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Cover images:
Front - main image: aerial view of the island from the southwest showing the cashel (left) and the village street extending along the south shore; *top:* Palmerston estate map of Inishmurray; *bottom and left:* carved stones from the cashel; *Front flap - top and bottom:* the cashel from the detailed survey plan; *Spine:* Treenode More; *Back - main image:* Crossatemple *leacht*; *top:* Palmerston estate maps of the cashel; *left and right:* carved stones from the cashel; *Back flap – top and bottom:* locations of the *leachta* in the *turas*.

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Jerry O'Sullivan
Tomás Ó Carragáin

INISHMURRAY

Monks and Pilgrims in an Atlantic Landscape

The Collins Press

Jerry O'Sullivan and Tomás Ó Carragáin

INISHMURRAY

Monks and Pilgrims in an Atlantic Landscape



Volume 1: Archaeological Survey and Excavations 1997 – 2000

On the small island of Inishmurray, off the coast of County Sligo, is one of the best-preserved early medieval church sites in northern Europe. Unlike many of the other stone-built establishments on Ireland's western littoral, this was no hermitage where a handful of ascetics sought refuge from society. Inishmurray was a monastery of some significance and around the end of the first millennium its community built a remarkable suite of stations on the island's perimeter that helped to establish it as one of the premier pilgrimage centres in the north-west of the country. In this, the first detailed study of the site since the 1880s, a comprehensive new survey and series of excavations form the basis for a major reassessment of its significance. In particular, the authors place the satellite monuments firmly in a tradition of ritual practice that is attested at cities and important monasteries throughout early medieval Christendom. Lavishly illustrated with old and contemporary images, this book offers the reader an understanding of how the sacred topography of Inishmurray was experienced both by its resident community of monks and by the pilgrims who journeyed there.

INISHMURRAY

Monks and Pilgrims in an Atlantic Landscape

Inishmurray lies four miles from the coast of County Sligo, open on the west and north-west to the full force of the Atlantic waves. Like so many other islands around Ireland, it is the site of an early religious establishment. Saved by its ocean walls from ordinary marauders in former times, and from the wanton tourist of today. Petrie placed this island first among the typical examples of our primitive Ecclesiastical remains. O'Donovan described its ruins as 'perhaps the most perfect Cyclopean ruins in the world'. And Lord Dunraven, after his exhaustive study of Early Irish buildings, says, that 'the group of ruins here offers the most characteristic example now in existence of the earliest monastic establishments in Ireland'.

From the 'Preface' by James Mills to the monograph edition of William Wakeman's *Survey of the Antiquarian Remains on the Island of Inishmurray* (1893).



INISHMURRAY

Monks and Pilgrims in an Atlantic Landscape

Jerry O'Sullivan and Tomás Ó Carragáin

with contributions by D. Alldritt, S. Carter, N. Connolly, D. Hammar, M. Hastie, L. Lynch, A. Maule, T. O'Sullivan, E. Photos-Jones, J. Price and J. Roberts

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Bank Cover – Crossatemple *leacht*, by the cliff-edge in the women's cemetery at Templenaman.

Plates

1 Aerial view of Inishmurray (*Ordnance Survey of Ireland 2000*).
2 Inishmurray from south-east, lying low in the Atlantic.
3 The Cashel and ruined houses of the islanders from south-east.
4 Aerial view of the island from south-west showing the Cashel (left) and the village street extending along the south shore.
5 View westwards along the south shore of the island in 1969, with Templenman and the women's cemetery in the middle distance, and some abandoned houses of the islanders still roofed (*Gerry Ryan*)
6 View from Laghta Columbkille south-east across the women's cemetery towards the Dartry Mountains on the north Sligo mainland.
7 Aerial view of the Cashel.
8 Interior of the Cashel from south-west, with Teach Molaise on the right and the Clocha Breaca *leacht* in the middle foreground.
9 Toorybrenell clochaun, in the Cashel, with island children c.1900 (*R J Welch collection, Ulster Museum*)
10 Islanders and their homes c.1901 (*Charles Henry*).
11 Modern gravemarkers in the women's cemetery at Templenaman.
12 Ruined houses of the islanders near the Cashel.
13 Captain John Baxter's map (1603) of the north-west part of Ireland bears a legend concerning Inishmurray: 'In this islande there dwelleth a holye man called Scanlon of whom the contrie people holde a superstitious opinion that if he be angry with any one and do turne the speckled stones uppon them which he kepeth for that use they shall dye within that yeare' (*Admiralty Library, Greenwich*).
14 Down Survey (1655–56) map of Inishmurray, identifying O'Connor Sligo as the proprietor and showing extents of the major land divisions (*Sligo County Library*).
15 Palmerston estate map of Inishmurray, 1813–14 with (right) a detail of the Cashel and adjacent houses (*National Library of Ireland*).
16 Title page from the 1893 monograph edition of William Wakeman's *Survey of the Antiquarian Remains of the Island of Inishmurray*, published by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
17 William Wakeman's ink & brush drawings of the cell at Trahanareear (above) and the enclosed *leacht*

at Ollamurray (below), dated August 1881 (*Sligo County Library*).
18 The wooden statute of St Molaise that once stood on the altar in Teach Molaise is now in the National Musuem of Ireland (*National Museum of Ireland*).
19 The crozier and great iron bell that were once venerated on the island as relics of St Molaise are now in the Duke of Northumberland's collection in Alnwick Castle, together with one of the cross-inscribed stones from the Clocha Breaca *leacht* (*Ross Trench-Jellicoe*).
20 A cross-inscribed pillar at Kilmacanon, on the nearby north Sligo mainland, bears an elaborate design that is otherwise unique to Inishmurray.
21 The remains of a later medieval chapel at 'Staad Abbey', on the north Sligo mainland, mark the main embarkation point for the island in medieval and early modern times.
22 Vestigial remains of a horizontal mill were identified at the outfall of the island's only stream (left), where it cuts a gully between the women's cemetery at Templenaman and a grassy slope named Fál an Mhuilinn or 'millbank'. Some masonry remnants can still be seen in the stream bank (right).
23 Coastal erosion is ongoing and also episodic (i.e. major storm events). Below the eroding cliff-edge at Relickoran are large cobbles characteristic of a high-energy wave environment and, beyond that (foreground), a wave-cut rock terrace exposed by the tide (*Suzanne Tynan*).
24 Fragile medieval buildings are vulnerable to damage by visitors as well as the elements: unstable wall bench on the south face of Teach Molaise.
25 Teach Molaise, from south-east (above) and from south-west (below), showing the concentration of grave stones of various dates around the east end of the church.
26 Teach Molaise, interior, with a later medieval statute of St Molaise still *in situ* on the altar c. 1901 (*Charles Henry*). The statue is now displayed in the National Museum of Ireland.
27 Teach Molaise, interior from west, showing the altar and east window.
28 Templenatinny, from south (left) and east (right).
29 Templemolaise: west and south elevations with flanking pillar and stone basin.
30 Templemolaise: *antae* at east end.
31 Templemolaise: west doorway and east window.
32 Clocha Breaca *leacht* with (below left) a detail of the miniature cross-inscribed pillar that stands on the *leacht* and (right) one of the several cross-inscribed stones that lie among the undecorated beach cobbles on its surface.
33 Altarbeg, in the Cashel. A cross-slab from this *leacht* was removed to a conservation store in the island's Schoolhouse by the OPW. None of the beach cobbles on the surface is decorated.
34 East Altar, standing by the east end of Templemolaise; unlike the Clocha Breaca *leacht*, none of the beach cobbles on its surface is decorated.
35 Three cross-inscribed pillars in the Cashel. The finely carved examples at left and centre flank the west front of Templemolaise; the more modest example on the right is of uncertain date and may be modern.
36 Two Clochauns in the Cashel: Torybhrennel (left) and Trahannacoreesh (right).
37 Toorybrenell: details of the doorway, wall bench, window and corbelled roof. The building abuts the corner of the much later Temmplenatinny and has probably been rebuilt at least once.
38 Trahannacoreesh: doorway and steps from the interior.

39 A souterrain in the western part of the Cashel leads to a mural chamber within the enclosing wall: entrance (top left), entrance passage (below) and entrance to the chamber (top right).

40 A lintelled chamber abutting the south face of Templenatinny, seen on the left, is now blocked but may once have given access to a souterrain leading towards Teach Molaise, in the background.

41 Templenaman, views from north (left) showing the enclosing wall bounded by the village street and from south (right), with the women's cemetery and Crossatemple *leacht* in the foreground.

42 Templenaman, interior: east window and altar remnants.

43 Cross-inscribed, holed pillar stone in the green street from the shore, by the women's cemetery at Templenaman. There are remnants of inscriptions on the west (left) and north faces.

44 Crossatemple *leacht*, by the cliff-edge in the women's cemetery at Templenaman.

45 Relickoran, from north, prior to excavation in 1999–2000. The seaward side of the cemetery enclosure was cast down by storm waves. The cross-inscribed pillar at left stands perilously close to the cliff-edge.

46 Relickoran. An elaborate cross-inscribed pillar stood by a stile in the wall between the main cemetery enclosure and the *leacht* in the smaller, eastern enclosure. The slab on the smaller *leacht* was undecorated. The cross pillar is now in the island's Schoolhouse conservation store.

47 Ollamurray, from north-east, prior to excavation in 2000. Again, the seaward side of the enclosure was cast down by storm waves.

48 Trahanareear, from south, prior to excavation in 1997. The outlying cairn is in the foreground and vestigial remains of a cell are appended on the enclosure at left.

49 Laghtnasaggart. The site of this *leacht* is shown by the first edition Ordnance Survey map (1836) but no structure is recorded by any authority. Only a few edge-set stones mark its approximate location today.

50 Crossmore *leacht*, on the north side of the island. The entrance is south-facing; a blank slab has been substituted by the OPW for an original cross-inscribed stone that is now in the Schoolhouse conservation store.

51 Trahanee, on the north side of the island, is a simple rubble-walled enclosure with a south-facing entrance. The personal name *Aodh* – a likely element of its name – suggests it may have been a retreat cell.

52 Tobernacoragh, the 'help well', is at the foot of a steep slope on the seaward side of Trahanee, on the north side of the island.

53 Treenode More, the larger of two *leachta* forming the Trinity station in the island pilgrimage. An elaborate cross-slab (right) is still *in situ* on the *leacht* but is suffering from ongoing erosion.

54 Treenode Beg, the smaller *leacht* at the Trinity station, in 1969, from east (*Gerry Ryan*). It is now an overgrown low mound and its cross-slab has been removed to the Schoolhouse conservation store by the OPW.

55 Laghta Columbkille stands in a field immediately west of Templenaman and the women's cemetery. Unusually, the cross-slab, *in situ*, is carved on both the east (inset) west faces, confirming that the slab was intended to stand erect on the *leacht*.

56 Cist remnants. A large edge-set slab within a hollow by Clashybeg harbour indicates the site of a cist grave that was discovered in the 1930s.

57 Contiguous groups of stone within a bracken-clad rubble spread on the north side of the island indicate the remains of a previously unrecognised structure of unknown date.
58 The short, low drystone walls used to dry kelp rods recall an aspect of the island economy in the modern period. The dried kelp was reduced to a solid mass in open-air fires and sold to agents from the mainland for iodine extraction.
59 Two groups of edge-set stones form rough kerbs in open moorland on the north side of the island. The function and date of these is unknown. They may have been exposed by peat cutting.
60 Trahanareear. The *leacht* was situated on the edge of the island's high western cliffs.
61 Trahanareear before excavation in 1997 with the outer cairn (left) and rubble enclosure wall (right). The slab erected on the outer cairn was substituted by the OPW for a cross-inscribed stone that was removed to the Schoolhouse conservation store.
62 Trahanareear. General view of the excavation site from north.
63 Trahanareear. Details of the wall construction of the cell, with large stones piled flat between outer faces formed by thin edge-set slabs.
64 Trahanareear. The doorway to the cell seen from inside (top) and outside the enclosure.
65 Trahanareear. View of the excavation site (above) showing the primary paving that was discovered beneath the *leacht* and (below) a detail of the central stone socket for an altar post or wooden cross.
66 Trahanareear. The larger cross-slab (left) was found during the excavation within the doorway of the cell; the smaller cross had stood on the *leacht* until it was removed to the Schoolhouse conservation store by the OPW in 1989.
67 Trahanareear. Fragment of a late 17th-century apothecary's bottle from within the secondary build of the enclosure wall.
68 Laghta Patrick. A drawing by William Wakeman in 1881 (above) and a photograph taken from a similar viewpoint in 1969 (*Gerry Ryan*) show little change, but the structure had disappeared by the time of our 1998 survey.
69 Laghta Patrick in 2006. The base of the *leacht* – exposed by excavation in 1999 – is already disappearing again among local rubble spreads, weeds and grasses.
70 Templenaman. The women's cemetery extends to the edge of an eroding cliff (above); the cliff-face was cleaned and recorded in 1999. No burials were actively eroding at that time though the seaward wall of the cemetery enclosure had already been lost to storm waves.
71 At Fál an Mhuilinn or 'millbank', masonry in the cliff-face was thought likely to be the remains of a cereal-drying kiln, but a test-excavation ascertained that it was simply a revetment wall for a garden or small field on the cliff-edge.
72 Relickoran. The collapsed *leacht* in the larger enclosure.
73 Detail of the edge-set stones forming the base of the *leacht*.
74 Relickoran. The *leacht* in the smaller enclosure prior to excavation in 1999–2000. Part of the structure had already collapsed on the eroding cliff-edge.
75 Relickoran. Human skeletal remains were very poorly preserved and in most graves did not survive at all: forearm, pelvis and thigh bones (above), and two skulls found in a single grave pit (below).
76 Relickoran. Excavating human remains in the smaller enclosure.

77 Relickoran. General view of a sector of the kerbed pavement along the east side of the cemetery enclosure (above) and a detail of the same sector (below).

78 Relickoran. A late group of paving stones gave access to the cemetery via a stile in the enclosure wall on the east side.

79 Relickoran. Glass beads from, variously, topsoil, the rubble core of the enclosing wall and the rubble fill of the entrance stile on the east side of the enclosure (for descriptions see Table 10)

80 Relickoran. Roughly worked stone discs from surface rubble or topsoil (for descriptions see Table 10).

81 Relickoran. Beach-rolled quartz pebbles were found throughout the site but especially in the large *leacht* in the cemetery enclosure.

82 Relickoran. Two small cross-inscribed slabs were found among the rubble on the south side of the large *leacht* in the cemetery enclosure and were probably grave-markers.

83 The early medieval cemetery of Reilig Odhrain, on Iona, with the 12th-century Oran's Chapel and (background), the later medieval Benedictine Abbey that occupies the site of the original Columban monastery.

84 Ollamurray. General view of the excavation site.

85 Ollamurray. The *leacht* prior to excavation, from north (above), and a detail (below), showing how the edge-set slabs of the basal course were flattened outwards by a history of subsidence, collapse and rebuilding of the structure.

86 Ollamurray. Fragment of a flint arrowhead and other chipped stone objects from an early buried soil layer beneath the *leacht* and enclosure (for descriptions see Table 15 and notes by Hammar).

87 The early medieval monks of Centula Saint Riquier, in northern France, processed between its three churches every day of the year and celebrated a stational mass in one of the two subsidiary churches at Pentecost.

88 Revd Christy Jones, Bishop of Elphin, celebrating mass at Altarbeg in the Cashel, assisted by Fr Gerry Crean, in 2003 (*Joe MacGowan*)

89 The monastery of Lérins on L'île St Honorat in the Bay of Cannes (and see fig. 69).

90 The Clocha Breaca (*Mel Cameron*). Their use as cursing stones has roots in liturgical cursing by early medieval clergy as a sanction against enemies and oath-breakers.

91 The low, semi-subterranean souterrain between Templenatinny and Teach Molaise in the Cashel: a Lough Derg style 'purgatory' on Inishmurray?

92 Directly opposite the doorway of Templemolaise a narrow passage provides controlled access to Templenatinny and the adjacent clochauns.

93 Plan of Station Island on Lough Derg, from Edward Ledwich's *Antiquities of Ireland* (1790), with the semi-suberranean 'purgatory' at the lower right.

94 Cross-slabs at the Cashel in 1969 (*Gerry Ryan*). Most of these have been removed by the OPW to a conservation store in the refurbished island Schoolhouse.

95 A recumbent grave marked in the Cashel asks for a prayer for Conmursce: recorded with lichens in 1998 (above) and following chemical treatment by the OPW in 2000 (below).

96 Reconstruction of Ollamurray by the OPW following the total archaeological excavation of the site in 2000.

Figures

1 Location map of Inishmurray

2 Locations of monuments described in the Survey Inventory mapped onto the Ordnance Survey six-inch map of 1837 (above), where the buildings are confined to a small area around the approach to the Cashel and the field banks to the south-east part of the island; and mapped onto the Ordnance Survey six-inch map of 1912 (below), where an entirely new and more extensive arrangement of buildings and field walls is evident.

3 Comparison of buildings and field boundaries around the Cashel in 1837 and 1912, based on first and second editions of the Ordnance Survey six-inch maps.

4 Locations of the *leachta* and other stations in the island's traditional *turas.*

5 The Cashel: a sketch of the interior from Beranger & Bigari's visit to the island in 1779 (National Library of Ireland MS 2122 TX[2]); and see Harbison 2002, 58–70).

6 Treenode More (left) and elements from the Cashel (right): a miscellany of sketches fromn Beranger & Bigari stay on the island in 1779 (National Library of Ireland MS 2122 TX[2]); and see Harbison 2002, 58–70).

7 Teach Molaise: two drawings from William Wakeman's survey (1886, figs 16 & 17).

8 Teach Molaise: Wakeman's drawing (1886, fig. 18) of the wooden statute of St Molaise in its old place by the altar. It is now in the National Museum of Ireland.

9 Trahanareear: Wakeman's drawing (1886, fig. 66) of the cell, incorporated in the enclosure wall of the *leacht*, on the western or seaward side.

10 Tobernacoragh: Wakeman's drawing (1886, fig. 66) of the 'help well' near the Trahanee *leacht*, on the north side of the island.

11 Two early plans of the Cashel by Bigari & Beranger (1779) and by Wakeman (1886). The Bigari & Beranger plan is in the collections of the National Library of Ireland (MS 2122 TX[2]) and is published by Harbison (2000, 65, fig. 35).

12 The Cashel: detailed survey plan (1998).

13 Some mainland churches and parishes discussed in the text.

14 Key to survey drawings.

15 The Cashel and Templenaman: plans of Templenaman and the main buildings at the Cashel with (below) plans and sections of mural chambers in the Cashel wall. Key to main buildings – A: Templenaman, B: Templemolaise, C: Teach Molaise, D: Templenatinny and Toorybrenell.

16 The Cashel: external elevations of Teach Molaise (1999).

17 The Cashel: internal east elevation and plan of Teach Molaise, showing the concentration of grave markers around the east end of the building.

18 The Cashel: plan and elevations of Templenatinny, showing (plan) the narrow way and lintelled chamber that abut the building on the south side and the fringe of mortared rubble around the north and east that suggests an earlier building on the same stance.

19 The Cashel: plan and elevations of Templemolaise.

20 The Cashel: a cross-inscribed stone basin, by Templemolaise, and a millstone, lying within Templenatinny.

21 Carved stones from Kilmacannon (top left) and from the Cashel – Nos 001.09, 001.12A, 001.17A, 001.18A & D (capital letters A, B, C & D refer to the faces of the stones, commencing with A, the main decorated face).
22 Carved stones from the Cashel, including the Clocha Breaca – Nos 001.22A, B & D, 001.23a, 001.23b, 001.23c, 001.23e, 001.23h, 001.23i, 001.23j, 001.23n, 001.19a; and Templenaman – 002.03A, C & D (lower case letters a, b, c etc. refer to individual stones of the Clocha Breaca group).
23 Carved stones from the Cashel (continued) – Nos 001.32, 001.34A, 001.36A, 001.41A, 001.42A, 001.43A & C, 001.44A, 001.46A & 001.49A.
24 Carved stones from the Cashel (continued) – Nos 001.50A, 001.51A, 001.52A, 001.53A, 001.54A & 001.55A.
25 Carved stones from the Cashel (continued) – Nos 001.56A, 001.57A, 001.58A, 001.59A, 001.60A, 001.61A, 001.62A, 001.63A & 001.64A.
26 Carved stones from the Cashel (continued) – Nos 001.65A & C, 001.66A, 001.67A, 001.68A, 001.69A, 001.70A, 001.71 A & C.
27 Carved stones from the Cashel (continued) – Nos 001.72A, 001.73A, 001.74A, 001.75A, 001.76A, 001.77A, 001.78A, 001.79A & 001.92; and Templenaman – Nos 002.06A, 002.08A & 002.05A.
28 Carved stones from Templenaman (continued) – Nos 002.11A, 002.12A; Crossatemple – No. 003.02A & C; and Relickoran – Nos 004.04A, 004.05A, 004.08A, 004.09A & 004.10A.
29 Carved stones from Trahanareear – Nos 007.03A, 007.07A & 007.08A; Crossatemple – No. 009.01A; Treenode More – 0013.02A; Treenode Beg – No. 014.02A; and Laghta Columbkille – No. 016.02A.
30 Carved stones: reconstructed designs – Nos 001.46A, 001.47A, 001.60A, 001.69A, 001.72A, 004.08A & 004.09A; and reconstructed crossing and base – No. 001.62A.
31 The Cashel: Clocha Breaca (top), East Altar (right) and Altarbeg (left).
32 The Cashel: plan of Teachanalais (left) and an unnamed *leacht*, both abutting the enclosure wall externally.
33 Templenaman: plan of the church and women's cemetery.
34 Crossatemple: detailed plan of the *leacht*, by the cliff-edge in the women's cemetery.
35 Relickoran: survey plan (1998) of the *leacht* and eroding cliff-edge.
36 Ollamurray: survey plan (1998) of the *leacht* and eroding cliff-edge.
37 Trahanareear: pre-excavation plan (1997) of the *leacht* and eroding cliff-edge.
38 Crossmore: survey plan (1998) of the *leacht.*
39 Trahanee and Tobernacoragh: survey plan (1998) of the *leacht* and 'help well'.
40 Treenode More & Treenode Beg: survey plan (1998) of the well-preserved larger *leacht* and its smaller, near-vanished neighbour.
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We are grateful to the curatorial staff at the National Museum of Ireland and Alnwick Castle in Northumberland for facilitating our visits to inspect artefacts from Inishmurray in their respective collections.

None of our fieldwork would have been possible without the goodwill of the several families – former islanders or descendants of islanders – by whom Inishmurray is still owned today. We must make particular mention of the late Dr Patrick Heraughty and his daughter Marie for their active support and advice on the history of the island in all periods, and of Mr Michael Waters for a generous supply of lobsters and crabs for our field camp.

Inishmurray is not an easy place to land except in the calmest weather. Archaeological fieldwork on an uninhabited island requires all sorts of tools, camping gear and other equipment – as well as occasional deliveries of fresh food. The boat operators who took us to and from the island were endlessly patient and helpful and we acknowledge in particular Trudy & Rodney Lomax and Joe McGowan of Mullaghmore.

Our team-mates on the island were as cheerful and willing with camp rations in foul weather as with a dish of fresh lobster in bright sunshine, and were excellent company at all times. The field team varied from year to year but included all of the following at one time or another: Khalid Al Mammari, Gertie Ericsson, Robert Evans, Stuart Halliday, Heather James, Vincent Keevlihan, Cille Krause, Tatjana Kytmannow, Sally Lloyd, Linda Lynch, Gerry McArdle, Matthew Meade, Patrick O'Donnell, Séamus O'Donnell, Tessa Poller, Lorna Sharpe, Olga Sheehy, Evelyn Sikora, Maeve Sikora, Garance Six, John

Tierney and Ross Trench-Jellicoe. We remember the late Jerry Hamer, especially, who was always in tune.

Ashore, our regular stopover *en route* to the island was St Martin's Bed & Breakfast on Strandhill road in Sligo, where Mrs Carmel Carr was ever undaunted by the unwashed field team that arrived at her doorstep in want of soft beds, hot showers and home cooking at the end of each season's work.

The survey and excavations were organised and directed by Jerry O'Sullivan, who is the main author of the corresponding sections of the volume. The sections on 'Ecclesiastical history' and 'Interpreting the ecclesiastical landscape', together with the descriptions and drawings of the carved stones, are largely by Tomás Ó Carragáin. Overall, however, the project has been a collaborative effort by the main authors, up to and including the preparation of this volume for publication. Tomás Ó Carragáin is grateful to Professor Pádraig Ó Riain and Professor Ray Gillespie for commenting on a draft of 'Ecclesiastical history,' to Professor Michael Ryan, Professor Éamonn Ó Carragáin, Dr Nancy Edwards and Dr Helen Gittos for commenting on 'Interpreting the ecclesiastical landscape,' to Dr Ross Trench-Jellicoe for collaboration on the cross-slab descriptions, to Dr Jane Hawkes, Ms Christine Maddern and Dr Ian Fisher for correspondence about some of the cross-slabs, and to Professor Roger Stalley and Dr Jenifer Ní Ghrádaigh for correspondence and discussion about the statue of Molaise. We are also grateful to Heather King and Con Manning for their very useful comments on the entire typescript. As ever, any remaining errors or omissions are entirely the fault of the authors.

Foreword

'Archaeology is destruction – discuss' was a popular examination question when I was a student of archaeology in University College Dublin in the 1970s. It was a question that I always avoided. I had been reared on the archaeology of my father's collection of *National Geographic*, where discovering Egyptian pyramids, Easter Island figures or gold and silver objects occurred just by digging in the right place. First-year archaeology classes on the Mayans of the Yucatan peninsula or Neanderthal man in early Europe did nothing to dispel my rose-tinted vision of archaeology. So I was unaccepting of the proposition that archaeologists destroyed monuments. My first experience of a 'dig' forced me to question my romantic perceptions, however, and to realise that one has to dismantle the past to understand it. I began to see 'digging', not as destruction, but rather as building an archive of information on the birth, development and decline of a monument. Archaeologists had to destruct to reconstruct. Restoration and conservation of National Monuments sites in State care was one of the principal reasons that most archaeological excavations were done in Ireland until the last decade of the 20th century, with a smaller number of excavations carried out as research projects. Today, almost all archaeological excavations are undertaken to enable the building of new roads, housing developments and shopping malls. This 'rescue' archaeology is a form of necessary destruction as the sites will be built over and not restored, so that 'preservation by record' is all that can be achieved instead.

But what does one do when nature takes a hand in the destruction of monuments? What does one do when faced with a monument that is in danger of being lost to the sea? The extreme example that affected me most recently was an archaeological site that I visited in south-east India several years ago, but that has since been obliterated by the great Asian tsunami of 2004. At a much less dramatic pace, Inishmurray is also being affected by global warming. Sea levels are rising and more frequent storms are eating away at Ireland's coastline. Archaeological sites dating from the Neolithic to the later medieval period, originally sited a safe distance from the sea, are now on the shore or cliff-edge. Many are already washed out to sea and every year incremental rises in sea level are placing settlements, graveyards and middens under threat. The Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government receives more requests each year to save sites under threat from the sea, but the problem is enormous and seemingly unstoppable. Often, the best one can do is to ensure that the site is fully recorded and leave nature to take its course. There are occasional exceptions. Carrigaholt Castle, a five-story tower house in County Clare, was in imminent danger of being undermined six years ago. In response, the Department of the Marine, in collaboration with the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, built an extended sea defence wall, 5 m high, that will protect the castle for the foreseeable future. Because of the cost, however, building sea defence walls around every threatened monument is not a realistic option.

The challenge presented in 1997 on Inishmurray was in relation to the *leacht* known as Trahanareear. Storms had already pulled much of the monument into the sea. Following much discussion it was decided not only to record what was left, by excavation, but also to rebuild the *leacht* some 35 m from the cliff-edge. This decision was made to preserve the totality of one of the most important features of the heritage of Inishmurray – the *tura*s of sixteen *leachta* or pilgrimage stations around the periphery of the island. The excavation was carried out in the summer of 1997 by Jerry O'Sullivan and his team. Every stone was recorded and placed in discrete groups so that the entire remains of the monument could be reassembled. Following the excavation, the district works staff, directed by their manager John Corcoran, did a wonderful job of rebuilding the monument. By the following year many visitors were not aware that it had ever been moved.

On visiting Inishmurray while the excavation was in progress I became aware that the team were not spending their nights fishing or reading, but were enthusiastically exploring the island to inspect every earthwork and examine every stone. Jerry's fascination with the archaeology of the whole island was so infectious that the National Monuments Service commissioned an archaeological survey and condition report of all of its monuments. This work was done in 1998 when the survey team identified several new monuments, compiled a preliminary gazetteer of all of the medieval carved stones, and recorded a condition report on the upstanding remains. The survey report also recommended a series of rescue and conservation measures that were urgently required and effectively set an agenda of work for the following three years.

Publication of the survey alone would have served Inishmurray well, but a much wider vision emerged when some other key individuals became involved. Marie Heraughty is a daughter of Dr Patrick Heraughty, one of the last people to be born on the island and the author of *Inishmurray, Ancient Monastic Island* (1982). Marie had inherited her father's scholarly interest in Inishmurray and got in touch with Jerry to discuss the possibility of a joint publication on the heritage of the island. Dr Tomás Ó Carragáin had already joined the archaeological team in 1998, bringing to the project a highly evolved interest in early church history and archaeology. Dr Ross Trench-Jellicoe also became involved at that time, contributing expert knowledge of early medieval carved stones. Much discussion followed on the way forward and eventually it was decided that a multi-disciplinary approach should be pursued to serve the island best. The most urgent aspect was to deal with the monuments already compromised or in danger. Compiling a detailed inventory of the carved stones, recording the islands' modern vernacular buildings and social history, and updating records of the island's ever-changing flora and fauna were themes that followed in close contention. A grand scheme evolved from there and resulted in a plan to publish four volumes on those various topics. While these discussions continued intermittently the summers were spent excavating the sites of Relickoran and Ollamurray, with more limited interventions at Templenaman, Laghta Patrick and Fál an Mhuillinn, which were all either compromised or cast down by the sea. The deconstruction and reconstruction of these sites were the catalysts for a voyage of preserving by record not only the most endangered monuments on the island but of providing an in-depth study of all the early medieval cross-slabs, the upstanding ecclesiastical remains and the vernacular houses.

This first volume is beautifully produced by The Collins Press and is a meticulous and engaging record of the work carried out in relation to the early medieval archaeology of the island. Volumes on the

early medieval cross-slabs, on the vernacular buildings and social history, and on the flora and fauna will follow in due course. It has been my privilege, on behalf of the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, to be involved in the project and a great pleasure to work with Jerry O'Sullivan and Tomás Ó Carragáin, whose interest, commitment and enthusiasm never waned. I was fortunate to meet Dr Patrick Heraughty, who sadly died in 2005, and his daughter Marie, who were both generous supporters of the project. From a personal perspective I would like to thank Dr Michael Ryan who, in his role as Chairman of the Heritage Council, supported the project in the early phases, and I am delighted to see that Jerry is now one of the principal team members in developing a Conservation Plan for the island, under the aegis of the Sligo Heritage Forum, with support from Sligo County Council, the Institute of Technology, Sligo, the Heritage Council, and other statutory bodies, including the Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government.

I believe Inishmurray's past has been well served in recent years and has great advocates for its preservation into the future. My sincerest congratulations to Jerry and Tomás and all who contributed to the work on the island and to this volume.

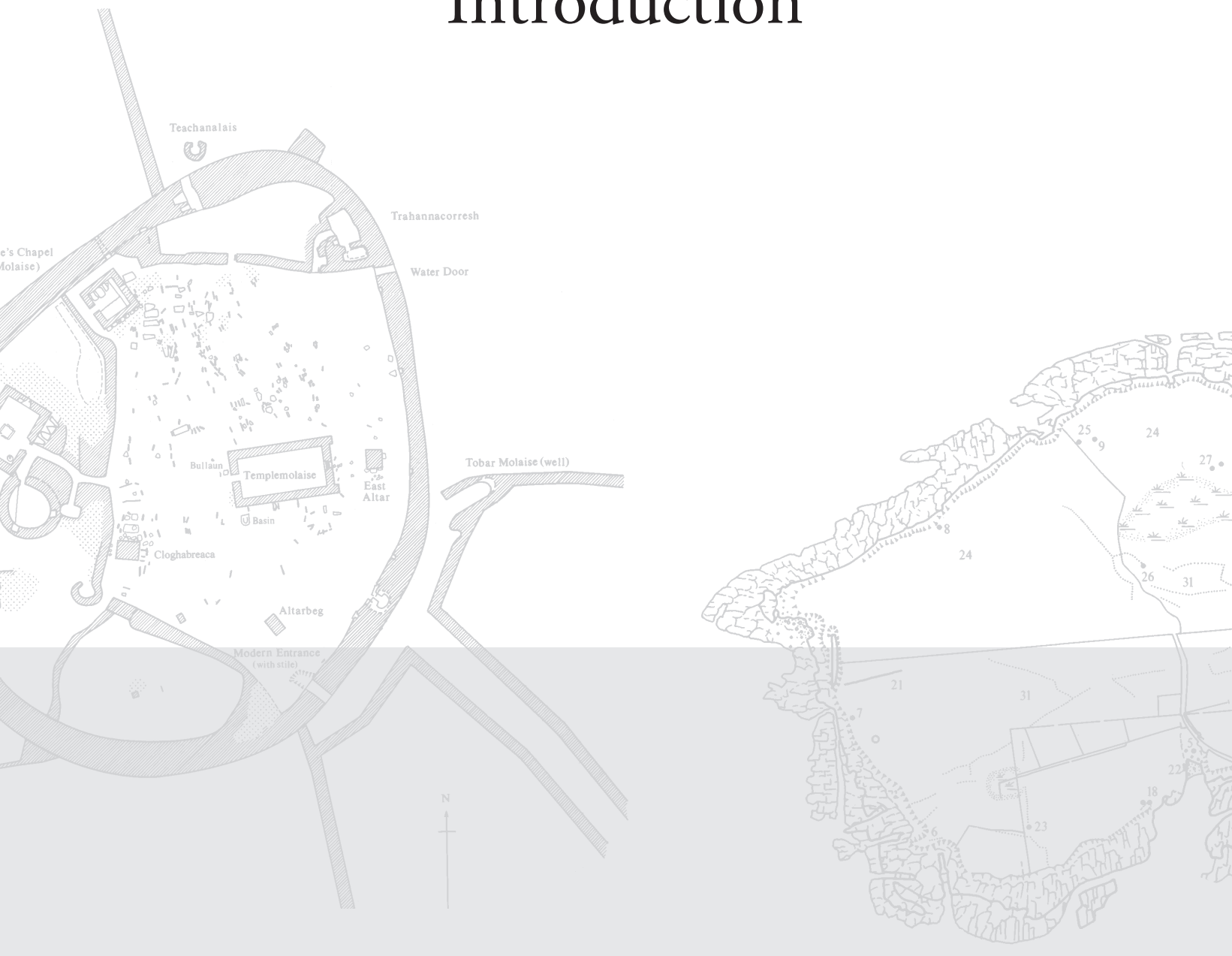
Heather A. King
Archaeologist in the National Monuments Service
Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government
October 2007

CASHEL
Laghta
Columbkille
MILL
WOMEN'S
CEMETERY
Crossatemple
Relickoran

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Part I
Introduction



Landscape

Inishmurray lies in Donegal Bay, off the coast of County Sligo, about 7 km from the nearest point on the mainland (fig. 1).[2] The island is approximately 1.7 km long and 0.7 km wide. In terms of natural topography, it is low-lying and relatively featureless, sloping gently from a low, narrow point at sea level in the east towards sheer western cliffs rising 21 m above the ocean. In general, the shoreline is dominated by low cliffs and wave-cut rock terraces with a littoral of large storm rubble along the north and east shores (pl. 1 & 2).

Throughout the south-east quarter of the island there are arable fields enclosed by drystone walls. The topsoil here is a deep humic loam that bears testimony to generations of manuring and intensive cultivation before the island was abandoned in the 1940s. These fields are now entirely overrun by dense bracken and hogweed. Elsewhere on the island, in the northern and western sectors, the surface layer is a shallow peat supporting a variety of moorland grasses. Everywhere, under loam or peat, the underlying subsoil is a hard stony glacial till of variable depth.

There is a pier at the east end of the island on the landward side, near the old Schoolhouse. This was built by the Board of Works in the 1890s but is seldom used today and has partly collapsed below the high tide line, where it is being undermined by the sea. As their names suggest, there are natural harbours elsewhere on the landward side of the island, at Clashymore and nearby Clashybeg. The harbour at Clashymore is preferred by today's boatmen – as indeed it often was by the last generations of islanders.

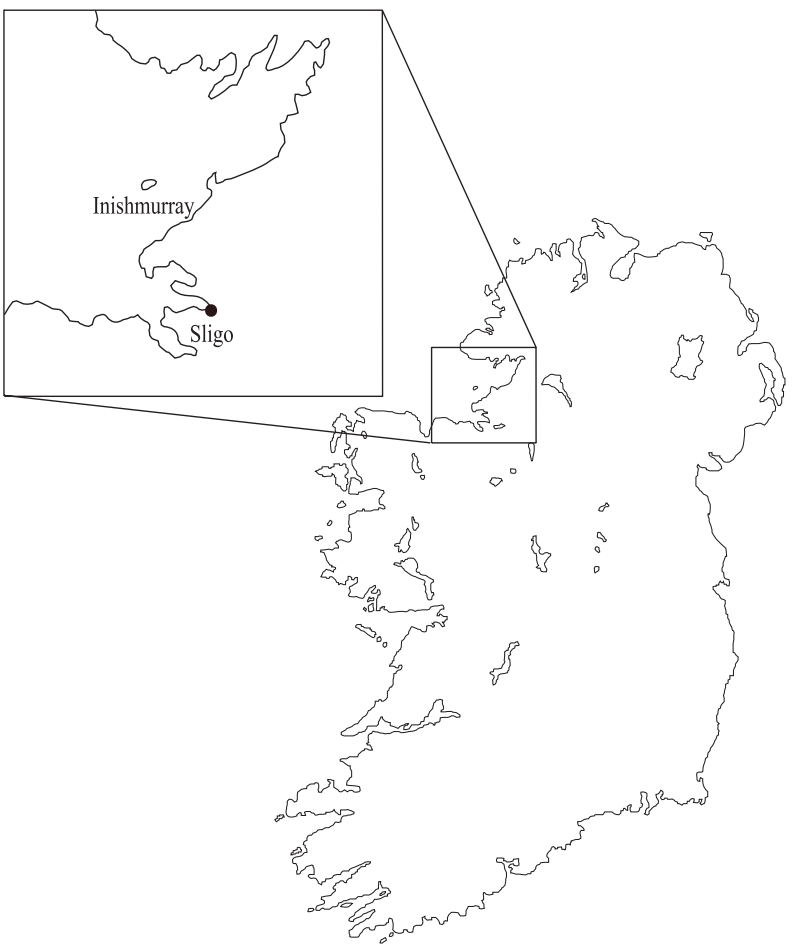


Figure 1 Location map of Inishmurray.

A single narrow stream issues from a small lake in the centre of the island. The mouth of the stream is a deeply cut scar in the low cliff face by the women's cemetery at Templenaman. The lake itself is not a natural feature. It was created by damming the stream to supply water for sheep that were pastured on the island after its abandonment.

We do not attempt in this volume to describe the island's fauna and flora. Suffice to say that the contemporary visitor is struck by the abundant bird life, including



Plate 1 Aerial view of Inishmurray (*Ordnance Survey of Ireland 2000*).



Plate 2 Inishmurray from south-east, lying low in the Atlantic.



Plate 3 The Cashel and ruined houses of the islanders from south-east.



Plate 4 Aerial view of the island from south-west showing the Cashel (left) and the village street extending along the south shore.

important breeding colonies of shags, kittiwakes, terns and petrels, in season, and the island is designated a Special Protection Area for marine birds on account of this. The natural flora and fauna are listed in more detail by Heraughty (1982, 89–96).

Geology *by Niamh Connolly*

The rocks on Inishmurray belong to what is known locally as the Mullaghmore Sandstone Formation. They date to the Carboniferous period and are approximately 330–340 million years old. On Inishmurray, the formation consists mainly of fluvial sandstones, interbedded sandstones and siltstones, and few limestones. The fluvial sandstones, which are most common, are visible along the coastal exposures of the island and can be seen, for instance, on the approach to Clashymore harbour. They contain a number of diagnostic features that include plant debris, erosive bases and palaeocurrent indicators that suggest the parent material was deposited by a flow from a north/north-westerly source. A deltaic environment of deposition has been suggested for the Mullaghmore Sandstone Formation. The fluvial sandstones, found at numerous localities around the island, and which are easily correlatable, represent different stages of the delta. As to the origin of all this sand, mineralogical analysis of the sandstones points towards both a granitic and a metamorphic source for the sediment. As we know that flow originated to the north/north-west of Inishmurray, Rathlin O'Birne island is proposed as a possible candidate source for the former and the metamorphic terrain of Donegal for the latter.

Prehistory

Current evidence for prehistoric settlement on Inishmurray is slight. Heraughty (1982, 19) describes the discovery of a Bronze Age cist burial containing a decorated food vessel by a local man in 1938. This probably corresponds to the group of erect slabs that can be seen today in a grassy hollow by Clashymore harbour (Survey No. 018.01).[3] This is only a short distance from the excavation site at Ollamurray, where a small assemblage of worked flint and chert – including a fragment of a tanged arrowhead – was recovered by excavations in 2000.

Wakeman (1893, 118, fig. 57) suggested that a stone from the island (001.46), carved with concentric circles, was an example of prehistoric rock art. Subsequent examination by A T Lucas at the National Museum of Ireland discovered two obliterated letterforms inscribed on the reverse and its style and dimensions strongly suggest it is the lower portion of a now lost cross-slab of early medieval date (001.47 and Wakeman 1893, fig. 40). The fragment is now in the collections of the National Museum of Ireland (Register No 1971: 1115).

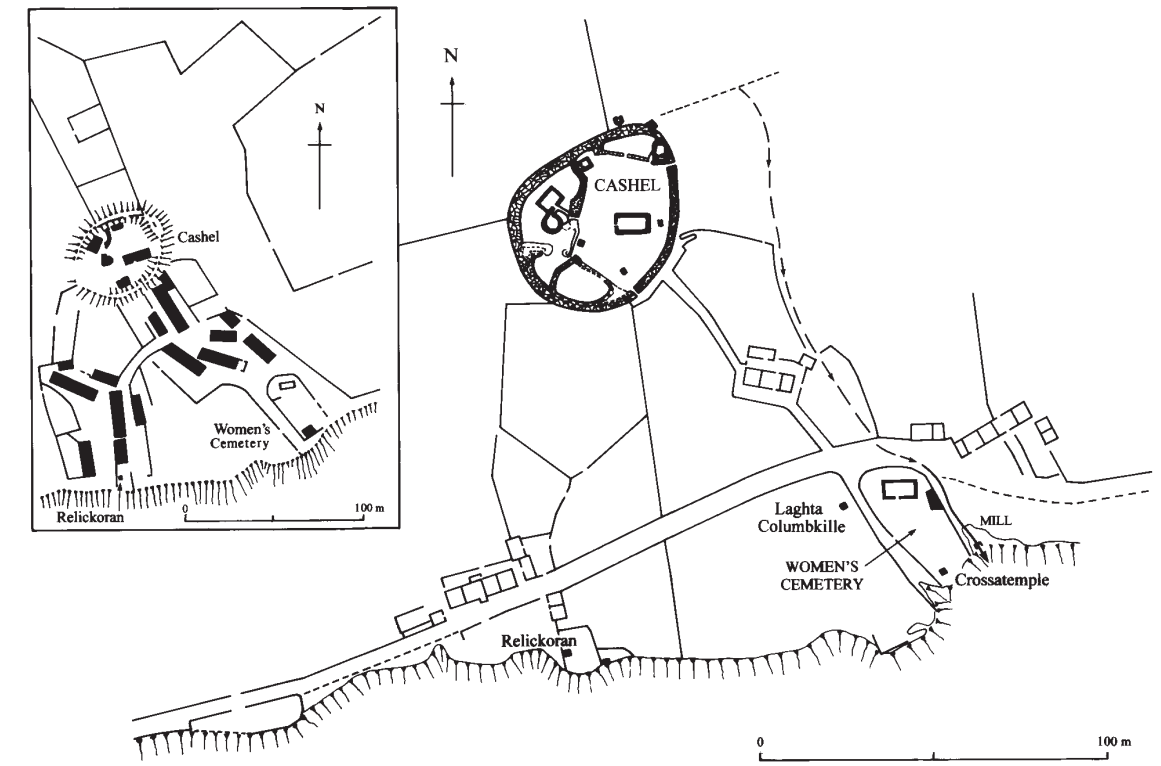
Other possible prehistoric features include the two small, irregular settings of low kerbstones on the northern moorland (027.01 & 027.02). If these mark the site of ancient burials, they may be remnants of denuded barrow mounds. We do not know of any close parallel for these features, however, and their date and purpose remain a matter of pure speculation at this time.

Finally, a possible promontory fort was identified on a small western headland in the national Sites & Monuments Record (006.01), but there are no clear remains of this today and Heraughty (1982, 19) is probably correct in ascribing any earthwork remnants on this site to agricultural enclosures.



Figure 2

Locations of monuments (i.e. Survey Inventory numbers) mapped onto the Ordnance Survey six-inch map of 1837 (top), where the buildings are confined to a small area around the approach to the Cashel and the field banks to the south-east part of the island; and mapped onto the Ordnance Survey six-inch map of 1912 (bottom), where an entirely new and more extensive arrangement of buildings and field walls is evident.



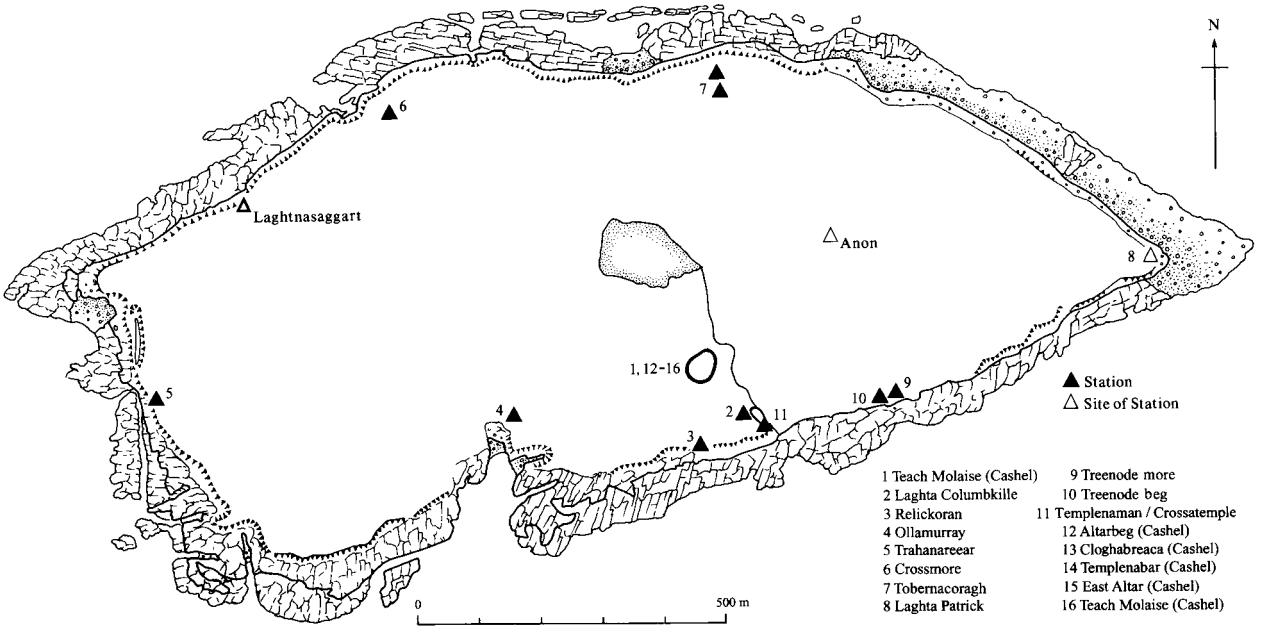


Figure 3 (top)
Comparison of buildings and field boundaries around the Cashel in 1837 and 1912, based on first and second editions of the Ordnance Survey six-inch maps

Figure 4 (bottom)
Locations of the *leachta* and other stations in the island's traditional *turas*

Ecclesiastical Monuments

The foundation of a monastic settlement on Inishmurray, probably in the sixth century, is ascribed to St Molaise or *Laisren*. His name is perpetuated by two church dedications on the island – Teach Molaise and Templemolaise – both in the Cashel. What meagre historical evidence exists for Molaise and his successors is reviewed below (see 'Ecclesiastical history'). The archaeological evidence for an early ecclesiastical foundation is more satisfactory and Inishmurray rightly enjoys its reputation as one of the best preserved early medieval church sites in Ireland. The remains are complex and extensive (figs 2–4). They include three churches, three burial grounds, at least four *clochauns* or beehive cells (including two small examples), several possible altar cairns or *leachta*, two or possibly three holy wells and over 90 carved stones, most of them cross-slabs, with several bearing written inscriptions.

The main concentration of these monuments lies near the centre of the island, within the Cashel (Survey No. 001). Here, a massive subcircular wall encloses a group of beehive cells and churches (fig. 12; pls 7 & 8). The earliest of the churches – Teach Molaise – is likely to have been a founder's shrine chapel. Radiocarbon dated mortar indicates that this may have been built as early as the eighth century (Berger 1992, 884; 1995, 172), though it is perhaps not as old as this. The enclosure served as the men's cemetery until the evacuation of the island in the 1940s. The women's church and cemetery at Templenaman (002) stand within a smaller enclosure a few hundred metres to the south, on the present cliff-edge.



Plate 5 View westwards along the south shore of the island in 1969, with Templenman and the women's cemetery in the middle distance, and some abandoned houses of the islanders still roofed (*Gerry Ryan*)

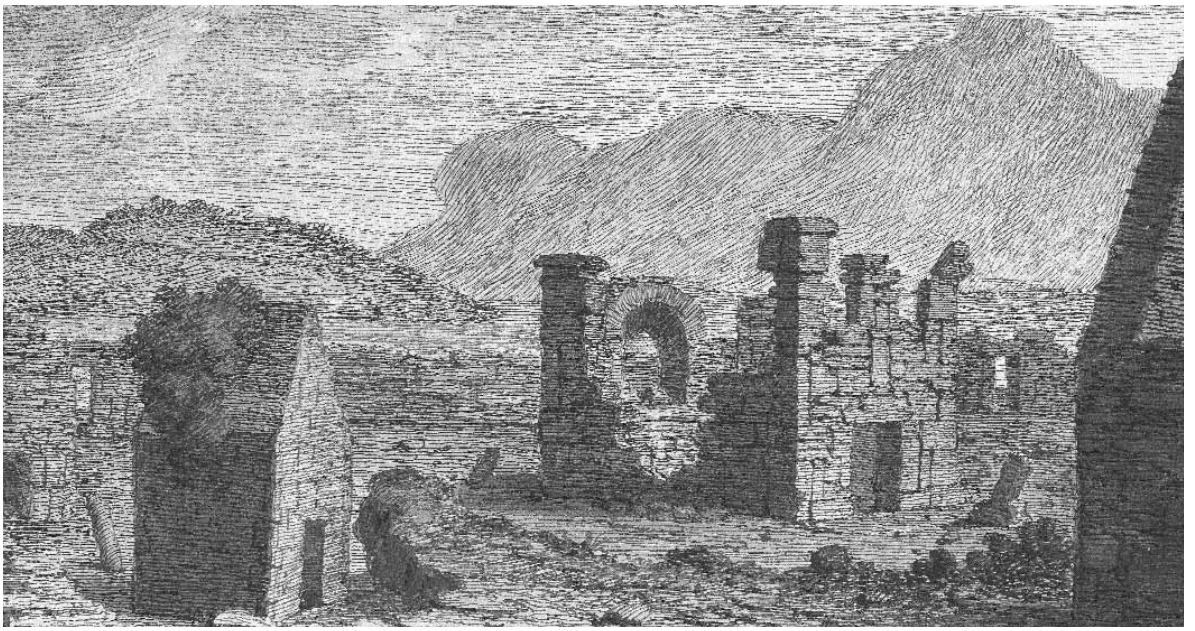


Figure 5 The Cashel: a sketch of the interior from Beranger & Bigari's visit to the island in 1779 (National Library of Ireland MS 2122 TX[2]; and see Harbison 2002, 58–70)

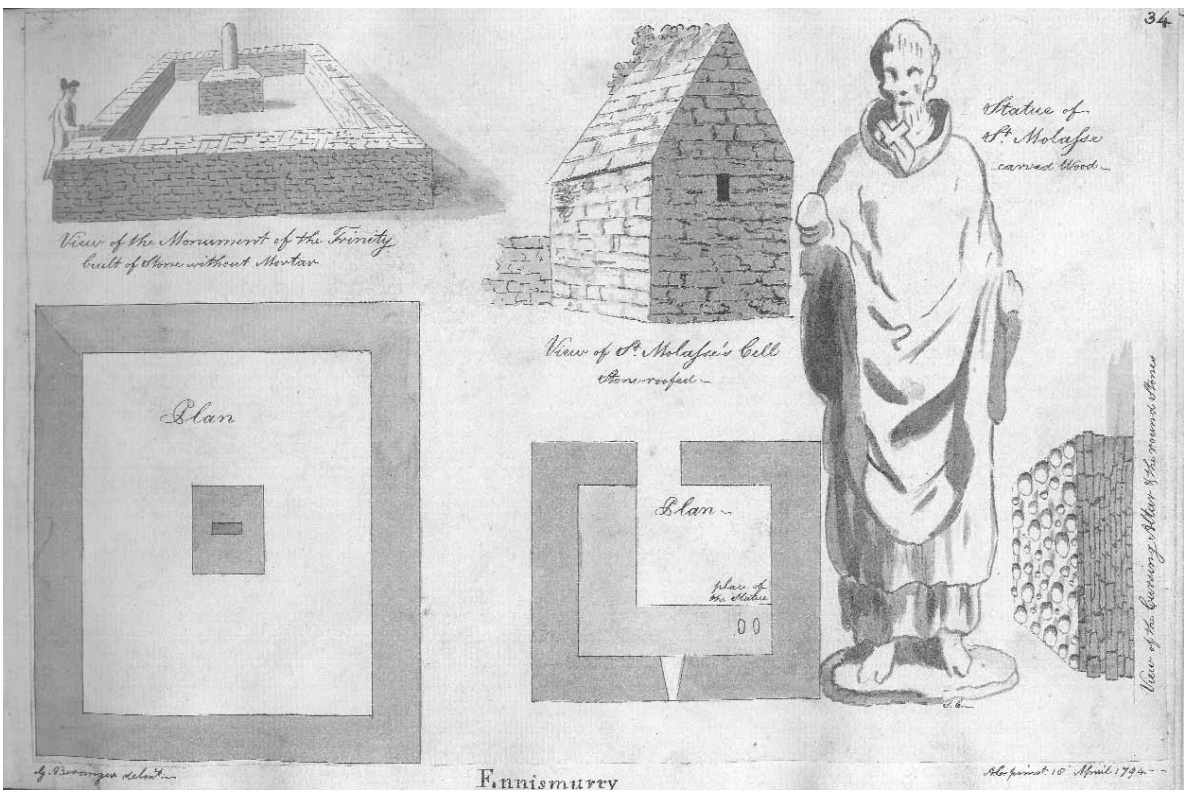


Figure 6 Treenode More (left) and elements from the Cashel (right): a miscellany of sketches from Beranger & Bigari's stay on the island in 1779 (National Library of Ireland MS 2122 TX[2]; and see Harbison 2002, 58–70).



Plate 6 View from Laghta Columbkille south-east across the women's cemetery towards the Dartry Mountains on the north Sligo mainland.

Although the churches and associated buildings are the principal monuments, the distinctive character of Inishmurray's ecclesiastical remains derives in large measure from the constellation of drystone cairns or *leachta* (001–016), which occur both at the main church sites and in other locations all about the island's periphery, close to the low seacliffs (fig. 4). These monuments formed part of the circuit of sixteen 'stations' at which prayers were recited on the Feast of the Assumption, August 15th, when the island's traditional 'pattern day' was observed. The tradition is well attested in the modern period. It was briefly described by Beranger in 1779 (quoted in Harbison 2002, 60) and by a Superintendent of Ancient Monuments of the Board of Public Works (1879–80, 74–5; quoted in Mills 1893, xvii), but is recorded in much more detail by Wakeman (1886 & 1893) and by Heraughty (1982, 27–32). A brief summary is also given in a recent guidebook by Joe McGowan (1998, 32–24). Most authorities agree that the pattern began and ended in the Cashel and proceeded clockwise about the periphery of the island, with prayers recited in turn at each of the stations or *leachta*. Heraughty (1982, 32–33) records the prescribed fasting and prayers involved in the pattern and also records that, as well as rounding the various *leachta*, three circuits were made atop the Cashel wall. Only the Superintendent of Ancient Monuments (ibid.) records that the practice involved 'returning from each station to the Cashel, where are a number of round stones; as each station is come to they return to these stones and turn one for every station.'

The origins of the pattern day, with its devotional circuit and prescribed prayers, are certainly much older than our earliest written description of the practice. Herity (1989a [1995b, 121]), in particular, has argued for early medieval origins. This thesis is broadly supported by the excavations described here. It now seems certain that some form of 'rounding ritual' was established on Inishmurray by the end of the first millennium or the beginning of the second.

The monuments on this circuit are of various forms. They include the circular stone cell at Trahanee with the associated well or spring at Tobernacoragh (010), but the enclosed cairns with cross-slabs at Relickoran, Ollamurray, Trahanareear, Crossmore or Treenode More (004, 005, 007, 009 & 013) are more typical. Some, like Treenode More or Crossmore, appear to be quite well preserved, though this may owe much to successive episodes of maintenance or rebuilding. Others, like Trahanareear, Relickoran

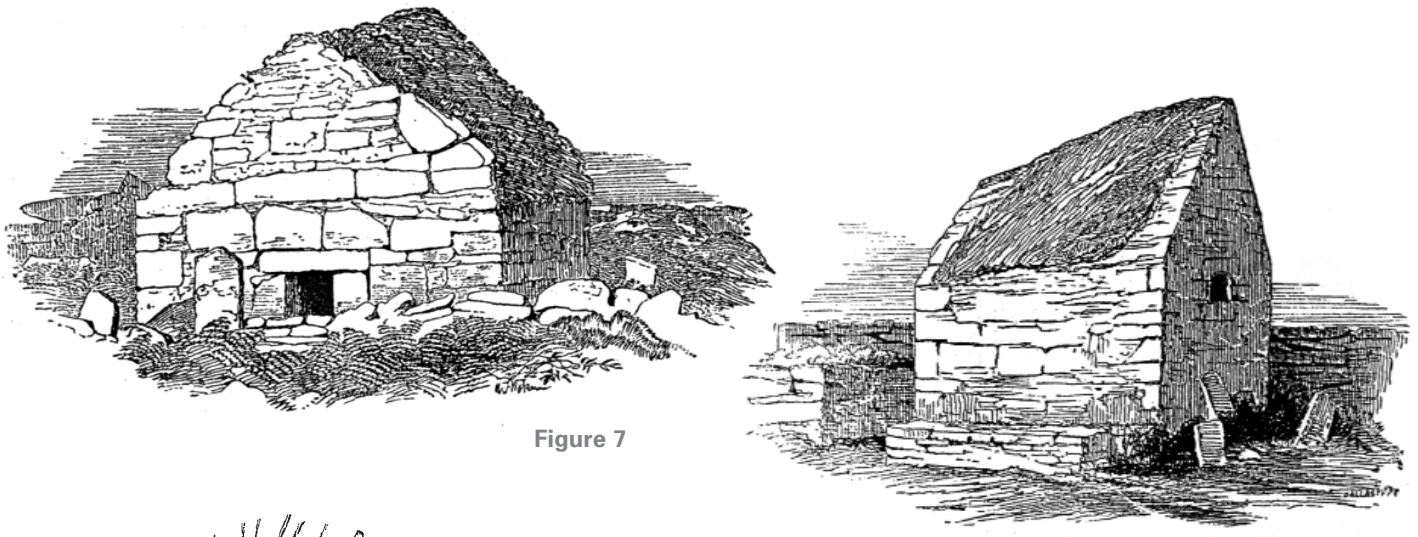


Figure 7

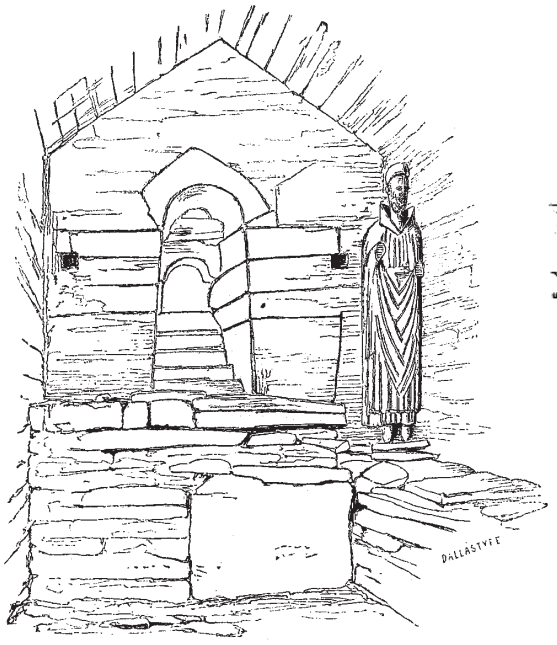


Figure 8

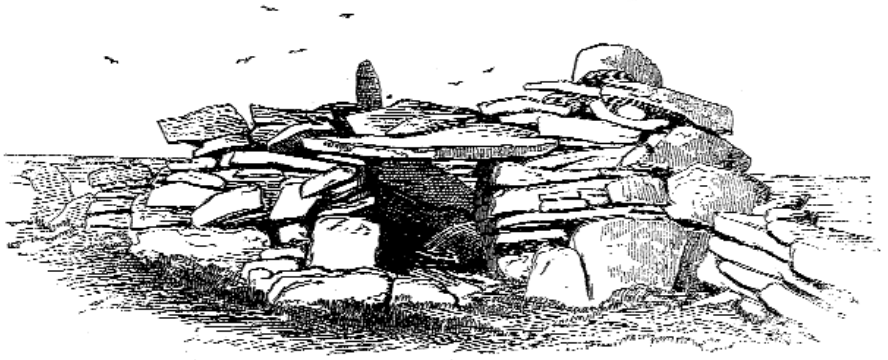


Figure 9

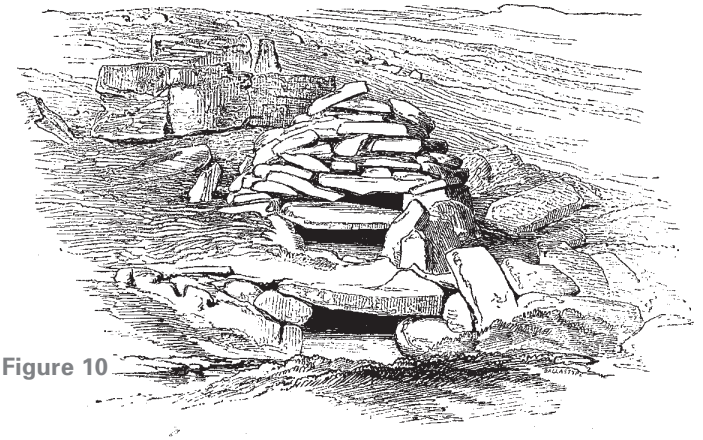


Figure 10

Figure 7
Teach Molaise: two drawings from William Wakeman's survey (1886, figs 16 & 17)

Figure 8
Teach Molaise: Wakeman's drawing (1886, fig. 18) of the wooden statute of St Molaise in its old place by the altar. It is now in the National Museum of Ireland.

Figure 9
Trahanareear: Wakeman's drawing (1886, fig. 66) of the cell, incorporated in the enclosure wall of the *leacht*, on the western or seaward side

Figure 10
Tobernacoragh: Wakeman's drawing (1886, fig. 66) of the 'help well' near the Trahanee *leacht*, on the north side of the island.



Plate 7 Aerial view of the Cashel (Con Brogan, National Monuments Service)

and Ollamurray, were partly laid low by storm waves and cliff erosion when we first inspected them in the late 1990s. In a more extreme state of erosion, Laghtnasaggart and Laghta Patrick (008 & 011) could only be identified by our 1998 survey report as areas of dispersed stony rubble, though the base of Laghta Patrick has since been identified by a small-scale excavation, which is described below.

Modern Settlement

The history and traditions of the islanders in the modern period are given in recent works by Heraughty (1982) – himself a native of the island – and McGowan (1998; 2004). These describe the ecclesiastical remains and associated religious traditions, but their chief interest is in the customs, subsistence and social life of the island's farming and fishing community in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

The population varied widely in the modern period. A census in 1659 recorded only three people, though perhaps these were three householders (Heraughty 1982, 43; McGowan 2004, 156). In 1779 Gabriel Beranger could report 45 inhabitants, 'which compose five families inhabiting as many households' (quoted in Harbison 2002, 59). In 1802 James MacParlan reported that only a single family remained. Thus, Inishmurray was virtually deserted by the beginning of the 19th century, but would not

remain so for long. Resettlement was got underway by the Hipsley-Sullivan estate in 1802, with Domhnall O'Heraughty as principal tenant. The population quickly grew. According to John O'Donovan there were 102 inhabitants in 1836. Heraughty (1982, 45) cites census figures of 85 in 1841, declining to 53 a decade later – after the Famine years – but increasing again to 101 by the 1880s. When the island was eventually evacuated in 1948, only 46 people remained, in six households (ibid., 73). The islanders were bilingual in Wakeman's day (1893, 3) though he noted one old woman who spoke no English, presumably the last of a generation who spoke Irish only.

Throughout this period, houses and arable fields were concentrated in the southern and eastern parts of the island. Within this area, the pattern of settlement was not continuous. Successive editions of the Ordnance Survey record a radical reorganisation in the mid to late 19th century (fig. 2 & 3). The first edition (1837) records fourteen buildings – presumably barns and byres as well as houses – clustered between the Cashel and the shore, with an irregular field system radiating outwards to straddle the south-eastern quarter of the island. By the second edition (1912) the number of buildings had more than doubled and these now fronted the green street that still extends along the landward or southern side of the island, from Clashymore harbour to Rue or *Rubha* point. Furthermore, the earlier, straggling, irregular field boundaries were replaced by a more extensive system of rectilinear drystone field walls that ranged over the southern and eastern half of the island. This 'squaring' of the island seems to have begun as early as the 1840s (McGowan 2004, 164–69) but, doubtless, improvements to houses, barns and byres continued throughout the century. This later 19th-century arrangement of rectilinear fields with houses fronting onto a single green street is what visitors to the island see today, although the buildings are all ruinous and many of the field walls are tumbled down.[4]



Plate 8 Interior of the Cashel from south-west, with Teach Molaise on the right and the Clocha Breaca *leacht* in the middle foreground.

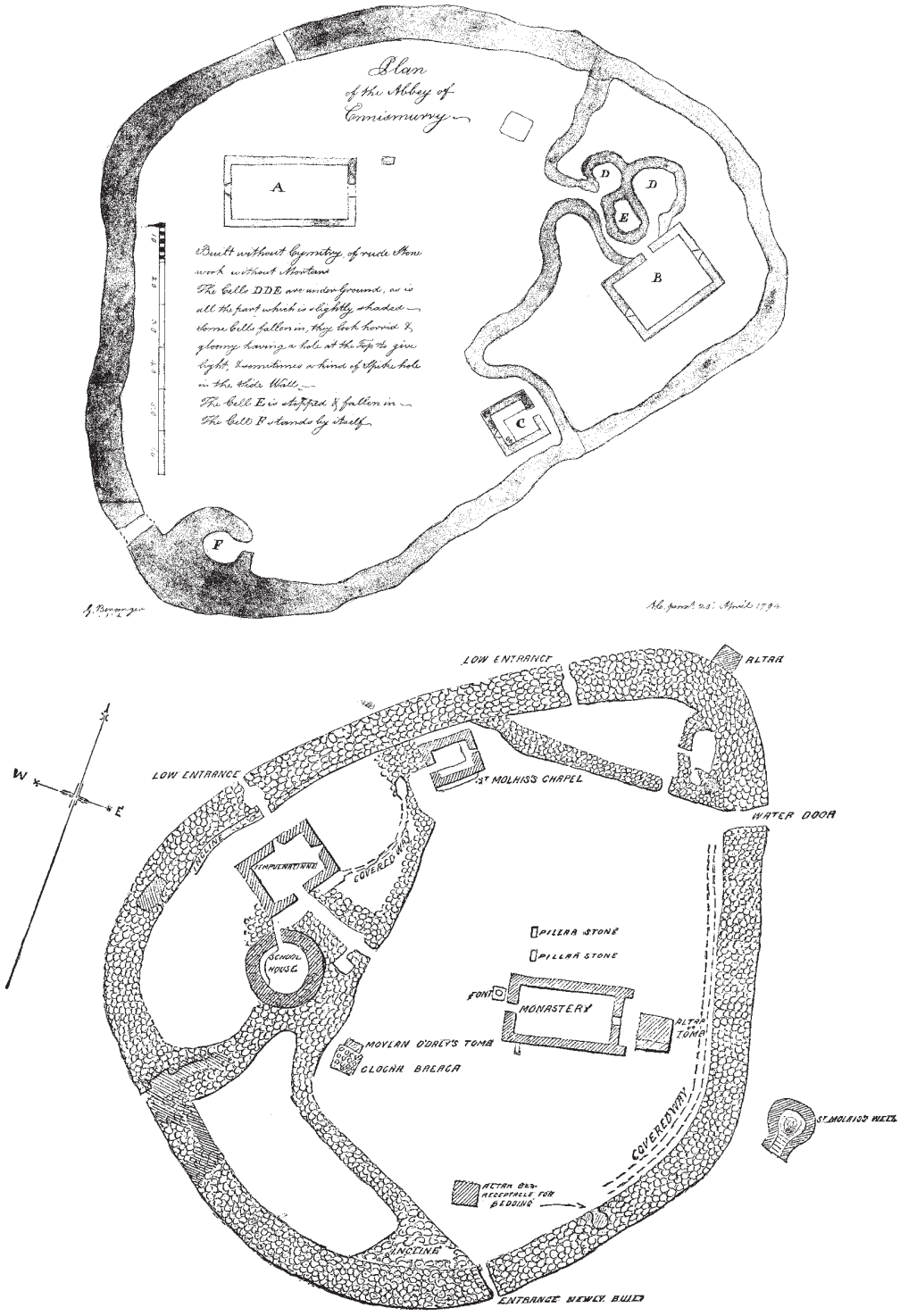


Figure 11

Two early plans of the Cashel by Bigari & Beranger (1779) and by Wakeman (1886). The Bigari & Beranger plan is in the collections of the National Library of Ireland (MS 2122 TX[2]) and is published by Harbison (2000, 65, fig. 35).

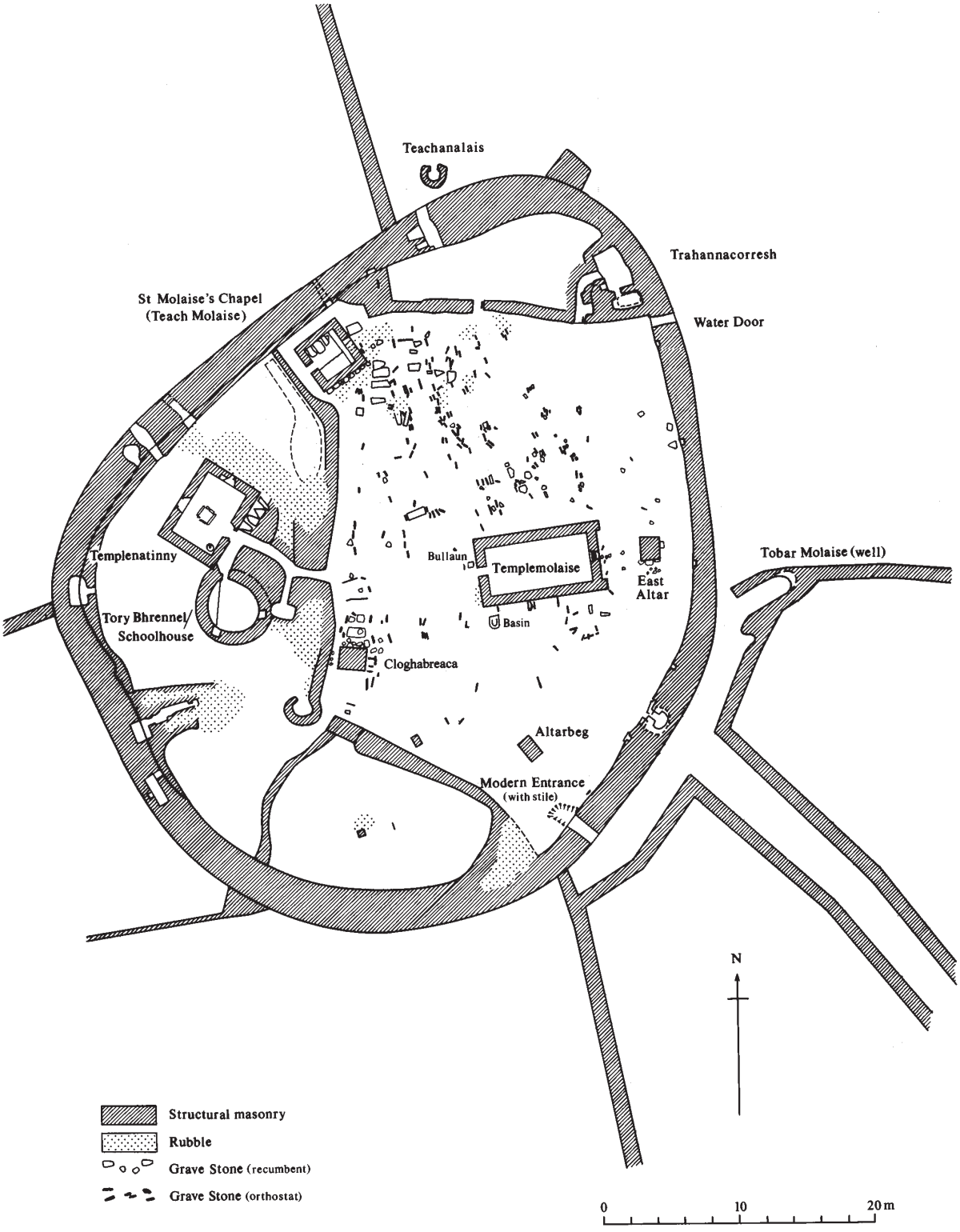


Figure 12
The Cashel: detailed survey plan (1998)

Placenames

Among the sources consulted in compiling this volume there is some variation in the island's placenames and particularly in the names of the island's ecclesiastical monuments. A paper by MacCárthaigh (1971) lists over 100 Irish language names from the island and these were the versions used by the islanders themselves in the modern period. They refer, variously, to fields and boundaries, to the ecclesiastical monuments and to natural features, including many maritime features. In this volume we have generally followed the Ordnance Survey maps (1836 & 1911). The Ordnance Survey spellings are not always sympathetic to the Irish language but at least the maps offer a standard source that is widely published and easily available, allowing for unambiguous identification of the monuments by others, when required.

Gabriel Beranger's (1779) account of a visit to the island – with Angelo Bigari – identifies twelve places as 'Stations … visited by the roman Catholicks on certain occasions' (quoted in Harbison 2002, 58–62). However, the order in which he lists these appears random and two of them do not obviously refer to any known monument. Beranger's 'Classahmore' – which is the name of the island's natural harbour – may refer to the *leacht* at Ollamurray, as this is close to the harbour and is otherwise omitted from the list; but his 'small loughties or circles of stones' do not correspond to any monument included in the stational circuit by other writers.

Six names shown on the Palmerston estate map (1813–14) refer to structures within the Cashel. These are arranged in a notional circle on the map and are clearly not intended to correspond precisely with the positions of the monuments. Some of them are identifiable nonetheless. For instance, 'Easter Bread' may refer to the *leacht* otherwise known as the East Altar and 'Lash Chapel' probably refers to Teach Molaise. In two other cases – 'Marys Ointment' and 'Church Wine' – the names are unique to the Palmerston map and cannot be ascribed with certainty to any monument. However, if these are *leachta*, then with 'Bracket Stones' and 'Easter Altar' they indicate that there were once four *leachta* within the Cashel where there are now only three. This would support a suggestion in our Survey Inventory (below) that a drystone structure (001.38) incorporated in a dividing wall within the Cashel was once a freestanding *leacht*. 'Monument Breadserve', for the Trahanareear *leacht* on the western cliffs, is another name unique to the Palmerston map.

The name of the island itself is given with a fair degree of consistency by all sources consulted. In early annals and martyrologies it is given as Inis Muiredaig or variations on this (see Appendix 1). On early maps it appears, variously, as Inismueray (Baxter 1603), Inish Mury (Down Survey 1655–56), both Innismurry and Ennismurray (Palmerston 1813–14). The island is named Inishmurray on all editions of the Ordnance Survey.

Table 1 gives variant names of monuments, and also names of some other places named in the text, together with abbreviated glosses based on MacCárthaigh (1971).

Table 1

Variant names of places and monuments on the island

Survey Inventory Number	Beranger & Bigari's *Tour* 1779	Palmerston Map 1813–14[1]	O'Donovan's OS *Letters* 1836	Ordnance Survey 1836 & 1911	Wakeman's survey 1886	McCarthaigh's 'Placenames' 1971	Heraughty 1982
—	—		Church Wine	—	—	—	—
—	—	Clashybeg	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	Marys Ointment	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	Baile Thiar (west town)	Baile Thiar (western part of the island)
—	—	—	—	—	—	Baile Thoir (east town)	Baile Thoir (eastern part of the island)
—	Classahmore (listed among the 'stations')	Glassamore Port	Claisidh Mór Harbour	Clashymore	Clashymore	Clasaí Mór (the harbour; *clais*, an indentation)	Classeymore
—	—	—	—	Lochannacath	—	Lochán an Chatha (pool of the battle)	Lochán an Catha
—	—	Port Curry	—	Portachurry	—	Port an Churaigh (curragh landing place)	Port a'Churry (port of curraghs)
—	—	Rue Point	Rú	Rue Point	Rue or Rue Point	Rubha (a salient or point)	Rue Point
001.01	The Abbey	—	Caiseal Mór	Cashel	Caiseal or Cashel	—	Cashel
001.01	—	—	—	—	The Water Gate [=eastern entrance to the Cashel by Tober Molaise]	—	Doras an Uisce (the water door)
001.05	St Molasse's Cell	Lash Chapel	Seipeal Molaise	St Molaise's Chapel	Teach Molaise	Teach Molaise	Teach Molaise
001.10	—	—	Teampull na Teinidh (church of the fire)	Templenatinny	Teampull-na-Teinidh (church of the fire) or Teach-na-Teinidh or	Teampall na Teine, Teach na Teine	Teampall na Teine or Teach na Teine (church or house of the fire)

Survey Inventory Number	Beranger & Bigari's *Tour* 1779	Palmerston Map 1813–14[1]	O'Donovan's OS *Letters* 1836	Ordnance Survey 1836 & 1911	Wakeman's survey 1886	McCarthaigh's 'Placenames' 1971	Heraughty 1982
001.14	—	Abbey	Teampull na bhFear (church of the men) or Teampull Molaise	Templemolaise, Templenavar or Monastery	Teampull-na-Bfear or Teampull Molaise or Teampull Mor or The Monastery	Teampall na bFhear (the men's church), Teampall Molaise, Teampall Mór	Teampall na bhFear (church of the men) or Teampall Molaise or Teampall Mór
001.20	Cursing Altar	Bracket Stones	Clocha Breaca (the speckled stones)	Cloghnabracka	Clocha-breaca (speckled stones) or Cursing Stones or Swearing Stones	Na Clocha Breaca (the speckled stones)	Clocha Breaca
001.21	—	—	Tumba Mhaoilin Ui Dalaigh (Moyleen O'Daly's Tomb)	—	Moylan O'Daly's Tomb	—	—
001.33	Altbuy [?]	—	—	Altarbeg	Altoir-beg	Altóir Bheag (little altar)	Altóir Bheag
001.35	—	Easter Bread	—	—	Eastern Altar		—
001.37	—	—	—	Altar [abutting outer north face of Cashel]		—	—
001.83	—	—	Tuar ui Bhreunail	Toorybrenell	Toorybrennell (O'Brennell's Tower) or the School-house	Toorybrennell or 'the schoolhouse'	Tory Bhrennell or Tórradh Bhruinnille (wake of the virgin) or the School house
001.84	—	—	Trathan a'Chorgaois (Lent Trahan or place of prayers)	Trahannacoreesh	Trahaun-a-Chorrees (the Lent trahaun)	Trahán an Chargais (the Lent oratory)	Tráthán an Chargais (the Lenten retreat)
001.86	—	—	Teach an Alais (the sweat-house)	Teachanalais	Teach-an-alais (the sweat-house)	Teach an Alais (the sweat house)	Teach an Alais (the sweat house)
001.91	—	Spring	—	Tober Molaise	St Molaise's Well	Tobar Molaise (Molaise's well)	Tobar Molaise
002.01	Temple murry	Marys Church	Teampull na mBan (church of the women) or Teampull Muire	Templenaman or Templemurray	Teampull-na-mBan (church of the women) or Teampull Muire	Teampull na mBan (the women's church), Teampall Muire	Teampall na mBan (church of the women)
002.07	—	Womens Burying Ground	—	—	—	—	—
003.01	Loughtyroory	—	—	Crossatemple	Crossatemple or the Station of Mary	—	—

Survey Inventory Number	Beranger & Bigari's *Tour* 1779	Palmerston Map 1813–14[1]	O'Donovan's OS *Letters* 1836	Ordnance Survey 1836 & 1911	Wakeman's survey 1886	McCarthaigh's 'Placenames' 1971	Heraughty 1982
004.01	—	Relilque Oran	Roilic Odhráin (St Odran's churchyard)	Relickoran	Reilic Odrain	Reilig Ódhráin	Roilig Ódhráin (Oran's cemetery)
005.01	—	Hail Mary Station	Olla Mhuire	Ollamurray	Olla Muire or Ollamurray	Ulaidh Mhuire (Mary's Altar)	Ulla Mhuire (Mary's altar)
007.01	—	Monument. Breadserve	Trahán na Righ-Fhear (Trahan of the Chiefs)	Trahanareear	Trahán-na-righ fhear	Tráthán na Riar, Tráthán Ó Riain	Trahan Ó Riain (O'Ryan's cell)
008.01	—	—	Leachta na Sagart (monument of the priests)	Laghtnasaggart	Leachta-na-sagart (The priest's monument)	Leachta na Sagart (the priests' *leacht*)	—
009.01	Clushmore	Crossmore Station	Crois Mhor (large cross)	Crossmore	Leachta Crois mór (monument of the great cross)	Leachta Croise Móire	Cros Mhór (great cross)
010.01	Tranew	Huey's Station	Tráthán Aodha (Trahan of Hugh)	Trahanee	Trathán Aodha	Tráthán Aodha	Trahan Aodh (Hugh's cell)
010.04	Toberbrick	—	Tobar na Cobhrach (well of aid or assistance)	Tobernacoragh	Tobernacoragh (well of assistance)	Tobar na Córach (well of the fair wind)	Tobar na Córach (well of the fair [weather])
011.01	Monument of St Patrick	St Patricks Station	Leachta Phatraig (Patrick's monument)	Laghta Patrick	Leachta Patraig Station	Leachta Phádraig	Leachta Phádraig
012.01	—	—	—	Tobernasool	—	Tobar na Súl (the eye well)	Tobar na Súl
013.01	—	Three Saints Station	Tríonóid (the Trinity)	Treenode More	Tríonód Mór or Treenode Mor or Great Station of the Trinity	Tríonóid Mhór (great Trinity [station])	Trionoid Bheag (small station of the Trinity)
014.01	Monument of the Trinity, 'built by St Molaise'	—	—	Treenode Beg	Tríonód Beg or Treenode Beg or Little Station of the Trinity	Tríonóid Bheg (little Trinity [station])	Trionoid Mhór (big station of the Trinity)
015.01	—	—	—	Altar (site of) [on low rise 250 m north-east of the Cashel]		—	—
016.01	Monument of St Columb Kill	—	Leachta Choluim Cille (Columbkill's monument)	Laghta Columbkille	Leacht Choluimcille	Leachta Cholm Cille	Leachta Cholmcille (memorial altar of Colmcille)
023.00	—	—	—	Sheepfold	—	Manntrach	Manntrach



Plate 9 Toorybrenell clochaun, in the Cashel, with island children c. 1900 (*R J Welch collection, Ulster Museum*)



Plate 10 Islanders and their homes c. 1901 (*Charles Henry*)



Plate 11 Modern gravemarkers in the women's cemetery at Templenaman.



Plate 12 Ruined houses of the islanders near the Cashel


M. Guyres
M. Guyres Country.
Orielles Cantrie
Oneale Country

Early Maps

The first clear glimpse of Inishmurray from map sources is 'A Map of the North-West Parte of Ireland' made by Captain John Baxter in 1603 (pl. 3), bearing a legend that refers to the use of cursing stones 'by a holye many named Scanlan' – presumably the Clocha Breaca that can still be found on a *leacht* in the Cashel (and see Appendix 1 and 'Curses and oaths', below). Sir William Petty's 'Down Survey' of 1655–56 (pl. 14)[5] records some land divisions on the island that may already have been ancient at that time and which can still be traced today. As described above, in 'Placenames', a map in the Palmerston estate records of 1813–14 (pl. 15) gives some unique names of monuments. This map and the first edition of the Ordnance Survey (1837) both show the dwellings of the islanders clustered around the approach to the Cashel from the shore. As already described, this cluster of buildings would be erased by reorganisation of the island's built landscape from the middle decades of the 19th century.

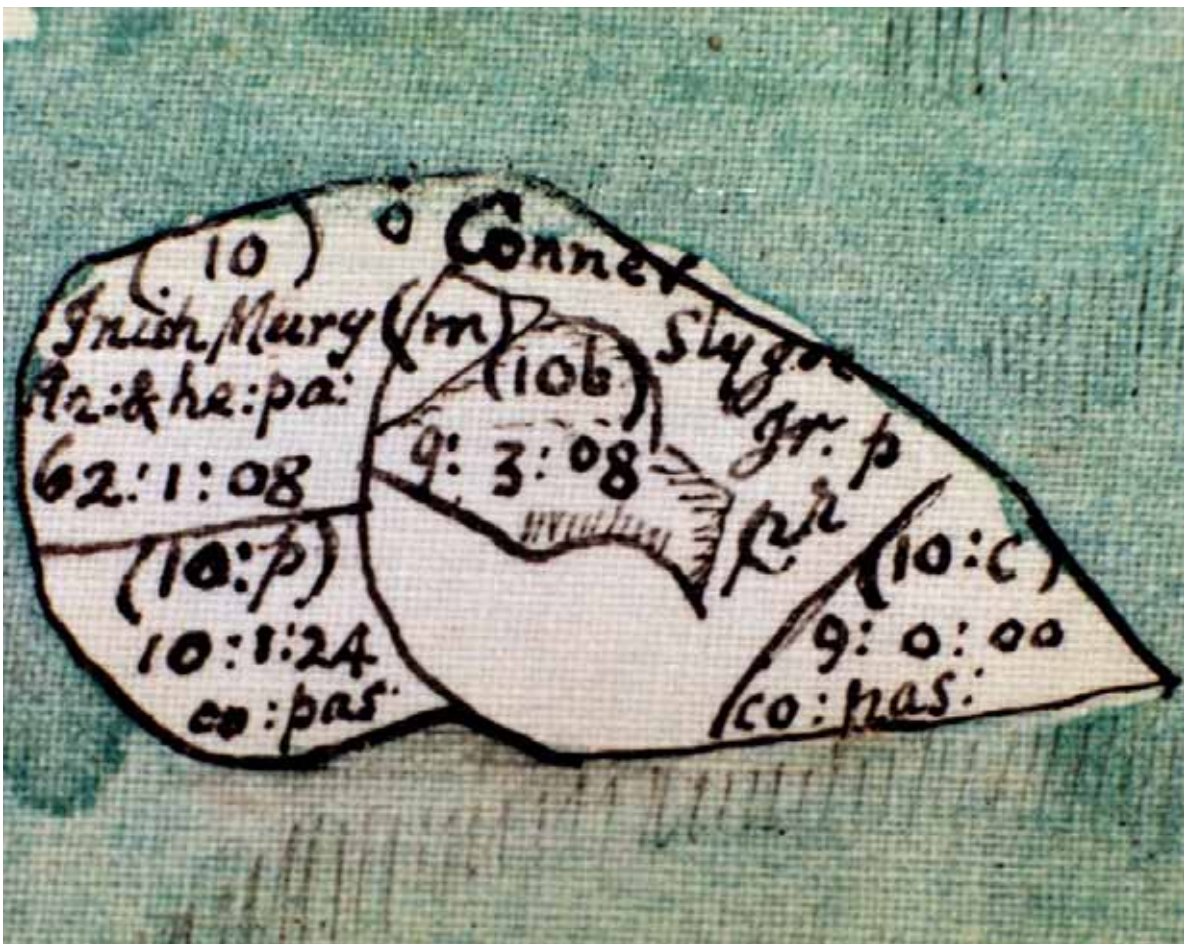


Plate 13 (Opposite page) Captain John Baxter's map (1603) of the north-west part of Ireland bears a legend concerning Inishmurray: 'In this islande there dwelleth a holye man called Scanlon of whom the contrie people holde a superstitious opinion that if he be angry with any one and do turne the speckled stones uppon them which he kepeth for that use they shall dye within that yeare' (*Admiralty Library, Greenwich*)
Plate 14 (Above) Down Survey (1655–56) map of Inishmurray, identifying O'Connor Sligo as the proprietor and showing extents of the major land divisions (*Sligo County Library*)

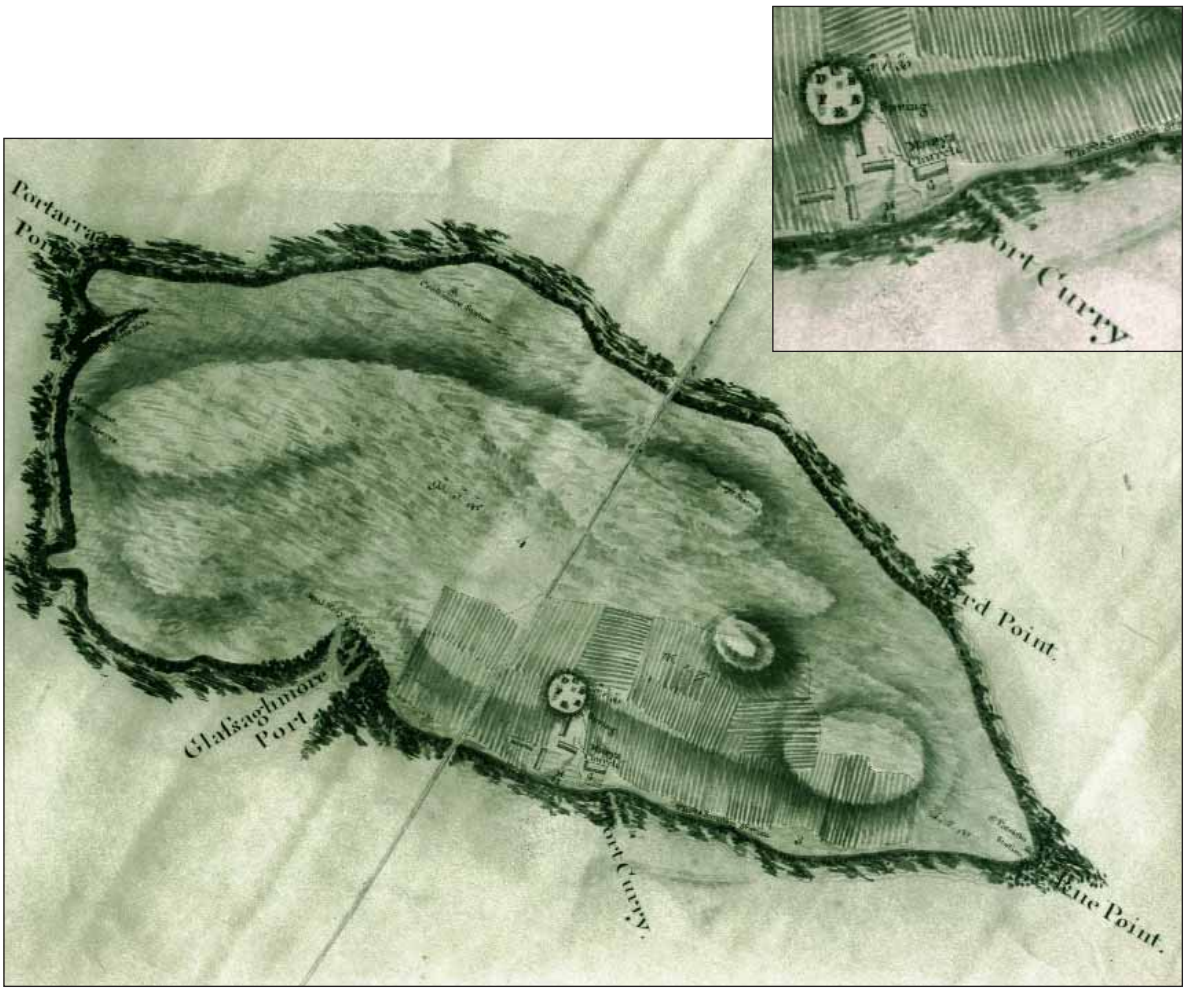


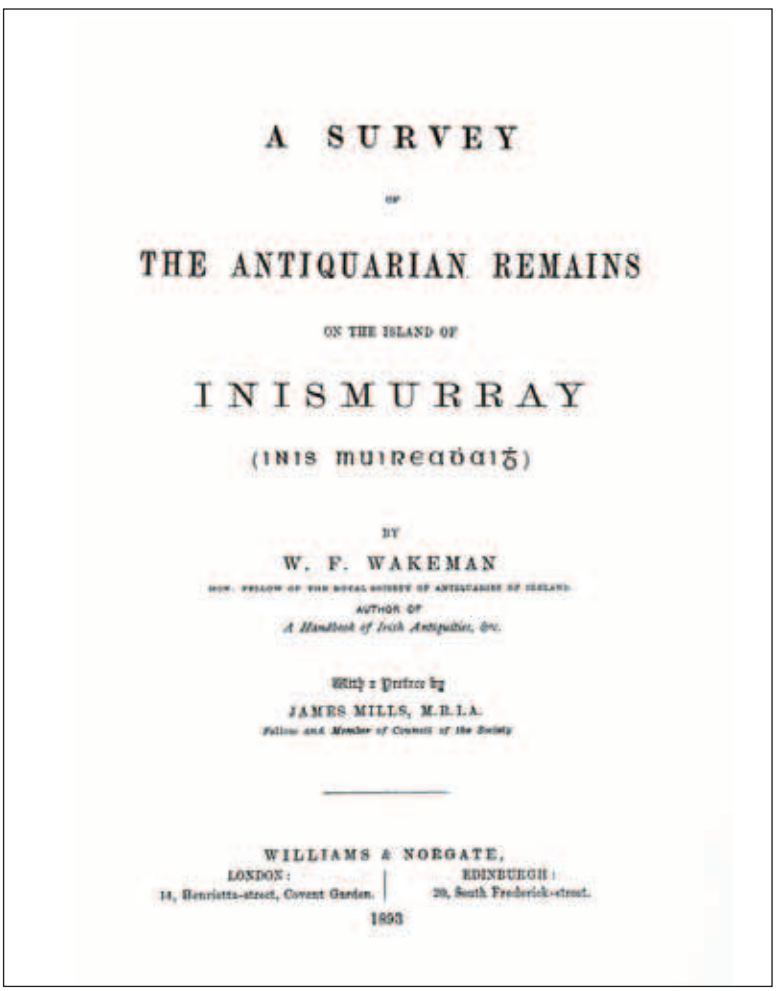
Plate 15 Palmerston estate map of Inishmurray, 1813–14 with (inset) a detail of the Cashel and adjacent houses (*National Library of Ireland*)

Previous Scholarship

William Wakeman's classic survey of Inishmurray in the 1880s was the first attempt at a comprehensive study of the island's antiquities, but there had already been scholarly testimonies to the importance of its ecclesiastical remains. A useful summary of scholarly notices of Inishmurray in the 18th and 19th centuries is given by James Mills ('Preface', in Wakeman 1893, v–xxi). There were visits by Gabriel Beranger with Mario Bigari in 1779 and by John O'Donovan in 1836. Beranger & Bigari's record of the island and some illustrations of the monuments were published by Wilde (1880) and again by Harbison (2002, 58–70). It lists the stations and includes several drawings of *leachta* or buildings (figs 5, 6 & 11). These include the only plan of the Cashel that pre-dates extensive and intrusive conservation works undertaken by the Board of Works in 1880. O'Donovan's notes are recorded in an Ordnance Survey 'Letter' of 8 July 1836. Selected illustrations of the ecclesiastical monuments appeared in Charles Vallency's *Collecteana* (1786, pl. 5, figs 1 & 2) and Francis Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland* (1791, vol. 2, pl. 122) – but in both

instances are based on Beranger & Bigari – and in Lord Dunraven's (1875, 45–54) *Notes on Irish Architecture*. To this list can be added the account of a French Consul, Charles Etienne Coquebert de Montbret, following his brief visit to the island in 1791 (Ní Cinnéide 1978).[6]

Mills' Preface to Wakeman's published survey concludes by lamenting the almost entirely unrecorded restoration work undertaken by the Board of Works in 1880: the Superintendent of Ancient Monuments' report to the Commissioners of Public Works for 1880–81 offers only the terse information that works recommended the previous year 'have been undertaken and satisfactorily completed' (Mills 1893, xviii). In response to these works, the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland commissioned William Wakeman's survey of 1885. This special volume of the Society's *Proceedings* (1886) was immediately recognised as a classic and was re-issued in monograph form in 1893 (pl. 16).[7] Wakeman's survey of the principal monuments was systematic and thorough and it appears that he had already made detailed drawings of these on previous visits to the island (pl. 17). His account of the associated religious practices and other traditions of the islanders was thoughtful and sympathetic. Despite this, his survey does have some shortcomings. Although there are many handsome and detailed sketches of the major monuments (figs 7–11), the report offers no scaled plans or elevations apart from one sketch-plan of the Cashel (ibid., fig. 1). Furthermore, his record of the cross-slabs and early memorial inscriptions is selective and sometimes inaccurate.[8] In any case, time and the elements, as well as a variety of human interventions, have worked to modify Inishmurray's ecclesiastical landscape since Wakeman's survey was completed, so that it would not supply an adequate inventory for management or conservation purposes today.


A SURVEY

OF

THE ANTIQUARIAN REMAINS

ON THE ISLAND OF

INISMURRAY

(INIS MUIREADAIGH)

BY

W. F. WAKEMAN

HON. FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND;

AUTHOR OF

A Handbook of Irish Antiquities, &c.

With a Preface by

JAMES MILLS, M.R.I.A.

Fellow and Member of Council of the Society

WILLIAMS & NORGATE,

LONDON: 14, Henrietta-street, Covent Garden. | EDINBURGH: 20, South Frederick-street.

1893

Plate 16 Title page from the 1893 monograph edition of William Wakeman's *Survey of the Antiquarian Remains of the Island of Inishmurray*, published by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

Since Wakeman's day, Inishmurray's principal monuments have frequently been cited as typical examples in general accounts of early Irish ecclesiastical architecture and archaeology (e.g. Leask



Plate 17 William Wakeman's ink & brush drawings of the cell at Trahanareear (17a above) and the enclosed *leacht* at Ollamurray (17b below), dated August 1881 (*Sligo County Library*).

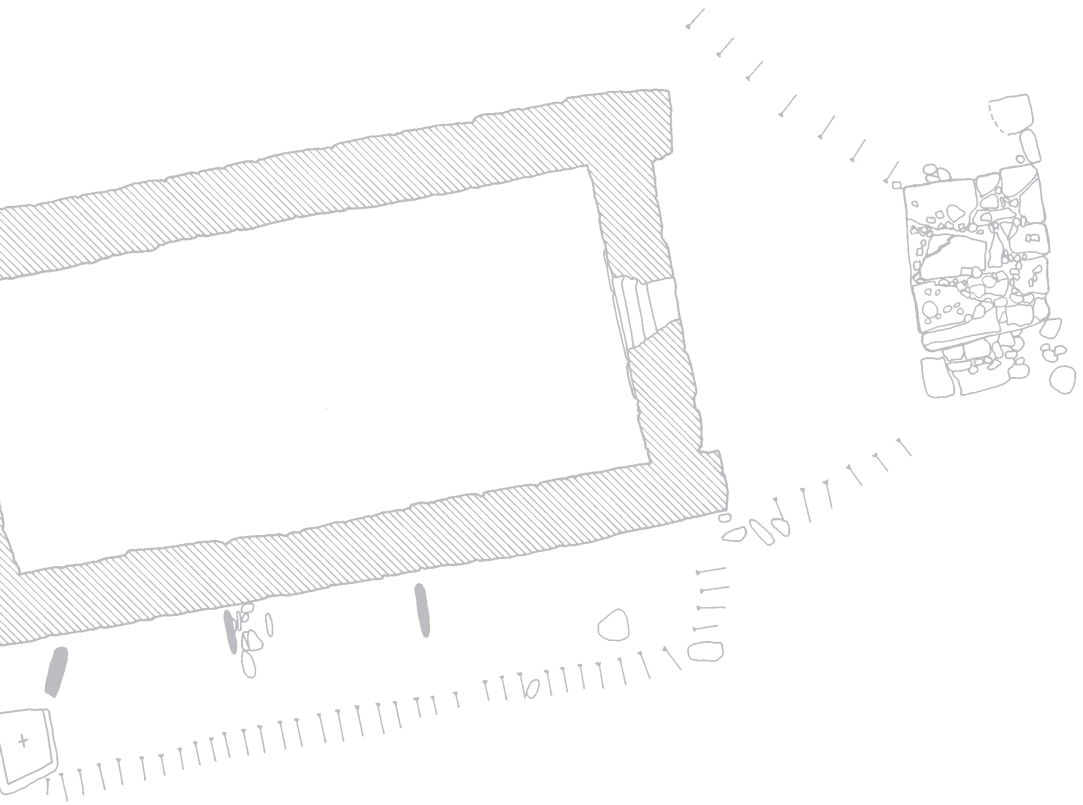
1955; Herity 1983 & 1993; Edwards 1990; Harbison 1991). The *leachta* in particular are discussed at some length in Charles Thomas' seminal *Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain* (1971, 167–99). Despite this, actual fieldwork on the island in the modern period has been sporadic. Macalister (1949, 19–21) recorded inscriptions on several carved stones from the island. Lord Mountbatten's (1972) *Inishmurray*[9] offers an idiosyncratic account of the principal monuments and of some traditions associated with them. Local archaeologist Joyce Enright (pers. comm.) recorded some of the cross-slabs in the 1980s in the course of her work for a post-graduate degree. Michael Herity's 'Antiquity of *an turas*' (1989a) describes the *leachta*, or stations, and offers new illustrations of several cross-inscribed stones. Radiocarbon dates for mortar taken from Teach Molaise, Templemolaise and Templenaman were published by Rainer Berger (1992 & 1995) as part of a larger project to obtain radiocarbon dates for a series of early Irish churches.

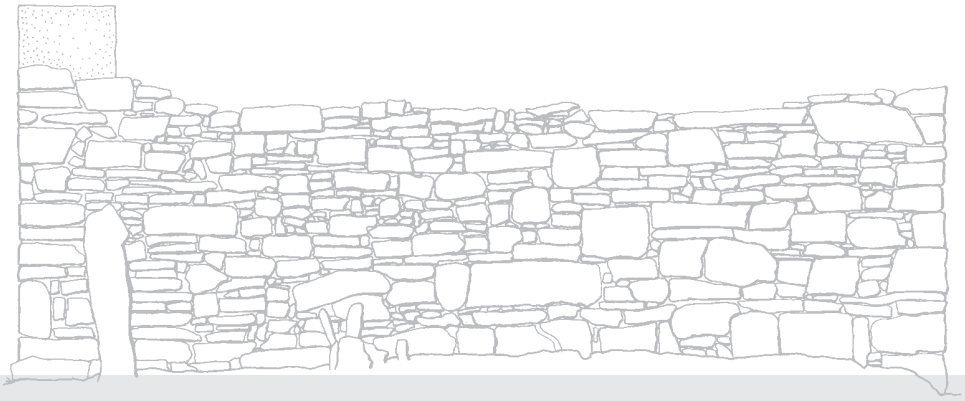
In 1994 the island was visited by Markus Casey as part of the ongoing survey of monuments by the Archaeological Survey of Ireland.[14] Descriptive reports were compiled on foot of these visits and are lodged in the relevant monument record files, commonly known as the Sites & Monuments Record, in the care of the Archaeological Survey of Ireland.

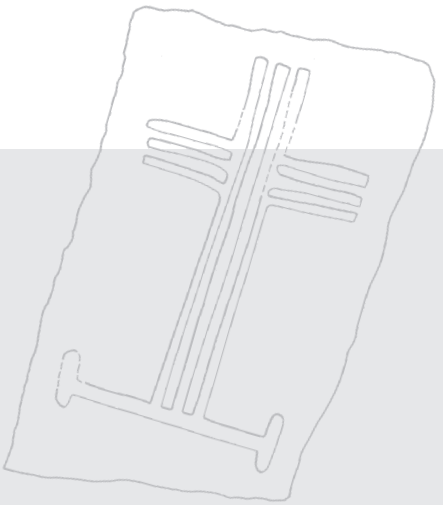
Some portable artefacts associated with Inishmurray's patron saint have been discovered at a far remove from the island and these have also been the subject of modern scholarship. Cormac Bourke (1985) identified a crozier and bell at Alnwick Castle – in the Duke of Northumberland's collection – as relics of St Molaise. These would have been kept with the wooden statue of the saint that once stood on the altar in Teach Molaise (pls 18 & 19). The statue is now in the National Museum of Ireland and is described by MacLeod (1946), O'Farrell (1987) and Cochran (2004, 83–90). Richard Bailey (1990) has shown that a cross-inscribed beach cobble – also in Alnwick Castle – is almost certainly one of the 'cursing stones' from the Clocha Breaca *leacht*. (Several other carved stones from the island are also in the National Museum of Ireland.)

Finally, we have already made reference to publications by Patrick Heraughty (1982, 27–32) and Joe MaGowan (1998, 32–24). These give brief accounts of the antiquities of the island and also record some of the traditions of the islanders in the modern period.

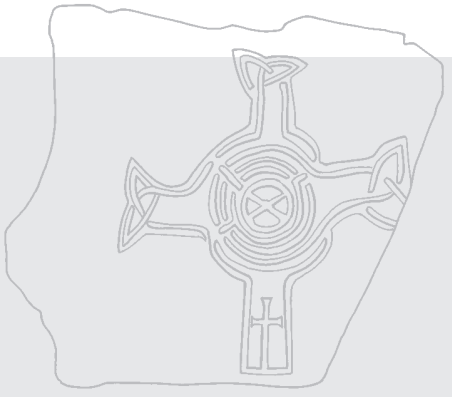
Appendix 1 gives a more detailed calendar of the primary and secondary sources for the history and archaeology of Inishmurray as consulted in writing the present volume. Most of the primary historical sources are discussed in the next section.

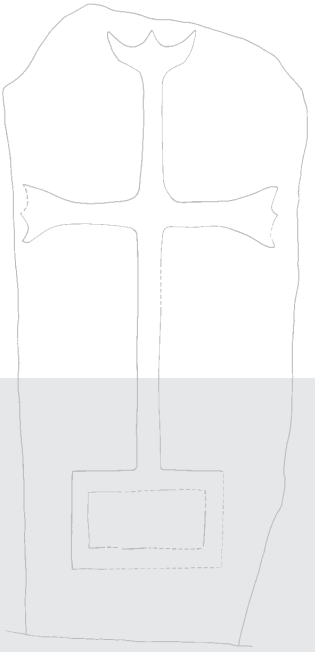






Part II
Ecclesiastical History





Muiredach and Molaise

The documentary record for Inishmurray seems rich when compared to that for most other monasteries off the west coast of Ireland. Nonetheless, we can sketch only a bare outline of its history, and do not even know for certain the identities of Muiredach and Molaise, the individuals most closely associated with it. None of the sources specify which Muiredach gave his name to the island but there is a general consensus that Bishop Muiredach of Killala is the most likely candidate (e.g. Wakeman 1893, 7; Gwynn & Hadcock 1970, 387). This is supported by a strong tradition in the Killala area that Bishop Muiredach was buried on Inishmurray (O'Rorke 1890, i, 45) and especially by the fact that he shares his feast-day (12 August) with Molaise, the island's principal saint.[10] However, this conclusion does not provide us with a clear historical context for the foundation of the site, for Muiredach of Killala is himself a shadowy figure. According to the largely ninth-century *Tripartite Life of St Patrick* (Stokes 1887, 134–5; on its date see Charles-Edwards 2000, 11–12), 'Patrick founded Cill Alaid, and left therein an aged man of his household, namely, Bishop Muiredach.' But there is no mention of him in the seventh-century Patrician sources (Bieler 1979), notwithstanding the fact that they give considerable attention to Mayo; and very little is known about the history of Killala before the 12th century, when it was recognised as an episcopal centre (Gwynn & Hadcock 1970; McDonnell 1976).

Laisrén, or Molaise, the patron saint of the monastery, is not mentioned anywhere prior to entries in the Martyrologies of Tallaght and Oengus that probably date to c. 830 (on their date see Ó Riain 1990). However, it is likely that his association with the site began much earlier. After all, a scholar who died on the island in 803 was called Mac Laisre (AFM). *The Martyrology of Tallaght* tells us that St Molaise's father was called Declan and his pedigree is fleshed out considerably in the later genealogies: 'Molaissi Echrois m. Deglain m. Dega m. Trega m. Fiachrach Fir Roeada m. Feidlimid Rectada m. Tuathail Techtmair' (Ó Riain 1985, 56; Appendix 1 under c. 1397).[11] This makes him one of the *Corco Roíde,* the population group who gave their name to the barony of Corcaree in Westmeath. A reflex of this link can be found in Tyfarnham parish in Corcaree, where there is a townland and burial ground called Kilmaglish that, according to the Ordnance Survey *Namebooks*, was pronounced *Cille Molais* (Walsh 1957, 34–5, 159). It is possible, however, that the lineage is fictitious and that Laisrén arrived on Inishmurray as part of a process of cult diffusion rather than in the flesh. Laisrén was a common name. Apart from the numerous and often doubtful instances recorded in the genealogies (Ó Riain 1985, 148), there are also a number of historically attested Laisréns. One was an early seventh-century abbot of Iona. Probably the most significant saint of that name was Laisrén of Leighlin, said to be an early advocate of the Roman Easter (Ryan 1931; Kenney 1929, 450–1; VSH, II, 236–7). But of greatest relevance here is Laisrén son of Nadfraích of Devenish, in County Fermanagh, whose death is recorded in the *Annals of Ulster* under 564 and 571. A common origin for the two cults is supported by the fact that, according to his Irish Life (O'Grady 1892 i, 17), Molaise of Devenish also has Corco Roíde connections, though on his mother's rather than his father's side. It is possible, therefore, that our Molaise is an early localisation of the cult of the Devenish saint in the territories of Cenél Coirpri Droma Cliab and Uí Fhiachrach in what is now County Sligo.

There is some evidence to suggest that Devenish had interests in the vicinity of Inishmurray. Inishmurray is situated in the parish of Ahamlish (fig. 13) and adjoining this is the small County Sligo

portion of the parish of Rossinver, which is mainly in County Leitrim. The monastery of Rossinver was (along with Drumlane and Ferns) one of the chief churches of St Maedoc (died 624 AU), but there was an establishment dedicated to Molaise of Devenish in the south of the parish at Ballaghmeehan. An O'Meehan *coarb* of Devenish is mentioned in 1336 (AFM), and the O'Meehans of Ballaghmeehan were hereditary keepers of the *Soiscél Molaisse* until a few years before it was acquired by the Royal Irish Academy in 1859.[12] The Irish *Life of Maedoc* describes a covenant between Maedoc and Molaise. This mentions that Killybeg, in County Fermanagh, was established as a collecting point for the tribute that Maedoc was entitled to receive from the territory of Fermanagh, where Devenish was the chief church (BNÉ, II, 239–41). Doherty (1986, 370) has suggested that Ballaghmeehan was the Devenish counterpart of Killybeg: a site set aside by Maedoc's federation for the clergy of Devenish as a collecting point for tribute due from the kingdom of Bréifne (now represented in its reduced form by the diocese of Kilmore). The Irish *Life of Maedoc* is a 16th-century Rossinver compilation drawing primarily on late medieval sources and the covenant motif must therefore reflect the relationship between the churches of Maedoc and Molaise in the 12th and succeeding centuries (ibid., 369; Gillespie 2004). Notwithstanding this, it is possible that Devenish already had interests in the Rossinver area in the early medieval period, and that these, along with the spread of Molaise's cult to Ahamlish and Inishmurray, were the result of a concerted policy of westward expansion.

Evidence for this is lacking, however, and alternatively it may be that a more popular, organic process of cult diffusion was responsible for the westward spread of Molaise's cult.[13] Nor can we, by any means, rule out the possibility that Inishmurray was founded by a historical personage of that name. Whatever the truth of the matter, it is clear that the development of a local cult was well advanced by c. 800. Along with an independent genealogy and feast-day (coinciding with that of Muiredach of Killala, as described above, rather than Molaise of Devenish), there is evidence that the Inishmurray saint was already acquiring the essential accoutrements of a proper cult by this time, including secondary relics and even a grave. Molaise's iron bell may be of eighth- or ninth-century date, while his delicately worked copper-alloy crozier is largely ninth- or 10th-century (Bourke 1985; Johnson 2000). They were probably kept in Teach Molaise, a shrine chapel that may also be of eighth or ninth-century date (Berger 1992 & 1995) and which reputedly houses the grave of the saint. These relics can be interpreted as an expression of autonomy on the part of Inishmurray, for in an eighth-century law tract, the *Córus Béscnai*, the definition of a principal church is one 'in which there are relics of the founder' (Etchingham 1993, 154).



Plate 18 The wooden statute of St Molaise that once stood on the altar in Teach Molaise is now in the National Museum of Ireland (*National Museum of Ireland*)



Plate 19 The crozier and great iron bell that were once venerated on the island as relics of St Molaise are now in the Duke of Northumberland's collection in Alnwick Castle, together with one of the cross-inscribed stones from the Clocha Breaca *leacht* (*Ross Trench-Jellicoe*)

Patrick and Columba

Inishmurray is located in a region where the cults of Patrick and Columba were particularly strong. Patrician church sites in the Sligo/Donegal Bay area include Killala, Kilmoremoy and Killaspugbrone; while Columban churches occur at Glencolumkille, Skreen (on the latter see Ó Muraíle 1997) and Drumcliff, which became one of the principal churches of the Columban *familia* in the post-Viking period (Herbert 1988, 189, 293, 313). Indeed, a good number of the coastal parishes in the area are dedicated to one or other of these saints, while Molaise is associated with at least three of the others, namely Ahamlish, Kilcorcach (Templeboy) and Kilglass (below 'Inishmurray's possessions on the mainland'). Neither *familia* seems to have made specific claims of authority over Inishmurray. Bishop Muiredach represents the clearest evidence for links with Patrick's *familia* but the nature of these links is unclear. There is reason to believe that Inishmurray also had links with the Columban *familia*. Molaise's feast-day coincides, not only with that of Muiredach, but also with that of Segéne, one of Columba's successors. Furthermore both Kilcorcach and Ahamlish, the two mainland parish centres most closely associated with Molaise, also appear to have Columban associations, as will be explored below. It will also be argued below ('The cemetery of Odrán') that the Inishmurray clerics looked to Columba's chief monastery, Iona, as a model when it came to laying out their monastery.

Neither folklore nor documentary sources depict the relationship between Molaise and Columba as wholly amicable. For example, Wakeman (1893, 50) relates a tradition on the island that the saints

collaborated on the erection of Templemolaise but that Columba left after they had a disagreement (also O'Hanlon 1875–1900 VIII, 179–80). A poem translated by Reeves (1857, 285–8) tells us something about how medieval clerics conceived of the relationship between the two saints.[14] The relevant verses, supposedly spoken by Columba himself, are as follows:

> Carry my benediction over the sea,
> To the nobles of the Island of the Gaedhil;
> Let them not credit Molaisi's words,
> Nor his threatened prosecution.
>
> Were it not for Molaisi's words,
> At the cross of Ath-Imlaisi,
> I should not now permit
> Disease to distemper Ireland.

This refers to the tradition, which had developed by the 11th century (Sharpe 1995, 13), that Columba's exile from Ireland was due to his involvement in the Battle of Cúil Dreimhne, and that it was Molaise who banished him or, at least, who acted as his confessor after the battle. Some sources, including Manus O'Donnell's *Life of Columcille* (Lacey 1998, 69, 101, 173; also Reeves 1857, 248–52), specify that this was Molaise of Devenish, but the reference to *Ath-Imlaisi*, the parish of Ahamlish, in which Inishmurray is situated, shows that in this case the saint in question is Molaise of Inishmurray.[15]

The ambivalence of the sources makes it difficult to arrive at a clear definition of Inishmurray's relationships with other major churches in the area, but it is likely that Molaise's community was happy to cultivate links with the *familiae* of both Patrick and Columba in order to bask in the reflected glory of these 'national' saints.

The Character and Early History of the Monastery

We cannot determine from documentary sources when the monastery on Inishmurray was founded and our excavations do not shed any further light on the question. This is unsurprising, given the peripheral locations of the excavated sites on the island, remote from the main monastic enclosure. Preliminary work on the island's carved stones suggests that only a few of the cross-slabs may be of sixth century date, and in most of these cases a later date cannot be ruled out. Nor is there any clear evidence for early medieval settlement pre-dating the foundation of the monastery. None of the miscellaneous structures and earthworks recorded by our survey is diagnostic of early medieval secular settlement ('Survey Inventory', below). There is, for example, no evidence of a ringfort on the island, despite the fact that north County Sligo has the densest distribution of ringforts in the country (Stout 1997, 55, fig. 11). A number of authorities have suggested that the Cashel was originally a secular settlement, which was gifted to the Church (e.g. Wakeman 1893, 12–19; Herity 1983, [1995b, 266–68]; White Marshal & Rourke 2000b). Excavation perhaps could determine this for certain, but on present evidence it seems to us just as likely that it was built as an ecclesiastical enclosure.[16]

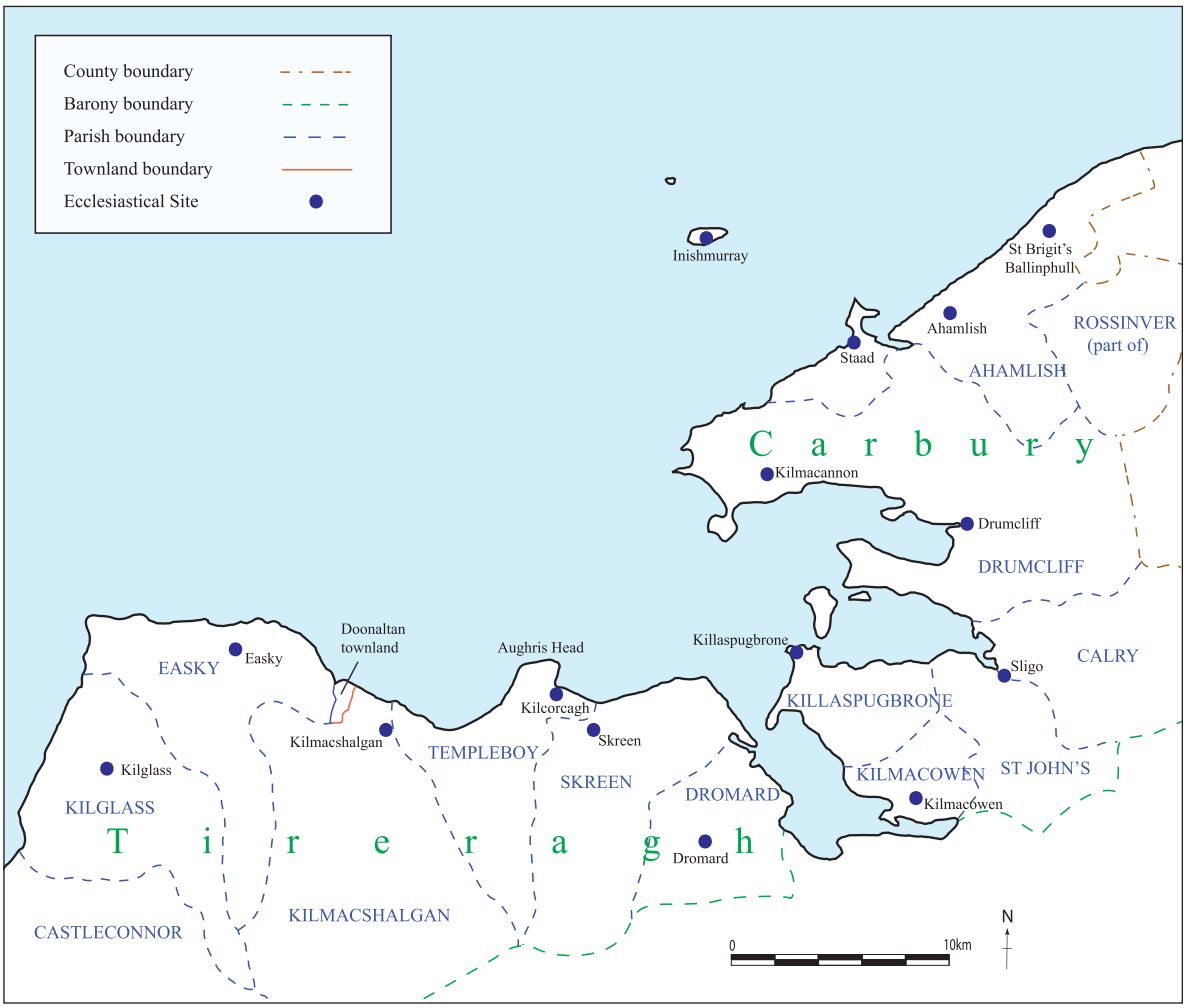


Figure 13 Some mainland churches and parishes discussed in the text

The earliest verifiable documentary references to the ecclesiastical settlement are eighth-century death notices in the annals (see Appendix 1). Though terse, they give us two key pieces of information about Inishmurray. First, that it was mentioned at all suggests an establishment of some importance, especially given its location in the west of the country, where annalistic coverage was poor.[17] Second, the fact that the first individual, who died in 752 (AU), is referred to as 'ab[batis]'[18] while the second, who died in 803 (AFM), is referred to as 'learned', suggests that Inishmurray was a centre of monasticism in the primary sense: a community of monks living according to a rule. It is consistent with this that the 12th-century *Martyrology of Gorman* emphasises Molaise's asceticism: 'Muredach with them (and) Lasrén, twain that were not slack, let us proclaim them, a bishop and a virginal meagre abbot.' The presence of a learned monastic community is also suggested by the archaeology of the site, not least the fact that it is almost unique among Irish church sites in having a substantial number of grave-slabs with Latin or bilingual inscriptions. This is particularly significant given the new consensus among historians that only a minority of early ecclesiastical settlements were monasteries in the primary sense of the word (Sharpe 1984; Etchingham 1999).

By analogy with better-documented sites like Clonmacnoise and Glendalough, the presence of a women's church and cemetery on the periphery of the island raises the possibility that Inishmurray was a double house that maintained a small community of nuns.[19] Another possibility is that the inmates of a mainland nunnery associated with Inishmurray had the right of burial on the island. The nunnery associated with Senan's monastery of Scattery was on a separate island, but its inmates demanded to be buried on Scattery Island itself (Stokes 1890, 219–20; Harrington 2002, 2423), and the saint eventually granted them a burial place 'on the brink of the wave', that is, a place on the island's perimeter reminiscent of the location of Templenaman on Inishmurray.[20] In this context it is worth mentioning that, from an archaeological point of view, the most convincing early church site in Ahamlish parish is dedicated to a female saint, Brigid (see 'Inishmurray's possessions on the mainland' below). Limited investigation at Templenaman, on Inishmurray ('Templenaman' below), did not reveal any *in situ* burials, but the only early cross-slab on the island inscribed with a female name was found during grave-digging there. The stone described in our Survey Inventory as No. 002.05 commemorates a woman called *Eileise*, among others. It is also one of only two stones in the country inscribed with the name *Maelbrigte* ('Servant of Brigid': DIL). We should not rule out the possibility that the cemetery was established for other groups of women for whom separate burial may have been appropriate, including women from the families of Inishmurray's para-monastic tenants and the wives and mistresses of its priests and abbots (on this subject see Ó Corráin 1981, 329, 338; Harrington 2002, 261–5).[21]

Along with Iona (AI) and Raithlin (AU), Inishmurray (AI) suffered one of the first recorded Viking raids on an Irish monastery in 795,[22] and it was 'burned by heathens' again in 807 (AU). That is the last the annals have to say about the site until 1612 (ALC). Ironically, most of the visible archaeological remains, including the churches, *leachta* and cross-carved stones, are probably ninth-century and later. Collectively, these monuments demonstrate that the site continued to prosper throughout the rest of the early medieval period and beyond, despite the silence of the annals in those centuries.

Aughris and Inishmurray: the Priory of St Lasirianus

Sometime in the 12th century the Augustinian priory of Aughris was established on Aughris Head in Templeboy parish.[23] No trace of either early or later medieval ecclesiastical remains now survive there. The priory may have been built on a virgin site but probably on land owned by Inishmurray, for the nearby parish centre appears to have been a daughter-house of Molaise's monastery in the early medieval period (below 'Kilcorcagh / Templeboy'). The official dedication of Aughris was to Mary but it was closely associated with Molaise (Ó Riain 1985, xxv, 56, 203; Ware 1654). In fact, in the earliest record of it, a list of churches in the diocese of Killala compiled for Innocent III in 1198, it is simply referred to as *Lassariani* (Appendix 1). Whereas early and post medieval genealogies refer to 'Molassi Inis Muridaig' (Appendix 1 at 828–833 and 1630), a late 14th-century one refers to him as 'Molaissi Echrois' (Appendix 1 at 1397). However this is not a simple case of the abandonment of an island monastery for a new establishment on the mainland. Both archaeological and documentary evidence make clear that a religious presence was maintained on the island. In fact, the most common name for the establishment in late medieval documents is 'Insula Muregeardy' (e.g. Appendix 1 under 1418) rather than 'Achras' (e.g. Appendix 1 under 1457).

Our best sources for the history of the priory are the 18 papal letters addressed to its prior during the 15th century along with other papal letters that refer to the site (see summaries in Appendix 1; CPL vols 7, 8, 11, 13 & 15). The purpose of most of these letters was to give the prior a mandate to appoint someone (usually an illegitimate son) to a clerical post – for example the post of canon or provost – or to assign someone a particular rectory or vicarage. Most of these posts were in either Killala or Elphin and, because Aughris had lands in both dioceses, papal officials could refer to it as being in one or the other depending on the matter in hand. Thus, for example, a letter of 1427 mandating the building of a hospital and church in Sligo, which is in Elphin, is addressed to 'the Prior of *Insula Muregard* in the diocese of Elphin', while a letter of 1431 mandating confiscation of the provostship of Killala from John Bared (who had 'committed fornication more than once') is addressed to 'the prior of St Mary's, *Insula Muregaid* in the diocese of Killala'. The letters indicate that the Prior of Aughris was quite an influential figure. A few of them even give him authority to resolve disputes in other dioceses, namely Achonry and Ardagh.

In the latter half of the 15th century a number of documents deal specifically with disputes about the succession to the priorship of Aughris. Two letters in 1457 are addressed to 'John Prior of St Mary's *de Insula Murybay*, in the diocese of Elphin, residing in the diocese of Winchester, and the official of Winchester.' They relate to problems in the diocese of Winchester rather than Killala or Elphin. Absenteeism of this sort, in which a cleric could secure a benefice in Ireland but would reside in England, where large dioceses required many assistants, was becoming increasingly common. Here, it seems to have opened the way for lay abuse of Aughris's properties, for in 1458 a papal letter was sent to the bishop of Killala mandating him to give the office to Thady O'Dowd 'who… is of a race of kings, and proposes, with the support of his noble and powerful kinsmen, to help [Aughris] … to recover many of its rights, possessions and goods, which have been usurped by a number of powerful nobles and laymen, and wrongfully converted to their private uses' (Appendix 1).[24] Thady's family, the O'Dowds, were descended from the early medieval Uí Fhiachrach kings and had re-established their authority over what is now the Barony of Tireragh in the 14th century (Nicholls 1972, 18). They made a number of attempts to gain control of the see of Killala during the 15th century (ibid., 101; McDonnell 1976, 46–57), and their petition in 1458 to the Pope was clearly a bid to establish direct control over Aughris, one of the principal churches within their lordship.[25] One wonders, given the implication that the priory could now expect to benefit from O'Dowd support and patronage, whether Thady's accession to the priorship coincided with the erection of one or more of the later medieval buildings on Inishmurray. Certainly, the east window of Templenaman is consistent with a 15th-century date and, while Templenatinny lacks diagnostic apertures, it could also be 15th-century. However, these buildings could just as easily date a few decades earlier or later, and the next two papal letters suggest that Thady was not as conscientious a prior as he had promised to be. A letter of 1462 refers to a petition by a canon of Aughris, Patrick O'Dowd (presumably a relation of Thady), to be transferred to the abbey of Cong because 'the number of canons in the said monastery [i.e. Aughris] has so much increased that [on account of] the lack of food and raiment and other necessaries of life they cannot commodiously live and becomingly engage in divine offices.' Clearly, the priory was expanding beyond its means, and three years later the pope sanctioned Thady's removal 'because of his deprivation'. He was replaced by John Ó Flannghaile who, on balance, is unlikely to be the absentee prior called John who had been removed from the office seven years before. A number of letters show that the

Ó Flannghaile family did their best to monopolise the priorship in the later 15th and early 16th centuries (see letters of 1465, 1477, 1490 & 1510 in Appendix 1). During most of this period they apparently managed to pass the post down from father to son with tacit papal approval.[26]

Aughris and Inishmurray after the Reformation

The last papal letter relating to Aughris dates to 1569. It gives Bishop Redmond O'Gallagher, who had until then been Bishop of Killala, permission to retain the revenues of the priory for his upkeep on translation to Derry. This raises the possibility that the priory was a going concern until the Elizabethan suppression. However, a Crown inquisition of 1584 found that it 'has lain waste for a long time because of war … [and that its church was] in a ruined state' (Appendix 1). The inquisition also stated that, up to that point, it 'has remained concealed, as it were, from the Queen, but is now in the hands of Eugene O'Conor, cleric.' This was Owen of the O'Conor-Sligos, who were overlords of the O'Dowds of Tireragh and directly controlled most of the barony of Carbery. They had entered into a 'surrender and regrant' agreement with the Crown in 1567. Owen was already Dean of Achonry by 1584 and he was to become the first Protestant Bishop of Killala in 1591 (Wood-Martin 1882, 308–9; McDonnell 1976, 79). The lands of Aughris were among a number of benefices that were bestowed on him in return for bringing to light their 'concealment' from the Crown (O'Rorke 1890 i, 125–6). Despite some erosion of their territory in the early 17th century (O'Dowd 1991, 70–1), the rentals for Sligo show that the O'Connor-Sligos owned Aughris Head and were still the biggest landowners in Ahamlish parish in 1633–36 (Appendix 1), while Inishmurray itself is identified as one of their possessions in the Down Survey (1655–56). At this point, however, they were in the process of losing their estates, not least because they had supported the rebellion of 1641. Interestingly, the integrity of the lands once owned by Aughris priory was maintained even after the Restoration when they were granted to the Earl of Stafford as a single unit (Appendix 1 under 1666).

There were still substantial ruins of the priory in this period. It is depicted on Map 24 of the Down Survey (1655–56) as a church with a substantial tower. Probably this is merely a conventional cartographer's representation of a known church site. Nonetheless, it is reminiscent of the description in the 1584 inquisition of the 'church, in a ruined state, with a belfry at one end in the likeness of a castle' (Appendix 1). The complete absence of any visible remains of the priory on Aughris Head today suggests that it was deliberately demolished and the site cleared, presumably in the late 17th or 18th century. It was clearly a substantial complex, and must have accommodated most of the Aughris community. However, the building of Templenaman and Templenatinny indicates that the name Inishmurray was not merely an honorific title for Aughris in the late medieval period. Rather, it would appear that there was a permanent clerical presence on the island throughout the Middle Ages. Pilgrimage revenues would have been a major incentive to maintain this presence, and a range of archaeological evidence (below) attests to the development of this pilgrimage throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. The following remarkable note on John Baxter's 1603 map of the 'north-west parts of Ireland' suggests that at least one religious, possibly a hermit, was living on Inishmurray decades after Aughris itself had been abandoned: 'In this ilande there dwelleth a holye man named Scanlon of whom the contrie people holde a superstitious opinion that if

he be angry with anyone he doe turne the speckled stones uppon them, that he keepeth for that use, they shall die within that yeare.'[27]

We do not know whether Scanlon or some other holy man was present to receive the body of a Moylan O'Dálaigh who was buried on the island in 1612 (ALC). As noted above, the Down Survey records only a handful of people living on the island by the 1650s and does not say that any of them were clerics.

Inishmurray's Possessions on the Mainland

A number of 16th- and 17th-century documents indicate that, by the end of the medieval period, Aughris priory controlled the vicarages of Templeboy, Kilmacshalgan and Dromard in the diocese of Killala, as well as the vicarage of Ahamlish (which included Inishmurray), in the diocese of Elphin (Appendix 1 under 1584, 1585, 1587–88 and 1666). Papal taxation records of 1302–07 treat Templeboy and neighbouring Kilmacshalgan, to the west, as a single entity. This suggests, perhaps, that Aughris already controlled both of them at this stage (McDonnell 1976, 34). This is supported by the fact that Doonaltan, a detached townland of Templeboy, occurs at the west side of Kilmacshalgan parish on its border with the parish of Easky (fig. 13).[28] It is unclear when Aughris gained control of Dromard.[29] Aughris' post-Reformation possessions probably give us a general idea of the ecclesiastical territory of Inishmurray in the early medieval period. Certainly, we know that many of the most successful early church sites benefited from the patronage of more than one secular polity (Ó Riain 1972; 1995), in this case the Cenél Coirpri Droma Cliab of present-day Carbery, as well as the Uí Fhiachrach of present-day Tireragh. Based on this evidence we can attempt to identify some of the other mainland sites which were most closely associated with Inishmurray.

Kilcorcach / Templeboy

As noted already, there is now no surface trace of Aughris itself and we do not know whether the priory was built on the site of an earlier foundation. However, there was at least one substantial early ecclesiastical site in Templeboy parish (fig. 13), namely the parish centre itself which is sited in Corcoransacres townland. The original name for the site, Corcach or Kilcorcach ('church of the marsh'), is preserved in a number of sources, including the list of parishes of 1198 and the *Valor Beneficiorum* of 1585 (McDonnell 1976; MacHale 1991, 216, 252). The parish church incorporates part of the west wall and doorway of a pre-Romanesque mortared church, the only example in Sligo apart from those on Inishmurray itself (Ó Carragáin forthcoming a). This indicates that it was a site of some importance, and raises the possibility that it was Molaise's principal establishment in Tireragh, while Aughris was a successor site built on virgin land nearby. Nearby was a well dedicated to St Molaise, but local tradition also associates the site with a saint called Baithéne (O'Rorke 1890 ii, 404; MacHale 1985, 25), possibly the cousin of Columba of that name, who briefly served as abbot of Iona (Sharpe 1995, 256–7) and, elsewhere on Aughris, a *leacht*-like structure is known locally as St Columkille's Altar (Liz FitzPatrick, pers. comm.). While we lack early documentary evidence for this Columban association, it is worth mentioning in light of the links between Iona and Inishmurray described above.



Plate 20 A cross-inscribed pillar at Kilmacannon, on the nearby north Sligo mainland, bears an elaborate design that is otherwise unique to Inishmurray.

Kilglass

Apart from Kilmacshalgan and Dromard, Kilglass (fig. 13) is another coastal parish in south-west Sligo that appears to have had links of some kind with Aughris/Inishmurray. The name is corrupted in some early documents, including the Papal Taxation of 1306 where it is spelt *Killoglass,* but a number of late 16th- and early 17th-century documents make clear that it derives from *Cill Molaise* (McDonnell 1976, 14; Ó Muraíle 2002, 239; also O'Rorke 1890 i, 419). Antiquarian accounts of Kilmacshalgan, Dromard and Kilglass do not suggest any early ecclesiastical features at these sites (e.g. O'Rorke 1890, ii; Wood-Martin 1882), nor are there any indications on the first edition Ordnance Survey maps of early ecclesiastical enclosures preserved in the surrounding field banks.

Ahamlish

The Church of Ireland parish church (now derelict) at Ahamlish also seems to be on the site of an early foundation (fig. 13).[30] The present building is early 19th-century but stands in a churchyard with a curvilinear boundary: probably the remnant of an early ecclesiastical enclosure. A well dedicated to Molaise is situated some distance to the west of the church on the line of this enclosure. A poem quoted above (see 'Patrick and Columba') indicates that in the later medieval period there was a tradition that this was where Molaise banished Columba from Ireland. Further evidence for a tradition linking both saints to Ahamlish comes from the *Martyrology of Gorman*, which mentions 'Colman mac Finain of Ath-iomglaisi' at 1 November (Appendix 1 under 1166–74). While Colman was a common name, some of the lesser St Colman's around the country may have been localisations of the cult of Columba (Pádraig Ó Riain, pers. comm.). We cannot know whether this was true of Colman of Ahamlish. Apart from the parish churchyard just described, the most convincing early church site in Ahamlish parish consists of the enclosure, cross-slab and holy well dedicated to St Brigid in Ballinphull townland, near Cliffony (e.g. Wood-Martin 1882, 89).

Kilmacannon

Kilmacannon is also worth mentioning because it features a pillar stone inscribed with a branching cross motif. The design and execution of this are identical with examples that are otherwise unique to Inishmurray (fig. 21; pl. 20). This site is in the parish of Drumcliff rather than Ahamlish (fig. 13) and therefore may have been a Columban possession. However, the artistic influence of Inishmurray is so unmistakable that a formal relationship between the two sites should not be ruled out. The pillar now stands by a farm track in pasture. The adjacent field boundaries have changed considerably in the modern period, but there is no convincing evidence in early editions of the Ordnance Survey for an associated ecclesiastical enclosure. Many of the adjacent townlands also have ecclesiastical associations. To the west is Ballintemple, a bordering townland in which there is a ruined church and graveyard while, according to the first edition of the Ordnance Survey, a church named Templenagallaghdoo[31] once stood in Ballyconnell townland to the north. To the south is Ardtermon townland which, judging by its name, made up some of the termon lands of Kilmacannon.

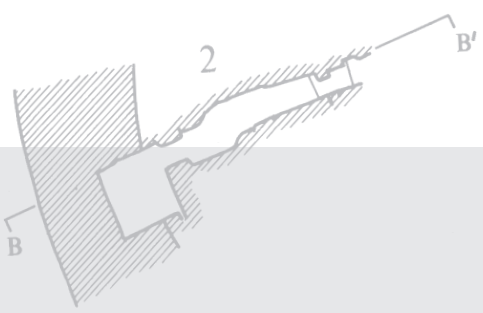


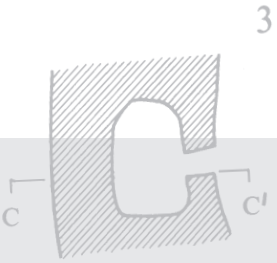
Plate 21 The remains of a later medieval chapel at 'Staad Abbey', on the north Sligo mainland, mark the main embarkation point for the island in medieval and early modern times.

Staad

Returning to Ahamlish parish, the ruined church of Staad stands on a low sea-cliff directly opposite Inishmurray, near Streedagh Bay (fig. 13; pl. 21). This site has particularly strong links to Inishmurray. Staad comes from the Latin *statio* meaning stage or station, and tradition ascribes its foundation to Molaise (Gwynn & Hadcock 1970; Killanin & Duignan 1967, 301). Though marked 'Staad Abbey' on the Ordnance Survey maps, there is no evidence that this was ever a house of cloistered monks. However, it does seem likely that it was founded as a mainland outlier of Inishmurray. The townland in which it occurs, Agharow, may well have been one of the four 'quarters' of land belonging to Aughris priory in Ahamlish parish; certainly the adjoining townland of Ballyscannell appears to have been one of them (note 27; Appendix 1 under 1622). Wakeman (1893, 156) noted that 'a kind of creek in the immediate vicinity [of Staad] affording a little shelter is still often used as a point for landing or embarkation by the [Inishmurray] islanders.' Recent survey and excavations (O'Sullivan & McCormick in prep.) recorded certain evidence for early medieval occupation at the site, including a large amount of midden material, and remnants of a house floor and souterrain, most of which had been lost to the sea. There was no evidence for a cemetery, early medieval church or ecclesiastical enclosure, suggesting perhaps that the site was originally a hostel for travellers to Inishmurray and was formally consecrated in the later medieval period by the establishment of a pilgrims' church, represented by the surviving ruin of late medieval date.

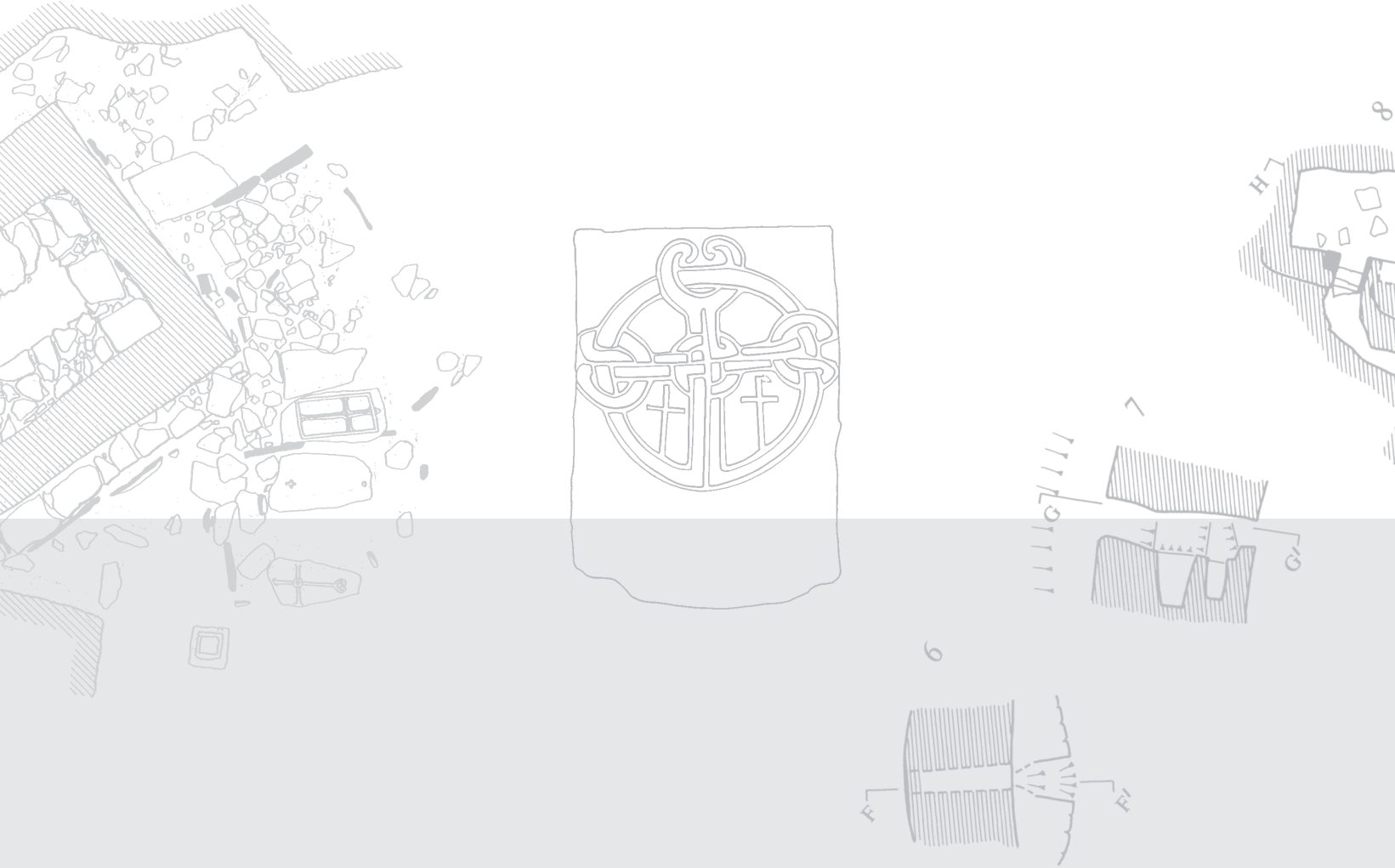
MONASTERY
MOYLAN O'DALY'S TOMB
CLOCHA BREACH
ENTRANCE NEWLY BUILT


2
B'
B


3
C
C'


4
D
D'

Part III
Archaeological Survey
1998–99







INTRODUCTION

Aims and Methods

A rapid archaeological field survey of Inishmuray was commenced over two weeks in August 1998 and completed over two weeks in August 1999. The primary aim of the survey was to record the location, condition and extent of all archaeological features on the island. As well as inspecting known monuments, the interior of the island was walked in regular traverses and all accessible cliff faces or shore areas were inspected, so that some previously unrecorded features were also identified. An EDM survey instrument[32] was used to record the locations of all archaeological features on the island as well as detailed plans of the main church sites. EDM survey data was plotted using LisCad software and the published drawings in this volume are hand-inked versions of the digital survey plots.

In 1998, particular attention was paid to monuments in peripheral or cliff-edge locations, including several of the *leachta*, as some of these were obviously subject to ongoing erosion. These monuments were photographed, described and drawn to scale in the field using traditional baseline & offset measurements. Other active agents of erosion or damage – such as encroachment by bracken or burrowing by rabbits – were noted at each site inspected. The record of threatened sites aimed to be sufficiently detailed to form the basis for proposals for conservation or rescue work (i.e. excavations of *leachta* on eroding cliff-edges).

In 1999 attention turned to the Cashel and Templenaman. Again, written descriptions were recorded in the field. The main building elevations were photographed and drawn to scale using traditional baseline & offset measurements. A drawn record was also made of the numerous mural chambers and creepways in the enclosing wall at the Cashel. Detailed plans of the buildings, *leachta*, grave markers and other features within both enclosures were recorded using an EDM.

Carved Stones

Our Survey Inventory (below) records a total of 96 cross-slabs and other carved stones. This total includes stones that were recorded on Inishmurray, or that are now elsewhere but are known to have come from the island, but also stones that are now lost but were once recorded by previous writers. A comprehensive illustrated inventory of the carved stones was commenced in 1998 and completed in 2000. The line drawings published here (figs 20–30), based on 1:1 drawings made in the field, are intended as a basic record of their designs to complement the brief descriptions in the Inventory. A full photographic

survey of the sculpture will soon be published as a separate volume (O'Sullivan, et al. in prep.). Locations of individual stones are given in detail in the Survey Inventory and the following is merely a summary.

- 1 Alnwick Castle (Duke of Northumberland's collection)
- 10 National Museum of Ireland
- 12 unknown (i.e. lost or stolen)
- 36 *in situ* (i.e. at the Cashel or Templenaman or on *leachta* elsewhere)
- 37 the old Schoolhouse, now renovated as a conservation store by the OPW.

The above list includes several stones that do not bear crosses or early inscriptions. These include a quernstone, a millstone, two bullaun stones, a stone basin or trough and a stone bearing a modern inscription.

Tradition holds that it is not possible to count the famous 'cursing stones' on the Clocha Breaca *leacht* (Survey No. 001.20) at the Cashel but, despite some ambiguities in the record, we have made the attempt. We can identify 14 carved beach cobbles of various sizes, large and small, that are either resting on or attributed to this *leacht*. Even those remaining *in situ* on the *leacht* are not obvious at first glance as they nestle among innumerable plain undecorated cobbles of similar size and shape. Wakeman counted only five carved beach cobbles when he recorded the *leacht* in the 1880s but there are now eight *in situ*; five others are now in the National Museum of Ireland and – prior to Wakeman's survey – one had already been acquired by the Duke of Northumberland for his collection of antiquities at Alnwick Castle (Bailey 1990). Finally, the published record suggests that one of the carved stones recorded by our Survey Inventory (001.23f) may be lost, though it is possible that this simply reflects an error in earlier records.

For present purposes it is enough to say that all of the carved stones that could be identified – whether in the field or from written sources – have been allocated survey numbers, their locations are recorded in the Inventory (below), and their designs are illustrated by basic line drawings in this volume. Apart from this general treatment, some cross-slabs are considered in more detail in the general discussion of the ecclesiastical landscape and, also, any examples that were unearthed during excavations are treated like other artefacts discovered and are described and illustrated in the relevant chapters.

Vernacular Buildings

A separate photographic and drawn survey was made of the 16 ruined houses of the islanders in 2001, and these also will be described in detail in a separate report (O'Sullivan in prep). Ground plans were recorded by EDM. Main elevations were drawn to scale by hand. All external and internal elevations were photographed and basic 'room descriptions' were recorded in the field.

Newly Recorded Features

The survey inventory that resulted from the work described above includes 30 cross-inscribed stones that were not recorded by previous writers, as well as 18 other features of potential archaeological interest that had not been previously identified. A few examples are worth considering at greater length here.

Carved Stones

Many of the carved stones described in the Survey Inventory (below; and figs 20–30) were not previously recorded. Notable among these is a cross-inscribed pillar (Survey No. 002.03) by the west wall of the Templenaman cemetery enclosure. The pillar itself is well known but the eroding inscriptions on its west face and north side have not been previously noted. Another notable example is in the Cashel. A large stone trough or basin (001.15) by the west front of Templemolaise has been noted by several previous writers, but the simple cross inscribed in its base has not been recorded before.

Possible Leachta *at the Cashel*

Among other new monuments are two possible *leachta*, both at the Cashel (001.38 & 001.39). One of these has been 'captured' by secondary walls forming an internal subdivision (001.04) in the southern part of the main enclosure, but would once have been a free-standing structure, like others in the Cashel – the Clocha Breaca *leacht*, Altarbeg and the East Altar (fig. 12). Identification of a second new *leacht* is more tentative. This is a mass of small rubble masonry appended on the south face of the Cashel, and itself abutted by a drystone field wall. If this is a *leacht*, its position echoes that of the large external *leacht* (001.37) on the north face of the Cashel, by Teachanalais. A more prosaic explanation is that this cairn was never a separate and ancient structure but is simply an expansion of the drystone field wall at its junction with the Cashel, designed to 'consume' a surplus of the stones used to build the abutting field wall.

Horizontal Mill

There are remains of a horizontal mill undercroft (030.01) within the cliff-face by Templenaman (fig. 44). There can be little doubt about its identification. The adjacent grassy sward is recorded by MacCarthaigh (1971) as *Fál an Mhuilinn* or 'mill bank'. A large millstone fragment in Sligo Museum was allegedly retrieved from *Lochán an Catha* – a large rock pool on the south shore of the island and a millstone (001.13) suitable for a horizontal mill can still be seen on the island, lying on the gravel surface in a corner of Templenatinny, at the Cashel.

Horizontal mills had a long currency in the West of Ireland, from early medieval to early modern times, and we have not been able to establish a precise date for this example (see 'Archaeological excavations 1997–2000', below). There was certainly no working mill in living memory on Inishmurray. Indeed, Heraughty (1982, 55) assumed that there would not have been sufficient water for this and that millstone fragments found on the island were simply brought there as anchors. However, the small lake at the centre of the island, which even in Summer extends over several acres, shows that ample water could have been impounded to drive a simple horizontal mill. This body of water has only formed since the abandonment of the island, when the main drain



Plate 22 Vestigial remains of a horizontal mill were identified at the outfall of the island's only stream (left), where it cuts a gully between the women's cemetery at Templenaman and a grassy slope named Fál an Mhuilinn or 'millbank'. Some masonry remnants can still be seen in the stream bank (right).

from the central turbary was deliberately blocked to provide water for sheep (Heraughty 1982, 15, note 1). It is now drained by a small stream that passes by the Cashel on the east side, then is culverted beneath the main 'green street', and finally spills out onto the storm beach via the remains of the mill undercroft.

Some masonry in an adjacent low cliff face was considered a possible kiln remnant (030.02) but subsequent excavation discovered it was merely a retaining wall for the plot or field above.

Modern Industrial Features

The remaining newly recorded features also reflect the economic life of the island, though principally in the modern period (fig. 2). Several kelp-drying walls (022.01, 028.1–3) were recorded and a large stone-setting with an ashy fill (020.01) may have been used to burn the seaweed once dried. Heraughty (1982, 49) describes the harvesting, drying & burning of kelp rods as a cash crop which was supplied to iodine manufacturers' agents. Similarly, the track (021.01), the sheep pen at Manntrach (023.01) and the numerous peaty mounds on the northern moorland (024.01) – probably abandoned turf ricks – are all relics of the economic strategy of the last generations of islanders.

Field System

In the eastern and southern quadrants of the island, the second edition of the Ordnance Survey (1912) records drystone walls enclosing a regular system of small rectangular fields. These are mid or later 19th-century features, evidently an outcome of the planned re-settlement of the island. These new dykes replaced an older field system of irregular, straggling earthen banks – also concentrated in the south-east part of the island – that was partly recorded by the first edition of the Ordnance Survey (1837). Our survey has been able to add to the information on the first Ordnance Survey map and the known distribution of these early bank remnants can now be extended to the northern and western parts of the island (fig. 2). In addition to remnant field banks (031.01), there are associated small



Plate 23 Coastal erosion is ongoing and also episodic (i.e. major storm events). Below the eroding cliff-edge at Relickoran are large cobbles characteristic of a high-energy wave environment and, beyond that (foreground), a wave-cut rock terrace exposed by the tide (*Suzanne Tynan*).

enclosures or pens (025.01 & 026.01). Some of these early banks, and especially the main north/south bank that effectively divides the island in two, can be identified on Sir William Petty's Down Survey (1655–56) map of the island (facsimile copy in Sligo County Library). Thus, it would seem that the older field system recorded in the 1830s was already established and perhaps ancient by that time, and had once been much more extensive. Presumably it contracted to the smaller area mapped in the 1830s as arable land in the north and west was abandoned to colonisation by moorland peat. Given the low population of the island in the post-medieval or early modern period, it must be considered likely that this older field system is at least of later medieval date, and may even derive from the earliest monastic occupation of the island in the early medieval period.

Possible Early Building Remains

Finally, on the northern moor (and visible from the Cashel), is a group of structures that cannot be assigned to any period with confidence. A single large rubble mound (019.01) includes some traces of structural remains (fig. 42). This may be the site of an unrecorded *leacht*, or a medieval building, or

simply an older sheep pen or group of pens. (Only archaeological excavation would resolve this.) Some 80 m west of this, two small groups of edge-set stones – forming small rectangular kerbed enclosures (027.01 & 027.02) – suggest cist-like graves but, again, may simply be the denuded remains of lambing pens (fig. 43).

Conservation Issues

Coastal Erosion

One of the principal aims of the survey was to record the extent of marine damage to the island's archaeological monuments. Given the peripheral or cliff-top location of several of the *leachta*, these were considered especially vulnerable to storm damage.

Laghtnasaggart (Survey No. 008.01) and Laghta Patrick (011.01) were found to have suffered the most extreme damage. The first of these was already denuded by the sea when it was visited by Wakeman (1893, 137) so that there is now neither visible evidence nor any early record of its original form. In contrast, the deterioration of Laghta Patrick can be traced through the accounts of successive witnesses. O'Donovan (1836) described both a *leacht* and cross-slab. Fifty years later, Wakeman (1893, 137–9, fig. 70) could describe only the *leacht*. This at least was still standing, but the accompanying cross had vanished. It was still in this condition when seen by Mountbatten (1972, 65), but Herity (1989a [1995b, 115]) recorded only the basal dimensions of the *leacht* in a collapsed state and subsequent writers give no description of this monument at all. At the time of our initial survey in 1998 a forlorn public notice or *fógra* directed visitors towards the monument where in fact there was only an expanse of upcast storm rubble to be seen on the grass sward by the shore. However, a miniature excavation in 2000, on the site indicated by Ordnance Survey maps, did expose the base of a *leacht*, thus confirming its dimensions and location. The *leacht* has since been reconstructed.

Relickoran (004.1–8) and Ollamurray (005.1–3) are also on cliff-edge sites (pl. 23), though these are somewhat higher above the waves and, consequently, were found to have suffered less extreme erosion. Nonetheless, the condition of Laghtnasaggart and Laghta Patrick offered an indication of what awaited these two sites also unless some remedial action was taken to preserve them. At both sites the *leachta* were partly collapsed; the enclosure walls were partly cast down by the sea and were almost wholly lost on the seaward side. At Relickoran, one of the two *leachta* (004.07) had partly fallen into the sea and the remainder stood on the lip of the eroding cliff-face; while an adjacent cross-inscribed pillar (004.05) stood within 2 m of the same cliff. Both Relickoran and Ollamurray have now been entirely excavated and reconstructed. The threatened cross-incribed pillar at Relickoran has been removed to the OPW conservation store in the island's old Schoolhouse.

The newly discovered mill undercroft (030.01) occupies an even more vulnerable position, as it is located within a cliff-face where this is breached by the mouth of a stream, immediately above the storm beach (pl. 22). Little of this structure survives and unless the remainder is consolidated it will soon be lost.

The adjacent women's cemetery (002.07) is also bordered by a receding cliff face and the seaward sector of its enclosure wall (002.02) has been entirely lost to the sea. The exposed cliff-face was cleaned and

recorded in 1999. Some eroding human skeletal remains could be seen in section but it is not possible on present evidence to say whether these are ancient or modern. Again, consolidation of the cliff face at this site must be a priority in any ongoing conservation programme on the island.

Invasive Vegetation

Colonisation by strongly-rooted plants was found to be less of a problem than anticipated. Management of the main ecclesiastical sites (i.e. Templenaman and the Cashel) by the State has resulted in only light colonisation of the structures there by thin grasses, with occasional shoots of bramble or bracken. Only on the roof of Teach Molaise is a community of grass and weeds, with invasive roots, strongly established.

In contrast, some of the peripheral or outlying monuments are strongly overgrown by bramble, bracken and tall umbilliferous weeds. This group includes Tober Molaise (001.91), Laghta Columbkille (016.1–2) and Relickoran (004.1–8), as well as the newly discovered structure on the northern moor (019.01), where bracken is very strongly established over its rubble matrix.

Finally, almost the entire area of the later 19th-century field system is strongly overgrown by plant communities dominated by bracken. These plants are largely confined to the open areas between the field walls; the dykes themselves contain little or no soil and are generally unencumbered by vegetation.

Rabbits

Few live rabbits were seen on the island during the several seasons of survey and excavation in 1997–2000. Rabbit carcasses were sometimes seen and myxomatosis appeared to be endemic. Nonetheless, there was evidence of extensive burrowing at several sites.[33] The effects of this have been particularly destructive at Crossmore (009.01–3) and Trahanee (010.01–2), where the interiors of the enclosures are undermined by burrows and the low surrounding banks are also badly riddled. The problem is less serious at Treenode More (013.01–3). Here, numerous burrows can be seen on the steep grassy bank that slopes down to the cliff-edge below the monument. There is a danger that these burrows may ultimately result in large erosion hollows forming below the monument or even in a landslip which would radically hasten the advance of cliff-erosion at this site.

Structural Problems

Apart from those monuments suffering from storm damage, the remaining monuments were generally found to be structurally sound. Once again – as with vegetation control – this owes a good deal to ongoing care of the monuments by the OPW. Nonetheless, a few problems were noted by our original survey report, not only because of the need for conservation, but because they posed a threat of injury to the public.

Since our survey, a weakened sector of the Cashel wall (001.01), the lintelled door-head of Teachanalais (001.86) and the covered opening to the souterrain (001.02) between Teach Molaise and Templenatinny have all been made sound by the OPW. At the time of writing, however, the external wall

bench on the south face of Teach Molaise (001.05) is still unstable and unsafe (pl. 24). The most extensive works by the OPW were to the Cashel wall, where part of the inner wall face in the western sector of the enclosure was taken down and rebuilt in 1999.

The danger of collapse of parts of the Cashel wall is likely to be an ongoing problem. More or less all of the visitors to the Cashel climb the wall to gain a vantage point over of the island and the seascapes beyond, or to take photographs of the Cashel interior, and there are neither signs nor barriers to discourage this.

The island's modern dwelling houses and ancillary buildings will be the subject of a separate report (O'Sullivan, in prep.) and will not be considered further in this volume, but it is worth noting here that these appear to be subject to more rapid ongoing decay than the neighbouring ecclesiastical monuments. There are likely to be several reasons for this: a) these buildings are not in public care; b) their mortared walls are now largely roofless and are thus more susceptible to erosion by wind and rain than drystone structures; c) they still include many organic elements (wood panelling; thatch and turf roof remnants); and d) their location along the frontage of the 'green street' by the south shore makes them easily accessible to campers and daytrippers, who remove timbers for camp fires or climb about among the ruins causing fragile masonry to tumble down. The neglect of these ruined vernacular buildings seems to us a great pity. They form part of the built heritage of a unique island and are themselves a fine example of a planned island village of mid 19th-century date.

Lost or Stolen?

The Survey Inventory (below) lists the present locations of 12 carved stones as 'unknown'. Certainly, in at least a few instances, this simply reflects errors or ambiguities in the cumulative record of the island. For instance, a report compiled in 1994 by Markus Casey for the Archaeological Survey of Ireland records a cross-slab (No. 007.05) on the outer cairn at Trahanareear, although this is not described by any earlier writer and no corresponding stone was found during the excavation of that site in 1997 (below). Evidently this was a plain or undecorated slab and may simply have been placed on the cairn in modern times.

At least one other instance may confidently be attributed to storm damage. A cross-slab on Laghta Patrick (No. 011.02) was described by O'Donovan in 1836 but was not seen by any later writer. As the *leacht* itself has since been lost to the sea, that was the probable fate of the cross-slab too. There may be other, similar, but undocumented cases of this.

One 'missing' slab at Ollamurray (No. 005.03) was already a plain or worn stone when seen by Wakeman (1893, 128), though he thought it likely to have been carved originally. We cannot say now whether the stone was ever carved. It was not identified during the excavation of the site (below) and is most unlikely ever to be identified again.

There is no obvious explanation, however, for the absence of several other carved stones. This group includes three inscribed stones (Nos. 001.45, 001.47 & 001.48), and several cross-slabs (Nos. 001.80, 001.81 & 001.82), all from the Cashel. Some of these may have been stolen, but they are equally likely to be on the island still, lying beneath the turf where they have fallen from view.

Some carved stones seemed to move about quite a bit on Inishmurray, so that tracing the location of



Plate 24 Fragile medieval buildings are vulnerable to damage by visitors as well as the elements: unstable wall bench on the south face of Teach Molaise.

any one stone can be a chequered and uncertain business. The following example is a salutory tale for anyone attempting to unravel the records of a large carved stone assemblage. On Crossatemple – the small *leacht* in the Templenaman cemetery – Wakeman described only a 'small flat stone which has been sculptured with two crosses', the carving on one side having weathered away almost entirely. This small cross-slab is now lost and would certainly have been very different to the elaborate cross-slab which stands on the *leacht* today. But where did this other, more elaborate stone come from? The usurper appears to have been recorded first in the Cashel – and not at Templenaman – by Wakeman (1893, 102, fig. 49). It can be identified at a slightly later date on the Clocha Breaca *leacht* in a photo of 1901 (Heraughty 1982, 30). However, even this was not its original position, as Wakeman testifies that the cross-slabs (as distinct from the cursing stones) on the Clocha Breaca had not been there on his first visit to Inishmurray in 1879 (presumably they were placed there during the restoration works of 1880). And even in Wakeman's own record this cross-slab is apparently confused with another, adjacent slab, so that he describes it as lying in the men's cemetery in the Cashel rather than standing on the nearby Clocha Breaca *leacht*. Thus, both in fact and in the errors of the published record, this cross-slab has travelled about quite a bit, having been first in the men's cemetery and then on the Clocha Breaca *leacht*, before it came to its

present position on Crossatemple, in the Templenaman cemetery. As to the partly worn stone which Wakeman originally described on this *leacht*, apparently this really is lost, and may simply have been set aside by the islanders as spalling or weathering gradually removed all of its carved features.

Weathering of Carved Stones

The deterioration of the carved stones caused by wind, rain and temperature extremes is very variable. (Thankfully, vandalism does not yet appear to be a factor.) Some of the carvings seem quite well preserved but others are scarcely legible. The local sandstone from which most of the cross-slabs are carved is naturally laminated. This results in instances of gross erosion in the form of spalling or flaking. There is also much evidence of more gradual surface erosion – probably due to abrasion by windborne sand. At the time of survey some of the stones were extensively lichen-clad but on others the lichens had been chemically killed and then removed by the OPW.[34]

In some instances the advance of weathering or damage can be measured against earlier accounts of the same stones. For instance, Wakeman (1893, 106, fig. 51) depicts very fine *triquetera* figures on the arms of a cross-slab that was then standing before the doorway to Teach Molaise. (This is now in the Schoolhouse and is recorded here as 001.75.) These figures can no longer be seen, however, as the upper quadrants of the cross are extensively spalled. Similarly, the fine cross-slab fragments with Greek key design which Wakeman (1893, 104, fig. 50) first recorded in two fragments on the Clocha Breaca *leacht* is now in three fragments at the Schoolhouse (001.32).

Many of the carved stones (37 from a total of 96) are now in the island's old Schoolhouse, which was restored as a conservation store by the OPW in the 1980s. Among those stones that are still *in situ* (i.e. exposed to the elements), severe spalling or weathering was noted on the following stones. Relocating these in an indoor conservation store is one option for their longterm preservation, ideally, with replicas being made to replace them on site.

Table 2
Carved stones suffering severe erosion (1998)

Survey No.	Carved stone	Location
001.09	Cross-inscribed stone	Teach Molaise
001.18	Holed stone	Templemolaise
001.49	Cross-slab	The Cashel
001.51	Cross-slab	The Cashel
001.55	Cross-slab	The Cashel
001.57	Cross-slab	The Cashel
002.03	Cross-inscribed holed stone	Templenaman
013.02	Cross-slab	Treenode More
003.02	Cross-slab	Crossatemple

Recommendations

By the time our field survey was initiated in 1998 the OPW had already carried out an extensive programme of recent work on Inishmurray. The 19th-century Schoolhouse had been renovated as a conservation store for a selection of the island's carved stones. We had already excavated the eroding cliff-edge *leacht* at Trahanareear in 1997 and assisted in its reconstruction. Our preliminary survey report in 1998 identified further measures that might be undertaken to enhance understanding of the island's unique archaeological landscape and to promote its preservation for future generations of visitors and researchers.

Some of the recommendations addressed immediate conservation needs. For instance, building consolidation was advised where a structure had become unstable and was in danger of collapse. Control of rabbit burrows, with a suitable membrane, was advised where warrens were developing beneath monuments and threatening to undermine them.

Other recommendations proposed more radical interventions. Total excavation was proposed for two major monuments perched on eroding cliff-edges – at Relickoran and Ollamurray – but partial excavation only was recommended to assess the impact of erosion at Templenaman or, more simply, to ascertain the character or location of some other, minor monuments, like Laghta Patrick or the putative kiln at Fál an Mhuilinn.

Some recommendations were aimed at improving the 'baseline' information about the island. For instance, surveys of both the ancient ecclesiastical buildings and the abandoned modern houses were seen as essential aids to any future management plan or conservation works that might be proposed. Other recommendations aimed to harvest information for pure research reasons, including proposed investigations of the environmental history of the island.

The appointment of seasonal wardens was recommended as the lynchpin in any longterm conservation programme on the island. This is no novel suggestion. Well over a 100 years ago Wakeman (1893, 153) observed: 'Now that the antiquities of Inishmurray have been placed under the care of the Board of Works, it is much to be regretted that no responsible caretaker appears to have been appointed.' The need for this measure has become greater with time and particularly since the departure of the islanders in the 1940s.

Happily, we can report that many of these measures have already been fulfilled and there is a fair prospect that others will be pursued in the forseeable future. This is partly because of a growing awareness of the island at both public and institutional level and an increasing concern for its care. The *Sligo County Development Plan 2002–2007* proposes the designation of Inishmurray as a Special Amenity Area and in 2006 the Council commissioned the Institute of Technology, Sligo, to write a conservation plan for the island (Bird et al. 2007). Some of the recommendations of that document are summarised below in our concluding chapter on 'Caring for Inishmurray'. Table 3, below, summarises the positive outcomes of the 1998 survey of the island that were commissioned or executed by the National Monuments Service and OPW.

Table 3
Conservation outcomes of the 1998 survey report

Baseline information	
Buildings survey	All ecclesiastical buildings Modern dwelling houses and outhouses
Carved stone inventory	Drawn, photographic and written record of all carved stones on or associated with the island
SMR update	Reconciliation of national Sites & Monuments Record files with 1998–1999 survey records
Management and Conservation Measures	
Consolidation of unstable or damaged masonry	Sector of Cashel wall (001.01) Door-head of Teachanalais (001.86) Souterrain entrance in Cashel (001.02)
Excavation and Reconstruction	
Total excavation of eroding monument on cliff-edge	Cemetery and *leachta* at Relickoran (004.1–8) Enclosure and *leacht* at Ollamurray (005.1–3).
Excavation and Reconstruction	
Partial excavation to assess erosion or locate monument	Vanished *leacht* at Laghta Patrick (011.01) Newly discovered mill undercroft (030.01) Suspected kiln remnants (030.02) by mill site Cliff face at Templenaman cemetery (002.07)
Reconstruction of excavated monuments	Laghta Patrick (011.01) Relickoran (004.1–8) Ollamurray (005.1–3) Trahanareear (007.01–8)[35]
Research	
Desk-based research	Research in any published or unpublished records for the history of the island and its monuments

Survey Concordance

The following table lists the elements that are described in more detail in the Survey Inventory (below) and also gives the current locations and, where relevant, the site names of all the carved stones, including bullauns, pillar stones, cross-slabs and inscribed stones. The Survey Inventory numbers generally follow existing reference numbers in the national Sites & Monuments Record files maintained by the Archaeological Survey of Ireland, which have been revised and updated since our survey was undertaken in 1998.

Table 4

Concordance and summary of archaeological survey inventory with locations of carved stones

The Cashel

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
001.01	SL001-001-001	monastic enclosure	The Cashel	–
001.02	–	enclosure	–	–
001.03	–	enclosure	–	–
001.04	–	enclosure	–	–

Teach Molaise

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
001.01	SL001-001-001	monastic enclosure	The Cashel	–
001.05	SL001-001-005	church (= shrine chapel)	Teach Molaise	–
001.06	SL001-001-006	wall bench	Leaba Molaise	–
001.07	SL001-001-007	altar	Altóir Molaise	–
001.08a	SL001-001-008	statue	St Molaise	National Museum
001.08b	–	bell	–	Alnwick Castle
001.08c	–	crozier	–	Alnwick Castle
001.09	–	cross-inscribed stone (lintel)	–	*in situ*

Templenatinny

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
001.10	SL001-001-011	church?	Templenatinny	–
001.11	SL001-001-012	hearth	–	–

001.12	SL001-001-033	cross-slab (lintel)	–	*in situ*
001.13	–	millstone	–	*in situ*

Templemolaise

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
001.14	SL001-001-009	church	Templemolaise	–
001.15	SL001-001-034	bullaun	–	*in situ*
001.16	SL001-001-010	cross-inscribed basin	–	*in situ*
001.17	SL001-001-026	cross-inscribed pillar	–	*in situ*
001.18	SL001-001-023	cross-inscribed holed pillar	–	*in situ*
001.19	SL001-001-024	incised pillar stone	–	*in situ*

Clocha Breaca

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
001.20	SL001-001-013	*leacht*	Clocha Breaca	–
001.21	SL001-001-035	grave	Moylan Ó Dálaigh's Tomb	–
001.22	SL001-001-016	cross-inscribed stone	–	*in situ*
001.23 a	SL001-001-015	cursing stone	–	*in situ*
001.23 b	SL001-001-015	cursing stone	–	*in situ*
001.23 c	SL001-001-015	cursing stone	–	*in situ*
001.23 d	SL001-001-015	cursing stone	–	Alnwick Castle
001.23 e	SL001-001-015	cursing stone	–	*in situ*
001.23 f	SL001-001-015	cursing stone	–	*in situ*
001.23 g	SL001-001-015	cursing stone	–	*in situ*
001.23 h	SL001-001-015	cursing stone	–	National Museum
001.23 i	SL001-001-015	cursing stone	–	National Museum
001.23 j	SL001-001-015	cursing stone	–	National Museum
001.23 k	SL001-001-015	cursing stone	–	National Museum
001.23 l	SL001-001-015	cursing stone	–	*in situ*
001.23 m	SL001-001-015	cursing stone	–	National Museum
001.23 n	SL001-001-015	cursing stone	–	*in situ*
001.24	SL001-001-017	pillar stone	–	unknown

001.25–31	–	[numbers not used]	–	–
001.32 a–c	SL001-001-018	cross-slab frags.	–	Schoolhouse

Altarbeg

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	–	Location
001.33	SL001-001-019	*leacht*	–	–
001.34	SL001-001-020	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse

East Altar

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
001.35	SL001-001-021	*leacht*	East Altar	–
001.36	SL001-001-022	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse

Other *leachta* at the Cashel

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
001.37	SL001-001-032	*leacht*	–	–
001.38	SL001-001-043	*leacht* (poss.)	–	–
001.39	SL001-001-044	*leacht* (poss.)	–	–

Men's Cemetery

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
001.40	SL001-001-029	cemetery	Men's Cemetery	–

Other cross-slabs and inscribed stones from the Cashel

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
001.41	SL001-001-025	inscribed stone	–	*in situ*
001.42	SL001-001-045	inscribed stone	–	National Museum
001.43	SL001-001-028	inscribed cross-slab	–	National Museum
001.44	SL001-001-046	inscribed stone	–	National Museum
001.45	SL001-001-047	inscribed slab	–	unknown

001.46	SL001-001-048	inscribed cross-slab (frag.)	–	National Museum
001.47	SL001-001-027	inscribed cross-slab	–	unknown
001.48	SL001-001-049	inscribed cross-slab (frag.)	–	unknown
001.49	SL001-001-050	cross-slab	–	*in situ*
001.50	SL001-001-051	cross-inscribed pillar stone	–	*in situ*
001.51	SL001-001-052	cross-slab	–	*in situ*
001.52	SL001-001-053	cross-slab	–	*in situ*
001.53	SL001-001-054	cross-slab	–	*in situ*
001.54	SL001-001-055	cross-slab	–	*in situ*
001.55	SL001-001-056	cross-slab	–	*in situ*
001.56	SL001-001-057	cross-slab	–	*in situ*
001.57	SL001-001-058	cross-slab	–	*in situ*
001.58	SL001-001-059	inscribed cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
001.59	SL001-001-060	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
001.60	SL001-001-061	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
001.61	SL001-001-062	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
001.62	SL001-001-063	inscribed cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
001.63	SL001-001-064	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
001.64	SL001-001-065	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
001.65	SL001-001-066	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
001.66	SL001-001-067	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
001.67	SL001-001-068	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
001.68	SL001-001-069	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
001.69	SL001-001-070	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
001.70	SL001-001-071	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
001.71	SL001-001-072	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
001.72	SL001-001-073	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
001.73	SL001-001-074	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
001.74	SL001-001-075	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
001.75	SL001-001-076	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
001.76	SL001-001-077	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
001.77	SL001-001-078	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
001.78	SL001-001-079	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
001.79	SL001-001-080	cross-slab (frag.)	–	National Museum

001.80	SL001-001-081	cross-slab	–	unknown
001.81	SL001-001-082	cross-slab	–	unknown
001.82	SL001-001-083	cross-slab (frag.)	–	unknown

Clochauns

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
001.83	SL001-001-003	clochaun	Toorybrenell	–
001.84	SL001-001-004	clochaun	Trahannacoreesh	–
001.85	SL001-001-084	clochaun	–	–
001.86	SL001-001-030	clochaun	Teachanalais	–

Souterrains and related features at the Cashel

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
001.87	SL001-001-002	souterrain	–	–
001.88	SL001-001-085	souterrain (site of)	–	–
001.89	SL001-001-087	souterrain/ mural chamber	–	–
001.90	SL001-001-086	lintelled chamber	–	–

Holy well at the Cashel

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
001.91	SL001-001-031	holy well	Tober Molaise	–

Quernstone (from the Cashel?)

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
001.92	–	quernstone (frag.)	–	Schoolhouse

Templenaman

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
002.01	SL001-002-001	church	Templenaman	–
002.02	SL001-002-002	enclosure	–	–
002.03	SL001-002-003	cross-inscribed holed pillar	–	*in situ*

002.04	SL001-002-004	bullaun stone	–	*in situ*
002.05	SL001-002-005	inscribed stone	–	*in situ*
002.06	SL001-002-006	cross-slab (frag.)	–	Schoolhouse
002.07	SL001-002-007	cemetery	Women's Cemetery	–
002.08	SL001-002-008	cross-inscribed pillar	–	*in situ*
002.09	SL001-002-009	stone bench	–	–
002.10	SL001-002-011	pillar stone (poss.)	–	*in situ*
002.11	SL001-002-012	cross-slab (frag.)	–	*in situ*
002.12	SL001-002-013	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse

Crossatemple

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
003.01	SL001-003-001	*leacht*	Crossatemple	–
003.02	SL001-003-002	cross-slab	–	*in situ*
003.03	–	cross-inscribed pillar	–	unknown

Relickoran

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
004.01	SL001-004-001	enclosure	–	–
004.02	SL001-004-002	*leacht*	–	–
004.03	SL001-004-003	cemetery	Relickoran	–
004.04	SL001-004-004	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
004.05	SL001-004-005	cross-inscribed pillar	–	Schoolhouse
004.06	SL001-004-007	enclosure	–	–
004.07	SL001-004-006	*leacht*	–	–
004.08	SL001-004-008	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
004.09	–	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
004.10	–	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse

Ollamurray

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
005.01	SL001-005-001	enclosure	–	–
005.02	SL001-005-002	*leacht*	Ollamurray	–
005.03	SL001-005-003	cross-slab (poss.)	–	unknown

Promontory fort (poss., site of)

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
006.01	SL001-006	promontory fort	–	–

Trahanareear

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
007.01	SL001-007-001	cell or clochaun	–	–
007.02	SL001-007-002	*leacht*	Trahanareear	
007.03	SL001-007-003	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
007.04	SL001-007-004	cairn	–	–
007.05	SL001-007-005	cross-slab	–	unknown
007.06	SL001-007-007	enclosure	–	–
007.07	SL001-007-006	inscribed stone (modern)	–	Schoolhouse
007.08	SL001-007-008	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse

Laghtnasaggart

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
008.01	SL001-008-001	*leacht* (site of)	Laghtnasaggart	–

Crossmore

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
009.01	SL001-009-001	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse
009.02	SL001-009-002	*leacht*	Crossmore	–
009.03	SL001-009-003	enclosure	–	–

Trahanee & Tobernocoragh

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
010.01	SL001-010-001	enclosure (wall)	Trahanee	–
010.02	SL001-010-002	enclosure (bank)	–	–
010.03	SL001-010-003	*leacht* (site of?)	–	–
010.04	SL001-010-004	holy well	Tobernacoragh	–
010.05	–	quarry pit	–	–

Laghta Patrick

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
011.01	SL001-011	*leacht* (site of)	Laghta Patrick	–
011.02	SL001-011-002	cross-slab	–	unknown

Tobernasool

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
012.01	SL001-012	holy well (site of)	Tobernasool	–

Treenode More

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
013.01	SL001-013-001	enclosure	–	–
013.02	SL001-013-002	cross-slab	–	*in situ*
013.03	SL001-013-003	*leacht*	Treenode More	–

Treenode Beg

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
014.01	SL001-014-001	*leacht*	Treenode Beg	–
014.02	SL001-014-002	cross-slab	–	Schoolhouse

***Leacht* (site of)**

Survey No.	–	Type	Name	Location
015.01	SL001-015	*leacht* (site of)	–	–

Laghta Columbkille

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
016.01	SL001-016-001	*leacht*	Laghta Columbkille	–
016.02	SL001-016-002	cross-slab	–	*in situ*

Altar & architectural fragment

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
017.01	–	*leacht?*	–	–
017.02	–	architectural fragment	–	unknown

Miscellaneous non-ecclesiastical features

Survey No.	SMR No.	Type	Name	Location
018.01	SL001-018-001	cist	–	–
018.02	SL001-018-002	megalith tomb (error?)	–	–
019.01	SL001-019	structure (unclassified)	–	–
020.01	–	enclosure (industrial?)	–	–
021.01	–	track	–	–
022.01	–	kelp-drying wall	–	–
023.01	–	enclosure (sheep?)	–	–
024.01	–	mounds	–	–
025.01	–	enclosure	–	–
026.01	–	enclosure	–	–
027.01	SL001-020-001	stone kerb (unclass)	–	–
027.02	SL001-020-002	stone kerb (unclass)	–	–
028.01	–	kelp wall	–	–
028.02	–	kelp wall	–	–
028.03	–	kelp wall	–	–
029.01	SL001-021	cairn	–	–
030.01	SL001-022-001	mill	–	–
030.02	SL001-022-002	kiln (poss.)	–	–
031.01	SL001-023	field system	–	–

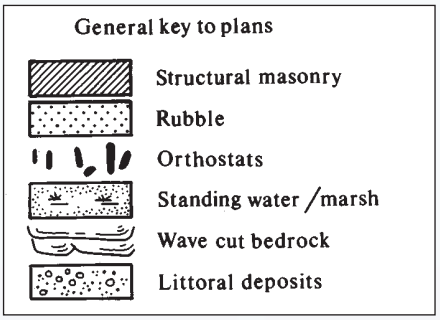


Figure 14 Key to survey drawings

SURVEY INVENTORY
1998–99

The Cashel

This section describes the Cashel itself (i.e. the main enclosure wall), together with a brief account of its mural chambers and also the three main enclosures or subdivisions formed by low drystone walls and terracing within the Cashel.

Survey No. 001.01
SMR No. SL001-001-001
Site type Monastic enclosure
Site name The Cashel
NGR 353870 157400
Illustration Figs 2, 12 & 15; pl. 17
References Beranger & Bigari (1779 [see Harbison 2002, 58–70]); Grose (1791, Vol. 2, pl. 122); Vallency (1786, plate V, fig. 1); O'Donovan (1836 [= 'Letters', Sligo, 8 July 1836]); Wakeman (1886, 187–88, figs 1 & 2; 1893, 13–14, figs 1 & 2); Leask (1955, 12, fig. 1: reconstruction); Mountbatten (1972, 49–51); Heraughty (1982, 22–24; photo & plan [after Wakeman]); Herity (1983 [1995b, 38–40 & plan 32]; aerial photos 1989a [1995b, 95], 1990 [1995b, 173] & 1993 [1995b, 272]); Edwards (1990, 118–119 & 120, illus. 56); McGowan (1998, 20–21, and plan [after Wakeman], page 48); Harbison (2002, 58 –70, figs. 35 & 36).
Description A massive curvilinear wall (pear-shaped on a NE/SW axis) of drystone construction encloses an area of roughly 0.14 ha. The enclosure measures 52.5 m by 40.5 m. The walls are 3 m high and up to 4 m thick. On the west side, the inner wall face is stepped, though the steps narrow in places to form a mere scarcement rather than terraces or ramps. It is not known to what extent these features were rebuilt by the Board of Works in 1880. The series of small wall niches in the east sector is certainly modern work. On the other hand, the mural chambers which occur throughout the southern, western and northern sectors seem to be of a single build with the wall itself and are probably primary features. A common element of these is their style of construction: the side walls are raised in even courses of small or medium flat stones, brought to a fair face, and are capped by massive lintels, set over a few courses of corbelling where this is required by the span of the chamber. A notable exception is the souterrain-like feature in the west sector: the roof of the end chamber is partly corbelled, as elsewhere, but the walls are formed by massive flat slabs

set on edge. Two other mural chambers descend to 'low openings' or creepways which give access to the exterior (the outer openings are up to 0.8 m wide by 0.9 m high). There may once have been four of these 'low openings', but two are now blocked externally. There are also two regular entrances (i.e. narrow lintelled doorways up to 1.8 m in height and 1 m wide), in the south-east and north-east sectors.

Notes **1**. The Cashel wall was unstable in the western sector at the time of survey and in danger of collapsing inward at roughly the point where it bows towards Toorybrenell. [We believe the inner wall face in this sector has since been taken down and rebuilt by the OPW but, as far as we are aware, without any archaeological recording or supervision – JO'S.] Otherwise it was found to be in good condition. The mural chambers are all of sound construction and the wall itself bears only light vegetation (occasional patches of thinly rooted grass). **2**. O'Donovan recorded the height of the walls in 1836 as 15 ft; evidently they were much reduced by restoration works. He also records – contra Wakeman (1893, 19) – that there were original entrances in both the east and south (quoted in Mills 1893, ix). **3**. Heraughty (1982, 22–24) reports that quantities of cockle shells and deer skulls were found within the wall when it was rebuilt by the Board of Works in 1880; also cannon balls, from an alleged naval bombardment in the 18th century. 4. Heraughty (1982, 22–24) thinks the Cashel is a late construction, possibly in response to Viking raids. Herity (1983 [1995b, 39]), in contrast, suggests that the wall stairs and mural chambers are early features, derived from a pre-Christian building tradition. 5. McGowan (1998) describes modern folk practices associated with the mural chambers, including disposal of the bedding of the recently deceased in one chamber within the southern sector of the Cashel wall.

Survey No. 001.02
SMR No. —
Site type Enclosure (northern subdivision)
Site name The Cashel
Location The Cashel
NGR 353892 157408
Illustration Fig. 12
References Wakeman (1886, 207; 1893, 34); Mountbatten (1972, 50)

Description The most northerly arc of the Cashel wall is spanned by a low drystone wall – extending from Trahannacoreesh in the east to near Teach Molaise in the west – forming a small, roughly triangular area (c. 15 m by 6 m) of level grass. The wall is interrupted by a narrow opening or gap at its mid point. There is no visible evidence that this area has ever been used for burials.

Notes It is not possible to say on present evidence whether the wall is modern or early, though it is respected by the rows of grave markers in the men's cemetery (001.40).

Survey No. 001.03
SMR No. —
Site type Enclosure (western subdivision)

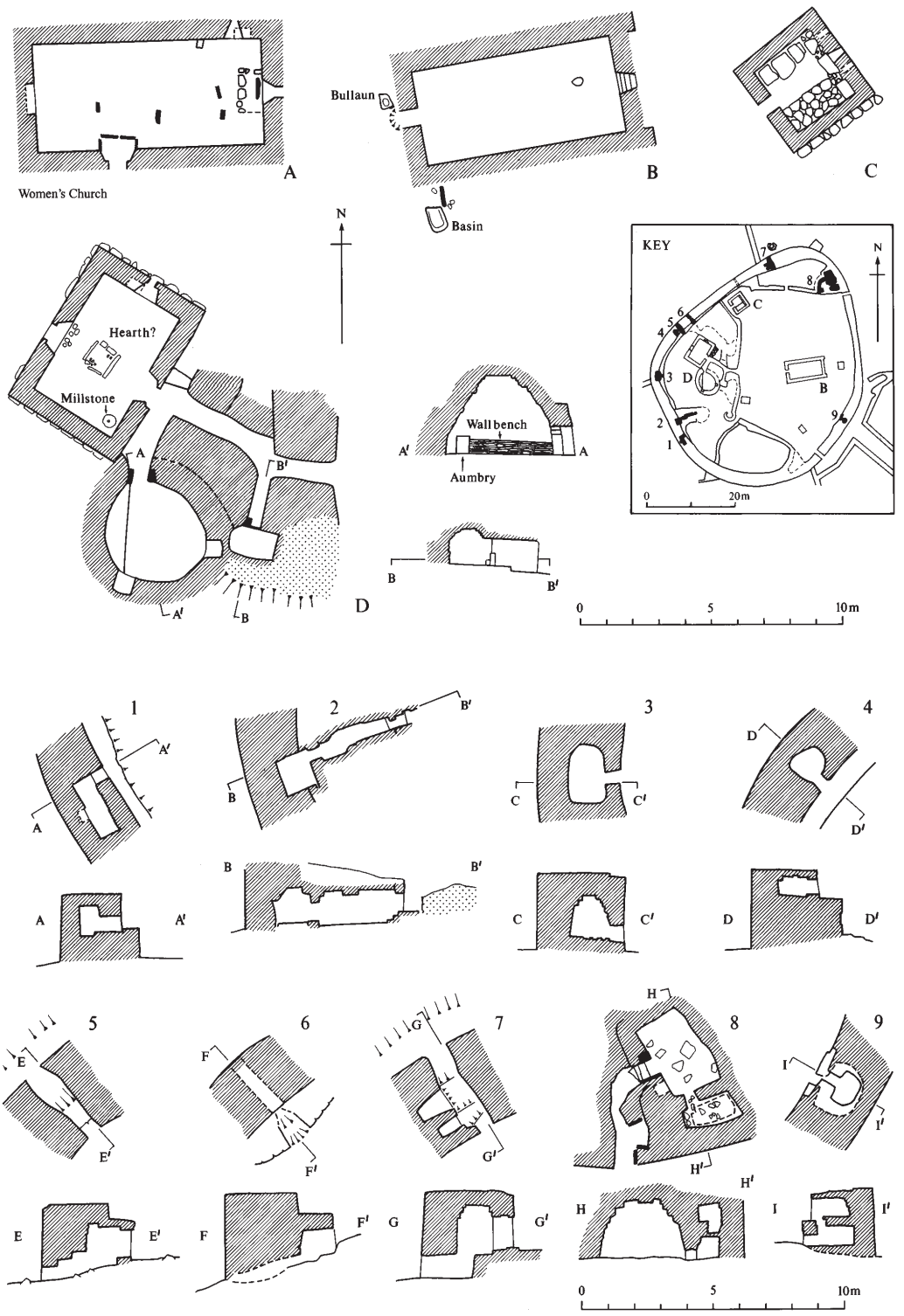


Figure 15

The Cashel and Templenaman: plans of Templenaman and the main buildings at the Cashel with (bottom) plans and sections of mural chambers in the Cashel wall. Key to main buildings – A: Templenaman, B: Templemolaise, C: Teach Molaise, D: Templenatinny and Toorybrenell.

Site name The Cashel
Location The Cashel
NGR 353870 157382
Illustration Fig. 12
References Wakeman (1886, 208; 1893, 34); Leask (1955, fig. 12); Mountbatten (1972, 50)
Description A large portion of the interior of the Cashel, on the western side, is divided from the remainder by a drystone wall revetment which extends from near Teach Molaise in the north to beyond Toorybrenell in the south. At this point, the revetment reduces to a low drystone wall, terminating in a curved pier which is almost certainly modern. The remaining sector of the enclosure is defined by a linear rubble mound with a low kerb wall which conceals a souterrain-like creepway (001.89). The enclosure thus formed is roughly rhomboid-shaped, with maximum dimensions of 24 m by 15 m (east/west). The concentration of conjoined and adjacent buildings within it includes Templenatinny, Toorybrenell, a conjoining smaller clochaun (001.85), and three souterrain-like features (001.88–90). The revetment is pierced by a narrow passage or alley (length 14 m by width 1 m) which gives access to the doorways of Templenatinny, Toorybrenell and the smaller clochaun.
Notes 1. Wakeman (1893, 34) surmised of this terraced area that 'no doubt several passages and small crypts, now indistinguishable amongst the debris of the large dividing wall, exist. Indeed, portions of several, which were well known to the fathers of the present generation of natives, are still faintly visible.' **2**. A reconstruction drawing of the Cashel by Leask (1955, fig. 12) is of interest as it proposes that an additional clochaun stood above the souterrain between Templenatinny and Teach Molaise, where there is now only mounded rubble.

Survey No. 001.04
SMR No. —
Site type Enclosure (southern subdivision)
Site name The Cashel
Location The Cashel
NGR 353852 157394
Illustration Fig. 12
References Mountbatten (1972, 50)
Description Two low drystone walls extend from the inner face of the Cashel wall in its southern arc to form a small oval enclosure, measuring 15 m by 10 m. The two low walls meet at an angle formed by a tabular drystone structure which they abut (see 001.38, below). One modern cross upstanding on a marble plinth and several smaller rough stone flags indicate that the area has been used for burials.
Notes 1. The low wall which subdivides this area does not appear on Wakeman's plan of the Cashel and is evidently of recent date; in fact, both walls are probably modern, though the tabular structure they abut may well be a 'lost' *leacht* which has been captured by modern walls. **2**. This enclosure – or possibly the small area between this and the enclosure to the north (001.03) – was evidently reserved by the Waters family as a private burial plot (Mountbatten 1972, 50).

Teach Molaise

This describes the founder's *shrine chapel*, together with its *altar* and *wall bench*, an inscribed *cross* on the lintel over the doorway and a *wooden statue* of the saint which formerly stood on the altar (now in the National Museum of Ireland).

Survey No. 001.05
SMR No. SL001-001-005
Site type Shrine chapel [Church]
Site name *Teach Molaise*; St Molaise's Chapel
Location The Cashel
NGR 353887 157395
Illustration Figs 7, 8, 12, 15, 16, 17 & 72; pls 25–27
References Beranger & Bigari (1779 [see Harbison 2002, 58–70]); Wakeman (1886, 213–23; 1893, 39–49); Mountbatten (1972, 51–62); Heraughty (1982, 25); Herity (1983 [1995b, 39]; 1989a [1995b, 115]); Berger (1992); McGowan (1998, 21–24); Harbison (2002, 58 –70, figs. 33–36, 38 & 41); Ó Carragáin (forthcoming a).
Description This tiny church is traditionally identified as the tomb chapel or shrine chapel of St Molaise, the island's patron saint, and housed the secondary relics of the saint until modern times. It is set close to the Cashel wall in the north-west part of the interior. Here, the building stands parallel to the enclosure wall, on an orientation of 64°30' that is considerably at variance with the standard liturgical east/west alignment and, indeed, considerably at variance with the more orthodox alignment of Templemolaise (below).

The building is 2.7 m long by (max.) 2.8 m wide, within walls about 0.5 m thick. Thus it is slightly wider than it is long, with proportions of about 1:1. It is also trapezoidal in plan, widening slightly towards the east end. The walls are of mortared rubble, roughly coursed. There is a west doorway, slightly off centre, with a simple Greek cross inscribed on the lintel (001.09). The east wall is pierced by a small round-headed window and by several putlog holes (partly blocked) on the interior and exterior. The roof is of mortared stone, now grass clad. It is asymetrical and of very low pitch. The building is generally sound and bears only light vegetation on the roof. It is closed by a padlocked, metal, barred gate set in the doorway.

The atypical dimensions, the low, irregular roof, and visible changes in the masonry (described below) are most certainly due to very extensive rebuilding – especially of the side walls and roof. The overall effect was to widen the building by about 0.6 m and it can be deduced that the overall external dimensions of the primary building were about 3.8 m long by 2.7 m wide, giving proportions of about 1.4:1.

Internally, most of the floor area is taken up by features abutting the side walls and east gable. A layer of loosely laid large flags lies along the foot of the north wall, internally. The east end is internally spanned from wall to wall by an altar, formed by a high, narrow stone bench (001.07). A broader, lower stone bench extends along the south wall and this is known as *Leaba Molaise* (St Molaise's bed) (001.06, below). Externally, there is also a low stone bench with a surface of loose flags spanning the entire length of the south wall and this appears to have been keyed to the masonry of that wall.



Plate 25 Teach Molaise, from south-east (above), and from south-west (below) showing the concentration of grave stones of various dates around the east end of the church.



Plate 26 Teach Molaise, interior, with a later medieval statue of St Molaise still *in situ* on the altar c. 1901 (*Charles Henry*). The statue is now displayed in the National Museum of Ireland.

The west doorway is trabeate in form (i.e. with a flat lintel). It is about 1.4 m high and the jambs batter from a width of 0.54 m at the base to 0.51 m at the top. The jambs are of large, moderately well-squared, but not well-fitted, sandstone blocks. Most of these span the thickness of the wall. The lowest jamb stone on the south side projects 0.1 m from the internal wall face. Directly below this is a pivot stone for an upright door-post, with a hole 0.05m wide by 0.01m deep on its upper surface. The north side of the projecting jamb stone is shaped to accommodate the post. Midway along its external face the lintel is inscribed with a simple Greek cross (001.09, below) with slightly expanded terminals, and there is also a vertical groove, 0.06 m long, midway along its interior face.

Much of the exterior of the round-headed east window has been reset. The ope currently measures 0.4 m high by 0.25 m wide. Its monolithic, inward-splaying lintel is neatly rebated at the exterior, and behind this a deep hole – 0.03 m wide by 0.08 m deep – pierces both the north and south sides of its soffit. Of the exterior jamb stones only one at the north is definitely original. Along the reveal of this stone, and directly below the hole in the soffit of the lintel, is a vertical groove, 0.01 m deep. These features probably accommodated a pivoting shutter that could only have opened to the exterior. A small niche in the exterior of the north and south jamb bases may have accommodated a piece of wood, pierced with a hole, on which this shutter could pivot. Alternatively, these niches may be late features. The soffit of the lintel features another groove behind the two holes, which may have accommodated an inner wooden frame covered with thin, stretched hide or some other transluscent material. The exterior shutter would have protected this from weathering. Despite the fact that it may be rebuilt, the embrasure is of well-cut, well-fitted stone, descending in three steps internally. It measures 1.17 m high by 0.52 –0.38 m wide. Its base is considerably lower internally than the base of the opening.

The substantial rebuilding of this church is attested by its odd dimensions, irregular roof and also by changes in its fabric. The side walls were certainly rebuilt and also the upper parts of the end walls, probably at the same time that the stone roof was added. Where it survives *in situ* – in parts of the end walls – the

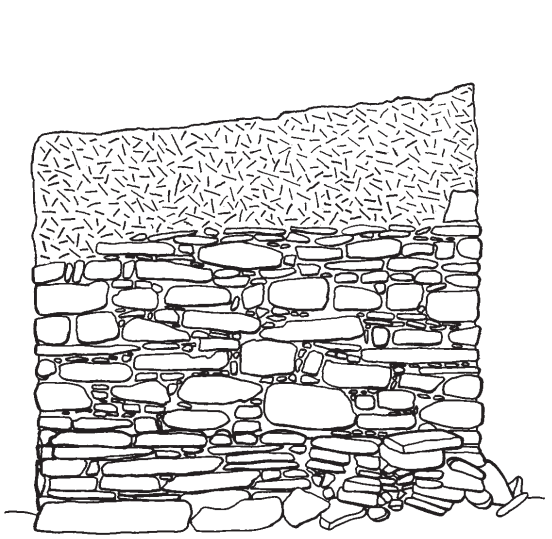


Plate 27 Teach Molaise, interior from west, showing the altar and east window.

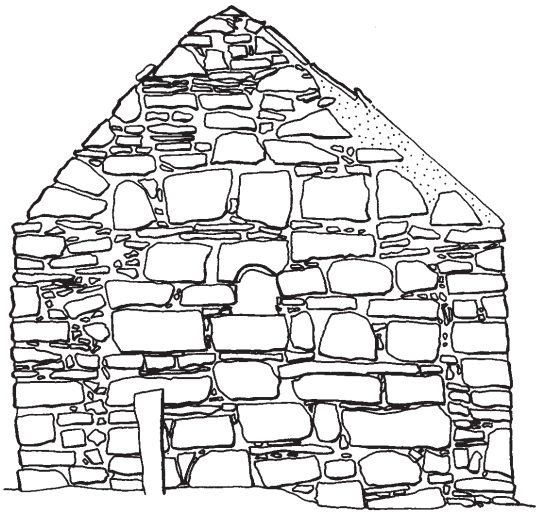
original masonry is roughly coursed, squared rubble of mainly medium to large blocks, quite well fitted. There are relatively few spalls and only moderate visible mortar. In contrast, the rebuilt side walls are of random rubble of less regular, poorer fitting blocks, with more spalls and more visible mortar. In both gables there are irregular vertical joints where the secondary masonry abuts the primary work. No scars or tusking stones of the original side walls are apparent on the end walls internally, and it may be that parts of the internal faces of the end walls were also rebuilt. Changes in masonry style also indicate that the exterior east wall was rebuilt, from about height of the window ledge, and even less of the exterior west wall appears to be original. It is possible that some of the original quoins – medium to large, well-squared blocks – survive *in situ* in the east gable, especially at the north-east angle. The unusually short proportions of the church support the possibility that these are the original quoins, now merely the tell-tales in the rebuilt end walls of a somewhat narrower original building. If so then, unlike most shrine chapels, this building had no *antae* in its primary phase.

Two putlog holes occur at a high level, internally, in each of the end walls, but are almost certainly late. Three occur in the exterior east wall. The lowest of these is set in the surviving remnant of primary masonry and thus is itself an early feature.

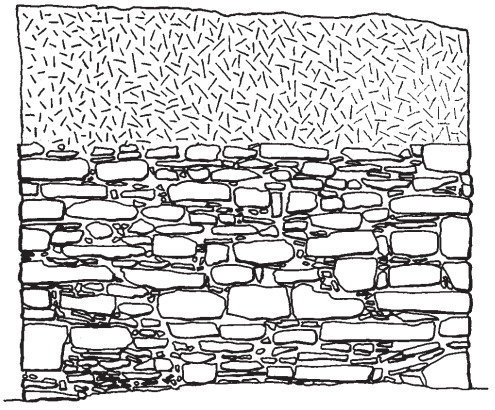
The structure of the irregular stone roof is partly obscured by vegetation at the exterior and mortar



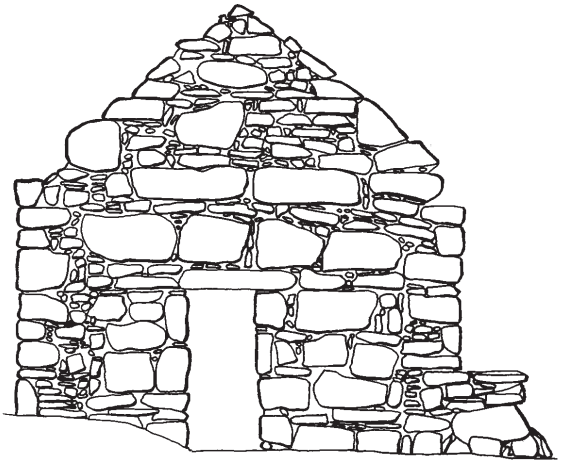
South Elevation



East Elevation



North Elevation



West Elevation

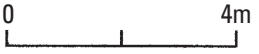
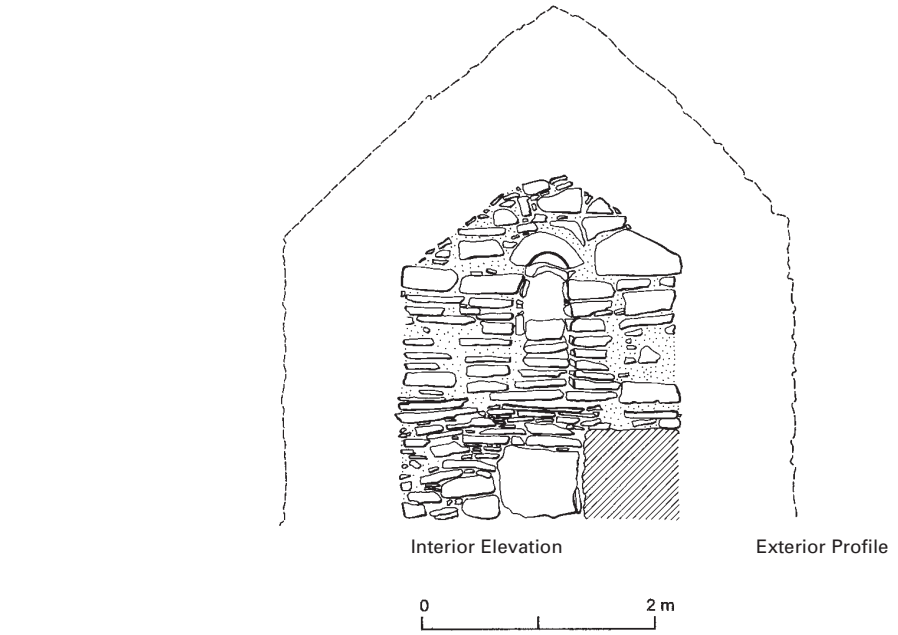


Figure 16
The Cashel: external elevations of Teach Molaise (1999)



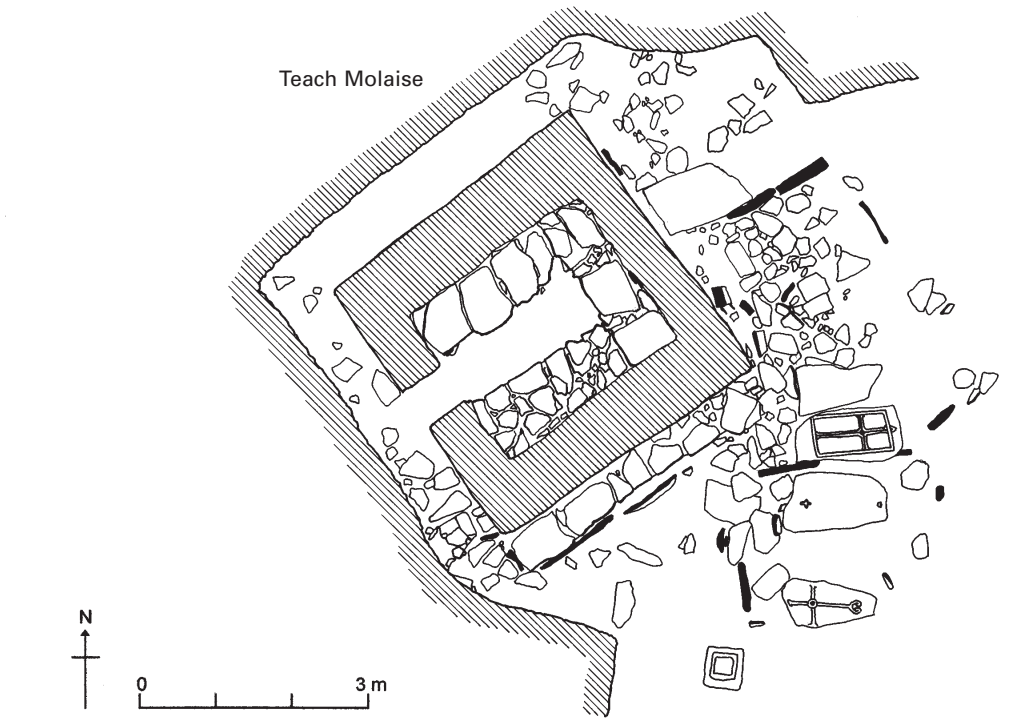


Figure 17
The Cashel: internal east elevation and plan of Teach Molaise, showing the concentration of grave markers around the east end of the building

at the interior, but it is clearly a late medieval or post-medieval feature. It was raised on formwork built with long narrow laths and the impressions of these survive in the mortar that thickly covers the internal surface. Some of the upper stones in the rebuilt end walls are probably coping stones from the original gables. None of these is *in situ* but their form suggests that the original roof was very steeply pitched. It may have been wooden with a thatch or shingle cladding.

Notes **1.** A charcoal-bearing mortar sample from the building yielded a calibrated radiocarbon date of AD 724–836 at one sigma probability (Berger 1992, 884) and AD 690–980 at two sigma (Berger 1995, 172). The sample was taken 'internally, from the east wall, 0.42 m from the north-east corner and 1.7 m above the floor level … from behind stone removed on right-hand side of putlog hole' (ibid., 170–71). As the east wall was substantially rebuilt, probably in the later medieval period, the dated mortar may not have been in a primary context when sampled. **2.** The style of the re-built side walls is not dissimilar to that of Templenaman, again suggesting that the rebuilding of Teach Molaise was a medieval rather than a post-medieval or early modern event. **3.** Wakeman (1893, 44) describes bifurcating terminals to the arms of the Greek cross that is inscribed on the lintel to the west doorway, and shows dimples or pellets in each of its quadrants (ibid., fig. 19) but – apart from a natural hollow occurring in the lower left-hand quadrant – there is no evidence for the dimples and the arms do not bifurcate. **4.** McGowan (1998, 21–24) records some folk tales relating to the church.

Survey No. 001.06
SMR No. SL001-001-006
Site type Wall bench
Site name Leaba Molaise
Location The Cashel; within Teach Molaise
NGR —
Illustration Figs 8 & 17; pl 27
References Beranger & Bigari (1779 [see Harbison 2002, 58–70]); Herity (1983 [1995b, 39]); Heraughty (1982, 25); Harbison (2002, 58–70, fig. 38).
Description A broad wall bench extends along the on the south wall of Teach Molaise internally, abutting the altar at one end and the west gable at the other. The face of the bench (0.7 m high) is raised in roughly coursed rubble; the surface (c. 1 m wide) is formed by medium and large angular slabs, loosely laid.
Notes None.

Survey No. 001.07
SMR No. SL001-001-007
Site type Altar
Site name *Altóir Molaise*
Location The Cashel; within Teach Molaise
NGR —

Illustration Figs 8 & 17; pl 27

References Herity (1983 [1995b, 39]); Heraughty (1982, 25)

Description A stone altar spans the entire east end of Teach Molaise, internally. This is a high narrow bench – raised almost to the window sill – formed of small and medium angular slabs.

Wakeman (1893, 42) describes a fortuitous discovery here; 'While removing some of the accumulation in search of carved or lettered stones, my companion ... was rewarded by the discovery of a cist-like hollow within the centre of the altar ... no doubt, intended as a secret receptacle for some very sacred relic. We found within it a piece of decayed yew ... this we returned to the cist, over which we replaced the stones'.

Notes The 'cist' was not examined by the 1998 survey team.

Survey No. 001.08a

SMR No. SL001-001-008

Site type Wooden statue

Site name St Molaise

Location The statue is now displayed in the Collins Barracks branch of the National Museum of Ireland in Dublin.

NGR —

Illustration Fig. 8; pl 18

References Beranger & Bigari (1779 [see Harbison 2002, 58–70]); Wakeman (1886, 221–23, fig. 21; 1893, 47–49, fig. 21); MacLeod (1946); Mountbatten (1972, 52); Heraughty (1982, 25; photos 39 & 56); Herity (1983 [1995b, 39]); O'Farrell (1987); McGowan (1998, 22–23); Bourke (2000); Harbison (2002, 58 –70, fig.. 38); Cochran (2004).

Description This oak statue represents an ecclesiastic and is traditionally identified as Molaise. It stood on the altar within Teach Molaise until it was removed to the National Museum of Ireland in 1949 (i.e. soon after the evacuation of the island community that had 'curated' the statute previously). It measures 1.27 m in overall height. The head is carved from a separate block. It is 0.3 m long from chin to crown and the width at the temples is 0.11 m. The back is hollowed out. Subsequent to its removal to the National Museum the head was extensively restored by the sculptor Gabriel Hayes, wife of the distinguished archaeologist Seán P Ó Ríordáin. The figure is wearing a chasuble which falls in long V-shaped folds below the arms and, beneath this, a dalmatic and tunicle which are carved in long, undulated vertical folds (Cochran 2004, 85). The hands have been broken off and are lost. The right hand was clearly raised, possibly in blessing, though Bourke (2000, 8) has suggested that it was designed to hold the copper-alloy crosier (001.08c) that was kept in Teach Molaise until the early 19th century. He also suggested that the left hand was designed to hold Molaise's bell (001.08b). MacLeod (1946, 208) noted traces of red paint on the statue but Cochran (2004, 83) noted only traces of white paint or gesso. The statue is probably of late 13th or early 14th-century date.

Notes **1.** Folktales relating to the statue are given by Mountbatten (1972, 52) and McGowan (1998 & 2004).

Survey No. 001.08b
SMR No. —
Site type Bell
Site name Teach Molaise
Location Duke of Northumberland's private collection, Alnwick Castle, Northumberland
NGR —
Illustration Pl. 19
References Bourke (1985)
Description The following description is based on a definitive paper by Bourke (1985). The bell is made of sheet iron. It measures 0.325 m high and 0.195 m by 0.155 m at the mouth. Parts of one face and one side are missing, together with a portion of the handle. Each side of the bell is closed by three rivets. The bell is probably of eighth or ninth-century date (ibid., 165).
Notes Bourke (ibid., 146) shows that, along with Molaise's crosier (001.08c), this bell was removed from Inishmurray by Roger Walker (1806–54), an antiquarian collector from County Sligo. Given that John O'Donovan makes no mention of either artefact, this probably took place before his visit to the island in 1836. The Duke of Northumberland acquired them, along with other items from Walker's collection, in 1851. For a general review of Walker's antiquarian career and interests see Ireland (2002, 147 – 87).

Survey No. 001.08c
SMR No. —
Site type Crosier
Site name Teach Molaise
Location Duke of Northumberland's private collection, Alnwick Castle, Northumberland
NGR —
Illustration Pl. 19
References Bourke (1985)
Description To summarise Bourke (1985), this is a crosier of Irish type, 0.632 m long, and comprising 16 metal components mounted on a wooden core. Small perforations in the crest suggest that a now lost secondary crest was added at some stage and there were other modifications to the crook at a later stage again. Each side of the original crest is decorated with a frieze of dog-like creatures, each one biting the tail of the animal in front. The surface of the crook was ornamented with interlace or animal ornament that has been almost completely obliterated, and its lower portion bears zones of incised basketry and vegetal ornament. Decoration on the surface of the knop comprises quadrangular, horizontally disposed panel-bearing patterns that are now illegible. The animal ornament can most readily be compared with that of the crosiers of St Dympna and St Mel as well as with the 'Kells' crosier, objects that have been dated to the ninth or 10th centuries (Bourke 1985; Johnson 2000; also MacDermott 1955 & 1957).
Notes For the circumstances of its acquisition by the Duke of Northumberland see 001.08b above.

Survey No. 001.09
SMR No. —
Site type Cross-inscribed stone
Site name Teach Molaise
Location The Cashel; on the lintel over the doorway of Teach Molaise
NGR —
Illustration Fig. 21
References Wakeman (1886, 218, fig. 19; 1893, 44, fig. 19); Herity (1995a [1995b, 312], not illus)
Description An equal-armed incised cross (c. 0.15 m across) occurs south of the centre of the lintel stone (H: 0.19 m, W: 1.03 m), but positioned centrally over the doorway. Its terminals are slightly expanded. A shallow hollow occurs in the lower left quadrant, but Wakeman's drawing, which shows a dimple in each quadrant, is misleading.
Notes None.

Templenatinny

Together with the fabric of the *church* itself and its distinctive *central hearth*, this section also describes an older *cross-slab* apparently re-used as a lintel stone over the doorway and a *millstone* now placed within a corner of the building.

Survey No. 001.10
SMR No. SL001-001-011
Site type Church or domestic building
Site name Templenatinny or *Teampall na Teine*; also *Teach na Teine*
Location The Cashel; within the western enclosure
NGR 353874 157384
Illustration Figs 12, 15 & 18; pl 28
References Beranger & Bigari (1779 [see Harbison 2002, 58–70]); Wakeman (1886, 225–30; 1893, 51–56); Mountbatten (1972, 52–54); Heraughty (1982, 27); McGowan (1998, 24–26); Harbison (2002, 58 –70, figs. 35 & 36).
Description This large rectilinear building is orientated NE/SW and measures 5.1 m long by 3.4 m wide, within walls 0.65 m thick. The walls are of mortared rubble, roughly brought to course. Putlog holes at the wall head, internally, indicate positions of wooden roof joists. A shallow plinth – possibly remnants of the original wall footings or possibly an earlier building on the same stance – extends from the base of the building on the east, north and west wall faces. There is a plain doorway midway in the south wall, with a broad internal splay. The lintel bears a cross and may be a reused cross-slab (001.12, below). Opposite this is a large window of similar form (the external ground level rises to the sill). The east gable is pierced by a narrow window, with a wide internal splay. Immediately below this is a small aumbry slightly offset to the north. The most distinctive feature of the building is the 'hearth' (001.11), a group of flat stones edge-set within the floor to form a square kerb, roughly 1 m wide. There is a millstone lying



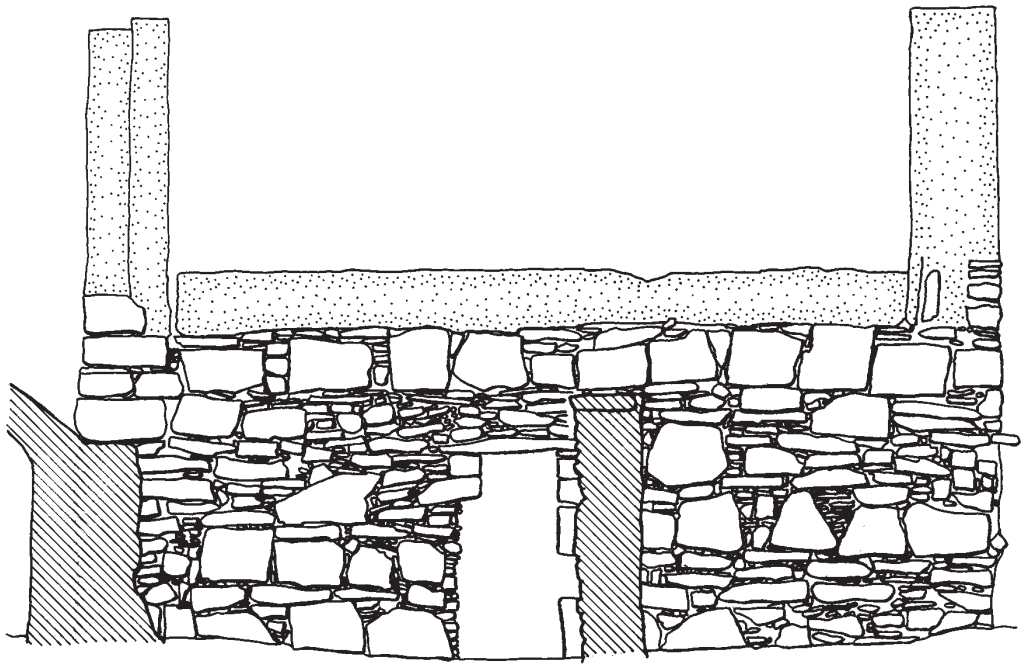
Plate 28 Templenatinny, from south-east (above), showing the lintelled chamber abutting the south wall and from north-east (below).

within the south-west corner (001.12). The floor is now overspread with gravel.
Notes 1. Some folk traditions regarding this building are given by Wakeman (1886; 1893) Mountbatten (1972) and McGowan (1998). McGowan also draws comparison with instances of other 'perpetual fires' in early Irish saints' lives. **2.** Wakeman observed a quantity of [human?] burnt bone in the aumbry and Mountbatten records that the building was used to house human bones from the cemetery [disturbed by grave digging?] in the modern period. These are not now present.

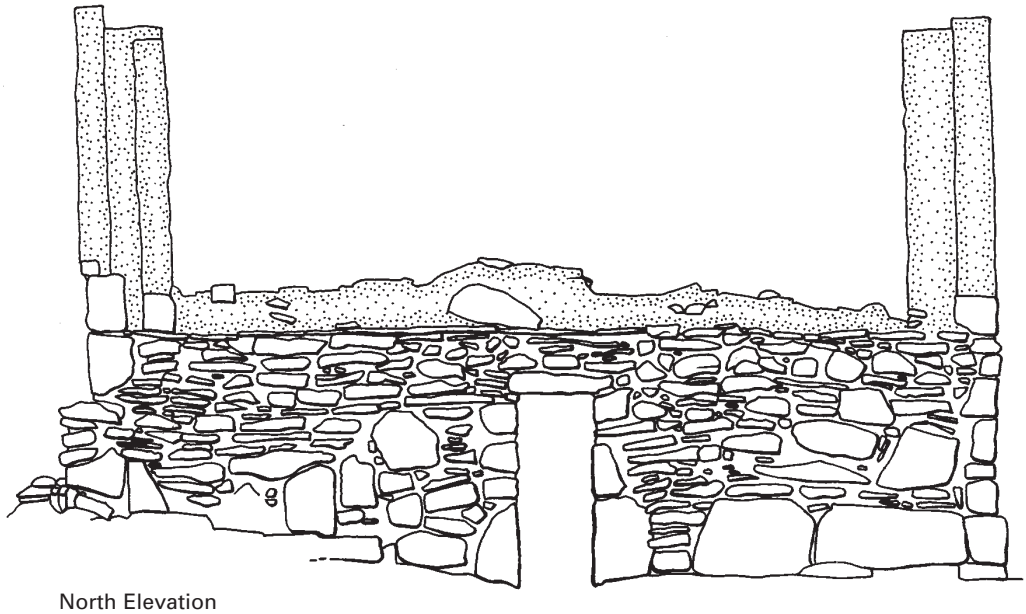
Survey No. 001.11
SMR No. SL001-001-012
Site type Hearth [Misc]
Site name Templenatinny
Location The Cashel; within Templenatinny
NGR —
Illustration Fig. 18
References Heraughty (1982, 23)
Description The 'hearth' consists of low slabs, edge-set within the floor to form a square kerb 1 m by 1 m.
Notes None

Survey No. 001.12
SMR No. SL001-001-033
Site type Cross-slab
Site name Templenatinny
Location The Cashel; on the underside of the lintel over the doorway to Templenatinny
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 21
References Wakeman (1886, 227, fig. 23 & 1893 53, fig. 23)
Description Slab (L: <1.01 m, W: 0.38 m) reused as lintel, with two areas of carving placed axially at the extremities of its visible underside. At the north is an incised cross, each arm of which is decorated with a bar. This is contained within an outline cross of similar design, with curved angles (total area 0.39 m by 0.295 m). Part of what is probably a smaller outline cross is visible at the south end of the lintel.
Notes The present survey has not established which parts of the building can be attributed to different episodes of conservation or reconstruction and, in particular, when this cross-slab might have been incorporated in the doorway**.**

Survey No. 001.13
SMR No. —
Site type Millstone



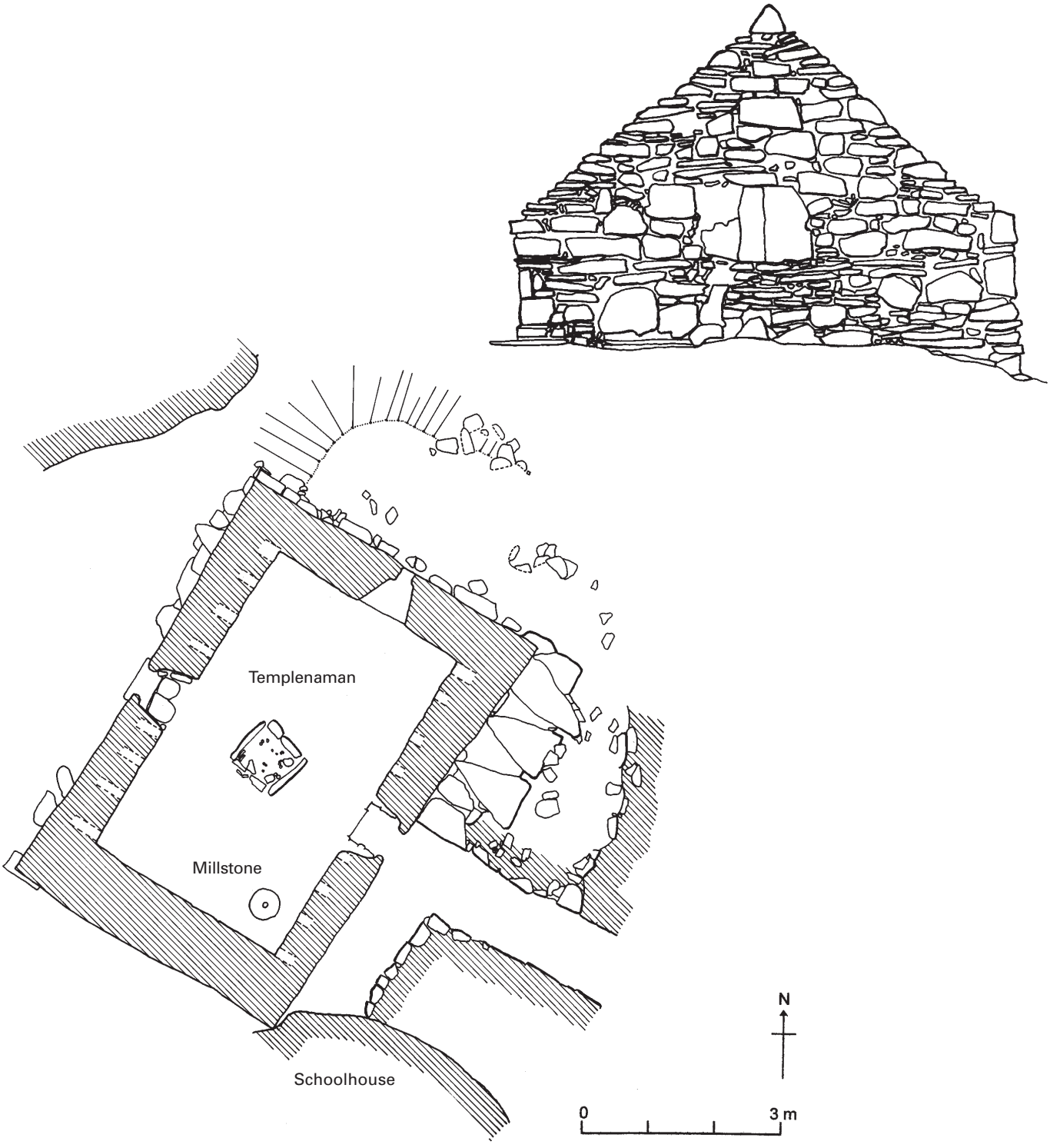
South Elevation



North Elevation

Figure 18

The Cashel: plan and elevations of Templenatinny, showing (plan) the narrow way and lintelled chamber that abut the building on the south side and the fringe of mortared rubble around the north and east that suggests an earlier building on the same stance.


Templenaman
Millstone
Schoolhouse
N
0
3 m

Site name Templenatinny
Location Within the north-west corner of Templenatinny.
NGR —
Illustration Figs 18 & 20
References On millstones see Wakeman (1893, 155); Heraughty (1982, 55)
Description Millstone (600 mm by 145 mm). This large circular stone (conglomerate?) has smoothed upper and lower faces but is roughly worked at the edges. A central perforation is square in plan on the upper surface (75 mm) but tapers towards a narrow round bore (350 mm). It lies within a corner of the building, on the modern gravelled floor surface (i.e. it is not part of the masonry) and has probably been brought there relatively recently.
Notes **1.** This is not a quern stone and is too small to have been operated by anything other than a horizontal mill. It probably derives from the mill site recorded below (No. 030.01) and may recently have been brought to the Cashel for display as a curiosity. **2.** There is a quernstone built into the lintel of the south doorway to Templenatinny which acted as a socket for a vertical door pin/pivot bar; this may, however, be the result of restoration work. **3.** Photos in Heraughty (1982, 46 & 63) attest that quernstones – rather than a mill – were in use on the island c. 1900 and Wakeman (1893, 155) describes a pair of quern stones, near Relickoran, allegedly made in the 1860s. **4.** Heraughty also reports a millstone fragment from the island now in Sligo Museum; however, he observes that this was probably extraneous to the island, being adapted as a weight or anchor (ibid., 55).

Templemolaise

This section describes *Templemolaise* – otherwise known as *Teampall na bFear* (the Men's Church) or 'Monastery' – and also three *pillar stones* which appear to be aligned on either side of its west gable and two *bullauns* or stone basins immediately adjacent to the building.

Survey No. 001.14
SMR No. SL001-001-009
Site type Church
Site name Templemolaise; also *Teampall na bhFear* (the Men's Church) or 'Monastery'
Location The Cashel
NGR 353870 157410
Illustration Figs 12, 15 & 19; pls. 29–31
References Beranger & Bigari (1779 [see Harbison 2002, 58–70]); Mountbatten (1972, 54); Heraughty (1982, 23); Herity (1983 [1995b, 39]; 1989a [1995b, 116]); McGowan (1998, 24); Berger (1992); Harbison (2002, 58 –70, figs 33–36, 37 & 39); Ó Carragáin (forthcoming a).
Description The principal church within the Cashel occupies the large open space in which the cemetery (north of the church) and freestanding *leachta* are also found. It is a single-cell pre-Romanesque church with *antae* at the east end (i.e. squared pilasters on the angles formed by an extension of the side walls past the end gable), a single west doorway and a round-headed east window. The building measures 7.73



Plate 29 Templemolaise: west and south elevations with flanking pillar and stone basin.

m long by 3.55 m wide, within walls about 0.7 m thick. The building is oriented at 93°. The interior is level and bare, with modern gravel throughout.

The masonry is mortared random rubble of mainly small to large and a few massive sandstone blocks (maximum 1.68 m by 0.37 m), with different sizes often mixed indiscriminately. Rough coursing is evident in places. Some blocks are quite well fitted, with moderate spalls, and very little visible mortar. The blocks are slightly smaller, on average, at the interior, and there is a line of uprights visible at the base of the interior.

The doorway in the west gable is of trabeate form (i.e.with a flat lintel). It is 1.56 m high with jambs that batter from 0.64 m wide at the base to 0.54 m at the top. The jamb stones are mainly large sandstone blocks, moderately well fitted, and rough punch dressing is visible in places. In each jamb one block spans the thickness of the wall. On the north side this block features a small semi-circular hole in its east side.

The round-headed east window was probably rebuilt by the Board of Works in 1880. It has three monolithic lintels and there is a stone setting between two of these. The lintels splay unevenly to the interior, and the exterior one, which is of coarser stone than the rest, also splays outwards slightly near its exterior edge. It is not clear whether the jambs were battered originally, but the ope now measures 0.64



Plate 30 Templemolaise: *antae* at east end.



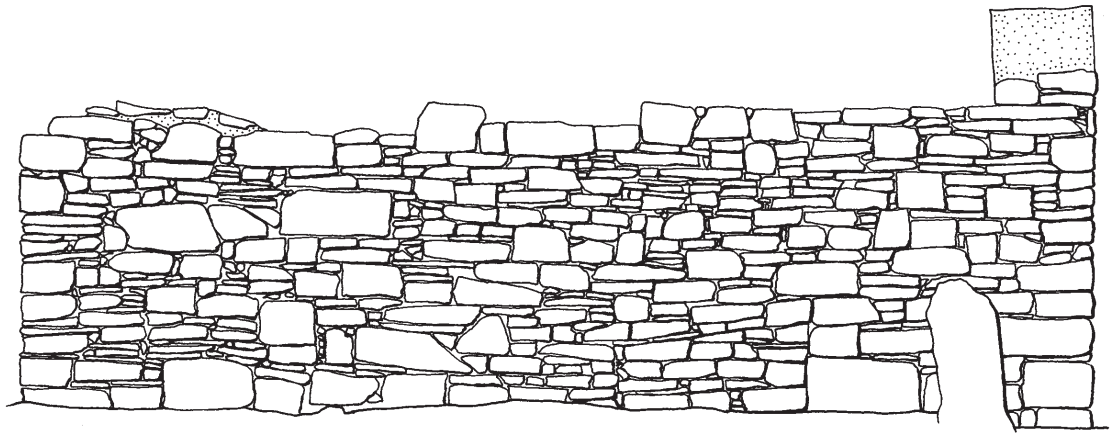
Plate 31 Templemolaise: west doorway and east window.

m by 0.39 m. There are three steps in the embrasure and quite rough punch-dressing is visible on many of the surround stones. On the soffit of the outer lintel is a deep hole – 0.025 m wide and 0.02m deep – for hanging a shutter on its north side. There is a corresponding hollow on its south side – 0.05 m wide and 0.04 m deep. The soffit is rebated exterior to the hole, suggesting that the shutter opened inwards. Poor refitting means that the stump of a metal rivet is visible on the underside of the lintel. It probably served to secure the shutter to the south jamb.

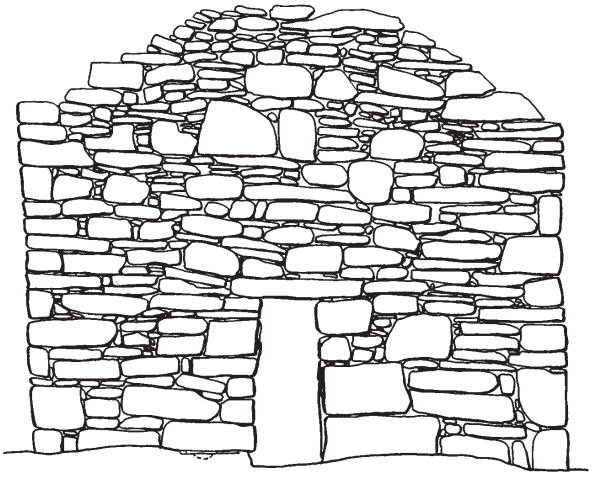
The *antae* survive only at the east end. The southern one is.0.7 m wide by 0.2 m deep. The northern one is deeper, irregular in plan, and its blocks are not as well fitted. It was probably entirely rebuilt by the Board of Works in 1880 (below) but note that no *antae* are shown at the west end in a drawing made in the 1790s by Angelo Bigari in the course of his sketching tour of Connaught with Gabriel Beranger.

There is a variety of evidence that the church was extended westwards: the absence of antae at this end, the slightly off-centre position of the doorway, and the unusually long proportions of the building (2:1).
Notes 1. There is no clear break between the original masonry and the extension, or between medieval masonry of any phase and the work of the Board of Works but, in general, there are more spalls and the blocks are not as well fitted at the west end. **2.** A mortar sample from the building yielded a radiocarbon date of cal AD 800–1150 at two sigma probability (Berger 1992, 884) and cal AD 660–980 at one sigma (Berger 1995, 172). The sample was taken 'internally, from the west wall, 0.9 m from the south jamb of the west door, and 0.46 m above the present ground level' (Berger 1995, 170). Given the likelihood that this west wall represents an early extension we must assume that the charcoal-bearing mortar that was sampled relates to this second phase of the building. On architectural grounds the extension is unlikely to have occurred before the 11th century, for virtually all surviving mortared stone churches dateable to the 10th century or earlier have antae (Ó Carragáin 2005a; 2005b). One possible exception is Teach Molaise (above). **3.** A drawing by Bigari (1779; and fig. 5, above) and photographs in Dunraven (Stokes [ed.] 1875, pls 26 & 27) show the west end of the building and much of the side walls in a ruinous state so that its present form – including the bare, level interior – probably owe a good deal to rebuilding by the Board of Works in 1880. Today the walls are heavily pointed with a modern, cement-based mortar.

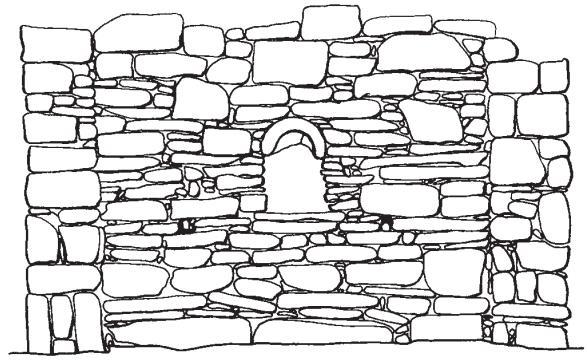
Survey No. 001.15
SMR No. SL001-001-034
Site type Bullaun
Site name Templemolaise
Location The Cashel; by the doorway to Templemolaise.
NGR —
Illustration Fig. 19
References Heraughty (1982, 23)
Description This rough stone basin lies immediately outside the doorway, on the north side, at the west gable of the church. It is buried deeply within the turf, but its surface may be seen and indicates a large, rounded stone block (0.5 m wide) with a smooth, regular hemispherical hollow at the centre (Diam. 0.25 m).



NoNorth Elëvation

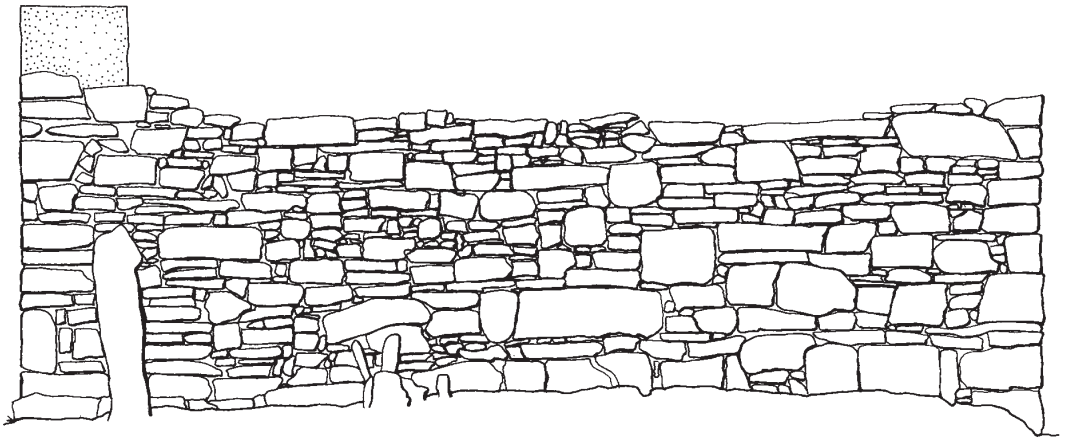


West Elevation

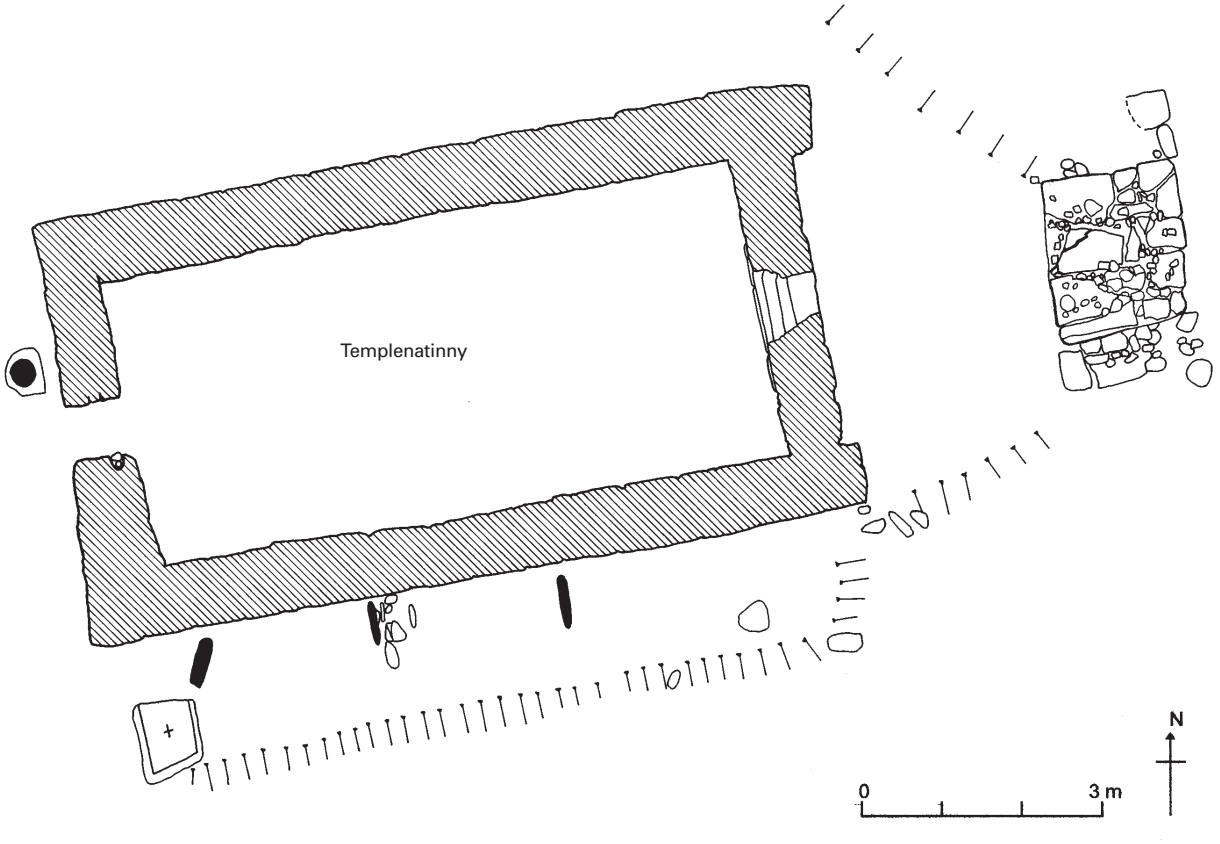


East Elevation

Figure 19
The Cashel: plan and elevations of Templemolaise



South Elevation



Description This rough stone basin lies immediately outside the doorway, on the north side, at the west gable of the church. It is buried deeply within the turf, but its surface may be seen and indicates a large, rounded stone block (0.5 m wide) with a smooth, regular hemispherical hollow at the centre (Diam. 0.25 m).
Notes None
Survey No. 001.16
SMR No. SL001-001-010
Site type Cross-inscribed stone basin
Site name Templemolaise
Location The Cashel; by the south-west corner of Templemolaise**.**
NGR —
Illustration Figs 19 & 20
References Wakeman (1886, 293, fig. 60, and 295–96; 1893, 119, fig. 60, and 121–22); Mountbatten (1972, 60); McGowan (1998, 30)
Description Shallow (depth 50 mm), flat-based, rectilinear basin with a concave underside, rounded corners, and a flat rim (H: 0.93 m, W: 0.63 m, Th: 0.2 m). It is broken off abruptly at one end. Roughly centrally positioned on the inner base of the basin is a shallowly incised cross (0.195 by 0.125) with rounded terminals.
Notes This lies immediately adjacent to a very fine cross-inscribed pillar (001.17). It is described as a bullaun by Wakeman. It may, alternatively, have been a ritual foot-washing basin for pilgrims or clerical visitors (Cormac Bourke, pers. comm). In any case, it was allegedly used as a water font in the modern period (Mountbatten 1972; McGowan 1998).

Survey No. 001.17
SMR No. SL001-001-026
Site type Cross-inscribed pillar
Site name Templemolaise
Location The Cashel; by the south-west corner of Templemolaise
NGR 353866 157406
Illustrations Fig. 21
References Wakeman (1886, 293, fig. 60 & 1893, 119, fig. 60); McGowan (1998, 30)
Description Pillar stone (H:<1.55 m, W: 0.74 m Th: 0.156) whose surface almost filled with an incised shafted cross (c 1.29 m by 0.62 m). The three upper arms taper slightly and are decorated with bulbous serifs (0.216 m max. width) each terminating in three points, separated by cusps. The shaft terminates in a large horizontal rectangle (0.36 m by 0.236 m) defined by an incised band (c. 0.046 m wide).
Notes 1. This stands immediately adjacent to a large stone basin or bullaun (001.17) with which it may have had a particular association in antiquity. **2.** Wakeman's depiction of the cross – like his description – is not accurate.

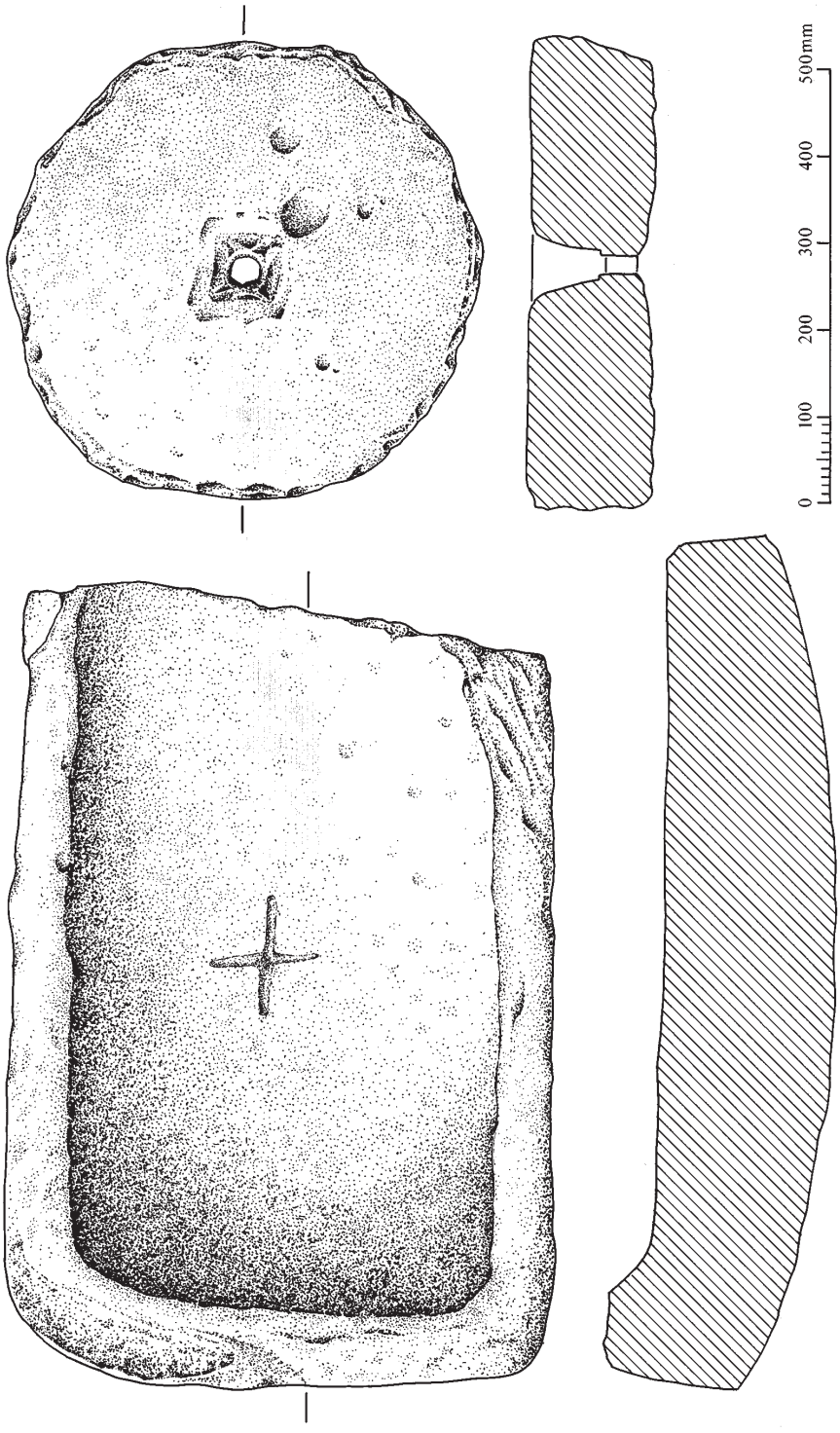


Figure 20
The Cashel: a cross-inscribed stone basin, by Templemolaise, and a millstone, lying within Templenatinny

Survey No. 001.18
SMR No. SL001-001-023
Site type Cross-inscribed pillar
Site name Templemolaise
Location The Cashel; 4 m north of Templemolaise
NGR 353878157410
Illustrations Fig. 21
References Wood-Martin (1882, 150, no.13 [after Wakeman]); Wakeman (1886, 248–9, fig. 36 & 1893, 76–7, fig. 36); Mountbatten (1972, 59); McGowan (1998, 30)
Description Pillar stone (H: <1.32 m, W: 0.34 m, Th: 0.126 m) inscribed on its west face with a shafted cross (0.732 m by 0.246 m). It is formed from a primary incised cross with serifed terminals in the upper arms, encapsulated within an outline cross, with which it fuses at the terminals. The upper arms terminate in outward curling flourishes while the shaft terminates in a simpler expansion bisected by an incised vertical element. Midway along the shaft of the outline cross is a very worn expansion. In each of the narrow sides, at roughly the height of the cross arms, is a vertically orientated oblong hole (c. 0.12 m by 0.25 m and 0.06 m deep). These are linked with two smaller holes (c. 25 mm in diameter) incised into the back of the pillar.
Notes In recent times, the holes were the focus of rituals relating to child-bearing and fertility (Wakeman 1886; 1893; Mountbatten 1972; McGowan 1998). Originally, however, the holes in the narrow sides probably held wooden arms secured with nails driven through the smaller holes at the back of the pillar.

Survey No. 001.19
SMR No. SL001-001-024
Site type Pillar stone
Site name None
Location The Cashel; north of Templemolaise
NGR 353877 157410
Illustrations Fig. 22
References Wakeman (1886, 152 & 1893, 78); McGowan (1998, 30)
Description This large, severely spalled pillar stone (H: <1.385 m, W: 0.85 m, Th: 0.105 m) is incised, on the upper portion of its west face, with a thin line, 0.41 m long. There is some evidence for a curvilinear expansion at its apex.
Comment None.

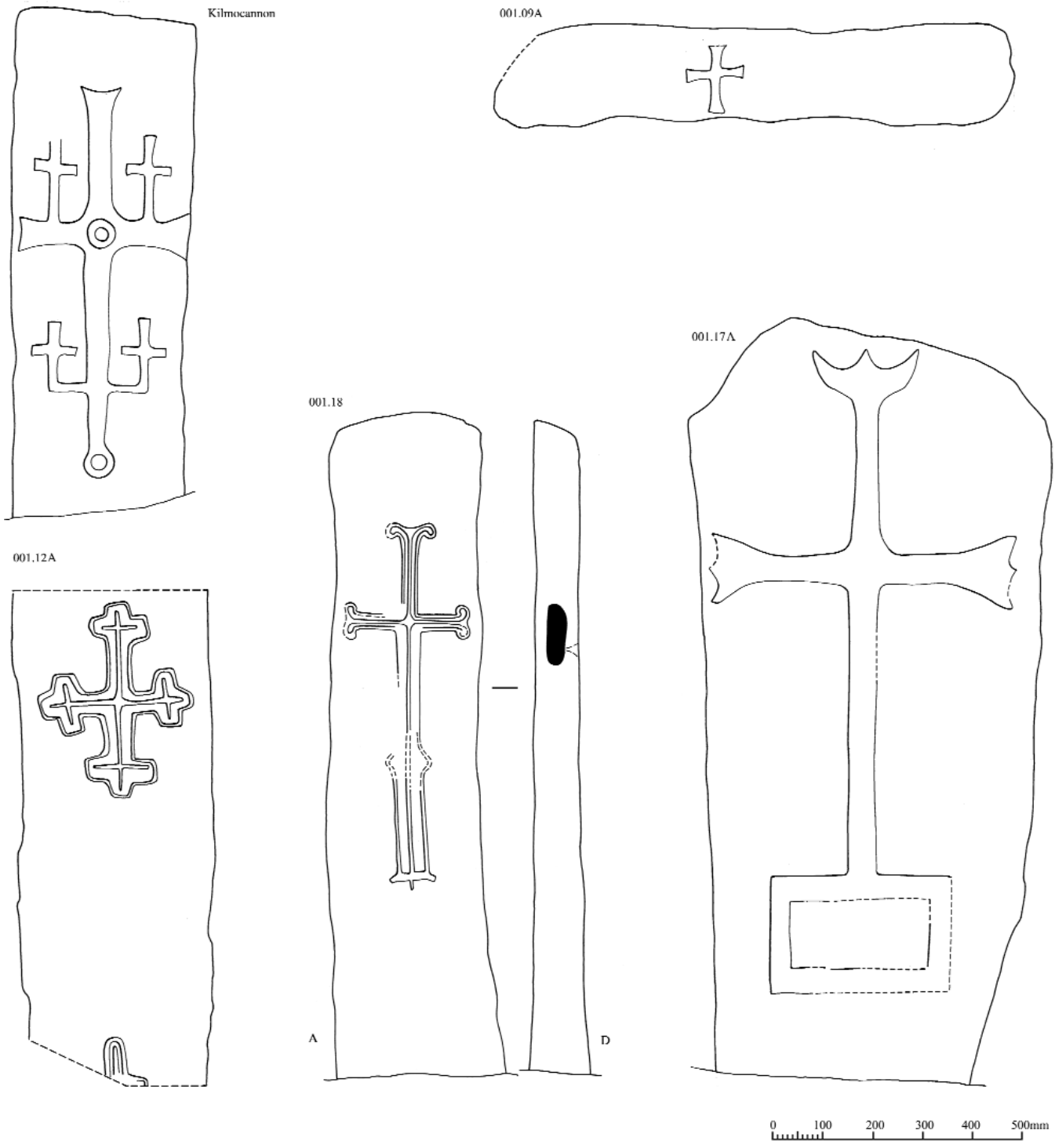


Figure 21
Carved stones from Kilmacannon (top left) and from the Cashel – Nos 001.09, 001.12A, 001.17A, 001.18A & D (capital letters A, B, C & D refer to the faces of the stones, commencing with A, the main decorated face)

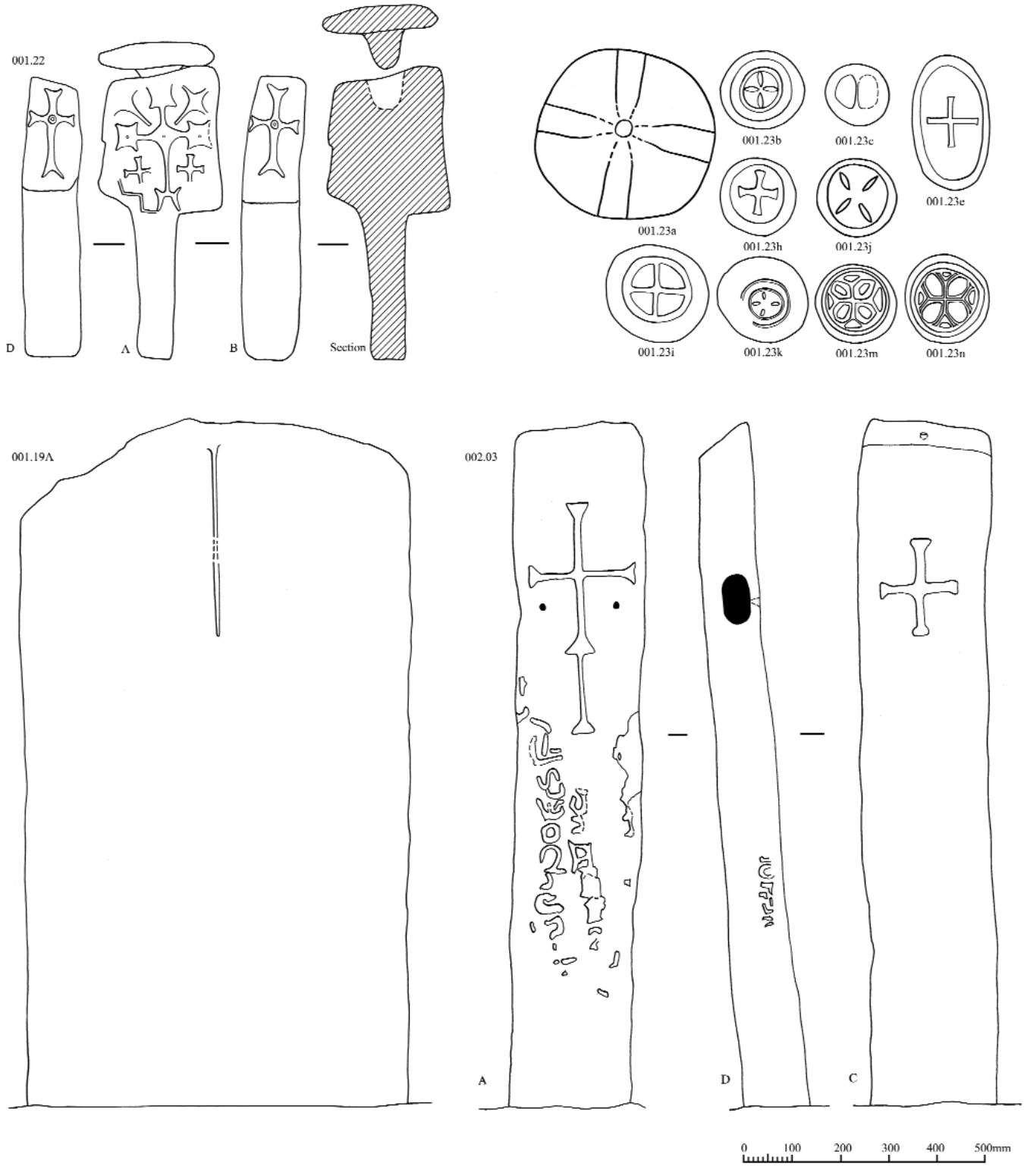


Figure 22

Carved stones from the Cashel, including the Clocha Breaca – Nos 001.22A, B & D, 001.23a, 001.23b, 001.23c, 001.23e, 001.23h, 001.23i, 001.23j, 001.23n, 001.19a; and Templenaman – 002.03A, C & D (lower case letters a, b, c etc. refer to individual stones of the Clocha Breaca group)

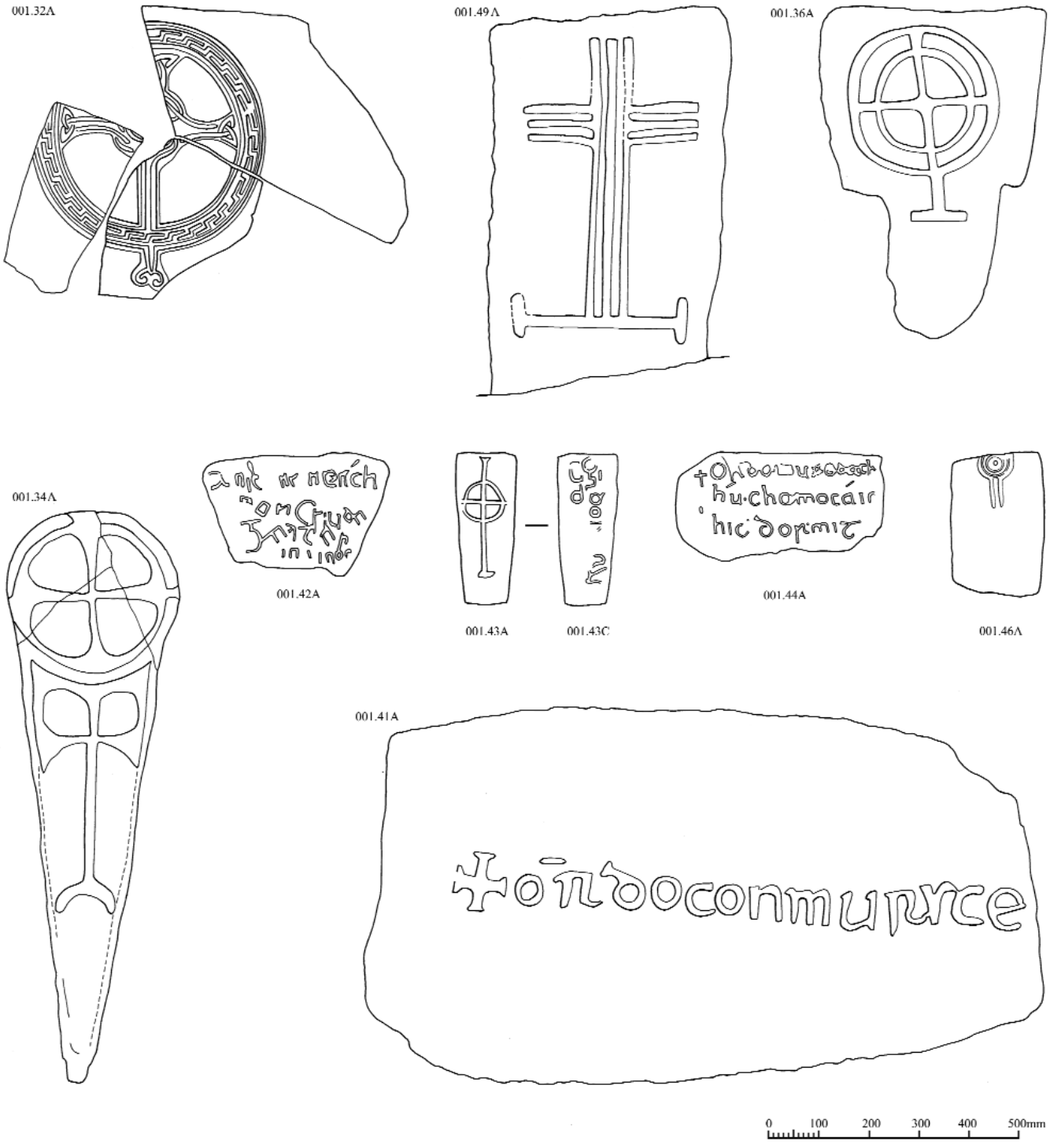


Figure 23
Carved stones from the Cashel (continued) – Nos 001.32, 001.34A, 001.36A, 001.41A, 001.42A, 001.43A & C, 001.44A, 001.46A & 001.49A

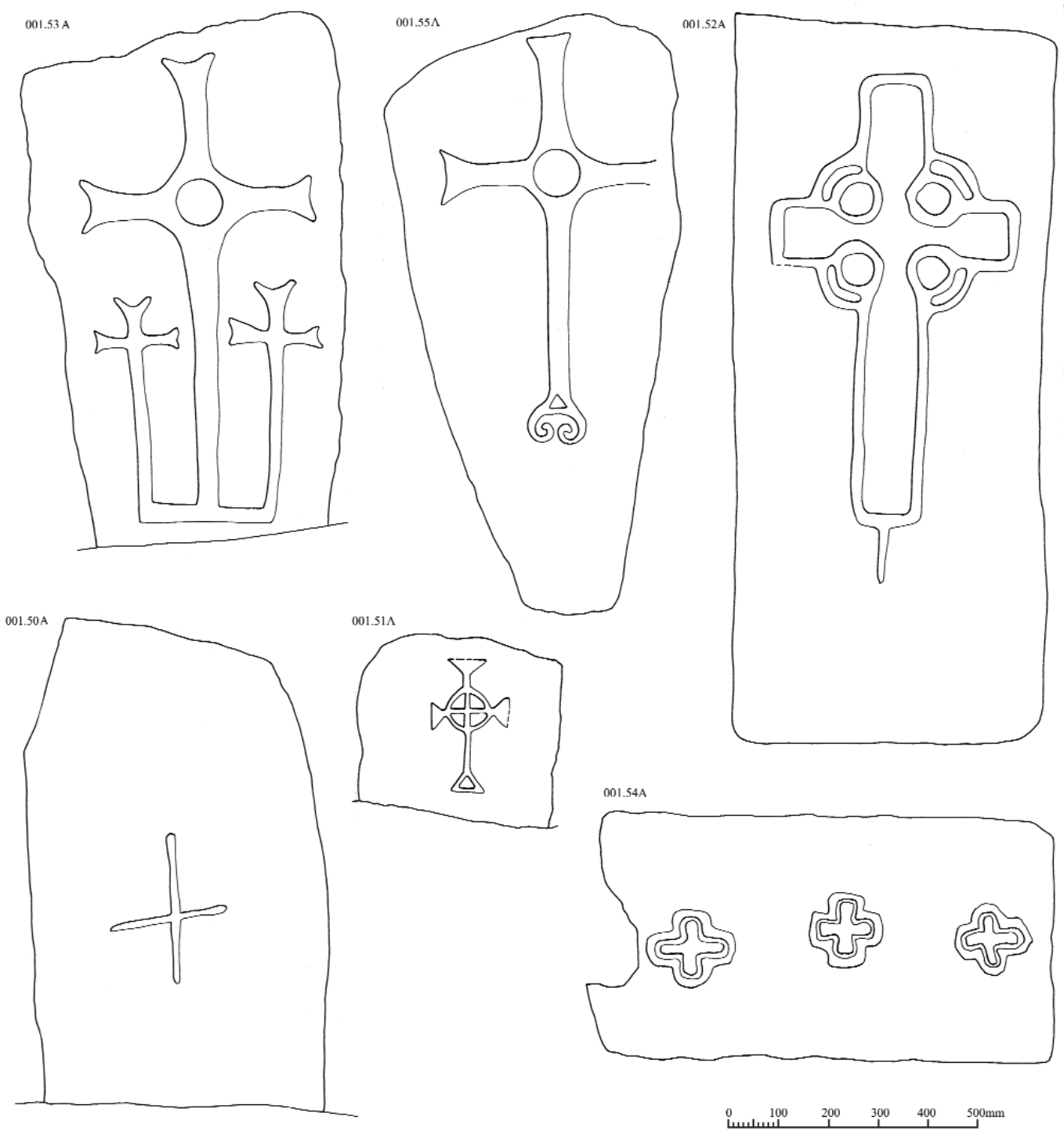


Figure 24
Carved stones from the Cashel (continued) – Nos 001.50A, 001.51A, 001.52A, 001.53A, 001.54A & 001.55A

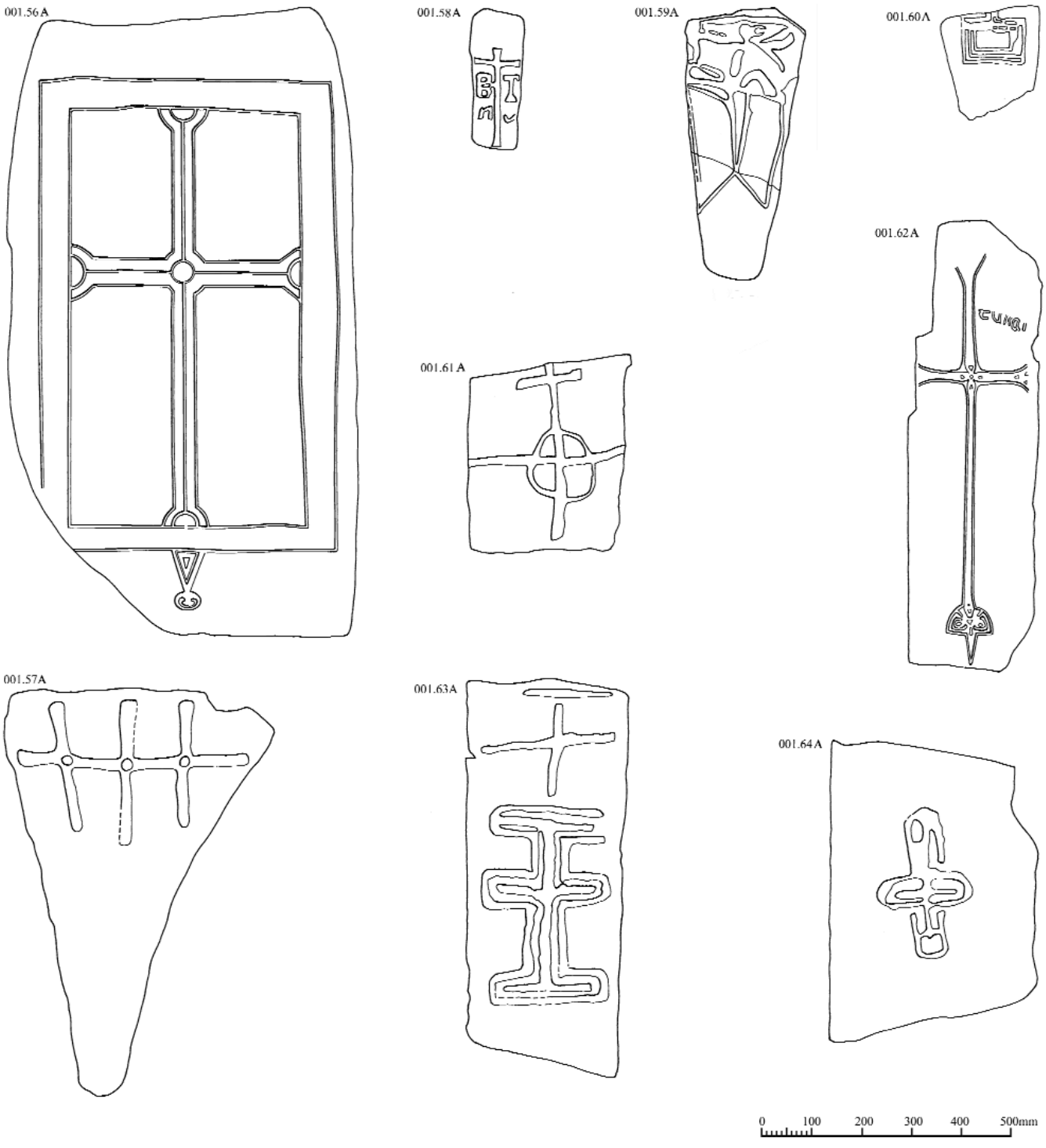


Figure 25
Carved stones from the Cashel (continued) – Nos 001.56A, 001.57A, 001.58A, 001.59A, 001.60A, 001.61A, 001.62A, 001.63A & 001.64A

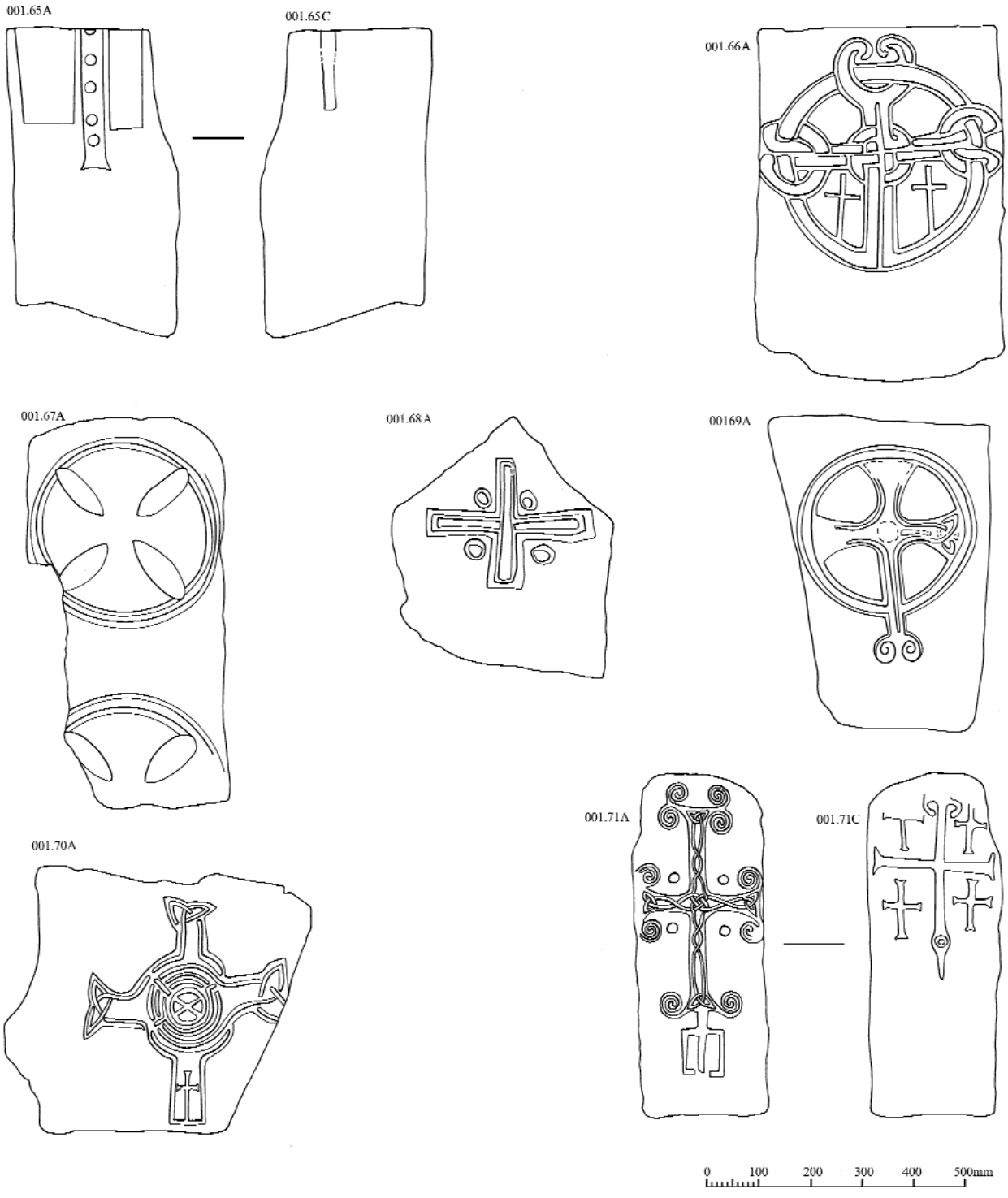


Figure 26
Carved stones from the Cashel (continued) – Nos 001.65A & C, 001.66A, 001.67A, 001.68A, 001.69A, 001.70A, 001.71 A & C

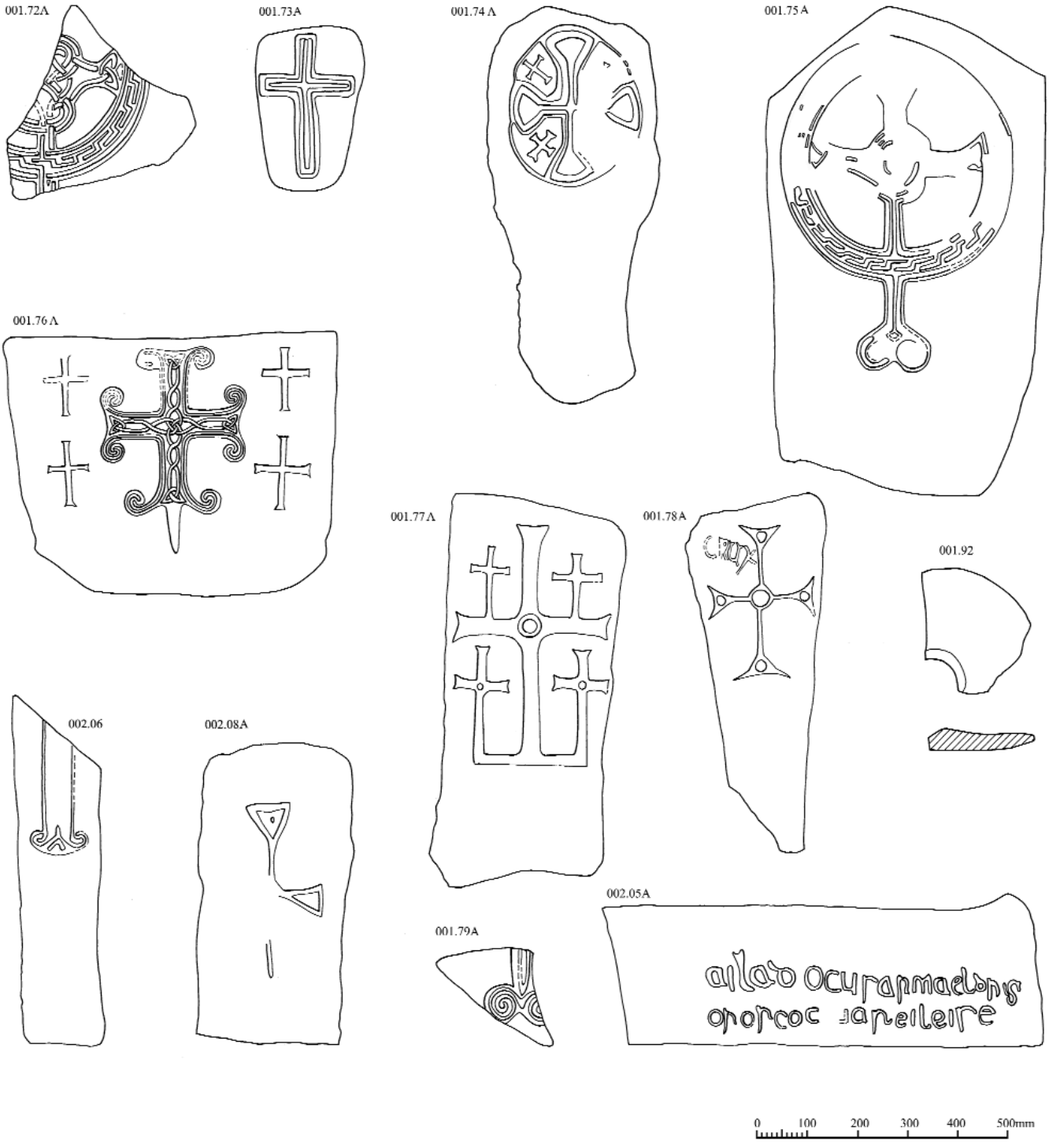


Figure 27
Carved stones from the Cashel (continued) – Nos 001.72A, 001.73A, 001.74A, 001.75A, 001.76A, 001.77A, 001.78A, 001.79A & 001.92; and Templenaman – Nos 002.06A, 002.08A & 002.05A

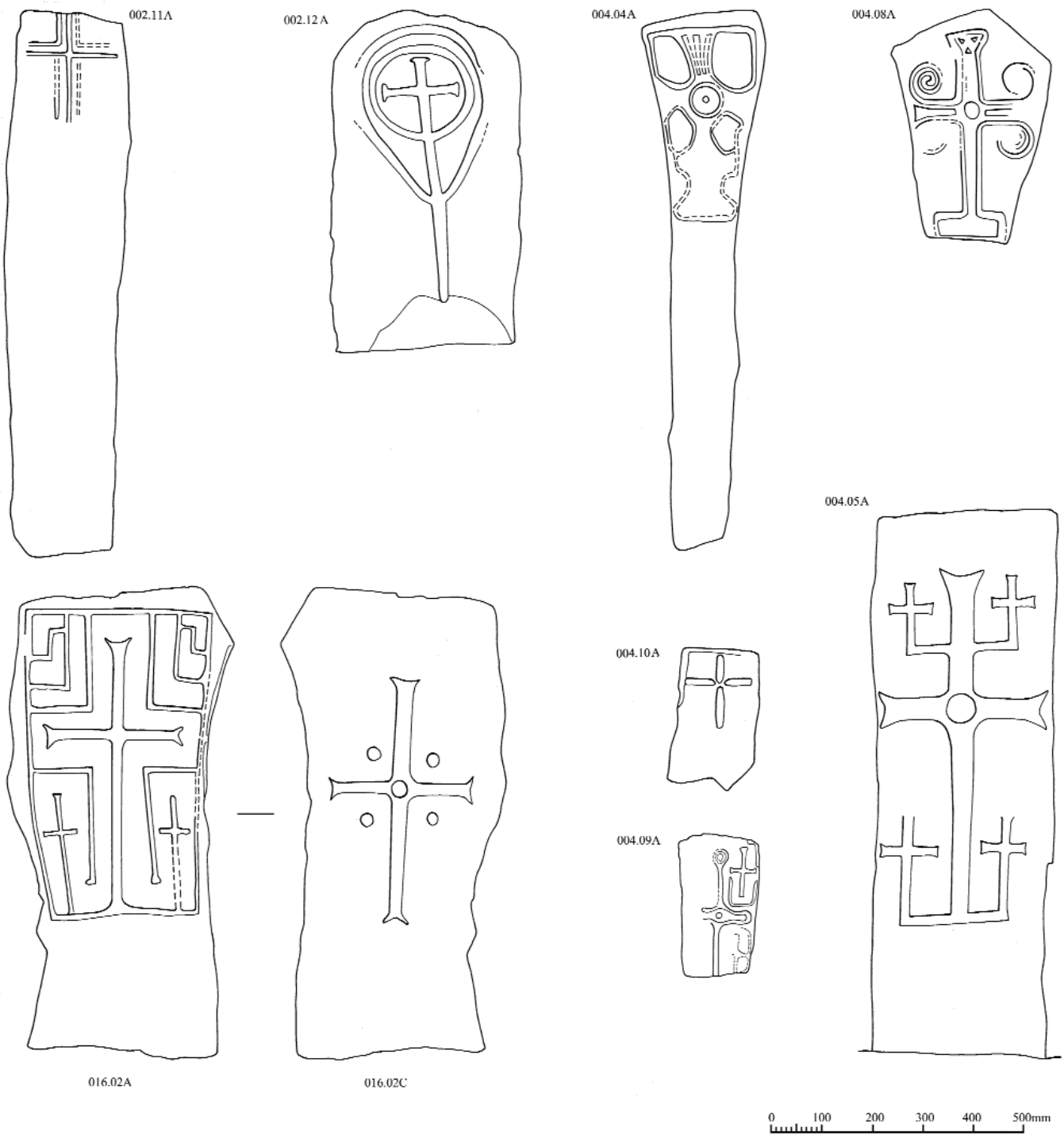


Figure 28

Carved stones from Templenaman (continued) – Nos 002.11A, 002.12A; Relickoran – Nos 004.04A, 004.05A, 004.08A, 004.09A & 004.10A; and Laghta Columkille – No. 016.02A & C.

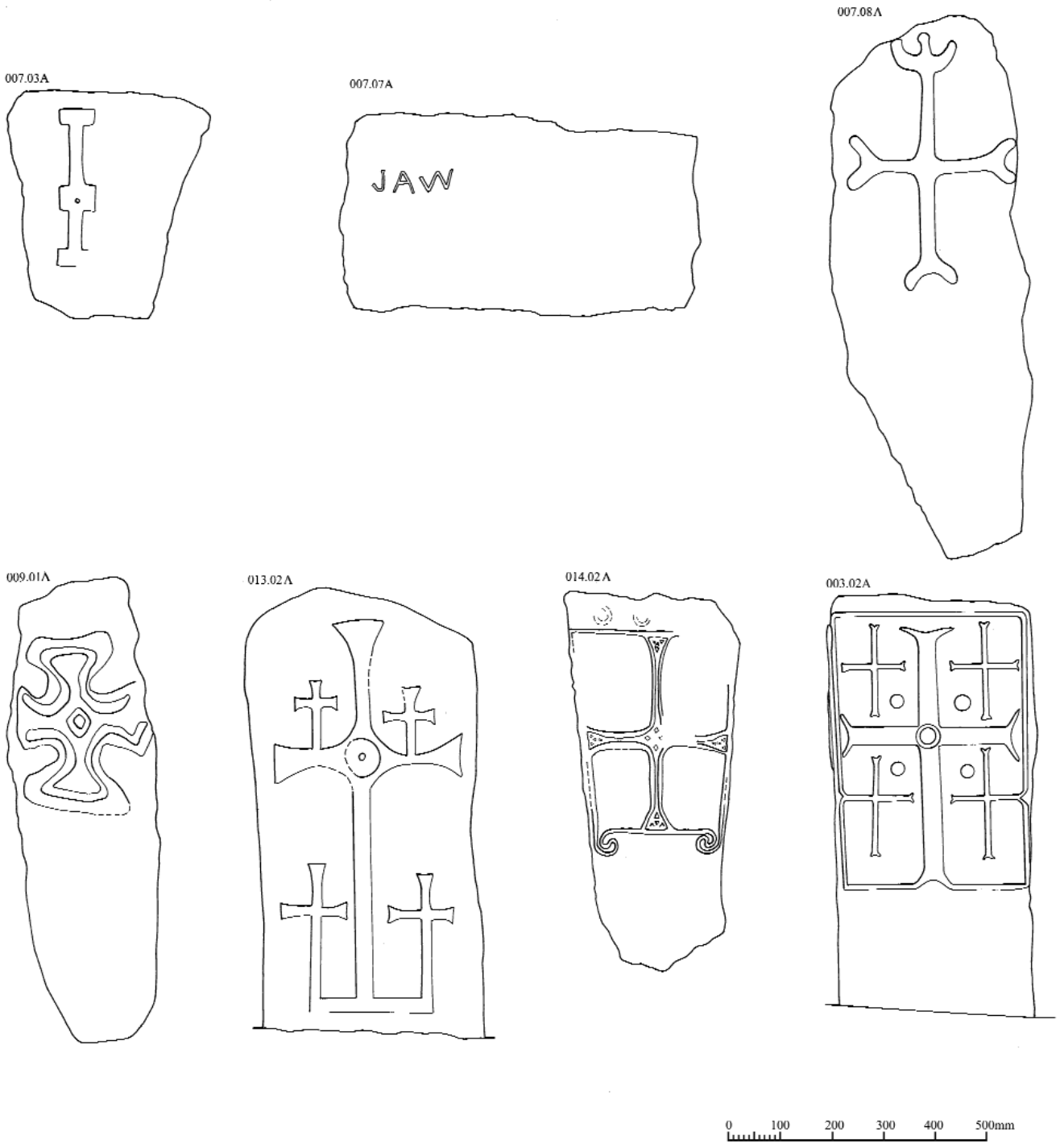


Figure 29

Carved stones from Trahanareear – Nos 007.03A, 007.07A & 007.08A; Crossatemple – No. 009.01A; Treenode More – 0013.02A; Treenode Beg – No. 014.02A; and Crossatemple – No. 003.02A.

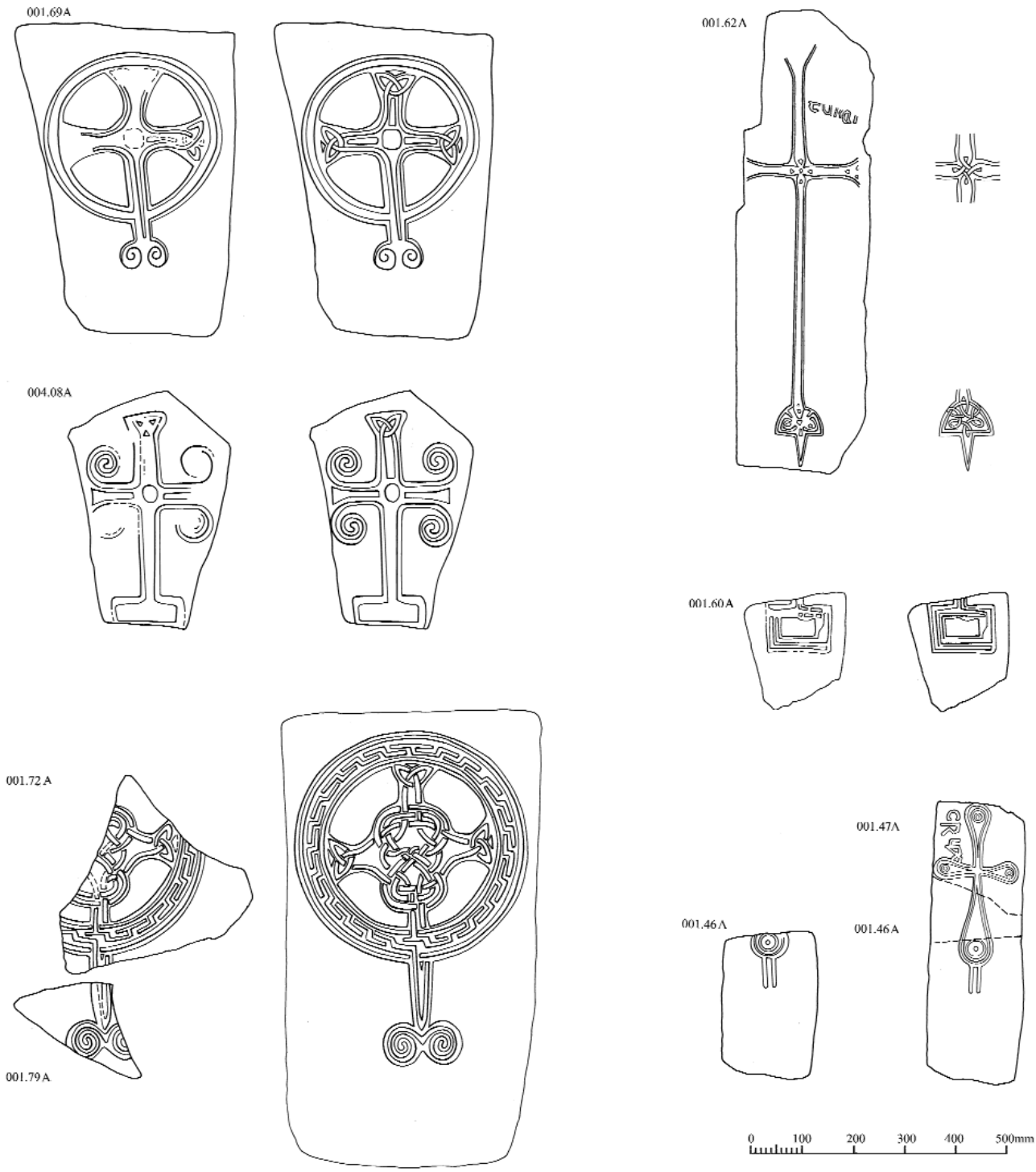


Figure 30

Carved stones: reconstructed designs – 001.60A (base of cross motif), 001.69A, 001.72 the base of which is probably 001.79A, 004.08A, and 001.46A which probably belongs to the same slab as the 001.47A. This is now lost but Wakeman illustrated it and recorded its dimensions. Conjectural reconstructions of the worn but unusual crossing and lower terminal designs of 001.62A are also shown. The terminal of its upper arm was also decorated with complex knot-work but this has almost disappeared.

Leachta

This section describes several *leachta* at the Cashel. In addition to the four previously known examples, it is proposed that there may be two others – one within and one outside the enclosure – which were incorporated within later walls. Associated features which are also described include a number of cross slabs, cross-inscribed beach cobbles or 'cursing stones', and a purported 17th-century tomb.

Survey No. 001.20
SMR No. SL001-001-013
Site type *Leacht*
Site name Clocha Breaca
Location The Cashel; WSW of Templemolaise
NGR 353866 157396
Illustration Figs 12 & 31; pl. 32
References Baxter (1603); Beranger & Bigari (1779 [see Harbison 2002, 58–70]); Wakeman (1886, 233–45; 1893, 59–71); Mountbatten (1972, 56–57); Heraughty (1982, 32); Herity (1989a [1995b, 115]); Bailey (1990); Edwards 1990, 119 & illus 55); McGowan (1998, 28–30, and photo c. 1920, 49); Harbison (2002, 58 –70, figs 35, 36, 38 & 42).
Description This well-built *leacht* measures 2 m east/west by 1.8 m north/south and is 0.9 m high. The base is partly formed by flat slabs, edge-set (cist-like); over these the sides are raised in small and medium flat stones, evenly coursed and generally fair-faced. On the surface is a very diverse mass of stones including: numerous undecorated beach cobbles; several cross- inscribed beach cobbles (below); a group of three plano-convex stones, one having a disc-shaped 'stopper' which rotates in a cavity on its top; and a tall, oblong block, on a tapered foot, which also has a 'stopper' on top, as well as cross-inscribed sides (below). In addition, the fragments of a cross slab with flabellum were recorded by Wakeman on this *leacht*.
Notes 1. There are 14 carved beach cobbles of various sizes, large and small, associated with this *leacht*, as well as innumerable plain undecorated stones. These are the famous 'cursing stones'. Wakeman (1886; 1893) counted only five carved beach cobbles when he recorded the *leacht* but there are now eight *in situ*; four others are in the National Museum of Ireland and – some years before Wakeman's survey– one had already been sent to join the Duke of Northumberland's collection of antiquities at Alnwick Castle (Bailey 1990). In addition, one stone (001.23f) is missing. **2.** There is a little bellying on the south side of the *leacht* where the monument may need remedial work. Otherwise it appears sound.

Survey No. 001.21
SMR No. SL001-001-035
Site type Grave [Misc?]
Site name Moylan [Maeleoin, Moylagh] Ó Dálaigh's tomb
Location The Cashel; by the Clocha Breaca *leacht*
NGR 353865 157397



Plate 32 Clocha Breaca *leacht* with (bottom left) a detail of the miniature cross-inscribed pillar that stands on the *leacht* and (bottom right) one of the several cross-inscribed stones that lie among the undecorated beach cobbles on its surface.

Description A small group of flat slabs immediately north of Clocha Breaca is identified by local tradition as the grave of one 'Moylan O'Dálaigh'. His burial on Inishmurray in 1612 is recorded by the *Annals of the Four Masters* (Wakeman 1893, 9; Heraughty 1982, 20; Mountbatten 1972).
Notes O'Donovan (1836) described this feature as 'under Tuar Uí Bhreunail' and marked by 'a flag with a round hole' (quoted in Mills 1893, xi). It is possible that the name has been preserved by folk tradition but has migrated from one feature to another.

Survey No. 001.22
SMR No. SL001-001-016
Site type Cross-inscribed stone
Site name Clocha Breaca
Location The Cashel; north side of the Clocha Breaca *leacht*
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 22
References Wakeman (1886, 243–4, fig. 32 & 1893, 69–70, fig. 32); Mountbatten (1972, 59); Heraughty (1982, 30); Herity (1989a, 139, fig. 14a; and reproduced Herity 1993, 269, fig. 15).
Description Cross-inscribed upright oblong block with tapering stem (H: 0.595 m, W: 0.255>0.07 m, Th: 0.125 m) and a hollow 0.11 m in diameter in its upper surface. A stone disc with a diameter of 0.24 m has a hemispherical projection on the underside that is fitted into this hollow. The south face is filled with an incised shafted cross (c. 0.27 m by 0.2 m) with a lozenge-shaped expansion at the crossing, whose upper arms terminate in large concave-sided squares. Each of the upper quadrants is decorated with a diagonally disposed cross, while each of the lower quadrants is decorated with a vertically-disposed cross with cusped serif terminals whose lower arms turn inwards at their base, apparently to join the shaft of the principal cross. At the base of the lower left quadrant is an incised linear stepped border. Each of the narrow sides is filled with an incised shafted cross (0.19 m by 0.1 m) with cusped serif terminals and a false-relief hollowed boss at the crossing.
Notes None.

Survey No. 001.23a
SMR No. SL001-001-015
Site type Cursing stone
Site name Clocha Breaca
Location The Cashel; on the Clocha Breaca *leacht*
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 22
References Wakeman (1886, 244, fig. 33a & 1893, 70, fig. 33a)
Description Large dome-shaped stone with flat base (H: 0.29 m, Diam: 0.37 m) with a small hollow at the apex. A small projection on the underside of a broken cap-stone is fitted into this hollow. Laid across

the upper two thirds of the stone is a lightly incised outline cross with straight terminals. The hollow at the apex of the stone acts as its crossing.
Notes The cross motif has not been noticed previously.

Survey No. 001.23b
SMR No. SL001-001-015
Site type Cursing stone
Site name Clocha Breaca
Location The Cashel; on the Clocha Breaca *leacht*
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 22
References Not previously recorded
Description Flattened spherical water-worn cobble (H: 0.08 m, Diam: 0.155 m). Three incised concentric circles (Diam: 0.125 m max.) are centrally positioned on its surface. The inner circle, along with four unevenly positioned incised eye-shaped areas, defines a cross-of-arcs motif.
Notes Similar to Nos. 001.23j & 001.23k (Herity 1995b, 236, pl. 4.1 & 4.2).

Survey No. 001.23c
SMR No. SL001-001-015
Site type Cursing stone
Site name Clocha Breaca
Location The Cashel; on the Clocha Breaca *leacht*
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 22
References Not previously recorded
Description Flattened spherical water-worn cobble (H: 0.085 m, Diam: 0.12 m). The surface has been carved away to leave two mirroring roughly D-shaped areas (0.042 m by 0.069 m) in false relief.
Notes None.

Survey No. 001.23d
SMR No. SL001-001-015
Site type Cursing stone
Site name Clocha Breaca
Location Duke of Northumberland's private collection, Alnwick, Castle, Northumberland. First identified as belonging to the Clocha Breaca series in 1990 by Bailey (1990, 126–8) who has convincingly traced its route from Inishmurray to Alnwick.
NGR —

Illustrations Pl. 19
References Bailey (1990, 126–8)
Description Water-worn boulder (H: 0.14 m. Diam: 0.24 m) carved with a cross framed around the circumference by a double moulding. The main motif is an incised cross with a circular expansion at the crossing. Near the ring the cross arms bifurcate into two single-turn spirals which curl inwards to occupy a sizeable proportion of the flanking quadrants. In each quadrant these spirals are joined at their crests by a convex line, and a single pelta overarches all three elements and curls inwards so that its terminals almost touch those of the spirals.
Notes A small central pit may originally have received the stem of a cap stone as on Nos. 001.22 and 001.23a.

Survey No. 001.23e
SMR No. SL001-001-015
Site type Cursing stone
Site name Clocha Breaca
Location The Cashel; on the Clocha Breaca *leacht*
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 22
References Not previously recorded
Description Large oval cobble (H: 0.11 mm, Diam: 0.26>0.155 m). Upper surface comprises slighted raised oval area (0.225 m by 0.13 m) at the centre of which is an equal-armed cross (0.10 m) with slightly serifed terminals.
Notes Similar to No. 001.23i but more elongated.

Survey No. 001.23f
SMR No. SL001-001-015
Site type Cursing stone
Site name Clocha Breaca
Location Unknown
NGR —
Illustrations —
References None.
Description Round cobble (Diam: c. 0.15 m) inscised with a circle bisected by an inscised line with an expansion at its midpoint which is decorated with a false relief boss. Each of the quadrants of the circle features an incised quarter circle.
Notes On 11 July 1991 Martin Timoney alerted the NMI to the fact that this cursing stone was missing. His letter was accompanied by a photocopy of a photograph of it on which this provisional description is based. When the photograph was taken it was apparently balanced on a stone projecting slightly from the side of the Clocha Breaca altar.

Survey No. 001.23g
SMR No. SL001-001-015
Site type Cursing stone
Site name Clocha Breaca
Location The Cashel; on the Clocha Breaca *leacht*
NGR —
Illustrations —
References Wakeman (1886, 237–8, fig. 27 & 1893, 62–3, fig. 27); Herity (1989a, 139, fig. 14b & 1995b, 318, pl 4, no. 6)
Description Small rounded boulder (H: 0.245 m, Diam: 0.41 m) with a false relief cross (Diam: 0.34 m) with Stafford knot terminals and a simple interweave at the crossing. In each of the quadrants is an incised triskel motif comprising a small triangle from whose points one-and-a-half turn spirals develop. Encircling the cross is a 0.05 m wide band delimited by incised lines and decorated with diagonally disposed incised S-shapes.
Notes The most sophisticated of the 'cursing stones.' Its condition has apparently deteriorated considerably since Wakeman drew it.

Survey No. 001.23h
SMR No. SL001-001-015
Site type Cursing stone
Site name Clocha Breaca
Location Originally on the Clocha Breaca *leacht* but removed to the National Museum of Ireland.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 22
References Wakeman (1886, 239, fig. 29 & 1893, 65, fig. 29); Heraughty (1982, 41 [after Wakeman])
Description Rounded cobble (Diam: 0.155 m). Its upper surface comprises a slighted raised oval area (Diam: 0.11 m) at the centre of which is an equal-armed cross (Diam: 0.085 m) the arms of which terminate in straight-butted serifs.
Notes This is one of the four Inishmurray cobbles shown to the authors in the National Museum in January 2000 but it is not one of the four NMI cobbles described and illustrated by Herity (1995b, 298 & 318, pl.4.1). Thus it is possible that five Inishmurray cursing stones are in the NMI along with five inscribed slabs.

Survey No. 001.23i
SMR No. SL001-001-015
Site type Cursing stone
Site name Clocha Breaca
Location Originally on the Clocha Breaca *leacht* but removed to the National Museum of Ireland in 1971.

NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 22
References Wakeman (1886, 240, fig. 30 & 1893, 66, fig. 30); Heraughty (1982, 41 [after Wakeman]); Herity (1995b, 318, pl 4, no. 3); National Museum of Ireland (Register No. 1971: 1113)
Description Rounded cobble (H: 0.1 m, Diam: 0.2 m) incised with a plain cross-in-circle motif (Diam: 0.135 m).
Notes None.

Survey No. 001.23j
SMR No. SL001-001-015
Site type Cursing stone
Site name Clocha Breaca
Location Probably the National Museum of Ireland.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 22
References Herity (1995b, 298 & 318, pl 4.1); National Museum of Ireland (probably Register No. 1971: 1110)
Description Round cobble (Diam: 0.17 m) incised with a slightly irregular circle (0.14>0.125 m) and four unevenly positioned eye-shaped areas that collectively define a cross-of-arcs motif.
Notes Herity (1995b, 298 & 318, pl.4.1) records this as one of the four cobbles from Inishmurray removed to the National Museum, but it is not one of the four shown to the authors in the National Museum in January 2000 (cf. 001.23h). Herity's description and drawing corresponds quite closely to the description of Register No. 1110 in the National Museum records, except that the latter says the cross-of-arcs is 'set inside *two* concentric circular grooves' rather than one.

Survey No. 001.23k
SMR No. SL001-001-015
Site type Cursing stone
Site name Clocha Breaca
Location Originally on the Clocha Breaca *leacht* but removed to the National Museum of Ireland in 1971.
NGR —
Illustrations —
References Herity (1995b, 318, pl 4, no 2); National Museum of Ireland (Register No. 1971:1112)
Description Round cobble (H: 0.068 m, Diam: 0.175 m) with two incised concentric circles (Diams: 0.95 m and 0.062 m) slightly off-centre on its surface. The inner circle, along with four unevenly positioned incised eye-shaped areas, defines a cross-of-arcs motif.
Notes None.

Survey No. 001.23l
SMR No. SL001-001-015
Site type Cursing stone
Site name Clocha Breaca
Location The Cashel; on the Clocha Breaca *leacht*
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 71
References Wakeman (1886, 239, fig. 28 & 1893, 65, fig. 28)
Description Small rounded boulder (H: 0.14 m, Diam: 0.295>0.265 m). Spanning the upper surface, and encircled by a single incised line, is a false relief cross (Diam: 0.34 m) with Stafford knot terminals and a simple interweave at the crossing.
Notes The condition of this cobble has apparently deteriorated considerably since Wakeman drew it.

Survey No. 001.23m
SMR No. SL001-001-015
Site type Cursing stone
Site name Clocha Breaca
Location Originally on the Clocha Breaca *leacht* but removed to the National Museum of Ireland in 1971.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 22
References Herity (1989a, 318, pl 4, no. 4); Herity (1995b, 318, pl. 4.4); National Museum of Ireland (Register No. 1971: 1111)
Description Round cobble (Diam: 0.183 m) incised with two circles (Diams: 0.135 m and 0.122 m). Within the inner circle is an equal armed cross in false relief with expanded terminals featuring sub-triangular hollows. In each of the quadrants is an oval motif formed of a thin band in false relief.
Notes None.

Survey No. 001.23n
SMR No. SL001-001-015
Site type Cursing stone
Site name Clocha Breaca
Location The Cashel; on the Clocha Breaca *leacht*
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 22
References Wakeman (1886, 241–2, fig. 31 & 1893, 67–8, fig. 31); Herity (1989a, 139, fig. 14b; and reproduced 1993, 269, fig. 15; also 1995b, 318, pl 4, no 5)
Description Rounded cobble (H: 0.13 m, Diam: 0.175 m). Centrally placed on the surface are two inscribed concentric rings (Diams: 0.157 m and 0.138 m) that create a false relief band around the main

motif. This comprises an equal armed incised cross whose arms bifurcate 0.03 m from the crossing, into two strands that terminate just short of the inner ring. There are hollows in the sub-triangular false relief areas between these twin strands and also in the sub-pentagonal false relief areas in the quadrants.
Notes None

Survey No. 001.24
SMR No. SL001-001-017
Site type Pillar stone
Site name Clocha Breaca
Location Unknown; recorded by Wakeman as standing on the Clocha Breaca *leacht*
NGR —
Illustrations —
References Wakeman (1886, 277–78; 1893, 102–03)
Description Wakeman describes a 'second stone which has been set upright in 'Cloca-breaca' … part of a pillar of rude construction and inconsiderable size. It is much weather worn; so much so that it seems difficult to determine whether it had been carved or otherwise.'
Notes This stone was not described by any other writer and was not found during our survey.

[Survey Nos 001.25–001.31: not used]

Survey No. 001.32 (a, b & c)
SMR No. SL001-001-018
Site type Cross-slab fragments (x 3)
Site name The Cashel
Location Removed to Schoolhouse from Teach Molaise in 1989. When Wakeman recorded this it was in two – not three – fragments on the surface of the Clocha Breaca altar.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 23
References Wakeman (1886, 278, fig. 50 & 1893, 104, fig. 50); Herity (1989a, 141, fig. 16b & 1995b, 306, 321, pl 7.1)
Description Slab in three fragments (0.38 m by 0.40 m, 0.32 m by 0.27 m, 0.375m by 0.20 m) inscribed with a shafted and encircled cross (0.53 m by 0.48 m). The arms comprised pairs of false relief strands that formed Stafford knot terminals. The details of a large and complex interweve at the crossing are no longer recoverable. The ring is delimited by false relief strands between which are step twist features (32 originally). The inner and outer strands break at their bases and form the twin strands of the shaft sections above and below the encircling element respectively. 0.05m below the ring the strands of the shaft join at which point two slightly irregular inward facing mirror spirals develop.
Notes None.

Survey No. 001.33
SMR No. SL001-001-019
Site type *Leacht*
Site name Altarbeg; *Altóir Bheag*
Location The Cashel; south of Templemolaise, near the entrance
NGR 353859 157410
Illustration Figs 12 & 31; pl. 33
References Wakeman (1886, 145–46; 1893, 71–72); Mountbatten (1972, 57); Heraughty (1982, 31); Herity (1989a [1995b, 115]); McGowan (1998, 28–30)
Description This small regular *leacht* measures 1.7 m NW/SE by 1.2 m and is 0.65 m high. The sides are formed of small and medium flat stones brought to even courses. The surface features small stony rubble as well as larger flat stones, including several small, undecorated, rounded beach cobbles or 'cursing stones'.
Notes This is remarkably well preserved, perhaps rebuilt. The cross-slab (001.34, below) is now removed.

Survey No. 001.34
SMR No. SL001-001-020
Site type Cross-slab
Site name Altarbeg; *Altóir Bheag*
Location Removed to Schoolhouse from Altarbeg in 1989
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 23
References Wood-Martin (1882, 150, no.12 [after Wakeman]); Wakeman (1886, 245, fig.34; 1893, 71–2, fig. 34, pl. IV); Herity (1989a [1995b, 115]).
Description Cross-slab (H: 1.145 m, W: 0.345 m, Th: 0.085 m) broken in three but subsequently reassembled. Its semi-circular upper edge, tapering to form a tenon-like terminal, is the result of careful shaping. The upper portion is almost filled with a deeply incised equal armed cross-in-circle, whose arms widen gradually from the crossing. It is delimited by a narrow (now intermittent) raised border around the upper edge of the slab. The tapering lower portion of the slab is decorated with an incised shafted cross (0.51 m by 0.235 m). The horizontal arms curve outwards from the crossing and fuse with the elaborate serif of the upper arm to leave a raised border at the edges of the slab. This serif is similar in shape to the transom itself. It helps to define the upper cross by creating a curving border under it. The shaft bifurcates near its base forming a terminal (0.12 m wide) shaped like a downward facing 'C'.
Notes None

Survey No. 001.35
SMR No. SL001-001-021
Site type *Leacht*
Site name East Altar



Plate 33 Altarbeg, in the Cashel. A cross-slab from this *leacht* was removed to a conservation store in the island's Schoolhouse by the OPW. None of the beach cobbles on the surface is decorated.



Plate 34 East Altar, standing by the east end of Templemolaise; unlike the Clocha Breaca *leacht*, none of the beach cobbles on its surface is decorated.



Plate 35 Three cross-inscribed pillars in the Cashel. The finely carved examples at left and centre flank the west front of Templemolaise; the more modest example on the right is of uncertain date and may be modern.

Location The Cashel; east of Templemolaise
NGR 353885 157402
Illustration Figs 12, 19 & 31; pl. 34
References Wakeman (1886, 146; 1893, 72); Mountbatten (1972, 57); Heraughty (1982, 31); Herity (1989a [1995b, 116]); McGowan (1998, 28–30)
Description This drystone *leacht* measures 1.52 m east/west by 1.84 m north/south and is 0.7 m high. The sides are formed by well laid flat stones brought to course; the upper surface chiefly consists of larger flat slabs. There are several plain rounded beach cobbles on the surface. There was formerly a cross-slab (001.36, below) ; this is now in the Schoolhouse. On the south side is appended a low, regular bench, 0.55 m high and 0.35 m deep, also built with flat angular stones.
Notes This is well preserved, or perhaps rebuilt. The arrangement of stone slabs on the south side may mark a burial which – like Moylan Ó Dálaigh's burial by the Clocha Breaca *leacht* – is in a favoured spot by the East Altar.

Survey No. 001.36
SMR No. SL001-001-022
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel; East Altar
Location Removed to the Schoolhouse from the East Altar in 1989.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 23

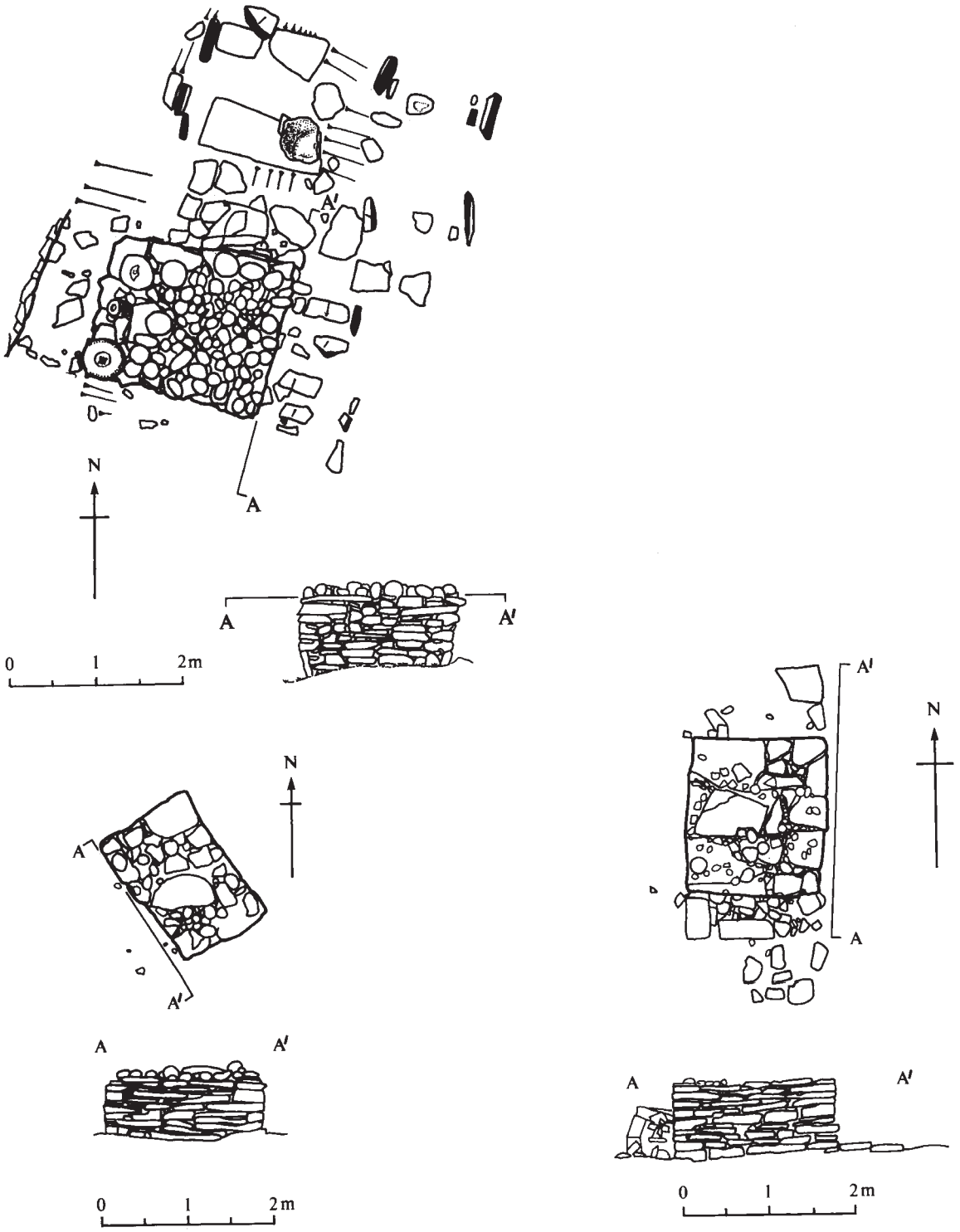


Figure 31
The Cashel: Clocha Breaca (top), East Altar (right) and Altarbeg (left)

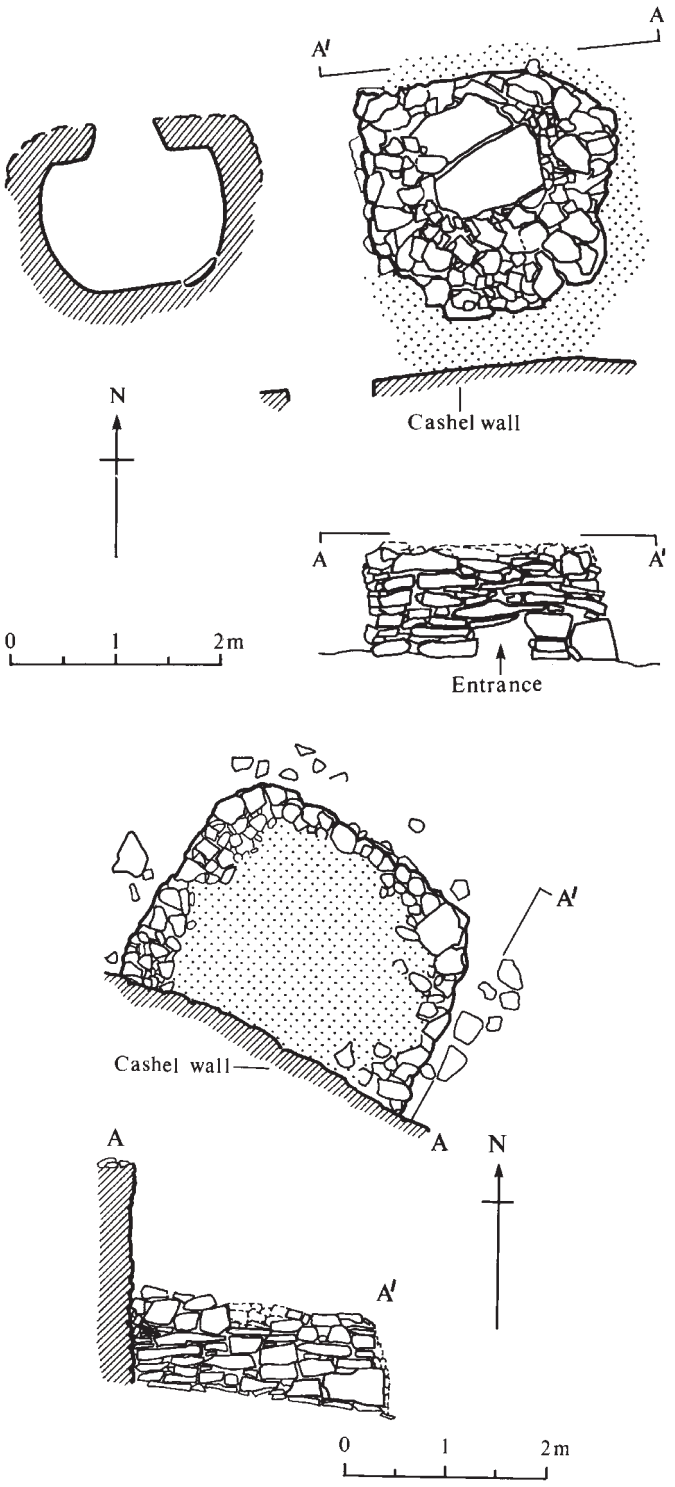


Figure 32
The Cashel: Teachanalais (top) and an unnamed *leacht*, both abutting the enclosure wall externally

References Wood-Martin (1882, 150, no.12 [after Wakeman]); Wakeman (1886, 245, fig. 34; 1893, 71–2, fig. 34, pl. IV); Herity (1989a [1995b, 115])
Description Rectangular slab the lower portion of which has been narrowed to form a stem (H: 0.655 m W: 0.41>0.205 m, Th: 0.07 m). On it is an incised shafted cross (0.385 m by 0.295 m) which is embellished with two slightly ovoid concentric circles, the outer of which (Radius: 0.123 m) coincides with the terminals of the upper arms. The shaft extends 0.09 m beyond the outer circle and terminates with a plain bar 0.113 m long.
Notes None.

Survey No. 001.37
SMR No. SL001-001-032
Site type *Leacht*
Site name None
Location The Cashel; appended on the north face of the enclosure
NGR 353900 157415
Illustration Figs 12 & 32
References Wakeman (1886, 148; 1893, 74); Mountbatten (1972, 57)
Description This is a large tabular cairn or *leacht* appended on the north face of the Cashel. In contrast to the smaller *leachta* within the Cashel, this is built with small, medium and large rounded and angular rubble, rather than well-laid courses of flat stone. The *leacht* measures 3.1 m long, 2.1 m wide and is 1 m high.
Notes 1. Wakeman's survey records that an elaborate cross-slab – now at the Schoolhouse (No 001.56) was originally associated with this *leacht*. **2.** Mountbatten (1972, 57) records that this originally stood within the Cashel, having been rebuilt in this position by the Board of Works. He has evidently misunderstood the passage in Wakeman which describes the transfer of a cross-slab to this *leacht* from the men's cemetery. **3.** There are brambles, nettles and bracken round about, but only grasses, moss and some brambles on the *leacht* itself. Its position is sheltered both from the elements and from visitors.

Survey No. 001.38
SMR No. SL001-001-043
Site type *Leacht* (Poss.)
Site name None
Location The Cashel; at the angle of the southern subdivision (001.04)
NGR 353860 157392
Illustration Fig. 12
References None
Description A tabular cairn or rectilinear block of drystone masonry stands at the angle between the two

low drystone walls which form the arms of the southern enclosure or subdivision of the Cashel (001.04). It is clearly abutted by one arm of the enclosure (from the south-west) but is partly keyed to the other (from the south-east). The structure consists of well-laid small and medium flat slabs roughly coursed to form fair faces on all sides. Its orientation is WNW/ESE. It measures 1.7 m by 1.2 m and is 0.8 m high. Thus it resembles other *leachta* within the Cashel in its mode of construction and size. Furthermore, with the abutting walls removed, it would lie within the same area as the three previously known examples, in the open space south of the cemetery and churches which was perhaps the *plateola* of the monastery. There are no associated cursing stones or cross-slabs however.

Notes The low dividing wall which abuts this *leacht* from the west is evidently of recent date as it does not appear on Wakeman's plan of the Cashel, but does appear on Mountbatten's plan and may designate the area reserved as a private burial plot by the Waters family (Mountbatten 1972, 50 and 62).

Survey No. 001.39
SMR No. SL001-001-044
Site type *Leacht* (poss.)
Site name None
Location On the outer face of the Cashel at the south side.
NGR 353847 157385
Illustration Fig. 12
References None
Description A drystone field wall abuts the south face of the Cashel and, at the point of contact, expands to form a large, tabular mass of drystone masonry, largely composed of small stones with some flat slabs. This is roughly quadrilateral on plan, with vertical sides and a flattish, slightly rounded top. It is 3 m long by 1.5 m wide and 1 m high. There are no associated cursing stones or cross-slab.
Notes This does resemble in scale and form the previously known *leacht* appended on the north face of the Cashel. Nonetheless, its identification as a *leacht* is tentative at best.

Men's Cemetery

Survey No. 001.40
SMR No. SL001-001-029
Site type Cemetery
Site name None
Location The Cashel
NGR 353880 157406
Illustration Figs 12 & 17
References Wakeman (1886, 224–25; 1893, 50–51); Mountbatten (1972, 54); Heraughty (1982, 29)
Description Grave markers occur throughout the open area surrounding Templemolaise. There are 180–200 visible grave markers (it is impossible to say how many of the smaller prone slabs were

originally erected as headstones). These take various forms, including several early carved slabs and pillars (with crosses or memorial inscriptions), cist-like arrangements of edge-set slabs, modern plinthed crosses with memorial inscriptions and, most commonly, low, rough, unmarked sandstone headstones set upright in the turf. Most of these grave markers occur in the open area between Templemolaise and the much smaller church known as Teach Molaise. The importance of the latter – the purported founder's shrine chapel – is indicated by the concentration of early inscribed stones and cross-slabs lying immediately adjacent to it. Other notable, though smaller concentrations occur by the south wall of Templemolaise and around the Clocha Breaca *leacht*. Both the early slabs by Teach Molaise and the many plain, low headstones form rows on a north/south alignment (indicating west/east grave orientation). Thus, in broad terms, the orientation and limits of the cemetery accord with the north/south boundary formed by the western enclosure (No. 001.03) and the east/west boundary formed by the northern enclosure (No. 001.02). In contrast, grave markers peter out towards the southern enclosure (No. 001.04). Significantly, perhaps, this was probably reserved for burials of the Waters family (Mountbatten 1972, 50) and may be an entirely modern construction.

Notes The original entry in the SMR file for this site is clearly in error: 'besides the slabs beside the church and the burial place of Moylan O'Daly ... no trace of a burial ground is visible above ground'.

Inscriptions

This section describes all of the *inscribed stones from the Cashel*, including both cross-slabs bearing lettered inscriptions and also inscribed stones with no cross. Only one of these is still *in situ* within the Cashel; three were removed to the National Museum of Ireland in 1971; four others are *lost or stolen* (i.e. locations could not be established in 1998–99 or by subsequent inquiry).

Survey No. 001.41
SMR No. SL001-001-025
Site type Inscribed stone
Site name The Cashel
Location The Cashel; adjacent to Teach Molaise.
NGR 353888 157402
Illustrations Fig. 23
References Petrie (1878, 16, pl. IX); Wakeman (1886, 265, fig. 44; 1893, 90, fig. 44); Macalister (1949, 21, no. 565); Heraughty (1982, 33)
Description Rectangular slab (H: 1.29 m, W: 0.725 m, Th: 0.10 m) with an axially placed miniscule inscription (1.21 m long), running from west to east. It is headed by a short horizontal bar and an equal-armed cross (0.115 m by 0.10 m, cuts 0.015<0.02 m wide, 0.003 m deep) with modest, serifed terminals. The inscription is transcribed:

+ OR DO CONMURSCE

Translation 'Pray for Conmursce'
Notes None

Survey No. 001.42
SMR No. SL001-001-045
Site type Inscribed stone
Site name The Cashel
Location First recorded on the altar of Teach Molaise in the Cashel by Wakeman. Removed to the National Museum of Ireland in 1971.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 23
References Wakeman (1886, 259, fig. 41; 1893, 85, fig. 41); ?Macalister (1949, 21, no. 566); Heraughty (1982, 33); National Museum of Ireland (Register No. 1971: 1118)
Description Inscribed thin flat stone or flag (H: 0.31 m, W: 0.21 m, Th: 0.065). Wakeman, and subsequently the National Museum of Ireland, could not decipher this at first, but Heraughty gives the inscription as:

ORAIR AR NEARACH:DO RIGHNE CRIX TALT PRO ANIMIS NOSTRIBUS

Translation Heraughty's transcription would translate as 'Nerach who made [this] Cross [of] Talt, on behalf of our souls.'
Notes 1. Wakeman had two casts of the stone which were given to him by a Mr. Ricard Jones of Streedagh. We do not know where these are now or whether they survive. **2.** Macalister's transcription is very different to that given here but appears to have been based on Wakeman's plastercast and can be discounted. Also, Macalister describes a cross on the reverse of this stone where none exists – probably an error based on a misreading of Wakeman.

Survey No. 001.43
SMR No. SL001-001-028
Site type Cross-slab with inscription
Site name The Cashel
Location First recorded by Dunraven in 1866 (Petrie 1878, 15) in Teach Molaise. Removed to the National Museum of Ireland in 1971.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 23
References Petrie (1878, 15, fig. 16); Wakeman (1886, 260–2, fig. 42; 1893, 86–8, fig. 42); Macalister (1949, 20, no. 563); Heraughty (1982, 33); National Museum of Ireland (Register No. 1971: 1117)
Description Small pillar (H: 0.30 m, W: 0.12 m, Th: 0.08 m). Upper 80% of one face contains an incised shafted ringed cross rising from an oblong base (H: 0.238 m). All the arms seem to have extended beyond the ring but while the upper one terminates in a flat-butted serif, the terminals of the horizontal arms to not survive. On the other broad face is a now badly damaged inscription read by Macalister – broadly agreeing with Wakeman as:

OROIT DO MURCHAD

Translation 'Pray for Murchad'
Notes None.

Survey No. 001.44
SMR No. SL001-001-046
Site type Inscribed stone
Site name The Cashel
Location First recorded by Wakeman in Teach Molaise. Removed to the National Museum of Ireland National Museum of Ireland in 1971.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 23
References Petrie (1878, 15, fig. 17); Wakeman (1886, 262, fig. 43; Wakeman 1893, 88–9, fig. 43); Macalister (1949, 20, no. 564); Heraughty (1982, 33); National Museum of Ireland (Register No. 1971: 1116)
Description Stone slab (H: 0.429 m, W: 0.213 m, Th: 0.028 m) one face of which is filled with an inscription preceded by a simple incised cross and transcribed as:

+OR DO MUREDACH
HÚ CHOMOCÁIN
HIC DORMIT

Translation 'Pray for Muredach Ó Chomocáin, he sleeps here'
Notes A rare example of an early inscription combining Latin and Irish in a single dedication.

Survey No. 001.45
SMR No. SL001-001-047
Site type Inscribed slab
Site name The Cashel
Location Unknown. Recorded by Wakeman as lying on the 'Saint's Bed' within Teach Molaise.
NGR —
Illustrations —
References Wakeman (1886, 265; 1893, 91)
Description Thin slab (H: 0.43 m, W: 0.28 m [after Wakeman]) with inscription. Wakeman says that the inscription was 'in the Irish character' and that the letters were 'extremely small and closely packed, and slanting in a running-hand style.' He was only able to decipher a few of the letters, ones which he thought 'were probably capitals.' His attempts at deciphering by rubbing failed and he did not illustrate the slab.
Notes The dimensions do not match those of 001.42, above, which was also recorded by Wakeman as an undeciphered inscribed slab from Teach Molaise, but is now in the National Museum of Ireland.

Survey No. 001.46
SMR No. SL001-001-048
Site type Cross-slab (frag.) with inscription
Site name The Cashel

Location This was recorded by Wakeman on the altar in Teach Molaise. It was removed to the National Museum of Ireland in 1971.

NGR —

Illustrations Fig. 23 & 30

References Wakeman (1886, 289, fig. 57; 1893, 115, fig. 57); National Museum of Ireland (Register No. 1971: 1115)

Description Fragment of a slab (H: 0.285 m, W: 0.16 m, Th: 0.052 m) incised with probably base of cross motif. This comprises a false relief circle with a tiny central boss. Curving around this is a false relief strand which may originally have extended upwards to form a cross shaft. At its lower end the outer incised line delimiting the motif is joined to two parallel, axially positioned, incised lines 0.097 m long. On the opposite face are two almost obliterated letterforms which the National Museum Register tentatively identifies as 'D' or 'O' and 'R'.

Notes The fragment is probably the lower portion of 001.47, in which case the outer curvilinear line is the bulbous terminal of the shaft, and the parallel lines represent a skeuomorphic feature like that at the base of No. 001.71A.

Survey No. 001.47

SMR No. SL001-001-027

Site type Cross-slab with inscription

Site name The Cashel

Location Unknown; Wakeman recorded this stone in the 1880s in Teach Molaise, but it is one of two '*crux*' stones which Heraughty described as 'missing' by the 1980s.

NGR —

Illustrations Fig. 30

References Petrie (1878, 16, pl. X); Wood-Martin (1882, 150, no. 7 [after Wakeman]); Wakeman (1886, 256–8, fig. 40; 1893, 82–4, fig. 40); Macalister (1949, 19, no. 560); Heraughty (1982, 35).

Description Slab fragment (H: 0.195 m, W: 0.15 m) incised with the upper two thirds of an outline cross and an inscription in the upper left quadrant. The inscription simply reads:

CRUX

At the crossing the false relief strands are separated thin incised lines, but they soon diverge so that the arms expand steadily from the crossing to terminate in large bulbous terminals. The terminals are decorated with hollow false relief circles, and that in the upper arm features a tiny central boss.

Translation 'Cross'

Notes **1.** Fragment No. 001.46 is probably the base of this slab. Both were in Teach Molaise in the 19th century (Wakeman 1893, 84, 115). They are roughly the same width and Wakeman's sketch suggests that they are also roughly the same thickness. Their designs are closely comparable and are positioned slightly left of the axis of their respective slabs. (The slab may have been broken in three, for a small triangular fragment would be necessary for the two known fragments to match up exactly.) **2.** Within the Inishmurray *corpus*, the best parallel for the bulbous arm terminals is the upper terminal of cross-slab No.

004.9. **3.** If Wakeman's description is reliable this is one of two '*crux*' slabs once recorded on the island and now missing – either lost or stolen.

Survey No. 01.48
SMR No. SL001-001-049
Site type Cross-slab (frag.) with inscription
Site name The Cashel
Location Unknown. Recorded by Wakeman (1893, 80) 'in a modern recess in the Cashel wall.' Heraughty (1982, 35) records it as 'missing.'
NGR —
Illustrations —
References Wakeman (1886, 254, fig. 38; 1893, 80, fig. 38); Macalister (1949, 19, No. 559); Heraughty (1982, 35 [not illus])
Description Slab (220 by 160 mm) with upper left hand corner and base broken off. The surface was filled with most of the upper and left arms, a complete right arm and short section of the shaft of an incised cross with triangular terminals. There was a circular expansion at the crossing decorated with a false relief boss. Parts of a horizontal inscription remain in two lines positioned above and below the horizontal cross members.

CRUX
RETE

Translation 'Cross of Rete'
Notes One of two '*crux*' slabs previously recorded but now missing – either lost or stolen.

Other Cross-Slabs

Previous sections described several carved stones which have clear associations with specific buildings or structures (e.g. the cross-inscribed lintel stone on Templenatinny, the pillar stones aligned on the west gable of Templemolaise or the cross-inscribed stones on the Clocha Breaca altar). This section describes all of the remaining cross-slabs from the Cashel. These can now be found in three locations: eight are still *in situ* within the men's cemetery; twenty-one were removed to the Schoolhouse in 1989 (most of these had already been gathered into Teach Molaise); one was removed to the National Museum of Ireland in 1971. Finally, three slabs or fragments appear to be lost or stolen (i.e. locations could not be established in August 1998 or by subsequent inquiry).

Survey No. 001.49
SMR No. SL001-001-050
Site type Cross-slab

Site name The Cashel
Location The Cashel; upright 2 m east of inner edge of south passage gateway. First recorded by Wakeman 'in the men's cemetery'.
NGR 353859 157413
Illustrations Fig. 23
References Wakeman (1886, 287, fig. 55; 1893, 113, fig. 55); Crawford (1913, 162, t); Lionard (1961, 152, fig. 8, 5).
Description Slab (H: <0.73 m, W: 0.455 m, Th: 0.09 m) with complex shafted cross filling most of its face. Rising from a horizontal base (0.345 m long) decorated with short vertical terminal bars, the shaft and upper arm comprises three continuous parallel incised lines that terminate abruptly without elaboration at the top of the cross. The horizontal arms are also formed from three incised lines which join the outer lines of the vertical element.
Notes None

Survey No. 001.50
SMR No. SL001-001-051
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location The Cashel; 2 m north of the passage to Templenatinny
NGR 353873 157391
Illustrations Fig. 24
References Not previously recorded.
Description Slab (H: <0.988 m, W: 0.584 m, Th: 0.104 m) with simple incised cross (0.312 m by 0.244 m). The lower arm is shorter than the other three, and the horizontals are not completely straight.
Notes None.

Survey No. 001.51
SMR No. SL001-001-052
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location The Cashel; 1.5 north of the west end of Templemolaise
NGR 353875 157404
Illustrations Fig. 24
References Not previously recorded.
Description Slab (H: <0.395 m, W: 0.35 m, Th: 0.045 m) incised with a shafted ringed cross (0.26 m by 0.152 m). Intersecting at the crossing the upper cross arms expand beyond the line of the ring (radius 0.04 m) and develop exaggerated triangular serifs (0.055–0.075 m wide). This occurs immediately in the case of the horizontal arms but the vertical arm extends some distance beyond the arm before developing a

serif. The serif of the shaft is distinguished from the others with a central sub-triangular section in false relief.
Notes None

Survey No. 001.52
SMR No. SL001-001-053
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location The Cashel; lying within the men's cemetery 3 m north of Templemolaise W gable
NGR 353877 157404
Illustrations Fig. 24
References None (see Notes below).
Description Slab (L: 1.46 m, W: 0.63 m, Th: 0.12) with false relief ringed cross (0.998 m by 0.495 m). The false relief arms and shaft average 0.1 m wide and the latter terminates in a single axial cut at the base representing a skeuomorphic spike. The slightly irregular ring is formed from handle-shaped areas of false relief between each of the arms. The arms and shaft narrow within the ring to form pronounced arm-pits.
Notes The cross design resembles Wakeman's fig. 59 (1886, 292; 1893, 118), but the stone is clearly a different size and shape, and the latter describes a fragment only, whereas this example is complete. See below No. 001.86.

Survey No. 001.53
SMR No. SL001-001-054
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location The Cashel; standing 2.5 m east of Teach Molaise
NGR 353885 157403
Illustrations Fig. 24
References Not previously recorded.
Description Slab (H: <1.01 m, W: 0.6 m, Th: 0.15 m) with three-cross design formed from wide incisions filling the visible surface. The main cross measures 0.92 m by 0.46 m and its shaft tapers as it descends. The arms curve outwards near the crossing, forming an enlarged central area in which is a false relief boss (Diam: 0.95 m). They also expand towards their terminals and these are decorated with cusped butts. The shaft base fuses with a horizontal bar (0.27 m long), from the ends of which develops a vertical cross (0.47 m by 0.185 m) in each of the lower quadrants. These smaller crosses have serifed terminals with cusped butts, exaggerated in the upper arms into a fork.
Notes None

Survey No. 001.54
SMR No. SL001-001-055
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location The Cashel; standing 3 m south of Teach Molaise
NGR 353883 157396
Illustrations Fig. 24
References Heraughty (1982, 35, photo)
Description Slab (H: 0.925 m, W: 0.48 m, Th: 0.06 m) broken at one end. Carved roughly along the slab axis are three small, well spaced, equal armed crosses measuring 0.179 m by 0.152 m, 0.148 m by 0.147 m, and 0.15 m by 0.143 m. As in the case of Nos. 001.12 and 001.64, these outline crosses are defined by a thin false relief strand.
Notes This slab may be a recumbent grave slab or (like 001.32 and 001.76) perhaps an element in a composite structure.

Survey No. 001.55
SMR No. SL001-001-056
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location The Cashel; one of a group of three south-east of Teach Molaise.
NGR 353886 157403
Illustrations Fig. 24
References Not previously recorded.
Description Tapering slab (H: 1.20 m, W: 0.596 m, 0.136 m) whose upper two thirds is filled with a cross (0.828 m by 0.496 m) formed of U-shaped cuts 0.04 m wide. The cross arms curve steadily into each other at the crossing and the space created is filled with a low false-relief boss (Diam: 0.092 m). The upper arm has an expanded serif terminal with straight butt, while the left arm has a slightly cusped butt (0.108 m). The terminal of the right arm has been lost. The shaft tapers as it descends dividing at the base to form a mirrored pair of slightly irregular inward turning curls (0.116 m across). A small triangle in false relief occurs directly above these.
Notes Although currently recumbent this monument may originally have been upright.

Survey No. 001.56
SMR No. SL001-001-057
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location The Cashel; one of a group of three south-east of Teach Molaise. Recorded as occurring in roughly this position by Wakeman (1893, 117).

NGR 353884 157402
Illustrations Fig. 25
References Wakeman (1886, 290, fig. 58; 1893, 116, fig. 58)
Description Rectangular recumbent slab (H: 1.26 m, W: 0.748 m, Th: 0.06 m) whose surface is filled with a plain rectangular outline border frame (W: 0.064<0.08 m), defined by two thin incised lines. At the central point of the base, this frame is decorated with a small skeuomorphic spike, tapering into a bulbous terminal (0.052 m across). The taper is formed from incised lines and is decorated with an incised outline triangle. The terminal is embellished with an upward-facing C-scroll-in false relief. The outer left-hand line of the frame does not extend to the edge of the slab, indicating that this corner was already missing when the design was carved. The inner line of the frame is broken briefly at the midpoint of the lower side. The frame surrounds a single-strand incised shafted cross (0.864 m by 0.476 m) decorated with an incised outline circle at the crossing which the arms abut. Each arm terminates in a semi-circle that abuts the frame. The whole cross is embellished with an outline cross with arms 0.056<0.068 m wide.
Notes The dimensions and shape of this slab suggest it was split from the same block as the adjacent No. 001.41.

Survey No. 001.57
SMR No. SL001-001-058
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location The Cashel; lying loose about 3.5 m east of Teach Molaise. Wakeman (1893, 106) gives no exact location for the slab, but his illustration shows that it was earthfast and he discusses it as one of a group of slabs which were then in the cashel.
NGR 353888 157405
Illustrations Fig. 25
References Wakeman (1886, 280, fig. 52; 1893, 106, fig. 52); Crawford (1913, 162, q)
Description Triangular slab (H: 0.8 m, W: 0.53 m, Th: 0.1 m) with three-cross motif. A horizontal cut near the wide end, 0.045 m long by 0.02 m, is traversed by three fairly evenly spaced vertical cuts, the central one (0.29 m long) slightly longer than the flanking pair. At the three intersections are dimples 0.02<0.025 m in diameter.
Notes This slab was probably meant to stand upright.

Survey No. 001.58
SMR No. SL001-001-059
Site type Cross-slab with inscription
Site name None
Location Brought to the Schoolhouse store from Teach Molaise in the Cashel in 1989.
NGR —

Illustrations Fig. 25

References Not previously recorded.

Description Lower two thirds of the slab is decorated with an incised shafted cross (0.195 by 0.092 m) with modest straight butted serifs. The horizontal arms are set high on the shaft in order to allow for the following, now damaged, inscription, on two lines, in the lower quadrants:

[B] [?T]
[N] [?U]

Notes Removed to Schoolhouse from Teach Molaise in 1989.

Survey No. 001.59

SMR No. SL001-001-060

Site type Cross-slab

Site name The Cashel

Location Brought to the Schoolhouse store from Teach Molaise in the Cashel in 1989.

NGR —

Illustrations Fig. 25

References Not previously recorded.

Description Small slab (H: 0.55 m, W: 0.245 m, Th: 0.025) with damaged motif, probably a cross, filling its upper two-thirds. The middle third has a thin incised border running along the edges of the slab. At their lowest point these lines both turn inwards and upwards at c. 45º until they meet on the slab axis. From this point two slightly irregular lines rise, diverging slowly until they reach the upper third of the slab, where a roughly horizontal line runs from the left of the two and joins with the slab border. These lines probably represent the shaft and left arm of a cross but above this the sculpture comprises a number of randomly placed irregular shapes and a few sub-circular hollows. There is an intermittent border along the top of the slab.

Notes It would appear that this slab was rejected before it was finished, for a number of areas in the upper third which are flush with the surface of the slab would seem to preclude the possibility that the partial cross motif in the middle third was once complete.

Survey No. 001.60

SMR No. SL001-001-061

Site type Cross-slab

Site name The Cashel

Location Brought to the Schoolhouse store from Teach Molaise in the Cashel in 1989.

NGR —

Illustrations Fig. 25 & 30

References Not previously recorded.

Description Slab fragment (H: 0.205 m, W: 0.195 m, Th: 0.05 m) with motif abutting the broken edge

that comprises a central solid rectangle in false relief (0.065 m by 0.035 m) around which there run two false relief, and now intermittent, strands. These originally extended upwards from the surviving portion of the slab probably to form the shaft of a large cross motif. That emerging from the centre right of the broken edge runs around the rectangle one and a quarter times, while that emerging from the centre left runs along the perimeter of the whole motif before terminating at the bottom right hand corner.
Notes None.

Survey No. 001.61
SMR No. SL001-001-062
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location Brought to the Schoolhouse store from Teach Molaise in the Cashel in 1989.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 25
References Not previously recorded.
Description Slab (H: 0.375 m, W: 0.32 m, Th: 0.065 m) filled with an irregular incised ringed and slightly shafted cross. The arms extend beyond the ring (radius 0.07 m) and the horizontal arms and shaft extend to the edges of the slab. 0.02 m from the lower edge, is a horiztonal bar (0.132 m long) that traverses the shaft.
Notes This could not have stood upright and the crudity of its execution raises the possibility that it was intended for burial with the body.

Survey No. 001.62
SMR No. SL001-001-063
Site type Cross-slab with inscription
Site name The Cashel
Location Brought to the Schoolhouse store from Teach Molaise in the Cashel in 1989.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 25 & 30
References Not previously recorded.
Description Slab (H: 0.89 m, W: 0.25 m, Th: 0.03 m) comprising two re-joined fragments. Its surface is filled with an shafted cross in false relief. This element divides into pairs of strands just before the crossing which intersect one another before passing into opposite flanking cross arms. The false relief cross also divides into strands at the terminals which, in the case of the horizontal arms, comprise simple Stafford knots. The upper and lower terminals are worn but were more complex. At the base the strands each loop twice around an independent element in the shape of a downward-facing 'D', before joining again and tapering to a point suggestive of a skeumorphic spike. In the upper right-hand quadrant is a short inscription:

T[U/A][R] A [I/L/N/M] [ ].

Notes One possible reading is '*tarais*', an abbreviation of taraisse meaning trustworthy, faithful, worthy of confidence (DIL), though on balance the second letter is more likely to be 'u' than 'a'.

Survey No. 001.63
SMR No. SL001-001-064
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location Brought to the Schoolhouse store from Teach Molaise in the Cashel in 1989.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 25
References Wakeman (1886, 285, fig. 54; 1893, 111, fig. 54).
Description Slab (H: 0.75 m, W: 0.31 m, Th: 0.06 m) virtually filled with two separate cross motifs carved along the axis. The simpler is an irregular incised cross (0.183 m by 0.263 m). Between this and the slab edge is a single incised line, 0.175 m long. The larger motif is a slightly shafted hammerhead outline cross (0.39 by 0.235 m) whose edges are delimited by a thin false relief strand. This strand is briefly broken at the top right corner and has not been fully defined at the top left corner.
Notes None.

Survey No. 001.64
SMR No. SL001-001-065
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location Brought to the Schoolhouse store from Teach Molaise in the Cashel in 1989.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 25
References Not previously recorded.
Description Slab (H: 0.61 m, W: 0.42 m, Th: 0.06 m) with slightly shafted outline cross (0.305 m by 0.195 m) with rounded terminals. It is similar in most respects to No. 001.54 but here the cross is defined by a number of independent false relief elements rather than a continuous false relief strand. Its horizontal arms each comprise a 'C' shape, one mirroring the other, while its vertical arms are each formed from three false relief elements, two of which are not fully distinguished from the slab surface.
Notes None.

Survey No. 001.65
SMR No. SL001-001-066
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel

Location Brought to the Schoolhouse store from Teach Molaise in the Cashel in 1989.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 26
References Not previously recorded.
Description Slab fragment (H: 0.58 m, W: 0.31 m, Th: 0.1 m) with a portion of the shaft of a cross motif surviving on each face. On one side the upper part of the surviving portion is flanked by incised rectangular panels, one 0.115 m wide, the other 0.065 m wide. The shaft is decorated with five unevenly spaced, false relief oval bosses averaging 0.025 m in diameter. On the other face a vertical cut (W: 0.03m) is decorated with a slightly asymmetrical, pronged expansion (W: 0.05 m).
Notes None.

Survey No. 001.66
SMR No. SL001-001-067
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location Brought to the Schoolhouse store from Teach Molaise in the Cashel in 1989.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 26
References Not previously recorded.
Description Slab (H: 0.665 m, W: 0.465 m, Th: 0.06 m) with false relief ringed cross filling its upper two thirds. It comprises two main elements: (a) a ring that breaks at its base into two parallel bands (W: 0.02m) which rise to bisect it, and form the vertical members of the cross and (b) twin horizontal strands which interweave with both the ring and the vertical strands thereby completing the cross. The vertical strands coalesce before reaching the apex of the ring, only to immediately divide again into large mirrored curls, one over and one under the ring, which constitute the upper terminal of the cross. An incised shafted cross with slightly expanded terminals develops from the inner delimiting incision of the ring in each of its lower quadrants.
Notes None.

Survey No. 001.67
SMR No. SL001-001-068
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location Brought to the Schoolhouse store from Teach Molaise in the Cashel in 1989.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 26
References Not previously recorded.
Description Slab fragment (H: 0.762 m, W: 0.315 m, Th: 0.045) filled by one almost complete (c. 95%)

and one almost identical but fragmentary (c. 40%) encircled cross of arcs (Diam: 0.375 m), spaced 0.125 m from each other. They are defined by eye-shaped incisions and a false relief encircling strand.
Notes None.

Survey No. 001.68
SMR No. SL001-001-069
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location Brought to the Schoolhouse store from Teach Molaise in the Cashel in 1989.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 26
References Wakeman (1886, 283, fig. 53; 1893, 109, fig. 53)
Description Irregular pentagonal slab (H: 0.49 m, W: 0.44 m, Th: 0.05 m) with cross (0.26 m by 0.33 m) in its upper two thirds. The shaft and upper arm is formed from a single trapezoid that tapers slightly towards the top, formed from a continuous false relief strand. The horizontal arms, which unusually are slightly longer than the others and expand slightly towards the terminals, are formed from similar trapezoids that fuse with the vertical element. Each quadrant contains a boss in false relief that is irregularly positioned and shaped.
Notes None.

Survey No. 001.69
SMR No. SL001-001-070
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location Brought to the Schoolhouse store from Teach Molaise in the Cashel in 1989.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 26 & 30
References Not previously recorded.
Description Slightly tapering slab (H: 0.615 m, W: 0.435 m, Th: 0.063) the upper three quarters of which are filled with a cross encircled by a false relief band (W: 0.017 m). The cross is formed of twin false relief strands which form Stafford knots at the terminals of the upper arms and diverge before passing into the nearest arm, leaving a worn flat boss in the expansion at the crossing. The strands of the shaft fuse with the false relief band and pass beyond it before coalescing with the general surface of the slab. Below this their outer delimiting lines form mirrored two-turn spirals, which become progressively shallower and thinner towards their centres.
Notes None.

Survey No. 001.70
SMR No. SL001-001-071
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location Brought to the Schoolhouse store from Teach Molaise in the Cashel in 1989.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 26
References Not previously recorded.
Description Slab (H: 0.49 m, W: 0.49 m, Th: 0.07 m) with cross whose shaft is formed from a wide false relief band from which two strands emerge forming a Y shape. It is decorated with an incised shafted cross (0.10 m by 0.04 m) with cusped serifs, which stands on its base. The upper arms comprise twin false relief strands and terminate in irregular Stafford knots. At the unusually large crossing, these strands form a complex, but not entirely coherent, interweave comprising five concentric rings along with diagonally disposed strands that form a Saltire cross at the centre.
Notes This design seems to be a degenerate, simplified version of No. 001.75.

Survey No. 001.71
SMR No. SL001-001-072
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location Brought to the Schoolhouse store from Teach Molaise in the Cashel in 1989.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 26
References Wood-Martin (1882, 150, nos 2, 4 [after Wakeman]); Wakeman (1886, 272, fig. 46; 1893, 98, fig. 46)
Description Slab (H: 0.676 m, W: 0.258 m, Th: 0.036 m) with cross filling upper portion of both faces. On one side is a slightly shafted incised cross with expanded serifs that terminate in a pair of mirrored backed spirals. The upper terminal features an extra pair of spirals above these. The base of the shaft develops, below the spirals, into an incised skeuomorphic tapering spike that bisects an axially positioned rectilinear motif with a break at its base. This incised cross is embellished with an outline cross formed from pairs of false relief twisting strands (two turns in each vertical, a single in the horizontals) with Stafford knot terminals and a simple interweve at the crossing. In each quadrant is an incised circular pit. On the other face is a slightly shafted irregular incised cross with cusped serifs on the horizontal arms, a serif with mirrored downward facing loops on the upper arm and, near the base, a bulbous swelling that surrounds a false-relief dimpled boss before developing into a skeuomorphic spike. In each quadrant is an incised crosslet with cusped terminals.
Notes Wakeman (1883, 97, 100) mistakenly recorded the two faces as different pieces, saying that the more elaborate face occurred on an altar abutting the Cashel to the south, while the other cross occurred in the men's cemetery at the Cashel.

Survey No. 001.72
SMR No. SL001-001-073
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location Brought to the Schoolhouse store from Teach Molaise in the Cashel in 1989.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 27 & 30
References Not previously recorded.
Description Slab fragment (H: 0.38 m, W: 0.345 m, Th: 0.06 m) with part (c. 35%) of a ringed cross whose lost shaft extended beyond the ring. The cross arms comprised pairs of false relief strands that, in the surviving right arm, form a Stafford knot terminal. Part of a large and complex interveve survives at the crossing. The ring is delimited by false relief strands between which are step twist features. Most of the surviving examples are suggestive of an anticlockwise motion, but just right of the cross shaft is one that steps upwards in both directions, facilitating a change in the direction of the steps to the left of it.
Notes None.

Survey No. 001.73
SMR No. SL001-001-074
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location Brought to the Schoolhouse store from Teach Molaise in the Cashel in 1989.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 27
References Not previously recorded.
Description Slab (H: 0.325 m, W: 0.21 m, Th: 0.052 m) with rounded corners whose face is filled with a simple shafted outline cross formed of a single false relief strand. The width of this strand is generally consistent (0.006 m) except for a slight irregularity at the upper terminal.
Notes None.

Survey No. 001.74
SMR No. SL001-001-075
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location Brought to the Schoolhouse store from Teach Molaise in the Cashel in 1989.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 27
References Not previously recorded.
Description Worn slab (H: 0.775 m, W: 0.335 m, Th: 0.06) apparently trimmed to produce a stem, with

a fully-encircled cross (0.321 m by 0.26 m) on its broader upper section whose vertical arms are marginally longer than its horizontal arms. The irregular ring comprises a single incised line, but the main motif is an outline cross with large wedge-shaped, convex-butted terminals formed from a continuous false relief strand. In each of the quadrants there was a diagonally-disposed incised, equal arm cross with cusped-butted serifs.
Notes None.

Survey No. 001.75
SMR No. SL001-001-076
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location Brought to the Schoolhouse store from Teach Molaise in the Cashel in 1989. First recorded by Wakeman in a position facing the doorway of Teach Molaise (presumably set in the low wall which confines the approach to the doorway).
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 27
References Wakeman (1886, 280, fig. 51; 1893, 106, fig. 51); Heraughty (1982, 35, photo).
Description Slab (H: 0.952 m, W: 0.558 m, Th: 0.044 m) with complex but damaged ringed and shafted cross motif filling its upper three quarters. The arms comprised pairs of false relief strands that formed Stafford knot terminals. The details of a large and complex interweave at the crossing is no longer recoverable. The ring is delimited by false relief strands between which are step twist features (32 originally). The inner and outer strands break at their bases and form the twin strands of the shaft sections above and below the encircling element respectively. 0.08 m below the ring the strands of the shaft turn outwards before developing into inward facing mirror spirals.
Notes Comparison with Wakeman's fig. 51 reveals that the area of weathering/spalling has expanded somewhat since the 1880s.

Survey No. 001.76
SMR No. SL001-001-077
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location First recorded in the men's cemetery. Removed to the Schoolhouse store in 1989.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 27
References Wood-Martin (1882, 150, No. 3 [after Wakeman]), Wakeman (1886, 273, fig. 47; 1893, 99, fig. 47).
Description Slab (H: 0.5 m, W: 0.655 m, Th: 0.09 m) with central slightly shafted outline cross (0.395 by 0.285 m) occupying its upper four fifths. It is formed from pairs of false relief twisting strands (two

turns in each vertical, a single in the horizontals) with Stafford knot terminals and a simple interweave at the crossing. Each quadrant is contoured with another false relief strand which forms a single turn spiral at the terminals. The base is elaborated below the spirals with an incised skeuomorphic spike. To each side of the cross are two crosslets standing one above the other. They are slightly shafted with cusped-butted serifed terminals.

Notes This fragment is probably identical with 001.80. Wakeman (1893, 99, fig. 47) may have based his drawing on a damaged or partial rubbing. The proportions and relative positions of the decoration to the slab suggest that is may have served as an altar frontal.

Survey No. 001.77
SMR No. SL001-001-078
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location Schoolhouse store. Removed from Teach Molaise in the Cashel in 1989. Despite confusion with 016.02 (below) this slab seems to have been 'in the men's cemetery.'
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 27
References Wakeman (1886, 274–77; 1893, 100–103).
Description Slab (H: 0.795 m, W: 0.36 m, Th: 0.15 m) whose upper two thirds is filled with a central cross surrounded by four crosslets. The lower two crosslets develop from a horizontal bar that forms the base of the main cross, while the slightly smaller upper crosslets develop from points midway along its horizontal arms. All of the crosses are shafted with cusped-butted serifs in the upper arms (less pronounced in the upper two crosslets). The crossings of the main cross and lower crosslets are decorated with a false relief dimpled boss.
Notes None.

Survey No. 001.78
SMR No. SL001-001-079
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location Brought to the Schoolhouse store in 1989. A label on the reverse reads: 'From Cashel wall, S & W of Church'; but Wakeman describes this stone in the 1880s as 'now placed in Teach Molaise'. Heraughty says the its whereabouts were unknown for some time until it was recovered by the OPW then set into the Cashel wall.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 27
References Wakeman (1986, 256, fig. 39; 1893, 82, fig. 39); Macalister (1949, 20, No. 561) Heraughty (1982, 35).
Description Tapering slab (H: 0.725 m, W: 0.28 m, Th: 0.1 m) whose broader half is filled with an incised

slightly shafted cross with a circular expansion at the crossing and triangular terminals with cusped butts. The crossing and terminals are decorated with a flat, false relief circular boss. In the upper left quadrant is a damaged inscription: CRUX (i.e. 'cross').
Notes Two other '*crux*' stones were previously described (Nos. 001.47 & 001.48) but are now lost or stolen.

Survey No. 001.79
SMR No. SL001-001-080
Site type Cross-slab (fragment)
Site name Unknown (probably the Cashel)
Location It was removed from an unspecified location to the National Museum of Ireland in 1971.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 27
References National Museum of Ireland Register (No. 1971: 1114)
Description Triangular slab fragment (H: 0.2 m, W: 0.192 m, Th: 0.052 m) with base of elaborate cross motif. Two parallel false relief ridges descend and converge just before terminating in a point 0.09 m below upper surface. 0.08 m below this point is the trough of a V-shaped motif, the arms of which ascend to each side of the point and evolve into two-turn mirrored spirals.
Notes This may well be the base of the fragmentary cross, No. 001.72, given that the false relief strands of both are of the same thickness. The slabs do not match up perfectly and the twin strands of the shaft are slightly further apart on No. 001.72, but these discrepancies are resolved if we envisage a small intermediate fragment. In section both slabs taper gently towards their base, and the upper end of the present slab is only marginally thinner than the lower end of No. 001.72.

Survey No. 001.80
SMR No. SL001-001-081
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location Unknown
NGR —
Illustration —
References Wakeman (1886, 273, fig. 47; 1893, 99, fig. 47); Wood-Martin (1882, 150, no 3 [after Wakeman])
Description Cross-slab fragment (0.45 m by 0.45 m). Wakeman's drawing (fig. 47) depicts a cross with a short, simple shaft, but arms and head with expanded terminals from which diverging spirals are developed. All members carry a simple two-strand interlace pattern, with triquetera-like terminations and a simple knot at the intersection. Two much smaller, plain crosses are incised to the right of the principal cross (Wakeman suggests that there were two others in a symmetrical or opposed position left of the main cross on a missing fragment of the stone).
Notes This was recorded by Wakeman in the men's cemetery, but its whereabouts are now unknown. The

design closely resembles that of No 001.76 – in the Schoolhouse – and it is possible that these are one and the same slab.

Survey No. 001.81
SMR No. SL001-001-082
Site type Cross-slab
Site name The Cashel
Location Unknown
NGR —
Illustration —
References Wakeman (1886, 274, fig. 48; 1893, 101, fig. 48); Wood-Martin (1882, 150, no. 4 [after Wakeman])
Description Cross-slab fragment (0.25 m by 0.38 m). The central cross on this oblong slab is represented by Wakeman with expanded terminals to the arms and feet, with divergent spirals or at least hooks developed from the foot, and a spear-shaped or diamond-shaped expansion of the head, containing a small circle. Set about this main cross, in the quadrants, are four simple crosslets with expanded terminals.
Notes This was recorded by Wakeman in the men's cemetery at the Cashel, but its whereabouts are now unknown. The design closely resembles that on the reverse of 001.65 – which is now in the Schoolhouse – but that is much bigger and is clearly a different slab.

Survey No. 001.82
SMR No. SL001-001-083
Site type Cross-slab (fragment)
Site name The Cashel
Location This was recorded by Wakeman near the entrance to the Cashel, but its whereabouts are now unknown.
NGR —
Illustrations —
References Wakeman (1886, 292, fig. 59; 1893, 118, fig. 59)
Description Slab fragment (H: 0.685 m, W: 0.535 m) whose face was originally filled with a ringed, slightly shafted, outline cross. The upper arms (0.274 m) are only marginally shorter than the shaft (0.305 m), and unlike it they are decorated with semi-circular terminals with straight butts. The ring comprises four curving false relief bands which abut the arms 0.18 m from the crossing. Within this ring the cross arms curve inwards to form hollow arm pits.
Notes None.

Clochauns

This section describes four clochauns. Within the Cashel are two substantial or complex examples – Toorybrenell and Trahannacoreesh – but also one smaller example (anon) conjoined to Toorybrenell. The fourth clochaun, Teachanalais, is also very small and stands immediately outside the Cashel to the north.

Survey No. 001.83
SMR No. SL001-001-003
Site type Clochaun
Site name Toorybrenell; the 'Schoolhouse'
Location The Cashel
NGR 353867 157383
Illustration Figs 12 & 15; pl. 36
References Beranger & Bigari (1779 [see Harbison 2002, 58–70]); Wakeman (1886, 203–5; 1893, 29–31); Mountbatten (1972, 54–55); Heraughty (1982, 25); McGowan (1998, 27); Harbison (2002, 58–70, figs 35 & 36); Harbison (2002, 58 –70, figs 35–37).
Description Clochaun or beehive cell of drystone construction, subcircular on plan, internally and externally, with walls of coursed small and medium rubble rising to a slab-built corbelled roof (internally). The structure is set within a terraced area to the north-west of the Cashel where it is conjoined to a smaller corbelled cell on the south and on the north abuts Templenatinny. Access is via a narrow alley leading through the terrace revetment from the cemetery. The doorway is in the north and is formed by massive single-stone jambs. There is a wall bench at the west or right-hand side (entering) and, opposite the door, a narrow, deep window. There are two cupboards – at ground level – in the south and east. The external wall face is thicker at the base, stepping in to form a level scarcement around the full circuit of the wall at shoulder level. The floor is currently spread with modern gravel.
Notes This has been substantially rebuilt in restoration works.



Plate 36 Two Clochauns in the Cashel: Toorybrenell (left) and Trahannacoreesh (right).



Plate 37 Toorybrenell: details (clockwise from top left) of the doorway, wall bench, window and corbelled roof. The building abuts the corner of the much later Temmplenatinny and has probably been rebuilt at least once.

Survey No. 001.84
SMR No. SL001-001-004
Site type Clochaun
Site name Trahannacoreesh (*Trahán an Chargais* or 'Lenten trahan')
Location The Cashel
NGR 353890 157417
Illustration Figs 12 & 15; pl. 37
References Beranger & Bigari (1779 [see Harbison 2002, 58–70]); Wakeman (1886, 205–8; 1893, 31–34); Mountbatten (1972, 55); Heraughty (1982, 26); McGowan (1998, 27); Harbison (2002, 58 –70, figs 35 & 36).
Description A large, drystone cell or clochaun lies within the extreme north-east arc of the Cashel wall, immediately adjacent to the north-east entrance.

Access is via a short, narrow, sunken passageway from the cemetery, leading to a few shallow steps which descend into the doorway. This passes between a low stone retaining wall on one side and the outer

face wall of the building on the other. An arrangement of slabs and rubble forms a small bay or stall within one side of the passage.

The building itself is subrectangular on plan, with rounded outer corners, and rises to a roughly domed or beehive roof. As at Toorybrenell, a broad scarcement is carried around the exterior at shoulder level. In this case, however, it is a less regular feature: at the outer or north-east face it is formed by the surface of the Cashel wall and it is absent on the west front, over the doorway.

Internally, the building is divided into three chambers. The principal chamber rises to a corbelled roof formed by large slabs. Access to a small, low chamber to the south is via a low doorway or creepway. Immediately above this is a second small chamber set below the corbelled roof. Access between these smaller chambers is via an opening in the slabbed ceiling of the lower one.



Plate 38 Trahannacoreesh: doorway and steps from the interior

Notes **1.** Wakeman (1893, 31) describes only the lower of the two smaller chambers and records that 'many of its parts have fallen and the place appears to be more or less blocked up with rubbish'. Has this also been extensively rebuilt? **2.** Mountbatten (1972, 55) describes this – and not the smaller clochaun outside the Cashel – as the 'sweathouse'.

Survey No. 001.85
SMR No. SL001-001-084
Site type Clochaun
Site name None

Location The Cashel; conjoining Toorybrenell
NGR 353903 157405
Illustration Figs 12 & 15
References Beranger & Bigari (1779 [see Harbison 2002, 58–70]); Mountbatten (1972, 60); McGowan (1998, 26); Harbison (2002, 58 –70, figs 35 & 36).
Description This small cell is conjoined to the south face of the much larger Toorybrenell, but there is no direct access between them. It forms part of the terraced area described at 001.03, above. Internally, it is oblong on plan, with an east/west axis, rounded angles to the walls at the west end and square angles at the east end. The entrance is from the north, via a narrow passage running from the main passage through the terrace. An edge-set slab forms a sill stone; a large orthostat forms the right-hand door jamb (entering). The walls are of drystone rubble and small slabs, well coursed to form vertical faces, though corbelled towards the roof, which is closed by large flat slabs. The internal dimensions are 1.7 m east/west by 1.1 m north/south; the roof slabs are 1.4 m over the floor. The doorway is less than 1 m high and 0.5 m wide.
Notes This is quite sound and dry. While it is possible that there was once access to Toorybrenell via a creepway entering through what now appears to be a cupboard in that building, this would not be consistent with the dedicated passageway and separate doorway of the smaller cell.

Survey No. 001.86
SMR No. SL001-001-030
Site type Clochaun; possible 'sweathouse'
Site name Teachanalais (*Teach an Allais* or 'sweat house')
Location The Cashel; outside the enclosure on the north side
NGR 353867 157389
Illustration Figs 12 & 32
References Wakeman (1886, 211–13; 1893, 37–39); Mountbatten (1972, 55); Heraughty (1982, 27); McGowan (1998, 27)
Description This tiny cell or clochaun stands below the outer wall face of the Cashel on the north side. A low, narrow doorway on the north side gives access to simple cell, oblong on plan with rounded corners, and with coursed rubble walls corbelled to flat roof lintels formed by two large sandstone slabs. The cell measures 1.5 wide within walls 0.5 m thick. It is 1 m high internally, 1.3 m overall (in fact the floor slopes upwards from the rear wall towards the entrance). The doorway is 0.6 m wide and 0.5 m high.
Notes 1. The structure is generally sound and compares well with a photo of 1901 (Heraughty 1982, 26). The lintel over the doorway was unstable when first inspected in 1998 but has since been consolidated by the OPW. **2.** There are brambles and bracken round about, but only moss and light grasses on the monument. **3.** Mountbatten (1972, 55) identifies this – and not the clochaun within the Cashel on the east side – as 'Trahaun-a-Chorrees'**.**

Souterrains and Related Features

In fact there are no true souterrains within the Cashel (i.e. wholly underground passages or chambers). There are, however, at least two creepways, or narrow, low, semi-subterranean lintelled passages leading to larger chambers; and also a lintelled chamber abutting Templenatinny within the terraced enclosure surrounding that church. An alleged souterrain is also reported by some authorities east of Templemolaise, but there is no visible evidence of this.

Survey No. 001.87
SMR No. SL001-001-002
Site type Souterrain
Site name None
Location The Cashel; between Teach Molaise and Templenatinny
NGR 353881 157393
Illustration Fig. 12; pl. 91
References Wakeman (1886, 207; 1893, 34); Mountbatten (1972, 56); Heraughty (1982, 27); McGowan (1998, 28)
Description A lintelled creepway or souterrain-like feature extends from the area before Teach Molaise towards the south-west angle of Templenatinny. This is not a souterrain proper (i.e. tunnelled below ground level), but is built within the raised terrace that forms the western enclosure or subdivision of the Cashel (001.03). The feature was not surveyed in detail as inspection of the interior indicated that the roof lintels – large flat stone slabs – are in danger of collapse.
Notes 1. Wakeman (1893, 34) was aware of this feature and remarked that 'one of these crypts occurs to the north-east of Teampull-na-Teinidh, but is now so ruined as to be almost featureless.'

Survey No. 001.88
SMR No. SL001-001-085
Site type Souterrain (Site of)
Site name None
Location The Cashel; east of Templemolaise?
NGR 353870 157417
Illustration —
References Heraughty (1982, 27); McGowan (1998, 28)
Description Not seen by the 1998 survey team
Notes Heraughty (1982) and McGowan (1998) describe a souterrain beneath or east of Templemolaise, but neither author gives personal testimony on this and there is nothing now visible above ground. Indeed, the presence of a *leacht* and several headstones in this area suggest that there is unlikely to have been a souterrain here, unless this was built at an unusual depth below the surface.



Plate 39 A souterrain in the western part of the Cashel leads to a mural chamber within the enclosing wall: entrance (top left), entrance passage (below) and entrance to the chamber (top right).



Plate 40 A lintelled chamber abutting the south face of Templenatinny, seen on the left, is now blocked but may once have given access to a souterrain leading towards Teach Molaise, in the background.

Survey No. 001.89
SMR No. SL001-001-087
Site type Souterrain & mural chamber
Site name None
Location The Cashel; within the west wall sector
NGR 353861 157387
Illustration Figs 12 & 15; pl. 39
References O'Donovan (1836); Mountbatten (1972, 50)
Description Within the western enclosure or subdivision of the Cashel (001.03), a low creepway gives access to large mural chamber built within the Cashel wall on the west side. The creepway is built with drystone rubble side walls, spanned by large lintel slabs. The narrow entrance is flanked by small orthostats, forming jambs. The creepway is over 3 m long; it expands to 0.9 m at its mid point, but narrows again to pass between two more orthostatic jambs giving access to a large, well-made chamber. This is rectangular on plan, with vertical walls formed by massive edge-set slabs and a corbelled roof, closed by large slabs. The chamber measures 1.5 m long by 1.3 m (east/west); the roof rises to 1.3 m over a floor of humic earth.
Notes 1. This feature is identified by O'Donovan in an Ordnance Survey sketch plan of 1836 as *Uamhach* [cave; souterrain]; he notes that it was 'supposed by the natives to have been a place of punishment or confinement' – quoted in Herity (1983 [1995b, 39]); but note that this tradition is also ascribed by Heraughty (1982) to another chamber-like feature (above). **2.** Mountbatten (1972, 50) – in error it seems – describes this as an original entrance, now blocked at the outer wall face. **3.** The massive slabs that form the roof and walls of this chamber are set within the Cashel wall and support the overall interpretation of the mural chambers as primary features of the enclosure.

Survey No. 001.90
SMR No. SL001-001-086
Site type Lintelled chamber
Site name None
Location The Cashel; appended on Templenatinny.
NGR 353873 157387
Illustration Figs 12 & 18; pl. 40
References Heraughty (1982, 27); McGowan (1998, 30)
Description A rectilinear chamber is formed by the space between the south wall of Templenatinny and a return in the massive drystone revetment work which forms one side of the passage to the doorway of the church. The chamber is roofed with a single tier of large flat slabs, butted onto the wall of the church. Both ends of the chamber (i.e. at east and west) are now closed by coursed rubble masonry, so that there is no means of access. This may be the work of modern restorers. In its present form the chamber measures 3 m long (east/west) by 1 m wide and is 1.7 m high.
Notes This feature is described as a souterrain by Heraughty (1982) and McGowan (1998) and, indeed, may once have given access to the lintelled creepway that lies beyond, to the north.

Tober Molaise

Survey No. 001.91
SMR No. SL001-001-031
Site type Holy well
Site name Tober Molaise
Location The Cashel; outside the enclosure at east
NGR 353870 157430
Illustration Fig. 12
References Heraughty (1982, 27); Wakeman (1886, 298, fig. 61; 1893, 124, fig. 61)
Description The well today is as described by Wakeman (1893, 124): 'There are two holy wells on Inishmurray – one of which stands outside the Cashel, near the Water-gate, to which portal it probably gives its name. It is dedicated to St Molaise, and is covered by a stone-roofed, bee-hive-shaped, mortarless structure, measuring, internally, seven feet by six. The doorway, a truly Cyclopean work, is six feet in height, three in breadth at the lintel, and four at the base. Five stone steps lead from this ope to the water, which is neither abundant nor palatable.'
Notes 1. Although the entrance is clear, much of this feature is heavily overgrown and partly obscured by abutting field walls and associated spreads of small rubble.

Quern Fragment

Survey No. 001.92
SMR No. —
Site type The Cashel
Site name Quern fragment
Location Schoolhouse
NGR —
Illustration Fig. 27
References None
Description Quern fragment. The fragment is 0.4 m thick with a projected diameter of 0.46 m and an estimated central bore of 0.1 m.
Notes Heraughty (1982, 46, photo) records the use of hand-turned querns c. 1900. Wakeman (1893, 155) describes a pair of quern stones allegedly made in the 1860s.

Templenaman

This section describes the Women's Church within its cemetery enclosure and a miscellany of associated features including a bullaun, a large stone bench by the church, three pillars (one large pillar bearing a cross but also holed and inscribed; one small example bearing only a simple cross and another large pillar entirely plain), three other cross-slabs and, finally, an inscribed stone. Most of these elements are *in situ*, though two of the cross-slabs were removed to the Schoolhouse in 1989. A *leacht* and associated cross-slab within the southern enclosure are described separately at Crossatemple (No. 013), below. Archaeological recording of features and sediments exposed in the eroding cliff face is described elsewhere in this volume ('Archaeological excavations 1997–2000').

Survey No. 002.01
SMR No. SL001-002-001
Site type Church
Site name Templenaman (*Teampull na mBan*, 'The Women's Church), or Temple Murry (Mary's Church)
Location Templenaman; within the north end of the women's cemetery
NGR 353798 157488
Illustration Figs 2, 15 & 33; pl. 41 & 42
References Beranger & Bigari (1779 [see Harbison 2002, 58–70]); Heraughty (1982, 31); Herity (1989a [1995b, 115]); McGowan (1998, 19); Berger (1992); Harbison (2002, 58 –70, figs 32 & 37).
Description This large rectilinear building is orientated east/west and measures 8.6 m long by 4 m wide, within walls 0.7 m thick. The walls are of mortared rubble construction, with large blocks roughly coursed. There is a plain doorway, internally splayed, midway in the south wall (this is now closed by a new barred & padlocked gate). An older doorway in the west gable is indicated by a large panel of secondary or inserted masonry. The east gable is pierced by a single window, broadly splayed, with external mouldings. This is flanked by narrow, plain, splayed windows – set directly over aumbries – in the east ends of the north and south walls. The footings of a stone altar can be seen against the east gable, beneath the window. There are four small grave markers – undecorated rough slabs – set upright within the floor. Otherwise, this is overspread with modern gravel. A cross-slab rests against the north wall (002.12, below).
Notes **1.** The building now stands almost entire to the wall heads, but has clearly been substantially rebuilt and is heavily pointed throughout. **2.** A mortar sample from the building yielded a calibrated radiocarbon date of AD 1320–1640 at two sigma probability (Berger 1995, 172).

Survey No. 002.02
SMR No. SL001-002-002
Site type Enclosure
Site name Templenaman
Location Enclosing the women's church and cemetery at Templenaman



Plate 41 Templenaman, views from north (top) showing the enclosing wall bounded by the village street and from south (bottom), with the women's cemetery and Crossatemple *leacht* in the foreground.



Plate 42 Templenaman, interior: east window and altar remnants.

NGR 353790 157490
Illustration Fig. 33; pl. 41
References Heraughty (1982, 22)
Description A well-made wall of mortared random rubble encloses the church (002.01), cemetery (002.07) and *leacht* (Crossatemple 003.01) at Templenaman. The wall is 0.8 m wide and, variously, 0.9–1.3 mm high. It is capped by a coping of roughly squared flat slabs. The enclosure thus formed is oblong on plan – 40 m long by 15 m wide – rounded in the north, but truncated in the south by cliff erosion (a low rubble wall of secondary build spans part of the cliff-edge, but even this is partly eroded). Thus, the enclosure was certainly longer once, but is receding before marine erosion at its south end. There is a gateway on the west side, with a large flat orthostat forming one jamb (002.10), and a rough stile at either side of the enclosure towards the south end. The wall appears on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey (1837) more or less as on later editions; despite this, it is probably of relatively modern construction.
Notes Ongoing marine erosion has carried away part of the enclosure wall in the south.

Survey No. 002.03
SMR No. SL001-002-003
Site type Cross-inscribed holed pillar
Site name Templenaman
Location Templenaman; outside the enclosure wall on the north side
NGR 353774 157496
Illustrations Fig. 22 & 33; pl. 43
References Wakeman (1886, 252, fig. 37; 1893, 79, fig. 37); Wood-Martin (1882, 150, no 14 [after Wakeman])
Description Pillar (H: <1.45 m, W: 0.29 m, Th: 0.11 m). West face has incised cross (0.52 m by 0.23 m) the arms of which terminate in wide triangular serifs. Beneath the lower arm the shaft extends a further 0.175 m before terminating with a triangular serif. In each of the lower quadrants is a small hole that links with a larger, vertically oriented oblong hole in each of the narrow sides (0.11 m by 0.06 m by 0.07 m). There is another small hole on the upper surface of the pillar. Below the cross on the W face are remnants of an inscription on two or possibly three vertical lines (0.69 m by 0.21 m). There appears to have been another shorter vertical inscription low down on the north side. High on the east face is an equal armed incised cross (0.195 m by 0.017 m) with wide triangular serifs.
Notes The holes in the narrow sides probably held wooden arms secured with nails driven through the smaller holes in the West face. The inscriptions and east cross have not been noted previously.

Survey No. 002.04
SMR No. SL001-002-004
Site type Bullaun stone
Site name Templenaman

Location Templenaman; at the south wall, by the church doorway.
NGR 353793 157491
Illustration —
References Wakeman (1886, 296; 1893, 122); Mountbatten (1972, 60)
Description Bullaun stone. This is as described by Wakeman (1893, 122): 'A very rough boulder-looking stone, one foot nine inches in length, by one foot two inches in breadth. Its bowl is ten inches in diameter and of considerable depth.'
Notes According to Mountbatten (1972), this bullaun was used for baptisms in the modern period.

Survey No. 002.05
SMR No. SL001-002-005
Site type Inscribed stone
Site name Templenaman
Location This was recorded by Wakeman after its discovery during grave-digging in the women's cemetery. It is now in the church of Templenaman.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 27
References Wakeman (1886, 267, fig. 45; 1893, 93, 45); Heraughty (1982, 34–5); Macalister (1949, 19, No. 8)
Description About one quarter of the inscribed face of this slab (H: 0.825 m, W: 0.25 m, Th: 0.1 m) has been broken off. The surviving incription reads:

AILAD OCUS AR MAELBRIG
ORORC OCUS AR EILEISE.

Translation 'name + ending -ailad and for maelbrig[te] …//…ororc and for eileise'.
Notes **1.** The presence of a 'servant of Brigid' in the women's cemetery is interesting and hints at nuns' burials, though the prefix 'Mael' was normally, but not exclusively, used for masculine names (DIL). **2.** Wakeman suggested line B includes the name O'Rorke, an important Sligo family. If he is correct then the inscription is unlikely to be earlier than the 12th century. **3.** Macalister (1949, 19, No. 559) expands his own transcription to read:
'[OR AR CHINN-F]AILAD OCUS AR MAEL-BR[IGTE (OCUS AR N.N.)] O RORC OCUS AR EILEISE'.

Survey No. 002.06
SMR No. SL001-002-006
Site type Cross-slab (frag.)
Site name Templenaman
Location Removed to Schoolhouse from Teach Molaise in 1989; but Wakeman first recorded this fragment in the women's cemetery in the 1880s.
NGR —



Plate 43 Cross-inscribed, holed pillar stone in the green street from the shore, by the women's cemetery at Templenaman. There are remnants of inscriptions on the west (left) and north faces.

Illustrations Fig. 27

References Wood-Martin (1882, 150, no 8 [after Wakeman]); Wakeman (1886, 289, fig. 56; 1893, 115, fig. 56)

Description Slab fragment (H: 0.7 m, W: 0.16 m, Th: 0.05 m) with lower portion of broad shaft in false relief (0.25 m by 0.065 m). The shaft bifurcates near the base and the two strands curl outwards and upwards before terminating in small inward-facing lobes. A sub-triangular false relief feature with hollow base occupies the area where these strands separate.

Notes None.

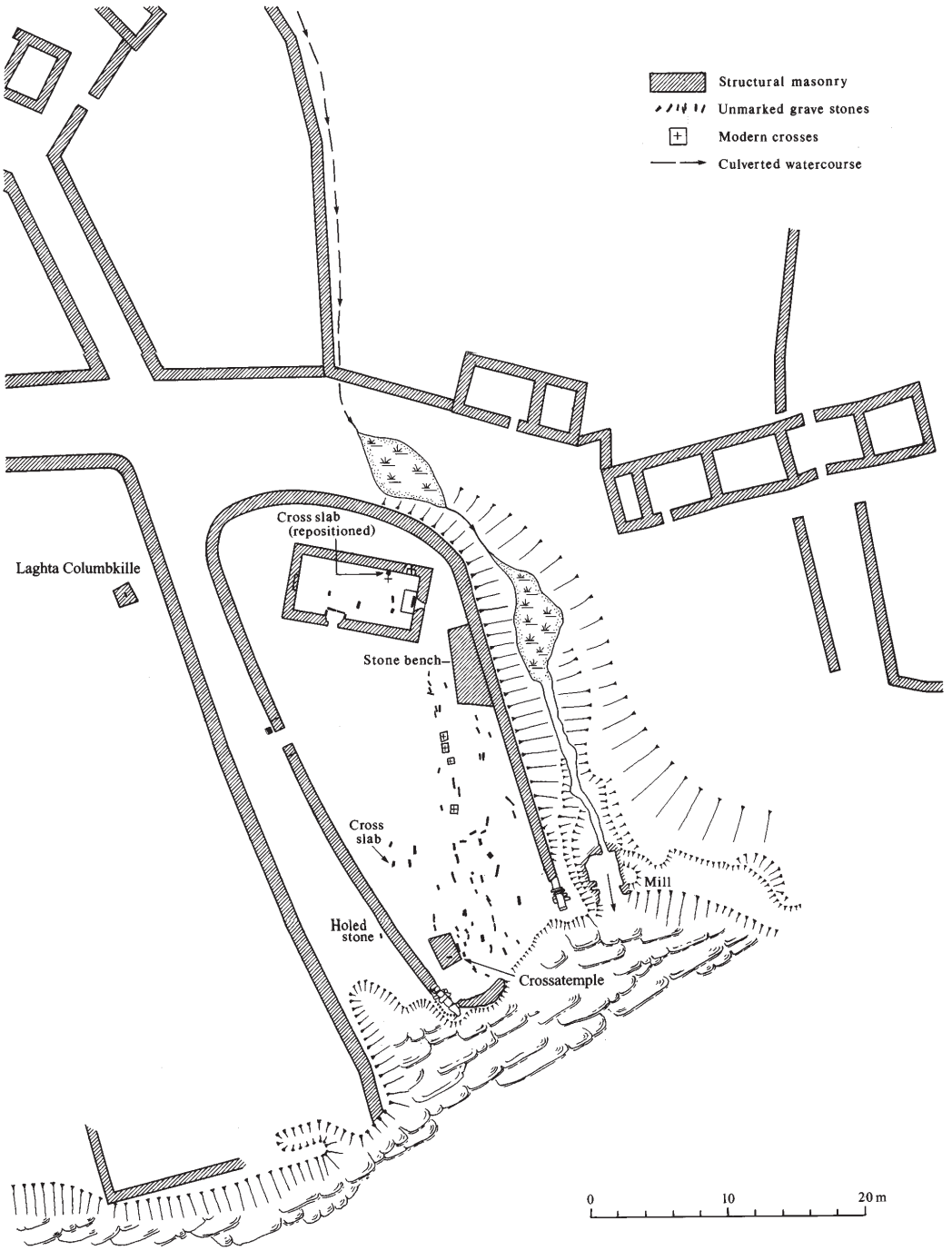
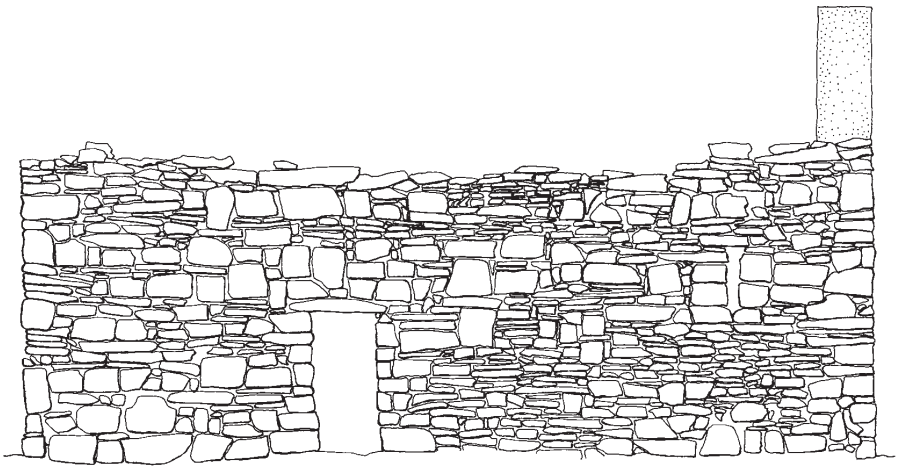
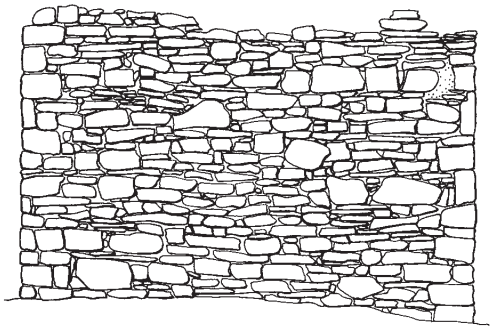


Figure 33
Templenaman: plan of the church and women's cemetery and (opposite) elevation drawings of the church (based on photogrammetry)

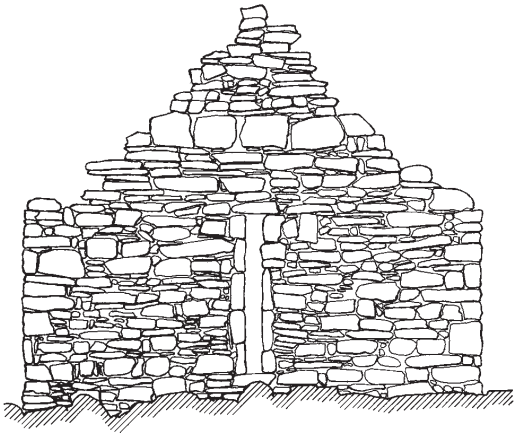


South Elevation



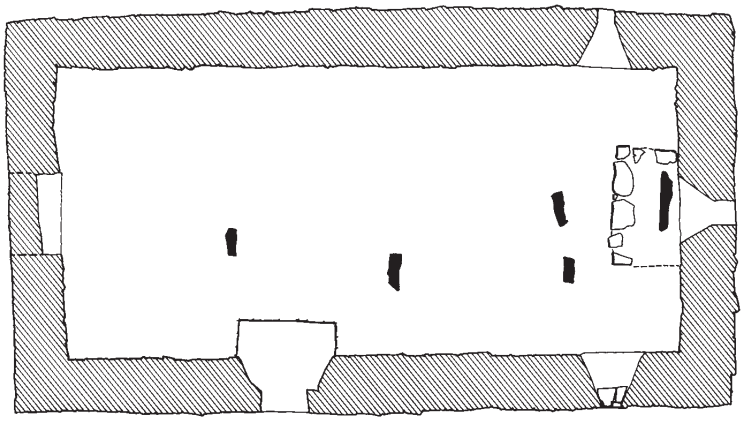
West Elevation

0 2m



East Elevation

Cemetery Wall



0 2.5m

Survey No. 002.07
SMR No. SL001-002-007
Site type Cemetery
Site name Women's cemetery
Location Within enclosing wall at Templenaman
NGR 353786 157496
Illustration Fig. 33; pl. 41
References Heraughty (1982, 82); McGowan (1998, 19–20); O'Sullivan (2000)
Description Within the enclosure described above (No. 002.06) grave markers occur throughout the area south of the women's church, but particularly in the south and east of the enclosure. These take various forms, including several modern plinthed crosses, at least three cross-slabs or cross-inscribed pillars (Nos. 002.8, 002.11 & 002.12, below), and an early inscribed memorial stone (No. 002.05, above); but the commonest form is the unmarked, rough, sandstone slab erected to form a low headstone. There are at least 60 of these, including four within the church. They generally face east/west and are roughly aligned in rows (though this is less pronounced than in the men's cemetery, at the Cashel). There is a notable concentration of these towards the southern end of the cemetery and especially around the Crossatemple *leacht*.
Notes 1. A cleaned section face was recorded in the eroding cliff-face in 1999 (O'Sullivan 2000). Fragments of human skeletal remains could be seen within the shallow loam topsoil layer, but no clearly identifiable features (i.e. a dug grave or cist) were observed. **2.** The four rough, plain headstones within the church would post-date its abandonment and suggest that all of these rough headstones are of post-medieval date.

Survey No. 002.08
SMR No. SL001-002-008
Site type Cross-slab
Site name Templenaman
Location Templenaman; in the cemetery, 8 m north of the altar at Crossatemple
NGR 353785 157500
Illustrations Fig. 27
References Wakeman (1886, 318, fig. 76; 1893, 143, fig. 76)
Description Slab (H: <0.6 m, W: 0.311 m, Th: 0.19 m) with incised cross of which the left arm and part of the shaft are lost. The vertical arms are of equal length and the upper arms have wide terminals within which are false relief triangles. The uppermost of these features a small depression. There are hints of the small expansion at the crossing depicted in Wakeman's illustration.
Notes None.

Survey No. 002.09
SMR No. SL001-002-009

Site type Stone bench
Site name Templenaman
Location Women's cemetery/Templenaman
NGR 353797 157495
Illustration Fig. 33
References None
Description Close by the south-east angle of the church, a massive stone bench of drystone rubble abuts the inner face of the cemetery enclosure on the east side. This is up to 6 m long (north/south) by 2 m wide and is over 1 m high. The surface is flattish, slightly domed, and formed by a litter of small rubble.
Notes No authority comments on the use or antiquity of this feature. It may have been a place on which coffins rested – after the church became ruinous – during funerary ceremonies within the women's cemetery. Alternatively, Dr Patrick Heraughty (pers. comm.) attributed this to the OPW who allegedly removed a large stone buttress from the south face of the church in the 1970s and piled up the stone from that in this large, neat cairn.

Survey No. 002.10
SMR No. SL001-002-011
Site type Pillar stone (plain)
Site name Templenaman
Location Templenaman; forming the north jamb of the gateway to Templenaman.
NGR 353793 157482
Illustrations —
References None.
Description A tall, broad-faced, slender orthostat forms the north jamb of the gateway to Templenaman on the west side. There is no visible carving on the stone.
Notes 1. This stone may be contemporary with the construction of the gateway and enclosing wall, which are certainly modern, but is possibly a pre-existing pillar stone that was incorporated in the gateway.

Survey No. 002.11
SMR No. SL001-002-012
Site type Cross-slab (frag.)
Site name Templenaman
Location Loose within the church of Templenaman.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 28
References Not previously recorded.
Description Slab (H: 1.06 m, W: 0.23 m, Th: 0.084) with incised, slightly shafted cross at the top, part of which has been broken off (>0.215 m by 0.18 m). In each of the upper quadrants an 'L' shaped

incision contours the lines of the arms, and in each of the lower quadrants a single line is incised parallel to the shaft.
Notes None.

Survey No. 002.12
SMR No. SL001-002-013
Site type Cross-slab
Site name Templenaman; the cemetery.
Location This was removed to the Schoolhouse from the women's cemetery in 1989.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 28
References Wood-Martin (1882, 150, no 15 [after Wakeman]); Wakeman 1886, 379, fig. 77; 1893, 145, fig. 77)
Description Slab (H: 0.69 m, W: 0.385 m, Th: 155) with incised cross with a long shaft and ringed head occupying most of the surface. The upper arms of the cross fall short of the ring (Diam: 0.2 m) and terminate in broad serifs. About half way down the shaft is the base of an outer encircling element (0.36 m by 0.27 m), shaped like an inverted teardrop, that completely surrounds the crosshead. The base of the shaft is embedded into a roughly semi-circular area in relief.
Notes The area of relief at the base may be a natural feature, but it seems to have been used as part of the design, possibly to represent Golgotha.

Crossatemple

A simple *leacht* and associated cross-slab are described here. These stand within the women's cemetery at Templenaman. The cross-slab described by Wakeman in the 1880s appears to be lost or stolen; the present cross-slab was brought to this site from the Cashel since 1900.

Survey No. 003.01
SMR No. SL001-003-001
Site type *Leacht*
Site name Crossatemple; also 'Station of Mary'
Location Within cemetery enclosure at Templenaman, by the cliff-edge.
NGR 353775 157502
Illustration Figs 2, 33 & 34; pl. 44
References Wakeman (1886, 317, fig. 75; 1893, 143, fig. 75); Heraughty (1982, 83)
Description This *leacht* is a well-made rectilinear cairn of flat slabs and small rubble, measuring 2.4 m north/south by 1.6 m east/west and 0.8 m high. It is surmounted by an ornate cross-slab (below) and



Plate 44 Crossatemple *leacht*, by the cliff-edge in the women's cemetery at Templenaman

also by several beach rolled cobbles, possibly 'cursing stones' (these are not decorated). Several small unmarked grave stones (sandstone slabs) cluster about the foot of the *leacht* on the south and east and some flat slabs lying within the turf on the south side may be a remnant of paving.

Notes 1. Though this is quite intact, it is close to an eroding cliff-edge and should be regularly monitored. There are brambles and bracken growing on and about the monument. **2.** There seems to have been a stile within the adjacent cemetery wall giving convenient access to Crossatemple from the green track beyond.

Survey No. 003.02
SMR No. SL001-003-002
Site type Cross-slab
Site name Crossatemple

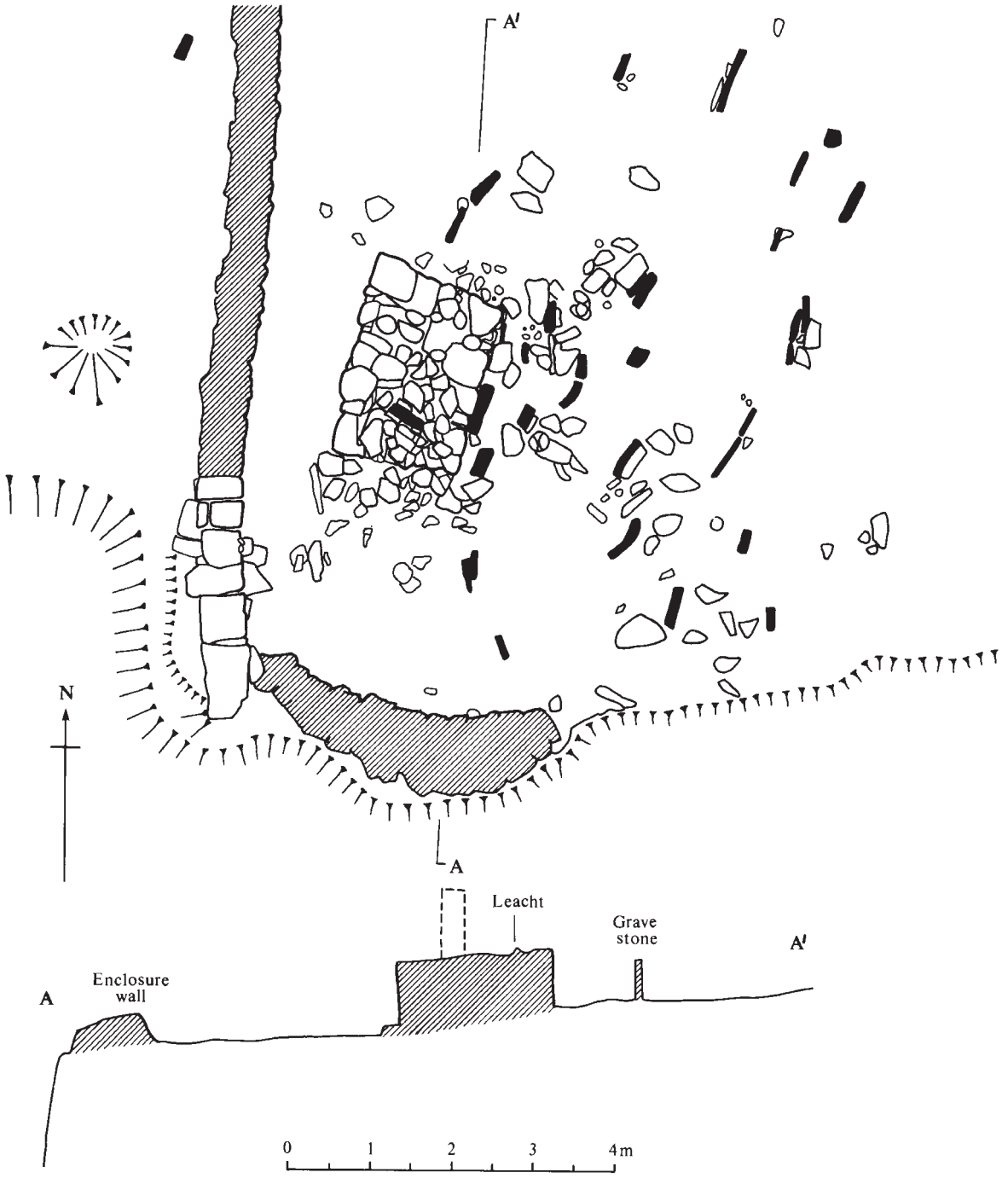


Figure 34
Crossatemple: detailed plan of the *leacht*, by the cliff-edge in the women's cemetery

Location Erected on the the *leacht.* First recorded by Wood-Martin (1882, 150, no.5) and Wakeman (1886, 274–5, fig.49) in the men's cemtery. By 1901 it had been moved to the Clocha Breaca *leacht* where it was photographed (Heraughty 1982, 30). The date and circumstances of its removal to its present position are unknown.
NGR —
Illustration Fig. 28; pl. 44
References Wood-Martin (1882, 150, no. 5 [after Wakeman]); Wakeman (1886, 317–18, fig. 49? & 1893, 143 & 147, fig. 49?); Heraughty (1982, 30, photo)
Description Slab (H: <0.834 m, W: 0.396 m, Th: 0.064) whose upper two-thirds are filled with an incised slightly shafted central cross (0.495 m by 0.342 m) with a false relief dimpled boss at the crossing, and broad forked terminals. The tips of the lower terminal curve into an incised rectangular frame that surrounds the whole motif. In each quadrant is a crosslet similar to the main cross though lacking a boss and, between each crosslet and the main cross, is a circular pit. In the case of the lower crosslets, the forked terminal tips of their outer arms join with the frame.
Notes None.

Survey No. 003.03
SMR No. SL001-003-004
Site type Cross-slab
Site name Crossatemple
Location Unknown. Recorded by Wakeman as mounted on the *leacht* at Crossatemple (Station of Mary) but clearly not the slab presently positioned there.
NGR —
Illustration —
References Wood-Martin (1882, 150, no.5 [after Wakeman]; Wakeman (1886, 317, fig. 75; 1893, 143, fig. 75).
Description Wakeman's general sketch of the *leacht* suggests the slab protruded 0.6 m from the surface, was 0.3 m in width, and 0.05m thick. He says it has been 'sculpted with two crosses, but the carving on one side has become almost entirely obliterated by time and the growth of lichen – so much so that it is impossible to trace the design with any degree of certainty.' This implies that the cross on one face may have been reasonably well preserved, but he gives no details of its design.
Notes None.

Relickoran

This complex site is comprised of two enclosures, with two *leachta*, one in each enclosure. The large enclosure has been used as a cemetery. Two cross-slabs that once adorned the main *leacht* were removed to the Schoolhouse in 1989. A cross pillar that stood by a stile between the two enclosures was removed



Plate 45 Relickoran, from north, prior to excavation in 1999–2000. The seaward side of the cemetery enclosure was cast down by storm waves. The cross-inscribed pillar at left stands perilously close to the cliff-edge.

to the Schoolhouse in 2000 along with two other, smaller cross-slabs, discovered during the archaeological excavation of the site in 1999–2000. The excavation results are described in detail elsewhere in this volume ('Archaeological excavations 1997–2000'). The excavated elements of the monument were reconstructed on site by the OPW in 2001.

Survey No. 004.01
SMR No. SL001-004-001
Site type Enclosure
Site name Relickoran (*Reilig Ódhráin* or Ódrán's cemetery)
Location Over cliffs south-west of the Cashel, adjacent to the 'green street'
NGR 353747 157399
Illustration Figs 2 & 35; pl. 45
References Wakeman (1886, 323–27, figs 81–84; 1893, 149–53, figs 81–84); Vallency (1786, plate V, fig. 2); Mountbatten (1972, 64); Heraughty (1982, 29); Herity (1989a [1995b, 111–12]); McGowan (1998, 19–20 & 33); O'Sullivan (2000; O'Sullivan et al. 2001)
Description The main enclosure is 12 m north/south by 8 m east/west, within low walls of drystone rubble

up to 1.3 m broad and 1 m high. It is open to the south – i.e. on the cliff-edge – where the site is suffering ongoing erosion and the wall terminals are cast down and dispersed. Prior to excavation the enclosure was entered via a simple stile on the west side, near the north-west corner. A second stile gave access to a smaller enclosure (004.06) conjoined on the east side of this. *Leachta* within both enclosures are described below.

Notes 1. McGowan (1998) suggests this may have been the original lay cemetery of the island and records its more recent use as a *cillín* cemetery for unbaptised children. Archaeological excavations found no evidence for this.

Survey No. 004.02
SMR No. SL001-004-002
Site type *Leacht*
Site name Relickoran
Location Relickoran; within enclosure 004.01.
NGR 353747 157394
Illustration Fig. 35; pl. 45



Plate 46 Relickoran. An elaborate cross-inscribed pillar (004.05) stood by a stile in the wall between the main cemetery enclosure and the *leacht* in the smaller, eastern enclosure. The slab on the smaller *leacht* was undecorated. The cross pillar is now in the island's Schoolhouse conservation store.



Figure 35
Relickoran: survey plan (1998) of the *leacht* and eroding cliff-edge

References Wakeman (1886, 323–27, figs 81–84; 149–53, figs 81–84); Mountbatten (1972, 64); Heraughty (1982, 29); McGowan (1998, 19–20 & 33)

Description Prior to archaeological excavation in 1999–2000 the *leacht* stood in the western part of the main enclosure (No. 004.01). It was a rectilinear cairn of drystone construction, 2.3 m east/west by 2 m north/south and 0.7 m high. Although the *leacht* was intact on the north side and stood to four or five courses of well-laid small rubble, the southern half of the structure had largely collapsed, presumably due to storm damage.

Notes **1.** The *leacht* was within 5 m of the cliff-edge at the time of survey and was in a very poor state. Storm damage had caused much of it to collapse. Vegetative damage was slight as the enclosure was dominated by short meadow grasses and associated flowering weeds; a little bracken and bramble, however, were becoming established. **2.** Following excavation, the *leacht* was reconstructed in its original position by the OPW in 2001.

Survey No. 004.03

SMR No. SL001-004-003

Site type Cemetery

Site name Relickoran

Location Relickoran; within enclosure 044.01

NGR 353746 157399

Illustration Fig. 35; pl. 45

References Wakeman (1886, 324; 1893, 150); Heraughty (1982, 29); Herity (1989a [1995b, 111–12]); McGowan (1998, 19–20); O'Sullivan (2000; O'Sullivan et al., 2001)

Description Prior to excavation in 1999–2000, small rubble littered the uneven surface of the interior of this enclosure, but there were only two small, rough slabs to indicate – as the name suggests – that it was once a cemetery enclosure. One was 4 m north of the *leacht* (004.02); the other was 1.5 m south of it.

Notes **1.** Wakeman described 'many flag-stones and other sepulchral memorials' (1893, 150) but none of these was discovered by archaeological excavation of the site in 1999–2000. **2.** Herity noted 'few if any traces of burial' (1989a [1995b, 111–12]). 3. Although conditions for the preservation of bone were poor, some skeletal remains of men, women and juveniles were recovered by archaeological excavation and some of these were radiocarbon dated to a period spanning from the eighth to the 17th century.

Survey No. 004.04

SMR No. SL001-004-004

Site type Cross-slab

Site name Relickoran

Location Removed to Schoolhouse in 1989 from the larger of the two *leachta* at Relickoran, where it was first recorded by Wakeman (1886, 324).

NGR —

Illustrations Fig. 28
References Wakeman (1886, 324, fig. 83; 1893, 151 fig. 83); Herity (1989a [1995b, 112])
Description On the upper third of this long tapering slab (H: 1.04 m, W: 0.232>0.108 m, Th: 0.08 m) is a badly worn shafted cross (0.35 m by 0.185 m). It seems to have been formed largely of false relief strands, but the details of the design are unclear. Rising from a broad sub-triangular base, the shaft features a similarly shaped expansion at its midpoint. From this expansion develops a sub-rectangular incised frame that surrounds the upper part of the design. At the crossing is a circular expansion containing a pitted boss. The arms expand from the crossing to abut the frame. The upper quadrants appear to be decorated with incised motifs.
Notes This does not much resemble either Herity's description (above) or Wakeman's main illustration of the slab (fig. 83), but can be recognised in Wakeman's accompanying sketch of the altar as a whole (fig. 81).

Survey No. 004.05
SMR No. SL001-004-005
Site type Cross-inscribed pillar
Site name Relickoran
Location Originally at Relickoran, in the south-east corner of the main enclosure, close to the eroding cliff-edge. Removed to the Schoolhouse during excavations in 2000.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 28; pl. 46
References Wakeman (1886, 327, fig. 84; 1893, 152, fig. 84); Herity (1989a [1995b, 112]).
Description Tall pillar (H: 1.04 m, W: 0.232>0.108 m, Th: 0.08 m) incised with shafted cross (0.70 m by 0.32 m) with cusped-butted terminals and a false relief boss at the crossing. The base fuses with a horizontal bar at the ends of which develops a vertical cross (0.22 m by 0.112 m) in each of the lower quadrants. These are similar to the main cross but their serifs are not as pronounced and they lack a central boss. 0.084 m above the main crossing the upper arm is traversed by a horizontal bar from each end of which develops a vertical cross similar in form but smaller than those in the lower quadrants.
Notes None.

Survey No. 004.06
SMR No. SL001-004-007
Site type Enclosure
Site name Relickoran
Location Relickoran; immediately east of the main enclosure
NGR 353744 157407
Illustration Fig. 35; pl. 45
References Herity (1989a [1995b, 112]); O'Sullivan (2000; O'Sullivan et al., 2001)

Description Prior to archaeological excavation in 1999 –2000, low, broad rubble banks formed a small enclosure – 4 m east/west by 3 m north/south within banks up to 2.5 m broad – east of the main enclosure (004.01) and conjoined with it. Again, the south side of this was open to the sea. Excavation discovered the original enclosure walls to have been of roughly coursed rubble masonry.
Notes 1. Like the larger enclosure, this stands on a receding cliff-edge and was subject to ongoing storm damage at the time of survey. The vegetation was similar, but bracken was more strongly established around the margins and on the *leacht* itself. **2.** Following archaeological excavation, the *leacht* and enclosure were reconstructed by the OPW in 2001 using the original rubble masonry but set back at a safer distance from the eroding cliff-edge.

Survey No. 004.07
SMR No. SL001-004-006
Site type *Leacht*
Site name Relickoran
Location Relickoran; within smaller enclosure 004.06
NGR 353745 157408
Illustration Fig. 35; pl. 45
References (1989a [1995, 112]); O'Sullivan (2000; O'Sullivan et al., 2001)
Description Prior to archaeological excavation in 1999–2000, the remains of a small *leacht* stood on the cliff-edge within smaller enclosure (004.06). The north half of this survived to form a rectilinear cairn remnant 1.95 m east/west by 1.3 m north/south, and visible to a height of 0.25 m. The southern half, however, was reduced to rubble by storm damage. There was a plain slab erected within the surface of the *leacht*. This may once have been inscribed, but is not recorded as a cross-slab by Wakeman or other authorities.
Notes 1. The *leacht* stood only 0.7 m from an eroding cliff-edge and had suffered badly from storm damage. **2.** Following the archaeological excavation of the site the *leacht* was reconstructed at a distance from the cliff-edge by the OPW in 2001.

Survey No. 004.08
SMR No. SL001-004-008
Site type Cross-slab
Site name Relickoran
Location As described. Removed to the Schoolhouse from Teach Molaise in 1989; but Wakeman (1886; 1893) originally recorded this on the main altar (004.02) at Relickoran.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 28 & 30
References Wakeman (1886, 325, fig. 82; 1893, 151, fig. 82); Herity (1989a [1995b, 112]).
Description Worn slab (H: 0.45 m, W: 0.315 m, Th: 0.05 m) whose surface is filled with a shafted false relief cross (0.41 m by 0.255 m). The shaft rises from a horizontal rectangular base to a slightly expanded

crossing decorated with a circular pit. Each of the horizontal arms is formed from twin false relief strands which diverge slightly before coalescing with the surface of the slab. From this point their outer incised delimiting lines diverge to form exaggerated, mirrored spirals. The upper arm also comprised twin false strands which evolved into a Stafford knot terminal.

Notes Given that the design extends to the bottom edge, it is not clear how this slab could have stood upright on the *leacht* in the manner that Wakeman depicts it. Wakeman's fig. 82 suggests that the horizontal terminals in particular were much better preserved when he recorded it.

Survey No. 004.09
SMR No. SL001-004-009
Site type Cross-slab
Site name Relickoran
Location Found in Relickoran cemetery during excavation in August 1999. Now in the Schoolhouse.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 28 & 30
References O'Sullivan (2000a; O'Sullivan et al., 2001)
Description Worn, slightly tapering slab fragment (H: 0.285 m, W: 0.165 m, Th: 0.047 m) with incised shafted cross, the base of which is missing. At the surviving upper terminal the line bifurcates to encircle a false relief boss. The vertical arms divide again at the crossing to delimit a single element in flase relief which forms the horizontal arms. This element features a slight expansion at the crossing decorated with a dimple, and has slightly bulbous terminals. The quadrants were probably each decorated with an incised cross with modest rounded terminals surrounded by a rectangular frame with rounded corners. In the surviving upper right quadrant the frame respects the horizontal arms of the cross, breaking into two U-shaped elements rather than fusing with the arm terminals.
Notes Sufficient remains to suggest that all the quadrants contained small crosses within incomplete frames. The bulbous upper terminal is paralleled in the terminals of Nos. 001.46A and 001.47A, and to a lesser extent in the shaft of No. 001.71C.

Survey No. 004.10
SMR No. SL001-004-010
Site type Cross-slab
Site name Relickoran
Location Found in Relickoran cemetery during excavation in August 1999. Now in the Schoolhouse.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 28
References O'Sullivan (2000; O'Sullivan et al., 2001)
Description Sub-rectangular slab (H: 0.275 m, W: 0.165 m, Th: 0. 097 m) with shafted cross (0.144 m by 0.13 m) formed of four entirely discrete cuts that widen slightly towards the centre of the motif before termi-

nating in acute projections. The ridge along part of the upper and lefthand edges of the slab may be natural.
Notes None.

Ollamurray

This *leacht* stands within a simple enclosure. The plain slab seen on the *leacht* by Wakeman in the 1880s may possibly have been a weathered cross-slab, but was not *in situ* prior to the archaeological excavation of the monument. The results of the excavation are described elsewhere in this volume ('Archaeological excavations 1997–2000'). The monument was reconstructed on site by the OPW in 2001.

Survey No. 005.01
SMR No. SL001-005-001
Site type Enclosure
Site name Ollamurray (*Ulaidh Mhuire* or 'Mary's Altar [or Cairn]')
Location Ollamurray; by low cliff-edge east of Clashymore.
NGR 353794 157063
Illustration Figs 2 & 36; pl. 47
References Wakeman (1886, 301–2, fig. 63; 1893, 127–28, fig. 63); Mountbatten (1972, 64); Heraughty



Plate 47 Ollamurray, from north-east, prior to excavation in 2000. Again, the seaward side of the enclosure was cast down by storm waves.

(1982, 29); Herity (1989a [1995b, 113]); McGowan (1998, 33); O'Sullivan et al. (2001)

Description Prior to the archaeological excavation of the site in 2000, drystone rubble wall remnants – 0.5 m high by 1 m wide – formed three sides of a subrectangular enclosure which measured 6.2 m east/west by 5.7 m north/south. A small rubble mound on the south or seaward side indicated the line of the fourth wall. Otherwise, the enclosure was open to the cliff-edge and was experiencing ongoing storm damage. The *leacht* which stood within the enclosure is described below. Excavation in 2000 confirmed that Ollamurray was a relatively simple monument with a single phase of construction, but with some refurbishment or rebuilding of the *leacht*.

Notes 1. At the time of survey in 1998 the enclosure was almost entirely cast down and the southern part of the site was exposed to a receding cliff-edge and ongoing storm damage. 2. The monument was entirely excavated in 2000 and reconstructed by the OPW in 2001 at a safer distance from the cliff-edge.

Survey No. 005.02
SMR No. SL001-005-002
Site type *Leacht*
Site name Ollamurray
Location Ollamurray; within enclosure 005.01, on cliff-edge east of Clashymore.
NGR 353788 157067
Illustration Fig. 36
References Wakeman (1886, 301–2, fig. 63; 1893, 127–28, fig. 63); Mountbatten (1972, 64); Heraughty (1982, 29); Herity (1989a [1995b, 113]); McGowan (1998, 33); O'Sullivan et al. (2001)

Description Prior to archaeological excavation the remains of a rectilinear *leacht* were 2.2 m east/west by 2 m north/south and 0.5 m high. The visible remains of the *leacht* survived to three or four courses of well-laid small rubble on the north side, but on the south were reduced by storm damage to a spread of random rubble. There was at least one rounded beach cobble on the *leacht*, possibly a 'cursing stone'.

Notes 1. Prior to archaeological excavation this monument was close to a receding cliff-edge and was experiencing severe storm damage. **2.** This is the only *leacht* on Inishmurray where the element *ullad* or *ailad* is represented in the name (DIL: Old Irish 'ailad', tomb, sepulchre, burial cairn, penitential station); it is identified as *Ulai Mhuire* by Herity (1989a [1995b, 113]).

Survey No. 005.03
SMR No. SL001-005-003
Site type Cross-slab (poss.)
Site name Ollamurray
Location Unknown. No slab stood on the altar when it was surveyed in 1998 and no sculpture was recovered during the archaeological excavation of the site in 2000.
NGR —
Illustrations —

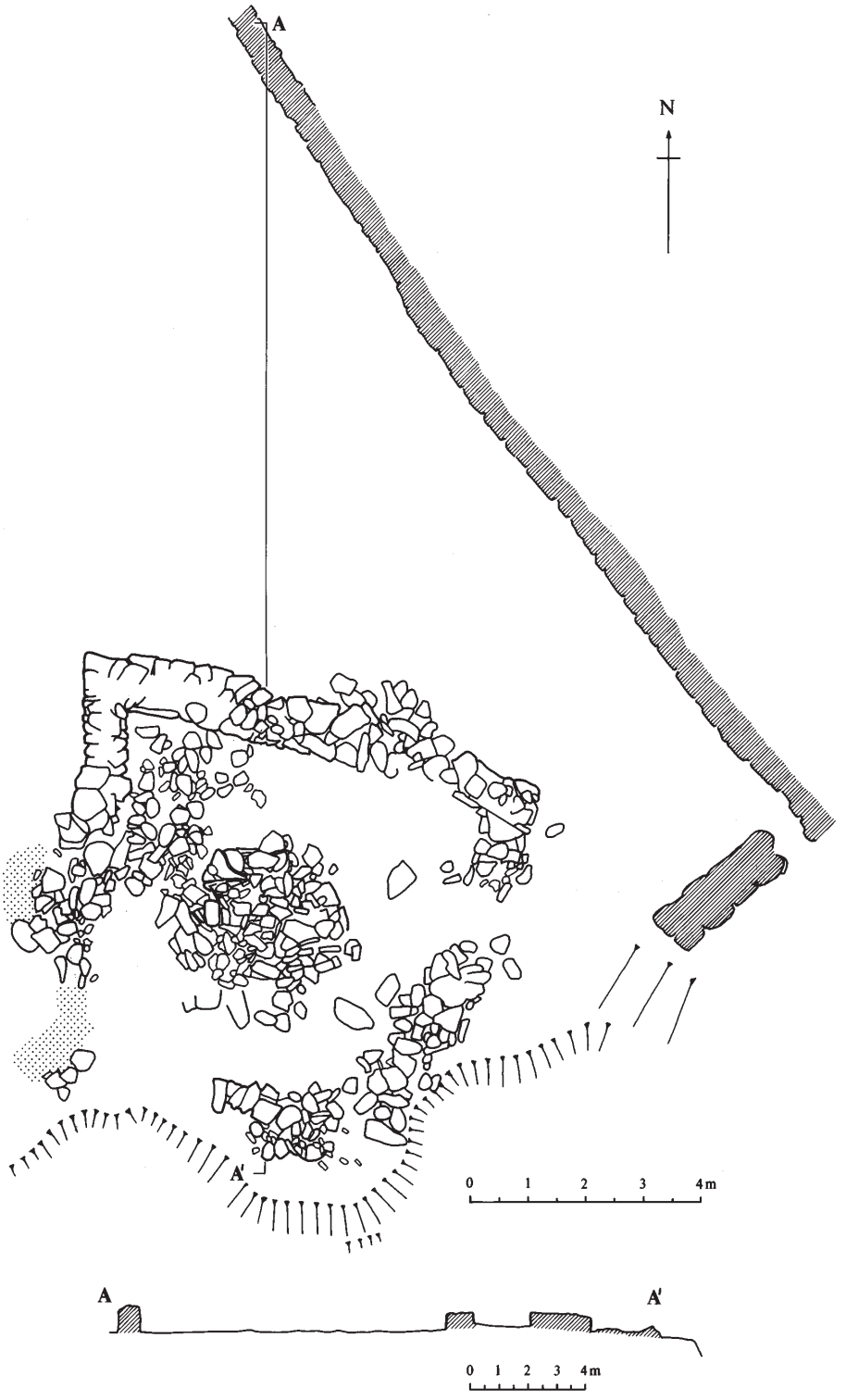


Figure 36
Ollamurray: survey plan (1998) of the *leacht* and eroding cliff-edge

References Wakeman (1886, 302; 1893, 128).
Description Recorded by Wakeman (1893, 128) as a 'rude slab' rising from the *leacht* at Ollamurray which 'at one time probably exhibited an incised cross, of which not a trace, at present, can be discerned.'
Notes None.

Promontory Fort

Survey No. 006.06
SMR No. SL001-006
Site type Promontory fort (poss.)
Site name None
Location On the cliff-edge near the extreme western end of the island
NGR 353634 156624
Illustration Fig. 2
References Heraughty (1982, 19)
Description A possible promontory fort is recorded by the SMR files on this narrow, eroding headland. There is a remnant of a low grassy bank (0.3 m high) on the neck of the promontory, but this is a slight feature, demarcating only a small area (c. 40 sq m) and no ditch or occupation strata appear in the eroding cliff section at either side.
Notes No significant evidence of a promontory fort exists on the site. Heraughty (1982, 19) is probably right in ascribing any earthwork remnants on this site to agricultural enclosures.

Trahanareear

This complex site is comprised of a *leacht* within a drystone enclosure with a cell or clochaun conjoined with the north-west angle of the enclosure. A small cairn outwith the enclosure may once have been a second *leacht*. There are two associated cross-slabs: one adorned the *leacht* until it was removed in 1989; the other was recovered by excavation of the site in 1997 ('Archaeological excavations 1997–2000'). A modern inscription was also recovered by excavation. All three carved or inscribed stones are now in the Schoolhouse. Prior to archaeological excavation the monument was in a state of collapse and part of the cell had fallen into the sea. The monument was recreconstructed by the OPW in 1997, following the excavation, at a safer distance from the cliff-edge.

Survey No. 007.01
SMR No. SL001-007-001
Site type Cell



Plate 48 Trahanareear, from south, prior to excavation in 1997. The outlying cairn is in the foreground and vestigial remains of a cell are appended on the enclosure at left.

Site name Trahanareear (*Trahan na Righ-fhear* or *Trahan na Riair* or *Trahan na Rí-Ghear* or *Trahan Ó Riain*) also 'Breadserve'.

Location On a cliff-edge at the most westerly point of the island

NGR 353802 156583

Illustration Figs 2 & 37

References Wakeman (1886, 302–6, figs 64–66; 1893, 128–32, figs 64–66); Mountbatten (1972, 64); Heraughty (1982, 29); Herity (1989a [1995b, 113]); McGowan (1998, 33–34); O'Sullivan & James (1998)

Description Prior to excavation in 1997 the cell was in a state of collapse and the western part had already succumbed to an eroding cliff-edge. The remains of the cell are described in an excavation report by O'Sullivan & James (1998) in the following terms. 'In its primary phase, the monument appears to have consisted only of the cell and – immediately before it – a small area of paving which supported an upright timber. Large, undressed stones formed the inner and outer wall faces of the cell. The wall core consisted of medium and large stones in alternating radial and segmental courses (i.e. the stones of each course were all laid either along or across the wall line, so that the wall core formed a compact lattice of large stones). The terminals at either side of an east-facing entrance were formed by small orthostats, which flanked a narrow doorway 0.45 m wide. Most of the primary structure had already fallen into the sea, but the wall remnants could be projected to form a subcircular plan, 1.8 m in diameter, within walls 0.8 m thick. The cell contained deeply stratified layers of mottled sand, but no clearly anthropogenic material (i.e. charcoal, midden material or artefacts) was observed.'

Notes **1.** The monument was excavated in 1997 and reconstructed at a safe distance from the cliff-edge by the OPW. **2.** Herity (1989a) identifies this as *Trahan na Righ-fhear*. Other variants are discussed by Heraughty (1982, 29) who glosses *trahan* as a hermit's cell – though the primary root is almost certainly the Latin *horae* (hours), referring to the daily cycle of canonical offices. Other possible interpretations are *Trahan na Riair* ('The Services Oratory') or *Trahan na Rí-Ghear* ('The Princes' Oratory'); the monument was known to the last generation of islanders only as *Trahan Ó Riain* (ibid, 83) but is identified by a Palmerston estate map of 1813–14 as 'Breadserve'.

Survey No. 007.02
SMR No. SL001-007-002
Site type *Leacht*
Site name Trahanareear
Location Trahanareear; within the enclosure
NGR 353810 156560
Illustration Fig. 37
References Wakeman (1886, 302–6, figs 64–66; 1893, 128–32, figs 64–66); Mountbatten (1972, 64); Heraughty (1982, 29); McGowan (1998, 33–34); O'Sullivan & James (1998)
Description Prior to archaeological excavation in 1997 the central *leacht* was largely upstanding and free of vegetation. The subsequent investigation discovered at least two phases in the history of this element of the monument, as described in the excavation report by O'Sullivan & James (1998). 'At the centre of the small paved area outwith the cell, a group of "proud" or raised stones formed packing around a central post-hole, with a compact silty-sand fill. This could have held an upright timber post up to 0.2 m in diameter ..... The altar which was to become the main feature of the site was built directly over the paved area described above. The side walls were raised in well laid courses of flat rubble, with some thin flat orthostatic slabs appearing in the basal course. These walls contained a core of loose, vacuous small rubble which was brought to a roughly levelled finish at the surface of the altar. The whole comprised a regular, 'square' cairn, 0.7 m high and 1.9 m in maximum length.'
Notes The monument was fully excavated in 1997 and reconstructed, using the original rubble masonry, at a safe distance from the cliff-edge by the OPW.

Survey No. 007.03
SMR No. SL001-007-003
Site type Cross-slab
Site name Trahanareear
Location Originally on the altar but removed to the Schoolhouse in 1989.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 29
References Herity (1989a [1995, 113]); Wakeman (1886, 304, fig. 65; 1893, 130, fig. 65).

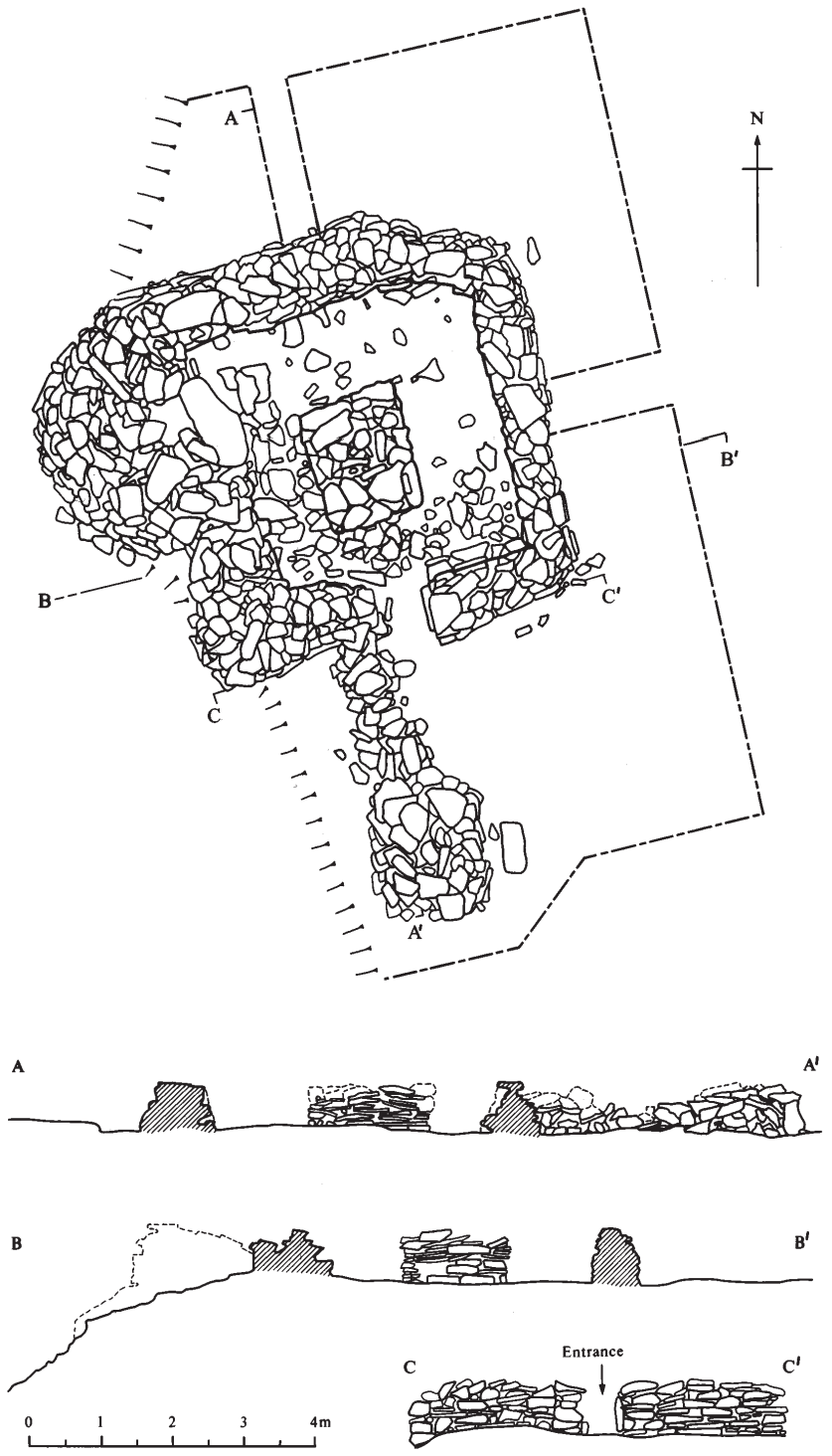


Figure 37
Trahanareear: pre-excavation plan (1997) of the *leacht* and eroding cliff-edge

Description Slab (H: 0.45 m, W: 0.385 m, Th: 0.067 m) with incised incised hammerhead cross, 0.305 high with transom and terminals of vertical arms all 0.07 m across. The crossing is decorated with a small shallow pit.
Notes None.

Survey No. 007.04
SMR No. SL001-007-004
Site type Cairn
Site name Trahanareear
Location Trahanareear; outside the enclosure on the south side
NGR 353818 156517
Illustration Fig. 37; pl. 48
References Wakeman (1886, 302–6, figs 64–66; 1893, 128–32, figs 64–66); Herity (1989a [1995b, 113]); O'Sullivan & James (1998, figs 2 & 3)
Description This outlying or satellite cairn was described in an excavation report by O'Sullivan & James (1998) in the following terms. 'A small cairn lay a few metres from the enclosing wall on the south side ..... The cairn contained more rounded stones than occurred elsewhere in the monument and, at its base, was contained by a roughly laid kerb of larger stones ... [The dimensions were] length 3 m (NNE/SSW); width 2 m (SSE/NNW); height 0.6 m.'
Notes 1. This was probably a collapsed second *leacht* (as at Treenode Beg – No. 014.01). **2.** The monument was fully excavated in 1997 and reconstructed at a safer distance from the cliff-edge by the OPW.

Survey No. 007.05
SMR No. SL001-007-005
Site type Cross-slab
Site name Trahanareear
Location Unknown; allegedly on the outer cairn (SMR nd)
NGR —
Illustrations —
References None
Description Cross-slab on cairn 007.05?
Notes The SMR file identifies a cross-slab on the outer cairn, but no earlier authority describes a cross-slab in this position and none was found in association with the cairn when it was archaeologically excavated in 1997 (O'Sullivan & James 1998). The field report by Markus Casey in 1994 (SMR file) describes a 'plain' cross-slab, but this was probably a blank stone placed on the cairn in modern times.

Survey No. 007.06
SMR No. SL001-007-007
Site type Enclosure
Site name Trahanareear
Location Trahanareear; enclosing the *leacht* on a westerly cliff-edge.
NGR 353980 157975
Illustration Figs 2 & 37; pl. 48
References Mountbatten (1972, 64); Heraughty (1982, 29); McGowan (1998, 33–34); O'Sullivan & James (1998)
Description Prior to an archaelogical excavation of the monument in 1997 the rubble walls of the enclosure were still partly upstanding but with some loss to erosion on the western or seaward side. Successive phases of construction and refurbishment of the enclosure are described in an excavation report by O'Sullivan & James (1998), as follows. 'The altar [i.e. *leacht*] was enclosed by a low drystone rubble wall which abutted the walls of the cell and was clearly of a secondary build. The upper part was of loosely arranged random rubble, but on dismantling the wall, the lower or basal courses were found to consist of more regular stones, laid in even courses, which formed inner and outer faces with a core of small rubble chips and loose sand. A narrow, south-facing opening in the wall was flanked by low orthostats or jambs ... A fragment of a small, green glass vessel with everted rim [probably early modern] was found within the base of the wall core at the north side; further fragments were found within an adjacent peaty loam deposit at the foot of the inner wall face ... [Dimensions were] length 4.1 m (north/south); width 4.0 m (east/west); wall thickness 0.65–1.0 m; wall height 0.65–0.8 m; entrance width 0.5 m.'
Notes **1.** The glass bottle fragments are remains of a late 17th-century apothecary's bottle and attest that the enclosure – and possibly the *leacht* – was rebuilt in the early modern period. **2.** The monument was reconstructed by the OPW in 1997, at a safer distance from the cliff-edge, following total archaeological excavation of the site.

Survey No. 007.07
SMR No. SL001-007-006
Site type Inscribed stone (modern)
Site name Trahanareear
Location Discovered during the archaeological excavation of the monument in 1997, lying against the base of the outlying cairn at Trahanareear in shallow peat. Now in the Schoolhouse store.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 29
References O'Sullivan & James (1998)
Description Roughly dressed rectangular slab (H: 0.732 m, W: 0.405 m, Th: 0.04 m). Positioned in the upper left area appear three capital letters – J A W – and directly above them is a small incised cross.
Notes The letter forms and context of this stone indicate that it is of fairly recent date. It may commemorate John Andrew Waters, a notable character among Inishmurray's last generation of inhabitants and a brother of Michael Waters, the island's last 'King' (pers comm Mr Rodney Lomax, Mullaghmore).

Survey No. 007.08
SMR No. SL001-007-008
Site type Cross-slab
Site name Trahanareear
Location Discovered during the excavation of the monument in 1997, lying within the doorway of the cell or clochaun. Now in the Schoolhouse store.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 29
References O'Sullivan & James (1998)
Description Unusually gritty slab (H: 1.09 m, W: 0.43 m, Th: 0.016 m) the upper half of which is filled with an incised cross (0.5 m by 0.32 m). At its apex the upper arm expands markedly in a semi-circular shape, terminating in three points separated by steep cusps. The other arms have irregular forked terminals with cusped butts.
Notes The stone may well have been an original feature of the *leacht*, though found in what appears to be a secondary or disturbed context.

Laghtnasaggart

Scarcely anything remains of this obscure site which is almost entirely destroyed by storm damage/marine erosion.

Survey No. 008.01
SMR No. SL001-008
Site type *Leacht* (Site of)
Site name Laghtnasaggart (*Leacht na Sagart* or 'The Priests' *Leacht*')
Location In a low-lying position peaty wet flush by the north shore
NGR 354140 156660
Illustration Fig. 2; pl. 49
References Wakeman (1886, 311; 1893, 137); Heraughty (1982, 83)
Description Within low moorland grasses, two small orthostatic flags stand 3 m apart and are, respectively, 3 m and 7 m from the shore. Small angular rubble is scattered widely. Some of this is storm rubble; but some of the smaller stones are washing out of meandering rivulets from the peaty flush. The monument was in no better shape when seen by Wakeman (1893, 137), who recorded 'a little inland from the brink of the cliff, a very slight grassy elevation, through which a few bleached stones appear, is styled by the natives Leacht-na-Sagart.'
Notes 1. Evidently the monument has been denuded for well over a hundred years. **2.** A short segment of low drystone walling to the west, immediately on the cliff-edge, is probably a kelp-drying wall (see 022.01).



Plate 49 Laghtnasaggart. The site of this *leacht* is shown by the first edition Ordnance Survey map (1836) but no structure is recorded by any authority. Only a few edge-set stones mark its approximate location today.

Crossmore

This simple site consists of a *leacht* within a drystone enclosure, augmented by a low circular bank. A cross-slab from the *leacht* was removed to the Schoolhouse in 1989.

Survey No. 009.01
SMR No. SL001-009-001
Site type Cross-slab
Site name Crossmore
Location Removed from the altar at Crossmore to the Schoolhouse store in 1989.
NGR —
Illustrations Fig. 29



Plate 50 Crossmore *leacht*, on the north side of the island. The entrance is south-facing; a blank slab has been substituted by the OPW for an original cross-inscribed stone that is now in the Schoolhouse conservation store.

References Wood-Martin (1882, 150, no 6 [after Wakeman]); Wakeman (1886, 308, fig. 56; 1893, 134, fig. 68); Mountbatten (1972, 65); Herity (1989a [1995b, 113 & 138, fig. 13b]; reproduced 1993 [1995b, 269, fig. 15])

Description Slab (H: 0.9 m, W: 0.285 m, Th: 0.07 m) with an equal armed outline cross (0.35 m by 0.265 m) formed from a single false relief strand. The strand curves from the right side of the terminal of one arm to the left side of the terminal of the next, and the terminals themselves (where they survive) comprise convex curves. The substantial incised area at the crossing is filled with a lozenge-shaped, false relief boss with a central dimple.

Notes While Wakeman's description and drawing bear little resemblance to the motif on this slab, there is little doubt that they are one and the same, not least due to their location and overall shape and dimensions.

Survey No. 009.02
SMR No. SL001-009-002
Site type *Leacht*
Site name Crossmore (*Leachta Croise Móire* or *Cros Mhór*, 'Great Cross')
Location Crossmore; on moorland overlooking northerly cliffs
NGR 354290 156900
Illustration Figs 2 & 38; pl. 50

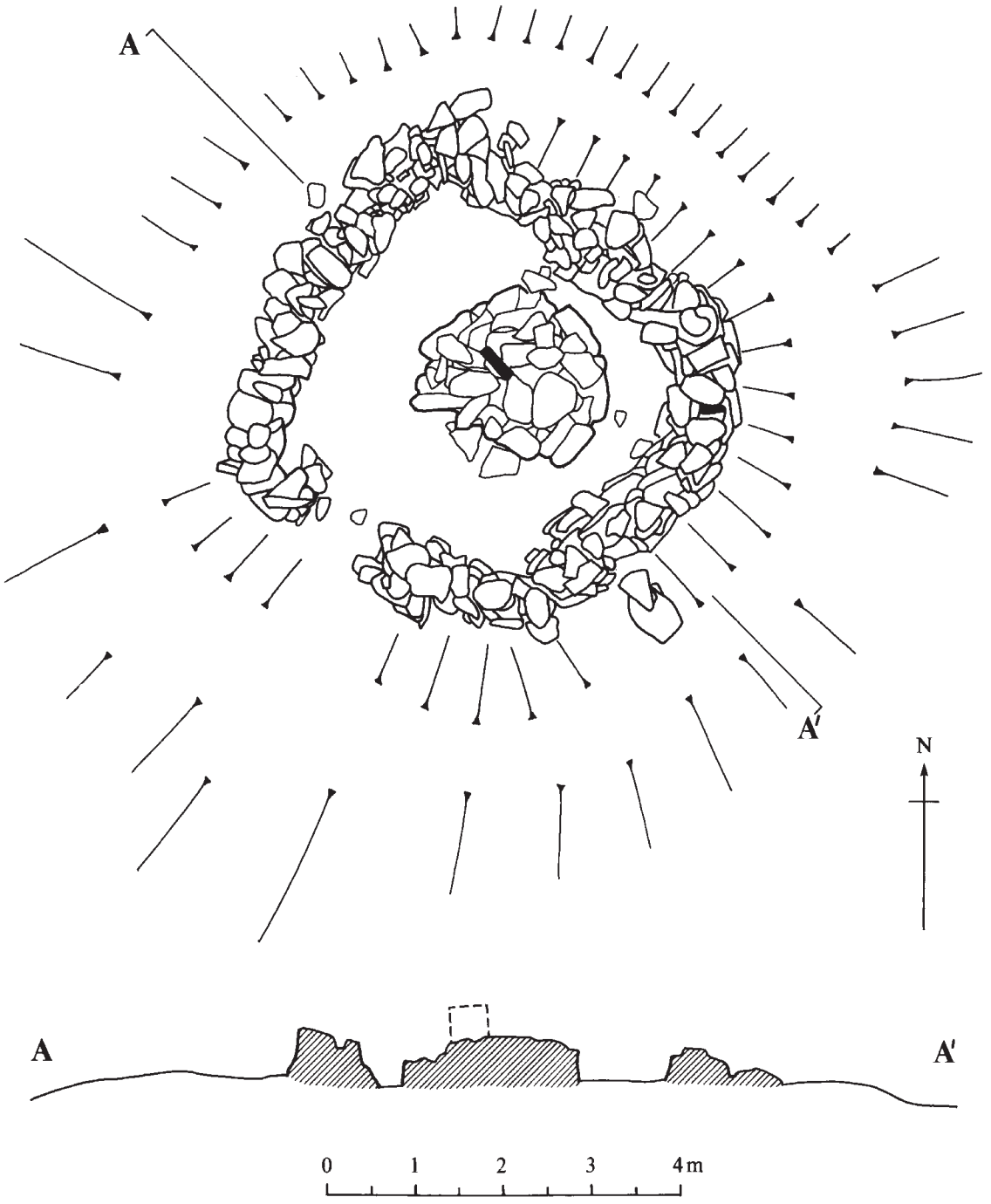


Figure 38
Crossmore: survey plan (1998) of the *leacht*

References Wakeman (1886, 306–9, fig. 67; 1893, 132–35, fig. 67); Mountbatten (1972, 65); Heraughty (1982, 29); Herity (1989a [1995b, 113]); McGowan (1998, 34)
Description The *leacht* at this site is a roughly built pile of drystone rubble measuring 2 m (east/west) by 1.8 m by 0.55 m high. Many of the stones are laid flat, as if once laid in even courses, but the whole effect now is uneven and even a little unstable. The *leacht* stands within the drystone enclosure described below.
Notes 1. The roughly coursed stonework, but absence of peripheral rubble, suggests the monument has been intermittently rebuilt. **2.** Vegetation is short meadow grasses and associated weeds; rabbits are very active on this site.

Survey No. 009.03
SMR No. SL001-009-003
Site type Enclosure
Site name Crossmore
Location Crossmore; on moorland overlooking northern cliffs**.** Visible from the Cashel.
NGR 354290 156900
Illustration Figs 2 & 38; pl. 50
References Wakeman (1886, 306–9, fig. 67; 1893, 132–35, fig. 67); Mountbatten (1972, 65); Heraughty (1982, 29); Herity (1989a [1995b, 113]); McGowan (1998, 34)
Description A small drystone enclosure measures 3.66 wide (east/west) within walls 0.6 m thick. The walls are slightly flattened so that the enclosure appears subrectangular on plan. There is an entrance in the south, 0.65 m wide. Within the east arc of the enclosing wall, a large, undecorated flat slab stands ca 0.2 m proud of the wall top. Outwith the drystone wall is a second enclosing element. A low bank – 1.5 m wide and 0.3 m high – surrounds the drystone wall. The overall diameter of the bank is 7.5 m. There is no visible break.
Notes 1. The roughly coursed stonework, but absence of peripheral rubble, suggests the monument has been intermittently rebuilt. The low outer bank may be the primary enclosing element. **2.** Vegetation is short heath and meadow grasses and associated weeds; rabbits are active on this site.

Trahanee & Tobernacoragh

The main feature at this site is a small drystone enclosure – this may possibly be the remnants of a cell or clochaun – surrounded by a low circular bank. There is a large quarry pit adjacent to the monument. This group of features overlooks a holy well that lies below a sharp break in slope defined by outcropping bedrock. There is no associated cross-slab.

Survey No. 010.01
SMR No. SL001-010-001
Site type Enclosure (drystone wall)



Plate 51 Trahanee, on the north side of the island, is a simple rubble-walled enclosure with a south-facing entrance. The personal name *Aodh* – a likely element of its name – suggests it may have been a retreat cell.

Site name Trahanee
Location Trahanee; in enclosed pasture overlooking northerly cliffs.
NGR 354314 157434
Illustration Figs 2 & 39; pl. 51
References Wakeman (1886, 309–11; 1893, 135–37); Mountbatten (1972, 65); Heraughty (1982, 29); Herity (1989a [1995b, 113]); McGowan (1998, 34)
Description This small, angular enclosure is of random rubble construction. The wall terminals expand at either side of a narrow entrance break in the south. The corners at north-west and north-east are rounded externally but, overall, the internal plan is angular, almost square. The enclosure is 2 m wide within walls 1.5 m wide at the base and up to 1.2 m high.
Notes 1. The loose, vacuous, rubble construction of this enclosure could not have persisted from antiquity; it has probably been repeatedly re-built. **2.** There are numerous rabbit burrows in the interior and surrounding bank. Indeed the interior is so badly warrened that there is subsidence. The rabbits should be controlled with a sub-turf permeable membrane (*Terram* or similar).

Survey No. 010.02
SMR No. SL001-010-002
Site type Enclosure (earth bank)
Site name Trahanee
Location Trahanee; in enclosed pasture overlooking northern cliffs.
NGR 354314 157434
Illustration Figs 2 & 39; plate 51

References Mountbatten (1972, 65); Wakeman (1886, 309–11; 1893, 135–37)
Description Outwith the drystone wall described above is a second enclosing element. A low bank – 1.8 m wide and 0.3 m high – surrounds the drystone wall. The overall diameter of the bank is 9 m. There is no visible break, but the bank is more pronounced on the north side.
Notes The bank supports only short meadow grasses with a few heather shoots (i.e. no extensive woody roots or strong rhizomes) but, as described above, is badly affected by rabbit burrowing.

Survey No. 010.03
SMR No. SL001-010-003
Site type *Leacht* (site of)
Site name None
Location By Trahanee, adjacent to the enclosure?
NGR 354314 157434
Illustration —
References Wakeman (1886, 311; 1893, 137)
Description Wakeman (1893, 137) recorded this structure, now vanished, as follows: 'At a short distance from it [i.e. Trahanee] stands an altar ... but the name of the saint to whom it was dedicated has not been retained, and the pile is simply called Altóir, 'altar'. It is square in plan, seventeen feet eight inches in girth at the ground, and still exhibits a finial, consisting of a rude flagstone devoid of cross or carving on any kind set upright on its summit.'
Notes This was not seen by the survey team in 1998. Wakeman may have printed a false account from a misreading of his field notes. It is more likely that this once existed and is now dispersed.

Survey No. 010.04
SMR No. SL001-010-001
Site type Holy well
Site name Tobernacoragh (*Tobar na Corach* or 'Well of the Fair Wind')
Location By Trahanee; 15 m north of the *leacht*, below a sharp break in slope.
NGR 354347 157427
Illustration Figs 2, 10 & 39; plate 52
References Wakeman (1886, 256; 1893, 124, fig. 62); Mountbatten (1972, 65); Heraughty (1982, 29 & 32); Herity (1989a [1995b, 113–14]); McGowan (1998, 34)
Description A small and rather disorderly heap of stones (2 m east/west by 3 m north/south, overall) surrounds a small wet hollow (no standing water in August 1998) with an irregular, narrow outflow channel winding seaward through long grass and weeds. The mound supports a couple of large slabs which span the wet hollow and are evidently remnants of a lintelled roof.

Wakeman depicted this as a small corbelled structure and his accompanying description indicates that it was once less dilapidated and more free-flowing (1893, 124): 'It is protected by a building, of the bee-hive



Plate 52 Tobernacoragh, the 'help well', is at the foot of a steep slope on the seaward side of Trahanee, on the north side of the island.

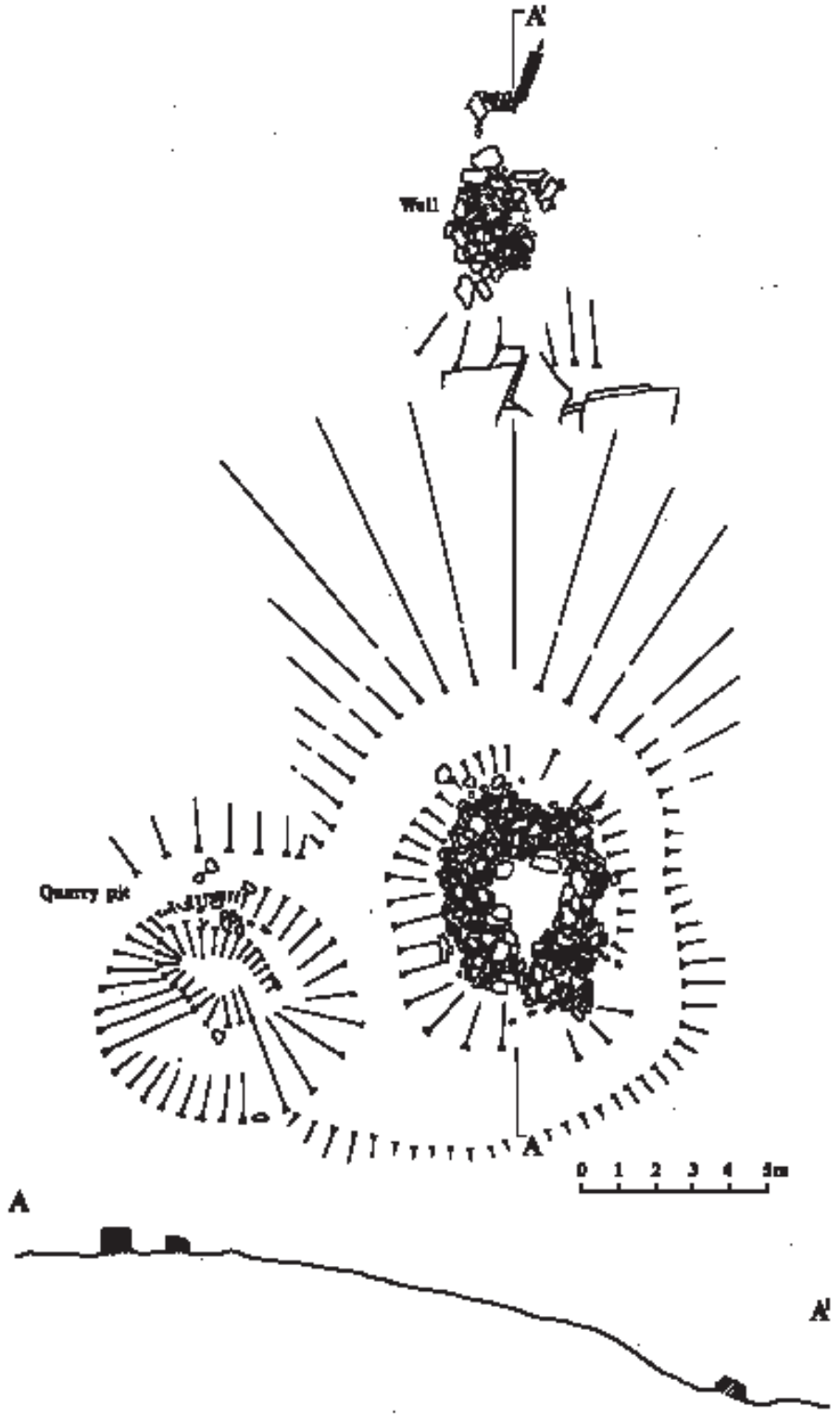


Figure 39
Trahanee and Tobernacoragh: survey plan (1998) of the enclosure and 'help well'

class, formed of large stones laid without mortar. From it extends, northward, a kind of stone-lined channel, flagged over at its ends, and having an open space at its centre. This channel, which seems to have been excavated through clay and rock to a depth of about two feet six inches below the natural surface, is twenty feet in length ... A scarcely-ever-ceasing flow of bright sparkling water passes from the well through the channel.'
Notes 1. The stones no longer comprise an immediately recognisable structure. The well is partly choked with weeds and grass, including dead vegetation. **2.** Folk traditions associated with the well are recounted by various authorities and include a ritual to calm stormy seas. **3.** Mountbatten (1972) claims – apparently in error – that there was a *leacht* adjoining the well (probably this refers to the lintelled superstructure of the well itself).

Survey No. 010.05
SMR No. —
Site type Quarry pit
Site name Trahanee
Location Trahanee; immediately west of the *leacht*
NGR 354309 157424
Illustration Fig. 39
References None
Description Immediately adjacent to Trahanee, on the west side, the summit of the ridge is deeply cut by a large pit – possibly a quarry pit (sand/gravel?) – measuring 6 m wide and 1.7 m deep.
Notes This is an odd feature, resembling a small quarry pit. The sides of the cavity are of freshly exposed subsoil, indicating that it is possibly of recent date.

Laghta Patrick

Various authorities describe a *leacht* and cross-slab at this site, but the monument was destroyed by storm damage and the cross is lost or stolen (i.e. it could not be located in the field in 1998–99 or by subsequent inquiry). The base was identified by a limited archaeological excavation, described elsewhere in this volume ('Archaeological excavations 1997–2000'). The *leacht* was reconstructed on site by the writers in 2006.

Survey No. 011.01
SMR No. SL001-011——
Site type *Leacht* (site of)
Site name Laghta Patrick (*Leachta Phádraig*); also *Leachta Cuimhne*
Location At Rue or *Rubha* point, at the east end of the island.
NGR 354042 158126
Illustration Figs 2 & 50

References O'Donovan 1836 (quoted in Mills 1893, viii–xiii); Wakeman (1886, 311–13, fig. 70; 1893, 137–39, fig. 70); Mountbatten (1972, 65); Heraughty (1982, 30); Herity (1989a [1995b, 115]); McGowan (1998, 34); O'Sullivan (2000)

Description By the survey of 1998, the upstanding part of the structure was entirely dispersed. In the immediate environs, small and medium rubble overspreads a flat grassy expanse of 30 m (north/south) by 16 m (east/west). Much of this is probably storm rubble. Some may be remnants of kelp-drying walls (see 022.01, below). There was no visible, upstanding feature obviously corresponding to the remains of a *leacht* and no cross-slab. This is in startling contrast to early descriptions and even some more recent ones (following). Compare, for instance, O'Donovan (1836) – 'The *leachta* is a square pile of stones, on the top of which an ornamental stone cross stands' – with Herity (1989a [1995b, 115]) – 'The base of a very ruined dry-built *leacht*, roughly rectilinear in plan, about 1.92 m by 2.3 m, with no cross-slab'. Thus, while O'Donovan could describe a *leacht* and cross-slab in the 1830s, the monument had been reduced to a ruinous heap by the 1980s and had disappeared from view entirely by the 1990s. Despite this, it was possible to identify the base of the *leacht* by means of a very limited archaeological investigation in 1999. No cross was found, on or around the excavation site or on the storm-rubble beach below.

Notes Two records were created in error for this monument in the course of compiling the SMR (1989) and this error was repeated in the statutory Record of Monuments & Places (1995) for County Sligo.

Survey No. 011.02
SMR No. SL001-011-002
Site type Cross-slab
Site name Laghta Patrick
Location Originally on Laghta Patrick but now lost.
NGR —
Illustration —
References O'Donovan 1836 (quoted in Mills 1893, viii–xiii).
Description O'Donovan commented that Laghta Patrick was 'a square pile of stones, on the top of which an ornamental stone cross stands' (O'Donovan 1836). No further details are known about this slab.
Notes 1. The cross was not observed by any authorities since O'Donovan and may have been long since washed away or broken up on the nearby storm rubble of Rue point. No sculpture was found during the small-scale excavation that identified the base of the *leacht* (O'Sullivan 2000).

Tobernasool

There are no visible remains on the site of this traditional holy well.

Survey No. 012.00
SMR No. SL001-012-

Site type Holy well (Site of)
Site name Tobernasool (*Tobar na Súl* or 'eye well')
Location In a small field by the cliff-edge east of Treenode More.
NGR 353843 157762
Illustration Fig. 2
References Heraughty (1982, 83)
Description Not seen by the survey team in 1998.
Notes Only a few small cavities or hollows in the turf were found on the alleged site of this well; even these may have been no more than collapsed rabbit holes. There is now no active spring or visible well. This feature is not mentioned by Wakeman or other early authorities.

Treenode More

This well-preserved *leacht* stands within a drystone enclosure wall and is adorned by a fine cross-slab, still *in situ*, but in danger of being erased by severe spalling or weathering.

Survey No. 013.01
SMR No. SL001-013-001
Site type Enclosure
Site name Treenode More (*Tríonóid Mór* or 'Great Trinity [*Leacht*]')
Location South-east of the Cashel, over cliffs by the 'green street'
NGR 353830 157700
Illustration Figs 2, 6 & 40; plate 53
References Beranger & Bigari (1779 [see Harbison 2002, 58–70]); Grose (1791, Vol. 2, pl. 122); Wakeman (1886, 313–14, figs 71 & 72; 1893, 139–40, figs 71 & 72); Mountbatten (1972, 66); Heraughty (1982, 31); Herity (1989a [1995b, 114]); McGowan (1998, 34); Harbison (2002, 58 –70, figs 36, 38 & 40).
Description Drystone rubble walls form an enclosure which measures 4.5 m east/west by 3.5 m north/south within walls up to 1 m thick and 1.4 m high on the south or seaward slope, but 0.8 m high elsewhere. The walls include frequent small flat slabs and are roughly coursed to produce a sound build with a fair-faced finish. There is a narrow entrance on the west side (facing Treenode Beg) 0.7 m wide; this is spanned by an edge-set sill at the inner wall face. The *leacht* and cross-slab within this enclosure are described below.
Notes The monument is remarkably well preserved and has probably been rebuilt on at least one occasion. Vegetation includes dock and thistle, but no widespread vegetative or woody roots. Rabbit burrowing is intensive on the slope to the south and should be controlled to avoid subsidence and landslip. There shallow topsoil erosion around the margins of the site. This may be due to a rabbit run or even to visitors, as this is one of the more frequented stations. As it is 8 m from a high cliff-edge, there is only slight to moderate risk of storm damage and no sign that this is ongoing.



Plate 53 Treenode More, the larger of two *leachta* forming the Trinity station in the island pilgrimage. An elaborate cross-slab (bottom) is still *in situ* on the *leacht* but is suffering from ongoing erosion.

Survey No. 013.02
SMR No. SL001-013-002
Site type Cross-slab
Site name Treenode More
Location Treenode More; erected on the *leacht*
NGR —
Illustration Fig. 29; plate 53
References Beranger & Bigari (1779 [see Harbison 2002, 58–70]); Wood-Martin (1882, 150, no 11 [after Wakeman]); Wakeman (1886, 314, fig. 72; 1893, 140, fig. 72); Herity (1989a [1995, 114]); Harbison (2002, 58 –70, figs 36, 38 & 40).
Description Slab (H: <0.873 m, W: 0.456 m, Th: 0.126 m) whose visible surface is filled with a slightly irregular central cross (0.769 m by 0.366 m) surrounded by four crosslets. The lower two crosslets develop from a horizontal bar that forms the base of the main cross, while the slightly smaller upper crosslets develop from points midway along its horizontal arms. All of the crosses are shafted with flat, or in a few cases slightly cusped-butted, serifs in the upper arms. The crossing of the main cross is decorated with a false relief dimpled boss.
Notes The cross is well defined, despite light spalling, but has begun to laminate.

Survey No. 013.03
SMR No. SL001-013-003
Site type *Leacht*
Site name Treenode More
Location Treenode More; within enclosure
NGR 353830 157700
Illustration Figs 2, 6 & 40; plate 53
References Wakeman (1886, 313–14, figs 71 & 72; 1893, 139–40, figs 71 & 72); Mountbatten (1972, 66); Heraughty (1982, 31); Herity (1989a [1995b, 114]); McGowan (1998, 34)
Description The *leacht* stands centrally within the enclosure and is a well-made rectilinear cairn of evenly course flat stones, brought to a fair finish on all sides and a flat upper surface. It measures 1.53 m east/west by 1.4 m north/south and is 0.8m high. The fine cross-slab which surmounts it is described above.
Notes This is remarkably well preserved, perhaps rebuilt on at least one occasion.

Treenode Beg

This small *leacht* is no more than a rubble heap. The cross-slab which once adorned the *leacht* was removed to the Schoolhouse in 1989.

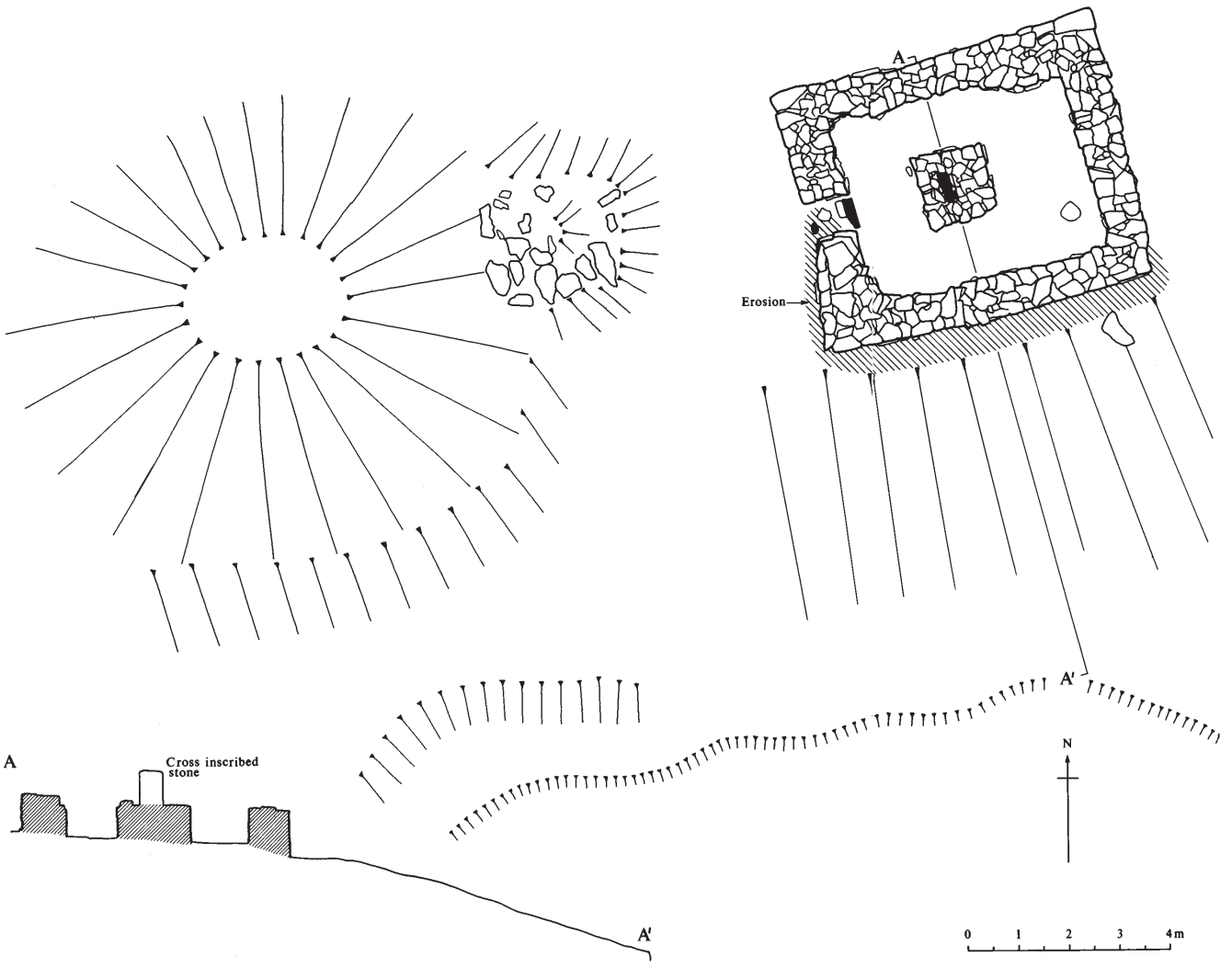


Figure 40
Treenode More & Treenode Beg: survey plan (1998) of the well-preserved larger *leacht* and its smaller, near-vanished neighbour

Survey No. 014.01
SMR No. SL001-014-001
Site type *Leacht*
Site name Treenode Beg (*Tríonóid Beg* or 'Small Trinity [*Leacht*]')
Location Treenode Beg
NGR 353826 157692
Illustration Figs 2 & 40; plate 54
References Wakeman (1886, 315–17, figs 73 & 74; 1893, 141–43, figs 73 & 74); Mountbatten (1972, 66); Heraughty (1982, 31); Herity (1989a [1995b, 114]); McGowan (1998, 34)
Description There is now only a low rubble mound – thickly covered by strongly rooted weeds – where Wakeman (1893, 141) described a *leacht* of ' twelve paces round; very rudely constructed, and of inconsiderable height'. Mountbatten (1972, 76) had more to say but in his own acerbic fashion: 'Treenode Beg is ... a mixture between a large tumbled down altar and a very small walled enclosure, in fact there is really only a heap of stones with a stone Flag left'. Herity 1989a [1995b, 114]) gave dimensions and noticed the cross, describing 'a low dry-built *leacht*, 2.36 m east/west by 2.25 m north/south ... on it stands a small sandstone slab.'
Notes 1. The small structure described by Wakeman (1880s), Mountbatten (1970s) and Herity (1980s) is represented now only by a low rubble mound. Immediately west of this, a much larger mound rises



Plate 54 Treenode Beg, the smaller *leacht* at the Trinity station, in 1969, from east (*Gerry Ryan*). It is now an overgrown low mound and its cross-slab has been removed to the Schoolhouse conservation store by the OPW.

up, covered with nettles and strongly rooted weeds – probably a midden or dung heap. **2.** The cross-slab has been removed to the Schoolhouse.

Survey No. 014.02
SMR No. SL001-014-002
Site type Cross-slab
Site name Treenode Beg
Location Originally recorded on the Treenode Beg *leacht* but removed to the Schoolhouse in 1989.
NGR —
Illustration Fig. 29
References Wood-Martin (1882, 150, no. 10 – after Wakeman); Wakeman (1886, 315–17, fig. 74 & 1893, 141–13, fig. 74); Herity (1989a [1995b, 114])
Description Badly worn, slightly tapering slab (H: 0.745 m, W: 0.335 m, Th: 0.065 m) whose upper two thirds is filled with an incised trapezoidal frame surrounding a cross in false relief. This element bifurcates into pairs of strands just before the crossing which intersect one another before passing into opposite flanking cross arms. The false relief also divides near the terminals where the resulting strands form Stafford knots. At the bottom corners of the frame the line curves inwards and then back on itself to form a half turn spiral. There are slight vestiges of the spirals that Wakeman depicted as developing from the square upper corners of the frame.
Notes Wakeman describes this slab as having a simple Latin cross on the second face (this can be seen in his general sketch of the altar at fig. 73), but he may have been mistaken, for there is now no evidence of it.

Leacht (Site of)

This *leacht* was described by Wakeman in the 1880s but is now destroyed.

Survey No. 015.01
SMR No. SL001-015
Site type *Leacht* (Site of)
Site name None
Location At a junction of field dykes on a low hill north-east of the Cashel.
NGR 354076 157609
Illustration Fig. 2
References None
Description Site of *leacht*. The Ordance Survey maps of 1837 and 1912 indicate an 'altar' located at the junction of massive drystone field dykes that are now entirely overgrown by tall bracken. Nothing was found by the 1998 survey team or by Markus Casey, for the Archaeological Survey of Ireland, in 1994.

The *leacht* may in fact have been incorporated within the later stone dykes, although it was evidently free-standing when seen by Wakeman (1893, 155): 'All has been described except one small altar, situated to the north-east of the Cashel, about midway between it and Teernaneane on the brink of the Atlantic. The pile is now nameless, and as the stones of which it composed are much disturbed, further description of the ruin will not be necessary.'

Notes Although nothing can now be found, the location is of some interest as it lies on a low inland rise or summit and is, therefore, on a horizon line viewed from the Cashel. Thus, from that viewpoint, it appears to continue the circuit of *leachta* which otherwise occur nearer the cliff-edges.

Laghta Columbkille

This describes a simple unenclosed *leacht* and an associated cross-slab, still *in situ*.

Survey No. 016.01
SMR No. SL001-016-001
Site type *Leacht*
Site name Laghta Columbkille (*Leachta Cholm Cille*)
Location West of Templenaman in an adjacent field; access via a stile.
NGR 353795 157472
Illustration Figs 2 & 41; plate 55
References Wakeman (1886, 320–23, figs 78–80; 1893, 146–69, figs 78–80); Mountbatten (1972, 63); Heraughty (1982, 27); Herity (1989a [1995b, 111–12]); McGowan (1998, 19 & 33)
Description The *leacht* is a rectilinear drystone structure with small and medium stones evenly coursed and brought to a fair face on all sides and surmounted by a loose arrangement of large slabs. It measures 1.45 m east/west by 1.5 m north/south and 0.95 m high. It supports a cross-slab which is described below.
Notes 1. The original cross-slab is *in situ*. The *leacht* is intact and sound, but the general area is quite overgrown with strongly rooted tall weeds and brambles. **2.** A few flat stones to the south may be remnants of a paved path to the *leacht*.

Survey No. 016.02
SMR No. SL001-016-002
Site type Cross-slab
Site name Laghta Columbkille
Location *in situ* on *leacht*
NGR —
Illustration Fig. 29; plate 55
References Wood-Martin (1882, 150, no. 9 [after Wakeman]); Wakeman (1886, 320-3, figs 78–80;1893,



Plate 55 Laghta Columbkille stands in a field immediately west of Templenaman and the women's cemetery. Unusually, the cross-slab, *in situ*, is carved on both the east (opposite page) and west faces, confirming that the slab was intended to stand erect on the *leacht*.

146–9, Figs 78–80); Mountbatten (1972, 63); Herity (1989a [1995b, 140, fig. 15; 1993 [1995b, 269, fig. 15])
Description Slab (H: 0.915 m, W: 0.416 m, Th: 0.08 m) with rectangular frame defined by an incised line. Rising from its lower edge is an incised cross (0.54 m by 0.262 m) whose upper arms terminate in broad cusped-butted serifs. In each quadrant is a subordinate rectangular border arranged symmetrically so that they double as an outline cross around the main motif. In the lower quadrants these frames terminate short of the baseline with a clubbed serif and each surrounds a smaller version of the main cross motif. The frames in the upper quadrants each contain a smaller rectangle which in turn contains a stepped motif. On the opposite face is an incised cross (0.485 m by 0.28 m) with forked serifs, a false relief boss at the crossing and a small circular pit in each quadrant.
Notes None.

Altar & Architectural Fragment

These entries probably represent redundant records in the SMR files. All of the known or reported *leachta* are described elsewhere; no architectural fragments were located in the field in 1998 or subsequently.

Survey No. 017.01
SMR No. SL001-017-001



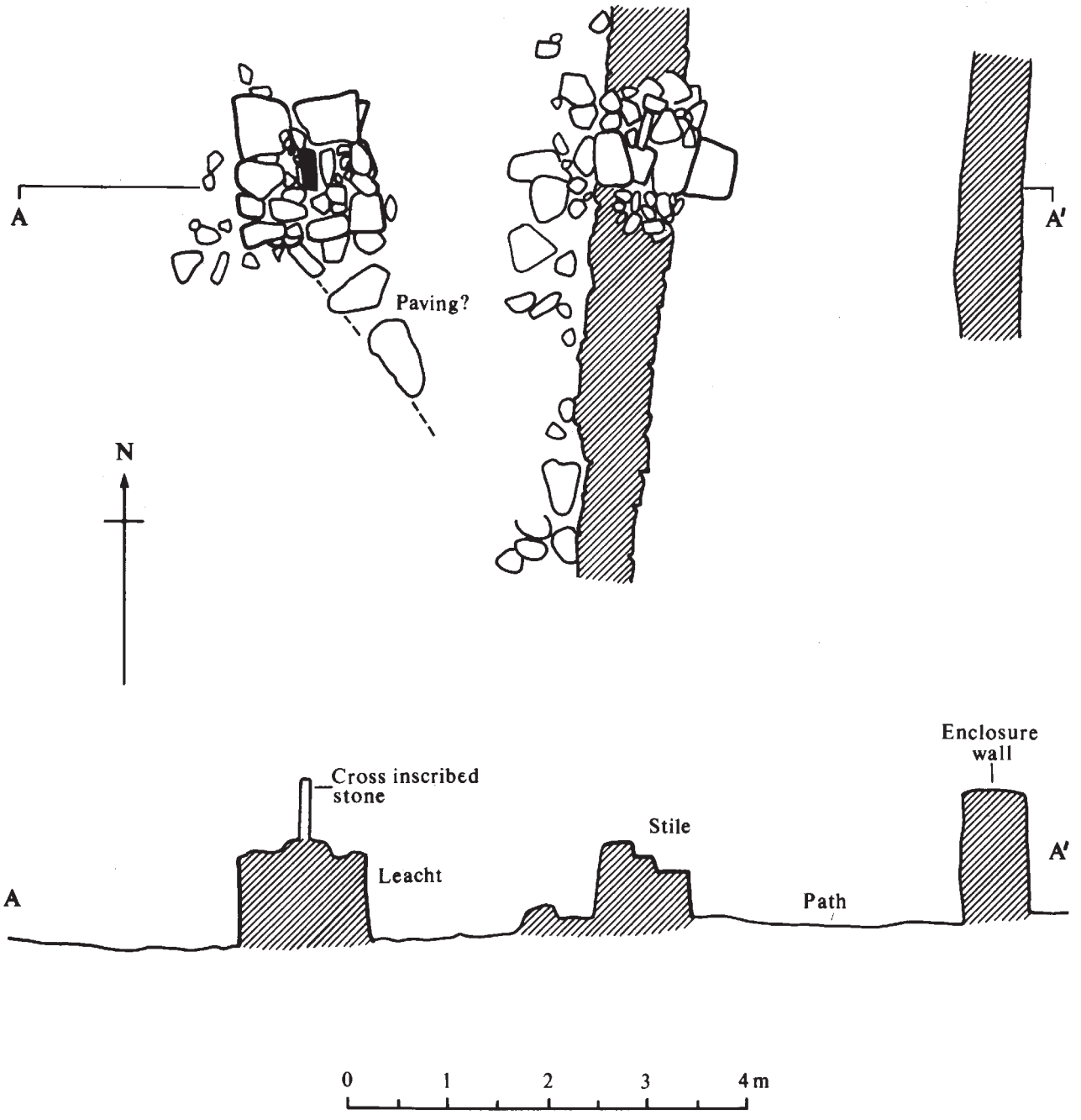


Figure 41
Laghta Columbkille: the *leacht* stands in a field west of the women's cemetery

Site type *Leacht*
Notes This was listed in the SMR (1989) as an 'altar' whose location was unknown. The reference in the SMR file is to Wakeman (1886, 311) where it is clear that this is a duplicate record for the *leacht* described under Survey No. 010.03.

Survey No. 017.02
SMR No. SL001-017-001
Site type Architectural fragment
Notes This was listed in the SMR (1989) as an 'architectural fragment'. The reference in the SMR file is to Wakeman (1886, 311) (see 017.01 above), where he describes an 'altar' which 'still exhibits a finial, consisting of a rude flagstone devoid of cross or carving on any kind set upright on its summit.' A finial is a formal ornament at the peak of a gable or pinnacle such as occurred on some early medieval Irish churches. In the present context it is clear that Wakeman was using the term figuratively to refer to a plain slab in a prominent position on a *leacht*.

Cist and Possible Megalithic Tomb

The first of these features almost certainly represents a Bronze Age short cist. No megalithic tomb was located in the field in 1998, however, and this second entry appears to be another redundant SMR record.

Survey No. 018.01
SMR No. SL001-018-001
Site type Cist
Site name None
Location Immediately west of Clashymore on harbour cliff-edge
NGR 353710 157005
Illustration Fig. 2; plate 56
References Heraughty (1982, 19); McGowan (1998, 13)
Description Edge-set slabs within a deep grassy hollow probably correspond to the site of a cist found in 1938 and described by Heraughty (1982). The hollow is 2 m deep on the west side, but only 0.6 m on the east, where it overlooks the wave-cut rock terraces of Clashymore. Within the hollow, large, flat, edge-set slabs form the north and east sides of what may once have been a lintelled short cist.
Notes The account in McGowan (1998) follows Heraughty: the site was examined by E Estyn Evans who was satisfied that it was a later prehistoric funerary cist; the whereabouts of an associated urn or food vessel are now unknown.



Plate 56 Cist remnants. A large edge-set slab within a hollow by Clashybeg harbour indicates the site of a cist grave that was discovered in the 1930s.

Survey No. 018.02
SMR No. SL001-018-002
Site type Megalithic tomb (poss.)
Description Not seen by the survey team in 1998 or subsequently.
Notes This is listed in the SMR files with reference to Heraughty, but appears to derive from his account of the cist described by the last entry. The information in Heraughtly (1982, 19) is worth quoting at length to illustrate the ambiguity of the available information.

> In 1938 James Harte, a native of Inishmurray, found a collapsed cist burial near the inlet known as Classeymore. It contained what, from his description, was an ornamented food vessel of a type associated with burials dating from 1,800 to 500 BC. A brief survey of the area by Professor Estyn Evans of Queen's University, Belfast, also led him to suggest there was evidence of human occupation at the site. Other archaeologists have subsequently agreed. Martin Timoney, for one, concurs and observed that one of the side slabs of a 'sailor's grave' nearby is *in situ*, that is, in its original position, indicating an earlier burial at the site. The grave appears today as a depression of rectangular outline with a large flat stone set firmly in the gournd on its edge. The stone is about four feet six inches long and the portion of the stone above ground is almost three feet high. It appears to be part of the side-wall of a prehistoric stone tomb chamber.



Plate 57 Contiguous groups of stone within a bracken-clad rubble spread on the north side of the island indicate the remains of a previously unrecognised structure of unknown date

Martin Timoney – a well known archaeologist and luminary of the Sligo Field Club – has since confirmed to the writers that he is aware of evidence for only one prehistoric burial by Clashymore. While it remains possible that a second cist existed but was washed into the sea, it does not seem likely from present evidence that there was a megalithic tomb at this location.

Structural Remains

This describes an unclassified structure (i.e. unknown date or type) which may be the remains of a medieval building, a 'lost' *leacht* or merely a collapsed livestock pen. The monument was stripped of vegetation and recorded in plan in the course of the archaeological survey of the island in 1998.

Survey No. 019.01
SMR No. SL001-019
Site type Structural remains; unclassified
Site name None
Location On the northern moorland, west of Crossmore.

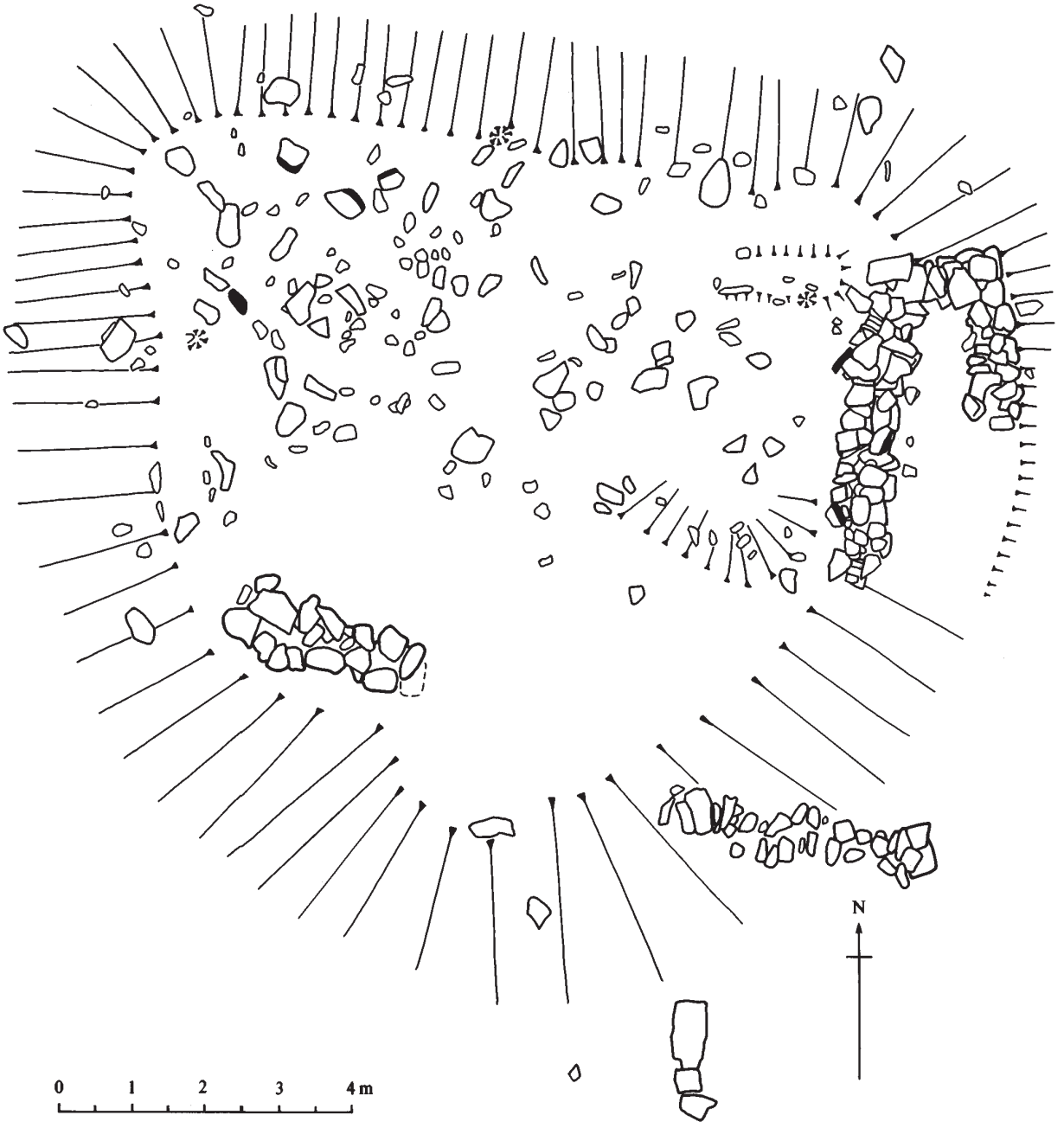


Figure 42
Structural remains: survey plan (1998) of structural remnants on open moorland on the north side of island

NGR 354213 156829
Illustration Figs 2 & 42; plate 57
References None
Description An extensive rubble spread or low cairn lies on gently sloping moorland north of the Cashel (the two are intervisible). The rubble spreads over an area of about 15 m east/west by 13 m north/south and is no more than 0.5 m high. On the south and east margin are short lengths of drystone walling, evidently secondary features (possibly remains of livestock pens or shelters). A few small slabs are erected or edge-set within the north-west quadrant and may be remains of an entranceway to a structure.
Notes 1. The monument is of unknown date or type, but may be the remains of a medieval structure, a 'lost' *leacht* or even a building. **2.** It is heavily colonised by bracken and rabbits were also in evidence.

Enclosure

This 'enclosure' described in the national Sites & Monuments Record is possibly a simple industrial feature associated with kelp burning for supply to the pharmaceutical industry for iodine extraction.

Survey No. 020.01
SMR No. —
Site type Enclosure; unclassified
Site name None
Location 50 m west of Laghta Patrick at 30 m from the shore (SMR nd).
NGR 354049 158099
Illustration Fig. 2
References SMR nd; for kelp harvesting see Heraughty (1982, 49).
Description 'A subrectangular setting of stones some 4 m square internally, open towards the north-east, with a narrow gap to the south-west. Three upright, set stones – up to 0.6 m high – form a straight line on the south-east side. There is a slight rise in the centre of the enclosure, c. 2 m in diameter. Some burnt stones can be seen where the sod is broken' (SMR nd). Not seen by the survey team in 1998.
Notes Possibly a kelp-burning site. Heraughty (1982, 49) describes the harvesting, drying & burning of kelp rods (a form of seaweed) as a cash crop supplied to iodine manufacturers' agents. Alternatively, this may be the remains of a modern grain-drying kiln.

Track

Survey No. 021.01
SMR No. —
Site type Track

Site name None
Location On moorland near western cliffs (north of Trahanareear).
NGR 353938 156552
Illustration Fig. 2
References None
Description A pronounced linear feature – aligned east/west – traverses grassy moorland near the western extremity of island. It is scarped into the slope to form a continuous flat surface 3.5 m wide, defined by a sharp cut on the upper side.
Notes Possibly a remnant cart (or vehicle?) track, probably modern.

Kelp Wall

Survey No. 022.01
SMR No. —
Site type Kelp-drying wall
Site name None
Location Immediately west of Clashymore harbour (opposite Ollamurray).
NGR 353678 156990
Illustration Fig. 2
References For kelp harvesting see Heraughty (1982, 49).



Plate 58 The short, low drystone walls used to dry kelp rods recall an aspect of the island economy in the modern period. The dried kelp was reduced to a solid mass in open-air fires and sold to agents from the mainland for iodine extraction.

Description A stone wall remnant – 2 m north/south by 0.6 m wide – lies along the cliff-edge by Clashymore.
Notes Probably a kelp-drying wall.

Enclosure

This describes a sheep pen or crush adjacent to a large sheep paddock described by Heraughty (1982).

Survey No. 023.01
SMR No. —
Site type Enclosure (poss. sheep crush)
Site name —
Location On moorland in the south-west quarter of the island.
NGR 353741 156793
Illustration Fig. 2
References Heraughty (1982, 78).
Description Remnants of a long, narrow, rectilinear enclosure – 24 m east/west by 2 m north/south – are formed by tumbled drystone rubble. This survives to only a single stone in height.
Notes The structure may have been a modern sheep crush. Heraughty (1982, 78) describes a sheep pen called *Manntrach* on the smooth slope above this site, probably the large trapezoidal embanked enclosure recorded by the second edition of the Ordnance Survey six-inch map of 1912. (The map also shows a smaller enclosure, conjoined with this, which is not now extant.) The Ordnance Survey 25-inch map of 1910 indicates a 'sheepfold' in this location.

Mounds

Large and medium peaty mounds extend over a wide area of moorland in the north and east and are very probably abandoned turf ricks?

Survey No. 024.01
SMR No. —
Site type Mounds
Site name None
Location Throughout the northern moorland.
NGR 354138 156851
Illustration Fig. 2
References None

Description Dispersed grassy mounds – up to 6 m wide and 1 m high – occur widely on the open moorland to the north and west of the island. These are not stony (and thus are not cairns) but appear instead to be entirely formed of peat.
Notes **1.** Possibly abandoned modern turf ricks from peat cutting throughout this area. Some support brambles and even bracken. The mounds are also favoured by rabbits. **2.** According to Mr Christy Heraughty (pers. comm. 2006), a native of the island, the peat was almost exhausted in this area by the time the island was evacuated in the 1940s, so that a bleached and stoney subsoil surface was exposed throughout.

Enclosures

Probably livestock pens within a larger early field system (031).

Survey No. 025.01
SMR No. —
Site type Enclosure
Site name None
Location Appended on field system by northern cliff-edge west of Crossmore.
NGR 354291 156869
Illustration Fig. 2
References None
Description A small trapezoidal enclosure, measuring 4 m by 7 m, is appended on the east side of the long meandering bank which traverses the island north/south. The enclosure is formed by low grassy banks 0.25 m high.
Notes None.

Survey No. 026.01
SMR No. —
Site type Enclosure
Site name None
Location Northern moor
NGR 354247 156952
Illustration Fig. 2
References None
Description Intermittent large rubble may form the remains of an enclosure – roughly 10 m by 8 m – appended on the south side of a meandering rubble dyke. Individual stones are up to 0.8 m; some of these are erected or earthfast.

Stone Kerbs

These two, small, unclassified structures may be remnants of funerary monuments.

Survey Nos 027.01 & 027.02
SMR No. SL001-020-001 & -002
Site type Stone kerbs; unclassified
Site name None
Location On northern moorland, west of Site 019.
NGR 354195 156811 & 154193 156814
Illustration Figs 2 & 43; plate 58
References None



Plate 59 Two groups of edge-set stones form rough kerbs in open moorland on the north side of the island. The function and date of these is unknown. They may have been exposed by peat cutting.

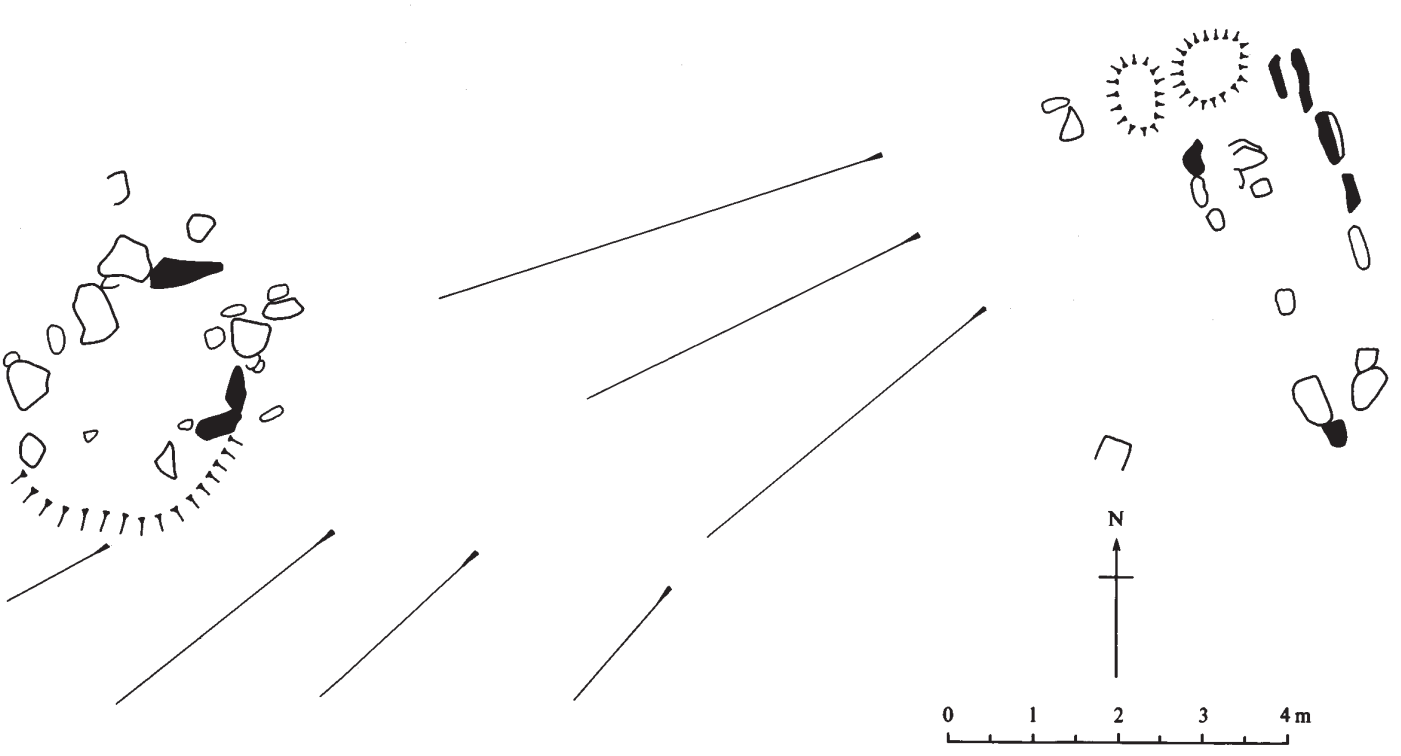


Figure 43
Stone kerbs: survey plan (1998) of two groups of edge-set stones on open moorland on the north side of island

Description Earthfast medium/large stones (up to 0.8 m) form the outlines of two small enclosures roughly 12 m apart on gently sloping moorland north of the Cashel (the two are intervisible). One is 3 m north/south by 2 m and the other is 5 m NW/SE by 2 m.
Notes Possibly kerb remnants within denuded prehistoric barrow mounds or kerbs outlining later 'dug' graves. Alternatively, they may be footings for turf-built or wooden buildings.

Kelp Walls

Survey No. 028.01. 028.02 & 028.03
SMR No. —
Site type Kelp-drying walls
Site name None
Location Cliff-edge by northern shore
NGR 354340 157338
Illustration Fig. 2; plate 58
References For kelp harvesting see Heraughty (1982, 49).
Description Three short, low drystone wall remnants (up to two courses high and from 4m to 8 m long) lie adjacent to the cliff-edge on the northern shore.
Notes These features are almost certainly kelp-drying walls.

Cairn

Survey No. 029.01
SMR No. SL001-021
Site type Cairn; unclassified
Site name None
Location In a flat arable field by the north-east shore.
NGR 354213 157871
Illustration None
References Fig. 2
Description On level ground within a field by the northern shore, a long, low mound of grassy rubble measures 8 m long (east/west) by 4 m wide and is 1 m high. There are two small hollows in its upper surface.
Notes This could possibly be a kiln or, more likely, simply a large field clearance mound. It is strongly colonised by meadow grasses and associated weeds.

Mill

Remains of a horizontal mill undercroft were identified at the outfall of the island's only stream. Limited excavations aimed to recover dating materials, as described elsewhere in this volume ('Archaeological excavations 1997–2000'), but with no success.

Survey No. 030.01
SMR No. SL001-022-001
Site type Mill
Site name None
Location At the outfall of the stream by the women's cemetery.
NGR 353773 157510
Illustration Figs 2 & 44
References Heraughty (1982, 76, placename map); O'Sullivan (2000)
Description Drystone walls retain the banks of the island's only watercourse at its outfall to the sea. The walls form three sides of a pit (2.8 m north/south by 2.1 m; 1.3 m high) with a breached, or wave-eroded outer side. Exploratory investigation in 1999 confirmed that the masonry observed in 1998 represents vestigial remains of a mill undercroft but could find no dating evidence or suitable sample for radiocarbon dating.
Notes **1.** Heraughty (1982) records the use of hand-turned querns c. 1900. Wakeman (1893, 155) describes a pair of quern stones, allegedly made in the 1860s. **2.** No mill is recorded by any edition of the Ordnance Survey, thus the mill is likely to be of some antiquity. **3.** A large land parcel east of this is identified by Heraughty's (1982, 76) placename map as *Fál an Mhuilinn* (literally 'millbank' or 'millgreen'). **4.** According to Mr Christy Heraughty (pers. comm. 2006), a native of the island, the masonry remains of the mill undercroft were used as a still-house for poteen production in modern times. Mr Heraughty was not aware that the masonry represented remains of a mill and confirmed that there was no tradition of milling on Inishmurray among the islanders.

Survey No. 030.02
SMR No. SL001-022-002
Site type Masonry feature
Site name None
Location In cliff face east of women's cemetery
NGR 353774 157512
Illustration Figs 2 & 52
References O'Sullivan (2000)
Description At 10 m east of the mill, two or three courses of large boulders form an arc of drystone masonry – 3 m wide and less than 1 m high – within steeply banked ground, immediately below the low cliff-edge. Above the cliff-edge, the ground is uneven and pitted by subsidence or burrowing. When first

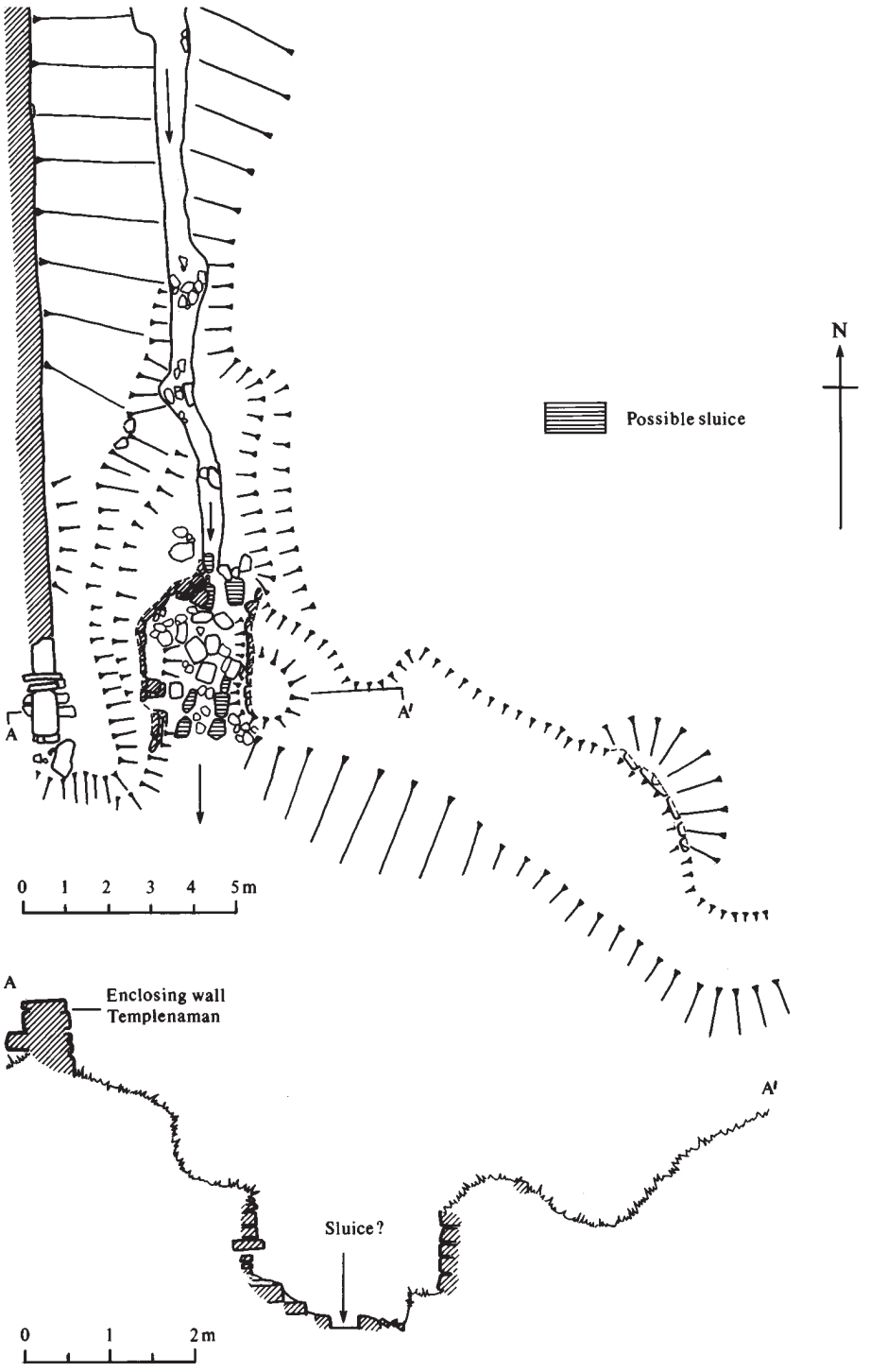


Figure 44
Horizontal mill: survey plan and section (1998) of the mill undercroft by Templenaman.

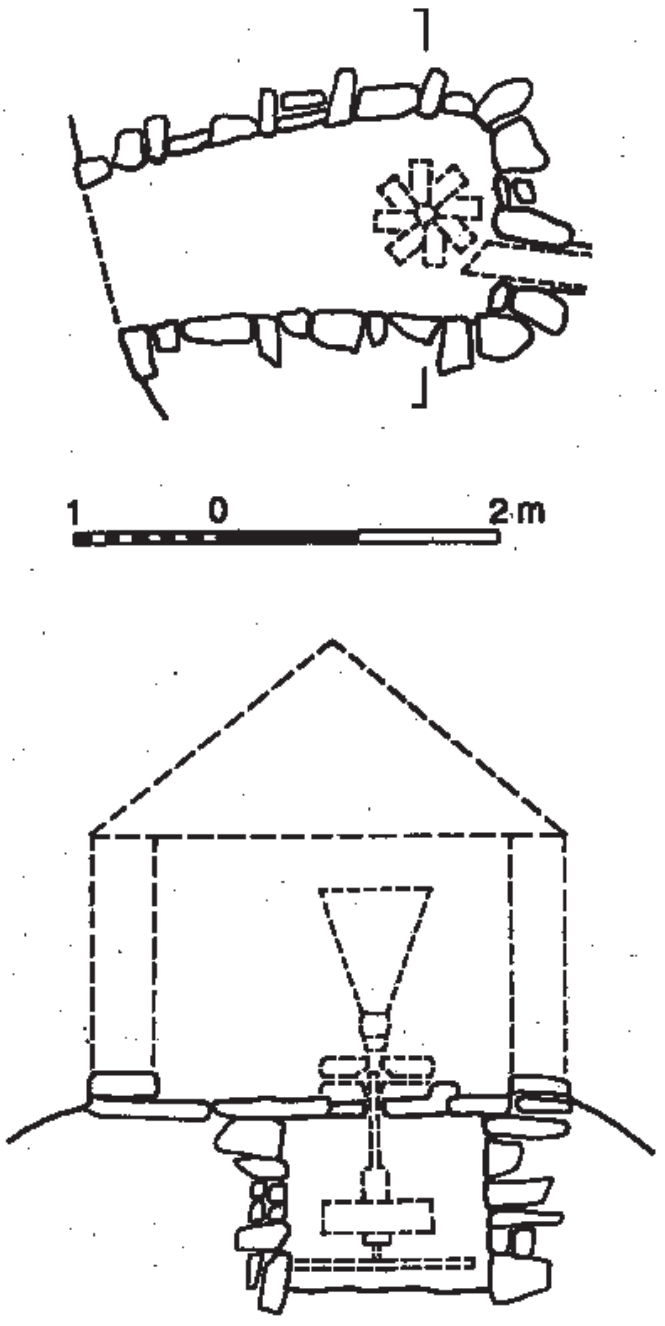


Figure 45
Schematic reconstruction of a horizontal mill (after O'Sullivan 1994, illus. 4)

observed the masonry was thought to represent the remains of a largely eroded kiln, built into the low cliff face, and associated with the adjacent mill (No. 030.01). Subsequent investigation in 1999 discovered that it was merely part of a low revetment wall retaining cultivated soils (O'Sullivan 2000).
Notes 1. A sherd of 17th-century gravel-tempered ware, found during a limited excavation at the site, provides a *terminus post quem* date for construction of this retaining wall.

Field System

Successive editions of the Ordnance Survey (1837; 1912) show that the present field system of rectilinear stone dykes replaced an older system of meandering low banks. These can be traced on the ground throughout the south-east quarter of the island and many of them are previously unrecorded.

Survey No. 031.01
SMR No. SL001-023
Site type Field system
Site name None
Location Throughout western and northern quarters of the island
NGR 354158 157174
Illustration Fig. 2
References None
Description In the eastern and southern quadrants of the island, later editions of the Ordnance Survey (e.g. 1912) record drystone walls enclosing a regular system of small rectangular fields. These were evidently a product of the planned re-settlement of the island in the 19th century as it matured and prospered. These new dykes replaced an older field system of irregular land parcels which is recorded by the first edition of the Ordnance Survey (1837) and is also concentrated in the south and east. On the margins of this are relics of other early banks – not recorded by the Ordnance Survey – which meander west and north over the otherwise open moorland. At several intervals the older banks are slighted or traversed by later stone dykes. The older field system is generally represented by low banks, up to 2 m wide but seldom more than 0.3 m high, and occasionally faced with large stones. In some instances, only intermittent lines of large stones survive, with no embanked soil present.
Notes 1. These previously unrecorded banks are likely to be outlying elements of the earlier field system recorded by the Ordnance Survey, but which had already been abandoned by the 1830s. Given the low population of the island in the post-medieval period, these are likely to be of some antiquity. **2.** At least two enclosures are appended on the dykes of the field system (026 & 025).

0
5m


N
S
2m


W
E
0
2m

Part iv

Archaeological Excavations 1997–2000



Trahanareear 1997

Survey Nos. 007.1–007.8
Excavation Licence No. 97E:0256

Site Description

Trahanareear is located on an eroding cliff-edge, of westerly aspect, at roughly 20 m OD, near the extreme western point of the island (fig. 2; pl. 60). Prior to excavation the *leacht* was a drystone cairn of regular cubical form, enclosed by a drystone wall, with a narrow south-facing entrance (figs 37 & 46). The remains of a sub-circular cell were conjoined with the north-west angle of the enclosure. Adjacent to the entrance, a low spur or tail of loose rubble linked the enclosure wall to a small cairn near the south side of the monument (pl. 61).

The last generation of islander's knew the monument as *Trahan Ó Riain,* while on the Palmerston estate map of 1813–14 it is called 'Breadserve' (Table 1, above).



Plate 60 Trahanareear. The *leacht* was situated on the edge of the island's high western cliffs.



Plate 61 Trahanareear before excavation in 1997 with the outer cairn (top) and rubble enclosure wall (bottom). The slab erected on the outer cairn was substituted by the OPW for a cross-inscribed stone that was removed to the Schoolhouse conservation store.

Aims and Methods

The primary aim of the work at Trahanareear was total excavation of the site to facilitate reconstruction at a new location a short distance from the cliff-edge. Of course, this also offered an opportunity to investigate one of the more elaborate examples of Inismurray's enigmatic *leachta*, to establish a date for its construction and use, to investigate whether the cell had been a habitation, to identify and characterise any associated burials and to seek evidence for early liturgical use of the monument prior to its use for folk worship in later periods.

All upstanding elements of the monument were photographed and drawn to scale in plan and elevation. The turf was stripped by hand and any features exposed were individually recorded. Bulk samples were retained from any sediments of possible anthropic origin or containing visible anthropic inclusions. Samples were also retained for radiocarbon dating from the base of the peat layer abutting the monument.

Soils

The general environs of the site feature open moorland grasses, supported by a shallow peat which overlies heavily leached sandy mineral soils. This sequence was closely reflected within the excavated area, where the definition of stratified archaeological sediments or fills was generally poor. One significant relationship, however, was quite clear: the monument pre-dates the onset of peat development on this part of the island as both the enclosing wall and the stones of the outlying cairn were abutted by peat.

Table 5
Soil profile summary at Trahanareear

Depth	Soil layer
0.00–0.25 m	Peaty topsoil
0.25–0.35 m	Mottled sandy leached soil (buried A horizon?)
0.35–0.80 m	Leached sandy mineral soil with occasional small stones
0.80–0.90 m	Black band of ferro-magnesian minerals with small angular stones
0.90–4.00 m	Orange sandy till with frequent small, medium and large angular stones throughout
4.00 m	to sea level at roughly 20 m OD horizontally bedded sandstone bedrock

Stratigraphy

Phase I: post-hole (pre-*leacht*) and cell

In its primary phase, the monument appears to have consisted only of the cell and, immediately in front of it, a small area of paving which supported an upright timber (fig. 47).



Plate 62 Trahanareear. General view of the excavation site from north.

Large, undressed stones formed the inner and outer wall faces of the cell. The wall core consisted of medium and large stones in alternating radial and segmental courses – i.e. the stones of each course were all laid either along or across the wall line, so that the wall core formed a compact lattice of large stones (pl. 63). The terminals at either side of an east-facing entrance were formed by small orthostats, which flanked a narrow doorway 0.45 m wide (pl. 64). Most of the primary structure had already fallen into the sea, but the wall remnants could be projected to form a subcircular plan, 1.8 m in diameter, within walls 0.8 m thick. The cell contained deeply stratified layers of mottled sand – probably wind blown, but no clearly anthropogenic material was observed (i.e. charcoal, midden material or artefacts). Unfortunately, from the surviving remnants, one cannot say for certain whether the walls of this building were raised in corbelled courses, like the 'beehive' cells within the monastic enclosure, or whether it simply consisted of low stone walls with a roof of turf or thatch. The relatively thin walls suggest that the latter is more likely.

At the centre of a small paved area outwith the cell, a group of 'proud' or raised stones formed packing around a central post-hole, with a compact silty-sand fill. This could have held an upright timber post up to 0.2 m in diameter (pl. 65).

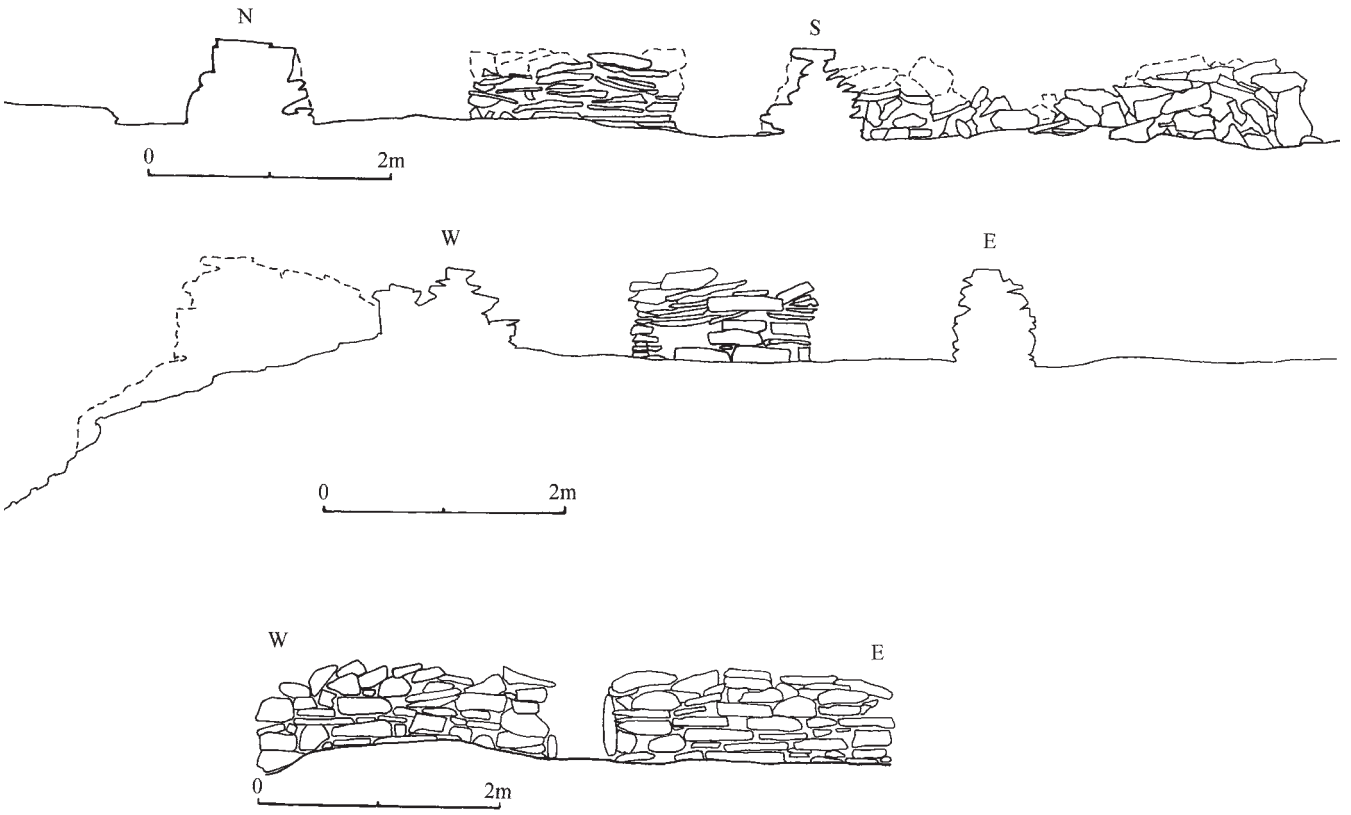


Figure 46
Trahanareear: elevations of the enclosure walls and *leacht*, prior to excavation (1997).



Plate 63 Trahanareear. Details of the wall construction of the cell, with large stones piled flat between outer faces formed by thin edge-set slabs.



Plate 64 Trahanareear. The doorway to the cell seen from inside (top) and outside the enclosure.



Plate 65 Trahanareear. View of the excavation site (above) showing the primary paving that was discovered beneath the *leacht* and (below) a detail of the central stone socket for an altar post or wooden cross.

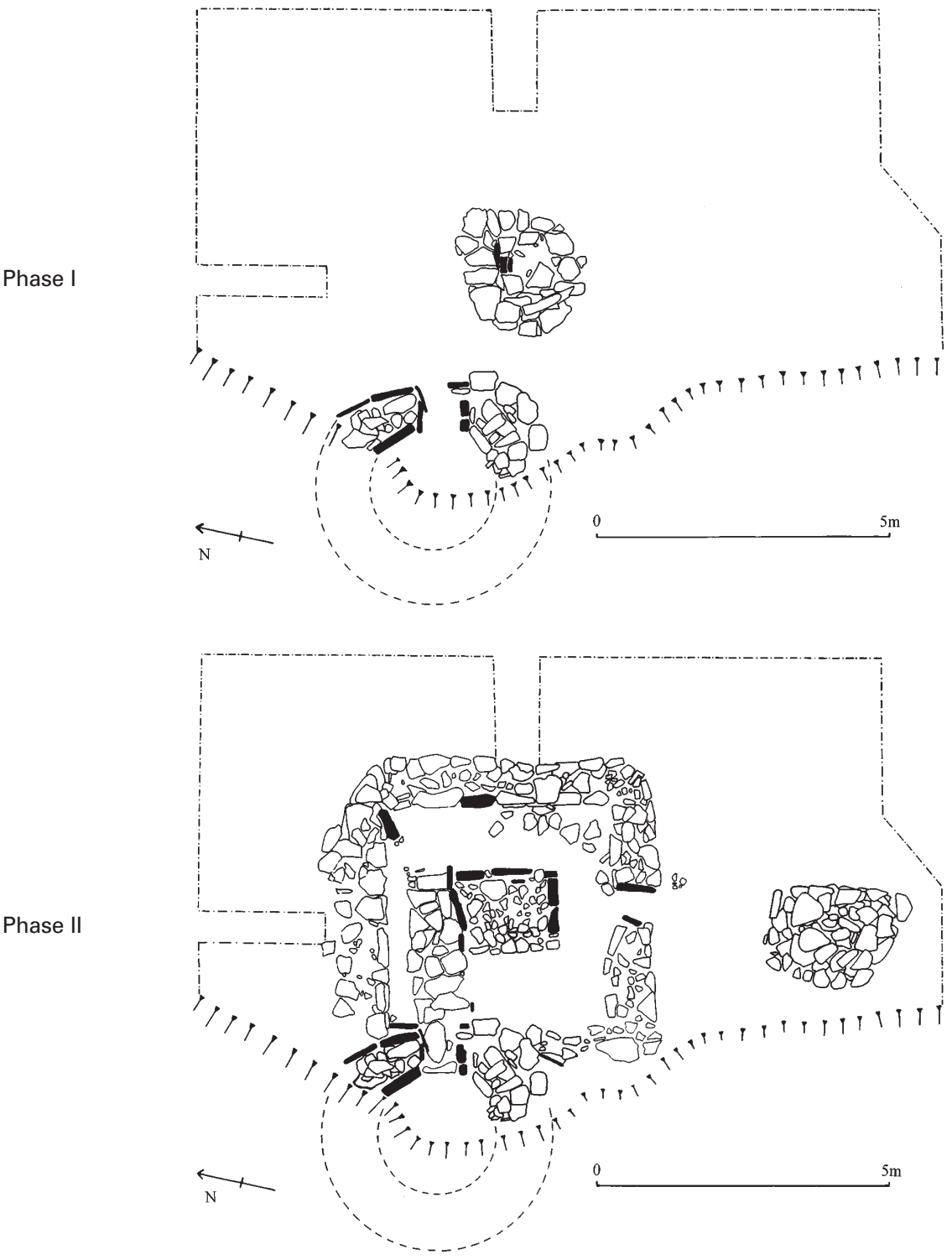
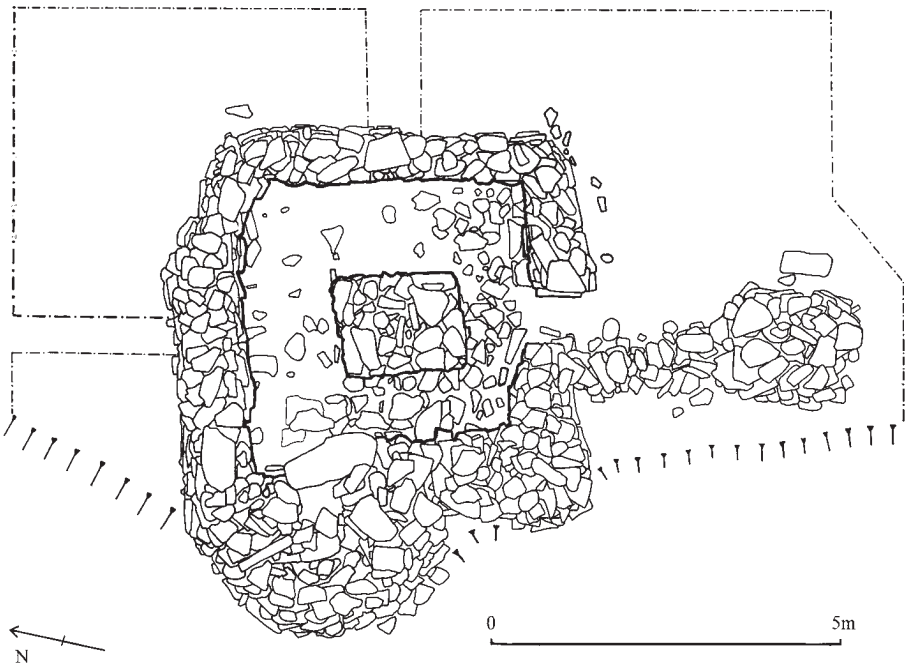
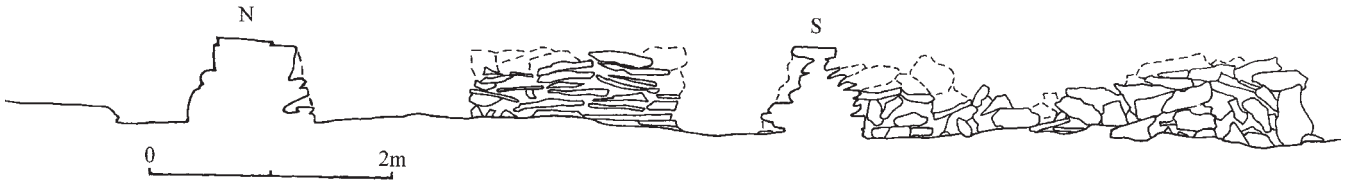


Figure 47
Trahanareear: excavated features of Phases I, II & III.

Phase III





Phase II: *leacht*, enclosure and cell

The *leacht* that was to become the main feature of the site was built directly over the paved area described above (fig. 47). The side walls were raised in well laid courses of flat rubble, with some thin flat orthostatic slabs appearing in the basal course. These walls contained a core of loose, vacuous small rubble which was brought to a roughly levelled finish at the surface of the altar. The whole comprised a regular, 'square' cairn, 0.7 m high and 1.9 m in maximum length.

The approach to the cell was paved with slabs of flat, angular rubble. This pavement was carried along the north side of the *leacht* – which it closely abutted – and into the doorway of the cell. The paving stones were not dressed, but were carefully keyed to one another and were generally well laid.

This group of secondary features – the cubical *leacht* and paving – was enclosed by a low drystone rubble wall which abutted the walls of the cell and was clearly of a secondary build. The upper part was of loosely arranged random rubble, but on dismantling the wall, the lower or basal courses were found to consist of more regular stones, laid in even courses, which formed inner and outer faces with a core of small rubble chips and loose sand. A narrow, south-facing opening in the wall was flanked by low orthostats or jambs.

A fragment of a small, green glass vessel with everted rim was found within the base of the wall core at the north side. Further fragments were found in an adjacent peaty loam deposit at the foot of the inner wall face.

Phase III: rebuilding of the walls and cell

In its final form, the monument almost certainly represents successive episodes of rebuilding in the modern period (figs 46 & 47). The loose, random rubble construction of the upper part of the wall has already been contrasted with the well laid basal courses (Phase II). The cell was also rebuilt using loose, random rubble, and was laid out on a much smaller, more irregular plan than was projected for its primary phase, clearly respecting the receding cliff-edge. Immediately beneath the peaty turf within the enclosure, an intermittent paving of loose angular stones occurred on all sides of the *leacht* (some of these stones may simply have been collapse from the walls). This overlay the earlier paving on the north side of the *leacht*. The later paving was carried through the doorway of the cell and into the interior, where it interleaved with deep deposits of windblown sand. Outside the cell, a deep deposit of sterile mineral soil intervened between the two phases of paving.

To the right-hand side (entering) of the entrance through the enclosure wall, a post-hole with several small packing stones would have supported a timber post no more than 0.1 m in diameter. This feature was cut through the peaty topsoil and may have supported a simple screen or gate, to prevent livestock from entering the enclosure.

A fragment of clay-pipe stem was recovered from beneath the secondary paving, immediately beneath the peaty turf that sealed it. A cross-inscribed stone, laid on one side, formed the left-hand jamb (entering) of the rebuilt doorway. It is very likely that the cross was simply lichen-covered, or otherwise unrecognisable, when the stone was laid in this position.

A small cairn lay a few metres from the enclosing wall on the south side. It can only be provisionally

ascribed to this phase. The cairn contained more rounded stones than occurred elsewhere in the monument and, at its base, was contained by a roughly laid kerb of larger stones. The higher incidence of rounded stones – unsuitable for building in courses – make it unlikely that this feature was a second *leacht* that had collapsed.

Artefacts

Inscribed stone: 'J A W'

Find No. 97E0256:1001 (fig. 48) (Survey No. 007.07)

An inscribed stone lay partly in the surface layer of peaty topsoil and was partly concealed by a spill of small rubble against the base of the satellite cairn at its east side. The stone was a large slab of thinly bedded micaceous sandstone The dimensions of the stone are: Length 732 mm; Width 405 mm; and Thickness 40 mm. The edges are roughly dressed all around to bring the stone to a rectangular shape. The inscribed face is smooth and slightly concave, but is not dressed, having formed along a natural fracture plane. The letters 'J A W' are lightly but cleanly incised, to a depth of c. 2 mm, in the upper left-hand quadrant of this face.

The context of this stone indicates that it is of fairly recent date. Possibly it commemorates John Andrew Waters, a notable character amongst Inishmurray's last generation of inhabitants and a brother of Michael Waters, the island's last 'King' (pers comm Mr Rodney Lomax, Mullaghmore).

Cross-slab

Find No. 97E0256:1002 (fig. 48; pl. 66) (Survey No. 007.08)

A large cross-inscribed stone was found within the entrance to the cell where it had been used in a secondary context (Phase III) to re-build the doorway. The slab (H 1.09 m, W: 0.43 m, Th: 0.016 m) is grittier than those used for the other Inishmurray sculpture. Its upper half is filled with an incised cross (0.5 by 0.32 m). At its apex the upper arm expands markedly in a semi-circular shape, terminating in three points separated by steep cusps. The other arms have irregular forked terminals with cusped butts.

This stone may have been an original feature of the *leacht*, but as it was found in a secondary context, it is at least as likely that it was brought to the site during some later period (medieval or possibly even modern) of maintenance work on the monument. It is now in the conservation store at the island's old Schoolhouse together with numerous other examples from the island.

Glass vessel fragments

Find No. 97E0256:1003 & 1006 (fig. 49; pl. 67)

Two glass fragments (body sherds 1003a & b) were found within a thin spread of peaty/sandy soil within the north-west angle of the enclosing wall (this context was sealed in turn by several sandy layers lying about the entrance to the cell as well as by a general layer of late paving stones beneath a peaty topsoil).





Plate 66 Trahanareear. The larger cross-slab (007.08, opposite) was found during the excavation within the doorway of the cell; the smaller cross (007.03, above) had stood on the *leacht* until it was removed to the Schoolhouse conservation store by the OPW in 1989.

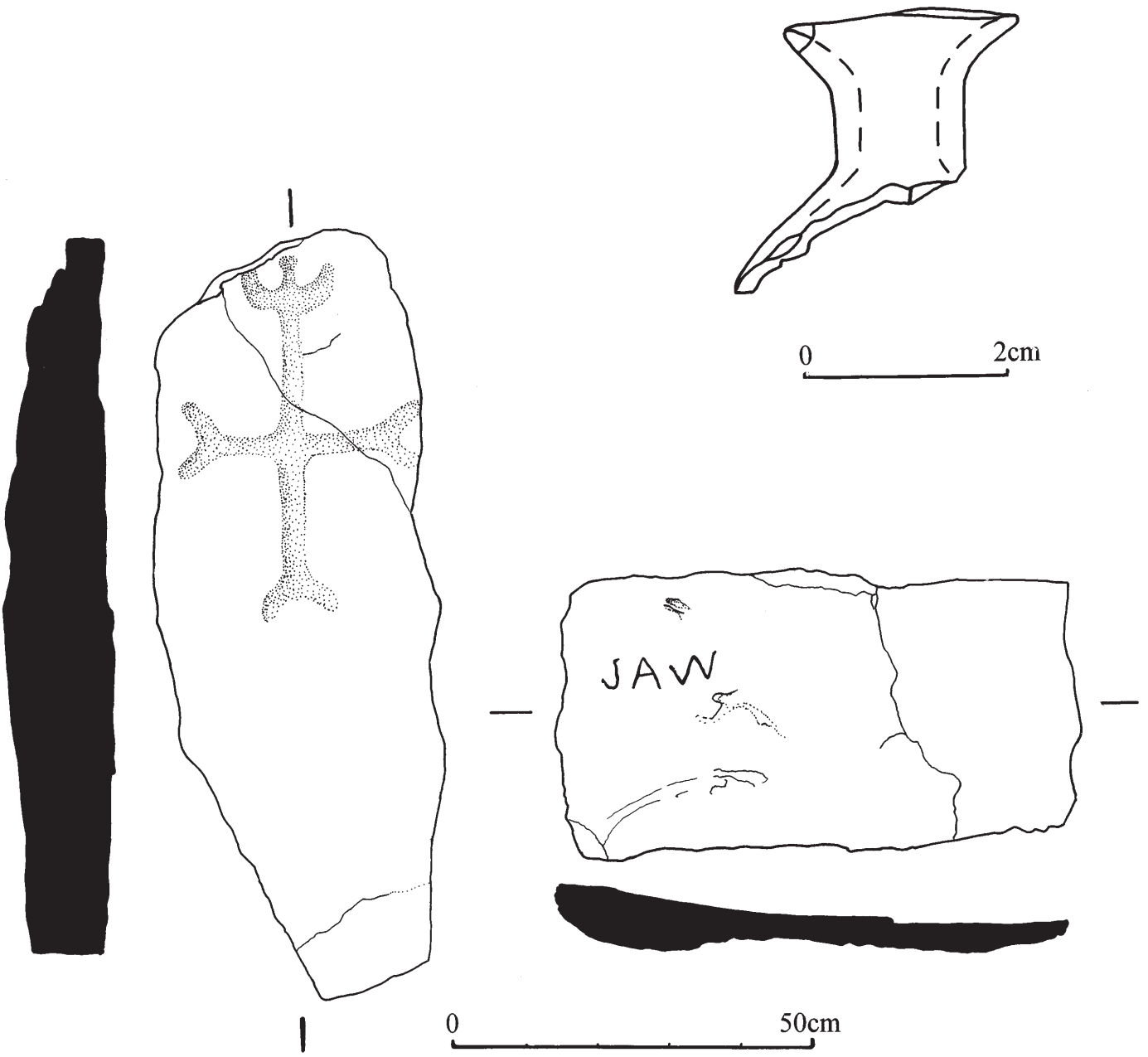


Figure 48
Traahanareear: JAW stone and cross-slab with (top right) **Figure 49** Fragment of glass bottle found within the.

A third fragment (mouth & rim 1006) was found immediately close by in the sandy soil matrix within the basal courses of the enclosing wall.



Plate 67 Trahanareear. Fragment of a late 17th-century apothecary's bottle from within the secondary build of the enclosure wall.

The glass vessel fragments
by Jennifer Price

These pieces comprise the rim, neck & shoulder of a small flask or bottle; plus two joining fragments from a cylindrical body, probably of the same vessel. The glass is pale green, dull (particularly on the outside) and has small bubbles. The rim is everted, edge-sheared and rounded in heat. A funnel mouth descends to a short, narrow, cylindrical neck with tooling marks at the base. The shoulder is slightly convex and slopes to the top edge of a cylindrical body.

Present height 23 mm (39 mm with body fragment); rim diameter 25.5 mm; neck diameter 13.5 mm; body diameter 30 mm; thickness > 1.5 mm.

The chronological and cultural context of this vessel is ambiguous. The find spot, within and about the base of the drystone enclosure wall, might suggest a late Antique date for the vessel. The colour of the glass would also not be out of place at this period, and semi-quantitative analysis (below) has shown that this glass is of standard soda/lime/silica composition and therefore could be a late Roman or Byzantine product.

However, some of the features of the surviving fragments are difficult to reconcile with other vessels in this tradition. The rim has been roughly sheared off and rounded in heat, which is not, as far as the writer is aware, a technique used on Roman-period unguent bottles or flasks after the late first or early second century AD. Late Roman and Byzantine examples generally have rims with rolled edges. On the whole, a late or modern date seems more likely for this fragment.

Semi-quantitative analysis of a glass vessel fragment with SEM-EDAX
by Effie Photos-Jones

One of the smaller vessel fragments (diameter 10 mm) was subjected to analysis using SEM-EDAX. The purpose was to establish the 'bulk' composition of the sample and the metallic element which gave the glass its colour.

The fragment was gold-coated and mounted on a stub in preparation for photography and analysis

Table 6

Semi-quantitative analysis of a glass vessel fragment from Trahanareear

Constituent	% Area 1	% Area 2	% Area 3	% Mean
Na_2O	5.37	5.89	5.02	5.42
MgO	3.49	3.59	3.35	3.48
$Al2O_3$	5.12	5.69	5.22	5.34
SiO_2	63.04	62.11	63.21	62.79
SO_3	0.53	0.47	0.51	0.50
P_2O5	1.40	1.06	1.09	1.18
K_2O	4.86	4.68	4.85	4.79
CaO	11.71	11.26	12.34	11.77
TiO_2	0.19	0.25	0.38	0.27
MnO	0.30	0.39	0.41	0.37
FeO	2.81	2.84	2.68	2.78
BaO	0.09	0.26	0.01	0.12

using a Scanning Electron Microscope (SEM). Three area analyses at low magnification (x 100) showed that the glass was very homogenous and consisted of lime-silica with equal amounts of sodium, magnesium, potassium and aluminium. The colouring agent responsible for its green colour is iron oxide, while phosphorus may originate from bone ash. The presence of chlorine (approximately 1%) is probably due to chemical weathering caused by the marine environment of the site.

Discussion of the glass vessel fragments

EXDRF analysis does not eliminate the possibility that the glass fragments are of an early medieval or post-Roman date and origin, but provenance of the glass cannot be based on semi-quantitative analysis alone. Indeed, the foregoing analysis is offered here as no more than a contribution towards a body of comparative data on vessels from similar contexts throughout Ireland. Thus, for present purposes, only the appearance and morphology of the glass can afford any indication of its origins.

The commentary by Jennifer Price (above) can be measured against comments on the glass vessel fragments by several other scholars. Dr Ewan Campbell (University of Glasgow) briefly examined the fragments and – largely on the basis of their context – thought they were likely to represent an unguent jar derived from a Roman Mediterranean tradition. Dr Mohammed Al Fraihat (Jordanian Museums Service) also made a brief examination and identified the vessel more specifically as a Lachrymar, a vessel used by Roman mourners to capture their tears in commemoration of the dead. In contrast, Ed Bourke (National Monuments Service) independently supported the opinion given by Dr Price and

thought the glass most resembled a small glass apothecary bottle of late 17th- or early 18th-century date.

On the whole, it would seem most likely that these fragments derive from an Early Modern vessel – although they appeared to lie within the primary wall core when found – and do after all relate to an episode of maintenance or reconstruction work in the later 17th or early 18th centuries.

Clay pipe

Find No. 97E0256:1005 (not illus.)

A single fragment of clay pipe stem was recovered from beneath the secondary paving around the *leacht*, and lay immediately beneath the peaty turf which sealed the pavement. This was a slender fragment, tapering and slightly curved (length 27 mm; maximum width 6 mm) and with a narrow bore (3 mm). The surface is slightly faceted but otherwise unmarked.

Animal bone

Find No. 97E0256: 1004

Only one bone was recovered from an early (i.e. sub-peat) context at Trahanareear. This was fragile and blackened throughout by chemical weathering. It is certainly not human and was identified by Julie Roberts as an animal phalanx, probably from a sheep.

In addition to this one early example, numerous bird and mammal bones were found amongst the voids in the lower courses of the drystone work of the monument. These were all obviously modern. All of the bone was in good condition and some of the mammal bones had sawn butchery marks. This material had probably been brought to the site by scavenging sea-birds or possibly rodents. None of it was retained.

Soil Samples *by Aileen Maule*

Bulk soil samples were retained from eleven features in the course of the excavation at Trahanareear. These included soil sediments and wind-blown sands from the central post-hole (Phase I), from paving within the enclosure (Phase I–II), from the core sediments of the *leacht*, the enclosing wall and the outlying cairn (Phase II) and from the cell (Phase II & III).

Flotation and wet-sieving were undertaken to ascertain the presence or absence of wood charcoal and other organic materials. The dried flots and retents were rapidly scanned under low-power magnification. The results were largely negative (Table 7, below). Occasional tiny fragments of Charcoal were present in several contexts; plant materials consisted largely of uncarbonised rootlets with only a few carbonised seeds present; there were negligible quantities of shell, fish or mammal bone.

Any of these materials may have been intrusive and the largely negative outcome of this analysis would appear to confirm the hypothesis formed in the field that the site had not been used for permanent habitation and that little or no evidence of domestic or household debris would be found to occur in bulk soil samples.

Table 7

Inclusions in bulk soil samples from Trahanareear

Sample	Phase	Feature	Wt (kg)	charcoal	seed	shellfish	bone
1007	II	Lower fill of cairn	10.0	nil	nil	nil	nil
1009	II	Lower fill of *leacht*	10.0	nil	<5	frags.	nil
1011	III	Sandy layer in cell	13.5	<5	nil	nil	nil
1012	II/III	Layer in cell doorway	8.0	nil	<5	frag.	nil
1015	III	Soil matrix of late paving	10.0	nil	>10	nil	nil
1017	I	Sub-peat soil in north-west quad.	4.0	nil	nil	nil	nil
1021	III	Sandy layer in cell	12.0	nil	<5	frags.	frags.
1024	I	Fill of post-hole beneath *leacht*	2.5	nil	<5	nil	frags.
1025	I/II	Sandy layer within/pre-cell?	11.0	nil	nil	frag.	frag.
1031	II	Base of enclosure wall	4.0	nil	>5	nil	nil
1032	II	Peaty layer abutting north-west enclosure wall	6.0	nil	<5	nil	nil

Radiocarbon dates

A soil monolith was cut from the upper levels of the soil profile immediately adjacent to the monument (within a prepared section face on the north side). This included 400 mm of peat over 400 mm compact lenses of sandy loam. The monolith was submitted to the Scottish Universities Research Reactor Centre (SURRC) where two samples were taken from the base of the peat. The following result was supplied by Dr Gordon Cook of the SURRC.

Results

The following radiocarbon dates are expressed in conventional years BP (i.e. before AD 1950). Calibrated date ranges were determined from the University of Washington Quaternary Isotope Laboratory, Radiocarbon Dating Program 1987. The 20-year atmospheric calibration curve is used throughout and the calendar age ranges, obtained from the intercepts (Method A), are expressed at both one and two sigma levels of confidence.

The object of radiocarbon dating these samples was to ascertain the approximate date of peat formation in the environs of the site. Three possible outcomes were predicted:

- dates in the sixth or seventh century might indicate woodland clearance following the monastic colonisation of the island;

Table 8

Radiocarbon dates from peat samples at Trahanareear

Lab code	Context	Yrs BP	*d*13C	Calibrated date
GU-7350	Peat abutting north enclosure wall (0–50 mm above mineral soil)	80±70	-28.2%0	cal AD 1682–1955 (one sigma) cal AD 1660–1955 (two sigma)
GU-7351	Peat abutting north enclosure wall (50–100 mm above mineral soil)	80±50	-28.3%	cal AD 1689–1955 (one sigma) cal AD 1671–1955 (two sigma)

- dates in the 12th or 13th century might correspond with a decline in the agricultural management of the island following the transfer of the main monastic community to the priory at Aughris;
- recent dates would represent peat development corresponding to the near depopulation of the island in the post-medieval and early modern period.

As the dates derived from this sample of basal peat are indistinguishable from dates for modern peat, they appear to correspond to the last predicted outcome and add little to knowledge of the origin and date of Inishmurray's *leachta*.

Interpretation of the excavation results

Development of the monument

An unpublished interim report (O'Sullivan & James 1998) based on fieldwork alone focused on the primary period and assumed a simple development that largely occurred in the early medieval period. It was proposed that the glass vessel, the cross-inscribed slabs and the simple pavement, and associated post-setting all combined to suggest that the site for this monument had been chosen at a very early date, perhaps as early as the foundation of the monastery of St Molaise itself, in the sixth century. The results of post-excavation analyses prompt a more guarded interpretation. The three broad phases outlined above (Phase I–III) usefully distinguish primary from secondary features (the later *leacht* obviously post-dates the underlying primary paving and post-socket, for instance; and the enclosing wall clearly abuts the walls of the cell). Nonetheless, this division into three phases condenses and simplifies what was without doubt a long history of use, neglect, maintenance and reconstruction, extending from the early medieval period almost to the present day.

Two altars

The central position of the post-hole leaves no doubt that the *leacht* (and probably also the enclosure) was erected immediately after the post it held was removed, because the exact position of the post would have been forgotten if there was a substantial hiatus between the two monuments.

The replacement of wooden monuments such as high crosses (Kelly 1991), churches (Ó Carragáin forthcoming a) and even domestic buildings (e.g. O'Kelly 1958; White Marshall & Walsh 2005) with very similar ones in stone is so common at Irish church sites that it can almost be considered a guiding principle of the development of these sites. Thus the large post-holes discovered under the high crosses at Clonmacnoise can confidently be interpreted as evidence for earlier wooden crosses (King 1997). Following the same principle the most reasonable interpretation of the post-hole under the *leacht* at Trahanareear is that it held the upright for a wooden table altar.

In discussing the earliest forms of altar likely to have been used by the early Church in Ireland and Britain, Charles Thomas (1971, 167–99) drew attention to a scene from Cogitosus' *Life of St Brigid* that appears to describe a 'table altar', mounted on a single wooden prop. The prop itself was afterwards venerated as a relic, capable of miraculously surviving destruction by fire. Similarly, if the area before the cell was used for formal worship and especially for the eucharistic liturgy, the simple post-hole within the primary pavement at Trahanareear (fig. 47) may have held the supporting member for a mensal tablet. This would seem to be the first example of an early medieval table altar excavated in Ireland, but the interpretation is supported by another more recently excavated example within a very early wooden oratory at Caherlehillan, Kerry (Sheehan forthcoming). It is argued below ('Ritual on the early medieval landscape') that the presence of this post-hole supports the possibility that the Inishmurray *leachta* were altars.

The form of the early altar is not closely dateable for wooden altars were still in use in Ireland during the 12th century (see 'Ritual on the early medieval landscape'). However, if the Trahanareear *leacht* is contemporary with those at Relickoran (below), its wooden predecessor was probably erected some time before the turn of the millennium.

The glass fragments: early altar vessel or apothecary's bottle?

The identification of the glass vessel as a product of the late or post-Roman world (whether Roman, Byzantine or more probably, Frankish) would have illuminated one important aspect in the use of the *leacht*: the use of glass altar vessels in celebrating the Eucharist. Documentary evidence attests that glass altar vessels were favoured by the Early Christian Church. The evidence from a range of sources has been summarised by Bourke (1994, 174–80). It includes papal edicts that first prescribed but then prohibited the use of glass (Pope Zephyrinus *obit* 217; Pope Leo IV 847–885); and also miraculous events in early Irish saints' lives which feature altar glass; and Latin loan words in early Irish which indicate the use of glass vessels as chalices (e.g. *cailig*/*calix*). Despite this, the monastic enclosure at Reask, in Kerry (Fanning 1981), is the only published excavation in Ireland that has produced a fragment of Roman or post-Roman glass vessel in an ecclesiastical context; and even here there is no demonstrable association between the vessel and the church. In this context, it is disappointing, but all the more important, to reiterate the probable identification of the glass vessel fragments from Trahanareear as post-medieval rather than early medieval (above).

The cell: habitation or retreat?

Trahanareear is unusual among the Inishmurray satellite monuments in being designed for habitation as well as worship (fig. 47). This, combined with its location at the most remote and windswept point on the island, on top of its most precipitous cliffs, means that it can reasonably be interpreted as a hermitage. Hermitages have been recorded in comparable locations on the peripheries of a number of substantial coenobitic establishments, including on the south peak at Skellig Michael (Horn et al. 1990) and by the shore of the upper late at Glendalough (Leask n.d., 9–12). The documentary sources show that such sites could be continuously occupied for long periods. For example, Adomnán (VC I, 49) describes Fínán as 'a soldier of Christ … [who] lived for many years an irreproachable life as an anchorite beside the monastery of Durrow.' However, retreats of just a few days are also mentioned (Etchingham 1999, 339) and it is possible, therefore, that Trahanareear simply provided shelter and seclusion for fasting, prayer and penance by various individuals on short retreats rather than continuous habitation for one dedicated individual. No food debris or bedding material was found but soil conditions on the site would be inimical to the survival of any organic material. Charcoal would have survived in these soil conditions but none was found. However, the comforts of a fire may have been deliberately eschewed as part of an ascetic lifestyle. In any case, the west-facing cliff-edge on which Trahanareear was situated certainly offers both remoteness and seclusion, and although it is less than a kilometre from the main monastic site, this is the greatest distance from the monastery which can be achieved on Inishmurray.

Since the lives of the first 'Desert Fathers' were recorded in the third century, solitary meditation was conceived as a heroic struggle against evil forces (Dunn 2000, 59–81). For example, Adomnán (VC III, 8) tells us that Columba once 'set off into the wilder parts of the island [of Iona] to find a place secluded from other people where he could pray alone.' While there, he did battle with 'a line of foul, black devils' intent on destroying his monastery, and eventually drove them from the island.

The island as desert refuge – a place to emulate the early Desert Fathers – is a well attested theme of Irish monasticism. Beyond this, O'Loughlin (1997, 13) shows that in early medieval cosmography the western ocean, where both Iona and Inishmurray are situated, was 'the very limit of inhabitable reality…the primeval 'abyss' (Gen 1.2)…abode of demons (Luke 8.31) and Satan (Rev 20.1–3)…where the great struggle between God and evil is taking place.' Within this world view, the prayers of an anchorite at Trahanareear would have helped to protect the establishment as a whole. In effect, along with the other *leachta* ranged about the island's seacliffs, his hermitage would have formed an integral element of the monastery's outer boundary.

That the monastic office was sung at Trahanareear is suggested, not only by its form, but also by its name: *tráthán* derives from *tráth,* the term for canonical hour; DIL cites one source which describes an oratory as *teagh na dtrátha,* 'house of canonical hours.' There is greater variation in the spelling of the second element, but the surname 'Ó Riain' is an element of one variant (Table 1). It may be significant that Trahanee (*Trathán Aodha*), the only other satellite monument whose name incorporates the word *tráthán*, is also the only other one to include a possible cell or remnant clochaun.[36] It is possible, therefore, that there were two separate extramural retreats on Inishmurray, at these two *leachta* on the western and northern peripheries of the island.[37] Just north of Trahanee is a well known as Tobernocoragh, which has been translated as 'The Well of Assistance' or 'The Well of Fair Weather' (Table 1). Wakeman (1893, 298)

was informed that if, during a storm, the holy water from this cliff-side well was drained into the ocean it would become calm and the wind would cease. We should not dismiss the possibility that this ritual is early in origin, for it finds an almost exact parallel in the early Latin Life of St Samson (VSH I, cli). If it was early, it would reinforce the sense of the monastic community struggling against the primeval forces of the Ocean.

Early Modern refurbishment

The glass vessel fragments seem most likely to be pieces of a late 17th-century apothecary's bottle. If this identification is correct, then the stratified context in which they were found – within and about the basal courses of the enclosing wall – provide a *terminus post quem* for the reconstruction of the enclosure in the 17th or possibly the early 18th century. This is an important glimpse of the hidden history of the monument during a period when local pilgrimages appeared to have enjoyed continuing or renewed popularity. In the 1680s, especially, the climate of greater religious tolerance fostered by James II (1685–89) allowed Catholic worship to take more public form. Heather King – citing information from Con Manning – observes that influential Catholics who sponsored the erection or re-dedication of monumental crosses in this period would have seen James II as 'the new Constantine under whose rule Catholics could practise their religion with state approval' (King 2004, 172–73). Given the probable date of our glass fragments or 'apothecary's bottle', the erection of monumental crosses on the mainland may represent the same ethos that saw the reconstruction of some of the *leachta* on Inishmurray in this period of respite for Irish Catholicism.

The relative position of the outer cairn in this sequence is not well defined (fig. 47). It is provisionally ascribed to Phase III but there is no stratigraphic evidence to support this interpretation. Excavation could not define the purpose of the cairn. It seems unlikely to be the remnants of a second altar, outside the enclosure, as only a rough kerb at its base offered any indication of regular construction, and there is no evidence that it marked a burial. The most likely explanation is that the cairn simply represents an elaboration of the rounding ritual known to have been practised at this site in the modern period and perhaps dates to a time when rounding the main *leacht* and its enclosure had been made impossible by cliff erosion.

Radiocarbon-dated peat regeneration

Radiocarbon dates reflect the development of peat in the environs of the monument in the modern period (Table 8, above). The dated samples were taken from basal peat exposed in the eroding cliff-edge about 1.5 m from the outer face of the enclosing wall on the north side. There is no visible evidence that this was a purely local event, representing the regrowth of peat that had been cut away from the area immediately around the monument during some episode of reconstruction (i.e. there is no perceptible local hollow or break in surface around the site). While this possibility cannot be ruled out, on present evidence it seems more likely that the radiocarbon dates represents a general event, such as widespread peat development on the western part of the island during a period of depopulation in the post-medieval period. Of course, this may have been a general regeneration of peat that had all been cut away for fuel in

medieval times. Since the re-settlement of the island in the early 19th century, peat cutting has been carried out on this part of the the island in a piecemeal but extensive fashion and a similar pattern of peat exploitation may may have occurred in earlier times, resulting in denuding and subsequent regeneration around the monument at Trahanareear. In any case, the radiocarbon-dated samples indicate an episode of early modern peat growth in this area.

Reconstruction

Within weeks of the conclusion of the excavation, the monument was reconstructed on an adjacent site 35 m from the eroding cliff-edge by masons and other personnel from the OPW regional depot (Dromahair, County Leitrim). The cross-inscribed stones from the site have not been restored to their original positions but were removed to the conservation store in the island's former Schoolhouse.

Laghta Patrick 1999

Survey Nos. 011.1 and 011.2
Excavation Licence No. 99E:0382

Site Description

The monument known as Laghta Patrick (*Leachta Phádraig*) is located on the edge of the tapering, low point in which the island terminates at its east end, before giving way to a beach of storm rubble and large boulders (fig. 2). It has variously been known as *Leachta Phádraig* or *Leachta Cuimhne*. Descriptions from previously published works are given in the Survey Inventory (above) but can usefully be summarised here again. O'Donovan (1836) described 'a square pile of stones, on the top of which an ornamental stone cross stands.' But the cross had disappeared and the masonry somewhat disturbed when the monument was described by Wakeman (1893, 137, fig. 70) as 'a fine altar' (pl. 68). Herity's (1989a [1995b, 115]) is the most recent account and describes 'the base of a very ruined dry-built *leacht*, roughly rectilinear in plan, about 1.92 m by 2.3 m, with no cross-slab.' There was certainly nothing recognisable as an altar or *leacht* when the site was inspected in 1998 and again in 1999. Instead, storm rubble was scattered over a wide area. Modern kelp-drying walls had been built in the vicinity using this abundant source of rubble, thus making identification of the monument all the more difficult.

Aims and methods

The aim of the investigation at Laghta Patrick was simply to identify the base of the ruined *leacht* and, if possible, to recover the lost cross. It was possible from early editions of the Ordnance Survey to establish the approximate location of the site. Here, storm rubble was closely examined over an area of 50 m





Plate 68 Laghta Patrick. A drawing by William Wakeman in 1881 (top) and a photograph taken from a similar viewpoint in 1969 (*Gerry Ryan*) show little change, but the structure had disappeared by the time of our 1998 survey.



Plate 69 Laghta Patrick in 2006. The base of the *leacht* – exposed by excavation in 1999 – is already disappearing again among local rubble spreads, weeds and grasses.

by 50 m in an attempt to identify the base of the *leacht*. This proved fruitful. The base was stripped of turf within a cutting 3 m by 3 m. The exposed rubble was trowelled and brushed by hand, then photographed and drawn in plan. No samples were retained and no artefacts were recovered. The storm beach below the *leacht* was also intensively searched but the missing cross was not found among the beach rubble.

Stratigraphy

Within the excavated cutting a grassy turf was removed to a depth of 0.1–0.15 m. Beneath this a thin sandy loam topsoil (F4001) overspread a concentration of small and medium angular rubble (F4000). This contained at least one small beach-rolled pebble. An irregular setting of medium and large stones (stone size 0.15–0.4 m) formed a rough kerb that retained the rubble within a roughly trapezoidal area (fig. 50). Both the kerb and rubble were lying in a matrix of medium light brown sandy loam soil (F4000). None of the stones was disturbed and excavation did not progress beyond this point.

The kerbed area measured 2.6 m (east/west) by 2.4 m (north/south). These dimensions do not correspond precisely with the dimensions previously recorded by O'Donovan, then Wakeman and latterly by Herity, and nor do those earlier measurements accord with each other. One can only remark that a roughly kerbed rubble cairn does not lend itself to precise, repeated measurement.

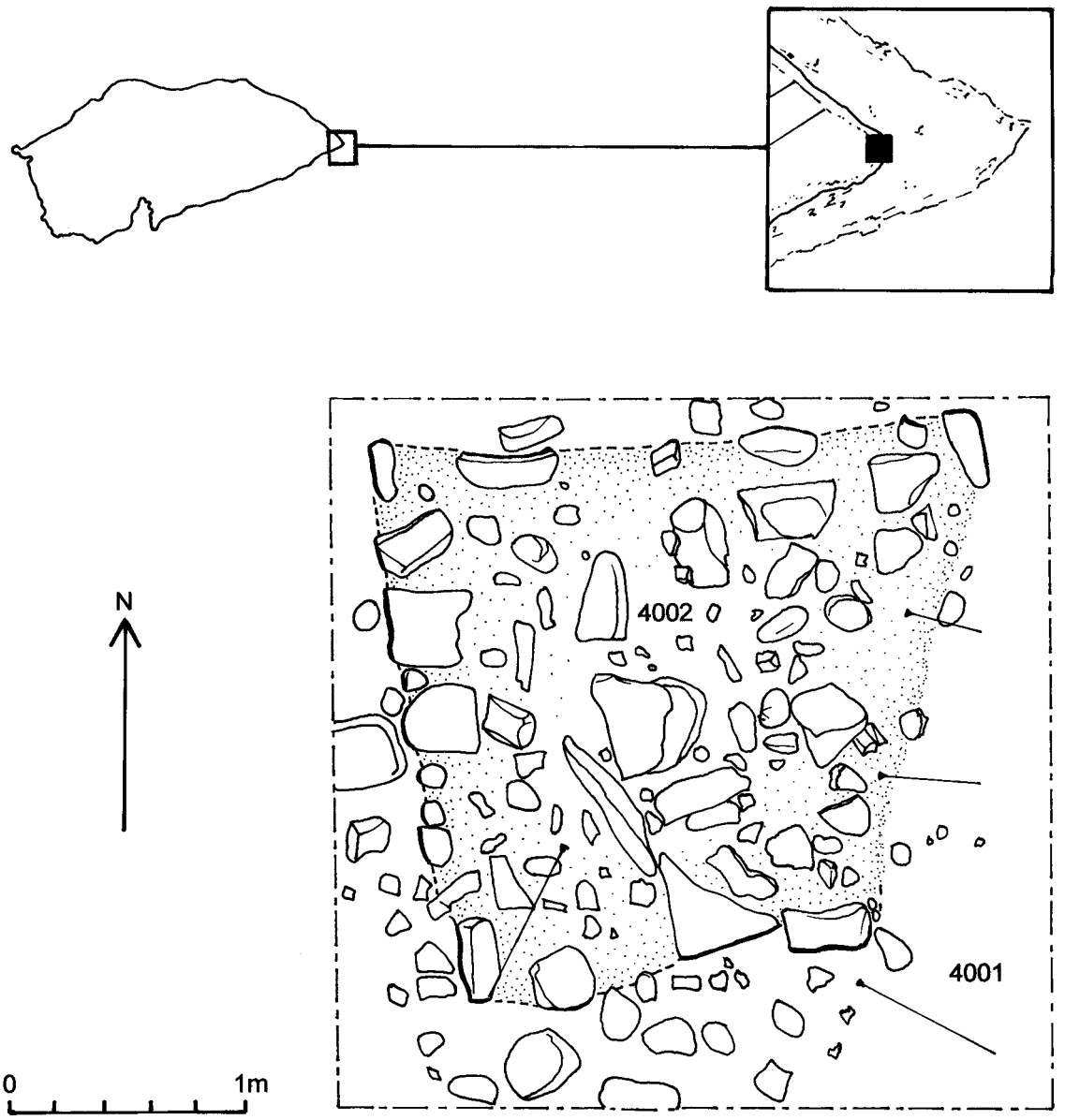


Figure 50
Laghta Patrick: plan of basal stones of *leacht*.

Whatever the discrepancy with previously recorded measurements, this is undoubtedly the site of Laghta Patrick. The low rubble spread and rough kerb are all that now remains of what was once a well made cubical cairn with a lost cross-slab set on its surface (pl. 69).

Artefacts and samples

As stated above, no artefacts were recovered in the course of this excavation and no samples were taken.

Templenaman 1999

Survey Nos. 002.1–002.12, 003.1 and 003.2
Excavation Licence No. 99E:0380

Site Description

The ruined Women's Church stands within the northern end of a long, narrow cemetery enclosure. The enclosure is open to the sea on the south side where the wall has been claimed by advancing erosion and in this end of the site there is a small *leacht* known as Crossatemple. A pillar stone stands outside the cemetery on the west side. This bears a cross and is also holed and inscribed. Several cross-slabs and an inscribed stone are recorded within the cemetery, though two of the cross-slabs were removed to the Schoolhouse in 1989 and the inscribed stone is lost or stolen. Of the remaining three cross-inscribed stones, one is a pillar stone within the church (not earthfast), one is a low pillar stone standing near Crossatemple and the other is a large slab standing on the *leacht* itself.

The cemetery enclosure is oblong on plan – approximately 40 m long by 15 m wide – rounded in the north, but truncated in the south by cliff erosion (figs 33 & 51; pl. 70). (A low rubble wall of secondary build spans part of the cliff-edge where the original wall has collapsed, but even this is partly eroded.) Thus, the enclosure was certainly longer once, but is receding before marine erosion at its south end. There is a gateway on the west side, and two rough stiles are set within the walls towards the south, one at each side. (These would have allowed a circuit of the cliff-edge on the *turas* or pattern day without a detour around the church and cemetery.) The enclosing wall appears on the first edition of the Ordnance Survey (1836) more or less as on later editions. Despite this, it is probably of modern construction.

Within the cemetery grave markers occur throughout the area south of the church, but particularly in the south and east of the enclosure. There are several large, monumental, modern crosses standing on carved plinths, but far more numerous are small, unmarked, rough, sandstone slabs, erected to form a low headstone. There are at least 60 of these, including four within the church. They generally face east/west and are roughly aligned in rows (though this is less pronounced than in the men's cemetery, at the Cashel). As four of these are within the church and evidently post-date its abandonment, it can be suggested that all of these rough headstones are of post-medieval or even modern date.[38]



Plate 70 Templenaman. The women's cemetery extends to the edge of an eroding cliff; the cliff-face was cleaned and recorded in 1999. No burials were actively eroding at that time though the seaward wall of the cemetery enclosure had already been lost to storm waves.

Prior to excavation a few skeletal fragments could be seen within the shallow loam topsoil layer at the eroding cliff-edge in the southern end of the cemetery enclosure, but no clearly identifiable features (i.e. a dug grave or cist) are visible there.

Aims and methods

The aim here was simply to characterise the archaeological deposits at the eroding cliff-edge and to ascertain whether any significant features were in danger of being lost. The exposed cliff-face was hand cleaned over a span of 12 m (corresponding to the width of the cemetery at this point). Any features or sediments exposed were described in the field, photographed and drawn to scale. No samples were taken and no artefacts were recovered.

Stratigraphy

The results of this work were slight. A thin turf (F2000) overlay a shallow sandy loam topsoil (F2001) that gave way in turn to compact natural subsoils (F2002, F2003) at depths of 0.4–0.6 m. A few human bone fragments were present in the topsoil but no grave cuts or *in situ* skeletal remains were identified.

Two shallow negative features (F2004, F2005) appeared in the surface of the subsoils beneath the

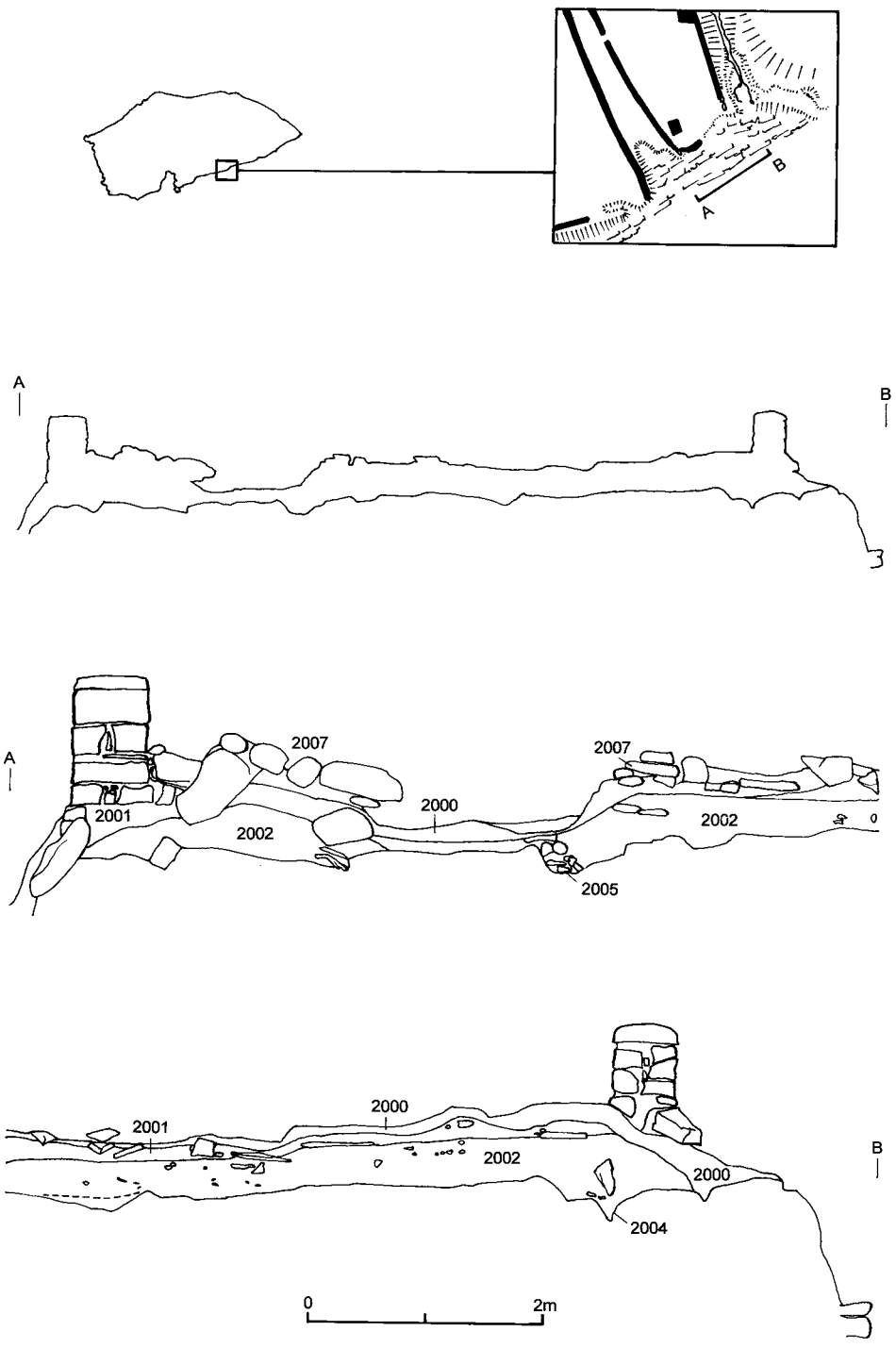


Figure 51

Templenaman: section drawing of eroding cliff-face (1999).

cemetery enclosure walls and may possibly represent an earlier boundary ditch (fig. 51). These were quite unconvincing as man-made features, however, as the cuts were neither regular nor well defined, and the fills were not distinct from the topsoil immediately over them.

As described above, early editions of the Ordnance Survey (1836; 1912) clearly show that the present mortared wall (F2006) once enclosed the cemetery on all four sides. Now, only a low rubble bank (F2007) contains the cemetery at the cliff-edge on the seaward side and even this has partly collapsed into the sea. Evidently erosion here is advancing sporadically and at a high rate.

Artefacts and samples

As stated above, no artefacts were recovered in the course of this excavation and no samples were taken.

Future work

Ideally, the cliff-face should be consolidated with gabions or some other suitable defence against winter storms. Failing this, the site should be visually inspected on a regular basis to monitor the progress of erosion. Particular attention should be paid to the condition of the *leacht* known as Crossatemple – which stands close to the edge – and also to any burials which may begin to erode. No further archaeological excavation is proposed at the present time, but this should be considered again in the future (after, say, a lapse of 20 years from the time of this investigation) if a significant advance in erosion has been found to occur.

Fál an Mhuilinn 1999

Survey Nos. 030.01 and 030.02
Excavation Licence No. 99E:0383

Site Description

Fál an Mhuilinn – or mill bank – is the name recorded (map in Heraughty 1982, 76) for a field immediately adjacent to the island's only stream, on the opposite bank to the women's cemetery at Templenaman.

Remains of a horizontal mill undercroft were identified at the outfall of the stream during survey work in 1998. These consisted of drystone walling forming three sides of a broad pit within the stream bed at its outfall to the sea. The fourth or seaward side was open, being battered down by storms. A masonry feature in the cliff-face about 10 m east of the mill was thought to be a possible kiln remnant. This consisted of three courses of large boulders forming an arc of drystone walling – 3 m wide and less than 1 m high – within steeply banked ground, immediately below the low, grassy cliff-edge (fig. 44; pl. 71).

Heraughty mentions a millstone found in the rock pool known as *Lochán an Catha* – now removed

to a museum in Sligo – but speculates that it was brought from the mainland as an anchor. However, there is another millstone (Survey No. 001.13) lying discarded within Templenatinny, in the Cashel, and this is certainly of an appropriate size for a horizontal mill. No mill is recorded by any authority nor by any edition of the Ordnance Survey and hand querns alone were in use in the Modern period (Heraughty 1982, 46; Wakeman 1893, 155). According to Mr Christy Heraughty (pers. comm. 2006), another native of the island, the masonry remains of the mill undercroft were used as a still-house for poteen production in modern times. Mr Heraughty was not aware that the masonry represented remains of a mill and confirmed that there was no tradition of milling on Inishmurray among the islanders.

Aims and methods

Investigation of the mill site was limited to sampling of some burnt sediments that could be seen at an erosion point in the stream bank on the west side (fig. 44). These lay behind the drystone wall of the undercroft and seemed to promise an excellent opportunity to establish a *terminus post quem* for construction of the mill by the radiocarbon dating method – though this was to prove non-viable as will be seen.

At the putative kiln site a single north/south sample trench, 4 m by 1 m, was cut across the masonry feature to ascertain whether this was in fact a kiln bowl (fig. 52). A particular aim was to recover macroscopic plant materials (wood charcoal and charred cereals) suitable for species identification and radiocarbon dating – though again this proved fruitless.



Plate 71 At Fál an Mhuilinn or 'millbank', masonry in the cliff-face was thought likely to be the remains of a cereal-drying kiln, but a test-excavation ascertained that it was simply a revetment wall for a garden or small field on the cliff-edge.

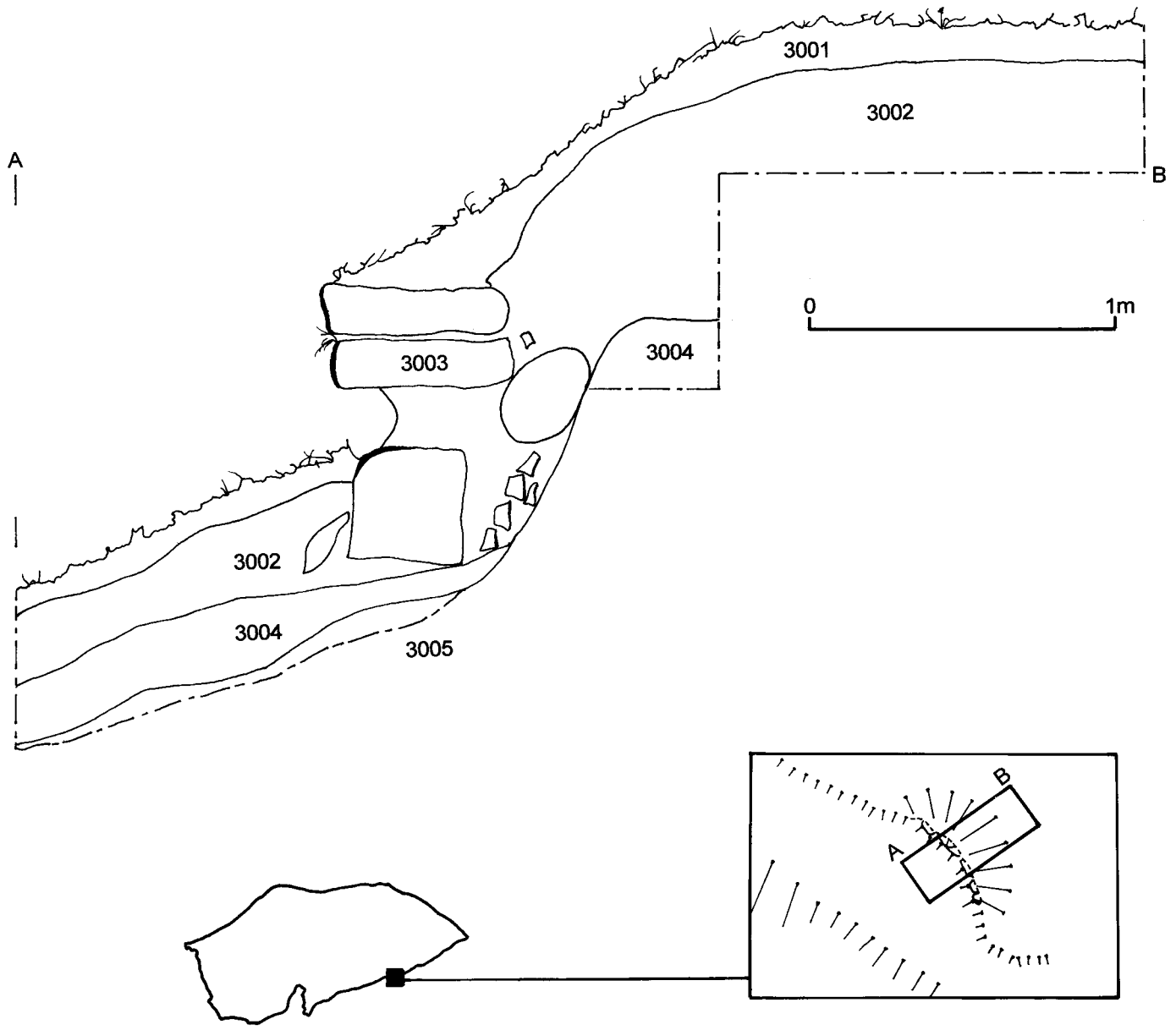


Figure 52
Fál an Mhuillinn: section drawing through the retaining wall (first thought to be a kiln remnant) and deepened soils of a cultivation plot on the cliff-edge.

In both areas the sediments exposed were described in the field and photographed and drawn to scale. Sediments exposed at the putative kiln site contained numerous items of modern debris (iron, ceramics and even boot leather) and no soil samples were retained. Bulk soil samples were retained from sediments associated with the mill undercroft but – as will be seen – contained no material suitable for dating. No artefacts were recovered from the mill undercroft site. A miscellany of modern material was listed at the putative kiln site but only a single sherd of 17th-century pottery was retained.

Stratigraphy

Retaining wall and soil layers

Investigation of the supposed kiln remnant discovered that this was in fact a drystone retaining wall at the outer edge of a cultivation plot on the cliff-edge. A deep loamy garden soil (F3002) with numerous modern inclusions of shell, bone, glass, charcoal, metal, leather and pot abutted the wall (F3003) and spilled over the top. A single sherd of 17th-century gravel-tempered ware also occurred in this deposit but considerably pre-dates the other finds and is obviously a residual inclusion in disturbed soil. Beneath this loam garden soil a layer of orange soil (F3004) with occasional charcoal overlay a sterile subsoil (F3005) at a depth of 0.6–0.8 m.

Burnt sediments and mill undercroft

The burnt sediments lying between the stream bank and the wall of the mill undercroft appeared to form a series of thin, well stratified layers or lenses of friable, reddish-grey ashy material (F3007–3012, F3017, F3018)). Beneath the burnt sediments were natural deposits including water-sorted small gravel (F3013) over a fine clay (F3014). All of this ultimately overlay the sterile, compact, stony, glacial till through which the stream had cut its channel to the rocky shore below.

Artefacts

As described above, numerous items of modern debris were observed in the deep loam soil behind the retaining wall – or spurious kiln remnant – east of the stream. These were listed and reburied *in situ*. Only a sherd of 17th-century pottery was retained and is decribed here.

Pottery sherd – Find 9E:0383: F3002: No. 001 (not illus.)
A small fragment of thick walled pottery (< 5 mm) with an external dark green glaze, dark reddish-grey fabric, and frequent inclusions of coarse quartz temper. Gravel-tempered ware of 'North Devon' type or similar. Probably part of a bowl or jug of later 17th-century date. From a deep loam 'garden soil' retained by a rubble wall. Probably residual from an earlier, disturbed context or from soil imported from elsewhere to make a new cultivation plot in this location.

No artefacts were found in the burnt sediments behind the wall of the mill undercroft.

Soil samples *by Diane Alldrit*

The burnt sediments underlying the masonry of the mill undercroft were sampled with the aim of deriving charred plant remains or charcoals for radiocarbon dating. As is recorded by the following table, however, only intrusive modern plant remains were found. Carbonised inclusions were non-existent and, therefore, the fine, ashy texture of some of these burnt sediments must be attributed to peat ash rather than wood.

Table 9

Plant remains in bulk soil samples from excavations at Fál an Mhuilinn

Note
Range of incidence is 'present' (+) to 'abundant' (++++)

Taxon	F3010	F3013
Charcoals	nil	nil
Monocot. rhizome fragments (grass/sedge rhizome)	0.1 g	nil
Uncarbonized seeds	nil	nil
Cirsium (thistle)	nil	1
Lapsana communis (nipplewort)	nil	1
Rubus fruticosus s.l . (bramble)	nil	1
Rumex sp. (dock)	nil	1
Stellaria/Cerastium (stitchwort/mouse ear)	1	4
Urtica dioica (stinging nettle)	1	nil
Invertebrates	nil	+
Modern herbaceous roots (unident.)	nil	++
Monocot. remains (unident.)	++++	nil
Woody roots (unident.)	+++	nil

Interpretation of the excavation results

As described above, the burnt sediments behind the wall of the mill undercroft seemed to offer a good opportunity to date the mill by the radiocarbon method. It is unlikely that such finely layered fragile sediments would have been redeposited from another location and thus these were interpreted as remains of burning on or immediately adjacent to the site, probably during construction of the mill. Unfortunately, the burnt sediments contained no charcoals and therefore no radiocarbon date could be derived.

Without supporting evidence it is pointless to attempt an estimate of the date of construction and use of the mill. Horizontal mills with simple undercrofts in wood or stone or a combination of these are known from the environs of several early Irish church sites and – in an Atlantic island setting – the early

monastic mill complex on High Island, off County Galway (Rynne 2000), provides one possible parallel for the mill undercroft at Fál an Mhuilinn, on Inishmurray. But simple horizontal mills had a long currency in Ireland and continued in use to the modern period. They did not require a large community to justify their construction and could be shared by only a few families. Considering this, the present example might just as likely be a post-medieval mill entirely unrelated to St Molaise's monastery. The only certainty is that it is not modern as there are no records of a mill on the island in the modern period and no tradition of milling among the islanders.

Two observations can be made about the excavated trial trench across the garden retaining wall in the adjacent cliff face, near the east bank of the stream: a) the cultivated soils of the island were intensively manured in the modern period both with household midden and seaweed or shell; b) a sherd of gravel-tempered ware from behind the wall supports the documentary evidence for settlement on the island in the 17th century and also supplies a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the wall.

Future work

The mill undercroft is already in a parlous condition and – in its position at the outfall of the stream within the cliff-face – is exposed to severe marine erosion. The monument should be entirely excavated to investigate its date and use and the surviving masonry reconstructed *in situ*, if this can be achieved. If an excavation is not commissioned then the mill remains should certainly be monitored on a regular basis. This should have been a recommendation of the original 1998 survey report but the potential importance of the monument was not fully appreciated at the time of writing that report.

Relickoran 1999–2000

Survey Nos. 004.01 and 004.10
Excavation Licence No. 9E:0381

Site Description

The monument known as Relickoran (*Reilig Odhráin* or Odrán's cemetery) consists of two conjoined drystone enclosures, each containing a *leacht* (fig. 53). While the name indicates its original use as a cemetery, the islanders had no tradition of burial here in modern times and there are no visible grave markers – unlike the island's other cemeteries, at the Cashel and Templenaman.[39] A cross-inscribed pillar once stood within the main enclosure, adjacent to the eroding cliff-edge, but was removed to the conservation store at the old Schoolhouse in the course of excavations in 1999. Two cross-slabs from the larger *leacht* had already been removed to the Schoolhouse by the OPW in 1989.

The main enclosure is oblong on plan, measuring 12 m north/south by 8 m east/west, within walls of drystone rubble. It is open to the south – i.e. at the cliff-edge – where the site is suffering ongoing erosion





Plate 72 (top) Relickoran. The collapsed *leacht* in the larger enclosure with **Plate 73** (right) Detail of the edge-set stones forming the base of the *leacht*.

and the enclosing wall has been cast down and dispersed by storm waves (fig. 54). The smaller enclosure – adjoining the east side of the larger one – measures 4 m east/west by 3 m north/south within rubble banks. Again, the south side of this is now open to the sea.

Prior to excavation the *leacht* in the main or larger enclosure was a rectilinear cairn of drystone construction. The southern half of the structure had largely collapsed, due to storm damage (figs 55; pl. pl. 72). The smaller *leacht* in the adjoining enclosure stood on the cliff-edge and, prior to excavation, had partly collapsed into the sea (fig. 57; pl. 74). A plain slab erected on this *leacht* may once have been inscribed, but it is now badly spalled and is not recorded as a cross-slab by any of the authorities consulted.

Aims and methods

The aim of the excavation was to record those parts of the site threatened by ongoing marine erosion and to facilitate reconstruction of the affected parts of the monument. Again, this would be a premium opportunity to explore the history and date of Inishmurray's *leachta* and a unique opportunity to investigate an abandoned medieval cemetery enclosure, apparently undisturbed by modern burials. The main elements of this work were a) to record the two *leachta*; b) to investigate the context of a cross-inscribed pillar by the cliff-edge; c) to ascertaining the presence, number, date and character of any human skeletal remains that might be found; and d) to record any other features affected by ongoing or imminent erosion.

Topsoil, surface rubble and coarse vegetation were stripped by hand. Standing structures (i.e. the *leachta* and enclosure walls) were photographed and then drawn in plan and elevation before any work was undertaken on these. They were then dismantled by hand with close attention to phases of construction. Thereafter, any features encountered were individually described in the field and were planned, photographed, excavated and sampled. In practice, much of the work in the main enclosure consisted of trowelling off shallow topsoil spits as individual features – including grave cuts – were very difficult to distinguish.

Exploratory excavation only was undertaken over two weeks in August 1999 and work was completed in all of the excavated area over six weeks in August and September 2000. The excavated area extended over the lower or seaward two-thirds of the main enclosure and the entire area of the smaller, conjoined enclosure. In addition, a cutting was opened outside the monument on the north-east side, in the angle between the main enclosure and smaller enclosure, to check for the presence of burials outside the existing walls.



Plate 74 Relickoran. The *leacht* in the smaller enclosure prior to excavation in 1999–2000. Part of the structure had already collapsed on the eroding cliff-edge.

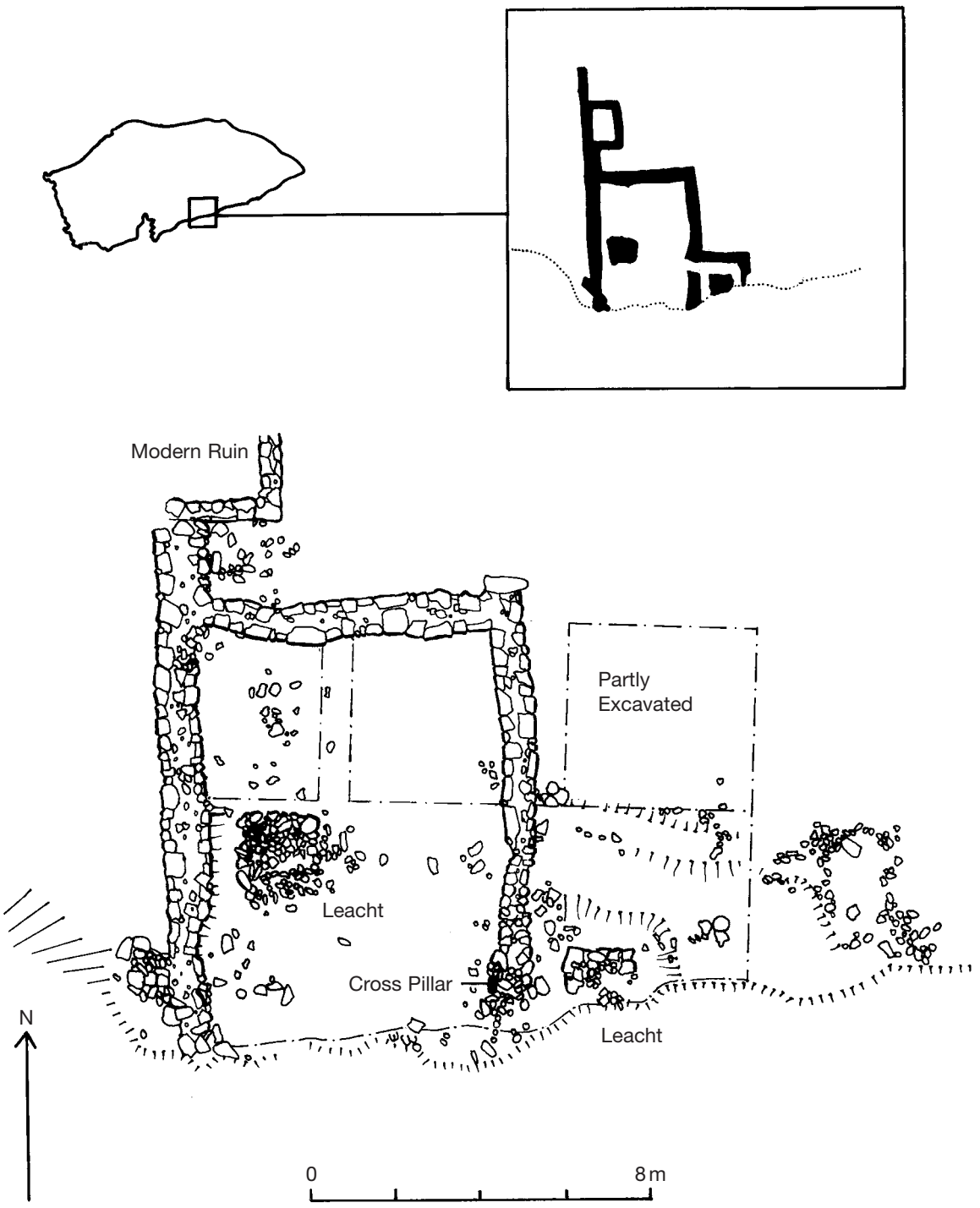


Figure 53
Relickoran: pre-excavation plan showing the areas to be excavated.

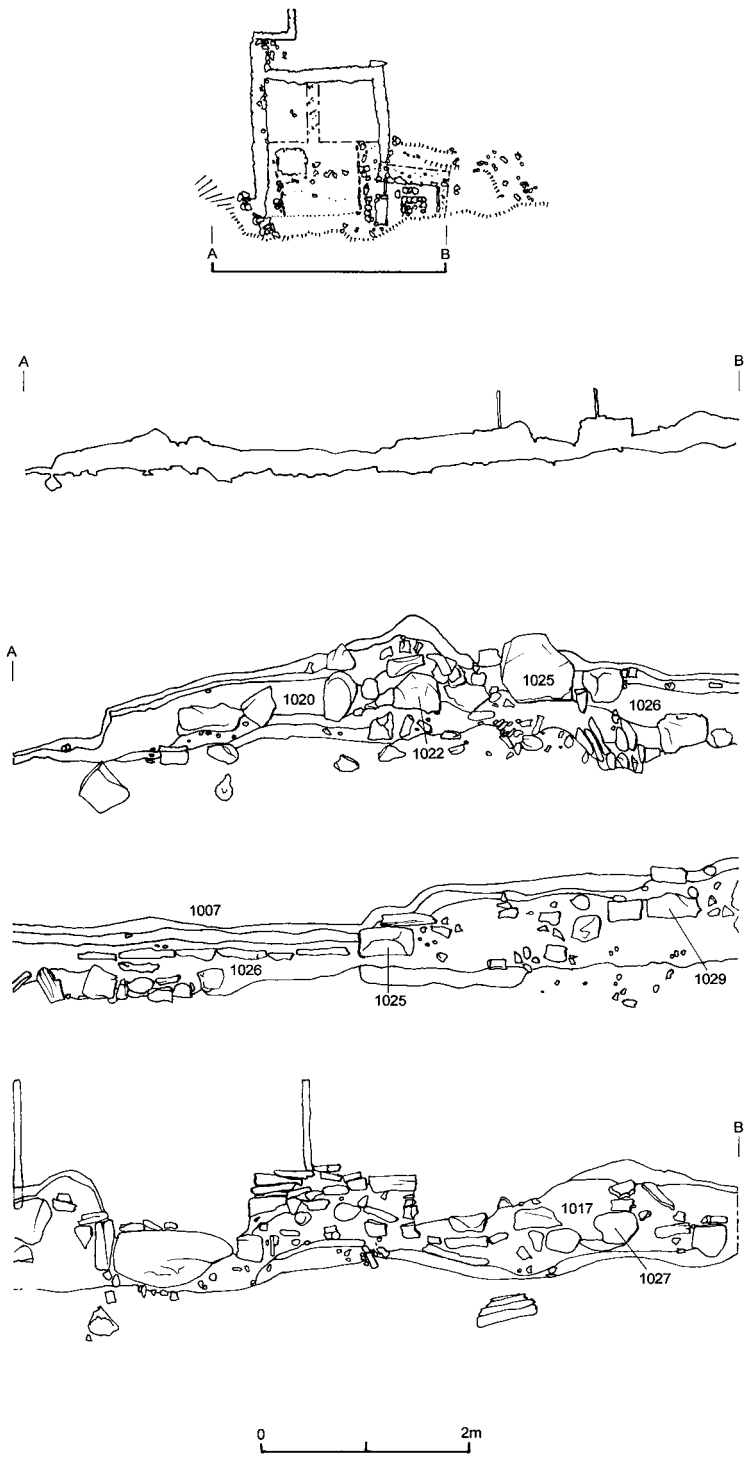


Figure 54
Relickoran: features and sediments recorded in the eroding cliff face.

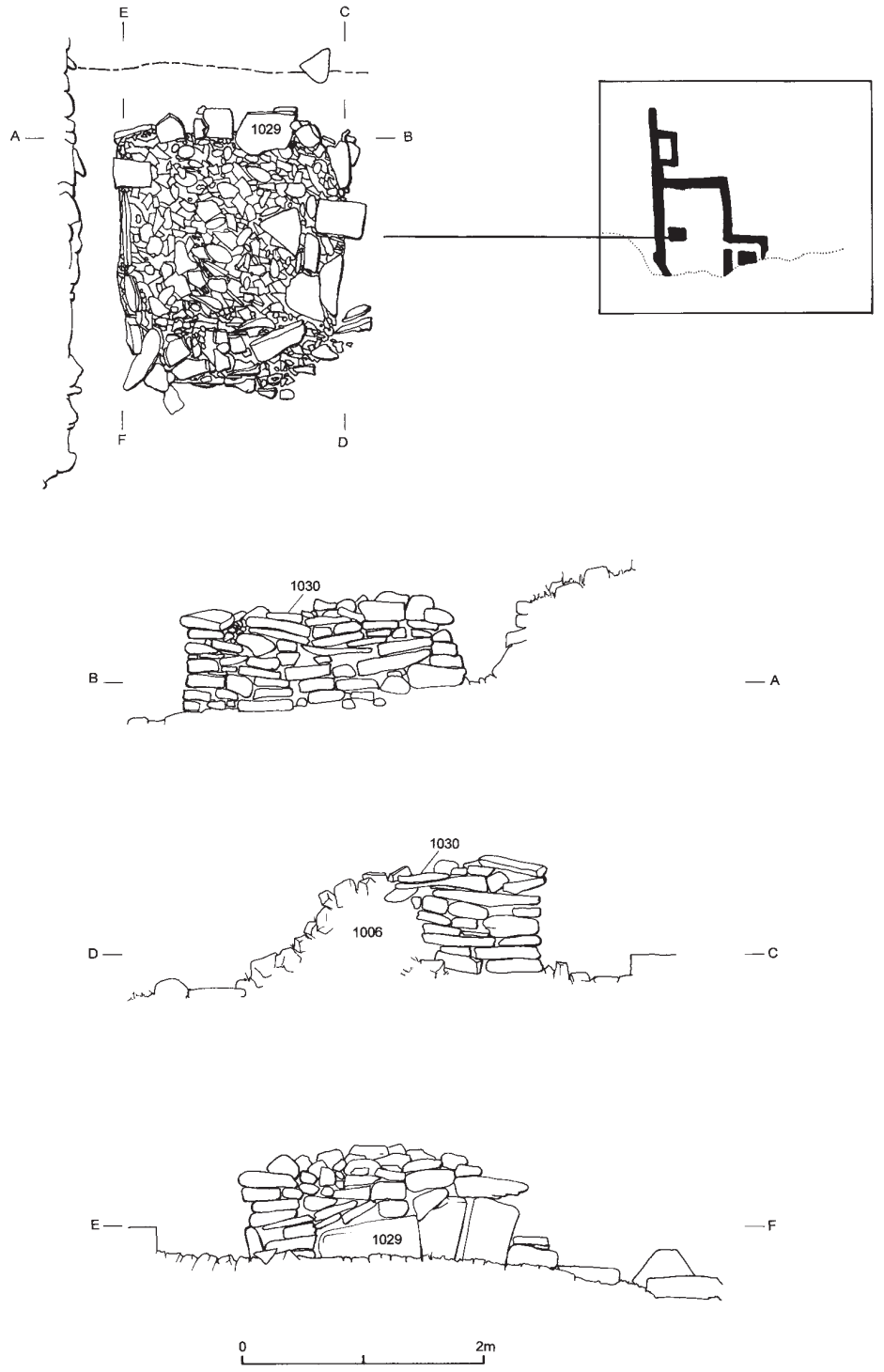


Figure 55
Relickoran: detailed plan and elevations of the *leacht* in the main enclosure.

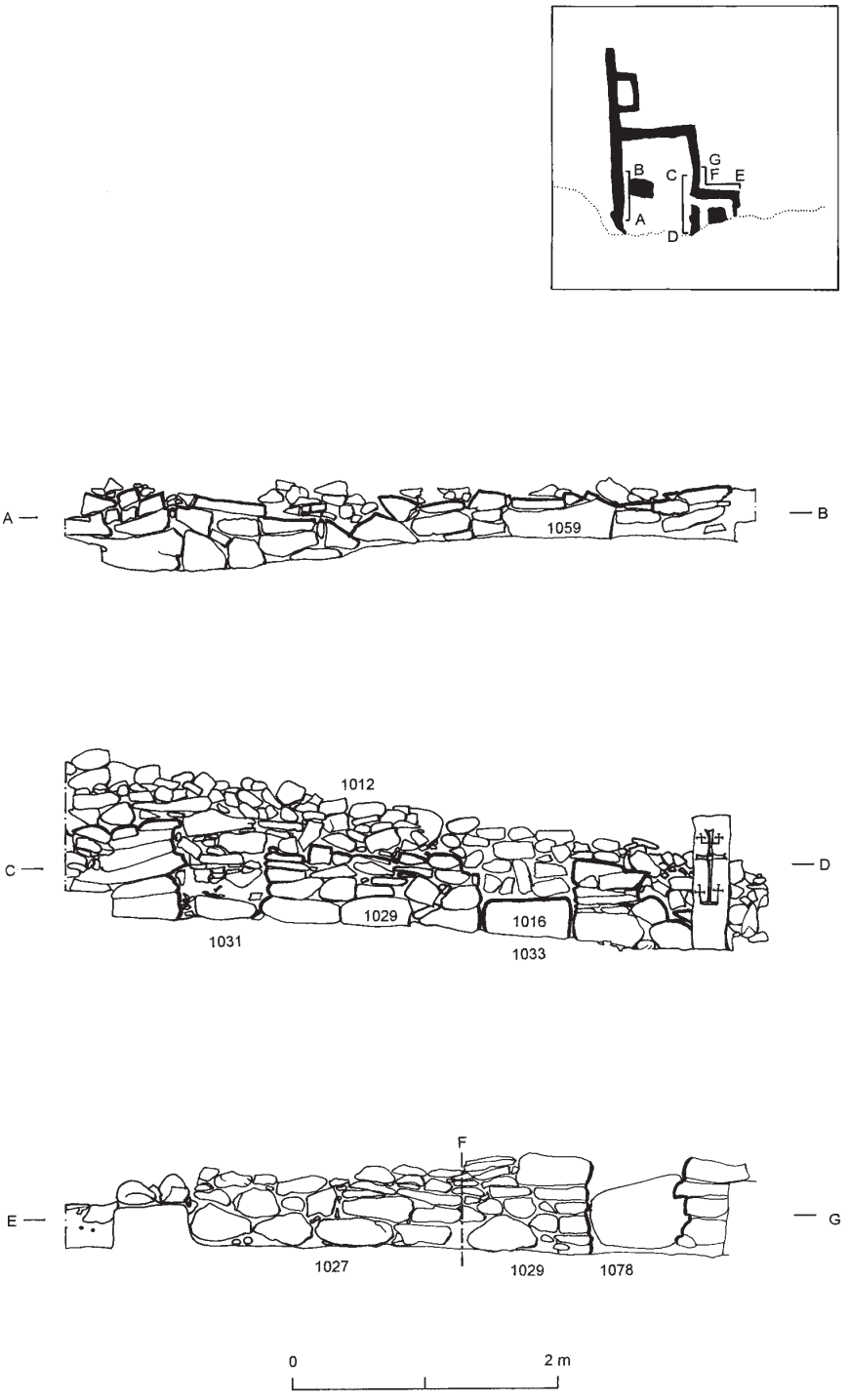


Figure 56
Relickoran: elevations of the enclosure walls.

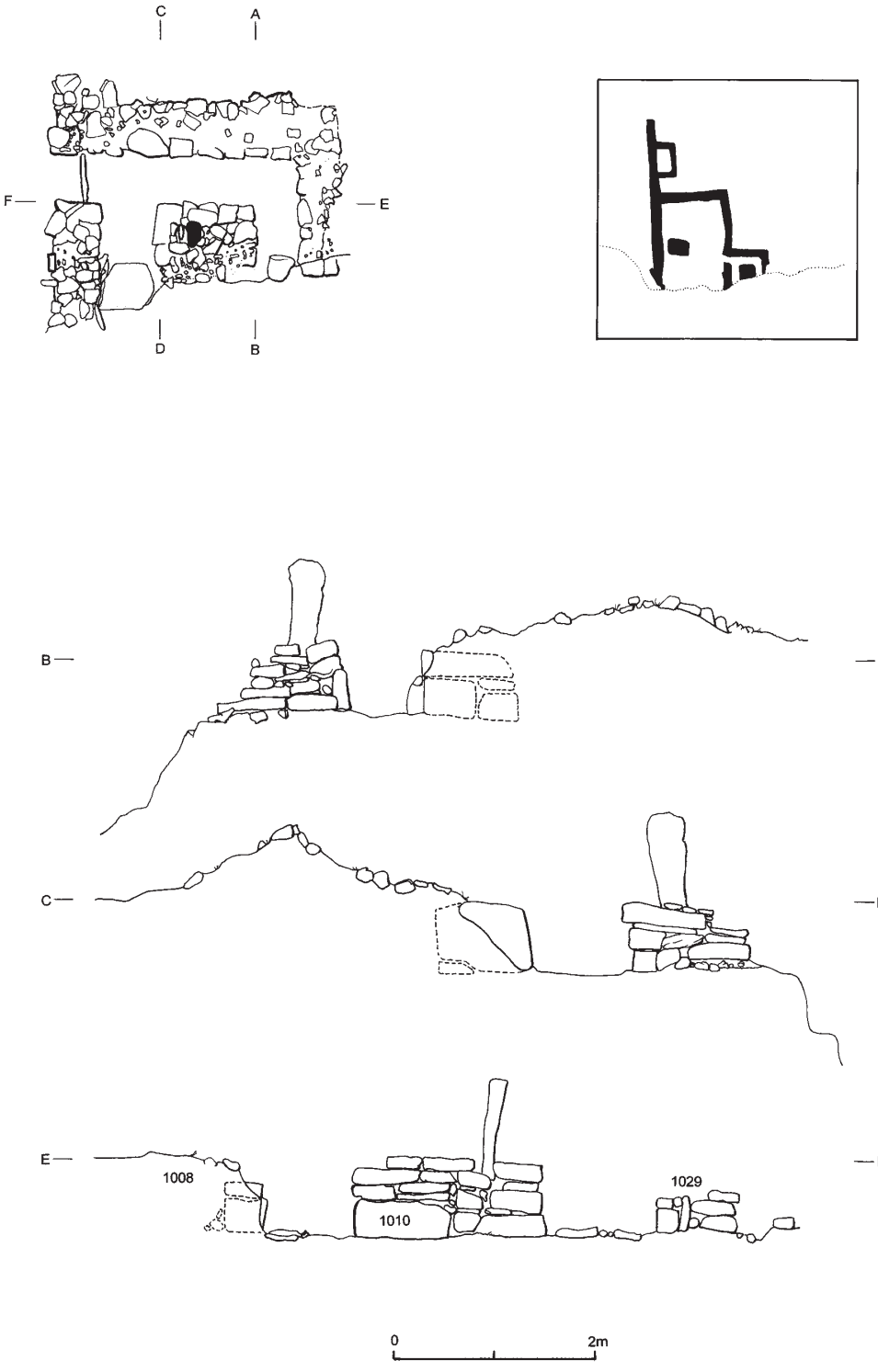


Figure 57
Relickoran: elevations of the smaller enclosure and *leacht*.

Stratigraphy

Phase I: natural soils

The predominant C horizon subsoil at Relickoran is a hard, stony, yellow till. Within the main cutting this was exposed at depths of 0.15 m to 0.3 m (F1003) beneath a shallow loam topsoil (consisting of turbated, homogenised grave earth) and a thin, strongly rooted turf. In the eroding cliff face it could be seen to overlie bedrock to a thickness of c. 2 m (F1052).

A sondage excavated outside the drystone enclosing walls of the cemetery, within the arable field to the east, disclosed a very different soil profile. Here, the deepest layer that was exposed consisted of small, angular or shattered stones (F1083) occurring at 0.75 m from the surface. (This layer can be seen at about this level at many points around the island's cliff faces, forming part of the general mantle of glacial drift.) The stones were overlain by a compact layer of pale, grey sandy loam (F1082), 0.15 m thick and, above this, by a layer of dark, loose, humic, loam topsoil, 0.6 m thick. Evidently, the natural soils in the fields surrounding the cemetery have been deepened and enriched by intensive cultivation and associated manuring in the modern period. The topsoil within the enclosure remained shallow, in contrast.

Phase II: earliest NE/SW graves

The subsoil surface in the main enclosure was cut by a series of shallow oblong features interpreted as the basal remnants of grave pits (fig. 58). Many lay west/east but others – at least 20 in all – formed a distinctive group (F1103) of NE/SW orientation. These are interpreted as the earliest graves in the cemetery and were cut by later graves of east/west orientation. No human remains survived *in situ* in any of these earlier graves, though the outline of one decayed skeleton could be traced as a group of pale soil stains within the grave fill. There was no evidence for the use of shrouds or coffins or stone lining.

The graves in this group were especially difficult to identify due to the shallowness of the remnant grave cuts, the absence of surviving skeletal remains, the complex soil conditions and the sheer density of intercutting graves. In fact they could generally be recognised only at a depth where paler natural subsoil began to appear on either side of the grave cut as the other, overlying soils were removed in shallow trowelled spits. Thus the recorded examples were seldom complete on plan, and seldom more than 0.5 m wide or 0.1 m deep. (The grave pits had evidently been shallow to begin with.)

These NE/SW grave cuts did not occur throughout the main enclosure but were confined to the east side, where they could be seen to underlie the paving and enclosure wall, and evidently extended outside the present walls. This was confirmed by a small cutting within the angle between the main enclosure and its smaller annexe. Here, a further group of several intercutting graves was revealed (F1095–1099) and, again, these were clearly of NE/SW orientation. These latter grave pits were more clearly defined than any of the graves in the interior, being broad, steep-sided cuts up to 0.8 m wide and 0.3 m deep. Probably the grave cuts here were better defined because they lay outside the enclosure walls that contained almost all of the later, Phase III/IV graves, and had thus escaped truncation by later burials. Again, however, no human remains survived in these graves.

A dark, stony mottled loam (F1090) with frequent charcoal sealed these last grave cuts in the exterior cutting. It could be seen to extend beneath the adjacent enclosure walls (and was probably continuous with F1080 within the smaller enclosure – a similarly stony loam though without charcoal inclusions). Though this layer appeared to overlie the graves it had probably been disturbed by grave-digging and merely masked the underlying cuts. Thus the charcoal could not be regarded as having a secure provenance (it could, for instance, have been residual material from a prehistoric pyre or burnt scrub from early medieval land clearance) and was not submitted for radiocarbon dating.

Overall, on this evidence, it can only be said that a group of burials of NE/SW orientation pre-dated all other recorded burials at Relickoran and also pre-dated the present enclosing walls. The small external cutting at north-east confirmed that these early burials were not confined within the enclosing walls but also indicated that the group did not extend far beyond the walls in that direction. Otherwise, their extent was not well defined and no evidence for an associated earlier enclosure was observed within the excavated area.



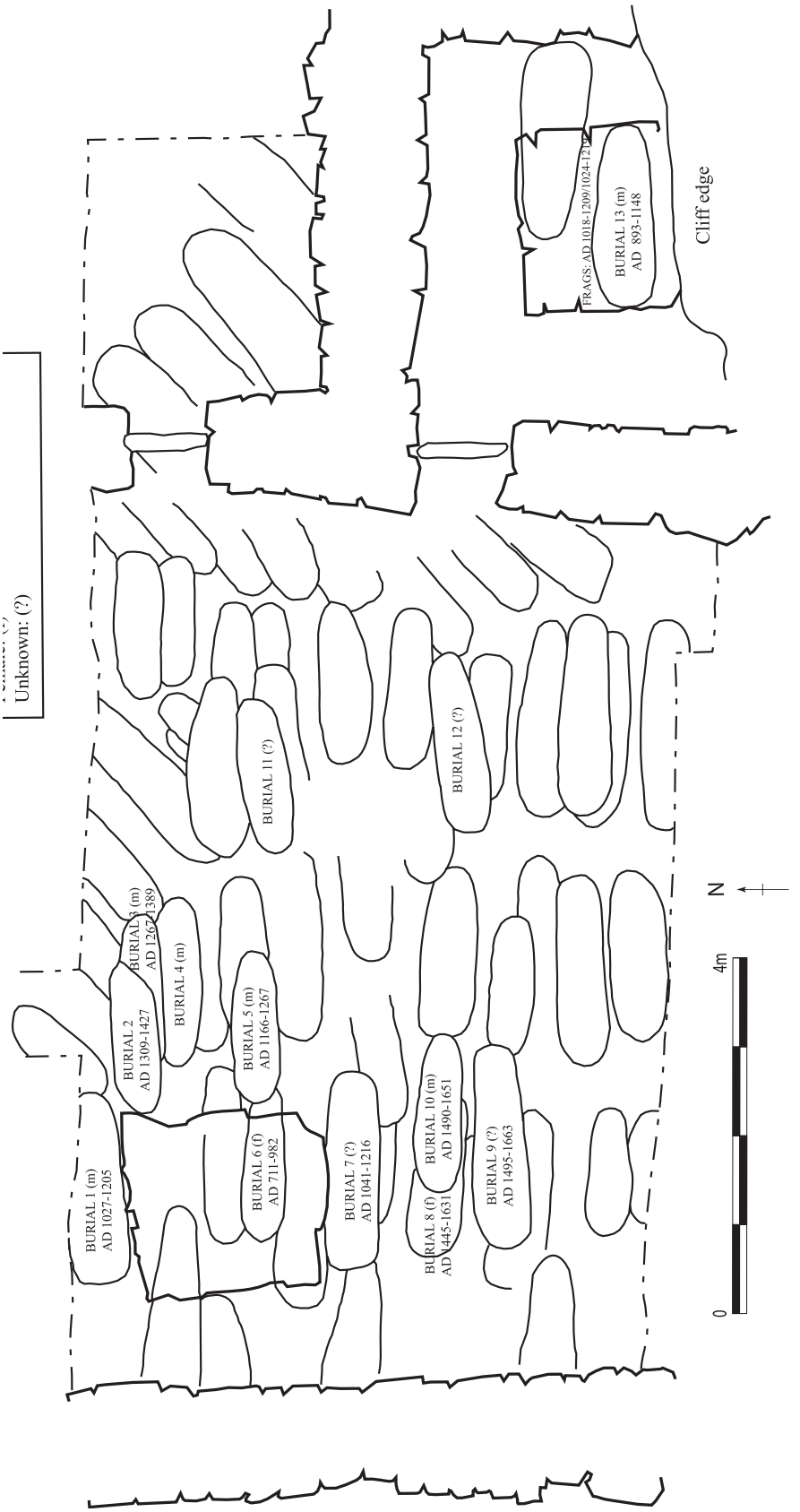
Plate 75 Relickoran. Human skeletal remains were very poorly preserved and in most graves did not survive at all: forearm, pelvis and thigh bones (top), and two skulls found in a single grave pit (right).





Plate 76 Relickoran. Excavating human remains in the smaller enclosure (far right).

Figure 58 (Opposite page) Relickoran: plan of graves in the excavated areas of the main enclosure and smaller enclosure, showing radiocarbon dates from *in situ* burials.


Unknown: (?)
BURIAL 1 (m)
AD 1027-1205
BURIAL 2
AD 1309-1427
BURIAL 3 (m)
AD 1267-1389
BURIAL 4 (m)
BURIAL 5 (m)
AD 1166-1267
BURIAL 6 (f)
AD 711-982
BURIAL 7 (?)
AD 1041-1216
BURIAL 8 (f)
AD 1445-1631
BURIAL 9 (?)
AD 1495-1663
BURIAL 10 (m)
AD 1490-1651
BURIAL 11 (?)
BURIAL 12 (?)
FRAGS: AD 1018-1209/1024-1216
BURIAL 13 (m)
AD 893-1148
Cliff edge
N
0
4m

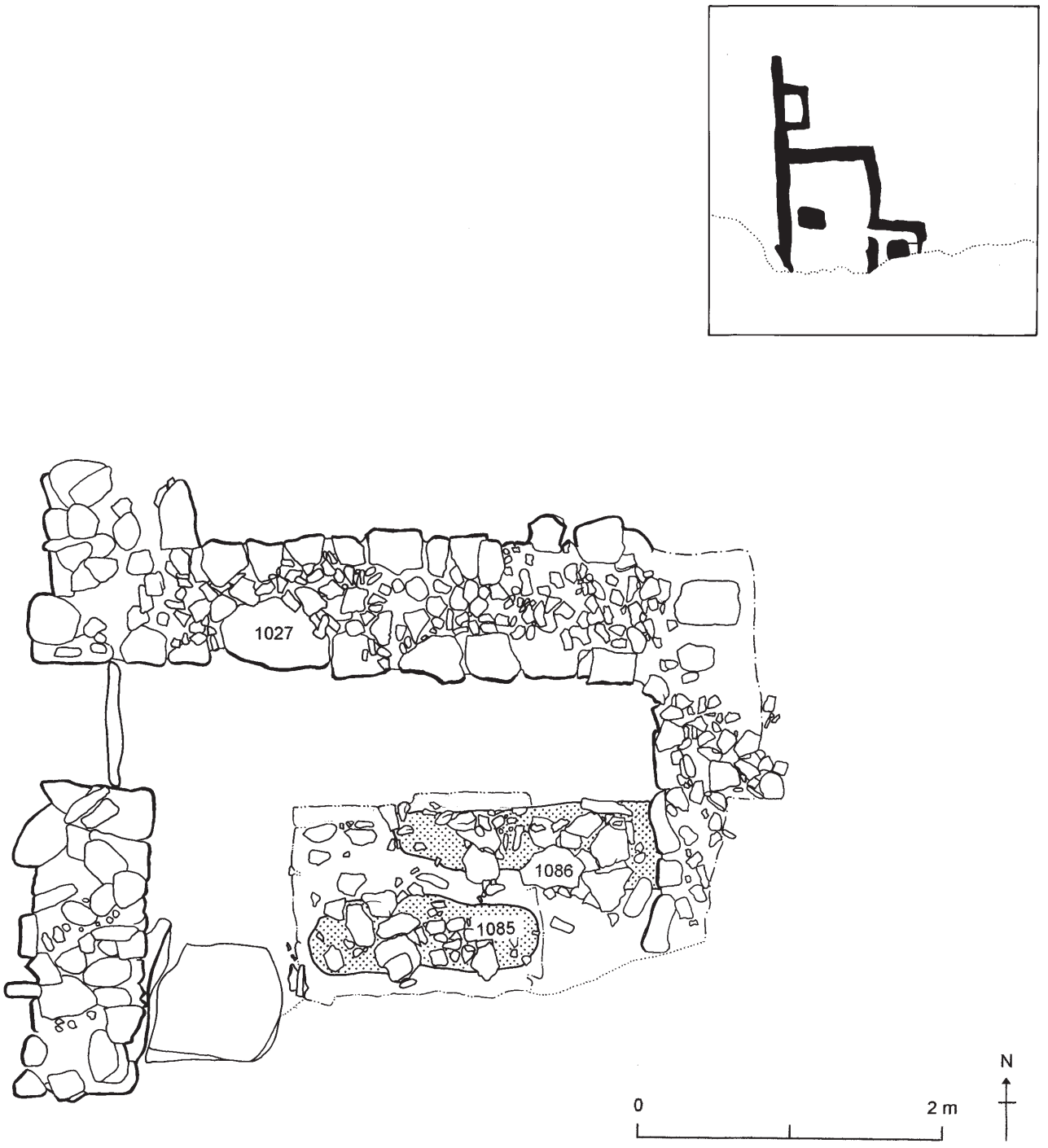


Figure 59
Relickoran: burials underlying the *leacht* (dotted) in the smaller enclosure.

Phase III: earlier west/east graves

All of the remaining graves recorded at Relickoran are attributed to a reorganisation of the cemetery on an west/east orientation. In all, at least 40 west/east burials were recorded (fig. 58). Most of these were within the area bounded by the drystone enclosures. Indeed, while the graves were generally hard to define, there was good evidence that many of them had been dug in well-ordered rows that respected the enclosing walls and associated paving. But some others underlay the walls and paving or the *leachta* and it is these graves that form the stratigraphic evidence for a phase of earlier west/east burials.

The graves underlying the *leacht* in the main enclosure were not well defined. A number of large bone fragments – including remains of at least one *in situ* burial and two skulls – were recovered from probable west/east burials (pl. 75). The *in situ* burial (Burial 6) was that of an adult female and was radiocarbon dated to a period between the early eighth and late 10th century (UB–4636, cal AD 711–982 at two sigma).

In the smaller enclosure, two graves (F1086 & F1092) could be identified with more confidence (fig. 59; pl. 76). The grave fills were picked out by groups of small to medium flat stones laid on their surfaces and the grave pits were relatively deep (up to 0.3 m), with steep sides and abrupt surface breaks. One of the graves (F1086) contained only a few poorly preserved long bones, close to disintegration. The other grave (F1092) contained two skeletons: an *in situ* male skeleton (Burial 13) and, below it, the disturbed remains of another individual. Finally, skull fragments from at least one other individual, an adult male, were found scattered among the stones of the base of the *leacht* (F1010).

The disturbed skull fragments from the base of the smaller *leacht* were radiocarbon dated to a period between the early 11th and early 13th centuries (AA–37260, cal AD 1018–1209; and AA–37261, cal AD 1024–1219, both at two sigma). The *in situ* skeleton (Burial 13) beneath the *leacht* was radiocarbon dated to a period between the late ninth and mid 12th century (UB–4635, AD 893–1148 at two sigma).

Elsewhere, the evidence for an earlier phase of west/east graves is less satisfactory. Grave cuts were observed beneath the paving and enclosing walls on both the east and west sides of the larger enclosure. They were not well defined, but there were other 'tell-tales' indicating possible burials beneath the paving on the west side (in soil layer F1071): these included a few bone flecks, two small, amorphous iron objects, and a beach-rolled quartz pebble.

Phase IV: *leachta*, enclosures and associated graves

The remaining burials are all ascribed to a phase that seems to represent a reorganisation of the cemetery within a single, formal design. The elements of this include the two *leachta*, the enclosing walls, a well-laid pavement forming a circuit about the interior of the larger enclosure, and numerous graves of west/east orientation (figs 55–58 & 60). Several of the graves were roughly lined and/or capped with stone and there was a particular concentration of these around the larger *leacht* (fig. 61).

Enclosing walls

Heaped rubble, strongly rooted and with some modern inclusions, was removed to expose the basal remnants of the original enclosing walls of the main enclosure (F1029 & F1059). Unworked sandstone boulders



Plate 77 Relickoran. General view of a sector of the kerbed pavement along the east side of the cemetery enclosure (top) and a detail of the same sector (bottom).



Plate 78 Relickoran. A late group of paving stones gave access to the cemetery via a stile in the enclosure wall on the east side.

formed the outer faces with a core of smaller rubble (F1047). The whole was over a metre wide but generally survived to no more than two or three courses in height (fig. 56). There were no traces of clay or mortar bonding and the overall effect was of robust but crude drystone work. Only where the enclosure was pierced by stiles on the east side (below) were large blocks selected to bring the walls to a fair finish at either side of the openings.

On the south side of the main enclosure, where the wall had entirely succumbed to marine erosion, there were vestiges of wall returns. It can be deduced from this that, while the south wall is gone, only a small portion of the burial ground itself has been lost to the sea. Some large rubble within the cliff face (F1022 & F1025) is interpreted as collapse from this sector of the wall. These last details are important as – together with the paving stones protruding from the cliff face (below) – they allow the original plan of the main enclosure to be reconstructed as an oblong of north/south orientation, c. 12 m long by 8 m wide, within walls up to 1.2 m thick.

The smaller, adjoining enclosure measured 4 m east/west by 3 m north/south within similar walls (F1027). Again, this was open to the sea on the south – where the wall and part of the *leacht* had collapsed – but it probably did not extend beyond the line of the main enclosure on that side (fig. 57).

Stiles

The two stiles that pierced the east side of the main enclosure were plain gaps within the walls, each about 0.65 m wide (fig. 56). One of these (F1053) gave access to the main enclosure from the field to the east.

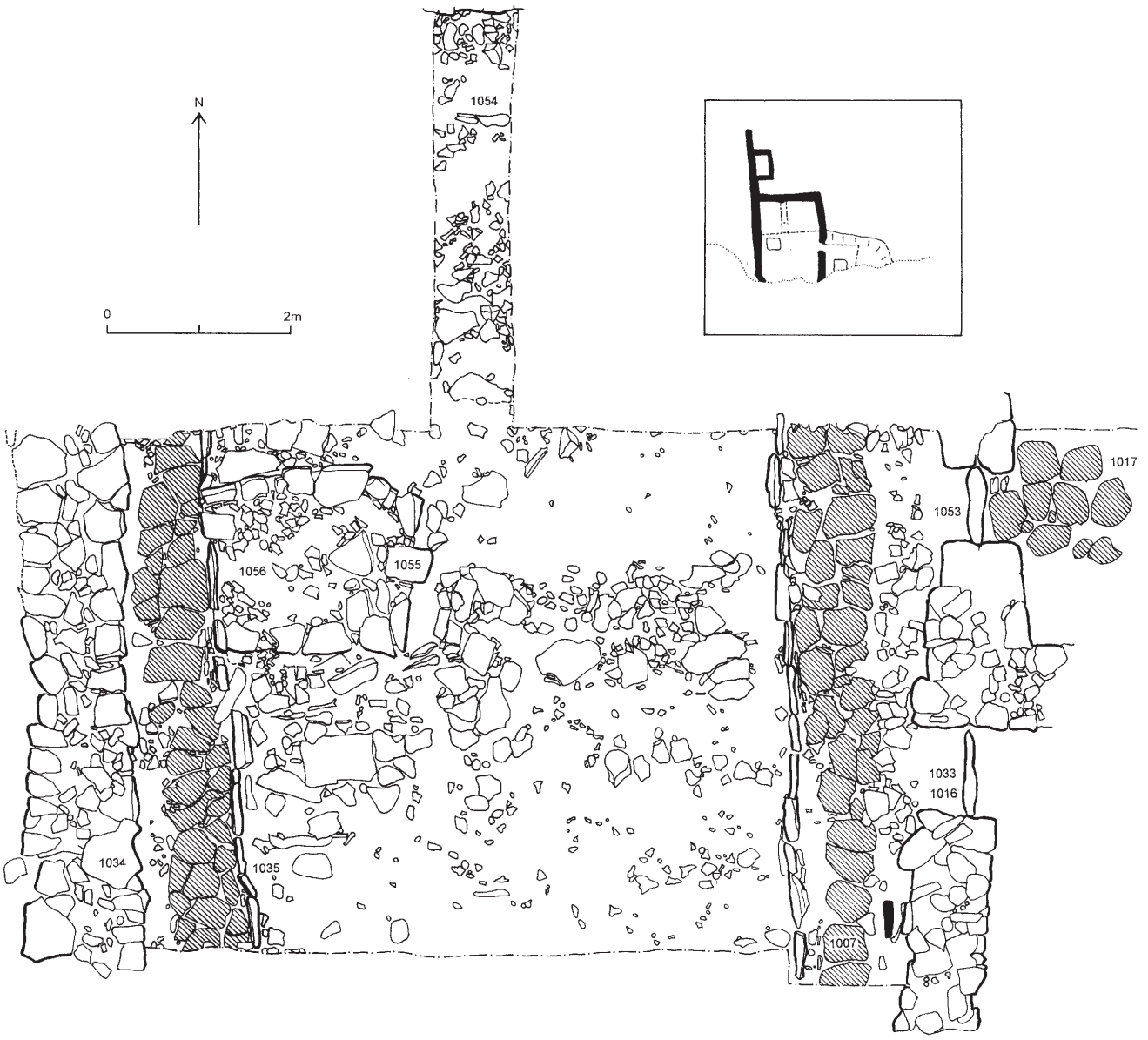


Figure 60
Relickoran: plan of the main enclosure, with *leacht*, paving (hachured), entrance stiles and cross-inscribed pillar (solid black).

The second (F1033) afforded access between the larger and smaller enclosures. They are defined as 'stiles' because in each of them the lower part was closed by a single, large, sill stone set on edge (F1016 & F1031).

Pavement

A pavement of large sandstone slabs made a complete circuit of the larger enclosure at the inner wall face (fig. 60; pl. 77). Individually, these were rough, unworked field stones (up to 0.6 m in diameter), but were carefully laid to form a level, firm surface. This paved path was contained within a kerb of upright slabs (F1004 & F1035), edge-set within a narrow slot trench (F1101), with occasional packing stones. The pavement was fully exposed at the east and west sides of the enclosure (F1007 & F1034). A sample area only was exposed at the north side, within a narrow transect extending from the main cutting (F1054). On the south side – where the enclosing wall had given way to erosion – paving remnants could be seen protruding from the cliff face.

Some flat sandstone flags (F1017) also surrounded the *leacht* in the smaller enclosure (fig. 62), but these were very roughly laid, lying within a peaty soil matrix that had probably developed *in situ* over time, and thus may not have formed part of the primary design.

Cross pillar

Standing within the pavement, a cross pillar (F1005 = Survey No. 004.05) was erected to one side of the stile giving access between the two enclosures (fig. 56). This was footed in a small, bowl-shaped pit (F1049 & F1050) which was partly sealed by the pavement. It is not clear whether this was a primary relationship or whether a few paving stones were lifted and re-laid when the cross was moved to this position at some later date.

Larger leacht

The superstructure (F1030) of the *leacht* in the main enclosure contained many modern inclusions and had evidently been rebuilt within the last 100 years or so. The structure was gradually dismantled by hand to reveal a primary or basal course of large flat stones on the south and east (F1075), with thinner, edge-set stones to the north and west (F1055). On the north side, these edge-set stones were no longer erect but had been flattened outwards by the weight of overlying rubble (fig. 55). Those on the west side did remain erect, however, where they had been incorporated into the kerb of the adjoining pavement, so that the *leacht* and pavement appear to be of a single build. On the basis of these basal stones the primary dimensions of the *leacht* may be given as 1.9 m north/south by 1.8 m east/west.

Within the base of the *leacht* was a small mound of coarse yellow sand (F1056). This is almost certainly an intrusive or secondary deposit of windblown particles from the nearby cliff face, though perhaps including some material eroded from the more friable stones of the *leacht* itself. Other secondary deposits were clearly deliberate, however, and included a crudely built extension to the *leacht* on the east side, comprising a few courses of large angular stones (F1073), piled against the face of the primary structure and bedded on coarse sand and gravel (F1066).

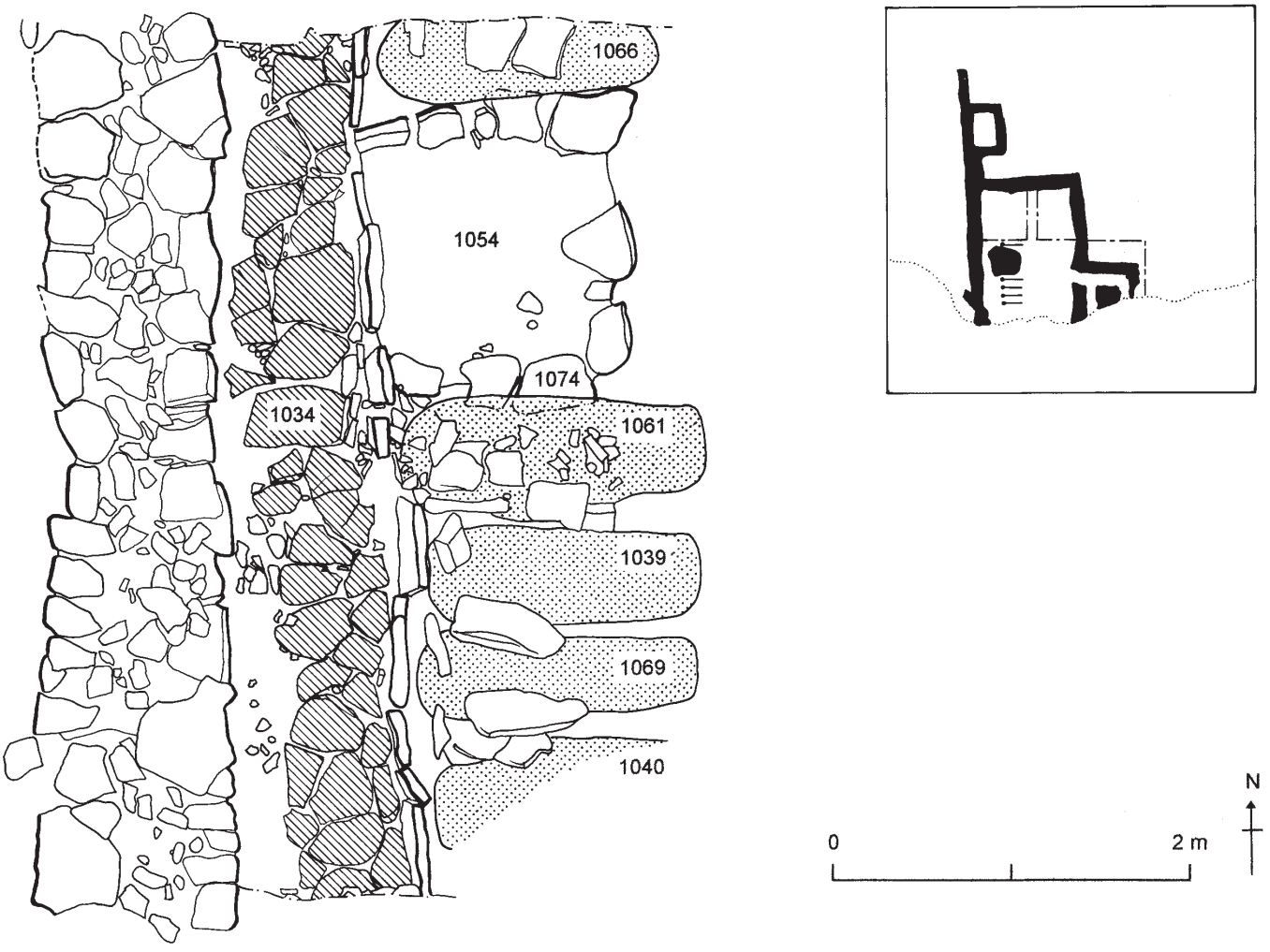


Figure 61
Relickoran: plan of graves to north and south of the *leacht* in the main enclosure.

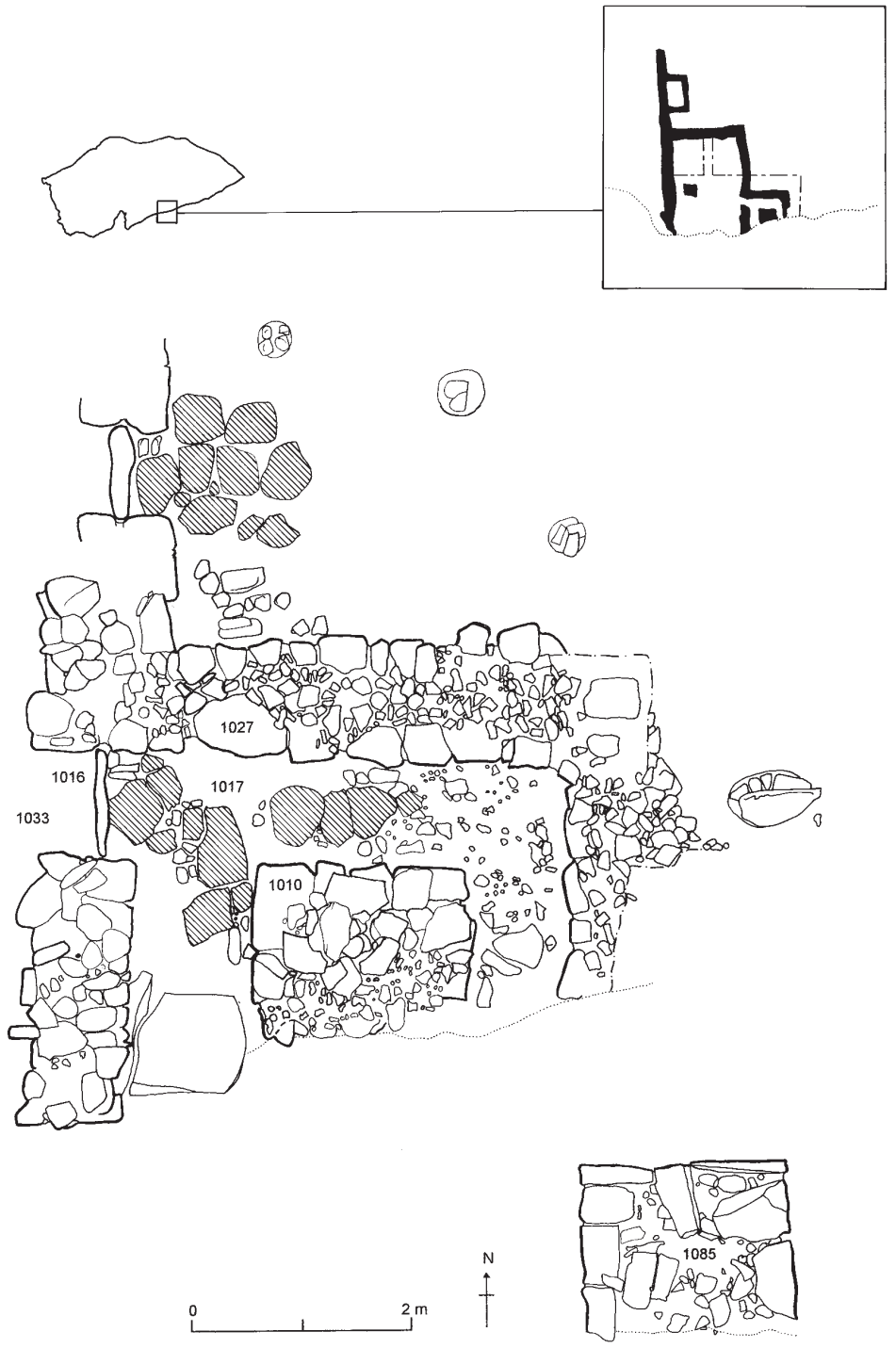


Figure 62
Relickoran: plan of the smaller enclosure and *leacht*, showing (inset) the basal stones of the *leacht*, also some late paving stones (hachured), and an arc of post-pits outside the enclosure, indicating a fence or screen.

Smaller leacht

The smaller *leacht* consisted of massive stone blocks (F1010), well laid to form regular faces on all sides, with a core of smaller rubble (figs 57 & 62). Only at the base of the north side were there two of the large, edge-set flat stones that were seen to be a characteristic of the *leacht* in the larger enclosure, as well as of several other *leachta* on the island. The *leacht* stood hard upon the cliff-edge and the southern half had already collapsed into the sea. The surviving remnant was 0.8 m high by 1.9 m east/west (full dimensions) and 1.2 m north/south (remnant width).

As in the case of the larger *leacht*, the base of this *leacht* also contained a small mound of clean sandy gravel (F1085). Again this was probably an intrusive or secondary deposit of windblown sand or particles eroding from the stones of the *leacht* itself. Bones of several bird and animal species were also found towards the base of the *leacht*, including both rabbit and domestic fowl. These were almost certainly secondary or intrusive elements, introduced to this context by scavenging birds or rodents (see 'Bird and animal bone', below).

Burials

The grave cuts recorded in this phase were generally sealed by a shallow layer of dark or mid brown sandy loam 'grave earth', seldom more than 0.3 m deep. (This was identified variously as F1013, F1024, F1077 & F1102 within the main enclosure; as F1048, F1051 & F1064 beneath the paving on the east side; as F1071 beneath the paving on the west side; and as F1072 & F1076 within the smaller enclosure.) As with the earlier graves (Phases II & III, above), these later west/east graves were mostly identified as shallow, oblong cuts or scoops within the surface of the subsoil, seldom more than 0.5 m wide and 0.1 m deep (fig. 58). (Some linear concentrations of angular, tipping stones – F1038, F1042–1046 – in the main enclosure were at first thought to represent grave fills, but were found instead to be islands of stony subsoil, protruding in the spaces between the graves.)

Again, in this phase, there was little evidence for coffins or shrouds, but numerous small, white, beach-rolled quartzite pebbles were recovered from throughout the site and some of these were probably deliberate grave inclusions. The practice of depositing white water-rolled pebbles in graves or on funerary monuments is well attested in early medieval Ireland and is recorded by excavations both in ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical burial grounds (e.g. White Marshall & Rourke 2000a, 111; White Marshall & Walsh 2005, 87–89; O'Kelly 1958 & 1967; and see also Hill 1997, 472 and O'Sullivan 1994 for Scottish examples).

The condition of the human skeletal remains was generally classed as 'poor', 'very poor' or 'extremely poor' (see 'Human remains', below) and no complete skeleton was recorded. In about a dozen cases, fragmentary remains lay in the correct relative anatomical positions and thus appeared to represent *in situ* burials. Where age could be determined the individuals were young to mid adults. At least five were possibly or probably male and only one female was indicated in this phase.

There was a particular concentration of burials clustered around the *leacht* in the main enclosure and this included nine of the graves with *in situ* skeletal remains (fig. 58 & 61). In a few examples the western ends of these graves (i.e. containing the head and upper body) were defined by kerbs formed with small, edge-set stones and – in two cases – by flat stones overlying these to form cover slabs.

Radiocarbon dates were obtained from several of these burials and – bearing in mind the very small size of the sample – seem to show a degree of clustering in chronological and spatial terms. The two burials immediately adjacent to the *leacht* on the north and south sides gave radiocarbon dates, broadly, in the 11th or 12th centuries (Burials 1 & 7). The two burials lying near to the *leacht* on the east side gave dates in the 12th to 15th centuries (Burials 2 & 5). Finally, the three burials lying farthest from the *leacht*, on the south side, gave dates in the late 15th to early 17th centuries. (Burials 8, 9 & 10).

Finally, two small cross-slabs (Nos 004.09 & 004.10) were found adjacent to this *leacht* on the south side, within superficial rubble spreads (F1001 & F1067), where the *leacht* had partly collapsed. One (No. 004.09) may well be of 11th or 12th-century date, while the other (No. 004.10) could be considerably later. They were probably grave markers and could have been associated with the stone-lined graves found on that side of the *leacht*.

Phase V: Modern features

A miscellany of features represents the history of the site after its abandonment as a cemetery in the post-medieval period, though it is clear that the *leachta* were maintained and partly rebuilt from time to time. In the main enclosure the upper part of the *leacht* (F1030) consisted of loose small and medium rubble in a peaty black soil matrix, strongly rooted throughout with bluebell bulbs and bracken. There were frequent inclusions of pot, glass and even some scraps of plastic, as well as a few large fragments of weathered human long bones, and numerous beach-rolled pebbles of various sizes. To the south side a few large angular stones (F1065), loosely piled, appeared to be an attempt to expand or perhaps consolidate the monument.

The enclosing walls were also rebuilt at least once. Loose rubble (F1012 & F1057) of random drystone construction was piled high over the primary wall remnants and was also packed into the two stiles within the east wall of the main enclosure (F1018 & F1032). A thin deposit of humic, strongly rooted soil (F1023 & F1058) separated the upper and lower parts of the wall (fig. 56), but was probably a secondary or intrusive deposit, resulting from root penetration by bracken. Again there were modern inclusions in these deposits, including much glass, pottery sherds, parts of iron objects and even shredded plastic.

There were superficial rubble spreads throughout the site. Some of these derived from the part collapse of the *leachta* and enclosing walls (F1006, F1009, F1060, F1067 & F1093), but others appeared to be deliberate dumps of field clearance by 'stone pickers' working in the adjacent arable fields. Within the main enclosure one of these formed a discrete dump of stones against the inner face of the east wall (F1015) and the other overspread the pavement along the inner face of the west wall (F1036). In addition to stones, there was also a dump of limpet and periwinkle shells (F1028) over the pavement by the north wall. On the north-east side of the monument the remains of a simple rubble field wall (F1070) skirted the smaller enclosure and was overspread in turn by an extensive dump of small and large stones (F1063).

Underlying or containing these rubble spreads, the topsoil was generally a free-draining brown, sandy loam (F1001, F1002, F1014, F1019, F1020 & F1026), but some peaty, humic deposits had developed in damp hollows in the south-east corner of the main enclosure and also within the smaller enclosure. In

all areas the topsoil included occasional modern objects – usually fragments of ceramic, glass or metal objects – as well as small fragments of human bone, and supported strongly rooted vegetation (abundant bluebells, thinly established bracken and brambles, other common weeds and grasses).

The topsoil was quite shallow within the cemetery enclosures (0.15–0.3 m). This was in marked contrast to the soil depth in the cultivated fields immediately beyond and – as described above – a cutting outside the enclosures recorded brown loam topsoil up to 0.75 m deep (F1062, F1075 & F1079) on the north-east side. This could only be a product of intensive cultivation and associated manuring and throws into sharp relief the different history of the adjacent enclosures. The input of human bodies and the soil turbation caused by repeated grave digging would once have created a deep, free-draining humic soil, but during the long abandonment of the cemetery and its subsequent protection from cultivation this reverted to a shallow, relatively non-humic soil layer. In contrast, intensive cultivation until the modern period ensured that the topsoil outside the cemetery enclosure remained deepened and enriched.

Within this same outer area, a group of four large post-pits (F1078 & 1087–89) was cut into the deepest topsoil zone (F1079) but had been truncated by later tillage of the overlying topsoils (F1062 & F1075). These were quite distinctive features, being large, bowl-shaped cuts – c. 0.5 m wide and 0.3 m deep – with large packing stones and a compact fill of clean, blue-green sticky clay. (The clay was probably quarried from some point along the nearby cliff face – though no obvious source was identified). The post-pits formed an arc extending across the angle between the walls of the main enclosure and its smaller annexe (fig. 62) and probably supported some sort of screen or fence. At the same level some remains of rough paving were found at the outer approach to the stile (F1078 & F1091) (pl. 78). Some flat sandstone flags (F1017) surrounding the *leacht* in the smaller enclosure lay within a peaty soil matrix – probably a late sediment which developed *in situ* – and may be of similar date to the post-pits and rough paving at the outer stile.

This miscellany of features presents a mixed image of the monument in the modern period. On the one hand, there were clearly attempts to consolidate or re-build the main *leacht* and its enclosing walls; and on the east side a stout fence protected the approach to the smaller enclosure, where a new path was laid to the stile. On the other hand, dumps of field clearance stones, shellfish and frequent other modern debris indicate that the disused cemetery and its *leachta* were sometimes regarded with less than reverence by the islanders.

Artefacts

Finds from the site were very varied. Modern debris – including clay pipe fragments, animal bones, modern pot sherds, red brick and lime mortar, fragments of modern bottle glass and iron objects – were derived from a variety of contexts. These mostly came from superficial rubble spreads and topsoil, but also from rubble deposits (1065 & 1067) associated with the *leacht* in the main enclosure. A few mammal and bird bones – including domestic fowl – were found within the base of the *leacht* (F1009) in the smaller enclosure. These were probably intrusive and may be attributed to burrowing scavengers (see 'Bird and animal bones', below).

Several glass beads (pl. 79) were found in topsoil (F1001) or in rubble overspreading the enclosure

walls (F1047) or blocking the stiles (F1032). No chemical analysis was done on these beads to ascertain their date and – from these fairly superficial contexts – they are as likely to be from a modern rosary beads as from some older necklace or bracelet.

Four small worked stone discs (pl. 80) were found in rubble or topsoil (F1001 & F1014). The function of these is not known but possibly was related to devotions at the *leachta*. Certainly a crucifix from a rosary beads – a modern example – may be placed in this category. All five objects were recovered from the main enclosure. A fragment of beach cobble, longitudinally split, has a smoothed area on once face and was probably used as a rough whetstone and again was found in topsoil (F1001).

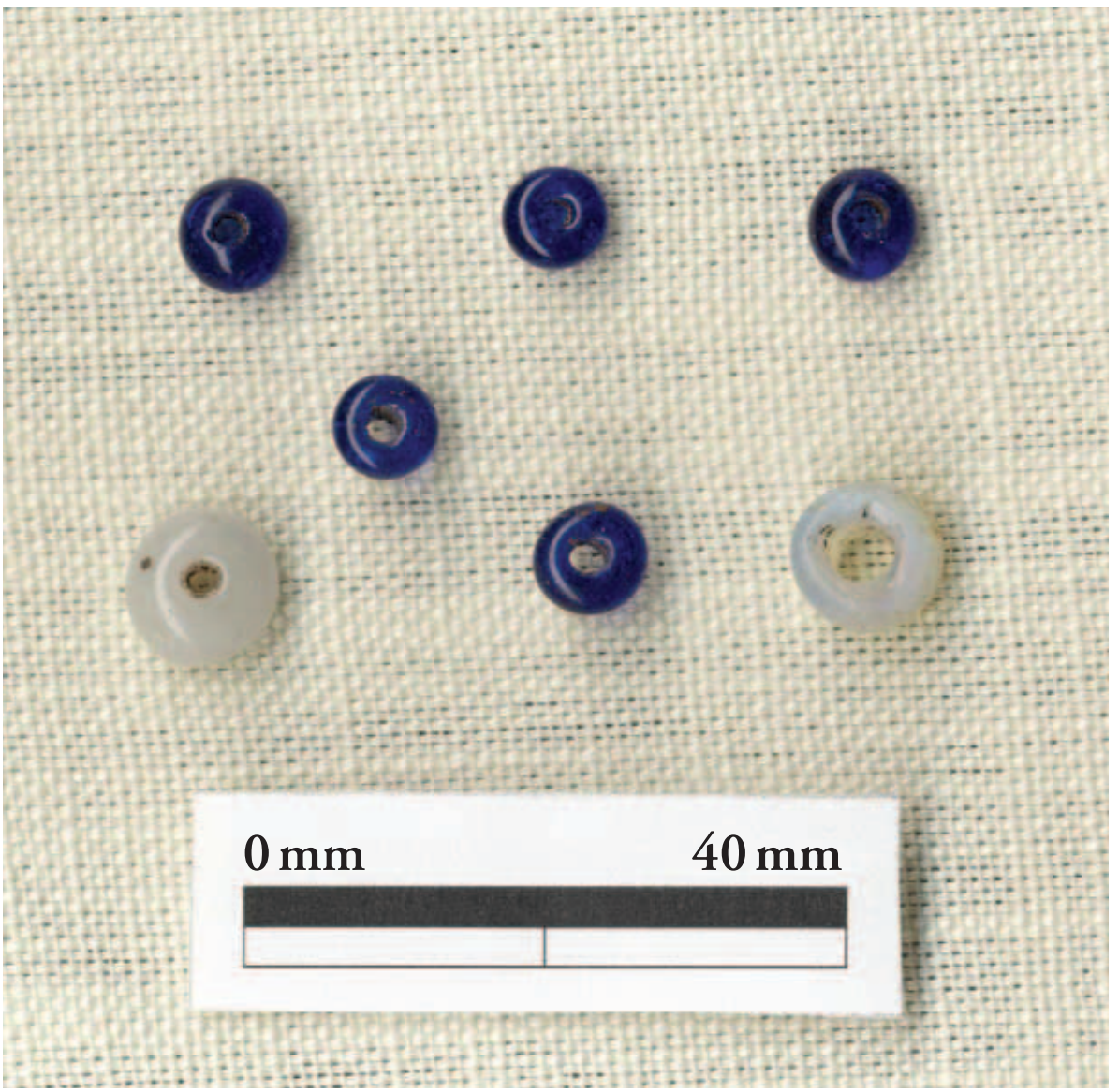


Plate 79 Relickoran. Glass beads from, variously, topsoil (top right), the rubble core of the enclosing wall (bottom right) and the rubble fill of the entrance stile on the east side of the enclosure (for descriptions see Table 10).



Plate 80 Relickoran. Roughly worked stone discs from surface rubble or topsoil (for descriptions see Table 10).

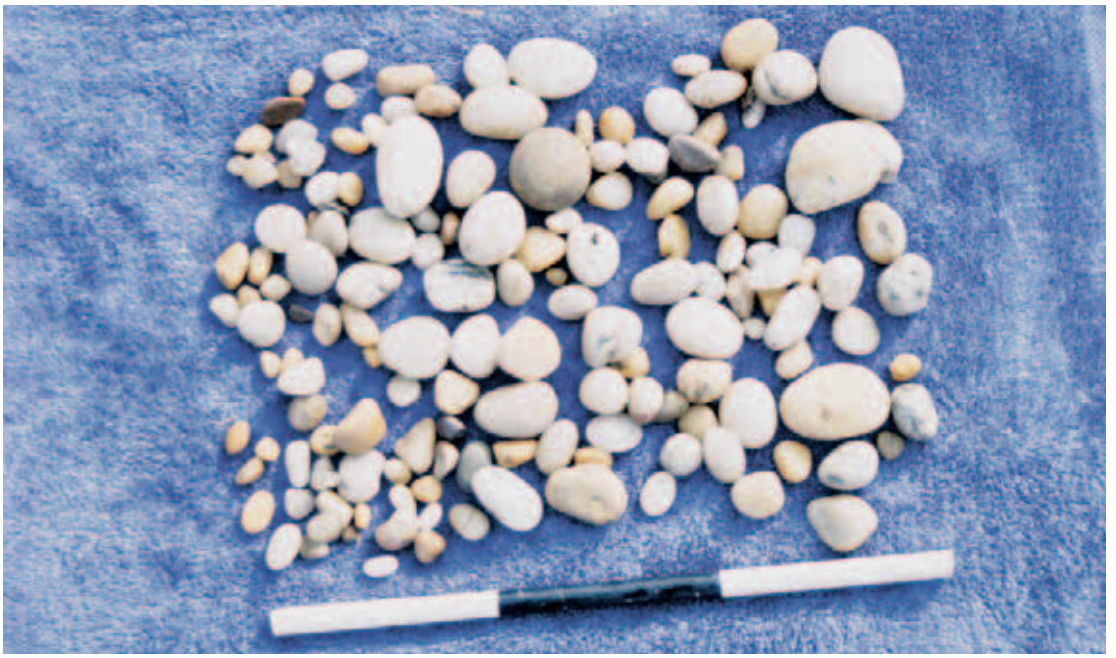


Plate 81 Relickoran. Beach-rolled quartz pebbles were found throughout the site but especially in the large *leacht* in the cemetery enclosure.



Plate 82 Relickoran. Two small cross-inscribed slabs (004.10, left, and 004.09, right) were found among the rubble on the south side of the large *leacht* in the cemetery enclosure and were probably grave-markers.

A copper-alloy button (not illus.) was probably an incidental loss, but another copper-alloy object – a pin fragment from the base of the topsoil (F1003) – may have been a medieval dress accessory, or perhaps a shroud pin.

Finally, three cross-inscribed stones are included in the record of finds from the site (fig. 28). One of these is not a new discovery but simply records the removal of a large cross pillar from a position by the cliff-edge to the Schoolhouse. The other two are smaller examples– probably medieval grave markers (pl. 82) – and were found in the rubble around the margins of the collapsed *leacht* in the main enclosure (F1001 & F1067).

Table 10

Catalogue of artefacts from excavations at Relickoran

Find No.	Type	Feature	Description	Curation
99E:381:01	Stone	1001	Stone disc in roughly worked sandstone. Max. 58 by 10 mm.	UCC [40]
99E:381:02	Stone	1014	Stone disc in roughly worked sandstone. Max. 74 mm by 12 mm.	UCC
99E:381:03	Bone	1001	Misc. animal bone	UCC
99E:381:04	Ceramic	1001	Misc. modern pot sherds	UCC
99E:381:05	Bone	1002	Misc. animal bone	UCC
99E:381:06	Glass	1002	Bottle stopper	UCC
99E:381:07	Bone	1009	Misc. animal bone	UCC
99E:381:08	Ceramic	1009	Misc. modern pot sherds	UCC
99E:381:09	Silver	1001	1915 sixpence	UCC
99E:381:10	Glass	1001	Blue glass bead. Identical to those described below at 99E:381:17.	UCC
99E:381:11	Cu-alloy	1001	Plain copper-alloy button	UCC
99E:381:12	Stone	1001	Cross-slab fragment (see Survey Inventory 004.09 for description)	Schoolhouse
99E:381:13	Cu-alloy	1003	Pin shaft fragment. Round in section but badly flaked/cracked at surface. Surviving fragment 35 mm by 4 mm.	UCC
99E:381:14	Bone	1040	Human bone fragments?	UCC
99E:381:15	Cu-alloy	1001	Small wood & metal crucifix from modern rosary beads.	UCC
99E:381:16	Bone	1030	Human bone fragments	UCC

Find No.	Type	Feature	Description	Curation
99E:381:17	Glass	1032	Glass beads: one white & four blue. The white bead is larger and is of flattened, slightly irregular, spheroid shape with a pearly off-white colour. The much smaller blue beads are also spheroid, slightly irregular and quite dark in colour. Part of a modern rosary beads? One white bead 10 mm wide; 6 mm thick; perforation 2 mm. Four blue beads 6 mm wide; 3 mm thick; perforation 2 mm	UCC
99E:381:18	Glass	1047	Glass bead. Pearly off-white or translucent in colour. Irregular shape (somewhere between barrel and spheroid). Early medieval? Max width 10 mm; thickness 7 mm; perforation 4 mm.	UCC
99E:381:19	Bone	1003	Human bone fragments	UCC
99E:381:20	Bone	1010	Human bone fragments	UCC
99E:381:21	Iron	1003	Small amorphous iron object	UCC
99E:381:22	Pot/glass	1012	Pot sherds/glass from upper rubble rebuild of enclosure wall	UCC
99E:381:23	Bone	1010	Misc. animal and bird bone	UCC
99E:381:24	Stone	1001	Stone disc in roughly worked sandstone. Max. 66 mm by 16 mm.	UCC
99E:381:25	Stone	1001	Sandstone disc. Roughly worked. Max. 86 mm by 18 mm.	UCC
99E:381:26	Stone	1001	Whetstone? Beach rolled sandstone cobble longitudinally split; broken face remains rough but an unusually smooth concave area (50 mm by 40 mm) on the beach-rolled surface represents possible use as a whetstone. Max. 175 mm by 88 mm.	UCC
99E:381:27	Ceramic	1001	Misc modern pot sherds	UCC
99E:381:28	Ceramic	1001	Clay pipe stem	UCC
99E:381:29	Iron	1020	Iron slats from *leacht* rubble	UCC
99E:381:30	Stone	1049	Former standing cross pillar (see Survey Inventory 004.05 for description)	Schoolhouse

Find No.	Type	Feature	Description	Curation
00E381: 31	Cu-alloy	1036	Thin fragment of undecorated bronze (?) sheet, relatively good condition (i.e. no salts or other corrosion products), probably modern. Width 20 mm; thickness 1 mm	
00E381: 32	Iron	1071	Small amorphous iron fragment. Max. width 20 mm	UCC
00E381: 33	Glass	1057	Modern bottle sherd	Discarded
00E381: 34	Stone	1057	Water rolled pebble	Discarded
00E381: 35	Ceramic	1058	One sherd of modern white-glazed table ware with a printed blue rim pattern and one sherd of black-glazed kitchen ware.	
00E381: 36	Bone	1058	Small mammal bone	Discarded
00E381: 37	Stone	1058	Possible hone stone?	Discarded
00E381: 38	Stone	1058	Water rolled pebble	Discarded
00E381: 39	Glass	1058	Modern bottle sherd	Discarded
00E381: 40	Stone	1013	Water rolled pebble	Discarded
00E381: 41	Glass	1059	Modern bottle sherd	Discarded
00E381: 42	Stone	1060	Amorphous iron fragment	Discarded
00E381: 43	Iron	1060	Two amorphous iron fragments. One appears to be grainy at the surface and is possibly 'fossilised' wood, impregnated with iron – possibly coffin wood? Max width 35 mm.	UCC
00E381: 44	Stone	1060	Water rolled each pebble	Discarded
00E381: 45	Ceramic	1060	Three sherds of white-glazed table ware and one sherd of black-glazed kitchen ware.	UCC
00E381: 46	Iron	1060	Small amorphous iron fragment Max. < 10 mm	UCC
00E381: 47	Glass	1060	Modern bottle sherd	Discarded
00E381: 48	Brick	1062	Red brick fragment	Discarded
00E381: 49	Stone	1062	Lump of burnt lime/lime mortar?	Discarded
00E381: 50	Ceramic	1062	About 20 sherds of modern white-glazed table ware with various printed patterns; also one sherd of black-glazed kitchen ware.	UCC
00E381: 51	Glass	1062	Modern bottle sherd	Discarded
00E381: 52	Stone	1062	Stones with striations described by the excavator as 'possible fossils'.	Discarded

Find No.	Type	Feature	Description	Curation
00E381: 53	Stone	1006	Small unworked honey-coloured pebble of flint or possibly jasper. Max. < 20 mm	UCC
00E381: 54	Stone	1061	Water rolled quartz beach pebbles	Discarded
00E381: 55	Stone	1061	Single struck flake of some hard, dark, brittle sedimentary (?) stone – unlikely to be chert – with clean concoidal fracture and percussion bulb on one face and on the other several flake scares (not retouch). Length 67 mm; width 22 mm; thickness 11 mm	UCC
00E381: 56	Stone	1068	Water rolled quartz beach pebbles	Discarded
00E381: 57	Stone	1066	Water rolled quartz beach pebbles	Discarded
00E381: 58	Iron	1071	Small amorphous iron fragment	Discarded
00E381: 59	Iron	1067	Possible iron nail or rivet	Discarded
00E381: 60	Stone	1066	Water rolled quartz beach pebble	Discarded
00E381: 61	Iron	1077	Amorphous lump of fused minerals (i.e. stone, sand, possibly iron); possibly natural or perhaps industrial. Max. < 40 mm	
00E381: 62	Iron	1065	Small amorphous iron fragment Max. < 10 mm	UCC
00E381: 63	Stone	1077	Water rolled quartz beach pebble	Discarded
00E381: 64	Ceramic	1077	About 20 sherds of modern pottery including white-glazed table ware with various printed patterns and a few sherds of black-glazed kitchen ware.	UCC
00E381: 65	Stone	1071	Water rolled quartz beach pebble	Discarded
00E381: 66	Glass	1063	Modern glass bottle sherd	Discarded
00E381: 67	Ceramic	1063	About 20 sherds of modern pottery including white-glazed table ware with various printed patterns and a few sherds of black-glazed kitchen ware.	UCC
00E381: 68	Stone	1063	Two lumps of burnt or roasted lime with large cavities possibly resulting from intense heating for the manufacture of mortar.	UCC
00E381: 69	Bone	1063	One large molar: probably cattle	UCC
00E381: 70	Stone	1067	Cross inscribed stone (see Survey Inventory 004.10 for description)	Schoolhouse

Human skeletal remains

Human skeletal remains from excavations in 1999 *by Julie Roberts*

Assemblage

A small amount of human skeletal remains was recovered by excavations in 1999. The condition of the bones was variable but generally poor. The bones were derived from three excavated contexts – all redeposited or at least disturbed: topsoil and superficial rubble in the main enclosure (F1001), the basal stones of the smaller *leacht* (F1010), and the rubble core of the larger *leacht* (F1030). None of the bones represented an *in situ* burial, therefore, and they have not been assigned 'Burial' numbers.

Analysis

Bones recovered from topsoil in the main enclosure (F1001) comprise a few small and badly eroded fragments of long bone. It is difficult to be certain of species, but they probably are human and most likely adult. It was not possible to determine sex.

Fragments of a left scapula, left parietal, left and right mandible and of one or more long bones (including bones of the forearm) were recovered from within the base of the smaller *leacht* (F1010). The minimum number of individuals is one (1). Based on morphology and thickness of the mandibular body the remains are possibly male. The individual was probably an adult and possibly of early middle age – or between 26 to 40 years. Finally, there is some evidence of superficial infection, in the process of healing, on one longbone fragment (radius or ulna).

A few longbone and cranial fragments from within the rubble core of the larger *leacht* (F1030) were found in a whitened, twisted and cracked condition. This probably represents extreme weathering by sun, rain and wind rather than burning, as was first suggested in the field. Again the minimum number of individuals is one (1), though there may possibly be two individuals represented. One was probably an adult but is of unknown sex. The other was of unknown age and sex, although the identifying element (if it does represent a second person) is from a smaller, more gracile individual.

Human skeletal remains from excavation in 2000 *by Linda Lynch*

The following is a summary of a detailed illustrated report separately bound by Aegis Archaeology Ltd. Copies have been deposited with the archive of technical reports on this project at the national Sites & Monuments Record maintained by the National Monuments Service, and also with the National Museum of Ireland.

Assemblage

The human skeletal remains recovered by excavation at Relickoran in 2000 were in very poor condition and only fragments of individuals survived in all cases. A total of 483 bones or bone fragments was recovered during six weeks of excavation work in 2000, ranging from whole long bones in a very few

cases to small fragments in the majority of cases. In fact over 86% of the bones were classified on examination as poor, very poor or extremely poor, in terms of preservation. The phases from which bone was recovered are listed below in Table 11.

Analysis

Thirteen *in situ* burials could be identified. Within this group the minimum number of individuals (MNI) based on a single bone count was only 10, but this may be attributed to poor preservation. The 13 burials are all adjudged to of be of Phase III or Phase IV – being west/east burials either pre-dating or broadly contemporary with the enclosures and *leachta*. They were generally not identified with reference to their individual grave cuts – as these were invariably poorly defined in Phases III and IV – but instead with reference to groups of bones or bone fragments found in the correct relative anatomical positions.

The sex of eight of the 13 individuals could be determined. There were two females and six males. The age-at-death of nine of the adult burials could be estimated. Three of the adults were aged between 17 and 25 years (one female, one male, one unsexed), five adults were aged between 25 and 35 years (one female, three males, one unsexed), and one adult was aged between 35 and 39 years (one male). It was not possible to calculate the stature of any individual.

Numerous teeth were recovered from the cemetery but the recording and analysis of the frequency and severity of various dental diseases was severally hampered by poor preservation. Incidences of calculus, caries lesions, abscesses, and hypoplastic defects were recorded both on the *in situ* burials and on the disarticulated remains. Certain conditions, such as abscesses and caries, were only observed in the better preserved *in situ* burials, and may have been more prevalent in the population.

A limited number of pathological conditions were observed. These include a congenital defect (spina bifida occulta), metabolic disease (iron deficiency), a tumour (benign osteoma), degenerative joint disease or DJD (severe on one rib fragment, Schmorl's Nodes), and trauma (healed fracture, muscle strains/tears). Again, most of these pathological lesions were only observed in the better preserved individuals and therefore their incidence is unlikely to be representative. The real frequency of these conditions and diseases in the population buried at Relickoran may have been higher.

Interpretation

Although preservation was poor, it seems evident that Relickoran was used for the burial of a general population. No strict segregation is evident in terms of age or sex. There does appear to be a bias towards adult individuals, although this is by no means certain. These adults generally appear to have been quite young, though this may simply be a spurious result arising from poor age indicators on the surviving remains. There also appears to be a bias towards male burials but, again, poor preservation and a small sample mitigates against drawing any hard conclusion about this.

Table 11

Skeletal remains from in situ *burials and from within the leachta at Relickoran*

Skeletal remains from *in situ* burials

Phase	Burial	Summary analysis
IV	Burial 1	Possible adult male, 25–35 years. Surviving elements were parts of the cranium and mandibular teeth and a humerus fragment. Slight to moderate deposits of calculus are present on all of the preserved teeth of this individual. This individual underlay a large deposit of disarticulated human remains that were overlain in turn by a flat slab. It is probable that an existing grave was opened or disturbed to accommodate the burial of this adult male and the disturbed remains were subsequently redeposited over the new burial.
IV	Burial 2	Probable adult of indeterminate age and sex. Surviving bones were two femora, apparently in the correct anatomical position, with proximal ends to the west (i.e. indicating burial with the head to the west).
IV	Burial 3	Possible adult male, aged 25– 35 years. Surviving elements were a cranium and mandible, indicating an extended burial with the head to the west. A slight caries lesion was observed at the cemento-enamel junction of the lower right second premolar and slight alveolar resorption associated with the upper left second and third molars, suggesting periodontal disease or infection of the gums.
IV	Burial 4	Possible adult male, aged 25–35 years. Surviving elements were a cranium and mandible, again suggesting an *in situ* burial, though the orientation was not clearly west/east in this case. Only the crowns of a few teeth were preserved. No dental diseases were observed.
IV	Burial 5	Possible young adult male, aged 17–25 years. Surviving skeletal remains were a few small fragments of the skull, mandibles and teeth. Again, this suggests a possible *in situ* burial but orientation was unclear. A slight caries lesion was observed on the cemento-enamel junction of the upper right first molar, and lines of hypoplastic enamel defects on the right canines.
III	Burial 6	Possible young adult female, aged 17–25 years. Surviving elements were a skull and mandibular teeth, articulated bones of the left arm,

Phase	Burial	Summary analysis
		and a fragment of pelvis. The relative positions of the bones indicates an *in situ* burial, with the head to the west, and left arm flexed to lie across the pelivs. A fragment of the left orbit has small foramina or holes (cribra orbitalia) which suggest this individual suffered mild iron deficiency anaemia. Slight alveolar resorption was associated with the upper right second and third molars, suggesting the early stages of peridontal or gum disease.
IV	Burial 7	Adult of indeterminate sex, aged 25–35 years. Surviving elements were very poorly preserved remains of a skull and mandible. These were found to the western end of a grave cut, indicating an extended burial with the head to the west. Sex could not be determined.
IV	Burial 8	Possible adult female, aged 25–35 years. Surviving elements were poorly preserved cranial and mandibular fragments (teeth only). The skull was found in the west end of a grave cut, again indicating an extended burial with the head to the west. The diplöe of the fragments of the right parietal appears expanded and there are slight traces of porosity on the ectocranial surface. This suggests a condition known as porotic hyperostosis, possibly representing an iron deficiency anaemia. The bone lesions were in the process of healing at the time of death.
IV	Burial 9	Young adult of indeterminate sex, aged 17–5 years. Surviving elements include maxillary teeth, a fragment of the mandible and mandibular teeth, and the shafts of a humerus and femur. The bones were found within and west/east grave cut and the relative positions of the skull and long bones indicate an extended burial with the head to the west.
IV	Burial 10	Possible adult male of indeterminate age. Surviving elements were a fragments of a cranium and mandible. The orientation of the skull suggests an west/east burial with the head to the west but as it was found in the middle of the grave cut for Skeleton 8 it may have been disturbed and redeposited, or lay within an intercut grave that was not defined by excavation. Enamel hypoplastic defects were observed on the lower canines and on the lower left first premolar. Severe caries lesions are present on the upper right second premolar and first molar and there is an abscess associated with the molar with an external drain. Moderate caries lesions are also present on the upper left second premolar and first

Phase	Burial	Summary analysis
		molar, and there are abscesses with external drains associated with both of these teeth. Deposits of calculus were of moderate severity on the mandibular teeth but severe deposits were present on the lower right first molar. These heavier deposits suggest that this individual was probably consuming soft foods as chewing would have been very painful with the lesions present on the maxillae. A smooth depression on the right frontal indicates a well-healed depressed fracture on the forehead – possibly inflicted by violence. There is a smooth, 'button-like' outgrowth on the left parietal at the asterion. This type of lesion is not uncommon on skulls and probably represents an osteoma, a benign tumour growth of which the individual may not even have been aware.
IV	Burial 11	Possible adult of indeterminate age and sex. No bones could be recovered and the skeleton was recognised in the field only as the 'soil stain' of a burial that had completely decayed *in situ*. Traces of the ribs, left lower arm and fragments of the vertebrae were clearly visible. The lower arm was slightly flexed so as to overlie the pelvic area. The burial was orientated SW/NE with the head to the south-west. A group of bones overlying this decayed skeleton were probably remains of another, earlier burial, disturbed by grave-digging for Skeleton 11. Oddly, the bones of this 'earlier' burial were better preserved.
IV	Burial 12	Possible adult of indeterminate age and sex. Surviving elements were fragments of femora and a humerus, and very poorly preserved remains of a mandible and tooth, corrponding the anatomical position of a skull associated with the long bones. Together, these indicate an extended burial with the head to the west.
III	Burial 13	Adult male, possibly aged 35 – 39 years. Surviving elements were the articulated remains of the lower right arm, lower spine, pelvis, sacrum and coccyx, and the femora. The relative positions of the bones indicate an extended burial with the head to the west. The neural arches (S4 and S5) were unfused. This indicates a very mild form of spina bifida, which can involve exposure of the spinal cord, or spina bifida occulta. It is probable that the individual was unaware of this condition in the sacrum and it would not have affected his daily life.

Disturbed skeletal remains from within the *leachta*

Phase	Burial	Summary analysis
III/IV	F1010 (= *ex situ* remains)	Possible adult male, aged 26–40 years. Disturbed or redeposited skeletal remains found within the basal stones of the small *leacht*. Surviving elements included fragments of a left scapula, left parietal, left and right mandible and of one or more long bones, including bones of the forearm. There is some evidence of superficial infection, in the process of healing, on one longbone fragment (radius or ulna).
V	F1030 (= *ex situ* remains)	Probable adult or adults of indeterminate age and sex. Disturbed or redeposited skeletal remains found within the body of the large *leacht*. Longbone and cranial fragments were mixed with the upper rubble fill of the *leacht* in the main enclosure and were severely weathered.

Bird and animal bones *by Tanya O'Sullivan*

Assemblage

A small sample of mammal and bird bone was recovered at Relickoran. Information on species, age and skeletal elements (after Dobney & Reilly 1988), butchery and taphonomy was noted where possible, although the broken, unfused and eroded nature of the bones made accurate measurements impossible.

The bone was recovered from the following four contexts:

F1001 – topsoil in the main enclosure
F1002 – topsoil in the smaller enclosure
F1009 – soil layer and rubble surrounding the *leacht* in the smaller enclosure
F1010 – basal stones of the *leacht* in the smaller enclosure.

Analysis

The species represented were cattle, sheep, rabbit, domestic fowl and kittiwake. Two bird bones were unidentifiable to species due to their condition, but one was attributed to the family *Laridae* (gull) and another more tentatively to the family *Charadridae* (plover).

The cattle bones were fragments of mandible, maxilla, tooth, small fragments of tibia and radius epiphyses, sesamoid bones and numerous butchered fragments of ribs, vertebrae and long bones. A number

of long bone and rib fragments had been worked or at least bore knife cuts. Accurate ageing was impossible to determine on the cattle bones as too little of the long bones and mandible remained.

The sheep bones consisted for the most part of butchered vertebrae, rib and long bone fragments, again some of the long bone fragments had been worked. A number of leg (femur, tibia, calcaneus), sesamoid (patella), and toe bones (ph2) were also represented. The sheep leg and toe bones were unfused where it could be determined.

Rabbit bones from young individuals were recovered from the topsoil and two scapulae and vertebrae fragments appeared in rubble surrounding the *leacht* in the smaller enclosure. The domestic fowl bones were dominated by wing and pectoral girdle bones with only a few leg bones present. Fowl bones were present in all contexts but substantially more occurred in rubble within the smaller enclosure or within the *leacht* itself (F1009 & F1010).

Other species of bird were represented by miscellaneous skeletal elements and did not make up a significant proportion of the sample. The kittiwake was represented by a single coracoid. An ulna proximal fragment and a humerus were attributed to a gull and wader species respectively.

Interpretation

The cattle and sheep bones in the sample consist primarily of head and toe bones, and butchered long bones indicative of butchery waste. The presence of unfused ephipyses in the sample suggests that the carcasses were not those of elderly individuals. Heraughty (1982, 47) notes that the 19th-century inhabitants of Inishmurray kept cattle, sheep and horses, and that most male calves and a considerable number of heifer calves were slaughtered. The small sample considered here corresponds with this picture, whatever its date.

The presence of domestic fowl is interesting. Their bones are almost completely absent from the published record of south and west coast and island sites of early medieval date and it was more common for island communities to exploit local seabird populations. Fowl became more popular in the centuries of Norse influence but even for later medieval times the proportion of domestic fowl bones on rural Irish sites remains very low. In the present assemblage 75% of the (albeit small) bird bone sample is made up of fowl bones. This is a pattern more in keeping with the findings from medieval urban sites. It should be added of course that their retrieval within a medieval cemetery does not mean the bones are of medieval date, though the *leacht* in the smaller enclosure and surrounding rubble (F1009 & F1009) appear to be relatively secure contexts. Nonetheless, it must be considered more likely on balance that these are modern bones intruded into this context by, say, rats or other scavenging, burrowing animals.[41] This view is supported by comparing the well preserved animal and bird bones with the friable, poorly preserved human bone, which is certainly of medieval date.

Rabbits are recorded by Heraughty (1982, 96) as one of the few wild mammals observed on the island and this would explain the presence of rabbit bones in the topsoil. Again, the bones recovered from the base of the small *leacht* (F1010) are likely to be intrusive.

Soil samples

Samples from excavations in 1999 *by Diane Alldrit*

Bulk soil samples retained from excavations at Relickoran in 1999 were processed by wet sieving and flotation, and then examined using low-power magnification. The results are set out in Table 12 and the features that were sampled are listed here. (The sample from F1007/48 was lost and has not been processed.)

F1001 – topsoil layer/turfline
F1007/48 – soil layer beneath paving and wall at east of main enclosure
F1014 – lower topsoil with small rubble around *leacht* in smaller enclosure.
F1049 – fill of pit for base of cross pillar at east of main enclosure
F1051 – charcoal-rich layer cut by cross pillar; sealed by F1007/48.

The results are unremarkable in most respects. Very small volumes of material were recovered. No cultivars (e.g. cereal crops) are represented but this is not entirely surprising given that the samples came from a burial ground. The presence of wood charcoals is noteworthy as the island is entirely treeless today. The wood may have been brought to the island in the past in worked form – as basketry or tool handles for instance – but the presence of wetland and scrub species suggests the more likely explanation that it was native to the island at some time in the past.

Table 12

Inclusions in bulk soil samples from excavations at Relickoran in 1999

Note: The following represents the combined flots and retents of processed samples

Key: + = rare ++ = occasional +++ = common ++++ = abundant

Charcoals

Taxon	Common name	F1001	F1014	F1049	F1051
Betula	birch		0.15g		
Ericaceae	heather family	<0.05g			0.45g
Prunus avium	wild cherry	0.1g			
Prunoideae	cherry				0.2g
Salix	willow		0.05g	0.2g	0.05g
Cinder		0.55g			0.1g
Indeterminate			0.1g	0.15g	0.1g

Carbonised seeds

Taxon	Common name	F1001	F1014	F1049	F1051
Chenopodium album	fat hen		1	2	
Luzula	wood-rush			1	
Plantago lanceolata	ribwort plantain				1
Poaceae (small)	grass			1	
Rubus fruticosus s.l.	bramble		3		
Rumex	docks		1		
Stellaria / Cerastium	stitchwort/mouse ear		6		

Uncarbonised seeds

Taxon	Common name	F1001	F1014	F1049	F1051
Carex viridula s.l.	yellow sedge			1	
Chenopodium album	fat hen	4	3		1
Cirsium	thistle	11	1		
Euphorbia helioscopia	sun spurge	2			
Hypericum sp.	St John's wort			1	
Lapsana communis	nipplewort		1		
Ranunculus arvensis	field buttercup	1			
Rubus fruticosus s.l.	bramble	2	>20		1
Rumex sp.	docks	8	4		
Stellaria/Cerastium	stitchwort / mouse-ear	115	3	4	
Urtica dioica	stinging nettle	4	1		

Miscellaneous plant remains

Type		F1001	F1014	F1049	F1051
Bark		++++			
Bryophytes (moss)				+	
Modern herbaceous roots			++++	++++	++++
Monocotyledons		++++	++++	+++	
Tree roots		++++			

Miscellaneous other inclusions

Type	F1001	F1014	F1049	F1051
Clinker/cinder		+		
Earthworm eggs	+	+		
Ferrous material (poss. natural)	+			
Fish bone	+			
Flint				
Glass				
Insect				
Invertebrates	++++	+++	++	+++
Marine shell	++			

Samples from excavations in 2000 *by Mhairi Hastie*

This is a summary only of a more detailed report separately bound by Headland Archaeology Ltd. Copies have been deposited with the archive of technical reports on this project at the national Sites & Monuments Record maintained by the National Monuments Service, and also with the National Museum of Ireland.

Thirty-three samples were subjected to a system of flotation in a Siraf-style flotation tank. The floating debris (flot) was collected in a 250 μm sieve, and once dry, was scanned using a binocular microscope. Any material remaining in the flotation tank (retent) was wet sieved through a 1 mm mesh and air dried. This was then sorted by eye and any significant material was removed. The inclusions extracted by this means are listed in the following table.

Table 13

Inclusions in bulk soil samples from excavations at Relickoran in 2000

Key: + = rare ++ = occasional +++ = common ++++ = abundant

Feature description	F. No	Slag	Tooth	Bone	Land	Charcoal	Miscellaneous
Grave earth layer	1003						
Soil layer under enclosure wall	1013					+	
Grave fill	1039		+				
Grave fill	1040						
Grave fill	1042		+	+			
Redeposited subsoil	1056	+				+	Weed seed

Feature description	F. No	Slag	Tooth	Bone	Land	Charcoal	Miscellaneous
Grave fill	1061						
Soil layer beneath paving	1064					+	Cereal grain
Soil beneath extension to main *leacht*	1066			+	+		
Rubble extension to main *leacht*	1067						
Grave fill	1068						
Grave fill	1069		+				
Soil layer beneath paving	1071			+	+	+	Poss. mortar frags
Sandy loam soil spread	1072		+	+		+	
Soil layer beneath paving	1076			+			Cereal grain
Grave earth layer	1077						
Basal topsoil outside enclosure	1079						
Black mottled soil layer	1080					+	Hazelnut frag.
B horizon subsoil outside enclosure	1082						
Redeposited subsoil overlying graves	1085		+				
Grave fill	1086		+				
Dark soil at base of topsoil outside enclosure	1090					++	
Cereal grain							
Soil layer under modern field wall	1036/60						

The concentration of archaeological remains from excavation at this site in 2000 – when most of the topsoil and overburden had already been removed the previous year – was extremely low. Occasional fragments of burnt bone, tooth enamel and one small fragment of slag were recovered from the retents. Many samples were removed from deposits thought to be grave fills. Fragments of bone and teeth were recovered from these but they were extremely small and could not be positively identified as human. One exception was a well-preserved tooth – from a stone spread in the main enclosure (F1042) – and which is thought to be human.

Apart from very small quantities of wood charcoal and the occasional charred cereal grain/weed seed the flots consisted mainly of modern root and leaf debris. None of the samples produced sufficient wood charcoal for a radiocarbon date though the cereal grains could be used if thought necessary.

Three samples contained the remains of charred cereal grain. These were from beneath the east paving in the main enclosure (F1064), a dark soil layer around the base of the smaller *leacht* (F1076) and a similar deposit outwith the smaller enclosure (F1090). Both hulled barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) and oat (*Avena* indet.) were identified, but these were poorly preserved and never occurred in concentrations greater than one identifiable example per sample. Both hulled barley and oat are commonly recovered from medieval contexts across Britain and Ireland. In addition, one charred weed seed was recovered from a soil deposit within the base of the main *leacht* (F1056). The origin of the carbonised material is uncertain. It probably derives from reworked background material from the surrounding soils.

Radiocarbon dates

Permission was granted by the National Museum of Ireland to submit a selection of the excavated human skeletal remains for radiocarbon dating and the results are given in the following table. For osteological analysis of the skeletons see 'Human remains', above (J Roberts; L Lynch).

The dates prefixed by the lab code AA–37260 and AA–37261 were measured at the University of Arizona using the accelerated mass specrometry method (AMS). Dates coded UB–4635 and UB–4636 were measured at Queen's University Belfast (QUB) while dates coded UB–4443 to UB–4450 were pre-treated and graphitized at QUB and AMS measurements then made at the Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit.

Radiocarbon ages are quoted in conventional years BP (before 1950 AD) and the errors for these dates are expressed in statistical terms at a one sigma level of confidence. Calibrations were measured using the radiocarbon calibration programme CALIB (Rev 5.0.1) (Stuiver & Reimer 1986–2005) in conjunction with the IntCal04 calibration curve (Reimer et al. 2004). The calendrical date ranges thus obtained are expressed at one and two sigma levels of confidence.

Table 14

Radiocarbon dated human skeletal material from excavations at Relickoran 1999–2000

Note: dates are listed in decreasing order of radiometric age or Yrs BP

Lab code	Sample	Phase	Yrs BP	Calibrated dates
UB-4635	Burial 13 Skeletal material from *in situ* burial beneath the *leacht* in the smaller enclosure	III	1036±43	AD 904–1029 one sigma AD 893–1148 two sigma
UB-4636	Burial 6 Skeletal material from *in situ* burial beneath the *leacht* in main enclosure	III	1174±48	AD 778–937 one sigma AD 711–982 two sigma

Lab code	Sample	Phase	Yrs BP	Calibrated dates
AA-37260	Disturbed or redeposited human bone fragmentsfrom a loose stony fill (F1010) at the base of the *leacht* in the smaller enclosure	III/IV	940±50	AD 1031–1154 one sigma AD 1018–1209 two sigma
UB-6443	Burial 1 Skeletal material from *in situ* burial north of the *leacht* in the main enclosure	IV	921±32	AD 1044–1158 one sigma AD 1027–1205 two sigma
AA-37261	Disturbed or redeposited human bone fragments from a loose stony fill (F1010) at the base of the *leacht* in the smaller enclosure	III/IV	905±50	AD 1043–1179 one sigma AD 1024–1219 two sigma
UB-6447	Burial 7 Skeletal material from *in situ* burial south of the *leacht* in the main enclosure	IV	891+/30	AD 1051–1207 one sigma AD 1041–1216 two sigma
UB-6446	Burial 5 Skeletal material from *in situ* burial east of the *leacht* in the main enclosure	IV	819±31	AD 1194–1261 one sigma AD 1166–1267 two sigma
UB-6445	Burial 3 Skeletal material from *in situ* burial east of the *leacht* in the main enclosure	IV	686+/31	AD 1277–1381 one sigma AD 1267–1389 two sigma
UB-6444	Burial 2 Skeletal material from *in situ* burial east of the *leacht* in the main enclosure	IV	560±29	AD 1323–1415 one sigma AD 1309–1427 two sigma
UB-6448	Burial 8 Skeletal material from *in situ* burial south of Burial 7, to the south of the *leacht* in the main enclosure	IV	379±29	AD 1452–1616 one sigma AD 1445–1631 two sigma

Lab code	Sample	Phase	Yrs BP	Calibrated dates
UB-6450	Burial 10 Skeletal material from *in situ* burial directly east of Burial 8, to the south of the *leacht* in the main enclosure	IV	303±29	AD 1521–1645 one sigma AD 1490–1651 two sigma
UB-6449	Burial 9 Skeletal material from *in situ* burial south of Burial 8, to the south of the *leacht* in the main enclosure	IV	286±29	AD 1523–1653 one sigma AD 1495–1663 two sigma

Interpretation of the excavation results

The Cemetery of Odrán

Relickoran is a unique site in the Irish archaeological record. Other early Irish or Hiberno-Scottish monasteries are known to have had multiple or satellite cemeteries and some of these have been subject to field investigation, including Na Ferta (Scotch Street) in Armagh (Lynn 1990), Sheeon Hill near Durrow, County Offaly (Ó Floinn 1986), possibly Mount Gamble near Swords, County Dublin (O'Donovan 2006) and St Ronan's Church (O'Sullivan 1994), the last being one of several satellite cemeteries outlying the Columban monastery on the island of Iona (Reeves 1857).[42] It may be significant that three of these four examples are at important Columban monasteries, especially given that the dedication of Relickoran suggests Columban influence here also (below). Future research may show that this pattern of burial was particularly (though not exclusively) characteristic of the Columban *familia*. Relickoran is the only satellite cemetery excavated to date where a surviving group of built features – the enclosing walls, *leachta* and pavement (i.e. Phase IV) – represents a single design of medieval date.

The excavation also afforded a glimpse of an even earlier phase in the use of the site as a cemetery. Twenty or more graves of NE/SW orientation (Phase II) pre-dated the present enclosure and extended beyond its walls on the north-east side. No skeletal remains survived and it is not possible, therefore, either to derive radiocarbon dates from these graves or to say whether they were burials of the general population or of a special group. Nor is it possible to say why their orientation is at odds with later, west/east burials, though it is noted in passing that Teach Molaise – the earliest of the surviving churches on the island – also stands on a NE/SW orientation. All in all, there is no reason to suspect that these are not Christian graves and they may date to the earliest period of monastic settlement on the island.

A more numerous group of later graves, on an west/east alignment, represents a major reorganisation of the cemetery (Phases III & IV). About forty graves were recorded, though this number represents merely those that could be defined (fig. 58). The outlines of others would have been erased by intercutting,

later graves in the course of ongoing use of the cemetery over many years. Thus the total number of burials that actually occurred in this phase may have numbered in hundreds.

Most of these graves lay parallel to the enclosing walls and indeed the surviving examples suggest that the burials were interred in well ordered rows. Some of the latest graves were grouped around the *leacht* in the main enclosure and featured cist-like stone settings around the edges, with flat cover stones in at least two examples. In contrast, a few graves extended beneath the enclosing walls and some fragments of human bone and iron were found beneath the paving at the west side of the enclosure. These are clearly early in the sequence (Phase III) and on this slender evidence it appears that the cemetery had already been reorganised on an west/east orientation before the *leachta*, pavement and enclosing walls were built.

In any crowded cemetery with a high incidence of intercutting graves and a long history of use, any *in situ* remains are more likely to represent the latest burials. Similarly, here, no skeletal remains were recovered from any of the graves of NE/SW orientation (Phase II) while at least thirteen west/east graves contained *in situ* remains (Phases III & IV). The individuals were young or mid adults, including two possible females and at least six possible males. The earliest radiocarbon-dated skeletal remains were female (Burial 6): they came from a grave beneath the main *leacht* and were dated to a period between the eighth and 10th centuries. Another possible female (Burial 8) was buried to the south of this *leacht* but the bones were of a much later date. There may once have been children too, but conditions would not have favoured survival of their younger, more perishable bones.



Plate 83 The early medieval cemetery of Reilig Odhráin, on Iona, with the 12th-century Oran's Chapel and (background), the later medieval Benedictine Abbey that occupies the site of the original Columban monastery.

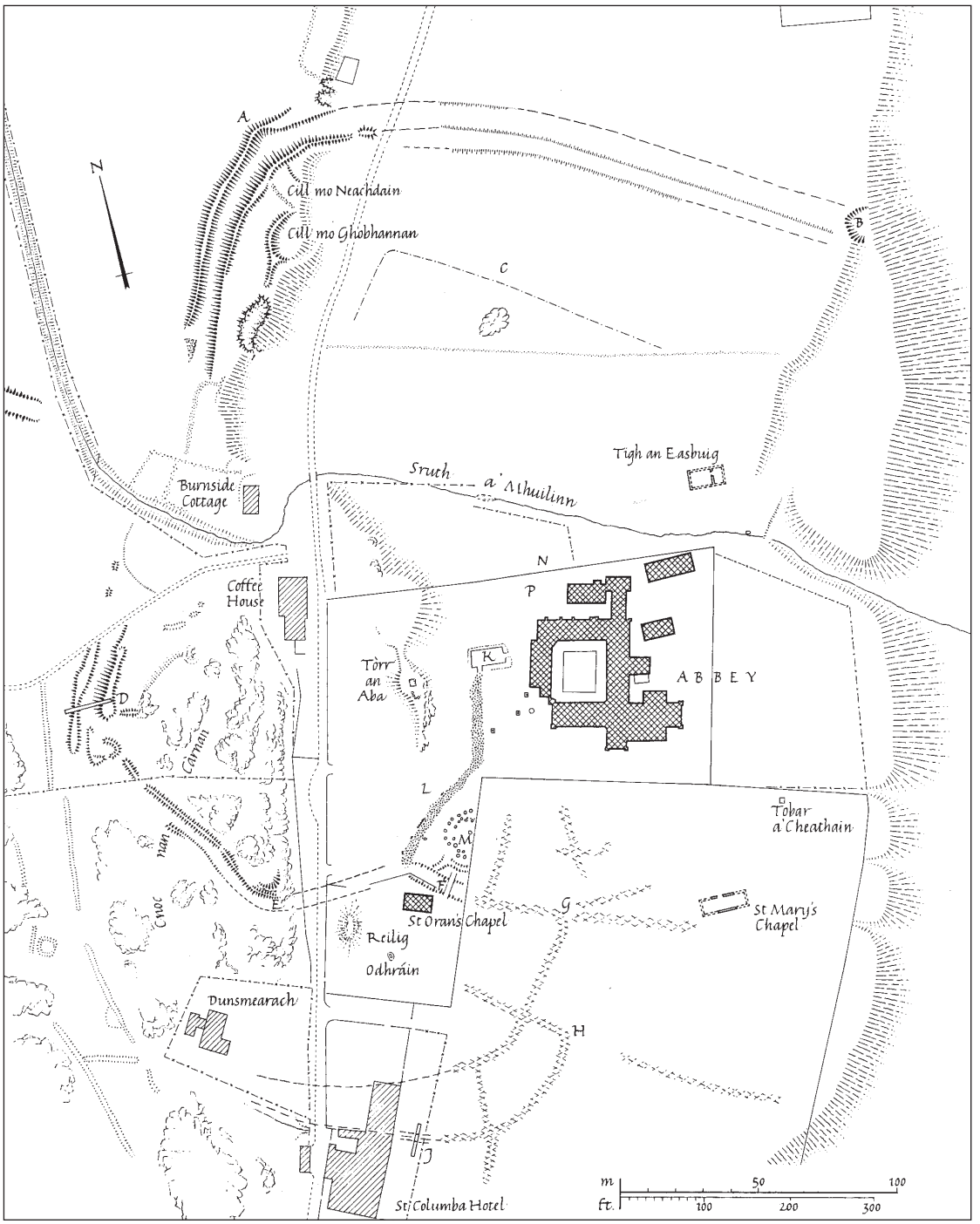


Figure 63

Plan of the Abbey, Iona (RCAHMS 1982, fig. 3). The extramural cemetery known as Reilig Odhráin – with the 12th-century Oran's Chapel – are at the primary entrance to the original Columban monastery, the site of which is now occupied by a later medieval Benedictine abbey.

A dozen radiocarbon dates have been derived from twelve individual skeletons. (Two of the dates – AA–37260 & AA–37261 – are from disturbed or redeposited bones within the base of the small *leacht* but are unlikely to be from a single individual.) The date ranges obtained for these burials extend from the early eighth to the mid 17th centuries. It appears likely, therefore, that the cemetery was established not long after a monastery was founded on Inishmurray and that it remained in use until around the time the last religious left the island in the post-Reformation period (see 'Ecclesiastical history', above). Radiocarbon dates alone cannot indicate for whom the cemetery at Relickoran was intended, but its sporadic use over a very long period suggests that it may have been the burial place of an elite group, possibly patrons of the monastery or kin to its abbots, or indeed both.

Why was any group buried in a separate cemetery on the periphery of the island? A clue may lie in the dedication of the cemetery. There were a number of Irish saints with the name Odrán: among the most notable are Patrick's charioteer and a disciple of Ciarán of Seir who founded Latteragh (Lettir-Odrán), County Tipperary (Gwynn & Hadcock 1970, 40). However, it seems likely that Relickoran was dedicated to an obscure follower of Columba of that name for whom a satellite cemetery is also named on Iona (fig. 63; pl. 83). This coincidence of dedication and topography is striking, and the case is particularly compelling in light of the other links between Inishmurray and the Columban *familia* (see Ecclesiastical History).[43] The *Reilig Odhráin* on Iona is also an extramural cemetery – lying either side of a cobbled roadway at the main entrance to Columba's monastery (Barber 1981) – and Sharpe (1995, 70–71) surmises that it 'was in origin a burial place for the laity'. The implication is that burial within the vallum was originally a privilege reserved for monks. However, like Inishmurray, the documentary sources make clear that the whole of the island of Iona was conceived as a consecrated landscape and so those buried in that Relig Odhráin could expect to benefit from this sanctity. In a Middle Irish homily on choosing the island, Columba requests that one of his followers be buried in 'the soil of the island to consecrate it' (Sharpe 1995, 277–78, 282, 360–62; Herbert 1988, 261). Odrán volunteers and Columba tells him that 'no one will be granted his request at my own grave, unless he first seek it of you.' While the meaning of this is not immediately apparent, a similar incident in the Life of Finbarr clarifies it somewhat. In this case, the disciple of Finbarr says that 'If my body is the first to go under the ground here […] I will not allow anyone who dies within the circuit of Cork to go to hell' (BNÉ, II, 17). Perhaps this is the request to which Columba was referring: the saint's help in gaining entry into heaven. Columba's curious statement was probably meant to sanction a role for Odrán as mediator between the laity, buried with him on the periphery of the site, and Columba buried within the vallum, who would ensure their salvation. This may well be what prompted the Inishmurray community to dedicate one of their satellite cemeteries to Odrán: by doing so they could appeal for the salvation of those interred there, not only to Molaise, but also, by proxy, to Columba himself.

The Leachta *and enclosures*

The radiocarbon dates from burials that pre-date and post-date the *leachta* and associated enclosures at Relickoran on Inishmurray amount to *terminus post quem* and *terminus ante quem* dates for these features. The large *leacht,* paving and main enclosure cannot pre-date the early eighth century (Burial 6) nor post-date

the 12th century (Burial 1). The *leacht* in the smaller enclosure stands over a burial dated, broadly, between the late ninth and mid 12th centuries (Burial 13). Of course, in either case, there is no way to prove that the *leachta* were not dismantled and rebuilt over any of the graves that underlie them. One of the two graves (F1086) in the smaller enclosure underlies the *leacht* and thus was assigned to the small group of early west/east burials (Phase III); however, it also appears to respect the enclosing wall (Phase IV). This might be a matter of chance but it could also be a hint that the *leachta* were indeed dismantled and rebuilt to allow selected individuals to be buried beneath them.

Bearing in mind this caveat the TPQ and TAQ radiocarbon dates in the eighth and 12th centuries are indicative at best for the period of construction of the *leachta*. But other evidence can be brought to bear. We will argue elsewhere (O'Sullivan et al., in prep.) that a date between the late 9th and 11th centuries is consistent with the style of the cross-slabs at Relickoran and also those that stood upon other satellite *leachta* around the island.[44] Assuming that these carved stones were intended for these positions in the first instance then, by association, they indicate the precise period within the broad range of the radiocarbon dates when the *leachta* and enclosures at Relickoran were built.

Clearly, at this time the cemetery was intended to have other uses than as a burial ground. The enclosing walls, *leachta*, pavement and stiles were part of a single integrated design. This facilitated access to the cemetery and directed the movements of devotees who may have come to pray or hear mass at the *leachta*. The circuit of paving about the inner wall faces is an especially important detail of this design (fig. 60). It raises the possibility that the 'rounding' ritual practised in the modern period – by processing three times about the site in a clockwise direction and reciting certain prescribed prayers – was a well-established and important feature of medieval devotions, and not merely a post-Reformation development as some have suggested (e.g. Carroll 1999, 84).

A further striking feature of the *leachta* at Relickoran is their characteristic but idiosyncratic method of raising drystone work on a basal course of thin, edge-set slabs. These edge-set slabs formed the outer faces of the *leachta* at ground level. This technique can be seen in *leachta* or enclosing walls at the Cashel, Templenaman, Treenode More, Ollamurray and Trahanareear. At this last site the technique also features in the construction of the clochaun conjoined with the enclosing wall. Thus the perception of the main features at Relickoran as elements of a single design can be extended to embrace a number of other monuments on the island that were visited in the circuit of stations forming the 'turas' or 'pattern', from early medieval times until the middle decades of the last century.

Cross-inscribed stones

Five cross-slabs can now be associated with Relickoran. The two smaller examples found within rubble spreads south of the main *leacht* were probably grave markers. Two larger slabs surmounted the same *leacht* and a cross pillar stood by the stile communicating between the larger and smaller enclosures. These cross-slabs may well have been brought to the cemetery from elsewhere on the island but – applying Occam's razor – we have assumed (above) that they were originally carved for use at Relickoran. The unmarked, badly spalled slab on the *leacht* in the smaller enclosure is not known to have been carved but may once have borne a cross too.

Modern activity

The various modern features which were recorded are a reminder that – even after the site was abandoned as a burial ground – its physical fabric could be changed by episodes of maintenance and repair. The post-pits and rough paving found outside the site on the north-east side offer one glimpse of this. Though they are not primary features they clearly relate to a period before the entrance stile was closed. As a best guess they probably represent an effort to screen the stile from livestock and secure dryshod access at some point in the post-medieval period.

Not all of the latest features represent continuing respect for the site, however, and the modern dumps of small field clearance stones and even limpets and periwinkles attest to a more pragmatic attitude to this 'redundant' walled space which was surrounded by intensively cultivated small fields throughout the period after its use as a cemetery had long ceased.

Reconstruction

The excavated parts of the monument were reconstructed using the original stones by a team of masons and other personnel from the OPW in 2001. The larger *leacht* was reconstructed on its original site but the smaller *leacht* its enclosing wall were set back a short distance from the cliff-edge. No attempt was made to replace the missing seaward sector of the main enclosure wall, where it had collapsed onto the rubble beach below the cliff-edge. The pillar stone and other cross-inscribed slabs were taken to the OPW conservation store at the island's old Schoolhouse.

Ollamurray 2000

Survey Nos. 005.1–005.3
Excavation Licence No. 00E:0484

Site Description

The monument known as Ollamurray (*Ulaidh Mhuire* or 'Mary's Altar [or Cairn]') consisted of a roughly square rubble cairn, or *leacht* (Survey No. 005.02), within a quadrilateral drystone enclosure (005.001) (fig. 64). Prior to excavation in 2000 the surrounding wall stood to no more than 0.5 m high and enclosed an area of 6.2 m east/west by 5.7 m north/south. The *leacht* itself was 2.2 m east/west by 2 m north/south and was 0.5 m high.

Prior to excavation the enclosure was almost entirely cast down. The walls survived to a few courses at best and, elsewhere, merely as linear rubble heaps (fig. 65). The southern part of the site was exposed to a receding cliff-edge, over a narrow, rocky inlet, and showed extensive evidence of ongoing storm damage. Indeed, the monument was undercut by a deep cavity – about 2 m deep and 0.3 m high – where a layer of soft sediment in the cliff-face beneath it had been gouged out by wave action.

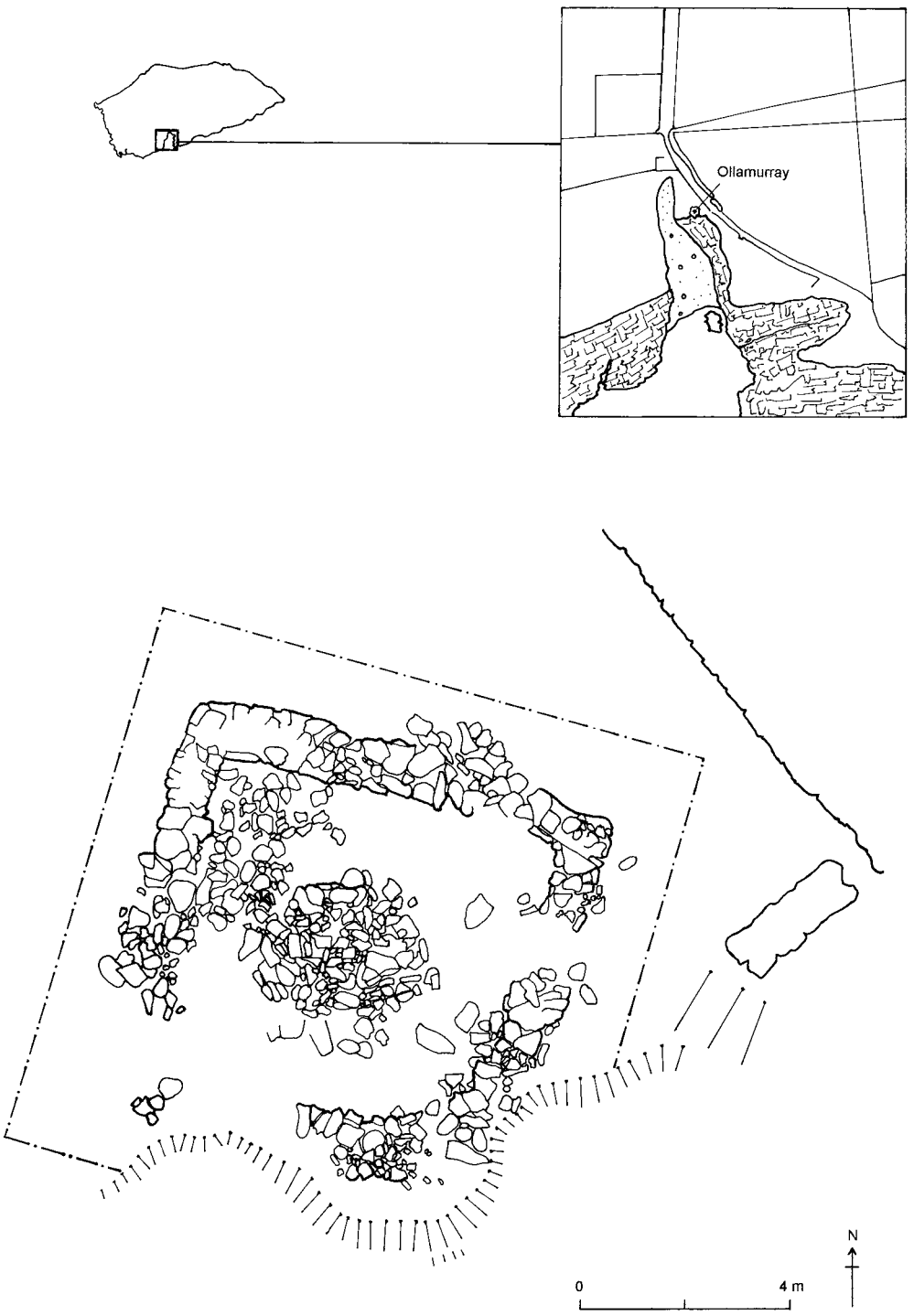


Figure 64
Ollamurray: pre-excavation plan of the *leacht* and enclosure showing the area to be excavated.

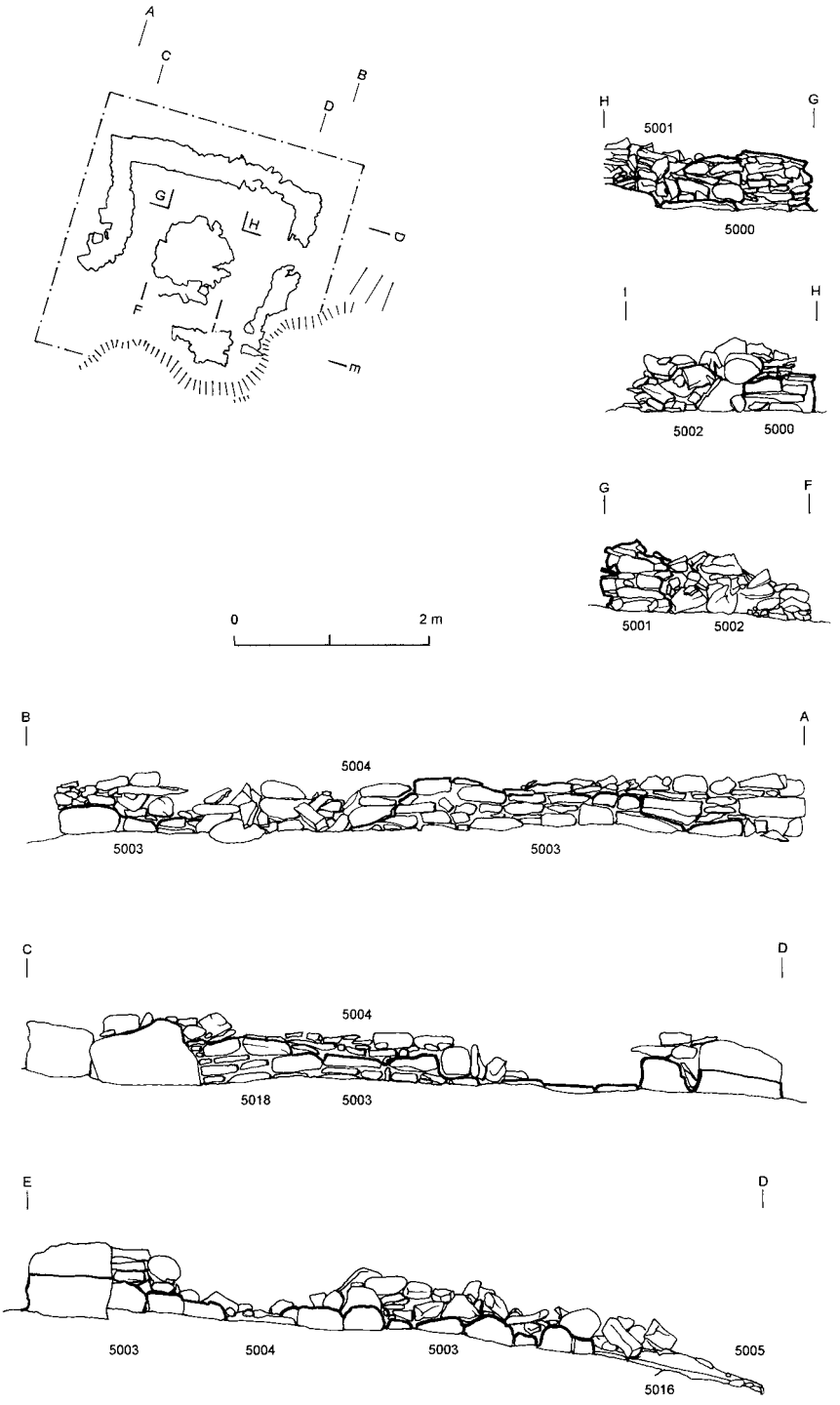


Figure 65
Ollamurray: elevations of the *leacht* and enclosing walls.

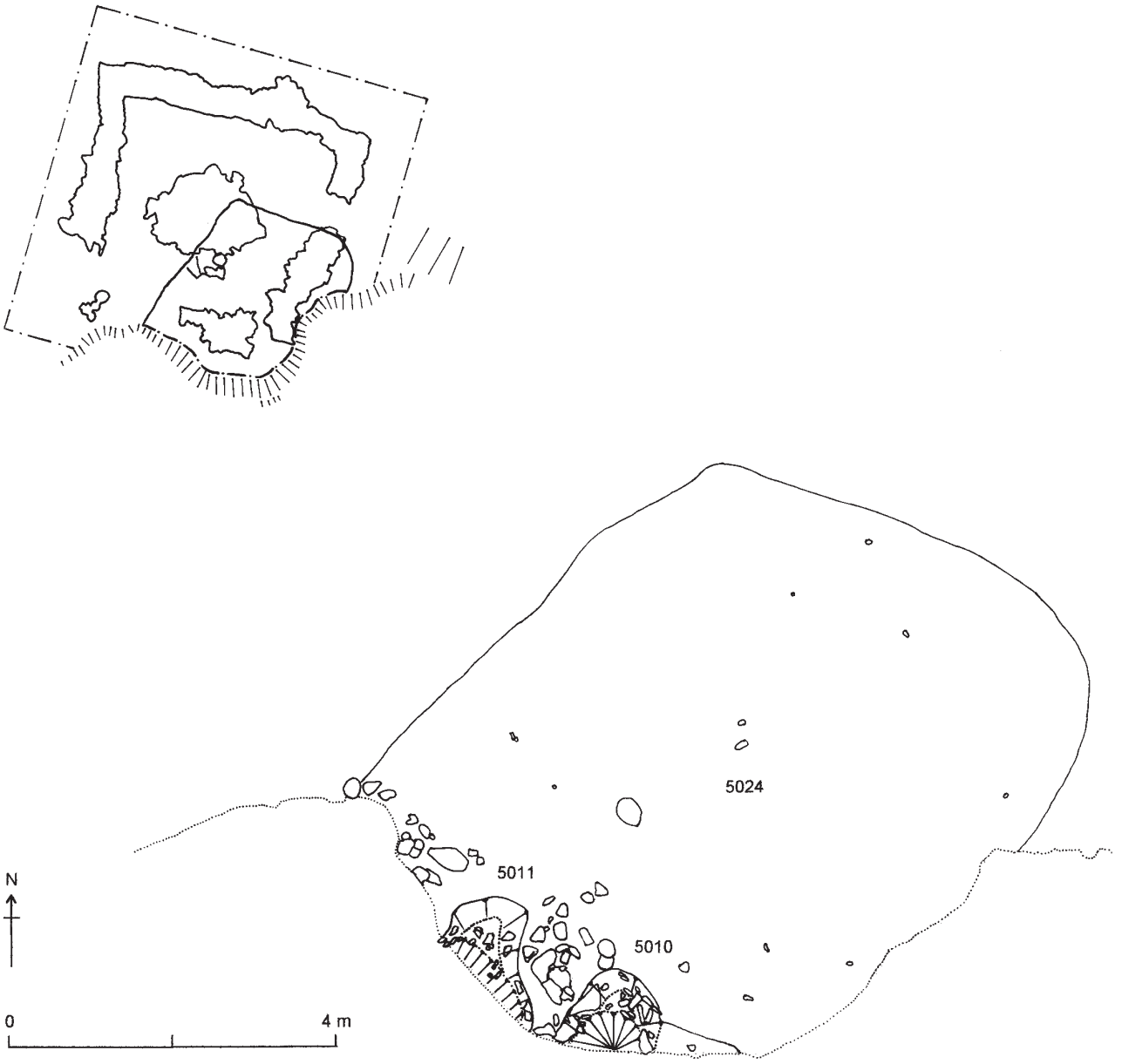


Figure 66
Ollamurray: extent of the early buried soil layer with worked flint and chert inclusions.



Plate 84 Ollamurray. General view of the excavation site.

A plain slab (No. 005.03) was seen on the *leacht* by Wakeman (1893, 127–8, fig. 63) in the 1880s. This may possibly have been a weathered cross-slab but was no longer *in situ* at the time of excavation. (No cross-marked or carved stones were found during the excavation.)

The site area was generally poorly drained, with dark peaty surface soils and, below these, a heavy iron pan was visible in the cliff face. Strongly rooted meadow grasses and associated weeds occurred throughout the site.

Aims and methods

The principal aim of the investigation was to make a total record the monument before it succumbed to further marine erosion and to facilitate its reconstruction at a short distance from the cliff-edge. Standing structures (i.e. *leachta*, enclosure walls) were drawn in plan and elevation before any work was undertaken on these. Topsoil and surface rubble were stripped by hand. Thereafter, excavated features and sediments were individually described in the field and were planned, photographed and sampled. As at Relickoran, much of the work consisted of trowelling off shallow soil spits, as individual features and sediments could not easily be distinguished.

Stratigraphy

Phase I: early soil layer with pits and worked flint/chert

The primary or basal soil layer on the site consisted of a very stony till, heavily impregnated with iron

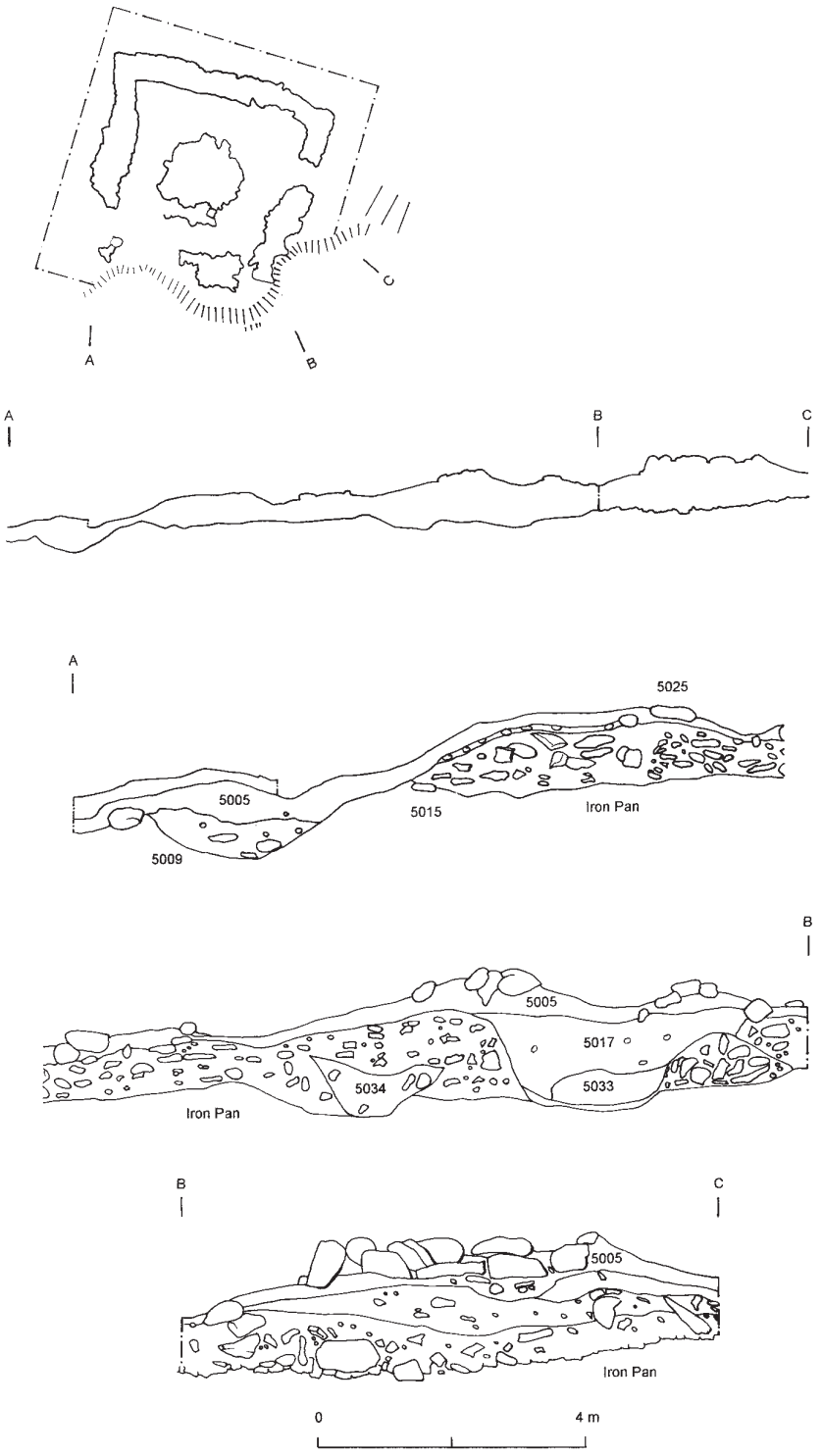


Figure 67
Ollamurray: features and deposits in the eroding cliff face.

pan or ferrous mineral discolouration (F5031). This was overspread by patches of sandy, dark, grey loam (F5007, F5012, F5020 & F5024), probably remnants of an early topsoil. This is defined here as an early soil layer because, in turn, it underlay a peaty layer that eventually colonised the monument and its immediate environs (figs 66 & 67).

Samples from this relict topsoil were found to contain some modern root or insect inclusions, occasional small charcoal flecks and a single burnt bone fragment. The bone was not identifiable to species. A dozen worked chert or flint pieces were recovered from this soil horizon and included a fragment of a tanged arrowhead of probable Bronze Age date (see Hammar, below).

Two features occurred at this level. These were two small pits (F5010 & F5011) seen in section in the eroding cliff face and partly sealed by a grey loam spread (F5024). These were wide, splayed cuts, with gently rounded bases, up to 0.7 m wide and 0.8 m deep (fig. 67). The fills consisted, variously, of grey-brown stony loam soil (F5034), and orange or yellow clay-rich soils (F5017, F5032 & F5033) with occasional large flat stones. These were not obviously structural features (i.e. post-pits) and may simply have been storage pits, but the possibility that they are vestiges of some sort of hut or shelter by the rocky sea inlet cannot be discounted. Apart from some intrusive modern insect and plant remains no palaeoenvironmental inclusions were recorded in samples from the fills.

Phase II: primary phase of *leacht* and enclosure

Removal of the loose, drystone rubble which formed the upper or secondary elements of the enclosure wall revealed a primary build (F5003) consisting of edge-set flat, angular stones, up to 0.4 m high, with a core of smaller rubble and peaty dark soil (F5018) (fig. 68; pl. 84). As with the later or secondary elements, this enclosure survived only on the north, east and west sides, most of the southern sector having succumbed to marine erosion. There was no surviving evidence for the entrance that Wakeman (1893, 128) observed on that side of the monument.

The primary phase in the construction of the *leacht* itself was represented by a concentration of close-set stones (F5000 & F5029), including both rounded beach cobbles and a few angular blocks, contained within thin, flat edge-set stones forming the outer faces of the structure. A few of these edge-set stones were still upstanding on the north and east sides but elsewhere they had collapsed outwards, under pressure from the mounded rubble making up the secondary elements of the *leacht*. Despite this it is possible to suggest that the original dimensions of the *leacht* on plan were about 1.8 m east/west by 1.4 m north/ south.[45] The surviving primary elements stood to no more than 0.4 m but doubtless were once higher (pl. 85).

Two of the large angular blocks within the base of the *leacht* had a white mineral deposit adhering to one or more faces. This was thought in the field to be lime mortar but subsequent petrographic analysis indicates that it is a naturally occurring calcite deposit (see Carter, below).

Soil deposits associated with this phase of the *leacht* (dark humic or peaty soils F5023, F5035 & F5036) and enclosure wall (peaty soil F5018) did not appear to be primary deposits and are more likely to be intrusive natural sediments which gradually colonised the interstices of the stones.



Figure 68
Ollamurray: the *leacht* and enclosing walls after removal of the topsoil.



Plate 85 Ollamurray. The *leacht* prior to excavation, from north (top), and a detail (below), showing how the edge-set slabs of the basal course were flattened outwards by a history of subsidence, collapse and rebuilding of the structure.

Phase III: secondary elements of the *leacht* and enclosure

Large, irregular flat slabs (F5014) occurred intermittently in the space between the *leacht* and its enclosing wall (fig. 68). These were neither well laid nor numerous and formed a patchwork of roughly laid paving. This is considered a secondary or late feature because it overlay a thin, peaty soil layer (F5006 & F5021) which appears to have developed after the monument was built. Within this peaty soil layer, a few charcoal flecks and an area of orange discolouration (F5027) indicate burning in the south-west quadrant (possibly this should be attributed to the prehistoric horizon described above).

The *leacht* itself was deliberately extended at least once (as opposed to merely being enlarged with random rubble). This work was represented by a low kerb or row of contiguous large stones (F5026) extending along the west face of the structure. The interstices of these stones were filled by a peaty brown soil (F5030); again, probably a secondary or intrusive natural sediment.

Phase IV: miscellaneous modern features

The latest elements of the enclosing wall consisted of small and large angular rubble (F5004) roughly heaped over the primary core to raise the walls to about 0.5 m in height on the north, east and west sides. The southern sector had more or less entirely collapsed or been eroded and was represented in this last phase only by a low, linear rubble mound (F5016).

The *leacht* was similarly augmented by late rubble. This took the form of rough drystone work (F5001) around the north-west corner as well as small rubble (F5002, F5013 & F5022) heaped over the whole surface and extending into the core (figs 64 & 68).

The latest or uppermost soil within the excavated area was a highly humic brown loam (F5005). Due to poor drainage this was locally orange or ferrous stained (F5019) and was increasingly wet and peaty towards the south-west quadrant of the site (F5028).

A low mound of rounded beach cobbles (F5015) lying partly within this wetter, peaty area was probably upcast from the storm beach below, which consisted entirely of such material (fig. 68). Adjacent to this a linear heap of large, angular stones (F5025) was all that remained of a stone dyke that had formerly stood along the cliff-edge. This was evidently built after Wakeman's (1893, fig. 63) survey.

Finally, small irregular features recorded both in the cliff face (F5008 & F5009) and beneath the base of the *leacht* itself (F5037) are interpreted as areas of disturbance and collapse caused by burrowing rabbits.

Artefacts

Twenty-four objects are recorded in the finds list from Ollamurray. As this includes some sample material – including two bird or rabbit bones, some charcoals and a large stone bearing a natural calcite deposit – there are only 18 objects which may be considered as artefacts.

A dozen of these are pieces of struck flint or chert representing prehistoric activity on the site (pl. 86). These are described in a brief report by Hammar, below. Most of the pieces, including the arrowhead, were recovered from early soils (Phase I). Others occurred as residual inclusions in later deposits, possibly disturbed by burrowing rabbits.

Apart from the flint and chert pieces, a small angular piece of quartz may also have been worked or chipped to form a cutting edge; while one large water-rolled pebble bears peck marks or percussion scars on one end and was evidently used as a hammerstone.

Some modern objects include an iron nail or brad, fragments of an iron shoe for a pony or donkey, a clay pipe stem, and a sherd of modern tableware. The ceramic sherd and iron nail were both found within secondary rubble (Phase IV) heaped over the surface of the *leacht*. The clay pipe stem was found within the peaty soil layer underlying the rough paving surrounding the *leacht*.

Table 15

Catalogue of artefacts from excavations at Ollamurray

Find No.	Type	Feature	Description	Curation
00:E484:1	Iron	5004	Two fragments of a small iron shoe for a pony or donkey, forming a tight arc with square perforations for brads or nails. Max diam 85 mm; width of band 25 mm; thickness 6 mm.	UCC
00:E484:2	Iron	5022	Iron nail or brad; no head; bent at right angle, perhaps to form strap. Length (overall) 61 mm; thickness 3 mm to 10 mm	UCC
00:E484 3	Bone	5016	Mammal/bird bone (rabbit?)	Discarded
00:E484:4	Iron	5016	Three corroded iron fragments with areas of mineralised wood grain Max width 35 mm	Discarded
00E484:5	Clay pipe	5006	Plain clay pipe stem; heavy stem but with small bore; probably of late 18th/early 19th-century date Length 33 mm; diameter 6 mm	UCC
00E484:6	Ceramic	5022	Sherd of modern plate or dish in printed table ware	UCC
00E484:7	Stone	5025	Large water-rolled beach pebble, roughly hand-sized, with pecking or percussion damage to one end Length 120 mm	UCC
00E484:8	Chipped stone	5007	Worked piece of honey coloured flint: flake fragment with retouch on concave edge. Max 16 mm	Lost

Find No.	Type	Feature	Description	Curation
00E484:9	Chipped stone	5028	Two pieces grey chert; both flakes or flake fragments – one a platform flake. Maximum 33 mm & 16 mm	UCC
00E484:10	Bone	5007	Small mammal bone; rabbit?	Discarded
00E484:11	Stone	5007	Rectangular, flat quartz pebble Length 30 mm; width 20 mm; thickness 7 mm	Discarded
00E484:12	Chipped stone	5007	Worked piece of chert: proximal fragment of a platform flake. Maximum 20 mm	UCC
00E484:13	Charcoal	5024	Unabraded pieces of charcoal	Sample
00E484:14	Chipped stone	5030	Grey chert flake fragment Max 25 mm	UCC
00E484:15	Chipped stone	U/S	Worked piece of honey-coloured flint, reworked along the edges to create two points. Max 25 mm	UCC
00E484:16	Charcoal	5006/07	Unabraded charcoal pieces	Sample
00E484:17	Chipped stone	5020	Fragment of flint arrowhead: tang and one barb of a probable Bronze Age piece. Patinated or possibly burnt flint. Max 22 mm	UCC
00E484:18	Chipped stone	5007/20	Several pieces of chert as: a) two chert pieces from a platform core; b) chert flake, possibly bipolar technique; c) chert platform flake with wear marks; d) two fragments of chert platform flakes; e) chert fragment, probably also from the previous item. Max. lengths 22 mm to 53 mm.	UCC
00E484:19	Charcoal	5007/20	Unabraded charcoal pieces	Sample
00E484:20	Stone	5029	Large unworked stone from within base of *leacht* with a white, mortar-like deposit adhering on two faces. Dimensions 36 mm by 22 m by 13 mm	Sample



Plate 86 Ollamurray. Fragment of a flint arrowhead (top right) and other chipped stone objects from an early buried soil layer beneath the *leacht* and enclosure (for descriptions see Table 15 and notes by Hammar).

A note on worked flint and chert *by Dag Hammar*

Most of the worked chert pieces are flakes or flake fragments, struck using the platform technique – a common method of systematically reducing a flint or chert pebble to a workable core. The only exceptions are a platform core (No. 18) and a flake struck using the bipolar technique (No. 20b). One of the flakes (No. 20c) has wear marks along the straight, distal edge. This could have been used as a scraper. The remaining chert pieces are most likely debris.

The flint shows a different picture, as all three items have been reworked. The tanged and barbed arrowhead (No. 17) is missing the point and one of the barbs. Also, one rhombic piece (No. 15) has traces of retouching or wear marks on all its edges. This implement could be interpreted as a pointed tool, or maybe as a rough-out for an atypical arrowhead. The concave edge with retouching (No. 8) might possibly be a fragment of a larger implement.

The tanged and barbed arrowhead is probably of Bronze Age date.

A 'lime' deposit on a stone from the *leacht by Stephen Carter*

Excavation of the basal level of the *leacht* (Phase II, F5029) revealed two large stones with a thin white

deposit on one surface, provisionally interpreted as lime mortar. This was assumed to have become attached to the stone before it was placed within the *leacht* and suggested the possibility that the stone derived from an early mortared building. One of the stones with the adhering mortar-like deposit was submitted for analysis. The objective was to characterise the deposit and identify its source and function.

Methods

The part of the stone with the putative lime mortar deposit was removed from the large block with a cold chisel and hammer. This fragment was then cut to produce multiple thin sections of the deposit. Five rock slices were mounted on a single glass slide and the thin sections were examined using a petrographic microscope.

Results

The rock that bears the subject deposit is a well-sorted sandstone comprising angular grains of quartz with frequent feldspar set in a sparry calcite cement. The deposit on the surface of the rock proved to be extremely brittle and therefore tended to flake off during sample preparation. However, sufficient survived in thin section to show that it is a surface deposit of microcrystalline calcite that fills any surface irregularities in the rock surface. The rock surface beneath the calcite deposit is weathered and has lost the sparry calcite cement for a depth of 2 to 3 mm below the surface.

Discussion

Examination in thin section has confirmed that the deposit is indeed composed of calcium carbonate in the form of microcrystalline calcite. Lime putty crystallises to form microcrystalline calcite so it is possible that this deposit is the remains of a lime mortar or, given the absence of a sand component, a surface render or lime wash. This possible explanation should be weighed against an alternative natural origin. The sandstone block, which is assumed to be a piece of the local Mullaghmore Sandstone, has a high calcium carbonate content derived from its calcite cement. There are also other abundant calcareous rocks in this part of Sligo. It is clear in thin section that the rock surface with the calcite deposit was weathered and de-calcified. The process of localised dissolution and precipitation of calcite is widespread wherever calcareous rocks are found at or close to the ground surface in a wet temperate climate. It is therefore possible that the calcite deposit from Ollamurray is a natural product of this solution/precipitation process.

Given the widespread occurrence of natural solution and precipitation of calcite, it seems reasonable to assume that the Ollamurray deposit is a natural occurrence, although an artificial origin cannot be ruled out.

Soil samples *by Mhairi Hastie*

This is a summary only of a more detailed report separately bound by Headland Archaeology Ltd. Copies have been deposited with the archive of the project records at the National Monuments Service and the National Museum of Ireland.

Twenty-one samples were processed using the methods described for samples from Relickoran (above). The concentration of environmental remains from these samples was extremely low. A few fragments of burnt bone were recovered from an early soil layer (F5020c) underlying the enclosure wall, but the fragments were very small and further analysis would add little. Occasional small charcoal fragments occurred in several samples but species identification was not attempted. Otherwise, the only inclusions found were modern root/weed seed and insect debris.

Radiocarbon dates

Charcoals from an early context at Ollamurray were submitted for radiocarbon dating at Queen's University Belfast. The sample was rejected as the charcoal fragments were too small either to identify to species or to date using the conventional radiometric method. The samples were re-submitted to the University of Arizona – via the Scottish Universities Research Reactor Centre in Glasgow – and dated using the accelerated mass spectrometry method (AMS).

Radiocarbon ages are quoted in conventional years BP (before 1950 AD) and the errors for these dates are expressed in statistical terms at a one sigma level of confidence. Calibrations were measured using the radiocarbon calibration programme CALIB (Rev 5.0.1) (Stuiver & Reimer 1986–2005) in conjunction with the IntCal04 calibration curve (Reimer et al. 2004). The calendrical date ranges thus obtained are expressed at one and two sigma levels of confidence.

The charcoals were from a soil layer (F5007/5020 – Phase 1) underlying the *leacht* and partly sealed by a thin peaty layer. Worked flint and chert, including a Bronze Age arrowhead, was also found in this layer. Consequently, it was anticipated that the charcoals would yield a prehistoric date. Surprisingly, the resulting calibrated date ranges span the late eighth to late 10th centuries. Clearly the soil layer from which they derive includes residual or disturbed material – i.e. the worked flint and chert pieces – from widely separated and unconnected periods of activity on the island. Nonetheless, the dates do usefully identify a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the *leacht* in the last quarter of the first millennium AD.

Table 16

Radiocarbon dates from excavations at Ollamurray

Lab code	Sample	Yrs BP	Calibrated dates
AA-43644	F5007/5020 – Charcoals from an early soil layer (Phase I) that overspread the area beneath the *leacht* and enclosing wall	1135 ± 45	AD 785–979 one sigma AD 778–1000 two sigma
AA-43645	As above	1190 ± 55	AD 775–940 one sigma AD 687–982 two sigma

Interpretation of the excavation results

The investigation of Ollamurray disclosed few 'hidden' elements of the site. The monument proved to be quite uncomplicated in terms of phasing or development. In both its first and final form it comprised a rubble cairn standing within a rectilinear drystone enclosure with little change in overall appearance (figs 64 & 68). Despite this, the later accretions of drystone work on the enclosing wall and *leacht* – and their subsequent collapse into amorphous rubble heaps – masked the character of the primary build. This featured flat, edge-set stones which formed the outer faces at basal level of the *leacht* and the enclosing wall. The significance of this unusual style of construction is that it was observed in the other excavated *leachta*, at Relickoran and Trahanareear (above), and can also be seen in other, unexcavated examples on the island, at the Cashel and Treenode More. An inescapable inference is that all of these *leachta* were built to a common design, probably at the same time, and under the supervision of one individual.

The monument at Ollamurray also shares with other excavated examples a history of rebuilding or extension. There was little evidence for the date of this although, as elsewhere, modern inclusions indicated that the latest episodes of maintenance were relatively recent, occurring in the 19th century or later.

Other finds were of more remote date. The single fragment of barbed-and-tanged arrowhead suggests that the small assemblage of worked flint collected from the site is of Bronze Age date. While this may simply represent transitory use of the site for fishing or seal hunting, the presence of debitage suggests more than a passing presence and the two pits recorded in the cliff face may be vestiges of a shelter, campsite, house or even enclosure. There is scarcely any other evidence of a human presence on the island in prehistory, though some large, edge-set slabs within 100 m of the present site are thought to represent a cist burial with food vessel that was discovered on the island in 1938 (Heraughty 1982, 19; Survey No. 018.01).

Reconstruction

The *leacht* and its enclosing wall were entirely reconstructed on an adjacent site, set back several metres from the eroding cliff-face, by a team of masons from the OPW in 2001. The original stones were all used but there was no attempt to replace them in their precise relative positions in the reconstructed monument.

Part v

Interpreting the Ecclesiastical Landscape

Introduction

The ecclesiastical landscape of Inishmurray is unique in the Irish archaeological record. On the one hand, the extensive use of stone means that it is characterised by a level of preservation and intelligibility normally associated with relatively minor sites in the west of the country. On the other, the relative wealth and ambition of its community means that it is characterised by a monumentality and complexity of layout normally associated with major sites further east. Because of this combination many key concepts embodied in the layout of major Irish ecclesiastical sites are expressed with particular clarity on Inishmurray, especially in light of the new dating evidence reported here. The site is also unusual, among monasteries off the west coast, in that a religious presence was maintained there until the 17th century.[46] This continuity gives us greater confidence that modern ritual practice on the island may be related to the rituals performed there in medieval times. These rituals help us to move beyond a static account of site layout towards a model of how this sacred landscape was articulated and experienced.

Before looking at Inishmurray in more detail, we will first consider the antiquity of pilgrimage and pilgrimage monuments in Ireland generally. Subsequent sections will address how exactly the Inishmurray satellite monuments were used, both by the religious community and by pilgrims. Particular attention is given to the cursing rituals associated with the Clocha Breaca. Despite the continuities that exist, we will emphasise throughout the likelihood that ritual practice on the island has changed considerably since the foundation of the monastery. Some of these changes are given particular attention in the final section which focuses on later medieval alterations and additions to the pilgrimage landscape.

The antiquity of popular pilgrimage in Ireland

Leachta *and the pilgrimage round*

A feature common to all the satellite monuments on Inishmurray, including the cemeteries at Templenaman and Relickoran, the 'hermitage' of Trahanareear and the other, more generic, pilgrimage stations such as Ollamurray and Laghta Patrick, is the *leacht* (pl. *leachta*). Until recently these rectilinear drystone structures acted as stations in the pilgrimage round or *turas* on the island, and elsewhere *leachta* continue to serve this function. On the designated 'pattern' day pilgrims recite prayers and perform rounding (circumambulatory) rituals at *leachta* as well as at holy wells and other miscellaneous pilgrimage foci at sites around the country.

The origin of these practices is controversial. Traditionally, it was common to view both the monuments and the rituals performed at them as survivals of pre-Christian 'Celtic' practices. For example, William Wilde believed that 'most of our holy wells were objects of veneration, perhaps of worship, long prior to the spread of Christianity in Ireland, when the Pagan altar…and Druid priest, were their general accompaniments; and, therefore, it cannot be wondered that so many unchristian rites and ceremonies should still attend the practices observed there by the uneducated' (1850, 46–7).[47] The idea that modern patterns are pagan rituals with a veneer of Christianity added is now very much a minority view, but there is evidence to suggest that some have pre-Christian origins. This includes numerous folkloric associations which, despite chronological difficulties, cannot be dismissed out of hand (MacNeill 1962). From an

archaeological perspective, Kelly (2002) has recently highlighted the occurrence of Late Iron Age artefacts at a number of holy wells. These are best seen as votive offerings, and Kelly's suggestion that the 'holy' or 'healing' well phenomenon was introduced from Roman Britain has much to recommend it.[48] But this is not to say that popular pilgrimage practices have remained unchanged since then. It seems certain that the vast majority of holy wells are much more recent, and no evidence has come to light to suggest that any *leachta* were built in pre-Christian times.

Some scholars have assumed that *leachta* are a modern phenomenon. For example Hughes & Hamlin (1977, 108) include them in a discussion about the present state of early ecclesiastical sites and suggest they may be 'comparatively recent pilgrimage foci.' Francoise Henry was similarly doubtful about the antiquity of the Caher Island *leachta* (1947, 28; also Edwards 1990, 116). This scepticism is shared by Carroll (1999, 71, 127) who argues that Irish communal pilgrimages are essentially a Counter Reformation phenomenon: an idiosyncratic expression of the Tridentine idea that the whole community should gather regularly to carry out uniform practices.[49] There does seem to have been a genuine upsurge in pilgrimage activity during this period and many individual pilgrimage rounds and *leachta* are clearly modern.[50] There is also some evidence to suggest that holy wells were now more likely to be the principal focus for pilgrimages than they had been previously.[51] However contemporary sources show that this development was essentially a rejuvenation or reorganisation of earlier practices.[52] For example, in 1611 the Bishop of Ossory remarked on 'the fervour with which the faithful had begun of late years to visit the sanctuaries and hallowed pilgrimages *frequented of old by their fathers*' (Moran 1884, ciii; emphasis added). As discussed below, there is both documentary and archaeological evidence that these earlier generations of pilgrims also engaged in circumambulatory rituals akin to those which characterise modern pilgrimage rounds. Carroll's study is part of a body of scholarship that aims to refute the idea that traditional beliefs and practices are pristine survivals from ancient times; according to this school of thought traditions are 'invented' as intentional responses to particular social and political contexts.[53] But, while many historians have found this idea useful, it inevitably encourages them to gloss over cultural continuities, especially in the area of ritual practice. Connerton (1989, 103–04) has argued that the effect of this scholarship is 'to obscure the distinction between the question of the invention of rituals and the question of their persistence.' By contrast, his own study demonstrates the inherent conservatism and stability of communal ritual practices like those performed on Inishmurray until recently (further below).

In recent years Michael Herity (1989a) has been the most prominent advocate of an early medieval origin for Irish pilgrimages.[54] He dates a number of examples, including that at Inishmurray, on the basis of an art historical appraisal of the cross-slabs surmounting the *leachta*. Of course, it should be borne in mind that cross-slabs are highly portable objects, but we agree that, following 'the principal of parsimony,' most of them were probably made for the purpose they still serve (ibid., 119). However, while Herity's main thesis is convincing we do have two criticisms of it. First, he dates most of the cross-slabs and, by extension, the pilgrimages to the sixth and seventh centuries, whereas at Inishmurray both art history and now excavation at Relickoran and Ollamurray suggest a date closer to the end of the first millennium or the beginning of the second.[55] Secondly, his assumption that the rituals associated with these monuments are entirely unchanged since the early medieval period, even down to the order in which prayers are recited (ibid., 121) is flawed. Communal rituals organised by a medieval monastic community are likely to have

been accompanied by psalms and especially litanies in which the crowd gives a short and unvarying response to invocations sung by one or more soloists (Evenou 1988, 242–3; Bailey 1971, 120; Cross & Livingstone 1997, 984–5, 1332; O'Loughlin 2000, 146–65),[56] but such prayers were not recited during the modern Inishmurray pilgrimage. Furthermore, the devotional use of the *Ave*, which does feature prominently in the modern pilgrimage, is not attested until the 11th century, and the prayer did not assume its present form until the 16th century (Cross & Livingstone 1997, 729–31). Thus Herity denies creative input to modern pilgrims, just as Carroll denies that there was any input from early medieval clerics and pilgrims. In arguing for the middle ground between these two models, we will focus on the medieval evidence for pilgrimage rituals in Ireland and elsewhere. The modern rituals are, of course, relevant but only where there are close correlates for them in the early sources.

Popular pilgrimage in early medieval Ireland

With the exception of a few important studies (especially Herity 1989a and Harbison 1991), discussions of early Irish pilgrimage have generally focused on the extraordinary holy men, the *peregrini*, who went into self-imposed exile from their native land to undertake perpetual pilgrimage without a fixed destination (e.g. Gougard 1932, 131–80; Charles-Edwards 1976). *Peregrinus* literally means pilgrim but, in reality, these individuals occupied 'a status somewhere between that of a hermit and a pilgrim' (Dunn 2000, 140). Most references to pilgrimage in the early Irish sources relate to this sort of activity, or to pilgrimage as a metaphor for the monastic way of life (e.g. Selmer 1959). Carroll (1999, 111, also 42–43) takes this as evidence that there was no precedent in early medieval Ireland for the popular pilgrimages of the modern era, because at that time pilgrimage was 'conceptualised primarily as an ascetic and mystical experience.' This analysis perpetuates the discredited myth that an esoteric and highly ascetic brand of Christianity developed in Ireland and other 'Celtic' areas, which differed fundamentally from the European mainstream (Hughes 1981; Davies 1992). The fact that the most important cult sites in Ireland were monasteries rather than, for example, cemeterial basilicas outside sub-Roman towns, in no way diminishes the likelihood that they became pilgrimage centres, for monks played a vital role in the organisation and promotion of pilgrimages throughout Christendom. From the fifth century onwards they became custodians of the major extra-mural shrines of Italy and Gaul (Dunn 2000, 92–3, 168). Earlier still, the initial development of pilgrimage in the Holy Land was 'largely the unique result of the mutual interests and combined efforts of monks and pilgrims' (Sivan 1990). These monks acted as guides and interpreters, and charismatic monks could themselves become the star attraction of such pilgrimages (Sivan 1990; also Coleman & Elsner 1995, 89–90; also 1994, 78).

While many Irish saints inspired devotion during their lifetimes, their cults did not mature fully until some time later, often between c. 650 and 850. This period saw the development of an Irish hagiographical tradition and, in tandem with this, relics of Irish saints were now being revered. Translation of a saint's primary relics was only deemed necessary in a minority of cases, but the more widespread cult of secondary relics such as bells and crosiers also has its origins in this period. From the late eighth century perpetual pilgrimage abroad (*peregrinatio*) was being discouraged by abbots such as Maelruan of Tallaght (Gwynn 1927, 75–77).[57] Their principal concern was to limit the practice among monks whom they

would prefer to remain under abbatial authority at home (Hughes 1960, 147; Bitel 1990, 229–30) but, as Harbison (1991, 236) has pointed out, it must be significant that this prohibition coincides with unprecedented investment in local saints' cults.[58] That these cults were developed as an alternative to pilgrimage abroad is clear from the Irish *Life of St Berach*, a 12th-century redaction incorporating earlier material, in which two crosses are erected on the edge of the saint's monastery, 'the visiting of […which] is the same to any one as if he should go an equal distance on the road to Rome' (BNÉ, I, 41–2; Ó Carragáin 1994b, 411–13; for another example see BNÉ I, 125, 143).

We can be confident that these devotional practices at early Irish monasteries were not being developed solely for the benefit of the monastic inmates. The limited documentary evidence for popular pilgrimage primarily reflects biases in these sources (*pace* Carroll 1999), a problem faced, to a greater or lesser extent, by scholars of early medieval pilgrimage throughout Europe (Stopford 1994, 57–9; Webb 2002). Conventional pilgrimages were simply not worthy of notice in the annals unless they coincided with an extraordinary event, such as the thunderbolt that 'fell on Cruachan-Aighle [the pilgrimage mountain of Croagh Patrick], on the night of the festival of Patrick which destroyed thirty of the fasting people' (ALC 1113).[59] Unlike this act of nature, the correspondence between Viking raids and saints' feast-days was no coincidence (Smyth 1999, 21). The large numbers of slaves acquire on such occasions is, perhaps, the most striking documentary evidence for popular pilgrimage in early medieval Ireland. Occasionally sources give a vivid picture of these festivals, including this excerpt from Cogitosus' (c. 675 x 686: Charles-Edwards 2000, 438–40) account of the festival of Brigid at Kildare:

> And so who can count the different crowds and numberless peoples flocking from all the provinces – some for the abundant feasting, others for the healing of their afflictions, others to watch the pageant of the crowds, others with great gifts and offerings – to join in the solemn celebration of the feast of saint Brigid ... on the first day of the month of February (Connolly & Picard 1987, 27).

Though Cogitosus calls the site 'a vast metropolitan city' (Connolly & Picard 1987, 26), most scholars now agree that he is not describing a true urban environment (e.g. Valante 1998; Swift 1998). Nevertheless, his description must be taken as evidence that major churches attracted pilgrims from considerable distances and in large numbers.[60]

Ritual in the early medieval landscape

The sequence of development

It would appear from the evidence of our survey and excavations that most of the elements of the modern pilgrimage to Inishmurray were put in place towards the end of the first millennium or the beginning of the second. While it is likely that pilgrims visited the island before then, we can say very little about the character of Inishmurray in that earlier time. Within the principal monastic cemetery in the Cashel, what purported to be Molaise's grave may have been marked by a modest grave-slab, like that which marked

Columba's grave on Iona until his bones were translated in the mid eighth century (VC, III, 23; MacDonald 1998, 25). Excavation suggests that the subsidiary cemetery of Relickoran was established quite early in the history of the monastery, and it is possible that a third cemetery was established at Templenaman at an early date. These are the two most substantial of the satellite sites on the island's perimeter and may have served as a lay cemetery and nuns' cemetery respectively.

More than a millennium of erosion has substantially altered the southern coastline of the island, but it is possible that pilgrims to the island disembarked near one or other of these two cemeteries before making their way to the Cashel. A 'green street' still leads from the seashore near Templenaman directly to the cashel; and an impressive wayside pillar stone (Survey No. 002.03) with a now indecipherable inscription hints that this may once have been a ceremonial path. Old field boundaries in the first edition Ordnance Survey map (1836) indicate there was once a second path to the Cashel from the seashore by Relickoran (fig. 3). It was suggested above ('The cemetery of Odrán') that Odrán may have had a symbolic role as mediator between the saint and the lay population; if so it would be fitting if pilgrims passed by his cemetery on the way to the grave of Molaise.

During the early centuries of the monastery, Relickoran was a simple cemetery without enclosures, paving or *leachta*. There was no ritual focus at all at Ollamurray and most of the other minor satellite sites may also be relatively late additions. One likely exception is the hermitage of Trahanareear at the western extremity of the island. We lack radiocarbon dates for its Phase I cell and wooden altar, but they pre-date a *leacht* similar in form to the *leachta* at Relickoran.

Radiocarbon dates from the shrine chapel of Teach Molaise suggest it may have been erected in the Cashel during the eighth or ninth centuries, though a date in the 10th century cannot be ruled out (Berger 1992 & 1995). It was probably erected over the putative grave of the saint and may have perpetuated its orientation. This would explain why it is oriented NE/SW like the earliest burials at Relickoran, rather than E/W like the later burials and the principal congregational church of Templemolaise. We do not know whether the supposed bones of Molaise were translated and enshrined at this time. As noted above ('Ecclesiastical history') it is possible that the saint arrived on the island through cult diffusion rather than in the flesh, but we know from other cases that this would not have inhibited the development of a corporeal relic cult, if this was what the Inishmurray community required (Ó Carragáin 2003b, 166, note 40). In any case, it seems likely that Teach Molaise was designed to allow Molaise's secondary relics, including the eighth- or ninth-century bell and the largely ninth-century crosier (Bourke 1985), to be housed over his supposed grave.

The various stone *leachta*, both within the Cashel and on the perimeter of the island, have clearly been rebuilt several times, but the use of distinctive upright slabs in their primary builds – and especially in the examples in the Cashel and on the south side of the island – suggests they were originally erected at the same time and to a uniform design. Some of the *leachta* on the northern part of the island are less regular and the distinctive edge-set basal stones are not always apparent. Their untidy, relatively amorphous appearance may be partly because they have not been as well maintained in recent centuries, but we cannot rule out the possibility that they are later additions to the circuit. Nonetheless, the balance of evidence suggests that the main elements of the pilgrimage landscape as we know it today were put in place according to a single, coherent scheme. The stratigraphic and radiocarbon evidence does not allow us to date this development closely, but it does suggest that it took place towards the end of the first

millennium or the first century or so of the second. This is supported by the style of the carved stones associated with these *leachta,* most of which would fit most comfortably into a late 9th- to 11th-century context. It is possible, therefore, that this monumentalisation of the pilgrimage landscape took place at the same time as Teach Molaise was built or, perhaps more likely, a generation or more later. The following sections consider the sorts of rituals likely to have been performed at these *leachta*, along with their collective significance as components of a symbolic scheme.

Monastic liturgies

In the early medieval period Inishmurray was primarily a monastic establishment so outdoor rituals must have been devised with monks and priests, as well as pilgrims, in mind. It is not surprising, therefore, to find evidence for disparities between the modern popular pilgrimage and medieval ritual practice on Inishmurray. One such disparity is suggested by the distinctive five-cross motif on many of the cross-slabs. As Charles Thomas (1971, 170) pointed out, this motif is essentially the same as that on consecrated altar tops or *mensae*.[61] This suggests that, unlike the modern pilgrimage rounds, the early medieval rituals included formal eucharistic celebrations at these *leachta*.

Hunwicke (2006, 49) has recently questioned the idea that *leachta* are altars. He correctly points out that most examples are too low or large for the purpose. In fact the term has been used for very diverse features from large platforms underlying gable shrines (O'Sullivan & Sheehan 1996, 248) to amorphous penitential stations that owe their present form largely to the deposition of pebbles by generations of pilgrims (e.g. Herity 1989a [1995b, 130]; Cuppage 1986, 281, 285). A study of *leachta* in peninsular Kerry (Ó Carragáin 1998, 102–3; forthcoming b) showed that most were low rectilinear stone settings without any dry-walling which probably functioned as burial plots. Clearly '*leacht*' has become a convenient umbrella term for a wide range of features designed for different purposes. However, it does not necessarily follow that outdoor masses were *never* celebrated in early medieval Ireland. *Pace* Hunwicke (ibid.) a case can be made that a minority of *leachta* were built with this in mind.

Of the 64 *leachta* in peninsular Kerry only one at Kilmalkedar and one at Skellig Michael could convincingly be interpreted as altars (Ó Carragáin 1998, 30–1). The Skellig Michael example is particularly interesting because it is partly overlain by a drystone church and so its original height is preserved: at 0.75 m above the surrounding paving it could certainly have functioned as an altar. On the basis of their eucharistic iconography, it has been argued that two cross-carved, flat-topped boulders in peninsular Kerry were outdoor altars (Ó Carragáin 2003a, 133, note 8).[62] These are not located at church sites but may have been associated with pilgrimages to Mount Brandon and Knocknatober. The excavations reported here demonstrated that the careful arrangement of uprights surrounted by dry-walling is an original feature of the Inishmurray *leachta* and, while we do not know their original height, there is no reason to doubt that they were similar to the more neatly rebuilt examples like the Clocha Breaca (0.9 m high).

Hunwicke (2006) wonders why we do not find *leachta* within churches if they are altars. There are drystone altars not unlike *leachta* within twelve pre-Romanesque churches (Ó Carragáin 2002, I, 91–3; e.g. White Marshall & Rourke 2000a, 83), but this is a small minority and a range of evidence suggests that most indoor altars were of wood. For example, a synod convened by John Comyn, Archbishop of

Dublin in c. 1186 prohibited 'priests from celebrating Mass on a wooden table, according to the usage of Ireland' (quoted in Champneys 1910, 205). However, it should not surprise us if, for practical reasons, outdoor altars were more commonly of stone. Note, for example, the similar dichotomy between indoor gable shrines of wood like Lemanaghan, County Offaly and outdoor ones of stone like Temple Cronan, County Clare.[63]

Considering the wet Irish climate, the post-hole suggesting the presence of an outdoor wooden table altar at Trahanareear is quite remarkable. Its presence strongly supports the possibility that its stone successor and the other Inishmurray *leachta* were altars. It must be emphasised that this is not a circular argument (i.e. the *leacht* is an altar so the post-hole beneath it must have been for an altar, which in turn justifies the interpretation of the *leacht* as an altar). Rather it is based on the fact that stone monuments at Irish ecclesiastical sites, including high crosses, churches and domestic buildings, are usually formally similar to their wooden predecessors. If we assume this was true in the present case the wooden monument must have been relatively low and rectilinear, like a table rather than, say, a cross. Assuming that, like its successor, this putative table was a focus for ritual then it is best interpreted as an altar, especially considering the documentary and archaeological evidence that this particular type of table altar was common in early medieval Ireland (Connolly & Picard 1987, 27; Sheehan forthcoming). If so then the replacement *leacht* was probably also conceived as an altar rather than simply a pilgrimage station, which in any case were usually altars elsewhere in early medieval Europe (below). Some memory that the Trahanareear *leacht* once had a eucharistic function may be preserved on the Palmerstone estate map (1813–14) where it is marked 'Breadserve', while two other *leachta* are marked 'Easter Bread' and 'Marys Ointment' and others are known as *altóir*.

Hunwicke's (2006; also 2002) argument is influenced by his belief that the mass was usually celebrated inside the church. In this regard he is reacting against the idea that the smaller Irish churches acted as little more than stores for liturgical equipment (*secretaria*) while the mass took place outside (Henry 1940, 25–7; Leask 1955, 59; O'Kelly 1958, 127).[64] We agree that this is a highly unlikely arrangement.[65] At minor sites like those which Henry and O'Kelly were discussing there was probably just one altar located inside the church.[66] However, we must make a clear distinction between sites like this and important establishments like Inishmurray, which may have needed many altars to facilitate more complex liturgies. Throughout Europe during the eighth and ninth centuries there was a marked increase in the number of monks ordained as priests, and in the number of private masses to mark saints' feast-days and votive masses for the sick and the dead (Dunn 2000, 189–90; Little 1993, 77). At important sites on mainland Europe more churches were built and increasingly these were designed to house multiple altars.[67] We know that Ireland was at the forefront of these liturgical developments[68] and, while Irish churches were still simple single-altar buildings, by the end of the period sites like Clonmacnoise had more than ten of them.[69]

In this regard it is interesting that the only convincing altar *leachta* in peninsular Kerry are at arguably the two most important monasteries in the region: Skellig Michael and Kilmalkedar. Skellig Michael also has four churches and this multiplicity of altars provides a context for the legend recorded by Giraldus Cambrensis about a hollowed-out stone which stood outside one of the churches on the island in which 'there is found every morning through the merits of the saints of the place as much wine as is necessary for the celebration of as many masses as there are priests to say mass on that day' (O'Meara 1982, 80).

Thus, both archaeology and history suggest that many masses were celebrated there each day (Ó Carragáin 2006, 111). While in theory these priests could have been accommodated successively at one altar, many altars were erected because this meant that a site had a devotion to many different saints: 'the saints of the place' to use Giraldus' phrase. A plurality of altars with different dedications was regarded as a basic requirement for important ecclesiastical establishments (Haeussling 1982).

There were apparently just three churches on Inishmurray, but its *leachta* meant that it had a similar number of dedications to sites like Clonmacnoise and Glendalough. For example, while there were little churches at the hermitages at Glendalough (Leask n.d., 9–12) and Skellig Michael (Horn et al. 1990), on Inishmurray an outdoor table altar, and subsequently a *leacht,* served this purpose. At least one *leacht* occurs in each of the three cemeteries on Inishmurray. These would have been particularly suited to votive masses for the dead. A number of 11th-century pontificals refer to such masses as *missa in coemeterio* (Gittos 2002, 200). While we must exercise caution when using Bernard's *Vita Sancti Malachiae* as a source of information for 12th-century Ireland (Scully 2006, 247), the following passage supports Thomas' (1971, 169) suggestion that some outdoor altars also functioned as the superstructures of particular graves:

> Once when he was at Armagh with one of his fellow bishops, he rose in the night and began to go round the memorials of the saints, of which there are many in the cemetery of St Patrick, with prayer. And lo, they saw one of the altars suddenly take fire […] And Malachy, understanding that it was a sign of the great merit of him, or those, whose bodies rested under that altar (*sub altari)*, ran and plunged into the midst of the flames with outstretched arms and embraced the sacred altar (Lawlor 1920, 115–16; Leclercq et al. 1963, 29.65).

Our excavations also provide some support for Thomas' suggestion: though the larger of the Relickoran altar *leachta* does not seem to have been centred over a particular grave the ruined smaller one may have been (above).[70]

In early medieval Inishmurray there would have been at least one official mass every day and one presumes that this was usually celebrated at the altar in Templemolaise, the main congregational church. It is possible that many of the daily private masses were also said within the three churches and that most of the outdoor *leachta* were only used for mass occasionally. Even so, they may have served another crucial function of subsidiary altars throughout Europe: to articulate the space within a site. Some sites on mainland Europe practised a stational liturgy in which, on certain feasts, the official mass was held at a subsidiary church or altar for symbolic purposes. The principal model for stational liturgies was Rome where, for example, on Good Friday, the Pope led a procession from the Lateran Cathedral to the Church of Hierusalem, in order to say mass and venerate the relic of the True Cross there (Baldovin 1987, 148, 154–55). On balance it seems unlikely that the satellite altars of Inishmurray were used in this way. Most mainland European establishments adapted the Roman system freely to suit their own requirements.[71] Irish and English clerics were aware of the system, but there is little evidence that they attempted to replicate it in any detail.[72] Nonetheless, their knowledge of it would have impressed upon them 'that the space within a city or a monastery should be articulated, and experienced not statically but dynamically' (É Ó Carragáin 1994a, 11; also 2005, 149, 238–39).



Plate 87 The early medieval monks of Centula Saint Riquier, in northern France, processed between its three churches every day of the year and celebrated a stational mass in one of the two subsidiary churches at Pentecost (Petau's engraving of Hariulf's drawing, reproduced in Rabe 1995, fig. 1).







Plate 88 (left) Revd Christy Jones, Bishop of Elphin, celebrating mass at Altarbeg in the Cashel, assisted by Fr Gerry Crean, in 2003 (*Joe MacGowan*). **Plate 89** Aerial view of the monastery of Lérins on L'île St Honorat in the Bay of Cannes and (above) the exterior east of the Chapel of the Holy Trinity, one of several chapels located on the perimeter of the island (see fig. 69).

At sites like Inishmurray it is possible that this was achieved, not through a fully-developed stational liturgy, but through communal processions in which the satellite altars served as stopping points or stations where prayers would be said. Such practices were commonplace at important establishments throughout Europe (Bailey 1971, 93–119, esp. 103; Gittos 2003, 93, 98). For example, in late eighth-century Centula Saint Riquier a stational mass was celebrated in one of the two subsidiary churches only at Pentecost, but the whole community processed between the three churches every day of the year (Rabe 1995, 123–4; pl. 87, this vol.). There are occasional glimpses of similar practices in the Irish sources. For example, we know that in seventh-century Armagh there was a procession to and from the church of Na Ferta every Sunday (Bieler 1979, 190–91; Lynn 1990).[73] In a later source, the *Expulsion of Mochuda from Rathan*, St Mochuda leads his monks on procession around the cemetery at Rathan, in part to ensure the salvation of those buried there. Verses from the song he sings suggests their route was punctuated by a number of monuments surmounted by crosses:

> If ye receive the church, I proclaim,
> It is no saying of mystery –
> For I remember well –

That there be a rising of heroes,
Let there be a monument [ulad] in every corner...
(If) your feet toil.
Let your recompense be multiplied;
Lift up your hands,
Let there be crosses over every monument [ulaigh] (BNÉ, II, 299–300; our italics).

The term *ulaid* can mean burial cairn or station (DIL) and on Inishmurray it is preserved in the name Ollamurray (Mary's Monument).

No medieval sources describe liturgical or devotional practice at Inishmurray. However, while we lack the original text of the play, we do have a remarkable suite of stage props. The case for processional liturgies enacted between these *leachta* is strengthened by their exposed, isolated positions. The burden of proof would be higher for, say, subsidiary urban churches (e.g. Morris 1986, 86) because these had other functions, including pastoral care. Obviously the Inishmurray *leachta* did not serve any such practical function. Furthermore, as Herity (1989a) argued, the modern *turas* or 'pattern' is admissible as evidence, especially in light of the new historical and archaeological evidence that the monastery was maintained by clerics until the 17th century (above). Like the examples from mainland Europe discussed by Evenou (1988, 260), the Inishmurray pattern may be a case of popular collective memory ensuring 'retention through the centuries [albeit in modified form] of local ritual practices that are unknown to the liturgical books.'

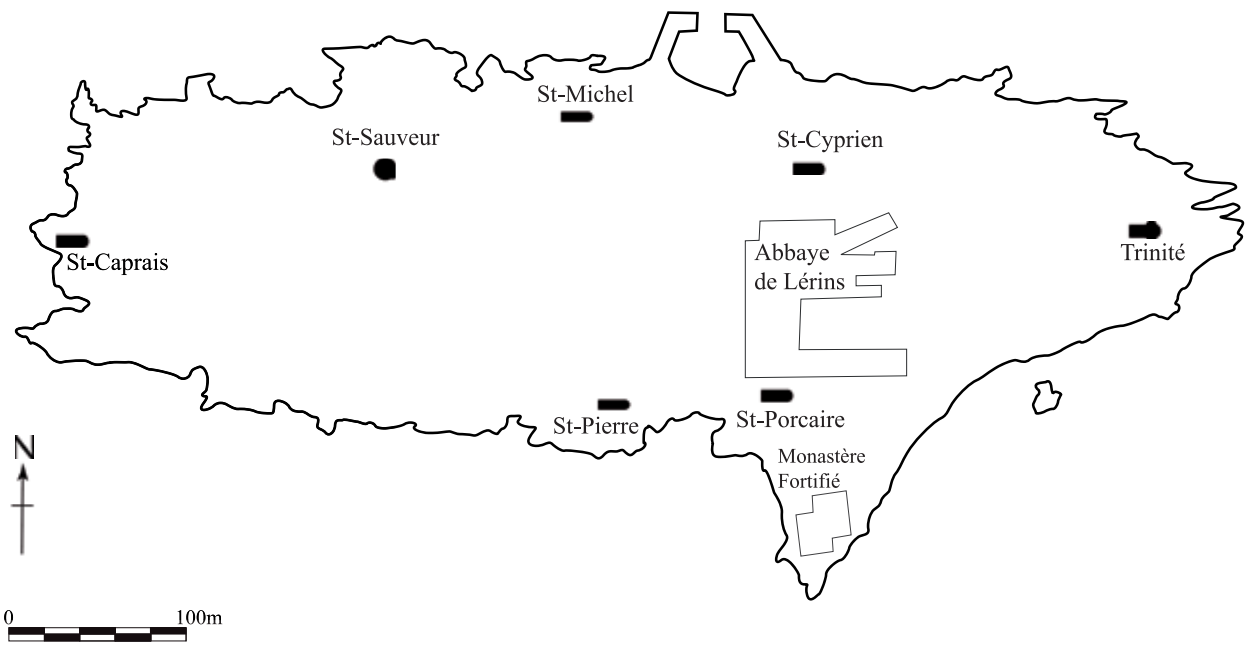


Figure 69 The monastery of Lérins on L'île St Honorat in the Bay of Cannes (Fletcher 1980). Pilgrims made a circuit of the island from shoreline chapel to shoreline chapel in a ritual that offers a striking parallel with the *turas* of Inishmurray.

This continuity may explain why Inishmurray is unique among the western pilgrimage sites documented by Herity (1989a) in having a full and coherent set of dedications for its *leachta*. The Irish dedications are Patrician (Laghta Patrick) or Columban (Laghta Columbkille and Relickoran): no surprise given the particular strength of these cults in the Donegal Bay area. There are also universal dedications: to Mary (Ollamurray), the Trinity (Trinóid Mór and Trinóid Beag) and to the Cross (Crossmore). This mix does not appear to have been typical. For example, at Lough Derg and Glencolumkille, the best-documented early pilgrimages in the north-west, virtually all the dedications are to Irish saints (Herity 1989a [1995b, 91–106]; Harbison 1991, 61; Carroll 1999, 95).[74] Most of the Inishmurray dedications could, in theory, be recent and we do not wish to press the case that they are early. However, it should at least be pointed out that they would have been appropriate choices for an early medieval community that wished to mark the major feasts in the calendar either with stational masses or, perhaps more likely, with processions followed by mass in the principal church. Trinitarian doctrine, which emphasises the unity of Christ, God the Father and the Holy Spirit, was developed as a way of asserting Christ's divinity. Therefore, the Trinity altars would have been an appropriate focus on Christological feasts such as the Ascension and Resurrection.[75] Similarly, Crossmore may have been particularly important on Good Friday, as Ollamurray may have been on Marian feasts, such as the Annuciation (25 March) and the Assumption (15 August).[76]

As observed above, many Irish pilgrimage rounds are clearly of recent origin and most individual penitential stations clearly never served as altars. We would be wary, therefore, of extrapolating a general pattern from the evidence of this unique site. However, if we accept a medieval monastic origin for the Inishmurray pilgrimage round then the argument that these particular *leachta* were conceived as altars is strengthened, for the stations in processional liturgies throughout Europe were usually altars: the two functions were complementary. We fully agree with Michael Ryan (2007) that 'open-air eucharistic celebrations were the exception rather than the rule.' However, Inishmurray is an exceptional site and we believe that such celebrations did occasionally take place there, as indeed they still do on rare occasions (pl. 88).

Characterising the pilgrimage

Processions and devotions

Of course, any continuity of ritual practices (and associated dedications) on Inishmurray would only have been possible if the lay population had participated in these at certain times of the year. Given the popularity of pilgrimage in early medieval Ireland, we have no reason to doubt that this was the case. Lay participation in communal liturgical processions at the great feasts of the year is a given at most sites whose early medieval liturgy is well known to us.[77] The monastery of Lérins on the island of St Honorat in the Bay of Cannes, which we know was visited by Insular clerics,[78] offers a particularly striking parallel. As well as its size and topography, the position of its main monastic complex and especially the series of satellite chapels, with their mix of local and universal dedications, all echo the layout of Inishmurray (fig. 69; pl. 89). It was an important pilgrimage centre from an early date and an early 17th-century account describes how, on the feast of the Ascension, pilgrims from villages throughout the region accompanied the monks and the relics of St Honorat in a highly ordered processional circuit of the island from chapel to chapel

(Cooper-Marsdin 1913, 257, 316–17; Fletcher 1980). As O'Loughlin (2000, 156–7) has shown, the Irish vernacular litanies, some of which are as early as the ninth century, were probably written for popular processional liturgies of this sort.

In addition to these communal practices, there is also evidence in early medieval Irish sources for individual devotions by both monks and lay pilgrims and penitents. For example, in one Irish Life of Mochuda we are told that one monk was 'wont to watch and pray, and visit the cemeteries and relics [of saints] every night' (BNÉ, II, 287).[79] In the ninth-century love story *Liadain and Curithir*, the two lovers submit to the spiritual direction of St Cummean Fota of Clonfert where, while one was confined to their cell, the other went walking around the gravestones in the cemetery (Meyer 1902). Similarly, chapter 51 of the 12th-century Irish *Life of Colmán Mac Lúacháin* begins with the following:

> Now on a certain day Colmán was in Carrick when the kings of the country came to him to hear him say mass and celebrate. After mass they all make the round of the cemetery (Meyer 1911, 41).

Herbert & Ó Riain (1988, 55, 76) note other texts that refer to individuals 'going around' a cemetery and consider the possibility that this refers to 'doing 'rounds' at the burial ground'. An Irish *Life of St Maedoc* compiled at Rossinver, adjacent to Ahamlish parish, where Inishmurray is situated, describes the saint's Lenten fasting and devotions as follows:

> A ladleful of barley grain, which he had each day,
> Was Maedoc's lenten portion,
> A scanty meal to the brown-headed melodious one
> Was the wafer at Mass-time
>
> Eight lents in the soft year,
> As was in the life of Patrick,
> A bridle on his body was each lent,
> Subduing the eight (deadly) sins.
>
> Many hours going round crosses,
> Little sleep, back turned on pride,
> A while thus at the monument (*ulaidh*)
> (Engaged) in psalms and genuflexions (BNÉ II, 274).

Though the Life is a 16th-century compilation, this part of it was written by Sidrac Mór Ó Cuirnín 'ollav of Bréifne', who died in 1347 (AFM; Gillespie 2004, 149). These texts suggest that the medieval pilgrimage to Inishmurray involved individual devotional rituals akin to modern rounding rituals, as well as more formal liturgical processions. This is supported by the form of the late first or early second-millennium satellite monuments. The carefully built path which delimits the remodelled cemetery of Relickoran was

surely designed for 'making the round' of the burial ground, while the low enclosures around the other *leachta* are also conducive to circumambulatory rituals.[80]

Penance

As the passage just quoted illustrates, such rituals were essentially penitential in character (also BNÉ II, 121; Stokes 1887, 119). Irish clerics played an important role in the development of a system of repeatable penance, to which both clergy and laity were subjected. While some lay people, the so-called *glasmartrae,* volunteered to live as paramonastic penitents indefinitiely, others were assigned substantial periods living in or near a monastery to atone for particular sins.[81] Commutations, whereby long penances of this sort were substituted with payments or shorter more intensive periods as penitents at a monastery, became increasingly common from the eighth century (Dooley 1982, 405–6). For example, a year on bread and water could be commuted to three days of total fasting and reciting psalms in a church or 'penitential station' or 'with a dead saint in one tomb' (Bieler 1963, 161–67 & 267).[82] There are a number of structures on Inishmurray which one can readily imagine fulfilling this function. These include the remote hermitage of Trahanareear or, within the Cashel, the shrine chapel of Teach Molaise, the cramped cell known as Trahannacoreesh (*Trahán an Chargais* or 'Lenten trahan') and even the chambers incorporated into the northern sector of the Cashel wall. These latter are quite narrow at the inner and outer openings in the wall face, but expand into cells or chambers within the thickness of the wall. It is possible that the cross-inscribed basin lying by the west front of Templemolaise and the well outside the Cashel on the east side – with its corbelled roof and steps descending into the water – also played a role in rituals of expiation and purification.[83] It is not possible on present evidence to closely date these features, but we shall suggest below ('The later medieval pilgrimage') that one group of structures designed to as a devotional focus for pilgrims within the Cashel – the stone breastwork and souterrain-like feature by Teach Molaise – is probably a later medieval addition. As practised in modern times the pilgrimage on Inishmurray exhibits some of the defining characteristics of penitential processions, including fasting and walking barefoot,[84] and we also know that early medieval communal pilgrimages involved fasting (e.g. ALC 1113). For penitents the *leachta* could have acted as 'ghostly meeting-places' where people at odds with God could be reconciled with him – like the stations that punctuated the penitential processions of Rogationtide in Late Saxon England (Bazire & Cross 1982, 73).[85] And apart from spiritual redemption, Irish hagiography confirms that pilgrims could also hope to receive physical therapy, in the form of cures for their ailments.[86]

The spatialisation of charisma

Redemption and expiation of sin through penitential practices was, to a greater or lesser extent, a theme common to pilgrimages throughout Christendom.[87] Clerics also used pilgrimages to convey important ideas to the general population: most notably a sense of the sacredness of their shrine as well as specific information about the exemplary life led by its patron saint. Coleman & Elsner (1994, 74) have shown that in this regard a great deal of the ideological work was done for them by material culture due to the crucial role buildings, pilgrimage stations and sculpture played in structuring the pilgrim's experience of

the site. In Ireland, the sacredness of the shrine was conveyed by placing it at the centre of a hierarchy of sacred space. Before examining how this was achieved on Inishmurray, we will briefly consider what Eade & Sallnow (1991, 8) have termed 'the spatialisation of charisma' in which 'the power of the living … [saint] is sedimented and preserved after his death in the power of place.'

This process has been documented by James (1993) in the landscape of St Davids, Wales, where particular wells, burial grounds and chapels were associated with events in the saint's life.[88] These sites are generally early medieval in origin and, while most only appear in the hagiography of the later medieval period, it seems likely that the process of identification with the saint began much earlier (*pace* James 1993, 105, 107). This is suggested by the importance of oral tradition in the development of saints' cults (Smith 1990; Geary 1994b, 124), and by the fact that landscape is usually the main locus for social memory in histories developed within an oral narrative tradition (Gosden & Lock 1998). As Geary (1994b, 124) has put it, 'memories and legends tended to lend themselves to the physical contours of the landscape, to become incarnate in places.' In the case of Columba this process had begun within a few decades of his death in 597. By the late seventh century a cross stood at the point where he had rested on his final return to his monastery; two others had been erected where he and Ernán of Hinba were standing at the moment when Ernán collapsed and died (VC III, 23, I, 45). This level of documentation is exceptional, but we occasionally learn how particular events in other saints' lives were commemorated. For example, the 12th-century *Life of Mochuda* states that in a glen near Lismore the site of the saint's death is marked by 'the cross called *Crux Migrationis*, or the cross from which Mochuda departed to Glory' (Power 1914, 147).

Unfortunately we lack hagiography that might document the process on Inishmurray. Furthermore, though the annual pilgrimage seems to have persisted since the medieval period, a good deal of oral tradition may have been lost in the 18th century when the resident population virtually died out, only to be replaced by new settlers in the early 19th century. The place-names of the island were carefully recorded by MacCárthaigh (1971) but only the monuments themselves have names with ecclesiastical connotations. Islanders informed Wakeman (1893, 50) that Molaise slept in Teach Molaise and had Columba's help in building the main church, while Beranger was told he built the 'monument of the Trinity' (O'Rorke 1890 ii, 51), but otherwise there are no oral traditions linking the monuments with particular incidents in his life. Thus we do not know, for example, whether Trahanareear was conceived of as the saint's personal retreat, like St Kevin's Cave at Glendalough (Leask n.d., 9–12) or Tòrr an Aba on Iona (VC I, 25; Fowler & Fowler 1988).

Specific associations like these would, doubtless, have been an important aspect of the medieval pilgrimage experience. However the Inishmurray community may also have used the pilgrimage to propagate more general ideas about their monastery. Most scholars agree that oral narratives, such as those about particular events in a saint's life, can be distorted or lost quite easily (Bradley 2002, 8). In contrast, as Connerton has shown, performative ritual practices are, along with writing, among the most effective ways of preserving ideas over long periods. Because of this, groups will usually entrust the concepts that they are most anxious to conserve to such rituals (Connerton 1989, 102; Halbwachs 1992, 116–19). As we shall see in the next section, there is documentary evidence to suggest that this was true of the rituals that the satellite *leachta* of Inishmurray were designed to structure.

The hierarchy of sanctity

Elsewhere in Europe some sites quite explicitly recreated distant topographies in the positioning, architectural form and dedication of their churches.[89] Such overt allusions are rare in Ireland, perhaps in part because the legal relationship between founder-saint and ecclesiastical lineage was expressed in naming churches after him (Ó Riain 1989, 359–61; Charles-Edwards 2002, 287). And yet, while it was not usually expressed directly in their toponymy, a range of sources make clear that Irish sites were modelled on and equated with the great shrines of Christendom (e.g. Stokes 1905, 24–6; O'Reilly 1997). The rationale for the layout of Irish church sites, as set out in the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* (c. 700), was based on biblical descriptions of settlements in the Holy Land, including Jerusalem itself (Wasserschleben 1885, 175–77).[90] The guiding principle behind this layout was the idea of a 'holy of holies' surrounded by areas of sanctuary that decreased in importance the further they were from the centre (Doherty 1985, 57).[91] This idea found physical expression in concentric enclosures, whose function was sometimes underscored by the erection of cross-slabs or high crosses.[92] In the case of substantial island sites like Inishmurray, the whole island would have been regarded as a sacred landscape. Thus at Iona, while there was at least one substantial enclosure around the core monuments, the texts produced there indicate that 'the monastery and the island shared the same sacred identity' (O'Sullivan 1998; D O'Sullivan 2001, 38; MacDonald 2001).[93] Similarly, while an enclosure surrounds the core of Senan's monastery on Scattery Island, County Clare, his Life depicts him consecrating the whole island by walking right-hand-wise (*deiseal*) around its perimeter (Stokes 1890, 213–14).

This motif is quite common. For instance, the *Lebor Brecc Homily on Patrick* describes an angel helping Patrick to 'mark out' Armagh as follows: 'And he went right-hand-wise (deiseal) round the rampart, and Patrick behind him with his Bachall Isu – Jesu's Staff – in his hand, and Ireland's elders a-chanting around him' (Stokes 1887 II, 472–5).[94] Aitchison (1994, 265–81) has argued that in Ireland foundation rituals were periodically re-enacted, or perhaps invented, in later centuries to reaffirm the sanctity of a site and its legal status as a sanctuary.[95] At Inishmurray a circuit of the island, punctuated by stations at the *leachta*, would certainly have been an effective way to convey these ideas to pilgrims. In this sense the *leachta*, like the crosses at Lismore and Iona discussed above, commemorated a particular event in the life of the saint: the foundation of his monastery.[96] By analogy with documented examples like that of Armagh, it is likely that pilgrims who re-enacted this circuit not only believed that they were following in Molaise's footsteps but may have walked in procession behind his relics.[97]

A key characteristic of both early medieval foundation rituals and modern pilgrimage rituals, including that on Inishmurray (Heraughty 1982, 24–32), is *deiseal* or sunwise movement, in which one proceeds by following one's right hand. This was believed to bring good fortune while left-hand-wise *tuathail* movement was unlucky (VSH, I, cxxxv).[98] In the Christian context to follow the progress of the sun across the sky was to imitate Christ and some texts make clear that *deiseal* movement was seen as inherently Christian (VSH, I, cxxxv; Pochin Mould 1955, 61, 72; also Ferguson 1878, 357–58). This symbolic dichotomy between right and left seems to have been more prominent in Ireland than elsewhere in western Europe.[99] However, anthropologists have noted it in cultures around the world (Needham 1973; Bhardwaj 1997, 14) and some have argued that the sunwise circuit is often designed to purify a settlement:

> The community forms a closed circle at the centre of which is the altar, the Ark of the Covenant, where the gods descend and from which place divine aid radiates. Within the enclosure reign order and harmony, while outside it extends a vast night, limitless and lawless, full of impure germs traversed by chaotic forces. On the periphery of the sacred space the worshippers make a ritual circuit round the divine centre, their right shoulders turned towards it. They have everything to hope for from one side, everything to fear from the other. The right is the inside, the finite, assured well-being, and certain peace; the left is the outside, the infinite, hostile, and the perpetual menace of evil (Hertz 1973, 13;).[100]

Notwithstanding the heightened language, this passage is relevant to the Inishmurray circuit, which, after all, skirted the edge of an island in the western ocean, an abyss which would have been considered an abode of demons (O'Loughlin 1997, 13; above 'Trahanareear').[101]

Drawing on the work of Wheatley (1971) and Eliade (1959; 1965) in particular, Doherty (1985) and Aitchison (1994) have shown that Irish church sites can be read as cosmological schemes in which the saint's grave, like the Ark of the Covenant, represents a sacred centre – a point at which heaven and earth were believed to meet. It may be argued that on Inishmurray, the circuit of satellite *leachta* played a key role in this regard. To paraphrase Seamus Heaney (1989, 72), their specific functions derive from, and are ancillary to, their collective symbolic function as proclamations of a centre. In order to reach their final destination at this centre pilgrims had to negotiate a number of boundaries beginning with the sea. Like the 19th-century islanders, many of them may have left from Staad, an early medieval settlement closely associated with Inishmurray (above 'Inishmurray's possessions'). The name Staad comes from the Latin *statio* which can mean a place where people gather, epecially for religious purposes,[102] or a stopping point (station) on a journey (Souter 1949). They may have disembarked near Relickoran or Templenaman (above), in which case they would have been conscious that they were passing by the most impressive of the outer ring of monuments before entering the Cashel and finally proceeding to the doorway of Teach Molaise itself. Thus the concept of a hierarchy of sanctity was articulated with particular clarity at Inishmurray. Similar mechanisms are found at pilgrimage sites elsewhere in Europe. Turner & Turner (1978, 23) describe them as 'sacred valves and resistances ... designed to build up a considerable load of reverent feeling so that the final ingress to the holiest shrine of all will be for each pilgrim a momentous matter.' In the words of Brown (1981**,** 88) this 'carefully maintained tension between distance and proximity ensured one thing: *praesentia*, the physical presence of the holy, was the greatest blessing that a ... Christian could enjoy.'[103]

Pilgrimage and social change

We have argued that the religious community on Inishmurray built monuments in order to inscribe their belief in the sacredness of their monastery and its founder onto the island's landscape and used ritual to convey these ideas to the general population. There is considerable debate among anthropologists as to the wider social significance of such practices. Probably the organisers of pilgrimages usually sought to

use them to affirm the social order (e.g. Marx 1977). For example, the Inishmurray circuit may, like the foundation rituals described in Irish hagiography (e.g. Hughes 1966, 148; Doherty 1985, 59) and rogation processions abroad (e.g. Rabe 1995, 130), have been organised hierarchically with clerics first, followed by noble men, noble women, freemen and so on.[104] However, a number of authors have shown that, despite the best efforts of the shrine staff, pilgrimage is always characterised by a degree of populism and even subversion. On occasion the unique social mix found on pilgrimages creates a temporary solidarity or *communitas* between people from different regions and social classes (Turner & Turner 1978, 32).[105] At the same time, pilgrimages can also be characterised by 'drives towards separateness and division' as well as towards consensus and *communitas* (Eade & Salnow 1991, 2). Nowhere is this more clearly illustrated than in the faction fighting that was such a central feature of modern patterns in Ireland (e.g. Carroll 1999, 128). The prohibitions against violence on feast-days in some saint's lives suggest that this was already an issue during the medieval period (e.g. BNÉ II, 140).[106]

For poorly documented sites like Inishmurray, it is challenging enough to analyse the official view of the pilgrimage; direct evidence for *communitas* and conflict, as well as dissent from orthodox ritual practice, is generally lacking (for Continental examples see Geary 1994a, 118–19; Panofsky 1979, 88-9).[107] In Ireland, prohibitions against certain practices at church sites are the best indication of what clerics had to contend with. For example, an incident in the late eighth-century Latin *Life of Ailbe* in which a couple were put to death for copulating 'near the saint' is interpreted by Harrington (2002, 90) as 'a warning to the laity to respect the relics of the saint, when visiting it at its shrine'. There must have been a tendency for traditional ritual practices of pre-Christian origin (McNeill 1962; Carson & O'Kelly 1977, 41; Ó Floinn 2000) to carry over into rituals associated with pilgrimages at ecclesiastical sites. Some of these, including votive deposition at holy wells, may have been tolerated or actively Christianised (Kelly 2002), but others were deemed unacceptable. Though not specifically relating to pilgrimage, the unsuccessful ban in Irish penitentials on ritualised keening and wailing at funerals illustrates the potential for dissent (Ó Cróinín 1995, 199; though see Etchingham 1999, 308–09).

Nevertheless, it is easy to see how pilgrimage could broaden the horizons of participants and cultivate a sense of belonging to a wider Christian community. This is especially true of pilgrimages which attracted participants from more than one polity. While it is unlikely that pilgrims came to Inishmurray 'from all the provinces' as they did to Kildare (Connolly & Picard 1987, 27), it was clearly a site of regional rather than merely local importance. If its later medieval links are any indication, Molaise's cult may have been particularly strong in the territory of the Uí Fhiachrach, in latter day County Mayo, but Inishmurray may also have had possessions in Cairpre Droma Cliab, in County Sligo ('Ecclesiastical history' above). Its position in Donegal Bay, a boundary zone *par excellence*, meant that it also enjoyed easy access from other túatha, including Cenél mBogaine and the Uí Ailello, to the north and south, respectively (fig. 70).[108] In early medieval Ireland such regional pilgrimages were, along with military service and attending a fair (*óenach*), the only legitimate reason an ordinary freeman had to go outside his home territory (Kelly 1988, 4). Because the range of interaction such pilgrimages facilitated was outside people's everyday experience, it had the potential to act as a forum in which local and regional identities were renegotiated. While inter-group tensions could, on occasion, strengthen the identities of particular local factions, regional pilgrimages were ultimately more likely to subvert

loyalties to local forms of authority, in particular the petty kings and nobles, together with the minor saints of the *túath*. Therefore, as Fredengren (2002, 212, 264) recognised, pilgrimages like that to Inishmurray were one of the mechanisms that contributed to the gradual decline of local loyalties and the steady rise of more powerful provincial dynasties, especially from c. 800 onwards.

This process was probably in its early stages when the satellite cemeteries and greenways of Inishmurray were first laid out. The pilgrimage activities they helped to structure would subsequently have contributed to the process and this in turn may have made inter-*túath* pilgrimage more common. By the time the *leachta* were built at the end of the first millennium or the beginning of the second, the *túath* was in rapid decline as a political and administrative unit (Doherty 1998, 318–22; Clarke 2003, 31). MacDonald (1999, 269–71) has suggested that there was a secondary increase in Irish pilgrimage

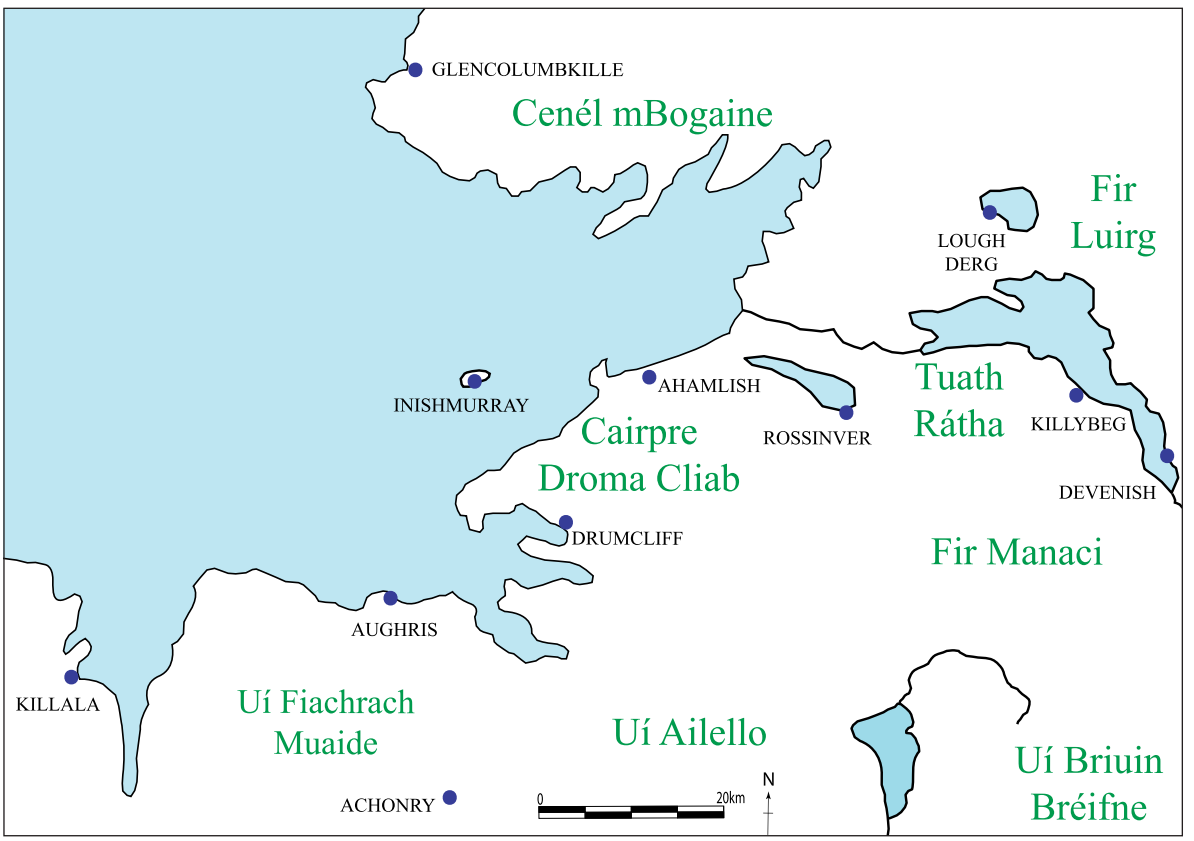


Figure 70 Early medieval kingdoms in the Donegal Bay area.

traffic during this period. Interestingly, in contemporary Francia popular pilgrimage and public penitential processions were increasingly prominent features of the ecclesiastical scene. Landes (2003, 257–58) argues that these popular forces were both 'inspired by and encouraged' the social changes and economic expansion that western Europe was undergoing during this period,[109] and further suggests that they 'played an unusual role in the building of churches', especially those associated with pilgrimage and relics. It is possible that similar demotic pressures from a widening catchment area were also a factor in the decision to

monumentalise the pilgrimage landscape of Inishmurray. Certainly these monuments should be viewed as a symptom as well as a cause of social change.[110]

Curses and oaths

One important element of the monumental scheme has yet to be discussed. The Clocha Breaca in the Cashel is distinguished from the more generic stations in the Inishmurray *turas* because of its particular role as a focus for cursing rituals.[111] It is a drystone altar-like *leacht* surmounted by a cross-slab with a detachable 'lid' stone and scores of beach cobbles, at least 14 of which are carved, mostly with cross motifs (pl. 90). This combination of *leacht* and cobbles is quite common, especially in the West from Clare northwards;[112] but in most cases the cobbles are not carved, and evidence that they were used for cursing is sometimes equivocal.[113] As with other pilgrimage monuments, some particular instances of this arrangement are probably modern. For example, the cobbles at Ross, in Clare, lie on a low indoor altar that was probably built using collapsed masonry from the late medieval church.[114] The Inishmurray examples are certainly not modern. We have already cited Baxter's map (1603), with its extraordinary note on Inishmurray, describing 'a holye man called Scanlon' who turned the 'speckled stones' (see 'Ecclesiastical history', above), but art historical evidence indicates a much older pedigree than this. The most elaborate of the Inishmurray cobbles, with their distinctive triquetra knot terminals (fig. 71), were probably made between the late ninth and 11th centuries, and so this monument may well have been built – as proposed above (see 'Sequence of development') – at about the same time as the excavated satellite *leachta*. Thus the *Clocha Breaca* are the most elaborate and most closely dateable cursing stones in Ireland and there is unparalleled documentary and folkloric evidence relating to their use since the beginning of the 17th century. We have no reason to doubt that they were created for essentially the same use to which they were put in modern times, but it is important to define an early medieval context for such practices as clearly as possible.

While maledictions have always been present in western Christendom, on mainland Europe the later 10th and 11th centuries stand out as the period when formal liturgical cursing was particularly prevalent (Little 1993, 19, 44 & 149). Texts from this period include formulas for liturgical clamours or appeals for justice to God. These appeals were said in the presence of the lay population and involved the cursing of individuals responsible for injustices against a church or religious community. The curses were recited in a prostrate position before an altar and bells were rung at appropriate intervals. In some cases relics were also 'humbled' by being taken from the altar and placed on the ground during the ritual (ibid., 17–30). Excommunication formulas also became formalised in this period: they were now accompanied by bell-ringing and included long maledictions (ibid., 30–43). They can be seen as '"a quasi-magical curse", affecting to bring disaster and damnation' on their victims (Murray 1992, 198).[115]

These developments were a direct response to the collapse of royal authority and the justice system after the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire (Treffort 1996, 161–63; Rollason 1989, 165). In the absence of strong government in this period the Church essentially developed into an independent political body. In order to do so it needed to develop mechanisms to influence the behaviour of the laity. One was to persuade them to swear oaths not to wage war on certain days or against certain groups of people (e.g. Moore 1992). Another was the liturgical curse. This represents 'the transfer of legal complaints from



Plate 90 The Clocha Breaca (*Mel Cameron*). Their use as cursing stones has roots in liturgical cursing by early medieval clergy as a sanction against enemies and oath-breakers.

courts to sanctuaries and the shift from law to liturgy as a means of dealing with them' (Little 1993, 200, also 52–56, 200–18). The fear of such sanctions was the best guarantee that oaths limiting warfare would be honoured. A marked improvement in the justice system, along with the increasingly centralised and hierarchical nature of the Church, and a general shift in emphasis in the religious sphere from the Old Testament to the New, meant that liturgical cursing could rarely be justified on mainland Europe after c. 1200. Though isolated instances are found as late as the 17th century, it was no longer a vital element of ecclesiastical culture there.[116]

The political situation in Ireland was, of course, very different. Given the absence of strong government in Ireland during the Merovingian and Carolingian periods, it is perhaps unsurprising to find evidence for liturgical cursing at an earlier date than on the European mainland. Cursing by holy men is already prevalent in Irish hagiography of the seventh century. For example, in Muirchú, pagans are cursed for persisting to work on Sunday (Bieler 1979, 107).[117] It is more prevalent still in later hagiography, in which saints such as Maedoc and Rúadan are particularly distinguished for their cursing (e.g. VSH, I, clxxiii–clxxiv; BNÉ II, 28, 141–44, 313–14; Stokes 1890, 224–5; Lucas 1986, 32–4; Kieckhefer 1989, 54). The practice is also mentioned in the Irish canons where it is justified on the basis of the writings and actions of Ss Peter and Paul and the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas* (VSH, II, clxxciii). No liturgical texts dealing with cursing survive from Ireland, but there are hints that it was accompanied by formal ritual practices involving



Figure 71
Wakeman's (1886 figs 27 & 28) drawings of the most complex of the Clocha Breaca whose designs have since eroded considerably (Nos 001.23g & 001.23l). It can be argued that in certain contexts knots like those carved on these cobbles had an apotropaic function.

assemblies of clerics, the use of relics, especially bells, and the singing of 'psalms of malediction and vengeance' (O'Neill 1981, 40–2; Lucas 1986, 32–3; Little 1993, 168).[118]

Fasting could also be used to give a curse greater potency (e.g. Stokes 1887, I, 113–21). This was paralleled on Inishmurray in modern times where a curse was preceded by a nine-day preparatory period: three days of total fasting, three with one meal and three with normal meals. Heraughty (1982, 32) has pointed out that this is the opposite sequence to what one would normally expect for a fast. This idea that a curse (malediction) was a blessing (benediction) in reverse is found, in one form or another, throughout Europe from at least the Classical period onwards (Merrifield 1987, 147–48, 155; also Gager 1992).[119] It is evident in all aspects of the modern cursing ritual on Inishmurray. Apart from fasting, the preparation also included a devotional circuit of the island but, again in reverse of normal practice, in a *tuathail* (i.e. left-hand-wise) rather than a *deiseal* direction (Heraughty 1982, 32). During the curse itself, the curser walked *tuathail* around the Clocha Breaca and, while doing so, rotated the cursing stones (Wakeman 1893, 61) or turned them upside down (Heraughty 1982, 32).[120] This was a serious undertaking and, as a moral check on its use, an unjust curse would rebound on whoever made it.

The *tuathail* movement of the curser relates, of course, to the left/right dichotomy discussed above. To quote Hertz (1973, 15) again:

> A considerable part of a religious cult, and not the least important part, is devoted to containing or appeasing spiteful or angry supernatural beings, to banishing and destroying bad influences. In this domain it is the left hand that prevails: it is directly concerned with all that is demonical ... In funerary rites and in exorcism the ceremonial circuit is made 'in the wrong direction', presenting the left side ... Magical practices proliferate on the borders of regular liturgy. The left hand is at home here: it excels at neutralizing or annulling bad fortune, but above all in propagating death.

As noted above, this symbolic dichotomy was particularly prominent in Ireland. The right hand was used for blessing throughout Christendom but Little's (1993) detailed study of the Continental sources makes no reference to the use of the left hand in cursing. However one does find examples of it in early Irish hagiography. In Tírechán's *Collectanea* Patrick uses his left hand to curse the chief druid (Bieler 1979, 156–59), while in the Latin *Life of Declan* Ultan uses his left hand to curse a fleet of pagan ships (VSH, II, 56).[121] The second Irish *Life of Maedoc* provides even closer parallels for the Inishmurray rituals. In particular, it states that his successors are to carry his relics right-hand-wise around the king of Bréifne on his inauguration, but if he fails to pay his tribute to Maedoc they are to curse him by fasting and turning the relics left-hand-wise against him (BNÉ, II, 196–97, also 229). Here the objects in question were metal reliquaries, but in the case of Killybeg, a site chosen as a collection point for tributes from Fermanagh, a stone fulfils the same function:

> There is a stone, a bare stone,
> If the sages of the land speak true,
> (Placed) by Maedoc in the venerable church
> To protect it against wrong.

By (the power of) this stone til doom,
If it be thrice turned left-hand-wise (tuathail),
No man who outrages it (the church) without provocation
Will be alive at the end of the year (BNÉ, II, 243).

This *Life* is a 16th-century compilation in which most of the new sections are in prose. Many of the sections in verse are earlier (Gillespie 2004), though the particular section relating to the Killybeg stone has not been dated. As noted above ('Ecclesiastical History'), it was written at Maedoc's monastery in the parish of Rossinver which is adjacent to Ahamlish parish in which Inishmurray is situated.

The verse about the Killybeg stone shows that the main motivation behind the development of religious cursing was the same in Ireland as it was on mainland Europe: it was an instrument of social order and control. To quote Smith (1990, 340), 'skilful appeal to saintly vengeance [meant] divine justice could be used to constrain violence towards the church in … [a] politically unstable society.' Irish churches appear to have made use of such sanctions from a relatively early date. The threat of spiritual sanction was the main guarantor of the law of sanctuary which prohibited any violence within a church site (Lucas 1967 & 1986; Doherty 1985).[122] The *Life of Maedoc* also warns: 'Woe to the man who trespasses on my sanctuary ... Woe to him against whom my bells utter voice. He shall receive therefore in turn short life and hell' (BNÉ, II, 276–78). This protection of sacred space is echoed in the close formal and ritual associations between the Clocha Breaca and the *leachta* delimiting the island sanctuary of Inishmurray.[123]

From the 8th century, Irish churches promulgated laws around secular territories, some of which aimed to regulate warfare, and used oath-taking to enforce them in a manner reminiscent of later mechanisms of social control in Francia.[124] Ireland did see the emergence of more powerful provincial kings in the latter part of the early medieval period (above; Ó Corráin 1978, 16, 23–6; Ó Cróinín 1995, 274), but competition between them meant that, if anything, the level violence in society was on the increase and, in practice, stable government was just as elusive in 10th- and 11th-century Ireland as it was under the barons of post-Carolingian Francia. As noted above, we have evidence for cursing by Irish clerics from at least the seventh century and Little (1993, 173–85) has suggested that this Irish practice indirectly influenced the emergence of the clamour in 10th-century Francia. Arguably the Clocha Breaca are evidence that liturgical cursing was also becoming more formalised at some Irish sites at around this time. Thus, like the expansion of the pilgrimage as represented by the other *leachta* (above), the rituals associated with the Clocha Breaca can be viewed as a distinct local variant of contemporary developments on the European mainland.

What is unusual about Irish sites like Inishmurray is the persistence of these rituals into the later medieval period. On the eve of the Anglo-Norman colonisation Ireland was still a heterarchy, and churches remained vulnerable to violence and exploitation on the part of the secular elite (Lucas 1967; Wailes 1995). Thus, there was some truth to Giraldus Cambrensis' conclusion that the vindictiveness of Irish saints is a reflection of their role in keeping the peace in the absence of castles (Brewer et al. 1861–77, V, 137; Smith 1990, 340). In the later medieval period, secular authority remained volatile compared to most other parts of Europe, especially in baronies like Tireragh and Carbery that were sited on or near the boundary between Anglo-Norman and Gaelic areas. It is not surprising, therefore, to find

evidence that monuments like the Clocha Breaca remained in use during this period and beyond, while equivalent practices had ceased in mainland Europe.

In the modern period the Clocha Breaca were used by lay people to make personal curses. Such curses have always been much more widespread than the clerical liturgical curses just discussed. They were a way of addressing, or at least expressing, personal grievances, especially where legal procedures or force was not an option (Kieckhefer 1989, 82–3; also 1994, 814; K Thomas 1971, 607–8).[125] While there are cases of individual clerics colluding in such practices (K Thomas 1971, 37–8), the Church generally disapproved of them and made a distinction between ecclesiastics who curse legitimately as judges and lay people who curse illegitimately out of vengeance (Little 1993, 98). Apart from the moral issue, it may also have suited clerics to monopolise religious cursing as much as possible.[126] Use of the cursing stone at Kilcummin in Mayo was restricted to the Mochan family, who may be descendants of the coarbs of the site (Anon 1898). The note on Inishmurray on Baxter's map (1603) makes no mention of anyone using the Clocha Breaca apart from Scanlon, 'a holye man.' It is likely that the use of the Clocha Breaca for cursing by secular individuals began after the last clerics left the island.

However oath-taking *was* undertaken by secular individuals and it is possible that the Clocha Breaca also served as a focus for this. Mention has already been made of oath-taking as a mechanism for limiting violence in society. Oaths were also the primary mode of proof in the Irish judicial system (assertory oaths) (Ó Cróinín 1995, 137) and were used for a range of other purposes including cementing treaties and contracts and declaring allegiance (promissory oaths). Oaths were traditionally made at tribal or family burial grounds, often during the assemblies (*óenacha*) (Binchy 1958; also Fry 1999, 50–1; Swift 2000, 115) but, in tandem with a general shift in burial location from family or tribal burial grounds to consecrated churchyard cemeteries, there is evidence that it became common for oaths to be taken at church sites.[127] Furthermore, while there are instances of oath-taking inside churches,[128] Binchy notes that 'the more solemn oaths were still taken in graveyards' (1941, 80; also Doherty 1982, 325). Often it is clear that the oaths are to be sworn at a particular tomb, as for example in the following passage from the *Life of Saint Cadoc*:

> In a certain porch (porticu) of which monastery, the bodies of three of his [Cadoc's] disciples lay, covered with marble monuments, but no one dared to look into their tomb, neither married, nor unmarried, but only persons in holy orders. There was *on the outside* in the wall of the porch a certain hole, through which the kings, and nobles of that country, if by chance a great dispute arose between them, were to place their hands, and make oath, and if any one broke that oath, he should die before the end of the year (Rees 1853, 69, 364–65; emphasis added).[129]

The altar and the tomb were closely linked in the early medieval imagination and, as the Relickoran excavations suggest, *leachta* in cemeteries could have both functions.[130] While the saint's grave inside Teach Molaise was the obvious place to take oaths on Inishmurray, it is possible that some oaths required more witnesses than this diminutive building would allow. Perhaps the saint's enshrined relics were placed on the Clocha Breaca on such occasions. This suggestion finds some support in the law tracts, which mention the placement of relics on a tomb to make an oath more potent (Plummer 1921–23, 114; Kelly 1988,

199; Lucas 1986).[131] Giraldus Cambrensis' description of the rituals associated with oath-taking indicates that they shared some features (including outdoor circumambulation) with the modern-day Clocha Breaca devotions,[132] and there is hagiographical evidence that oaths were sometimes sworn on sacred stones.[133] Oath-taking would have complemented the documented function of the Clocha Breaca, for the threat of a curse was used to ensure that activities involving oaths were conducted correctly (Lucas 1986, 33; also BNÉ II, 142).[134] However in the absence of documentary or even folkloric evidence, the idea that the Clocha Breaca served as a focus for oath-taking must remain a matter of speculation.

The later medieval pilgrimage

The successive rebuilds of the satellite monuments are testament to the popularity of the Inishmurray pilgrimage over the centuries. As suggested above, it is likely that pilgrimage revenues were one of the reasons why Aughris priory chose to maintain a presence on Inishmurray throughout the later medieval period ('Ecclesiastical history'). As well as maintaining the existing scheme of pilgrimage monuments, the Augustinians made a number of additions to it. One was the fine wooden statue that stood on the altar in Teach Molaise. It was probably commissioned as a new focus for Molaise's cult in the late 13th or early 14th century (MacLeod 1946, 159; Cochran 2004, 86; *pace* O'Farrell 1987). Elsewhere in Europe, images of saints start to become a prominent feature of pilgrimage sites from the 11th century (Webb 2002, 167), but in Gaelic Ireland reliquaries and tombs apparently remained the main foci of many saints' cults (Carroll 1999, 50–52).[135] This statue therefore represents a relatively modish addition to the pilgrimage. Though its hands are now missing, Bourke (2000, 8) may well be correct to suggest that the statue was designed to hold Molaise's bell and crosier.

New and refurbished buildings

In this later period, all the churches on the island were wholly or partly rebuilt. The main congregational church, Templemolaise, was extended to the west, possibly because of an increase in pilgrimage traffic. The extension is indicated in particular by the absence of *antae* at the west front, though they are present on the east end. The extension cannot be dated closely, but may be as early as the 11th century, when churches without *antae* were becoming the norm in Ireland. The original, trabeate doorway was reused in the extension. Arguably, the retention of this 'archaic' form supports the possibility that the extension occurred in the 11th century. However there are some instances, like Oughaval in Mayo, of the re-use of pre-Romanesque doorways in the later medieval period. Teach Molaise was even more extensively rebuilt. Some primary fabric survives at east and west – including the doorway and (rebuilt) east window – but the side walls and stone roof are entirely secondary work. We cannot say when this occurred but the lathed formwork for the roof – represented today by tell-tale impressions in the mortar internally – is somewhat reminiscent of construction techniques in some tower houses and later medieval monasteries. Templenaman appears to be more or less entirely of 15th-century date. Likewise, Templenatinny was probably a late medieval residence for clerics or even a pilgrim hostel, rather than a church. And some of the drystone structures in the Cashel may also have been built, or rebuilt, in the later medieval period.[136]

An Inishmurray purgatory?

The most enigmatic of the structures within the Cashel is also likely to be of later medieval date. This is the souterrain-like low passage or chamber extending from the south side of Templenatinny towards the doorway of Teach Molaise (pl. 91). Unlike most true souterrains of early medieval date, this structure is built entirely above ground, within the rubble fill of a high stone terrace that fronts the two buildings. It seems unlikely that this obtrusive terrace was built solely to accommodate a narrow low chamber for some practical purpose, such as storage or even concealment, and it is worth considering the possibility that it was instead a focus for ritual.

The most renowned late medieval ritual structure in this part of Ireland was the artificial cave known as 'St Patrick's Purgatory' on an island in Lough Derg, in Donegal (pl. 93). This structure was probably built by the Augustinian community who took possession of the site in the 12th century. It attracted pilgrims from all over Europe and there are altogether two dozen written accounts of their experiences, from the late 12th to the 17th centuries (Haren & de Pontfarcy 1988; Easting 1991). Confined in St Patrick's Purgatory, the pilgrim to Saints' Island experienced not only discomfort, darkness and general sensory deprivation but – for those who were susceptible – harrowing confrontations with demons. Carroll (1999, 82) summarises the preparations and describes the purgatory itself:

> The pilgrim fasted and prayed for fifteen days. During this time an Office for the Dead was said on the pilgrim's behalf. Eventually, the pilgrim was led to a smaller island nearby and led first to a chapel for prayer and then to the 'cave' itself ….. It was an artificial structure constructed of stone. It appears to have been something like fifteen feet long, two feet wide, and only three feet high (thus preventing anyone who entered it from standing upright). A moveable stone allowed access to the interior, and pilgrims were shut inside for twenty-four hours. It was during this period that they had their otherwordly experiences.

This physical description of St Patrick's Purgatory would do very well for the souterrain-like structure in the Cashel on Inishmurray. It seems a reasonable proposition that its purpose, as well as its physical appearance, was similar to the exemplar on Lough Derg. We are not aware of any tradition or written records that support this proposal, but this need not be a strong contrary point. After all, our knowledge of the Lough Derg purgatory derives entirely from late medieval accounts by pilgrims from abroad. It was dismantled by the beginning of the 17th century. From then on, accounts of the Lough Derg pilgrimage emphasise instead rounding rituals of the sort practised on Inishmurray until recent decades.

It seems likely to us that the 'Inishmurray purgatory' was built by the Augustinians of Aughris in imitation of their counterparts on Lough Derg. The structure on Inishmurray is located, as described, within a terrace that fronts Teach Molaise and Templenatinny – the first the saint's shrine chapel and the second a possible pilgrim's hostel which, according to later tradition, housed a perpetual fire (fig. 72). The chamber is now closed at both ends, but its terminals are directly outside the doorways of the two buildings, so that it appears to have formed a low creepway between them. Access to Templenatinny and, by association, to the 'purgatory', was restricted to a narrow passage through the stone terrace (pl. 92). (This passage also gave access to the two clochauns standing adjacent to Templenatinny.) The particular position of the structure in relation to these buildings, and the restricted access to it, suggest a core role in the rituals of





Plate 91 (top) The low, semi-subterranean souterrain between Templenatinny and Teach Molaise in the Cashel: a Lough Derg style 'purgatory' on Inishmurray? **Plate 92** (bottom) Directly opposite the doorway of Templemolaise a narrow passage provides controlled access to Templenatinny and the adjacent clochauns.

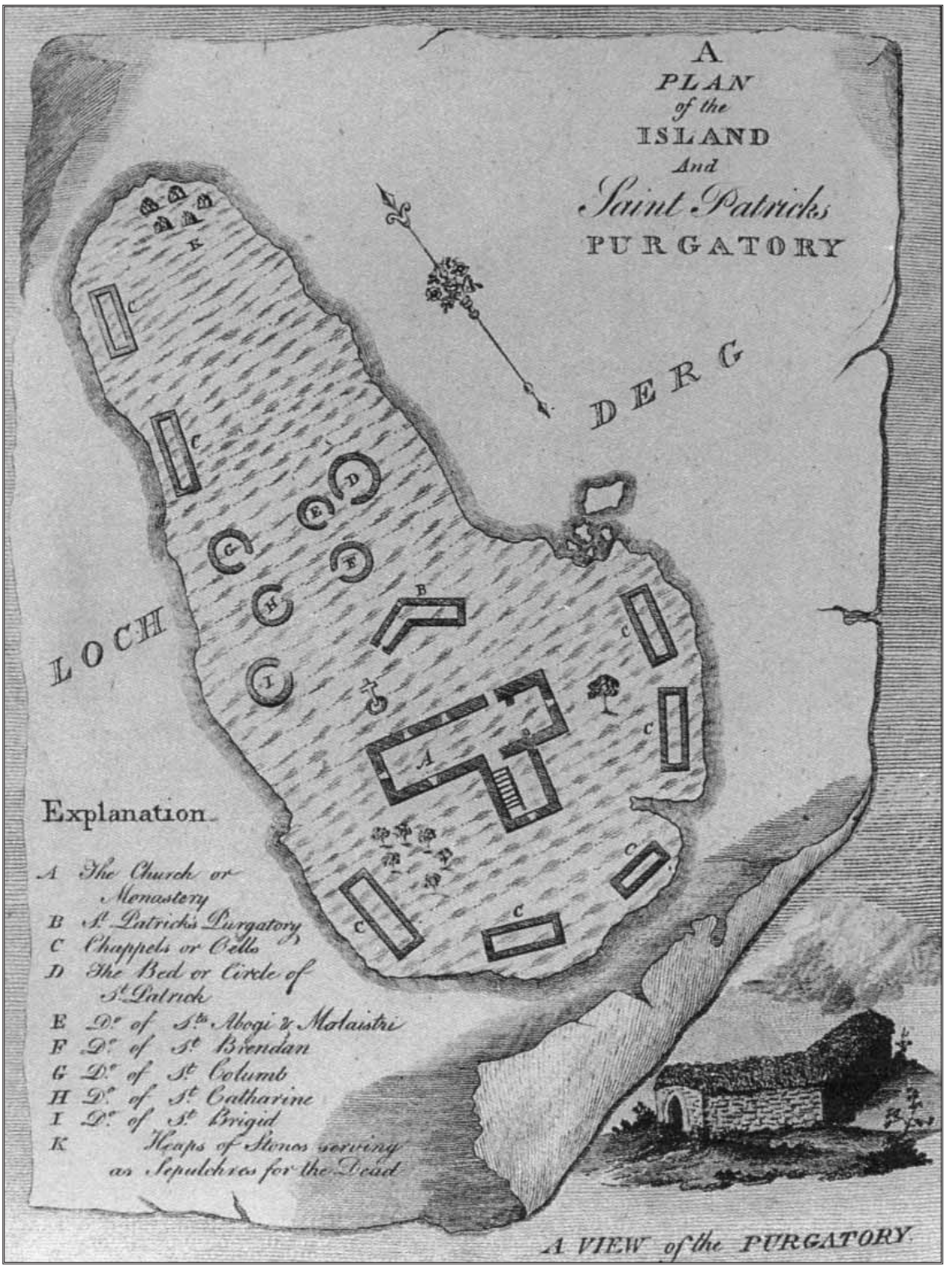


Plate 93 Plan of Station Island on Lough Derg, from Edward Ledwich's *Antiquities of Ireland* (1790), with the semi-suberranean 'purgatory' at the lower right.

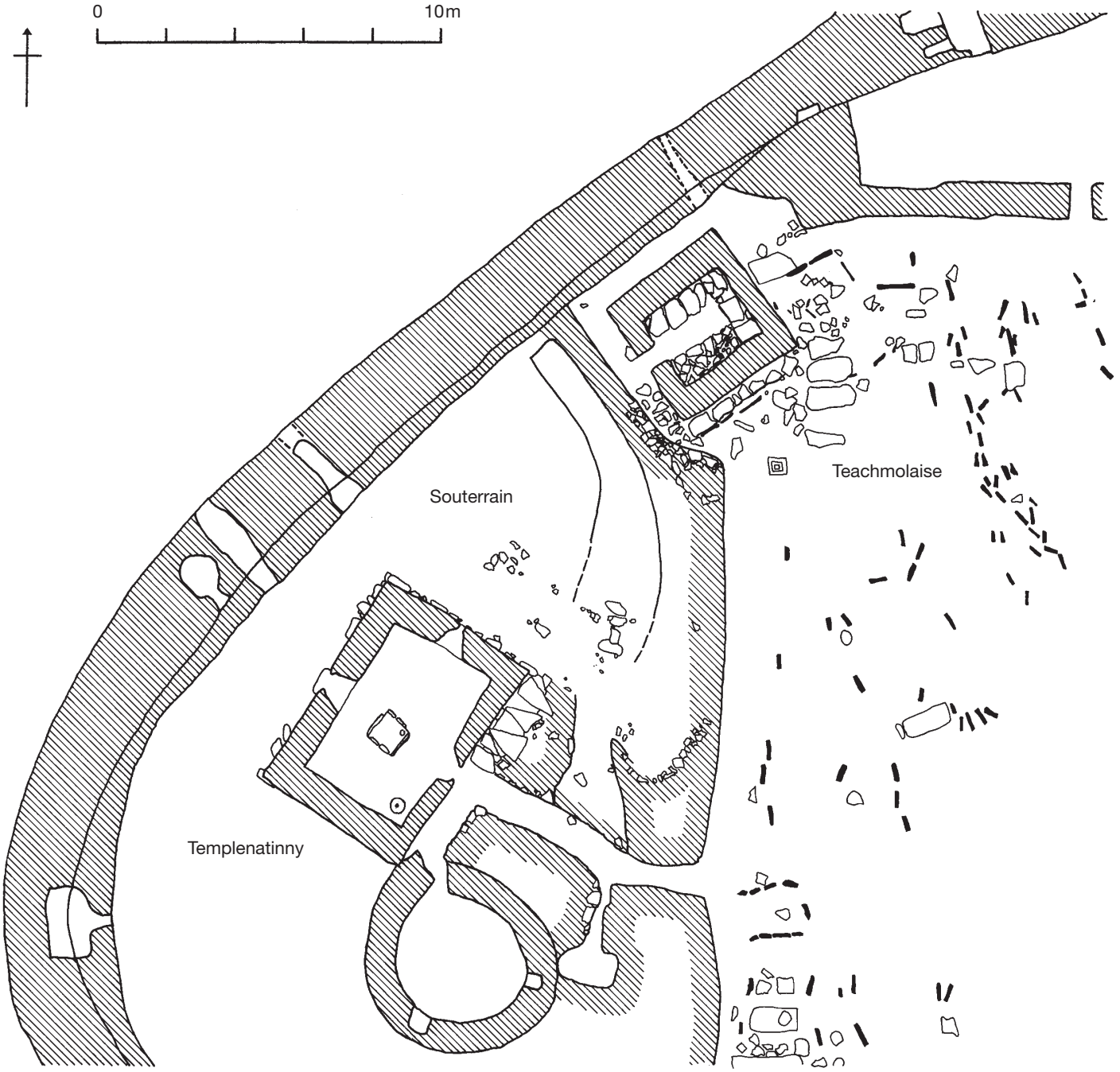


Figure 72
The Cashel: detailed plan (1999) of the building group immediately west of Teach Molaise, with (dotted) the approximate extent of the souterrain-like chamber.

the Inishmurray pilgrimage. We suggest that the mortifications suffered by pilgrims who were entombed in this structure would have prepared them for the apotheosis of their visit to Inishmurray – the privilege of access to Teach Molaise and the relics of the island's patron saint.

Conclusion

The early ecclesiastical remains on Inishmurray are justly famous for their antiquity, their complexity and their remarkable state of preservation. Merely to be well known is not always to be well understood, however, and we believe the results of the surveys and excavations described above have cast some new light on possible interpretations of the island's ecclesiastical landscape.

Our main theme has been the development of Inishmurray as an important pilgrimage destination focused on the shrine chapel of St Molaise, a saint of at least regional importance in the north-west. We cannot say for certain whether Molaise of Inishmurray was a historical figure or a localisation of the cult of the more famous Molaise of Devenish in Country Fermanagh. In any case he was conceived as an independent figure, and the founder of the monastery, by at least c. 800. However, his cult did not entirely eclipse the association of Inishmurray with another shadowy figure, Bishop Muiredach of Killala, for whom the island appears to be named.

Bishop Muiredach indicates links with Patrick's *familia* but there is also strong evidence for a close relationship with the Columban federation. The dedication of a satellite cemetery to St Odrán, probably in imitation of the extramural cemetery of that name on Iona, is the most striking expression of this. In both places these may have been cemeteries for the laity or perhaps the families of clergy. In a similar parallel vein, both Iona and Inishmurray had satellite cemeteries for women and it seems likely that these were originally nuns' cemeteries.

The most distinctive of the satellite monuments on Inishmurray are the *leachta* found around the island's cliff-edges and also at the main church sites and burial grounds. These are the key monuments in the island's modern pilgrimage. Inishmurray was a monastic establishment first, however, and pilgrimage destination second. Accordingly, in considering these monuments, we have tried to place due emphasis on their use by clergy for the performance of outdoor rituals. These would have included private masses and, in the cemeteries, votive masses for the dead, feast-day processions, and probably liturgical cursing. The modern islander's traditions concerning the turning of the 'speckled stones' on the Clocha Breaca *leacht* seem to be a remarkable instance of rural folk tradition perpetuating, albeit in modified form, a practice that has its origins among early medieval monks and clerics.

We have argued on the basis of radiocarbon dates from Relickoran, art historical evidence from the Clocha Breaca and other carved stones, and striking similarities in the construction of the main *leachta*, that they were built to a single design near the end of the first millennium or the first century or so of the second. It may be that Teach Molaise, a shrine chapel, had already been built some time before this elaboration of the monastery by a suite of satellite monuments. Along with the peripheral cemeteries and churches, these *leachta* formed nodal points in a pilgrim circuit of the island but also served to amplify its sacred centre, where the relics of the patron saint were housed within the Cashel, in Teach Molaise.

This was also the period when the cemetery at Relickoran was reorganised, enclosed within its present

walls, and embellished by the construction of the *leachta*, associated carved stones and paved circuit. These remains are unique in the Irish archaeological record. Unfortunately, the condition of the surviving human skeletal remains was poor but osteological analysis confirmed at least that men and women were buried there. A suite of radiocarbon dates was obtained from bone samples. The dates indicate a very long period of use of the cemetery, potentially from the early eighth to the mid 17th century; and an earlier phase of burials from which no dates could be obtained may extend further back in time, to the earliest years of the monastery.

The later dates from Relickoran are corroborated by documentary evidence — in particular entries in the *Calendar of Papal Registers* (CPL) — that Inishmurray was a vital establishment in later medieval times. By now its clergy had adopted the Augustinian rule. The prior of 'St Lasirianus of Insula Muregeardy' may have had his chief abode on Aughris Head, but he presided over an establishment that included and was closely identified with the island monastery. The erection of new buildings and refurbishment of older ones in later medieval years is concrete testimony to continuing investment in the island by the Augustianians and their patrons. Clearly, the cult of St Molaise was still a going concern and, doubtless also, an important source of revenue for the Augustinians of Aughris.

It was probably the Augustinians who built and promoted a 'purgatory' on Inishmurray in imitation of their counterparts on Lough Derg. At least, this is our interpretation of the souterrain-like structure contained within the high stone terrace in the Cashel that fronts Templenatinny and Teach Molaise. The similarity of this structure to 'St Patrick's Purgatory' on Lough Derg – where medieval pilgrims were confined in darkness to confront demons, its proximity to these core buildings in the Cashel, and the restricted access through the terrace that conceals it, all indicate its importance in the ritual life of the later medieval monastery.

Apart from the Augustinian house on Aughris, several other mainland sites can be identified as dependent churches of Inishmurray. These include Kilcorcach, Ahamlish, Kilglass, Staad and possibly Kilmacannon. Kilmacannon is notable because it is the only mainland site with a cross pillar in the unique style of the branching crosses of Inishmurray. Staad was a point of embarkation for pilgrims to Inishmurray in modern times and recent excavations there have discovered that its ruined later medieval church was built on the site of an early medieval settlement. Evidently Staad was a point of embarkation in medieval times too. Kilcorcach (in Corcoransacres) is most notable of all. The present parish church incorporates vestigial remains of a pre-Romanesque church and this may have been Molaise's chief establishment on the mainland – afterwards succeeded by the Augustinian house at Aughris on a virgin site.

We acknowledge that there are themes on which we have scarcely touched or not touched at all. Our interpretation of Inishmurray's medieval buildings and other monuments has focused strongly on the themes of pilgrimage, burial and liturgy, but we have not considered more prosaic questions. For instance, where in any period were the island's clerics and monastic tenants housed? Early 19th-century maps indicate a cluster of buildings in the triangular space between the Cashel and the sea, bounded on the shore by Templenaman and Relickoran. The island was thinly populated at best in post-medieval and early modern times, and hardly a place of dynamic change or reorganisation, so it is likely that this concentration of buildings perpetuated a nucleus of extramural settlement in medieval times. Certainly, this triangle between the Cashel and the sea would be the place to start looking for the habitations of any secular

community that lived on Inishmurray in later medieval times. In a similar vein, the discovery of a horizontal mill undercroft at Fál an Muilinn and surviving ancient field banks of probable medieval date offer glimpses of the economic life of the island monastery. An undisturbed deposit of deep peat or lake mud would be required if a continuous pollen history of flora, pasture and tillage on the island were to be reconstructed. Unfortunately, such deposits do not appear to exist on Inishmurray. Still, the buried peaty soils beneath the putative medieval field banks would at least provide a snapshot of flora, pasture and tillage at the period of their construction. These would be projects well worth pursuing but, for now, we can only say that it is work for another day.

Needless to say, no location on the island would be more rewarding of archaeological excavation than the Cashel itself, but intrusive ground-breaking work would be hard to justify where there is no threat and, moreover, would not be acceptable in ground that was used as a cemetery by the islanders in the modern period.

One piece of work that is already in hand is the production of a more detailed illustrated inventory and analysis of the carved stones (O'Sullivan et al., in prep.). We have not discussed this sculpture in any depth here, apart from considering the significance of the Clocha Breaca in medieval cursing, but look forward to publication of that second, companion volume on the ecclesiastical landscape of Inishmurray.

Postscript: Caring for Inishmurray

Inishmurray is special in its maritime setting. From the mainland, Inishmurray is a pencil-thin sliver of green and grey on the horizon. Clearly visible from the north Sligo coast, and little more than 6 km from the mainland, it appears beguilingly accessible. Yet it is not very accessible at all – as every boatman knows – because it has no safe pier or built harbour and the rocky low cliffs forming its natural harbour at Clashymore make landing perilous in rough seas. So the island is visible and yet remote. Despite this it is visited every summer by small parties of landowners with friends and family members, ornithologists, archaeologists, artists or simply daytrippers. Were there no other attractions it would be a trip worth making for the views alone, as the mainland seen from the island is a panorama of sky and mountain that sweeps across four counties.

Of course there are other attractions. The archaeological monuments on Inishmurray are among the best preserved examples of early medieval ecclesiastical architecture in Atlantic Europe. For this reason alone the island is of undoubted international importance, but there are other aspects to be considered in the overall care of the island.



Plate 94 Cross-slabs at the Cashel in 1969 (*Gerry Ryan*). Most of these have been removed by the OPW to a conservation store in the refurbished island Schoolhouse.



Plate 95 A recumbent grave marker in the Cashel asks for a prayer for Conmursce: recorded with lichens in 1998 (left) and following chemical treatment by the OPW in 2000 (right).

The island has an important social history in the modern period too. It was all but uninhabited by 1800 but was recolonised by the Hipsley-Sullivan estate in the early 19th century. A small community of up to 200 people thrived there until, in a period of decline, it was evacuated again in 1948. We are very close in time to the frugal life of such rural and maritime communities – only a couple of generations removed from them – but our understanding, our memories, our records of that life are very incomplete. So any place that has been commemorated by a former inhabitant – as the late Dr Patrick Heraughty has done with his scholarly and affectionate book about the island – has an added importance arising from the very fact that it has been recorded in writing.

The houses of the islanders also constitute a kind of record of their lives. On Inishmurray there is an intact planned village of the later 19th century. This group of houses, animal byres and other sheds, garden enclosures and field walls represents the clear conception by one generation of islanders of how they believed their built environment should be organised. Thus the village itself is an important social document. The buildings are all in private ownership. They enjoy no statutory protection and no maintenance or conservation. Their decline into crumbling ruins over two short generations is alarming.

Today Inishmurray is inhabited only by seabirds and other wildlife, but they are important too. The island supports internationally important numbers of barnacle geese and nationally important numbers of eider duck, shags, storm petrels and terns.

Who looks after all this? First of all, it is proper to acknowledge the landowners. We should not forget that Inishmurray is not a national park, nor an ownerless island, but still belongs to descendants of the families who quit the island in 1948. (The Schoolhouse and its yard are the property of the diocese of Elphin.) Every visitor to the island, and especially those of us who have spent long weeks working there, owe a good deal to their indulgence and goodwill. Some of the owners make sentimental visits from time to time. None enjoys any practical benefit from the island – it is no longer grazed by livestock or worked for peat for instance. And, sadly, none of them can do much to arrest the rapid decay and collapse of their houses.

The archaeological monuments, in contrast, enjoy the highest level of statutory protection. The monastic buildings at the Cashel and the outlying cemeteries, churches and *leachta* are all designated National Monuments under the National Monuments Acts 1930–2004. Routine maintenance and monitoring of

the monuments is performed by the OPW in collaboration with the National Monuments Service of the Department of the Environment, Heritage & Local Government. The restoration of the island's old Schoolhouse by the OPW in 1990 was an important measure. It serves now as a conservation store for carved stones and houses about half of the medieval cross-slabs from the island. Of course, most recently, our own programme of surveys and excavations was sponsored by the National Monuments Service.

The important seabird colonies also enjoy statutory protection. The island was listed as an Important Bird Area (IBA 017) by the International Council for Bird Preservation and this led to its subsequent designation as a Special Protection Area (SPA 068) under the EU Birds Directive. It is also a proposed Natural Heritage Area (pNHA 630) under the Wildlife (Amendment) Act 2000. The seabird colonies are monitored by rangers from the National Parks & Wildlife Service.

A positive development in the longterm care of the island is the active role now being played by Sligo County Council. The *Sligo County Development Plan 2002–2007* proposes the designation of Inishmurray as a Special Amenity Area.[91] In 2006 the Council commissioned the Institute of Technology, Sligo, to write a conservation plan for the island (Bird et al. 2007). Landowners, relevant statutory bodies, other national and local organisations, and interested individuals among the general public were all consulted by the Institute's project team in developing the conservation plan. The main thrust of its recommendations is that all of the stakeholders – including the landowners, the Council and the relevant statutory organisations – should work in concert. To facilitate this the landowners themselves should form a trust or co-operative organisation that would represent them in their dealings with heritage agencies and funding bodies. The appointment of seasonal wardens is seen as one of the most important of the practical measures to be implemented; while the care of the carved stones and the preservation of the ruined houses of the islanders are seen as two of the most urgent measures in the conservation plan.



Plate 96 Reconstruction of Oilamurray by the OPW following the total archaeological excavation of the site in 2000.



Appendix 1

Calendar of sources for the history and archaeology of Inishmurray

In the following calendar we have set out in chronological order a note on some of the sources for Inishmurray. In addition to the small number of earlier sources that can be identified, we have included any modern publications that deal exclusively with Inishmurray or with artefacts associated with the island. Some photographs are included – for the record – as not all of these are in public or national collections. Overall, however, we must emphasise that this is not a comprehensive review of the available sources, but merely a catalogue of the materials we consulted in preparing this account of our own surveys and excavations

Calendar of Sources

Date	Source	Notes
751 (*recte* 752)	Annals of Ulster	'Death of Dícuill son of Meinide, abbot of Inis Muiredaig' (AU).
795	Annals of Inishfallen	'The plundering of Í Coluim Chille, and of Inis Muiredaig, and of Inis Bó Finne' (AI).
798 (*recte* 803)	Annals of the Four Masters	'Mac Laisre, the Learned, of Inis-Muireadhaigh died' (AFM).
807	Annals of Ulster	'The heathens burned Inis Muiredaig and invade Ros Comáin' (AU; see also AFM under 802).
828–833	Martyrology of Tallaght	12 August. 'Molassi meic Declain, Inis Muridaig. Segeni ab Iae [Iona]. Murchad o Chill Alaid' (Best & Lawlor eds. 1931; on its date see Ó Riain 1990, 38).
828–833	Martyrology of Oengus	12 August. 'The calling of Lassrén of Inis Muredaig the great and magnified: with a holy train that ebbs not; the feast of famous Segéne' (Stokes ed. 1905; on its date see Ó Riain 1990, 38).
1105	Annals of Ulster	'Domnall, successor of Patrick… died… And his body was brought to Ard Macha, i.e. on Saturday, the day before Ides [12th] of August, the feast of Laisrian of Inis Muiredaigh, and the 28th of the moon' (AU).
Early 12th-century	Poem in the preface to the *Leabhar na hUidhre* version of the *Amhra Choluim-chille*	This poem refers to Molaise banishing Columba to Iona at Ahamlish on the mainland opposite Inishmurray. The relevant verses are as follows: Carry my benediction over the sea, To the nobles of Island of the Gaedhil; Let them not credit Molaisi's words,

Date	Source	Notes
		Nor his threatened prosecution Were it not for Molaisi's words, At the cross of Ath-Imlaisi, I should not now permit Disease to distemper Ireland (translated by Reeves 1857, 285–88; on date see Kenney 1929, 15).
1166–1174	Martyrology of Gorman	12 August: Hilaria, Afra, Euplus: Ségín, the good, great-fair abbot of Iona, the prince of the goodly stars. Muredach with them (and) Lasrén, twain that were not slack, let us proclaim them, a bishop and a virginal meagre abbot 1 November: Colman mac Finain of Ath-iomglaisi [Ahamlish] (Stokes ed. 1895; on its date see Ó Riain 1990, 21).
1198	Innocent III – list of churches in the diocese of Killala	This relatively early list of Killala churches has been published by McDonnell (1976, 7). Aughris is listed as *Lassariani* while Templeboy is listed as *Cellcorcach*.
1302–1307	Papal Taxation	The parishes of Templeboy (then called Corcach) and neighbouring Kilmacshalgan are listed together in this document, having a combined value of four and a half marks. At the dissolution both of their vicarages were in the possession of the prior of Aughris and the fact that they are taxed together here suggests, perhaps, that Aughris already controlled them at the beginning of the 14th century. However, Dromod, which is also an Ahamlish possession in the 16th century, is listed separately here. Ahamlish (Athymglas), which is in Elphin rather than Killala, is also listed separately and valued at 10s 12d (CDI, Vol. 4, 217, 223–25).
c. 1397	*Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae*	The Book of Lecan version of the genealogies of Irish saints was mostly compiled by Giolla Íosa Mac Fhirbhisigh in c. 1397 but he was drawing heavily on early medieval sources. The lengthiest genealogy of Molaise is as follows: 'Molaissi Echrois m. Deglain m. Dega m. Trega m. Fiachrach Fir Roeada m. Feidlimid Rectada m. Tuathail Techtmair' (Ó Riain ed. 1985, 56; see also 74, 136, 148, 323).
1417–1490	Papal Letters	Eighteen papal letters were addressed to the prior of Aughris during the 15th century and the site is referred to in a number of others. Summaries of individual documents follow (CPL, Vols 7, 8, 11, 13 & 15).

Date	Source	Notes
1417	Papal Letter	Letter to the prior of 'Achras' and other clerics mandating the appointment of an illegitimate as provost of Killala. (CPL, Vol. 7).
1418	Papal Letter	Letter to 'the prior of the priory of St Lasirianus of Insula Muregeardy in the diocese of Killala...' mandating him to give a canon of Achonry 'the rectory of Offhicari and Brannfada in the diocese of Achonry', despite the fact that he is an illegitimate (CPL, Vol. 7).
1426	Papal Letter	Letter to 'the prior of the priory of Eachros in the diocese of Killala' mandating him to give a vicar of Drumcliff a canonry including prepends in both Elphin and Killala, despite the fact that he is an illegitimate (CPL, Vol. 7).
1427	Papal Letter	Letter to 'the prior of Insula Muregard in the diocese of Elphin' mandating him to allow Bernard Yfflannagan build a hospital and church dedicated to Mary and John in Sligo and to reassign certain benefices to this new establishment (CPL Vol. 7).
1427	Papal Letter	Letter to 'the prior of Inismuireadaid' in the diocese of Elphin, and the dean and Maurice Oconchubair, canon, of Elphin' mandating them to make Murianus Okyanan vicar of 'de Minbrisg alias de Sligrach', despite the fact that he is an illegitimate and despite the fact that the abbot of Boyle claims this vicarage. (CPL Vol. 7).
1427	Papal Letter	Letter to 'the bishops of Alet and Kilmore, and the prior of Inismuireadaibh in the diocese of Elphin' mandating them to give Florence Macnoglaydh, who had previously been excommunicated for simony, the vicarage of Killaidh in the diocese of Ardagh.' (CPL, Vol. 8).
1428	Papal Letter	Letter to 'the prior of Insula Muregayd in the diocese of Elphin' mandating him to replace the rector of Ynismoyr in Elphin because he is not a priest (CPL, Vol. 8).
1428	Papal Letter	Letter to 'the prior of Insula Mureagaid' mandating him to give the rectory of Offichaire and Beandfada to the canon of Achonry (CPL, Vol. 8).
1430	Papal Letter	Letter mandating 'the bishop of Alet, the prior of St Mary's Insula Muregayd, in the diocese of Elphin, and Donald Oheadgra, canon of Achonry' to give Mynbrisg 'in terries ruralibus inter duos pontes' in the dioceses of Killala and Elphin to Cormac Macdonnchaid, canon of Elphin (CPL, Vol. 8).
1431	Papal Letter	Letter to 'the prior of St Mary's, Insula Muregaid in the diocese of Killala, and Donatus Odubda and Malerus Brun, canons of Killala'

Date	Source	Notes
		mandating them to take provostship of Killala from John Bared, originally of Augustinian house at Buttevant who has 'committed fornication more than once' and to give it instead to Thomas Laigleys, vicar of Leaccam in Killala (CPL, Vol. 8).
1457 (10 Jan)	Papal Letter	Letter 'To the priors of Achras and Cros, in the diocese of Killala, and the official of Killala' mandating them to remove Cornelius Oduba from the prebend of Ardach and the vicarage of Kyldroma in Killala and to give them to Mulerus Bared, canon of Killala (CPL, Vol. 11).
1457 (10 Nov)	Papal Letter	Letter to 'John prior of St Mary's *de Insula Murybay*, in the diocese of Elphin, residing in the diocese of Winchester, and the official of Winchester' mandating him to give parishioners of Rumusey in the diocese of Winchester another chaplain and larger bells because of the size of the parish and a clock 'to tell the hours, and, after the manner of other places of those parts, go in procession through the fields and other common places at the Ember seasons along wit the said vicar and chaplain…' In return they must provide for his needs (CPL, Vol. 11).
1457 (17 Dec)	Papal Letter	Letter 'To John prior of St Mary's of Insula Muribay' about another matter relating to his position as 'official of Winchester' (CPL, Vol. 11).
1458 (13 May)	Papal Letter	'To the bishop of Killala. Mandate to make provision to Thady Ydubda (O'Dowd), an Augustinian friar, in priest's orders (who has openly made his profession of the said order, is of a race of kings, and proposes, with the support of his noble and powerful kins men, to help the below-named monastery to recover many of its rights, possessions and goods which have been usurped by a number of powerful nobles and laymen, and wrongfully converted to their private uses) of the Augustinian monastery of St Mary, Inishmurray (Insula Murbayd) *alias* Acras, in the diocese of Elphin and Killala (Elphinen. et Aladen dioc), value not exceeding 24 marks sterling, void at the apostolic see, and therefore *ipso facto* reserved, by the resignation made there to the pope of John Orachur, [now] a canon, sometime prior thereof; notwithstanding that he has made his open profession of the order of Augustinian friars. The pope hereby dispenses him to receive and exercise the cure, rule and administration, etc., notwithstanding the statutes and customs of the said monastery, but he is to wear the habit which is worn therein and conform to its regular institutes' (CPL, Vol. 11).

Date	Source	Notes
1462	Papal Letter	'To William Baret, a canon of Killala. Mandate, at the recent petition of Patrick Odubthyg, a canon of the Augustinian monastery of St Mary, Achros, in the diocese of Killala or (alias) of Inysmureii in the diocese of Elphin, (containing that the number of canons in the said monastery has so much increased that [on account of] the lack of food and raiment and other necessaries of life they cannot commodiously live and becomingly engage in divine offices; and asking to be transferred thence to the monastery of St Mary, Cong, of the said order, tine the diocese of Tuam), inasmuch as from fear of the power of the said abbot of Cong Patrick has no hope of obtaining justice in the city and diocese of Tuam, to inform himself, and if he find the foregoing to be true, to transfer Patrick, who has made his open profession and is a priest, from the said monastery of Archros, with licence, however, of his superior, to that of Cong, provided that it be not burdened thereby, and cause him to be received as a canon there, etc.' (CPL, Vol. 11).
1465	Papal Letter	Letter relating to John Oflangole's (Ó Flannghaile/Flannelly) petition to become Prior of Aughris because of the deprivation of Thady O'Dowd (MacHale 1991, 217).
1475	Papal Letter	Letter to 'Edmund, abbot of Ballintober in the diocese of Tuam, the prior of Inishmurray (de Insula Mary) alias Aughris (de Achros), in the diocese of Killala, and official of Killala' (CPL, Vol. 13).
1477	Papal Letter	Letter to 'Malachy Oflangole, prior of St Mary's de Achros *alias* de Insula Muraby, O.S.A., in the diocese of Killala and Elphin' confirming his position as prior even though he is the illegitimate son of a monk and an unmarried woman. The priory is valued at 24 marks sterling. The office had become void because of death of John Oflangole (CPL, Vol. 13).
1479	Papal Letter	Letter to 'the priors of Achros and Cros, in the diocese of Killala, and the official of Killala' mandating them to remove the present vicar of Kilglass if they find him wanting (CPL, Vol. 13).
1490	Papal Letter	Letter to the canons of Tuam giving them a 'mandate in favour of William Offlan, canon of the monastery of Acros alias Ynysmuyryn, OSA, d. Elphin or Killala, who, as he alleges, is tacitly professed of the said order. The pope has learned that the [priory] of the said monastery, which is usually governed by a prior, is vacant and has been for so long that by the Lateran statutes its collation has lawfully devolved on the apostolic see, although Cormac Pisti, who claims to be a canon of the same, has detained it without any title

Date	Source	Notes
		but temerariously and *de facto*, for a certain time, as he still does.' The letter goes on to state that William is also disputing vicarage of Strim (i.e. Skreen) and wants the union of the two for his lifetime. It stipulates that the priory is conventual. The letter says the canons must ensure that he gets his wish 'with the usual pastoral proviso in respect of the united vicarage' and on condition that the union is dissolved when he dies. Aughris is valued at 24 marks while Skreen is valued at 8 marks (CPL, Vol. 15).
1510	Papal Annate	'John O'Flannelly, a Canon of the Augustinian monastery of Inishmurray, alias The Island, in the dioceses of Killala and Elphin, promises to pay the Treasury the Annates for the aforesaid Priory, now held by Charles O'Connor without title, the fruits of which were commonly estimated as not exceeding 24 marks sterling, and which prior was then to be conferred on the aforesaid John' (MacHale 1991, 217). Annates are a tax paid to the Pope on the first year's revenue from a benefice.
1569	Papal Letter	Letter giving Bishop Redmond O'Gallagher, who had until then been Bishop of Killala, permission to retain the revenues of the priory for his upkeep on translation to Derry (McDonnell 1976, 79; MacHale 1985, 28; 1991, 215).
1584	Inquisition under Sir John Crofton	The jury find that 'the priory of Acheras, *alias* Kylmaltin, in the barony of Tireragh, is the property of the Queen, and that the vicarage of the church of Ahamlish (Aghumlys), in the barony of Carbury, with one quarter of glebe land, and one small island situated in the high sea, belong to the aforesaid priory' (quoted in O'Rorke 1890, Vol. 2, 45-6). 'Sligo, 27 March 1584 […] There is a certain Priory, Cell or House of Canons commonly called the Priory of Auchros, alias Kylmyltyn, in the barony of Tireragh in County Sligo, which has lain waste for a long time because of war and has remained concealed, as it were, from the queen, but is now in the hands of Eugene O'Conor, cleric. The aforesaid Priory contains in itself a church, in a ruined state, with a belfry at one end in the likeness of a castle, and one quarter of land adjoining [i.e. the townland of Carrowaghrish or Ceathrú Eachrois]. The vicarage of the church of Dromyrd in the barony of Tireragh pertains to the aforesaid Priory, as does the vicarage of the church of Kilmcselgan from which the prior receives 3s 6d of Irish money per annum. The vicarage of Conach [i.e. Corcagh / Templeboy] also pertains to this Priory as does the

Date	Source	Notes
		vicarage of the church of Aghumlys [i.e. Ahamlish] in the barony of Carbery with one quarter of glebe land and one small island situated on the high sea from which the prior receives 15s of Irish money per annum' (Wood-Martin 1882, Appendix C; McDonnell 1976, 79).
1585	Office of Sligo	The Compossicon Book of Connought details this inquisition taken at Sligo in 1585 before Sir Richard Bingham and others which lists the Sligo lands belonging to Elizabeth I. The following comes from the Carbery section: 'the Benan 4 qrs belonging to her majesty as in right of the abby of aghrosse' (Freeman 1936, 120). This refers to Aughris's portion of Ahamlish parish (cf. below under 1622). There is no mention of Aughris in the Tireragh section.
1587–88	Irish Fiants of the Tudor Sovereigns	'Fiants are warrants to the Irish chancery to write letters patent covering things like leases and grants of land, either from the Crown itself or following upon a surrender by the original proprietor, in the well-known but often misunderstood process known as 'surrender and regrant'' (Nicholls 1994). Under 1587–88 we get the following fiant relating Aughris: 'Lease to Rich. Kindlemershe, of the lands of Laghtaske and Killadowne in O Connor Roes country, co. Roscommon […a long list of lands including…] the house of canons called the priory of Ackeras, bar. Tirerragh, co. Sligo, and a quarter of land adjoining, the vicarage of Aghumlie, bar. Carbrie, with one quarter of glebe land, and one little island in the sea there in co. Sligo…' (Nicholls 1994: Fiants Vol. 3, number 5151; see also 5805, 5815). These lands are listed between semi-colons, the implication being that they were seen as representing one property.
1603	Baxter's map	Captain John Baxter's map of the 'north-west parts of Ireland' gives Inishmurray a prominent central position with the following accompanying legend: 'In this ilande there dwelleth a holye man named Scanlon of whom the contrie people holde a superstitious opinion that if he be angry with anyone he doe turne the speckled stones uppon them, that he keepeth for that use, they shall die within that yeare.'
1603	Grant of land by James I	'The vicarage of the church of Aghumlis, with one qr. of land and the glebe, and one small island there lying in the sea, parcel of the late house of (Carmelites), called the priory of Akeras, alias Kilmaltin' granted to William Taafe (MacHale 1985, 27).
1612	Annals of Loch Cé	'The calends of January, this year of the age of the Lord, one thousand,

Date	Source	Notes
		six hundred, and twelve years. Moylan Ó Dálaigh died on the festival day of the dead, and was interred in Inis-Muiredhaigh, after bearing triumph from the world and the devil; and let everyone who reads this give a blessing on his soul' (Hennessy ed. 1871).
1622	Grant of land by James I	'Ballyscanlon, alias Ballytobenanny, 4 qrs., part of the estate of the late priory of Aghrise, alias Kilmalten...' granted to George St George and Robert Jermyn of the city of Dublin (MacHale 1985, 27).
c. 1630	Martyrology of Donegal	12 August: 'Seighin, son of Fachtna, abbot, of Ia-Coluum Cille [Iona], AD 651, when he resigned his spirit. Muiredach, Bishop, of Cill Aladh of the race of Laeghaire, son of Niall. Molaisse, i.e., Laisren, son of Deglan, of Inis-Muireadhagh in the north.' (O'Donovan ed. 1864; on date see Kenney 1929, 485).
1633–36	Rentals of the Estates of Landed Proprietors of County Sligo	This source shows that O'Connor Sligo was the biggest landowner in Ahamlish parish. He also had a small amount of land in Templeboy including 'Carrowaghrish [i.e. Ceathrú Eachrois] mortgadged to Mr. Ridge … this is a peninsula in the sea … worth £30 per annum.' Inishmurray itself is not mentioned (Wood-Martin 1889, Appendix A, extracted from Harlian MS 2048, British Museum).
1649	*Leabhar na nGenealach*	This Book of Genealogies, compiled in the 1640s by Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh, though drawing on earlier texts, makes two references to Aughris. In a section on the O'Dowds it mentions a 'Domhnall, prior of Eachros, son of Tadhg, son of Domhnall, son of Aodh, son of Muircheartach na Fuinneóige' (Ó Muraíle 2003, Vol. 1, 609; see also O'Donovan 1844, 138–39 and genealogical table). Muircheartach na Fuinneóige's father, Taithleach, died in 1235, suggesting that Domhnall was prior of Aughris sometime in the later 14th century. Elsewhere in the compilation 'Ó Flannghaile in Eachros' is listed as one of the hereditary proprietors of Tireragh (Ó Muraíle 2003, Vol. 1, 623). This must be the same family who monopolised the office of prior of Aughris in the later 15th and early 16th centuries (see above).
1654	*De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus Ejus*	In his brief note on Aughris, James Ware (1654, 264) mentions that that it was founded by Lasarianus.
1655–56	Down Survey	Sir William Petty's map of the 'Parishes of County Sligo' – part of the so-called 'Down Survey' undertaken to facilitate Cromwellian confiscations and plantation (Larcom 1851; Petty 1685) – includes a map of Inishmurray showing land divisions that can still be traced today as remnant banks or stone dykes. Extents of the land parcels

Date	Source	Notes
		are given in roods, hectares & perches and the landowner or 'proprietor' is identified as 'O Conner Slygoe'. Map 24 shows Aughris priory at the centre of the headland with a high castellated tower reminiscent of the description of the site in the 1584 inquisition. In the mid 17th century it is on lands occupied by '~ane Smith' (Timoney 2002, 56).
1659	Census	A census taken by Sir William Petty in 1659 (Pender 1939) recorded only three persons on the island – O'Leary, Currid and Meehan, though it is likely that these were three householders.
1662	Hearth Money Rolls	The Hearth Money Act was introduced as a new method of taxation soon after the Irish Parliament had been reconstituted after the Restoration. The rolls produced in conjunction with the act give quite detailed lists of households in various counties. The entries for Templeboy and Ahamlish parish are far too numerous to be reproduced here, but the householders mentioned as living on Aughris head itself are Nathaniel and Rowley James (MacLysaght 1967).
1666	Patent Rolls of Charles II	In this year extensive lands were granted to Lord William Stafford and Thomas Radcliffe including 'Inishmurey alias Inishmorey, ? qr' and, further on, 'bar. Tirreragh, some co. the rectory of Aghamlisch; bar. Carbury same co. – rectories of Agheris, Dromad, Templeboy and Kilmacshallgan' (Wood-Martin 1889, Appendix D). It is interesting that in this post-Restoration document, the lands once owned by Aughris are still conjoined and are being disposed of together, despite being in different baronies and dioceses. This remains the case in slightly later indentures between Lord Stafford, Joshua Wilson and Dr. Leslie (O'Rorke 1890, Vol. 1, 46).
c. 1684	Robert Downing's Description of Sligo	This source, which has recently been published by Ó Muraíle (2002), mentions that Aughris was founded by 'Lazarianus of Loughlin', possibly a reference to *Loch Glinne* in Tirawley (ibid., 239). His only source seems to be Ware (1654) and there is no evidence that he visited the site. It is therefore of no use in determining whether ruins of the priory were still extant at this date.
1722	*Monasticon Hibernicum*	Stevens (1722) refers briefly to Aughris and suggests that the Augustinian priory was founded in the late 13th century.

Date	Source	Notes
1735–1810	Palmerston estate rentals	The rectory of Ahamlish (which included Inishmurray) was among the estates acquired by the Temples/Palmerstons in 1694. McGowan's (1998) *Gale, Stone & Fire* and (2004) *Island Voices* includes infor mation from the Palmerston estate rent rolls for the years 1735–1810.
1779	Bigari & Beranger's tour	A full account of the circumstances and fruits of Angelo Bigari and Gabriel Beranger's 'sketching tour of Connacht' in 1779 is given by Harbison's (2002) *Our Treasure of Antiquities*. (An earlier appreciation of Beranger's work was pubished by Sir William Wilde in a series of contributions to the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* between 1870 and 1878, subsequently collected in a single volume in 1880.) Albeit brief, this is the first known description of the island's ecclesiastical monuments. It records their names and some associated traditions and is supported by drawings of several buildings or *leachta* as well as a plan of the Cashel. The drawings show the ruinous condition of Templemolaise prior to restoration by the Board of Works but confirms that other important monuments – including the Treenode More *leacht* and Teach Molaise – had already achieved their present-day form. Beranger also makes observations about the living conditions, appearance and subsistence of the islanders but fears he offended them by laughing heartily at the statue of 'his Holiness [St Molaise], who was all over painted with vermillion' (Harbison 2002, 61). According to Harbison (2002, 19), original drawings by Beranger & Bigari were acquired in 1810 by Tipperary-born antiquarian Austin Cooper. These originals or copies form part of the Cooper Collection in the National Library of Ireland (MS 2122).
1770–86	Vallency's *Collecteana*	Selected illustrations of the ecclesiastical monuments in Charles Vallency's *Collecteana* (1786) are probably based on originals by Bigari & Beranger (above).
1791	de Montbret's tour	The 'travel notes' of a tour by French Consul Charles Etienne Coquebert de Montbret are described in a paper by Ní Cinnéide (1978). Heraughty (1982, 85) surmises that de Montbret did not actually visit the island but 'got his information second hand'.
1802	McParlan's *Survey*	James MacParlan's (1802) *Statistical Survey of Co Sligo* for the Royal Soiety recorded only a single family on the island at the start of the 19th century.
1813–14	Palmerston estate map	A 'Map of Inishmurray' was drawn by James Williamson in 1813–14 as part of his survey of the Sligo estate of Viscount Palmerston. It records a small cluster of houses between the Cashel and the shore

Date	Source	Notes
		and shows the positions and names of the main *leachta*. The name given to Trahanareear – 'Breadserve' – is unique to this map. The map is in the collections of the National Library of Ireland.
1836	Ordnance Survey *Letters*	John O'Donovan's (1836) 'Sligo Letters' offer a kind of precursor to Wakeman's (1886 & 1893) survey by recording brief descriptions of the main monuments on this island and – importantly – some monuments that had already become denuded or eroded by Wakeman's time.
1837	Ordnance Survey map	The first edition of the Ordnance Survey (surveyed 1836; published 1837) is the first detailed and accurate map of the island. It confirms some details of earlier maps – including the straggling irregular field boundaries of the Down Survey (1655–56) and the clustered houses between the Cashel and the shore of the Palmerston map (1813–14).
1875	Dunraven's *Notes on Early Irish Architecture*	The first volume of Lord Dunraven's *Notes on Irish Architecture* (Stokes ed., 1875, 45–54) includes the only photographic record of the Cashel to survive from the period pre-dating the intrusive conservation works – effectively rebuilding the enclosing wall – by the Board of Works in 1880.
1879–1881	Wakeman's drawings for Col. Cooper of Markree	A volume of original artwork from William Wakeman's survey of the the island was bound for Colonel Cooper of Markree Castle as *Drawings of the Antiquities on the Island of Inishmurray* and is curated at Sligo County Library. The illustrations of the cross-slabs and monuments are based on field sketches made in 1879, 1880 and 1881, so that some of them pre-date the intrusive works by the Board of Works in 1880. Most of the illustrations are reproduced in the survey report published by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (1886 & 1893) but the originals are all very handsome and this volume is deserving of study in its own right as a 'portable monument' of the island and of the remarkable Mr Wakeman.
1880	Collingwood Bruce's *Catalogue of Antiquities, chiefly British, at Alnwick Castle*	This catalogue includes brief entries on the crosier (catalogue no 886), bell (catalogue no 913) and cursing stone (catalogue no 714) from Inishmurray in the Duke of Northumberland's collection of antiquities.
1880–81	Board of Works report	The extensive and aparently intrusive programme of conservation works undertaken by the Board of Works on Inishmurray was completed in a single season in 1880. Unfortunately, the Superintendent

Date	Source	Notes
		of Ancient Monuments' report to the Commissioners of Public Works for 1880–81 offers only the terse information that works recommended the previous year 'have been undertaken and satisfactorily completed' (quoted in Mills 1893, xviii).
1882	Wood-Martin's *History of Sligo*	The first volume of Wood-Martin's *History of Sligo* (1882, 149–62) includes quite a detailed, though poorly illustrated, account of the monuments and the traditions relating to them. He is critical of the conservation work which had recently been carried out by the Board of Works. In the second volume of his *History of Sligo*, he mentions that Protestant refugees from the 1688 siege of Sligo went to Inishmurray in small boats in the hope of defending it until they could find safe passage to Derry (Wood-Martin 1889, 113).
1884	Wakeman's survey	Wakeman's classic survey was undertaken in 1884 and published in 1886 and again in 1893. It was commissioned by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland and offers the first detailed illustrated accounts of all the ecclesiastical monuments as well as recording some associated traditions of the islanders. Unfortunately, the survey was undertaken after the conservation works undertaken by the Board of Works in 1880, so there is no comprehensive record by which the original and restored buildings can be compared.
1891	O'Rorke's *History of Sligo*	The description of Inishmurray in this source draws heavily on Wakeman, but it also includes original work on related church sites including Aughris and Ahamlish.
1893	Welch Collection [photographs]	The collection of photographs by R J Welch that is curated in the Ulster Museum encompasses a very wide range of subjects, from zoology to folklife, and consists of several thousand separate images. Among these are some images of Inishmurray c. 1900 (e.g. Heraughty 1982, 85; and pl. 9, this vol.) but note that the collection was not examined in compiling this volume.
1893	Mill's 'Preface' to Wakeman	James Mills' 'Preface' (1893) to the reprinted monograph version of of Wakeman's survey usefully explains the circumstances in which the survey was commissioned by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. It also includes a summary of some scholarly notices of Inishmurray in the 18th and 19th centuries.
1946	MacLeod	MacLeod's (1946) paper on 'Some mediaeval wooden figure sculptures in Ireland', in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* proposes a late 13th or 14th century date for the statue of Molaise that stood on the altar in Teach Molaise and

Date	Source	Notes
		considers it in the context of contemporary Irish ecclesiastical sculpture in wood.
1971	MacCarthaigh's 'Placenames'	MacCárthaigh's (1971) paper in *Dinnseanchas* lists over a hundred names of places on the island and considers some variant names for the ecclesiastical monuments.
1972	Mounbatten's 'Inishmurray'	An unpublished typescript labelled simply 'Inishmurray' was compiled by Lord Mountbatten of Burma to record his tour of the monuments on the island in the early 1970s. It includes some idiosyncratic observations on the monuments and traditions associated with them and acknowledges John Waters – a decendent of the 'kings' of the island – as Mountbatten's guide.
1982	Heraughty's *Ancient Monastic Island*	Patrick Heraughty's (1982) affectionate history of Inishmurray is the best-known modern publication on the island, where he was himself raised as a boy. Early chapters consider the ancient history and archaeology of the island but its lasting value is its record of modern folklife and economy in the 19th and early 20th centuries.
1985	Bourke's 'Crosier and bell'	Cormac Bourke's (1985) paper in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* records a detailed analysis of the crozier and iron bell – relics taken from Teach Molaise – that are now in the collection of the Duke of Northumberland in Alnwick Castle.
1987	O'Farrell 'Statue of St Molaise'	O'Farrell's (1987) paper in *Figures from the Past* (Rynne, ed.) considers the style, craftsmanship and probable date of the wooden statue of St Molaise that formerly stood on the altar in Teach Molaise, but is now in the collections of the National Museum of Ireland.
1989	Inishmurray Symposium	The proceedings of a symposium organised by Dr Don Cotton at Sligo Regional Technical College (now Sligo Institute of Technology) were published as *The Heritage of Inishmurray* (limited circulation). The symposium considered all aspects of the heritage and conservation needs of the island, including a presentation by archaelogist Joyce Enright.
1989	Herity's 'Antiquity of *an turas*'	Michael Herity's (1989a) paper on 'The antiquity of *an turas*' places the Inishmurray 'pattern' in the context of other early church sites in the west of Ireland where stational rounds were performed. It includes original descriptions of the *leachta* and detailed original illustrations of some of the Clocha Breaca. More of the Clocha Breaca are illustrated in Herity's (1995a) paper on 'The Chi-Rho and other early cross forms in Ireland'.

Date	Source	Notes
1989	Meehan's *Molaise of Inishmurray*	Revd Denis Molaise Meehan's (1989) *Molaise of Inishmurray* is a slim monograph that argues for the common identity of Molaise of Inishmurray and Molaise of Devenish.
1989	White Marshall's PhD dissertation	Jenny White Marshall's (1989) PhD dissertation is a detailed comparative study of the history and archaeology of three island sites: Illauntannig, High Island and Inishmurray. It includes a summary of Rainer Berger's (1992; 1995) radiocarbon dating of mortar from the Inishmurray churches.
1990	Bailey's 'Early Irish carved stone in northern England'	Richard Bailey's (1990) paper the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* on 'an early Irish carved stone in northern England' traces the footsteps of Bourke (1985; above) by identifying a cross-inscribed beach cobble in the collection of antiquities at Alnwick Castle taken as one of the Clocha Breaca from Inishmurray.
c. 1990	SMR (undated)	The national Sites & Monuments Record includes hand-written notes and sketches on *pro forma* field record sheets of the main monuments but also draws attention to a few minor, previously unrecorded features of possible archaeological significance. These were revisited by our survey in 1998 and are described in the Survey inventory, above. The SMR is now curated and maintained by the Department of the Environment, Heritage & Local Government. The SMR record for Inishmurray was updated in consultation with the present writers in 2006.
1992	Berger's radiocarbon dates	Charcoals from mortar samples from Inishmurray's three churches – Teach Molaise, Templemolaise and Templenaman – were radiocarbon dated by Rainer Berger, in collaboration with OPW Architect Grellan Rourke. The results are given in the *Radiocarbon* journal (Berger 1992; 1995) and the Survey Inventory, above.
1998	McGowan's *Gale, Stone & Fire*	This source offers a short history and guide to the island, reprising much information already given in Wakeman (1886 & 1893) and Heraughty (1982), and includes a good deal of information from the Palmerston estate records (above at 1735–1810).
2000	Bolton & Pavía's *Stone Monuments in Decay*	A study for the Heritage Council by Jason Bolton and Sarah Pavía included among a wide range of sample sites some of the carved stones and masonry structures on Inishmurray. The study draws attention in particular to the weathering and erosion of some of the carved stones, though some of the illustrated examples in the report are misidentified.

Date	Source	Notes
2002	*Archaeology Ireland* Heritage Guide No. 18	This plastic-laminated pamphlet is one of a series of field guides published by *Archaeology Ireland* magazine (=Heritage Guide No. 18) and offers a brief but well-illustrated introduction to Inishmurray.
2004	McGowan's *Island Voices*	Joe McGowan's (2004) second book on Inishmurray – *Island Voices* – records island stories and experiences in the islanders' own terms. Notably, it includes folktales of Molaise and the early monastery transcribed from tape recordings made in the 1970s of Sligo's last native Irish speaker, the late Joe Neilan, who was himself married to an islandwoman.

Appendix 2

Concordance of radiocarbon dates from all excavated sites

Radiocarbon ages are quoted in conventional years BP (before 1950 AD) and the errors for these dates are expressed in statistical terms at a one sigma level of confidence. Calendrical date ranges calibrated from these dates are expressed at one and two sigma levels of confidence. Dates from Trahanareear, prefixed by the lab code GU, were measured at the Scottish Universities Research Reactor Centre (SURRC). Calibrated date ranges were determined from the University of Washington Quaternary Isotope Laboratory, Radiocarbon Dating Program 1987. Dates from Relickoran and Ollamurray, prefixed by the lab code AA, were measured at the University of Arizona using the accelerated mass specrometry method (AMS). Dates coded UB-4635 and UB-4636 were measured at Queen's University Belfast (QUB) while dates coded UB-6443 to UB-6450 were pre-treated and graphitized at QUB and AMS measurements then made at the Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit. Calibrations were measured using the radiocarbon calibration programme CALIB (Rev 5.0.1) (Stuiver & Reimer 1986–2005) in conjunction with the IntCal04 calibration curve (Reimer et al. 2004).

Trahanareear 1997

Lab code	*Context*	*Yrs BP*	*Calibrated date*
GU-7350	Peat abutting north enclosure wall (0–50 mm above mineral soil)	80±70	cal AD 1682–1955 (one sigma) cal AD 1660–1955 (two sigma)
GU-7351	Peat abutting north enclosure wall (50–100 mm above mineral soil)	80±50	cal AD 1689–1955 (one sigma) cal AD 1671–1955 (two sigma)

Reilickoran 1999–2000

Lab code	*Sample*	*Yrs BP*	*Calibrated dates*
UB-4635	Burial 13 Skeletal material from *in situ* burial beneath the *leacht* in the smaller enclosure	1036±43	AD 904–1029 one sigma AD 893–1148 two sigma
UB-4636	Burial 6 Skeletal material from *in situ* burial beneath the *leacht* in main enclosure	1174±48	AD 778–937 one sigma AD 711–982 two sigma
AA-37260	Disturbed or redeposited human bone fragmentsfrom a loose stony fill (F1010) at the base of the *leacht* in the smaller enclosure	940±50	AD 1031–1154 one sigma AD 1018–1209 two sigma

UB-6443	Burial 1 Skeletal material from *in situ* burial north of the *leacht* in the main enclosure	921±32	AD 1044–1158 one sigma AD 1027–1205 two sigma
AA-37261	Disturbed or redeposited human bone fragments from a loose stony fill (F1010) at the base of the *leacht* in the smaller enclosure	905±50	AD 1043–1179 one sigma AD 1024–1219 two sigma
UB-6447	Burial 7 Skeletal material from *in situ* burial south of the *leacht* in the main enclosure	891+/30	AD 1051–1207 one sigma AD 1041–1216 two sigma
UB-6446	Burial 5 Skeletal material from *in situ* burial east of the *leacht* in the main enclosure	819±31	AD 1194–1261 one sigma AD 1166–1267 two sigma
UB-6445	Burial 3 Skeletal material from *in situ* burial east of the *leacht* in the main enclosure	686+/31	AD 1277–1381 one sigma AD 1267–1389 two sigma
UB-6444	Burial 2 Skeletal material from *in situ* burial east of the *leacht* in the main enclosure	560±29	AD 1323–1415 one sigma AD 1309–1427 two sigma
UB-6448	Burial 8 Skeletal material from *in situ* burial south of Burial 7, to the south of the *leacht* in the main enclosure	379±29	AD 1452–1616 one sigma AD 1445–1631 two sigma
UB-6450	Burial 10 Skeletal material from *in situ* burial directly east of Burial 8, to the south of the *leacht* in the main enclosure	303±29	AD 1521–1645 one sigma AD 1490–1651 two sigma
UB-6449	Burial 9 Skeletal material from *in situ* burial south of Burial 8, to the south of the *leacht* in the main enclosure	286±29	AD 1523–1653 one sigma AD 1495–1663 two sigma

Ollamurray 2000

Lab code	*Sample*	*Yrs BP*	*Calibrated dates*
AA-43644	F5007/5020 – Charcoals from an early soil layer (Phase I) that overspread the area beneath the *leacht* and enclosing wall	1135 ± 45	AD 785–979 one sigma AD 778–1000 two sigma
AA-43645	As above	1190 ± 55	AD 775–940 one sigma AD 687–982 two sigma

Notes

1 Until the late 1990s the monuments on Inishmurray were in the care of the National Monuments Service of the Office of Public Works. By the time our surveys and excavations were underway the National Monuments Service had been transferred to Dúchas the Heritage Service, within the newly established Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and Islands. That department has since been abolished and the National Monuments Service is now part of the Department of the Environment, Heritage & Local Government. The care of designated national monuments, however, has reverted to the Office of Public Works. For convenience and to avoid unnecessary confusion, in this volume we generally use 'the National Monuments Service' with reference to the State archaeology service or cognate agencies but the OPW in referring to any ongoing maintenance or reconstrucions of the monuments.

2 NGR 353670 157600

3 Numbers in brackets accompanying names of monuments in the text refer to the 1998 survey inventory unless otherwise indicated. Where possible, these follow the current reference numbers of the national Sites & Monuments Record (revised and updated 2006).

4 A survey of the vernacular buildings was completed by J O'Sullivan in 2001 and will be published elsewhere.

5 Sir William Petty's survey was commissioned to facilitate Cromwellian confiscations and plantation and executed with remarkable speed using about 1000 personnel, largely drawn from the army. The scope and history of this first extensive and detailed survey of Ireland is given by Larcom (1851) and the original survey supplied the basis for Petty's own atlas of Ireland or *Hiberniae Delineatio* (1685). A certificated facsimile copy of the Down Survey maps of the parishes of County Sligo is in the collections of Sligo County Library.

6 A list of some other notable visitors to Inishmurray is given by Heraughty (1982, 85–6).

7 Mills' Preface explains that Wakeman's survey was commissioned by the Society in 1884 and issued 'early in 1887' as one part of the Society's quarterly Proceedings for 1886. The title page of the reprinted 'special volume' is dated 1893 and in our main text page references to Wakeman are to this second version. In addition to his published drawings from the island, Wakeman evidently made copies for Colonel Cooper of Makree Castle. These are handsomely bound and the volume is now in the collection of Sligo County Library. Wakeman's drawings were evidently made during several visits to the island – in 1879, 1880 and 1881 (the dates on original drawings in the volume bound for Colonel Cooper) and again in 1885 when the main survey was undertaken (according to Mills 1893).

8 Wakeman illustrates 48 early cross-slabs and inscribed stones. The results of the present survey indicate that there are over 90 carved or monumental stones, including plain pillar stones, bullauns, quernstones and millstones.

9 Mountbatten's typescript describing the monuments of Inishmurray was written for private circulation; a copy was kindly made available to the writers by Ms Prannie Rhatigan of Streedagh House, Co Sligo.

10 Despite their common feast-day, none of the medieval martyrologies makes an explicit link between Muiredach of Killala and Inishmurray (see Appendix 1 under 828–833 and 1166–1174). Only the *Martyrology of Tallaght* names the island as well as both of the saints, and here, due to a scribal error, the Killala saint is recorded as Murchad rather than Muiredach: 'Molassi meic Declain Inis *Muridaig*. Segeni ab Iae. *Murchad* o Chill Alaid' (Best & Lawlor 1931, 62).

11 Here he is referred to as Molaise of Echrois: the Augustinian abbey of Aughris that owned Inishmurray in the later medieval period (below).

12 Though previously believed to incorporate eighth- or ninth-century elements it has recently been argued that all the components of this book shrine are contemporary with its early 11th-century inscription, which records that it was restored for Cenn Fáelad, Abbot of Devenish (Mullarkey 2004, 138; also Ó Floinn 1989). Heraughty

(1982) records an Inishmurray tradition that if prayers to the wooden statue of Molaise on the island failed one could seek the help of 'the man with the book' in Ballaghmeehan, and it is noteworthy that one of the three remaining inhabitants recorded by a census of 1659 (Appendix 1) was a Meehan.

13 See MacShamhráin (1996, 208) on the process of cult diffusion in early medieval Ireland.

14 One verse from this poem is included in the preface of the version of *Amhra Choluim Chille* in the early 12th-century manuscript *Leabhar na hUidhre* (Best & Bergin 1929, 11; also Reeves 1857, 285–6, note k).

15 It may also be significant that the *Amhra Choluim Chille* begins in *Corco Roíde,* the home-territory of Molaise, and that Ernéne, a Columban monk associated with Druim Tuamma in Donegal and who was one of three individuals granted a vision in the hour of Columba's death, was also of the *Corco Roíde* (Pádraig Ó Riain, pers. comm.). Wakeman (1893, 8; followed by Heraughty 1982, 17) gives the misleading impression that the *Martyrology of Donegal* also has Molaise of Inishmurray banishing Columba. In fact he seems to be conflating the brief entry in this 17th-century text (Appendix 1 under *circa* 1630), with Reeves' (1857, 284) discussion of the poem quoted here.

16 Note, for example, the case of Illauntannig where a massive cashel envelopes, and therefore must at least partly post-date, a drystone church. Though not as massive as the Inishmurray example, it is worth noting that the cashel-like enclosure of Church Island was built at a late stage in the development of the site (O'Kelly 1958).

17 On the lack of attention given to the west of Ireland by annalists see Hughes (1958, 269; 1972, 129, 134–7, 142). Apart from the site's importance, perhaps the entries on Inishmurray reflect its links with both Iona, the primary centre of annal compilation, and Armagh, where the principal surviving set of annals was compiled from *circa* 781 (see Hughes 1972, 129, 134).

18 See Etchingham (1999, 55–62) on the terminological flexibility of the annals and other sources in this regard.

19 The best-documented instances of nunneries on the peripheries of substantial monasteries are the Nun's Church, Clonmacnoise (first mentioned AFM 1082), and St Mary's Glendalough (e.g. Leask n.d., 14–16), which may be the nunnery mentioned in Kevin's Middle Irish Life (see Harrington 2002, 227–8). A handful of other sites have satellite cemeteries for women and some are explicitly called Relignaman ('cemetery of the women'). Examples include Carrickmore (Hamlin & Foley 1983), Inishglora (Anon 1905) and Inishcleraun (Biggar 1900). Segregated burial is well-attested at early medieval double monasteries in England and on the European mainland (e.g. Cramp 1976, 206 and 1993, 65; Gilchrist 1994, 30–32, 137; Dunn 2000, 178–9). In the Hiberno-Scottish context, the only excavated women's cemetery at a site of early medieval origin is St Ronan's, Iona; but in this case poor preservation meant that the sex ratio for the early medieval phase of the cemetery could not be determined (O'Sullivan 1994, 358–60).

20 An excavated parallel can be identified tentatively at Martyr's Bay on Iona, where Wells (1981) described an early medieval skeletal assemblage dominated by remains of women, many of whom showed none of the standard indicators of child-bearing.

21 Priests' wives were accorded rights in early Irish law and it would appear that their status also had a religious quality (Harrington 2002, 262, also 122–23). Among conventional nuns, a qualitative distinction was made between holy virgins and penitent widows who retired to monasteries in later life (Harrington 2002, 145, 164; also Yorke 1989, 108; Gilchrist 1994, 34).

22 Etchingham (1996, 60) believes that this entry in the *Annals of Inishfallen* is authentic.

23 Stevens (1722; also McDonnell 1976, 78) believed that Anghris was founded in the late 13th century, while O'Donovan suggested it was founded in the late 14th century, but Gwynn & Hadcock (1970, 158) argue that the lack of a reference to the foundation suggests it occurred in the 12th century. This is confirmed by its inclusion in a list of churches dating to 1198 (Appendix 1).

24 This is one of a number of mid 15th-century documents dealing with lay appropriation of Church property in Killala (McDonnell 1976, 51–2).

25 See Appendix 1 under the year 1666 for evidence that there had already been an O'Dowd Prior of Aughris in the 14th century.

26 The home territory of the Ó Flannghaile (O'Flannelly) family was around Loch Glinn in Crossmolina, Mayo, at the east side of the barony of Tirawley (Ó Muraíle 2003, i, 649, iv, 463; MacLysaght 1957). Their association with Aughris in the 15th and 16th centuries may explain the tradition, recorded in at least one 17th-century document (Appendix 1 under 1684), that St Molaise came from the Loch Glinn area. As noted above, earlier genealogies make him a Westmeath man. The diocese of Killala encompassed the Barrett lordship of Tirawley as well as the O'Dowd lordship of Tireragh, and the rivalry between the two families for control of the see, as well as more minor ecclesiastical offices, is well documented. See, for example, papal letters of 1431 and 10 Jan 1457 summarised in Appendix 1. The Barretts may have approved of John's appointment as prior because of his family's links with Tirawley. The strong links between the Ó Flannghaile family and Aughris, which may only have developed after John's appointment, are confirmed by Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh who lists 'Ó Flannghaile in Eachros' as one of the hereditary proprietors of Tireragh (Appendix 1 under 1649).

27 Scanlon was a common name, but it may be significant that one of the four quarters owned by Aughris in Ahamlish parish was 'Ballyscanlon, alias Ballytobenanny' (Appendix 1 under 1622), now the townland of Ballyscannell.

28 See Ní Ghabhláin (1995) on the idea that detached townlands are an indication that the parishes in question were once united. The townland in this case is Doonaltan. It contains what is reputed to be the grave of St Farannan (Ordnance Survey 1836) which, along with Farannan's well in the adjoining townland of Alternan (in the parish of Easky), was the focus for a popular pilgrimage. At the end of the 14th century Giolla Íosa Mac Fhirbhisigh refers to it as 'Alt Fharannain, the miraculous' (O'Donovan 1844, 259) while, at the end of his Life of Farann, Colgan records that 'even at present, Altferannan is devoutly visited by crowds of people, on account of the numerous cures, both of men and beasts, effected there' (AASS; see also O'Rorke 1890 ii, 413–14). The fact that Doonaltan was part of Templeboy parish led McDonnell (1976, 79) to suggest that the canons of Aughris were in charge of the pilgrimage. In support of this he refers to a 'Report on Popery' of 1731 that says that there were friars in Kilmacshalgan (which then included Templeboy) 'who professed a sort of pilgrimage'. This is an interesting suggestion but it should be noted that, according to Giolla Íosa McFirbis, Altferannan (though not necessarily Doonaltan) belonged to the O'Rothlain (Rowley) family, while his 17th-century descendent Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh states that it had been taken from them by the O'Meenys (O'Donovan 1844, 258–59), and a document of 1587 lists the shrine among the possessions of Abbeyknockmoy, county Galway (MacHale 1985, 31).

29 We know that Prior William O'Flannelly managed to gain temporary control of Skreen, a parish between Dromard and Kilmacshalgan, in 1490 (Appendix 1). Perhaps Aughris also gained control of Dromard at a relatively late date. In this regard it should be noted that together Dromard and Skreen comprised the rural rectory known as *Cúl Cnamha* (Nicholls 1971, 74).

30 Áth Iomghlaise probably means 'Ford of the swift stream' (Ó Riain et al. 2003, 137), and does not contain the element 'Molaise' as might first appear.

31 The name Templenagallaghdoo ('church of the black nuns') hints at the presence of Augustinian nuns at the site. It may therefore have had links with Ballynagallagh, an Arrouaisian nunnery near Drumcliff (on this site see Gwynn & Hadcock 1970, 310, 313). We are grateful to Con Manning for this suggestion. A small church on the periphery of the Augustinian abbey of Errew, Co. Mayo, has the same name (Harbison 1970, 172).

32 EDM = 'electronic distance measurer' – for present purposes a digital theodolite.

33 On more recent visits to the island (2006) rabbits were seen to be resurgent with very extensive burrowing around the Treenode More *leacht* and on the steep, grassy cliff-face near Ollamurray.

34 A small number of the carved stones were considered in a report to the Heritage Council on *Stone Monuments in Decay* (Pavía & Bolton 2000).

35 The reconstruction of Trahanareear – which was excavated in 1997 – was already completed by the time of the 1998 survey, but is included here for completeness.

36 A third occurrence of this element is Trahannacoreesh ('The Lenten Trathán'): a clochaun within the cashel (001.84).

37 These possible retreats are the only two satellite monuments named after individuals other than saints. Is it possible, therefore, that Ó Riain and Aodh are the names of hermits associated with these buildings? While we cannot know, it is worth noting that there are precedents for naming subsidiary buildings after revered members of a community: *Reiclés Fínghín* at Clonmacnoise may be named after Fíngen an 'anchorite from Mumu' who died there in 900, while *Reiclés Uí Dúnáin* at Clonard may be named after Mael Muire Ua Dúnáin, a 12th-century reforming bishop who may have founded it (MacDonald 1999, 265–6, 268–9).

38 Mytum (2005) believed that similar examples were modern because they chiefly occurred in areas of late expansion in the burial grounds he surveyed.

39 Heraughty (1982, 29) notes a tradition that it was used as a cillín for unbaptised children. No evidence for this was found in the excavation.

40 Artefacts stored at University College Cork (National University of Ireland) are in temporary curation pending advice from the National Museum of Ireland.

41 Rats are absent from Inishmurray in the modern period.

42 Of these the one with the best ostaeological preservation was Mount Gamble, an unenclosed cemetery just east of the important Columban monastery of Swords. Post-excavation work was ongoing when the excavator, Edmond O'Donovan, delivered a paper about the site at a Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland conference entitled *Death and burial in Early Christian Ireland in light of recent archaeological excavations* on 14 October 2005. At that stage the earliest radiocarbon dates centered on the sixth century. Initial results suggested a mixed population of men, women and children, though the proportion of men to women was 1:1.4. Might this be because some of the men in this (family?) group had become monks and were buried in the main monastic cemetery? One example of a satellite cemetery on the outskirts of an Anglo-Saxon monastery is Ailcy Hill, Ripon (Hall & Whyman 1996).

43 We are grateful to Professor Pádraig Ó Riain for discussion and correspondence on this issue.

44 We are grateful to Ross Trench-Jellicoe, Jane Hawkes, Christine Maddern and Ian Fisher for correspondence and discussion about the date of these cross-slabs.

45 The altar in the eighth-century church excavated at Whithorn provides an Insular parallel for the east-west orientation of this putative altar (Hill 1997, fig. 4.11).

46 At the same time the modest nature of that presence meant that the site was not extensively redeveloped unlike, for example, Iona, where the later medieval period saw a major reorganisation of the Columban monastery and the construction of a house for Benedictine monks on its original site.

47 Other examples of this view include Hardy (1840), Petrie (1841), and Wood-Martin (1902).

48 If Kelly is correct, it is likely to have been particularly common in areas like the Boyne and Liffey valleys where Roman influence was particularly strong (Bateson 1973; Swift 1997). See Daffy (2002) for a likely example at Golden, Tipperary. On holy wells in Anglo-Saxon England see Blair (2005, 378, 477–8; Gittos forthcoming).

49 Following Bossy (1971), Carroll argues that the kin-based society in Ireland made the idea of the whole community gathering peaceably in the parish church unfeasible. In contrast the *turas* provided an outlet for such tensions in the form of faction fighting. He suggests that priests in the south and east of Ireland, many of whom were Anglo-Irish and trained on the European mainland, conceived of this unorthodox form of ritual as a substitute for the Mass. On the whole, this seems implausible. For one thing, the heterogeneity of modern pilgrimage rounds does not support the idea that they were designed to make the population carry out uniform rituals. Furthermore, while Carroll himself (1999, 145–7) argues that Connaught and Ulster (where priests were less likely to have been educated abroad) were relatively unaffected by the Counter Reformation, he offers no

explanation as to why many of the best-articulated patterns (including Inishmurray) are in the West. Also, in his search for an explanation based on the peculiarities of Irish social structure, Carroll neglects the political and ideological conflicts that played a major role in the decay of the country's network of parish churches (e.g. Stalley 1998; Dolan 1999).

50 There are several instances where we can be certain that a particular pilgrimage station is entirely post-medieval. For example, at Corrawillin, Cavan, nine *ex situ* 15th-century architectural fragments were reused as stations, while inside the church to the south is a modern drystone altar (Davies 1948, 111–12; O'Donovan 1995, 194). Similarly at Keelhilla, Co. Clare, a drystone altar overlies the ruined south wall of a church that is probably 13th-century. For documentary evidence of patterns developing *ex nihilo* in the 19th century see Carroll (1999, 102–4).

51 Documentary evidence relating to St Mullin's, Carlow, illustrates that holy wells were a key element of some late medieval popular pilgrimages (Manning 1999), and in this case an early medieval origin for these practices is suggested by the presence of a diminutive pre-Romanesque church through which a stream has been directed (Ó Carragáin 2002 II, 6–7; forthcoming a). However, on Inishmurray the main focus was on a very different diminutive church – the shrine chapel of Molaise – and the two holy wells played a relatively minor role in the modern pilgrimage round. It is possible that this is more typical of the role of holy wells in medieval pilgrimages. The ruinous state of most church buildings and the alienation of much of the population from them may have led to a greater emphasis on wells during the 17th and 18th centuries.

52 Carroll's study (1999) downplays the abundant evidence that *leachta* and associated practices had earlier origins, and arguably fails to take full account of the unprecedented expansion of the documentary record during the 17th century. In the case of Ardmore, he goes so far as to argue (ibid., 132–3) that the lack of references to pilgrimage there before the 17th century reflects a genuine paucity of pilgrimage activity. This ignores the fact that Ardmore is known to have invested, from an early date, in both pilgrimage monuments such as a shrine chapel (O'Keeffe 1998; Ó Carragáin 2003b) and in texts promoting the cult of St Declan (e.g. Power 1914).

53 For other examples of Carroll's (1999) approach see various papers in Silverman & Gulliver (1992) and also Van Dam (1993, 13). Archaeologists such as Marcus & Flannery (1994, 56) and Trigger (1989, 390) are cautiously optimistic about the use of modern folklore to elucidate past ritual practices in instances where some degree of cultural continuity is known to exist.

54 The main statement on the subject by Herity (1989a) is his paper on 'The antiquity of *an turas*', but he develops the thesis by describing examples in a number of other papers which have been reprinted in Herity (1995). See also Pochin Mould (1955, 64).

55 Note the similar disparity between the date Herity (1977; 1990) suggested for the High Island pilgrimage and the radiocarbon estimates from recent excavations there (White Marshall & Rourke 2000a).

56 As noted already ('*Trahanareear:* interpretation of the excavation results'), the names of two of the stations incorporate *tráth,* the term for canonical hour, suggesting that the monastic office was sung at them. Psalms are mentioned in the context of (?)outdoor Lenten devotions in a 14th-century passage from the Life of Maedoc q quoted below (BNÉ II, 274) and were sung during the outdoor Sunday procession in seventh-century Armagh (Bieler 1979, 190–91).

57 No less than five chapters of the Latin Life of Kevin focus on this theme (VSH I, *Vita Coemgeni*, Chapters 12, 17, 21, 29 & 30). Much of the content of this life is pre-12th century (MacShamhráin 1996, 9–10).

58 The *Félire Oengusso* states that 'at his (Maelruan of Tallaght's) grave, with purity is healed the sigh of every heart' (Stokes 1905, 77). MacLeod (1946, 169) comments: 'Here, surely, is the hint of a pilgrimage to Maelruan's tomb shortly after his death.'

59 Harbison (1991, 51–4, 235) found almost 50 annalistic references to royal persons or other important individuals dying *ina ailithre* ('on their pilgrimage') at Irish church sites but many of these probably refer to permanent

retirement rather than conventional pilgrimage (Bitel 1990, 233; Etchingham 1999, 360–1).

60 Scholars have come to the same conclusion about church sites in sixth and seventh-century Francia (Fouracre 1979; Beaujard 2000, 479–85) and Middle (Thacker 2002, 71) and Later Saxon England (Gittos forthcoming). See Charles Thomas (1971, 189–90) for discussion of what appears to be Old Irish pilgrimage graffiti on an altar slab from Ballavarkish on Man. The following stanza from a Middle Irish poem encourages everyone to go on pilgrimage: 'Three steps designed for all, the best that any will ever take, a step to visit the sick, a pilgrim step, a step to church' (P L Henry 1966; also Harbison 1991, 26).

61 This arrangement recalls the five wounds of Christ. A number of stemless slabs with this arrangement are known from Irish sites such as Clonmacnoise and these may have been portable altars (Lionard 1961, 137; Higgins 1987, 106).

62 Another cross-carved boulder that may have served as an altar is Killesk, Wexford (Moore 1996, 148). Other cross-inscribed boulders such as Dalkey Island, Dublin (Wakeman 1890, 701–2), Beefan, Donegal (Lacey 1983, 244 & 280), and Glendalough, Wicklow (Leask n.d., 31), are too irregular or low to have served as altars.

63 Ryan (2007) makes the point that the stone altar frontal from the men's cemetery (Survey No. 001.76) does not form part of a *leacht,* but given how often the upper portions of these have been rebuilt we cannot rule out the possibility that it did originally. An altar-like *leacht* at Tober na Croisseneeve, Galway, does incorporate an altar frontal (Higgins 1987, vol. 1, 23). In any case, if we assume that Ryan is correct, the presence of the five-cross motif set vertially on an indoor altar on the island surely reinforces the idea that the cross-slabs with this motif were designed to signal the fact that the *leachta* were also altars. As well as recalling the five mensal crosses, these slabs may also have recalled the wood and metal crosses that appear to have surmounted some indoor altars in early medieval Ireland (Ó Carragáin forthcoming a; also 2003a, fig. 9.5a).

64 On *secretaria* see Sternberg (1991, 54–59).

65 We do not agree with Hunwicke (2002) that at smaller churches congregations stood outside while the priest said mass inside the church. This had previously been suggested by Macalister (1928, 252–3; 1935, 247), Ryan (1931, 288), O'Kelly (1975, 21), Bitel (1990, 71) and Sharpe (1995, 219). In fact there is no reason to doubt that most early Irish churches were designed to house a congregation (Ó Carragáin 2006, 113, note 17 & forthcoming a; Ryan 2005, 133; and 2007).

66 The section on the duties of a parish priest in *de Statu Ecclesiae* includes the following statement: 'It is his duty to baptise; to immerse three times in the sacred font … This, together with Mass, ought to take place in the church unless necessity prevents it' (Fleming 2001, 154–5). This text was composed by the reforming bishop, Gille of Limerick, probably for the synod of Rath Breasail in 1111 and cannot therefore be taken as evidence for earlier practices. After all, there is considerable documentary evidence that baptism was often performed outdoors before the 12th century (Whitfield 2007). Nevertheless it is likely that indoor mass was the norm at local churches in early medieval Ireland.

67 In the late eighth century Centula Saint Riquier had 30 altars distributed between its three churches, and 30 masses were said there every day (Rabe 1995, 113–17, 124). On the presence of many churches at mainland European sites see Duval & Caillet (1996).

68 On the important role played by Irish clerics in this development see Angenendt (1983, 181–91, 212–21), Stevenson (1987, lxi), Paxton (1990, 98, 100, 204), also Stokes (1887, cxciv). Although private, these masses were apotropaeic actions that contributed to the spiritual well-being of the community as a whole and, therefore, remained notionally, albeit not physically, communal (Haeussling 1973, 249, 252, 319). This sentiment is expressed as follows in the eighth-century *Monastery of Tallaght*: 'It is all one whether one person or a number is present at the *Beati* or the Mass; for there is no less efficacy in his prayer in there be many present than if it be appropriated to himself alone – just as the light of the sun is no greater for one man only that for a number' (Gwynn & Purton 1911, 156).

69 Clonmacnoise now lacks well preserved *leachta* like those on Inishmurray but the low pilgrimage monument known as the 'Cairn of the Three Crosses' was referred to in the annals in 1026 (AFM and AC; O'Brien & Sweetman 1997, 94).

70 *Leacht* derives from the Latin *lectus*, a bed. The Life of St Illtud mentions the burial of a holy man under an altar located in a cave (Wade Evans 1944, 227). On the conceptual link between altar and grave see White Marshall & Rourke (2000a, 92–3, 118–20). An altar-like *leacht* excavated by O'Keeffe in a cemetery on Omey Island did not mark a particular grave (O'Keeffe 1992; 1994; pers. comm.).

71 For adaptations of the Roman system see, for example, Beaujard (2000, 486–9) and Saint-Roch (1989). Metz seems to have been unusual in following the Roman model quite closely (Heitz 1974, 34; 1980, 20).

72 On the possibility that a stational liturgy was practised in eighth-century York see Morris (1986). It seems likely that certain aspects of the Roman stational liturgy were also adopted in Ireland (Ryan 2005, 139).

73 'A Rule of Prayer: On every Sunday in Armagh, when going to the shrine of the martyrs and returning from it, namely, "*Domine clamaui ad te*" to the end, "*Ut quid Deus repulisti*" to the end and '*Beati inmaculati*' to the end of the blessing, and the fifteen gradual psalms. The End' (Bieler 1979, 190–1). Emulation of Rome was particularly important at Armagh, which saw itself as metropolitan see of Ireland (Sharpe 1982).

74 Like Inishmurray, Glendalough has a mix of dedications to the Irish saints most closely associated with the site (Kevin and Ciaran) and universal dedications to Mary, the Trinity and perhaps also the Cross in the form of freestanding high crosses.

75 Trinitarian symbolism was prominent throughout the Middle Ages (Cross & Livingstone 1997, 1641–2), not least in the circle of Alcuin of York and Charlemagne, during the late eighth and early ninth centuries when, for example, it was placed at the heart of the architecture and processional liturgy of monasteries such as Centula Saint Riquier and Aniane (Rabe 1995, 112, 122–37, 142; also Morris 1986, 82, 86).

76 The modern pilgrimage to Inishmurray was held on 15 August, the Feast of the Assumption (Heraughty 1982). This feast was celebrated in the Western Church from the end of the seventh century and Bede mentions that processions were an important component of these celebrations (Bailey 1971, 104; Cross & Livingstone 1997, 117). It is possible, however, that the main Inishmurray pilgrimage was transferred to that date at some stage from 12 August, the feast-day of Molaise (above 'Muiredach & Molaise'). The Marian dimension of the modern pilgrimage is reflected by the fact that at three of the stations, Ollamurray, Templenaman (alias Teampull Murry) and Altarbeg, pilgrims said five *Aves* along with the *Credo,* instead of five *Paters* (Heraughty 1982).

77 Examples of this include Rome (Baldovin 1987), Tours (Beaujard 2000, 486–9), Centula Saint Riquier (Rabe 1995, 124–31) and Winchester (Gittos forthcoming). Lay participation in such processions is also known to have been standard practice at most significant church sites in Francia and England, on rogation days in particular (Evenou 1988, 246; Rollason 1989, 194; Jolly 1989, 175–6; Flint 1991, 187–8; Bedingfield 2002, 195, 201–2; Wood 2002, 165–7; Blair 2005, 225, 486–8; also Warren 1881, 146-7). On the centrality of processions to the medieval Christian pilgrimage experience see Evenou (1988, 253) and Coleman & Elsner (1995, 87–88).

78 Benedict Biscop, the founder of Wearmouth and Jarrow, spent some time at Lérins as a monk around 665–67 (Plummer 1896 I, 365). According to Tírechán, Patrick spent 30 years on the island of Aralanensis in the Tyrrhene Sea (Bieler 1979, 125), which a number of authors have identified as Lérins (e.g. O'Rahilly 1942, 55; Carney 1961). If they are correct, clerics in late eighth-century Armagh were aware of the importance of St Honorat's monastery and wished to associate their saint with it. However there is no recent assessment of the theory and it remains no more than a possibility (Damian Bracken pers. comm.). In any case, one could not conclude from a reference such as this that Irish clerics knew Lérins well enough to be influenced by its layout. The sacred topographies of Lérins and Inishmurray are more likely to represent parallel developments within a common European tradition.

79 In the Lives of Cuthbert a paralytic youth is cured by wearing Cuthbert's shoes and gives thanks by going

'round the places of the sacred martyrs' (Colgrave 1940, 139). While Herity (1989b) has suggested that this is evidence for outdoor devotions like those at Irish sites, Bede's version (Colgrave 1940, 301) suggests that, in this case, the *foci* were inside the principal church: 'when morning came he went to the church and, with every one watching and congratulating him, he went round the holy places praying and offering the sacrifice of prayer to his Saviour.' They were probably indoor altars containing relics of saints from the European mainland, like those described by Bede in the church at Wearmouth. See Ó Carragáin (2003b, 139–40) on the unique association in Ireland between relics and the cemetery, and on the contrasting tendency in England to house relics in the principal congregational church.

80 The likelihood that early medieval pilgrims were allowed to walk around the *leachta* does not undermine the theory that they were originally conceived of as altars. Early medieval altars were often separated from the nave by partitions (*cancelli*), most commonly waist-high like the Inishmurray enclosures, but it appears that these sanctuary areas were not yet as exclusive as they were to become in the later medieval period (Ó Carragáin forthcoming a).

81 This practice is attested, for example, in the Life of Columbanus and the Life of Columba (Hughes 1960, 145; VC, I 30, I 32, II 39). On *glasmartrae* see Etchingham (1999, 290–97). While the earliest penitentials assigned perpetual pilgrimage for heinous crimes, this had become rare by the eighth century (Hughes 1960, 146; also Vogel 1963; Charles-Edwards 1976, 43–56).

82 A homily of likely 11th-century date in the *Leabhar Breac* states that one should go away to do penance, i.e. that it should not be carried out in the place where the sins were committed (Pochin Mould 1955, 113, also 146–7).

83 Cormac Bourke (pers. comm.) suggests that the basin in particular was used to wash the feet of pilgrims or clerics coming to Inishmurray from afar, emulating the foot-washing motif of the Gospels.

84 For general discussion of penitential processions see Bailey (1971, 115) and Evenou (1988, 243).

85 The relevant passage in Homily 5 edited by Bazire & Cross (1982, 73) is as follows: 'These days are our meeting-days of ghostly meetings, when our ghostly meeting place is in the area around our relics as much in the church as outside as in any place in which they are set.' Blair (2005, 487) argues, on this and other evidence, that these places outside the church 'were stations, analogous to the wayside crosses and calvaries used for this purpose in modern Catholic Europe.' For further discussion see Bedingfield (2002, 201–2).

86 See for example Connolly & Picard (1987, 25), Macalister (1921, 97), BNÉ (ii, 183), Bieler (1979, 186–7). Lutterbach (1994) has noted that descriptions of cures at the saint's tomb are not as prominent a feature of Irish hagiography as they are in the hagiography of mainland Europe. A good example occurs at the end of the earlier of the two Irish Lives of Maedoc of Ferns, which is late medieval in date: 'And though Maedoc passed to heaven, he did not cease from his miracles on earth. For by the earth (of his sepulchre), by his clothing, and by his relics were healed blind and deaf and lame and all other diseases. And though we have related some of the miracles of Maedoc, we have not related the whole of them' (BNÉ II, 183).

87 It has been argued that one reason for the rise in pilgrimage activity in the 11th and 12th centuries was the increasing prevalence of the belief that performing good works in this life, including penitential pilgrimages, could have a direct effect on the amount of punishment that had to be endured in the next (Sumption 1975, 100–103, 128; also Vogel 1963; Barton 1999, 72). This may have been a factor in Ireland at an earlier date, given the central role played by the Irish Church in the development of the medieval concept of penance. The commutations cited above are from penitentials dating to the eighth century (Bieler 1963).

88 For other examples see Coleman & Elsner (1994), Geary (1994b, 124–7), Pietrie (1997), Blair (2005, 475-8); Gittos (forthcoming).

89 See for example Heitz (1974, 34; 1980, 20); Stalley (1999, 40–43); Ousterhout (1990, 114); Biddle (1999); Dondi (2001). The penchant in England for dedicating principal churches to Peter and Paul can also be noted in this context (Rollason 1989, 24, 33; Cubitt 2002, 444–48).

90 Specific reference is made to the layout of Jerusalem at xliv 2 of the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis* (Wasserschleben 1885, 175). For discussion see Doherty (1985, 57–60), Ó Corráin (1987, 296–7), Swift (1998, 108, 113).

91 Irish clerics took to this idea with enthusiasm, perhaps in part because of pre-existing indigenous ideas about sacred space (Doherty 1985, 45–6; Petts 2002); and sometimes they even elaborated upon biblical accounts. For example, Swift (1998, 108) has pointed out that, while Exodus (19: 23–24) mentions one boundary around Mount Sinai, the *Hibernensis* description of the site has three (Wassershleben 1885, 176).

92 Hughes & Hamlin (1977), Herity (1983), Bitel (1990, 63–66). In a few cases, such as Ferns, County Wexford, and Mainistir Chiaráin, County Galway, no enclosure is evident and the site seems to have been delimited solely with cross-slabs (Herity 1983; Waddell 1994). In a few cases it has been argued that crosses further from the core of the site delimit church lands (e.g. Rynne 1967; Edwards 1999, 7; Ó Carragáin 2003a, 138–9).

93 For further discussion see O'Reilly (1997, 95), O'Sullivan (1998) and MacDonald (2001).

94 For other examples see Wasserschleben (1885, 175), Connolly & Picard (1987), Hughes (1966, 148), Doherty (1985, 55–6), Aitchison (1994), Swift (1998, 109). Gittos (2002, 205–7) has recently highlighted the precociousness of these foundation rituals: in England and Francia consecration liturgies for cemeteries were not developed until the 10th century, and in general the concept of bounded sacred space does not appear to have been as prominent in ecclesiastical culture in these areas. Thus, for example, while late medieval Rogationtide processions in England involved a full circuit of the parish boundary, this does not appear to have been true in Late Saxon times (Blair 2005, 487–8). Similarly, many processions on mainland Europe were between two churches, or around a certain district within a settlement, rather than over a systematic circuit of its perimeter (e.g. Bailey 1971, 103; Baldovin 1987; Beaujard, B, 2000, 486–9; Rabe 1995, 124–31). See, however, the example of Lérins above.

95 On the law of sanctuary see, for example, Lucas (1967) and Doherty (1985).

96 Connerton (1989, 61–71; also Eliade 1965) discusses the fundamental role of commemorative ceremonies such as this in various religions including Catholicism.

97 Relics were a key element of early medieval processions abroad (e.g. Bailey 1971, 115; Baldovin 1987; Beddingfield 2002, 201–202; Blair 2005, 486). On relic-circuits of large territories in Ireland see Charles-Edwards (2000, 559–69; also Lucas 1986, 23; VC II 44; O'Reilly 1997, 91). The processional cross was also a standard feature of medieval processions (Bailey 1971, 113), and sculptural depictions of processions at Ahenny and Dysert O'Dea provide evidence for this practice in Ireland.

98 The iconography of at least one high cross, at Moone, County Kildare, was intended to be read *deiseal* (É Ó Carragáin 2005, 261).

99 Thus, while some sites like late 12th-century Old Sarum (Hope 1917; Bailey 1971) had sunwise processions, others were unaware of, or chose to ignore, this symbolism. For example the daily procession at Centula Saint Riquier proceeded *tuathail* (Rabe 1995, 123).

100 See also Simpson (1896); Aitchison (1994, 268–9); Coleman & Elsner (1995, 196, 205).

101 The protective role of such rituals is illustrated by an incident in the Life of St Buite. Thieves stole the monastery's horses at night and fled, 'but though they thought that they were making a bee-line to their base, they found when morning came that they had merely being going round and round the monastery, so that they were no farther away than when they started' (Macalister 1946, 5).

102 An Irish example of this use of the term occurs in an 11th-century (MacShamhráin 1996, 9) episode in the Latin Life of Kevin: 'On another time St Kevin hearing that three abbots, that is Columba, Comhgall and Caynnic, were gathered in a single place named Uisneach (Huysneach), he set off towards them wishing to sign a covenant of fraternity (*firmare fraternitatum*) with them. And there was on that day a great station (*statio*) of the people coming together to St Columba where the holy ones were' (translated from VSH I, 248).

103 See also Eliade (1965, 18); Coleman & Elsner (1994, 78); Osterrieth (1997, 27); and Webb (2002, 8). For prehistoric parallels see Bradley (1999, 12–15).

104 The *Hibernensis* affirms the social order in this way by depicting Irish church sites as microcosms of society, in which clerics are at the centre, good lay people are within the next enclosure and sinners are in the outer enclosure (Wasserschleben 1885, 175; Doherty 1985, 59). Similarly, the sculpture of great pilgrimage churches like Chartres depicts every section of society, and every profession, in an idealised form and 'could thus serve to reflect and thereby reinforce the image of an ordered, hierarchical, medieval society' (Coleman & Elsner 1995, 115).

105 Even material distinctions were lessened, for nobles on pilgrimage often wore relatively plain clothes (e.g. Coleman & Elsner 1995, 201; also Turner & Turner 1978, 134; Nilson 1999, 121–22).

106 'Great is the pilgrimage of Coemgen if men should perform it aright; To go seven times to his fair is the same as to go once to Rome […]. No fight may be dared at his fair nor challenge of wrong nor of rights, no quarrel, nor theft, nor rapine, but going and coming in security' (BNÉ II, 140).

107 It is not surprising that early medieval evidence for such unofficial pilgrimage activities is rare. Geary does cite some instances of *communitas* among pilgrims as well as dissent from orthodox ritual practice. For example, in the 10th century, when the monks of Conques tried to stop pilgrims from singing rustic songs and popular invocations in the church at night, the doors miraculously opened as a sign that God wanted them to have unlimited access to Saint Foy (Geary 1994a, 118–9).

108 See Ó Riain (1972 & 1995) on the relationship between churches and territorial boundaries.

109 See also Webb (2002, 30–1); Tellenbach (1993, 28, 135).

110 On the recursive nature of material culture see, for example, Shanks & Tilley (1992).

111 According to Heraughty (1982, 32), Clocha Breaca 'translates as "cursing stones", but the islanders used to be sensitive about this and insisted on translating the name as the "speckled stones", pointing out that the stones were cross-inscribed and could hardly have been cursing stones.' In fact the direct translation of 'cursing stones' is 'clocha mallachta', and this phrase was traditionally used to describe examples at a number of sites elsewhere, including Labamolaga, Cork (Cremin 1929, 45). Similar stones on Iona are known as the *Clacha-bráth*, 'stones of judgement' (Wakeman 1893, 60; RCAHMS 1982; see DIL). This refers to the tradition that a cross-base on which they stand will not be worn through until the Last Judgement, but it also hints that such stones may sometimes have had legal connotations (further below). Returning to Inishmurray, *brecc* can mean speckled or multi-coloured and is often used to describe patterned or ornamented objects (DIL). It can also mean variegated and is used in this sense for the *Brecc Máedóic*, a reliquary which contained relics of a variety of saints associated with Maedoc's foundation at Drumlane, Cavan (BNÉ II, 258; also Ó Floinn 1997, 147–8). However in the case of the Clocha Breaca it seems clear that *brecc* should be translated 'speckled' rather than 'variegated', for they were known as 'speckled stones' as early as 1603 (Appendix 1).

112 For Petrie's observations see Stokes (1868, 295); also Wood-Martin (1895), Westropp (1896), Logan (1980, 110–12), Herity (1989a), Harbison (1991, 223–28).

113 For example, Westropp (1900, 126) lists five examples in Clare and states that 'those at Kilmoon have been used for cursing but there seems no definite tradition of this practice' in the other four cases, at Ross, Kinallia, Killeany and Killone. Those at Kilmoon have since been removed (Ní Ghabhláin 1995, 446). Those at Killeany are not of local limestone and appear to be shaped, but they are not cross-inscribed. A piece of conglomerate on the altar of the church on Caher Island, County Mayo, was used for cursing (Rolleston 1900), and there is a tradition that cursing stones on Tory Island, County Donegal, were washed away by the sea (Pochin Mould 1955, 75). At St MacDara's, in County Galway, an outdoor altar features several unworked cobbles, while on a rectilinear 'bed' east of the church is a 'portion of small circular slate-stone with rude ornament the use of which is not known' (Biggar 1896, 106, 109).

114 Similarly, those at Killaraght, Sligo, are on the modern altar-like superstructure of St Attracta's well (O'Hanlon

1875–1900, under 11 August). Furthermore, it is common for modern-day pilgrims to place a stone on each altar or station (Herity 1989a; Carroll 1999), with the result that they become indistinguishable from cobbles used for cursing. It should also be noted that not all stones known to have been used for cursing occur on altars. Those at Killinagh, County Cavan, were set into a bullaun stone (Wakeman 1875; also Cremin 1929 on Labamolaga; Anon 1898 on Kilcummin; Biggar 1898 on Kilmakilloge). Nor were all carved pebbles used for cursing. White Marshall & Rourke (2000a, 161) have suggested that the two small examples placed on top of early medieval 'special graves' on High Island, Galway, had a votive purpose, and this may also be true of the example recently found on the surface of a corner-post shrine at Caherlehillan, Kerry (Sheehan 2001). Other cross-carved pebbles come from a variety of contexts, often *ex situ,* at sites such as Peel, on Man (Cubbon 1976; 1982; Rynne 1980); Iona (RCAHMS 1982, 16; figs. 7, 9, 10, 32 & 60), St Ciarán's Cave (Fisher 2001, 118) and Eilean an Tighe (ibid., 116) in Scotland; Decoy, Tipperary (Moore 1984, 104) and in a non-ecclesiastical context at Knockea, County Limerick (O'Kelly 1967, 81).

115 Murray uses the term 'quasi-magical' advisedly here. Kieckhefer (1989; 1994, 821–3; also Murray 1992, 203–5; *contra* K Thomas 1971; Flint 1991) has shown that, for an early medieval audience, a curse was not truly magical unless it appealed to demonic forces. The concept of magic has since been redefined, mainly by individuals wishing to winnow out previously accepted practices (Jolly 1989, 177). See Jolly (1989, 175) on the close relationship between liturgy, folklore and what we would define as magic in Anglo-Saxon England.

116 See, for example, Little (1993, 230–39), Geary (1994a, 115) and also K Thomas (1971).

117 See also Bieler (1979, 99, 101, 109, 113; 156–59). On the date of these texts see Sharpe (1982, 34) and Charles-Edwards (2000, 438–40). Also Jonas' *Vita Columbani* chapter 12. Bede (HE IV 26) hints at the Irish predilection for cursing when he says that they resisted Ecgfrith's invasion by force and by 'invoking… [God's] vengeance with unceasing imprecations.'

118 As noted above, liturgical clamours invariably take place at an altar. Of their nature, the curses in Irish hagiography take place in a range of contexts. One that is reminiscent of the Clocha Breaca is Mochuda's cursing his expellers at the Cross of the Angels, which stood in the cemetery of Rahan, apparently to the west of the church (Power 1914).

119 The humiliation of relics during a clamour (above) is an instance of the reversal of normal practice. In four 11th- or 12th-century clamours in the Welsh *Book of Llandaff*, the humiliation of relics is supplemented by overturning bells in order to silence them (Little 1993, 126–31). This is reminiscent of the overturning of the carved cobbles during cursing at the Clocha Breaca.

120 A similar practice is attested on Tory Island, Donegal (Pochin Mould 1955, 75).

121 '*Ultanus, occupatus tunc dextra manu, signauit sinistra contra classem*' (Ultan, seeing that his right was occupied, made a sign with the left against the fleet).

122 Other documentary examples of apotropeic stones at ecclesiastical sites occur in the *Tripartite Life of St Patrick* (Stokes 1887, 72–5), a list of wonders in the *Book of Ballymote* (Todd 1848, 212) and in the *Expulsion of Mochuda from Rahen* (BNÉ, II, 294), where the saint orders Satan to: 'Be off …into the standing stone to the south of the church, and do no harm there to any one, except to those come to attack the church.' Plummer (VSH, clvii) cites other examples of evil spirits being trapped in stones, and it may be significant in this regard that the two largest, non-lidded Clocha Breaca (Nos 001.24 and 001.29) feature triquetra knot terminals. The belief that knots could confuse or ensnare evil spirits is common to many cultures, and is well-attested in early medieval Europe (Wolters 1905; Flint 1991, 260–61). The binding force of a knot meant that it was also associated with malicious magic and popular cursing; and councils, notably that of Liftinä, Hennegau, in 743, had to legislate against what was known as *nefario ligamenta* (Schmidt 1963, 207–8). Obviously, the use of knots in Insular art was primarily aesthetic and art historians have rightly cautioned against interpreting all knotwork as relating to these beliefs, but they do acknowledge that in certain specific contexts, for example on personal amulets (Meaney 1981) or at church entrances (Schmidt 1963, 210; Kitzinger 1993, 4–6), knots can and should

be interpreted in this way. While triquetra knots also occur on some of the other Inishmurray sculpture, it might be argued that those on the Clocha Breaca in particular belong to this group.

123 The threat could also be used to protect ecclesiastical property rights (Little 1993, 226), to facilitate the collection of ecclesiastical dues (Doherty 1984, 97; Lucas 1986, 14–17), and as a general deterrent against crime, not least because a criminal could be cursed even if he was never identified (K Thomas 1971, 599; Murray 1992, 197).

124 On the Irish practice see, for example, Hughes (1966, 151–2), Lucas (1986), Herbert (1988, 65) and Charles-Edwards (2000, 559–69).

125 Keith Thomas (1971, 609) has shown that such curses could have a negative psychological or even psychosomatic effect on god-fearing individuals. It could also be emotionally beneficial for the curser (Kieckhefer 1994, 827), and Merrifield (1987, 141) sees it as a necessary 'safety-valve for those who felt intolerably oppressed.' The practice is well attested in medieval and early modern Europe. Oftentimes particular wells or sacred stones were resorted to for the purpose, but these were not usually at church sites (K Thomas 1971, 607; Merrifield 1987, 154–55; Kieckhefer 1989, 82–3).

126 See Swift (1996, 19) for an 11th-century instance of poets cursing a ruler on behalf of a whole community and with the approval of 30 clerics.

127 By the eighth century, burial at a particular church was often seen as an expression of loyalty to one's kin (Charles Edwards 1992, 76; O'Brien 1992, 136). It is no coincidence that in the same period the wording of legal oaths changed from 'I swear by what my people swear by' to 'I swear by God of Heaven' (MacNiocaill 1984, 152).

128 In one passage in the *Book of Armagh* an oath of allegiance is made in the church at Drum Lías (Bieler 1979, 172; Breathnach 2001, 118; also AU 1179; Lucas 1986, 28).

129 Another example is the pact between Columkille/Columba and Cianán as described in the 11th- or 12th-century commentary on the *Félire Oengussa*: 'The union of Columkille and Cianán was made thus, i.e. Colim Cille [put his] hand in through the southern side of the tomb even to the half, and Cianán [put his] hand even to the half side, and then they make the union' (Stokes 1905, 246).

130 Oaths were often taken on altars on mainland Europe. They were sometimes supplemented by variations on the *sortes sanctorum*, 'the lottery of sacred things', especially where there was more than one oath-taker. For example in the *Lex Frisionum* a priest must, after each oath, choose from the altar one of two pieces of wood wrapped in cloth. One of the two is inscribed with a cross and when this one is chosen the oath can be believed (Flint 1991, 281–2). In other cases gospel books were said to rotate of their own volition as the guilty party approached the altar, while communion could also be used to test the validity of an oath (ibid.; also K Thomas 1971, 50–1). For an Irish reference to the altar as a place of judgement see Book 30 of the *Penitential of Columbanus* (Bieler 1963, 107): 'It is better to wait until the heart is healed and become a stranger to offence and envy, than rashly to approach the judgement of the throne. For Christ's throne is the altar, and His Body there with the Blood judges those who approach unworthily.'

131 'Every oath respecting trespass must be made at three cemeteries (*ag teorib religi*)…but if there be in the place three separate relics (*tri minna saine*), they have the force of three [cemeteries]; and there is no need for other relics to be on the tomb' (Plummer 1921–3, 114). Generally, only the oaths of local people had weight in Irish law. One tract states that outsiders (including, presumably, long-distance pilgrims) did not have the right to swear an oath (Etchingham 1999, 378), while another states that a stranger must go to seven different cemeteries for an oath to be accepted (Lucas 1986, 24).

132 'First they make a treaty on the basis of their common fathers. Then in turn they go around the church three times. They enter the church and, swearing a great variety of oaths before relics on saints placed on the altar, at least with the celebration of mass and the prayers of the priests they make an indissoluble treaty as if it were a kind of betrothal' (O'Meara 1982, 108).

133 Bells were the relic-type most commonly used for the purpose, and indeed were sometimes referred to as *mind cotaig* (covenant relic), but sacred stones could also be used. For example, according to the *Tripartite Life of St Patrick* 'the flagstone whereon he [Patrick] was born, when any one commits perjury under it, pours forth water as if it were bewailing the false testimony' (Stokes 1887, 8–9; also O'Donovan 1842, 80–3; VSH, cv).

134 This is illustrated by the following line from O'Davoren's Glossary (Stokes 1904, 253): 'A pledge was settled between them for fear of the voice of the bell cursing them.'

135 Carroll (1999, 50–2) has highlighted the contrast between the image-based cults of Catholic Spain and Italy and Irish sites where there is relatively little evidence for figurative representations of saints. However, this may have been accentuated by differential survival and poor documentation in Ireland. There is some evidence for wooden statues of Irish saints at Inishglora (O'Hanlon 1875–1900; Pochin Mould 1955, 115), Beg Erin, Clare Island, St MacDara's (Petrie 1845, 190), Inishcleraun (Flanagan 1990, 16), Ballyvourney, Lough Derg and Inishkea North (Harbison 1991, 239).

136 The clochaun known as Toorybrenell abuts or 'respects' the west gable of Templenatinny although, on typological grounds, it should be a much earlier building. Both buildings have been partly rebuilt in the modern period – in largely unrecorded works by the OPW – so that it is not now possible to say what the original configuration was here.

Abbreviations used in the text

AASS	*Acta Sanctorum* (Antwerp 1643–1770; Brussels 1780–86, 1845–83 & 1894 ff; Tongerloo 1794; Paris 1875–87) .
AC	Murphy, D (ed.) 1896 *The Annals of Clonmacnoise, being annals of Ireland from the earliest period to A.D 1408.* Dublin.
AFM	O'Donovan, J (ed.) 1851 *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters.* Dublin.
AI	Mac Airt, S (ed.) 1944 *The Annals of Inishfallen.* Dublin.
ALC	Hennessy, W H (ed.) 1871 *The Annals of Loch Cé.* London.
AU	Mac Airt, S & MacNiocaill, G (eds) 1983 *The Annals of Ulster (to AD 1131).* Dublin.
BNÉ	Plummer, C (ed.) 1922 *Bethada Náem nÉrenn.* Oxford.
CDI	Sweetman, H S 1875–81 *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland,* 4 Vols. London.
CS	Hennessy, W (ed.) 1866 *Chronicum Scotorum: A chronicle of Irish affairs, from the earliest times to AD 1135*. London.
CPL	*Calendar of the Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland. Papal Letters.* Vols I–XIV, London, HMSO, 1893–1960; Vols XV–XX, Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1978–2005 and in progress.
DIL	*Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language Published by the Royal Irish Academy.* Dublin.
HE	Colgrave, B & Mynors, R 1969 *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People.* Oxford.
OPW	Office of Public Works
SMR	Sites & Monuments Record
VC	Sharpe, R (ed.) 1995 *Adomnán's Life of Columba*. London.
VSH	Plummer, C (ed.) 1910 *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae.* Oxford.

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