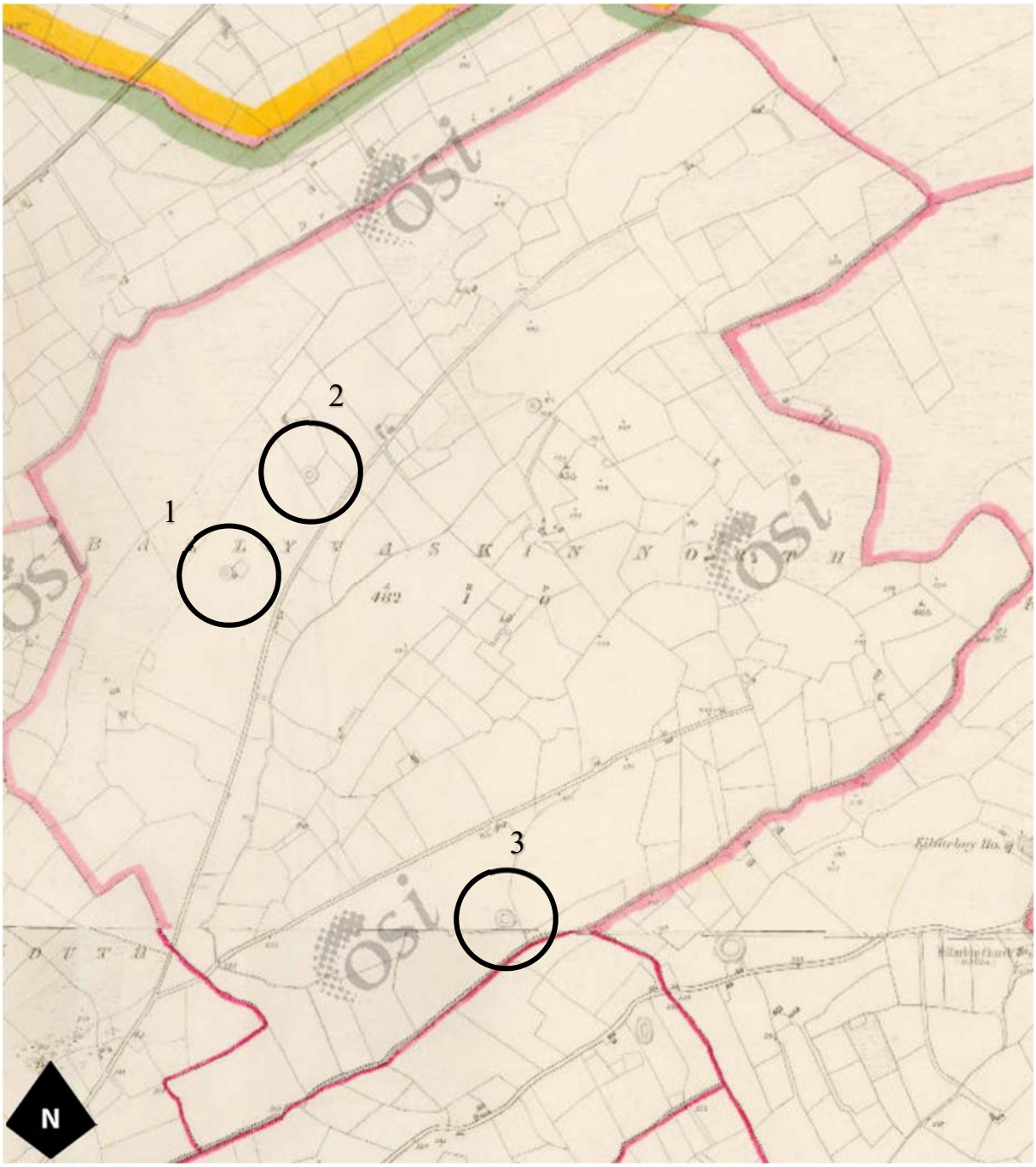


Figure 19. First edition OS map of Ballyvaskin North townland depicting ringforts 1. CL023-039, 2. CL023-040 & 3. CL023-041

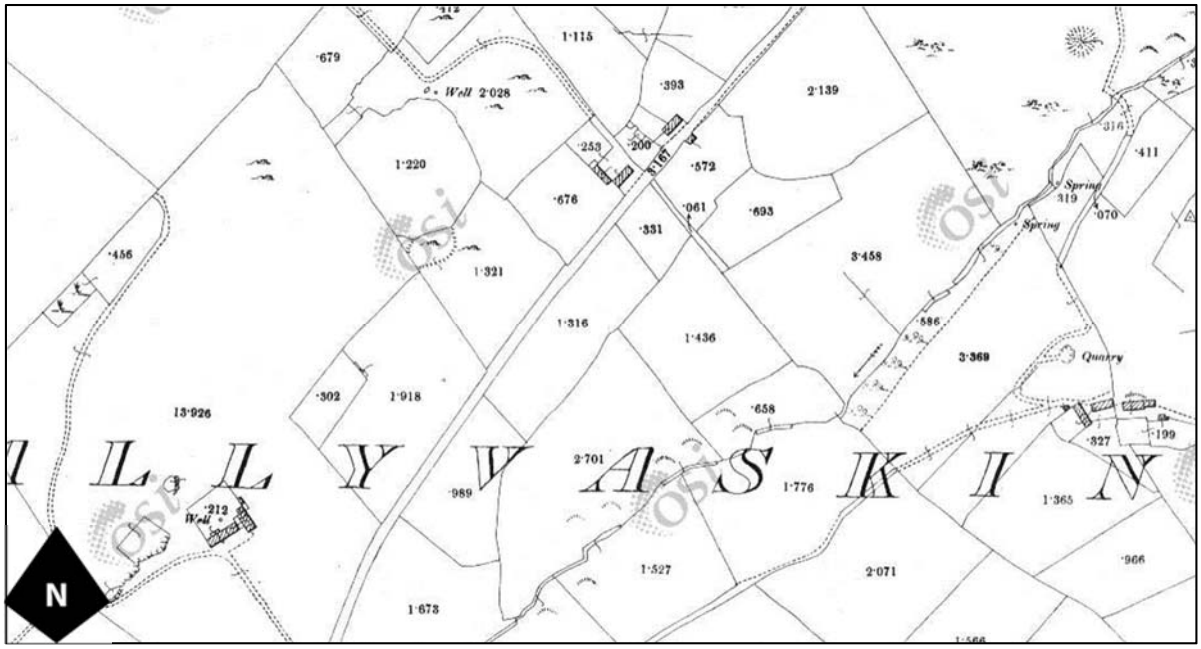


Figure 20. Second edition OS map of Ballyvaskin North townland



Figure 21. Aerial image of Ballyvaskin North townland depicting sites of ringforts 1. CL023-039, 2. CL023-040 & 3. CL023-041



Figure 22. Aerial image of Ballyvaskin North townland

7.1.3. Ballyvaskin South

The existence of three circular field monuments is recorded in the database for this townland (NMS 2019). Two of these, CL031-001 & CL031-002, are recorded as raths and the third, CL023-038001, is recorded as an enclosure. However, these are modern archaeological terms and it is likely that monuments of similar appearance were treated in a like manner. These three structures are depicted on the first edition OS maps (1840, 23 & 31) of the area. On the revised second edition (1895, 23), the enclosure, CL023-038001, was no longer shown. Although a crop mark is visible at the recorded location (DG 2011-3). The two raths, CL031-001 & CL031-002, are shown on later OS maps of the townland and one of these, CL023-002, is presently extant. A crop mark is visible at the location of the second rath, CL023-001 (GE 2018).

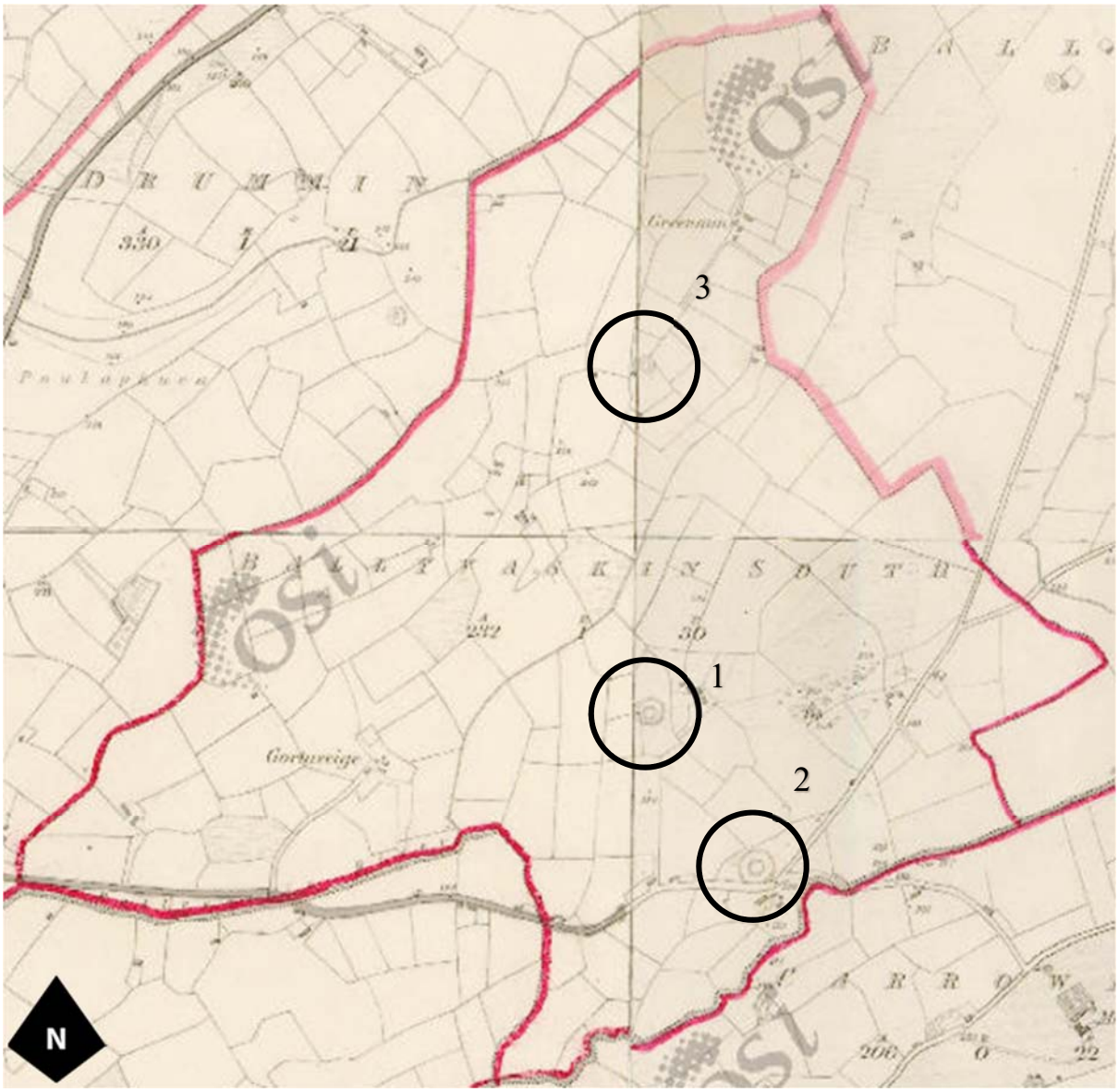


Figure 23. First edition OS map of Ballyvaskin South townland depicting ringforts 1. CL031-001 & 2. CL031-002, and the enclosure 3. CL023-038001

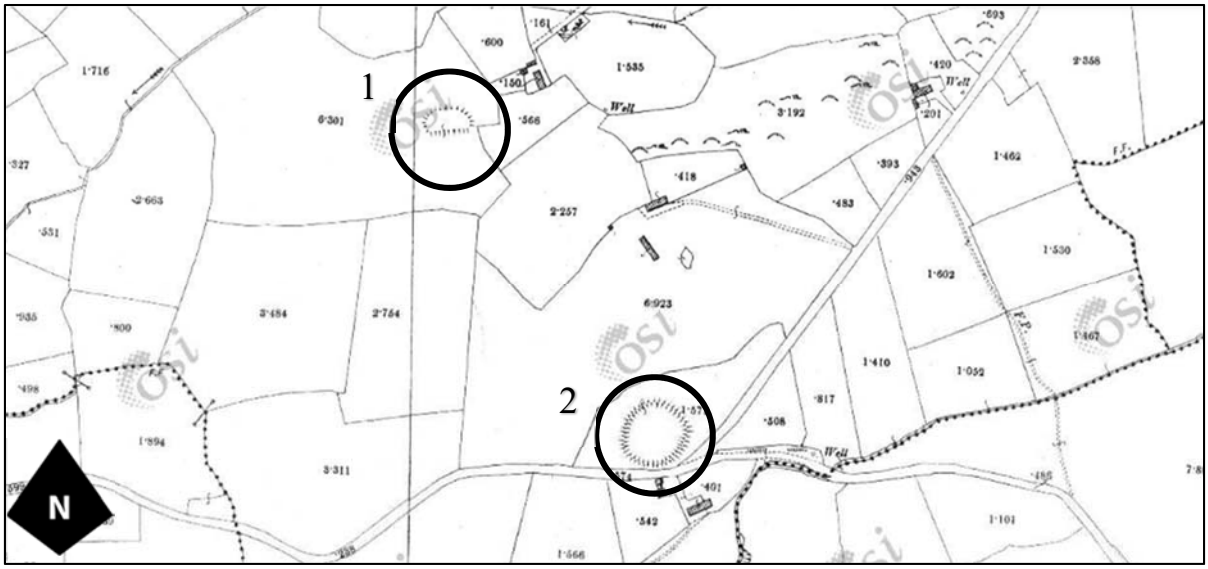


Figure 24. Second edition OS map of Ballyvaskin South townland depicting raths 1. CL031-001 & 2. CL031-002



Figure 25. Aerial image of Ballyvaskin South townland depicting rath 2. CL031-002 and site of rath 1. CL031-001 and enclosure 3. CL023-038001 (GE 2018)



Figure 26. Aerial image of Ballyvaskin South townland

7.1.4. Carrowkeel

A circular field monument is depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 31) of this townland. This is recorded in the database as an earthwork and has the SMR number, CL031-006. It is visible on the later revised editions of this map. Unfortunately, it is no longer extant. Examination of recent aerial imagery shows that this location is now part of a farmyard and this greatly hinders confirmation of the form and size of this feature (DG 2011-3).

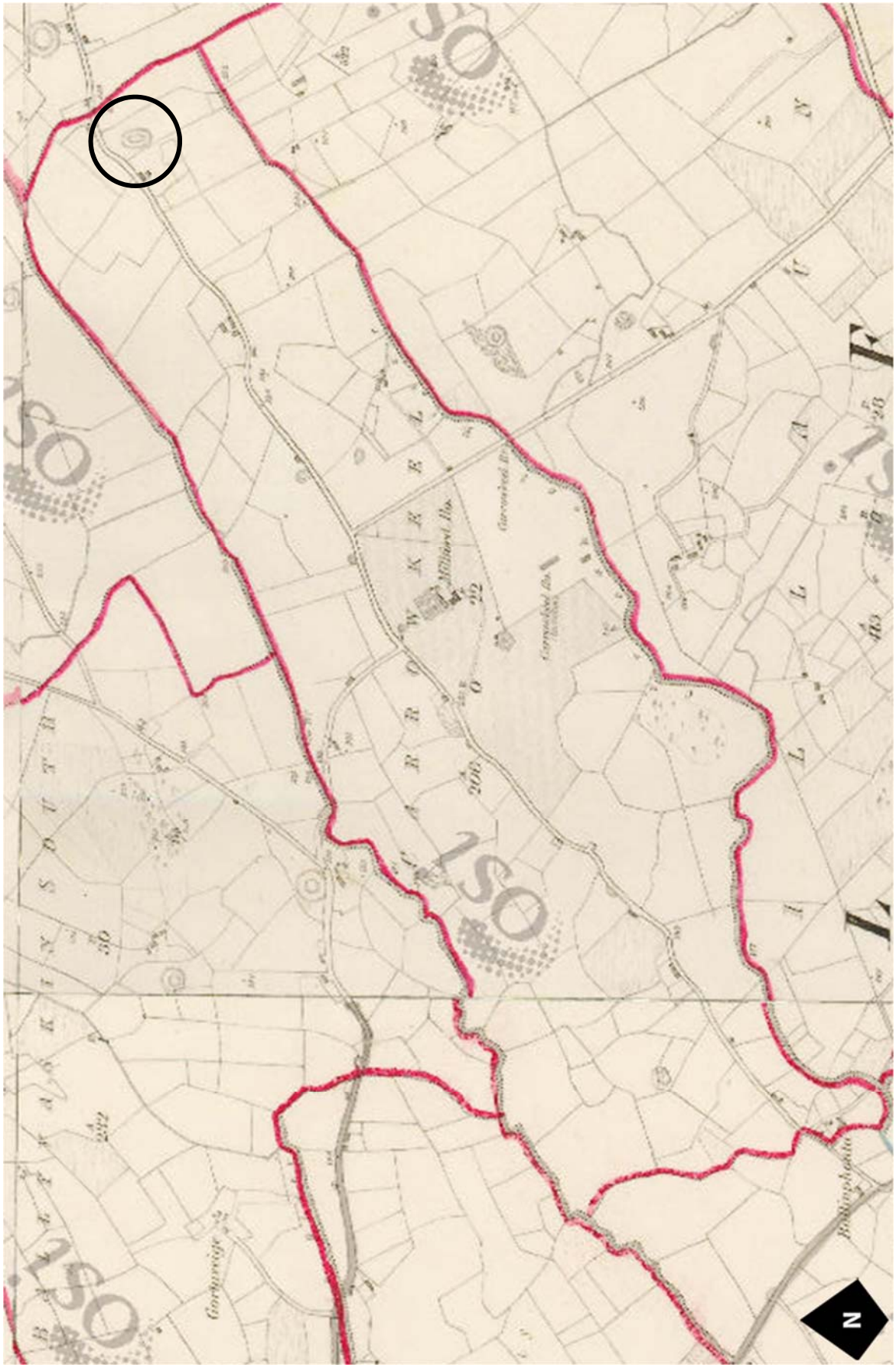


Figure 27. First edition OS map of Carrowkeel townland depicting earthwork CL031-006

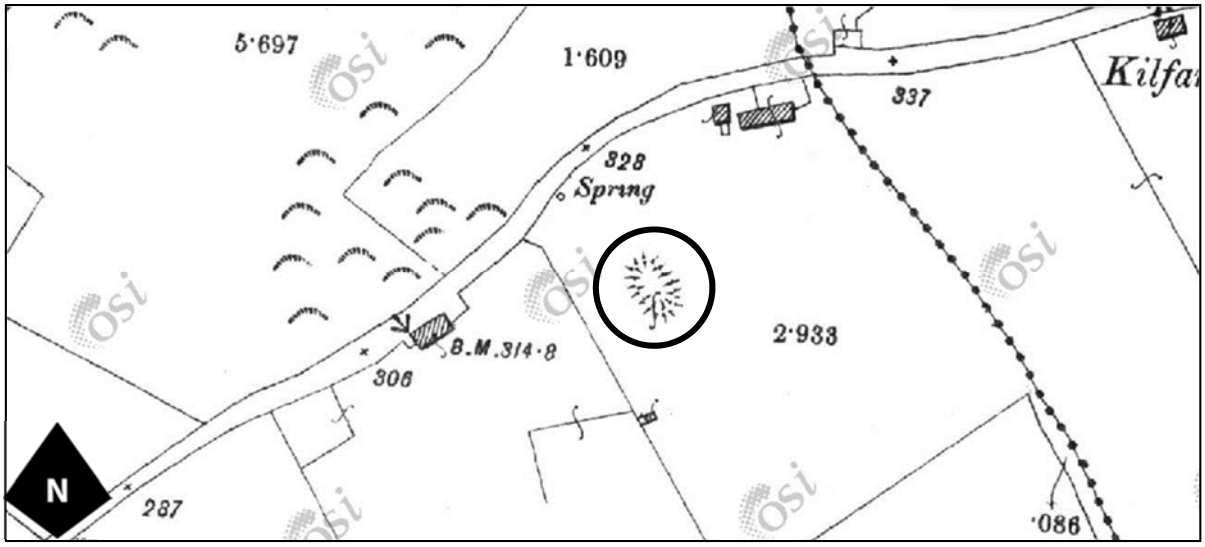


Figure 28. Second edition OS map of Carrowkeel townland depicting earthwork CL031-006



Figure 28. Aerial image of Carrowkeel townland depicting site of earthwork CL031-006 (DG 2011-3)

7.1.5. Clooneyogan North

Another earthwork is recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). This structure, CL023-034, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 23). A series of hachured lines at this location is also included on the revised second edition of this map (1895,

23). Presently, this hill top location is defined by a clump of trees, which suggest that the area has not been heavily disturbed (DG 2011-3).

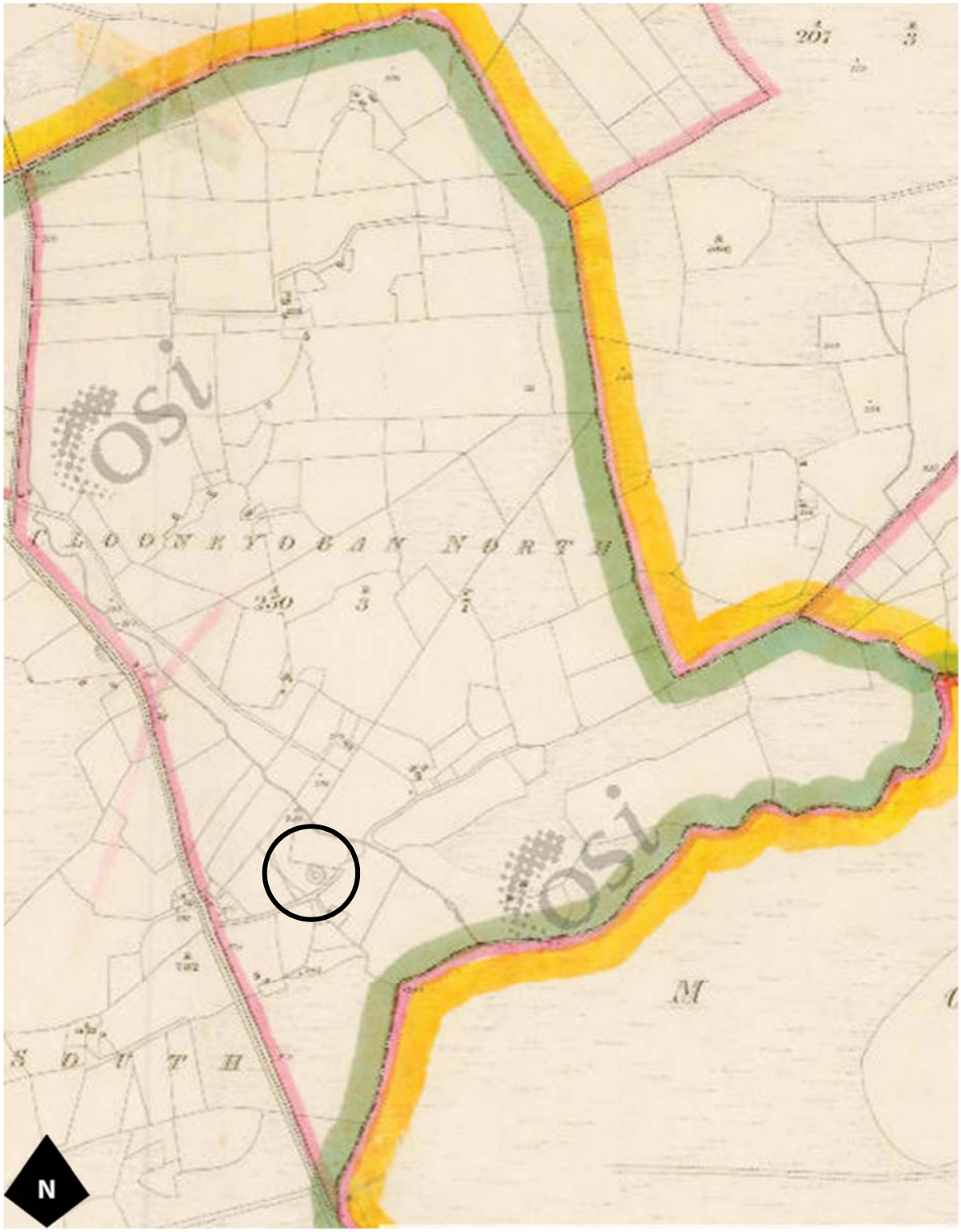


Figure 29. First edition OS map of Clooneyogan North townland depicting earthwork CL023-034

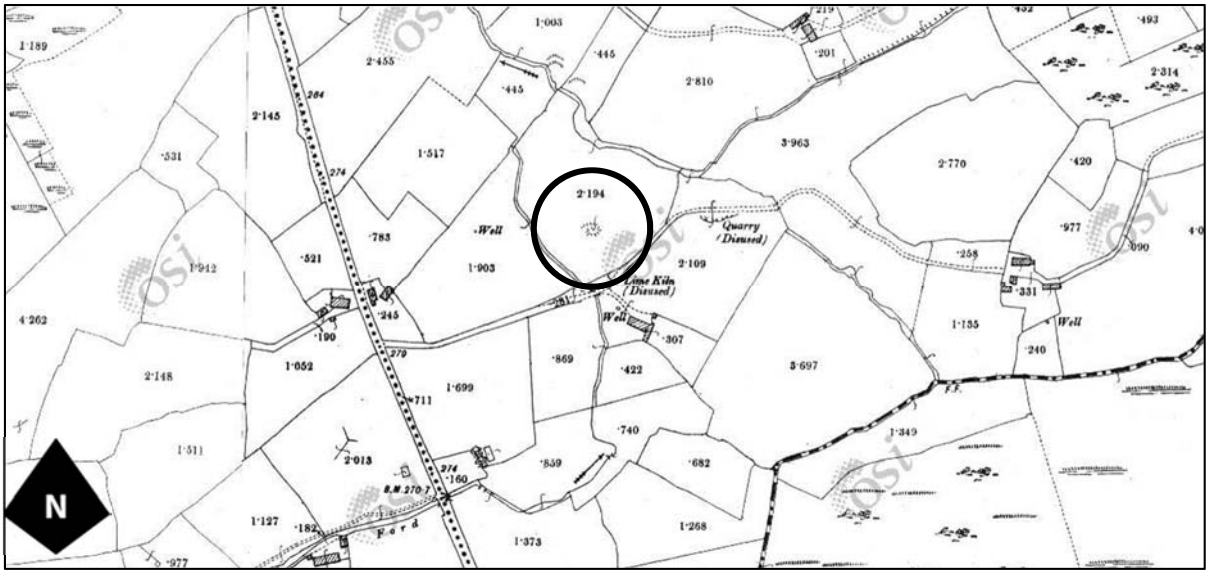


Figure 30. Second edition OS map of Clooneyogan North townland depicting earthwork CL023-034



Figure 31. Aerial image of Clooneyogan North townland depicting site of earthwork CL023-034 (DG 2011-3)

7.1.6. Clooneyogan South

The presence of one ringfort is mentioned in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). This rath, CL023-030001, is shown on the first edition OS map (1840, 23) of the area. It is also visible on subsequent editions of this map and is presently extant (DG 2011-3).

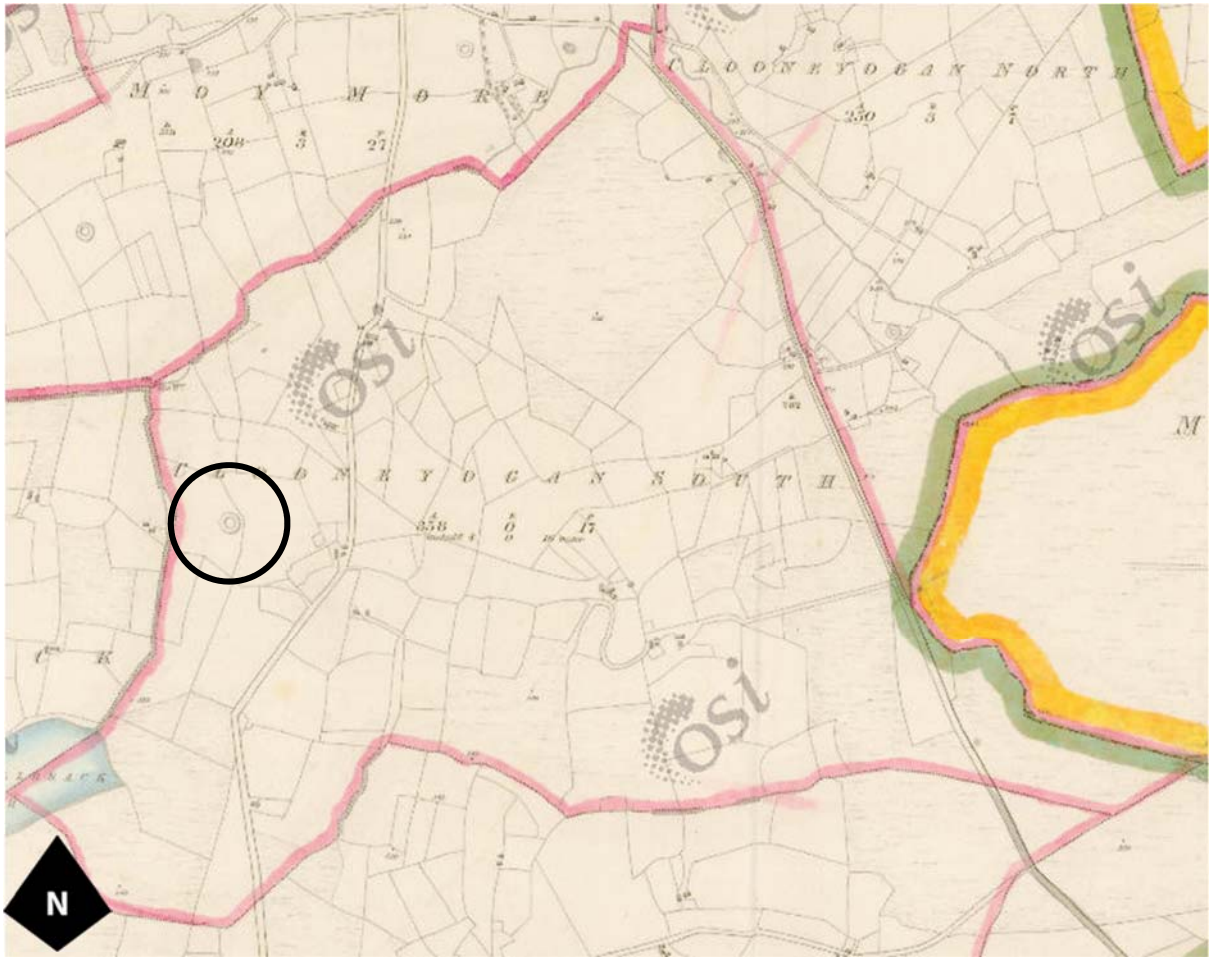


Figure 32. First edition OS map of Clooneyogan South townland depicting ringfort CL023-030001

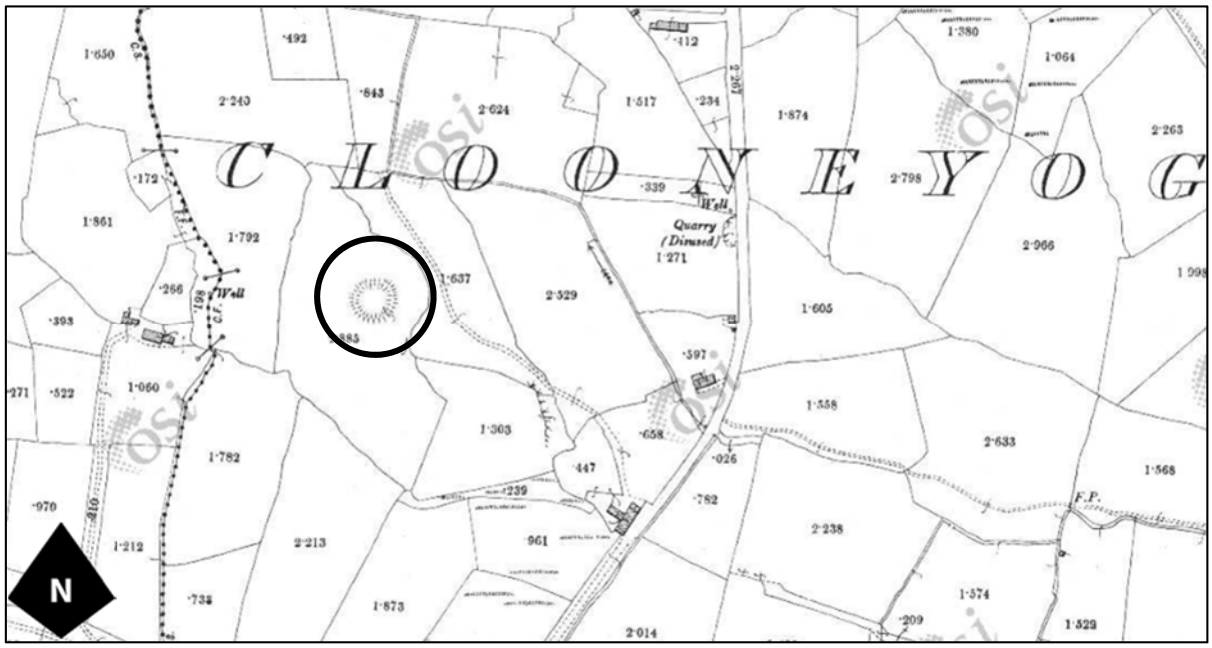


Figure 33. Second edition OS map of Clooneyogan South townland depicting ringfort CL023-030001



Figure 34. Aerial image of Clooneyogan South townland depicting ringfort CL023-030001 (DG 2011-3)

7.1.7. Drumbaun

Within this townland also, a single example of a ringfort is recorded in the database (NMS 2019). This rath, CL023-044, is visible on the first edition OS map (1840, 23) of the area. Again, it is also shown on the later editions of this map. Thankfully, this fine example of a bivallae fort is presently extant (DG 2011-3).



Figure 35. First edition OS map of Drumbaun townland depicting rath CL023-044

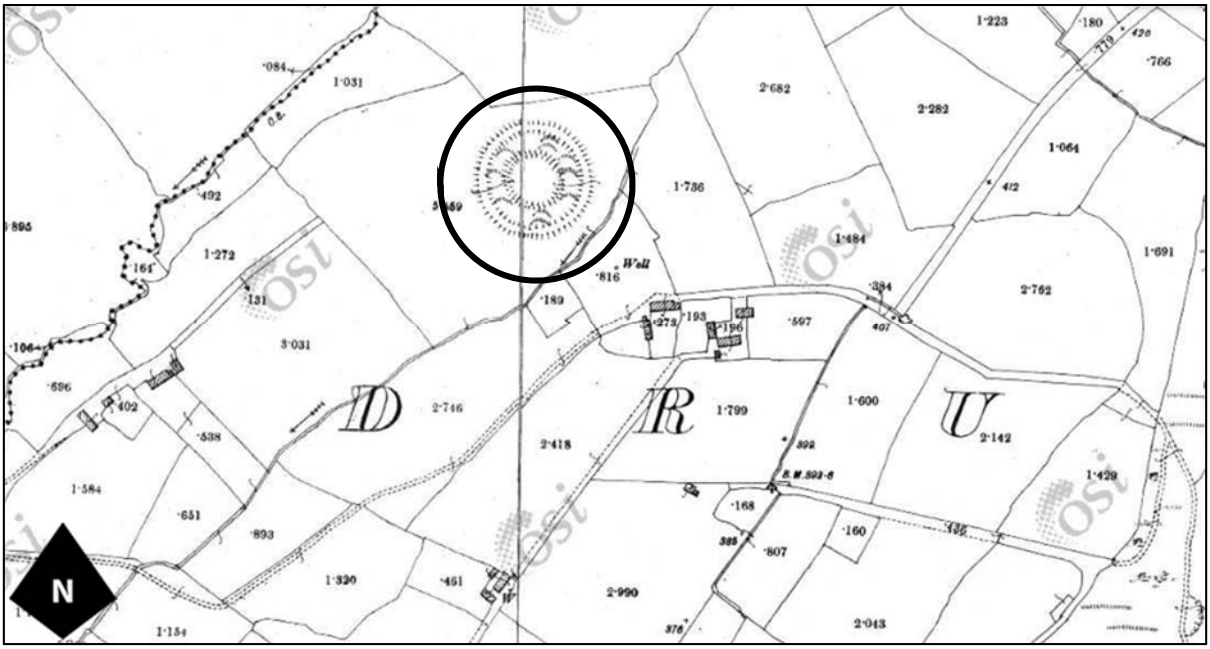


Figure 36. Second edition OS map of Drumbaun townland depicting rath CL023-044



Figure 37. Aerial image of Drumbaun townland depicting rath CL023-04 (DG 2011-3)

7.1.8. Drummin

Here too, a single example of a ringfort is recorded within the townlands boundaries (NMS 2019). This rath, CL022-007, is visible on the first edition OS map (1840, 22) of the area. It is shown as a circular feature on the subsequent revised editions of this map. Recent aerial images from Google Earth, however, show this structure to have been disturbed along its northern side and it can no longer be considered perfectly extant (GE 2018).

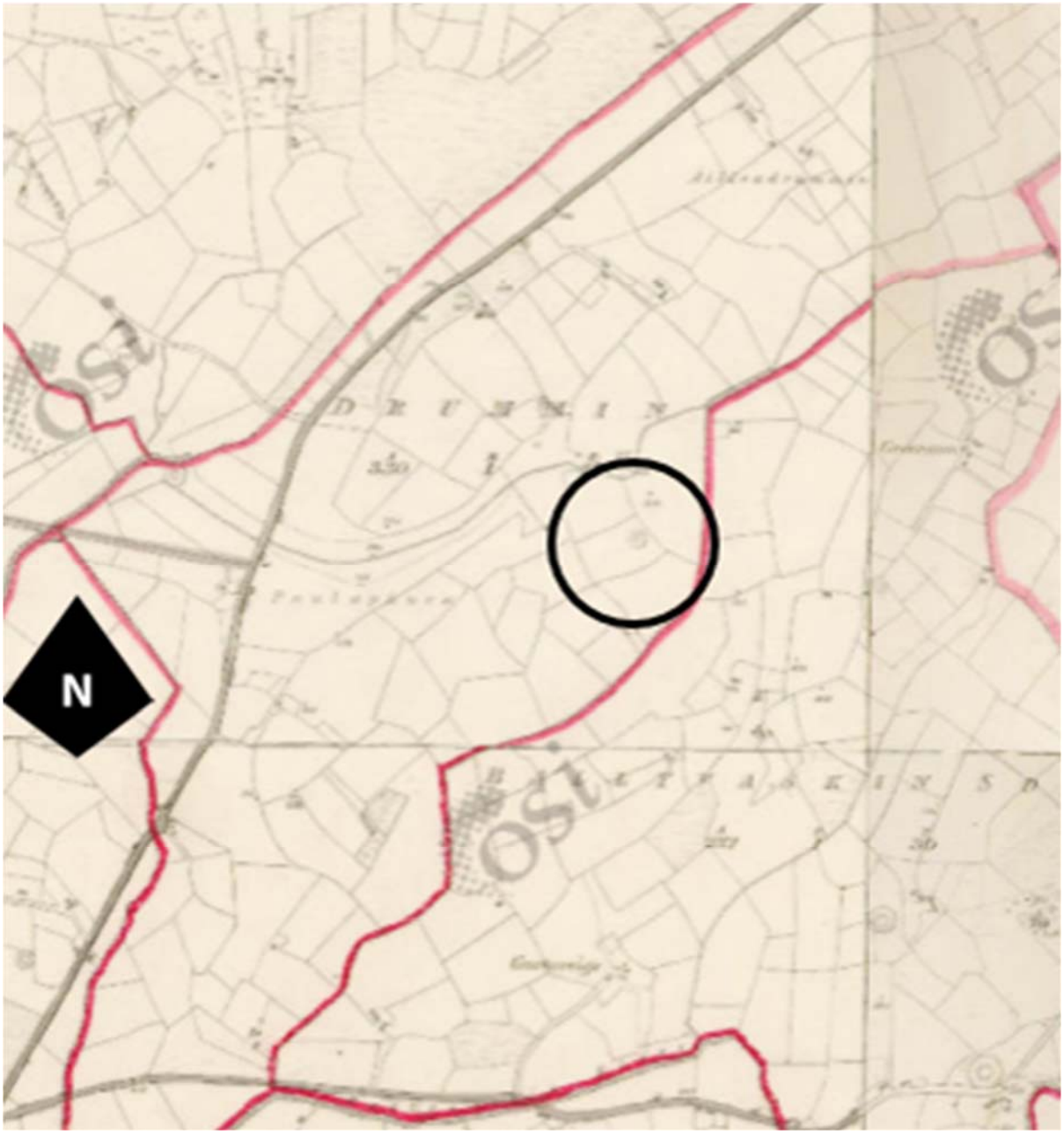


Figure 38. First edition OS map of Drummin townland depicting ringfort CL022-007

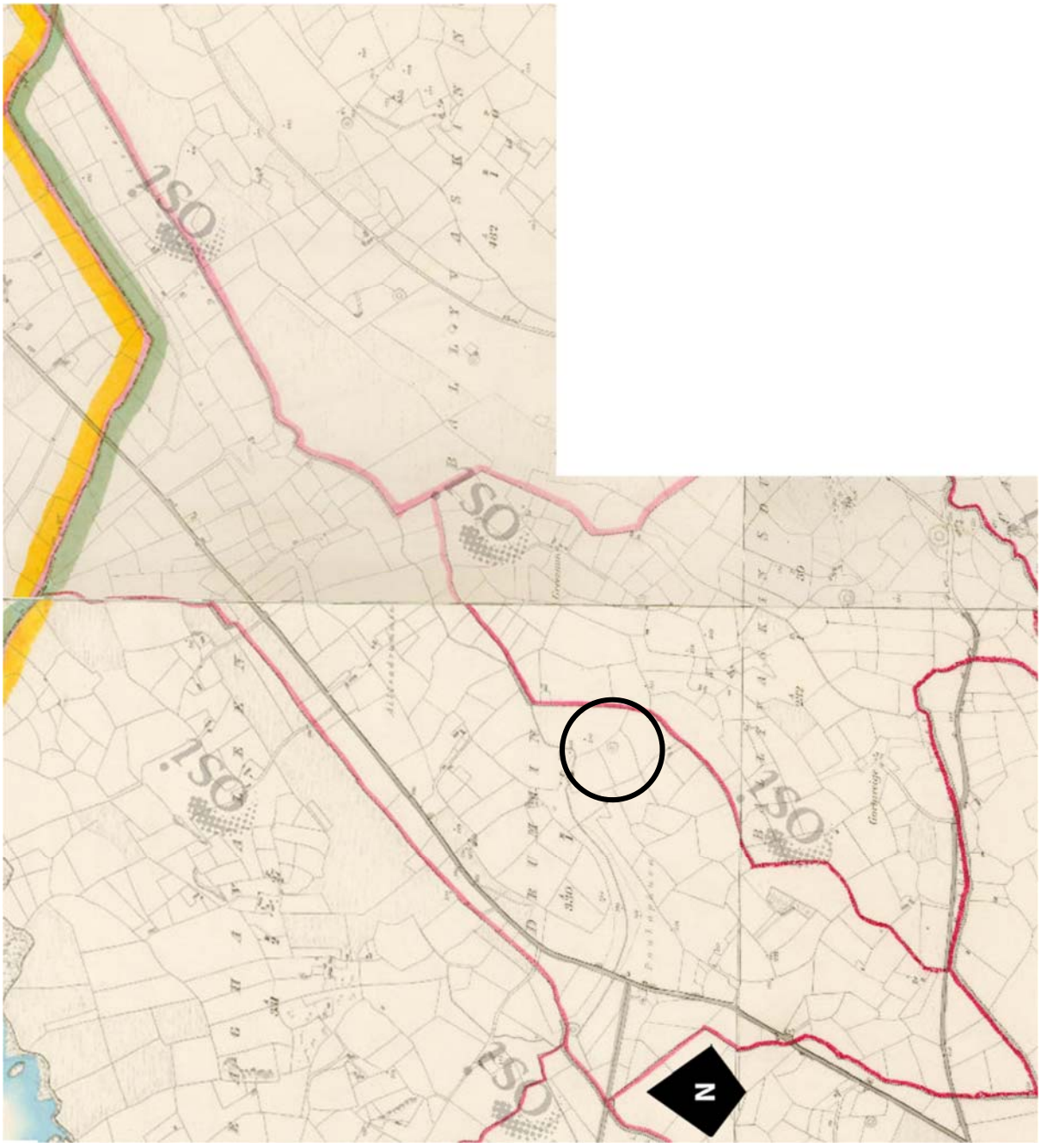


Figure 39. First edition OS map of Drummin townland depicting ringfort CL022-007

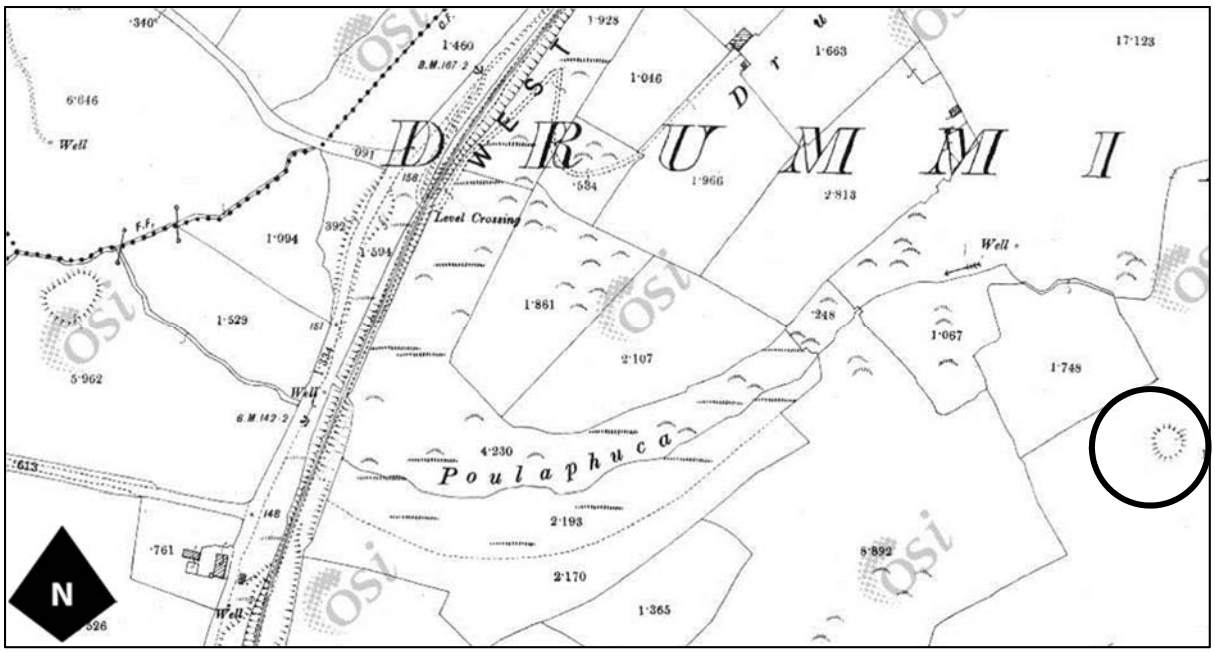


Figure 40. Second edition OS map of Drummin townland depicting ringfort CL022-007



Figure 41. Aerial image of Drummin townland depicting ringfort CL022-007 (GE 2018)

7.1.9. Fintra Beg

The presence of several circular field monuments in this townland is recorded in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). One of these, CL030-003, is recorded as an earthwork. Two of these monuments, CL030-006 & CL030-008, are recorded as enclosures. The final two structures, CL030-004 & CL030-009, are recorded as raths. Again, these terms are modern archaeological terms and all these structures will be included for their similar form means that they were likely considered as similar monuments previously. All of these structures are shown on the earliest OS map (1840, 30) of the area. They are also shown on the subsequent revised edition of this map (1895, 30). Presently, however, just one rath, CL030-004 survives as a low relief feature. One of the enclosures, CL030-008, is also extant (DG 2011-3). A crop mark is visible at the location of the other enclosure, CL030-006, and at that of the earthwork, CL030-003. No trace of the second rath, CL030-009, is visible on these aerial images (*ibid*).

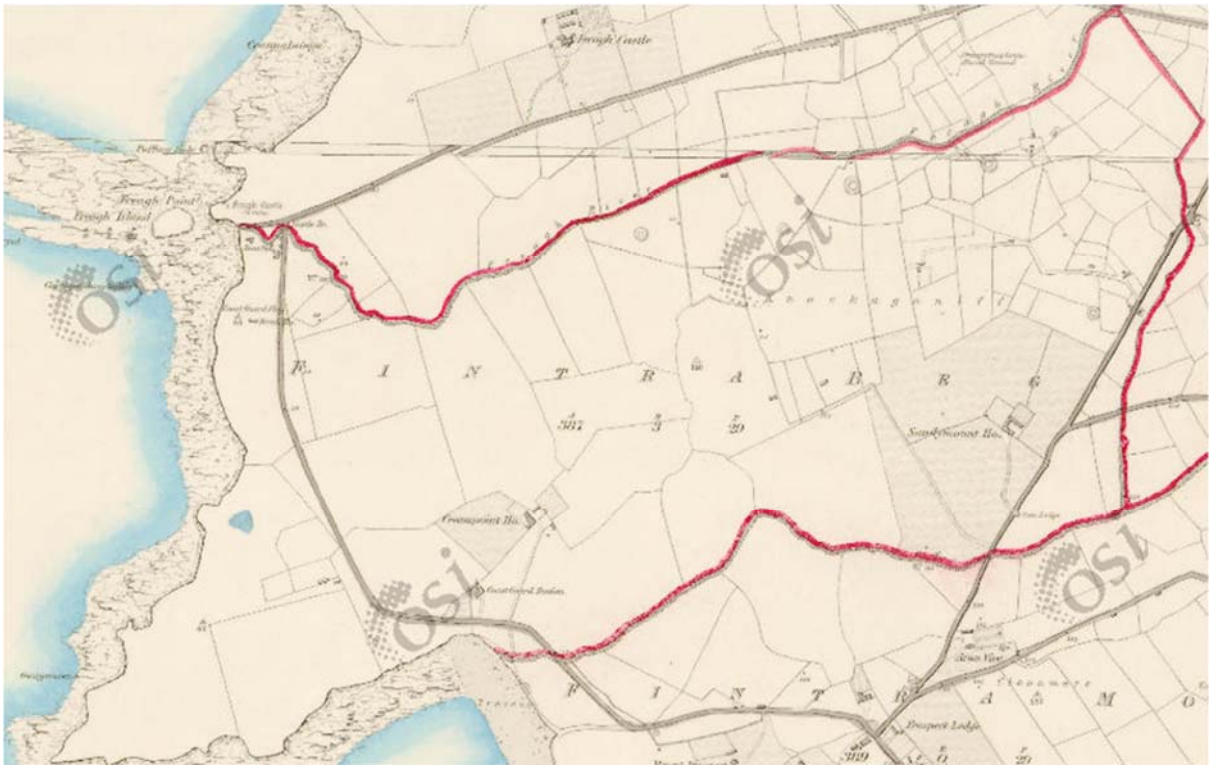


Figure 42. First edition OS map of Fintra Beg townland

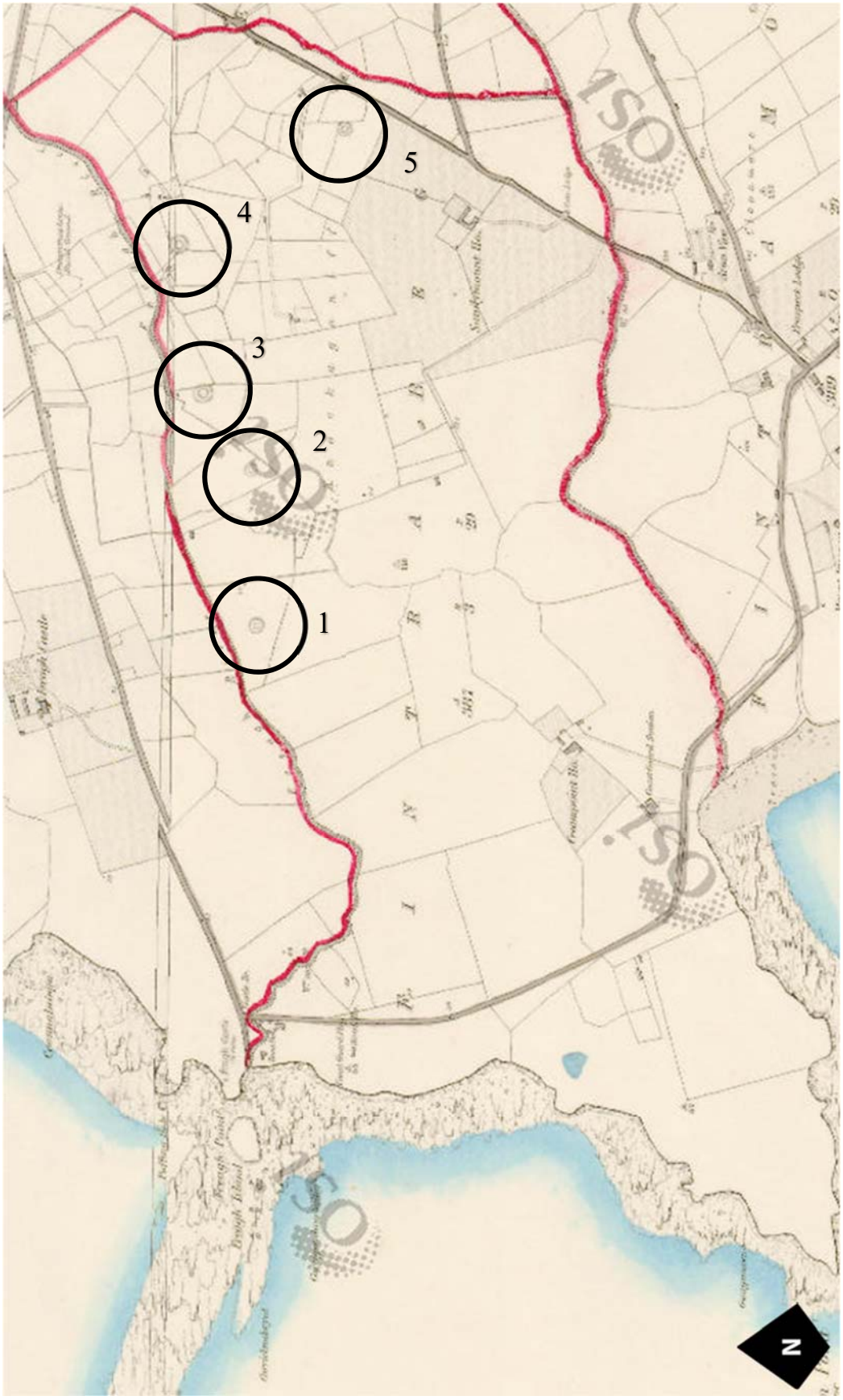


Figure 43. First edition OS map of Fintra Beg townland depicting earthwork 1. CL030-003, enclosures 3. CL030-006 & 4. CL030-008, and ringforts 2. CL030-004 & 5. CL030-009

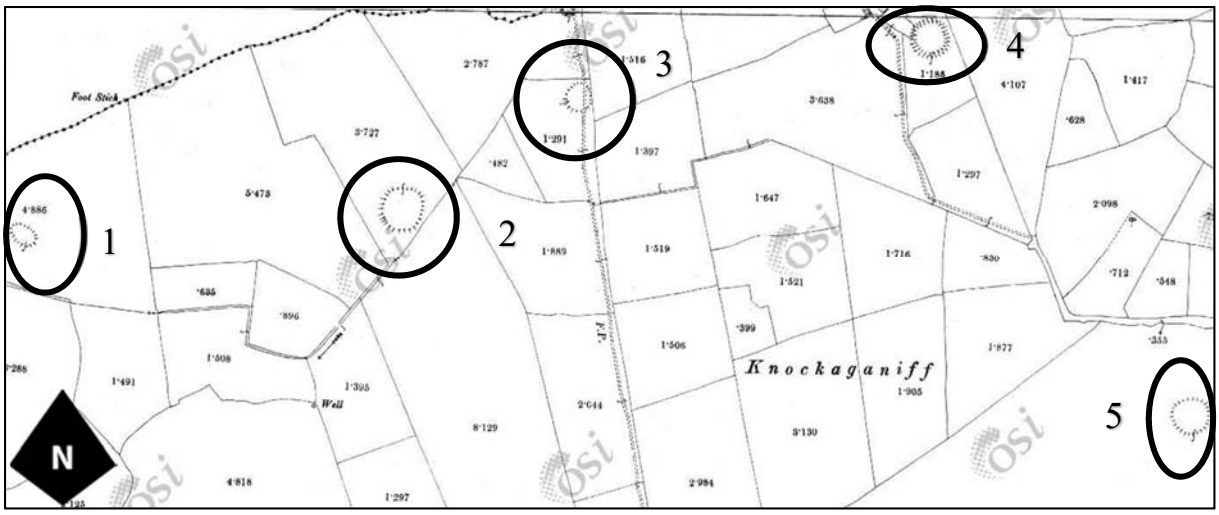


Figure 44. Second edition OS map of Fintra Beg townland depicting earthwork 1. CL030-003, enclosures 3. CL030-006 & 4. CL030-008, and ringforts 2. CL030-004 & 5. CL030-009



Figure 45. Aerial image of Fintra Beg townland depicting earthwork 1. CL030-003, enclosures 3. CL030-006 & 4. CL030-008, and ringforts 2. CL030-004 & 5. CL030-009 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 46. Aerial image of Fintra Beg townland (DG 2011-3)

7.1.10. Fintra More

The presence of five ringforts and two enclosures within this townland is recorded in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). Of these, however, neither the two enclosures, CL030-032002 & CL030-032003, nor three of the raths, CL030-032001, CL030-032004 & CL030-037001 are depicted on any of the available OS maps of this area. The existence of these sites is confirmed due to the presence of crop marks at each of the recorded locations. This is a strong indication that some level of destruction occurred prior to the creation of the first edition OS map (1840, 30). Both of the remaining forts, CL030-007 and CL030-010 – Cloona Fort – are shown on this early map and on later revised editions. That said, only Cloona Fort, CL030-010, is presently extant. Although the location of the other rath, CL030-007, may be discerned because of the presence of a further crop mark (GE 2018). It is thought provoking that it was the named ringfort that survived.

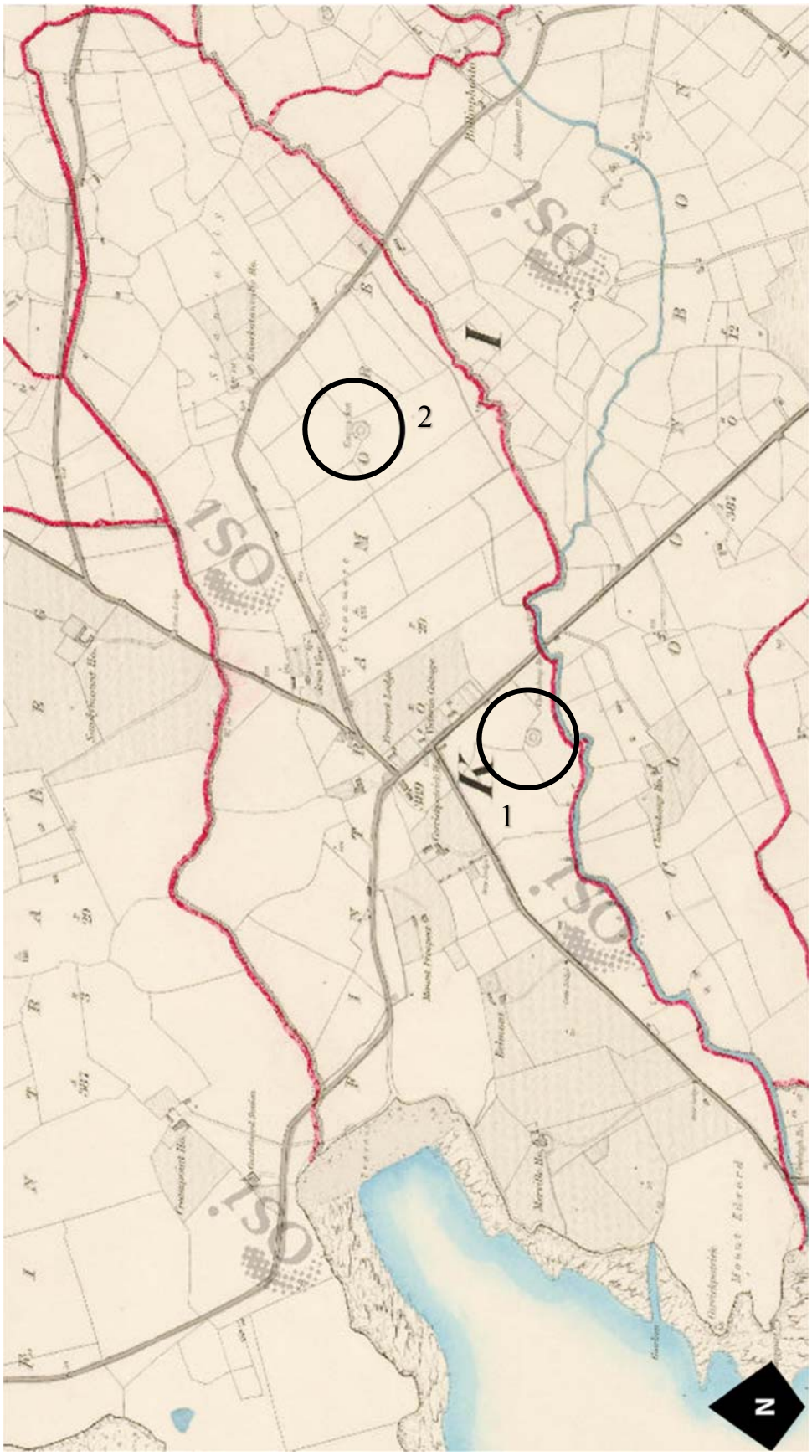


Figure 47. First edition OS map of Fintra More townland depicting ringforts 1. CL030-007 and 2. CL030-010

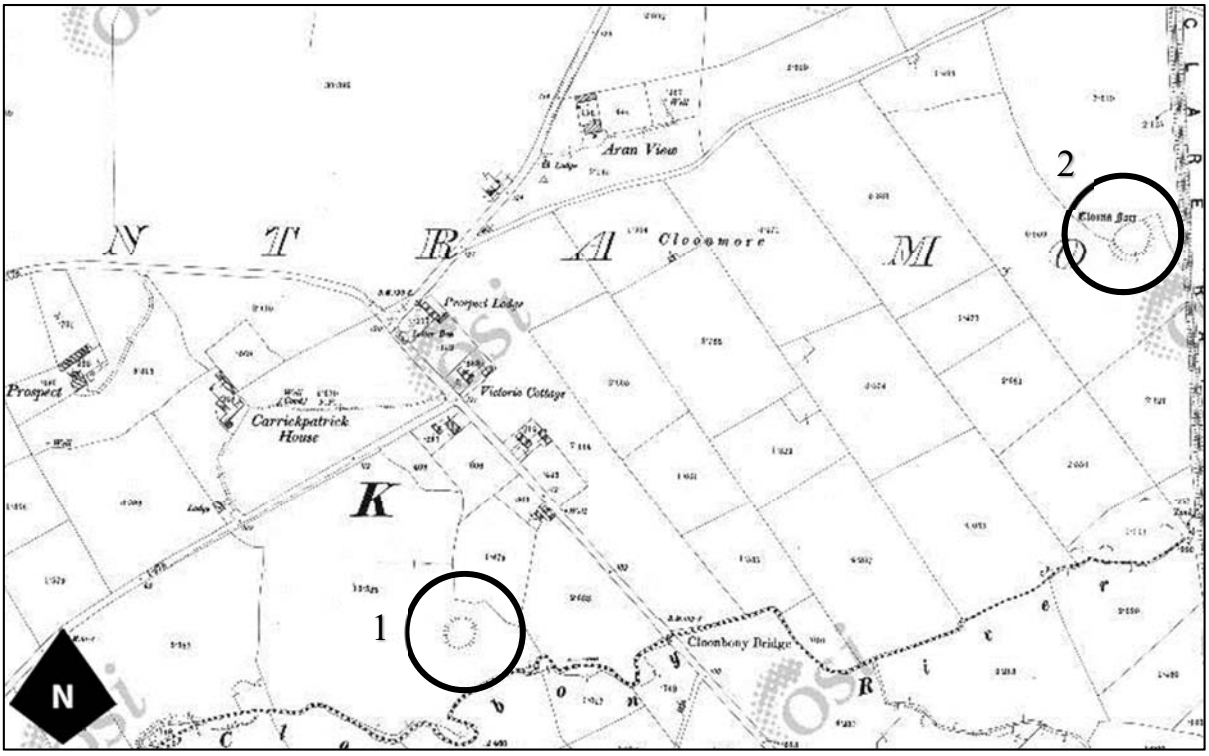


Figure 48. Second edition OS map of Fintra More townland depicting ringforts 1. CL030-007 and 2. CL030-010



Figure 49. Aerial image of Fintra More townland depicting ringfort 2. CL030-010, sites of ringforts 1. CL030-007, 3. CL030-037001, 4. CL030-032001 & 7. CL030-032004 and sites of enclosures 5. CL030-032002 & 6. CL030-032003 (GE 2018)

7.1.11. Freaghavaleen

The existence of a circular field monument within this townland is mentioned in the archaeological record. This enclosure, CL022-010, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 22) for this area. However, it is no longer visible on the revised second or subsequent editions of this map. It is not extant and examination of recent aerial images provides no clue as to the eventual location and form of this monument (GE 2009).

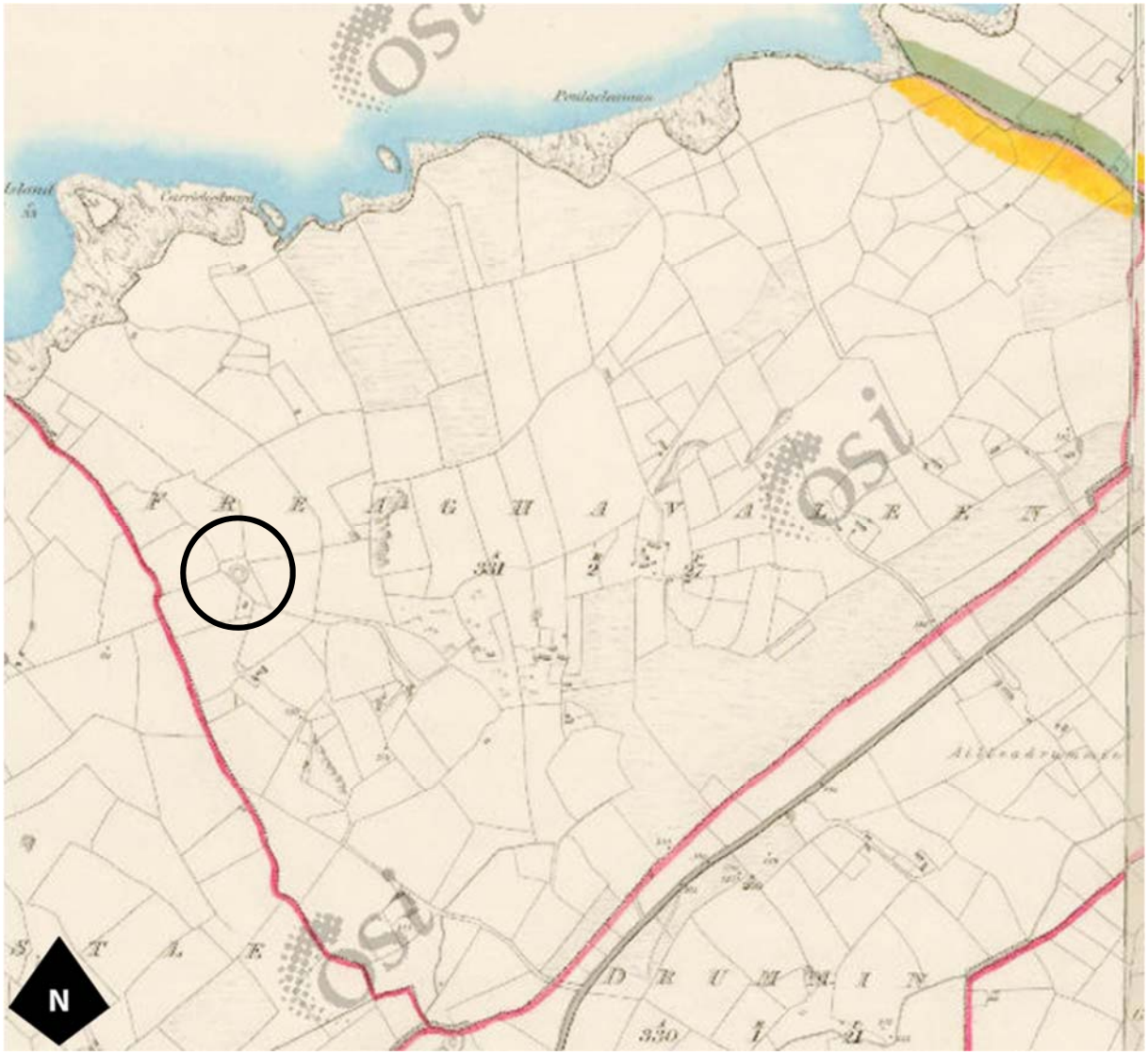


Figure 50. First edition OS map of Freaghavaleen townland depicting enclosure CL022-010

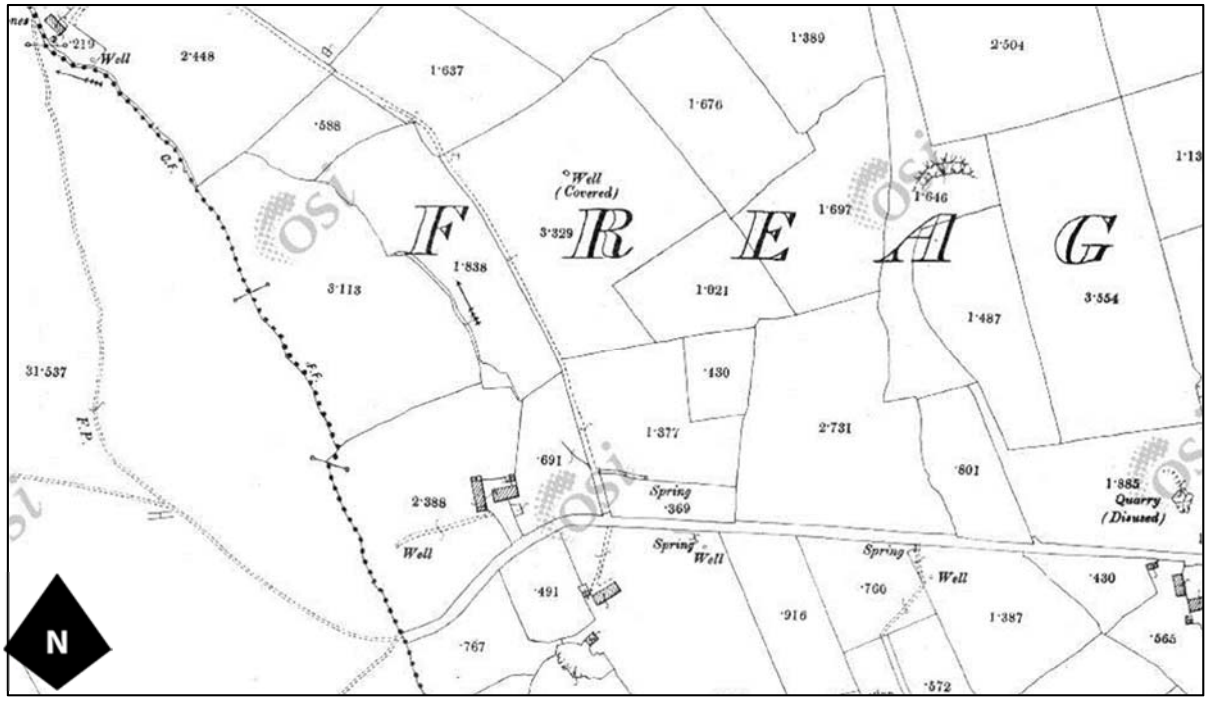


Figure 51. Second edition OS map of Freaghavaleen townland



Figure 52. Aerial image of Freaghavaleen townland depicting site of enclosure CL022-010 (GE 2009)

7.1.12. Illaun

A variety of circular field monuments is included in the archaeological record of this townland (NMS 2019). Two of these structures, CL031-003001 and CL031-039, are recorded as raths. Another, CL031-004, is recorded as a cashel and the final structure, CL031-038, is recorded as an enclosure. Only one of these monuments, CL031-004, is shown on the first and second editions of the OS map (1895, 31) of the area. This monument is still extant. One of the raths, CL031-003001, is displayed on a later edition of the 6-inch map of the townland and remains visible on recent aerial images as a low relief feature (DG 2011-3). Nevertheless, it seems likely that this structure had been severely disrupted prior to the creation of the in-depth survey of the mid-19th century. The other two mentioned monuments are not visible on any of the available OS maps of the area. Their locations are visible, however, because of the presence of crop marks on aerial images (*ibid*).

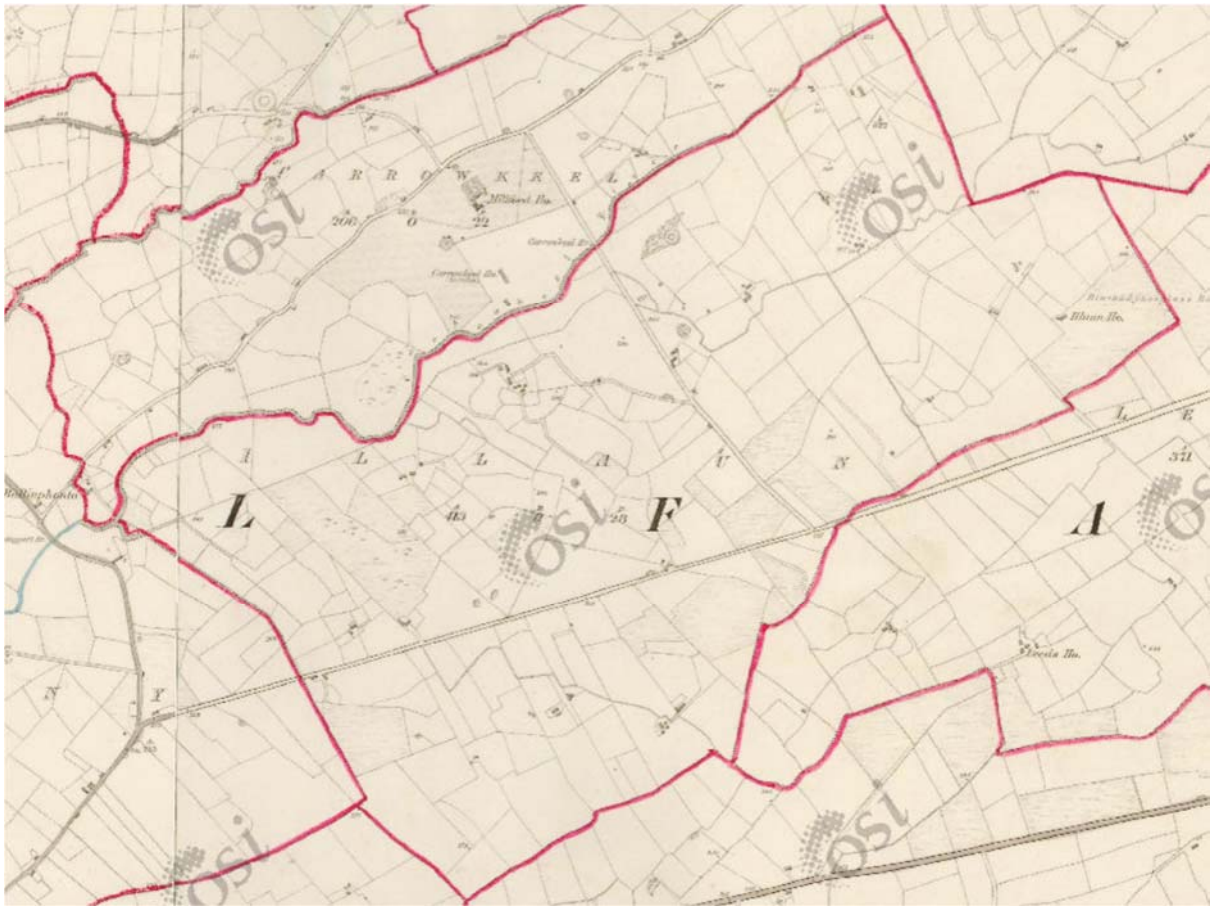


Figure 53. First edition OS map of Illaun townland

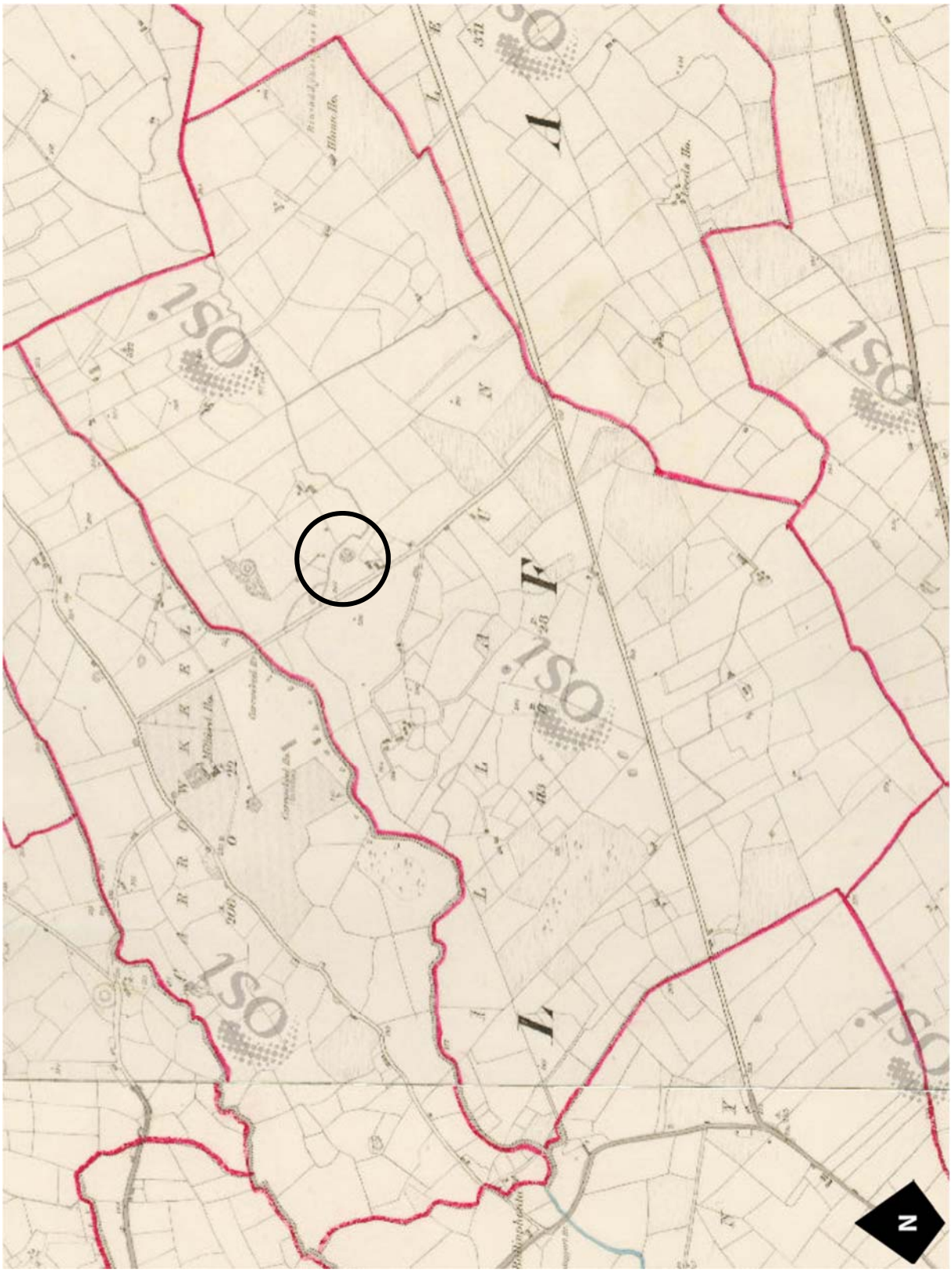


Figure 54. First edition OS map of Illaun townland depicting cashel CL031-004

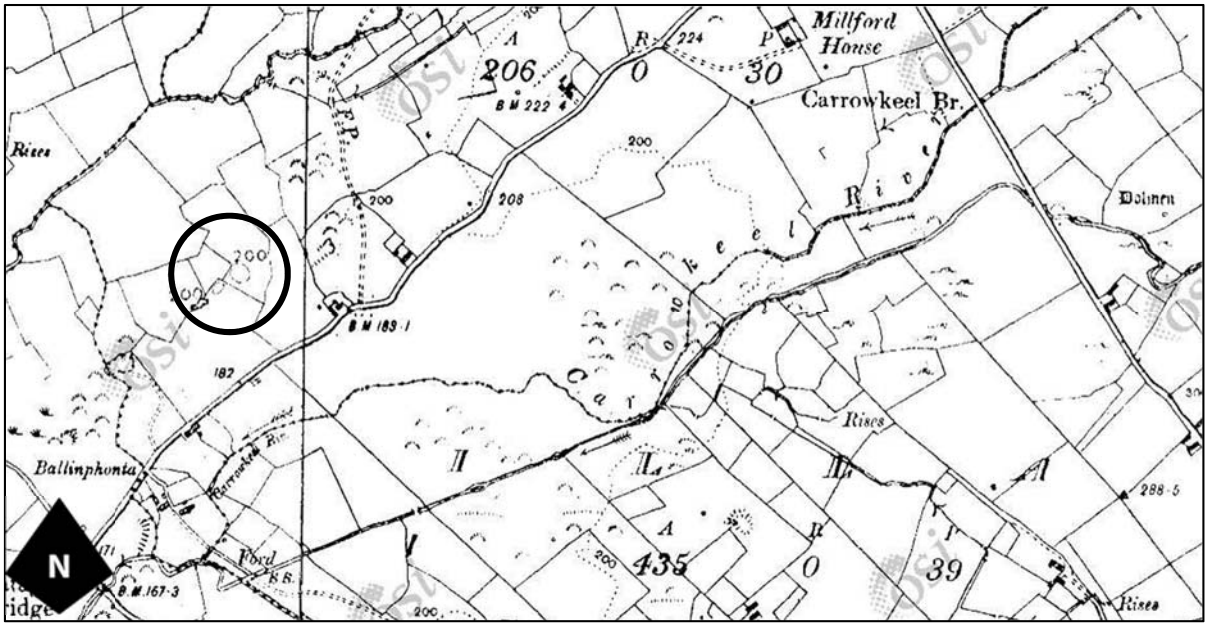


Figure 55. Third edition OS map of Illaun townland depicting cashel CL031-004



Figure 56. Aerial image of Illaun townland depicting cashel 1. CL031-004 & ringfort 3. CL031-003001 and site of ringfort 2. CL031-039 & enclosure 4. CL031-038 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 57. General aerial image of Illaun townland (GE 2018)

7.1.13. Kilcorcoran

Again, in this townland, a range of circular field monuments is recorded in the database. One of these, CL031-012, is recorded as a rath. Another of these, CL031-014, is recorded as an unclassified ringfort, and the final structure, CL031-016002 is recorded as an enclosure. This enclosure is not shown on any of the OS maps that covers this area. However, its location is discernible due to the presence of a crop mark at the recorded site. Of the two ringforts, one, CL031-012, is not shown on the first edition (1840, 31) OS map. It is shown, however, on later editions and indeed is still extant. The second ringfort, CL031-014 is depicted on the first edition OS map, where it is also noted as 'Lisballard'. It is also shown on later revised editions and is still extant (DG 2011-3). Again, it is thought provoking that such a named ringfort is preserved.

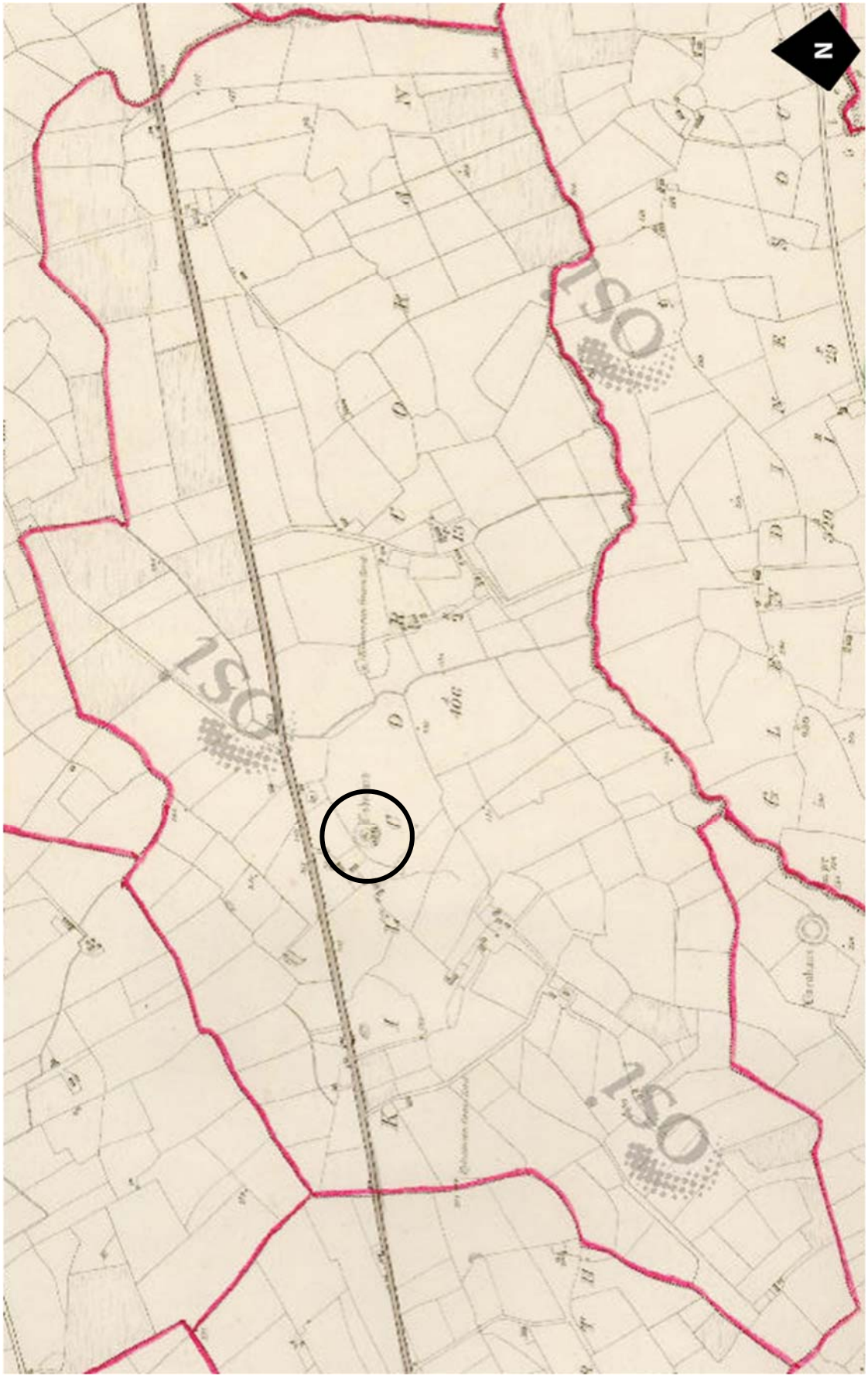


Figure 58. First edition OS map of Kilcorcoran townland depicting ringfort CL031-014

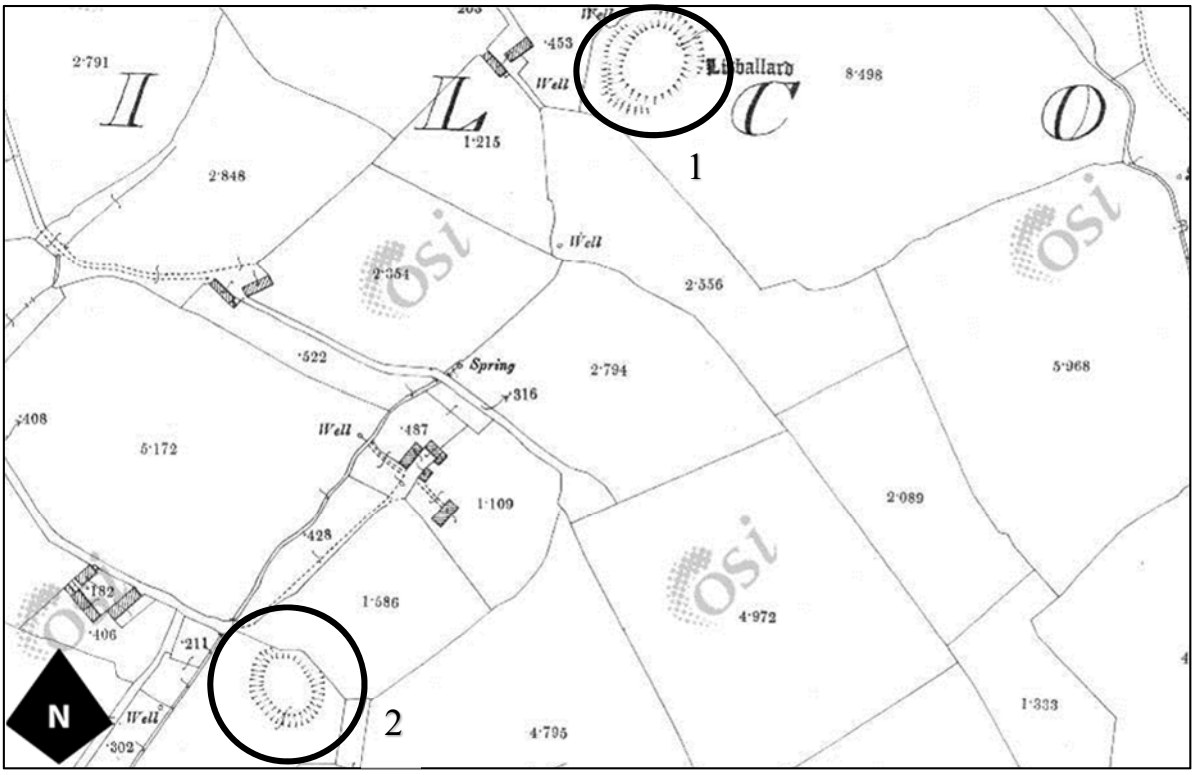


Figure 59. Second edition OS map of Kilcorcoran townland depicting ringforts 1. CL031-014 and 2. CL031-012



Figure 60. Aerial image of Kilcorcoran townland depicting ringforts 1. CL031-014, 2. CL031-012 & site of enclosure 3. CL031-016002 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 61. General aerial image of Kilcorcoran townland (GE 2018)

7.1.14. Kildeema North

A single example of a ringfort is recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). This rath, CL031-023, is clearly shown on the first edition (1840, 31) OS map of the townland. The location is also marked on later revised editions; although the eastern section of the rath is shown as open on these maps. This ringfort is no longer extant, but its location and form can be judged because of the presence of a crop mark visible on modern aerial imagery (DG 2011-3).



Figure 62. First edition OS map of Kildeema North townland depicting ringfort CL031-023

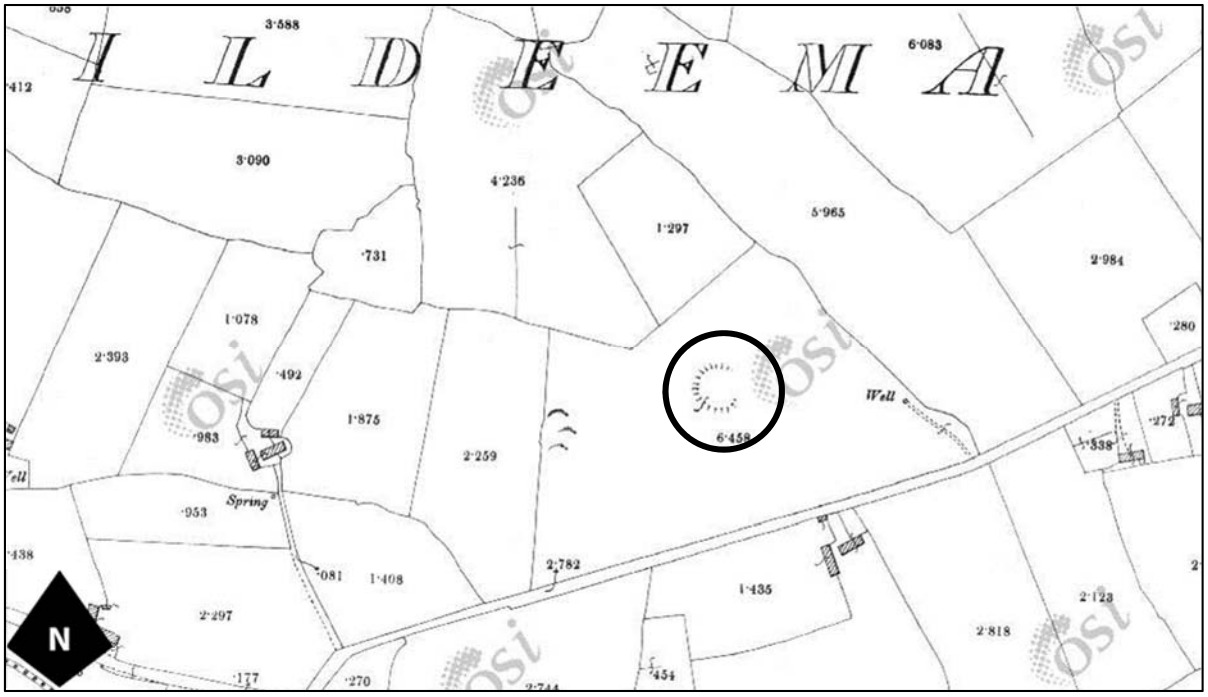


Figure 63. Second edition OS map of Kildeema North townland depicting ringfort CL031-023



Figure 64. Aerial image of Kildeema North townland depicting site of ringfort CL031-023 (DG 2011-3)

7.1.15. Kildeema South

There are three circular field monuments recorded in this townland (NMS 2019). Two of these structures, CL030-027 and CL031-022 are recorded as raths and the third, CL031-021, is recorded as an earthwork. The three of these monuments are shown on the early first edition OS map (1840, 31) of the area. The earthwork, CL031-021, is also noted as 'Kildeema Fort'. Neither it nor the rath, CL030-027, are shown on any subsequent maps and as such are no longer extant. The area close to this latter site is shown on these maps as having a millrace constructed that potentially impacted on the structure. The second rath, CL031-022 is shown on the later revised editions of the OS map. However, it is not visible on recent aerial images (DG 2011-3) and is no longer extant. There is a crop mark visible at the recorded location on these images, however.



Figure 65. First edition OS map of Kildeema South townland depicting ringforts 1. CL030-027 & 3. CL031-022, and earthwork 2. CL031-021

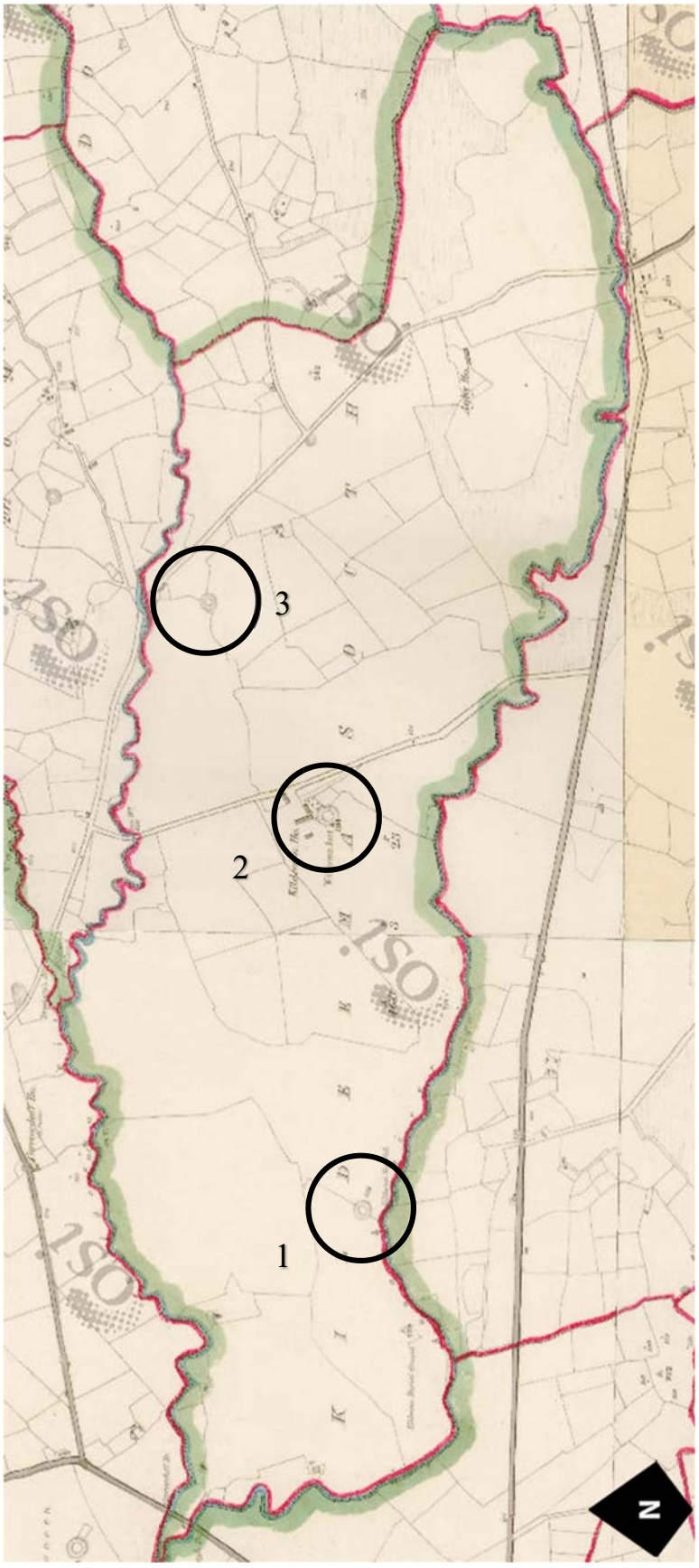


Figure 66. First edition OS map of Kildeema South townland depicting ringforts 1. CL030-027 & 3. CL031-022, and earthwork 2. CL031-021

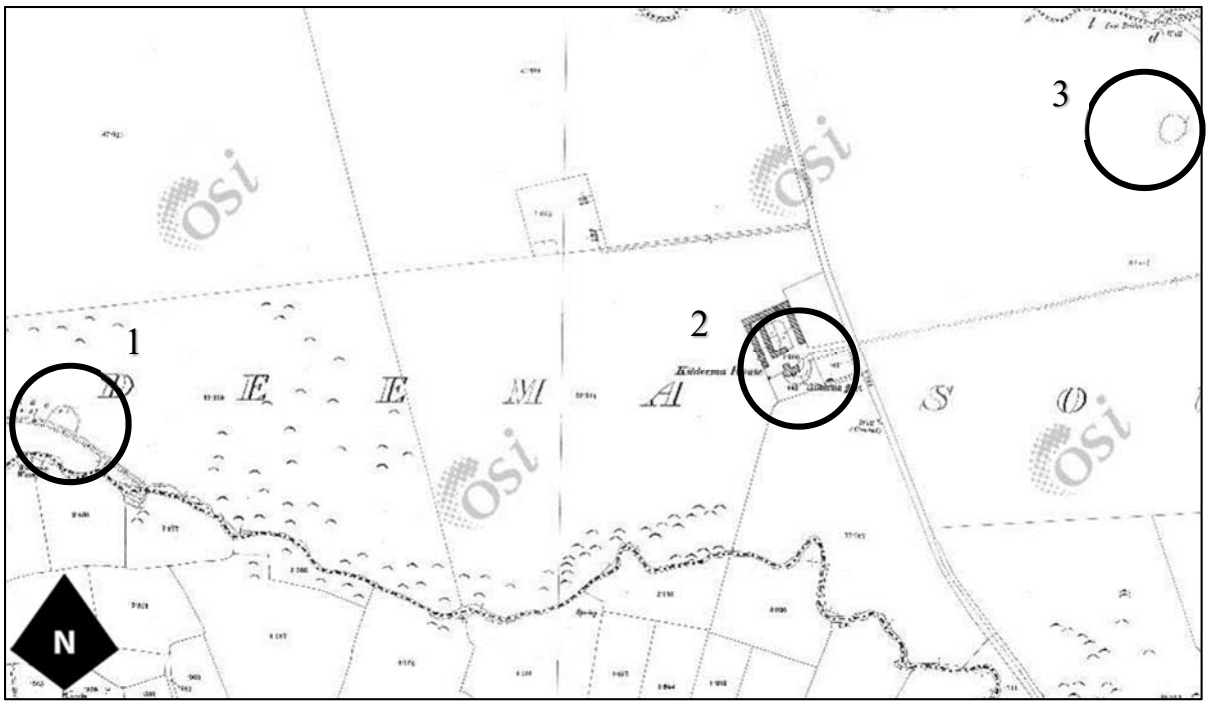


Figure 67. Second edition OS map of Kildeema South townland depicting ringfort 3. CL031-022, and sites of ringfort 1. CL030-027 and earthwork 2. CL031-021



Figure 68. Aerial image of Kildeema South townland depicting sites of ringforts 1. CL030-027 & 3. CL031-022, and earthwork 2. CL031-021 (DG 2011-3)

7.1.16. Kilfarboy

The existence of two ringforts within this townland is recorded in the database (NMS 2019). These two raths, CL023-043 and CL031-007 are depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 31) of the area. They are both depicted on later editions of this map also. They are both presently extant (DG 2011-3).

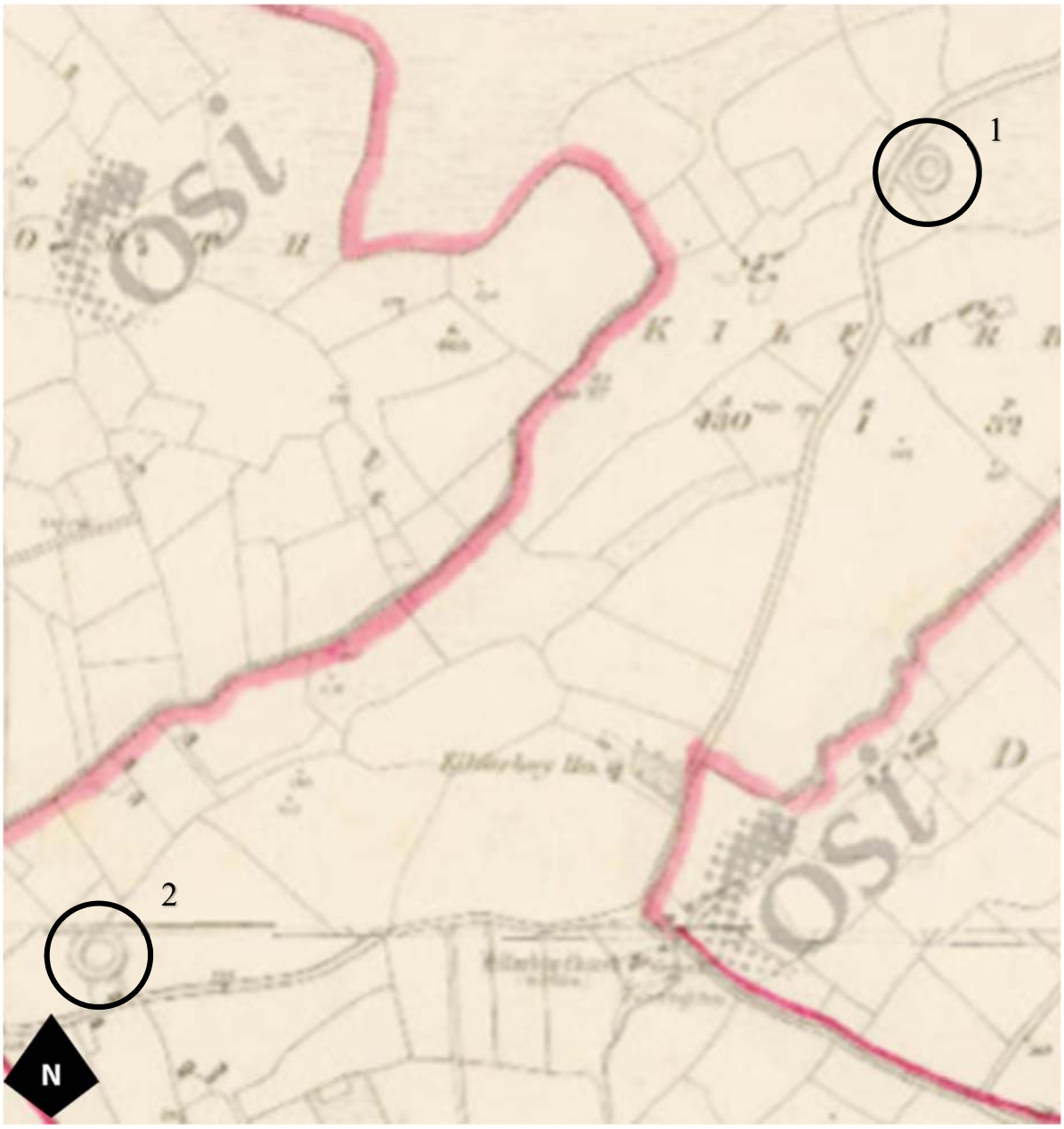


Figure 69. First edition OS map of Kilfarboy townland depicting ringforts 1. CL023-043 & 2. CL031-007

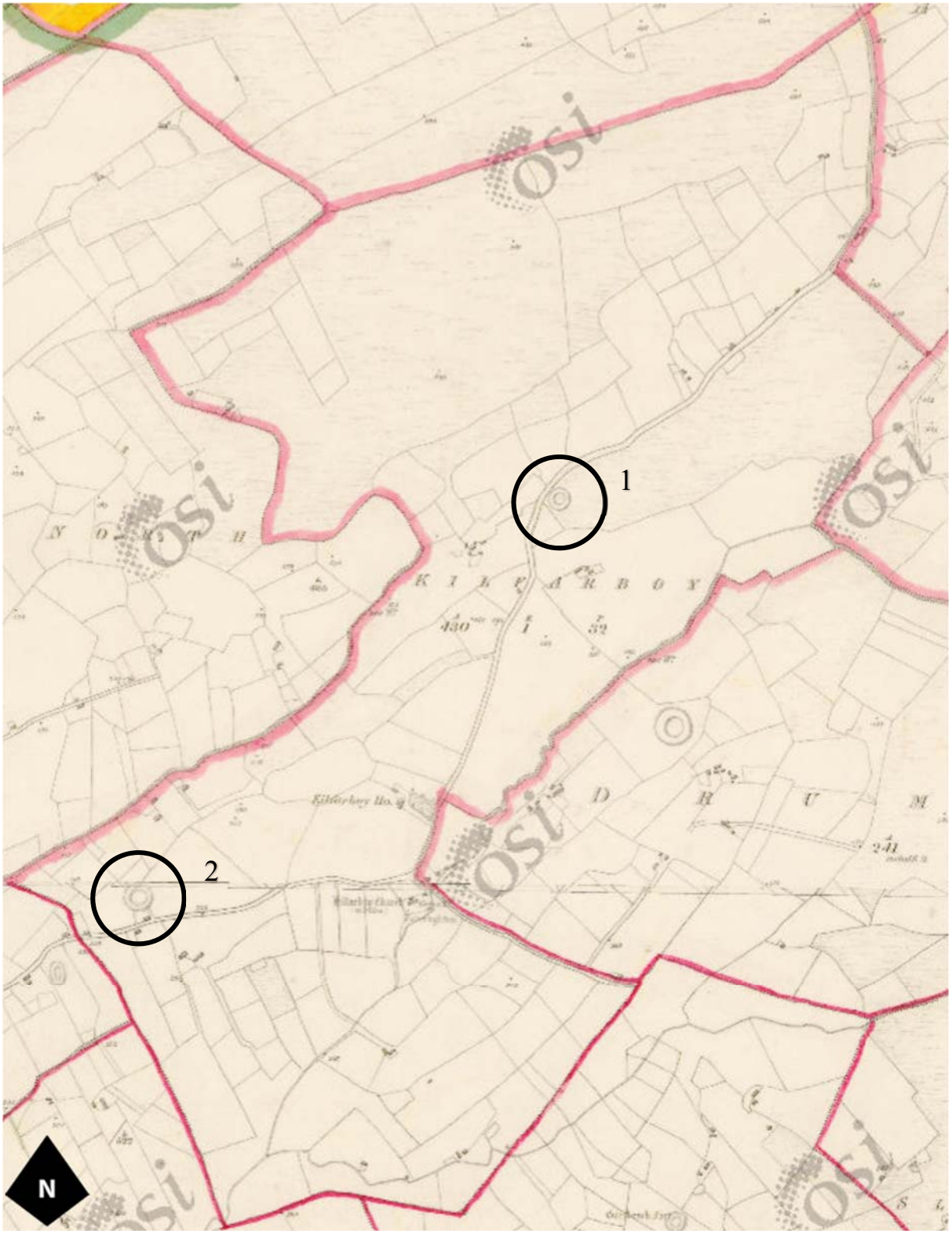


Figure 70. First edition OS map of Kilfarboy townland depicting ringforts 1. CL023-043 & 2. CL031-007

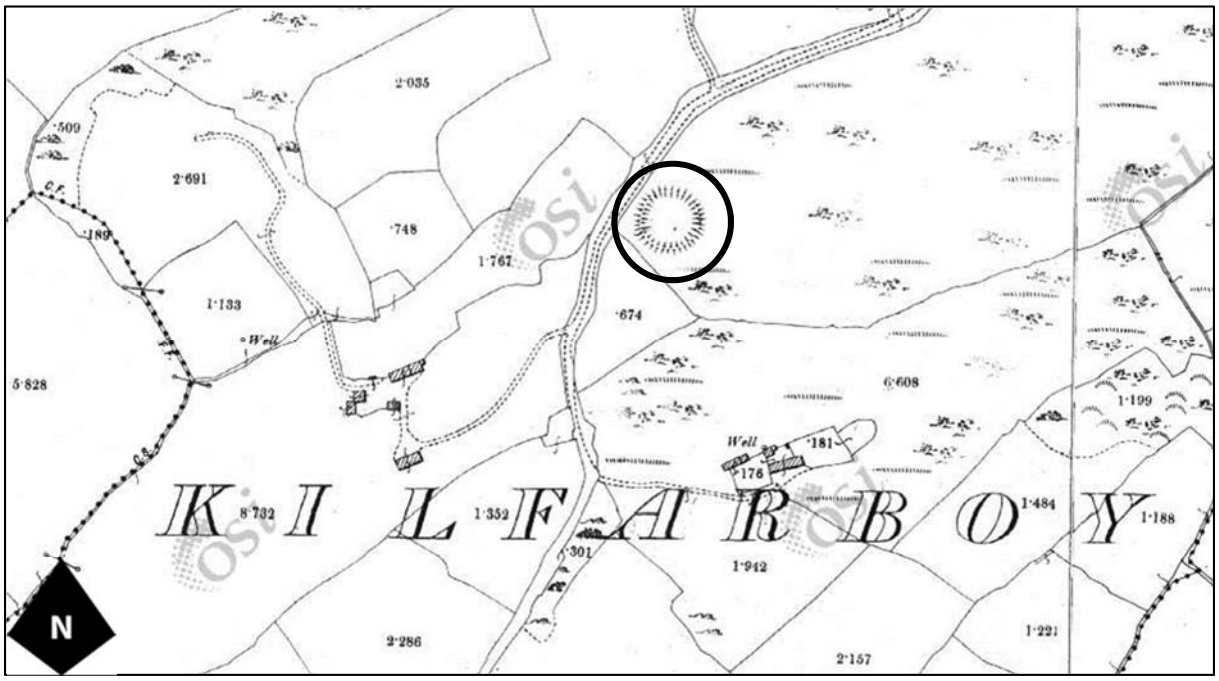


Figure 71. Second edition OS map of Kilfarboy townland depicting ringfort CL023-043

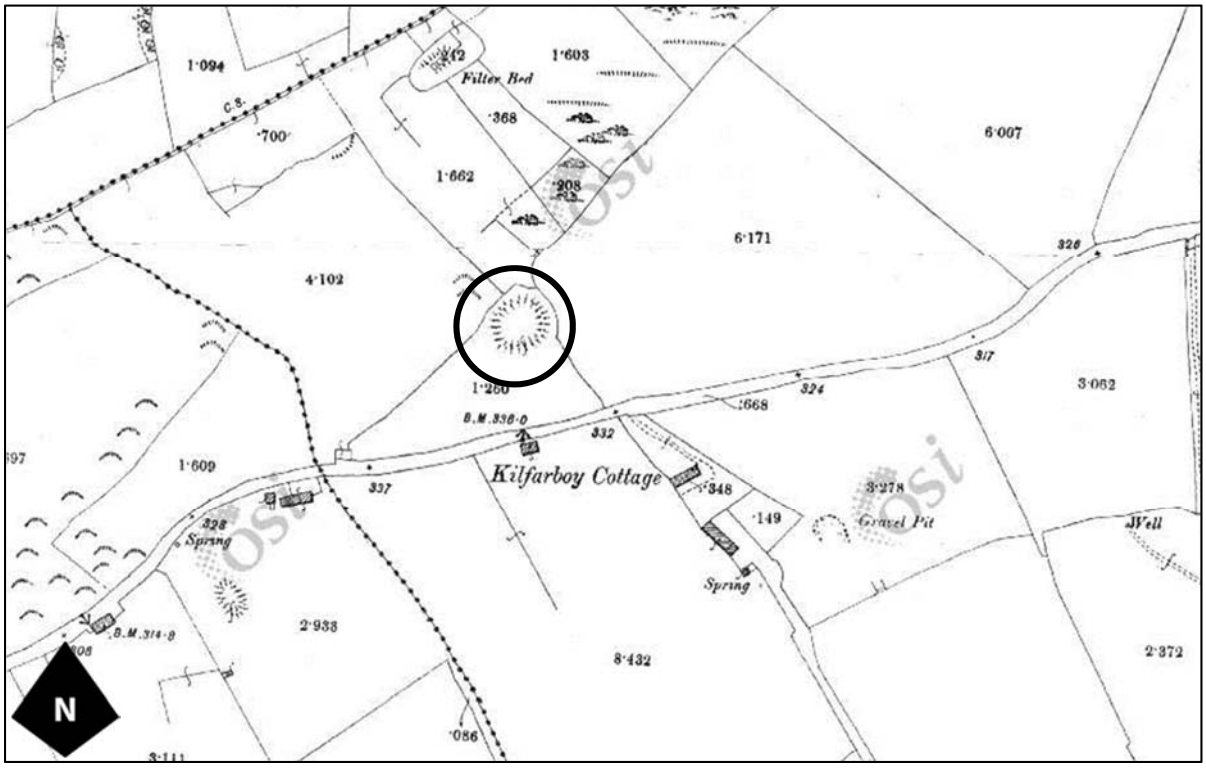


Figure72. Second edition OS map of Kilfarboy townland depicting ringfort CL031-007



Figure 73. Aerial image of Kilfarboy townland depicting ringforts 1. CL023-043 & 2. CL031-007 (DG 2011-3)

7.1.17 Leagard South

Again, in this townland a variety of circular monuments are recorded in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). The first of these, CL030-014, is recorded as an earthwork. Two others, CL030-015 and CL030-018, are recorded as raths. The final structure, CL030-033, is recorded as an enclosure. Neither this enclosure, CL030-033 nor the earthwork, CL030-014, are shown on any of the available OS maps of the area. Knowledge of the presence of these two sites is due to crop marks on recent aerial images (GE 2018). This raises an interesting question as regards the naming conventions of various sites. The two raths, CL030-015 and CL030-018, are shown on the first edition OS map (1840, 30). The former structure, CL030-015, is shown on later maps and is still extant (DG 2011-3). The latter site, CL030-018, is also shown on these maps but at some stage prior to the creation of the second edition map (1895, 30) the north east of the structure was disturbed by a field boundary.

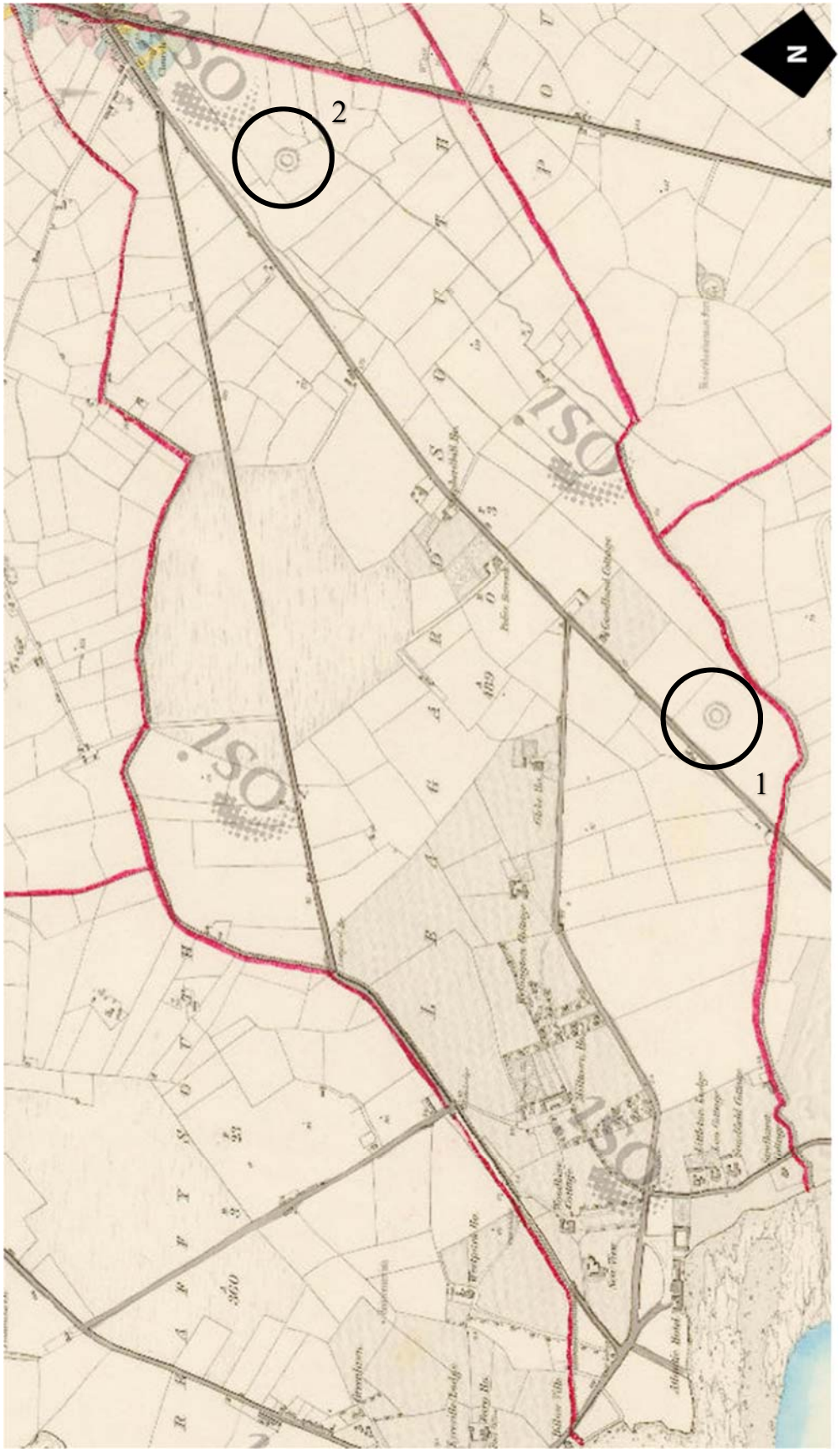


Figure 74. First edition OS map of Leagard South townland depicting ringforts 1. CL030-015 and 2. CL030-018

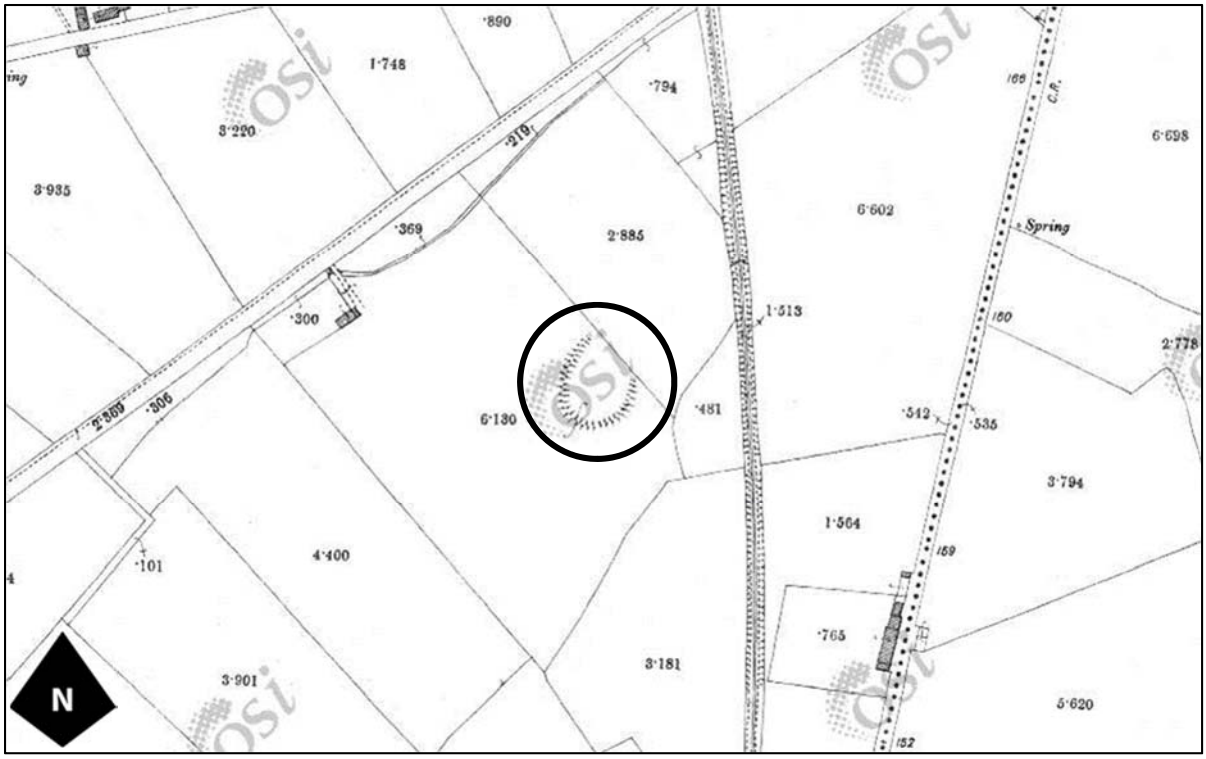


Figure 75. Second edition OS map of Leagard South townland depicting ringfort CL030-018

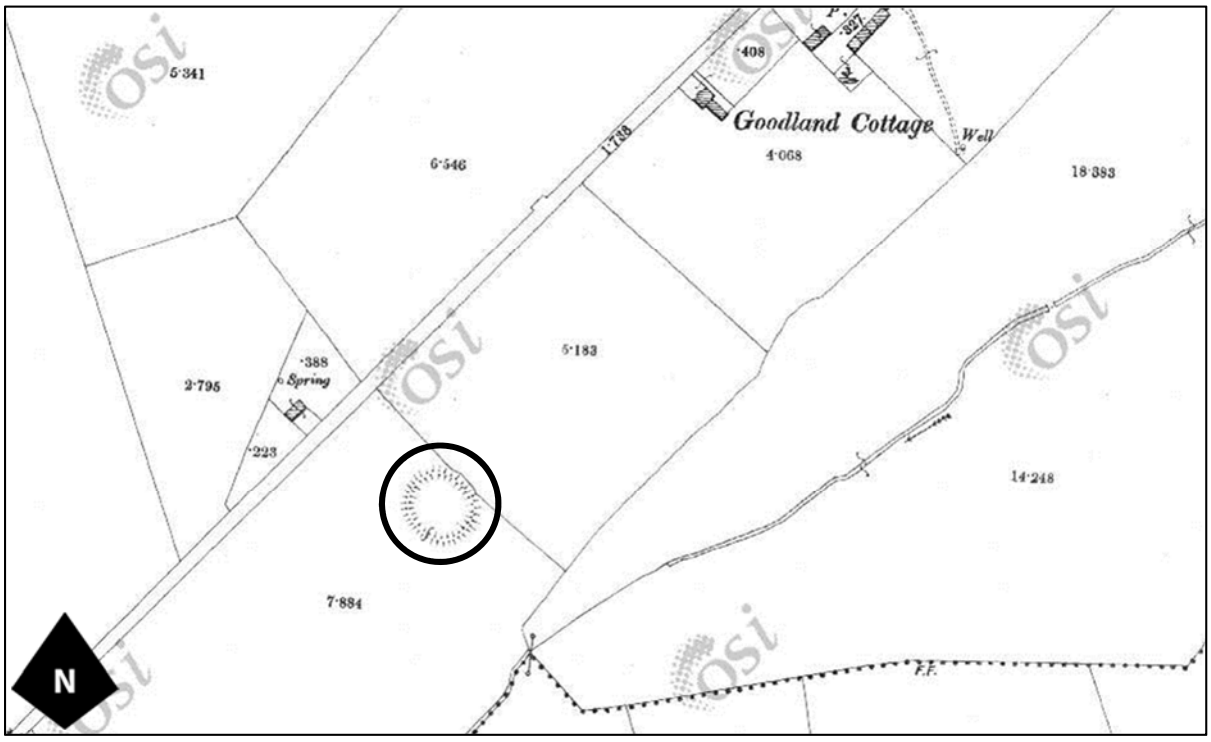


Figure 76. Second edition OS map of Leagard South townland depicting ringfort CL030-015



Figure 77. Aerial image of Leagard South townland depicting ringforts 1. CL030-015 & 2. CL030-018, and sites of enclosure 3. CL030-033 & earthwork 4. CL030-014 (DG 2011-3)

7.1.18. Leeds

A single example of a ringfort is recorded in this townland (NMS 2019). This rath, CL031-009, is shown on the first edition OS map (1840, 31) of the area. On this map, it is also noted with the name 'Gortbrack Fort'. This structure is shown on the later revised editions of this map and has survived to the present day as a low relief feature visible on modern aerial images (GE 2010).



Figure 78. First edition OS map of Leeds townland depicting ringfort CL031-009

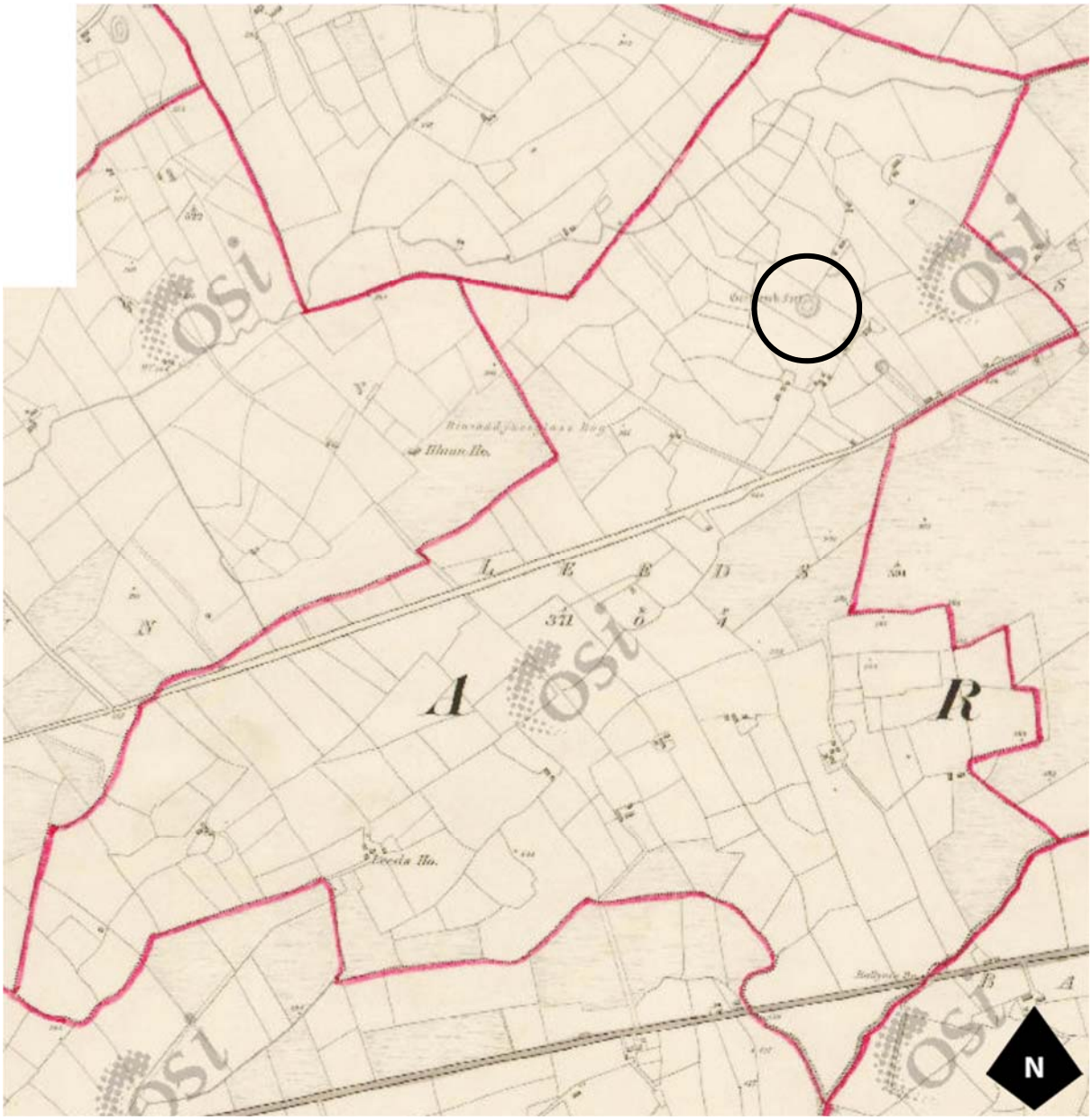


Figure 79. First edition OS map of Leeds townland depicting ringfort CL031-009

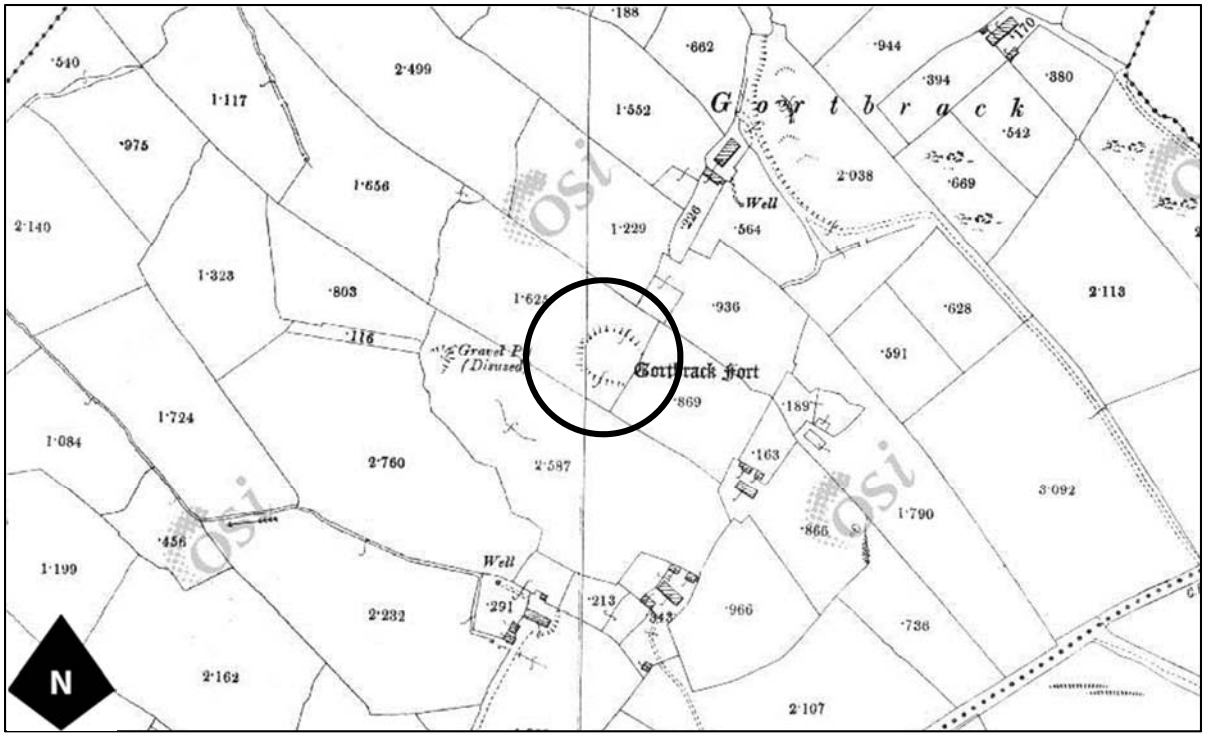


Figure 80. Second edition OS map of Leeds townland depicting ringfort CL031-009



Figure 81. Aerial image of Leeds townland depicting ringfort CL031-009

7.1.19. Moy beg

Two circular earthen monuments are recorded within the boundaries of this townland (NMS 2019). One of these, CL023-025, is recorded as an earthwork. Whereas, the other structure, CL023-028, is recorded as a rath. Both of these monuments are depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 23) of the area. On this map the rath, CL023-028 is noted as Lisnaconeeny' or fort of the rabbits. They are also shown on the later available OS maps. Recent aerial images show the rath, CL023-028, to be extant. Although the earthwork is no longer extant, it is visible as a crop mark on these images (DG 2011-3).

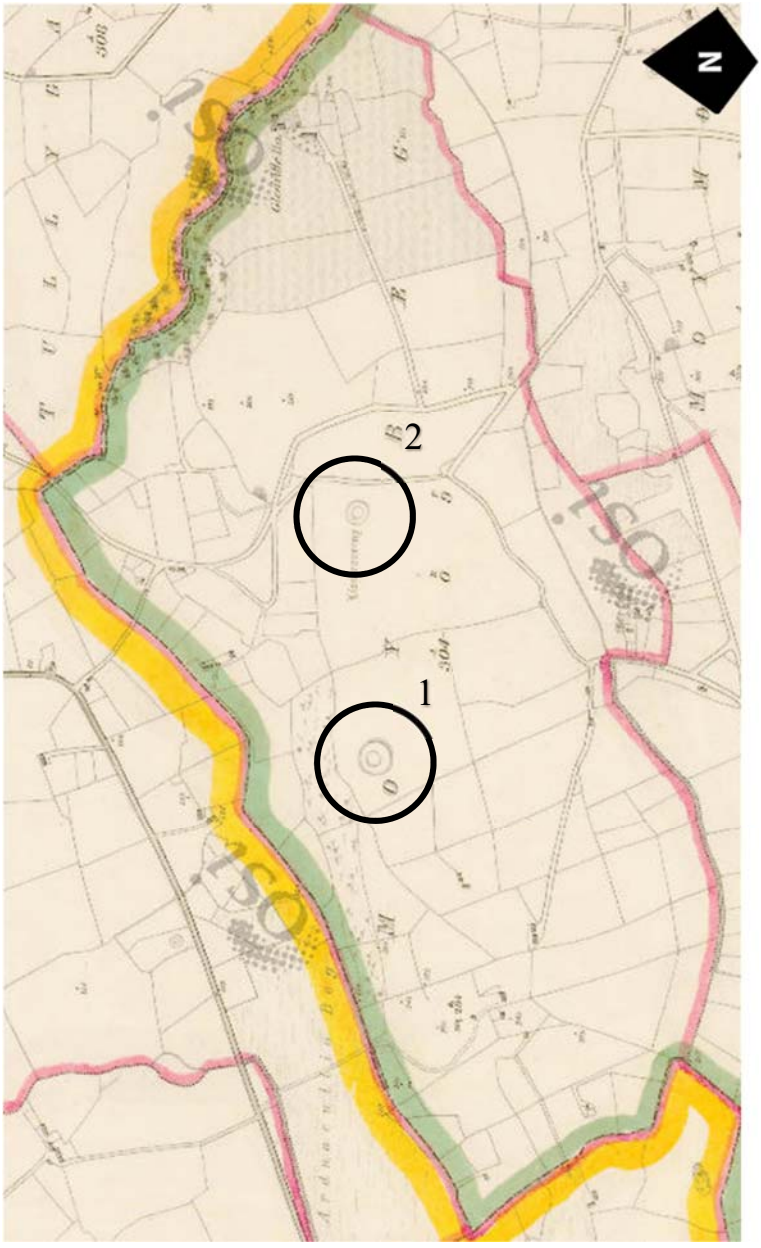


Figure 82. First edition OS map of Moy beg townland depicting earthwork 1. CL023-025 and ringfort 2. CL023-028

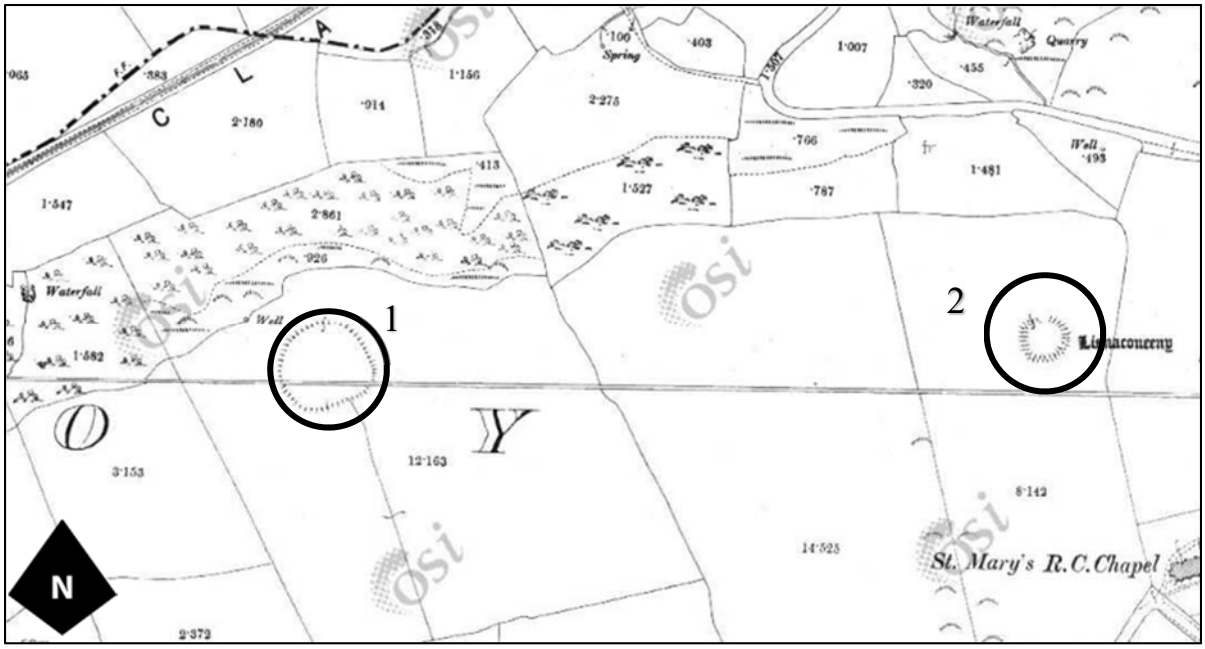


Figure 83. Second edition OS map of Moy beg townland depicting earthwork 1. CL023-025 and ringfort 2. CL023-028



Figure 84. Aerial image of Moy beg townland depicting ringfort 2. CL023-028 and site of earthwork 1. CL023-025

7.1.20. Moy More

The presence of two raths, CL023-029 and CL023-031, is recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). These two structures are depicted as intact on the first edition OS map (1840, 23) of the area. The first of these raths, CL023-029, is shown in a similar fashion on later maps and indeed is still extant. The second of these raths, CL023-031, is shown from the revised second edition OS map (1895, 23) onwards as being open on the eastern side. Both of these features remain visible on modern aerial images (DG 2011-3).

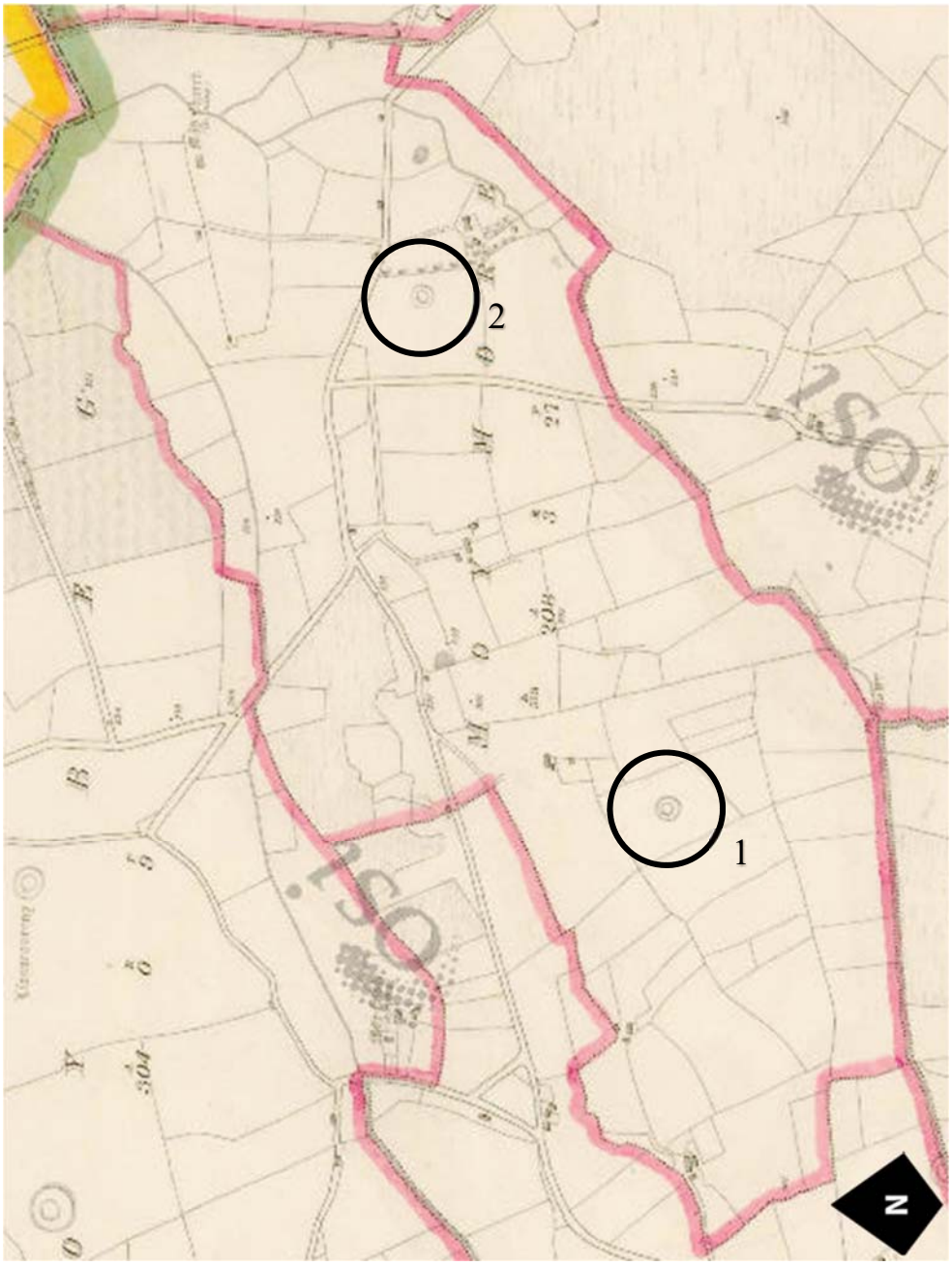


Figure 85. First edition OS map of Moy More townland depicting ringforts 1. CL023-029 and 2. CL023-031

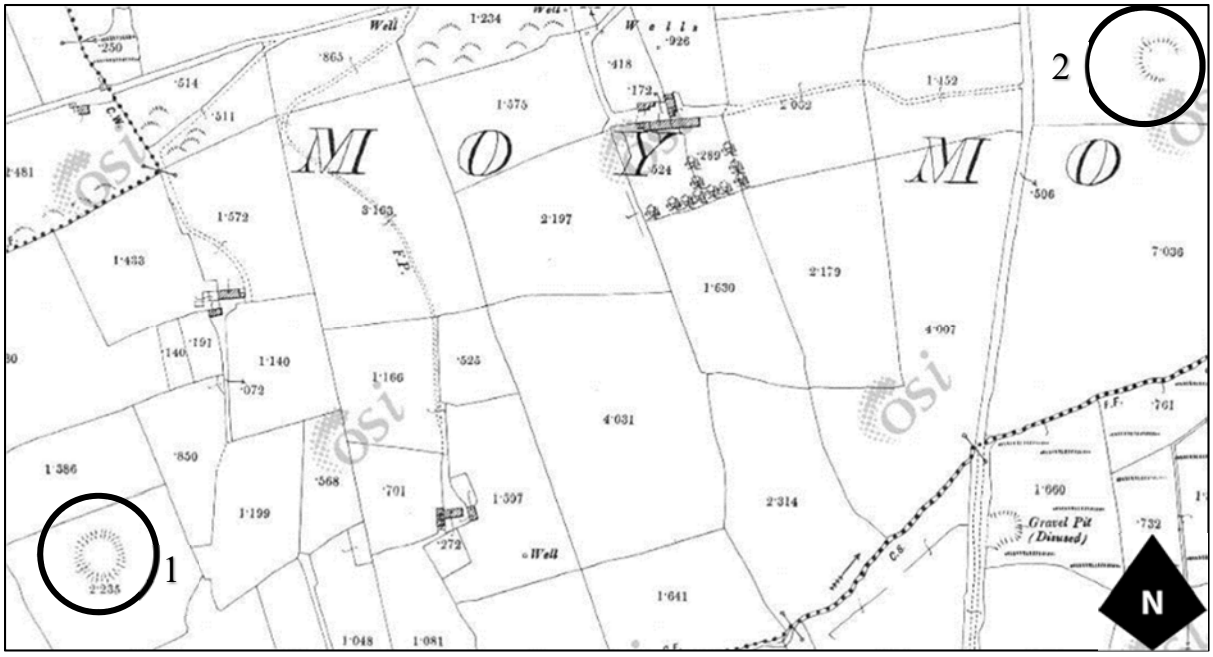


Figure 86. Second edition OS map of Moy More townland depicting ringforts 1. CL023-029 and 2. CL023-031



Figure 87. Aerial image of Moy More townland depicting ringforts 1. CL023-029 and 2. CL023-031

7.1.21. Poulawillin

The existence of three raths are recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). Two of these structures, CL030-017001 and CL031-013, are depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 30 & 31). They are also noted by name, the first of them, CL030-017001, is referred to as 'Knockloskeraun Fort' and the second, CL031-013, as 'Liscahaun'. Both of these monuments are shown on later OS maps of the area and are presently extant (DG, 2011-3). The third structure recorded in this townland, CL030-011001, is not shown on the first edition OS map. It shown on the later revised editions of this map though. It is no longer extant and it appears likely that it had been significantly damaged prior to the thorough survey of the mid-19th century. The location of this structure is confirmed by the presence of a crop mark that is visible on modern aerial images (DG 2011-3).



Figure 88. First edition OS map of Poulawillin townland depicting ringforts 1. CL030-017001 and 2. CL031-013

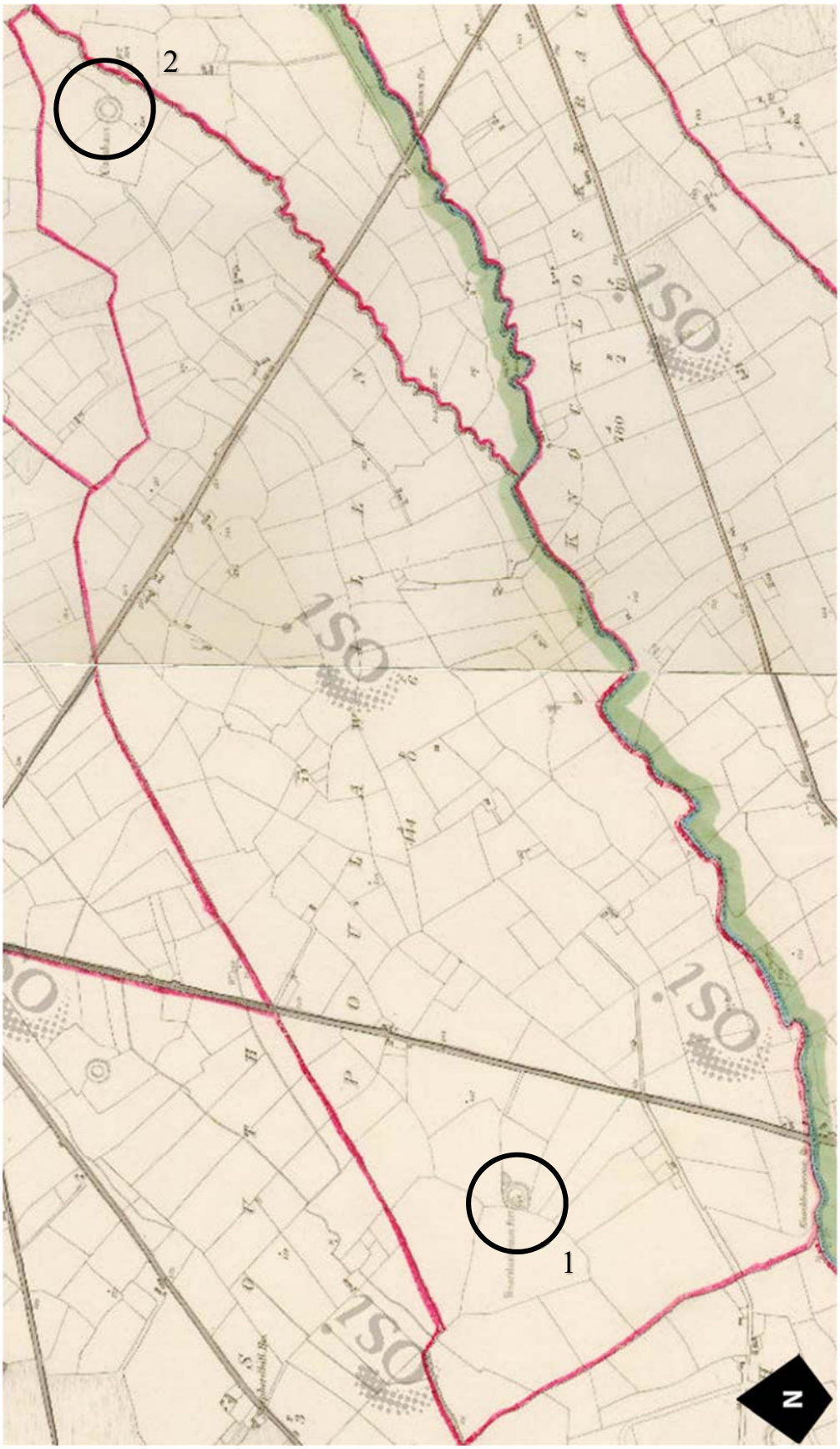


Figure 89. First edition OS map of Poulawillin townland depicting ringforts 1. CL030-017001 and 2. CL031-013

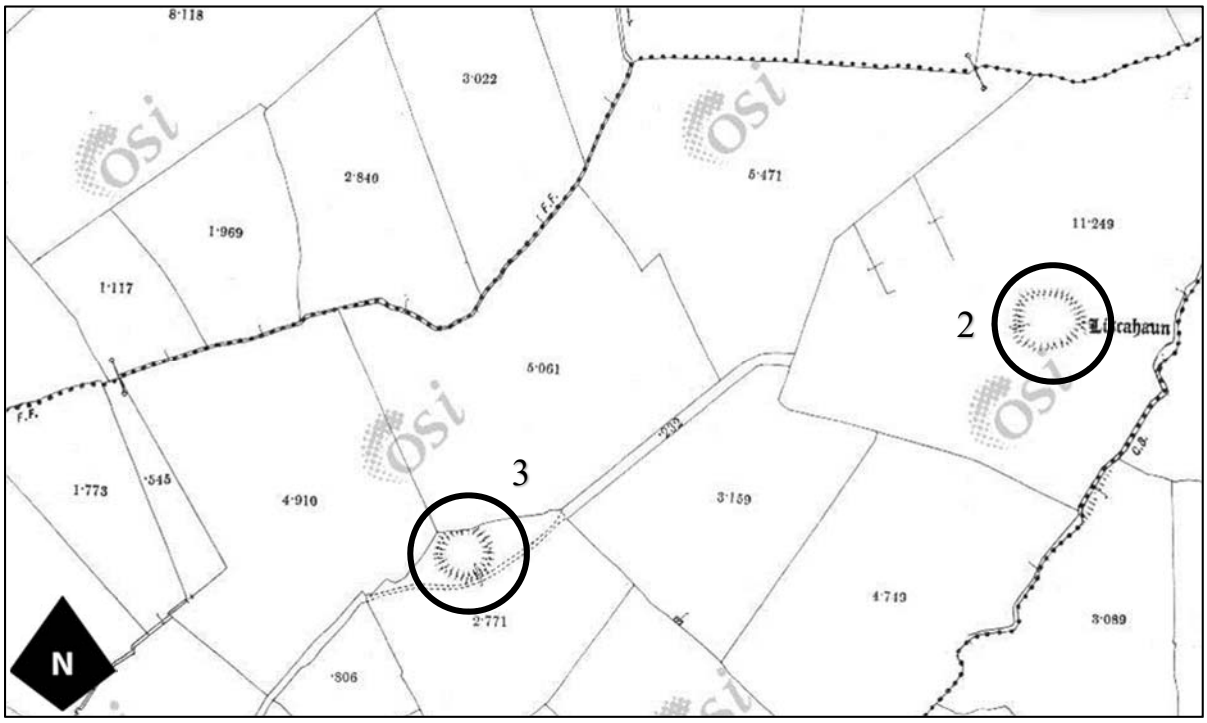


Figure 90. Second edition OS map of Poulawillin townland depicting ringforts 2. CL031-013 and 3. CL030-011001

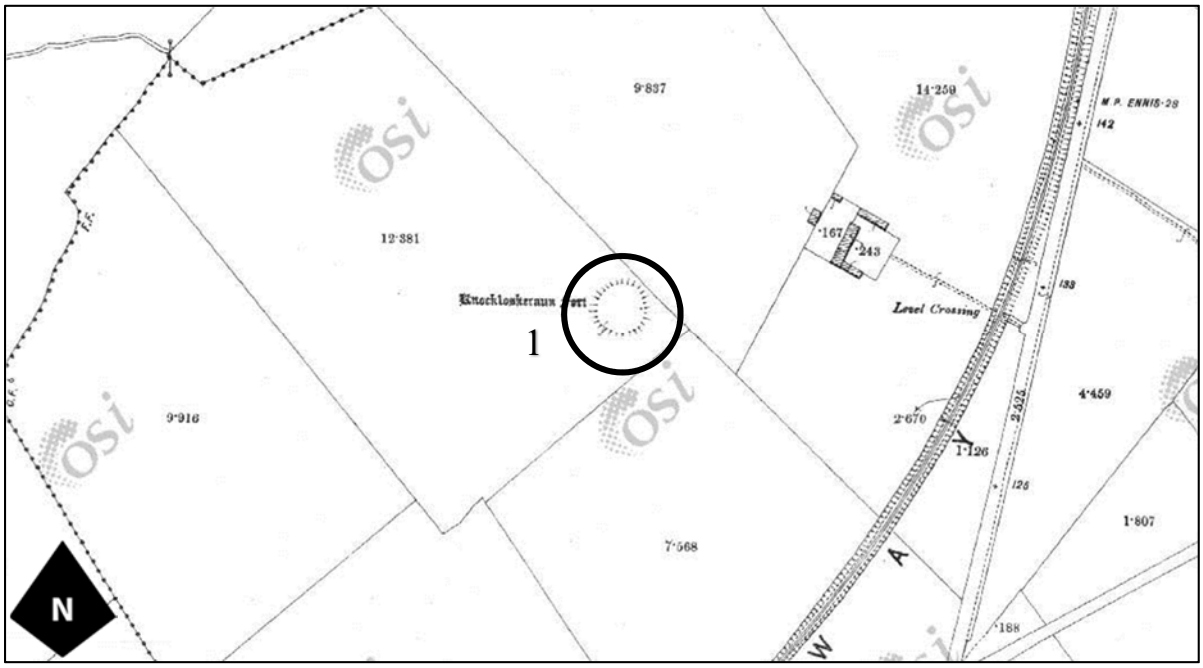


Figure 91. Second edition OS map of Poulawillin townland depicting ringfort 1. CL030-017001



Figure 92. Aerial image of Poulawillin townland depicting ringforts 2. CL031-013 and 3. CL030-011001 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 93. Aerial image of Poulawillin townland depicting ringfort 1. CL030-017001 (DG 2011-3)

7.1.22. Silverhill

The presence of two earthen field monuments is recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). One of these, CL031-018, is recorded as a rath and the other, CL031-019, is recorded as an earthwork. Both of these monuments are visible on the first edition OS map (1840, 31) of the area. They are also visible on the later revised editions and are still extant (DG 2011-3).



Figure 94. First edition OS map of Silverhill townland depicting ringfort 1. CL031-018 and earthwork 2. CL031-019

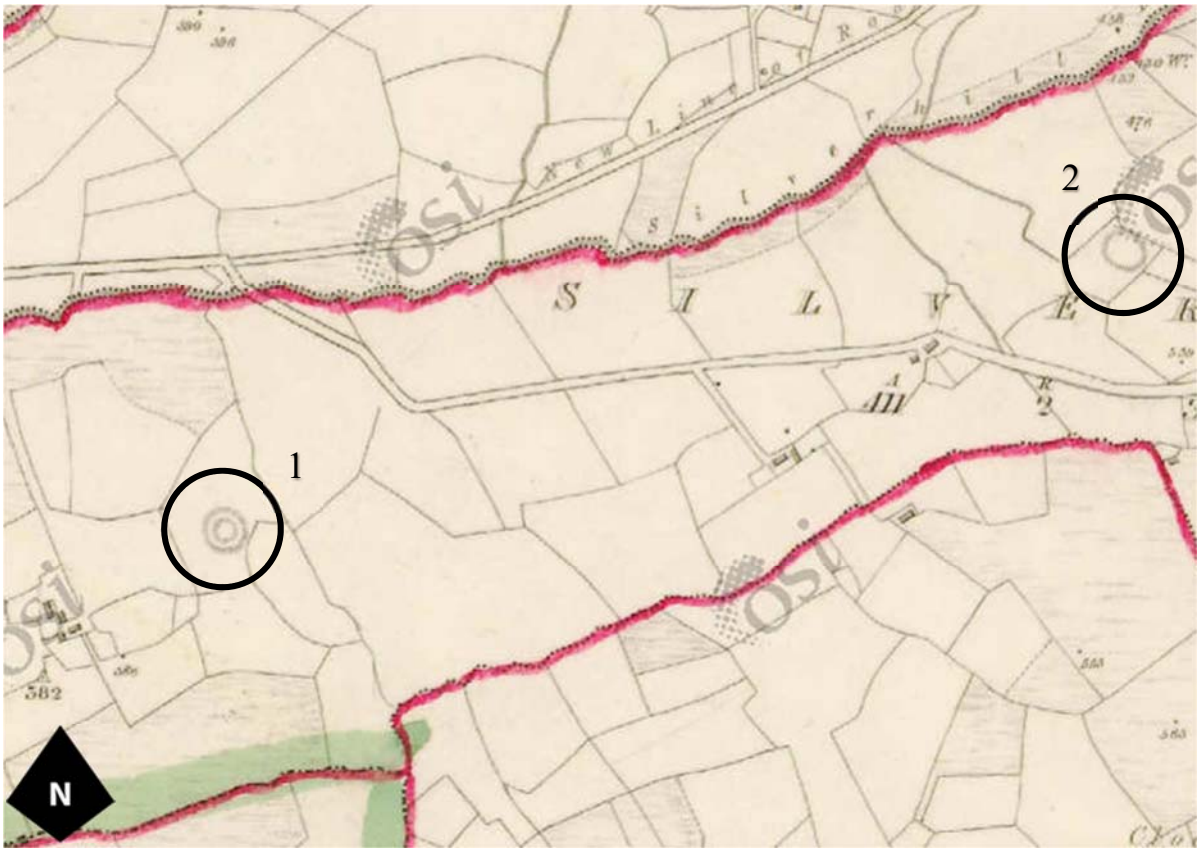


Figure 95. First edition OS map of Silverhill townland depicting ringfort 1. CL031-018 and earthwork 2. CL031-019

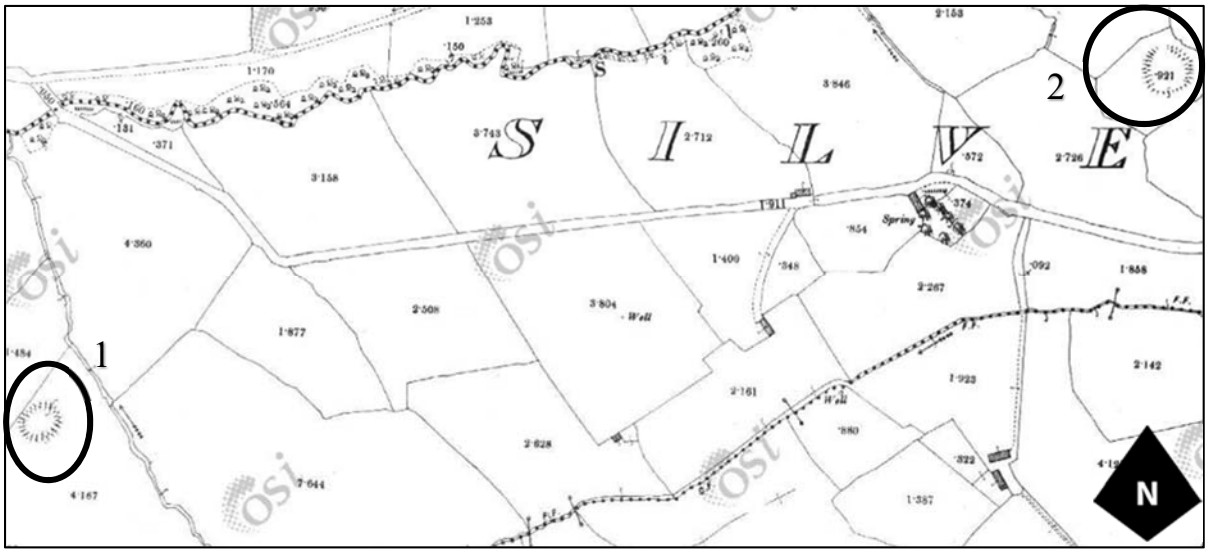


Figure 96. Second edition OS map of Silverhill townland depicting ringfort 1. CL031-018 and earthwork 2. CL031-019



Figure 97. Aerial image of Silverhill townland depicting ringfort 1. CL031-018 and earthwork 2. CL031-019 (DG 2011-3)

7.1.23. Toor

This townland shares a ringfort with the neighbouring townland of Aillbrack. A description of this rath, CL023-026, has been provided under that heading.

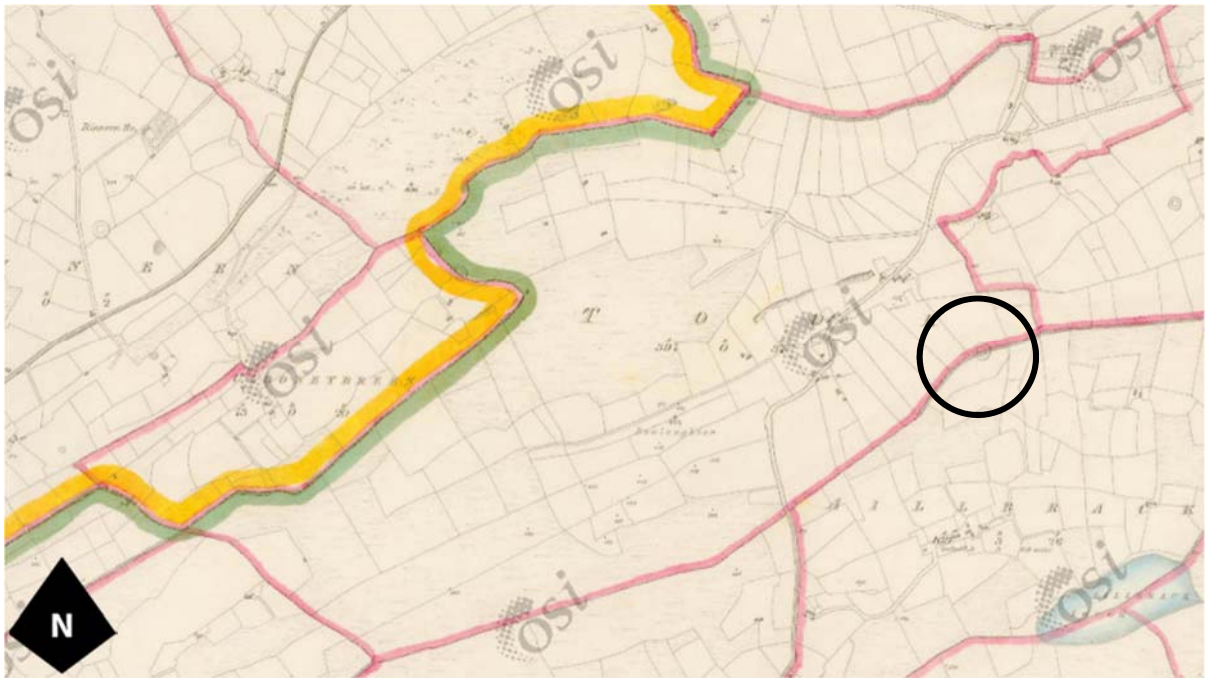


Figure 98. First edition OS map of Toor townland

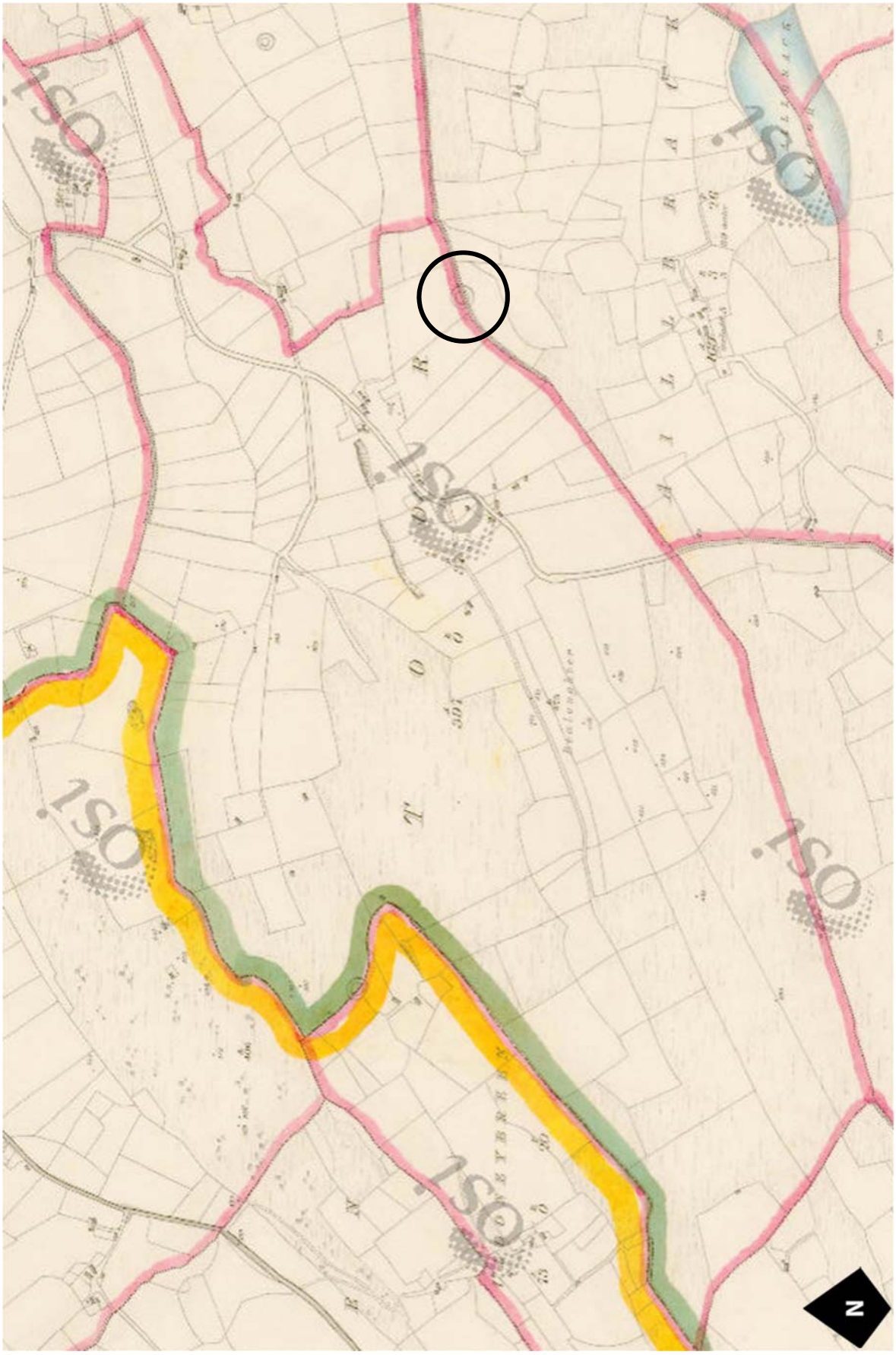


Figure 99. First edition OS map of Toor townland

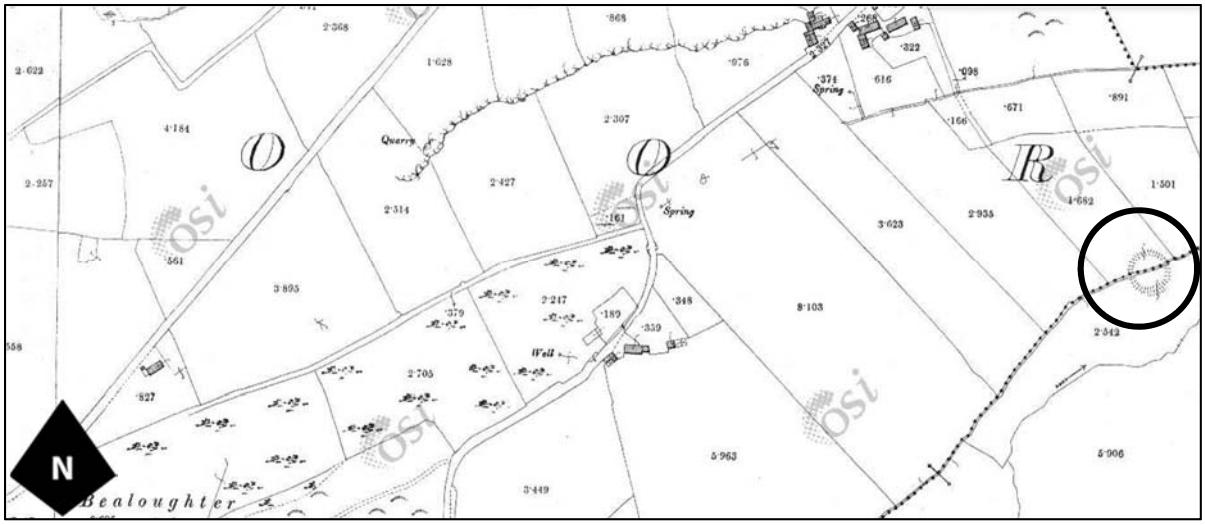


Figure 100. Second edition OS map of Toor townland



Figure 101. Aerial image of Toor townland

7.2. Killard parish

7.2.1. Ballard

The presence of two raths in this townland is recorded in the archaeological record (NMS 2019). These two structures, CL046-006 and CL046-007, are clearly visible on the first edition OS

map (1840, 46) of the area. They are also depicted on the later revised editions of this map (1895). Examination of recent aerial imagery confirms that these two structures are still intact (DG 2011-3).

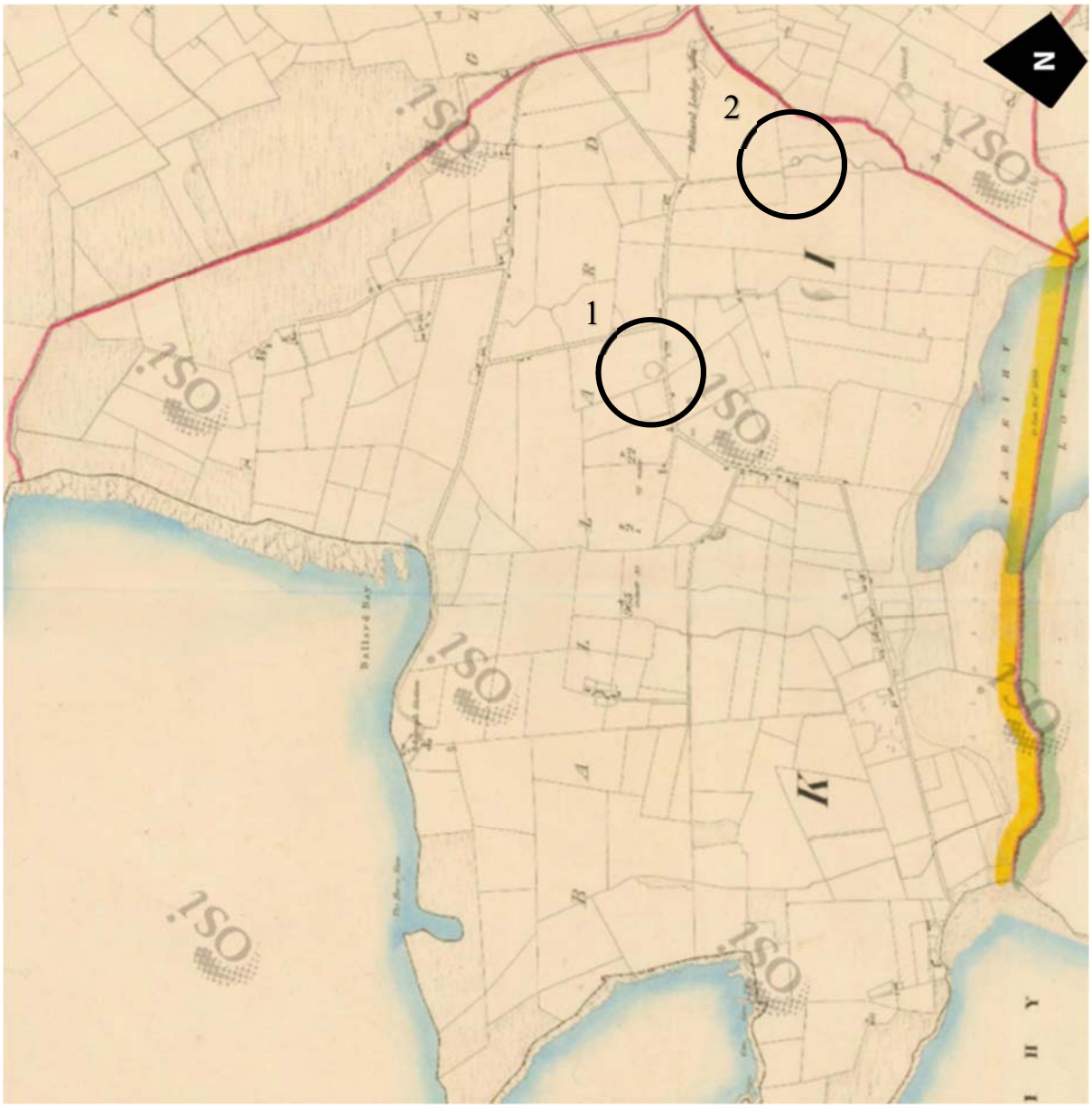


Figure 102. First edition OS map of Ballard townland depicting ringforts 1. CL046-006 and 2. CL046-007

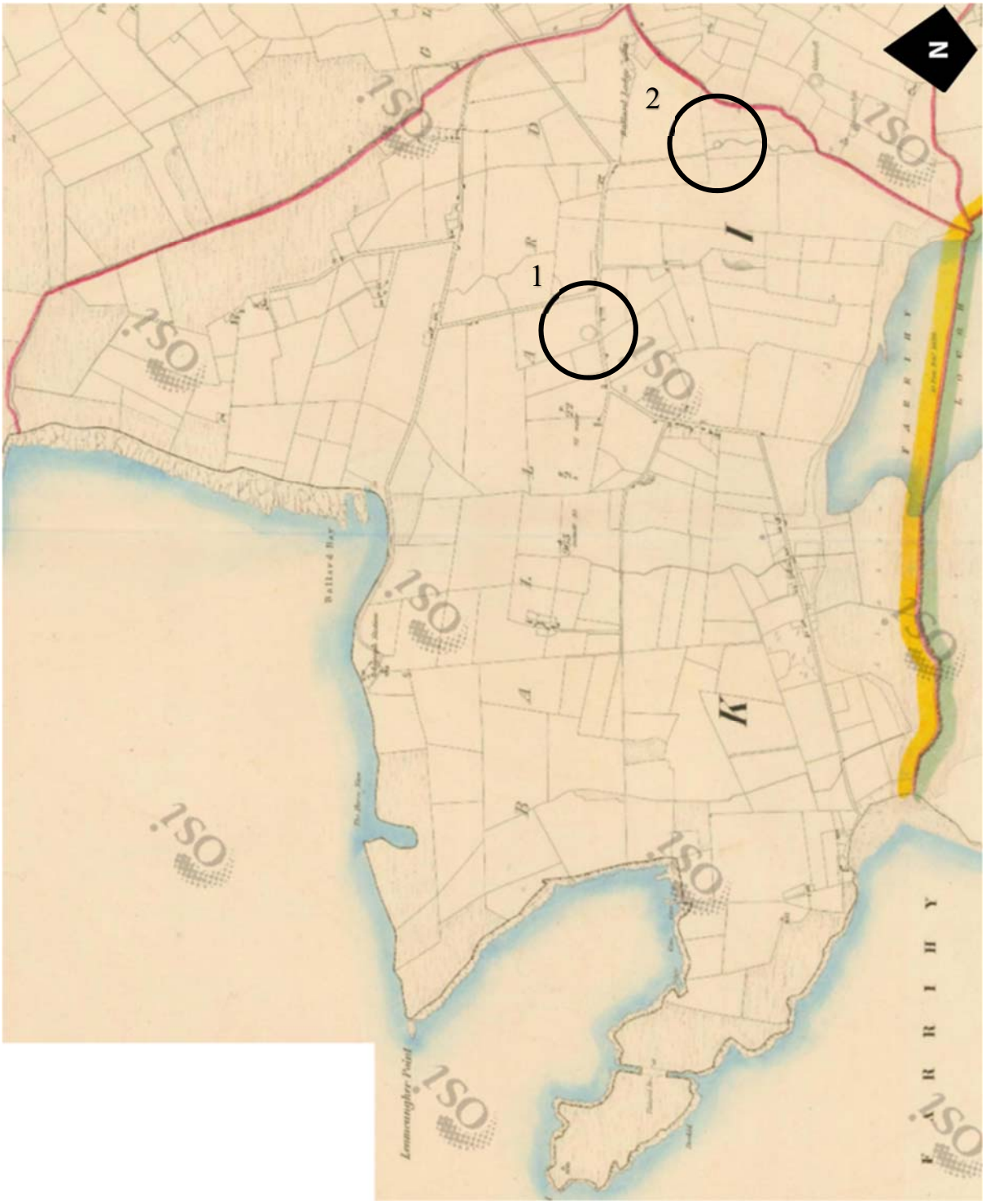


Figure 103. First edition OS map of Ballard townland depicting ringforts 1. CL046-006 and 2. CL046-007

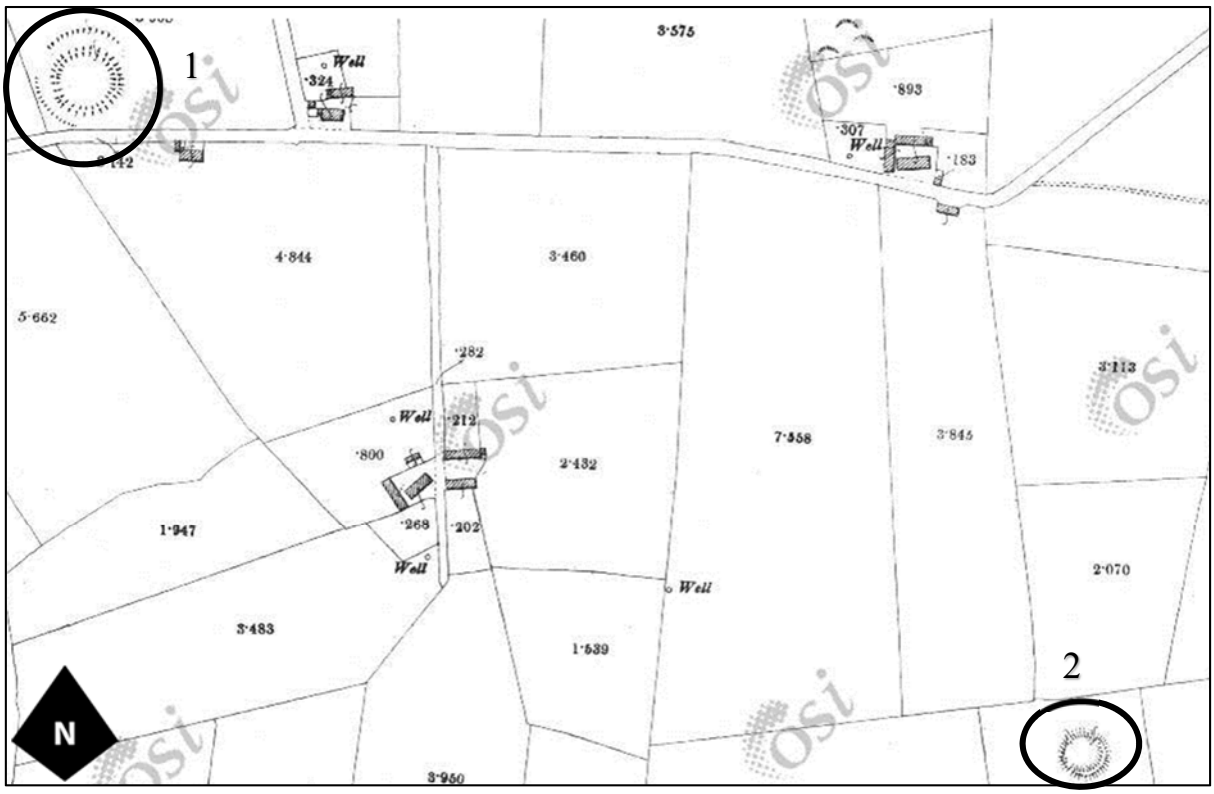


Figure 104. Second edition OS map of Ballard townland depicting ringforts 1. CL046-006 and 2. CL046-007



Figure 105. Aerial image of Ballard townland depicting ringforts 1. CL046-006 and 2. CL046-007 (DG 2011-3)

7.2.2. Caherlean

A single example of a ringfort is recorded in the archaeological database for this townland. This rath, CL046-001, is not visible on the first edition of the OS map (1840, 46) of the area. On the revised second edition of this map (1895, 46), the location of this rath is shown by a semi-circular hachured pattern. The area is also noted as 'Caherlean'. This feature is not shown on the still later revised 6-inch map of the townland. Examination of modern aerial images provide no evidence as to the eventual location or form of this rath (GE 2010). This information suggest that this structure was largely destroyed prior to the creation of the first edition OS map.

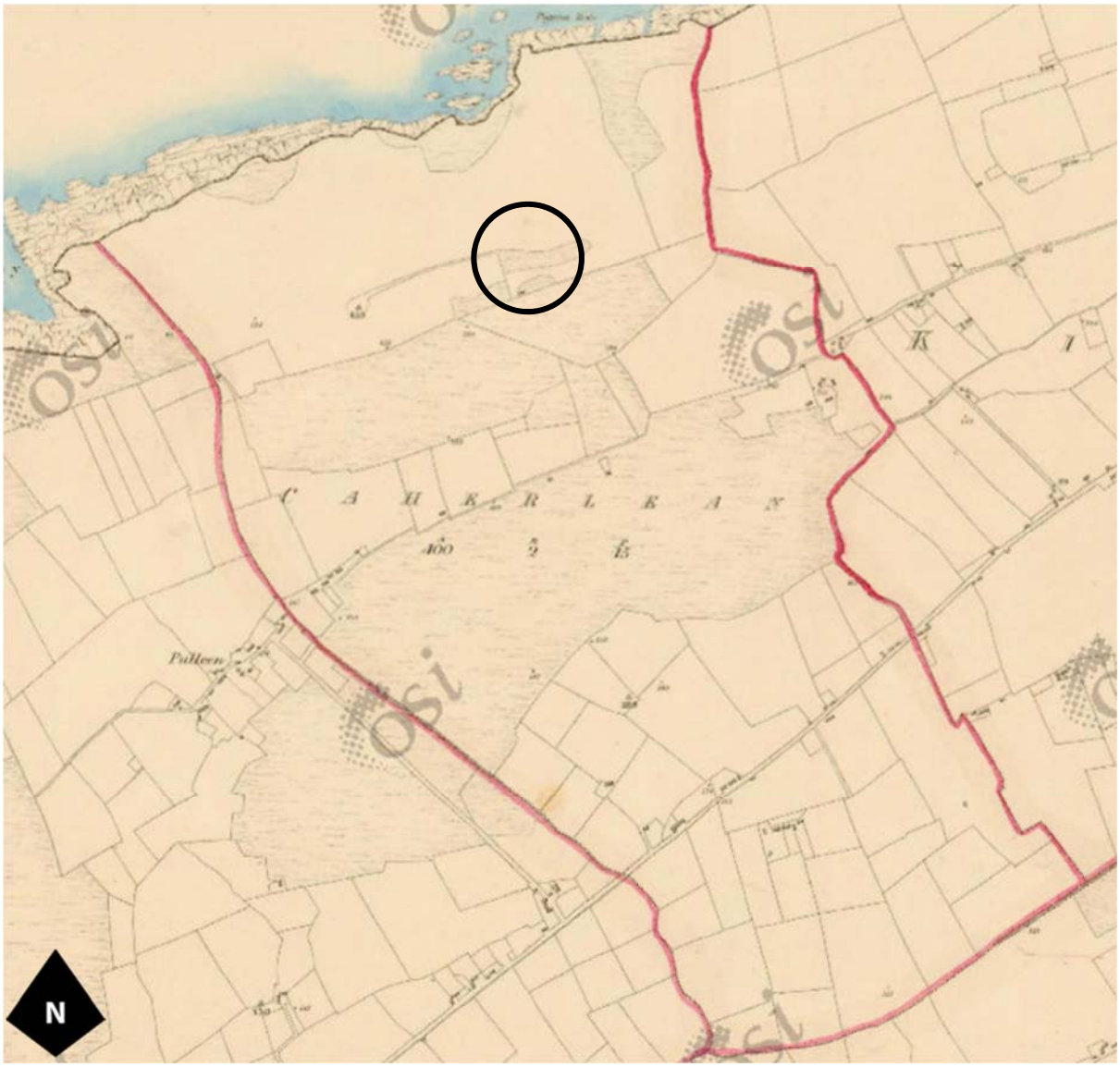


Figure 106. First edition OS map of Caherlean townland depicting site of ringfort CL046-001

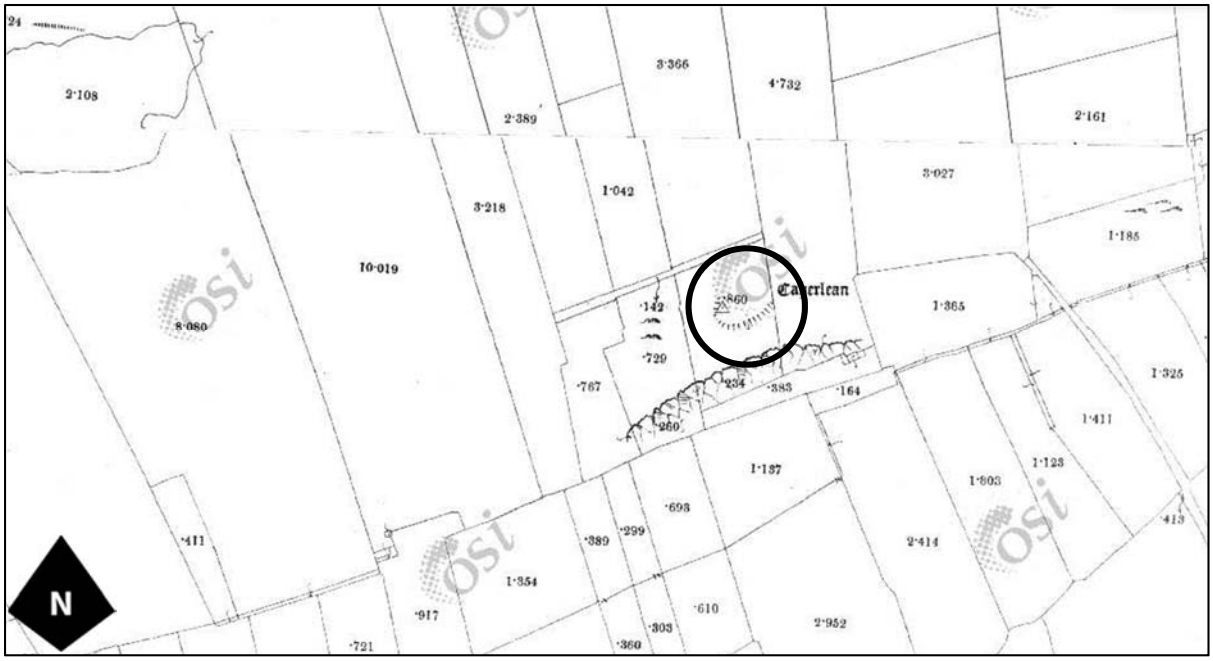


Figure 107. Second edition OS map of Caherlean townland depicting ringfort CL046-001



Figure 108. Aerial image of Caherlean townland depicting site of ringfort CL046-001 (GE 2010)

7.2.3. Carrowblough Beg

In this townland also, a single example of a ringfort is recorded in the database (NMS 2019). This rath, CL046-032, is visible on the first edition OS map (1840, 46) of the area. On this map, this structure is noted as 'Bealaha Fort'. It is also shown on later revised editions of this

map, with a particularly striking representation on the second edition version (1895, 46) showing an entrance to the east. Study of recent aerial images confirm that this rath is still extant (DG 2011-3).

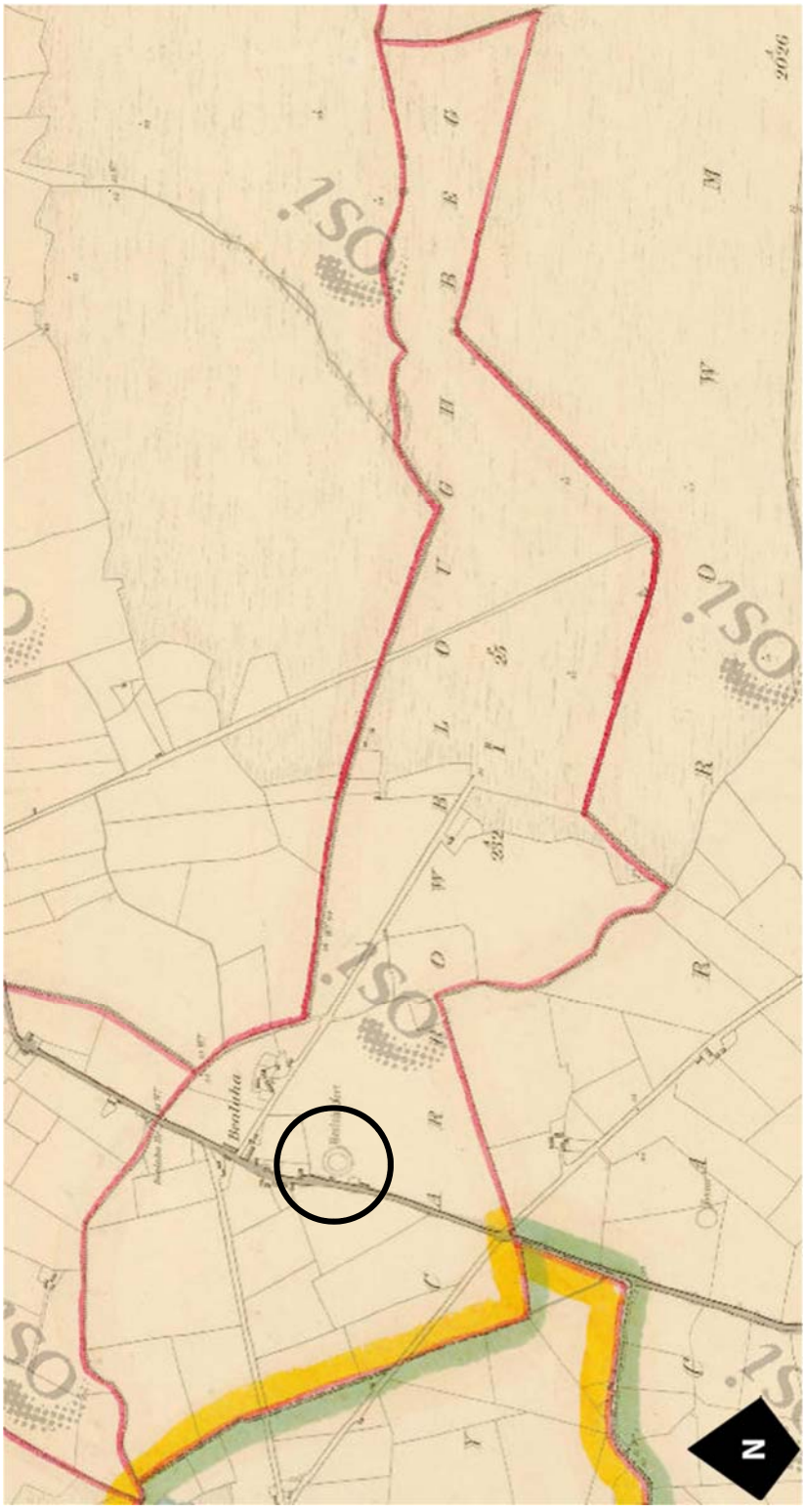


Figure 109. First edition OS map of Carrowblough Beg townland depicting ringfort CL046-032

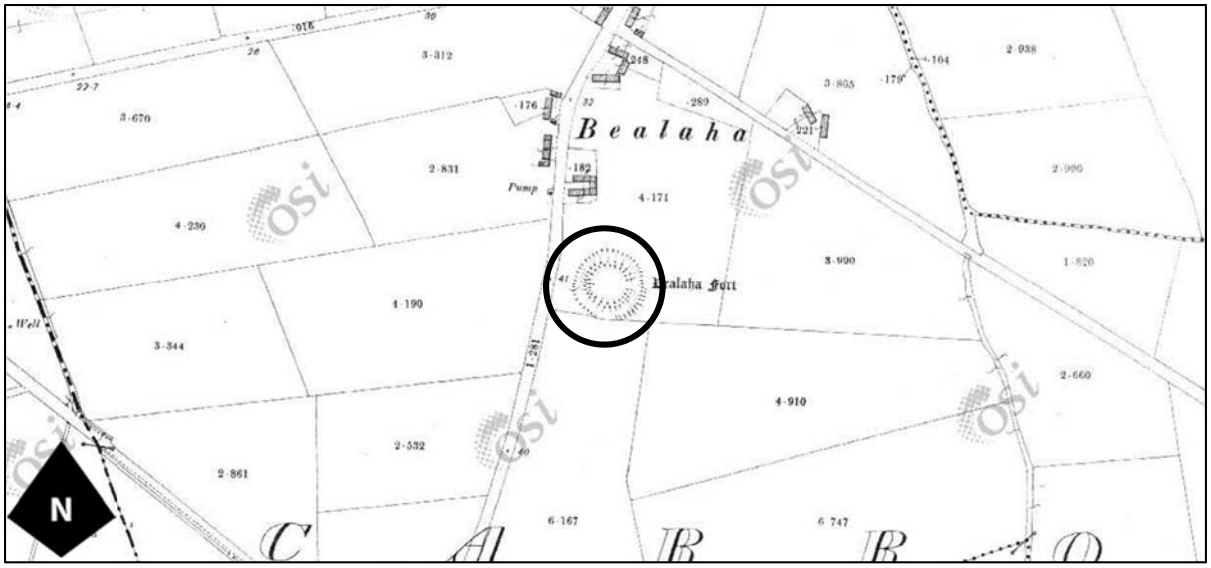


Figure 110. Second edition OS map of Carrowblough Beg townland depicting ringfort CL046-032



Figure 111. Aerial image of Carrowblough Beg townland depicting ringfort CL046-032 (DG 2011-3)

7.2.4. Carrowblough More

The archaeological database refers to the presence of four ringforts in this townland (NMS 2019). These four raths, CL046-021, CL046-026, CL046-028 and CL046-031, are all depicted

on the first edition OS map (1840, 46) of the area. In addition, CL046-026 is noted as 'Liscarroll' and CL046-031 is noted as 'Lisroe' on this map. Each of these four raths is also shown on later revised editions of the OS map of this townland. However, examination of recent aerial images confirms that one of these structures, CL046-021, is no longer extant. This rath was located on the northwestern boundary of the townland. These recent images show a semi-circular feature at this location that in all probability is the remnant of this ringfort (DG 2011-3).

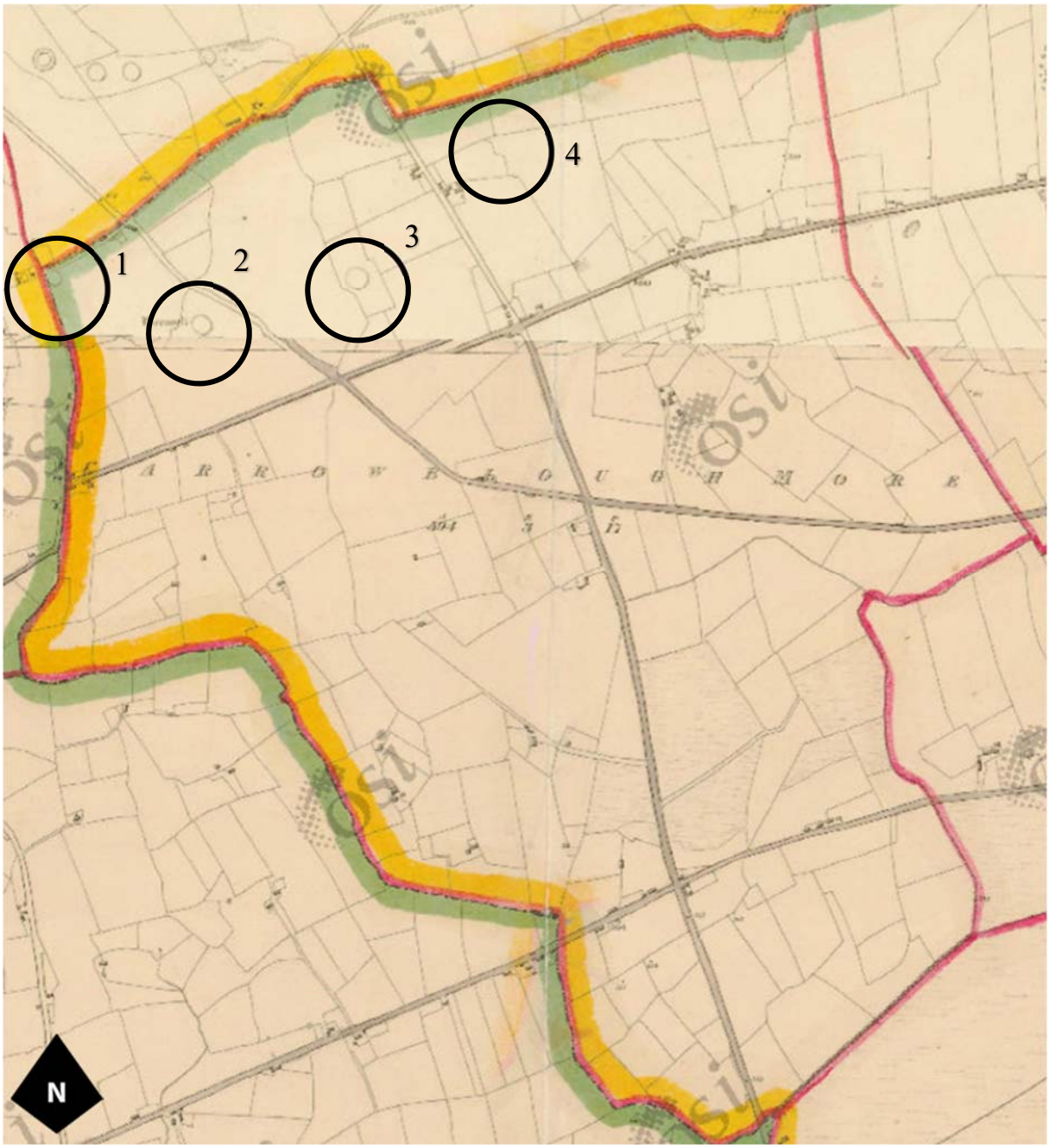


Figure 112. First edition OS map of Carrowblough More townland depicting ringforts 1. CL046-021, 2. CL046-026, 3. CL046-028 & 4. CL046-031

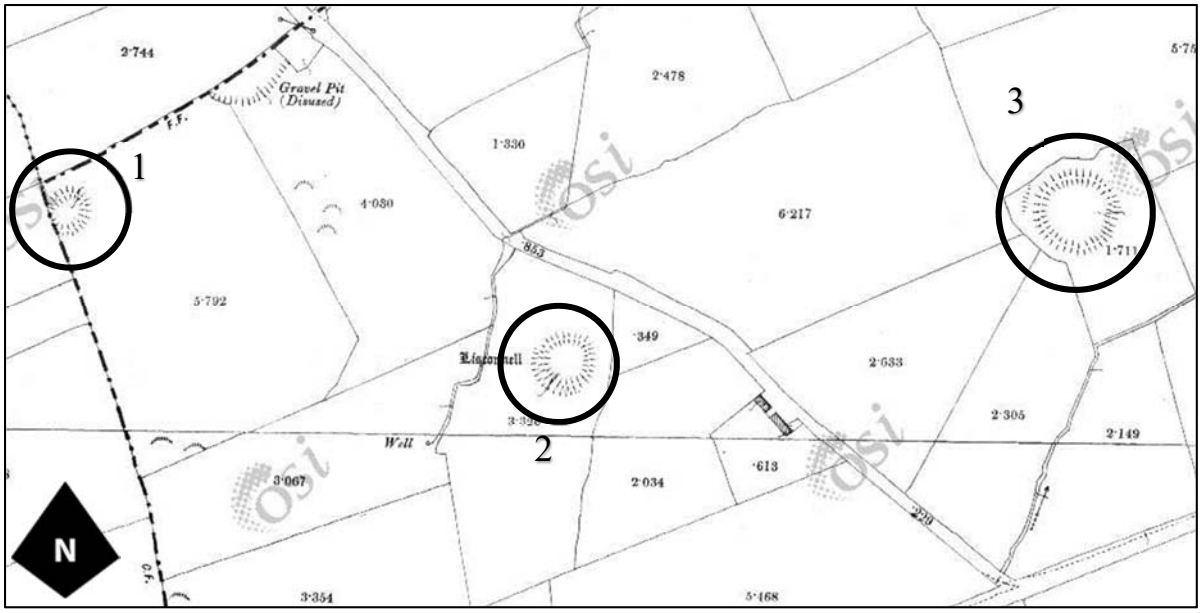


Figure 113. Second edition OS map of Carrowblough More townland depicting ringforts 1. CL046-021, 2. CL046-026, 3. CL046-028

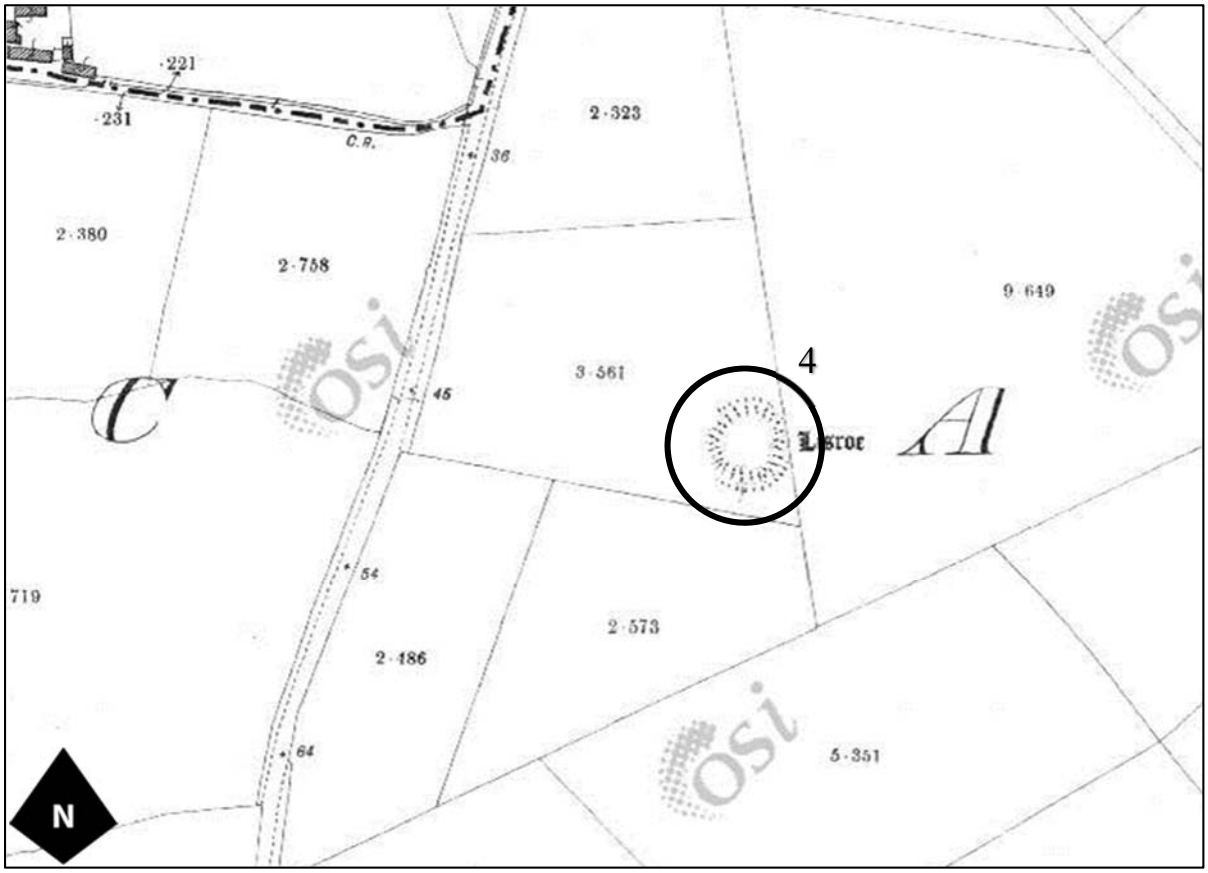


Figure 114. Second edition OS map of Carrowblough More townland depicting ringfort 4. CL046-031



Figure 115. Aerial image of Carrowblough More townland depicting ringforts 1. CL046-021, 2. CL046-026, 3. CL046-028 & 4. CL046-031 (DG 2011-3).



Figure 116. Aerial image of Carrowblough More townland depicting ringforts 1. CL046-021, 2. CL046-026 and 3. CL046-028 (GE 2018)



Figure 117. Aerial image of Carrowblough More townland depicting ringfort 4. CL046-031 (GE 2018)

7.2.5. Carrowmore

The existence of a single example of a ringfort in this townland is noted in the archaeological record (NMS 2019). This rath, CL047-004001, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 47) of the area contained within a small field. It is further depicted on the available later editions of this map. Imagery from recent aerial surveys show this rath to be still extant (DG 2011-3). The outline of the surrounding field is also visible suggesting that the countryside has not been too disturbed since the mid-19th century survey.

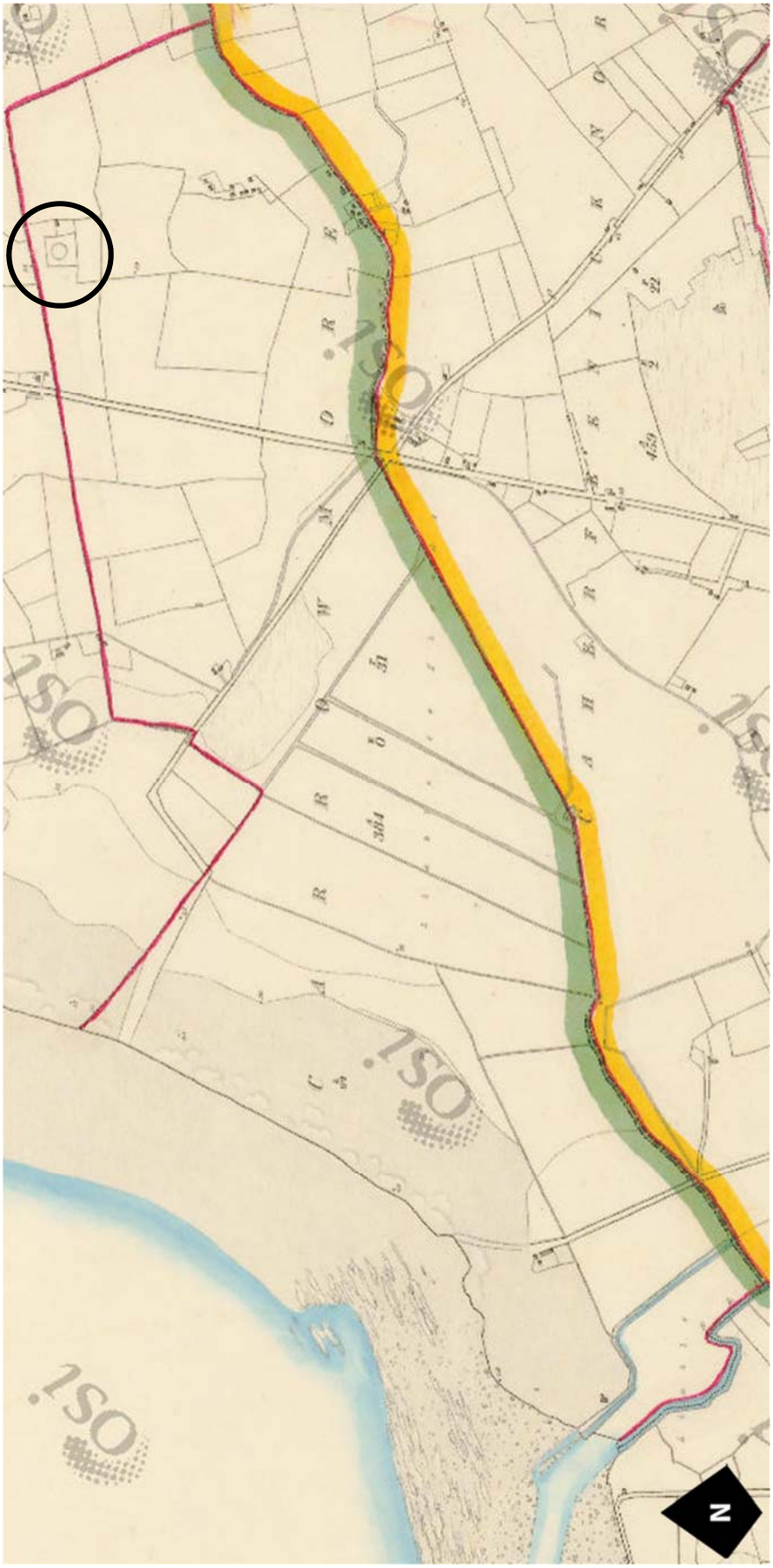


Figure 118. First edition OS map of Carrowmore townland depicting ringfort CL047-004001

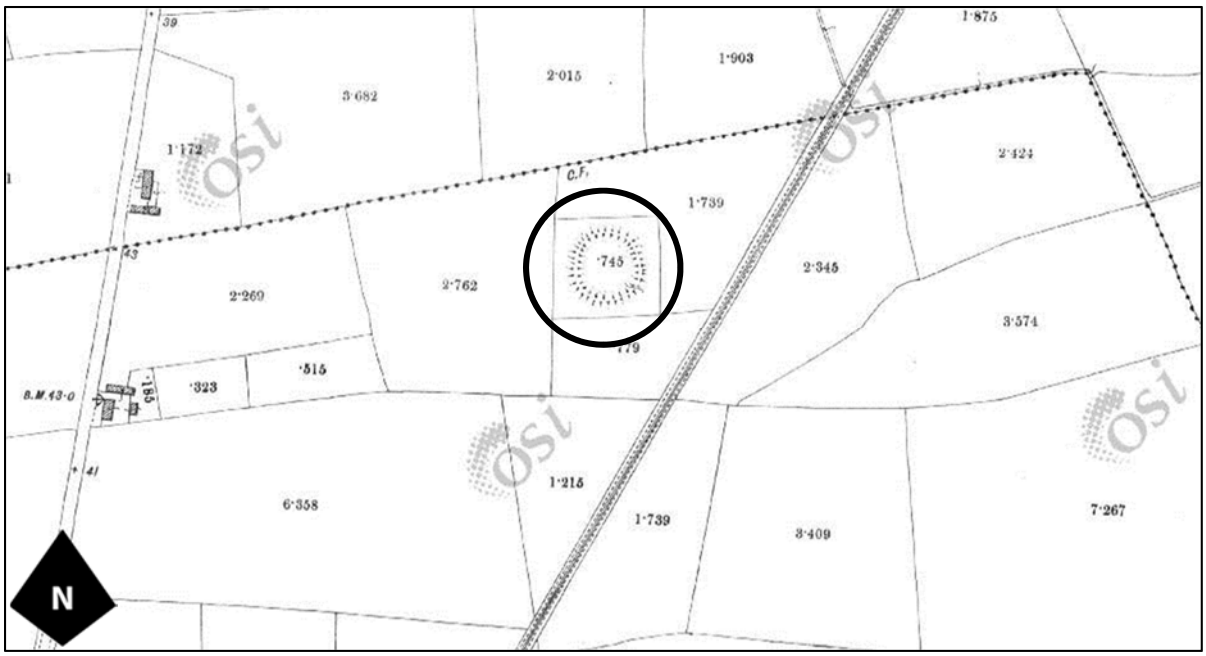


Figure 119. Second edition OS map of Carrowmore townland depicting ringfort CL047-004001



Figure 120. Aerial image of Carrowmore townland depicting ringfort CL047-004001 (DG 2011-3)

7.2.6. Cloonmore

The existence of three ringforts are recorded in the archaeological record concerning this townland (NMS 2019). Two of these raths, CL047-003 and CL047-005, are depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 47) of the area. These structures are also shown on later revised editions of this map and, indeed, aerial imagery shows them to be still extant (DG 2019). The third of these structures, CL047-007, is not shown on any of the available OS maps of this townland. However, images from an aerial survey show a clearly defined crop mark. This has allowed the eventual existence and general outline of this site to be discovered (GE 2019). Although, the non-representation of this site on the first edition OS map suggest that some level of interference with ringforts occurred here prior to this survey.



Figure 121. First edition OS map of Cloonmore townland depicting ringforts 1. CL047-003 and 2. CL047-005

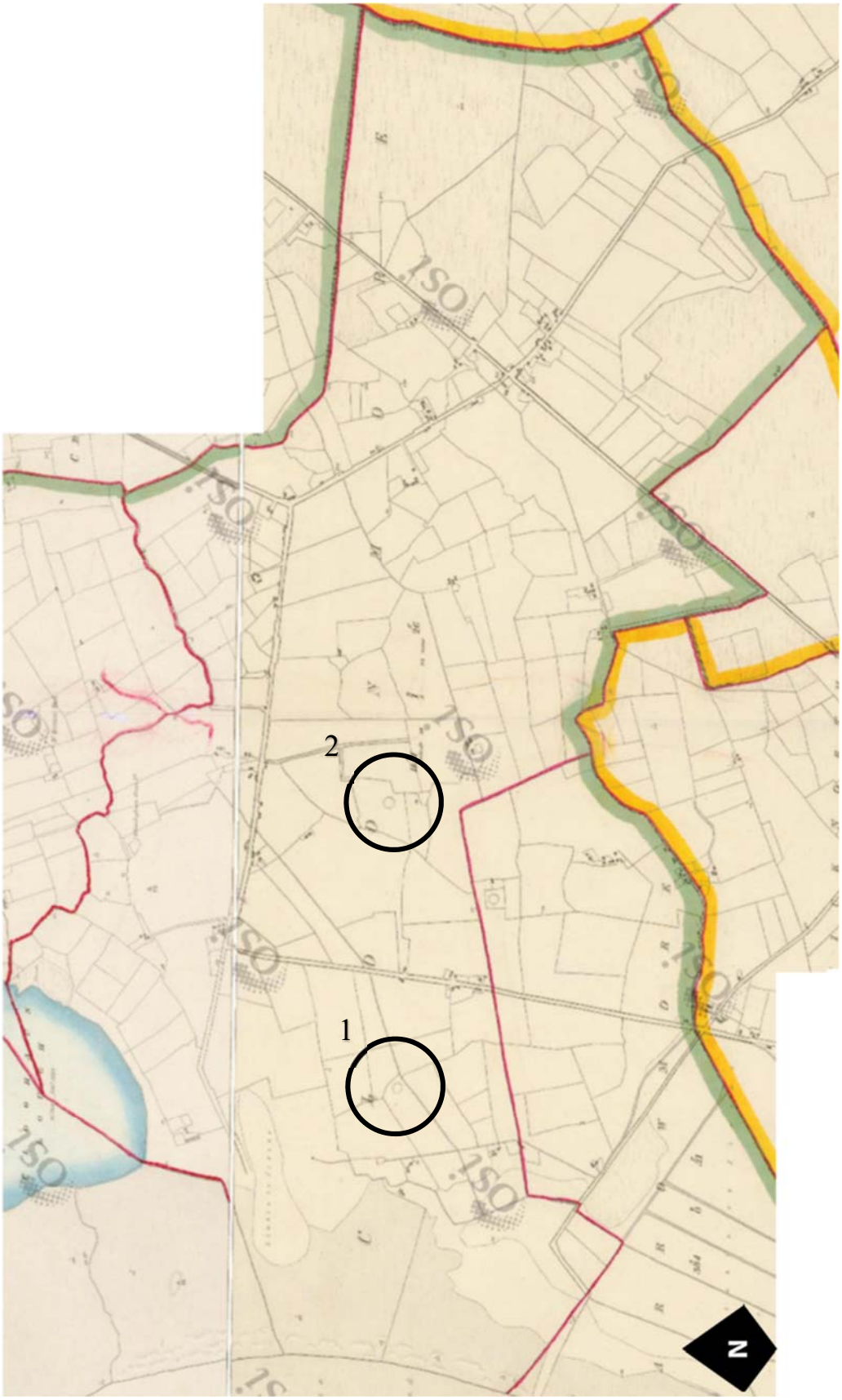


Figure 122. First edition OS map of Cloonmore townland depicting ringforts 1. CL047-003 and 2. CL047-005

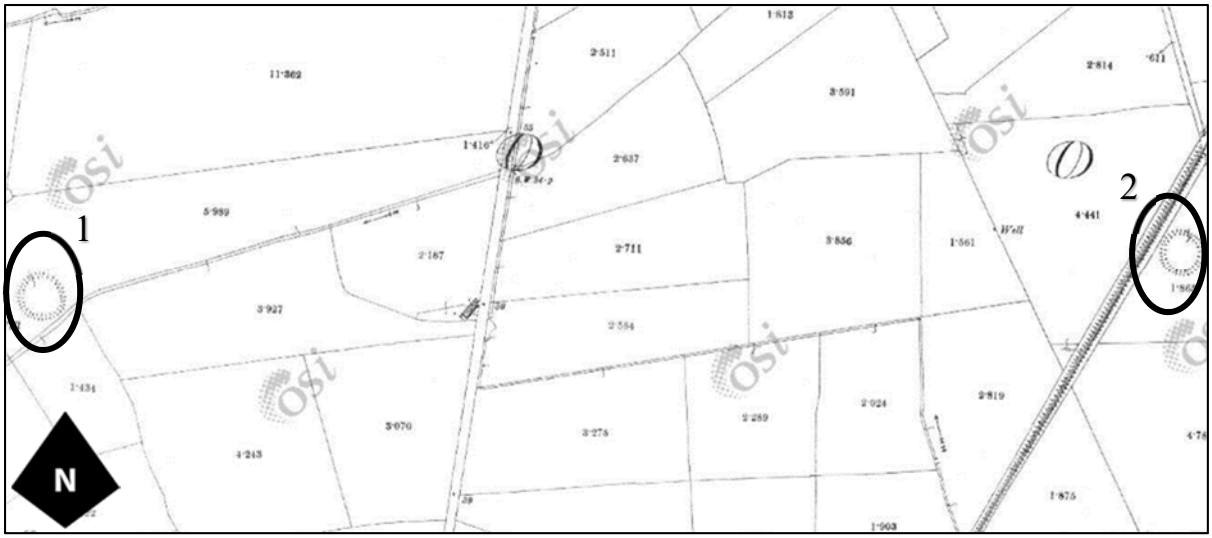


Figure 123. Second edition OS map of Cloonmore townland depicting ringforts 1. CL047-003 and 2. CL047-005

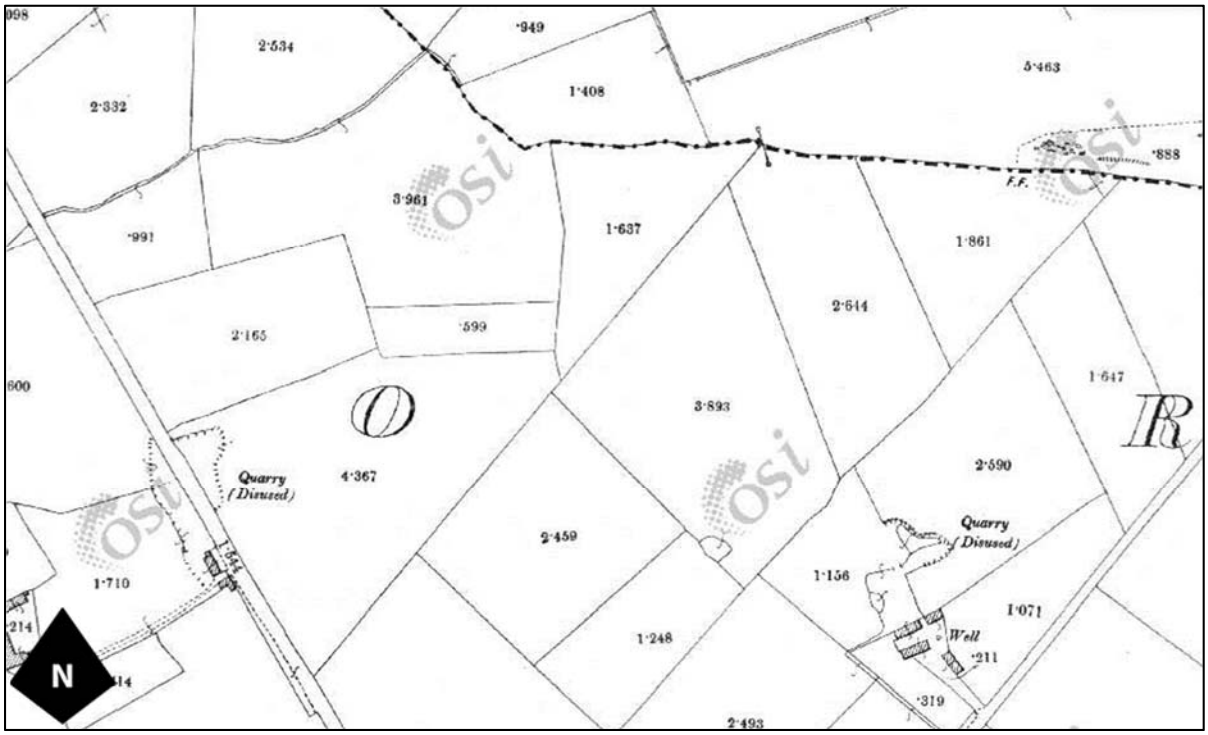


Figure 124. Second edition OS map of Cloonmore townland depicting general location of ringfort CL047-007



Figure 125. Aerial image of Cloonmore townland depicting ringforts 1. CL047-003 and 2. CL047-005 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 126. Aerial image of Cloonmore townland depicting site of ringfort 3. CL047-007 (GE 2019)

7.2.7. Doonbeg

In the archaeological record for this townland, the presence of a single example of a ringfort is recorded (NMS 2019). This rath, CL047-053, is clearly visible in the north-eastern quadrant of the townland on the first edition OS map (1840, 47). On the revised second edition (1895, 47), the structure is referred to as 'Doonbeg'. Recent aerial images show this ringfort to be still extant (GE 2003).

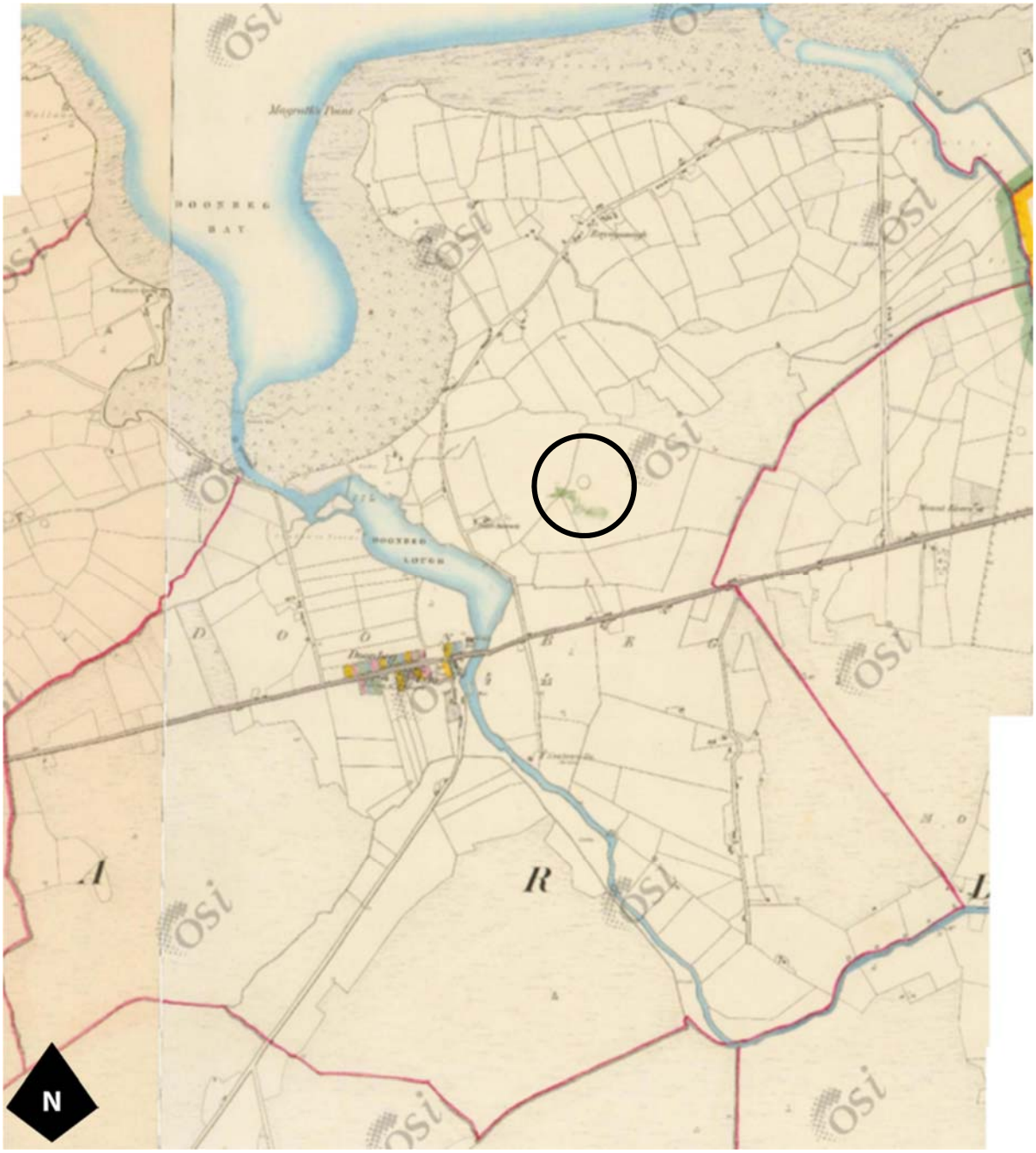


Figure 127. First edition OS map of Doonbeg townland depicting ringfort CL047-053

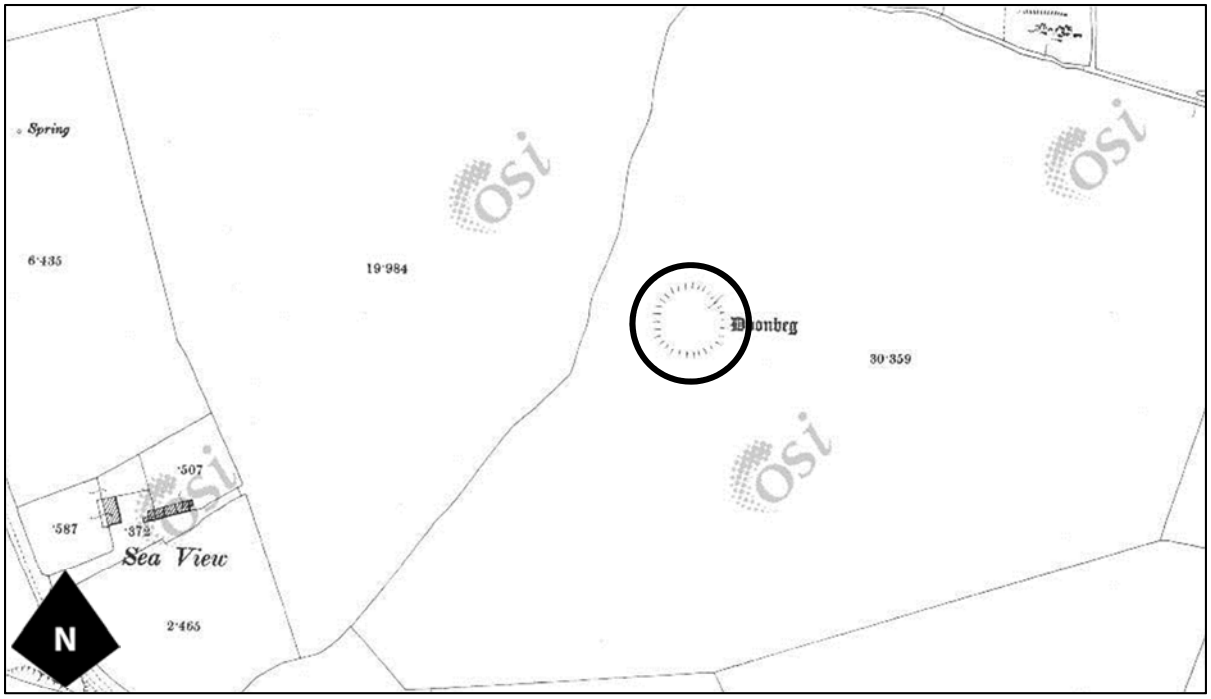


Figure 128. Second edition OS map of Doonbeg townland depicting ringfort CL047-053

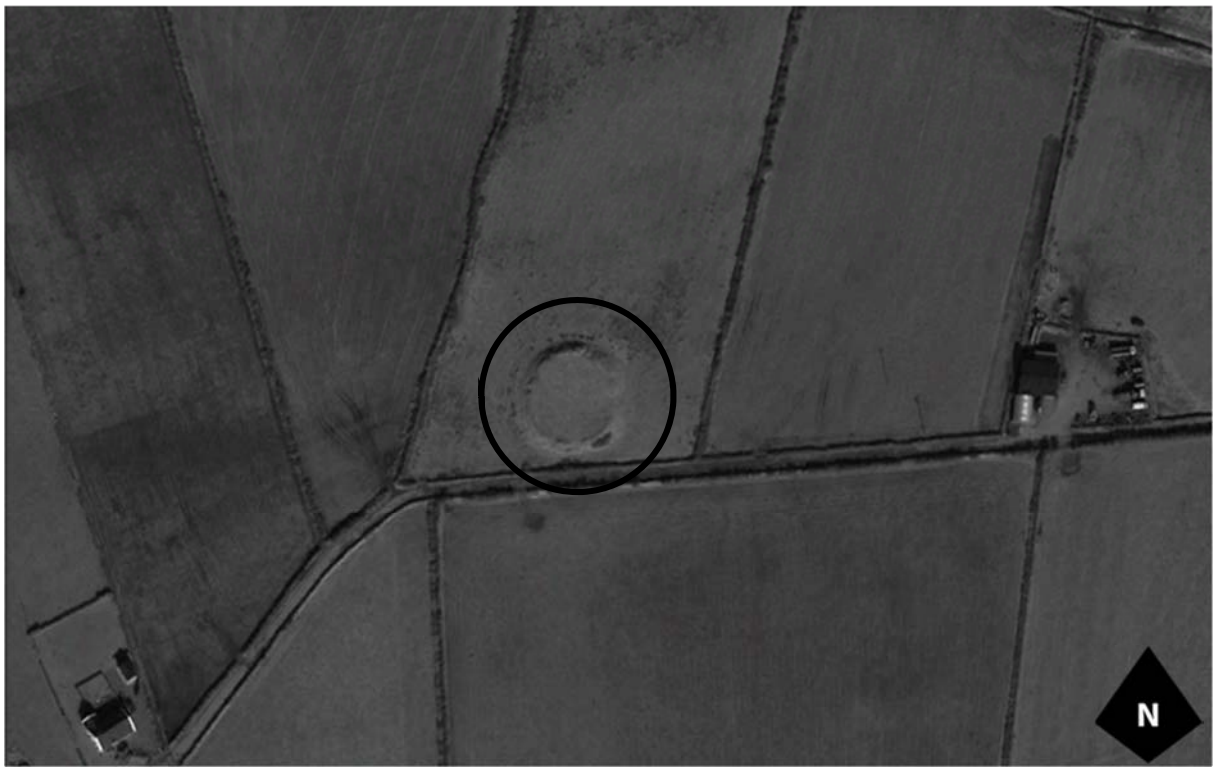


Figure 129. Aerial image of Doonbeg townland depicting ringfort CL047-053 (GE 2003)

7.2.8. Doonmore

This is surely the most interesting townland as regards ringfort survival throughout this barony. Nine ringforts are recorded within its boundaries in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). These structures are all recorded as raths. They bear the SMR numbers of CL046-011 and CL046-012. The next four are numbered from CL046-014 to CL046-017. A further cluster of three are numbered CL046-018001, CL046-018002 and CL046-018003. All these ringforts are shown on the first edition OS map (1840, 46) of the area. One of them, CL046-016, is also noted as 'Doonmore' on this map. These structures remain visible on the later revised editions of this map. Although, on the second edition OS map (1895, 46) two of these ringforts are shown traversed by field boundaries. However, recent aerial images show that two of these ringforts, CL046-011 and CL046-017, are no longer extant. A crop mark is visible, however, at each of these recorded locations. A further two ringforts, CL046-016 and CL046-018002, are shown on these recent images as low relief features (DG 2011-3).



Figure 130. First edition OS map of Doonmore townland depicting ringforts 1. CL046-011, 2. CL046-012, 3. CL046-014, 4. CL046-015, 5. CL046-016, 6. CL046-017, 7. CL046-018001, 8. CL046-018002 and 9. CL046-018003

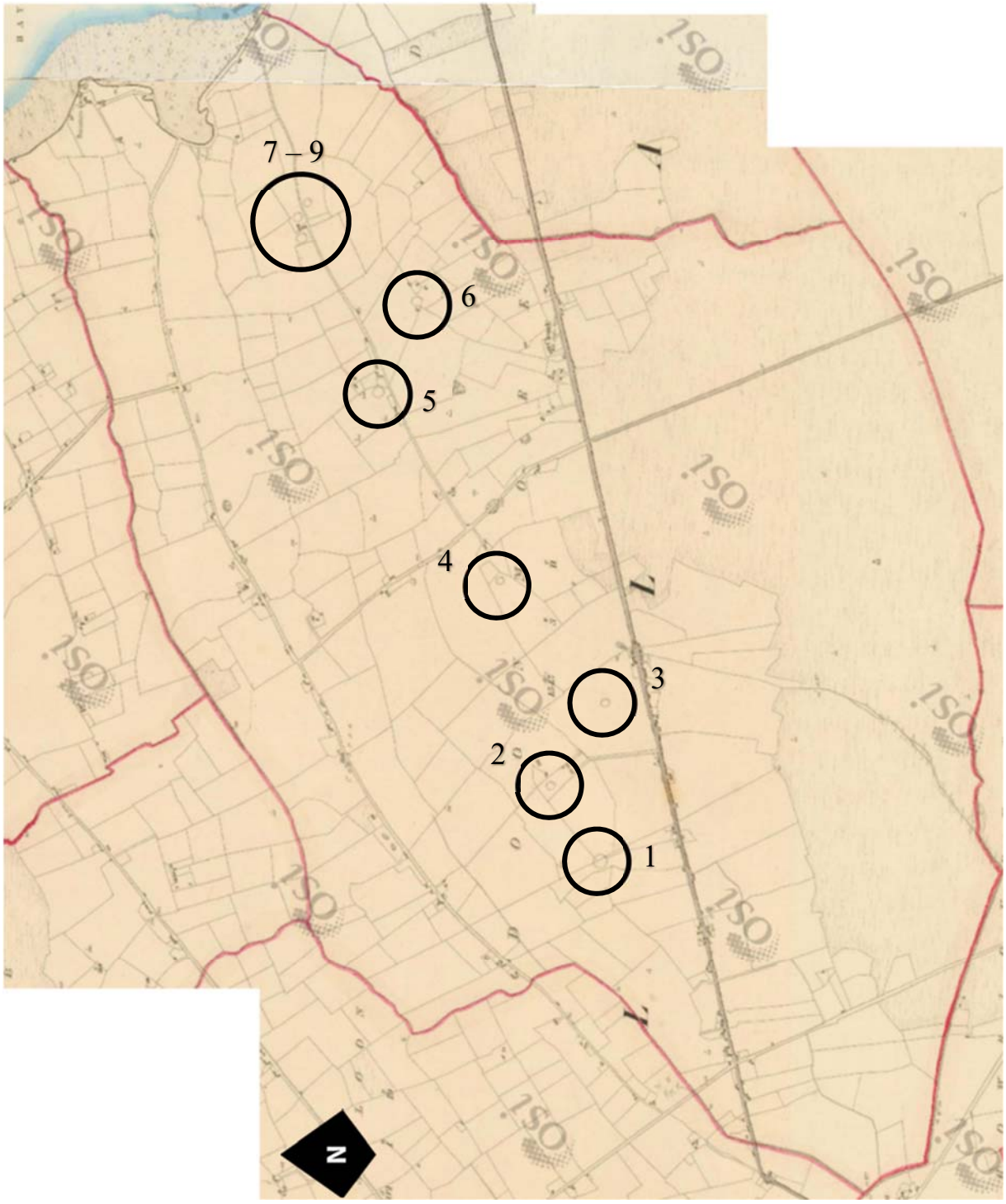


Figure 131. First edition OS map of Doonmore townland depicting ringforts 1. CL046-011, 2. CL046-012, 3. CL046-014, 4. CL046-015, 5. CL046-016, 6. CL046-017, 7. CL046-018001, 8. CL046-018002 and 9. CL046-018003

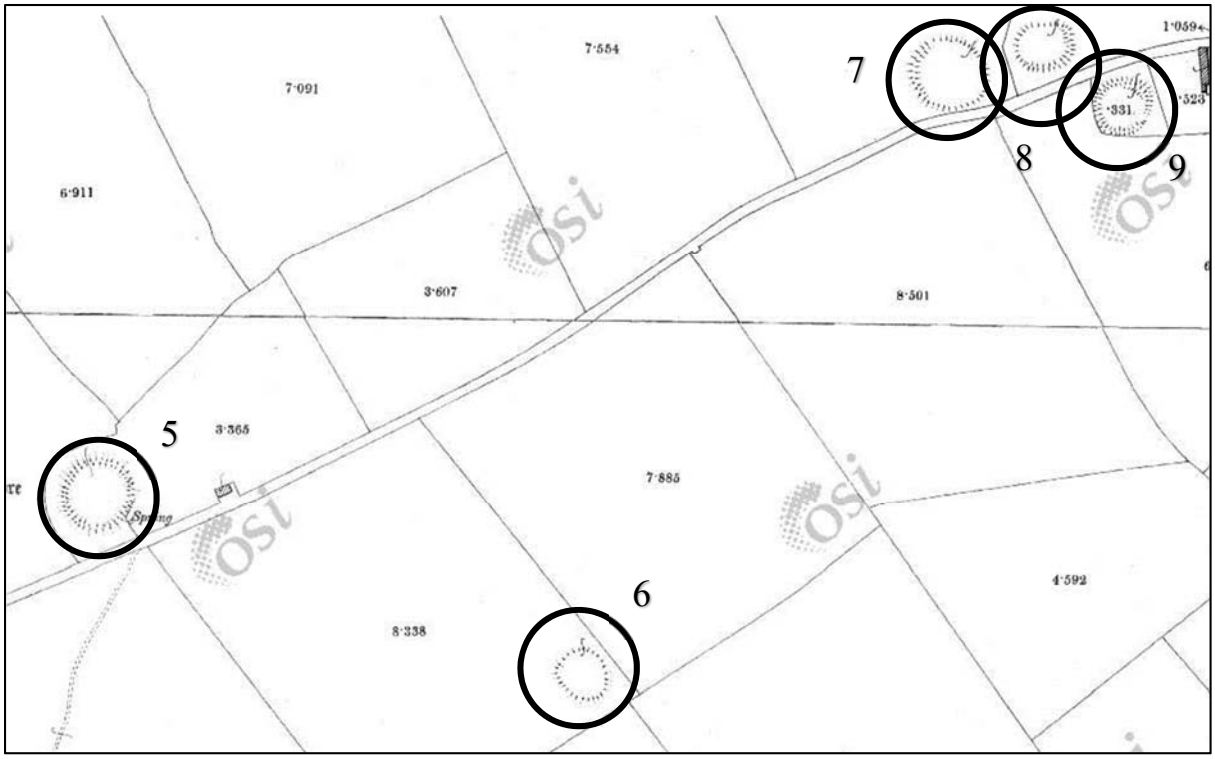


Figure 132. Second edition OS map of Doonmore townland depicting ringforts 5. CL046-016, 6. CL046-017, 7. CL046-018001, 8. CL046-018002 and 9. CL046-018003

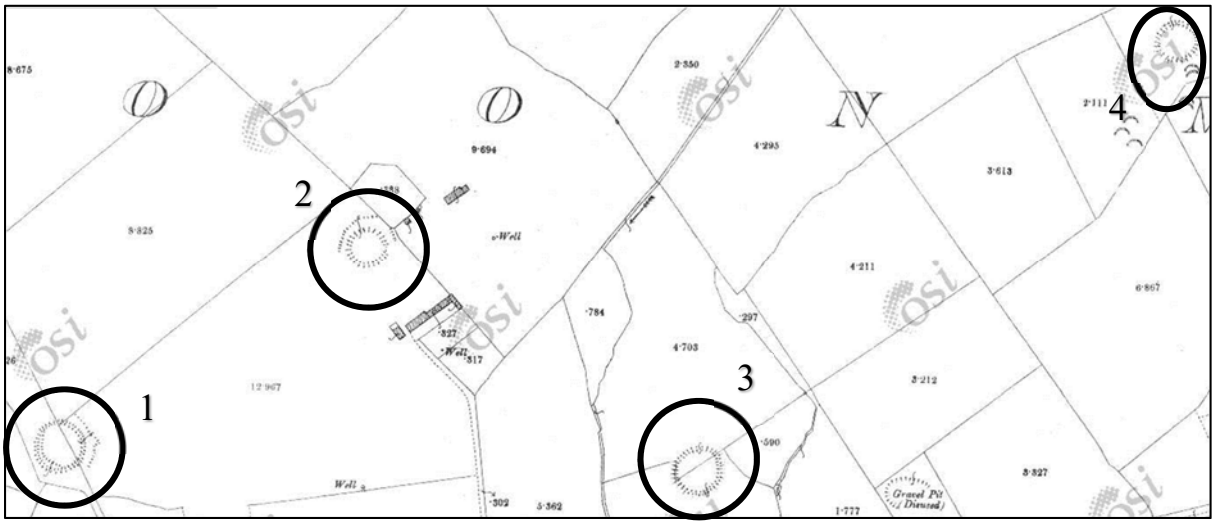


Figure 133. Second edition OS map of Doonmore townland depicting ringforts 1. CL046-011, 2. CL046-012, 3. CL046-014, 4. CL046-015,

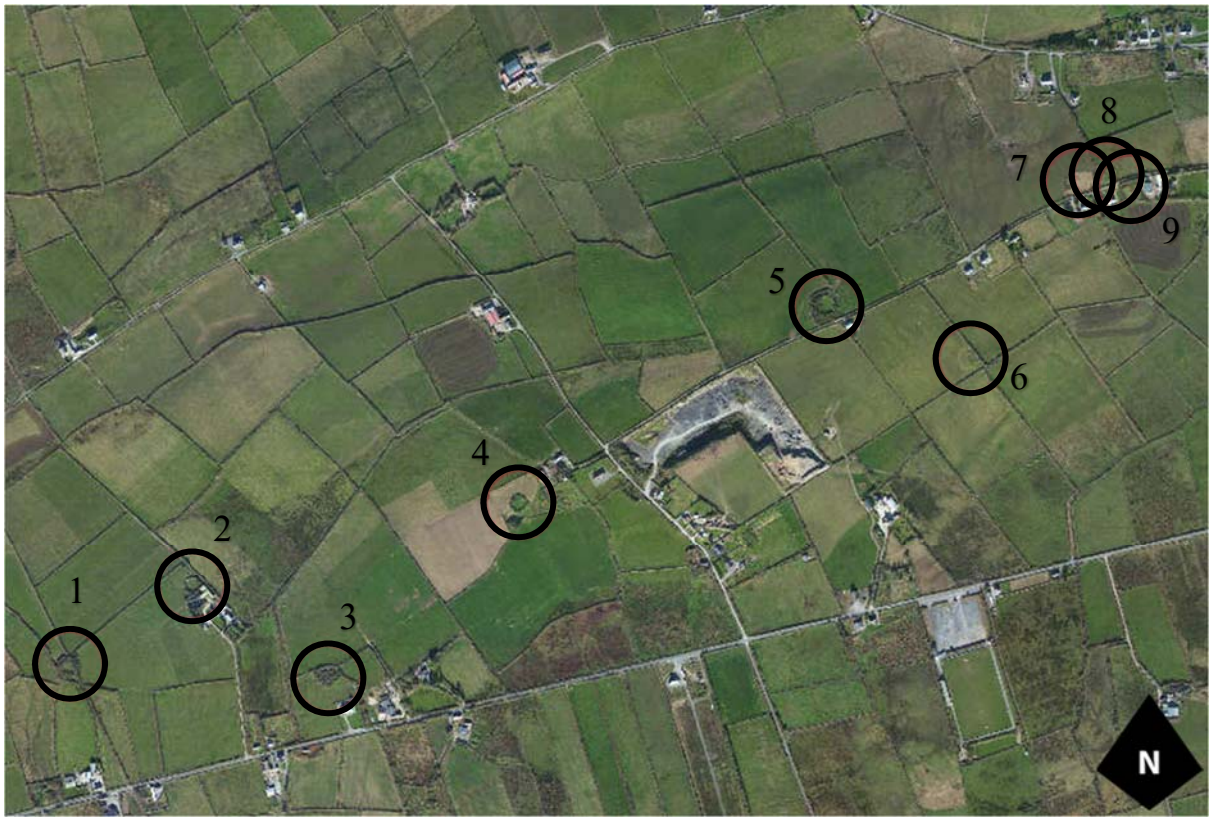


Figure 134. Aerial image of Doonmore townland depicting ringforts 1. CL046-011, 2. CL046-012, 3. CL046-014, 4. CL046-015, 5. CL046-016, 6. CL046-017, 7. CL046-018001, 8. CL046-018002 and 9. CL046-018003 (DG 2011-3)

7.2.9. Glascloon

The presence of three ringforts in this townland is recorded in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). These three raths, CL046-008, CL046-009 and CL046-010, are depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 46) of the area. In addition, each of these structures is noted by name on this map. CL046-008 is noted as 'Doonbeg Fort', CL046-009 is noted as 'Caherduff' and CL046-010 is noted as 'Cahergall'. These three structures are still visible on later revised editions of this map. Study of recent aerial images confirm that 'Cahergall', CL046-010, is still extant and the location of the other two ringforts is discernible through the presence of crop marks. (GE 2016).

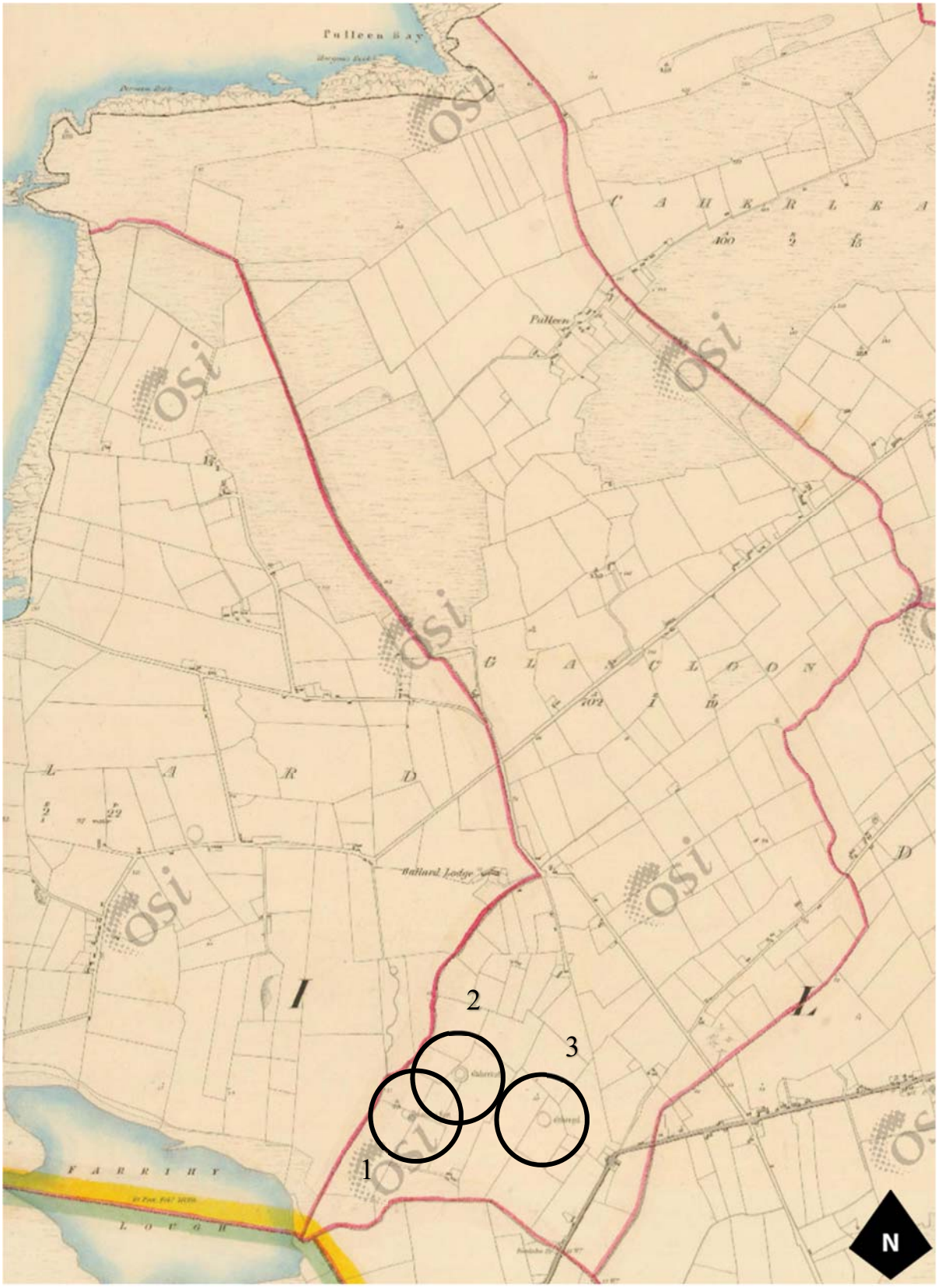


Figure 135. First edition OS map of Glascloon townland depicting ringforts 1. CL046-008, 2. CL046-009 and 3. CL046-010

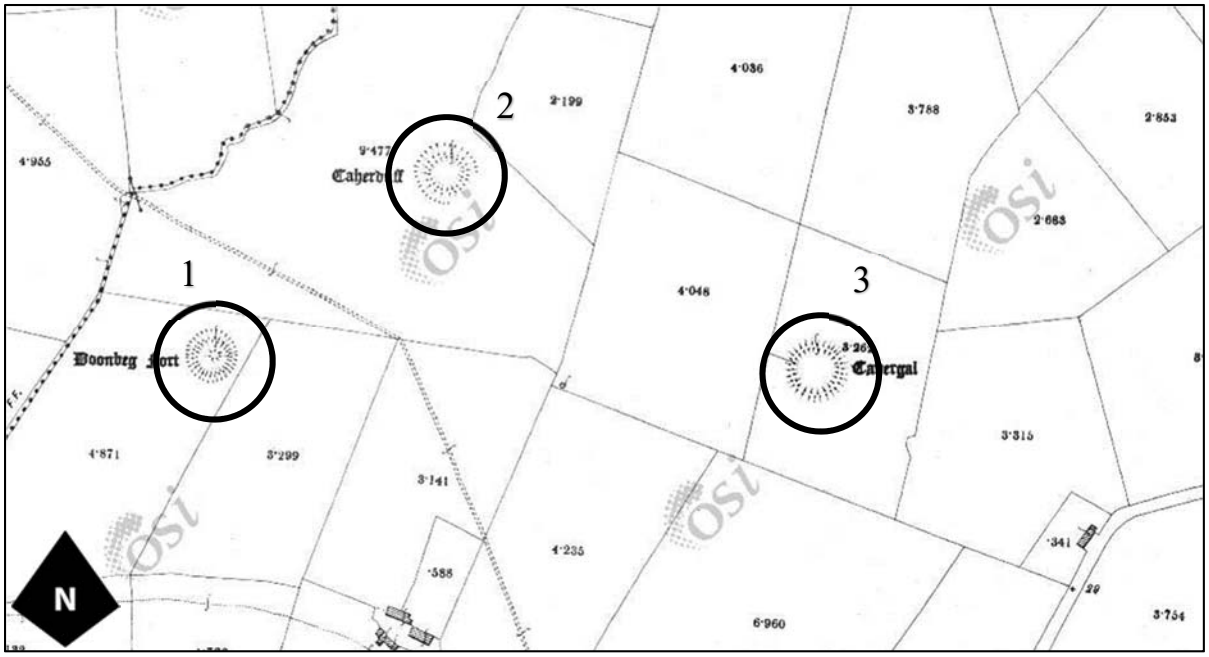


Figure 136. Second edition OS map of Glascloon townland depicting ringforts 1. CL046-008, 2. CL046-009 and 3. CL046-010



Figure 137. Aerial image of Glascloon townland depicting ringfort 3. CL046-010 and the sites of ringforts 1. CL046-008 & 2. CL046-009 (GE 2016)

7.2.10. Killard

Within the boundaries of this townland, a single example of a ringfort is recorded (NMS 2019). This rath, CL046-002, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 46). It is also shown on the later revised editions of this map. Examination of recent images created from aerial surveys show that this rath is extant (DG 2011-3).

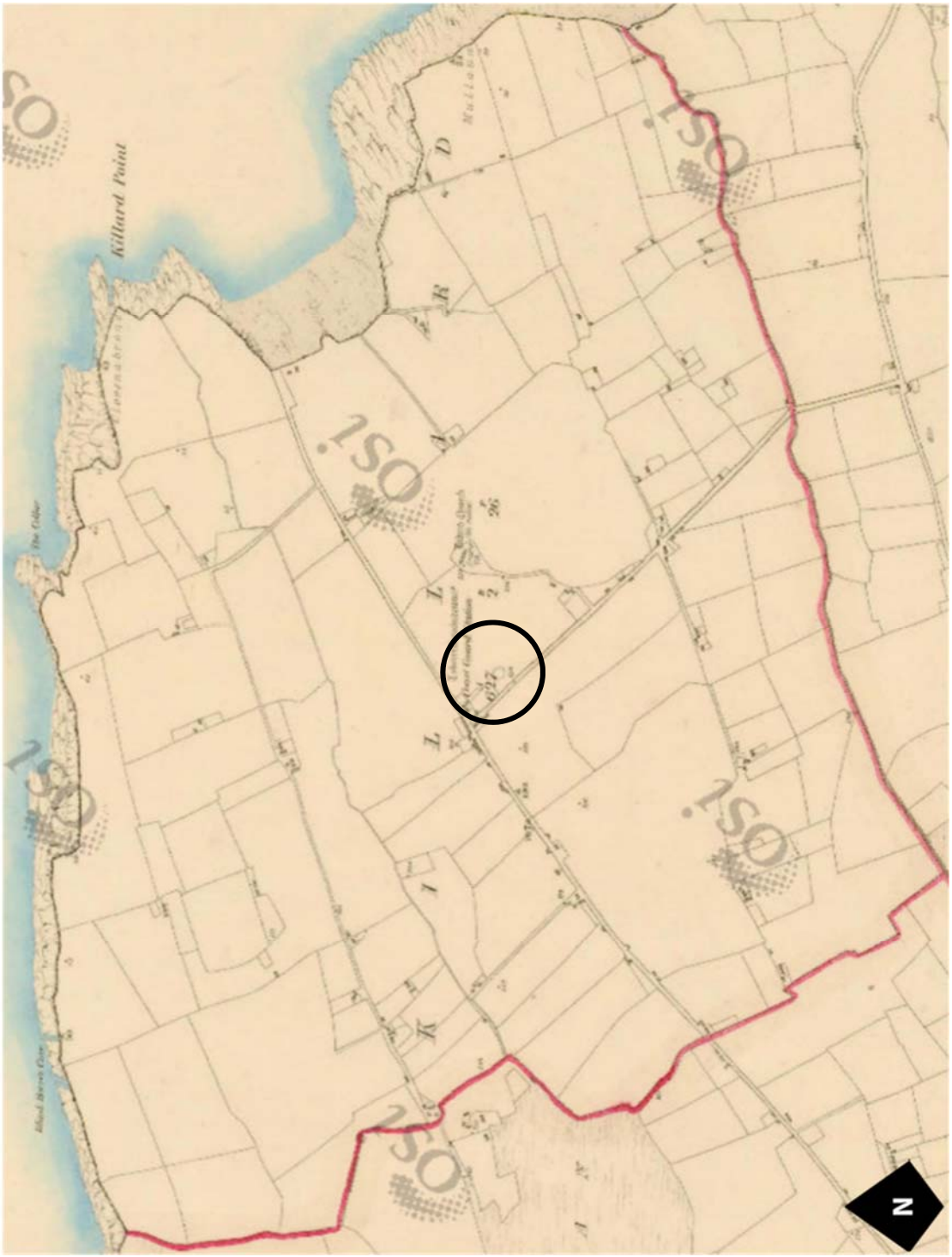


Figure 138. First edition OS map of Killard townland depicting ringfort CL046-002

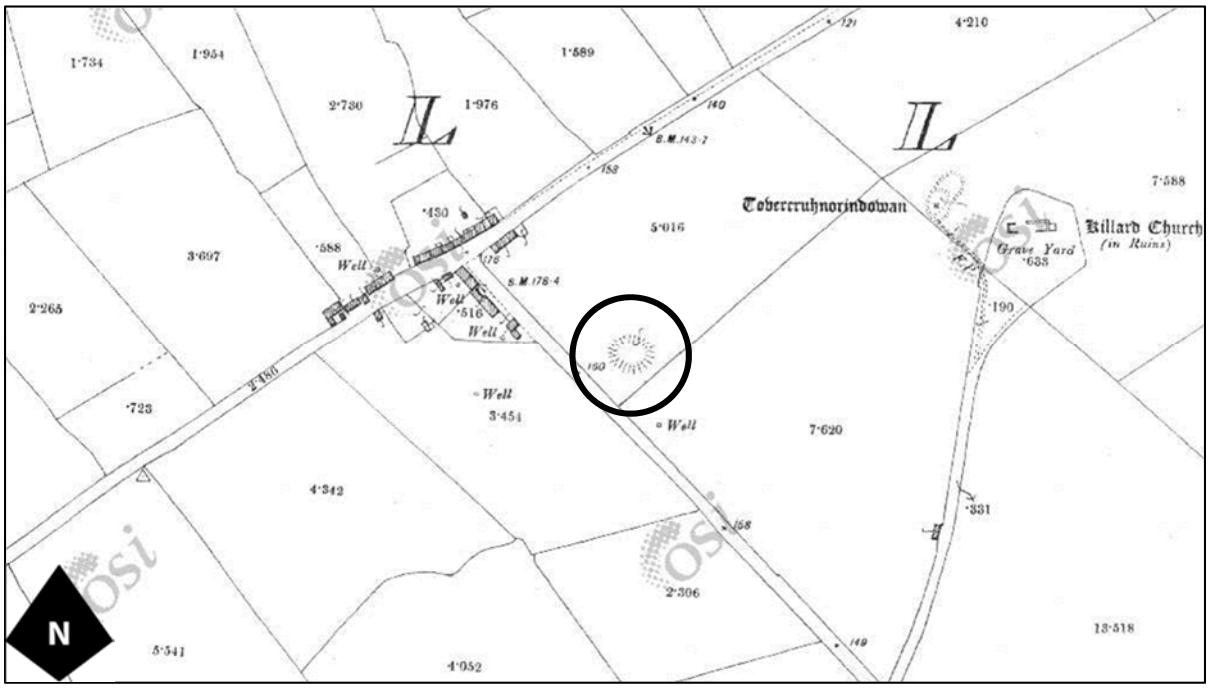


Figure 139. Second edition OS map of Killard townland depicting ringfort CL046-002

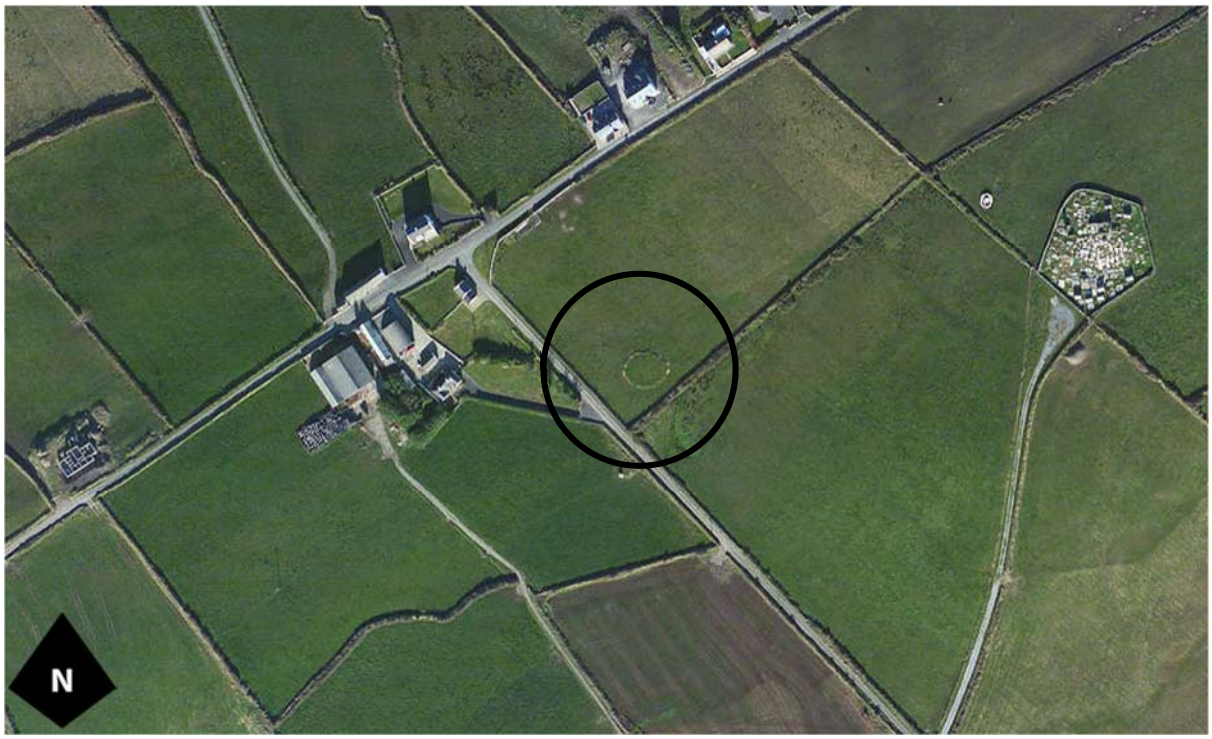


Figure 140. Aerial image of Killard townland depicting ringfort CL046-002 (DG 2011-3)

7.2.11. Lisgurreen

The archaeological record contains reference to the presence of three ringforts in this townland (NMS 2019). These three raths, CL056-014. CL056-018 and CL056-019, are depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 56) of the area. One of these, CL056-018 is also noted by the name 'Lisgurreen' on this map. The three ringforts are shown on the subsequent revised editions of this map. Indeed, recent aerial imagery shows these three structures to be still extant (DG 2011-3).

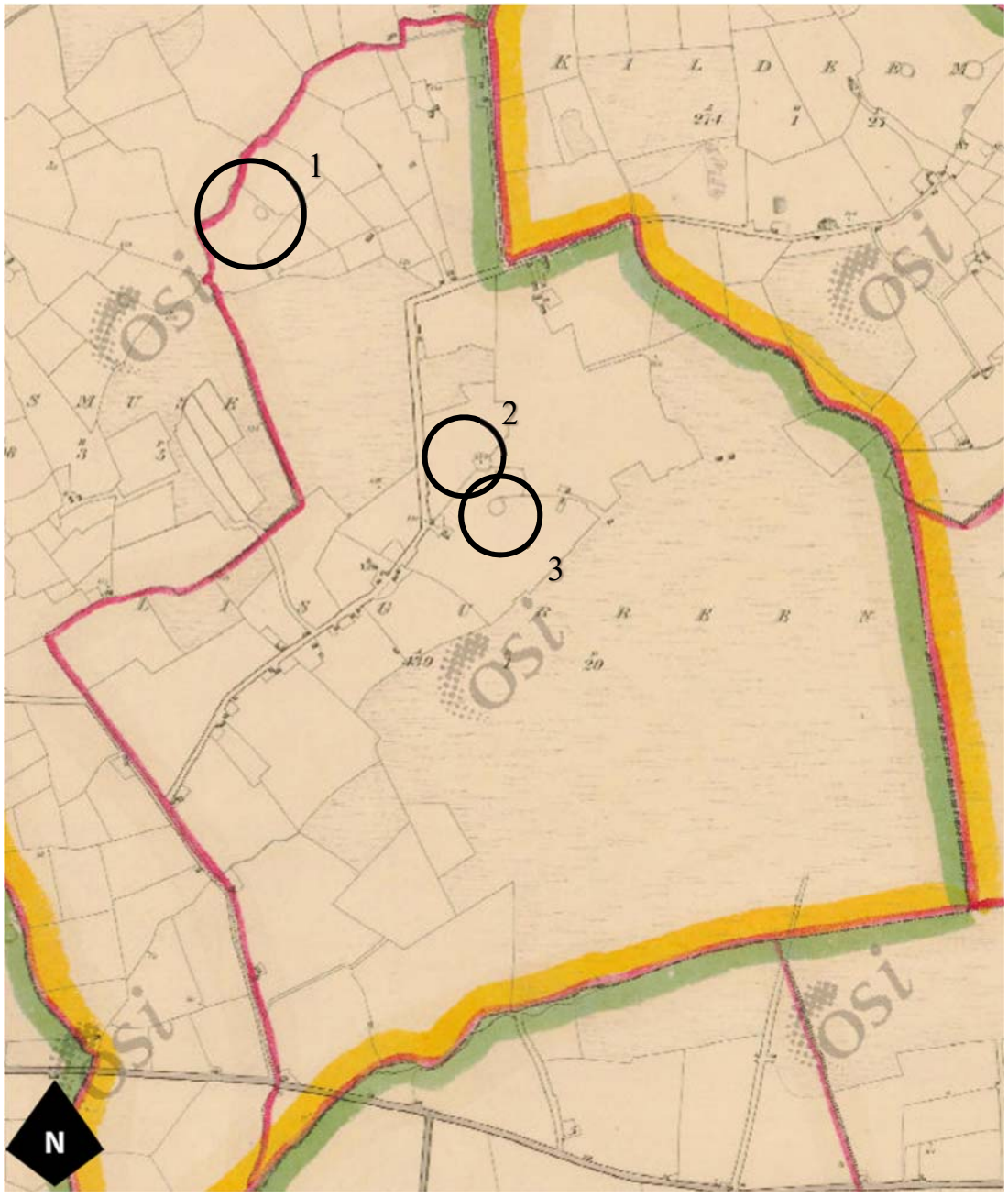


Figure 141. First edition OS map of Lisgurreen townland depicting ringforts 1. CL056-014, 2. CL056-018 and 3. CL056-019

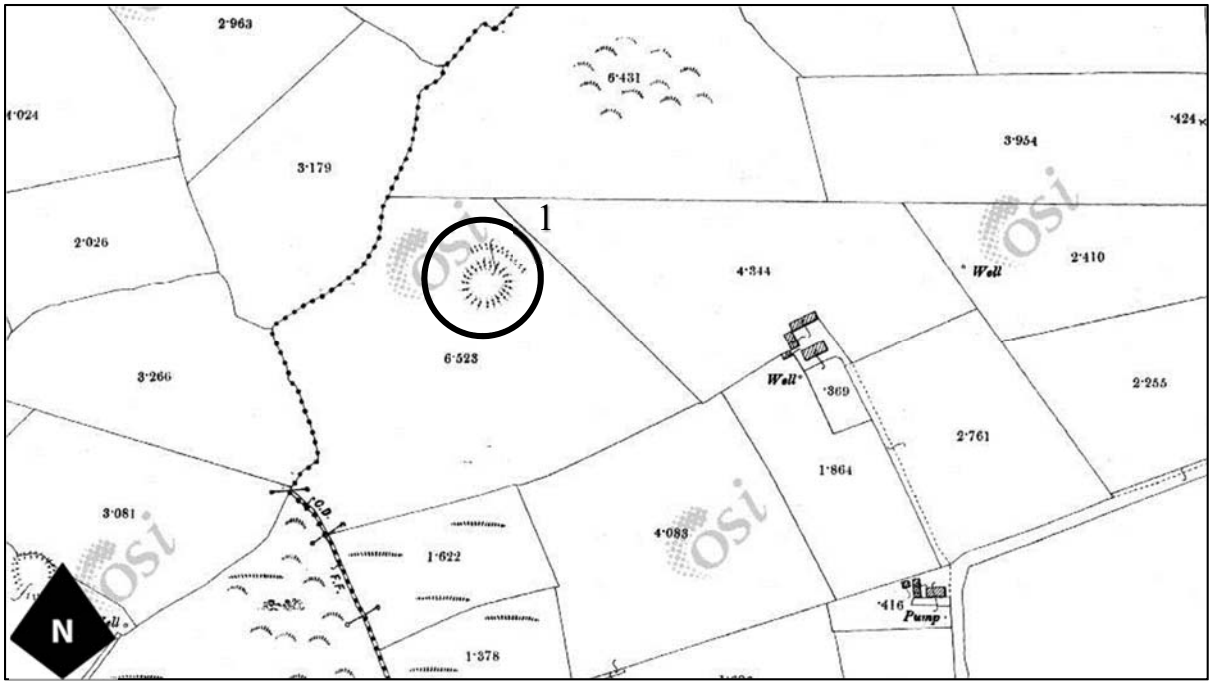


Figure 142. Second edition OS map of Lisgurreen townland depicting ringfort 1. CL056-014

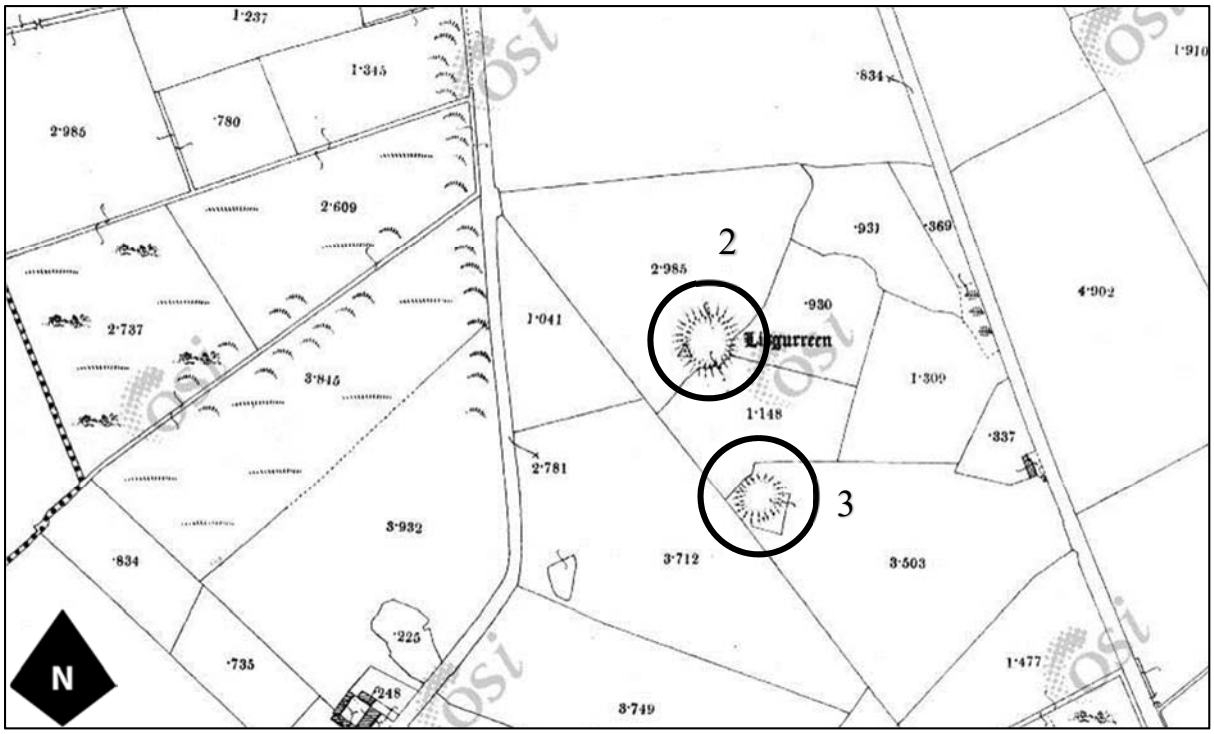


Figure 143. Second edition OS map of Lisgurreen townland depicting ringforts 2. CL056-018 and 3. CL056-019



Figure 144. Aerial image of Lisgurreen townland depicting ringforts 1. CL056-014, 2. CL056-018 and 3. CL056-019 (DG 2011-3)

7.2.12. Lismuse

The presence of two ringforts is recorded in the archaeological database for this townland. These two raths, CL056-013 and CL056-017001, are depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 56) of the area. On this map also one of these structures, CL056-017001, is noted as 'Lismuse'. These two raths are again visible on subsequent revised editions of this map. Indeed, study of recent aerial images confirms that these two structures are still extant (DG 2011-3).

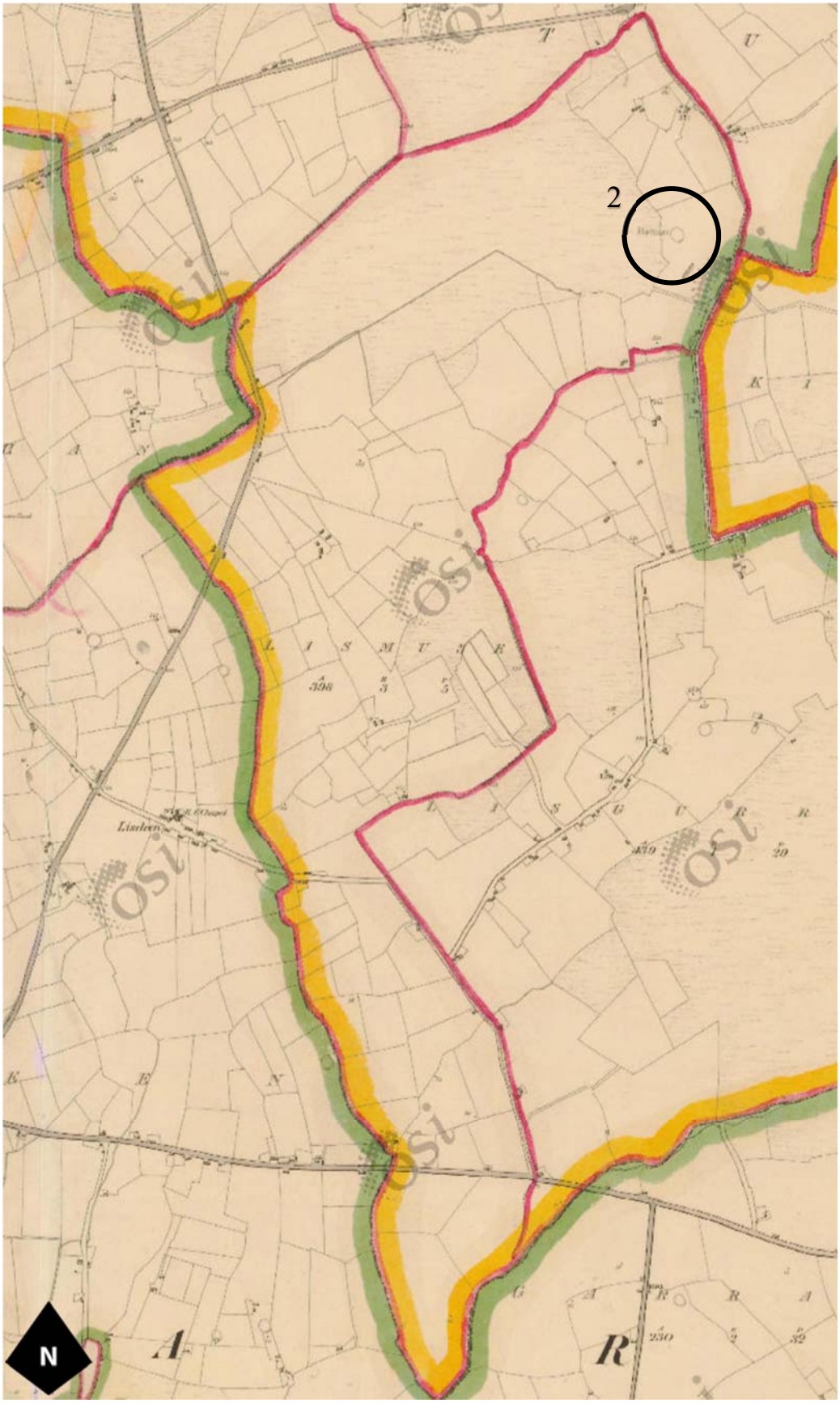


Figure 145. First edition OS map of Lisgurreen townland depicting ringforts 1. CL056-013 and 2. CL056-017001

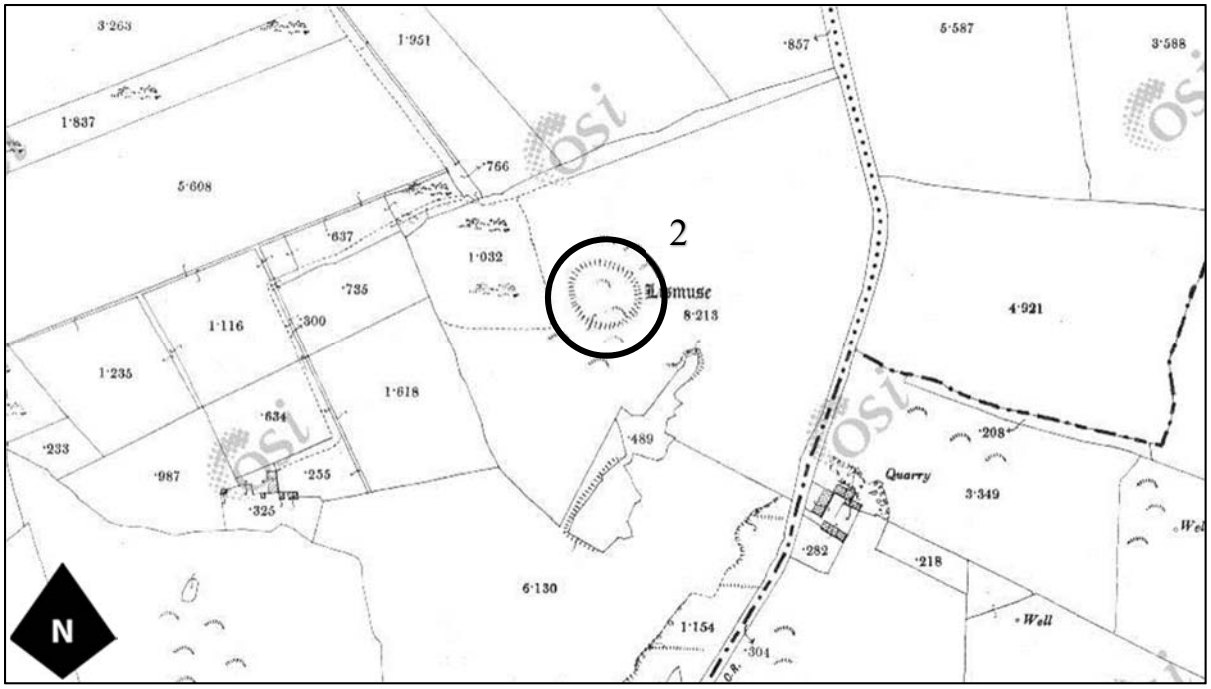


Figure 146. Second edition OS map of Lisgurreen townland depicting ringfort 2. CL056-017001

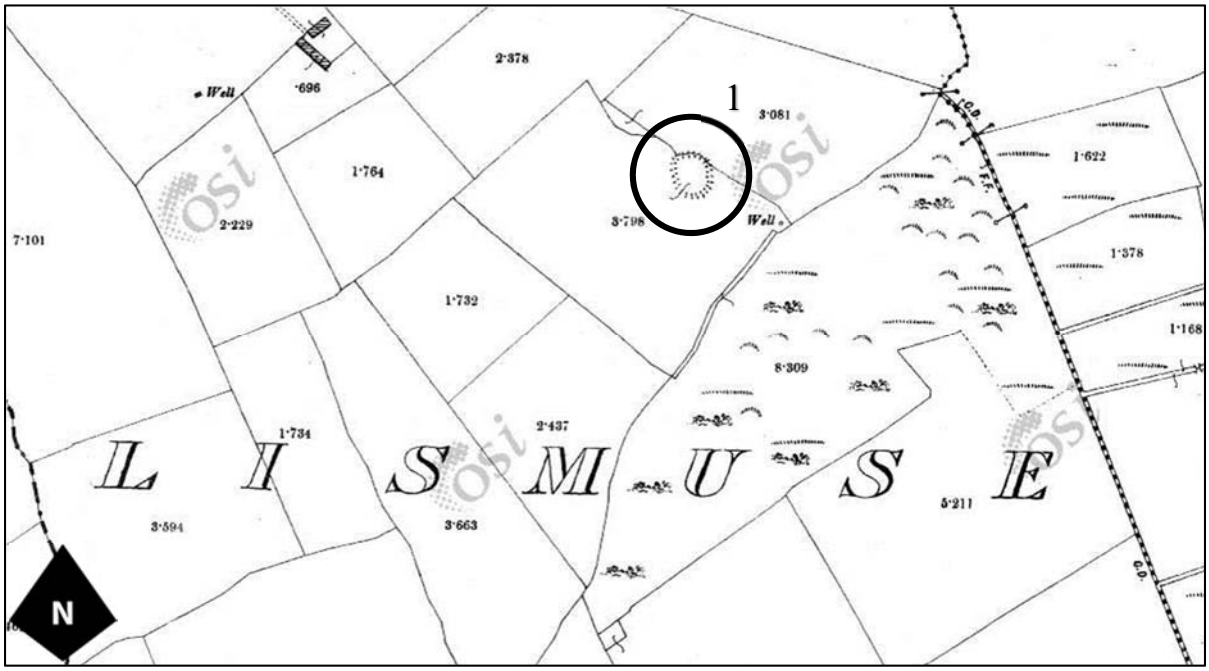


Figure 147. Second edition OS map of Lisgurreen townland depicting ringfort 1. CL056-013



Figure 148. Aerial image of Lisgurreen depicting ringforts 1. CL056-013 and 2. CL056-017001 (DG 2011-3)

7.2.13. Mountrivers

Within Mountrivers townland, a single example of the studied monument type is recorded in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). This rath, CL047-021, is shown on the first edition OS map (1840, 47) of the area. It is also visible on the later revised editions of the OS map. Modern aerial images show this rath to be still extant (DG 2011-3). Although breaches have been made in the bank in the east and north-west sections of the bank.

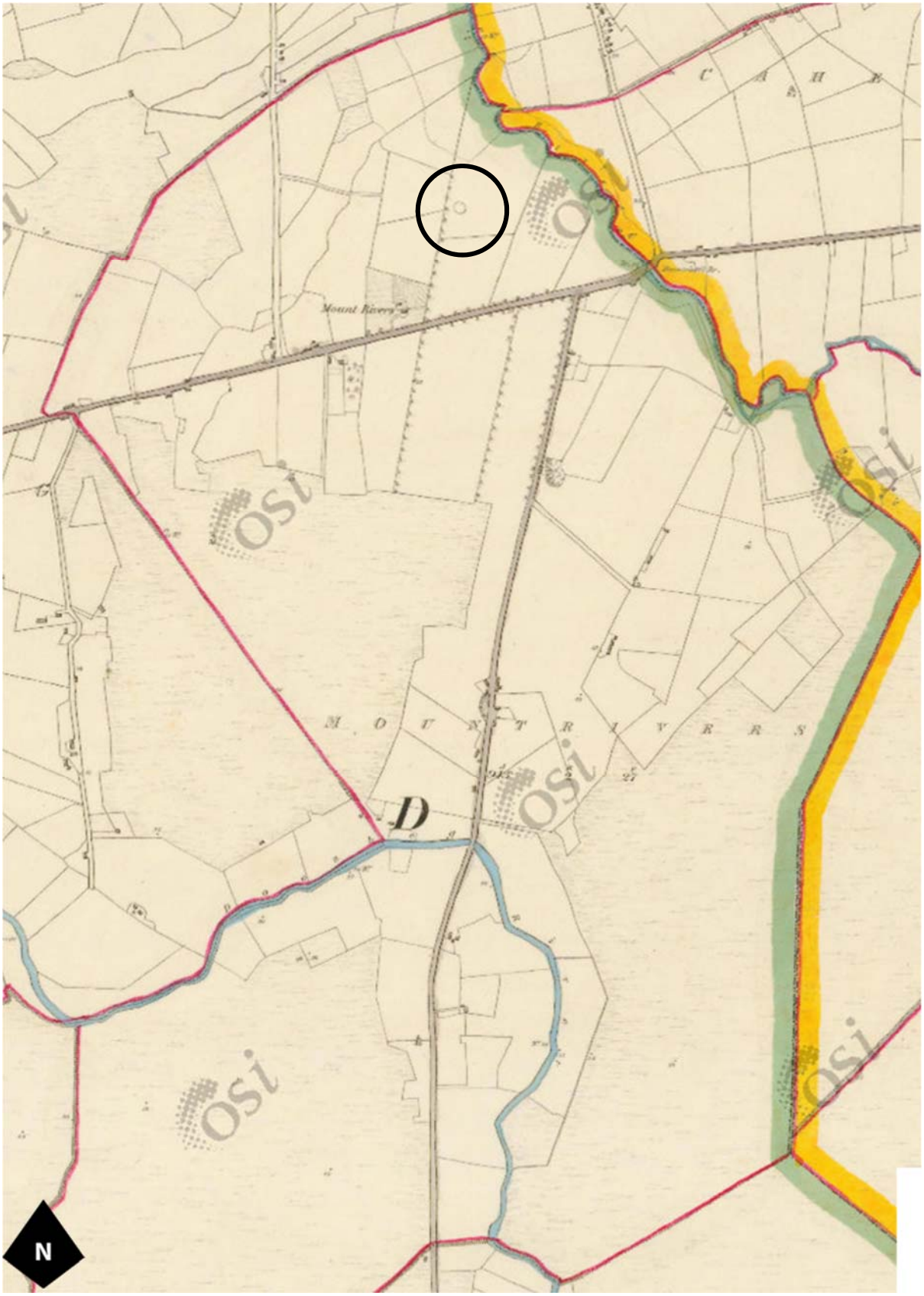


Figure 149. First edition OS map of Mountrivers townland depicting ringfort CL047-021

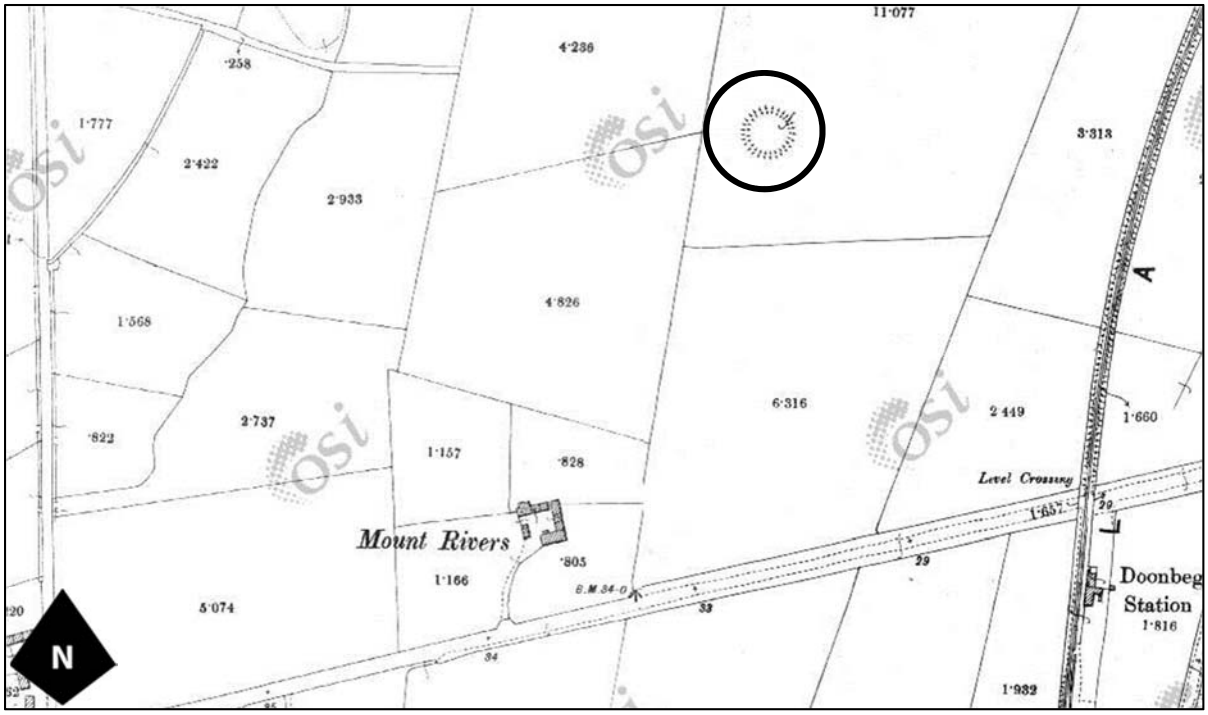


Figure 150. Second edition OS map of Mountrivers townland depicting ringfort CL047-021



Figure 151. Aerial image of Mountrivers townland depicting ringfort CL047-021 (DG 2011-3)

7.2.14. Tullaher

The presence of three ringforts is recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). However, just one of these raths, CL056-025, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 56) of the area. This ringfort is also shown on later revised editions of this map. This ringfort remained extant in recent times. Another of these raths, CL056-024, is shown on the second edition map (1895, 56) as a semi-circular feature where the south-eastern segment is traversed by a field boundary. This ringfort is no longer extant but a crop mark is visible at its recorded location (GE 2003). The final rath located in this townland, CL056-095, is not shown on the first edition OS map of the area. However, a hachured arc is shown on the second edition revised edition of this map. This arc is still visible on modern aerial imagery (DG 2011-3). These images also make visible the remainder of the outline of this rath as a crop mark that includes the more visible arc.



Figure 152. First edition OS map of Tullaher townland depicting ringfort 1. CL056-025

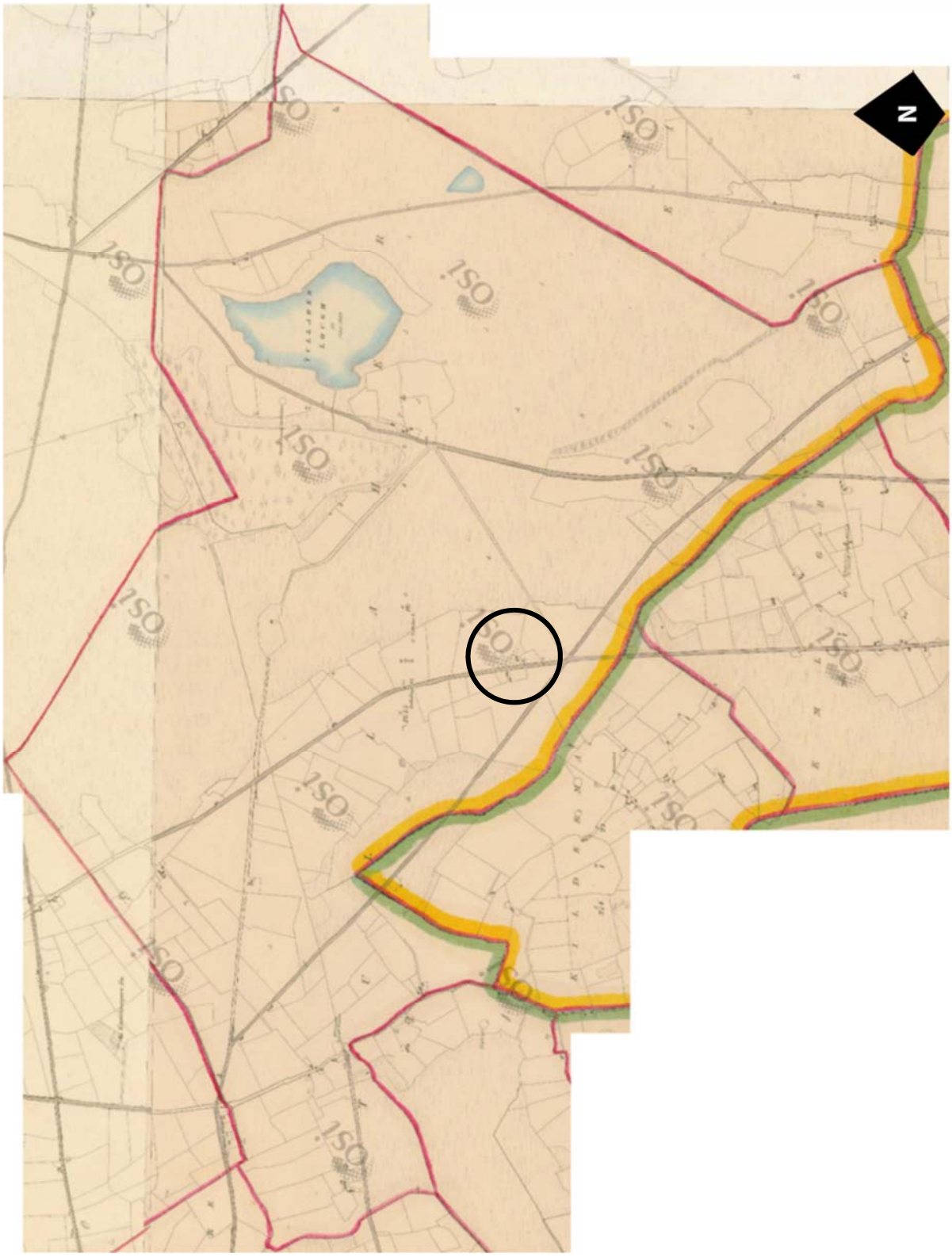


Figure 153. First edition OS map of Tullaher townland depicting ringfort 1. CL056-025

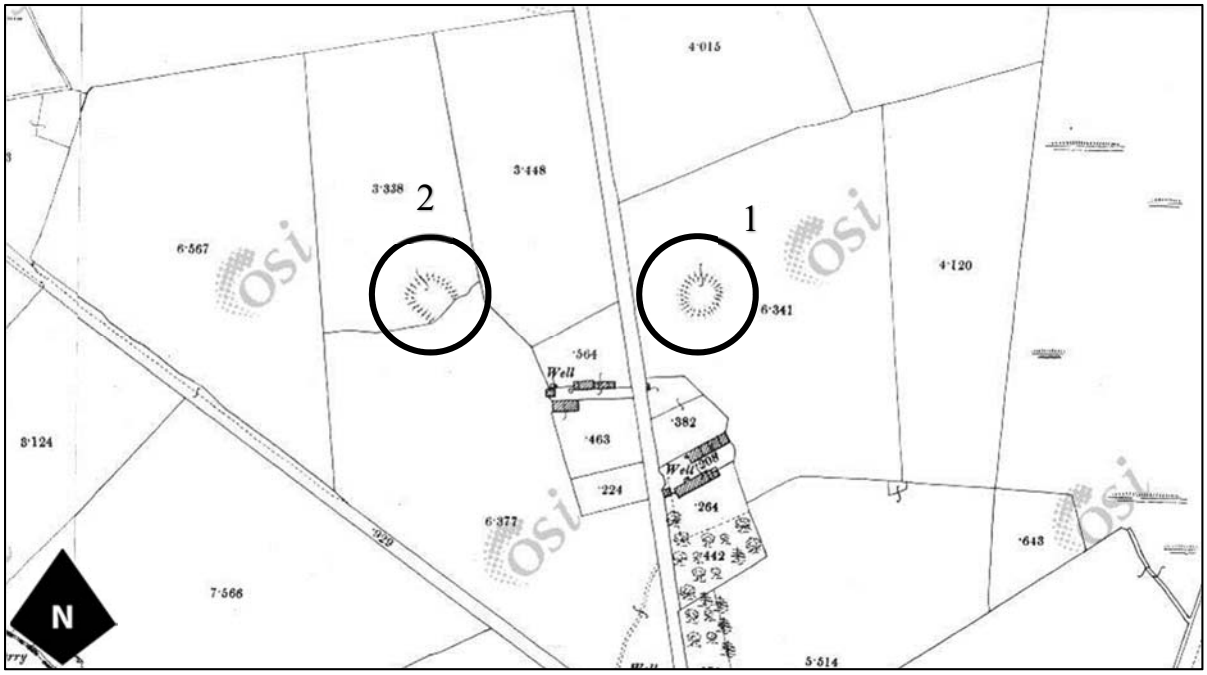


Figure 154. Second edition OS map of Tullaher townland depicting ringfort 1. CL056-025 and 2. CL056-024

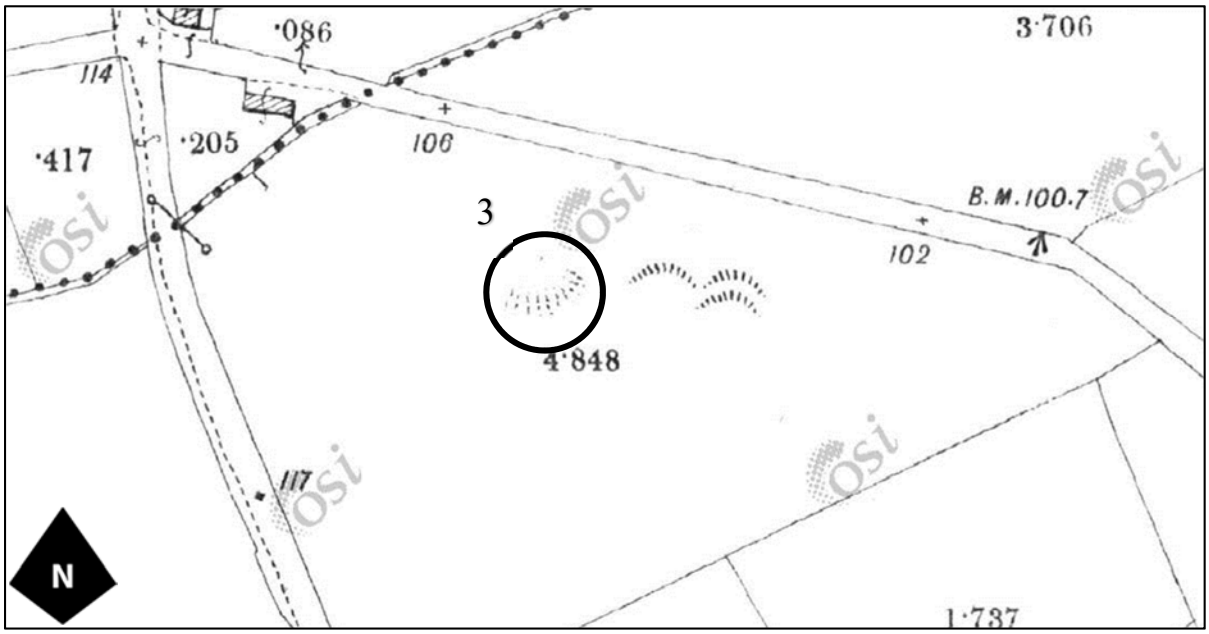


Figure 155. Second edition OS map of Tullaher townland depicting ringfort 3. CL056-095



Figure 156. Aerial image of Tullaher townland depicting ringforts 1. CL056-025 and 2. CL056-024 (GE 2003)



Figure 157. Aerial image of Tullaher townland depicting ringfort 3. CL056-095 (DG 2011-3)

7.3. Kilmurry parish

7.3.1. Ballymackea Beg

The presence of four ringforts is recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). These four raths, CL038-015, CL038-017, CL038-018 and CL038-019, are visible on the first edition OS map (1840, 38) of this area. This is also the case of the subsequent revised editions of this map. However, examination of recent aerial imagery shows that one of these ringforts, CL038-018, is no longer extant (DG 2019). Nevertheless, a crop mark is visible at this recorded location. This allows the eventual form and diameter of this structure to be defined.



Figure 158. First edition OS map of Ballymackea Beg townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-015, 2. CL038-017, 3. CL038-018 and 4. CL038-019

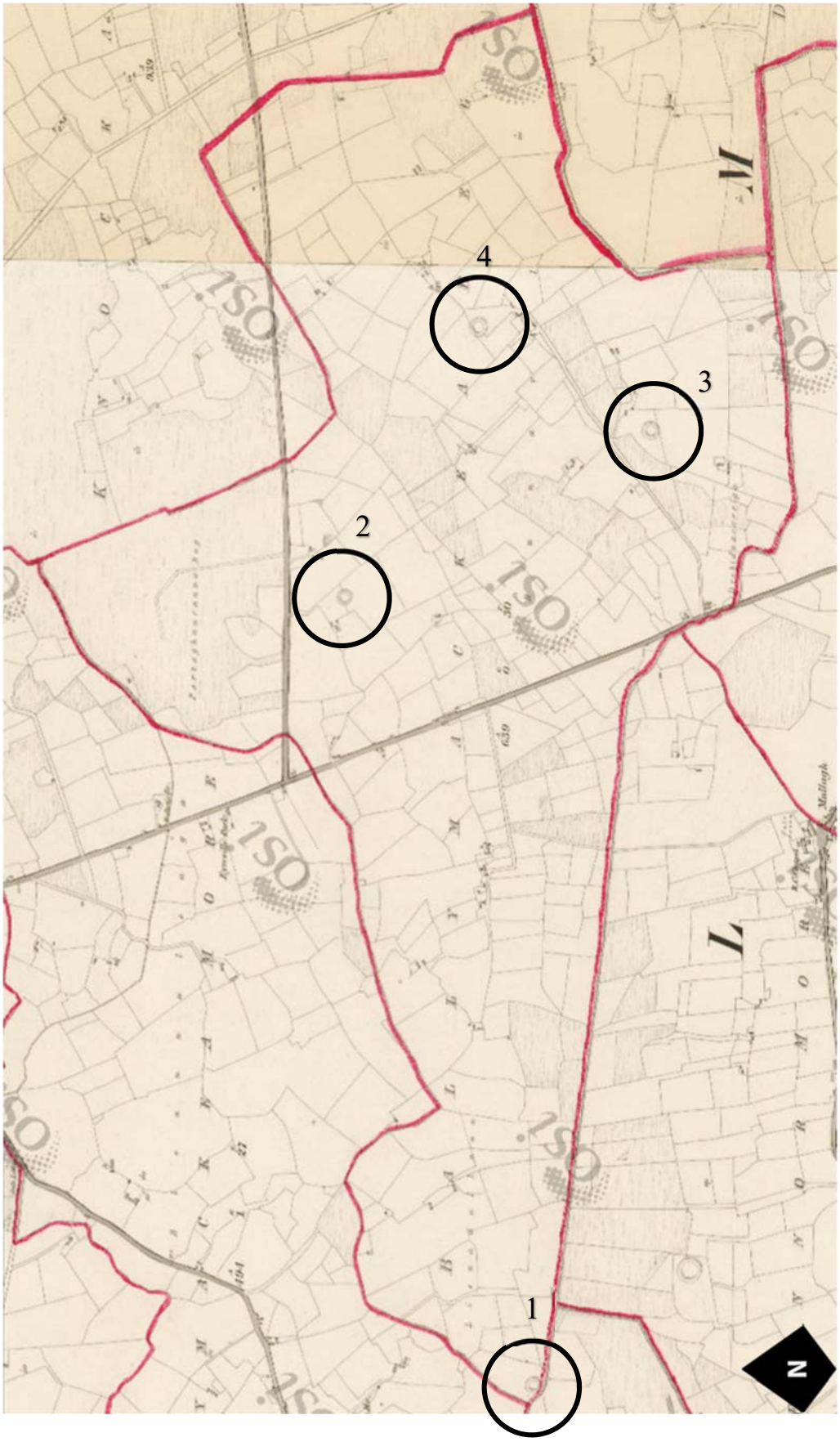


Figure 159. First edition OS map of Ballymackea Beg townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-015, 2. CL038-017, 3. CL038-018 and 4. CL038-019

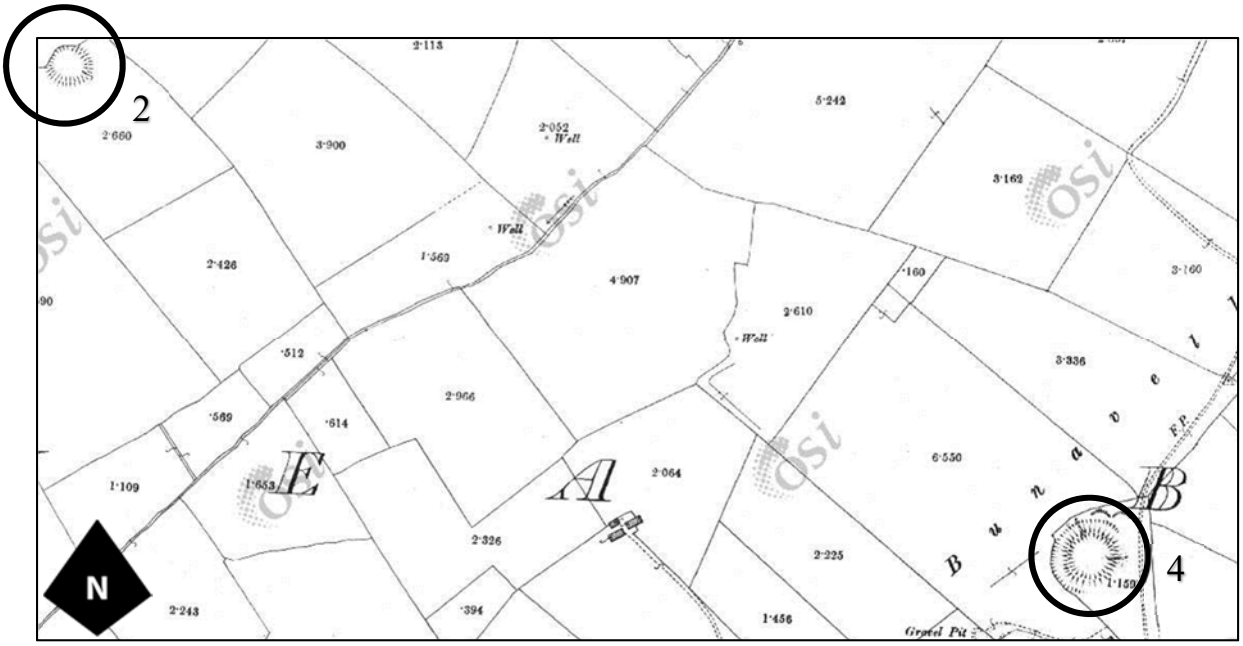


Figure 160. Second edition OS map of Ballymackea Beg townland depicting ringforts 2. CL038-017 and 4. CL038-019

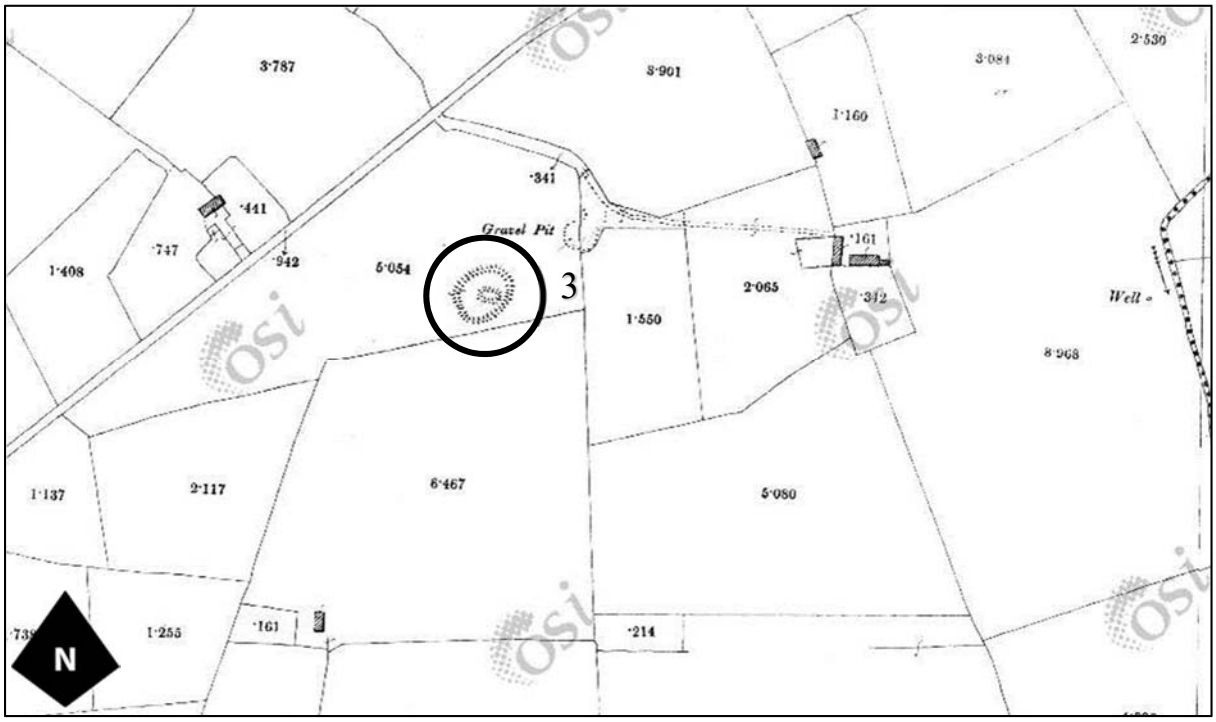


Figure 161. Second edition OS map of Ballymackea Beg townland depicting ringfort 3. CL038-018

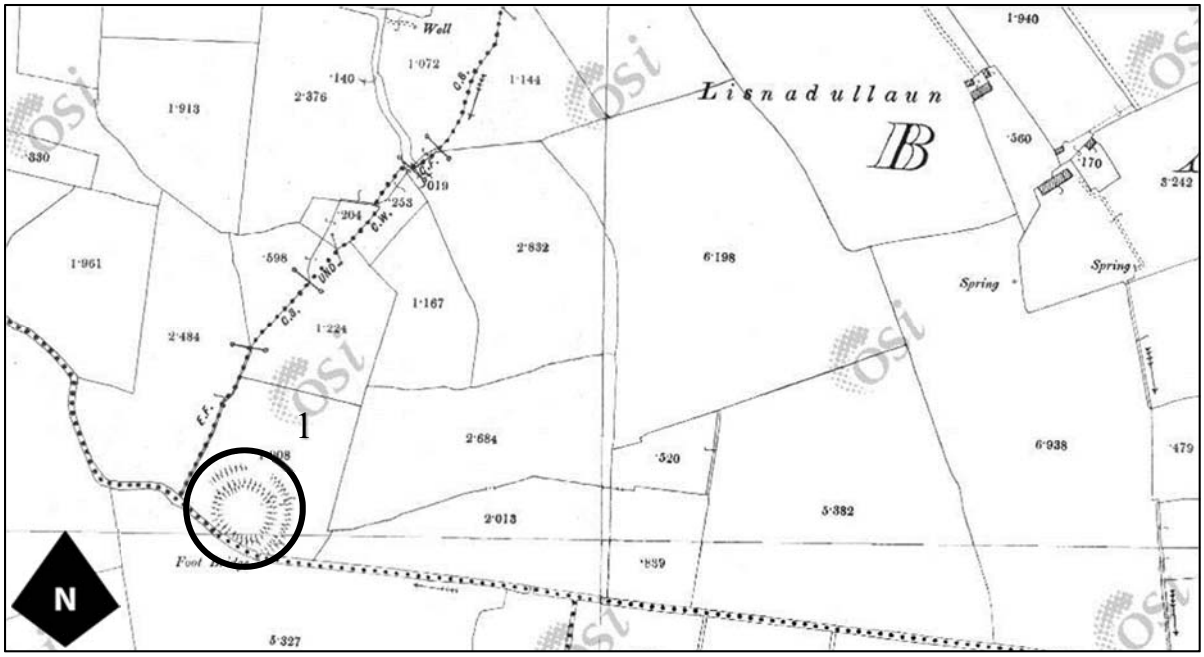


Figure 162. Second edition OS map of Ballymackea Beg townland depicting ringfort 1. CL038-015



Figure 163. Aerial image of Ballymackea Beg townland depicting ringforts CL038-015, CL038-017, CL038-018 and CL038-019



Figure 164. Aerial image of Ballymackea Beg townland depicting ringforts 2. CL038-017, 3. CL038-018 and 4. CL038-019 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 165. Aerial image of Ballymackea Beg townland depicting ringfort 1. CL038-015 (DG 2011-3)

7.3.2. Ballymackea More

A single example of the studied monument type is mentioned in the archaeological recorded for this townland (NMS 2019). This rath, CL038-014, is visible on the first edition OS map (1840, 38) of the area. It is also visible on the revised second edition OS map (1895, 38). This structure can no longer be considered extant, however. A recent aerial image shows a number of vehicles parked within the outline of this ringfort (DG 2011-3). Other aerial images do permit, however, the eventual location and form of this monument to be discerned (GE 2003)



Figure 166. First edition OS map of Ballymackea More townland depicting ringfort CL038-014

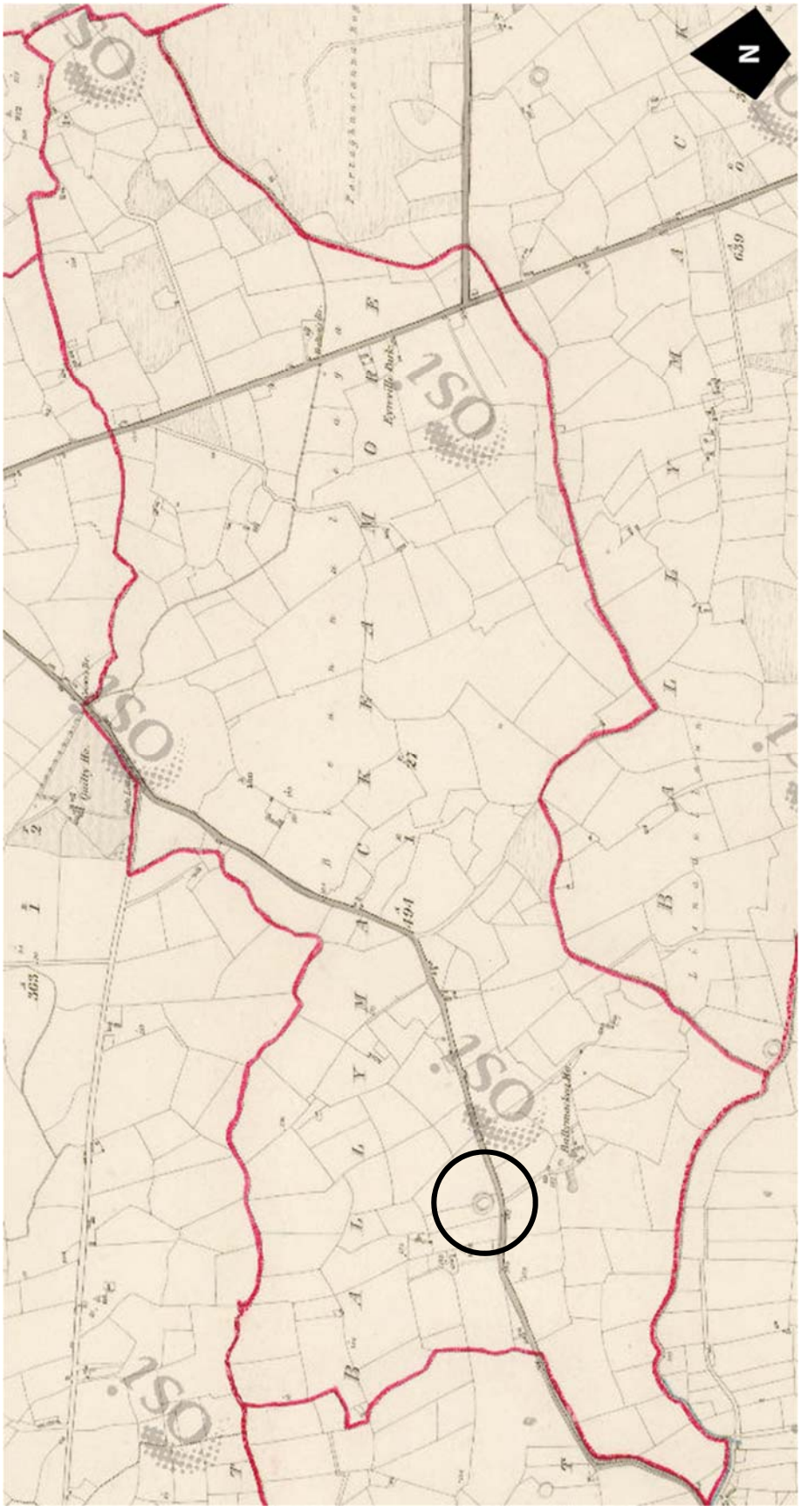


Figure 167. First edition OS map of Ballymackea More townland depicting ringfort CL038-014

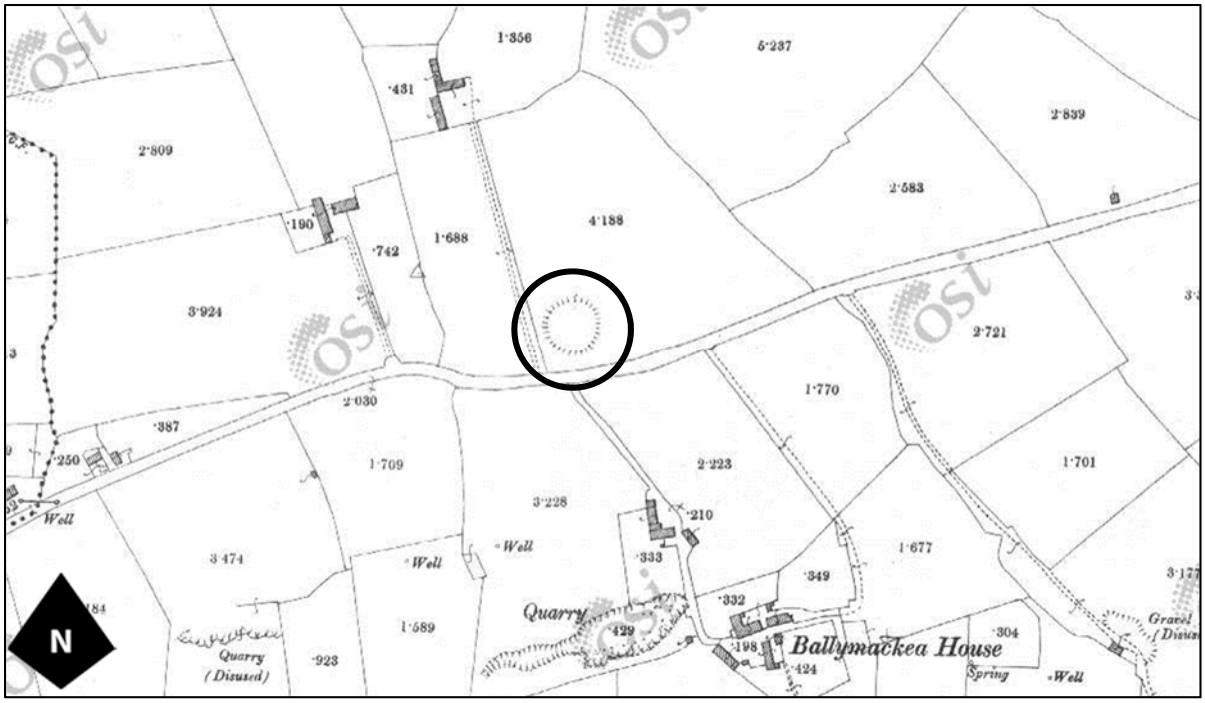


Figure 168. Second edition OS map of Ballymackea More townland depicting ringfort CL038-014



Figure 169. Aerial image of Ballymackea More townland depicting site of ringfort CL038-014 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 170. Aerial image of Ballymackea More townland depicting site of ringfort CL038-014 (GE 2003)

7.3.3. Carrowduff

A variety of circular field monuments is located in this townland (NMS 2019). Two of these structures, CL030-025 and CL031-024, are recorded as raths. The third of these structures, CL031-020, is recorded as an earthwork. In addition, each of these monuments is referred to by name on this map. The earthwork, CL031-020, is noted as 'Carrowduff Fort' and the two raths, CL030-025 and CL031-024, are referred to as 'Cloghauncloonen Fort' and 'Lissaltha' respectively. The two raths are also shown on the later revised editions of the OS map and, indeed, recent aerial images show these two structures to be still extant (DG 2011-3). The structures recorded as an earthwork, CL031-0209, is shown on the OS maps as having been bisected by a northeast to south-west running road. Recent aerial images show that this structure is no longer extant. The road is still in place and a search at the recorded location for this earthwork uncovers a crop mark that confirms the existence of this circular earthwork.

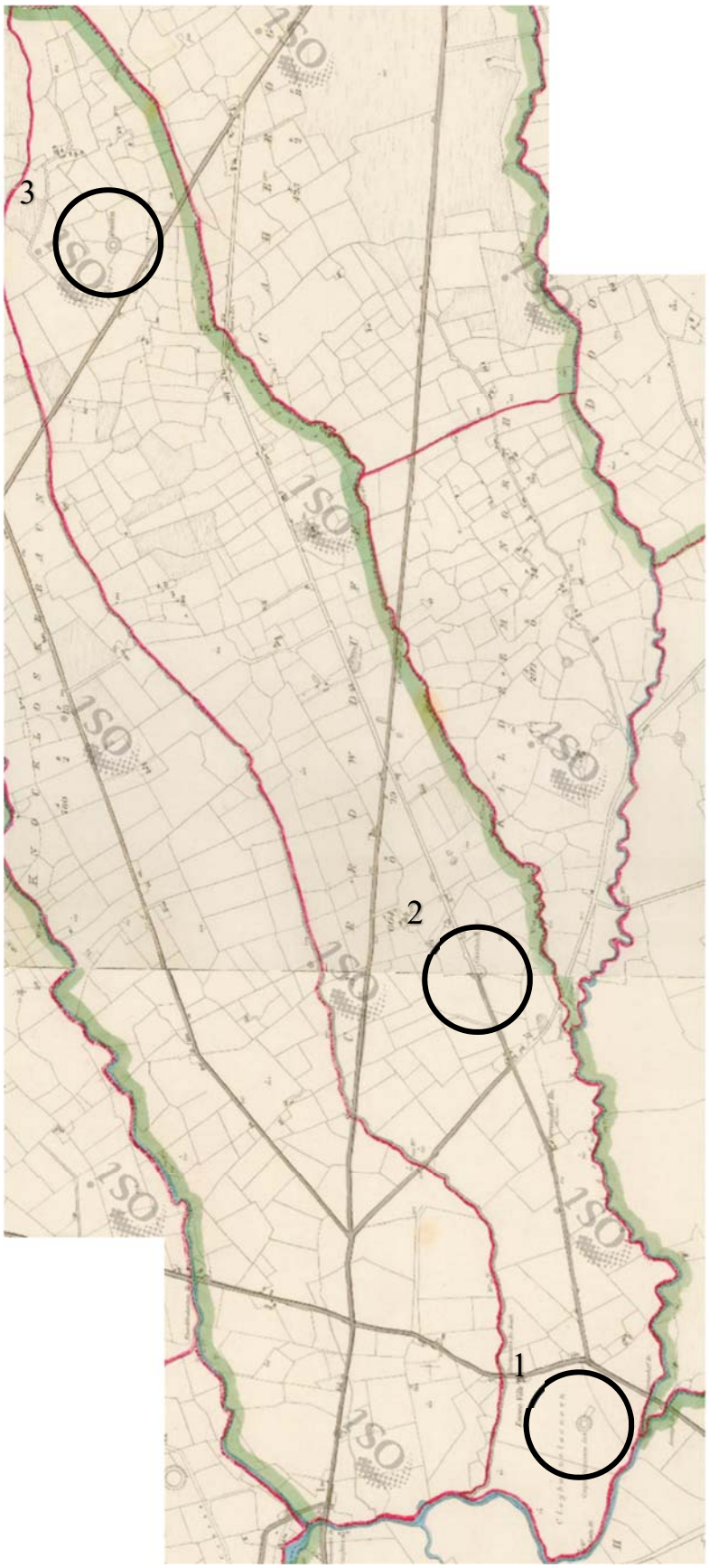


Figure 171. First edition OS map of Carrowduff townland depicting ringforts 1. CL030-025 and 3. CL031-024 and earthwork 2. CL031-020

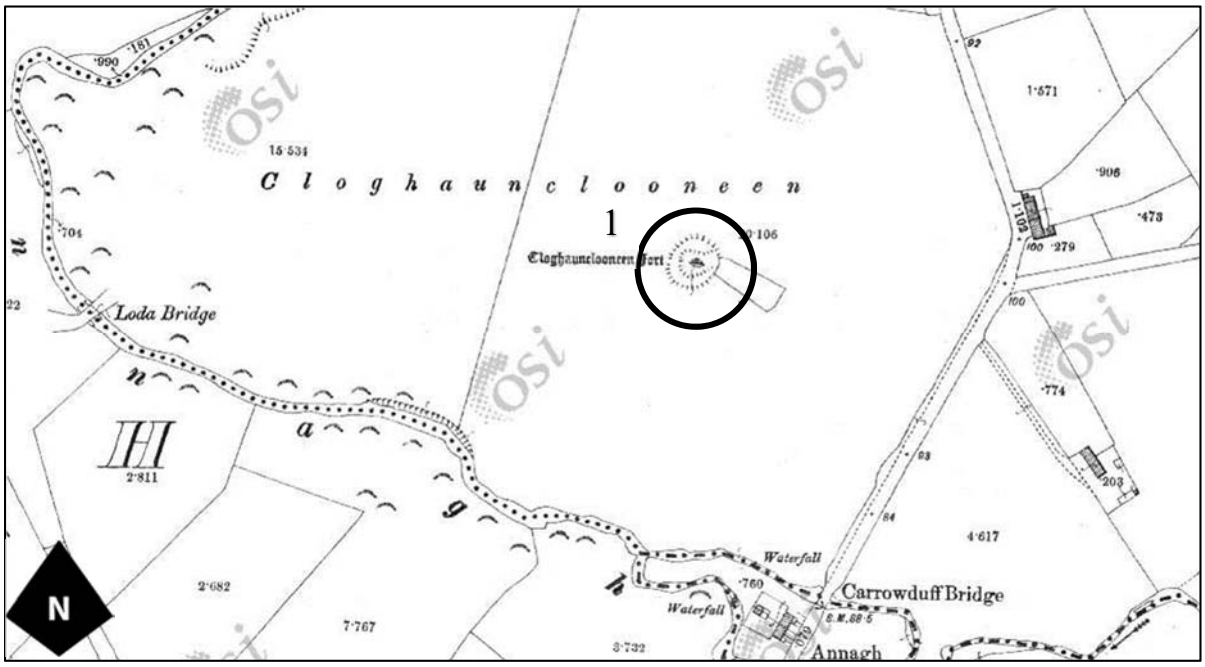


Figure 172. Second edition OS map of Carrowduff townland depicting ringfort 1. CL030-025

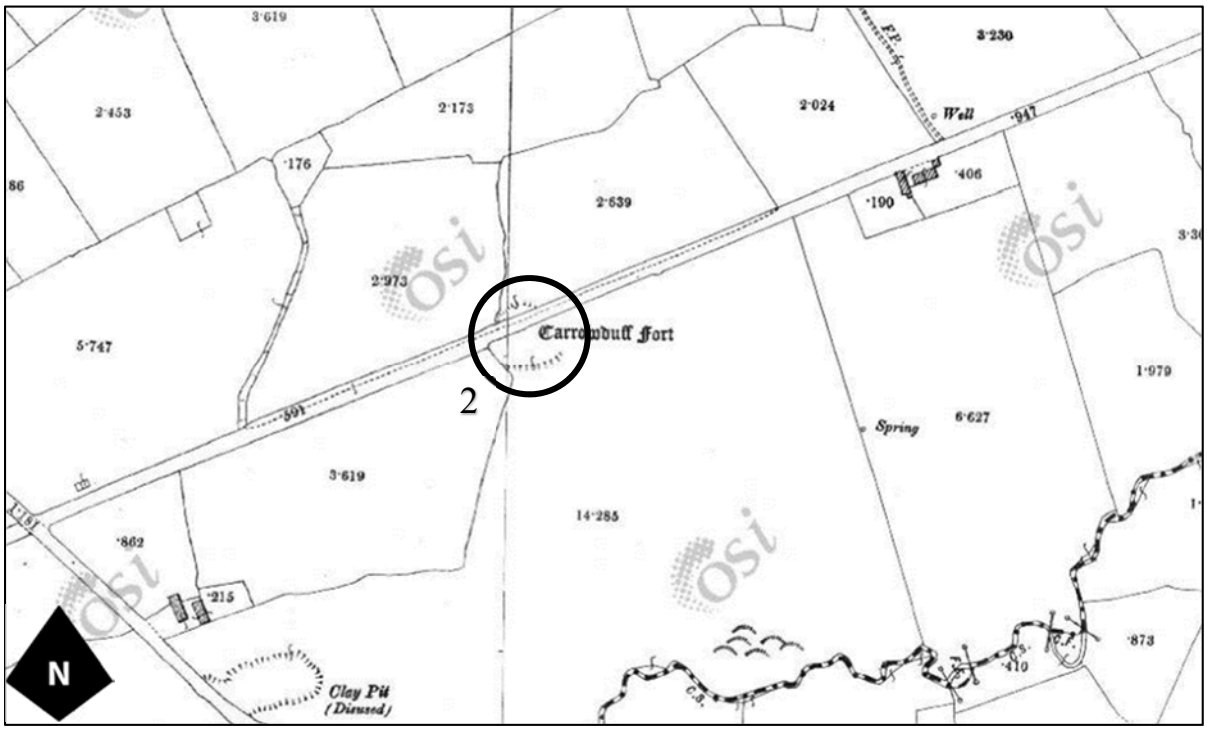


Figure 173. Second edition OS map of Carrowduff townland depicting earthwork 2. CL031-020

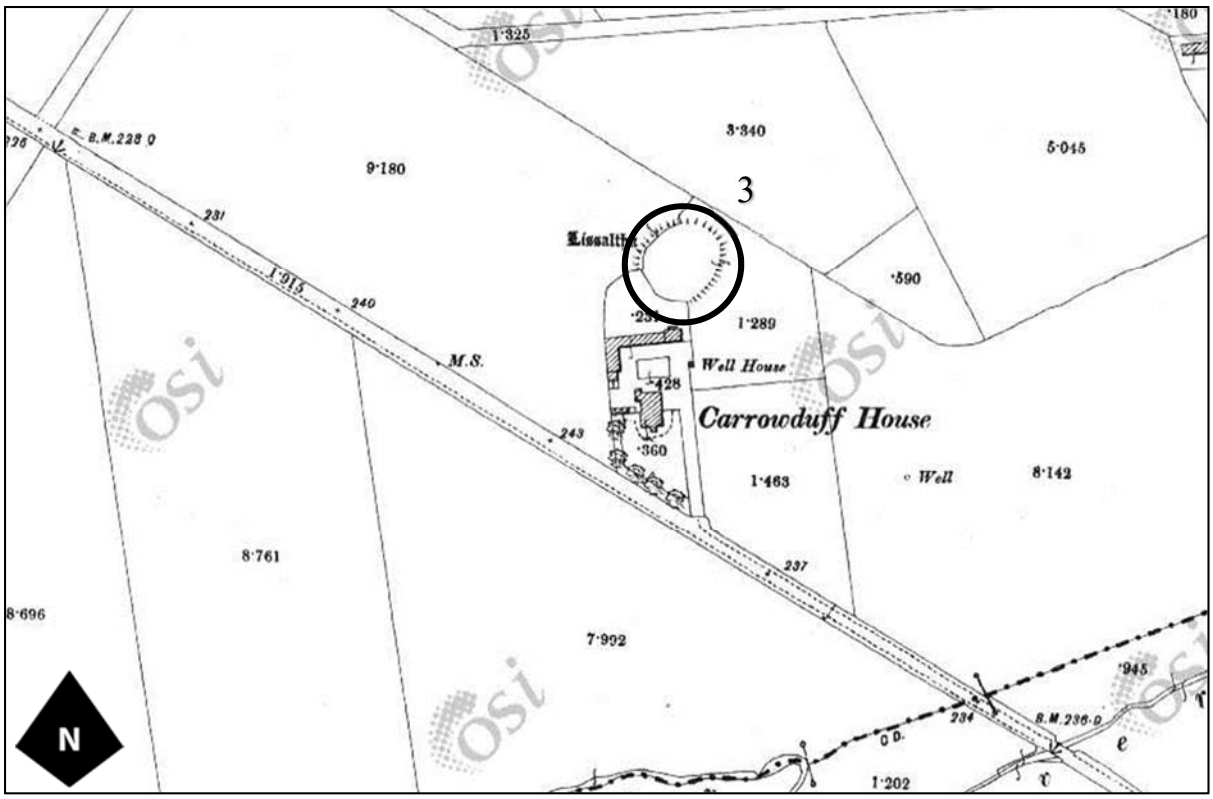


Figure 174. Second edition OS map of Carrowduff townland depicting ringfort 3. CL031-024



Figure 175. Aerial image of Carrowduff townland depicting ringfort 1. CL030-025 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 176. Aerial image of Carrowduff townland depicting earthwork 2. CL031-020 (GE 2016)



Figure 177. Aerial image of Carrowduff townland depicting ringfort 3. CL031-024 (GE 2003)

7.3.4. Carrowlagan

The archaeological record contains mention of the presence of two ringforts in this townland (NMS 2019). These two raths, CL038-041 and CL038-042, are clearly visible on the first edition OS map (1840, 38) of the region. Both of these features are located in the southwest corner of the townland and one of these structures, CL038-041, straddles the boundary with the adjacent townland on Finnor Beg. Both of these structures are shown on later revised editions of this map and recent aerial images show these two raths to be still extant (DG 2011-3).

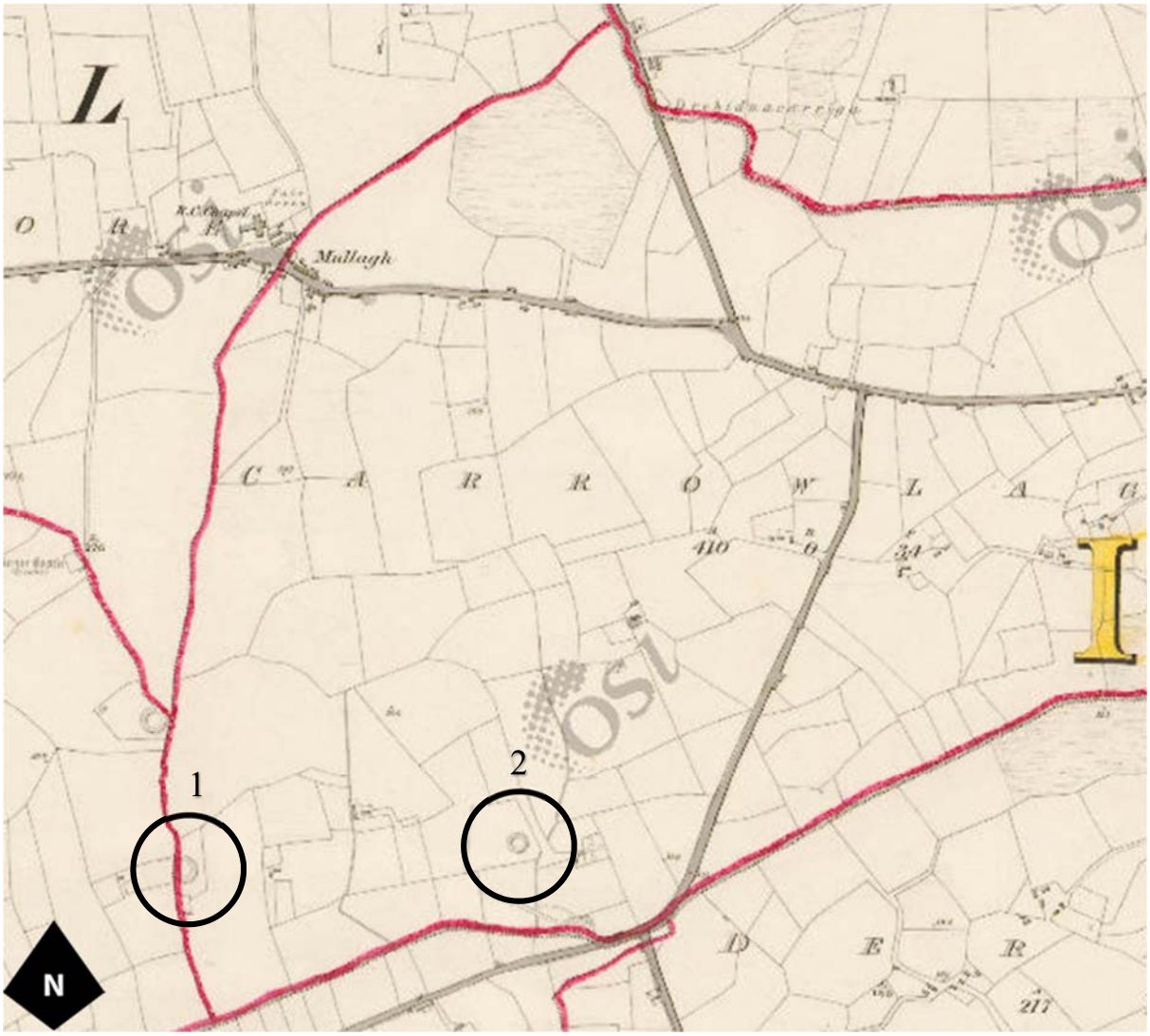


Figure 178. First edition OS map of Carrowlagan townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-041 and 2. CL038-042

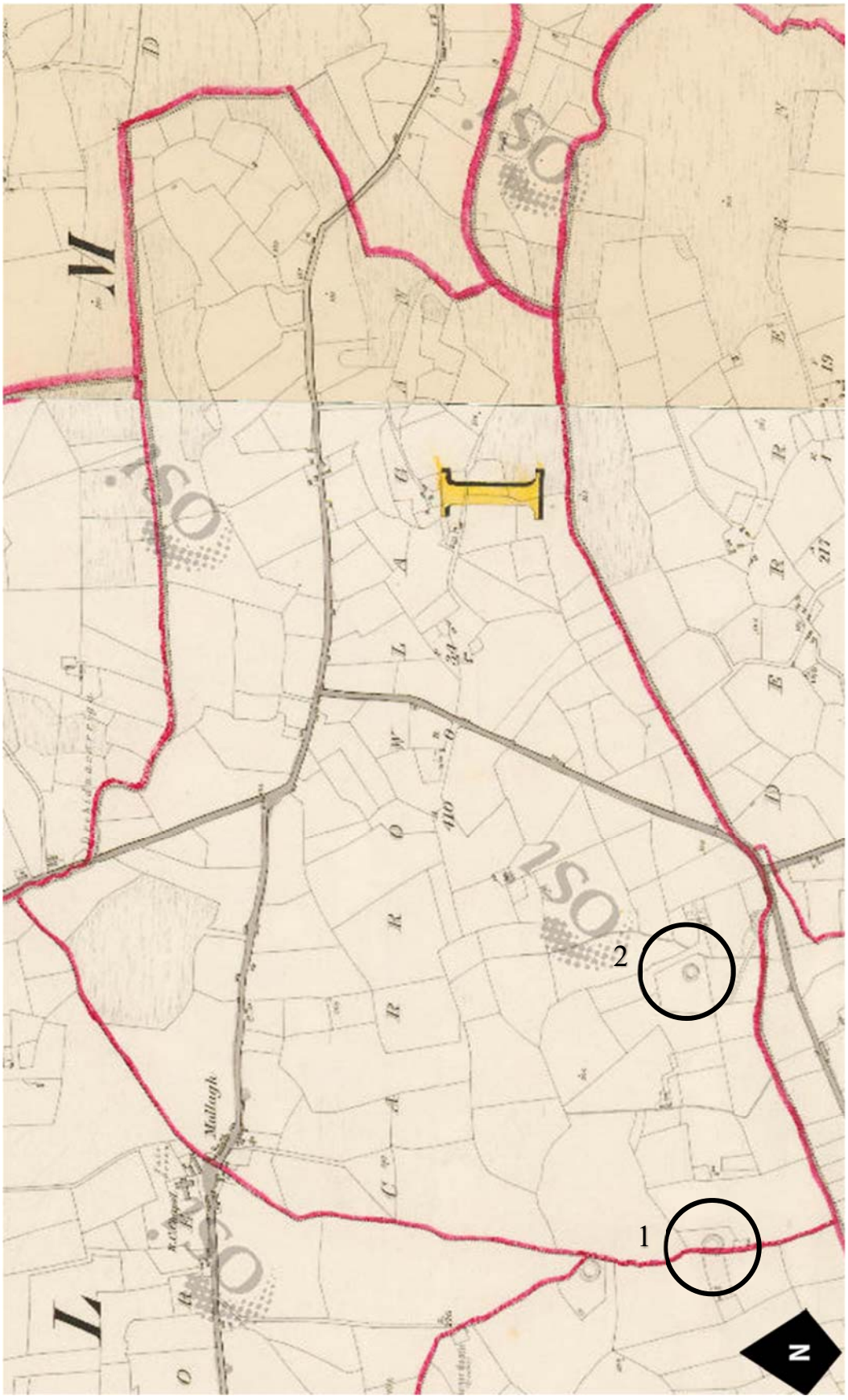


Figure 179. First edition OS map of Carrowlagan townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-041 and 2. CL038-042

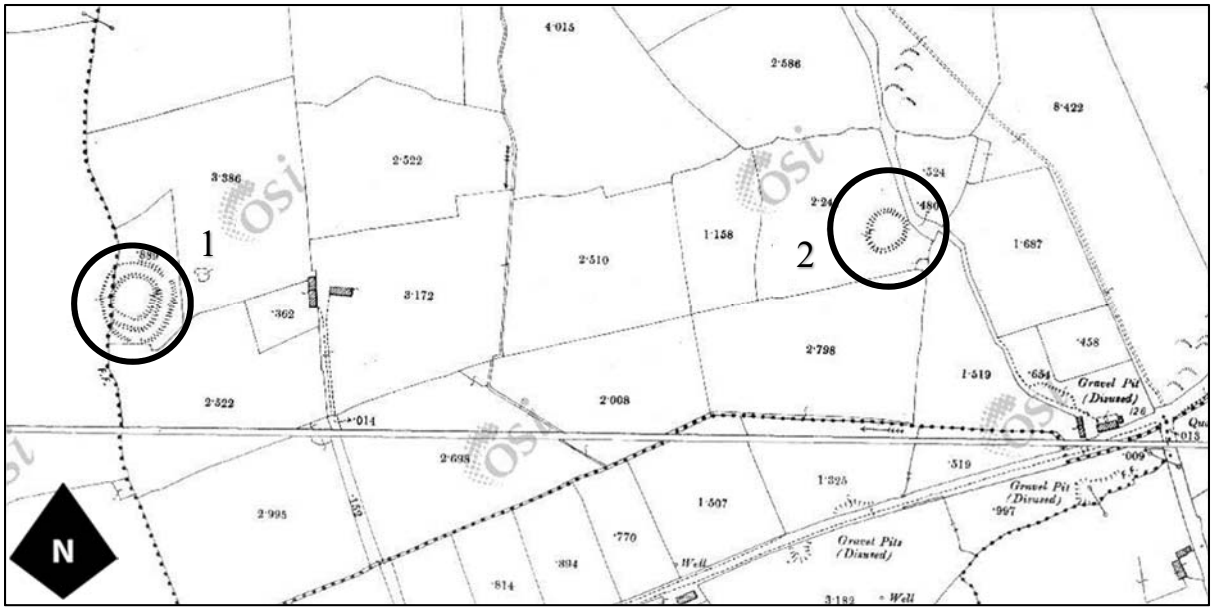


Figure 180. Second edition OS map of Carrowlagan townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-041 and 2. CL038-042



Figure 181. Aerial image of Carrowlagan townland depicting site of ringfort 1. CL038-041 and ringfort 2. CL038-042 (DG 2011-3)

7.3.5. Carrownagry North

The existence of three ringforts is recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). Two of these three raths, CL039-029 and CL039-032, are depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 39) of the area. They are both also visible on later revised editions of this map. However, only one of these structures, CL039-029, is presently extant. The second of these ringforts, CL039-032, is shown on the second edition map (1895, 39) as being traversed by a field boundary. This northeast to southwest running field boundary is also shown on the first edition map but here it stops outside the ringfort. Only the north-western portion of this ringfort remains visible on modern aerial images (DG 2011-3). The third ringfort located within this townland, CL039-031, is not visible on the first edition OS map mentioned above. It is shown on the revised second edition though as a semi-circular feature, with the south-eastern corner disturbed by a field boundary. This ringfort is not extant either but its eventual location and form can be discerned because of a crop mark visible on recent aerial images (DG 2011-3).



Figure 182. First edition OS map of Carrownagry North townland depicting ringforts 1. CL039-029 and 2. CL039-032

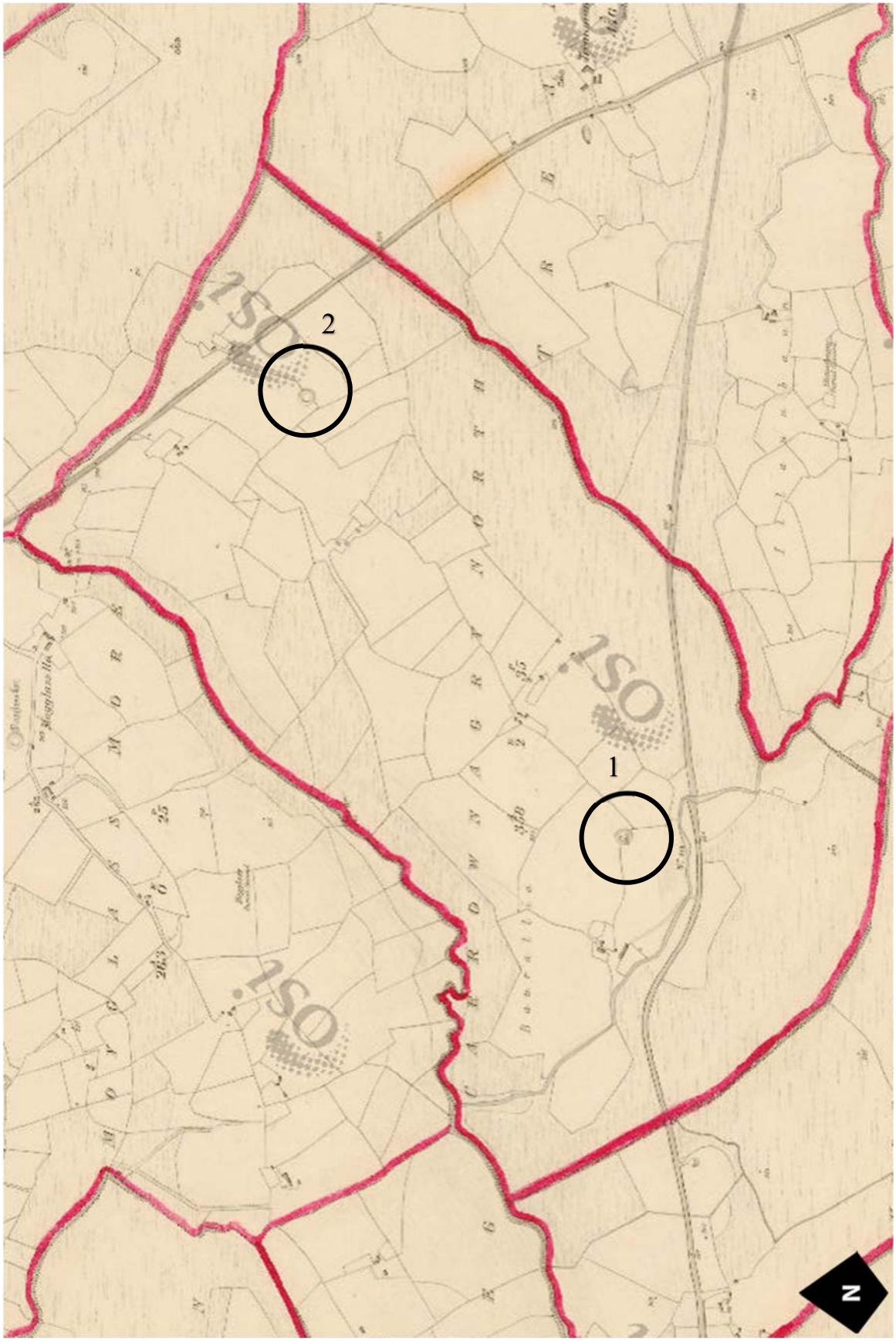


Figure 183. First edition OS map of Carrownagry North townland depicting ringforts 1. CL039-029 and 2. CL039-032

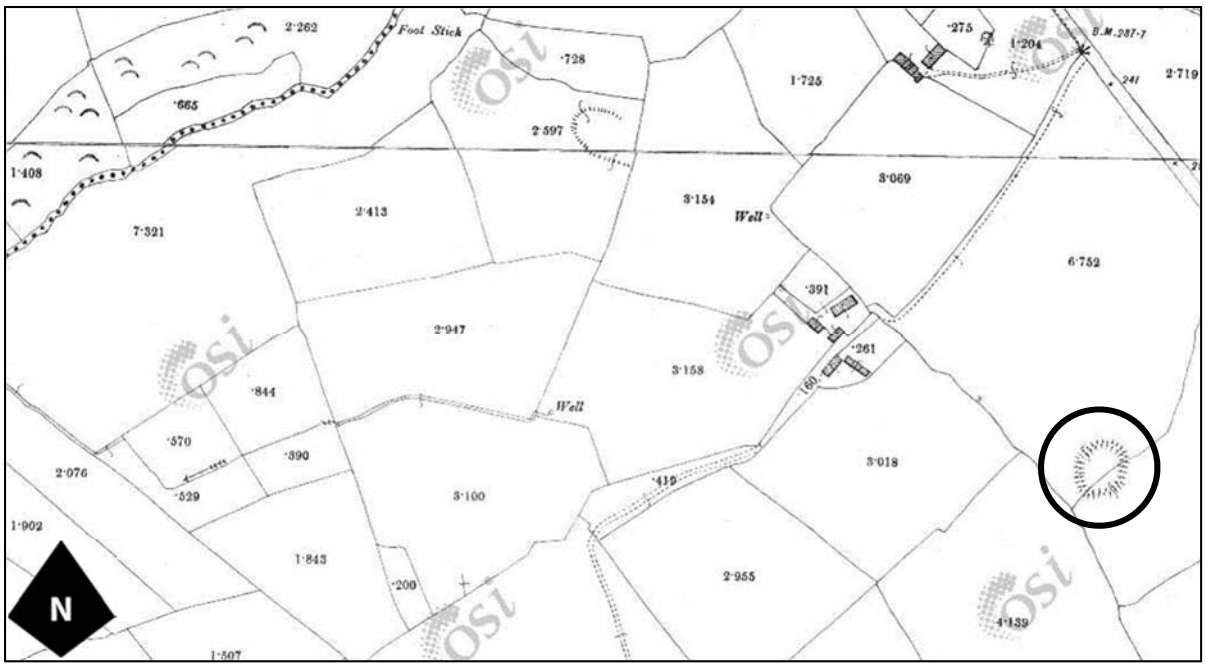


Figure 184. Second edition OS map of Carrownagry North townland depicting ringfort CL039-032

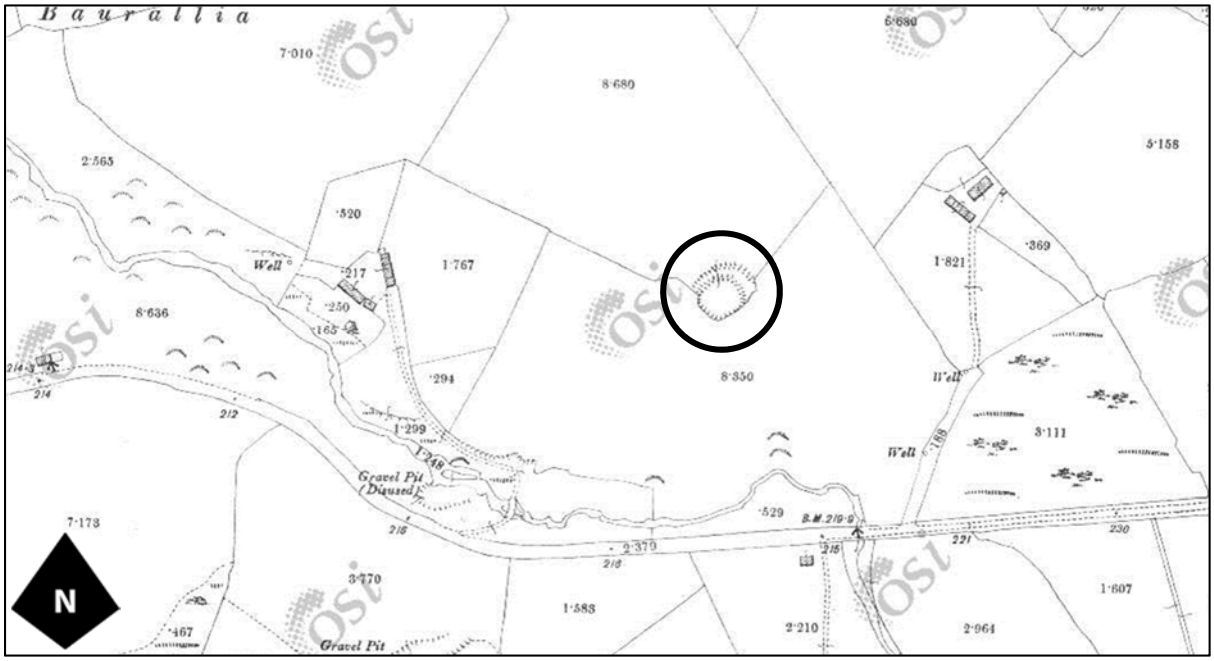


Figure 185. Second edition OS map of Carrownagry North townland depicting ringfort CL039-029



Figure 186. Aerial image of Carrownagry North townland depicting ringforts 1. CL039-029, 2. CL039-032 and 3. CL039-031 (DG 2011-3)

7.3.6. Cloghauninchy

The presence of four ringforts is recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). Three of these raths, CL038-021, CL038-023 and CL038-024 are shown on the first edition OS map (1840, 38) of the area. One of these structures, CL038-021, is furthermore referred to as 'Lisconry' on this map. These three monuments are also shown on later revised edition map of this townland. However, modern aerial images show that one of these ringforts, CL038-023, is no longer extant (DG 2011-3). The fourth ringfort recorded in this townland, CL038-060, is not depicted on any of the available OS maps. The presence of this site appears to have been discerned through the examination of aerial images, such as those mentioned above. For a circular crop mark is visible at the recorded location of this ringfort in the western area of the townland and near the coast.

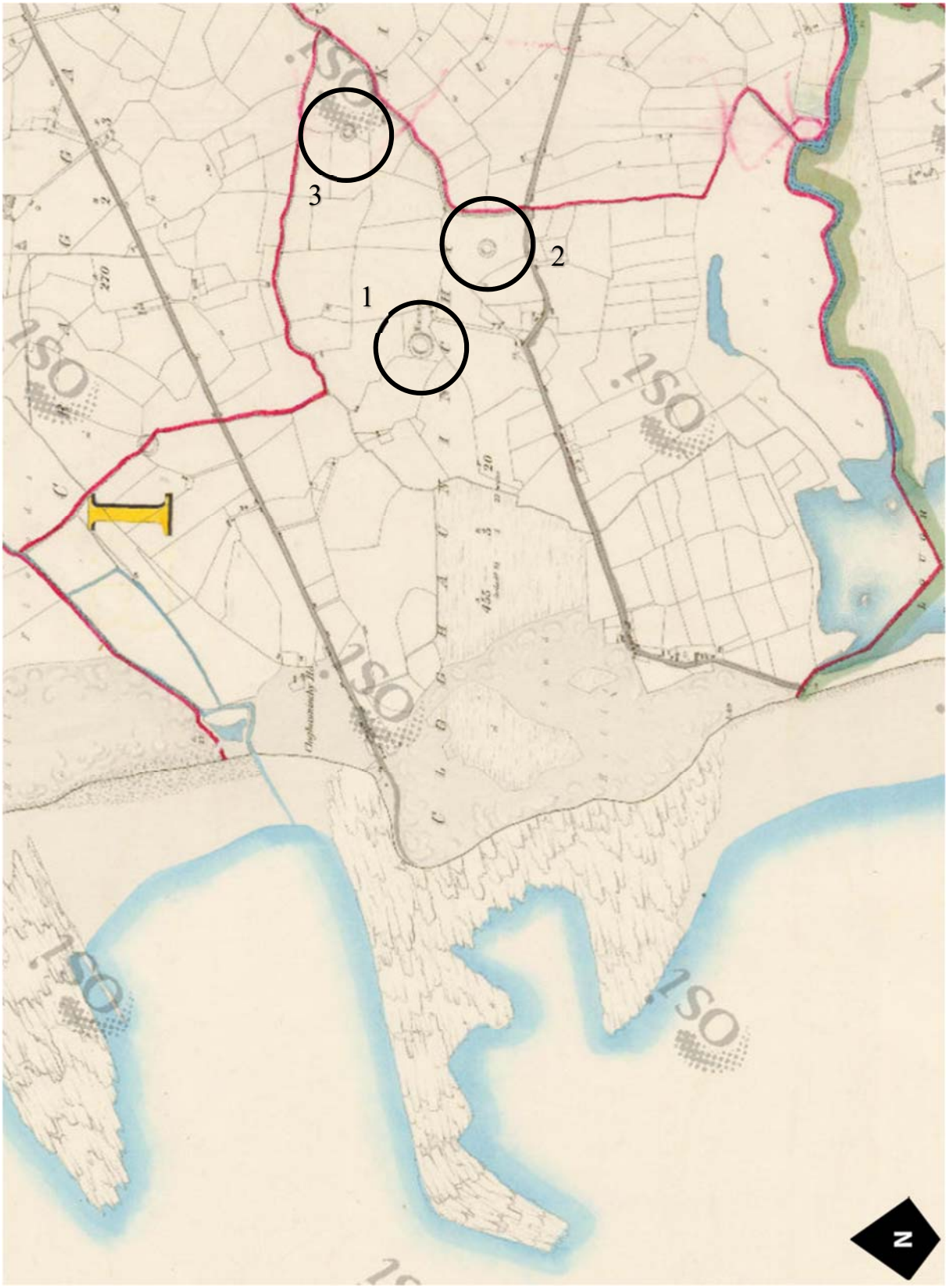


Figure 187. First edition OS map of Cloghauninchy townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-021, 2. CL038-023 and 3. CL038-024

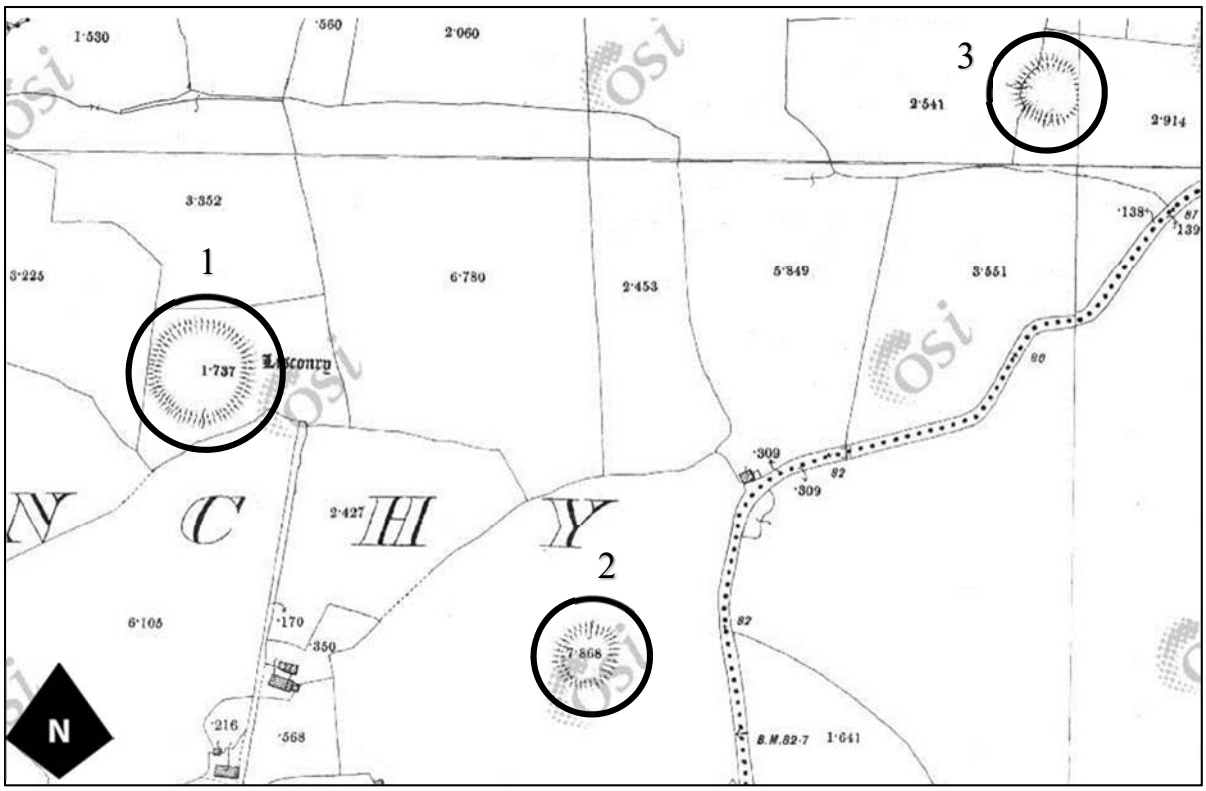


Figure 188. Second edition OS map of Cloghauninchy townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-021, 2. CL038-023 and 3. CL038-024

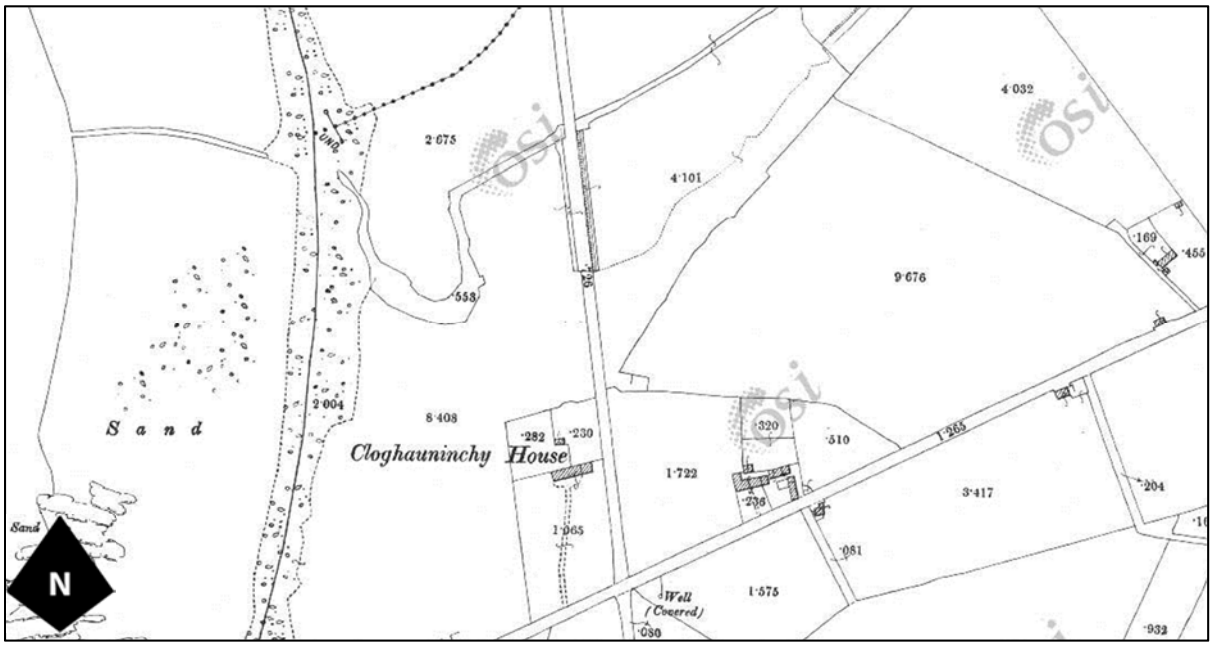


Figure 189. Second edition OS map of Cloghauninchy townland depicting location of ringfort CL038-060



Figure 190. Aerial image of Cloghauninchy townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-021, 2. CL038-023 and 3. CL038-024 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 191. Aerial image of Cloghauninchy townland depicting site of ringfort CL038-060 (DG 2011-3)

7.3.7. Cloghaunnatinny

Four ringforts are recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). Three of these raths, CL038-038, CL038-055 and CL038-056001, are clearly visible on the first edition OS map (1840, 38) that covers this townland. Strangely, it is only on the revised edition of this map, that the impressive fourth structure, CL038-037, is depicted. This despite that it is located near a roadway that is also shown on the first edition map. The other three ringforts are also shown on the revised editions of this OS map. However, presently only one of these ringforts CL038-056001 is shown as extant (DG 2011-3). That said, the outline of the three other structures are visible as crop marks at each recorded location. Again, the non-representation of the ringfort, CL038-037, on the normally thorough first edition OS map may indicate that a certain level of degradation had occurred prior to this survey. The later inclusion of this site could be because of the diligence of the surveyor.

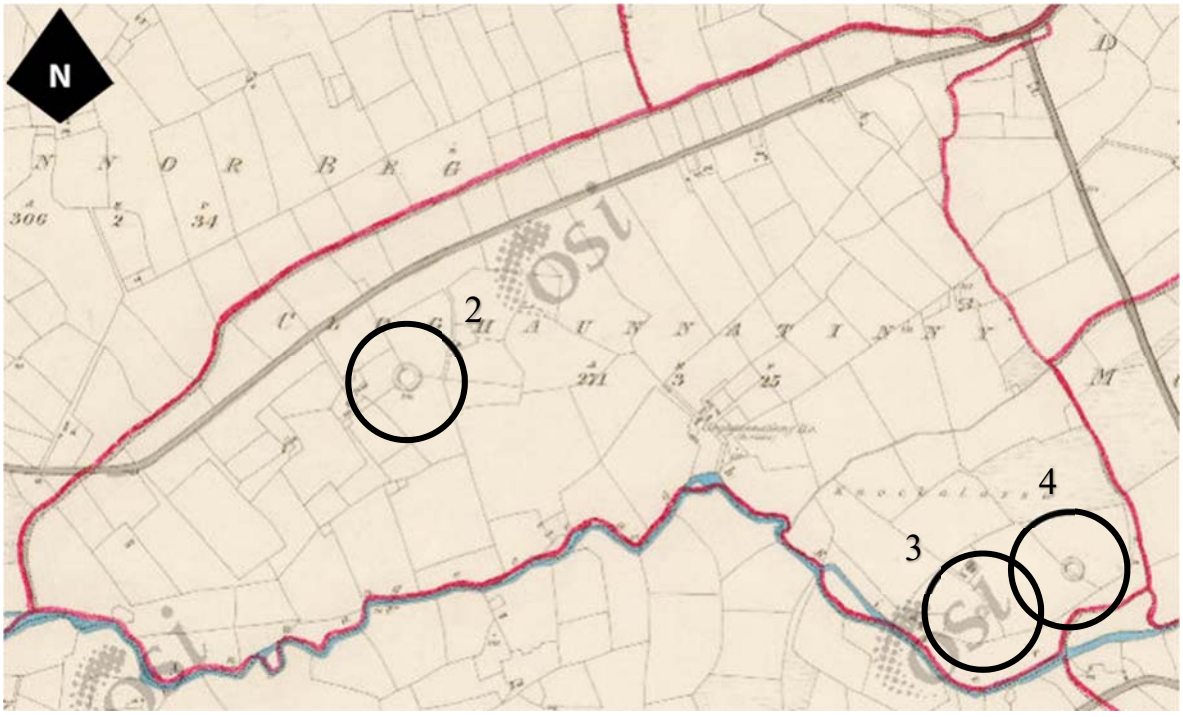


Figure 192. First edition OS map of Cloghaunnatinny townland depicting ringforts 2. CL038-038, 3. CL038-055 and 4. CL038-056001

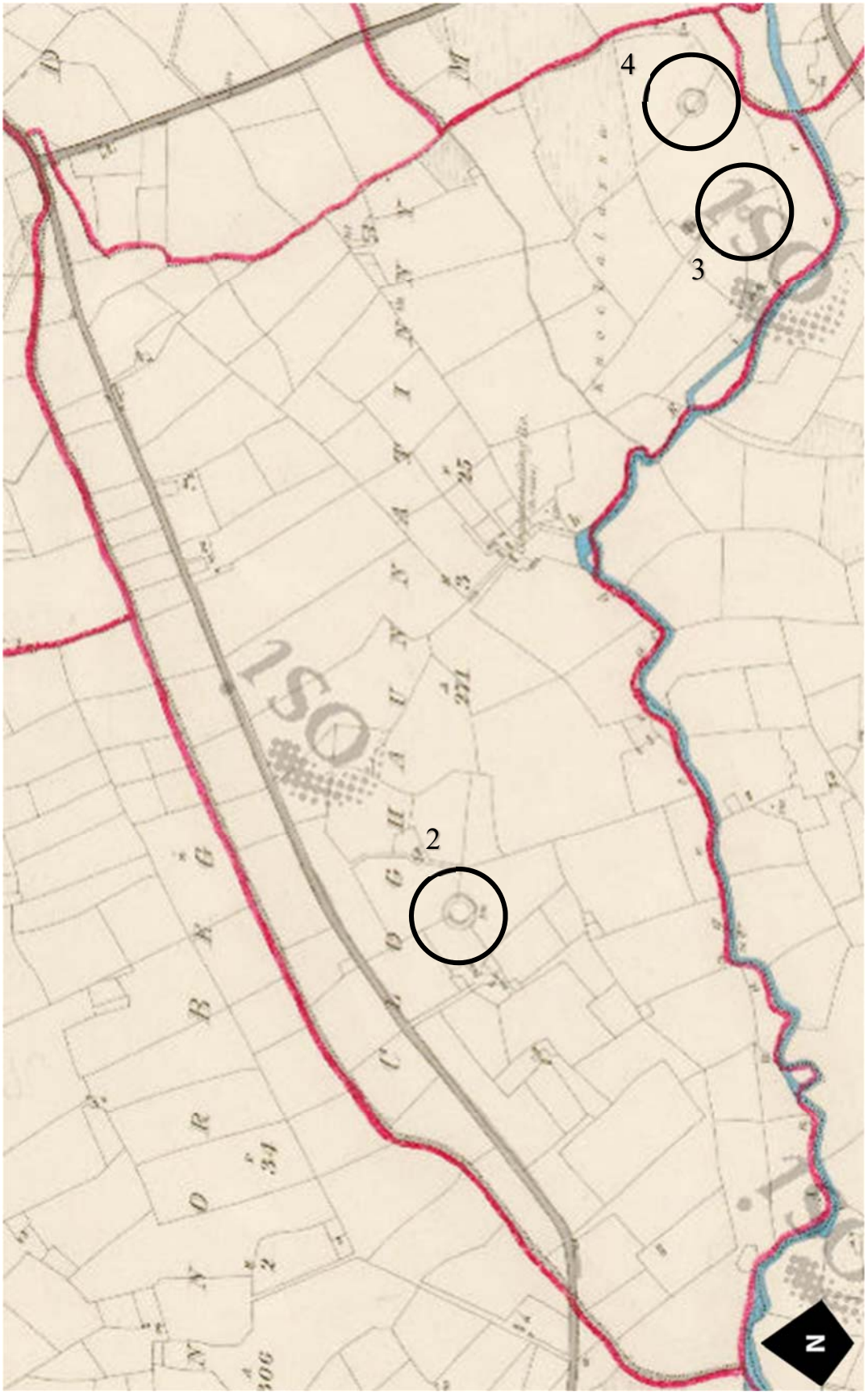


Figure 193. First edition OS map of Cloghaunnatinny townland depicting ringforts 2. CL038-038, 3. CL038-055 and 4. CL038-056001

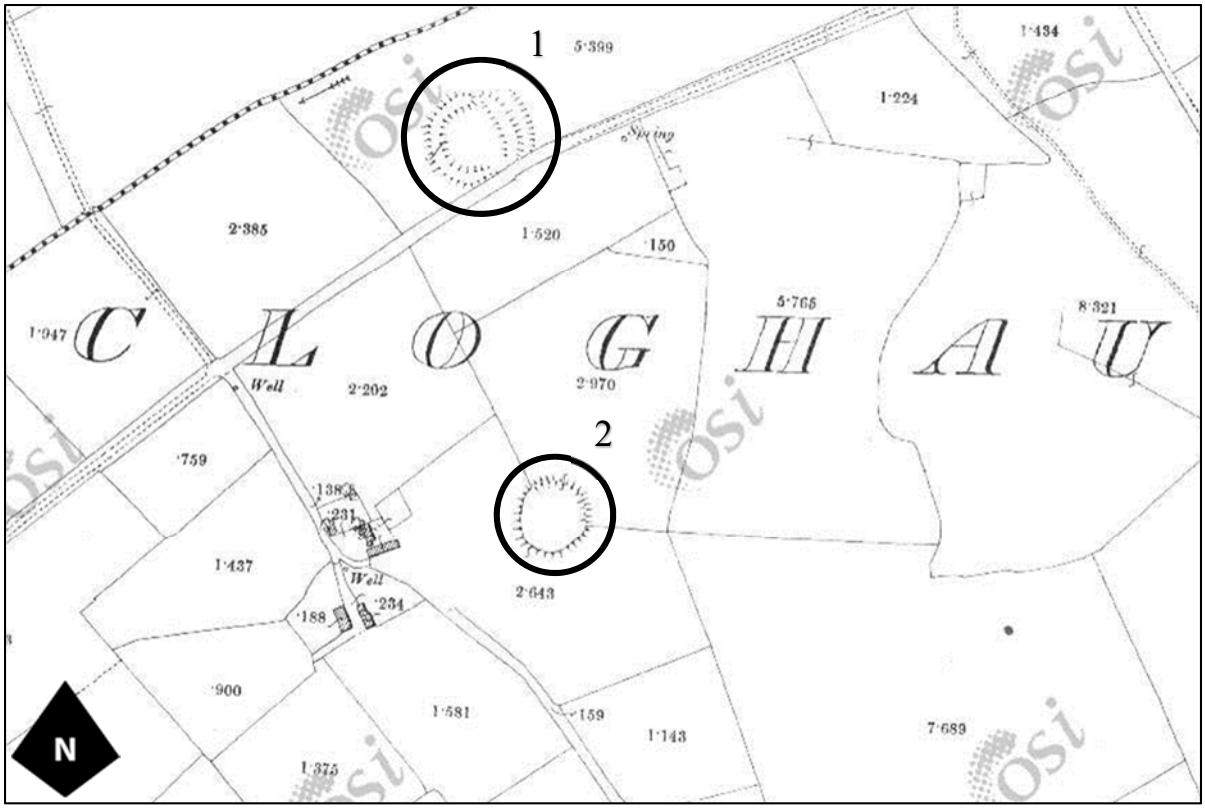


Figure 194. Second edition OS map of Cloghaunnatinny townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-037 and 2. CL038-038

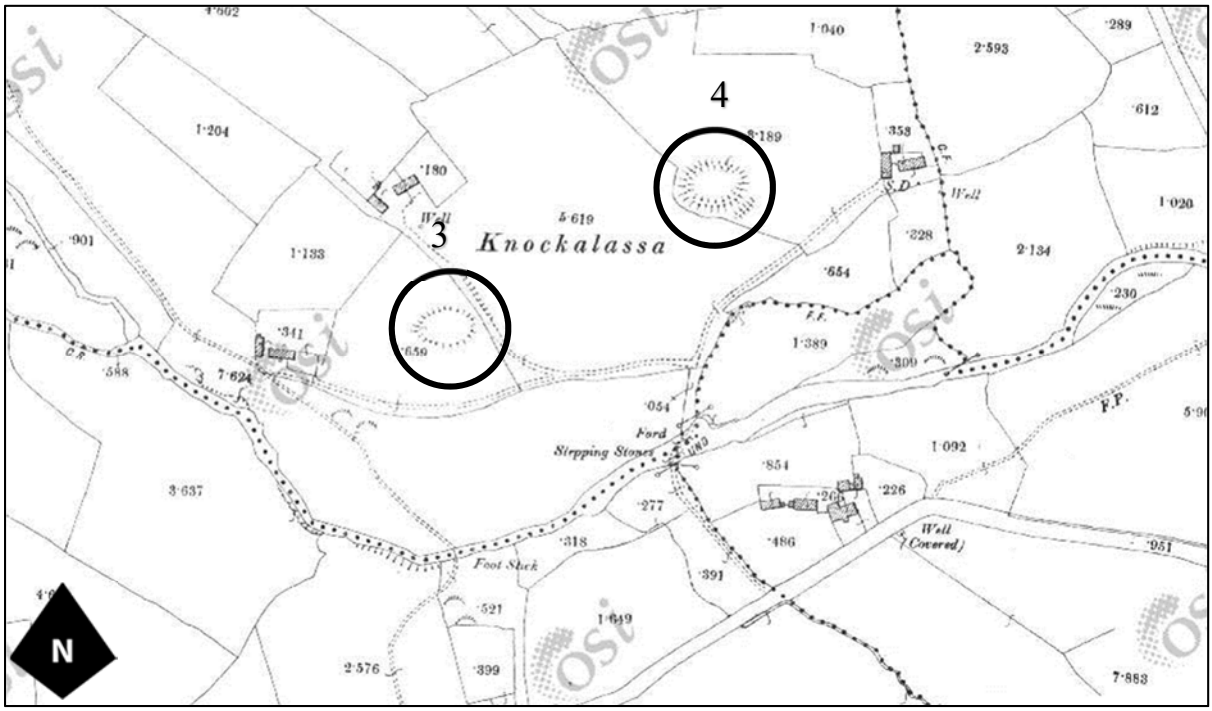


Figure 195. Second edition OS map of Cloghaunnatinny townland depicting ringforts 3. CL038-055 and 4. CL038-056001



Figure 196. Aerial image of Cloghaunnatinny townland depicting site of ringforts 1. CL038-037, 2. CL038-038, & 3. CL038-055 and ringfort 4. CL038-056001 (DG 2011-3)

7.3.8. Cloonadrum

Two ringforts are recorded as present within this townland in the archaeological record (NMS 2019). These two raths, CL038-028 and CL038-029 are shown on the first edition OS map (1840, 38) of the area. They are also visible on the subsequent revised editions of this map. Examination of modern aerial images show these two ringforts to be still extant (DG 2011-3).

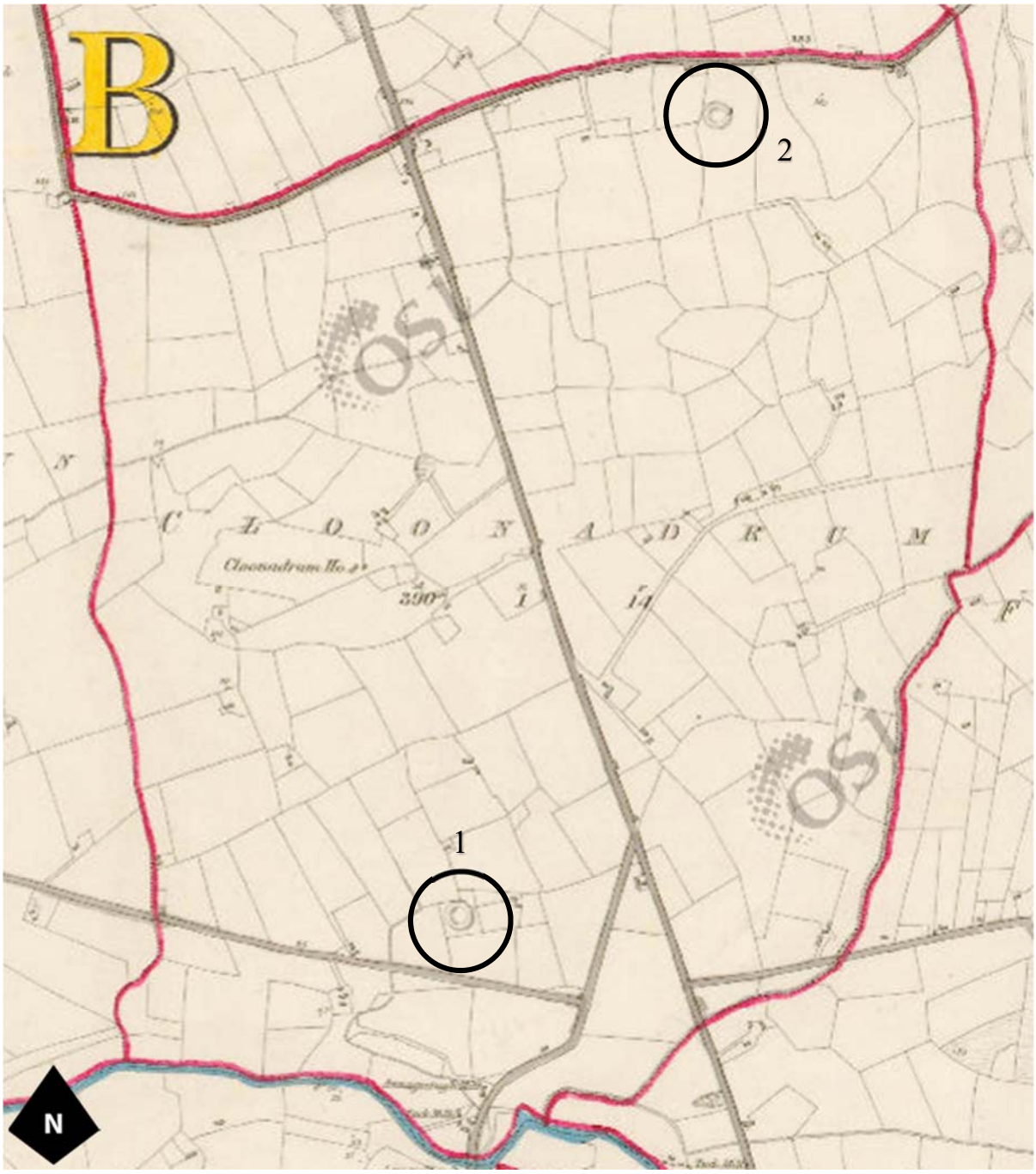


Figure 197. First edition OS map of Cloonadrum townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-028 and 2. CL038-029

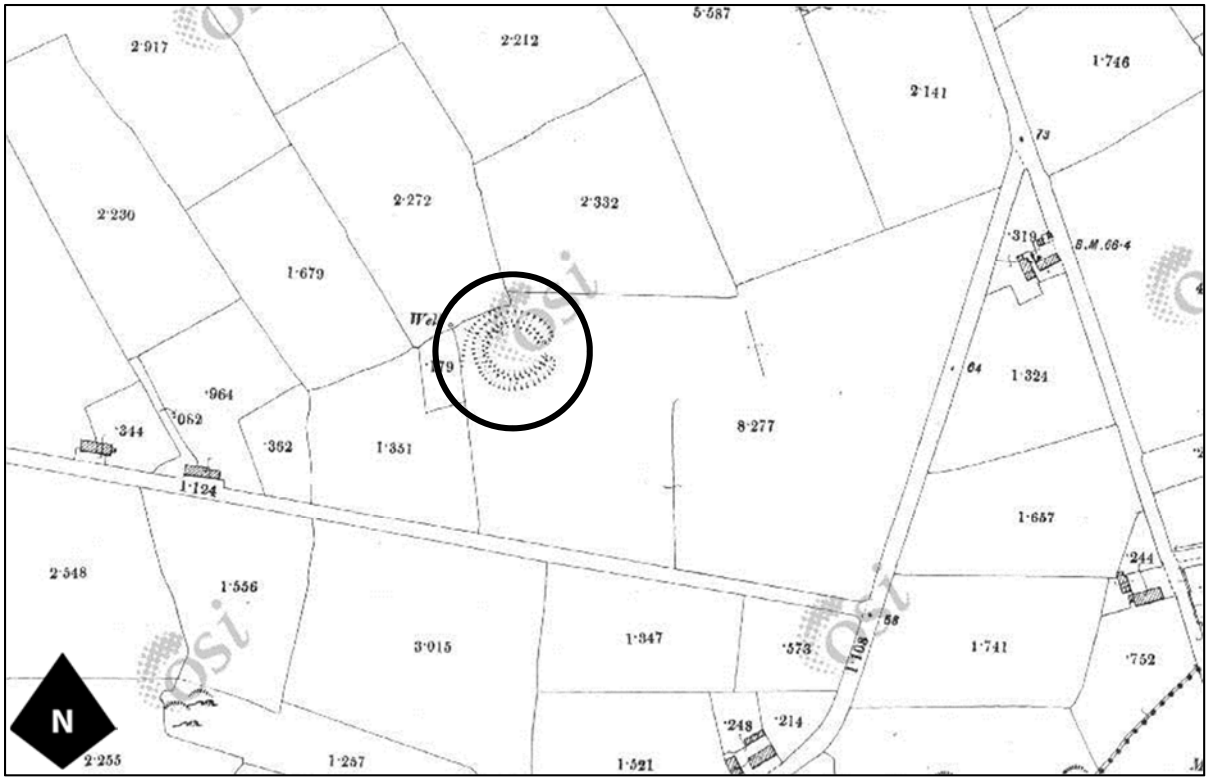


Figure 198. Second edition OS map of Cloonadrum townland depicting ringfort CL038-028

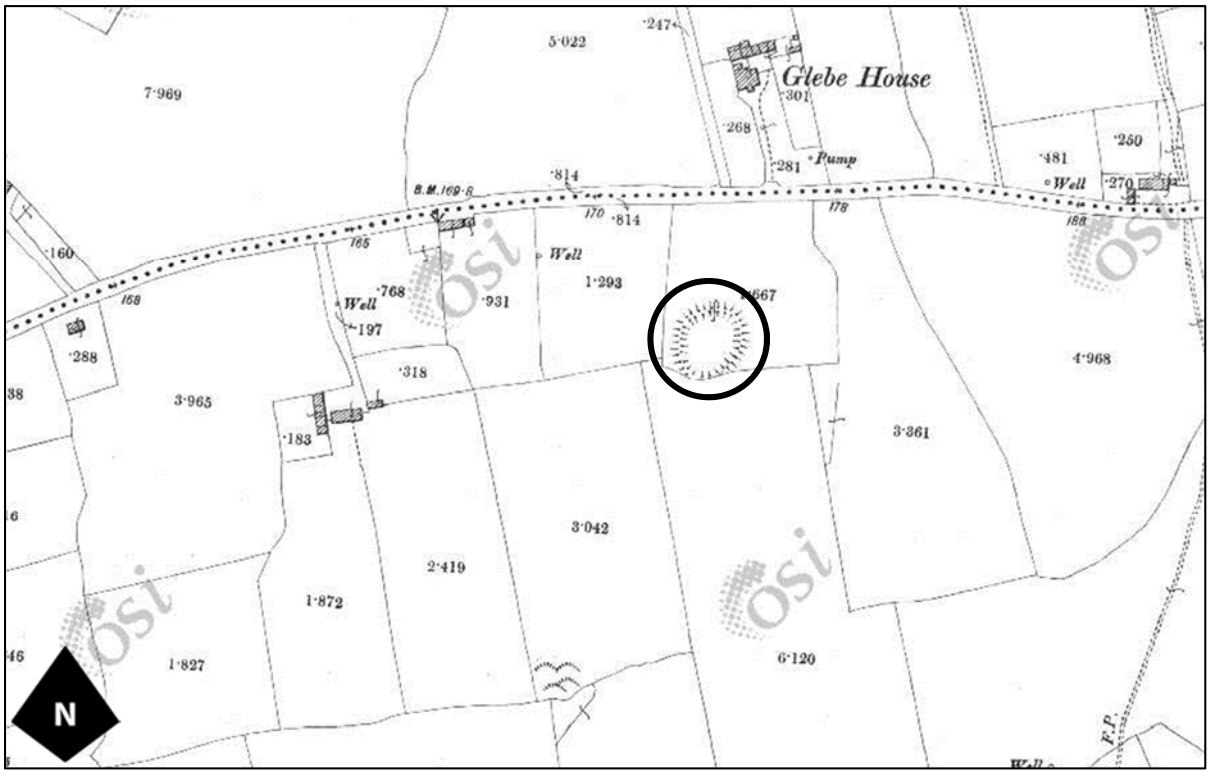


Figure 199. Second edition OS map of Cloonadrum townland depicting ringfort CL038-029



Figure 200. Aerial image of Cloonadrum townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-028 and 2. CL038-029

7.3.9. Cloonlaheen East

This is another townland where a single example of a ringfort is recorded in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). This rath, CL039-023, is not shown, however, on the first edition OS map (1840, 39) of the area. Its presence is noted on the later revised editions of this map. On the second edition map (1895, 39), it is shown located in an area of poor ground. This area is presently under forestry and this ringfort is surrounded by this plantation and is visible as a low relief feature (DG 2011-3). Again, the omission of this site from the in-depth coverage during the Ordnance Survey of the mid-19th century suggest that a strong level of degradation had occurred prior to this undertaking.

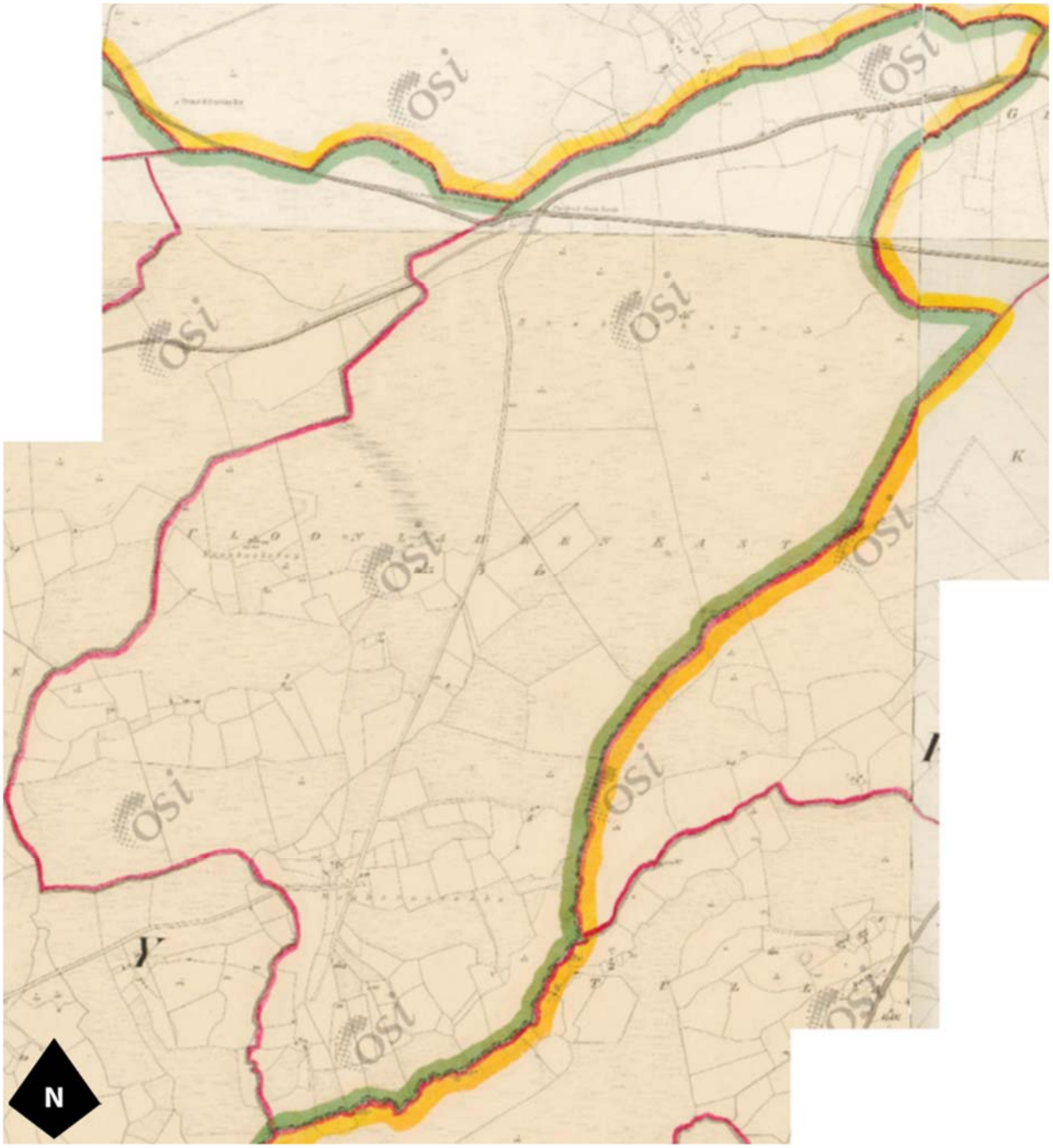


Figure 201. First edition OS map of Cloonlaheen East townland

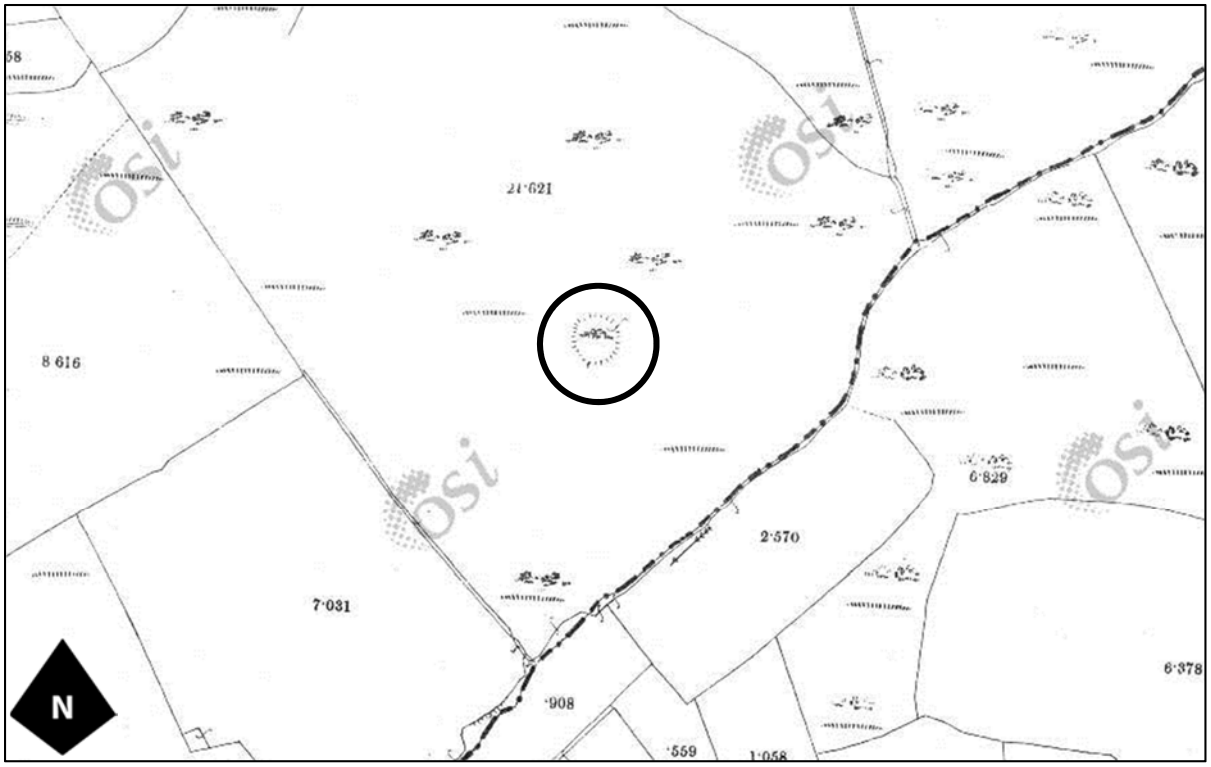


Figure 202. Second edition OS map of Cloonlaheen East townland depicting ringfort CL039-023



Figure 203. Aerial image of Cloonlaheen East townland depicting ringfort CL039-023 (DG 2011-3)

7.3.10. Cloonlaheen West

The existence of three ringforts is noted in the archaeological record for this townland (NMS 2019). These three raths, CL039-017, CL039-018 and CL039-019, are depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 39) of the area. They are also visible on subsequent revised editions of this map. Presently, just one example of this monument type, CL039-017, remains extant. However, crop marks are visible at the recorded locations of the other two ringforts, CL039-018 and CL039-019 (DG 2011-3). This confirms the presence of these monuments and allows for a deduction of their form and eventual diameter to be ascertained.

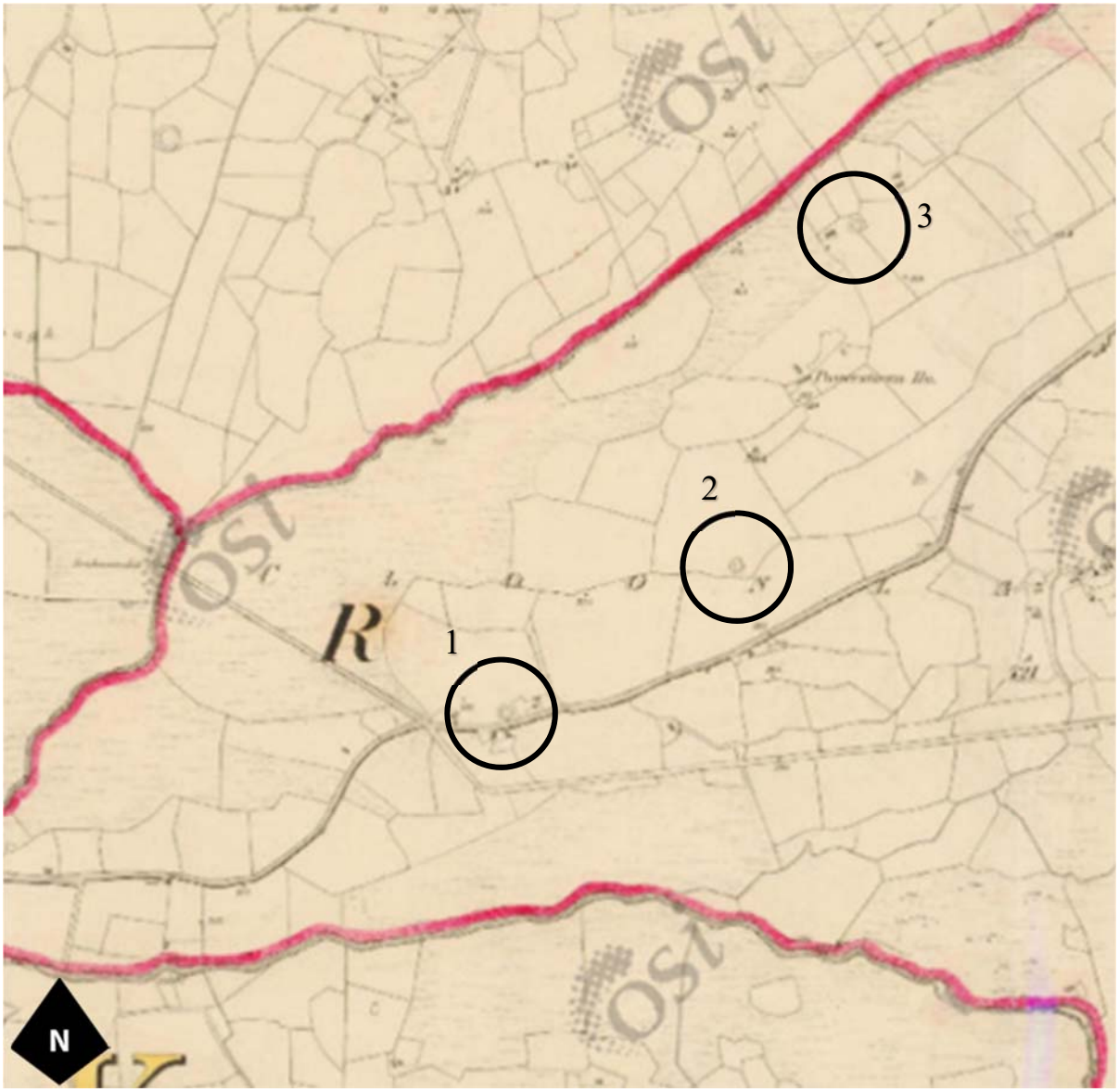


Figure 204. First edition OS map of Cloonlaheen West townland depicting ringforts 1. CL039-017, 2. CL039-018 and 3. CL039-019

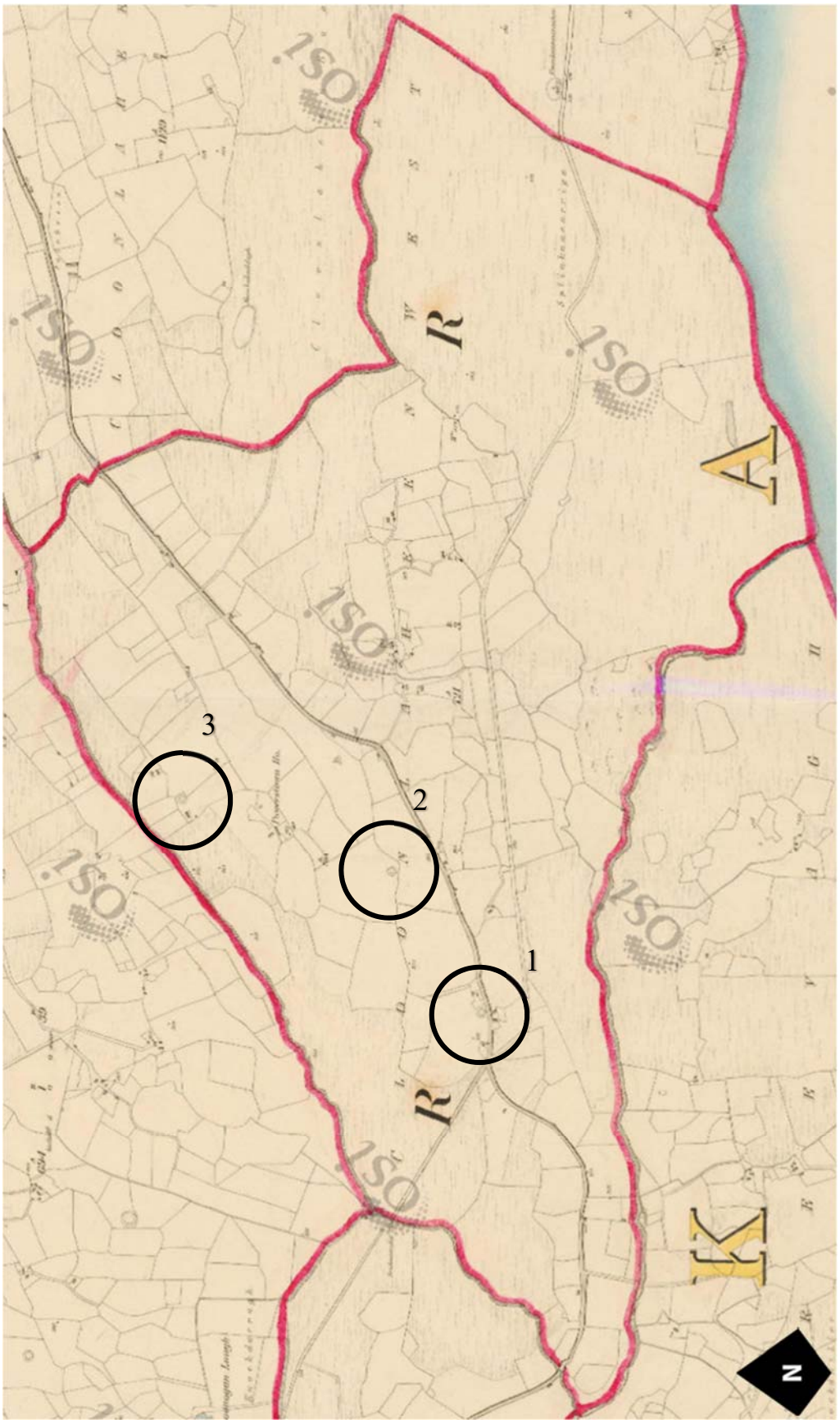


Figure 205. First edition OS map of Cloonlaheen West townland depicting ringforts 1. CL039-017, 2. CL039-018 and 3. CL039-019

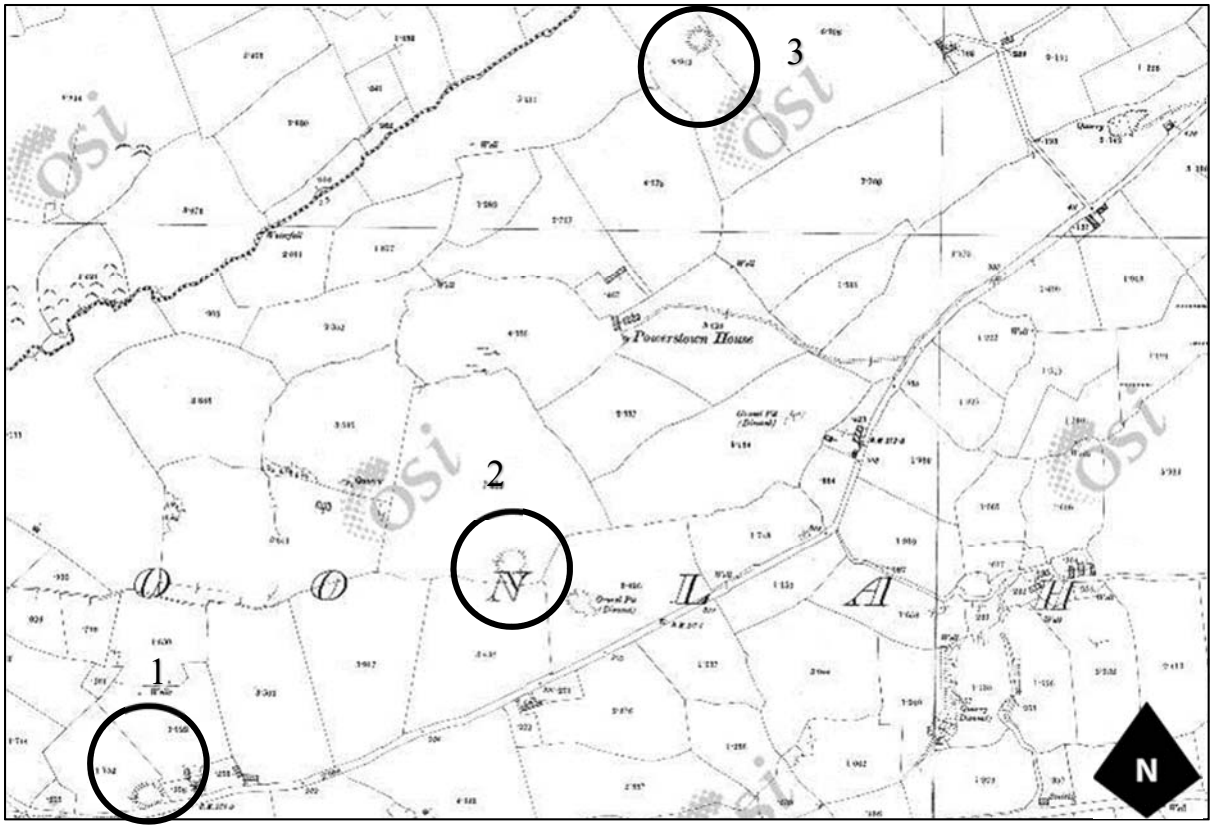


Figure 206. Second edition OS map of Cloonlaheen West townland depicting ringforts CL039-017, CL039-018 and CL039-019



Figure 207. Aerial image of Cloonlaheen West townland depicting ringfort 1. CL039-017, and site of ringforts 2. CL039-018 and 3. CL039-019 (DG 2011-3)

7.3.11. Coor West

The existence of three ringforts is recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). Two of these raths, CL039-014 and CL039-016, are shown on the first edition OS map (1840, 39) of the area. These monuments are also shown on later revised editions of this map. Although recent aerial images show that only one of these raths, CL039-014, can now be considered extant. The third ringfort recorded here, CL039-013, is not shown on the first edition OS map. However, it is shown on the revised second edition (1895, 39) as a semi-circular feature, with the south-eastern half of the rath missing. Neither is this rath presently extant. However, circular crop marks are visible at the recorded locations of the two levelled ringfort in this townland (DG 2011-3).

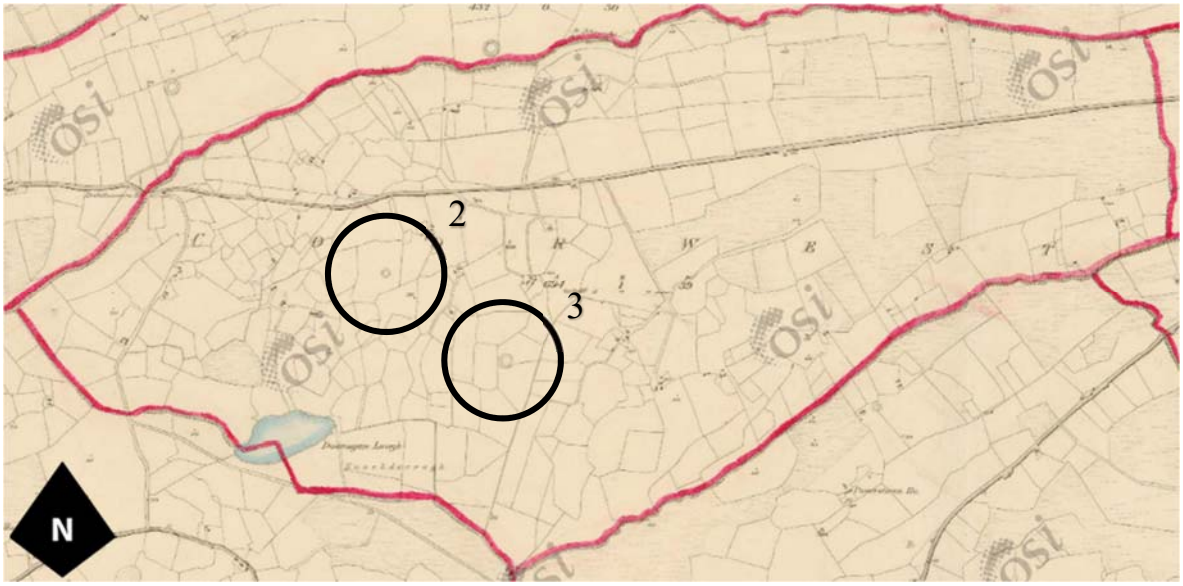


Figure 208. First edition OS map of Coor West townland depicting ringforts 2. CL039-014 and 3. CL039-016

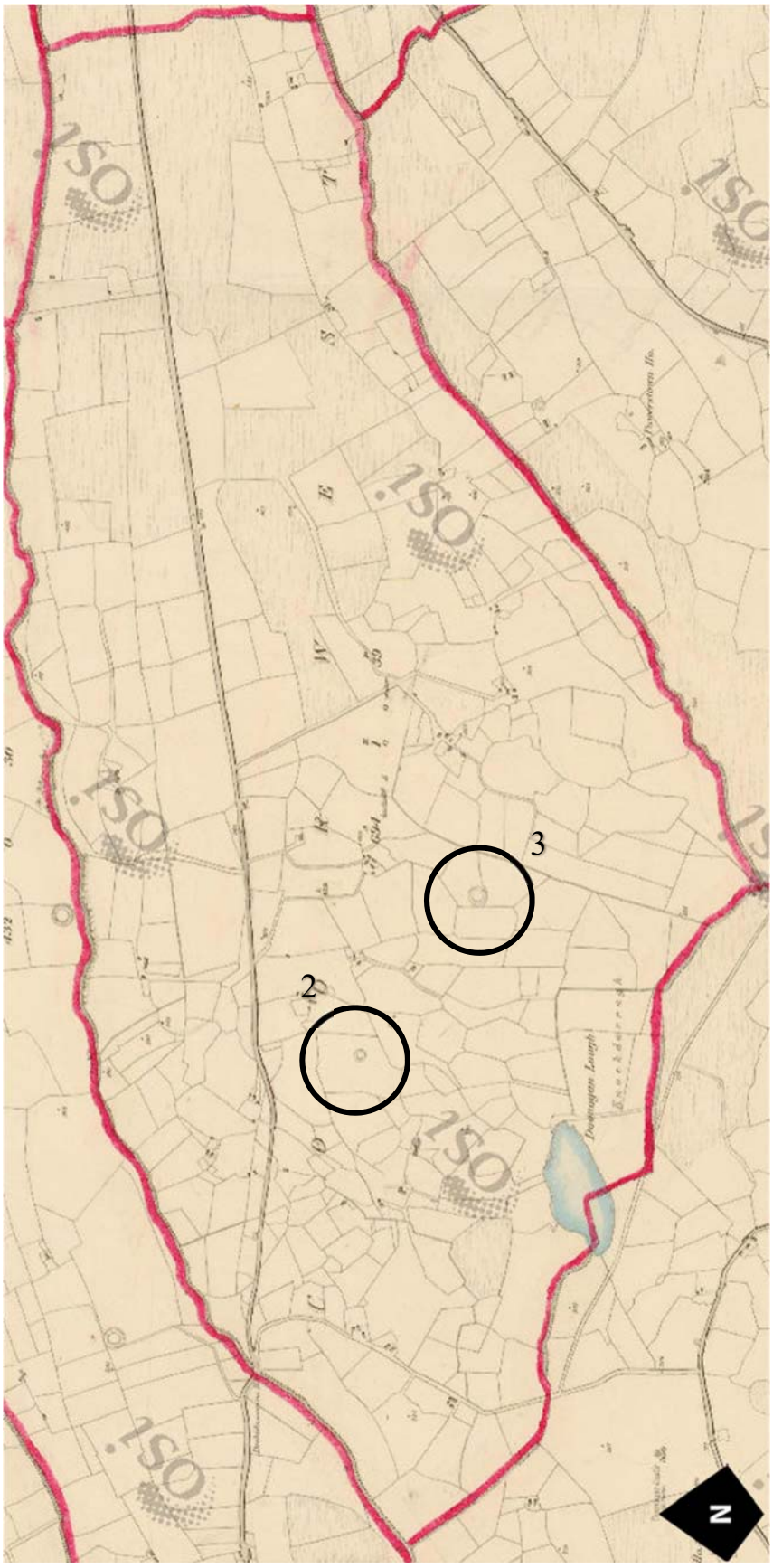


Figure 209. First edition OS map of Coor West townland depicting ringforts 2. CL039-014 and 3. CL039-016

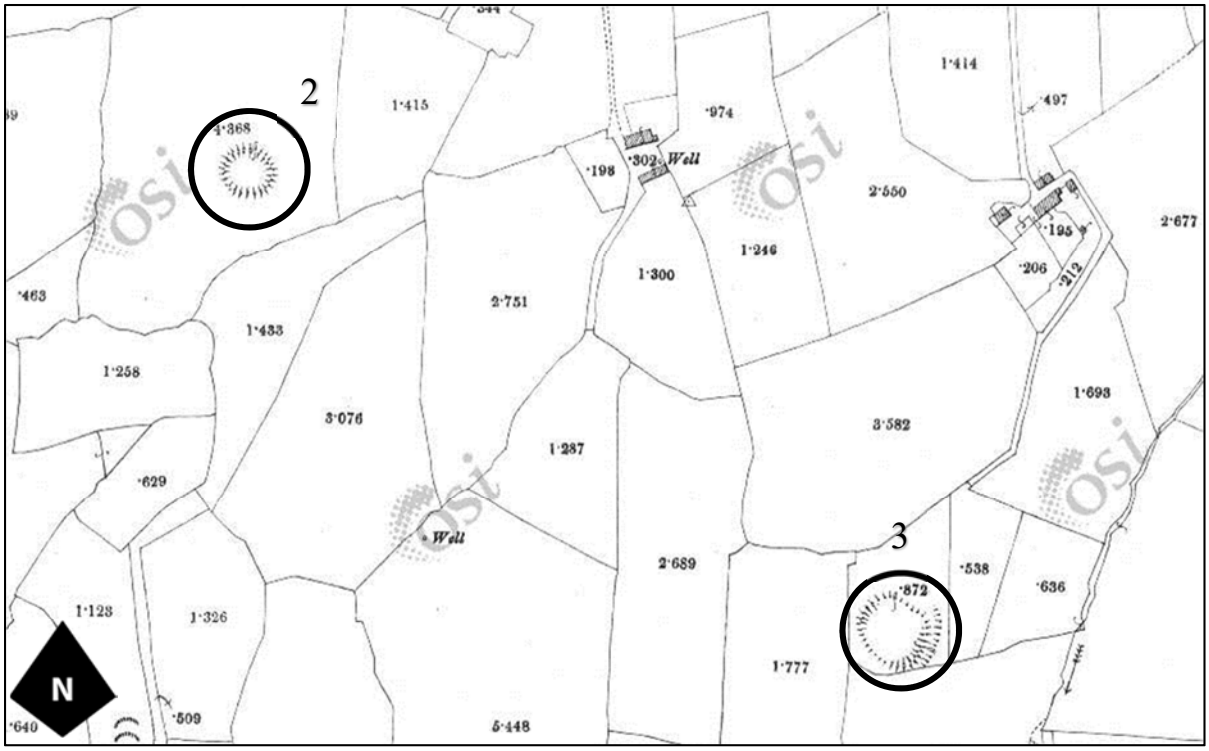


Figure 210. Second edition OS map of Coor West townland depicting ringforts 2. CL039-014 and 3. CL039-016

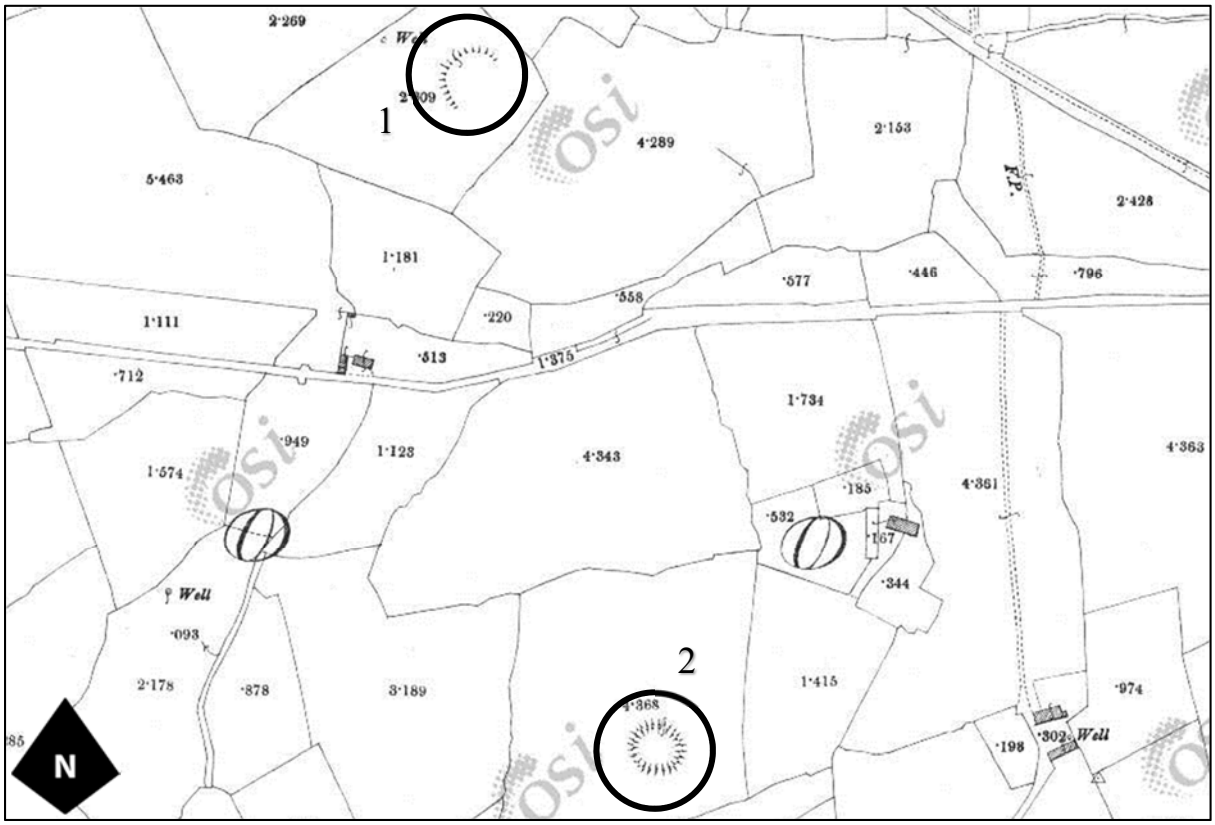


Figure 211. Second edition OS map of Coor West townland depicting ringforts 1. CL039-013 and 2. CL039-014



Figure 212. Aerial image of Coor West townland depicting ringfort 2. CL039-014 and site of ringforts 2. CL039-014 and 3. CL039-016 (DG 2011-3)

7.3.12. Craggaknock West

Again, within this townland the existence of two ringforts is recorded in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). These two raths, CL038-048 and CL038-049, are visible on the first edition OS map (1840, 38) of the area and are located in the southern half of the townland. However, by the time of the revised second edition (1895, 38), the first of these structures, CL038-048, is shown as having been disturbed by a field boundary in the northeast quarter. Similar field boundaries are in place for the first edition and it may be that this disturbance

occurred sooner than it is portrayed on these maps. This ringfort is no longer extant but a crop mark at its recorded location confirms its eventual presence and general outline. The second ringfort present here, CL039-049, on the other hand, is still extant (DG 2011-3).

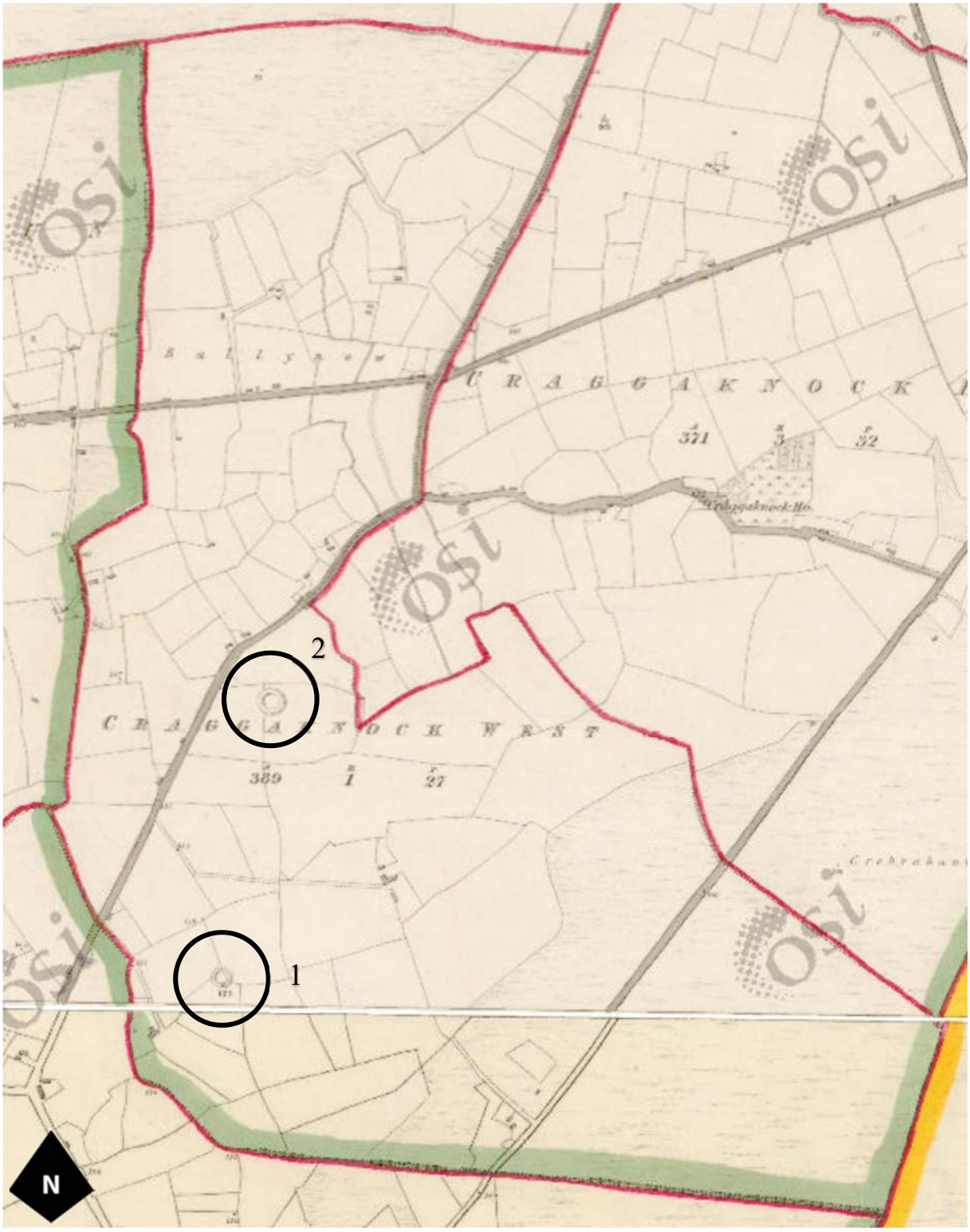


Figure 213. First edition OS map of Craggaknock West townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-048 and 2. CL038-049

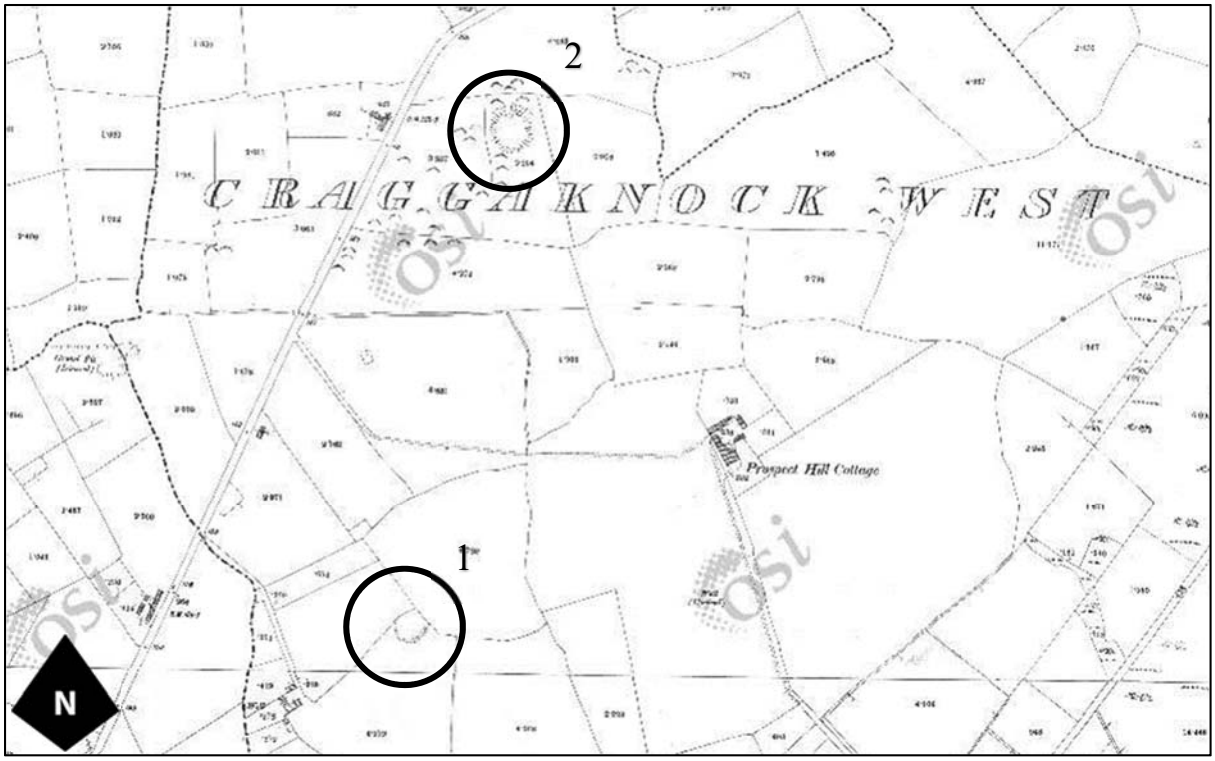


Figure 214. Second edition OS map of Craggaknock West townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-048 and 2. CL038-049



Figure 215. Aerial image of Craggaknock West townland depicting ringfort 2. CL038-049 and site of ringfort 1. CL038-048

7.3.13. Craggaun

Two ringforts area recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). One of these structures, CL038-022, is recorded as a cashel. Whereas, the second of these structures, CL038-025, is recorded as a rath. Both of these features are depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 38) of the area. They are also shown on later revised editions of this map. Recent aerial images, however, show that the cashel, CL038-022, is no longer fully extant as the surrounding bank has been disturbed at the south and west quadrants. The other ringfort here, CL038-025, is extant (DG 2011-3).



Figure 216. First edition OS map of Craggaun townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-022 and 2. CL038-025

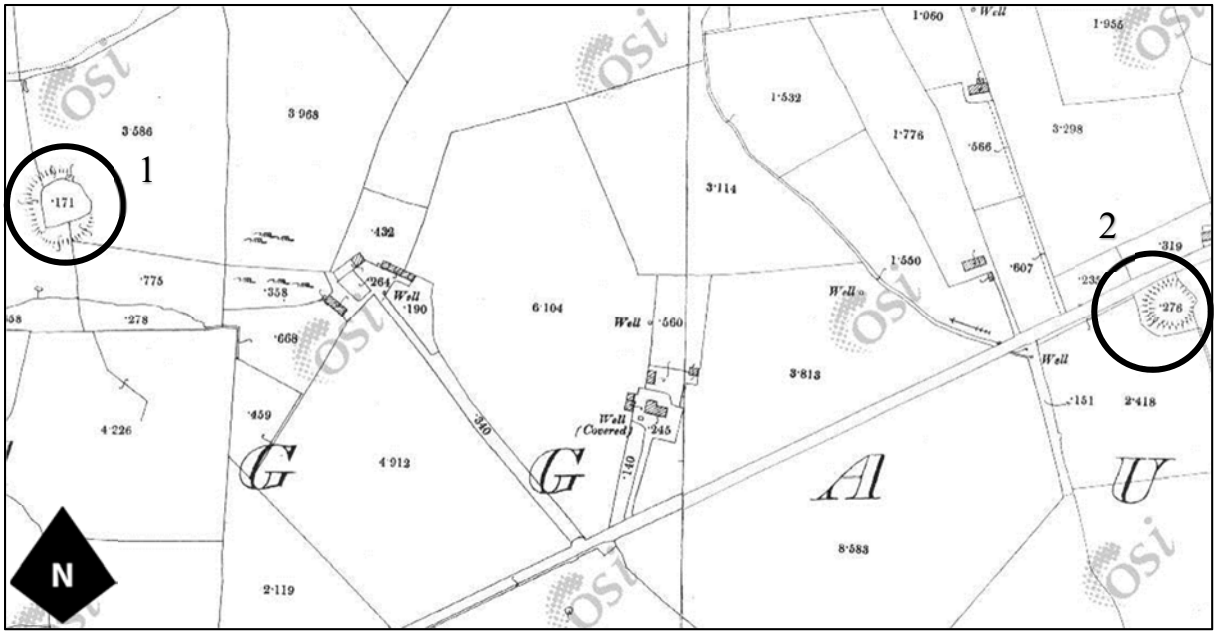


Figure 217. Second edition OS map of Craggaun townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-022 and 2. CL038-025



Figure 218. Aerial image of Craggaun townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-022 and 2. CL038-025 (DG 2011-3)

7.3.14. Doonogan

Four ringforts are recorded within this townland in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). Each of these raths, CL039-001, CL039-002, CL039-005 and CL039-007, are depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 39) of the area. In addition, two of these ringforts, CL039-001 and CL039-007, are named as 'Raha Fort' and 'Doonogan Fort' respectively on this map. The four ringforts are also shown on later revised editions of this map. On the second edition of the OS map (1895, 39) for this townland, CL039-001 – Raha Fort – is shown as an impressive bivallate feature with a rectangular feature located internally. This could mark a souterrain or a later building. Examination of recent aerial images confirms that each of these four structures is still extant (DG 2011-3).

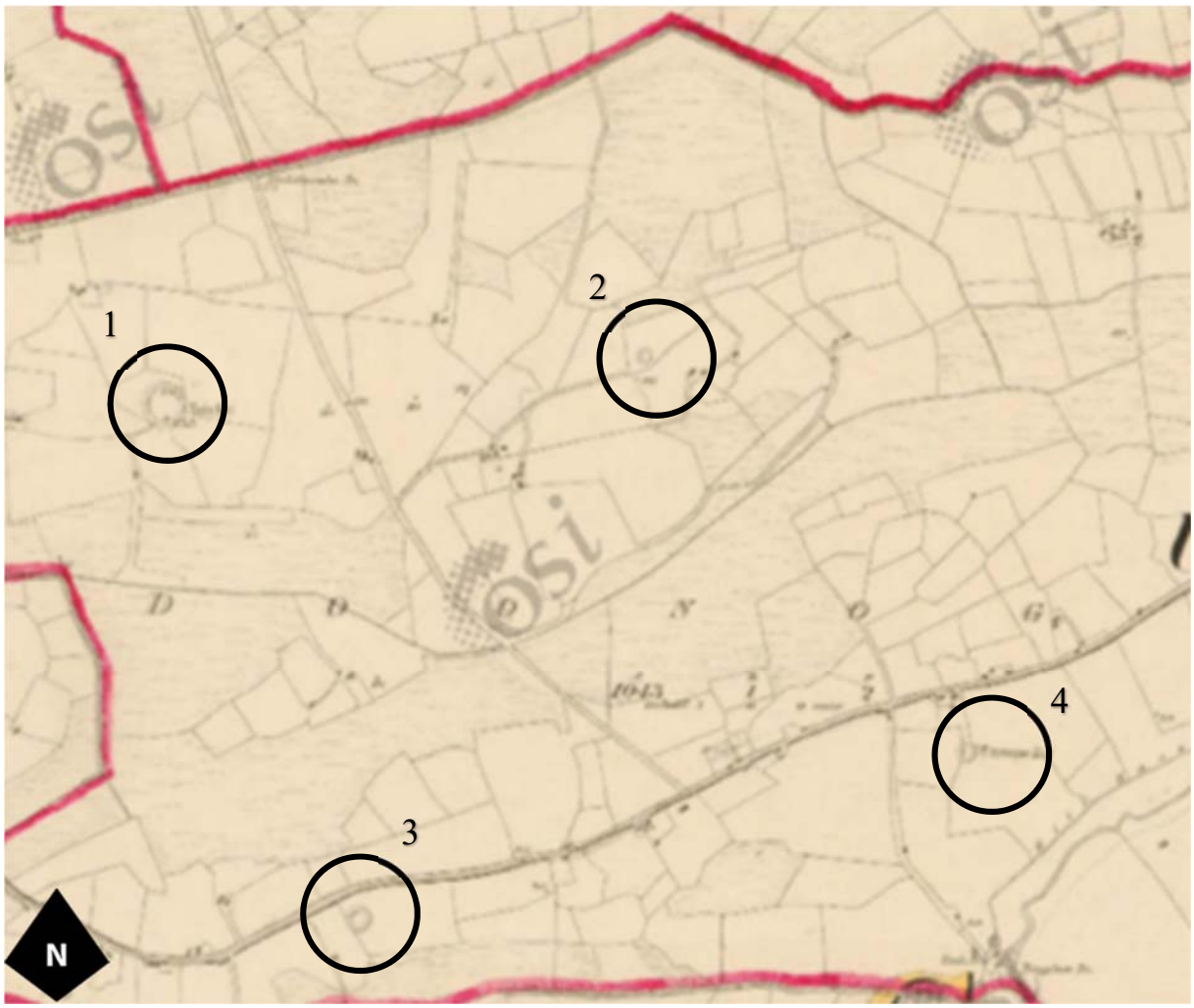


Figure 219. First edition OS map of Doonogan townland depicting ringforts 1. CL039-001, 2. CL039-002, 3. CL039-005 and 4. CL039-007

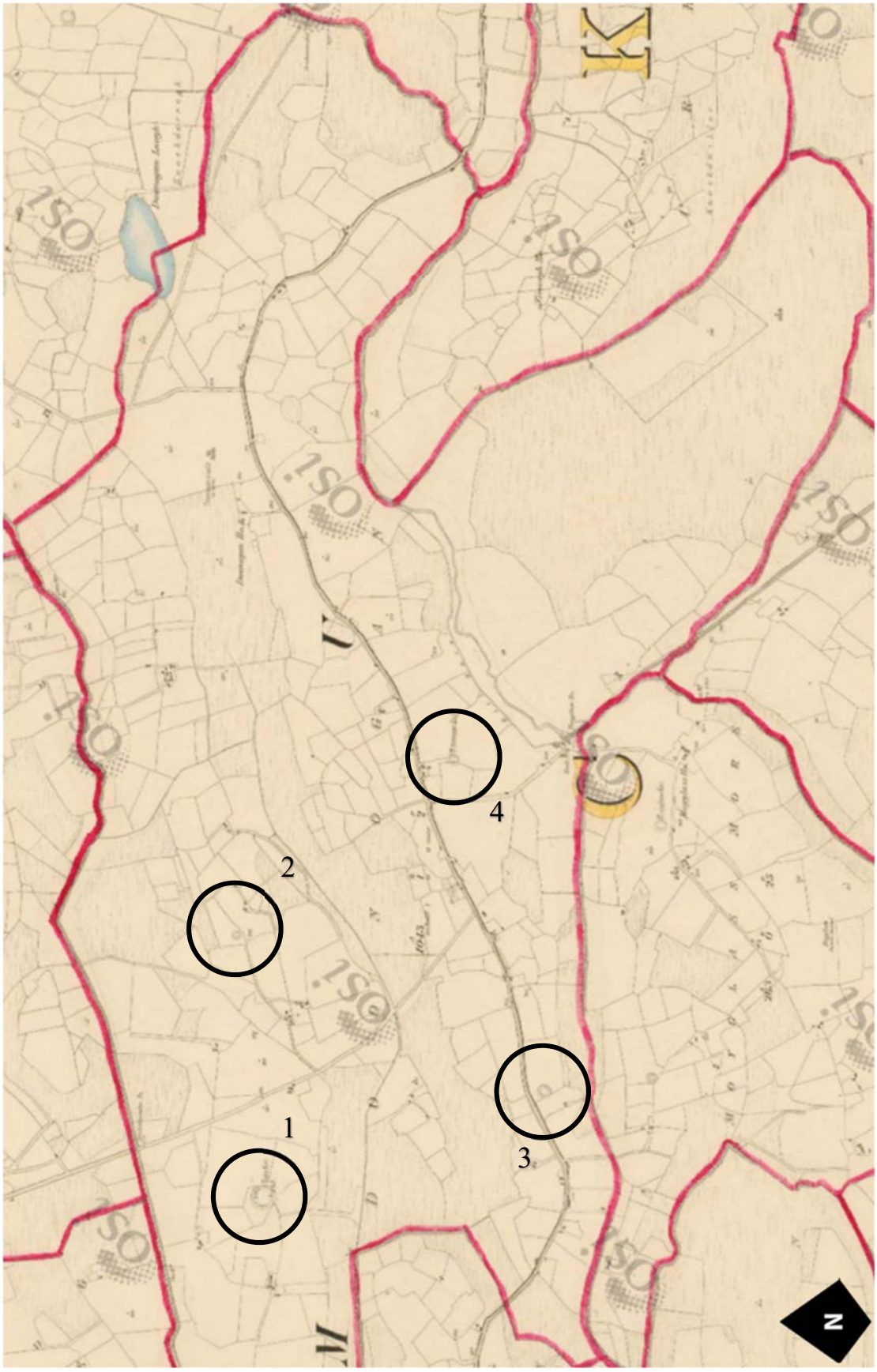


Figure 219. First edition OS map of Doonogan townland depicting ringforts 1. CL039-001, 2. CL039-002, 3. CL039-005 and 4. CL039-007

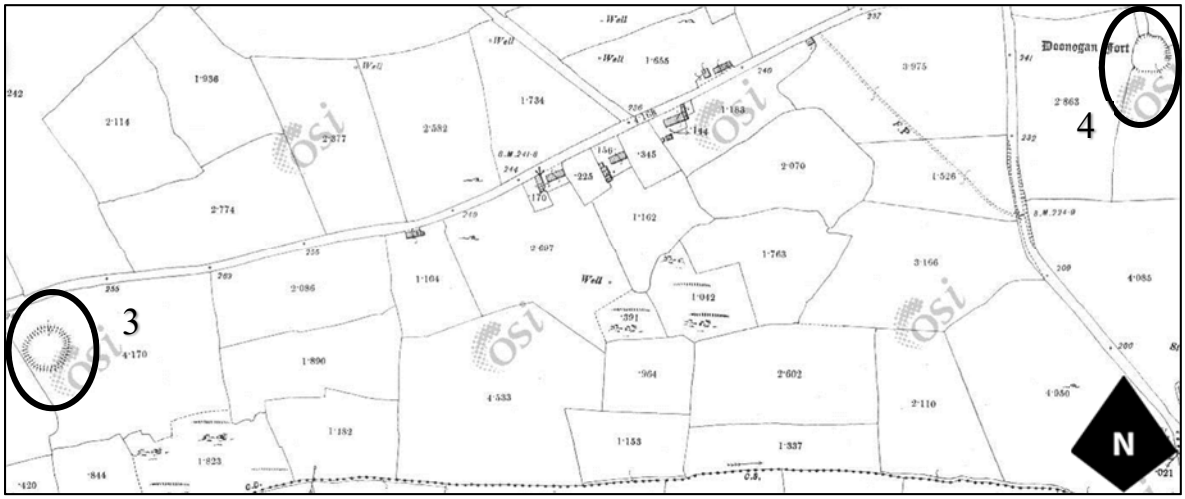


Figure 220. Second edition OS map of Doonogan townland depicting ringforts 3. CL039-005 and 4. CL039-007

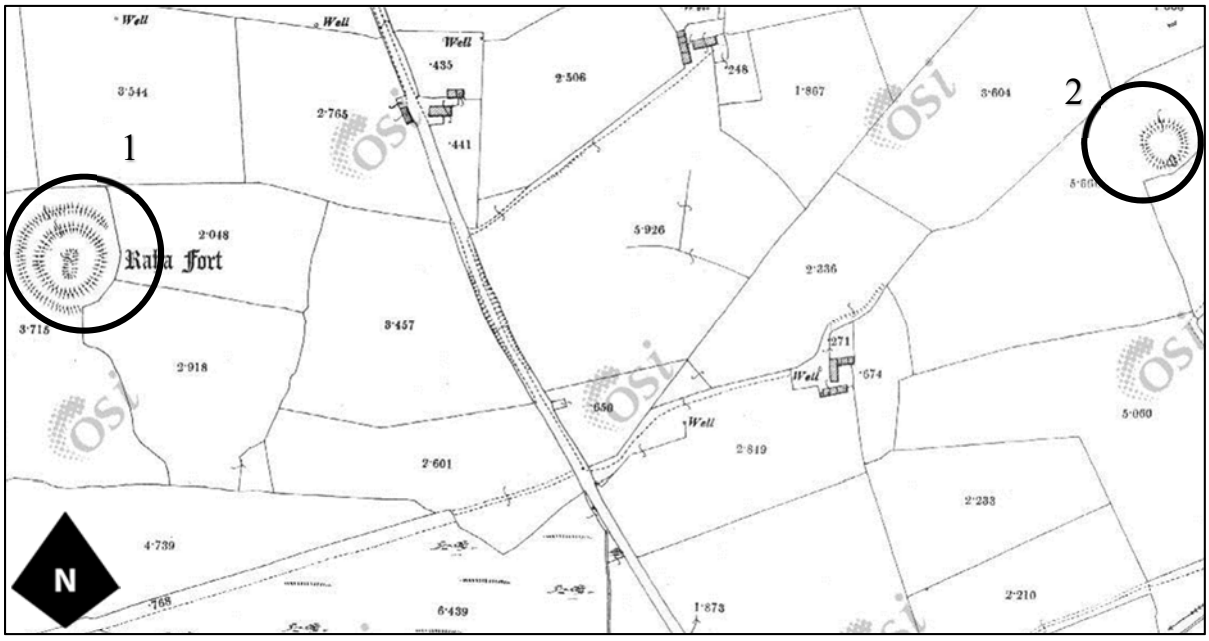


Figure 221. Second edition OS map of Doonogan townland depicting ringforts CL039-001, CL039-002

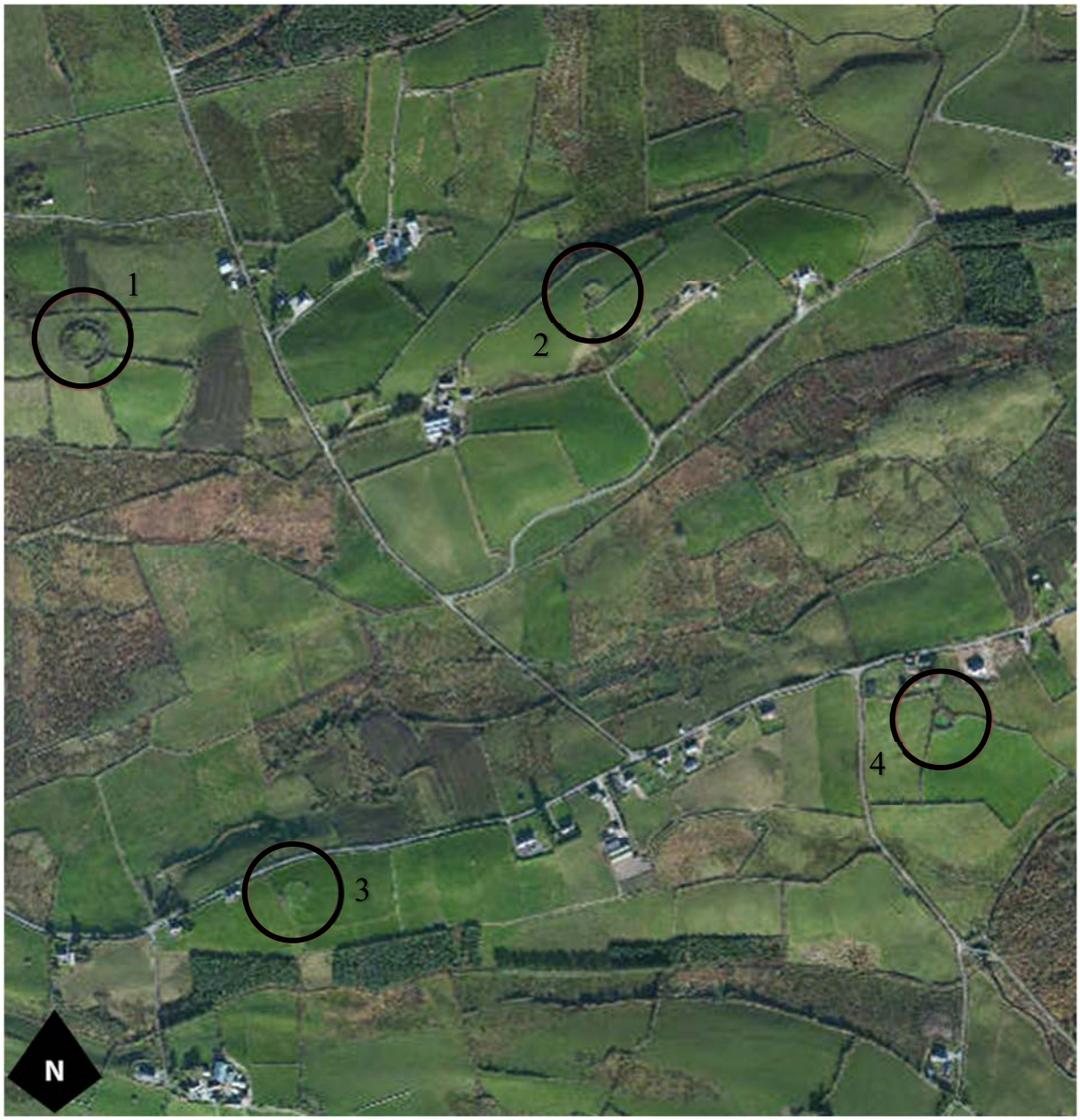


Figure 222. Aerial image of Doonogan townland depicting ringforts depicting ringforts 1. CL039-001, 2. CL039-002, 3. CL039-005 and 4. CL039-007 (DG 2011-3)

7.3.15. Doonsallagh West

The presence of three ringforts is recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). Two of these ringforts are recorded as raths and the third is noted as a cashel. The three of these structures, CL031-025, CL031-028 and CL031-029, are depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 31) of the area. The cashel, CL031-028, is also referred to as 'Caherard'

on this map, probably due to its location on a height. The two raths, CL031-025 and CL031-029, are also shown on subsequent revised editions of this map and, indeed, these ringforts are still extant. The third of the recorded ringforts, CL031-028, is shown on the revised second edition of this map (1895, 31) with the eastern side disturbed by a field boundary. This cashel is no longer extant, although a crop mark is visible at the recorded location (DG 2011-3).

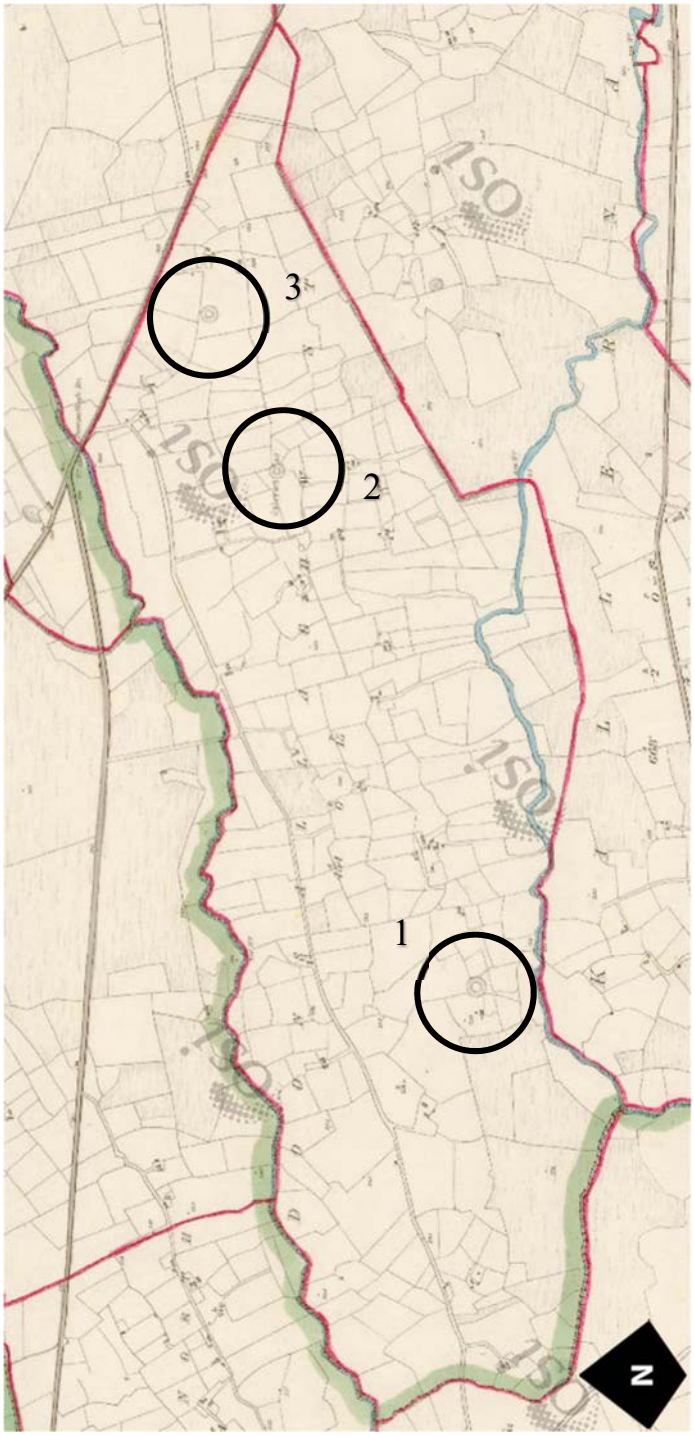


Figure 223. First edition OS map of Doonsallagh West townland depicting ringforts 1. CL031-025, 2. CL031-028 and 3. CL031-029

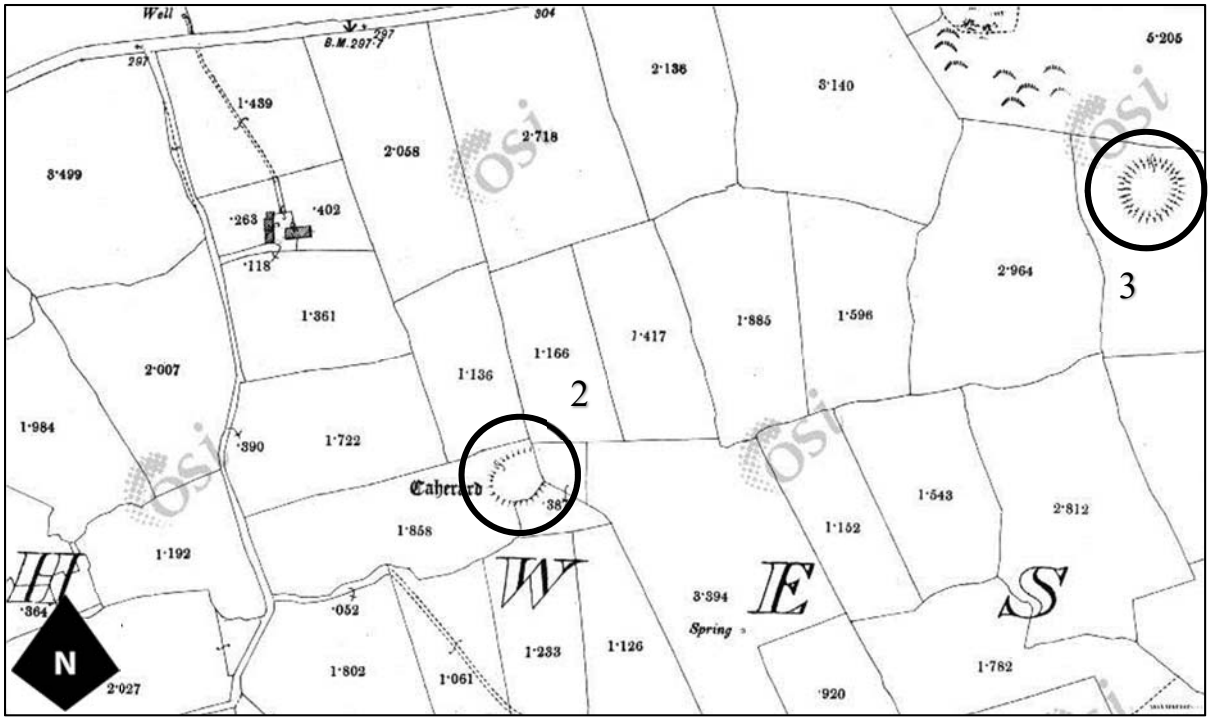


Figure 224. Second edition OS map of Doonsallagh West townland depicting ringforts 2. CL031-028 and 3. CL031-029

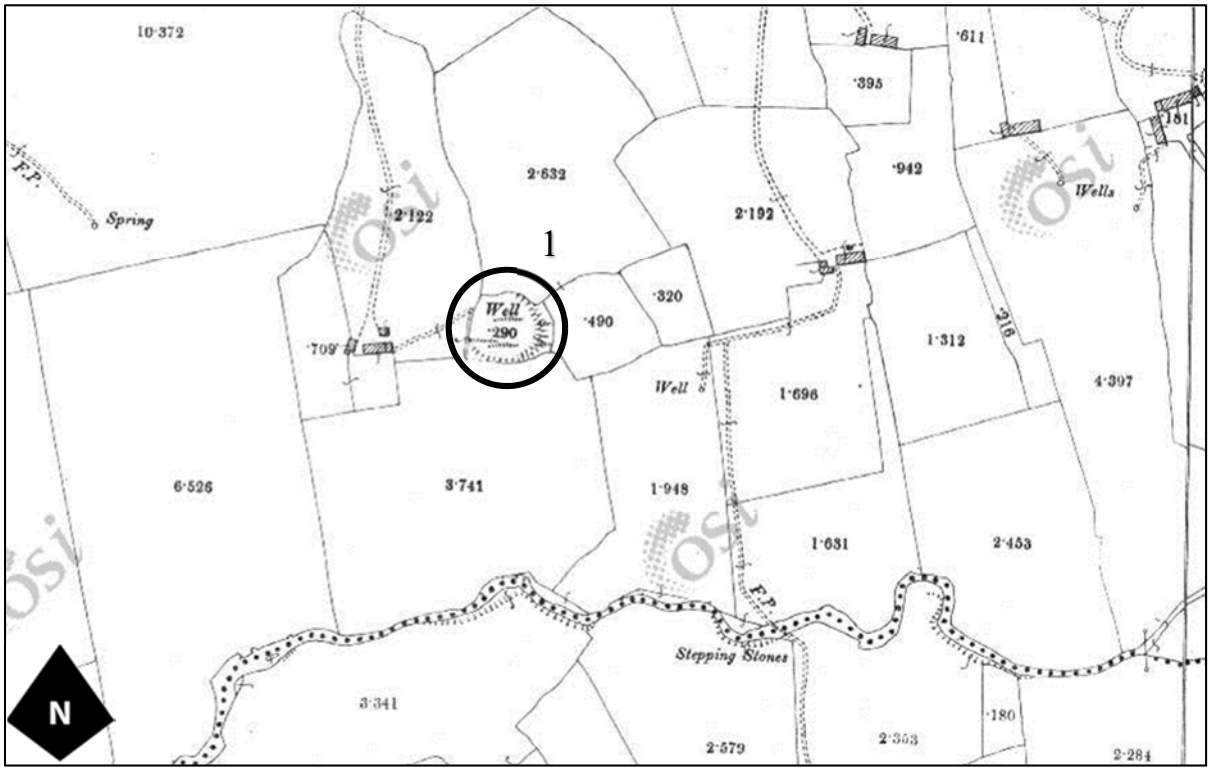


Figure 225. Second edition OS map of Doonsallagh West townland depicting ringfort CL031-025



Figure 226. Aerial image of Doonsallagh West townland depicting ringforts 1. CL031-025 & 3. CL031-029 and site of ringfort 2. CL031-028

7.3.16. Emlagh

The existence of a single example of a ringfort is contained in the archaeological record for this townland (NMS 2019). This impressive rath, CL030-021, is depicted in the western sector of this townland and not far from the coast on the first edition OS map (1840, 30). It is also noted as 'Rimbaun Fort' on this map. It is also represented on subsequent revised editions of this map. Study of recent aerial images confirm that this fine bivallate rath is still extant (GE 2010).



Figure 227. First edition OS map of Emlagh townland depicting ringfort CL030-021



Figure 228. First edition OS map of Emlagh townland depicting ringfort CL030-021

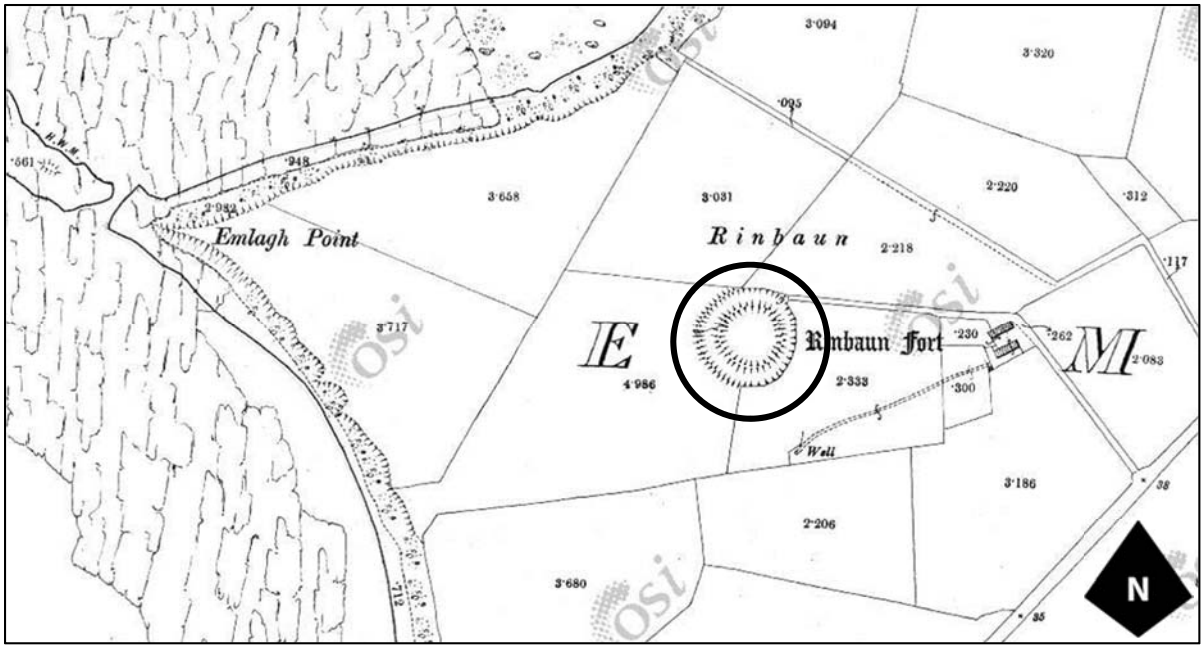


Figure 229. Second edition OS map of Emlagh townland depicting ringfort CL030-021



Figure 230. Aerial image of Emlagh townland depicting ringfort CL030-021 (GE 2010)

7.3.17. Finnor Beg

A single example of a ringfort is recorded within the boundaries of this townland in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). Although, there is another example that is located on the

boundary with the adjacent townland of Carrowlagan. To avoid confusion, this example will be treated under the heading of that townland. The rath located within the townland, CL038-040, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 38) of the area. It is also shown on the subsequent editions of this map. Modern aerial images show this structure to be still extant (DG 2011-3).

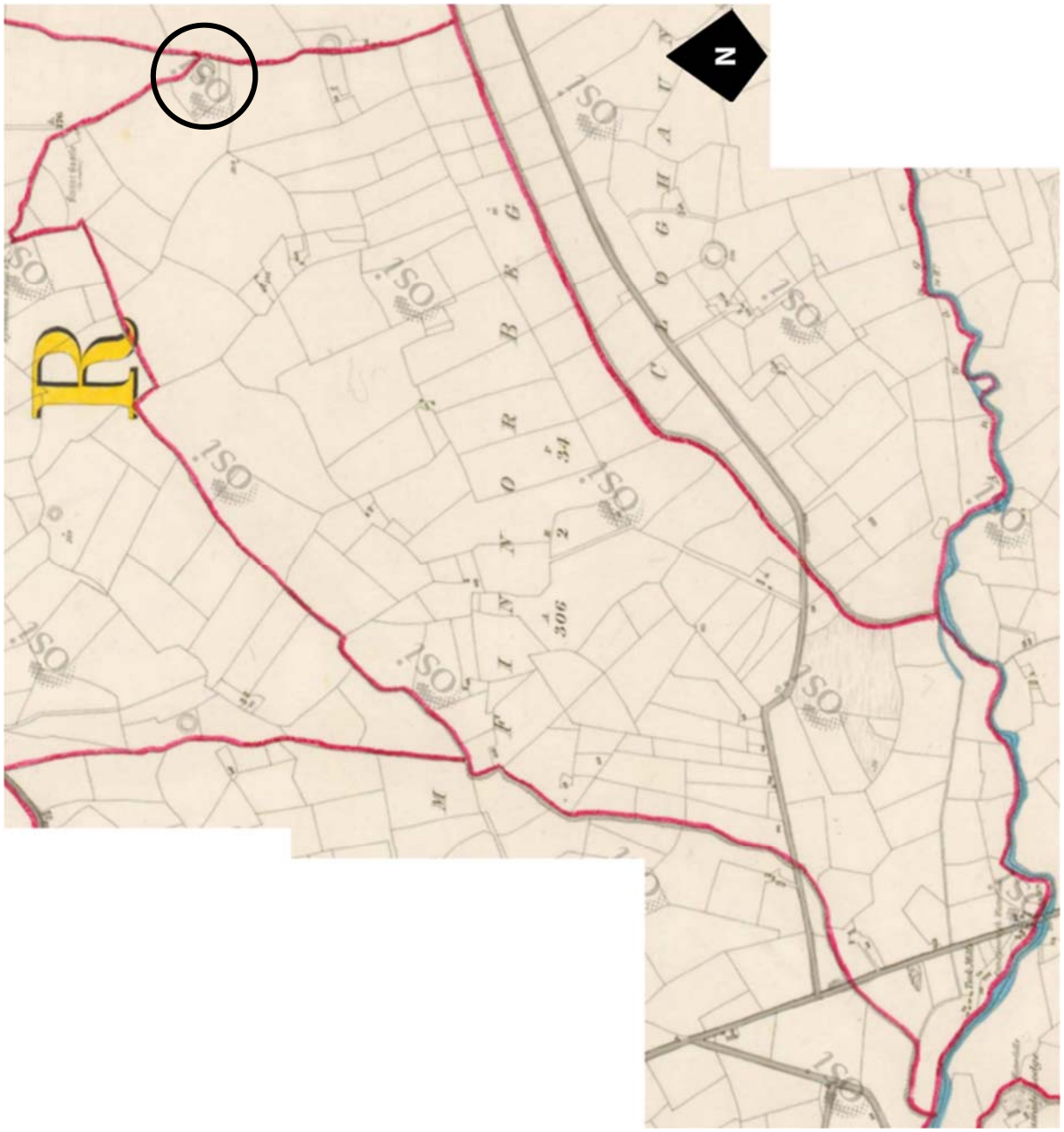


Figure 231. First edition OS map of Finnor Beg townland depicting ringfort CL038-040

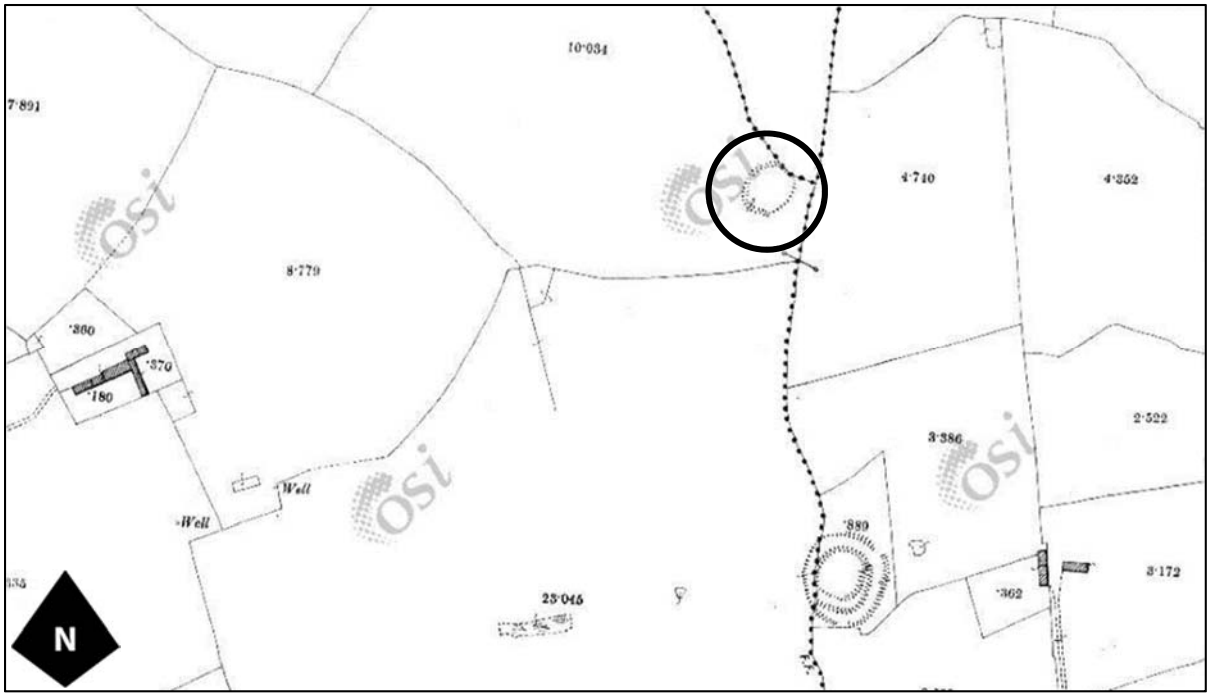


Figure 232. Second edition OS map of Finnor Beg townland depicting ringfort CL038-040



Figure 233. Aerial image of Finnor Beg townland depicting ringfort CL038-040 (DG 2011-3)

7.3.18. Finnor More

The archaeological database contains reference to the presence of three ringforts in this townland (NMS 2019). These three raths, CL038-031, CL038-032 and CL038-035 are shown

on the first edition OS map (1840, 38) of the area. They are also shown on the later revised editions of this map. Images from recent aerial surveys confirm that these three ringforts are still extant (DG 2011-3). Although one of these structures, CL038-032, is now divided by a road running east west.

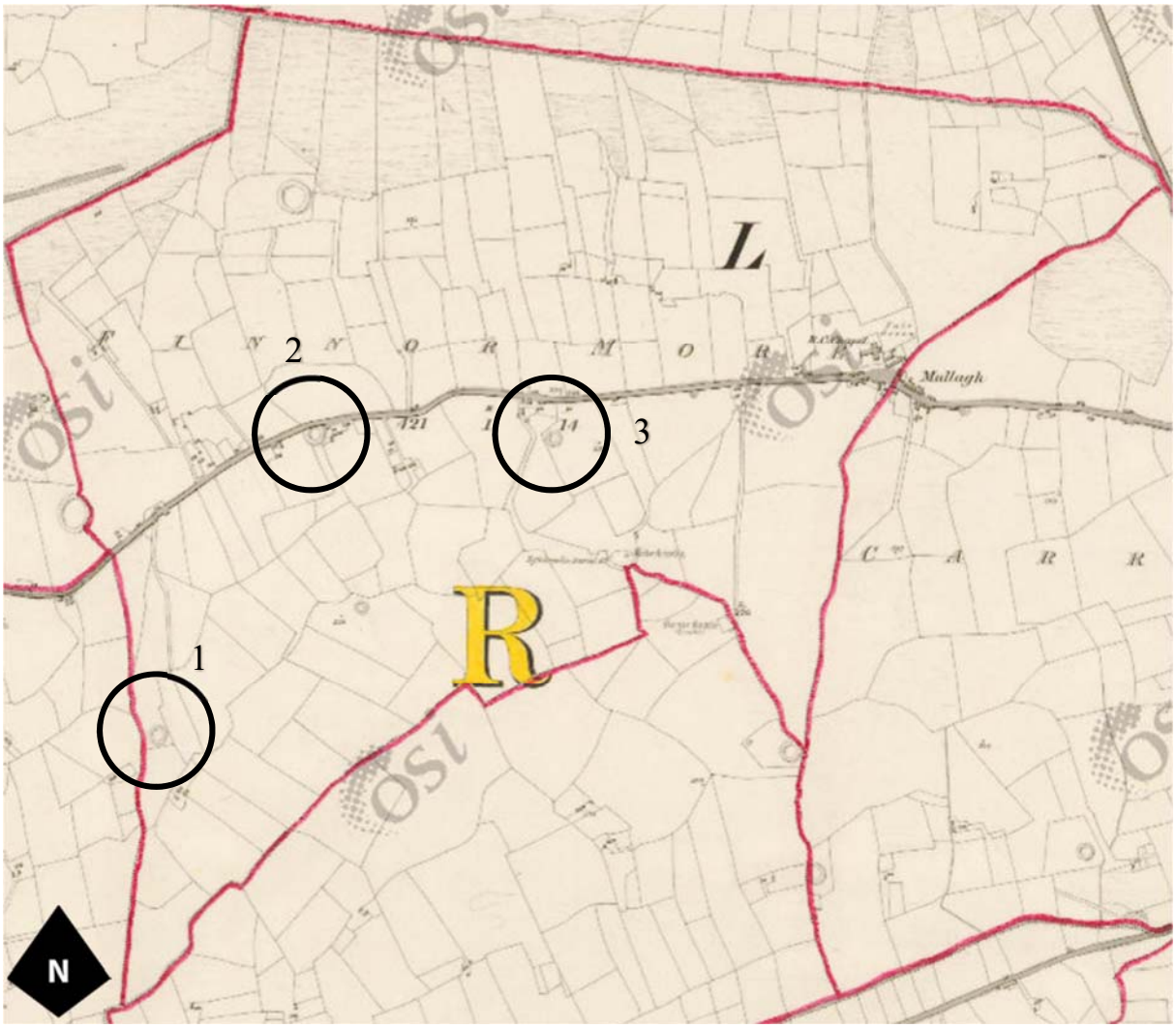


Figure 234. First edition OS map of Finnor More townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-031, 2. CL038-032 and 3. CL038-035

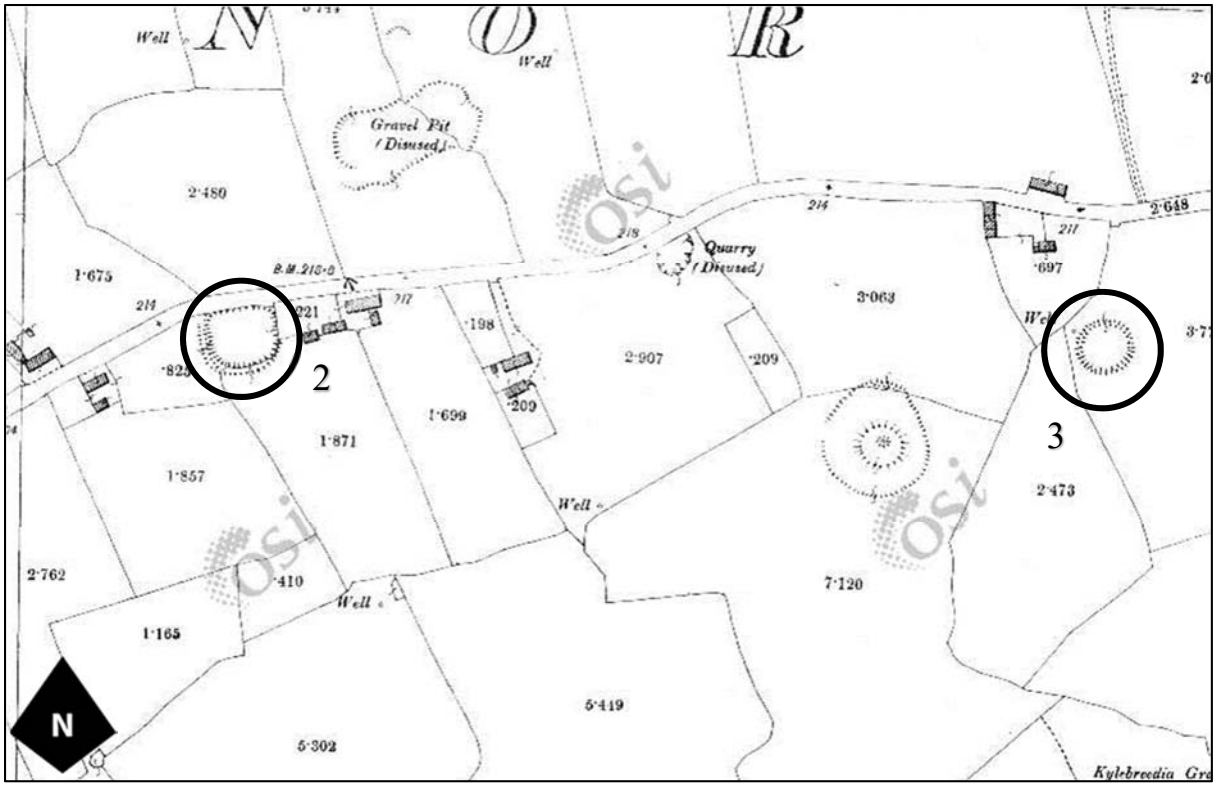


Figure 235. Second edition OS map of Finnor More townland depicting ringforts 2. CL038-032 and 3. CL038-035

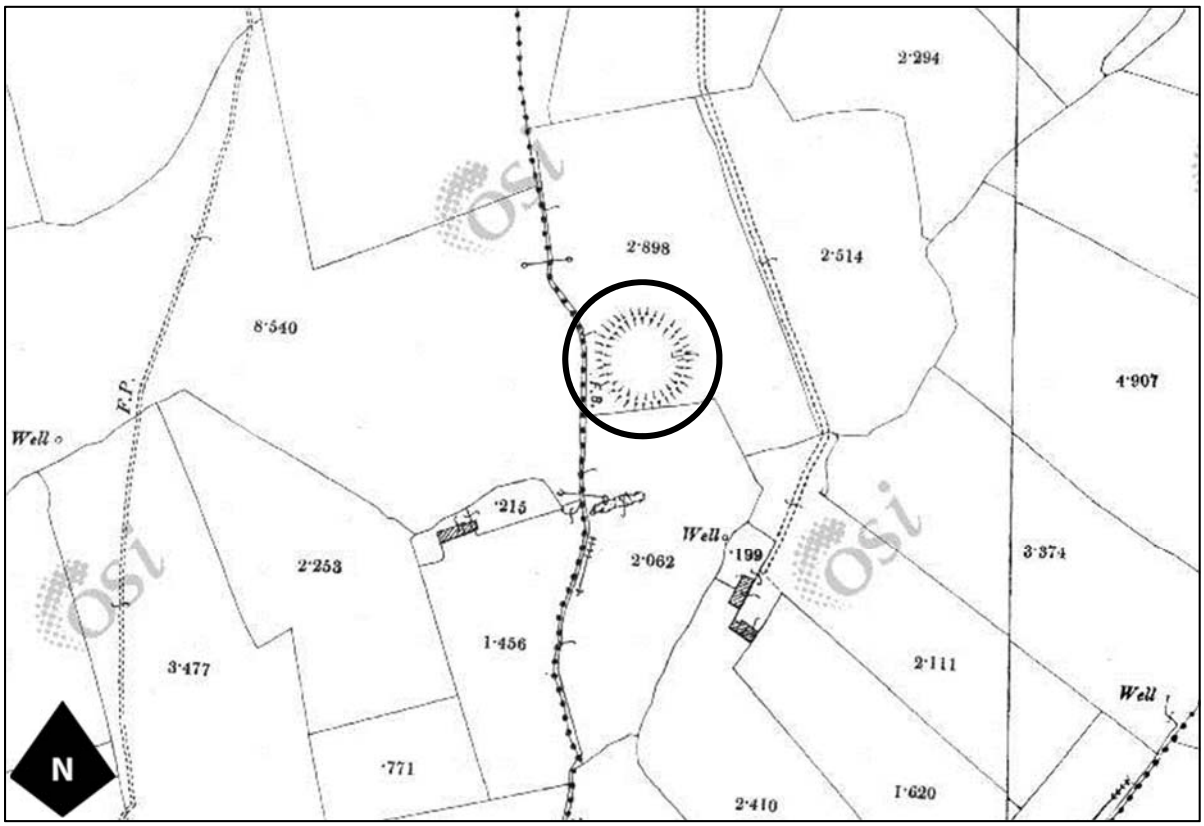


Figure 236. Second edition OS map of Finnor More townland depicting ringfort CL038-031

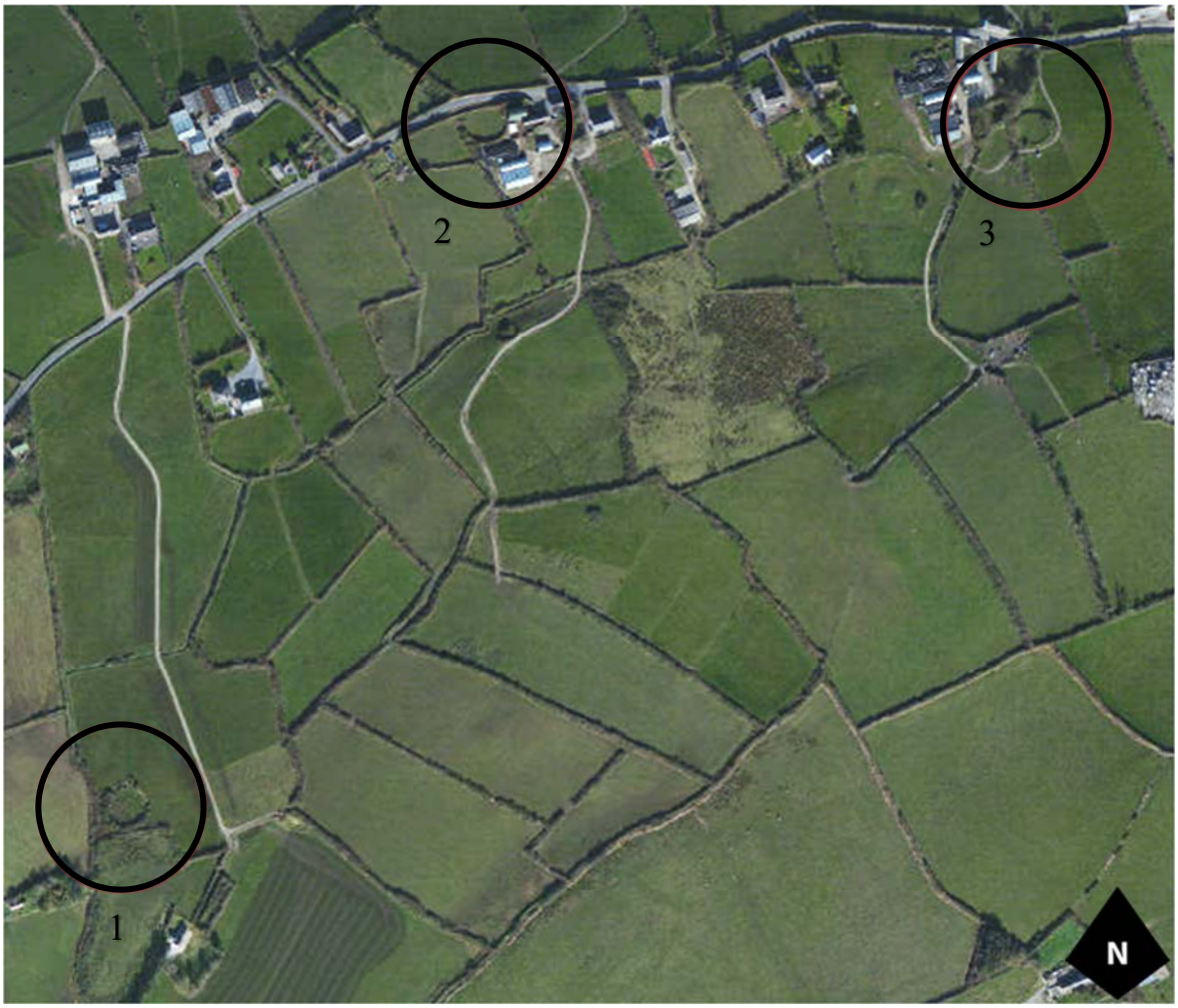


Figure 237. Aerial image of Finnor More townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-031, 2. CL038-032 and 3. CL038-035 (DG 2011-3)

7.3.19. Kilclehaun

A single example of a ringfort is recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). This rath, CL038-077, is shown on the first edition OS map (1840, 38) of the area. It is also visible on the later revised editions of this map. On the second edition OS map (1895, 38), it is noted as 'Lisnacloonagh'. Recent aerial imagery shows this ringfort to be still extant (DG 2011-3).

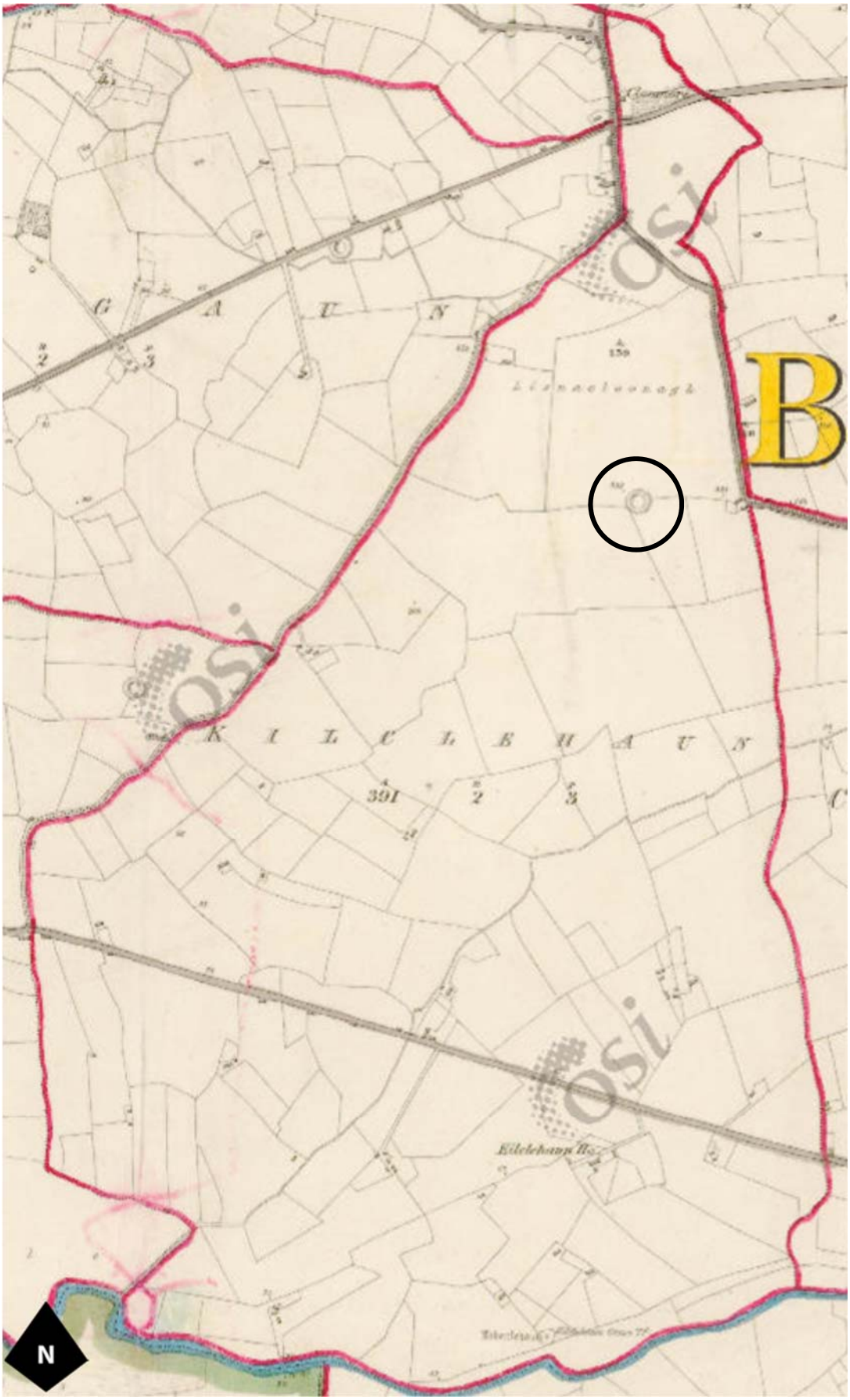


Figure 238. First edition OS map of Kilclehaun townland depicting ringfort CL038-077

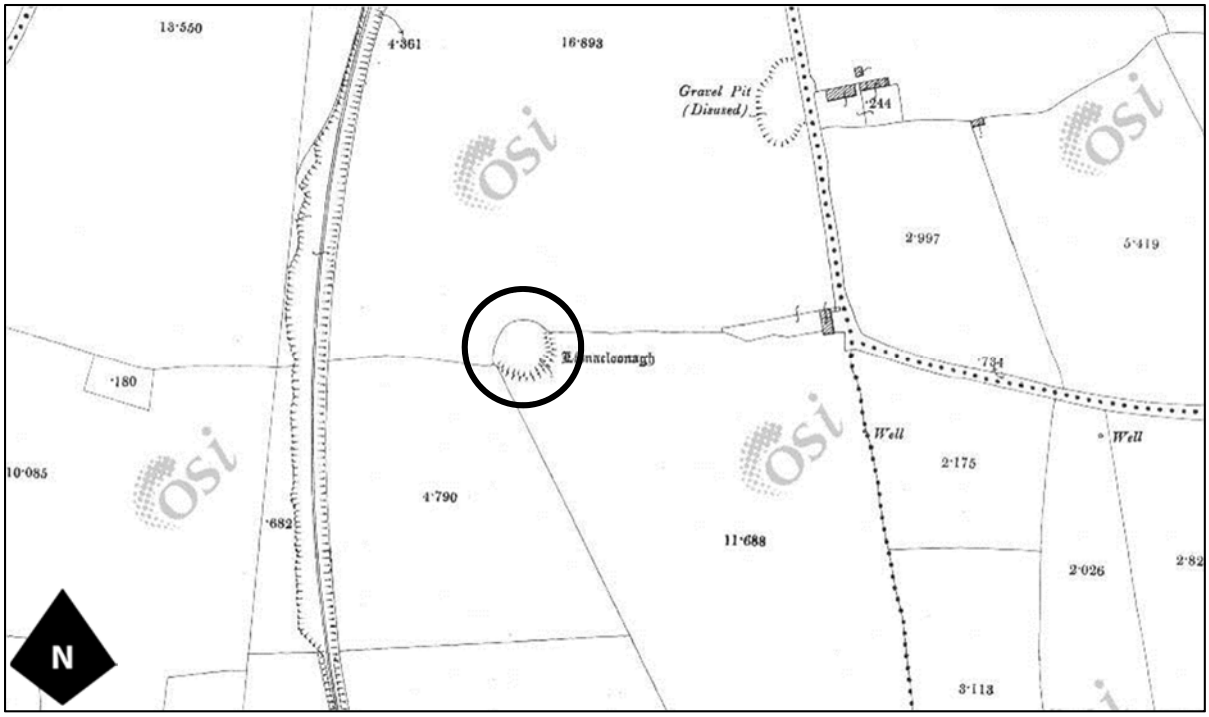


Figure 239. Second edition OS map of Kilclehaun townland depicting ringfort CL038-077

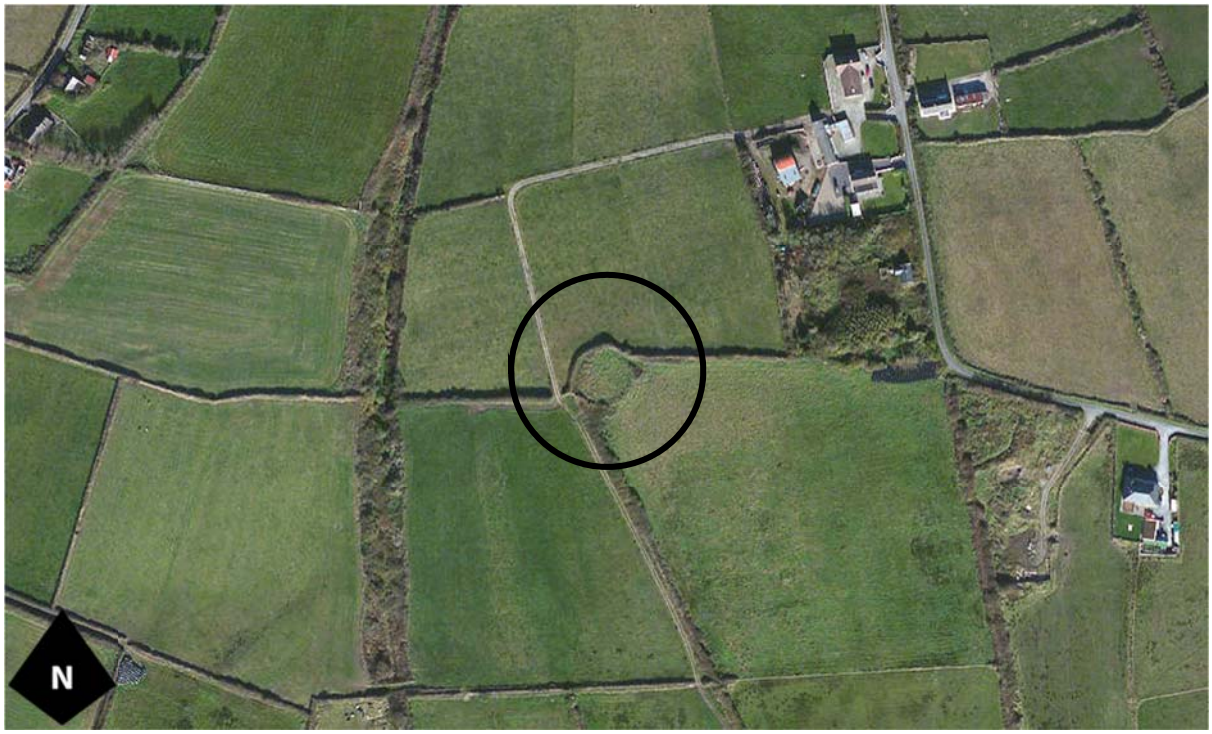


Figure 240. Aerial image of Kilclehaun townland depicting ringfort CL038-077 (DG 2011-3)

7.3.20. Killernan

Four ringforts are recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). The four of these raths, CL031-027, CL031-031, CL039-008 and CL039-009 are depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 31 & 39) of the area. The recorded location of a 'hut site' CL031-030 is also shown on this map as an enclosure similar in size and appearance to the nearby ringfort CL031-031. One of these raths, CL031-027, is also shown as an extant feature on later revised editions of this map. On these editions, the recorded locations of the other monuments have representations that suggest the presence of some feature. However, these are incomplete or irregular in shape. Thereby, indicating a strong level of disturbance of these raths during the interim period. On modern aerial images, remnants of both CL031-027 and CL031-031 are visible. These images also show crop marks at the recorded locations of each of these monuments (DG 2011-3). This is one of the few occasions within this barony that all of the circular field monuments have been removed.

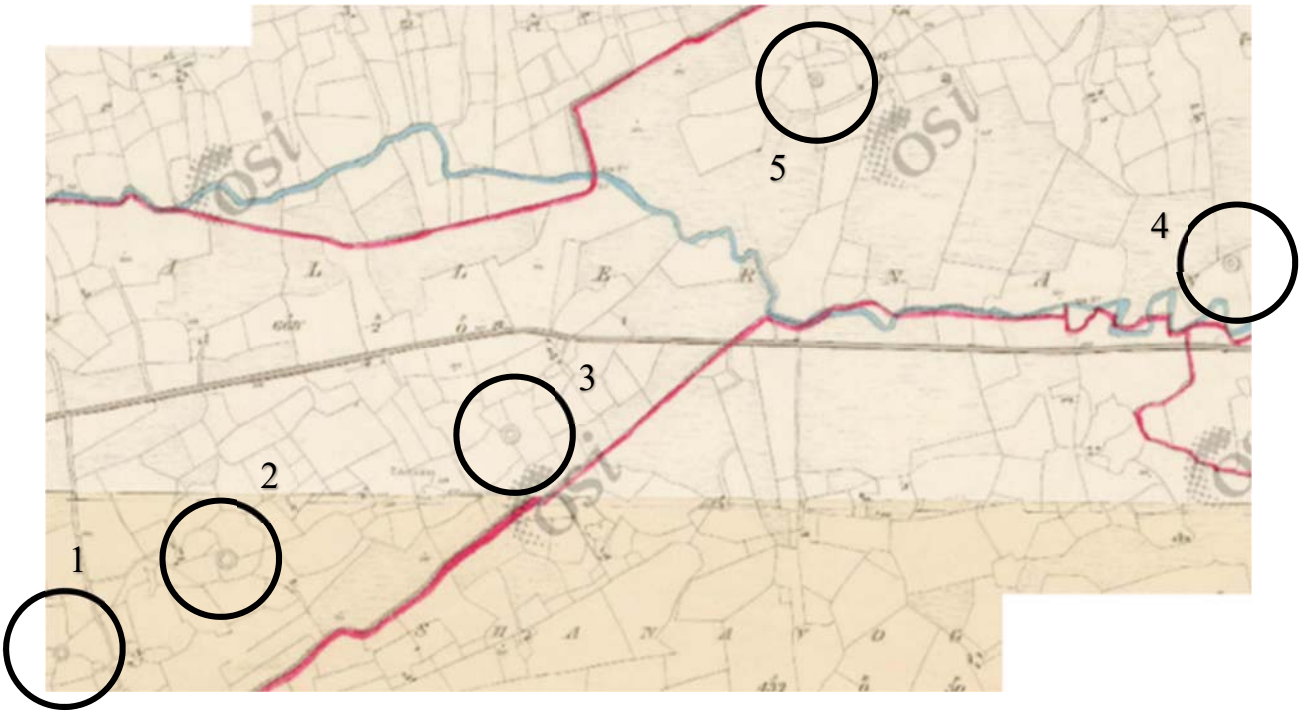


Figure 241. First edition OS map of Killernan townland depicting ringforts 1. CL039-008, 2. CL039-009, 3. CL031-027, 4. CL031-031 and previously unrecorded enclosure 5.

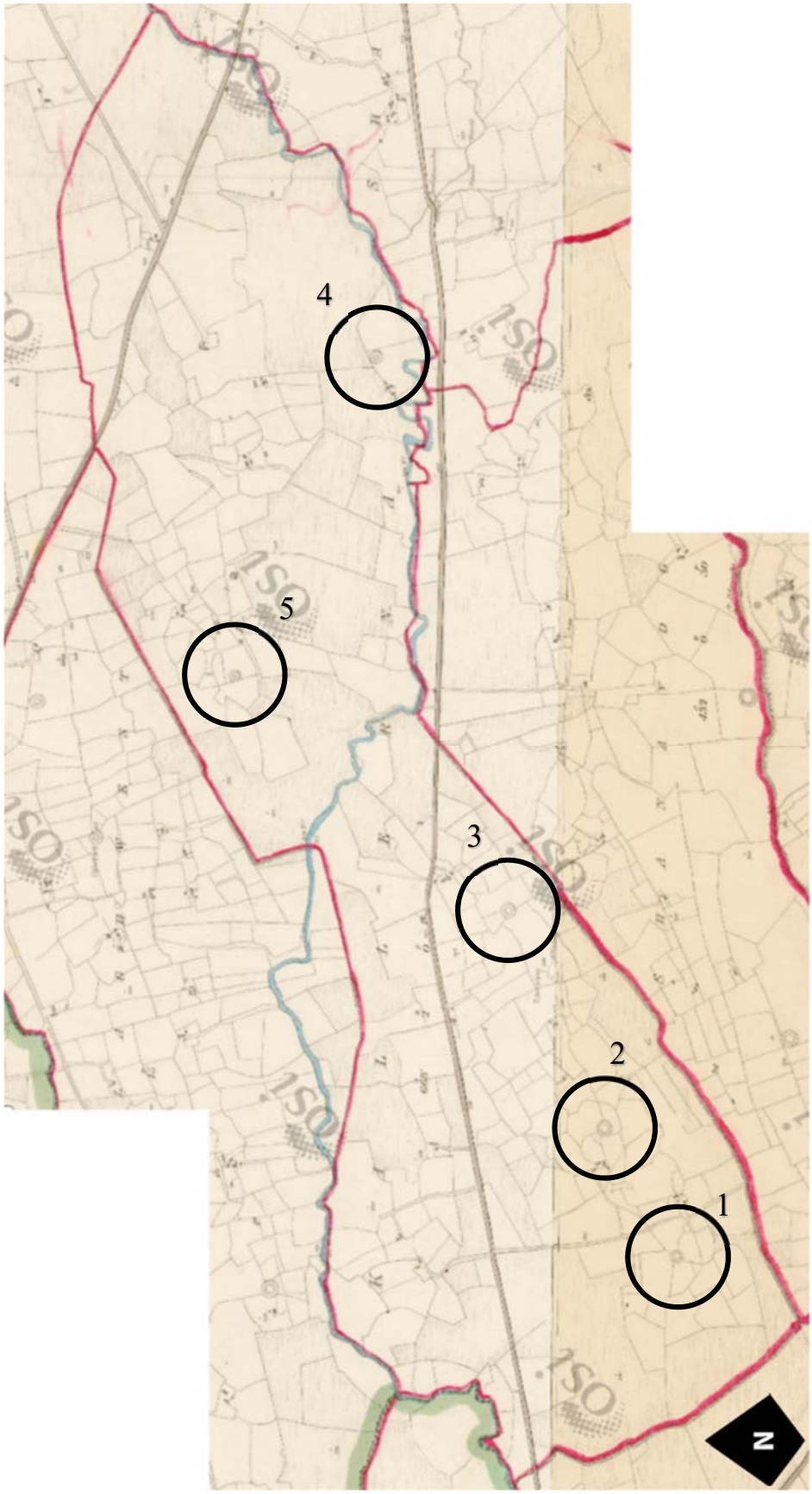


Figure 242. First edition OS map of Killernan townland depicting ringforts 1. CL039-008, 2. CL039-009, 3. CL031-027, 4. CL031-031 and previously unrecorded enclosure 5.

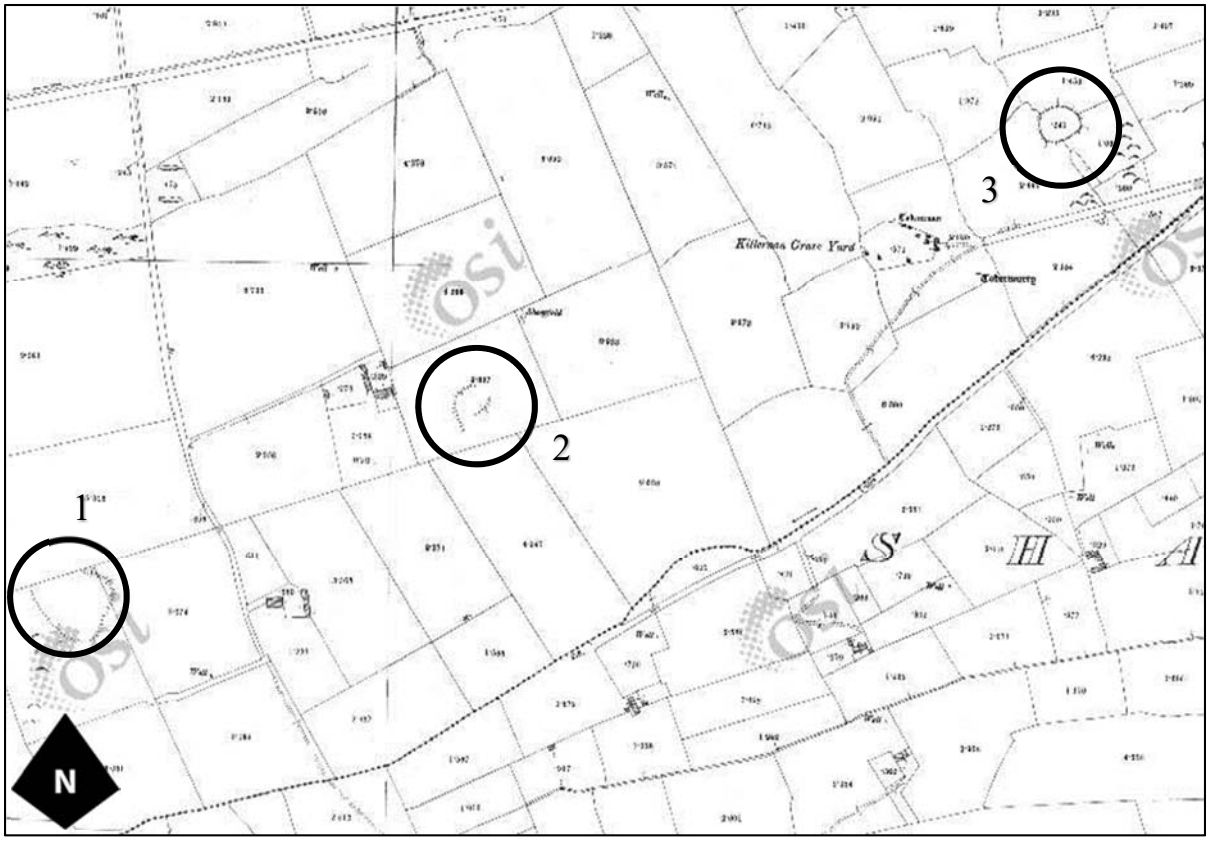


Figure 243. Second edition OS map of Killernan townland depicting ringforts 1. CL039-008, 2. CL039-009 and 3. CL031-027

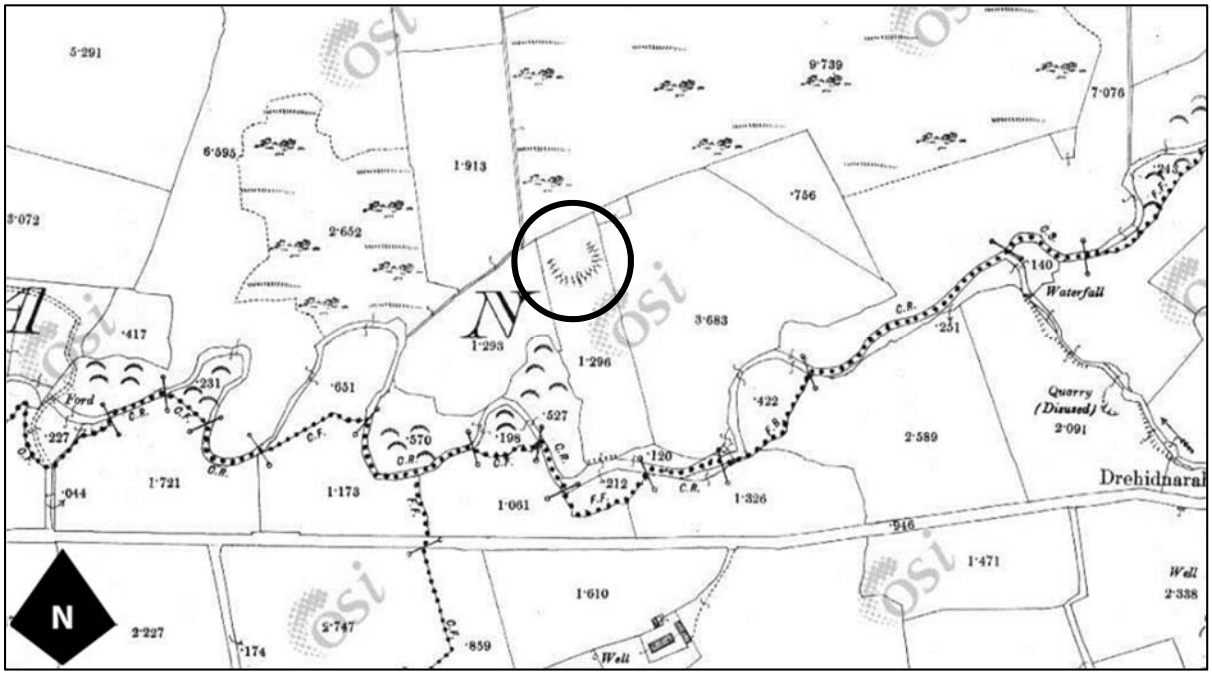


Figure 244. Second edition OS map of Killernan townland depicting ringfort CL031-031



Figure 245. Aerial image of Killernan townland depicting site of ringforts 1. CL039-008, 2. CL039-009, 3. CL031-027 and 4. CL031-031 (DG 2011-3)



Figure 246. Aerial image of Killernan townland depicting site of ringforts 1. CL039-008, 2. CL039-009 and 3. CL031-027

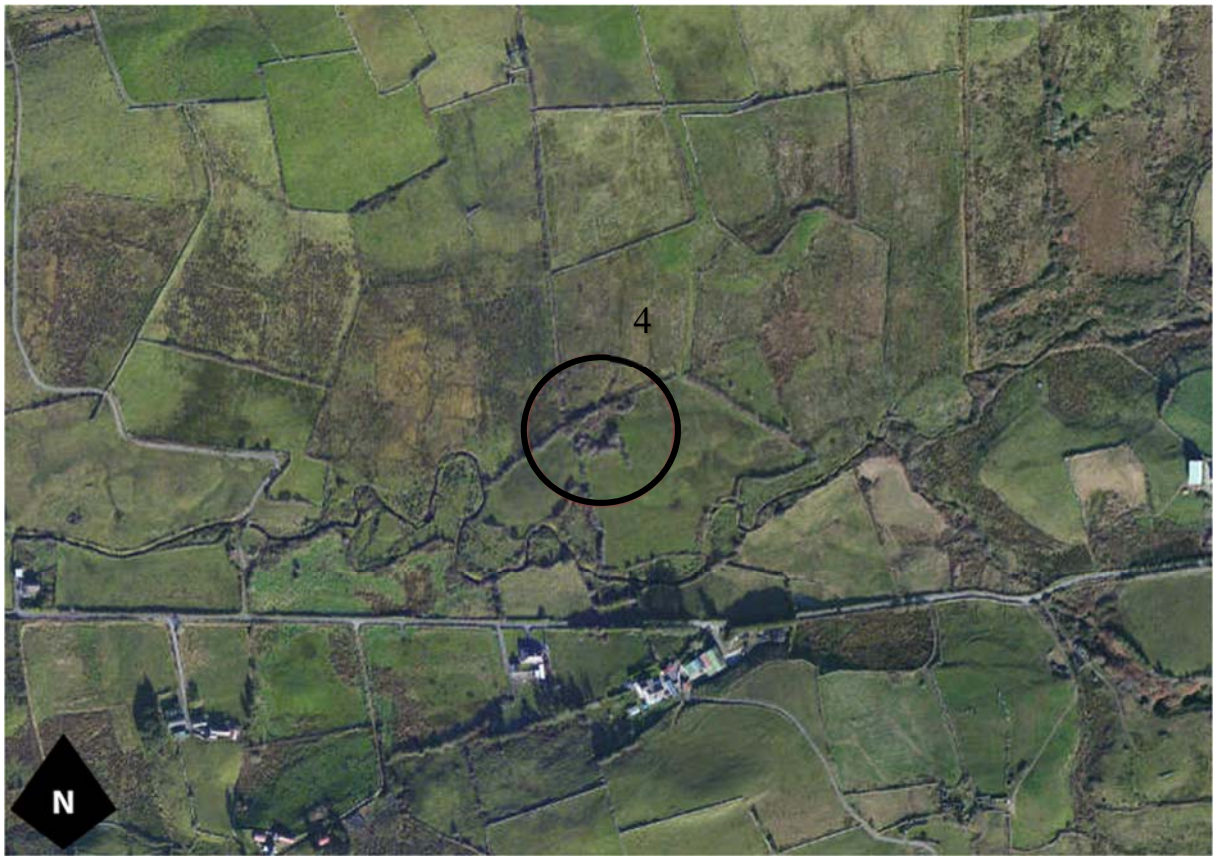


Figure 247. Aerial image of Killernan townland depicting site of ringfort CL039-009

7.3.21. Knockanalban

A range of circular field monuments is recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). One of these structures, CL039-003, is recorded as an earthwork. The second monument here, CL039-004001, is recorded as an enclosure and the final structure, CL039-006, is recorded as a rath. Again, these are recent archaeological terms and it is likely that these similarly shaped structures were perceived and treated in a similar manner at an earlier time. The earthwork, CL039-003, is visible as a faint circular feature on the first edition OS map (1840, 39) of the region. On the revised second edition map (1895, 39), it is shown as a semi-circular feature. It is not shown on the later revision of the original 6-inch map and is no longer extant either (DG 2011-3). The enclosure, CL039-004001, is clearly visible on the first edition OS map and is shown on the later revised editions of this map. Unfortunately, this monument can no longer be considered extant. Strangely, the rath, CL039-006, is not depicted on the first edition OS map. It is shown, however, on the subsequent revised editions of this map. It is also no longer extant. This is one of the rare townland where all of the recorded circular field

monuments have been removed. However, the location of each of these sites can be discerned due to the presence of crop marks (DG 2011-3).

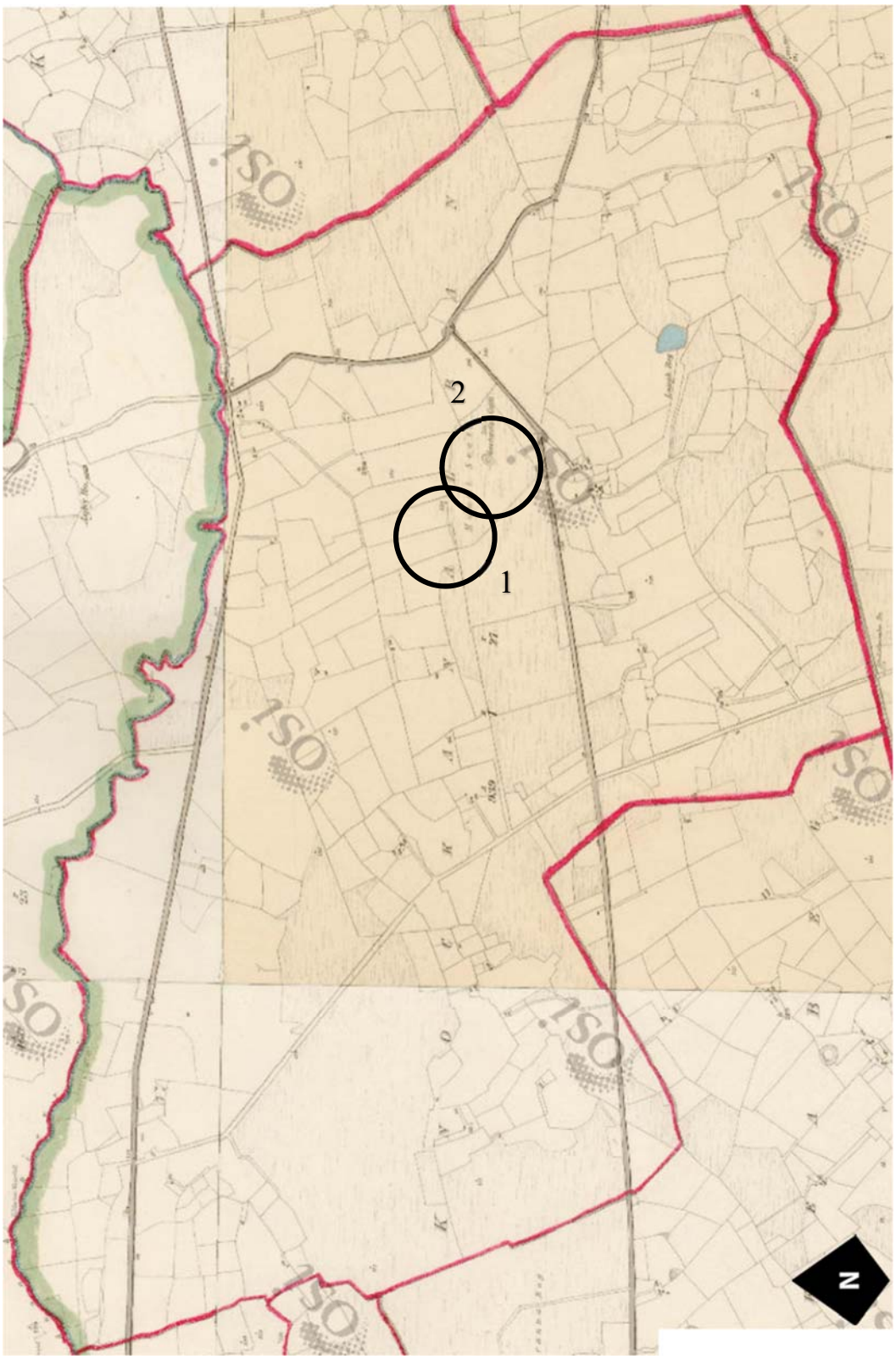


Figure 248. First edition OS map of Knockanalban townland depicting earthwork 1. CL039-003 and enclosure 2. CL039-004001

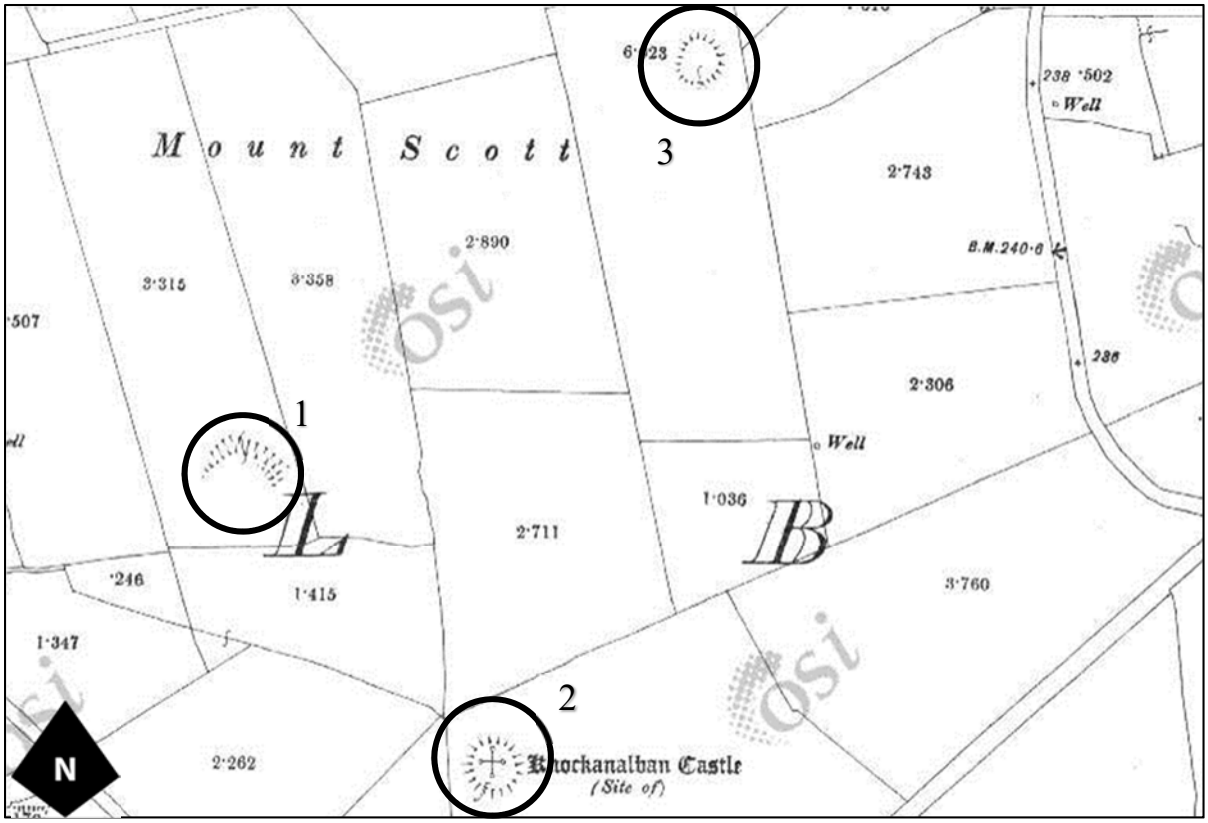


Figure 249. Second edition OS map of Knockanalban townland depicting earthwork 1. CL039-003, enclosure 2. CL039-004001 and ringfort 3. CL039-006



Figure 250. Aerial image of Knockanalban townland depicting site of earthwork 1. CL039-003, enclosure 2. CL039-004001 and ringfort 3. CL039-006 (DG 2011-3)

7.3.22. Knockloskeraun

The existence of two ringforts is presently recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). One of these structures, CL031-017, is shown on the first edition OS map (1840, 31) that covers this townland. It is also shown on the later revised editions of this map. From the second edition of this map (1895, 31), it is also noted as 'Lisnagat' or fort of the cats. This ringfort is still extant. The second recorded ringfort here, CL031-044, is not depicted on any of the available OS map for the townland. It is visible, however, as a crop mark on recent aerial imagery and it is possibly because of an examination of these images that it was recorded (DG 2011-3).

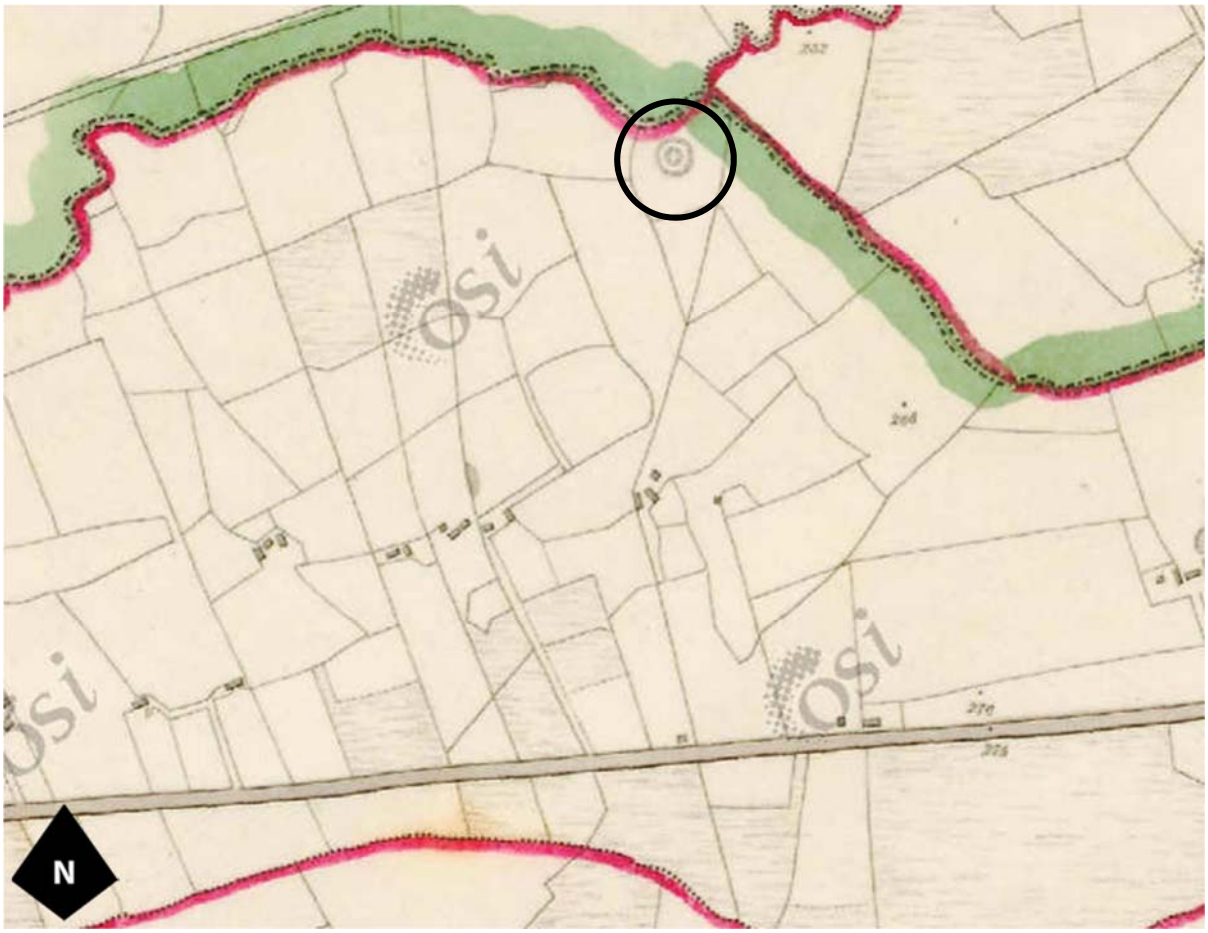


Figure 251. First edition OS map of Knockloskeraun townland depicting ringfort CL031-017



Figure 252. First edition OS map of Knockloskeraun townland depicting ringfort CL031-017

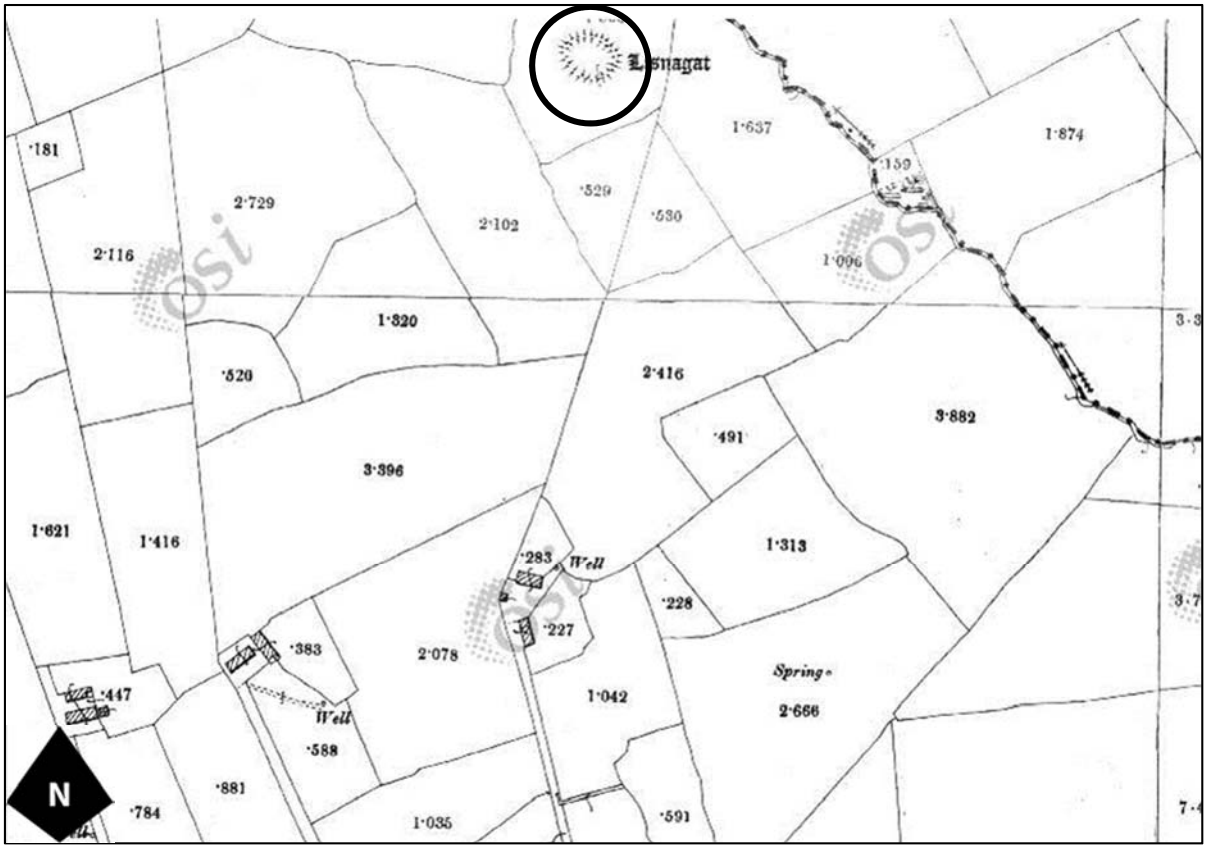


Figure 253. Second edition OS map of Knockloskeraun townland depicting ringfort CL031-017



Figure 254. Aerial image of Knockloskeraun townland depicting ringfort 1. CL031-017 and site of ringfort 2. CL031-044

7.3.23. Molosky

The presence of three ringforts are recorded within this townland in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). These three raths, CL038-050, CL038-052 and CL038-054, are visible on the first edition OS map (1840, 38) of the area. By the time of the revised second edition of this map (1895, 38), one of these, CL038-054, had been disturbed. The southern section had been truncated by a field boundary. Again, this boundary was shown in place on the first edition map and so it may be that this ringfort had been affected at that stage. The field boundary has now been removed and the ringfort now appears complete. The other two raths in this townland, CL038-050 and CL038-052, are shown as extant on later revised editions of the OS map. Examination of recent aerial imagery shows this to be still the case (DG 2011-3)

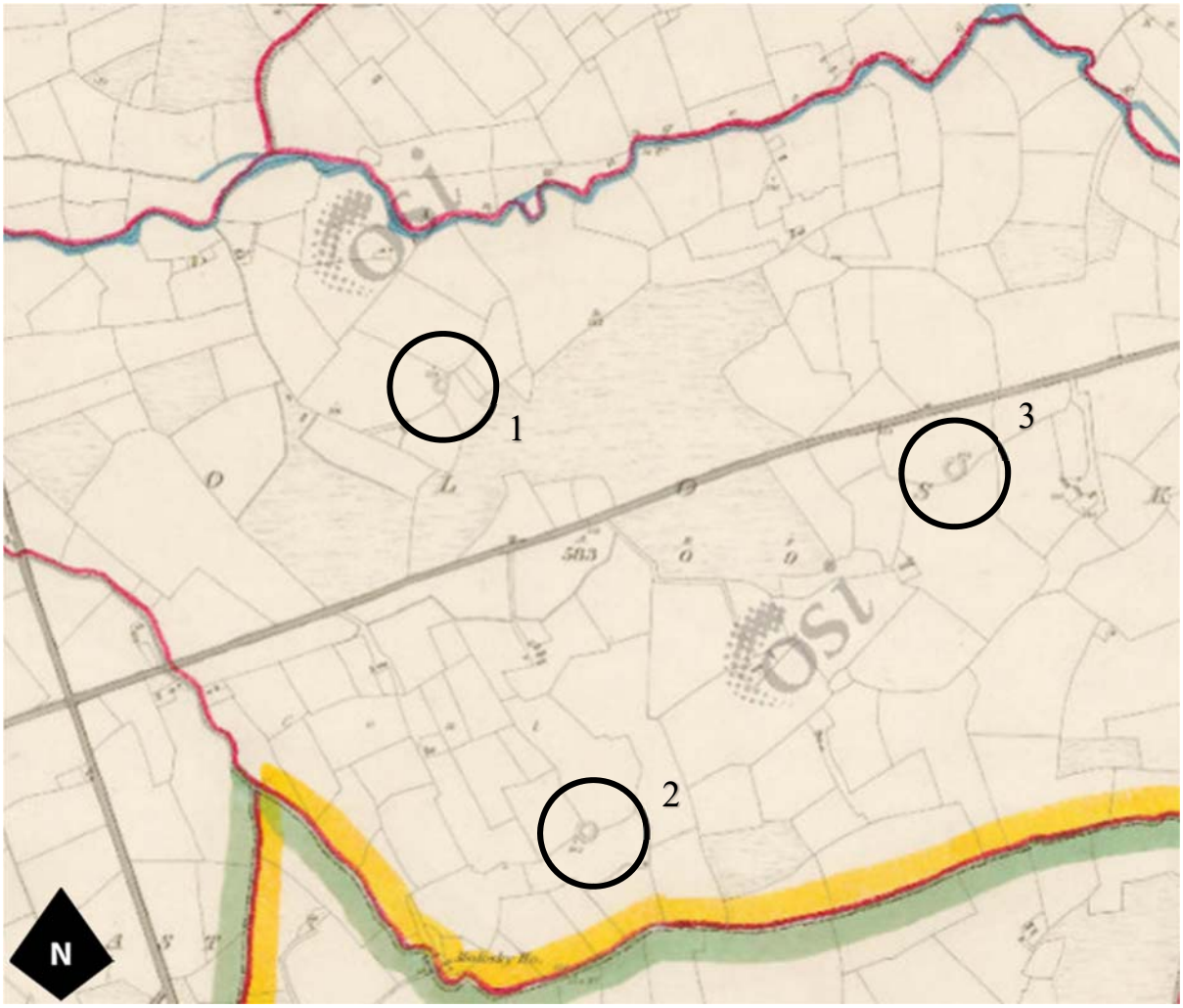


Figure 255. First edition OS map of Molosky townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-050, 2. CL038-052 and 3. CL038-054

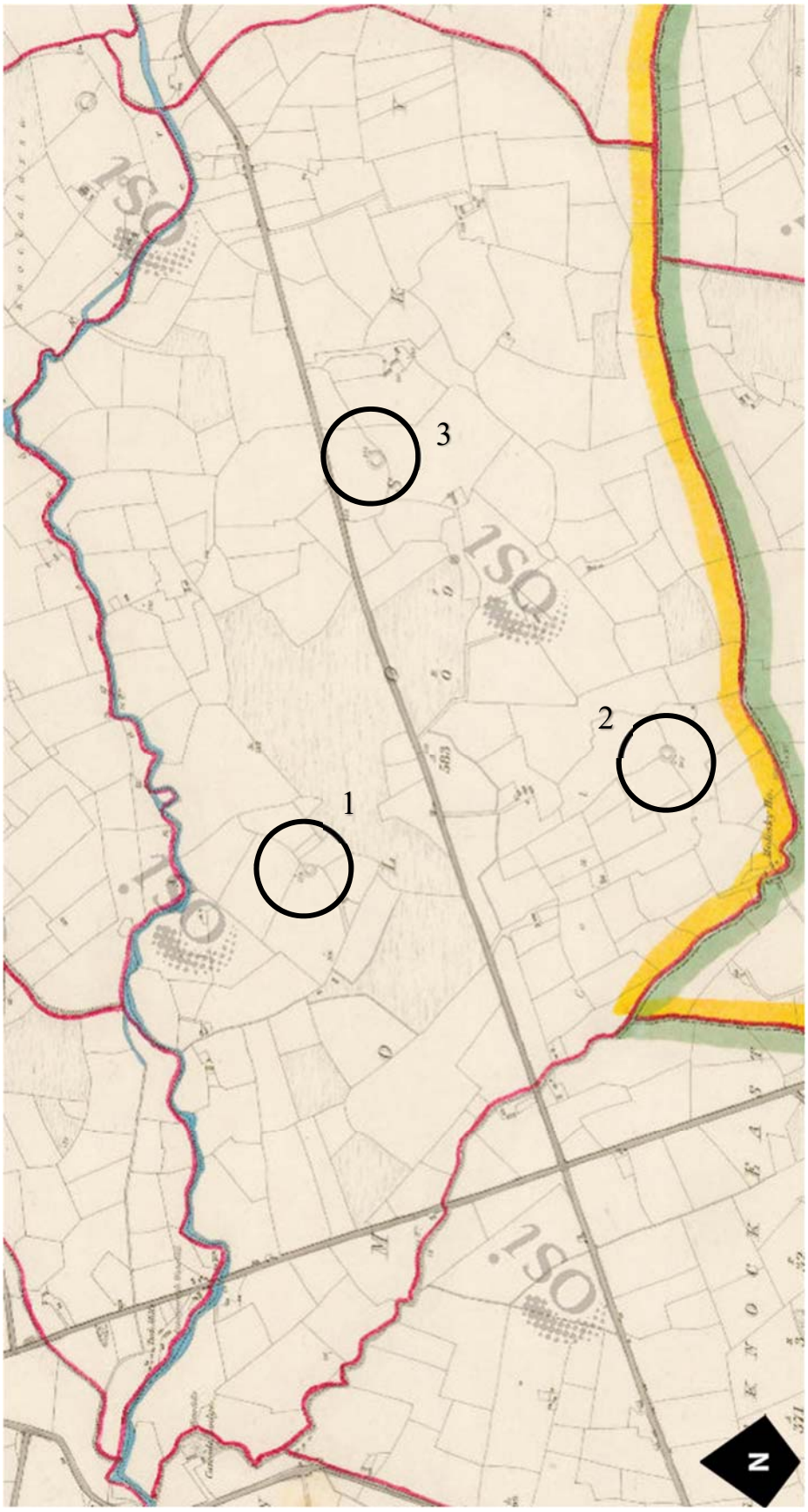


Figure 256. First edition OS map of Molosky townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-050, 2. CL038-052 and 3. CL038-054

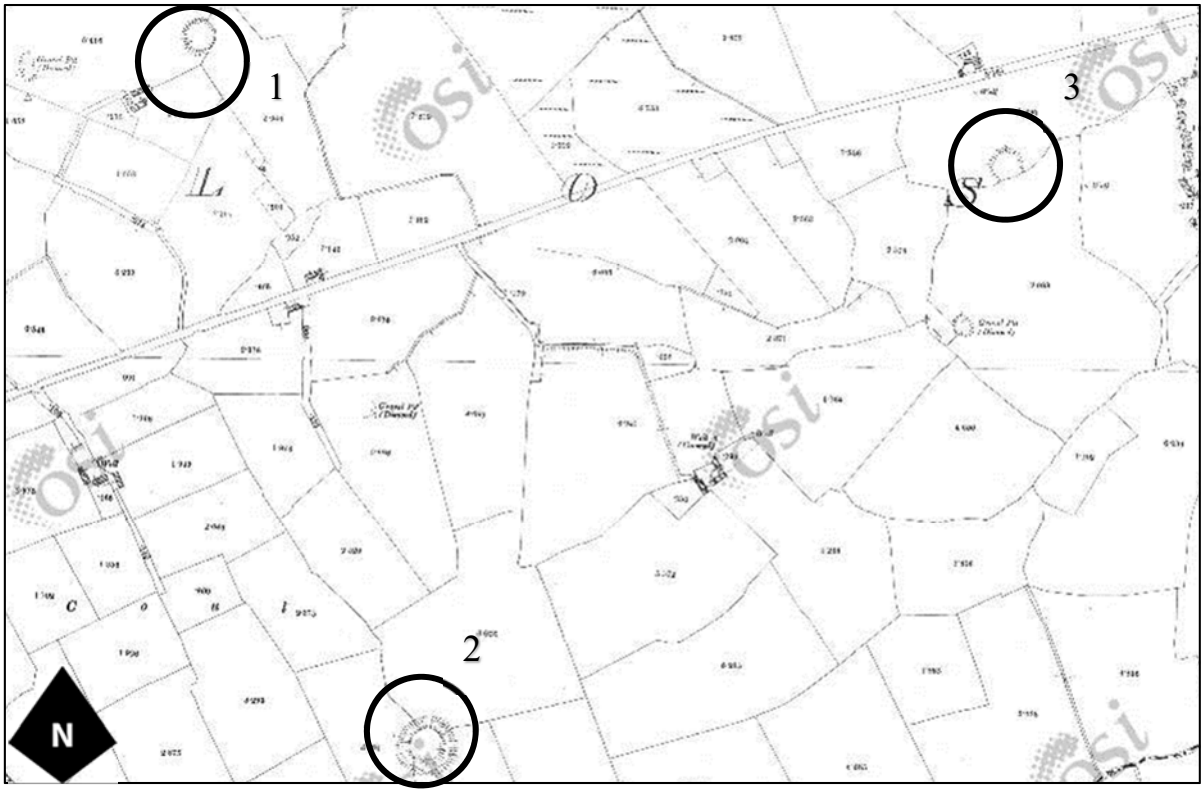


Figure 257. Second edition OS map of Molosky townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-050, 2. CL038-052 and 3. CL038-054



Figure 258. Aerial image of Molosky townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-050, 2. CL038-052 and 3. CL038-054

7.3.24. Moyglass Beg

This is another townland where a single example of a ringfort is recorded in the archaeological record (NMS 2019). This rath, CL039-026, is shown on the first edition OS map (1840, 39) located near the southern boundary of the townland. It is also shown on the later revised editions of this map. Unfortunately, this rath is no longer extant but a crop mark is visible at the recorded location, near the stream that marks the southern boundary of this townland (DG 2011-3).



Figure 259. First edition OS map of Moyglass Beg townland depicting ringfort CL039-026

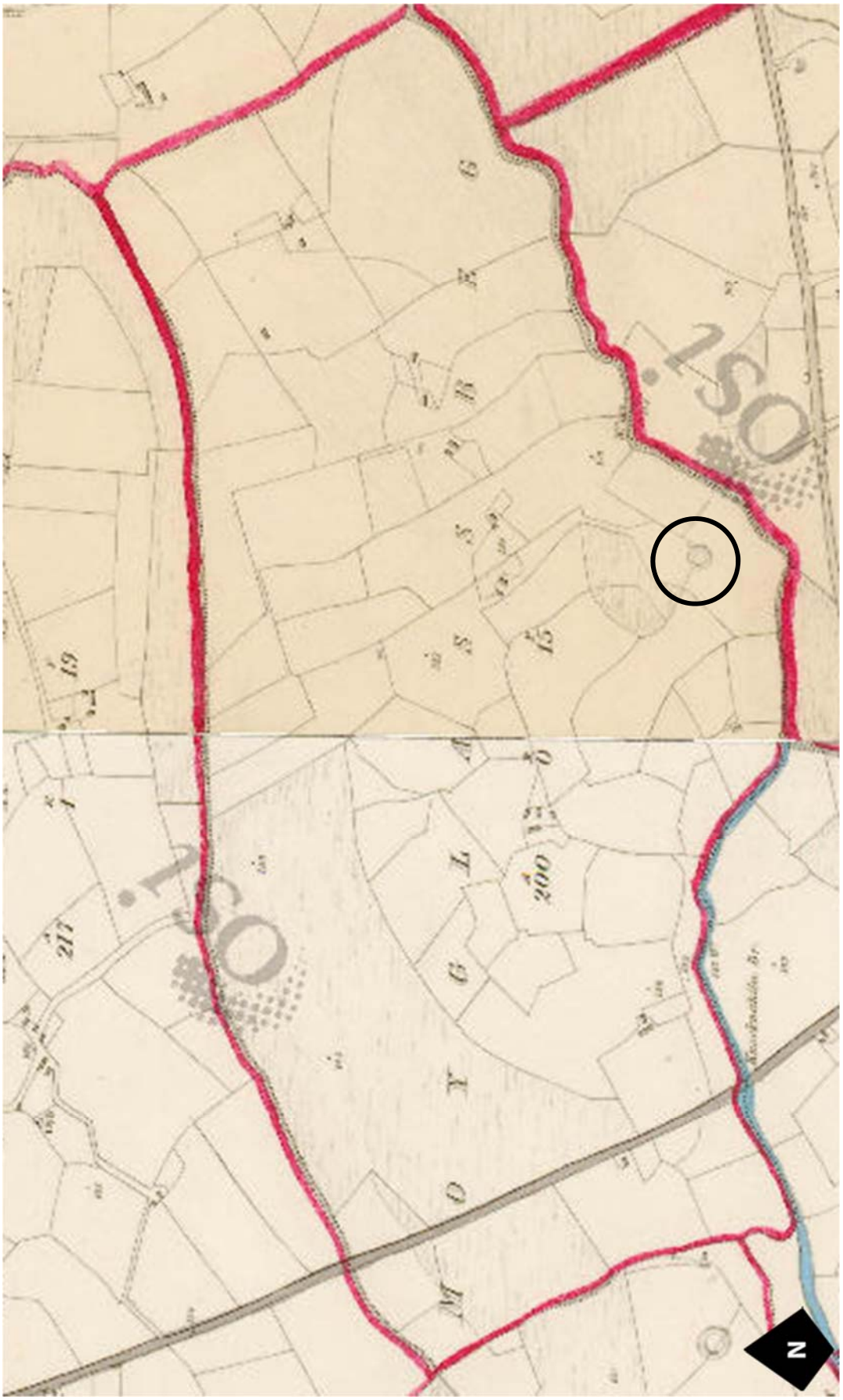


Figure 260. First edition OS map of Moyglass Beg townland depicting ringfort CL039-026

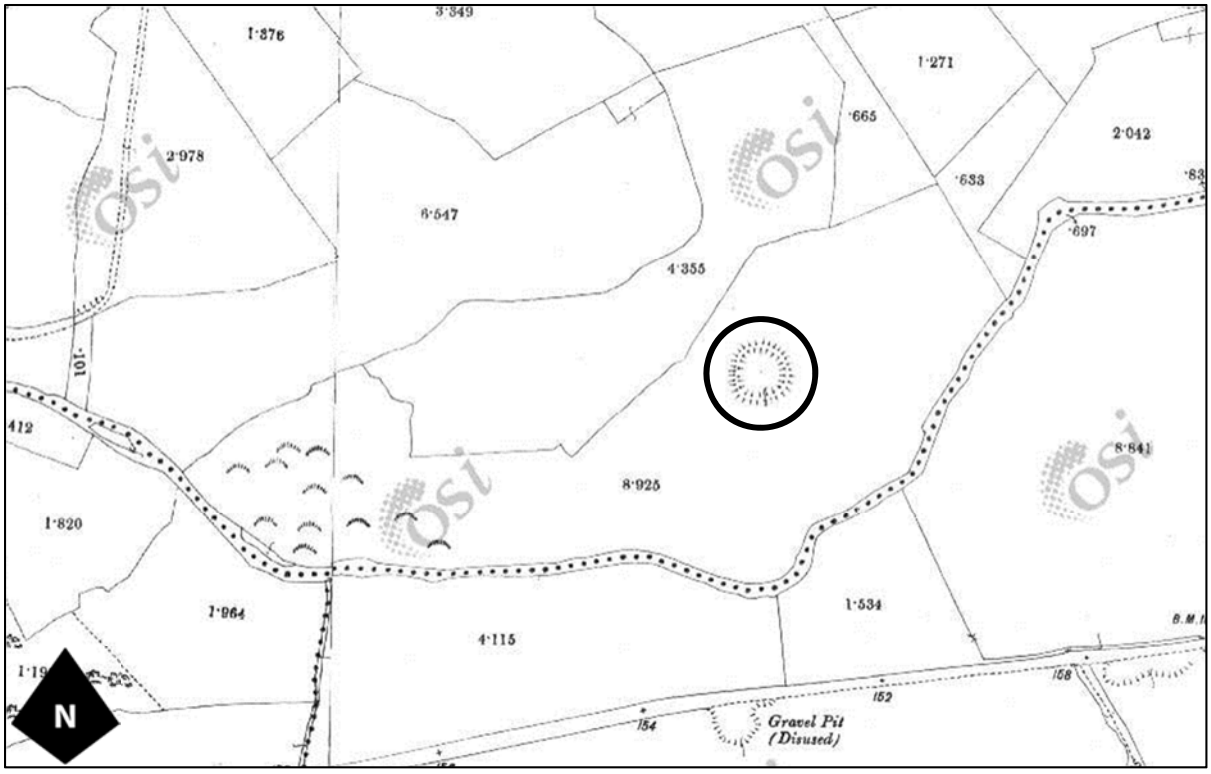


Figure 261. Second edition OS map of Moyglass Beg townland depicting ringfort CL039-026



Figure 262. Aerial image of Moyglass Beg townland depicting site of ringfort CL039-026 (DG 2011-3)

7.3.25. Moyglass More

The presence of two ringforts is recorded in the archaeological database for this townland (NMS 2019). The two of these raths, CL039-027 and CL039-030, are depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 39) of the area. One of these structures, CL039-030, is further noted as 'Moyglass Fort' on this map. On subsequent revised editions of this map the other ringfort, CL039-027, is shown as open to the west and with just half a circle of bank to the east extant. Recent aerial images show this to remain the case (DG 2011-3). The first of these ringforts, CL039-030, is still intact, however.

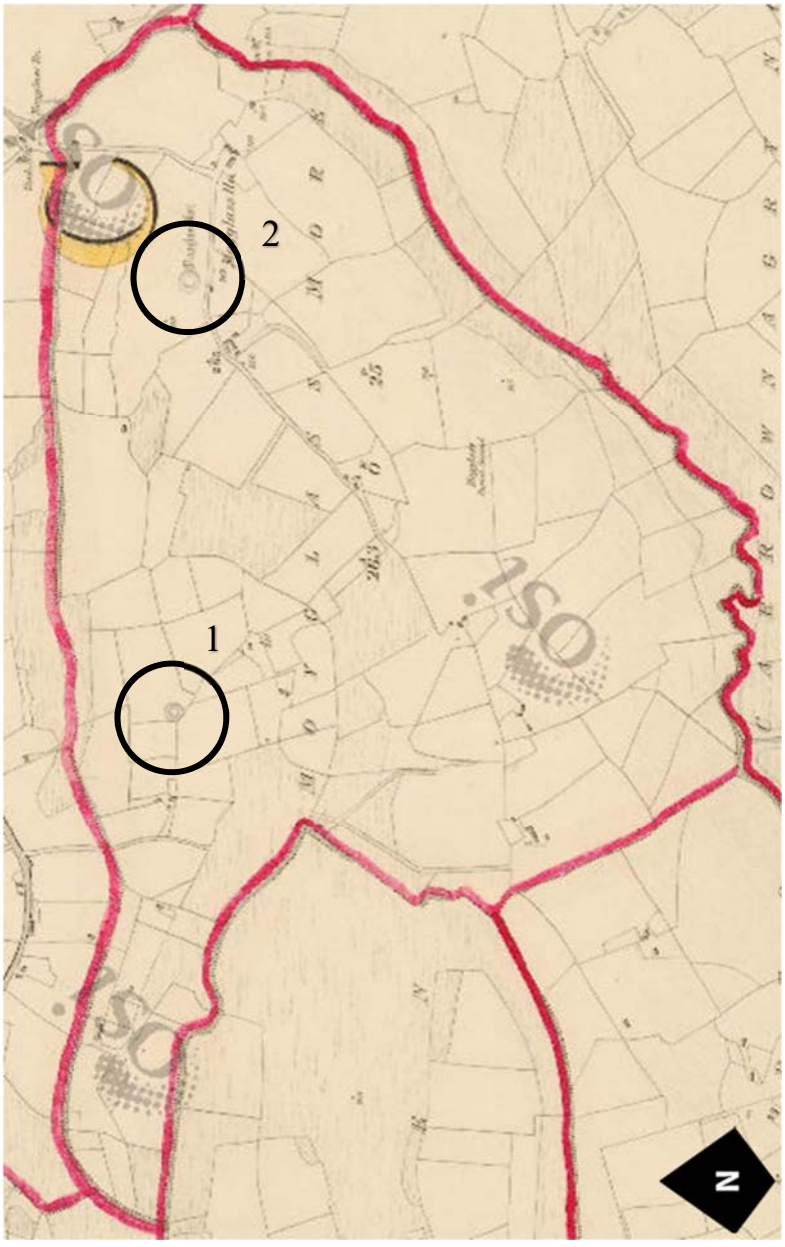


Figure 263. First edition OS map of Moyglass More townland depicting ringforts 1. CL039-027 and 2. CL039-030

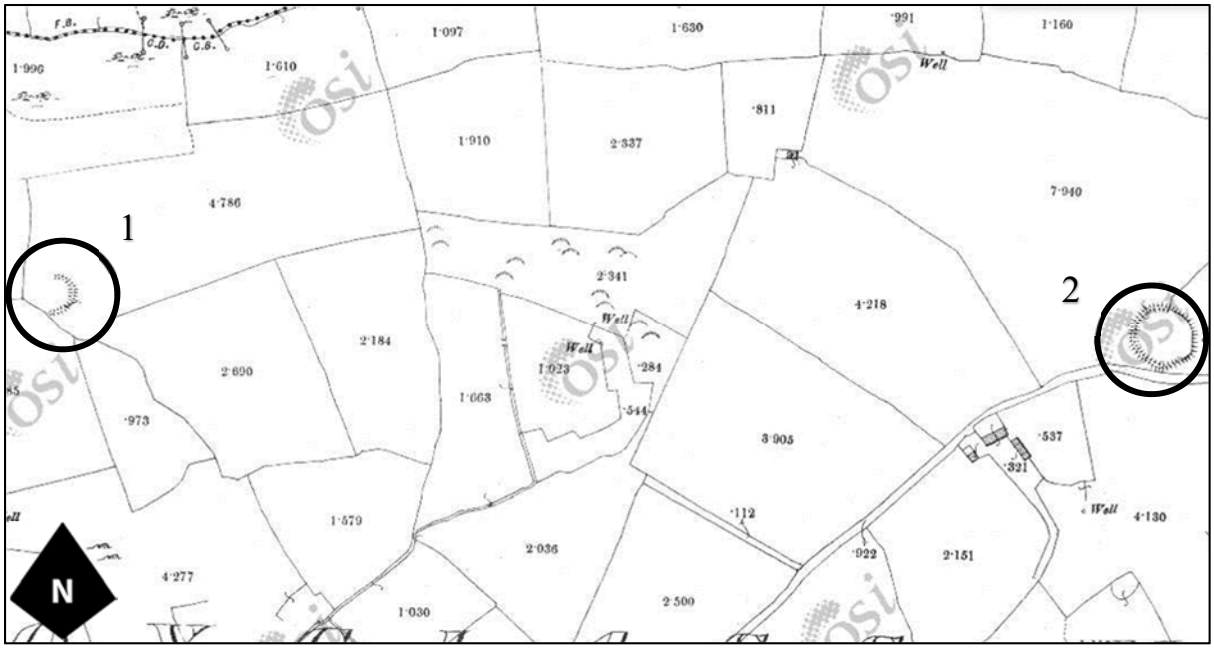


Figure 264. Second edition OS map of Moyglass More townland depicting ringforts 1. CL039-027 and 2. CL039-030



Figure 265. Aerial image of Moyglass More townland depicting ringforts 1. CL039-027 and 2. CL039-030

7.3.26. Quilty West

The existence a single ringfort is noted in the archaeological record for this townland (NMS 2019). This rath, CL038-012, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 38) of the area.

On this map, it is also noted as ‘Lisclonroe’. This rath is also depicted on the subsequent revised editions of this map. Examination of recent aerial images show that this structure is still extant (DG 2011-3).

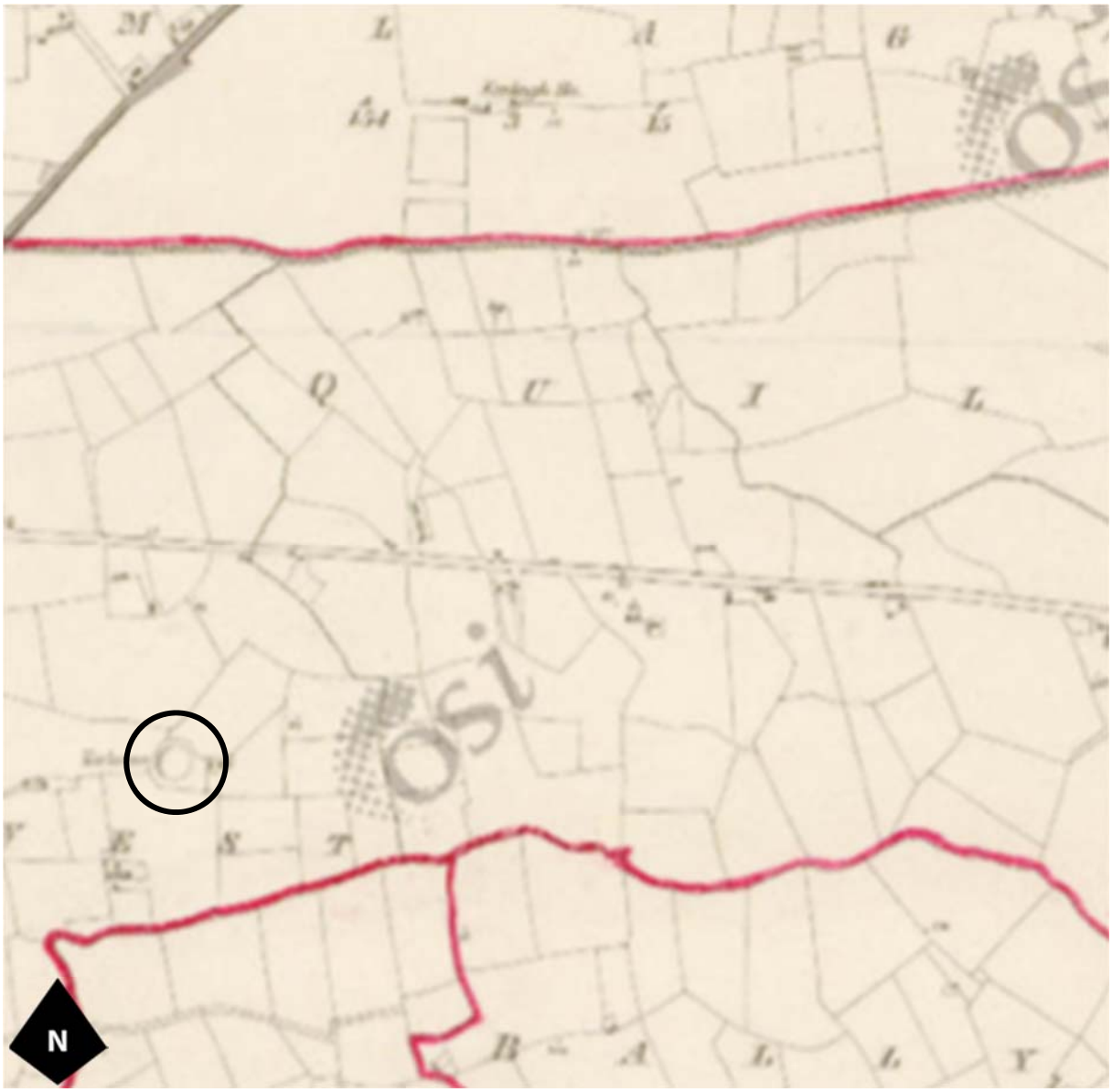


Figure 266. First edition OS map of Quilty West townland depicting ringfort CL038-012

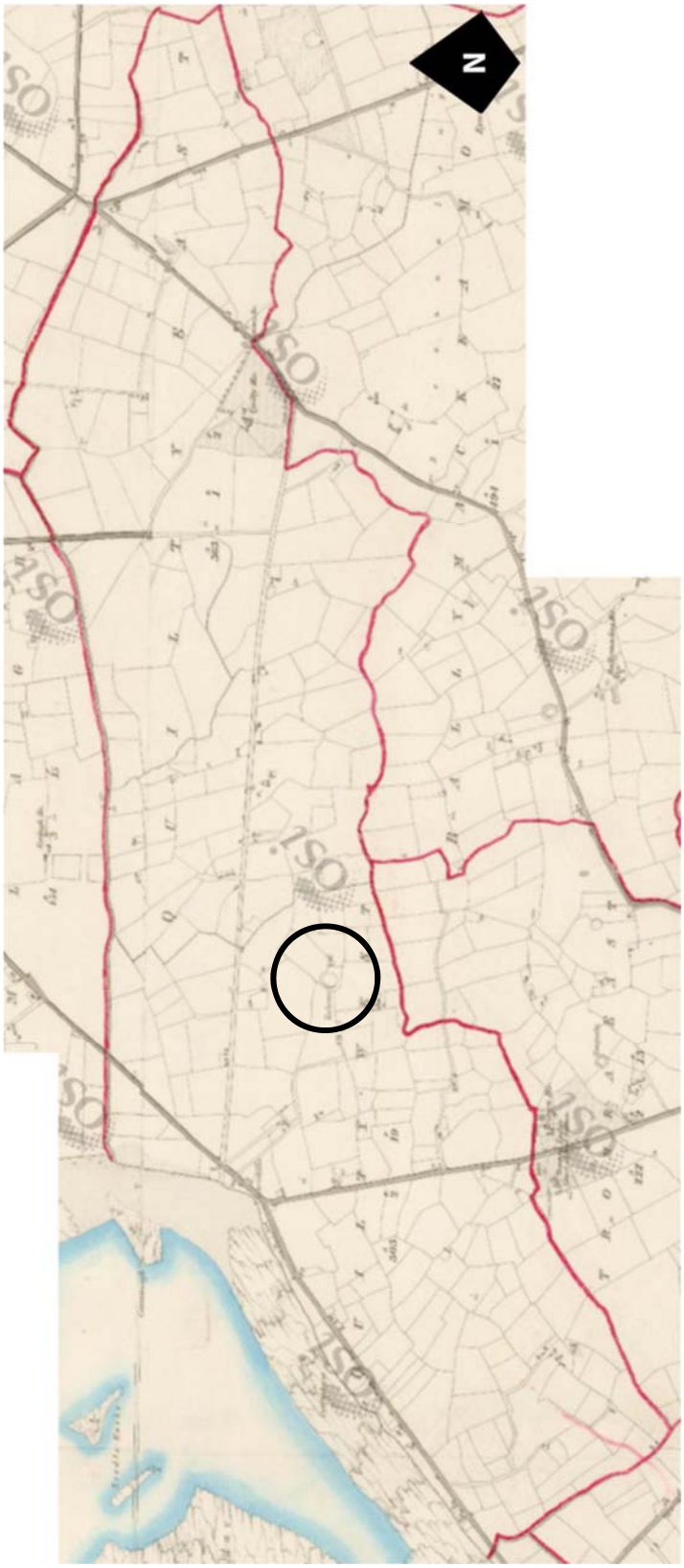


Figure 267. First edition OS map of Quilty West townland depicting ringfort CL038-012

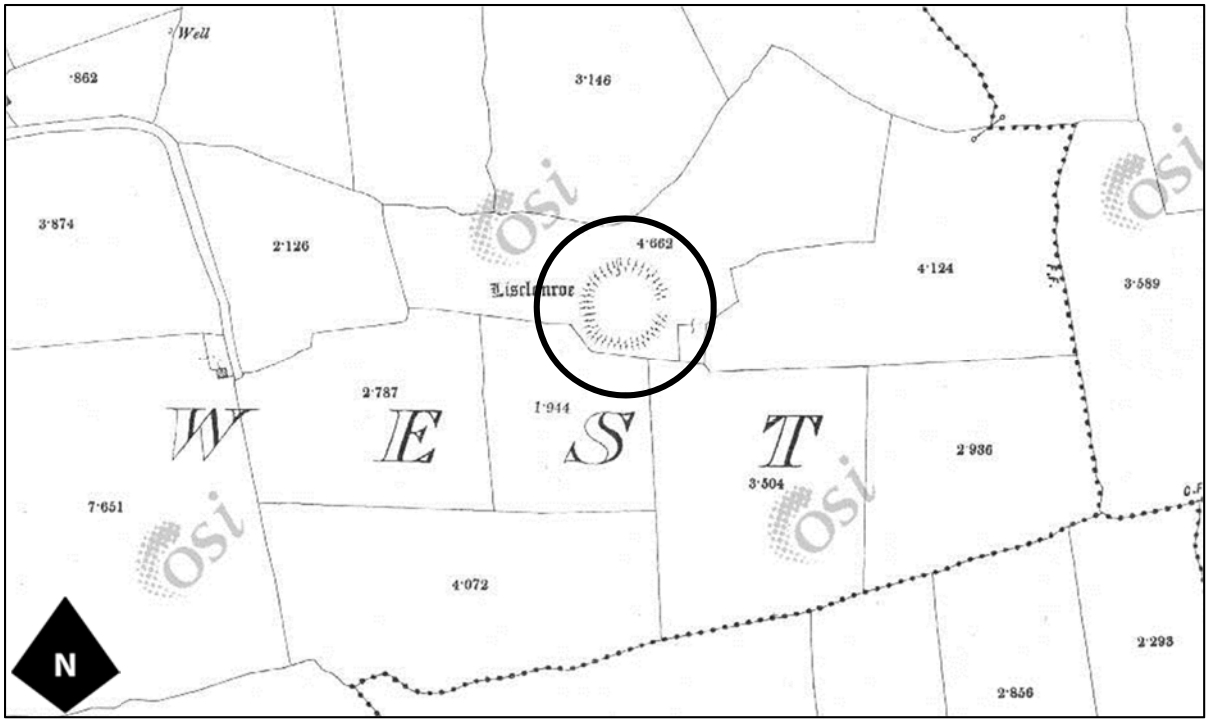


Figure 268. Second edition OS map of Quilty West townland depicting ringfort CL038-012



Figure 269. Aerial image of Quilty West townland depicting ringfort CL038-012 (DG 2011-3)

7.3.27. Shanavogh West

Within this townland also, the presence of two ringforts is recorded in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). Both of these raths, CL039-011 and CL039-015, are shown on the first edition OS map (1840, 39) of the area. They are also visible on the later revised editions of this map. Furthermore, examination of recent aerial images show that these two ringforts are still extant (DG 2011-3).

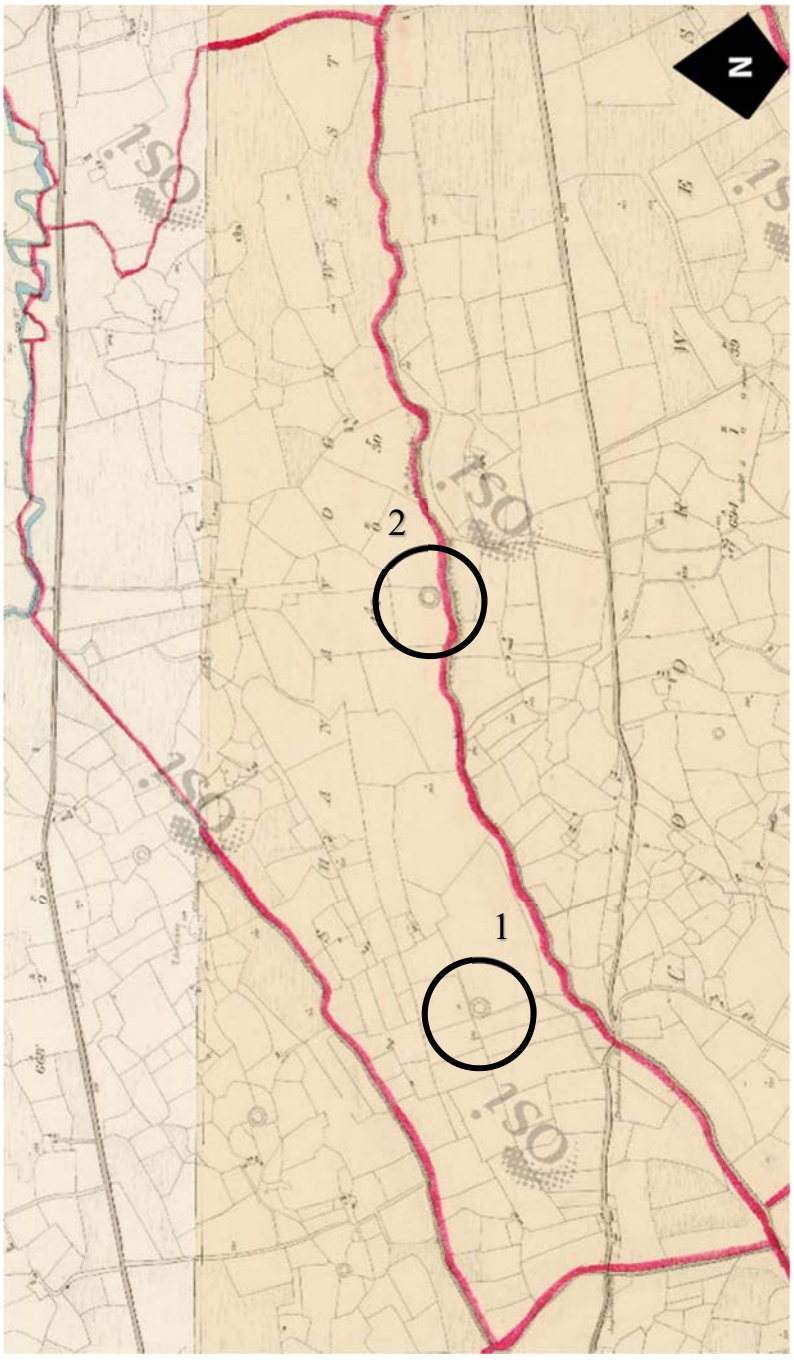


Figure 270. First edition OS map of Shanavogh West townland depicting ringforts 1. CL039-011 and 2. CL039-015

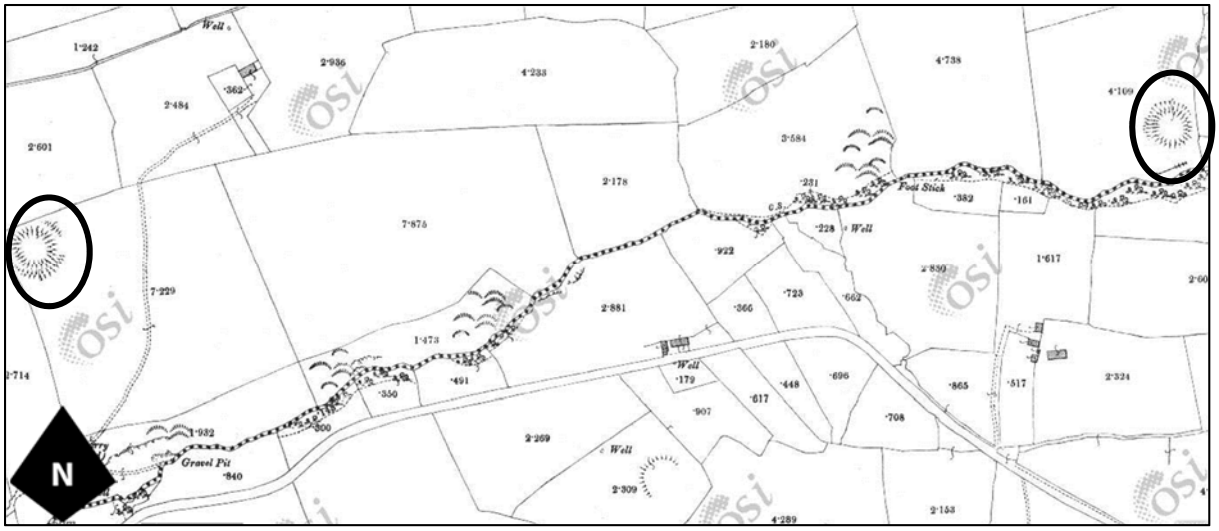


Figure 271. Second edition OS map of Shanavogh West townland depicting ringforts 1. CL039-011 and 2. CL039-015



Figure 272. Aerial image of Shanavogh West townland depicting ringforts 1. CL039-011 and 2. CL039-015

7.3.28. Treanmanagh

An interesting example of a ringfort is recorded in the archaeological database for this townland. This rath, CL039-033002, is depicted on the first edition OS map (1840, 39) of the area. Here it is also noted as the site of Illaunbaun burial ground, CL039-033001. This is a 'killeen' or children's burial ground, a frequent development for ringforts. However, on the

second, and subsequent, editions of this same map, this rath is shown as having been heavily disturbed on its eastern side. A similar appearance is presented on modern aerial images that show this site (DG 2011-3).

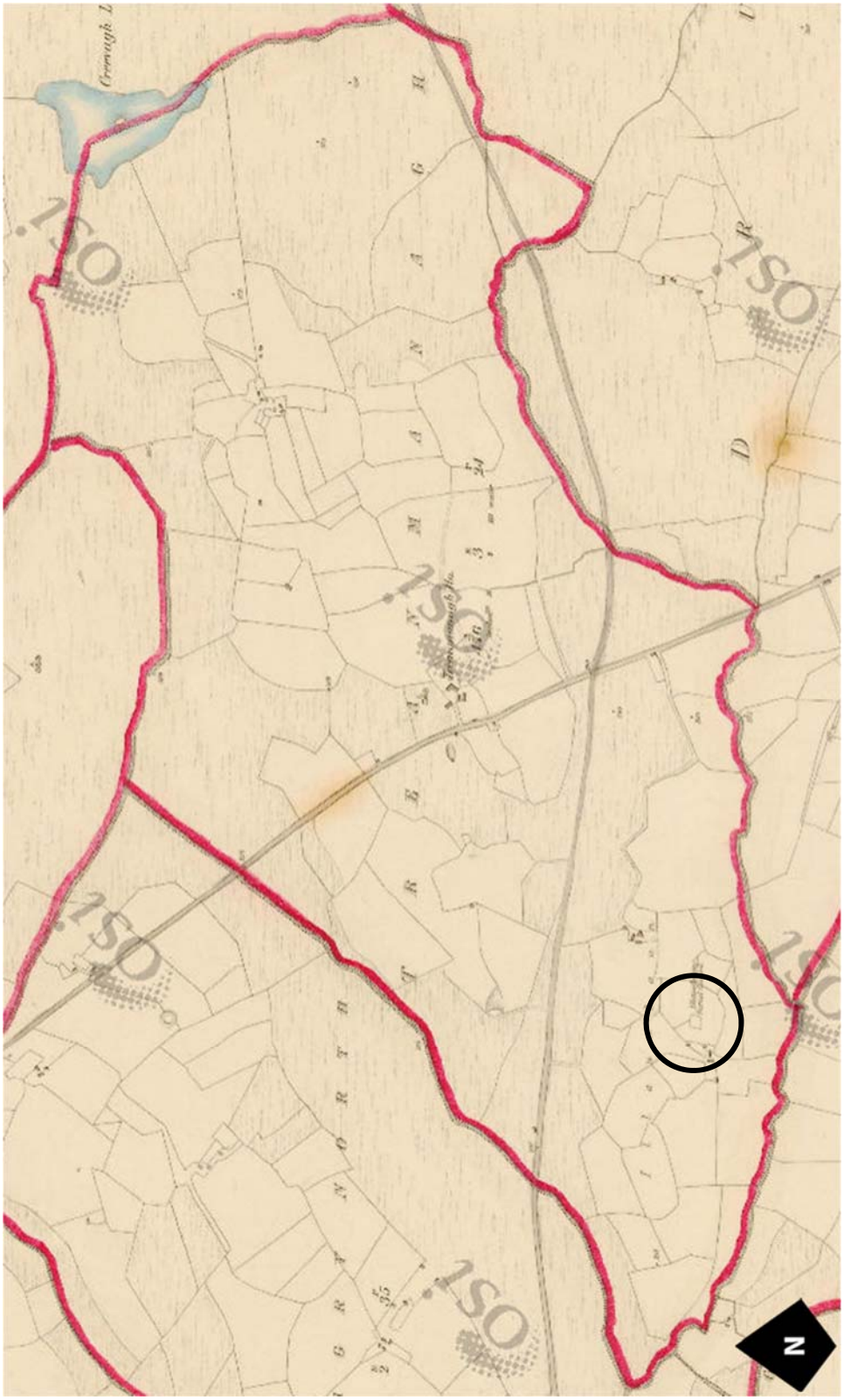


Figure 273. First edition OS map of Treanmanagh townland depicting ringfort CL039-033002

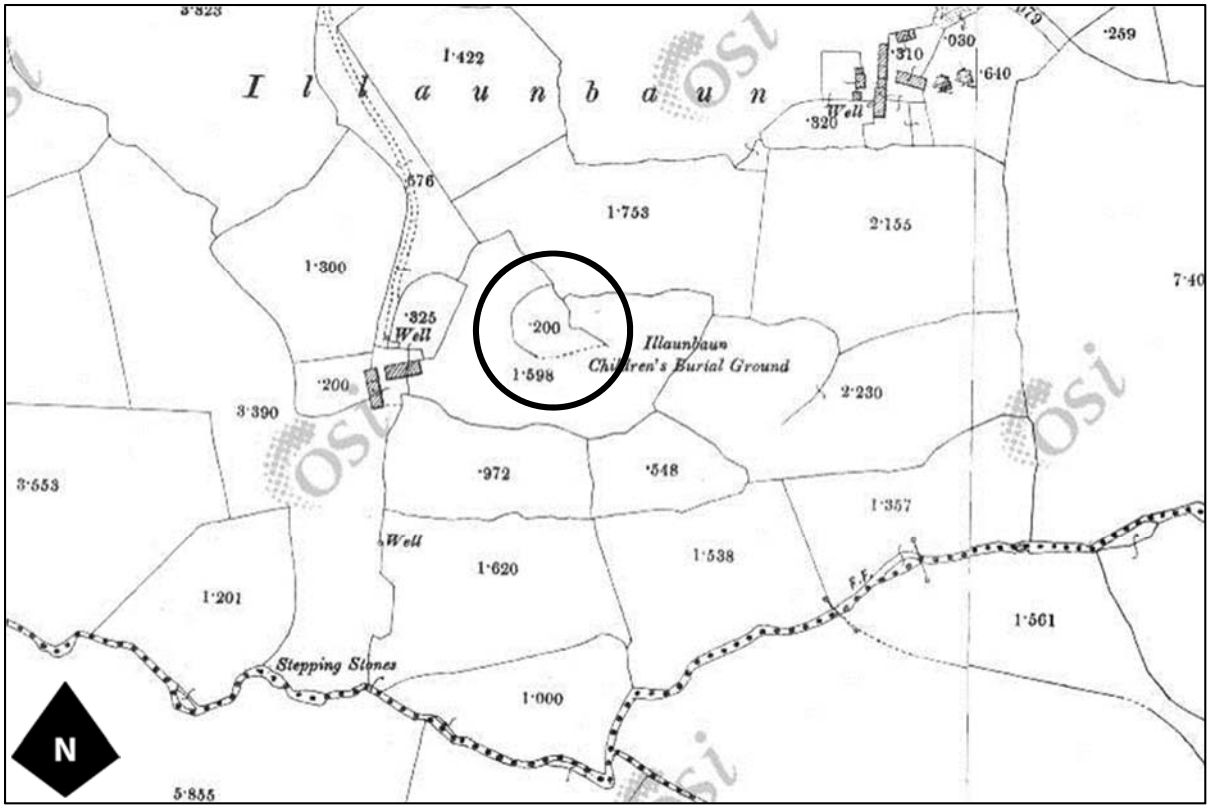


Figure 274. Second edition OS map of Treanmanagh townland depicting ringfort CL039-033002

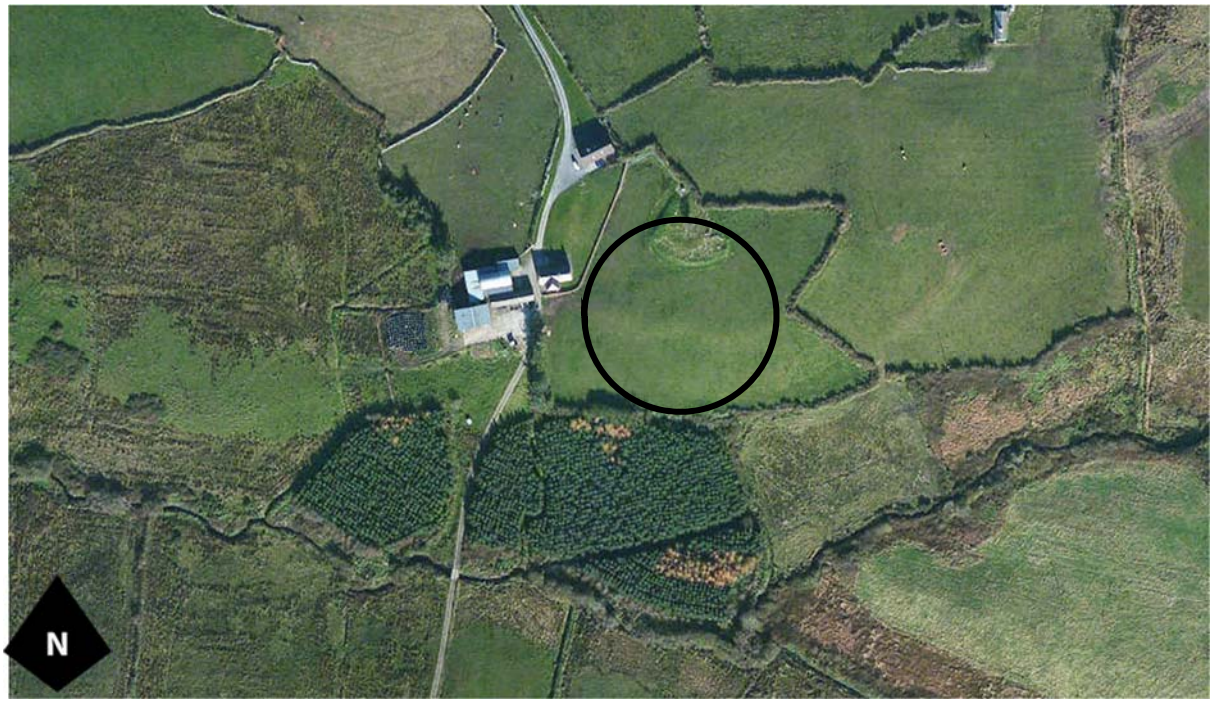


Figure 275. Aerial image of Treanmanagh townland depicting ringfort CL039-033002 (DG 2011-3)

7.3.29. Tromra East

The existence within this townland of two ringforts is noted in the archaeological database (NMS 2019). These two raths, CL038-011 and CL038-013, are depicted on the first edition of the OS map (1840, 38) of the area. In addition, one of these structures, CL038-011, is noted as 'Lissykeathy' on this map. Again, both of these ringforts are shown on subsequent revised editions of this OS map. Examination of recent aerial images show these two structures to be still extant (DG 2011-3). Comparison of each map shows also a minimum of changes to field boundaries within this area and where this occurred, care seems to have been exercised to minimise the impact on field monuments here.

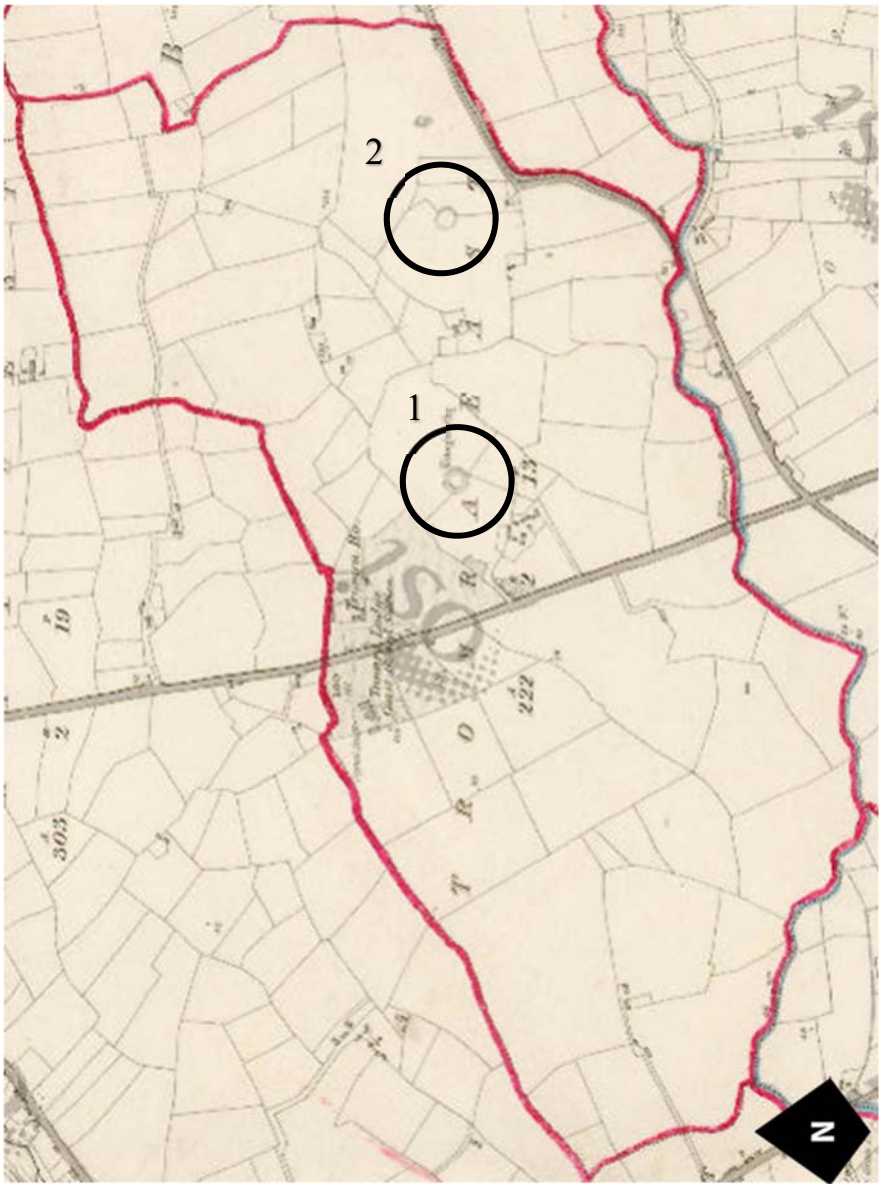


Figure 275. First edition OS map of Tromra East townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-011 and 2. CL038-013

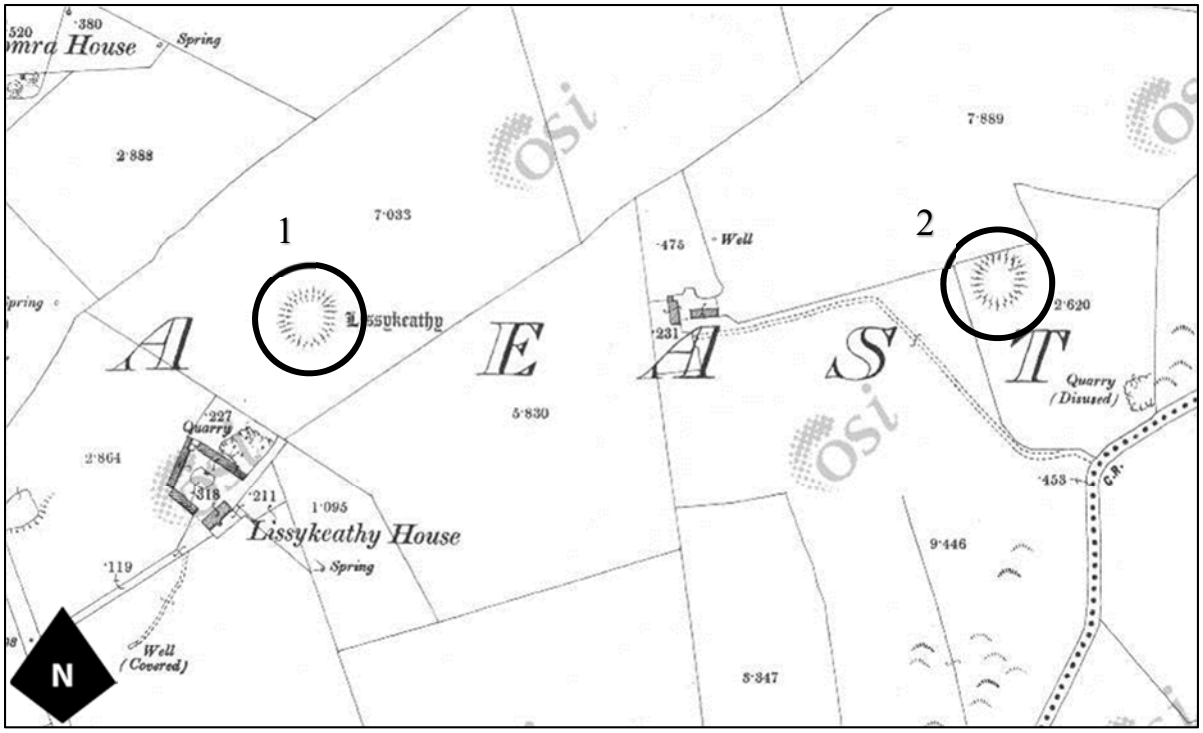


Figure 276. Second edition OS map of Tromra East townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-01 and 2. CL038-013



Figure 277. Aerial image of Tromra East townland depicting ringforts 1. CL038-011 and 2. CL038-013 (DG 2011-3)