Foundation Myths

The beginnings of Irish archaeology

John Waddell

FOUNDATION MYTHS

Foundation myths

The beginnings of Irish archaeology

John Waddell

Word*well*

First published in 2005
Wordwell Ltd
PO Box 69, Bray, Co. Wicklow

Cover design: Wordwell Ltd.

ISBN: 1 869857 98 4

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

This publication has received support from the Heritage Council under the 2005 Publications Grant Scheme.

Typeset in Ireland by Wordwell Ltd.

Editor: Aideen Quigley

Book design: Nick Maxwell, Alicia McAuley.

Printed by Graficas Castuera, Pamplona.

Contents

Illustrations

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to the staff of the Hardiman Library, National University of Ireland, Galway, for their assistance, in particular Marie Boran and Kieran Hoare of Special Collections who were always most helpful. Thanks are also due to Norma Jessup, Special Collections, University College Dublin Library, and Siobhán Fitzpatrick, Librarian, Royal Irish Academy, for their assistance. I am especially grateful to Professor Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha and Dr Elizabeth FitzPatrick for their advice.

The modern plan of the wedge tomb at Magheracar, Co. Donegal (**3.5**) is from E. Cody, *Survey of the megalithic tombs of Ireland: Co. Donegal* (2002). The plan of the Banqueting Hall on Tara (**1.3**) is from Seán P. Ó Ríordáin's *Tara: the monuments on the hill* (1954) and is based on the representation in the *Yellow Book of Lecan*. The illustration of Japheth (**1.4**) in the *Nuremberg Chronicle* is taken from A. Wilson's *The making of the Nuremberg Chronicle* (1976). The page from a seventeenth-century manuscript copy of Geoffrey Keating's *Foras feasa ar Éirinn* (RIA Ms.24.P.23, fol. 189) describing the use of a burnt mound by the Fianna (**2.3**) is published courtesy of the Royal Irish Academy and I am very grateful to Bernadette Cunningham for her assistance. Thanks are also due to the Royal Irish Academy for permission to reproduce the portrait of Charles Vallancey (**4.6**).

The depiction of Brian Boru (**2.4**) from Dermot O'Connor's translation of Keating's *History of Ireland* (1723), the Arch-Druid by Charles Hamilton Smith (**4.9**) and the illustration from Sproule's *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853* of the central hall of the Great Industrial Exhibition (**5.9**) were kindly supplied by the National Library of Ireland. The membership card of the Repeal Association (**5.12**) from J. Sheehy's *The rediscovery of Ireland's past* and the engraving of William Wilde (**5.13**) from T. de Vere White's *The parents of Oscar Wilde* are also reproduced courtesy of the National Library. The admission ticket for the Belfast Museum of Natural History (**5.7**) is illustrated in N. Nesbitt's *A Museum in Belfast* (1979). James Barry's *The baptism of the King of Cashel by St Patrick* (**5.10**) and Walter Frederick Osborne's portrait of Margaret Stokes (**5.24**) are reproduced by permission of the National Gallery of Ireland. Vincent Waldré's *St Patrick lighting the Paschal Fire on the Hill of Slane* in Dublin Castle comes from R. Kennedy's *Dublin Castle Art*, courtesy of the Office of Public Works. The portraits of W.F. Wakeman and R.R. Brash (**5.18**) will be

found respectively in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries* 1900 and in the latter's *Ogam inscribed monuments.* Samuel Ferguson's portrait (**5.21**) was published by M. Ferguson in 1896 in her *Sir Samuel Ferguson in the Ireland of his day.* The picture of T.J. Westropp (**5.25**) was published by M. Ashe Fitzgerald in her *Thomas Johnson Westropp* (2000) and those of George Coffey (**6.1**) and R.A.S. Macalister (**6.5**) appeared in T. Ó Raifeartaigh's *The Royal Irish Academy: a bicentennial history* (1985). That of Bertram Windle is to be found in M. Taylor, *Sir Bertram Windle: a memoir* (1932). The Director of the National Museum of Ireland, Dr Pat Wallace, generously gave me a copy of the photograph of Adolf Mahr and Michael Duignan (**7.4**) and kindly permitted the reproduction of the page from Robert Day's notebook (**5.19**).

Introduction

This account of the beginnings of inquiry into Ireland's archaeological past began as an attempt to revise and expand the short history of the study of Irish prehistoric archaeology that formed an introduction to *The prehistoric archaeology of Ireland* in 1998. There I had indicated that the work of the Ordnance Survey in the earlier nineteenth century had marked the commencement of the systematic study of Irish archaeology and that the scholarly endeavours of George Petrie, John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry were eventually to marginalise an older tradition of antiquarian speculation. That process of marginalisation was, however, a surprisingly slow one and, thanks to the deep medieval roots of Irish antiquarianism, older myths continued to be expounded and continued to influence archaeological thinking well into the twentieth century.

Scientific survey and excavation did not dispel earlier origin myths, for instance, and the belief that the various invasions imagined in the medieval *Lebor Gabála* might be reflected in the archaeological record still found academic support as late as the 1970s when Séamas Caulfield quoted with approval the suggestion that 'Milesian Goidels did come from Spain as the Book of Invasions says'. Peter Harbison was more circumspect, but in a review of the archaeological evidence for contact with Iberia—which he rightly questioned—he still thought it unwise to reject the tale of the sons of Míl in the *Lebor Gabála* in its entirety.[1]

More specifically, Celtic myths continued to have an even wider currency, especially the idea that there was archaeological corroboration for a migration of Celtic people to Ireland directly from Continental Europe and uncontaminated by any British influence. This was one of the elements in the concept of a 'two-fold infiltration of La Tène into Ireland' proposed by Etienne Rynne in the 1950s, infiltrations which produced 'two groups of La Tène peoples in Ireland' whose presence, it was claimed, was later reflected in ancient Irish literature, in the struggle between Connacht and Ulster that forms the basis of the epic *Táin Bó Cuailnge*. The belief that much of this early literature depicted an insular Celtic world unaffected by Rome was as strong in some quarters in the twentieth century as it had been in the eighteenth. Anne Ross wrote in 1967: 'Ireland's great literary tradition can be shown to reflect a world which archaeology and the Classical writers indicate was common to the Celts ...'.[2]

The tales of the Ulster Cycle coloured modern perceptions of late prehistoric Ireland just as surely as the vision of a Christian island of saints and scholars—widely promoted from the time of the Counter-Reformation—gave a comforting gloss to the early medieval period and exalted the archaeology of the religious world at the expense of the secular. This happy co-existence of myth and history well into the last century is not surprising for inspirational tales both religious and secular, and stories about the sons of Míl and other mythical invaders, all informed the nationalist vision of the Irish past in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[3] Indeed, they became a part of the primary school curriculum of the Irish Free State, and the official *Notes for teachers* of the Department of Education was still advocating the stimulation of juvenile interest in history 'through stories of the heroic or romantic exploits of the national heroes of legend and semi-history' up to 1971.[4]

Even today, the persistent attraction of romantic myth finds expression in certain archaeological circles in the collective naming of the early monuments of the Boyne Valley as Brú na Bóinne, on the grounds that medieval legend declared some of its prehistoric tombs to be the dwelling place of people of the Tuatha de Danann. This renaming has been rightly described as an ideological operation conflating 'past and present temporalities in the production of a Neolithic celticity'.[5] Thus the account of the slow and erratic development of the study of Irish archaeology from medieval times to the early decades of the twentieth century attempted here is neither a simple linear narrative of progress from myth to enlightenment nor a shift from inventing to knowing the past. At times the past and its archaeology have been appropriated for ideological purposes, and on occasion this past has been a vigorously contested ground. Sometimes it has been promoted as a common heritage and a moderating influence in a divided society.

The abiding challenge of knowing the past has generated an enormous literature in both archaeological and historical circles, especially in recent years. The study of archaeology in Ireland (as in Britain) has been and remains empiricist to a great degree, and while generations of scholars have investigated a material past that is not invented, it is evident that each—for their own reason—may invent different explanations. There is no shortage of evidence to show how social, political and religious prejudices in particular have shaped opinions about the past for a thousand years or more.

Given the advent of processualism in the 1970s, with its focus on scientific method and on the processes that produced the material evidence they studied, it is unsurprising that Irish archaeologists began to reject old concepts such as a Milesian invasion or the many immigrations conjured up by the cultural-historical school, and became skeptical of an image of a late prehistoric Ireland peopled by heroic and noble warriors or an Early Christian island of saints and scholars. Today's archaeologists may equally have a postmodern scepticism about philosophies purporting to offer a vision of human progress or an

explanation for the meaning of everything, be it the divine plan of Christianity, Enlightenment optimism about the development of humanity, the Marxist faith in the emergence of a new society or the Western belief in capitalism. Despite some poststructuralist claims, however, most would consider archaeology to be one discipline where inductive reasoning and empirical research together produce knowledge, and where a theoretically explicit approach also allows wider generalisations and the exploration of larger issues. It is true that there are some who reject the idea that we can objectively know the facts of the past just as there are those—particularly in fields colonised by literary theorists and their disciples—who scorn such positivism, who assert that scientific truth is an impossibility and who claim that knowledge is relative and not cumulative.

This relativism is one of the varied elements of postprocessual archaeology whose diverse adherents are an influential minority in academic circles in Britain and the United States. In part a reaction to processualism, its concepts include the belief that the archaeological record is text: 'all archaeology is ultimately literature', as Julian Thomas once put it, various readings being possible and various strategies being used to persuade the reader.[6] Most archaeological writing, for example, adopts an impersonal, neutral style in an attempt to present an impression of objectivity and authority, a strategy that rarely, if ever, deludes the discerning reader, who is usually quite alert to the preconceptions or prejudices of the writer. However, while prejudice may colour interpretation, it is not always the inspiration for research, as has been claimed.[7] The material evidence in the archaeological record is not the same as a literary text, and not all of the past is the invention of the present. The textual metaphor is helpful only in so far as it reminds us that in any person's interpretation of the mute stones of an ancient monument, they may involuntarily bring to the exercise their biases and presuppositions—along with as much objectivity as they can muster. The claim that all observation is coloured by theory may often be true but is not invariably and demonstrably so. Disagreement as to whether archaeology is theoretical and interpretative at every level is likely to continue but it is fair to say that this aspect of postprocessual archaeology has enhanced a critical understanding of the limitations of the material record and the preconceptions and ambiguities that lie in archaeologists' own interpretations. There is now a greater level of theoretical self-awareness.

The exploration of the phenomenology of landscape and monument has introduced the sometimes stimulating (and occasionally embarrassingly naive) theme of subjective experience, and all of this may, in time, encourage more critical biographies of the life, ideologies and work of influential figures in the discipline. In challenging what has been perceived as the dominant position of Western white positivist males, some postprocessual archaeologists have emphasised the importance of the hitherto neglected archaeology of women

and of indigenous peoples, for example, and in doing so have added new dimensions to archaeological studies. In line with structuralism's counter-humanist effacement of the role of the individual, attention has also been devoted to the argument that individual identity is a socio-cultural product and that the human mind is essentially a prisoner of language and ideology. Even those who reject this notion of 'the death of man' and who may still subscribe to a measure of belief in the autonomy of the human subject welcome the wider recognition of the ways in which archaeological work is influenced by the social and cultural identities of its practitioners, whether they are white or black, male or female, or, in a specifically Irish context, Catholic or Protestant, unionist or nationalist. This understanding has been one of the reasons for a deeper interest in the development of the study of archaeology and in its historiography. The influence of nationalist ideology on Irish archaeology is now recognised but this has been only one formative factor. The wider social and historical context has been no less important, and medieval romance has had a significant role to play.

There have been just a few brief accounts of the early development of the study of Ireland's archaeology, including introductory chapters in R.A.S. Macalister's *Ireland in Pre-Celtic times* (1921) and in Michael Herity and George Eogan's *Ireland in Prehistory* (1977). The most detailed has been T.J. Westropp's presidential address on the progress of Irish archaeology delivered to the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland in January 1916 and published in the journal of that society in the same year. Apart from Theodore Hoppen's study of the Dublin Philosophical Society in *The common scientist in the seventeenth century* (1970) and contributions to the bicentennial history of the Royal Irish Academy (1985), aspects of the broader antiquarian agenda have—until relatively recently—been the subject of just the occasional short published study. Now two major works in particular provide an indispensable background to parts of the present account of the beginnings of Irish archaeological studies. Joep Leerssen's *Mere Irish and Fíor-Ghael,* a magisterial study of antiquarianism, literature and the growth of an Irish national identity, first published in 1986, and Clare O'Halloran's *Golden ages and barbarous nations* (2004), an illuminating examination of how shifting Catholic and Protestant perceptions of the past and contemporary politics influenced antiquarian and historical studies in the eighteenth century, both help to place the slow development of the investigation of material culture in a wider context.

Notes

1 S. Caulfield, 'Celtic problems in the Iron Age', in D. Ó Corráin (ed.), *Irish antiquity* (1981), 214, quoting Dillon and Chadwick; P. Harbison, 'Celtic migrations in Western Europe', in A. Tovar *et al.*, *Actas del II Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas prerromanas* (1979), 229. Also M. Alberro, 'Celtic heritage in the north-west of the Iberian Peninsula', *Emania* **19** (2002), 80.

2 E. Rynne, 'The introduction of La Tène into Ireland', *Bericht über den V Internationalen Kongress für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* (1961), 705. A. Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain* (1967), 17.

3 For instance G. Cooney, 'Building the future on the past', in M. Díaz-Andreu and T. Champion (eds), *Nationalism and archaeology in Europe* (1996), 146; and P.C. Woodman, 'Who possesses Tara?', in P.J. Ucko (ed.), *Theory in archaeology* (1995), 278.

4 D. Fitzpatrick, 'The futility of history', in C. Brady (ed.), *Ideology and the historians* (1991), 176.

5 M. Ronayne, 'The political economy of a landscape', in B. Bender and M. Winer (eds), *Contested landscapes* (2001), 155.

6 J. Thomas, 'Where are we now?', in P.J. Ucko (ed.), *Theory in archaeology* (1995), 354.

7 J. Thomas, *Archaeology and modernity* (2004), 74.

1. Medieval antiquarianism

When John Mooney was killed by a kick of his horse in 1888, his neighbours believed this sad occurrence was due to the fact that some two weeks beforehand, he had found and meddled with an ancient urn burial. He had discovered the grave when ploughing near his home at Gortereghy, near Rasharkin, Co. Antrim. Superstitions attached to finds like this are well known: for instance, in Columbkille, near Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny, in 1853, the finder of an urn containing small pieces of burnt human bone thought he had uncovered a crock of gold and so sacrificed a black cat to propitiate the spirits and to restore the bone dust to gold. Not surprisingly, the cat died in vain. The unfortunate John Mooney's discovery, however, was especially interesting in another respect. When he removed the urn from the earth, he found a small bronze knife and a green glass bottle with the cremated bones. These objects were acquired by the Rev. George Buick, a local antiquarian, who recognised the problem posed by the presence of an eighteenth-century glass bottle in an urn 'of the bronze period' which we would now date fairly accurately to about 1600 BC. He ingeniously argued that the urn had first been found a century before and a small bottle of blessed water had been placed in the vessel as a placatory gesture to whatever spirits had been disturbed.[1]

In 1913, when a tree-root was being removed at Annesborough, near Lurgan, Co. Armagh, a collection of prehistoric bronze objects was discovered. It comprised an axe-head, a spiral-twisted neck-ring or torc and a fragment of another, two penannular bracelets, and a fibula or brooch of provincial Roman type, all unearthed just below the surface. Bronze personal ornaments such as twisted torcs and penannular bracelets are typical of hoards found in southern Britain and dating to the thirteenth century BC. The Annesborough find, with its axe, torc and bracelets, is a rare Irish instance of this particular sort of bronze offering. The brooch, however, is over a thousand years younger than the other objects and presents an obvious problem. It is generally assumed to be simply a later intrusion, perhaps due to tree-root action. Another much more interesting possibility is that a genuinely ancient bronze hoard was discovered in the first century AD and was then reburied with the addition of the brooch to pacify any distressed ghosts.

This sort of re-deposition has been recorded in a few instances. Part of a gold torc, also of thirteenth-century BC date but bearing a much later Roman

inscription, was found at Newgrange where it had been deposited as a votive offering, a gift to the gods or to the Otherworld. A great hoard of over 600 bronze objects was discovered in a pit in a field at Netherhampton, near Salisbury in southern England, in the mid-1980s. It contained items of many different dates spanning a period of more than two thousand years from 2400 BC to 200 BC. This large collection of bronzes was probably amassed over a period of time but was eventually buried in or near a settlement by third-century BC farmers who may have considered them to be something special, objects perhaps with a magical charge related to gods or ancestors and sufficiently important to be returned with care to the earth.[2]

Archaeological finds must have been uncovered from time to time in Ireland in the distant past. Some may have been treasured as talismans for a time and then discarded or reburied, as at Salisbury, but others, particularly finds of valuable metal, may have been melted down and re-used. Whatever their fate, they must have prompted speculation about their purpose and origin and they very probably occasioned a certain amount of superstitious fear as well. We know that incidental archaeological discoveries and speculation about ancient artefacts and monuments were a feature of early medieval times in Ireland but almost a thousand years elapsed before the material remains of antiquity became the subject of any sort of systematic inquiry. That is not to say that the past was ignored. An extraordinarily rich *corpus* of literary texts, concerned with laws, genealogies, regnal lists and historical or pseudo-historical narratives, with religious literature, annals and chronicles, was committed to manuscript in the medieval period. Here and there, in this large body of material, incidental archaeological treasures are to be found, but archaeological allusions are invariably tantalisingly brief. These early accounts are interesting, however, because they do hint at a remarkably vigorous medieval antiquarianism, and, like later antiquarian studies, illustrate perceptions of the past and reveal how the past was interpreted or used as an element in different political or religious ideologies. At times they have something to tell us about how the modern study of Irish archaeology was shaped.

Archaeology today is a specialised discipline that focuses on the study of the material culture of former times. The study of these remains has a long history but for many centuries it was very much an occasional and haphazard pursuit, and a small part of a wider historical agenda. In the fifteenth century, the word 'antiquity' began to be used to describe both the documentary and monumental traces of the ancient world; and the notion of the 'antiquarius' as a lover, collector and student of ancient traditions and remains has been described as a typical concept of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century humanism. Such antiquarians were considered imperfect historians whose activity usually embraced the study of both the literary and the material remains of times gone by, but these remains were considered too fragmentary to be the subject of proper history, 'history defaced, or some remnants of history which have

casually escaped the shipwreck of time', as Francis Bacon defined antiquities.[3]

The terms 'antiquary' or 'antiquarian', in English usage in the seventeenth century, have been commonly applied since then to someone who had an amateurish or gentlemanly interest in the study of the past and who might have collected and studied documents or engaged in a certain amount of fieldwork and the collection of ancient artefacts. By the beginning of the eighteenth century some antiquarians defined themselves by a desire to explain the past rather than simply observe it and by a willingness to incorporate the wider intellectual environment of Biblical and Classical scholarship and contemporary research in natural philosophy (the study of the natural world) in their work.[4] Those antiquarians who studied the past, like more modern archaeologists, were products of specific social, economic and political conditions, and this is reflected in their approaches, methodologies and interpretations.

While the literature of early Ireland is preoccupied to a significant degree with the names of persons and places, there are numerous allusions to archaeological sites and monuments in this varied material. While much antiquarian energy was expended on inventive etymological explanations for placenames in the prose and verse texts of the *Dindshenchas* ('The Lore of Places') and *Acallamh na Senórach* ('The Colloquy of the Ancients'), details of this sort and the much rarer references here and in other sources to archaeological discoveries are not particularly illuminating—at least from the perspective of the archaeologist of today. This place-lore does, however, indicate a very vigorous antiquarian tradition purporting to elucidate significant places. As Proinsias Mac Cana has explained, 'The word *dindshenchas* is ... a compound of *senchas* "knowledge of all that pertains to earlier times", "history (in the pre-modern mythopoeic sense)" and *dind* meaning "height, hill", then "fortified hill, stronghold" and "famous or important place"'.[5] Of course medieval scribes also had other concerns and priorities, political or religious. This was a time when Christian sacred texts provided an irrefutably reliable explanation for the human story. When religious certitude proclaimed exclusive possession of the truth, it is unsurprising that there was no pressing impulse to explain the past or to attempt a causal history. If inquiry ever occurred, it was more often than not to support established beliefs, but there were medieval historians who did not scruple to revise God's plan as they thought fit.[6] In Ireland, pagan and other constructs of the past co-existed with the Christian story and there are tantalising hints of what may have been an antiquarian curiosity that occasionally extended beyond literary explanation and speculation to the deliberate exploration of ancient remains.

In Tirechan's late seventh-century Latin account of Saint Patrick's journey in the west of Ireland, there is a reference to what is obviously a large megalithic tomb, probably somewhere in the Ballina region in County Mayo. Though the precise location of Dichuil is unknown, the tomb was probably a

court tomb, several of which survive in the general area today:

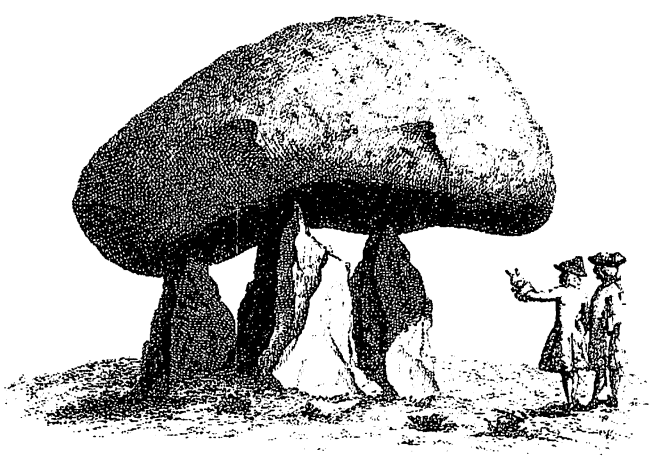
> And holy Patrick came through the plains in the territory of Macc Erce in Dichuil and Aurchuil. And in Dichuil Patrick came to a huge grave of astounding breadth and excessive in length, which his people had found, and they were amazed, with great astonishment, that it extended a hundred and twenty feet, and they said: 'We do not believe that there could have been such a thing as a man of this length.' Patrick answered and said: 'If you wish you shall see him', and they said: "We do', and he struck the stone on the side of the head with his staff, and signed the grave with the sign of the cross and said: 'Open, O Lord, the grave', and it opened. And a huge man arose whole, and said: 'Thanks be to you, O holy man, that you have raised me even for one hour from many pains', and, behold, he wept bitterly and said: 'May I walk with you?' They said: 'We cannot have you walk with us, for men cannot look upon your face for fear of you. But believe in the God of heaven and receive the baptism of the Lord, and you will not return to the place in which you were. And tell us to whom you belong.' 'I am the son of the son of Cass son of Glas; I was the swineherd of Lugar king of Hirota. The warrior band of the sons of Macc Con killed me in the reign of Coirpre Nie Fer' (a hundred years ago from now). And he was baptised, and confessed God, and fell silent, and was laid again in his grave.[7]

A similar tale is to be found in the eleventh- or twelfth-century Life of Saint Cronan: when Cronan walks with his disciples through the regions of Connacht, they see an enormous grave and they say: 'If the one who is buried here had greeted us in his lifetime, he could have told us a lot about the invisible things.' Cronan commands the dead body to rise in the name of Christ. Immediately a man of astonishing size appears, and he tells them a great deal about his life as a heathen and about his place in hell. He begs to be baptised and receives baptism at the hand of the saint, who immediately lets him die again, and then the baptised man is reburied in peace.[8] Such giants are representative of heathenism, for whom salvation is only possible through baptism, the only path to immortality. The purpose of Tirechan's tale was to demonstrate this and, indeed, to exemplify Patrick's observance of the command to the apostles to preach the gospel to every creature. Of course, it also dramatically emphasised the superiority of the new Christian magic over the old. His audience may well have been more interested in hearing about Patrick's more powerful miraculous capabilities than about the unfortunate giant and his grave.

Yet an ancient giant might not have seemed particularly strange either:

primordial giants had a wide currency—both folkloric and biblical. After all, the fall of man caused corruption and disorder in the world and before the flood 'there were giants in the earth in those days ...' (*Genesis* 6:4). In many primitive mythologies giants appear to provide an anthropological explanation for the forces of nature, but in Judaeo-Christian thinking they represent the evil result of the abandonment of the law of God.[9] In Irish tradition, however, disparity in size is a sign of belonging to a former age or to another world.[10] It may well be that in early medieval Ireland some megalithic and pagan monuments were seen as the burial places of giants and some may have produced bones that would have seemed to prove the case (**1.1**).

In medieval times the past was there to illustrate the power of God, and a Biblical character might well be depicted in a symbolic manner in medieval dress (**1.4**), but, where differences or curiosities had to be accounted for, they might be explained in terms of foreign-ness (the work of a foreigner or perhaps a pagan) or in terms of the supernatural (devils or giants). An Anglo-Saxon poem, for instance, describes the crumbling walls of a Roman city, possibly Bath, as the work of giants.[11] It has been suggested that for the Anglo-Saxons and their Germanic forebears, wood was a living substance of the modern world while stone was associated with the primitive and inert, the material of giants of former times.[12] Giants were readily accepted as the first inhabitants of both Britain and Ireland, and the discovery of large bones, including misunderstood fossils, often seemed to offer proof of their former existence. As recently as the eighteenth century, for example, the forefin of a whale stripped of its skin was publicly displayed as the bones of a giant's hand.[13] Thus, for Tirechan, a story about a giant was simply a tale that explained a part of God's creation, harnessed to enhance Patrick's reputation. Marvels and the miraculous were a part of the fabric of the world, the hand of God at work.



1.1. The work of giants: according to Thomas Wright, in his Louthiana, *the well-known portal tomb at Proleek, Co. Louth, was called 'the Giant's Load' in the eighteenth century and the giant himself was supposed to be buried in a nearby wedge tomb.*

Giants are also associated with stone circles, of course. Geoffrey of Monmouth records in his *History of the Kings of Britain* (*c.* 1136) the extraordinary legend of an Irish origin for Stonehenge: Merlin is supposed to have transported a stone circle of the Giants *'qui est in killarao monte'* to Wiltshire. The location of 'Mount Kilara' is unknown and Gerald of Wales (Giraldus Cambrensis), who repeats the story (*c.* 1185), offers an alternative site for this lost circle of ancient times, which he calls the Giants' Dance, in Offaly, or near 'the castle of Naas' (on the Curragh in County Kildare).[14] The name Giant's Grave was commonly given to megalithic monuments from at least the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, but since few of the native Irish terms recorded for these tombs have obvious gigantic connotations, many of these names, like the label Druid's Altar and such like, may be a creation of these more recent centuries—ultimately inspired by Classical sources and encouraged by the Romantic movement but still a distant echo of ancient myth. There is, however, another possibility. The popular names for megalithic tombs, such as *Leaba Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne*, 'the Bed of Diarmaid and Gráinne', and *Leaba na Caillighe*, 'the Bed of the Hag', have Otherworldly associations. Diarmaid may originally have been a deity, and Gráinne ('the ugly one') the other representation of the beautiful goddess of sovereignty, and these Otherworldly attributes may have conferred them and their resting places with gigantic stature in the popular imagination—just as the great tomb at Labbacallee, Co. Cork, (**4.2**) was thought to hold the remains of a giantess in the eighteenth century.

Familiarity with another form of pagan burial practice is to be seen in Tirechan's Life of Saint Patrick in the *Book of Armagh*, where the story of the baptism by Patrick of the two royal daughters of Loíguire in the area of Rathcroghan is recounted. So great was the effect of this baptism, the virginal pair promptly died and, according to Tirechan, they were buried on the eastern slopes of Crúachain 'beside the spring of Clébach, and they made a round ditch similar to a *ferta,* because this is what the pagan Irish people used to do'. He continues 'we, however, call it a *relic,* in other words, the "remains" of the maidens. And the *ferta* with the bones of the holy women was dedicated to Patrick, and to his successors after him forever, and he made a church of earth in that place.'[15] The phrase *'fecerunt fossam rotundam'* may suggest that a low mound surrounded by a ditch, perhaps a ring barrow, was a monument type familiar to Tirechan. While the location of Clébach is unknown, this story of burial in a pagan fashion may be an instance of the deliberate use of an older burial motif to establish the authority of Patrick in a new Christian landscape, in this instance around the royal site of Rathcroghan in County Roscommon.

Contemporary monuments sometimes figure and are of obvious archaeological interest. The seventh-century *Life of Brigit* by Cogitosus contains a well-known description of an early church in St Brigit's monastery in Kildare.[16] This Latin account describes a many-windowed building with a

decorated doorway and an interior divided by screens into three parts and ornamented with paintings and cloth hangings:

> It is adorned with painted pictures and inside there are three chapels which are spacious and divided by board walls under the single roof of the church. The first of these walls, which is painted with pictures and covered with wall-hangings, stretches widthwise in the east part of the church from one wall to the other. In it are two doors, one at either end, and through the door situated on the right, one enters the sanctuary where the archbishop offers the Lord's sacrifice together with his monastic chapter and those appointed to the sacred mysteries. Through the other door, situated on the left side of the aforesaid cross-wall, only the abbess and her nuns and faithful widows enter to partake of the banquet of the body and blood of Jesus Christ.
>
> The second of these walls divides the building into two equal parts and stretches from the west wall to the wall running across the church. This church contains many windows and one finely wrought portal on the right side through which the priests and the faithful of the male sex enter the church, and a second portal on the left side through which the nuns and congregation of women faithful are accustomed to enter. And so, in one vast basilica, a large congregation of people of varying status, rank, sex and local origin, with partitions placed between them, prays to the omnipotent Master, differing in status, but one in spirit.

Cogitosus' *Life of Brigit* is little more than a catalogue of miracles; like other saints' lives its purpose was to enhance the reputation of the saint and in the process to attract more pilgrims and wealth to Kildare. Its author may have exaggerated the magnificence of the church but it is probable that the basic features described—colourful paintings, wall-hangings and wooden partitions—were familiar church furnishings of the seventh century. As in the rest of Christendom, elaborate architectural decoration, illuminated manuscripts and fine ecclesiastical metalwork could be justified because they gave glory to God and offered a foretaste of the splendours of heaven.

Like church and ringfort, the souterrain is another monument type to briefly figure in early texts. The *Annals of Ulster* record the plundering of these subterranean chambers at Knowth (Cnodba) and Dowth (Dubad) by the Norsemen in the year 862:

> The caves of Achad Aldai, and of Cnodba, and of Boadán's Mound above Dubad, and of Óengoba's wife, were searched by the foreigners—something which had never been done before.[17]

Other very brief literary references to the plundering of caves at early medieval church sites, for example, suggest that these were underground places for the storage of food and other goods and for occasional temporary refuge.[18]

Medieval exaggeration is not confined to giants or themes like saintly longevity; it is also an aspect of the very few and very brief descriptions of ancient artefacts which have been recorded. The discovery of an ancient weapon at Navan, Co. Armagh, in the year 1115 AD, is recounted in *Chronicum Scottorum*:

> A sword was found at An Emain in the ground, a man's foot from its groove to its edge on either side; its breadth two feet without including its groove.

In the *Annals of Lough Cé* in the year 1191 a number of archaeological finds are recorded from the River Corrib, once known as the Gaillimh or Galway River:

> The Gaillimh became dry this year, and an axe was found in it measuring a hand from one point of it to the other, and a spear was found in it, and the breadth of the blade of this spear was three hands and three fingers; and its length was a hand from the shoulder.[19]

It is an interesting possibility that some of the more puzzling descriptions of weapons of ancient times in medieval texts may have been inspired by the discovery of prehistoric objects. Even though early colour terminology has often perplexed scholars, 'broad green spears', the *manaís lethanglas* referred to in the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* (The Cattle Raid of Cooley), for instance, may reflect an antiquarian familiarity with well-patinated bronze specimens and a desire to attribute them to a heroic past.[20]

Since prehistoric burials were probably unearthed from time to time as well, it is an equally intriguing possibility that the crouched figure in a rectangular container carved on the base of the north cross at Castledermot, Co. Kildare, is a medieval representation of a pagan burial. Margaret Stokes compared it to a Bronze Age cist burial containing a crouched skeleton. While some discoveries were undoubtedly fortuitous, there are indications that prehistoric burial mounds may have been explored in early medieval times, though whether out of antiquarian curiosity or just for treasure-hunting is impossible to say. The late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century *Acallamh na Senórach* already mentioned contains a reference to the opening of a 'green-surfaced' mound by Benén, a disciple of Patrick, to acquire a hoard of 'rings and bracelets' and the excavation of another cairn which produced the skull of

the giant Garbdaire Mac Angus together with his weapons, shield and a chain.[21] A tale of Saint Columcille records that the saint, in need of a drinking vessel, was informed by an angel that there were vessels hidden by people of old in a nearby earthwork.[22]

Though in no way a methodical study of the past, the medieval unearthing of ancient objects was a widespread phenomenon and by no means confined to Ireland—it included, for example, the discovery of what was believed to be the tomb of King Arthur in Glastonbury in 1191.[23] In Ireland several fourteenth-century exceptions of treasure trove from grants in Louth, Meath and Kildare (if not wishful or prudent thinking) may suggest the discovery of ancient valuables or even treasure hunting was not unknown[24] and, as we shall see, some treasure hunters, undeterred by any superstitious fears, unearthed a prehistoric gold disc near Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal, in the later seventeenth century, which found its way to the Ashmolean Museum. The antiquarian George Petrie was convinced that an early medieval bronze pin in his collection had been associated with a Bronze Age encrusted urn burial at Carrowmore, Co. Sligo. The association is usually dismissed because no details of the find are known but, if genuine and not a figment of his imagination, it is conceivable that the pin was a conciliatory offering placed therein by a superstitious medieval finder, just like the glass bottle found with the Gortereghy urn.[25]

A Medieval archaeological survey

The material of the *Dindshenchas,* or lore of places, is preserved in various prose and metrical versions dating from the tenth to the twelfth centuries. Full of pseudo-etymological explanations and mythological tales, these texts occasionally allude to known archaeological sites. Several provide details on the monuments on the Hill of Tara. In an account, in Middle Irish probably dating to about 1000 AD, there is an unusually detailed description of the monuments on the hill, which George Petrie and John O'Donovan attempted to correlate with the visible archaeological remains some eight centuries later in 1836. The text, *Dindgnai Temrach,* 'The Remarkable Places of Tara', is itself a noteworthy medieval survey of the hill which lists natural features, such as springs and streams, and archaeological monuments such as *duma* or burial mounds, earthworks called *ráith*, which are enclosures or ramparts, as well as other sites (**1.2**). The following is just a part of the account followed by Petrie as he published it in 1839:

> Of the remarkable remains of Temur.
>
> *Neamhnach,* a well which is at the *Sidh,* to the north-east of Temur. From this well flows a stream called Nith, on which is the first mill erected in Ireland by [*recte* for] *Ciarnaid,* the *Cumhal* (bondmaid) of Cormac Mac Art ...

The *Rath of Laoghaire, the son of Niall,* lies to the north of this. There are four principal doors on it, facing the cardinal points. The body of Laoghaire was interred with his shield of valor in the external rampart, in the south-east of the royal *Rath* of Laoghaire at Temur, with his face to the south, [as if] fighting with the Lagenians, i.e. with the descendants of Breasal Breac ...

Rath Righ is by the side of *Rath Laoghaire* to the north. There are three *deccra* here, viz.; the ruins of the *House of Cormac* in the south-east side of the Rath, facing *Rath Laoghaire* to the south. The ruins of the *Forradh* alongside the ruins of the *House of Cormac* to the east. *Mur Tea,* i.e. the wall [or enclosure] of *Tea* is on the south side. From this *Teamhuir,* i.e. *Tea-mur* is named. It is in the little hill which lies between the two *Murs* to the south ...

Dumha na n-giall (the Mound of the Hostages) lies to the north-east of the ruins of the *Forradh.*

Fal lies by the side of *Dumha na n-giall* to the north, i.e. the stone that roared under the feet of each king that took possession of [the throne of] Ireland. *Fal,* the name of this stone, means fo ail, the *under* stone, i.e. the stone *under* the king ...

Rath na Seanadh (fort of the synods) lies opposite *Dumha na n-giall,* and to the north of *Fal.*

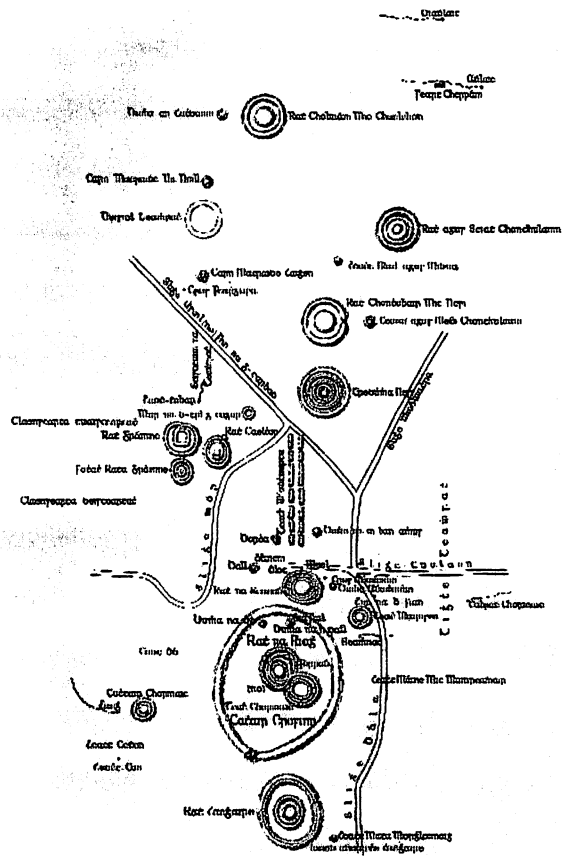
The site of *Pupall Adumnain* (pavilion or tent of Adamnan) is in this Rath, and his (Adamnan's) Cross is opposite the fort to the east, and his *Seat* and his *Mound* are to the south of the cross ...

Long na m-ban, i.e. *Teach Midhchuarta,* is to the north-west of the eastern mound. The ruins of this house are situate thus: the lower part to the north and the higher part to the south; and walls are raised about it to the east and to the west. The northern side of it is enclosed and small; the lie of it is north and south. It is in the form of a long house, with twelve doors upon it, or fourteen, seven to the west, and seven to the east. It is said, that it was here the *Feis Teamhrach* was held, which seems true; because as many men would fit in it as would form the choice part of the men of Ireland. And this was the great house of a thousand soldiers ...

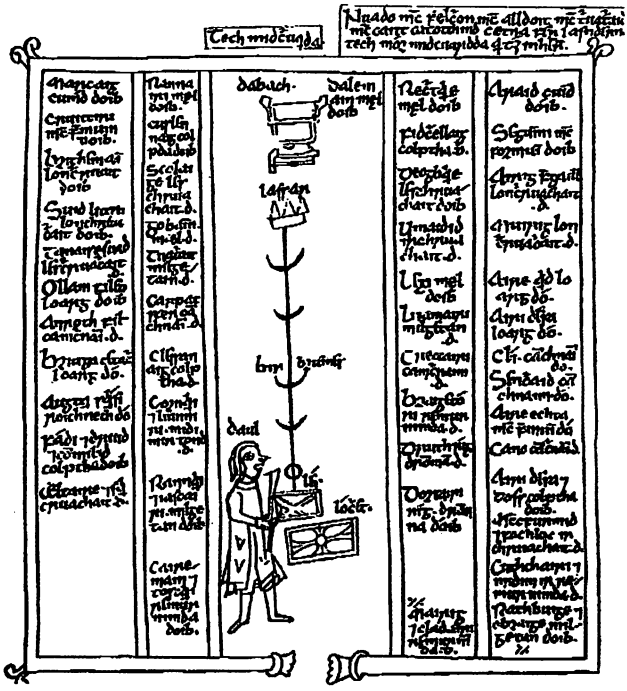
Rath Grainne (Grania's fort) is west of the *Sheskin* on the height of the hill ...

The two *Claenfearts* are to the west of *Rath Grainne.* It was in the southern *Claenfeart* that the virgins were slaughtered by the Lagenians on Samain's day (1st of November). It is in the northern *Claenfeart* that Lughaidh Mac Con pronounced the false sentence concerning the green field being eaten by the sheep ... .[26]

This exceptional account was clearly compiled from a quite detailed topographical scrutiny of the monuments visible on the hill at the time and following a route from south to north. As an antiquarian exercise by some medieval scholars, it was not, however, a wholly disinterested and objective operation; it had a very particular purpose. From at least the fifth century the kingship of Tara had been contested by rival dynastic groups from Leinster, Ulster (the Ulaid), the north-west (the northern Uí Néill) and the midlands (the southern Uí Néill). It was in the ninth century, however, that Máelsechlainn Mac Maíle Ruanaid, who died in 862, expanded southern Uí Néill power and control sufficiently to give weight to the long-standing claim that kings of Tara were kings of Ireland. Indeed his son, Flann Sinna, is described as Rig Erenn, 'king of Ireland,' in an inscription on the Cross of the Scriptures at Clonmacnoise. The *Dindshenchas* texts on Tara were compiled for a political reason to enhance the claims of the southern Uí Néill, and of Máelsechlainn Mac Domhnaill (king of Tara who died in 1022) in particular,



1.2. George Petrie and John O'Donovan's idealised plan of the monuments on the Hill of Tara 'restored from ancient documents' and mainly based on the medieval account in the Dindshenchas.



1.3. A drawing of the great Banqueting Hall on the Hill of Tara based on the representation in the twelfth-century Book of Leinster *reproduced in the third (1965) edition of Seán P. Ó Ríordáin's* Tara: the monuments on the hill.

against those of his rival Brian Boru of Munster. These topographical texts are attributed to the Uí Néill court poet Cúán úa Lothcháin who, in emphasising the symbolic importance of Tara, linked its monuments to mythical ancestral figures, heroes, or kings such as Cormac Mac Airt, Niall Noígiallach (Niall of the Nine Hostages) or his son Lóeguire.[27]

Some of these links are quite fanciful. *Dumha na n-giall* or the Mound of the Hostages is an early prehistoric burial mound and the *Teach Midhchuarta* or Cormac Mac Airt's great Banqueting Hall may be a processional way.[28] As we shall see, the royal and heroic aspects of the Banqueting Hall preoccupied a number of later writers and are a feature of several texts concerned with rank and status and the arrangements of a king's house. Illustrations of the internal layout of the supposed Mead-hall or Banqueting Hall are preserved in the fifteenth- to sixteenth-century *Yellow Book of Lecan* and in the twelfth-century *Book of Leinster* (1.3).

With Máelsechlainn's death the southern Uí Néill dynasty collapsed and from the eleventh century, control of Dublin became the crucial factor in any ruler's claim to national supremacy. Nonetheless other dynasties, such as the Uí Briain, the northern Uí Néill, and the Uí Conchobair, advanced the antiquarian fiction of an immemorial high-kingship of Ireland centred at Tara. While they may have claimed to reign as high kings, they did not rule over the whole island. The *Lebor Gabála Érenn,* also known as the *Book of the Taking of*

Ireland or the *Book of Invasions*, provides origin legends for the major dynasties, tracing their roots from Noah, and describes the high-kingship at Tara as an institution with deep and ancient roots. In early medieval poetry and in the later bardic poetry, Tara increasingly becomes a symbol of power, nobility and legitimacy.

It is interesting to see that within a century or two of the compilers of the Tara survey attributing various monuments there to ancestors of the Uí Néill and effectively inscribing their own legitimacy in the physical record of the past, Gerald of Wales, in his twelfth-century *Topography of Ireland,* anxious to present a precedence for Anglo-Norman occupation, was crediting earthworks such as ringforts to invading Danes, and, it is also interesting to note, was familiar with multivallate monuments:

> But in the reign of this Fedlimidius the Norwegians put in at the Irish shores with a great fleet ... Their leader, who was called Turgesius, quickly subjected the whole island to himself in many varied conflicts and fierce wars. He journeyed throughout the whole country and strengthened it with strong forts in suitable places. And so to this day, as remains and traces of ancient times, you will find here many ditches, very high and round and often in groups of three, one outside of the other, as well as walled forts which are still standing, although now empty and abandoned.[29]

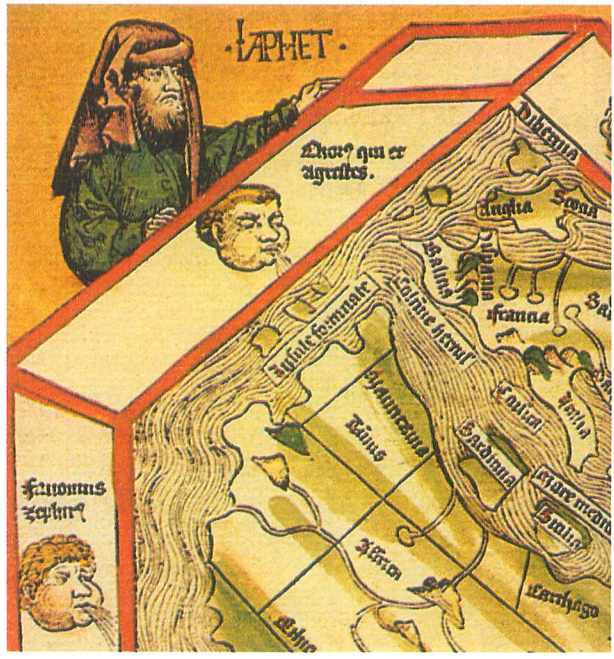
Gaelic origin myths

The story of the origins of Gaelic Ireland from the time of creation was first set down as a definitive account by the unknown author of the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* or *Book of Invasions*. Compiled in the late eleventh century from a number of earlier poems, this great prose and verse narrative attempted to accommodate native origin tales with Biblical world history as expounded by the medieval church. The Bible, of course, said nothing about the origins of the Irish, so a secular pseudo-historical tradition had to be blended with monastic pseudo-history. In effect religious and secular myths had to be combined, a process that had begun at least as early as the seventh century. Medieval historians did not regard the past as particularly different, they lived 'in a constant anachronism ... attributing to ancient people medieval costumes, feelings, and modes of behaviour'.[30] The reliability of various sources was rarely distinguished, and written authorities were assumed to be authentic. The Bible itself, of course, lent great weight to this perception of the veracity of authority. An unquestioning attitude also facilitated the active creation of myths, both secular and religious: 'the fabrication of the past was a major industry in the Middle Ages'.[31] Since the Bible did not clearly explain how the Western world was populated, explanatory myths had to be provided, prompted by the statement in *Genesis* 9:18 that Shem, Ham and Japheth, the

three sons of Noah, and their progeny, were responsible for the peopling of the world: 'by these were the nations divided in the earth after the flood'. They were dispersed by God when they attempted to reach heaven by building the Tower of Babel. Before this 'the whole earth was of one language and of one speech' but the Lord in his displeasure also decided to 'confound their language' (1.4–5).[32] This biblical explanation for the origins of people and language would influence European antiquarian thinking well into the seventeenth century and beyond. In the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* the descendants of Japheth occupy Ireland in a series of invasions and it would seem older Irish mythology was reworked almost out of all recognition:

> It is from Japhet son of Noah that the northern part of Asia derives: Asia Minor, Armenia, Media, and the men of Scythia; and from him are the people of all Europe ... From Magog son of Japhet are descended the peoples who came to Ireland before the Gaels, i.e. Partholon son of Sera son of Esrú son of Braimin son of Faithecht son of Magog son of Japhet; and Nemed son of Agnoman son of Paimp son of Tait son of Sera son of Srú; and Nemed's descendants, i.e. the Galeóin and Fir Domnann and Fir Bolg and Tuatha de Danann.

According to the *Lebor Gabála* the joint settlement of Ireland by the Galeóin, the Fir Domnann and the Fir Bolg lasted thirty-seven years. Then the latter were



1.4. Part of the Ptolomaic world map with the sons of Noah from the Nuremberg Chronicle *of 1493 (Latin edition). Shem is associated with Asia, Ham with Africa and Japheth in Medieval garb with Europe. Hibernia is clearly depicted on the upper right.*

defeated and driven to the far west by the supernatural beings of the Tuatha de Danann, 'the people of the goddess Danu'. This series of settlements is followed by that of Míl from Spain, whose legendary qualities are obvious in his very name, *Miles Hispaniae,* a soldier of Spain. He is the ancestral figure of Gaelic Ireland and is a fiction based on the first Christian world history, the *Historiae adversum paganos,* by the theologian Orosius, written in the early fifth century and on the contemporary geographical knowledge and inventive etymological speculations of Isidore of Seville who, for instance, derived Hibernia (Ireland) from Hiberia (Spain) in his *Etymologiae.*[33]

Today the tales of the sons of Noah are easily disregarded as ancient myths, but in earlier times they had a profound and even sinister influence. Ham, who was cursed by Noah, was the father of the peoples of Africa and the curse they bore in turn provided a biblical justification for slavery and a foundation for racial prejudice. Not surprisingly, beliefs of this sort also contributed to medieval opinions on slavery (endemic in medieval Ireland) and to attitudes to social stratification. The *Lebor Gabála* records how Noah cursed Ham and the pernicious consequences: 'Now when Noe arose from his sleep, the doings of those sons were revealed to him; and then his father cursed Ham and thus he spake: Cursed and corrupt is Ham, and he shall be as it were a slave of slaves for his brethren.'[34] Perhaps on a more positive note the invasion myths of the *Lebor Gabála* and the vision they offered of a common origin for the people of Ireland probably provided a basis for an early collective sense of national identity and racial distinctiveness. As Donal O Neill boasted to the Pope in 1317: 'since the time when our early ancestors the three sons of Milesius of Spain came by God's will with a fleet of thirty ships from Cantabria ... three

1.5. The origin of nations—the first invasion model: this depiction of the departure of the different nations from the Tower of Babel is a vignette on the title page of Richard Verstegan's A restitution of decayed intelligence in antiquities *published in Antwerp in 1605.*

thousand five hundred years and more have gone by, and from these men without admixture of foreign blood one hundred and thirty-six kings have received power over the whole of Ireland down to King Legarius from whom I, the aforesaid Donald, have derived my descent in a direct line'.[35]

The preliterate and pre-Christian peoples of Ireland had their own origin myths and their own view of the past, but there is no scholarly consensus as to what these were. The new Christian mythology clearly had a major impact and evidently did more than just repudiate the old gods, some of whose names and activities survive in the Old Irish mythological cycle of tales. To what extent older pagan traditions remain embedded in texts such as the *Lebor Gabála* is a matter of debate. Since a measure of alienation from the present is probably a constant factor of the human condition, older prehistoric beliefs probably included some conception of a heroic or epic past. They probably did contain a tradition of multiple settlements, the origin legends of different communities who, in a myriad of ways, were intimately connected with the natural and man-made features of the land they lived in. Their landscapes were a timeless setting encapsulating meaning and memory. We probably get a glimpse of this in the numerous legends traditionally attached to some topographical features and prehistoric monuments. For example, Donn, one of the sons of Míl, was believed to live on a small island, Tech Duinn (the house of Donn), identified as Bull Rock near Dursey Island, in County Cork. He is just one of the Otherworldly figures associated with this part of west Cork, an area rich in prehistoric megalithic tombs. The Fir Bolg have been credited with building many of the stone forts in the west of Ireland including the magnificent examples on the Aran Islands, and some of the great tombs in the Boyne Valley were thought to be the dwelling place of the Tuatha de Danann.[36]

It is hard to imagine a world without our sense of absolute time, but time was probably conflated in prehistoric Ireland. A characteristic feature of the archaic mind is its 'timelessness' as it tries to understand the world simultaneously as a synchronic and diachronic totality, and, paradoxically, origin myths are both divorced from and joined to the contemporary world with ritual serving to connect the mythical past with the present. There were some linear chronological relationships; the repeated and prolonged use of monumental complexes such as Tara and Rathcroghan for burial and other rituals over millennia indicates that there probably was some appreciation of genealogical time in prehistory. This may well have stretched back several generations extending into mythical time, but the conception of a historical past was, in all likelihood, quite limited among these preliterate peoples. In such societies the recollection of a real person (or a historical event) might survive in popular memory for just two or three generations when the individual would then be assimilated to their mythical model—such as a hero.[37] According to Mircea Eliade, archaic religions treated time cyclically and mythically; primordial events were re-enacted in the repetition of ritual and in

the retelling of myth. Such primitive cyclical rituals abolished time and linked past and present in a regenerative process of 'eternal return'. A series of archetypal precedents, when things were done or experienced for the first time, are recounted in the *Lebor Gabála Érenn*: actions are meaningful in so far as they imitate or re-enact what was done in the beginning. It took the monotheism of the Judaeo-Christian religions to introduce a linear conception of time and history that no longer comprised a cycle that repeated itself but was formed of a series of divine interventions which would culminate in the end of history.[38]

It is worth remembering that in the medieval Christian world all of recorded history and all origin myths had to be accommodated in the few thousand years or so that had passed since Noah and his sons survived the Flood. Biblical mythology not only supported ideas of cultural diffusion but demanded a very short chronology of linear history as well. A short timespan of just a few thousand years was still promoted in the nineteenth century (and is believed in certain eccentric quarters today): for some the creation took place in *anno mundi* 1 in 4004 BC and the great Flood in 2349 BC. These particular estimates were calculated in 1650 by the extraordinarily erudite James Ussher, Anglican Archbishop of Armagh, who was a significant figure in Biblical and Patristic scholarship. A stout opponent of the Counter-Reformation, he sought to demonstrate continuity between the Church of Ireland, the church of the 'New English' settlers, and the church of Saint Patrick and to prove that early Irish Christianity was essentially Protestant just as various British scholars of the seventeenth century argued the independence from Rome of the early British church. Although he always considered his chronology an estimation, he nevertheless was quite precise and had, for instance, Adam and Eve in and out of the Garden of Eden in a day. His work was based firmly on the conventional belief in the authenticity of early texts: 'the ancientist must needs be right, as the nearer the Fountain the purer the streams, and that errors sprang up as the Ages succeeded.'[39]

As might be expected, biblical chronology is the temporal framework of the influential seventeenth-century *History of Ireland* by Geoffrey Keating who calculated 'one thousand nine hundred and four score and six years from the beginning of the world to the death of Partholon' and whose pre-Christian chronology is essentially a relative one of successive invasions and rulers. His chronology of the Christian era, however, was reckoned from the central event of the birth of Christ, *Anno Domini,* the year of the Lord. This dating system, AD and BC, with its remarkable potential for precision, came slowly into general use in the seventeenth century.[40]

Notes

1 G. Buick, 'Prehistoric pottery', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **21** (1891), 433. The Columbkille story is recounted in the same *Journal* **2** (1853), 366. The nineteenth-century Ordnance Survey recorded numerous instances of monument destruction followed by supernatural vengeance: G.M. Doherty, *The Irish Ordnance Survey* (2004), 89ff.

2 J. Waddell, *The prehistoric archaeology of Ireland* (2000), 190, 374; I. Stead, *The Salisbury hoard* (1998). A number of other English finds of this sort have been noted by R. Bradley, *The past in prehistoric societies* (2002), 54.

3 In his *Advancement of learning* (1605, II, 2, 1), often quoted—as in A. Momigliano, 'Ancient history and the antiquarian', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* **13** (1958), 292, and S.A.E. Mendyk, *'Speculum Britanniae'* (1989), 116.

4 D.B. Haycock, *William Stukeley: science, religion and archaeology in eighteenth-century England* (2002), 5. A. Buchanan adopts a narrower definition, considering as antiquarian any relationship with the past that seeks to describe and categorise rather than to draw any wider meaning: 'Science and sensibility', in M. Myrone and L. Peltz (eds), *Producing the past* (1999), 169.

5 P. Mac Cana, 'Placenames and mythology in Irish tradition', in G.W. MacLennan (ed.), *Proceedings of the First North American Congress of Celtic Studies, Ottawa 1986* (1988), 333.

6 R. Vaughan, 'The past in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History* **12** (1986), 11.

7 L. Bieler, *The Patrician texts in the Book of Armagh* (1979), 155. For other comments on this redeemed giant, see H. Roe, *'Acallamh na Senórach'*, in C.J. Byrne, M. Harry and P. Ó Siadhail (eds), *Celtic languages and Celtic Peoples. Proceedings of the Second North American Congress of Celtic Studies held in Halifax August 16-19, 1989* (1992), 335.

8 C. Strijbosch, 'The heathen giant in the Voyage of St Brendan', *Celtica* **23** (1999), 369; the ninth-century life of the Breton St Malo records a legend of another pagan giant raised from a huge tomb but this may derive from the Irish tale: J. Szövérffy, 'Legend migration', *Iris Hibernia* **3** (1956), 51. The Welsh saint Cadog may also have had a miraculous association with a megalithic tomb: D.J. Corner, 'The *Vita Cadoci* and a Cotswold-Severn chambered cairn', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* **32** (1985), 50.

9 W. Stephens, *Giants in those days: folklore, ancient history and nationalism* (1989), 34ff; J.J. Cohen, *Of giants* (1999), 19.

10 A. Dooley and H. Roe (eds), *Tales of the Elders of Ireland (Acallam na Senórach)* (1999), 226, note 5.

11 P Burke, *The Renaissance sense of the past* (1969), 6. A.B. Ferguson, *Utter antiquity: perceptions of prehistory in Renaissance England* (1993), 106.

12 J.J. Cohen, *Of giants* (1999), 5.

13 The story of the whale's fin was recorded by Hans Sloane: A. MacGregor, *Sir Hans Sloane* (1994), 43, and by Thomas Molyneux in his anatomical study: 'An essay concerning giants', *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* **22** (1701), 490. See also D. Woolf, 'Of Danes and giants', *Dalhousie Review* **71** (1996), 184.

14 A. Griscom and R.E. Jones, *The Historia Regnum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth* (1929), 410; J.J. O'Meara, *The first version of the Topography of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis* (1951), 52; A. Burl, 'Stonehenge: How did the stones get there?', *History Today* **51** (2001), 19. It has been suggested that *'in killarao monte'* might be a reference to the Hill of Uisneach, with its many pagan associations, near the village of Killare in Co. Westmeath: A. Breeze, 'Merlin, Stonehenge, and the Hill of Uisneach', in R. Allen *et al.* (eds), *Layamon* (2002), 97.

15 L. Bieler, *Patrician texts,* 143, 223; J.T. Koch and J. Carey, *The Celtic Heroic Age: literary sources for ancient Celtic Europe and Early Ireland and Wales* (1995), 199.

16 S. Connolly and J-M. Picard, 'Cogitosus: *Life of Saint Brigit*', *Journal of the Royal Society of*

Antiquaries of Ireland **117** (1987), 11.

17 S. MacAirt and G. Mac Niocaill, *The Annals of Ulster (to AD 1131)* (1983).

18 A.T. Lucas, 'Souterrains: the literary evidence', *Béaloideas* **39–41** (1973), 165.

19 W. Hennessy (ed.), *The Annals of Loch Cé* (1871), vol. 1, 185; W. Forbes, 'The first recorded archaeological find at Emain Macha', *Emania* **7** (1990), 43.

20 For instance C. O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúalnge* (1970), 1584; also *Dictionary of the Irish Language: manaís. Glas* has various meanings including green, grey and a pale shade of blue: C. Stancliffe, 'Red, white and blue martyrdom', in D. Whitelock *et al.* (eds), *Ireland in early medieval Europe* (1982), 28. Also on colour: H.A. Lazar-Meyn, 'Colour terms in Táin Bó Cúailnge', in J.P. Mallory and G. Stockman (eds), *Ulidia: Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales* (1994), 201.

21 S. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica,* vol. 2 (1892), 128, 153, 162; A. Dooley and H. Roe (eds), *Tales of the Elders of Ireland (Acallam na Senórach)* (1999), 35, 64, 73.

22 A. O'Kelleher and G. Schoepperle, *Life of Columcille* (1918), 73; B. Lacey, *The Life of Colum Cille* (1998), 48.

23 A. Schnapp, *The discovery of the past* (1996), 97.

24 Exceptions of treasure trove: John de Bermyngeham, Earl of Louth, in 1319, John, Earl of Kildare, and the liberty of Trim, Co. Meath, in 1332: G. Hill, *Treasure trove* (1936), 244, also 209.

25 Castledermot: M. Stokes, 'Celtic crosses at Castledermot', *Journal of the Kildare Archaeological Society* **1** (1894), 282; *The high crosses of Castledermot and Durrow* (1898), 2; other interpretations have been suggested: P. Harbison, *High crosses of Ireland* (1992), 38. Carrowmore urn: W.G. Wood-Martin, *Rude stone monuments* (1888), 27, 47.

26 G. Petrie, 'On the history and antiquities of Tara Hill', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* **18** (1839), 25.

27 E. Bhreathnach, 'The topography of Tara: the documentary evidence', *Discovery Programme Reports* **2** (1993), 68; 'Cultural identity and Tara from *Lebor Gabála Érenn* to George Petrie', *Discovery Programme Reports* **4** (1996), 85; *Tara: a select bibliography, Discovery Programme Reports* **3** (1995).

28 C. Newman, *Tara: an archaeological survey* (1997), 152. On the banqueting hall in medieval literature: E. Bhreathnach, 'The *tech midchúarta*', *Archaeology Ireland* **12**, no. 4 (1998), 20.

29 J.J. O'Meara, *The Topography of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis* (1951), 103.

30 P. Burke, *The Renaissance sense of the past* (1969), 7. The quotation is from J. LeGoff, *History and memory* (1972), 13.

31 R. Vaughan, 'The past in the Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval History* **12** (1986), 11.

32 Japheth in the *Nuremberg Chronicle*: A. Wilson, *The making of the Nuremberg Chronicle* (1976), Pl. 6. Japheth and his descendants are depicted wearing long robes and mantles in the fourteenth-century Egerton *Genesis*: M.C. Joslin and C.C.J. Watson, *The Egerton Genesis* (2001), Pl. XI: 29. The depiction of the departure of the different nations from the Tower of Babel on the title page of Richard Verstegan's *A restitution of decayed intelligence in antiquities* (1605) is reproduced in G. Parry, *The trophies of time* (1995), 54.

33 J. Carey, *A new introduction to Lebor Gabála Érenn* (1993); *The Irish national origin-legend* (1994); 'Native elements in Irish pseudohistory', in D. Edel (ed.), *Cultural identity and cultural imagination* (1995), 45. The abbreviated quotation from the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* is taken from J.T. Koch and J. Carey (eds), *The Celtic Heroic Age: literary sources for ancient Celtic Europe and Early Ireland and Wales* (1995), 214. See R.M. Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Parts I and II', *Ériu* **38** and **39** (1987–1988).

34 R.A.S. Macalister, *Lebor Gabála Érenn* (1938) 137; J.B. Friedman, *The monstrous races in*

medieval art and thought (1981), 101ff.; B. Braude, 'The sons of Noah and the construction of ethnic and geographical identities', *The William and Mary Quarterly* **54** (1997), 103 ff.

35 Quoted in J.F. Lydon, 'Nation and race in medieval Ireland', in S. Forde *et al.* (eds), *Concepts of national identity in the Middle Ages* (1995), 116.

36 Donn and west Cork: W. O'Brien, 'Megaliths in a mythologised landscape', in C. Scarre (ed.), *Monuments and landscape in Atlantic Europe* (2002), 165; Aran: J. Waddell, 'The archaeology of Aran', in J. Waddell *et al.* (eds), *The Book of Aran* (1994), 97; Boyne Valley: J. Carey, 'Time, memory, and the Boyne necropolis', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 10 (1990), 24; C. Swift, 'The Gods of Newgrange', in G. Burenhult and S. Westergaard (eds), *Stone and bones* (2003), 53. See P. Mac Cana, 'Placenames and mythology in Irish tradition', in G.W. MacLennan (ed.), *Proceedings of the First North American Congress of Celtic Studies, Ottawa 1986* (1988), 319.

37 The question of the accuracy of oral tradition is briefly addressed by R. Bradley, *The past in prehistoric societies* (2002), 8, who notes how it may become unstable within two hundred years.

38 M. Eliade, *The myth of the eternal return* (1971), *passim*; the ancient concept of cyclical regeneration is still echoed in elements of the Christian liturgical year (p. 130). See also C. Lévi-Strauss, *The savage mind* (1972), 236, 263. On the *Lebor Gabála Érenn*: A. and B. Rees, *Celtic heritage* (1961), 104ff.

39 R.B. Knox, *James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh* (1967), 106; J. McCafferty, 'St Patrick for the Church of Ireland', *Bullán* 3 (1998), 87; G. Parry, *The trophies of time* (1995), 148. Ussher (1581–1656) published his well-known computation of the date of the creation in his *Annales Veteris Testamenti* (1650) and it is cited in the Authorised Version of the Bible from 1701. A member of an old Dublin family, he was among the first students admitted to Trinity College, Dublin, in 1594. In 1759 it was estimated that there were between seventy and seventy-five 'systems of the age of the world' current at that time: S. Piggott, *Ancient Britons and the antiquarian imagination* (1989), 38.

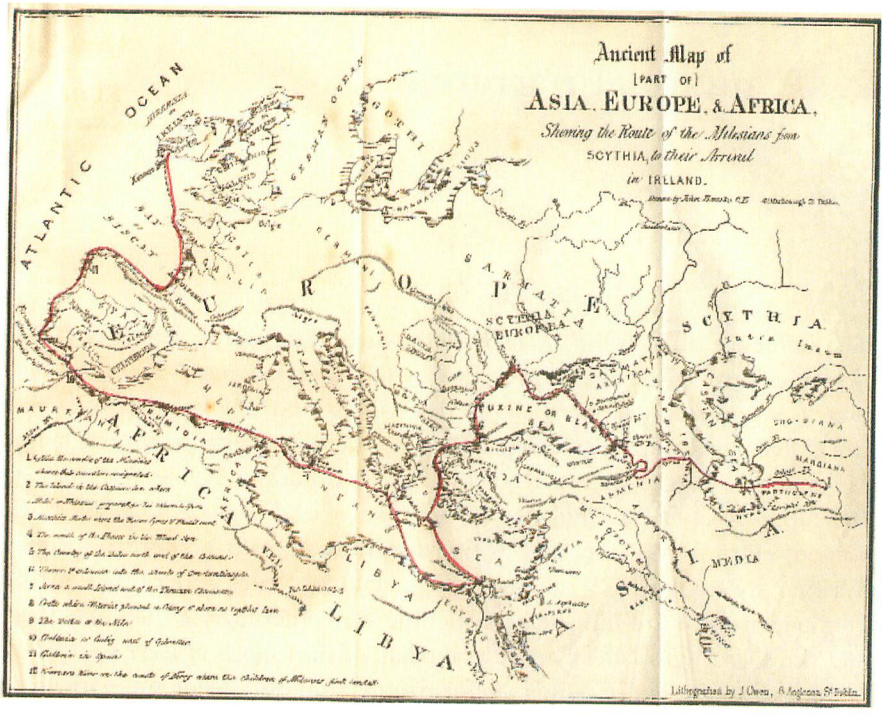
40 On the AD/BC dating system: D.J. Wilcox, *The measure of times past* (1987), 203; the *Opus de doctrina temporum* (1627) of the French Jesuit scholar Domenicus Petavius was a key work. *Anno Domini* dating appears in the Irish annals in the eleventh century.

2. A national narrative

The influence of both the *Dindshenchas* texts on Tara and of the *Lebor Gabála* is very evident in the *History of Ireland* by Geoffrey Keating (*c.* 1570–*c.* 1644), which was probably written about 1630. Priest and scholar of Old English stock, he was born in Tipperary and received his later education in Rheims. He probably taught in the Irish College in Bordeaux before returning to Ireland. In *Foras feasa ar Éirinn* or *Compendium of wisdom about Ireland,* as it was named, he promotes Tara as a national institution with prehistoric origins. Writing to counter the calumnies of Gerald of Wales and of Elizabethan commentators on Ireland and to depict the shared heritage of the Gaelic Irish and the Old English, he, like the compilers of the *Annals of the Four Masters,* combined the new Counter-Reformation Catholic ideology with Irish historical scholarship.[1] In this monumental narrative of the deeds of kings and warriors and of clerics and saints, he documented and popularised the great antiquity and the heroic qualities of the Irish story. Though he does at times attempt to distinguish between fact and fiction, as we might expect, Japheth (**1.4**) is the ancestor of the peoples of Europe; the peoples of Scythia were descended from Magog, one of his fifteen sons, and, after the Flood, every invasion that occupied Ireland was of the children of Magog, effectively re-establishing each time the connection with Noah and ultimately with Adam.

Most Gaelic families traced their origins to the arrival of Clann Mhíleadh, those sons of Míl, the Milesians, who came to Ireland from Spain having travelled there from Scythia via Egypt. They believed the very name of the Irish people, the Scoti, derived from the mother of the sons of Míl, Scota, descended from the similarly named Scyths. Once again these myths of origin explained the past and helped to forge identities, but in emphasising the derivation of the Irish people from the east, this Milesian tale also provided Gaelic Ireland with a highly civilised ancestry (**2.1**).[2] They served Gaelic purposes just as surely as the ninth-century *Historia Brittonum* of Nennius and others traced the Britons to ancient Rome, as Geoffrey of Monmouth's twelfth-century *History of the Kings of Britain* located the source of British history in ancient Troy; the French seventh-century *Chronique de Frédégaire* gave the Franks a similar beginning, and William Camden's seventeenth-century *Britannia* emphasised a Germanic origin for the British.[3]

Contemporary concerns about parliamentary rule may have inspired



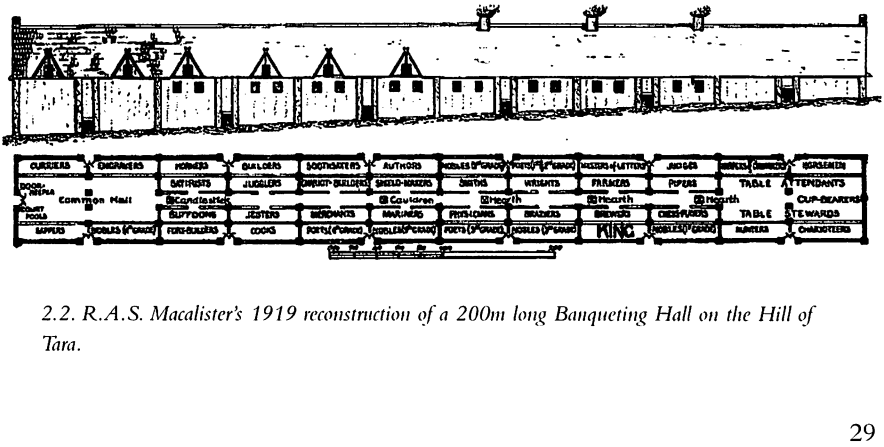
2.1. The route of the Milesians from Scythia to Ireland via the Caspian and Black Seas, Crete and Spain to Kenmare, from Martin O'Brennan's 1858 Antiquities.

Keating to interpret the Feast of Tara, the ancient fertility rite known as Feis Temro, as a parliamentary gathering. This was supposedly founded by the great Milesian king and law-giver, Ollamh Fodhla, 'an ollamh in wisdom and in knowledge for the establishing of laws and regulations in Ireland in his time', who was said to have lived over a thousand years before the coming of Christianity. Keating conjured an extraordinarily elaborate picture of the banquet ceremonial associated with this heroic and civilised world:

> ... The banquet-halls they had were narrow and long, with tables along the side-walls. Along each of these side-walls there was placed a beam in which there were numerous hooks above the seats on which the company used to sit, with only the breadth of a shield between each two of the hooks, and on these hooks the seancha hung the shields of the nobles and of the warriors before they sat down, each under his own shield, both nobles and warriors. But the territorial lords had the choice of a side, and the leaders of warriors had the other side; the upper end of the hall was occupied by the ollamhs, and the other end by the attendants

> who waited on the company. It was their custom also not to have women in the banquet-halls, but they were given a separate apartment in which they were served. It was, moreover, their custom, before the company were served, to clear out or empty the banquet-hall, so that only three remained in it, namely a seancha, a *bollsaire,* that is a marshal of the house, and a trumpeter who had a trumpet or horn to call all the guests to the banquet-hall. He sounded his trumpet three times. The first time he sounded it, the shield-bearers of the nobles assembled at the door of the banquet-hall; and the *bollsaire* took the shield of each noble according to his title, and placed, according to the direction of the seancha, each of the shields in its own appointed place. The trumpeter sounded his trumpet a second time, and the shield-bearers of the leaders of warriors assembled at the door of the banquet-hall; and the *bollsaire* took the shields from them and placed each shield, according to the direction of the seancha, at the other side of the house, over the warriors' table. Then the trumpeter sounded his trumpet the third time; and thereupon the nobles and warriors assembled in the banquet-hall, and each of them sat beneath his own shield, so that there was no contention between them.[4]

Almost a thousand years after medieval scribes had attempted to depict the nature of the Banqueting Hall on Tara in the *Yellow Book of Lecan* and in the *Book of Leinster*, R.A.S. Macalister was to publish a grandiose reconstruction of the structure. He did note some suspicious parallels with accounts of Solomon's Temple in early descriptions and he did recognise that Keating's utterly anachronistic picture smacked too much of medieval chivalry. Nonetheless, he thought that the old literary accounts could still be true. Combining the literary details with the dimensions of the visible earthwork, he envisaged a



2.2. R.A.S. Macalister's 1919 reconstruction of a 200m long Banqueting Hall on the Hill of Tara.

huge aisled rectangular timber hall of truly heroic proportions about 23m wide and over 200m long (2.2). Given the reverential importance attached to Roman civilisation in Britain, it is not surprising that the British archaeologist Ian Richmond, writing in 1932 on the same Mead-hall, preferred to see Roman influence behind its construction. Happily ignoring the Roman passion for big things, he declared rather dismissively that 'Megalomania is an old vice in Ireland, and the achievement of a great scheme may be due to contact with Rome.' The idea of a great rectangular banqueting hall was still being entertained by Seán P. Ó Ríordáin in 1954.[5]

The literature of denunciation

As already noted Keating wrote his *History* to answer the 'literature of denunciation' of Gerald of Wales and later Elizabethan commentators on Ireland. Keating declared in his Introduction:

> For there is no historian of all those who have written on Ireland from that epoch that has not continuously sought to cast reproach and blame both on the old foreign settlers and on the native Irish. Whereof the testimony given by Cambrensis, Spenser, Stanihurst, Hanmer, Camden, Barckly, Moryson, Davies, Campion, and every other new foreigner who has written on Ireland from that time, may bear witness; inasmuch as it is almost according to the fashion of the dung beetle they act, when writing concerning the Irish. For it is the fashion of the beetle, when it lifts its head in the summertime, to go about fluttering, and not stoop towards any delicate flower that may be in the field, or any blossom in the garden, though they be all roses or lilies, but it keeps bustling about until it meets with dung of horse or cow, and proceeds to roll itself therein.[6]

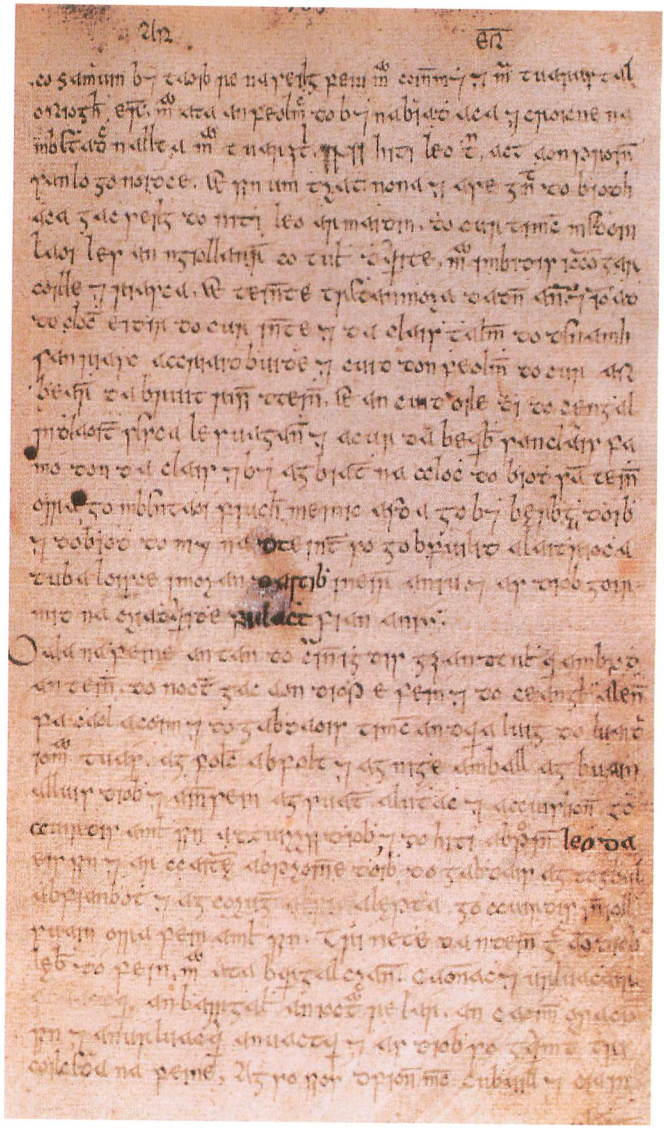
A lot of what Gerald of Wales wrote has been discredited and, as one writer put it, he 'holds the disreputable distinction of being the first inhabitant of Britain to depict the Irish as idle, disorganised and little better than animals; and he is an early apologist for foreign invasion'.[7] The Irish were not alone, however. As an Anglo-Norman and a churchman educated in Paris in the 1160s and 1170s, Gerald also considered the Welsh and the Scots barbarians. From the twelfth century most English accounts of Ireland are critical of native life and customs: the Irish are considered an amoral people, too little civilised to keep their passions under control. The words 'so shameless in regard of morals, so dead in regard of rites, so stubborn in regard of discipline, so unclean in regard of life' might well apply. Paradoxically this was the opinion of the native Malachy of Armagh (1095–1148) as conveyed to Bernard of Clairvaux and recounted in the latter's *Vita Malachiae*. These comments, however, along

with some of the remarks of Gerald of Wales on the state of religion in Ireland, should be seen as a part of the rhetoric of twelfth-century reform.[8] That said, and despite his undoubted prejudices, Gerald was in many ways an acute ethnographic observer as his comments in his early work on natural history and on multivallate ringforts indicate. His notorious account of the inauguration of the Cenél Conaill, one of the northern septs of the Uí Néill in Donegal, though rejected by many scholars in the past, may well deserve to be recognised as a valuable piece of antiquarian lore, and he later admitted that he was recording 'events and scenes of times past':

> When the whole people of that land has been gathered together in one place, a white mare is brought forward into the middle of the assembly. He who is to be inaugurated, not as a chief, but as a beast, not as a king, but as an outlaw, embraces the animal before all, professing himself to be a beast also. The mare is then killed immediately, cut up in pieces, and boiled in water. A bath is prepared for the man afterwards in the same water. He sits in the bath surrounded by all his people, and all, he and they, eat of the meat of the mare which is brought to them. He quaffs and drinks of the broth in which he is bathed, not in any cup, or using his hand, but just dipping his mouth into it about him. When this unrighteous rite has been carried out, his kingship and dominion has been conferred.

Here we may have a glimpse of an ancient equine ritual of kingship which, as various writers have pointed out, has extraordinary parallels with the Hindu *asva-medha* or horse sacrifice in which the principal spouse of the king submits to a symbolic union with a dead stallion.[9]

The various editions of William Camden's influential *Britannia* also portrayed the native Irish in a negative light and he observed that the Irish were 'stiffly settled in observing the old rites of their country'.[10] When the English antiquarian John Aubrey visited Ireland in 1660, he 'saw the manner of living of the Natives, scorning industry and luxury, contenting themselves only with things necessary' but he also declared: 'Tis sayd that the English after they have lived a matter of seaven yeares in Ireland become as lazy as the Irish.'[11] In in the seventeenth century, the English colonial presence in Ireland still confronted a different and alien Gaelic world with strange manners and monuments which were usually recorded as signs of barbarity. For Elizabethan writers such as Fynes Moryson (1566–1630) and Luke Gernon *(c.* 1580–*c.* 1670*)*, monuments are rarely noteworthy, though raths as well as assembly places or 'parly hills' were seen as trouble spots where the wild Irish and the 'English-Irish' (the Old English of Anglo-Norman stock) 'by all means nourished the rebellion, especially by plots laid at private parlies and at public



2.3. A page from a seventeenth-century manuscript copy of Geoffrey Keating's Foras feasa ar Éirinn *or* History of Ireland *describing the use of a* fulacht fiadh *or burnt mound as a cooking place by the Fianna (Courtesy of the Royal Irish Academy),*

meetings upon hills (called raths), where many treacherous conspiracies were made'.[12] One major monument is noticed, however; a great linear earthwork known as the Rathduff trench in County Kilkenny figures in sixteenth-century cartography (such as Robert Lythe's map of 1570 and Mercator's 1595 *Atlas*), presumably because it was a substantial boundary between Idrone and Ossory at the time.[13]

For Edmund Spenser (1552–1599), who ruthlessly argued for the destruction of the old social order in Ireland and saw the sword as the first answer to Ireland's ills, the land of Ireland is one of 'waste wylde places', and it

is not surprising, perhaps, that its monumental features go unnoticed for the most part. The few references that occur reflect a suspect view. Even the innocuous souterrain seems to have been another bewildering feature of the Gaelic landscape, serving as dens of thieves.[14] He too complained of the '... great use among the Irish to make great assemblies together upon a rath or hill ... and in these meetings many mischiefs have been both practised and wrought'.[15] For these writers the land might well be beautiful and fertile but the people were indolent and uncivilised. With colonisation a political fact of life, a hostile negativity justifying the plantation of a land worthy of improvement is unsurprising in the seventeenth century. While some commentators may have seen some virtues in Ireland, however, even harsher and more influential views are evident after the pivotal 1641 rebellion. Adverse stereotypical images of the native Irish continue to manifest themselves from time to time well into the nineteenth century, though there is a shift from the barbarous to the ridiculous representation.[16]

The native landscape

The landscape told a different story for native writers steeped in the lore of places. Man-made and natural features carried a web of historical, legendary and folkloric meaning—even desolate furze might conceal a story of 'flintbed and battlefield'. In Keating's *History of Ireland*, megalithic tombs are described as Druids' altars and 'beds of the Fian':

> There are, indeed, to be seen in Ireland to-day in many places, as relics of the Pagan times, many very wide flag-stones, and pillar stones supporting them; and these were called idol-altars in the old books, while the general population called them beds of the Fian, as they are ignorant of the reason of their construction. On these altars the druids were wont to make their sacrifices in the olden time and slay their he-goats, their bulls, and their rams; and the druids themselves went on their knees under the blood as it dropped from their victims, to cleanse themselves from the uncleanness of their sins, as the high priest did among the Jewish people when he went under the sacrificial bridge to let the blood of the victims flow over him, and hence he was called Pontifex, that is, bridge-wright.[17]

This *History* also contains a well-known description of a *fulacht fiadh* or burnt mound, which is one of the most detailed accounts of the use of these monuments, and one of the latest, in the early literature (**2.3**):

> However, from Bealltaine until Samhain, the Fian were obliged to depend solely on the products of their hunting and of the

> chase as maintenance and wages from the kings of Ireland; thus, they were to have the flesh for food, and the skins of the wild animals as pay. But they took only one meal in the day-and-night, and that was in the afternoon. And it was their custom to send their attendants about noon with whatever they had killed in the morning's hunt to an appointed hill, having wood and moorland in the neighbourhood, and to kindle raging fires thereon, and put into them a large number of emery stones; and to dig two pits in the yellow clay of the moorland, and put some of the meat on spits to roast before the fire; and to bind another portion of it with sugans in dry bundles, and set it to boil in the larger of the two pits, and keep plying them with stones that were in the fire, making them seethe often until they were cooked. And these fires were so large that their sites are today in Ireland burnt to blackness, and these are now called Fulacht Fian by the peasantry As to the Fian, when they assembled on the hill on which was the fire, each of them stripped off, and tied his shirt round his waist, and they ranged themselves round the second pit we have mentioned above, bathing their hair and washing their limbs, and removing their sweat, and then exercising their joints and muscles, thus ridding themselves of their fatigue; and after this they took their meal; and when they had taken their meal, they proceeded to build their hunting tents, and so prepare themselves for sleep.[18]

While earlier references in Irish literature to what may be burnt mounds are invariably short and often ambiguous or uninformative, this unusually lengthy account has greatly influenced modern interpretations of these sites, and the cooking process described has formed the basis for many successful experiments. It is interesting that washing and bathing are also alluded to.[19] It is evident that Keating regarded them as antiquities and one wonders if his explanation was based on traditions which were as fanciful a creation as those Druidic rites he imagined occurring at megalithic tombs. Since heating water with hot stones was probably a known practice even in medieval times, it is not surprising that older mounds of burnt material should prompt imaginative contemporary antiquarian explanations. This is the likely explanation for Keating's tale; even in his own time he was reckoned 'a somewhat credulous compiler of tradition'.[20]

Apart from references to the tales associated with celebrated archaeological sites such as Tara, Emain Macha or Uisneach, Keating had very little to say in compiling his *History* about any other specific archaeological remains. He was engaged in a highly relevant political exercise and his primary aim was to refute the negative image of Ireland and its inhabitants and to demonstrate that the

Irish were comparable to any nation in Europe 'in valour, in learning and in their being steadfast in the Catholic faith'.[21] Keating's comments on the *Lia Fáil* are a case in point. This, the celebrated 'stone of destiny' on Tara, which had an oracular role in inauguration rites, was supposedly transferred to Scotland in Early Christian times and then taken to England by Edward I. For Keating it is important for contemporary political reasons. According to tradition, one of the sons of Míl would rule wherever it was located, so here was a demonstration not just of the Irish origins of the Stuart kings but also a prophetic illustration of the eventual triumph of the Stuart cause.[22]

He was clearly more interested in place-lore which confirmed oral and documentary stories about particular aspects of the past such as assemblies at Tara or the existence of Fionn Mac Cumhaill and the Fianna, whose noble duty it was 'to uphold justice, and to prevent injustice, for the kings and lords of Ireland', hence the uncharacteristically long commentary on the relatively inconspicuous burnt mounds. As he wrote:

> And whoever should say that Fionn and the Fian never existed would not be stating the truth. For, to prove that the Fian existed we have the three things that prove the truth of every history in the world except the Bible, namely, oral tradition of the ancients, old documents, and antique remains, called in Latin *monumenta*.

Even though we may now discount the traditions he recorded, Keating's influence on the development of Irish archaeological thinking was considerable, and not just as far as burnt mounds are concerned. In his inclusive history for people of both Gaelic and Old English origin, now collectively called *Éireannaigh*, he presents a picture of a heroic and civilised pagan past and an even more illustrious Christian era. Early Christian Ireland was *Oileán na Naomh*, 'the Island of Saints', indeed more prolific in saints than any other country in Europe—a vision propagated by other Irish writers of the Counter-Reformation. Keating's work, however, became the main textbook of the national story, 'the origin legend of the emergent Irish Catholic nation'.[23] This was an illustrious narrative to be enlarged and enhanced by innumerable later writers and one which not only saw Early Christian times as a 'Golden Age' but one—as Macalister's reconstruction of the Banqueting Hall shows—which helped to colour archaeological thinking on the late prehistoric 'Iron Age'.

Keating's *History* circulated widely in manuscript form, in Irish, Latin and English, until the nineteenth century. The first printed version, in English, was a controversial and imperfect effort published by Dermot O'Connor in London and Dublin in 1723. This included one of the earliest attempts to offer a representation of an ancient secular historical figure in print: Brian Boru appears heroically and anachronistically clad in medieval armour and the volume is dedicated to another O'Brien, Earl of Inchiquin. The illustration

contains a genuine antiquity, however: a late prehistoric golden hat found in County Tipperary in 1692 is depicted at Brian Boru's right hand to make the point that Irish kings did once wear crowns of gold (2.4).[24] Later in the eighteenth century various figures from Macpherson's *Ossian* make their pictorial debut and we find, for instance, a representation of the mythical law-giver Ollamh Fodhla in the great dome of Gandon's Four Courts in Dublin but, as we shall see, the imaginative depiction of iconic figures and events, be

2.4. One of the earliest attempts to offer a representation of an ancient secular historical figure is a depiction of Brian Boru anachronistically clad in medieval armour. Also illustrated (on the left) is a golden hat, a genuine late prehistoric object discovered in a bog near Devilsbit Mountain, north-west of Templemore, Co. Tipperary, in 1692. From Dermot O'Connor's translation of Keating's History of Ireland *published in 1723.*

they historical or mythical, is for the most part a development of the later nineteenth century in Ireland, and one which played a major role in delineating a particular heroic and romantic view of the past.

For the most part the native scholars of the seventeenth century were preoccupied with the Catholic religious and political message of the Counter-Reformation or, as in the case of the bardic poets, with the fortunes of their aristocratic patrons in a changing world.[25] Ironically the invasion myths of the *Lebor Gabála,* which retained their popularity in that turbulent century, seem to have allowed some of these poets to sanction the changes wrought by colonisation, making it appear part of the traditional order.[26] As with Keating, there was relatively little interest in archaeological monuments as such. His contemporary, the great Gaelic antiquary Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh (*c.* 1600–1671), a noted member of the hereditary learned class which had been so prominent in later medieval Ireland, sought to demonstrate, like Keating, the antiquity and shared integral history of native and Old English families in his *Book of Genealogies.* His interests were primarily genealogical and historical, but he does refer in his manuscript to a visit to a souterrain at Rathmulcagh, near Castleconor, Co. Sligo, in or about 1640. He is content to extol its 'nine cellars of even smooth stone under the wall of that rath' as evidence of the art of stone building in pre-Norman Ireland, a part of his refutation of the claim by Elizabethan and early Jacobean propagandists that 'the Irish were primitive barbarians, bereft of either civility or religion'.[27]

Roderick O'Flaherty (1629–*c.* 1717), another Gaelic scholar of the period, published his *Ogygia seu rerum Hibernicarum chronologia* in London in 1685 with the assistance of William Molyneux. This great work was the first publication to draw the attention of the learned world to the traditional history of Ireland. Avowedly historical and chronological, one of its purposes was to establish the greater antiquity of Irish kings to those of Scotland, but in it O'Flaherty briefly notes several of the great stone forts on the Aran Islands including Dun Aonghasa, 'a great stone work without cement which might contain in its area two hundred cows, on an eminence of the sea with cliffs of a stupendous magnitude ...'. An English translation was published in 1793.[28]

Notes

1 B. Cunningham, *The world of Geoffrey Keating: history, myth and religion in seventeenth-century Ireland* (2000). *Foras feasa ar Éirinn* was probably completed by 1634.

2 For a time the Scythians were considered 'the parent of virtually every nation in Western Europe': J.W. Johnson, 'The Scythian: his rise and fall', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 20 (1959), 256. Origin myths were also manipulated to justify Tudor claims to Ireland and, in contrast to Keating, Scythian roots could be claimed to be an indication of the barbarous nature of the Irish: A. Hadfield, 'Briton and Scythian: Tudor representations of Irish origins', *Irish Historical Studies* 28 (1993), 390.

3 T.D. Kendrick, *British antiquity* (1950), 4ff; R.W. Hanning, *The vision of history in early Britain* (1966), 91ff. The French belief in their Trojan origins allowed some to justify the Fourth Crusade as a legitimate attempt to reclaim the land of their ancestors: R.E. Asher, 'Myth, legend and history in Renaissance France', *Studi francesi* 39 (1969), 409.

4 *Foras feasa ar Éirinn* II, 250.

5 R.A.S. Macalister, 'Temair Breg: a study of the remains and traditions of Tara', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 34C (1919), pl. IX; I. Richmond, 'The Irish analogies for the Romano-British barn dwelling', *Journal of Roman Studies* 22 (1932), 100. S.P. Ó Ríordáin, *Tara: the monuments on the Hill* (1954). In 1908 Annie W. Patterson had called for the restoration of Tara and offered a rather medieval-looking depiction of the assembly hall (and suggested the construction of a hall of song—for native operas, a picture gallery and an art college on the hill): 'Tara restored', *Journal of the Ivernian Society* 1 (1908), 21.

6 *Foras feasa ar Éirinn* I, 5.

7 D. Rollo, 'Gerald of Wales' *Topographia Hibernica:* 'sex and the Irish nation', *The Romantic Review* 86 (1995), 169; R. Knight, 'Colonial fantasies', in *Topographia Hibernica, Studies in Iconography* 22 (2001), 55. See Ireland in English Representations in J. Leerssen, *Mere Irish and Fíor-Ghael* (1996), 32ff.

8 R. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales 1146–1223* (1982), 16. Malachy is quoted by F.X. Martin, 'The image of the Irish', in R. Wall (ed.), *Medieval and modern Ireland* (1988), 11. J. Gillingham, 'The English invasion of Ireland', in B. Bradshaw *et al.* (eds), *Representing Ireland* (1993), 26.

9 J.J. O'Meara, *The Topography of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis* (1951), 94; A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin, *Expugnatio Hibernica: the conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis* (1978), 3. See also K. McCone, *Pagan past and Christian present* (1990), 110, 118, K. Simms, *From kings to warlords* (1987), 21, and T.O. Clancy, 'King-making and images of kingship in medieval Gaelic literature', in R. Welander *et al.* (eds), *The Stone of Destiny: artefact and icon* (2003), 94.

10 R.B. Gottfried, 'The early development of the section on Ireland in Camden's *Britannia*', *ELH* 10 (1943), 117.

11 M. Hunter, *John Aubrey and the realm of learning* (1975), 12, 115.

12 The quotation is from Moryson; the second volume of his *Itinerary* dealing with the history and topography of Ireland was published in 1637; reproduced in C.L. Falkiner, *Illustrations of Irish history and topography* (1904), 256, where Gernon's *Discourse of Ireland, Anno 1620,* is published for the first time (p. 361). See also G. Kew, *The Irish sections of Fynes Moryson's unpublished itinerary* (1998).

13 M. Gibbons, 'The archaeology of early settlement in County Kilkenny', in W. Nolan and K. Whelan (eds), *Kilkenny: history and society. Interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county* (1990), 20; for Mercator's *Atlas* see J.H. Andrews, *Shapes of Ireland* (1997), fig. 3:8; also M. Swift, *Historical maps of Ireland* (1999), 35, where the earthwork is depicted and named on a map of Idrone *c.* 1580 based on Lythe's survey; it lies west of the River Barrow between Synkyll (Shankill) and Laghlyn (Leighlinbridge).

14 T. Herron, 'Irish den of thieves: souterrains (and a crannog?) in books V and VI of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*', *Spenser Studies* **14** (2000), 303; J.R. Lupton, 'Mapping mutability: or, Spenser's Irish plot', in B. Bradshaw *et al.* (eds), *Representing Ireland* (1993), 98.

15 E. Spenser, *A view of the present state of Ireland* (edited by W.L. Renwick) (1970).

16 K.M. Noonan, 'The cruell pressure of an enraged, barbarous people: Irish and English identity in seventeenth-century policy and propaganda', *The Historical Journal* **41** (1998), 151; D. Hayton, 'From barbarian to burlesque: English images of the Irish *c.* 1600–1750', *Irish Economic and Social History* **15** (1988), 5. The Scots and the Welsh were subject to similar—though less extreme—negative imagery: W.R. Jones, 'England against the Celtic fringe', *Journal of World History* **15** (1971), 155.

17 *Foras feasa ar Éirinn* II, 349.

18 *Foras feasa ar Éirinn* II, 327.

19 D. Ó Drisceoil, '*Fulacht fiadh*: the value of early Irish literature', in V. Buckley (ed.), *Burnt offerings: international contributions to burnt mound archaeology* (1990), 157.

20 The description by P. Mac Cana, *Collège des Irlandais Paris* (2001), 106, summarises the opinion of the learned John O'Brien, eighteenth-century bishop of Cloyne and Ross; an earlier bishop, the seventeenth-century John Roche, wrote of Keating's *History* 'if his worke come ever to light, it will need an amendment of illwarranted narrations'.

21 B. Ó Buachalla, *Foras feasa ar Éirinn*, Foreword to the 1987 reprint, 4.

22 B. Bradshaw, 'Geoffrey Keating: apologist of Irish Ireland', in B. Bradshaw *et al.* (eds), *Representing Ireland: literature and the origins of conflict, 1534–1660* (1993), 170.

23 B. Ó Buachalla, Foreword, 5; J. Leerssen, *Mere Irish* (1996), 274, 319.

24 O'Connor's translation: B. Cunningham, *Geoffrey Keating* (2000), 220. Images of saints, particularly St Patrick, appear in print in the early seventeenth century: B. Cunningham and R. Gillespie, '"The most adaptable of saints": the cult of St Patrick', *Archivium Hibernicum* **49** (1995), 82.

25 N. Canny, 'The formation of the Irish mind', *Past and Present* **95** (1982), 91ff.

26 B. Cunningham, 'Native culture and political change in Ireland', in C. Brady and R. Gillespie (eds), *Natives and newcomers* (1986), 156.

27 N. Ó Muraíle, *The celebrated antiquary Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh (c. 1600–1671): his lineage, life and learning* (1996), 190, 342.

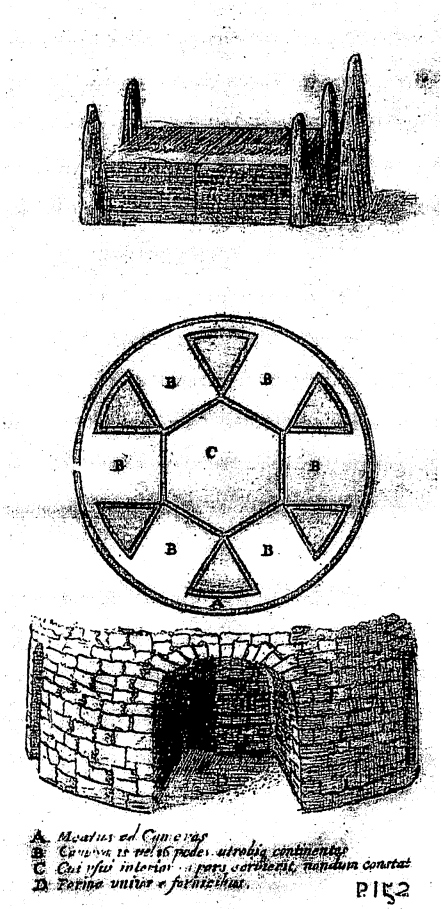
28 *Ogygia or a chronological account of Irish events ... by Roderic O'Flaherty translated by Rev. James Hely* (Dublin, 1793). For O'Flaherty, see N. Ó Muraíle, 'Aspects of the intellectual life of seventeenth-century Galway', in G. Moran and R. Gillespie (eds), *Galway history and society* (1996), 182.

3. The 'New Learning'

The second edition of Sir James Ware's *De Hibernia & Antiquatatibus eius, Disquisitiones* (London 1658; first edition 1654) contained an illustration of the Rathmulcagh souterrain by Miles Symner, the first professor of mathematics at Trinity College, Dublin.[1] This depiction, which was probably drawn soon after the monument was discovered by accident by a cowherd in 1640, is quite stylised (**3.1**).[2] Though Symner's description does not survive, his drawing is an early instance of the 'new learning' of the Enlightenment with its emphasis on empirical observation and scientific description. The appearance of drawings and plans to augment written descriptions was a feature of draughtsmanship in the natural sciences, and the accurate depiction of archaeological finds and monuments emerged in the seventeenth century along with the more precise illustration of natural objects such as fossils and plants.[3]

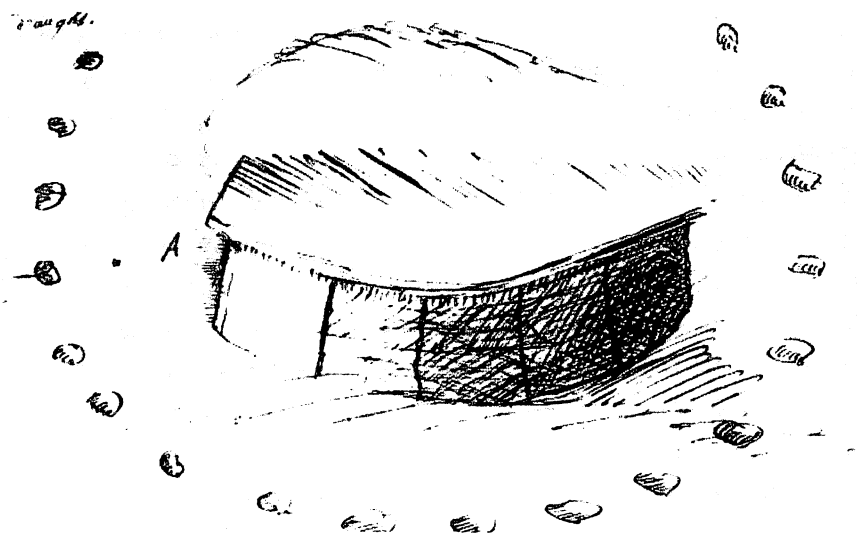
While traditional scholasticism had subordinated reason to spiritual revelation and the revealed truths of Christianity, now a new intellectual climate, associated with a new order, questioned the authority of antiquity, advocated the collection of facts and the use of experiment, all leading to the formulation of hypotheses and the identification of laws of nature. The study of ancient monuments and artefacts, the use of non-literary evidence, offered an alternative way of investigating the past and, indeed, of evaluating the accuracy of the literary sources whether Biblical or Classical.

James Ware (1594–1666), a Dubliner, a Royalist, a noted historian, had a somewhat more moderate view of the customs and achievements of his countrymen than many commentators of the time. He believed the round towers to be for the reception of anchorite monks and he speculated about the existence of stylites or 'Aerial Martyrs' in the early Irish church. Nonetheless, influenced by the Danish antiquary Olaus Worm, who published his *Danicorum Monumentorum libri sex* in 1643, he attributed other types of monument such as ringforts to the Danes. John Aubrey too tended to ascribe circular earthworks (both in Britain and Ireland) to the Danes, and in his unpublished *Monumenta Britannica* he recorded in or about 1668 that 'Mr Gethlyn of the Middle Temple (an Irish gentleman) assures me that in Ireland are a great number of Danish camps, which are all round, and with double or treble works'. The same Irishman *(recte* Gethings), who came from the Labbacallee



Right:
3.1. A grave found near Dublin in 1646, which may have contained burnt bones, and which was attributed to the Danes. Below: an idealised drawing of a multi-chambered souterrain at Rathmulcagh, Co. Sligo, by Miles Symner c. 1640 and first published in Sir James Ware's Antiquities *in 1658. These illustrations come from the 1705 English translation of that work by Walter Harris.*

Below:
3.2. A crude sketch of the well-known wedge tomb at Labbacallee, Co. Cork, sent to John Aubrey by an Irish gentleman named Gethings who lived nearby c. 1668.



area in County Cork, also provided him with a crude sketch of the megalithic tomb there (**3.2**) and told him of the existence of various stone circles.[4]

Several translated editions of Ware's *Antiquities* were published in the early eighteenth century; this passage, describing the Rathmulcagh souterrain and a strange grave found in Dublin (**3.1**), comes from the 1705 edition by Walter Harris:

> The learned well know, that Antiently among the Gentiles of Greece, Italy, Germany, Gaul, Britain and elsewhere, there was two kinds of sepulture, *viz.* Interring and Burning. Nor need we doubt, that the like Rites were observed among the Antient Irish before they embraced Christianity, more especially since it is certain that the Druids were their Priests and Law-givers. And that the Druids burnt and interr'd their Dead, is expressly affirm'd by Pomponius Mela; nor were the Exequys of the Danes in Ireland much different while they were Heathens. For in our time in the year 1646, while they were working the Line of Fortification in the eastern Suburbs of Dublin, an antient Sepulcher was digg'd up; it lay South-West and North-East, and was built of eight Marble Stones, whereof two covered, and the rest supported it. It was in length 6 feet and 2 inches, and in bredth three foot and one inch, the thickness of the Stones was three inches. At each corner was erected a Stone of 4 foot high, and hard by at the South-West end another in form of a Pyramis of 6 foot high, but of rude work, and of that kind of Stone which we call a Mill Stone. In the Sepulcher was found a great quantity of coals, ashes and bones of Men, some burn'd, some half burnt; a work, as is believ'd, of the Danes, built in memory of some of their Nobility, before they were Christians ... Some of this kind, of Antient work and round form are yet to be seen in Ireland, particularly at the Naas in the County of Kildare, and at Clonard in Meath, which are believ'd to be Tombs of the Antient, when Cimeterys were not yet in use among them.
>
> We omit here those Circles or round Fortifications commonly called Danes Raths, whereof many are to be seen in Ireland, the Saxons of old encamped so in a Circle, and called those places Burghs, and Raith in Irish denotes the same.
>
> Yet it is not to be omitted that some round Hills are found, the inner parts whereof are formed into Chambers, and served the Danish Princes of old for houses. And such is that Hill at Sligo in Conaght, a mile distant from Castle Conner, the entrance into which was for some years stopt up, but was at last, *An.* 1640, discover'd by chance and open'd. The Chambers are

> quadrangular, of great Stones and arched, and the passages to them are circular. The figure of part of it are exhibited to the Readers view, as it was describ'd to me by that able Mathematician Dr Miles Symner, who had taken a View of it soon after the discovery.
>
> Of this ancient Work, many are the opinions, but there being, as I hear, in those Chambers no passages either for light or smoke, it seems not probable that they should be habitations of the Danes, but rather Barns or Store-houses, or (which I rather think) Sepulchers of their Princes. This is only my Opinion, time may perhaps discover more, when the inner parts are seen, which are yet closed up. To this we may add the Caves of the Hill, or rather Rock of Corren, in the said County of Sligo, where within a steep and almost inaccessable Entrance, Antiquity has form'd out of the very Rock, many and strange Habitations and Recesses on the West side of the Rock, they call it the Giants House. Before these caves is a path of about 100 paces long, cut likewise out of the Rock, whether this was an Irish or a Danish Work doth not certainly appear. But in the time of the War it was a Sanctuary to many.[5]

Gerard Boate's *Ireland's Naturall History* was published in 1652. The first regional natural history published in the English language, it is generally hailed as a major scientific development, with legend and hearsay being replaced by methodical recording.[6] It was not an entirely apolitical exercise, however, but meant to demonstrate that the English were the 'introducers of all good things in Ireland' and to encourage English settlement. Its title page proclaimed that it was published 'for the Common Good of Ireland, and more especially for the benefit of the Adventurers and Planters therein'. The 'new learning' in Ireland was to be inextricably linked with the cultural world of Protestant, colonist and colonial descendant, and with gentlemen of wealth and leisure.[7] Later editions of Boate's work in 1726 and 1755 contained additional papers by other authors, most notably contributions on various antiquities by Thomas Molyneux, who, with his brother William, and William's son Samuel, were prominent in this sphere.

The success and prestige of the Royal Society of London (founded in 1660) prompted William Molyneux (1656–1698) and others to found a society in Dublin 'agreeable to the design of the Royal Society' in 1683.[8] This, the Dublin Philosophical Society, lasted (with more than one period of quiescence) until the middle of the eighteenth century. Chemistry, astronomy, medicine, anatomy, mathematics, meteorology, zoology, botany and geology figure among the interests of its members in the following decade. Empiricists might still believe in witchcraft, however, and the study of natural phenomena

was not divorced from older contradictory philosophies such as astrology or the study of the occult, or especially from the constraints of religious conviction. Like their colleagues in Britain, the members of the Dublin society worked for the greater glory of their Creator.

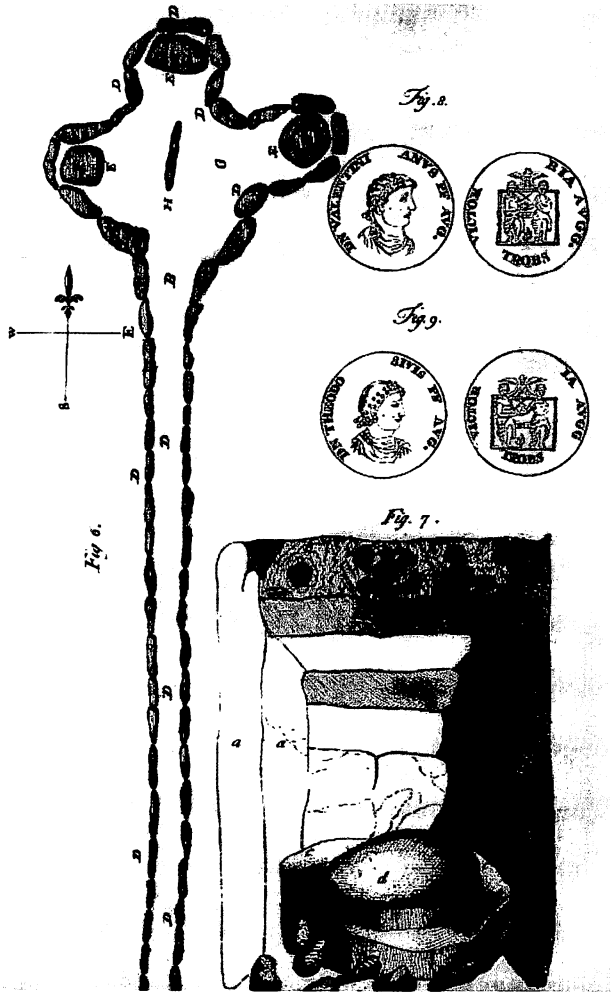
Given the range of their interests, it is not very surprising that the study of antiquities had rather a minor role and was somewhat haphazard: 'While there were also occasional excursions into Egyptology, travel, and folklore, the society concentrated most of its efforts in the humanities into the study of Irish antiquities. Study is perhaps the wrong word, for at first there was nothing systematic about the society's approach to Ireland's past, which took the form of short, undisciplined, but enthusiastic, bursts of activity.' Descriptions of archaeological discoveries were read and included accounts of 'a stone, said to be an elf-dart, but [which] was agreed to be nothing but the head of an arrow of the antients', of 'a very antient Irish inscription taken off a large stone cross', of 'ten pieces of old British coin, found in the middle of a rock', and a find of several urn burials and one or two cist graves near Duntryleague, Co. Limerick, which were ascribed to either the heathen Romans, the Danes or the natives of the country.[9]

The term 'elf-dart' is a reminder that it was once believed that flint implements had a supernatural origin and that some had curative properties. A flint arrowhead dipped in milk, ale or water was one remedy but, in contrast, ailing cattle might be 'elf-shot', a notion still held in the nineteenth century. The owners of some flint implements found it more profitable to lend them for the purpose of curing animals than to sell them to collectors. The collector W.J. Knowles reported with some regret in 1903 that one of his prize flint arrowheads 'was greatly discoloured from repeated boiling in cow's drinks'.[10] He would have been appalled by a nineteenth-century recipe for a cure that involved arrowheads, soot, coins, all boiled in water, and which began: 'Take as many "elf-arrows" as convenient ....' An even more complicated process involving a pail of milk, a flint concave scraper, a sixpenny coin and whitethorn is also recorded.[11]

The Society had a museum or repository in its premises at Crow's Nest off Dame Street, near Trinity College, and its contents included those ten old coins, the remains of a two-headed child and a stone 'most exactly resembling a cock'. Exotic ethnographic material may have circulated too; it is also recorded that Samuel Molyneux presented a north American tomahawk to an English collector.[12] It was William Molyneux who assisted the London publication of O'Flaherty's *Ogygia* and who, in 1682, was already collecting material on Ireland for *The English Atlas,* a work planned by a London bookseller, Moses Pitt, which came to naught. As part of this project, however, O'Flaherty wrote for Molyneux a 'Description of Iar Connacht', which he completed in 1684. Again an interest in antiquities is evident: he briefly refers to Dun Aonghasa, to the stone-built clochans on Aran 'so antient that no body

knows how long agoe any of them was made', and to various church sites, holy wells and castles in the region. This work was eventually published by James Hardiman over a century and a half later, in 1846.[13]

Thomas Molyneux (1661–1733) may be credited with the more intensive examination of some of the country's ancient remains. Trained in medicine in Leiden, he was a virtuoso interested in several branches of the natural sciences, including geology, zoology, botany and meteorology. He published the first account of the Giant's Causeway and of the giant Irish deer (which he thought to be a north American moose). He correctly thought that this great deer was once common in Ireland but the celebrated English antiquarian John Woodward could not countenance this and declared 'Your great Mouse [*sic*] deers Horns found in Ireland were transported thence by the Deluge from



3.3. A plan of the tomb at Newgrange and an illustration of one of the side-chambers from Thomas Molyneux's Discourse concerning the Danish mounts, forts, and towers in Ireland *published in 1726. Both the monument and two Roman coins found there were credited to the Danes.*

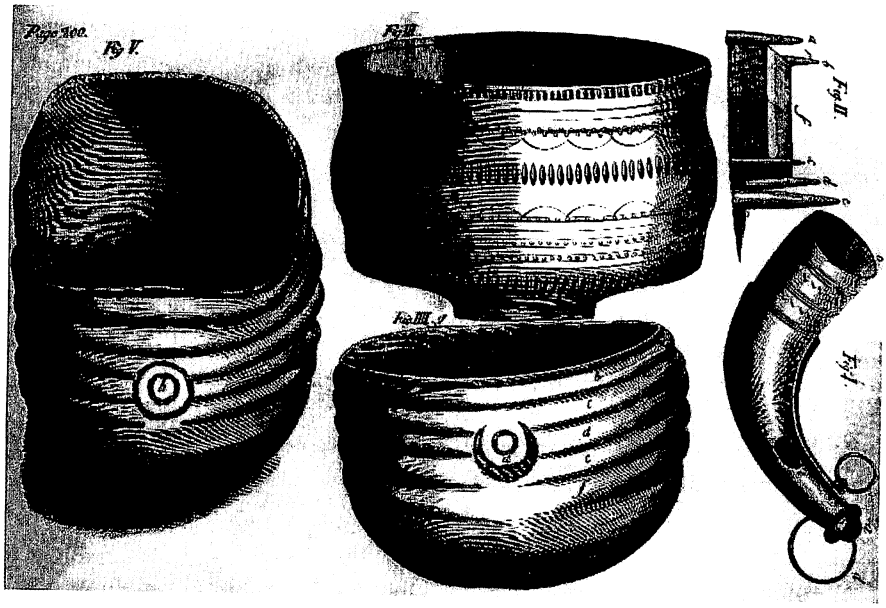
America and never belong'd to any Creature that had life there'.[14]

His *Discourse concerning the Danish mounts, forts, and towers in Ireland* was published in 1726 in an enlarged edition of Boate's *Natural history.*[15] As the title indicates this work advanced the thesis that these monuments, from Newgrange to round towers, were the work of the Danes. In fact Molyneux claimed that the three side-chambers in Newgrange were dedicated to Odin, Thor and Friga (**3.3**). Olaus Worm's influence is evident but British antiquarian studies were open to this sort of interpretation as well: even Stonehenge, then either a Roman or a Druidic monument, was briefly credited to the Danes in the 1660s.[16]

The Danes, to whom—as we have seen—ringfort building was attributed by Gerald of Wales as early as the twelfth century, continued to haunt Irish antiquarian explanations and cartographic representations throughout the eighteenth century and into the very beginning of the nineteenth. As J.H. Andrews has put it: 'By far the most numerous nation on early maps of Ireland are the Danes'.[17] It is interesting to note, however, that Molyneux declares that the term Danes-mount was used by the English of Ireland 'from a current and constant tradition receiv'd from the Irish' and while the influence of Olaus Worm was an undoubted factor in some cases, it is conceivable that a misunderstanding or a misrepresentation of the legends that attributed mounds such as those in the Boyne Valley to the Tuatha de Danann contributed to the 'Danish' theory.[18]

Molyneux was not convinced that Ireland had an ancient past and even two Roman coins found at Newgrange (**3.3**) had to have been dropped or deposited by the Danes. Nonetheless he was evidently familiar with early eighteenth-century thinking about a Celtic people embracing Gauls and ancient Britons and notions about earlier patterns of colonisation:

> Tho' most nations have been apt to fall into the vanity of deriving themselves from a more antient origin than truth or credible authority will vouch for; yet no people have carried this extravagance farther than the natives of Ireland, presuming to romance to that degree in their chronicles, as not only to deduce their flock from generations near the flood, but to invent antediluvian stories, and a fable of a niece of Noah himself landing in this island ... We may safely, I think, conclude from the original affinity of the old languages of Britain and Ireland, the natural situation of both the countries, their ancient customs, and other convincing circumstances, that the first inhabitants of this island came no farther than from Great Britain, as that kingdom was first peopled by a colony of the neighbouring Celtick Gauls.[19]



3.4. A miscellaneous group of finds illustrated by Thomas Molyneux in his Discourse concerning the Danish mounts, forts, and towers in Ireland *comprising a puzzling rectangular grave found near Dublin (II), a stone bowl from Knowth (V), a bowl from a cist found near Stillorgan, Co. Dublin, in 1716 (III), and a bronze trumpet found at Ballynure, near Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim, in 1698 (I).*

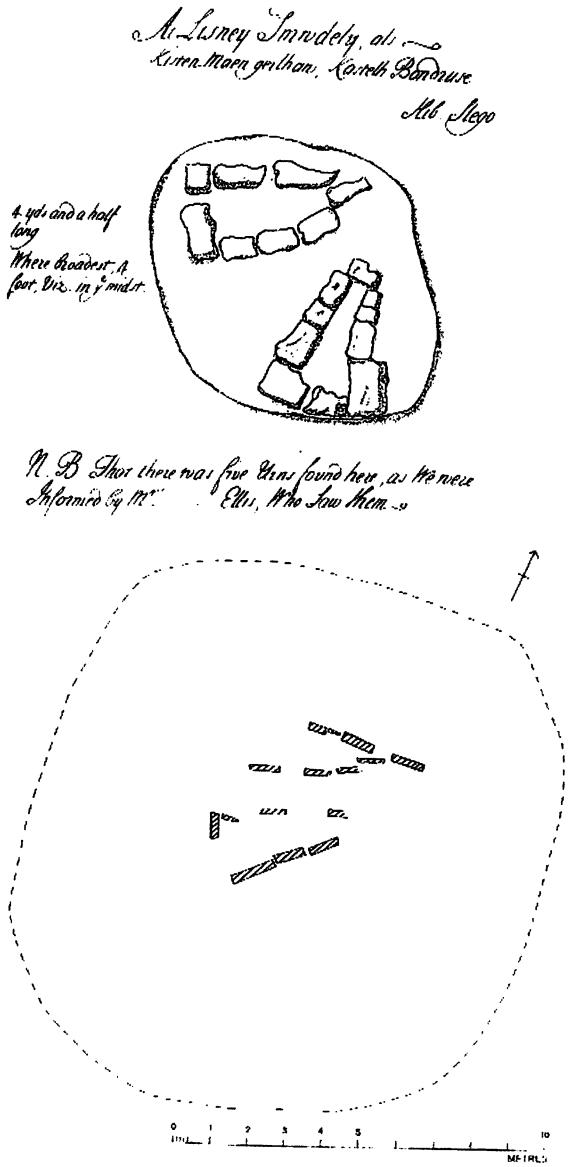
The collection of archaeological artefacts had begun and the repository of the Dublin Philosophical Society has already been mentioned. In the 1690s Trinity College, Dublin, possessed the 'thigh-bone of a giant ... kept there as a convincing demonstration of the vast bigness which some human bodies have in former times arrived to', and nearby was a chamber containing 'a great many manuscripts, medals and other curiosities'. Whether these curiosities included archaeological items is unknown.[20] Like the study of Classical antiquities, the study—for all its eccentricities—of curiosities, fossils and other ancient artefacts was a new and significant pathway to understanding the past. Molyneux illustrates some early finds in his *Discourse* (3.4) including a bronze trumpet which when blown gave 'a dull, uncouth, heavy sound', which we now know dates to the last millennium BC and was one of several found at Ballynure, near Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim, in 1698. He also depicts a pottery vessel of earlier prehistoric date found in a small cist grave at Stillorgan, Co. Dublin, which he investigated in 1716:

> The urn whose figure is here described was discovered ... placed within the hollow of a small grave, two foot long, sixteen inches

> wide, and about fourteen inches deep. The two sides, and ends of this cavity, were lined with four rude flag-stones set edge-ways, and over these was whelm'd, as a covering, one huge massy stone, that ten men could not lift, which lay about two foot beneath the surface of the ground. When this large stone was removed, which was done with no small difficulty, we discovered several fragments of the bones of a man, as parts of the scull, jaws, teeth, parts of the spine, ribs, bones of the legs and thighs, some of them, particularly a thigh bone, very compleat. These lay promiscuously dispersed, within the hollow of the grave, and by them stood the urn, containing none of the fragments of the bones, nor anything else, saving some loose earth that accidentally fell into it, as the workmen were opening the grave. Considering the small dimensions of this sepulchre, we cannot imagine, that a compleat body of a man could ever have been deposited within its narrow compass. So that we must conclude, these bones were reduced to the condition they were found in, divested of all their flesh, some time before they were committed to the grave. However, 'tis not easy to account how this might be done, in so remote and barbarous an age, by any other means than burning the body before it was interred, a custom long established, as I before have shewn, among the Danes and other northern nations, as well as among the Greeks and Romans ... This grave like many others of its kind, were discovered in a small space of ground seated on an eminence ... where I conjecture formerly had been a Danish fort .... [21]

The whereabouts of the trumpets and the pottery vessel are now unknown. There may have been private collections and cabinets of curiosities in seventeenth-century Ireland but they were certainly rare. The philosopher George Berkeley commiserated with Sir John Perceval of County Cork in 1709 because he had just had the misfortune to lose not one but two ships' cargoes of Classical antiquities: 'Nobody purchases a cabinet of rarities to please himself with the continued light of them, nothing in it being of any farther use to the owner than as it entertains his friends; but I question if your neighbours in the county of Cork would relish that sort of entertainment. To feed their eyes with the sight of rusty medals and antique statues would (if I mistake not) seem to them something odd and insipid. The finest collection is not worth a groat where there is none to admire and set a value on it, and our country seems the place in the world which is least furnished with virtuosi.'[22]

While there were collections of Irish antiquities by the middle of the eighteenth century, there were also a few significant assemblages of Classical antiquities in the country by this time that were undoubtedly the fashionable



3.5. Above: plan of a wedge tomb at Magheracar, near Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal, probably drawn by William Jones for Edward Lhuyd in 1700. Written below is 'N.B. That there was five Urns found here, as We were Informed by Mr Ellis, Who Saw them'. Below: a modern plan of the monument.

mark of a cultivated social elite. The second Marquess of Sligo had brought an assortment of vases and pieces of sculpture (including half-columns from either side of the entrance to the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae) from Greece to Westport as early as 1812. James Caulfeild, first Earl of Charlemont and one of the founders of the Royal Irish Academy, had a fine collection in his house in Parnell Square, Dublin, and Joseph Leeson, first Earl of Milltown, had a collection of statuary at Russborough House, Co. Wicklow.[23]

As far as Irish material was concerned, a bronze trumpet found near

Maynooth, Co. Kildare, found its way in 1726 to the collection of Sir Hans Sloane in London.[24] The Royal Irish Academy itself began to collect archaeological objects shortly after its foundation in 1785. By 1790 a 'back two pair of rooms' in Navigation House opposite Trinity College had been set aside as a museum and these presumably contained a bronze sword from County Limerick, presented by Sylvester O'Halloran in 1788, and described as one of the earliest donations to the Academy's collections. O'Halloran, as we shall see, was particularly interested in the martial capabilities of the ancient Irish, and the engaging Count O'Halloran in Maria Edgeworth's *The Absentee* is in part modelled on the Limerick medical doctor and antiquarian. The fictitious Count proudly displays the skeleton of a moose-deer in his spacious hall and has a collection of golden ornaments, brass-headed spears and a number of small urns enclosing ashes—one of which he is quite happy to give away as a gift.[25]

The end of the seventeenth century saw the publication of a major re-edition of William Camden's *Britannia* by Edmund Gibson. The new edition was published in 1695, with a second augmented edition in 1722. Here Gibson records a romantic tale of some deliberate treasure hunting and the discovery of two gold discs near Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal, in the 1680s:

> South from Donegall, is Belishannon; near which, not many years ago, were dug-up two pieces of Gold, discover'd by a method very remarkable. The Lord Bishop of Derry, happening to be at dinner, there came-in an Irish Harper, and sung an old Song to his Harp. His Lordship not understanding Irish, was at a loss to know what the song meant But the herdsman being called in, they found by him the substance of it to be this, That in such a place (naming the very spot) a man of gigantick stature lay buried, and that over his breast and back there were plates of pure gold, and on his fingers rings of gold, so large that an ordinary man might creep through them. The place was so exactly described, that two persons there present were tempted to go in quest of the golden Prize, which the Harper's Song had pointed out to them. After they had dug for some time, they found two thin pieces of gold, exactly of the form and bigness of this Cut. This discovery encourag'd them, next morning, to seek for the remainder; but they could meet with nothing more. The passage is the more remarkable, because it comes pretty near the manner of discovering King Arthur's body by the directions of a British Bard. The two holes in the middle of this, seem to have been for the more convenient tying of it to the arm or some part of the body.[26]

One of these gold discs is now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. It was donated in or about 1696 when Edward Lhuyd (1660–1709) was curator there.[27] Lhuyd had visited the Ballyshannon region in search of fossils in 1700 and had one of his assistants, William Jones, plan the ringfort at Rathmulcagh and several megalithic tombs in that part of the country. It is possible that the reference to the discovery of the gold discs where 'a man of gigantick stature' was buried might mean that they were found in or near one of the megalithic 'giant's graves' there. Indeed, one of the tombs planned by Jones, a wedge tomb at Magheracar about 8km south-west of Ballyshannon, was dug into at the time and produced 'five Urns' (3.5).[28]

The great Welsh scholar visited Ireland in 1699 and 1700 and alluded to some of the results of his studies of natural history and antiquities, including the first public notice of the great tomb at Newgrange, in the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions* in 1712. On his way to the ever popular Giant's Causeway, he drew attention to 'a stately Mount at a place called New Grange, near Drogheda; having a number of huge Stones pitch'd on end round about it, and a single one on the Top ...'. Noting the discovery of one Roman coin near the top of the mound (3.3), he concluded that it had to pre-date the Danes and was 'some place of sacrifice or burial of the ancient Irish'.[29] He discussed a projected natural history of Ireland with William Molyneux in Dublin but nothing came of this and sadly most of his and his assistants' Irish archaeological notes and drawings were never published. Indeed much of this material was lost in a fire. He died just two years after the publication of the first and only volume of his *Archeologia Britannica* in 1707, which was first and foremost a pioneering and methodical linguistic study establishing the philological relationship of Welsh and Irish and their affinities with other Celtic languages.[30] This was the foundation for the study of a language family that in turn would form the basis, in the nineteenth century, for the archaeological identification and the romantic idealisation of a 'Celtic World'.

The interests of scholars such as Mac Fhirbhisigh and O'Flaherty were primarily historical, or at least focused on literary sources. They were concerned with the elucidation of early texts and the study of chronology and genealogy in particular, a preoccupation of enormous social importance mirrored in the study of heraldry in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England where heralds were probably the most significant intellectuals.[31] It is fair to say that polymaths such as James Ware and Thomas Molyneux introduced a measure of inductive inquiry and accurate observation and in time stimulated a wider interest in archaeological matters. The study of antiquities, like the study of natural history and the appreciation of nature, would become part of fashionable intellectual activity in the eighteenth century. It was not until the later part of that century, however, that such study became something more than a fascinating but very marginal pursuit. This century would see the first significant steps towards the institutionalisation of

research with the foundation of a number of societies in Britain and Ireland aimed at furthering scientific inquiry and publication. In Ireland, for instance, the Dublin Society, later the Royal Dublin Society, was founded in 1731 (for the promotion of husbandry, manufacture, science and the useful arts). In 1733 it opened a museum, or more accurately an exhibition, of agricultural implements, which, by the beginning of the following century included important zoological, geological and archaeological specimens (including the well-known and well-preserved bog body found in 1821 at Gallagh, near Castleblakeney, Co. Galway), which would eventually be transferred to the new National Museum of Ireland.[32]

Notes

1 T.C. Barnard, 'Miles Symner and the New Learning in seventeenth-century Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **102** (1972), 129.

2 M. Herity, 'Rathmulcah, Ware and MacFirbisigh', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **33** (1970), 49, pl. IIIb.

3 S. Piggott, 'Archaeological draughtsmanship', *Antiquity* **39** (1965), 165; S. Piggott, *Antiquity depicted: aspects of archaeological illustration* (1978), 27.

4 M. Hunter, *John Aubrey and the realm of learning* (1975), 188; *Monumenta Britannica: John Aubrey (1626–97)*, (J. Fowles and R. Legg, eds) (1980–1982), 126, 270, 829.

5 J. Ware, *The antiquities and history of Ireland* (1705), 151. On Ware: G. Parry, *The trophies of time* (1995), 153.

6 S. Mendyk, 'Gerard Boate', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **115** (1985), 5; this is basically a chapter of Mendyk's later book *Speculum Britanniae* (1989). D. Cabot, 'Essential texts in Irish natural history', in J.W. Foster and H.C.G. Chesney (eds), *Nature in Ireland: a scientific and cultural history* (1997), 472.

7 The study of classical antiquities and other curiosities were some of the proper pursuits of a gentleman virtuoso according to *Peacham's Compleat Gentleman, 1634:* W.E. Houghton, 'The English virtuoso in the seventeenth century', *Journal of the History of Ideas* **3** (1942), 52.

8 J.G. Simms, *William Molyneux of Dublin* (1982), 38.

9 K.T. Hoppen, *The common scientist in the seventeenth century: a study of the Dublin Philosophical Society 1683–1708* (1970), 80, 155.

10 W.J. Knowles, 'Irish flint arrow- and spear-heads', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* **33** (1903), 52

11 J.B. Doyle, *Tours in Ulster* (1854), 278: 'Take as many "elf-arrows" as convenient, not less than three, the *cawn* of three pots (the sooty deposit upon the outside), three brass half-pence, and a silver sixpence; pour a gallon of water upon these, and place the pot over the fire, and stir the whole up together till it boils: when cool enough to drink, let the cow be drenched three times a day in the name of, etc. The cow thus doctored generally recovers ...'; also I. Herring, 'Flints—and folk-lore', *Irish Naturalists' Journal* **2** (1936), 98. The superstitious practice of dipping a little stone or a flint arrowhead in a drink was something to be confessed by a sinner as the Revd Martin Marley's pastoral hand-book *The good confessor* (1743, 73) indicates (quoted in J. Brady and P.J. Corish, *The Church under the Penal Code* (1971), 79). T. Davidson, 'Elf-shot cattle', *Antiquity* **30** (1956), 149; W.G. Wood-Martin, *Traces of the elder faiths of Ireland* (1902), vol. 1, 41, 78ff.

12 K.T. Hoppen, *The common scientist* (1970), 93, 105, 138, 156. The Leeds antiquary Ralph Thoresby received the tomahawk from 'S. Molineux of Dublin': J.C.H. King, 'North American ethnography in the collection of Sir Hans Sloane', in O. Impey and A. MacGregor (eds), *The origins of museums: the cabinet of curiosities in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe* (1985), 232. On the early usage of the term 'museum': see M. Hunter, 'The cabinet institutionalised: the Royal Society's 'Repository' and its background' (1985), 168. Some English collections: D.R. Woolf, 'The dawn of the artifact', *Studies in Medievalism* **4** (1992), 7.

13 J. Hardiman, *A chorographical description of West or H-Iar Connaught written A.D. 1684 by Roderic O'Flaherty ... edited ... with notes and illustrations by James Hardiman* (1846).

14 J.M. Levine, *Dr Woodward's shield: history, science and satire in Augustan England* (1977), 51; T. Molyneux, 'A discourse concerning the large horns frequently found under ground in Ireland, concluding from them that the Great American Deer, call'd a moose, was formerly

common in that island', *Philosophical Transactions* **19** (1697), 489. See W.R. Wilde, 'Sir Thomas Molyneux', *Dublin University Magazine* **18** (1841), 365ff.

15 *A natural history of Ireland, in three parts by several hands* (1726), re-issued in Dublin in 1755 and later included in *A collection of tracts and treatises illustrative of the natural history, antiquities and political and social state of Ireland* (1860), vol. 1.

16 By Walter Charleton, who had corresponded with Worm, in his *Chorea Gigantum*: S. Piggott, *Ancient Britons* (1989), 104.

17 J.H. Andrews, 'Mapping the past in the past: the cartographer as antiquarian in Pre-Ordnance Survey Ireland', in C. Thomas (ed.), *Rural landscapes and communities: essays presented to Desmond McCourt* (1986), 50.

18 Molyneux, *Discourse* (1726), 191; a point also made by Caesar Otway in *A tour in Connaught* (1839), 322, when he discovered that the people of Achill were ascribing giant's graves and other monuments to the Danes.

19 Molyneux, *Discourse* (1726), 207, 189.

20 The references occur in John Dunton's *The Dublin Scuffle* published in London in 1699: reprinted 2000 as *The Dublin Scuffle with an introduction and notes by Andrew Carpenter*, 242; P.N. Wyse Jackson, 'The geological collections of Trinity College, Dublin', *Geological Curator* **5**, no. 7 (1992), 263. There were significant archaeological finds in the museum collection by the eighteenth century: see C. Vallancey, 'The Iodhan Morain', in *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* **4** (1786), 22ff. Despite the major role played by many of its graduates, Trinity College, Ireland's only university, failed to promote Enlightenment learning in the eighteenth century: G. O'Brien, 'Scotland, Ireland, and the antithesis of the Enlightenment', in S.J. Connolly *et al.* (eds), *Conflict, identity and economic development: Ireland and Scotland, 1600–1939* (1995), 128ff.

21 Molyneux, *Discourse* (1726), 201.

22 W.B. Stanford, *Ireland and the Classical tradition* (1976), 131.

23 W.B. Stanford, 'Towards a history of Classical influences in Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **70C**, 70; *Ireland and the Classical tradition* (1976), 138; L. Mulvin, 'The Roman sculptures at Russborough House', in M. McCarthy (ed.), *Lord Charlemont and his circle* (2001), 167; C. O'Connor and B.F. Cook, 'A Greek stele in Dublin', *The Antiquaries Journal* **61** (1981), 29; J. Eiffe, 'Lord Cloncurry's Roman collection', in J. Fenlon *et al.*, *New perspectives* (1987), 143. T. Barnard, 'From Imperial *Schatzkammer* to the Giant's Causeway: collecting in eighteenth-century Ireland', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies* **6** (2003), 140.

24 C.S. Briggs and R. Haworth, 'Dean Sankey Winter and the bronze trumpet from "Manooth"', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **108** (1978), 111.

25 G.F. Mitchell in T. Ó Raifeartaigh (ed.), *The Royal Irish Academy: a bicentennial history 1785–1985* (1985), 106; W. Wilde, *Catalogue* (1861), 474. See W.J. McCormack and K. Walker (eds), *Maria Edgeworth: The Absentee* (1988), xxv, 113, 120.

26 W. Camden, *Britannia* (ed. E. Gibson 1722), 1411; M. Herity, 'Early finds of Irish antiquities from the minute-books of the Society of Antiquaries of London', *The Antiquaries Journal* **49** (1969), 2 (note). The presence of an Irish harper at the Lord Bishop's dinner is cited as an instance of the engagement of the new landed class with native popular culture, a phenomenon which—though never immoderate—diminished with the rise of sectarian and social conflict at the end of the eighteenth century: S.J. Connolly, 'Popular culture: patterns of change and adaption', in S.J. Connolly *et al.* (eds), *Conflict, identity and economic development: Ireland and Scotland, 1600–1939* (1995), 106. On Gibson's revised *Britannia*: G. Parry, *The trophies of time* (1995), 331.

27 H. Case, 'An early accession to the Ashmolean Museum', in V. Markotic (ed.), *Ancient Europe and the Mediterranean* (1977), 1. It was recorded and catalogued in 1701: R.F. Ovenell, *The Ashmolean Museum 1683–1894* (1986), 100.

28 For the Magheracar tomb wedge tomb (and a nearby passage tomb): E. Cody, *Survey of the Megalithic Tombs of Ireland, County Donegal* (2002), 118, 184; also D. McGuinness, 'Edward Lhuyd's contribution to the study of Irish megalithic tombs', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **126** (1996), 62.

29 E. Lhuyd, 'Several observations relating to the antiquities and natural history of Ireland ...', *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* **27** (1712), 503. Also quoted in full by G. Coffey, *New Grange (Brugh na Boinne) and other incised tumuli in Ireland* (1912), 7; see also M. Herity, 'New information from unpublished descriptions of the Boyne Valley tombs', *Studia Hibernica* **7** (1967), 127; J.L. Campbell, 'The tour of Edward Lhuyd in Ireland in 1699 and 1700', *Celtica* **5** (1960), 218.

30 B.F. Roberts, 'Edward Lhuyd and Celtic linguistics', in D.E. Evans *et al.* (eds), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Celtic Studies held at Oxford ... July, 1983* (1986), 1.

31 M. Hunter, *Science and the shape of orthodoxy: intellectual change in late seventeenth-century Britain* (1995), 31.

32 J. Meenan and D. Clarke (eds), *The Royal Dublin Society* (1981), 11; T. de Vere White, *The Royal Dublin Society* (1955), 77; K. Bright, *Royal Dublin Society, 1815-1845* (2004).

4. Eighteenth-century antiquarians

In addition to the Dublin Society, the eighteenth century also saw the foundation of the Physico-Historical Society of Ireland in 1744 and the Royal Irish Academy in 1785. Though the Physico-Historical Society, founded by a group of 'Lords and Gentlemen' in Dublin, had faded from the scene by 1752 it did succeed in a modest way in 'promoting an inquiry into the ancient and present state of the several counties of Ireland'. It amassed a collection of antiquities including a horn of 'extraordinary shape and magnitude' found in a bog near Cavan, and it financially assisted Charles Smith in important county surveys of Cork and Waterford.[1] These were the first county surveys of a diverse range of topics ranging from local history to natural resources, and one of their main aims was to assist the work of the Royal Dublin Society in promoting economic development. The historian Walter Harris (1686–1761) who was born in Mountmellick, Co. Laois, and who had translated and augmented Ware's *Antiquities,* published a survey of County Down in 1744, aided by Charles Smith. In turn Smith produced surveys of the history, topography, natural history, and antiquities of Waterford, Cork and Kerry in 1746, 1750 and 1756 respectively. The authors of these county surveys have been described as 'the founding fathers of Irish local history'.

Harris and Smith's view of eighteenth-century County Down is revealing. They capture some of the insecurities of the time, landlords and gentry are presented as embattled colonists, still fearful of the sort of rebellion that had happened a century before in 1641, but also as settled and successful improvers of the county, proud of its history and curious about its natural resources and antiquities. Improvements are presented as part of a natural process of settlement just as Danish raths and stone castles testify to earlier periods of colonisation. This sense of place and this feeling for history form part of the basis of Irish Protestant national identity in the eighteenth century.[2]

In their survey of County Down, Harris and Smith provide information on a wide range of topics, geography, gentlemen's seats (the monuments of a new order), natural resources, botany and more, much of it forwarded by correspondents who included 'some curious gentlemen resident in the county' and 'a few gentlemen from Dublin'.[3] Three chapters, some twenty-seven pages, are devoted to antiquities, and are preceded by a chapter on 'an extraordinary effect of thunder and lightning in this county' and followed by an account of

the county's 'feathered and finny tribes'. Artificial caves are discussed in one chapter and Biblical sources are cited in a discussion of the likely purpose of these souterrains. Three sorts of ancient monuments receive particular attention in a second chapter: 'the Stone Altar, called in Irish, Crom-Liagh, i.e. the Stone of Bowing or Adoration'; 'Kairns or huge coped Heaps of Stones, visible in many Places', and 'Columns or Pillar Stones, rude and unshapely, erected in many Parts'. Henry Rowlands' *Mona Antiqua Restaurata* (published in Dublin in 1723) is cited and the megalithic tombs of Down, like those of Anglesea, are attributed to the Druids who, as Rowlands had asserted, were brought to Wales by 'the first Planters of this Island' who had one of the sons of Noah for grandsire or great-grandsire and who were, in other words, descendants of those sons of Japheth championed by Keating.

This section on the antiquities of the county was probably written by Walter Harris who also claimed that pillar stones, which 'seem to be Appurtenants to the Kairns and to the Crom-Liagh or Stone Altars, being generally placed at no great distance from them', were also places of worship by 'our Priests and Druids'. A third chapter describes mounds and raths usually ascribed to the Danes. The work of Olaus Worm is acknowledged again but the possibility that raths were built by the native Irish is noted. Round towers, briefly discussed in a fourth chapter, are sensibly attributed to the ancient Irish since no such structures are to be found in Scandinavia or even in those parts of England occupied by the ubiquitous Danes.

In a balanced assessment of the evidence, Harris displays here and in other writings his concern to elucidate a shared Irish past in a rational fashion. Joep Leerssen has described him as one of the more bigoted anti-Catholics in Ascendancy circles who could, in his antiquarian work, pay a most un-bigoted attention to Ireland's ancient history. He is an early instance of an Anglo-Irish recognition that Ireland's Gaelic past was a shared past and he is also a good illustration of one gulf that existed between these two worlds. Bernadette Cunningham points out that when he re-issued *The whole works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland* in 1739, Harris had O'Connor's translation of Keating's *History* to hand but was perplexed by the discrepancies between this publication and a manuscript English version in his possession. He confessed he had never seen the original Irish text and even if he had, he lacked the skill in Irish to compare it with any translation.[4] The deeper gulf, however, was religious prejudice, which certainly coloured his writings on historical matters.[5] Religious differences had wreaked havoc in Europe and the decisive contribution of religious tribalism with its purblind and divisive certainties would leave its mark on the development of antiquarian studies in Ireland too.

Compared to Walter Harris, Charles Smith (1715?–1762), a Waterford apothecary, had a more cursory interest in archaeological monuments but was well aware how much there was to be discovered. He was curious enough to explore a burial mound near Dungarvan and has provided accounts of some of

the ancient monuments of County Waterford, for instance, which are particularly perceptive:

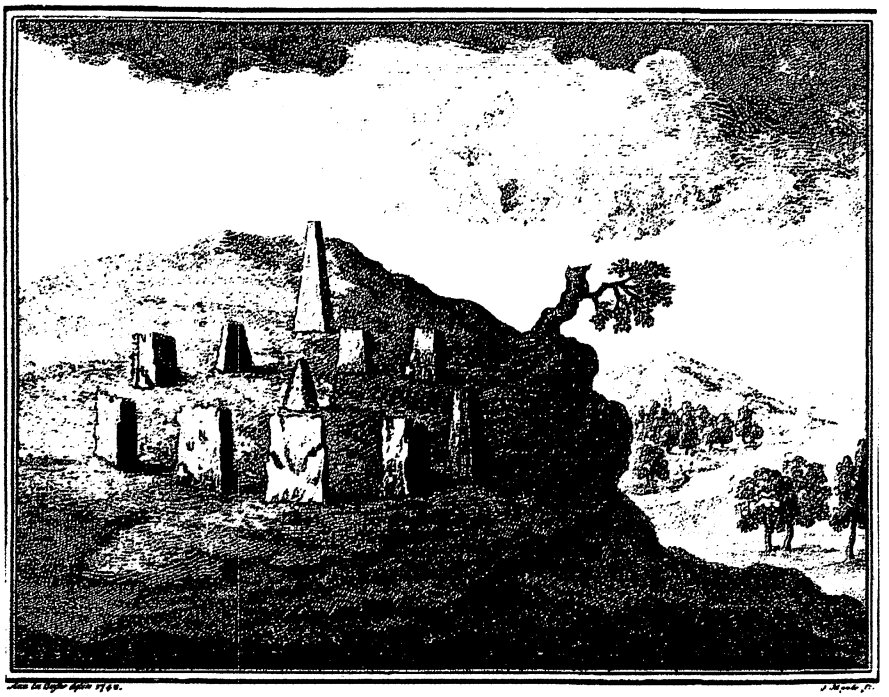
> In this County, as in most of the other Counties in Ireland, we meet with three kinds of antient Monuments, which are justly attributed to the Ostmen or Danes. The first and larger kind of these pieces of Antiquity go by the general name of Raths. The second are called Liss, which two words are often promiscuously used for one and the same thing, *i.e.* a piece of fortification. The third sort go by the name of *Dun,* and are no other than tumuli or sepulchral Monuments. Notwithstanding these last are mistaken and often confused with the others called Raths; because they have the same outward shape and contrivance. The most remarkable Raths in this county are these following, *viz.* one at Lismore, from whence the name of that place, i.e. the large Fort. It is erected on the top of an hill called the Round Hill, of a pretty steep ascent, and is situated near the Black-water River, about half a mile to the W. of Lismore: It was surrounded by a double Fosse which is now almost filled up. This Rath, and indeed most of the others in the county, are not near so large as may be met with in the more Northern parts of the kingdom; and the reason seems to be, that the Danes and other Northern nations, that first infested this island, landed in those parts, which lay nearest to the countries from whence they came; the largest of ours not being above 40 or 50 feet diameter at the Base; and about 20 feet high at the most, not reckoning the eminence on which they are erected. They are placed near the most antient towns and considerable places of resort, which were so many head-quarters or stations, from whence the alarm was given to the more distant places in the country ...
>
> The second kind of Fortifications, which they call Lis in this country, are for the most part no other than a circular Ditch, with a Fosse round it and without any mount or hill in the center, many of which are of a considerable extent, inclosing some acres, and others are so small as not to be of above 10 or 15 yards diameter ...
>
> The third kind, called in the language of the country Dun are those called Barrows in England and are no other than sepulchral Monuments. It was in one of this kind that the Urns and Bracelet mentioned in the third Chapter ... were found ... One of this kind is situated near the town of Dungarvan, to the W. of that place near the high road; and is composed of a yellow Clay dug out of the Ditch which surrounds it. I had the curiosity to bore

> this Mount with augurs on the top, and found it hollow towards the bottom; but made no farther discovery ...[6]

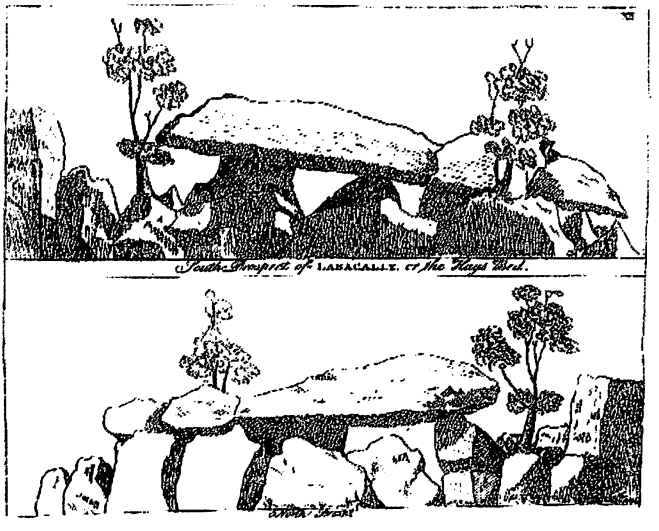
Stone monuments, of course, attracted attention too. Robert Clayton, Lord Bishop of Cork, sent accounts of a stone axe and of the stone circle at Templebryan, near Clonakilty, Co. Cork, to the Royal Society in London in 1743, along with an illustration by Letitia Bushe. She, like Lady Moira who published an account of a bog body in 1783, is one of the very few eighteenth-century women whose antiquarian pursuits are recorded (**4.1**). The stone circle was, in Clayton's estimation, a heathen temple like the famous Stonehenge, which had been promoted as a Druidic temple by William Stukeley just three years before.[7] In 1750, Charles Smith gave an unusually detailed description and a good sketch of the well-known megalithic tomb at Labbacallee, Co. Cork (**4.2**), which he dated to the Christian period because of its east–west orientation:

> On the road from Fermoy to Glanworth, a mile from the latter due-east is a sepulchral monument, called Labacally, i. e. the Hag's-bed. The Irish say, it belonged to a giantess of whom they relate some ridiculous fables. This monument, by its size, seems to be designed for some celebrated person of antiquity; but for whom, or when erected, the least traces are not to be found, either in history or from tradition. It consists of several broad flagstones, supported by others, which are pitched in the ground. ... This rude piece of antiquity was probably erected by the ancient Irish, long before the making of stone walls with mortar was discovered. The bringing of these stones hither must have been a work of immense labour, as there are none of the kind, being a coarse grit, nearer than the mountains which divide this county from that of Limerick, viz. five or six miles distant, and as they were destitute of engines to raise such massy rocks, and carry them so far, no wonder the simple Irish should attribute such a work to the performance of a giantess. From the shape of this monument, it seems to have been the tomb of some noted person; probably, one of the ancient kings of Fermoy, in whose territory it stands; and from its lying east and west, it is not improbable, that it was erected in the ages of christianity.

In contrast, however, a rather dubious megalithic monument in Castlemary, near Cloyne, was considered a Druid's altar; a large stone resting on a number of others had a flagstone nearby 'which was, probably, used for cutting up the victims for sacrifice'. Round towers, like the one at Cloyne, he believed to be penitential prisons for monks rather than anchorites' towers.[8]



4.1. A romantic drawing of a stone circle at Templebryan, near Clonakilty, Co. Cork, by Letitia Bushe, a minor artist who depicted the monument in 1742 on the basis of a description and plan prepared by Robert Clayton, Bishop of Cork. He presented his account of this 'heathen temple like the famous Stonehenge' to the Royal Society, London, in the following year.



4.2. In 1750 Charles Smith provided a detailed description and a good sketch of the well-known megalithic tomb at Labbacallee, Co. Cork, which he dated to the Christian period because of its east–west orientation.

B.II. P. II.

Fig. 1.

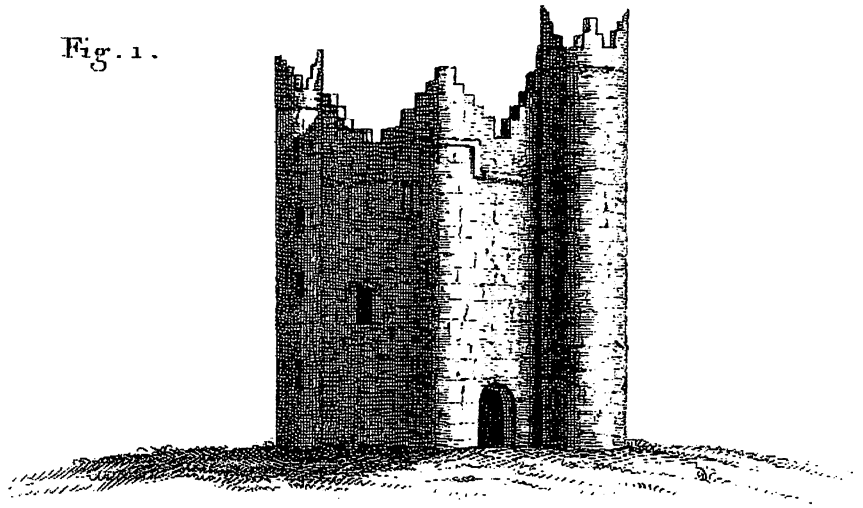
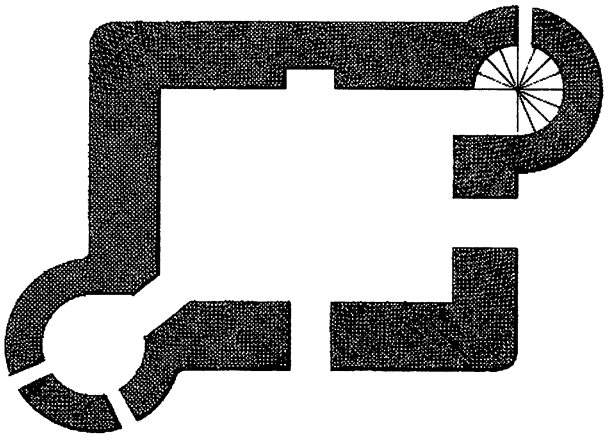


Fig. 2.



4.3. Thomas Wright's drawing of Milltown tower house, near Dromiskin, Co. Louth, from his Louthiana. *'It appears to be one of the oldest Sort of Habitations now remaining in the County of Louth, and the Manner of Building is said to be borrow'd from the Spaniards, who formerly were Visitors of this Island.'*

Even though it is evident that skillful antiquarian representation is a feature of the eighteenth century, the publication, in 1748, of *Louthiana: or, an introduction to the antiquities of Ireland* was a landmark in this respect. The author, Thomas Wright (1711–1786), the son of a Durham carpenter, was a celebrated astronomer, architect and garden designer who visited Ireland in 1746 and 1747. He came, it is believed, to advise his friend and patron, James Hamilton, Lord Limerick, on the landscaping of his demesnes in County Down and County Louth.[9] Genuine antiquarian curiosity and the fact that an appreciation of fine art, natural history and antiquities were suitable qualities in polite society may have been an important stimulus in this instance at least. In a preface Wright declares that 'Men of Taste and Capacity often want Opportunities of viewing Objects well deserving their Attention'. For him the term 'antiquities' meant monumental remains but at the time it was still commonly used for written remains as well; for example, John Keogh's *A vindication of the antiquities of Ireland* published in the same year is essentially a traditional Milesian history, and William Webb's *An analysis of the history and antiquities of Ireland* which appeared in 1791 is—apart from a short chapter on round towers—preoccupied with early history, Druidism, and Celtic migrations.

Louthiana is divided into three books or sections, and in total comprises some ninety well-executed illustrations drawn to scale with accompanying descriptions (**4.3**). The first section deals with earthworks such as burial mounds, ringforts and mottes. Citing Classical sources and Olaus Worm, burial mounds are presented as the work of the Danes who burnt their dead after the manner of the Greeks and Romans. Even mottes and baileys are similarly attributed: a now destroyed motte is described as 'a very considerable Danish station' and another earthwork, which is in effect a triple-ditched burial mound, is thought to have been a habitation 'to guard some Family of the first Planters, from the wild Beasts of the Country, which, in early Times were very numerous and ravenous; or else some Clan of the natives from their ill-disposed Neighbours, and from foreign-Invaders'. The name of the county offers a clue to these first planters: 'the oldest name of the County of Louth was Uriel, and as we read of a Son of Noah called Urinen; probably the primitive Name of the Country may have come from the same Urinem, its prime Planter'. The second book illustrates castles and towers of the nobility and the gentry, while the third covers a miscellaneous group of monuments, including megalithic tombs, stone circles, cairns and round towers considered to be either of Druidic or Danish origin. Considerable attention is paid to the Druids:

> We are told that this sect of Philosophers affected to live in Oak, and shady Hills, etc. for their religious Worship. Mr. Rowland, in his *Mona Antiqua Restaurata,* has given us a very learned and elaborate Account of them, not only from their first Choice of,

> and supposed Settlement in the Isle of Anglesea, but also a full Relation of their Religion, Laws, and Discipline to the Time of their Expulsion by the Romans when 'tis said they were finally banish'd Britain, and sought for Shelter and a more safe Reception amongst their foreign Friends and Brethren, some of whom retiring to the Isle of Man, others to Scotland, and the rest to Ireland, where the Foot-steps of this same Society of People are yet very plain to be seen.[10]

Wright records the name 'the Giant's Load' for the well-known portal tomb at Proleek as well as some local folklore which relates that its stones were brought from the neighbouring mountains by a giant who is buried in a nearby wedge tomb that did produce several bones of a monstrous size according to some local informants. He is not convinced by Rowlands' assertion that cromlechs are sacrificial altars but rather considers them to be the tombs of eminent men. To satisfy his curiosity on this point, and, as it turned out, to prove it, he and Hamilton excavated a collapsed megalithic tomb some two miles away:

> Two of the supports were quite broke down with the Fall of the incumbent Load; the other was left standing. This his Lordship immediately order'd to be carefully dug into, and in the Middle about two feet deep, covered and inclos'd within broad flat Stones, great Part of the Skeleton of a human Figure was found all crouded together within a Bed of black greasy Earth, as if originally inclos'd within an Urn now quite decay'd and rotten. Mixed with the Bones were found some Pieces of Clay about the Thickness of my little Finger, quite solid and round as if Part of a Rod broke to Pieces, which if really so, probably may have been an Insignia of the high Office of the Person here interred. The Original perhaps of a like Ceremony practis'd upon the same Occasion now with us.[11]

Brief details are also given of the excavation of two stones circles at Carrickedmond, part of a complex of pillar stones, cairns and stone circles now destroyed. According to Wright, this was certainly 'the rude Remains of another sacred Grove or Seat of the Druids' akin to a similar group of monuments in and around Ballynahattin townland, north of Dundalk.[12] Sadly, while *Louthiana* may not have prompted comparable archaeological surveys, it probably inspired the erection of a number of Druids' seats, obelisks and other follies.[13]

Though Renaissance scholarship had rediscovered the Druids in Classical texts, they only appear to begin to quit their oak groves and to gain

archaeological prominence as monument builders in the seventeenth century as Keating's *History* shows. John Aubrey tentatively identified some stone circles as Druidic temples and, although his 'Templa Druidum' chapter in *Monumenta Britannica* was never published, Edmund Gibson printed some extracts in his 1695 edition of Camden's *Britannia*. A young John Toland (1670–1722) had discussed these circles with Aubrey and had planned a *History of the Druids*—which was never finished—but some of his writings were published posthumously in 1726. These included a summary of his proposed work on the Druids in three letters to the Irish peer Viscount Molesworth, written in 1718 and 1719. Widely read and familiar with both Keating's work and many of the Classical sources, he proposed a history of Celtic religion and learning, a body of knowledge he believed obscured by Greek and Roman erudition.[14]

In 1694, Toland was already said to be working on an Irish dictionary and a dissertation to prove the Irish to be a colony of the Gauls. In comparing what Caesar wrote about the Celts of Continental Europe to Ireland of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, he was helping to forge a link between ancient and more recent Celtic ways of life, which was to become a basic tenet of the archaeology of the Celtic world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The extraordinary John Toland, a native Irish-speaker from the peninsula of Inishowen in County Donegal, was a believer in deist or natural religion and a freethinker whose polemical writings against orthodox theological shibboleths scandalised his contemporaries. Raised a Roman Catholic, he soon became an opponent of priestcraft and 'cast off the yoke of spiritual authority, that great bugbear and bane of ingenuity'.[15] He believed that monumental evidence for the Druids and the Celtic religion was widespread in Ireland and Scotland:

> The places in Ireland and the Hebrides are infinite. The present ignorant vulgar, in the first of the last-mention'd places, do believe, that those inchanters were at last themselves inchanted by their Apostle Patric and his disciples, miraculously confining them to the places that so bear their names; where they are thought to retain much power, and sometimes to appear, which are fancies like the English notion of fairies. Thus the Druid O Murnin inhabits the hill of Creag-a-Vanny, in Inisoen; Aunius in Benavny from him so-call'd in the county of Londonderry, and Gealcossa, in Gealcossa's mount in Inisoen aforesaid in the county of Dunegall. The last was a Druidess, and her name is of the Homerical strain, signifying White-legg'd. On this hill is her grave, the true inchantment which confines her, and hard by is her temple; being a sort of diminutive Stone-henge, which many of the old Irish dare not even at this day prophane.[16]

'Gealcossa's mount' is Crocknagalcossagh in Rashenny townland north-west of Carndonagh, where a standing stone and two fallen stones may be the remains of a megalithic tomb. Gealcossach herself reappears several decades later in Macpherson's *Ossian* (in *Fingal* as the wife of the hero Lamderg)—and surfaces again in *Finnegans Wake*. Other Irish Druidical monuments briefly mentioned by Toland are a pillar stone, 'a vast Obelisc' that stood near a well at Elphin, Co. Roscommon, and which fell in 1675; a hill-top cairn near Inch and another near Fahan 'known by no other name but that of Bealteine', and a megalithic tomb at Clonmany, all in County Donegal, and those stone altars called Dermot and Grania's bed.

Henry Rowlands' *Mona Antiqua Restaurata,* which had appeared in 1723, was cited by both Harris and Wright, and was clearly an important work in associating Druids and megalithic monuments in Britain and in Ireland, but both Druids and Celts had been lurking off stage for quite some time. Indeed Druids and their altars, as we have seen, were part of Keating's place-lore a century before, and it is worth recalling that the first printed version of Keating's *History* in English was published in the same year as Rowlands' work. In 1659, John Aubrey had suggested that monuments such as Avebury and Stonehenge were the temples of a Druidic priesthood, but it was not until the publication of William Stukeley's *Stonehenge: a Temple restor'd to the British Druids* in 1740 and his *Abury: a Temple of the British Druids, with Some Others, Described* in 1743 that the link between Druids and stone circles was firmly and popularly established in the English-speaking antiquarian world.[17]

Celts and Gauls, of course, figure in the writings of many Classical authors and by the beginning of the eighteenth century the word Celtic had more or less assumed its present linguistic meaning. For instance, Paul-Yves Pezron, a Breton Cistercian monk, published *L'Antiquité de la Nation et de la Langue des Celtes* in 1703, and an English translation entitled *The Antiquities of Nations: More particularly of the Celtae or Gauls, Taken to be Originally the same People as our Ancient Britains* appeared three years later and the concept of migrating Celts became ever more common.

Even though the 1748 publication of Thomas Wright's remarkable *Louthiana* did not inspire other detailed studies of archaeological monuments, numerous writers do comment, though briefly, on archaeological antiquities in the following decades. Historical antiquities, however, remain the principal antiquarian preoccupation. The renowned historian Charles O'Conor of Bellanagare (1710–1791) rarely comments on archaeological matters, though clearly interested in the subject and aware of its potential to add to an understanding of the past. In a revealing letter written in 1779, which indicates just how antiquarian pursuits of this sort were a minority activity, he declared:

> To search into our Carns, Raths and other ancient structures above ground, as well as into our artificial caves (structures under

> ground) is to begin well. Such a Search would not, I conceive, end in the Gratification of bare Curiosity; It may lead to useful knowledge also, by giving us as far as it will go, a true idea of the state of Arts, and consequently of Manners in the earlier Ages of Civil Government in Ireland. It pains me to inform you that in my Country, beyond the Shannon, I know of none who concerns himself in Such Matters. Rath Croghan, the place of the Election and Inauguration of our Provincial Kings, is within three miles of my own house, and within half a mile of that Rath lies the Interment place of the Irish Heathen Kings. I conceived a strong desire to open that Cemetery, and yet I desisted thro' a well grounded apprehension of being exposed to the Ridicule of my Neighbours.[18]

He had good grounds to be cautious; the disparagement of antiquarians gathered momentum in the mid-eighteenth century and in 1772 Samuel Foote's comedy *The Nabob* derided a Society of Antiquaries who meet to admire a green chamber-pot described as a sarcophagus or Roman urn and, unkind as it may seem, chamber pots and antiquaries were sometimes associated.[19] A decade later, John Whittley Boswell, on the pretext of studying a Roscommon church site and 'ogham' inscription, would mock the wilder Oriental theories of antiquarians in his madcap satire on the *Antiquities of Killmackumpshaugh, in the County of Roscommon, and Kingdom of Ireland, in which it is clearly proved that Ireland was originally peopled by Egyptians*.[20]

In the first edition (1753) of his *Dissertations on the ancient history of Ireland* Charles O'Conor alludes briefly to the royal site of Rathcroghan, or Drum Druid as he refers to it, 'famous for its great Cave and Druidic Rites, a Place which, long before Ptolomey's Time, got the name of Croghan, where the States of Connaught assembled, and where Eochy Feylogh erected the celebrated Rath in the Time of Augustus Caesar'. An accompanying map of Ireland entitled 'Scotia Antiqua' has Rathcroghan ('Croghan') marked on it along with Tara, Teltown and Navan, the first appearance of these sites together in historical cartography.[21] Of the burial customs of the ancient Irish, he wrote:

> We never read of burning their dead Bodies, but find frequent Mention of their interment, of which the two Royal Cemeteries of Brugh-Boyne and Cruachain are illustrious instances. This last called Relig na Riogh lies a little to the South of the Rath of Cruachain, so celebrated in former Ages for its Provincial Assemblies, and for being the inauguration Place of the Kings of Connaught: It is of circular Form, surrounded with a Stone Ditch, greatly defaced; and I have measured 116 Paces in its

> Diameter. It is now remarkable for Nothing more than being the Repository of so many of our Heathen Kings, especially Dathias, the last of them, whose Corpse was carried thither from the Foot of the Alps, in the Year 429 ... In the Area are some ruined Ditches of the same make with the surrounding Periphery, one running quite across the Diameter, others oblique; and some intersecting each other; what the Design of these may be we are left to guess: in other Parts are Heaps of coarse Stones piled over one another, and seem to show the Graves of the Persons interred.

His history is the traditional Milesian and Gaelic story, the Irish language approximates to the language of Japheth and his descendants, and therefore resembles Hebrew: 'Celtic was the original Language of the Posterity of the Patriarchs'. He would later write:

> How the Heathen inhabitants of Ireland could obtain the elements of literature, and improve them into knowledge earlier than other northern people can be accounted for: Those elements were imported from Spain, a country whose Celtic inhabitants were initiated in arts and letters by the Phoenicians who settled among them. Whether over-crowded by numbers or otherwise made uneasy at home, a colony of Scytho-Celts, sailed from that country, and established themselves in it ... We now call them Milesians, and that people have invariably, from age to age, recorded themselves to be of Spanish extraction ... no fact of remote antiquity comes attended with better proofs than this ....[22]

The Scytho-Celtic model, of course, takes us back to Japheth, Magog and Noah and conforms not just to native tradition but to early seventeenth-century concepts of language groupings as well. Before the development of comparative philology at the beginning of the nineteenth century (born with the publication of the first volume of Jacob Grimm's *Deutsche Grammatik* in 1819), various scholars were particularly keen to assert that their native language was the oldest and closest to Hebrew, the language of the Old Testament before the destruction of the Tower of Babel. In 1772 Charles Vallancey argued that Irish or a language like it was akin to Hebrew and a few decades later another writer was happy to claim that Irish was 'the Language of Japhet, spoken before the Deluge, and probably the Language of Paradise'.[23]

The *Dissertations* was an influential work of remarkable learning, offering a positive view of Irish history and displaying familiarity with the writings of great Enlightenment figures such as Newton and Montesquieu. It revealed the

remote beginnings of Irish history to a wide English-speaking audience and showed that this was a field worthy of serious inquiry. Anxious to demonstrate the civil nature of early Irish society—hence the reference to 'the States of Connaught assembled' at Rathcroghan—O'Conor was also particularly concerned to show the existence of writing in Ireland before the advent of Christianity. The latter, of course, was an important guarantee as to the reliability of the native annalistic tradition.

The question of the antiquity of Gaelic civilisation was especially important in the mid-eighteenth century when moderate Catholics like O'Conor campaigned for the amelioration of the anti-Catholic penal laws. Their goal was the union of all confessions in one creed of political faith based on a test limited to 'civil fidelity', and their approach encouraged Anglo-Irish interest in Gaelic antiquity.[24] As Clare O'Halloran has shown, O'Conor modified and moderated his view of early Irish civilisation in his later years,[25] but in that appealing image of Ireland as an ancient, civilised and distinctive nation which he and others promoted lie the roots of the cultural nationalism of the nineteenth century.

The second edition of the *Dissertations* in 1766 contained one of the first significant critiques of James Macpherson's famous and hugely popular *Poems of Ossian*. This celebrated affair began with the publication in 1760 of *Fragments of ancient poetry, collected in the highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Galic or Erse language,* followed by his *Fingal* in 1762 and *Temora* the following year. The initial negative Irish reaction to Macpherson focused on his claim that these tales of Fingal (Fionn Mac Cumhaill) and others were Scottish, not Irish, but by the first decade of the nineteenth century the language of *Ossian* had become part of the popular consciousness of the Irish past.[26]

The *Ossian* phenomenon accelerated the promotion of a romanticised Celtic past, which, just like Keating's heroic vision of ancient Ireland, would, in time, have wide repercussions on archaeological interpretation. One of the more immediate and beneficial consequences of the Ossian controversies, however, was to further stimulate Ascendancy interest in Gaelic language and literature and encourage the study of Celtic philology.[27] In addition, Ossian was a herald of the Romantic movement which would also reinvigorate antiquarian activity. More unfortunately, perhaps, another consequence of this phenomenon was the daft belief that there was such a thing as a peculiarly Celtic predilection for the mysterious, the mystical and the magical.[28]

Macpherson also wrote an *Introduction to the history of Great Britain and Ireland* in 1771 lauding the Celts, and this and his literary work prompted a response in the form of John Pinkerton's *Dissertation on the origin of the Scythians or Goths* in 1787, in which Celts were depicted as a slavish inferior race, Goths as noble and wise—'what a lion is to an ass, a Goth is to a Celt', a foretaste of the opposition of Celt and Teuton which would be such a feature of the nineteenth century.[29] Macpherson's eulogy prefigured the broth of a boy

image of the Celt, the 'all their wars are merry, and all their songs are sad' nonsense that is with us to this day:

> The Ancient British nations, like their Celtic brethren on the continent, were fierce, passionate, and impetuous; sudden in resolution, sanguine in expectation, impatient under disappointment ... War, which was their chief business, was their great amusement ... With all this violence and fierceness of disposition, they were in private life plain and upright ... They were always open, sincere, and undisguised; simple good natured, and void of malignity ... The Celtae were not only neat in their dress, they were also cleanly in their person.[30]

The Battle of Aughrim on 12 July 1691 was a catastrophic end to the Jacobite cause and was the last great military engagement on Irish soil. The relatively peaceful conditions that followed in the eighteenth century—at least until the 1780s—and the growing interest in the romantic Celtic fringe were two reasons for a noteworthy development in travel and travel writing and in antiquarian pursuits. Few visitors have left a body of work behind them to match Wright's exceptional *Louthiana* and, though informative on many other matters, travellers' comments on antiquities are, for the most part, cursory indeed. Neither William R. Chetland in his *Tour through Ireland* in 1748, John Bush in his *Hibernia Curiosa* of 1769, or even Arthur Young who published his ethnographically informative *Tour in Ireland* in 1780, for instance, were particularly interested in such things.

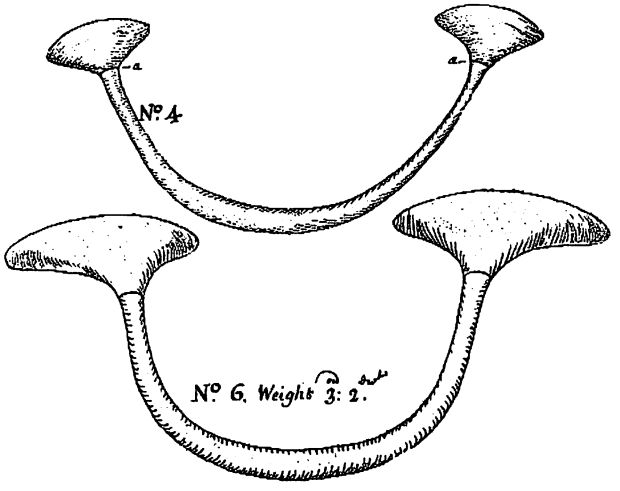
In contrast, the inveterate and adventurous traveller, Hampshire-born Richard Pococke (1704–1765), who was variously bishop of Ossory, Elphin and Meath, regularly noted the ancient monuments he encountered. 'The dullest man that ever travelled', he published a well-known account of his travels in Egypt and the Middle East but his diaries of his Scottish, English and several tours of Ireland in the late 1740s and 1750s were only published many years after his death. He collected archaeological artefacts, coins, fossils and minerals and the unkind description comes from the pen of the remarkable Mrs Delaney who did not think much of his collection either: 'Egyptian deities on pedestals, tables covered with precious fragments such as toes and fingers, lumps of stone that have neither shape nor beauty of colour'.[31] He exhibited various archaeological finds at meetings of the Society of Antiquaries of London (founded in 1717)[32] and details of some of these were published posthumously in the second volume of the Society's journal *Archaeologia* in 1773.

In a description of a small prehistoric cemetery found at Carn, near Mullingar, Co. Westmeath, in 1748, one of the graves, considerably larger than the others and containing human bones 'above the common proportion of

men' and a pottery vessel, was presumed to be the burial place of a chieftain. Citing Keating's *History,* Pococke speculated that this might be the resting place of a king named Breisrigh who died at a place called Carn Connluain. A gold lunula was considered to be a breastplate and once again references in Keating to the wearing of gold in ancient Ireland were mentioned, though Druidic, Jewish and Roman custom was also alluded to. The opinion of James Simon, a Dublin merchant and numismatist, was quoted. Simon had forwarded drawings of a number of gold finds to the Society in 1747 and, puzzled by gold dress fasteners, had written (4.4):

> What uses these Instruments were applyed to, no body can inform me. I believe they were used in the Religious Ceremonies of the Irish Druids or other Heathen priests for I cannot think they were used as ornaments. The places where they were found, in grounds that were formerly bogs and which before the rain and waters had subsided there, were probably Valleys, seem to point out they were used by the Druids or Pagan Priests, many of the antient Altars or Cromliach Stones that have been discovered in this Kingdom being in Valleys, near some rivulet as well as on high grounds.[33]

Pococke was by no means the only collector of Irish antiquities in the eighteenth century; Sylvester O'Halloran has been mentioned and Joseph Cooper Walker (1761–1810), who published his *Historical memoirs of the Irish bards* in 1786 and *Historical essay on the dress of the ancient and modern Irish* in 1788, had a small collection that included the Cashel crosier. In the latter work, he deals of course with Druid dress 'universally a white garment, emblematic



4.4. James Simon communicated drawings of a number of prehistoric gold finds to the Society of Antiquaries in London in 1747. He thought pieces such as this penannular gold object were used in Druidic ceremonies.

4.5. An Irish Druid from Joseph Cooper Walker's Historical essay on the dress of the ancient and modern Irish *(1818 edition). The Druid, sporting a gold lunula on his head, stands beneath an oak tree and a Druidic fire blazes on an altar behind him. According to Walker: 'While those artful priests were employed in sacrifices and other ceremonies, they wore, behind an oak-leafed crown, a golden Crescent, with buttons at the extremities, through which a string was drawn that served to fasten it behind. Several of these Crescents have been found in our bogs.'*

of the affected purity of their mind' (**4.5**). He also records that Lady Moira's collection, at the time, included an iron axehead and Ralph Ousley of Willsborough, Castlerea, Co. Roscommon, had a number of bronze and stone weapons in his possession as well as several 'Druidical scythes'.[34]

On a visit to Sligo in 1806, the young Sidney Owenson, later Lady Morgan, was clearly intrigued by the collection of Mr Ormsby of Cummeen House:

> His library is stored with antiquities discovered amidst adjacent ruins, or dug out of the bogs on his estate. Among those which peculiarly struck me were: an urn, composed of the finest clay, highly polished, elegantly formed, and curiously carved. It was dug out of a sand-hill on the sea-shore near C*** house: and found nearly filled with ashes and a kind of bituminous stuff, over which was placed a beautiful lozenge of thin variegated

> marble, once perhaps marked with an inscription now entirely defaced. The urn most probably contained the ashes of some Milesian prince, or sacred druid, to whom, in days of paganism, this privilege alone was accorded ...

Among the many other items in this collection were a curiously engraved stylus-like bronze object found in Sligo Abbey, two bronze rings, a bridle bit and pendant, a bronze axehead 'dug out of a bog in Tirreragh', a small spear, and a bronze sword twenty-two inches long found in a bog. She was also struck by the remains of a 'druidical cromlech' (a court tomb) just outside his library window.[35] Walter Harris had a number of bronze swords in his possession in Dublin; William Bennison, Cairn House, near Ballyconnell, Co. Cavan, had a small collection of objects, and a Revd Mr Armstrong in Tipperary had 'some antique curiosities, found in the neighbouring bogs' in his library that probably contained more than one object from the Bog of Cullen.[36]

One of the most extraordinary and least understood discoveries in Irish archaeology was made in the 1750s in a bog near Cullen, Co. Tipperary. The long list of finds recovered over a number of years in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries includes 'a golden crown weighing 6 ounces', probable gold gorgets, a gold bowl, a gold disc, as well as a bronze cauldron, swords and spearheads. One or more wooden idols may have been discovered as well: at the same time as a bronze sword was found, a 'fragment which was said to be part of an image ... of black wood entirely covered and plated with thin gold' was recovered. Also found was 'another fragment of the same kind of wood' which contained some golden studs or rivets (which could have been bronze) and which was described as 'of an human form ... of sufficient size to make a gate-post, to which use it was applied'. Sadly nothing more is known of this wooden figure, most of the gold was melted down and the whereabouts of the bronzes is unknown. The first detailed account of some of these finds was published in *Archaeologia* by Thomas Pownall in 1774.

Pownall, an English politician and antiquarian, was a former Governor in the American colonies. Unlike Pococke and Harris, he did not favour Druidical explanations and was not prepared to credit Celtic Druids with the manufacture of wooden idols, for instance, since unhewn stones were their preferred symbols. Even though he noted that O'Conor's *Dissertations* had asserted that the Milesians from Spain were soon producing metal objects, he opted for a Carthaginian (Phoenician) source for the bronze swords and other finds and it is evident that his knowledge of American Indians influenced his interpretation:

> In matters of this sort, where the best and most coherent account can only be conjecture, I give the following as such: that as I suppose these swords to have been articles of Carthaginian sale,

> as we of this day sell arms to the Indians and Africans; so from a comparison of the ancient Druidical theology and religion of Ireland, with the corrupted theology of the Carthaginians and of their colonies, I feel persuaded to refer the idol and the various vessels and instruments of religious ceremonies, found in the same parts, to the ritual of this later idolatry, used in these particular settlements, but never in general use amongst the people of Ireland at large.[37]

He had visited Ireland in 1769 and had compiled an exceptionally detailed account of Newgrange, which he read to the Society of Antiquaries in London the following year and published in *Archaeologia* in 1773. His admiration for Phoenician colonists was evident but he opted for the familiar Danish explanation, pointing out, however, that similar monuments did occur in southern Europe and in Egypt. It was no doubt his experience of British colonisation in north America and that knowledge of Indians which prompted him to sketch a model of social evolution in prehistoric times and to distinguish between peoples who were hunters and foragers and others who were settled agriculturalists:

> The face of the earth being originally every where covered with wood, except where water prevailed, the first human inhabitants of it were Woodland-men, living on the fruits, fish and game of the forest. To these the Land-worker succeeded. He settled on the land, became a fixed inhabitant, and increased and multiplied. Where-ever the land-worker came, he, as at this day, eat out the thinly scattered race of Wood-men. Whatever gentile or family names the several nations or tribes of men might bear amongst themselves in their first natural state; as for example, Cumbri, Umbri, Volgi, Bolgae, or Belgae, Tihtans, etc. etc. etc. yet where-ever the land-worker came and settled; the original inhabitants, who continued the sylvan life acquired the distinguishing appellative of Woodsmen or Woldsmen.[38]

The Celts were firmly identified as Woodland-men, 'the sylvan inhabitants', the Phoenicians as Land-workers. It was, he asserts, Phoenician Druids who introduced the Celts of the British Isles to agriculture, the war chariot and new religious beliefs.

Resident antiquarians, often Anglo-Irish, continued to pursue a Druidic vein. Druids, albeit Celtic ones, manifest themselves again (along with an indirect reference to Toland's *History of the Druids)* in Lady Moira's account of a bog body found near Drumkeeragh, Co. Down, in 1780 and also published in *Archaeologia,* the first woman to contribute to that journal. The presence of

'the vestiges of Druid worship, the rude altars and the sacred well' on the summit of nearby Slieve Croob plus the discovery of a stone axe in the locality ('undoubtedly a sacrificial one belonging to the Druids') provided some of the evidence to indicate that the body was probably a sacrificial victim. In fact the remains, those of an adult woman, were—judging from the clothing—of medieval or later date.[39] This was quickly followed by a report on some bog finds by Richard Lovell Edgeworth, of Edgeworthstown, Co. Longford, then a leading member of Birmingham's celebrated Lunar Society and interested in engineering and a host of other topics as well. It may have been a concern with bog reclamation that prompted his antiquarian curiosity. He recorded the discovery of a large number of iron arrowheads, some bowls of beech and alder, other wooden utensils, some unfinished, a coat and several sacks full of nuts.[40]

Learned Druids also figure prominently in Sylvester O'Halloran's *An introduction to the study of the history and antiquities of Ireland* published in 1772. Limerick-born physician and historian O'Halloran (1728–1807), like Charles O'Conor, was a defender of Ireland's ancient civilisation but, unlike O'Conor, professed a more romanticised view in a more robust manner. The royal sites of Tara and Cruachain were the principal 'Druid universities' and his description of the grandeur of the palace of Tara owes much to Keating. His 'Golden Age' was pre-Christian and he denied that Irish Druids ever practised human sacrifice on the numerous altars that survived, which were also of Irish inspiration:

> That no doubt should remain, as to the antient religion and learning of Europe being from Ireland, I must observe, that the stone altars on which the Druids sacrificed, many of which yet remain in France, Britain and Ireland, are in all these places called *Crom-liachs;* and *Crom* was our chief deity, and *Lia* is Irish for a large slab ... the Druids had, in their groves, very large stones, pitched on end, forming exact circles, but between each stone was a considerable space; these were of different diameters, but all observing the circular form. The greatest number of these, and the most perfect I believe in Europe, are yet standing near Lough-guir and on the roadside, between Limerick and Bruff ...

He was also preoccupied with the heroic military aspects of ancient Ireland such as the chivalrous Fianna and the war-like exploits of the legendary Dathi on the Continent (whom we will encounter again a century later in the work of Samuel Ferguson). He expressed the belief that 'the reception of Christianity was a mortal blow to the greatness of Ireland'. Like that protagonist in a tale by George Moore who ponders on religious repression and on 'the great pagans who had wandered over these hills before scapulars and rosaries were

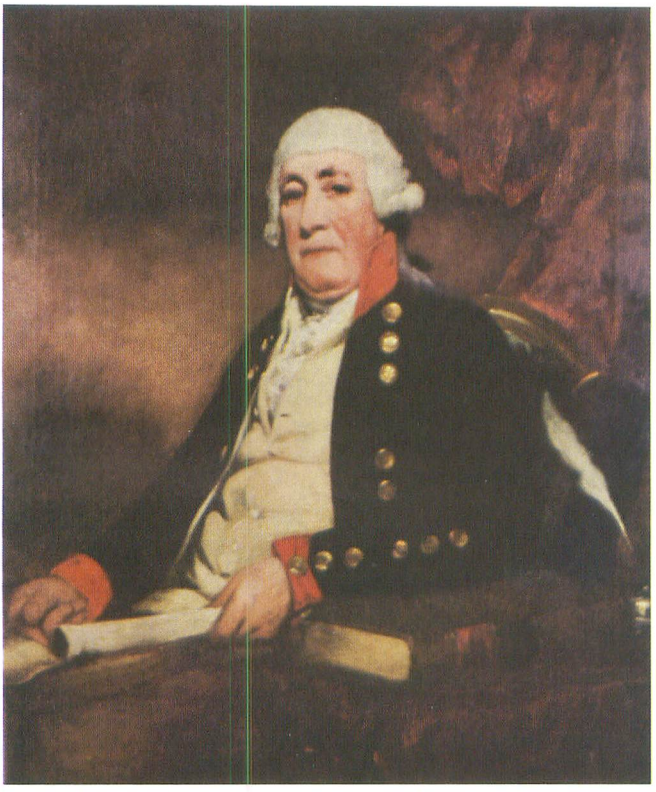
invented', O'Halloran believed 'this new religion introduced a kind of doctrine before unknown to the people. Instead of those elevated notions of military glory, of intrepidity, and independence, so much cherished by their ancestors, they were now taught patience, humility and meekness.' Nonetheless, he was happy to accept that glorious title 'Island of Saints and Scholars'.

The prehistoric golden hat (2.4) found in a bog near Devilsbit Mountain in Tipperary is cited as evidence that Irish kings wore crowns of gold, and the legend that one of the sons of Míl saw the island of Ireland from far-away Spain is taken to indicate that the early Irish used telescopes. A number of engravings of stone monuments, such as the high cross and round tower at Monasterboice and Cormac's Chapel, Cashel, are reproduced to illustrate 'the state of arts in Ireland before the twelfth century' and to counter the calumny that the ancient Irish were ignorant of architecture. He had no time for Danish explanations for round towers or other early stone buildings: 'So blindly and wilfully prejudiced have modern writers concerning Ireland been, that our very maritime cities, in which the lofty towers, strong walls, and elegant buildings, bespeak the power as well as the taste of the antient Irish, are all attributed to the Danes—a savage, barbarous crew, whose irruptions like those of their successors the Saxons were every where marked with blood, rapine, and desolation'.[41]

The Tyrone Church of Ireland clergyman Thomas Campbell (1733–1795), who for a time favoured a Phoenician source for round towers and bronze swords, also concluded that all ringforts could not be Danish monuments:

> Danes-raths are circular intrenchments thrown up on the tops of hills, sometimes with two or three, but more frequently with a single ditch. Rath signifies literally a surety, and therefore these fortresses are generally called Forts. The use of them is so obvious, that nature herself must have pointed it out to a people always at war among themselves. I can therefore see no reason why they should be attributed solely to the Danes. On the contrary, there is positive proof, in the Lives of St. Patrick, that they were in Ireland some centuries before the Danes set foot in it, for Down-Patrick was originally called Rath Keltair ... and it obtained its present name from being the burial place of the Irish apostle.[42]

He was, for a while, prepared to believe that Ireland was one of the oldest civilisations in Europe, but struck by the lack of written evidence and the absence of imposing monumental remains, he concluded that the grassy desolation of Tara and Navan reflected 'not a monument of the civilization and refinement attributed to the court of Emania, but of the shocking barbarism which distinguished those times and that place'. Though he was critical of O'Conor, O'Halloran and Vallancey, he also disapproved of English strategy in

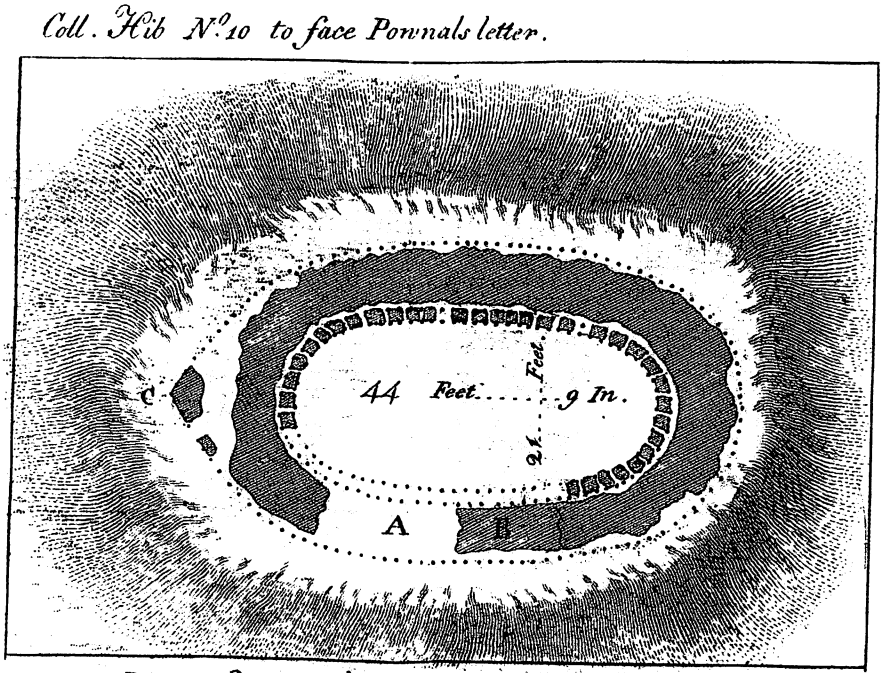


4.6. Charles Vallancey, now remembered for his promotion of theories about Oriental and Phoenician influence in early Irish civilization, was very influential in promoting antiquarian studies in the eighteenth century (Courtesy of the Royal Irish Academy).

Ireland and tended to the conclusion that the common people at least were superstitiously devoted to Ireland's ancient history and wrapped in the gloom of its own legendary annals:

> In Ireland the most diligent investigation finds no remain more notable than the Round Tower, an object more lean and meagre than the Gothic pillar; and none more ancient than the Carn, the Tumulus, the Cromliagh, and the Druid temple; all dreary monuments of barbarous superstition. ... The ancient history of Ireland has subsisted too long upon a dull paraphrase of the fables of bards and the legends of monks.[43]

Still, many Protestant antiquarians in the later eighteenth century preferred to emphasise the shared cultural heritage of Britain and Ireland, 'two countries that seem formed by nature to be joined by every bond of interest, and of amity'.[44] As already mentioned, the Dublin Society was founded in 1731 to promote Irish industry, agriculture, arts and crafts. One of its most active members since 1763 was Charles Vallancey (*c.* 1725–1812), possibly born in Flanders of French Protestant descent (4.6). Raised in England, he became a



4.7. A Pictish ship-temple as conceived by Thomas Pownall in 1786.

major-general and director of the Royal Engineers in Ireland. Extraordinarily industrious and fascinated by languages, history and archaeology, he was a leading figure in Irish antiquarian studies for almost half a century.[45] In 1772 he persuaded the Society to establish a Select Committee to inquire into 'the antient state of arts, literature and antiquities'.

The Committee had a short life but did begin to seek the whereabouts of Irish manuscripts and encouraged Charles O'Conor to publish a new edition of O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*. A few of its members and some others then formed the Hibernian Antiquarian Society, whose lifespan was equally brief from 1779 to 1783, but they continued to support Vallancey in his publishing endeavours. Vallancey (who himself had been described as a one-man society of antiquaries) was instrumental in initiating the publication of *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis,* the country's first antiquarian periodical in 1770. It became the journal of the Society in 1781 and represents the first concerted attempt to publish historical texts and translations and contains a few papers of archaeological interest. An early preface, however, written by Vallancey, gives an ominous hint of things to come: 'The antiquities of this island bear uncommon and indelible marks of very remote times. Phoenician monuments are scattered over the surface of it, and, what is more extraordinary, Phoenician names of things and places are retained even at this day.'

Vallancey's foolish linguistic speculations and his extravagant belief in Oriental connections have been justly criticised, but it should be remembered that he was writing before the development of comparative philology and at a time when Eastern origins for peoples and languages were widely accepted.[46] Even so, rash etymological conjecture was recognised even in the eighteenth century: in France it was derided by Voltaire and in Ireland one writer thought it a species of contagious madness.[47] The titles of just a few of Vallancey's many contributions to the *Collectanea* give a hint of the scope of his interests: 'An Inquiry into the first inhabitants of Ireland', 'An essay on the antiquity of the Irish language', 'On the round towers of Ireland', 'The Chinese language collated with the Irish', 'The Japonese language collated with the Irish' and 'The antient Etruscan language collated with the Irish'.

In that Romantic era, Vallancey was by no means alone in making such startlingly free-ranging connexions and the case of the Ship-Temple is a good illustration of some of the antiquarian speculation of the time. Thomas Pownall was struck by the shape of a ruined stone building illustrated by Thomas Wright in his *Louthiana* in 1748. The latter had noted that the structure bore a resemblance to the hulk of an antique ship and phonetically recorded the name *faghs na am oiche*, or the one night's work, for the building. Pownall obtained a new plan and illustration from an artist, Gabriel Beranger, and convinced himself that the Irish phrase incorporated a corruption of the name Nani, the founder of a Pictish ship-temple (**4.7**). Vallancey, who had learnt some Irish, correctly recognised that the phrase *fás aon oíche* could mean an

overnight mushroom growth but thought the Irish language 'not so sterile to apply a term of vegetation to a building' and misconcluded in turn that *Foghcas na Naoidh* was really meant, and this for him signified a house of entertainment of Druidic monks.[48] Today the once controversial Ship-Temple is largely destroyed and what survives suggests it was probably the remains a medieval tower.[49]

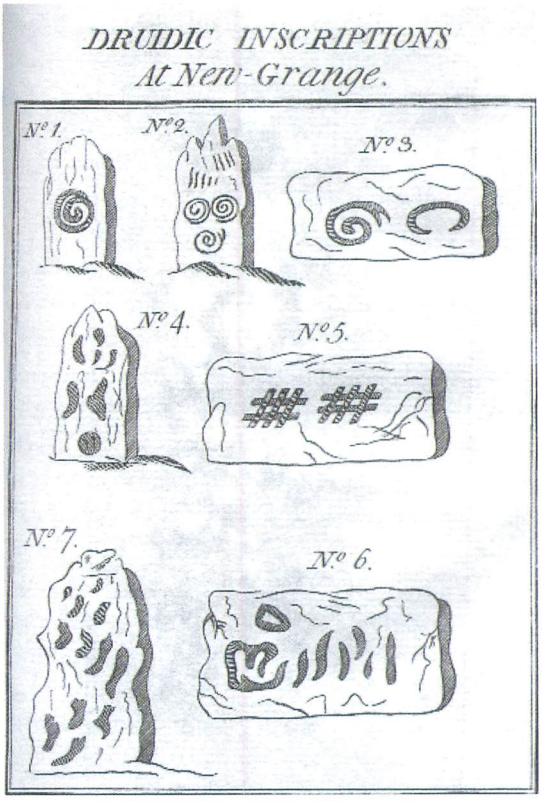
Vallancey also attributed the art at Newgrange (**4.8**) and various prehistoric gold and bronze objects to the Druids, and his belief that lunulae and gorgets were Druidic ornaments was colourfully supported in Charles Hamilton Smith's illustration of an Arch-Druid bedecked with various items including a lunula upside-down on his head (**4.9**).[50] While both Druids and Phoenicians loom large in the pages of the *Collectanea,* there is also evidence of the rapid development of serious disagreement among its contributors, disagreement which would bring about the collapse of the Society in 1783.

Vallancey's rather rose-tinted view of early Irish civilisation was not shared by writers such as William Beauford and Edward Ledwich. Beauford, for instance, who contributed a study of the 'Antient topography of Ireland' which purported to explain a long list of place-names, and described the ancient Irish as 'an aggregate of vagabonds', was taken to task by O'Conor who declared 'he publishes his ignorance, and through the far greater part of his topography of Ireland, he publishes his dreams, without any mask of plausible argument, to set off the ignorance or the dreams'.[51] Edward Ledwich, best known for his *Antiquities of Ireland,* rejected the idea that the Druids possessed a store of ancient knowledge and he chided Pownall, pointing out that folkloric explanations were not the most reliable evidence:

> The Faghas na heun Naoi, or work of one night, the name of the Dundalk Ship-temple, has a venerable obscurity, similar to the Fairy rocks in France, the Giants'-beds of these kingdoms, and the strata Gigantium of the Northerns. It is extremely agreeable to the notions of former times to ascribe such works to unknown supernatural beings. In such cases, the name and the thing seldom illustrate each other.[52]

He approved of the Pictish interpretation but disputed the Mediterranean connection and ridiculed Vallancey's linguistic correlations:

> Our worthy member, Colonel Vallancey, with that patriotic warmth which successfully carries him through the most laborious investigations, gave a more copious range to those ancient tongues, and discovered an almost perfect identity among them. This identity carried so imposing an appearance, as at one time to make him say:- 'that the Fom'oraig Afraic, or African



4.8. Druidic art at Newgrange according to Charles Vallancey, who believed the spiral motif represented the Supreme Being.

4.9. An Arch-Druid by Charles Hamilton Smith. The formidable Druidic figure is depicted 'in his judicial character, about to exhibit, according to Strabo, his profound knowledge of the laws of his country, for which reason all disputes were referred to his arbitration …' and is wearing a lunula on his head and a gorget on his chest. This image was partly inspired by the work of Charles Vallancey who believed the gorget to have been one of the gold collars of the mythical law-giver Morann, a collar which was supposed to tighten around his neck if he ever gave a false judgment.

> pirates so often mentioned in the ancient history of this country, were no other than the Phoenicians and Carthagenians'. What motive, it may be asked, could induce a merchantile people to attempt the conquest of a remote isle, unfurnished with natural products of value, without mines, manufactures or arts? ... This isle was primaevally colonized from Britain, and occasionally admitted large bodies ofVict; and other northern rovers.

The demise of the Hibernian Antiquarian Society and, eventually, of the *Collectanea* was due to the fact that its members held two quite irreconcilable views of the ancient history of Ireland, and these differences emerged gradually in successive papers.[53] Behind those conflicting opinions about the significance of the daft Ship-Temple, for example, lay echoes of deeper and older divisions. Ledwich would only accept as historical fact the meagre amount of information on early Ireland provided by Greek and Roman writers who showed the Irish of the time 'as not superior to their neighbours in government, laws, learning or religion; they mention no traces of long civility, or oriental refinement among them'. He rejected those early Irish historical sources so valued by O'Conor and O'Halloran. For him, Ireland had been populated from northern Europe. Where Vallancey saw round towers as pagan fire temples of Oriental derivation, Ledwich, who favoured the Nordic model, considered them relics of the 'Danish' incursions of the eighth and ninth centuries.[54] W.D. Love has written: 'But there was still more implied by Ledwich's view. If the ancient Irish were barbarous, it could be said that civilization came only with the English conquest and subsequent domination. Ledwich once remarked of the English that "it is *historically* true that they, under providence, humanized ye Irish, who otherwise at this day wd be perfect barbas. even as it is, they are but half civilized". This was justification for English rule and thus for the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland.'[55]

Besides Vallancey, Beauford and Ledwich, other members of the Hibernian Antiquarian Society included Colonel William Burton (soon to be Burton Conyngham of Slane Castle), Charles O'Conor and the Revd Mervyn Archdall, whose work on the pre-Reformation monasteries of Ireland, *Monasticon Hibernicum,* appeared in 1786. In 1779, the Society, with the financial support of Burton, commissioned a Dutch artist resident in Dublin, Gabriel Beranger, to undertake several tours of various parts of Ireland with other artists to record antiquities.

In a noteworthy study, Peter Harbison has reconstructed Beranger's expedition to Connacht and has demonstrated what a pioneering and extensive archaeological survey it was. Some of his illustrations survive and are a valuable record of many eighteenth-century monuments that have either disappeared or have been much altered.[56] Burton Conyngham may also have encouraged a young Austin Cooper in his antiquarian pursuits; he actively

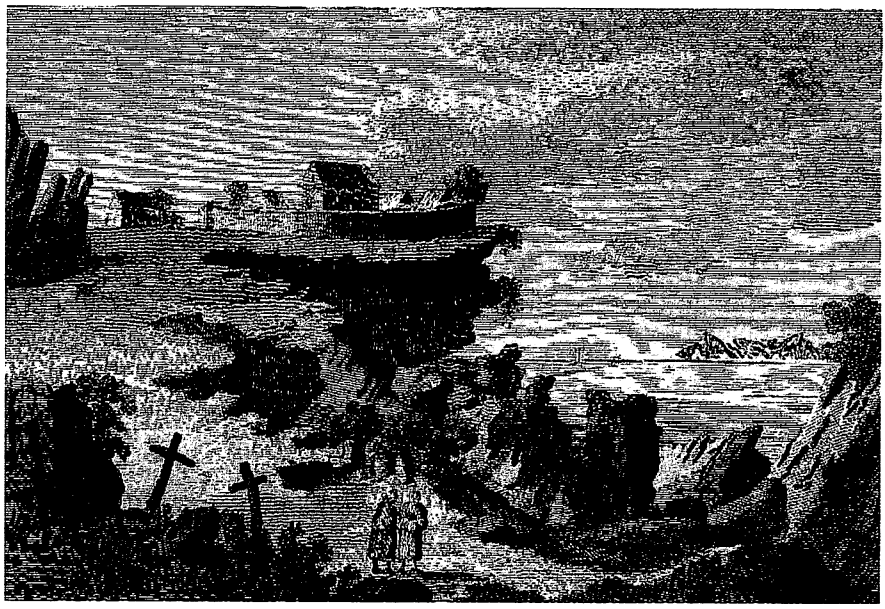
recorded monuments in the 1780s and 1790s and though only one of his drawings seems to have been published at the time, many have survived.[57] Their work is also a good demonstration of how disciplined antiquarian and topographical artistic representation had developed in the eighteenth century, though still usually confined to watercolours or line-drawings—since oils were for serious subjects. The imaginative eighteenth-century reconstructions of images of Brian Boru (**2.4**) and—as we shall see—of the mythical law-giver Ollamh Fodhla are instances of a new speculative and more romantic approach.

It would be wrong to consider Beranger's drawings as the only legacy of the short-lived Hibernian Antiquarian Society; for all its eccentricities the *Collectanea* was a pioneering effort and Vallancey's phenomenal energies were an undoubted stimulus to antiquarian studies at the time. Even more significantly, very shortly after the Society's demise, he and Burton Conyngham became founder members of the Royal Irish Academy in 1785, an institution which did endure.

With the publication of his *Antiquities of Ireland* in serial form from 1788, as a book in 1790 and in a major second edition in 1804, Edward Ledwich (1739–1823) replaced Vallancey as the leading figure in the study of Irish antiquities. Born in Dublin, educated in Trinity College, Dublin, and vicar of Aghaboe, Co. Laois, Ledwich was responsible for the completion of Francis Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland,* published from 1791 to 1794. Grose, famous for his studies of English, Welsh and Scottish medieval antiquities, died in 1791 and Ledwich wrote most of the work, which included many of the drawings commissioned by Burton Conyngham (**4.10**).

Here he further promoted his views on Irish history and antiquities. He is remembered today for the publication, in both of these works, of important

4.10. Drawing of the great dolmen at Brownshill, Co. Carlow, by William H. Beauford in Francis Grose's Antiquities of Ireland.



4.11. Dun Aonghasa on Aran represented as a monastic enclosure by William H. Beauford in Edward Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland. *Ledwich acknowledged 'the paroxysm of zeal for the monastic profession' in early Ireland but believed the Celts being Woodlanders and hunters 'never dreamed of stone edifices, or felt the want of them'.*

collections of eighteenth-century engravings of ecclesiastical and other monuments and for his assaults on 'bardic fictions and unfounded traditions' and 'the pretensions of the Irish to remote genuine history'. He pursued these themes and his belief in Nordic origins in a series of essays in his own *Antiquities of Ireland* which included 'Of the pagan state of Ireland and its remains', 'Of the stone-roofed churches of the ancient Irish, and of Cormac's Chapel', 'On the military antiquities of Ireland' and 'Of the round towers in Ireland'. He romantically depicted the great fort of Dun Aonghasa on Aran as a monastic enclosure (**4.11**) and, scandalously, doubted the existence of Saint Patrick. He favoured a Danish origin for round towers and for Newgrange as well:

> The Irish Ostmen embraced the faith about 853, and in this century I think we may date the construction of the mount at New Grange: it was made and adorned with every sepulchral honour to the memory of some illustrious northern chief.[58]

As Clare O'Halloran has remarked, in arguing that the Irish were of Nordic stock and offshoots of the Saxon nation, he made the historical colonisations

of the twelfth century and later a part of a continuous process of British settlement in Ireland.[59] Needless to say, he also rejected the notion of a cultured Milesian civilisation. In the introduction to the second volume of Grose's *Antiquities* in 1791, he declared:

> To look for the arts of peace and civilized life among fierce and roving Barbarians, is a striking instance of mental imbecility. Could a people, like the Irish in remote ages, who protected themselves from the inclemency of seasons in the gloom of caves, or beneath the umbrage of forest—who were clothed with the skins of animal—who were without commerce, and whose greatest mechanical exertion was the manufacture of a stone hatchet, or stone spear-head—could they form durable structures, or participate in the comforts of domestication? It is absurd to suppose it. And yet there are Irish Antiquaries, whose quixotism and ignorance are so great (sheltering themselves under the flimsy plea of patriotism) as to affirm, that we had magnificent palaces in this isle above two thousand years ago, wherein legal splendor, elegance and etiquette were conspicuously displayed; and that the court of Tarah continued to throw a lustre on Irish monarchy to the year of our Lord, four hundred and twenty-seven.
>
> Where are the proofs? If any, they are to be found in the rhapsodies of Bards and Seanachies of the 16th century; for the internal evidence of the language, with the ideas and practices of that period, decisively mark the era of their composition. I love my country, and am interested deeply in her honour; but I never will sacrifice common sense, truth, and my own reputation, at the shrine of popular prejudice ... It is time to burst the fascinating illusions of romantic fables, and calmly behold our country, rude indeed in its infant state, but in this respect not more degraded than the proudest monarchies of Europe or Asia. Where our antiquities are supported by authentic records and existing monuments, it may be said with confidence, that they are as curious and valuable as those of any other country.[60]

The acerbic Ledwich was a curious contradictory combination of romantic historian, prejudiced Protestant and enlightened critical scholar preoccupied with the question of authentic sources. Not surprisingly he was lauded by some and excoriated by others. The Gaelic Society of Dublin, founded in 1807 to publish translations of Irish texts, denounced him as 'the redoubted reviler of Irish literature, the Anti-Antiquary of Ireland'.[61] Like Charles O'Conor, Ledwich too had a political agenda. As Oliver MacDonagh has remarked, he

recognised that O'Conor and his colleagues were using the remote past to support Catholic claims to social and civil parity, so he proceeded to counter this association of Gaelic, Catholic and radical political views. As so often the case, the past became contested ground between Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant. The nationalist-Catholic school tended to see the course of Irish history 'in terms of degeneration from an initial purity, whereas the unionist-Protestants presented it in terms of a triumphant, if lengthy and incomplete, emergence from barbarism'.[62] It would be simplistic to imagine that the Catholic and Protestant communities in eighteenth-century Ireland were homogenous entities; there were considerable tensions between classes in the former and between Presbyterians and members of the Church of Ireland in the latter, for instance, but for both communities the past was ever present: the Catholic majority had a shared history of injustice and dispossession and the Protestant minority a common fear of Catholic domination.

The 1641 rebellion and its ghosts returned to haunt Protestants in 1798.[63] Despite the development of democratic ideals and the inclusive nationalism of the United Irishmen in the late eighteenth century—some Protestants becoming the first Irish republicans in the 1790s—religious divisions would surface and re-surface in the following centuries and inevitably affect and be affected by perceptions of the past. Sadly, for the development of antiquarian studies, the gulf between the conflicting mythologies of ancient Ireland, between the Nordic and Scytho-Celtic models, proved unbridgeable. Even though both sides had failed to come to terms with the past, the emphasis on authentic documents by Ledwich and by his critics did contribute to a more prosaic but scholarly climate.[64] In the face of linguistic studies in the nineteenth century, Celts would replace discredited Phoenicians as ancestral figures and the opposition between Scytho-Celtic and Nordic beliefs would crystallise in opposing racial myths of Celt and Teuton.

Notes

1 R.B. McDowell in T. Ó Raifeartaigh (ed.), *The Royal Irish Academy: a bicentennial history 1785–1985* (1985), 3; M. Herity, 'Early finds of Irish antiquities from the minute-books of the Society of Antiquaries of London', *The Antiquaries Journal* **49** (1969), 4; G.L. Herries Davies, 'The making of Irish geography, IV: the Physico-Historical Society of Ireland 1744–1752', *Irish Geography* **12** (1979), 92; E. Magennis, 'The Physico-Historical Society', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **102C** (2002), 199.

2 R. Gillespie, 'The social world of County Down in the seventeenth century', in L. Proudfoot (ed.), *Down history and society* (1997), 141; T. Bartlett, 'Protestant nationalism', in M. O'Dea and K. Whelan (eds), *Nations and nationalisms* (1995), 79.

3 W. Harris, *The antient and present state of the County of Down* (1744), vii.

4 J. Leerssen, *Mere Irish* (1996), 322; B. Cunningham, *Geoffrey Keating* (2000), 225; also C. O'Halloran, *Golden Ages* (2004), 27ff. Commenting on one of Harris' publications, Charles O'Conor wrote in 1759: 'Through ignorance of our language, he has more mistakes than pages, many of which I marked in the margin from the original I had before me. The ignorance of our language and the virulence of faction apart, he certainly has good talents as a compiler and I often wonder how well he has succeeded': R.E. Ward *et al., Letters of Charles O'Conor* (1988), 65.

5 J.P. Delury, 'Ex Conflictu et Collisione: the failure of Irish historiography, 1745–1790', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* **15** (2000), 12ff.

6 C. Smith, *The antient and present state of the County and City of Waterford* (1746), 351. On Smith: W. Fraher, 'Charles Smith', *Decies* **53** (1997), 33.

7 R. Clayton, 'Part of a Letter ... concerning the remains of an antient temple in Ireland ...', *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* **42** (1743), 581. For Clayton, see C.J.F. MacCarthy, 'An antiquary's notebook 9', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **92** (1987), 119. Letitia Bushe: A. Crookshank *et al.* (1994), *The watercolours of Ireland*, 27; S.J. Connolly, 'The case of Letitia Bushe', *The Historical Journal* **43** (2000), 433 (which details many of her interests but does not allude to her painting of 'ruins'). Women formed about 22% of subscribers to Wright's *Louthiana* in 1748 but at least four-fifths of these were titled and in all probability subscribing was an expression of social status and patronage as elsewhere: see R. Sweet, *Antiquaries* (2004), 72.

8 C. Smith, *The ancient and present state of the County and City of Cork* (1815), 416, 140.

9 T. Wright, *Louthiana: or, An introduction to the antiquities of Ireland* (1748), reprinted 2000 with an introduction by Paul Gosling.

10 Ibid., book III, 5.

11 Ibid., book III, 12.

12 V.M. Buckley and P.D. Sweetman, *Archaeological Survey of County Louth* (1991), 47, 70.

13 J. Howley, *Follies and garden buildings of Ireland* (1993), 117. Wright may have designed the octagonal gazebo at Belvedere House, near Mullingar, Co. Westmeath, and based it on his drawing in *Louthiana* of the baptistery at Mellifont.

14 A. Harrison, 'John Toland's Celtic background', in P. McGuinness *et al.* (eds), *John Toland's Christianity not mysterious: text, associated works and critical essays* (1997), 243 [and other essays therein]; A. Harrison, 'John Toland (1670–1722) and Celtic studies', in C.J. Byrne *et al.* (eds), *Celtic languages and Celtic peoples. Proceedings of the Second North American Congress of Celtic Studies held in Halifax August 16-19, 1989* (1992), 555. The *History of the Druids* was published in the first of the two volumes of *A collection of several pieces of Mr John Toland*, edited by the French journalist Pierre Desmaizeaux (1726) and as *A critical history of the Celtic religion and learning: containing an account of the Druids* (1815). Piggott's description in

his *Ancient Britons* (1989), 142, of Toland as 'a literary hack' is unwarranted; see T. Duddy, *A history of Irish thought* (2002), 82ff.

15 J. G. Simms, 'John Toland (1670–1722), a Donegal heretic', *Irish Historical Studies* **16** (1969), 304; J.A. Champion, 'John Toland, the Druids, and the politics of Celtic scholarship', *Irish Historical Studies* **32** (2001), 321; R. Sullivan, 'John Toland's Druids', *Bullán* 4 (1998), 19.

16 J. Toland, *Critical history* (1815), 60. These references to relatively minor archaeological monuments would seem to imply first-hand knowledge of the Carndonagh and Clonmany area. 'Creag-a-Vanny' may be Craigawannia in Carrowreagh or Craignacally townland in Doagh; for Rashenny see E. Cody, *Survey of the megalithic tombs of Ireland, County Donegal* (2002), 152. Some of the folklore associated with the white-legged 'fairy princess' is recorded by M. Harkin (alias Maghtochair) in his *Inishowen: its history, traditions and antiquities* (1867), 107. Charles O'Conor of Bellanagare had a good opinion of Toland's *History of the Druids* and commended it to Sylvester O'Halloran in 1769: R.E. Ward *et al.*, *Letters of Charles O'Conor of Belanagare* (1988), 226. William Stukeley too thought Toland a person of great learning: D.B. Haycock, *William Stukeley: science, religion and archaeology in eighteenth-century England* (2002), 183. Also on Toland: C. O'Halloran, *Golden Ages* (2004), 75ff.

17 It is even possible that Druidic Stonehenge may have influenced architectural fashion and inspired John Wood's design for the Circus in Bath: S. Piggott, *The Druids* (1975), 143. The encouragement given to Druidic preoccupations by the Romantic movement in the eighteenth century has long been recognised: S. Piggott, 'Prehistory and the Romantic movement', *Antiquity* **11** (1937), 31.

18 Quoted in J. Waddell, 'Rathcroghan—a royal site in Connacht', *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* **1** (1983), 24. See D. Ó Catháin, 'Charles O'Conor of Belanagare', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **119** (1989), 136.

19 Disparagement of antiquarians: P. Baines, 'Antiquaries and fraud', *British Journal for Eighteenth-century Studies* **20** (1997), 37. Samuel Foote's comedy: Joan Evans, *History of the Society of Antiquaries* (1956), 168. Chamber-pots and antiquaries: I.G. Brown, *The hobby-horsical antiquary* (1980), 11. The Earl of Buchan, founder of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1780, hoped the new Society would protect the name of antiquary from being 'the butt of fashionable and humorous stricture': A.S. Bell, *The Scottish antiquarian tradition* (1981), 11.

20 Boswell's 'ogham' was published just three years after the publication of the Mount Callan ogham stone by Theophilus O'Flanagan in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*. The most obvious of Boswell's jokes is his representation of the IHS inscription (with its characteristic central cross) on a relatively modern graveslab as a six-inch long ogham inscription. He claims that the same slab also bears a defaced Latin inscription beginning 'Praetores fontes Gracchus ...' which, as his illustration clearly shows, has nothing to do with Roman praetorians but actually reads 'Pray for the soul of Father Hugh Flin'! J. Lennon, *Irish Orientalism* (2004), 102ff, errs in believing this pamphlet to be a genuine example of the Vallancey school of orientalism but he does reproduce Boswell's revealing illustrations ('ogham' inscription: Pl. I, figs 4 and 5 and 'Latin' inscription: pl. II, fig. 5).

21 C. O'Conor, *Dissertations on the ancient history of Ireland* (1753), 129, 179. J.H. Andrews, 'Mapping the past in the past', in C. Thomas (ed.), *Rural landscapes and communities* (1986), 38, fig. 3.

22 C. O'Conor, 'Reflections on the history of Ireland during the times of heathenism', *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* 3 (1782), 216. For the Scytho-Celtic model: see J. Leerssen, *Mere Irish* (1996), 288ff; for a summary of a Nordic or Gothic variant which traced Celts

to Scythia by way of northern Europe, see C. O'Halloran, *Golden ages* (2004), 57.

23 See H.L.C. Tristram, 'Celtic in linguistic taxonomy in the nineteenth century', in T. Brown (ed.), *Celticism* (1996), 42. The quotation comes from the preface to the *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Dublin*, vol. 1 (1808), vii, and was probably written by Theophilus O'Flanagan, who may have been following William Shaw in the preface to his *Galic and English Dictionary* (1780) for whom Scottish Gaelic was 'probably the speech of Paradise'. Also Vallancey in *An essay on the antiquity of the Irish language* (1772) reprinted in *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* **2** (1786), 251.

24 C. Kidd, 'Gaelic antiquity and national identity in Enlightenment Ireland and Scotland', *English Historical Review* **59** (1994), 1197.

25 C. O'Halloran, *Golden ages* (2004), 104, 147.

26 C. O'Halloran, 'Irish re-creations of the Gaelic past', *Past and Present* **124** (1989), 69.

27 J. Leerssen, *Mere Irish* (1996), 338ff. According to J.F. Nagy, in their appropriation of Oisín, Fionn Mac Cumhaill and Irish Fenian tradition, Macpherson and his supporters were jockeying, however ingenuously, for primacy in the emerging Celticity sweepstakes of the eighteenth century: 'Observations on the Ossianesque', *Journal of American Folklore* **114** (2001), 439.

28 K.H. Jackson, *A Celtic miscellany* (1951), 12; F. Stafford, *The sublime savage* (1988), 171ff.

29 C. Kidd, 'Teutonist ethnology and Scottish nationalist inhibition', *The Scottish Historical Review* **74** (1995), 45.

30 J. Macpherson, *Introduction to the history of Great Britain and Ireland* (1771), 198, 232. G.K. Chesterton's verse is matched by the equally daft comment of Robert Knox in *Races of men* (1850), 319: 'War is the game for which the Celt is made. Herein is the *forte* of his physical and moral character.'

31 J. McVeagh, *Richard Pococke's Irish tours* (1995). Mrs Delaney is quoted in A. Day, *Letters from Georgian Ireland* (1991), 62, 52. Mary Delaney was a good friend of Letitia Bushe.

32 Joan Evans, *Society of Antiquaries* (1956), 61.

33 R. Pococke, 'An account of some antiquities found in Ireland', *Archaeologia* **2** (1773), 32; see M. Herity, 'Early finds of Irish antiquities', *Antiquaries Journal* **49** (1969), 8ff, who has also published Simon's letter and drawings.

34 Both of Cooper's works contain illustrations of various antiquities. Ousley had a significant collection but when providing Walker with some details, he confesses to having mislaid his catalogue. For Walker see: M. Nevin, 'Joseph Cooper Walker 1761–1810', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **126** (1996), 162; also (1997), 34; 'The Cashel Crosier', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **125** (1995), 131.

35 S. Owenson, *Patriotic sketches* (1807), vol. 1, 77, 86.

36 Some items in William Bennison's collection were recorded by Daniel Grose in 1792: R. Stalley, *Daniel Grose* (1991), 133; Walter Harris and the Bog of Cullen: M. Herity, 'Early finds of Irish antiquities' (1969), 9; T. Campbell, *Philosophical survey of the South of Ireland* (1777), 156.

37 T. Pownall, 'An account of some Irish antiquities', *Archaeologia* **3** (1775), 355. B. Orme, 'Governor Pownall', *Antiquity* **48** (1974), 116. Bog of Cullen: G. Eogan, *The hoards of the Irish Later Bronze Age* (1983), 154.

38 T. Pownall, 'A description of the sepulchral monument at NewGrange', *Archaeologia* **2** (1773), 241. The notion of progress from woods to fields is also to be found in Gerald of Wales' *Topography of Ireland:* O'Meara (1951, 85). The American impact on European antiquarian thought can be traced back to the early sixteenth century: S. Piggott, *Ancient Britons* (1989), 73ff.

39 Lady Moira, 'Particulars relative to a human skeleton, and the garments that were found thereon, when dug out of a bog ...', *Archaeologia* 7 (1783), 90. The summit of Slieve Croob bears the remains of a great cairn (briefly described by Walter Harris) and was the site of traditional Lughnasa gatherings. See also R.C. Turner and R.G. Scaife (eds), *Bog bodies: new discoveries and new perspectives* (1995), 176, 200, 225.

40 W.L. Edgeworth, 'Discoveries in the turf bogs of Ireland', *Archaeologia* 7 (1783), 111; R.E. Schofield, *The Lunar Society* (1963), 216, 447.

41 S. O'Halloran, *An introduction to the study of the history and antiquities of Ireland* (1772), 35, 86, 92, 146, 169, 172, 220. John Wood in *An essay towards a description of Bath* (1742) had already sited a Druid university at the great stone circle of Stanton Drew in Somerset: D.B. Haycock, *William Stukeley* (2002), 220. On O'Halloran: C. O'Halloran, *Golden ages* (2004), 107.

42 T. Campbell, *A philosophical survey of the South of Ireland* (1777), 247.

43 T. Campbell, *Strictures on the ecclesiastical and literary history of Ireland* (1789), 18n, 11, 23. See C. O'Halloran, *Golden ages* (2004), 132ff.

44 The quotation is from the preface to Charlotte Brooke's *Reliques of Irish poetry* (1789).

45 M. Nevin, 'General Charles Vallancey 1725–1812', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 123 (1993), 19. O'Halloran, *Golden ages* (2004), 41ff, 163, 182, has judged his political values as 'profoundly colonial' and his work an example of the manipulation of a subject culture and heritage by an officer of an imperial power for purely domestic reasons (p. 53).

46 There were some serious Irish students of both the Far and Near East: in the Near East, for example, the work of Robert Woods, from Riverstown, Co. Meath, was highly regarded and his monumental *Ruins of Palmyra* (1753) and *Ruins of Baalbec* (1757) were very influential: W.B. Stanford, *Ireland and the Classical tradition* (1976), 115. For Irish Orientalism as a form of cultural decolonisation: J. Lennon, 'Irish Orientalism', in C. Carroll and P. King (eds), *Ireland and postcolonial theory* (2003), 129; pseudo-historical and academic orientalism is explored in detail in his *Irish Orientalism: a literary and intellectual history* (2004).

47 D. Droixhe, *L'Étymon des Dieux* (2002), 240. William Webb, in his *An analysis of the history and antiquities of Ireland, prior to the fifth century* (1791), 61, 191, is critical of the incoherent work of Vallancey 'this voluminous glossologist' and describes etymology as 'a species of madness ... and perhaps ... of contagious madness too'.

48 T. Pownall, 'An account of the Ship-Temple, near Dundalk in Ireland ... to which are added some remarks by Lieut. Col. Vallancey', *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* 3 (1786), 197. Beranger's depiction of the ship-temple has been published by Harbison, *Beranger's rambles in Ireland* (2004), 125.

49 V.M. Buckley and P.D. Sweetman, *Archaeological Survey of County Louth* (1991), 205, no. 1200.

50 The Newgrange stones are figured in his 'Druidism revived', *Collectanea* 2 (1786), 210; gold and bronze objects in 'The Iodhan Morain, or Breast-plate of Judgment, etc.', *Collectanea* 4 (1786), 1 (Vallancey believed the gorget to have been one of the gold collars of the mythical law-giver Morann). The Arch-Druid is from S.R. Meyrick and C.H. Smith's picture-book *The costumes of the original inhabitants of the British Islands* (1815), pl. X; the Vallancey-derived gorget around his neck is the inspiration for gorget-wearing by modern Welsh Druids.

51 W. Beauford, 'The antient topography of Ireland', *Collectanea* 3 (1786), 253. C. O'Conor, 'Third letter from Charles O'Conor, Esq; [on the pagan state of Ireland] to Colonel Vallancey', *Collectanea* 4 (1786), 132.

52 E. Ledwich, 'Some observations on Irish antiquities; with a particular application of them

to the Ship-Temple near Dundalk', *Collectanea* **3** (1786), 441. Ledwich tentatively identified a dry-stone and slab-roofed structure, locally called Leaba na Fathach or the Giant's Bed, near Belmullet, Co. Mayo, as another ship-temple, but Pownall was not convinced: T. Pownall, 'A letter from Governor Pownall to the Reverend Michael Lort', *Archaeologia* **7** (1785), 269. E. Ledwich, 'A dissertation on the religion of the Druids', *Archaeologia* **7** (1785), 303.

53 W.D. Love, 'The Hibernian Antiquarian Society: a forgotten predecessor to the Royal Irish Academy', *Studies* **51** (1962), 419.

54 Ironically Phoenicians would be invoked as harbingers of nineteenth-century British imperialism: T. Champion, 'The appropriation of the Phoenicians in British imperial ideology', *Nations and Nationalism* **7** (2001), 451.

55 W.D. Love, 'The Hibernian Antiquarian Society' (1962), 423.

56 P. Harbison, *'Our treasure of antiquities': Beranger and Bigari's antiquarian sketching tour of Connacht in 1779* (2002); *Beranger's Views of Ireland* (1991); *Beranger's antique buildings of Ireland* (1998). *Beranger's rambles in Ireland* (2004); Barralet and Beranger's sketching tour through Wicklow and Wexford, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **104C** (2004), 131. For William Burton Conyngham, see C.E.F. Trench, 'William Burton Conyngham (1733–1796)', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **115** (1985), 40.

57 L. Price, *Austin Cooper (1759–1830)* (1942); C. Manning, 'Some unpublished Austin Cooper illustrations', *Journal of Irish Archaeology* **9** (1998), 127; P. Harbison, *Cooper's Ireland* (2000). On Ledwich: R. Sweet, *Antiquaries* (2004), 145. The little-known James Saunders was another antiquarian painter: C. Corlett, 'The antique sketches of James Saunders', *Archaeology Ireland* **14**, no. 3 (2000), 16.

58 E. Ledwich, *The antiquities of Ireland: the second edition, with additions and corrections, to which is added a collection of miscellaneous antiquities* (1804), 1, 12, 46, 141.

59 C. O'Halloran, *Golden ages* (2004), 61.

60 F. Grose, *The antiquities of Ireland* (1791); the quotation comes from Ledwich's introduction to vol. 2, i–ii.

61 Theophilus O'Flanagan in *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Dublin*, vol. 1 (1808), 227.

62 O. MacDonagh, *States of mind* (1983), 2.

63 C. O'Halloran, *Golden ages* (2004), 156.

64 D. MacCartney, 'The writing of history in Ireland, 1800–30', *Irish Historical Studies* **10** (1957), 347.

5. The emergence of archaeology

Even with the foundation of the Royal Irish Academy in 1785 and the publication in 1787 of the first issue of the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* (with separate sections on antiquities as well as on science and polite literature), the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century saw a world where antiquarian studies were somewhat muted, to say the least. The aftershocks of the 1798 rebellion and the Napoleonic wars reminded the Establishment of the degree of disaffection in the country at many levels, a situation compounded in the earlier nineteenth century as the economy faltered and the population increased. Even so, with the Act of Union and the abolition of the Irish parliament in 1800 some British travellers did come to Ireland curious to visit the new relation.[1] Though sometimes informative, their comments on antiquities are invariably brief. They illustrate, nonetheless, the growing and widening interest in antiquarian matters.

John Carr, an English lawyer and traveller, who visited parts of the east, south and south-west in 1805, has little enough to say about such matters but was struck by a cemetery of ring barrows (and some other monuments) on the Curragh in County Kildare:

> In a direction nearly east and west on the long ridge of the curragh, there is a chain of fourteen circular intrenchments of different diameters, terminated on the east by an earthen tumulus, and on the west by a large circular rath, near which is a small circular mound, with a cavity on the top, supposed to have been a cuci or kitchen of some of the antient inhabitants. These intrenchments are called in the Irish language farranta foras, or antient graves, and hence, as well as on account of their being too small for forts, they are considered to be tombs of the antient Irish.[2]

Clusters of burial mounds might also be seen as a mark of an ancient battlefield—a romantic idea that would re-surface in the following century. Writing of Rathlin Island off the County Antrim coast, one eighteenth-century writer reported:

> A number of small tumuli were lately opened in a little plain about the middle of the island, probably the monuments of so many heroes, who in former ages, had fallen honourably in this very field of battle. The chief himself lay in a stone coffin, and beside him an earthen vessel stood, which, by the residuum still visible, seemed formerly to have contained an offering of blood, or some other perishable animal substance. Within the tumuli lay a considerable number of human bones, the remains of more ignoble men, who might have fallen by the like fate of war.[3]

For Sir Richard Colt Hoare, who toured Ireland in 1806, this was 'unvisited and unknown' territory. He is justly celebrated for investigating hundreds of burial mounds in southern England and for his pioneering archaeological study, *Ancient Wiltshire,* published in 1812 and 1819. His comments on major Irish monuments, from Devinish to Cashel, are fairly cursory, however, and he evidently did not stray too far from his carriage. The great mound of Newgrange is compared to burial mounds in Wiltshire and, like other cromlechs, is attributed to the most ancient inhabitants of the country—though whether Celtic or Belgic he is uncertain. The one illustration is a rather dark engraving at the beginning of his *Journal of a Tour* of one of the side chambers of the Newgrange tomb. All of this, Newgrange included, did not impress one critic who described the work as 'the meagre notes of this dry, husky traveller whose mind is as dull and vacant as the dignified Coal-hole he has selected as a frontispiece'.[4]

The Revd Caesar Otway, a Tipperary clergyman, visited the north and the south-west of Ireland in 1822 to explore 'hitherto unnoticed districts' and published the first edition of his *Sketches in Ireland* in 1827. He records the occasional monument and in Donegal he visits a Giant's Grave, near Mulroy Bay, consisting of 'two long caves, or rather troughs, composed of immense stones, joined in the shape of coffins', which clearly intrigued him. By 1839, when he published his *Tour in Connaught,* his curiosity is evidently greater and he briefly notes a number of megalithic tombs on Achill, for instance. A few years later in his *Sketches in Erris and Tyrawley* he is prepared to leap from his horse-drawn car when he spots the stones of the now familiar court tomb at Ballyglass, Co. Mayo, in a cornfield beside the road.

Those well-known and enterprising travellers, Anna and Samuel Carter Hall in their several tours in the first half of the nineteenth century assiduously note picturesque and sublime landscapes, and folklore, and draw the attention of visitors to castles, ecclesiastical buildings (which are frequently illustrated), and the occasional druidical altar. Not everyone was appreciative of ancient monuments however: the civil engineer Patrick Knight has little to say about antiquities in his *Erris in the 'Irish Highlands'* and he casually alludes to the fact that he destroyed one cromlech in Glencastle between Crossmolina and Belmullet 'by making the public road through it'.[5]

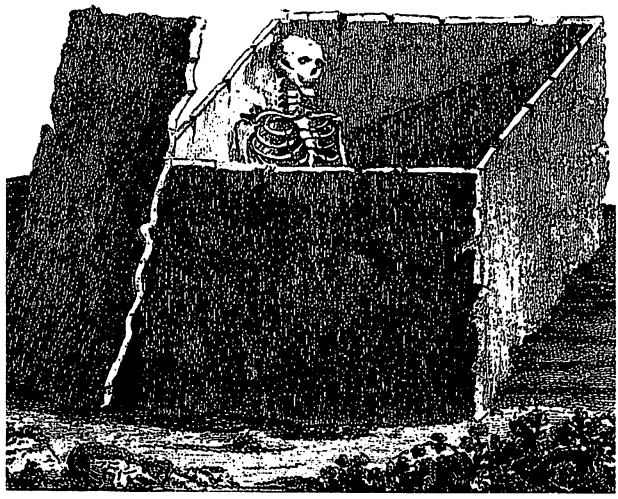
The Royal Irish Academy

The Royal Irish Academy chose James Caulfeild, Earl of Charlemont, as its first president in 1785 and decided that the principal meeting of the year should be held on March 16th rather than on Saint Patrick's Day 'from an apprehension that our devotion to the memory of our tutelar saint might render our heads less cool than became an assembly of philosophers'. There were thirty-eight original members who quickly elected a further fifty to their number. Among these eighty-eight foundation members were six bishops, three peers, three heirs to peerages, twenty-three members of parliament, sixteen fellows of Trinity College, two army officers (including Vallancey) and members of the medical and legal professions. There were two Catholics, the historian Charles O'Conor of Bellanagare and John Purcell, a medical man.[6]

The articles on antiquities in the early volumes of the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* were typical of the period and very reminiscent of those in Vallancey's *Collectanea*. The first volume, in 1787, contained just two articles of an archaeological character. One, entitled 'An account of an antient inscription in Ogam character on the sepulchral monument of an Irish chief', was by a young Clare-born student in Trinity College, Dublin, Theophilus O'Flanagan. Unfortunately, this tale of an ogham inscription found on Slievecallan, near Milltown Malbay, Co. Clare—the very first archaeological paper published by the Academy—was not what it purported to be.

The Mount Callan ogham stone, as it came to be called, was the first stone of its kind to be transcribed, translated and published but far from being the ancient memorial stone of one 'Conan the fierce', a contemporary of Fionn Mac Cumhaill, it was probably carved shortly before 1780. Cited by some as evidence of Ireland's primacy in the Ossianic controversy, claimed by others as a forgery, the Mount Callan ogham remained a matter of debate for over a century.[7] One positive result of the dispute, however, was the encouragement it gave to the discovery and interpretation of ogham stones. The second article is an account of a cist burial with urn found at Kilranelagh, Co. Wicklow, and the author, the Revd William Hamilton, has, according to Frank Mitchell, the distinction of being the first person to describe to the Academy an antiquity which had no bullion value but did have an authentic provenance.[8] The second volume of the Academy's *Transactions*, in 1788, contained four short archaeological articles including one on the discovery of some bronze trumpets at Carrigogunnel, Co. Limerick, on the motte and bailey built by Hugh de Lacy in 1192 at Ardnurcher, near Horseleap, Co. Westmeath, and on a prehistoric cist grave at Calverstown, near Kilcullen, Co. Kildare, with the crouched skeleton engagingly depicted in an alert and upright sitting position (**5.1**).

A paper by Charles Vallancey on an unremarkable sixteenth-century grave slab found at Lusk, Co. Dublin, contained his usual exuberant hunt for Egyptian, Persian and other exotic iconographic parallels. Subsequent volumes



5.1. An eighteenth-century depiction of a rectangular cist, which contained a crouched skeleton and a bowl, found in Calverstown, Co. Kildare.

contain just one or two articles of archaeological interest, sometimes none at all. If publications were any guide, it would seem that by 1800, and indeed for almost three decades thereafter, there was an antiquarian torpidity in the Academy and interest in antiquities was at a relatively low ebb.[9] The past was evidently a sensitive topic and while twice as many papers on scientific rather than literary and antiquarian themes were published in the early volumes of the *Transactions*, those on antiquarian subjects were more likely to come to ballot.[10]

The first antiquarian article by a woman in the *Transactions* was published in 1828: Louisa Beaufort's long prize-winning essay on Irish antiquities ranged widely, dealing with cromleachs, stone circles, Newgrange, earthworks and round towers. It would have warmed the heart of the late General Vallancey, however, for Druidical and wilder Oriental explanations are favoured, and she believed round towers, for instance, to be pre-Christian fire temples and possibly giant gnomons as well. Nonetheless, this was an accomplished piece of work and she was clearly familiar with a large body of antiquarian literature and provided a number of her own illustrations. She had evidently visited various monuments in different parts of the country, from stone circles at Grange, near Lough Gur, Co. Limerick, to the then relatively inaccessible Newgrange which she explored more than once (**5.2**).[11]

Even if romantic Oriental notions held sway and publications were few, in the same year, 1828, the sum of £15 was made available 'to make purchases for history and antiquities'. The slow process of augmenting the Academy's rudimentary archaeological collections had begun and the study of antiquities was becoming increasingly respectable. In 1840 the then considerable sum of £1000 was raised by public subscription to purchase the collection of Henry Richard Dawson, Dean of St Patrick's, Dublin. This material, comprising over

1800 objects, excluding coins and medals, was on view at the deanery and included a portion of the famous Dowris Hoard found in the 1820s near Birr, Co. Offaly.[12] The year 1824 saw the establishment of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland and in the decades to follow an assembly of brilliant scholars associated with both the Survey and the Academy would revolutionise the study of Irish archaeology. The publication of the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* began in 1836 and at a meeting in April 1837 George Petrie read the first part of his paper 'On the antiquities of Tara Hill', the dramatic first fruits of the archaeological work of the Ordnance Survey in County Meath. It would be published two years later in the Academy's *Transactions*.

The Ordnance Survey

The Ordnance Survey of Ireland was established in late 1824. Its purpose was to provide a detailed cartographic survey and valuation of land and buildings to allow the reform of the country's local taxation system. There were many discrepancies in local valuations—a complaint voiced by ratepayers in England too—and an equitable measure of assessment at both townland and county level was needed. Thomas Colby, director of the British Ordnance Survey, and Thomas Larcom, in charge of the Survey's office in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, were the two leading personages who oversaw the huge task of mapping Ireland at the unparalleled scale of six inches to one mile from 1825 to 1846.[13] Officers and men of the Royal Engineers or the Royal Artillery and a large number of civil assistants recruited locally undertook the task. At one time, in

The Cairn of New Grange.
And the Entrance on the South Side,
County of Louth.

5.2. Newgrange, Co. Meath, drawn by Louisa Beaufort c. 1828. She believed this was a 'sacred funereal cave temple' like those of the Brahmins of India or the Magi of Persia and thought its principal stone basin was a stone of sacrifice or a place for a perpetual Druidical fire.

1840, the number of staff exceeded 2000 and not surprisingly for the time, apart from one office cleaner, no women were involved.

Colby's innovative instructions were to have remarkable archaeological consequences: 'The interior survey of Ireland is to be performed on a scale of six inches to one English mile; and the plans are to be drawn with all the accuracy and minuteness of detail which that scale allows'. This would mean, in effect, that the Survey would do much more than just map some 60,000 townlands and other territorial divisions such as roads and plots of cultivated and uncultivated land. For Colby this was a unique cartographic development and a work of science and scholarship. Though obviously not an archaeological reconnaissance, the many hundreds of six-inch sheets produced by the Survey began to furnish an enormous amount of archaeological information and in some cases, as at Navan Fort, the interest shown by surveyors in a monument may have helped to demonstrate its importance and may have contributed to its preservation.[14] Though field boundaries were omitted in the first counties surveyed (Derry, Donegal and Antrim), they were included in all others and in the revision of those three northern counties because determination of the extent of land holdings was necessary for valuation purposes. Revisions began in 1845 but continued slowly, adding new place-names and antiquities.

In time the six-inch maps would offer exciting new prospects for research. They provided the first distribution maps of conspicuous ancient monuments such as castles, churches, round towers and earthworks especially when they stood out in cultivated land. In 1869, the new maps allowed Augustus Lane Fox (later General Pitt Rivers) to estimate that there had been 10,000 ringforts in Munster, of which a large number, possibly a half, had been destroyed since the Survey was undertaken. Using the Ordnance maps in 1860 the Revd Charles Graves, in the first study of Irish rock art, suggested that groups of inscribed circles could be correlated with ringfort distribution and were in fact an early map of these monuments.

On sounder ground, in 1882, making use of the Survey records and with the assistance of some of the young ladies of the Literary Society of Dublin's Alexandra College, Margaret Stokes published a distribution map and analysis of 283 megalithic tombs. A few years later, with the aid of the Survey maps and other sources, W.C. Borlase was able to calculate that there were over 800 certain megalithic monuments on the island. A combination of both place-name and cartographic evidence allowed T.J. Westropp to estimate the number of ancient forts in Ireland at about 30,000 in 1902 and place-names were used by G.H. Orpen to identify the number and distribution of Anglo-Norman fortifications in 1906.[15]

A topographical department was established to address the problems posed by the mapping of place-names and antiquities ('mounds, forts and tombs').[16] This department effectively came into existence in 1830 when the Irish scholar Edward O'Reilly (author of an *Irish-English Dictionary*) was appointed. His

early death made way for the appointment of John O'Donovan who had taught Irish to Thomas Larcom. Apart from one short break, O'Donovan would work in the department until its disbandment in 1842. George Petrie served as superintendent from 1835 to 1842 and Eugene O'Curry worked for a similar timespan. Under Petrie's direction, O'Donovan undertook a major part of the fieldwork while O'Curry studied ancient Irish manuscripts preserved in libraries in Ireland and in England. It is all too easily forgotten today just how pioneering these scholars were. Others who were employed for shorter periods included William F. Wakeman and George du Noyer, both skilled artists and draughstmen. All would leave their mark—in very diverse ways—on Irish archaeology. In 1839 there were no less than eleven people, all civilians, working there including the poet James Clarence Mangan. Located as they were in Petrie's house in Great Charles Street, near Mountjoy Square, close to the major libraries in Trinity College, the Royal Irish Academy and Marsh's Library, and away from the Phoenix Park, they had considerable autonomy.

Wakeman penned a brief and engaging account of the department and its extraordinary company of scholars, the esteemed Petrie, the tireless O'Donovan, the eccentric Mangan with a flax-coloured wig and false teeth ever sipping 'tar-water', all working in two large rooms surrounded by an enormous collection of antiquities, books and documents. He recounted too his visit to Aran with O'Donovan for the Survey in 1839 and the excitement of seeing the greatest of its stone forts for the first time:

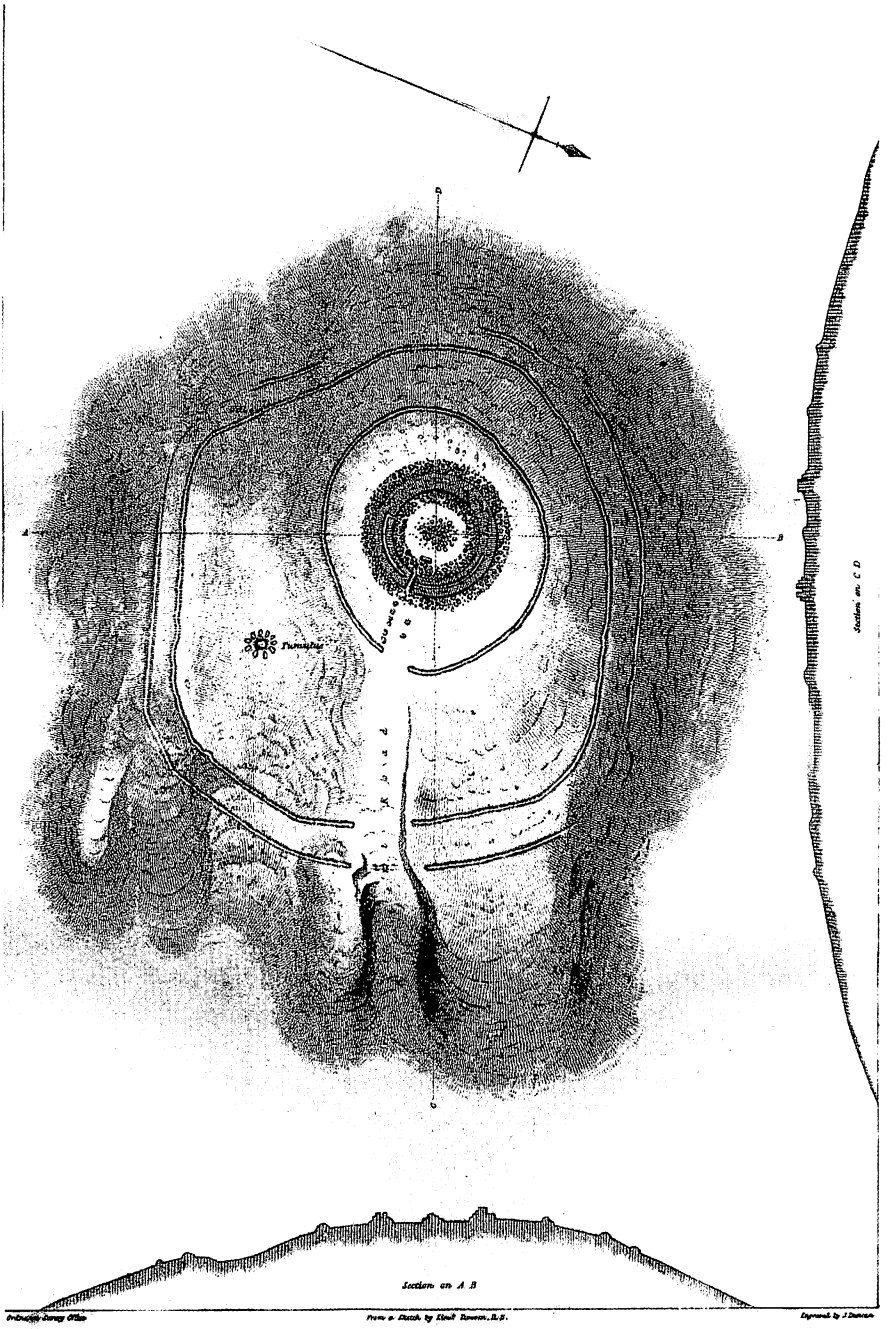
> Fired with a desire to visit the great Firbolgian Fort of Dun Aengus we made little delay at Mrs. Costello's. Armed with measuring tapes, note-books, and sketching materials, we started over the rocks, in the direction of the western cliffs, upon the highest of which the great Acropolis of Aran stands, at a height of 302 feet above the Atlantic surges. A smart walk brought us in sight of the object of our day's pilgrimage; and I shall never forget O'Donovan's burst of enthusiasm when the old palace fortress of the days of Queen Maeve first met our view. He literally shouted with delight, and after launching his umbrella a marvellous height into the air, threw himself on the ground, and shouted again and again.[17]

Place-names were not the only preoccupation of the topographical department. It was Colby's intention to collect more information than could be put on the maps themselves, they being a graphical index to a memoir. While it is important to emphasise the historical nature of much of their work, Larcom framed a series of queries (probably in 1834) to allow the organised collection of information not just on local history and ancient remains but

statistical data including material on economy, botany, zoology, geology, soils, habits of the people, and so forth, to form the basis for a series of memoirs (written commentaries to accompany the maps). The collection of this material was initially confined to Derry, Antrim and Down and it was envisaged by some that a parish might have an accompanying memoir of a half-dozen pages on average. It seems, however, that Larcom and his collaborators could not bear to leave anything out. The *Memoir of the City and North Western Liberties of Londonderry, Parish of Templemore* was published in 1837 and far from being a six-page pamphlet, this description of twenty-five townlands was a large octavo volume of 352 pages proudly announced as 'the first volume of a continuous work'.[18]

It comprises accounts of commerce and manufacturing as well as the natural features and natural history of the parish, its botany, zoology and geology with coloured map—the first official geological map to be published for any part of Ireland.[19] A little under half of the text is devoted to history and antiquities, most if not all of it written by Petrie. In characteristic fashion, he combined history and archaeology in his description of the principal monument in the area, even though it was 'not actually situated in the *present* boundary of the parish'. This, the great hillfort known as the Grianan of Aileach, in County Donegal, was the royal centre of the northern Uí Néill in medieval times. He gives a detailed illustrated description of the stone fort with plans by Lieut. Dawson of the Royal Engineers (**5.3**) and a lengthy account of literary references, from the *Dindshenchas*, annals and other sources, in which he expresses guarded confidence. He presents a translation of a long poem from the *Book of Lecan* on 'this work of the hands of heroes' which purports to credit the building of the fort to the Tuatha de Danann more than a thousand years before the birth of Christ, the same mythical invaders we encountered in the *Lebor Gabála*. In a passage that could well have been written by Charles O'Conor in the previous century, he notes that some of this poem is fabulous or doubtful, but interwoven through it, he claims:

> ... there is much remaining that may be regarded as historic truth ... The connexion of these dim and distant traditions with existing monumental remains is of the highest interest and importance to historical investigation, as it affords a light by which truth may be discovered amidst the rubbish, in which it lay concealed and disregarded. It is perhaps certain that Ireland was known to the Greeks as an inhabited island at a very early period, and that this knowledge was derived from Phoenician traders: the Irish historical traditions ascribe a certain degree of civilization to the inhabitants of the island at that distant time, and, in support of this truth, point to monuments of which vestiges still remain. Do these monuments then belie the



5.3. The Grianan of Aileach, Co. Donegal, as planned by the Ordnance Survey from the Memoir of the City and North Western Liberties of Londonderry, Parish of Templemore, *in 1837, the only* Memoir *ever published.*

> historical traditions?—apparently not. The ruined fort of Aileach presents an example of barbaric art, not imitative of the refinement of the Egyptians, the Greeks, or the Romans, but of that ruder and more distant effort at civilization, belonging to the heroic ages, of which so many vestiges have been recently found in various countries.[20]

The lavish but unwieldy (and rather indigestible) Templemore volume may not be a good indication of what might have transpired if Larcom's programme had continued. Like the Survey itself, it is likely that the concept would have evolved and improved, but this was not to be. Alarmed at the possible cost and concerned at this venture into non-cartographic scholarship, Colby's superiors cancelled the memoir scheme in 1840, and the collection of information ceased with only the Ulster counties covered to any degree. Other factors may have played a part: it was felt in some quarters that the historical and social sections of the memoir might exacerbate the divisions in Irish society, between Catholic and Protestant, between the governing classes and the governed. The topographical department was closed down in 1842 and in the following year, on foot of protests from the Royal Irish Academy and others, an official commission of inquiry was appointed to consider the controversial memoir question. It reported to parliament in late 1843 and recommended that memoirs be produced on a more modest scale, but nothing happened.[21]

The abandonment of the memoir programme came to be regarded in some quarters as an act of cultural sabotage. William Stokes, Petrie's biographer, was convinced that 'some strong, though concealed influence had been brought to bear on the Government in reference to the danger of re-opening questions of Irish local history. These one-sided views prevailed, and the great undertaking so earnestly desired by all who wished for the future prosperity and happiness of the country, was finally given up.' In the early decades of the twentieth century, imbued with the less than impartial spirit of Catholic nationalism, and rigorously distinguishing between the work of the Catholic O'Donovan and O'Curry and that of the Protestant Petrie, Alice Stopford Green would write:[22]

> The Ordnance Survey, the first peripatetic university Ireland had seen since the wanderings of her ancient scholars, gave to O'Donovan and O'Curry their opportunity, where they could meet learned men, and use their hereditary knowledge. A mass of material was laid up by their help ... The cry arose that the survey was pandering to the national spirit. It was suddenly closed ... , the men dispersed, the documents locked up in government offices. But for O'Donovan and O'Curry what prodigies of work remained. Once more the death of hope

> seemed to call out the pieties of the Irish scholar for his race, the fury of his intellectual zeal, the passion of his inheritance of learning.

In more recent years, with the popularity of post-colonial studies, the Ordnance Survey of Ireland has been represented as a colonial enterprise. One writer—admittedly an extreme case—has claimed: 'Masquerading as a process of systematic record, the mapping of Ireland was a prolonged act of cultural displacement and textual processing'.[23] While any mapping exercise is a form of landscape appropriation, it is unhelpful to define the work of the Survey in such simplistic terms because it obscures the complex social and economic relationships between classes, between Catholic and Protestant, and between the two islands at the time.[24]

In 1980, Brian Friel's play *Translations,* a richly textured drama about dispossession and the loss of the Irish language, depicted the activities of the Survey in Donegal in the 1830s as a military and anglicising operation, and has coloured popular and academic perceptions of the Survey ever since. John Andrews, whose classic study *A paper landscape* was one of Friel's sources, had actually demonstrated how, for the most part, the Survey had standardised the orthography of already anglicised place-names and after careful research adopted, as a rule, the version closest to the original Irish form. He has vigorously responded to the historical misrepresentations in *Translations*:

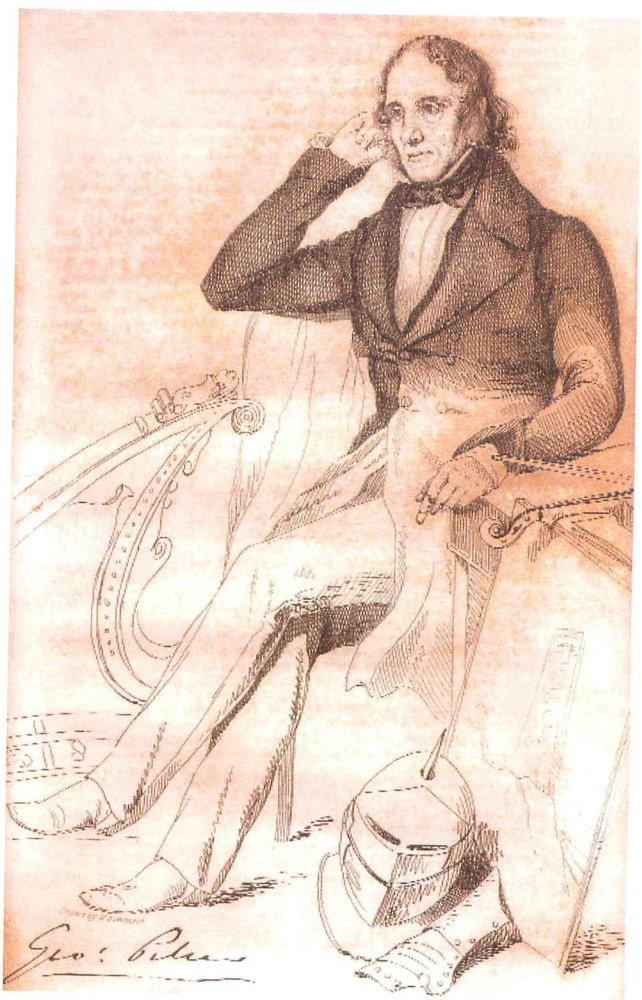
> ... the Survey was not the 'military operation' that this play makes it out to have been ... Ordnance Survey employees were not armed. They did not double as police officers, bailiffs, militia men, magistrates, or members of the gestapo. They were not empowered to summon private citizens 'for questioning', to level houses, shoot livestock, or to evict farmers. Their so-called toponymic department was not staffed by the stupidest officers in the British army, or indeed by army officers of any description, but by intelligent civilians familiar with the Irish language ... One characteristic fallacy is that the Survey was careless and indifferent in its choice of names, a charge easily disproved by looking at one of its field name books ... it was never the Survey's policy to adopt new translations into English. Of all Friel's untruths the most glaring is the one embodied in his title.[25]

George Petrie

The systematic recording of the Ordnance Survey and the scholarly work of its topographical department mark the beginnings of Irish archaeology as a discipline. The polymath George Petrie (1790–1866) was born in Dublin, the

son of a portrait painter whose Scottish father had settled in Dublin (5.4). George Petrie was a talented landscape artist who contributed illustrations of landscapes, great houses and ancient monuments to a number of books, such as Wright's *Guides to Wicklow and Killarney* and Brewer's *Beauties of Ireland,* in the 1820s. He travelled widely throughout Ireland, visiting and recording the antiquities of Aran and Clonmacnoise, for instance, on more than one occasion in the early years of that decade (5.5). He was deeply interested in Irish music, collecting songs and airs on his travels and publishing *The ancient music of Ireland* in 1855. Equally interested in architecture, history and ancient manuscripts, he was also a collector of antiquities.

The 1830s were an extraordinarily productive time for Petrie and it is fair to say that it is a period which witnessed profound changes in the study of Irish



5.4. George Petrie from a sketch in the Dublin University Magazine, *December 1839.*

archaeology. He has, with some justification, been described as the father of the subject.[26] With the Revd Caesar Otway, he was a leading contributor to the *Dublin Penny Journal*, the first mass circulation publication of its kind in Ireland, which was devoted to exploring Irish history, biography, poetry, antiquities, natural history, legends and traditions. At a time when most popular publications were overtly sectarian and intent on exposing either 'Orange idolatry' or 'the cloven feet of Popery', the *Journal* succeeded, in the few short years of its existence, in maintaining an impartial stance.[27]

Petrie contributed sixty articles mostly on archaeological matters, on topics such as 'Ancient Irish trumpets', 'Ancient Irish bracelets of gold, 'Newgrange', the 'History of the *Annals of the Four Masters*', 'The coronation chair of the O'Neils' and 'The Belfast Natural History Society and Museum' (the first

5.5. George Petrie first saw the River Shannon and Clonmacnoise in 1820 and he drew this high cross at Clonmacnoise in 1822. A drawing of a grave slab on the lower left bears the inscription 'Or do Petrie' (Pray for Petrie). From Christian inscriptions in the Irish language *edited by Margaret Stokes in 1872.*

museum, as he pointed out, ever built in Ireland by voluntary subscription). For him the study of the past offered a neutral ground where political and religious divisions might be overcome.[28] He made his views abundantly clear:

> The early civilization of Ireland has been a favourite theme with the Irish writers of Milesian origin, for nearly two centuries, while all claims to any removal from utter barbarism, previous to the arrival of the English, have generally been denied, with equal warmth, by Anglo-Irish and other writers. Prejudices, springing chiefly from political feelings, have equally blinded both sides, and an able and impartial work on the ancient state of Ireland is still a desideratum ... Our gold crowns, collars, bracelets, anklets, our brazen swords, spears and domestic vessels—our cinerary urns, our cairns with sepulchral chambers, which are not to be paralleled in the British isles—and lastly, in those Cyclopean works, agreeing identically with those in the islands, and on the shores of the Mediterranean, universally attributed to the Phoenicians—These are the evidences of the early colonization of Ireland by a civilized people, which her antiquaries should rely on, and not the dreams of visionary etymologists, or the traditions preserved, and perhaps distorted, by monkish chroniclers, and ignorant bards. If a judicious selection of the antique monuments and other remains found in Ireland, were carefully drawn by some competent artist, and published, our claims to an early civilization would be instantly conceded by the unprejudiced and learned.[29]

Sadly any hopes there may have been that the promotion of a common heritage might quench endemic sectarianism were doomed to failure; politics remained a more popular pastime than antiquarianism.[30] The eventual demise of the *Journal*, after just a few years, may have been part of a wider trend, however; the vogue for penny journals was declining in England too. Nonetheless William Stokes has claimed that these articles, with their focus on archaeology and history, greatly influenced the taste for historic study in Ireland. Samuel Ferguson declared that with the advent of Petrie and O'Donovan, the *Journal* became 'the most valuable and efficient agent that this country has possessed, since the days of Ware, for reviving and stimulating the study of our native history and antiquities ...' and W.F. Wakeman remarked that the numerous illustrations of archaeological objects in its pages did much to educate the public, and collectors, on the importance of ancient artefacts.[31]

The *Journal*, and articles on the Irish past in other publications such as the *Dublin University Magazine,* did contribute to the notion of a distinctive Irish cultural identity and inspire that talented generation of cultural nationalists

who founded the weekly newspaper, *The Nation,* in 1842. This was a pivotal year which witnessed not only the controversial disbandment of the Ordnance Survey's topographical department but the appearance of a new militant nationalism in the pages of *The Nation*, which was committed not only to political objectives like the repeal of the Act of Union but also to the formation of an Irish spirit above party, sect or class and the fostering of an interest in Irish history and literature.[32]

With Petrie's election to the Royal Irish Academy in 1828, its antiquarian torpor was to be rudely terminated. He delivered papers on the manuscript of the *Annals of the Four Masters* (which he had bought and presented to the Academy) in 1831 and on the shrine known as the Domnach Airgid in 1832. In the following three decades he would deliver twenty-six more papers. On one occasion, when describing the bell of Saint Patrick in his collection, he placed the bell on the table and announced to the assembly that the sounds they would hear were 'the very sounds which heralded the advent of Christianity to the Isle of Saints'. As Samuel Ferguson reported in an article on Petrie and his work, when he struck the bell, the effect was electrifying.[33]

He contributed three prize-winning essays to the Academy: on round towers in 1833, on military architecture in 1834,[34] and on Tara in 1837. It was his disciplined and meticulous scholarship, his combination of both historical and archaeological evidence, and his efforts to avoid the extremes of romanticism, which set him apart from his contemporaries. A major and original aspect of his work was his extensive use of the evidence of early manuscripts translated for him by John O'Donovan. As his biographer declared, in Petrie's studies 'the monument verifies the history and the history identifies the monument, and both become mutually illustrative'.[35] Not only was Petrie illuminating archaeology, he was also appearing to demonstrate the truth of some of those 'bardic fictions' disparaged by Ledwich. He was alert to new archaeological evidence as well.

In an account of the megalithic monuments at Carrowmore, Co. Sligo, delivered to the Royal Irish Academy in 1838, the year after the publication of the Templemore memoir, he discussed but dismissed those old Druidical explanations. Though he was not the first to do so—Thomas Wright, for example, had proved the point in his *Louthiana* in 1748—he firmly identified these monuments as burial places, a conclusion made possible by the numerous excavations undertaken there by his friend, Roger Chambers Walker of Rathcarrick, at the foot of Knocknarea. As in his work on the Grianan of Aileach, however, the imprint of his studies in early Irish literature is everywhere, and the *Lebor Gabála* continues to cast its long shadow. Burial monuments like those at Carrowmore were, he believed, to be found 'on all the battlefields recorded in Irish history, as the scenes of contest between the Belgian or Firvolg and the Tuatha de Danann colonies'.[36]

His 1837 essay on Tara was the first to be published. Meant to be a part of

the Ordnance Survey memoir for County Meath, the same mode of investigation was employed as at the Grianan of Aileach. Captain Bordes of the Survey made a 'scientific plan' of the monuments on the famous hill while a careful search of all available ancient manuscripts was undertaken. The *Dindshenchas* was once again found to provide descriptive detail, and translations of this and other material were prepared by John O'Donovan with the assistance of O'Curry.

The professed methodology of this landmark study is interesting: Petrie, Larcom, Bordes and O'Donovan examined the monuments on the hill and corrected Bordes' plan as required. According to Petrie: 'Till this task was completed we made no use of the written documents, lest we might be led into false or unwarranted conclusions from imperfect data; but having satisfied ourselves that we had omitted nothing, and distorted nothing to answer a theory, we commenced, with the map in hand, a second examination of the remains in the order pointed out by the ancient descriptions'. It is evident that Petrie and O'Donovan were concerned both to proceed in an inductive fashion and to refute the fanciful notions of Vallancey and the contemptuous views of writers such as Ledwich.[37]

Their survey contains a wealth of documentary information on Tara, not all of it accurately translated, but much of it presented for the first time and with sufficient detail to allow them to offer a satisfactory correlation with the visible monuments and an idealised plan showing monuments past and present. As we have seen, and for better or worse, the medieval names, such as Duma na nGiall (the Mound of the Hostages) and Tech Midchúarta (the Banqueting Hall), are those used today (**1.2**).

The Tara essay did not impress Sir William Betham, a distinguished genealogist, Ulster king-of-arms and a diligent member of the Academy; he followed Vallancey and espoused Phoenician origins for Irish civilisation.[38] He occasionally turned his attention to archaeological topics and had, for example, published accounts of two famous medieval reliquaries, the Cathach and the Misach, in 1826 in his *Irish Antiquarian Researches.* He claimed the Irish were a Phoenician colony in his book *The Gael and the Cymbri* published in 1834, and with refreshing candour he did confess 'there is something very bewitching about etymology' and indeed he was utterly bewitched in this work of wild linguistic speculation. Archaeological evidence is rarely cited but holy wells and well-worship are attributed to the Phoenicians and similar origins are argued for prehistoric gold penannular rings in his 'Ring money of the Celtae' published a few years later. In arguing that these gold objects were an early form of currency, he was attempting to counter the claim that the lack of ancient coinage meant a lack of civilisation.[39] Later still, his *Etruria Celtica* proposed a Phoenician origin for both Irish and Etruscan civilisation—the Phoenicians, he thought, were descended from a seafaring civilisation from Yemen which had spread both west and east (as far as Siam), and the Irish,

unconquered by Rome, were their surviving representatives. Betham was the last major representative of the Phoenician Scytho-Celtic school of romantic speculative antiquarianism. As Joep Leerssen so succinctly put it, he 'set out to hunt for similarities between the Irish language (which he did not understand) and with Etruscan (which nobody understood)'.[40]

Betham was by no means alone. Etymological speculation and scriptural evidence, a lethal combination, helped to convince the politician Francis Dobbs that the Act of Union was contrary to the great designs of God. For various daft reasons, not least that the name of the ancient ecclesiastical site of Armagh 'sounds very like the place in the Hebrew tongue called Armageddon', he convinced himself that the second coming of the Messiah would occur there if that impious Act was passed. Happily, the Antichrist, due at the same time, was scheduled to land not in Ireland but in Napoleonic France obviously foremost amongst 'the wicked of the world' at the time.[41] Such philological absurdities are very clear today, but it is fair to say that antiquarians like the unfortunate Betham and his followers were ensnared by a new philology and an emerging Indo-European paradigm, and a new and more rigorous form of archaeological inquiry.

Surprisingly, scientific rigour did not extend to Petrie's collecting practices. Even though this was a life-long activity, he evidently had little or no appreciation of the importance of archaeological contexts and when he died his collection contained 1372 objects mostly with no details whatever of their circumstances of discovery recorded. Like that eighteenth-century fictive Count O'Halloran, he was willing to present specimens to friends, or to exchange pieces with other collectors. He never compiled a catalogue; this was done after his death by his friend and former pupil W.F. Wakeman when the collection was purchased by the Government for the Royal Irish Academy's museum.[42]

The saga of Petrie's 1833 essay on round towers and the extraordinary controversies surrounding these monuments have been well documented by Joep Leerssen. As we have seen, these peculiarly Irish structures had attracted antiquarian attention since the time of Ware and Molyneux, but it was in the eighteenth century that speculation about their date and purpose began to quicken. It will be remembered that Ledwich thought them Danish, though he did recognise their ecclesiastical character, but Vallancey and others saw them as pagan fire temples of Phoenician or Oriental inspiration. In the nineteenth century they inspired a remarkable amount of interest. Why this should be so is not clear but their distinctiveness, their prominence in the landscape, their relative accessibility and superior stone construction, and because they lent themselves to a range of conflicting and heady interpretations, all meant they became a particularly contested aspect of the Irish past.

Leerssen has categorised the competing schools of thought in this embattled arena as the romantic and the positivist.[43] In a debate that would

span almost the whole of the century, the romantic faction was represented by William Betham, Henry O'Brien, Henry O'Neill, Marcus Keane and Canon Ulick Bourke, the positivists by George Petrie, Dunraven and Margaret Stokes, among others.

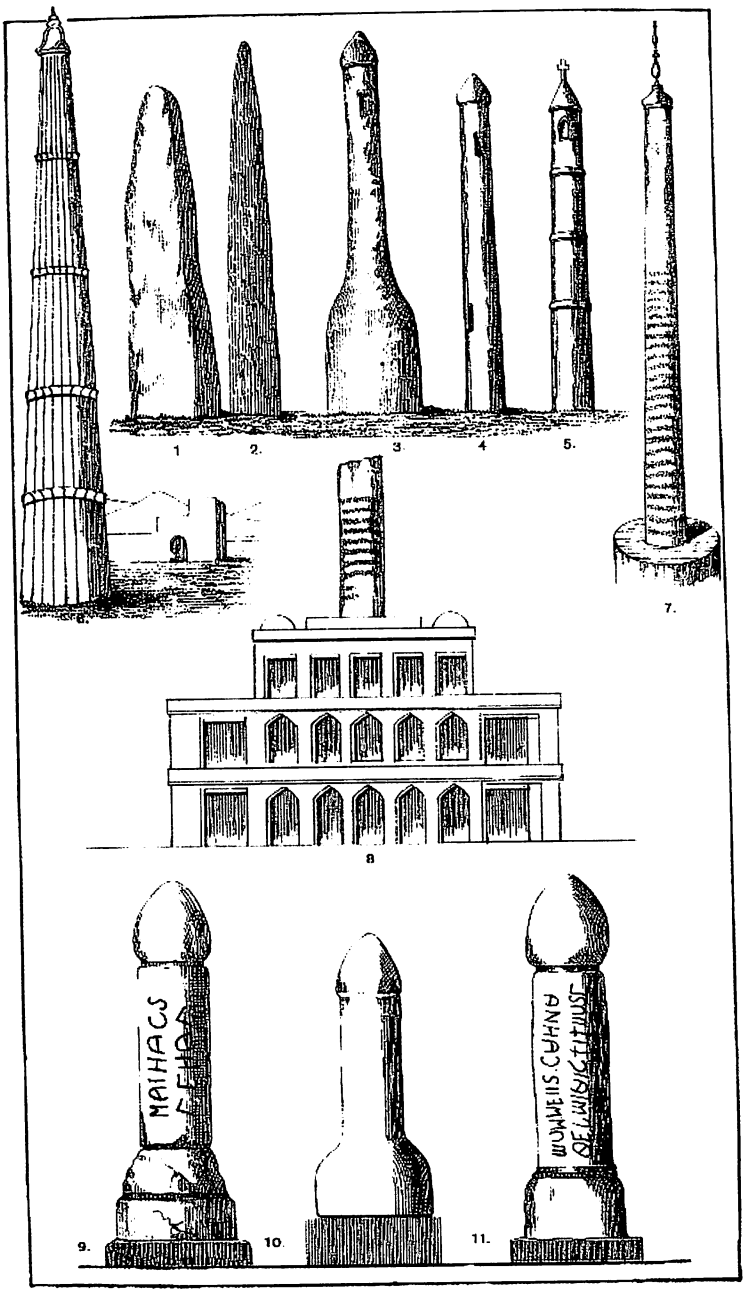
Presumably because he wished to confront the romantic school within and without the Academy, Petrie proposed the subject of the origin and uses of round towers as a suitable prize essay topic in 1830. Various contributions were offered but the two principal contenders were Petrie himself and a young Kerry-born graduate of Trinity College, Henry O'Brien. In controversial circumstances, Petrie was awarded the prize medal and a sum of money and O'Brien was given a smaller sum as a consolation prize. Both reworked their essays for publication; O'Brien's *The round towers of Ireland, or the mysteries of freemasonry, of sabaism, and of budhism, now for the first time unveiled,* appeared in 1834, but to the dismay of his supporters, Petrie's work was not published for a further twelve years.

O'Brien's book was a scandalous success, a second edition entitled *The round towers of Ireland, or the history of the Tuath-de-Dananns for the first time unveiled* being published in Dublin and London later in the same year. Its success was due in part to the inclusion of a preface which detailed the aggrieved author's protracted dealings with the Academy but in greater measure because his vision of the round tower phenomenon is best described as macrophallic. He dismissed the notion that they were fire temples but, supported by many clues such as the similarity between the names Iran and Erin (which struck Louisa Beaufort too), he concluded they were fertility symbols, 'temples constructed by the early Indian colonists of the country, in honour of that fructifying principle of nature ...'[44] (5.6).

Other less exciting theories were being canvassed too. Betham, in his *Etruria Celtica* in 1842, heartened by the discovery of some human remains in some round towers, declared them to be burial places and saw no significance in the name *cloigtheach* (bell-house) for instance, which—since he derived it with his usual etymological confidence from the word 'clock'—could not be ancient.[45]

Petrie's great work was finally published in March 1845 as Volume 20 of the Academy's *Transactions* and as a separate volume entitled *The ecclesiastical architecture of Ireland, anterior to the Anglo-Norman invasion, comprising an essay on the origin and uses of the round towers of Ireland.* Once again, he placed his faith in both detailed survey and literary excavation:

> The Towers have been all subjected to careful examination, and their peculiarities accurately noticed; while our ancient records, and every other probable source of information, have been searched for such facts or notices as might contribute to throw light upon their history. I have even gone further: I have examined, for the purpose of comparison with the Towers, not



5.6. Victorian phallocentric Orientalism illustrated. The drawings come from Thomas Inman's 1867 account On ancient pillar stones and cairns, *an essay read at the Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society. Nos 1 and 2 are Scottish pillar stones, 3–5 are supposed to be representations of Irish round towers, 6–8 are Indian monuments showing the development of the menhir into the minaret, and 9–11 are phallic symbols at Pompeii.*

> only all the vestiges of early Christian architecture remaining in Ireland, but also those of monuments of known or probable Pagan origin ...
>
> If ... we wished to ascertain whether our pagan ancestors erected the Round Towers as sepulchral monuments or not, we should determine the question, not by the short process of digging in the bases of the Towers, but by the more laborious examination of the ancient literature of our country, which is still so abundant in amount, and so rich in information on the usages of the times ... .[46]

His literary researches did demonstrate that these structures were indeed called *cloigtheach* or bell-house in Irish and that annalistic references indicated that they may also have served as store-houses and refuges for monks. He combined both literary and archaeological evidence to prove the antiquity of stone church construction, his visits to Aran and Clonmacnoise and to dozens of other sites providing him with the material to survey and illustrate the whole range of early ecclesiastical architecture in the process. He systematically refuted the theories of earlier writers. For the most part he is courteous but sometimes intolerant, declining, for instance, to discuss the work of William Betham at any length and dismissing the unfortunate Henry O'Brien as unworthy of attention.[47] Most of his conclusions have withstood the test of time:

> For the first conclusion, namely, that the Towers are of Christian origin: 1. The Towers are never found unconnected with ancient ecclesiastical foundations. 2. Their architectural styles exhibit no features or peculiarities not equally found in the original churches with which they are locally connected, when such remain. 3. On several of them Christian emblems are observable, and others display in the details a style of architecture universally acknowledged to be of Christian origin. 4. They possess, invariably, architectural features not found in any buildings in Ireland ascertained to be of Pagan times.
>
> For the second conclusion, namely, that they were intended to serve the double purpose of belfries, and keeps, or castles, for the uses already specified: 1. Their architectural construction ... eminently favours this conclusion. 2. A variety of passages, extracted from our annals and other authentic documents, will prove that they were constantly applied to both these purposes.
>
> For the third conclusion, namely, that they may have also been occasionally used as beacons, and watch-towers: 1. There are some historical evidences which render such a hypothesis

> extremely probable. 2. The necessity which must have existed in early Christian times for such beacons, and watch-towers, and the perfect fitness of the Round Towers to answer such purposes, will strongly support this conclusion.[48]

Petrie's study met with great critical acclaim and was widely accepted in the scholarly world, but there were those who still preferred the mystery and the mythology and who were inspired by a new cultural nationalism.[49] Henry O'Neill in his *Fine arts and civilization of ancient Ireland,* which appeared just three years before Petrie's death, devotes a short chapter to round towers and another to 'Doctor Petrie's mistakes', concluding of the round towers:

> ... they belong to those distant ages when Paganism was dominant, when devotees prayed in high places, that, by getting nearer to the gods, they might be better heard by them. The grey mystery of thousands of years hangs over these strange buildings. Is it not probable that, when the Egyptians of old were erecting the stupendous pyramids, the Irish of old were constructing these slender and graceful towers? Twin-born of time, the eastern structures are gigantic, ungraceful marvels; the western ones, though comparatively small, are incomparably more elegant ...
> ... in ancient times, Ireland excelled in the Fine Arts and in civilization; that when the foot of the oppressor was on her soil, her sons resisted that oppressor bravely, and that it took powerful England more than four hundred years to subdue her. For Ireland there is glory in the past, as well as in the future.[50]

Inspired by the controversy, the future included the construction of a quite a number of architectural replicas or variations on the round tower theme, including a monument-tomb for Daniel O'Connell in Glasnevin Cemetery in Dublin completed in 1869.[51]

John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry

The work of the two other significant members of the Ordnance Survey's topographical department was primarily historical, but both John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry were formative influences in the archaeological sphere as well. Their work with Petrie shaped their subsequent careers. John O'Donovan (1806–1861) was born in County Kilkenny and schooled in Irish, Latin and Greek.[52] Early work included copying Irish manuscripts for James Hardiman, then Commissioner of Public Records, and a prodigious amount of fieldwork for the Survey. He also contributed to the *Dublin Penny Journal.* In 1849 he was appointed to the Chair of Celtic Languages in the new Queen's College, Belfast, a position which did not demand extended periods of time

there. The creation of a Chair of this sort was not a precocious recognition of Celtic studies; the term 'Celtic' was a euphemism for the Irish language, then a politically sensitive issue.[53] Some of his lectures were published in the newly founded *Ulster Journal of Archaeology.*

Among his numerous publications were a *Grammar of the Irish Language* in 1845, a pioneering work which preceded the *Grammatica Celtica* of Johann Caspar Zeuss by eight years, and translations of ancient historical and genealogical manuscripts such as *The tribes and customs of Hy-Many* (1843) and *The genealogies, tribes, and customs of Hy-Fiachrach* (1844) for the Irish Archaeological Society, and *Leabhar na g-Ceart, The Book of Rights* (1847) for the Celtic Society.

His great seven-volume edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters* was published between 1848 and 1851. The earlier part of these annals is basically a recension of the *Lebor Gabála* and O'Donovan, like Petrie and O'Curry, had more than a fair measure of confidence in the historical accuracy of records of this sort. He thought the Tuatha de Danann were 'a real people, though their history is so much wrapped up in fable and obscurity'. In numerous footnotes, however, we see some of the results of his fieldwork; he provides a wealth of topographical and archaeological detail including the first accounts of some of the major monuments in the royal site of Rathcroghan, Co. Roscommon, at nearby Carnfree and at Teltown, Co. Meath.[54] This is the sort of information found in his Ordnance Survey letters, which have been mined by archaeologists for generations.[55]

Eugene O'Curry (1794–1862) was a self-taught scholar who at first glance might seem to have been wholly concerned with written materials, and in a lifetime spent transcribing, cataloguing and translating manuscripts, he did acquire an unrivalled knowledge of the literary sources. He too was associated with the Irish Archaeological Society, founded in 1840, and the Celtic Society (founded a few years later and conjoined with the former in 1854 as the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society). These societies were instrumental in publishing over two dozen volumes of early Irish texts and historical materials.[56] O'Curry assisted O'Donovan in the production of the *Annals of the Four Masters* and was employed, with O'Donovan, by the Brehon Law Commission to work on a projected edition of the ancient laws of Ireland. He and O'Donovan, along with James Hardiman and, later, scholars such as James H. Todd, Whitley Stokes, Standish O'Grady and others, began the process of making the works of early Irish literature and history available in English to a wider, non-specialist readership.

In 1854 with the founding of John Henry Newman's Catholic University of Ireland in Dublin (established by the Irish Catholic hierarchy in opposition to Sir Robert Peel's Queen's Colleges), O'Curry was appointed to the Chair of Irish History and Archaeology. Newman expressed a clear idea of what the post entailed: 'The Archaeological Department, employing itself on the

language, remains, MSS etc. of ancient Ireland, with a special reference to its Catholicity'.[57] After the Disney Chair of Archaeology in Cambridge, endowed in 1851, this was the second archaeological professorship to be established in either Britain or Ireland. Neither was a pivotal event, however, the Cambridge chair was a part-time sinecure held by amateurs until the 1890s, and O'Curry's eventual successor, Brian O'Looney appointed after a lapse of a number of years, had no archaeological interests.[58]

O'Curry's first course of lectures was published as *Lectures on the manuscript materials of ancient Irish history* in 1861. Most of this monumental work was a survey of the extraordinarily rich *corpus* of early Irish manuscripts and, though now superseded by the work of many later Celtic scholars, it has been described as 'a first heroic effort in an unworked field'. Archaeological materials such as shrines and reliquaries were just briefly dealt with. He recounted the tales of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge* (The Cattle Raid of Cooley), the first or southern Battle of Moytirra between the mythical Fir Bolg and the Tuatha de Danann, the second or northern Battle of Moytirra (which Petrie had connected with the megalithic cemetery at Carrowmore), and of the Milesian origins of the Irish, and, as might be expected, he tended to accept their historical truthfulness. Only some of the tales of Fionn Mac Cumhaill and the Fianna were considered, like the Arabian Nights, to be of more literary than historical merit, but even so he thought Fionn himself to have been a real person.

He believed many texts to be much older than they were and of the first Battle of Moytirra (which contains some detailed descriptions of the weapons of the Fir Bolg) he said 'the antiquity of this tract, in its present form, can scarcely be under fourteen hundred years. The story is told with singular truthfulness of description.' Unsurprisingly, given his position in the Catholic University, he also emphasised the glories of Early Christian Ireland, evidence of 'the faith and devotion of her people, preserved with heroic constancy through ages of the most crushing oppression ...'.[59]

His later lectures were published posthumously in 1873 and entitled *On the manner and customs of the ancient Irish*. In a number of these, delivered in 1858, 1859 and 1860, he attempted to correlate weapons and ornaments and other objects with materials described in early texts. He sometimes illustrated his lectures with a series of large drawings of specimens in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy lent to him for that purpose. He identified a number of copper or bronze halberds as weapons of the mythical Fir Bolg (who, he notes, had an unidentifiable iron weapon as well) and a series of bronze spears and swords as weapons of the equally mythical Tuatha de Danann. In another tale, perplexed by something called the 'champion's hand-stone', a flat stone object thrown with deadly effect, he concluded some polished stone axes were not hafted but were used as missiles.[60]

Today, of course, it is evident how wildly off the mark O'Curry was, but it would be wrong to fault him for his confidence in the literary material or,

indeed, his archaeological speculations. The critical evaluation of these texts was some distance in the future and the romantic picture they offered of ancient Ireland would have a long currency. What is particularly significant about his literary and archaeological efforts, however, is that they seemed to demonstrate the contemporaneous use of stone, bronze and iron weaponry and, as he argued, to contradict the notion of successive Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages in Ireland. Even more ominously perhaps, it has also been claimed that his account of dress in ancient Ireland eventually inspired the wearing of the kilt.[61]

Regional developments

While the work of the Ordnance Survey and the scholarly activity of George Petrie and his colleagues in the Royal Irish Academy were to prove to be of momentous importance for the development of the study of Irish archaeology, the earlier nineteenth century witnessed very significant developments in another sphere as well. A number of regional societies were formed, part of a popularisation of learning and of a general desire for education and knowledge in the natural sciences, art and literature and reflecting the ever widening attraction of the study of antiquities. The Royal Cork Institution was founded in 1802 and, while its objectives were primarily scientific, it acquired a small number of archaeological objects along with a major collection of geological, botanical and zoological specimens. Acquisitions in 1823 and 1824 included six bronze axeheads 'from Ireland' and another found near Bandon. Thomas Wood, a member of the Cork medical profession, published *An inquiry concerning the primitive inhabitants of Ireland* in 1821, a work which touched briefly on some local monuments such as 'Belgic' ringforts and souterrains.[62]

An off-shoot of the Royal Cork Institution, the Cork Cuverian Society, came into being in 1835 and while its interests were equally wide, they became increasingly archaeological. A paper on the relative antiquity of culdee cells and round towers was read in 1837, and at one rather busy meeting in 1844 a lecture was delivered on ancient Irish mills; a stone vessel and a bronze spearhead were exhibited (along with a drawing of a grampus, the skull and part of the antlers of a giant Irish deer, specimens of rare fungi, a sixteenth-century Bible and other objects). Membership was never very large, however, and the society ceased to exist in 1878. Original members included Thomas Crofton Croker, Robert Day and John Windele, all to become major figures in antiquarian studies in Munster.[63]

The activities of the Belfast Natural History Society, founded in 1821, had a scientific focus too, but early lectures in the 1820s also addressed such topics as 'Antiquities and natural history of the neighbourhood of Portarlington, Queen's County', 'The quern', 'Ancient inhabitants of Egypt' and 'Runic inscriptions of Scandinavia' (where the lecturer attempted to prove that the characters were not alphabetical but musical notes to assist pagan worshippers

in their devotional songs). It became the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society in 1842. An Egyptian mummy named Kabouti, unrolled in 1835 and then re-rolled, was a conspicuous exhibit in its museum, which opened in 1831 (5.7). The Belfast Museum's mummy—and balloon ascents in the nearby Botanic Gardens—soon became especially popular attractions for large numbers of visitors on Easter Monday holidays when a special admission rate of twopence for adults and a penny for children was charged.

In 1834 the museum acquired a collection of Irish antiquities and tokens from James Gibson of Dublin. Early members of the society included George Benn, whose 1823 *History of Belfast* dealt briefly with local monuments such as souterrains and Druidical altars, and 'discarded pieces of antiquity' such as stone axes and flint arrowheads, and his philanthropic brother Edward Benn, who amassed a significant collection of archaeological objects. Others, like Edmund Getty and Robert MacAdam, were important contributors to the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, which first appeared in 1853. Thanks to men like these, mostly of the professional and merchant classes, Cork and Belfast were to become major centres of nineteenth-century archaeological activity.[64] The term 'archaeology' (from the Greek *archaios*, ancient and *logos*, discourse) is

5.7. The admission ticket issued for the opening of the newly built Belfast Museum of Natural History in 1831. The plants, heron, basalt columns and the megalithic tomb, reflect the scope of the museum's collections which were open to the public on New Year's Day and every Wednesday and Saturday from late 1833.

increasingly used in the earlier nineteenth century to distinguish the new discipline as an inductive science.[65]

Kilkenny too was another focus of antiquarian creativity at this time. The Dean of Ossory, Charles Vignoles, the Revd James Graves who was curate of St Patrick's, Kilkenny, and John G.A. Prim, editor of the *Kilkenny Moderator,* founded the Kilkenny Archaeological Society in 1849. The first issue of its journal, the *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society,* was published in 1850 (becoming the Dublin-based *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* in 1890).[66] A study of the society's membership in the second half of the nineteenth century demonstrates how antiquarian pursuits by and large provided a middle ground and a moderating influence in a divided society. There is a strong clerical presence (mainly Protestant but including a significant number of Catholics) followed by a noteworthy number of professional people such as lawyers, magistrates, doctors, and military men as well as a consistent number of dignitaries such as bishops and members of the aristocracy.[67]

The Kilkenny Society also initiated the conservation of some monuments such as Jerpoint Abbey and Clonmacnoise. While the occasional short architectural study of sites such as Holycross, Co. Tipperary, and Grey Abbey, Co. Down, were undertaken, the major analysis by Graves and Prim of the history, architecture and other remains of St Canice's Cathedral in Kilkenny, published in 1857, would remain the only detailed study of a medieval building for almost a century.[68]

Piltown in the southern part of County Kilkenny could also claim to have a small private museum, which opened in 1834. Here, a local innkeeper and antiquarian, Redmond Anthony, had amassed a collection of antiques, paintings, geological, ethnographical and archaeological items including a significant number of prehistoric gold objects proudly displayed in a bog oak case. Visitors were charged a small sum and the proceeds were donated to the Fever Hospital in nearby Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary.[69] Like a number of other nineteenth-century Irish collectors, Anthony exhibited or communicated details of some of his finds to the British Archaeological Association, founded in late 1843, and the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, established in 1845.

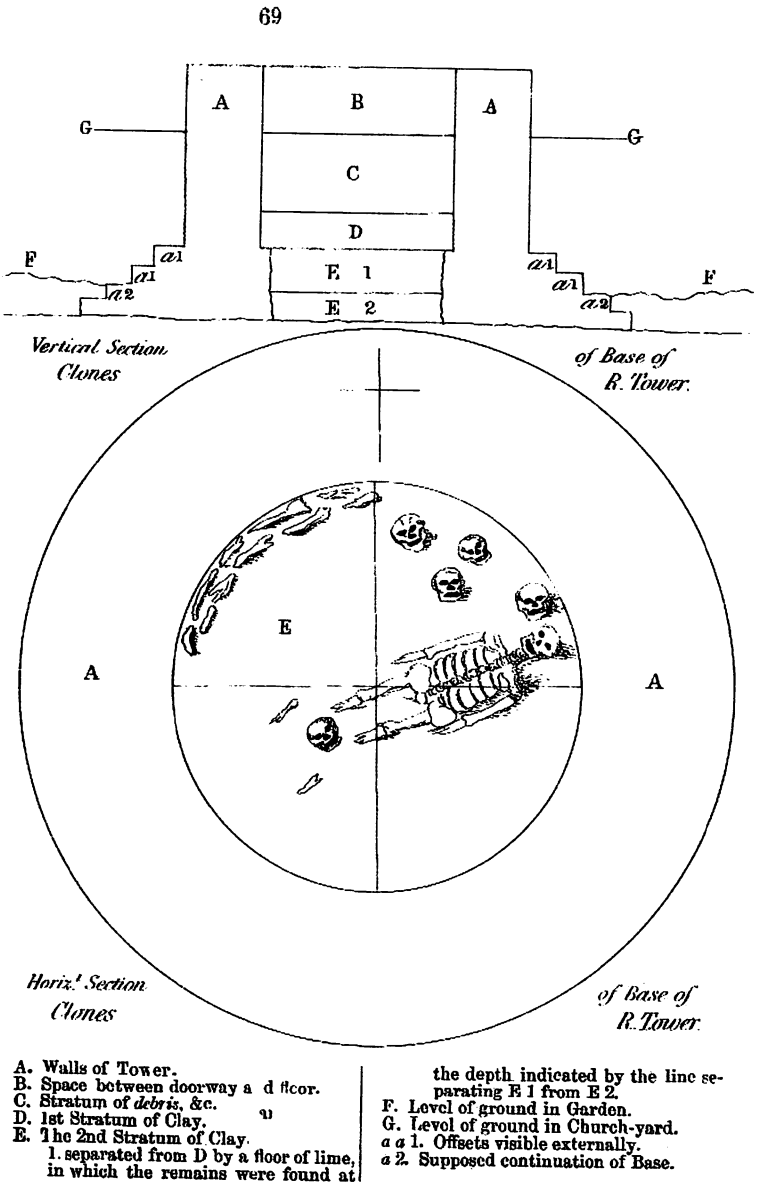
Evelyn Philip Shirley, of Lough Fea House, near Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan, was another collector of note who explored some crannogs in the region and was also one of the small number of Irish antiquarians to report some finds to the Archaeological Institute.[70] The link with the latter body was probably facilitated by the fact that Lord Talbot de Malahide of Malahide Castle, Co. Dublin, who was also active in the Royal Irish Academy, was President of the Archaeological Institute for two extended periods totalling twenty-seven years from 1851. In 1849 he reported the acquisition of some finds from the famous Lagore crannog, Co. Meath, which had been discovered a decade before and periodically ransacked. He summarised the Three Age

system of a Stone Age, a Bronze Age and an Iron Age promoted by the celebrated Danish archaeologist J.J.A. Worsaae (who had addressed the Royal Irish Academy on the subject in 1846) and suggested that the presence of iron objects indicated that the site belonged to the Iron Age, which 'immediately preceded the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland'.[71] George du Noyer, a talented artist and draughtsman then of the Geological Survey, was also a contributor to the Archaeological Institute's *Archaeological Journal,* an early article being a study of the bronze axeheads 'of our Celtic ancestors'.[72]

The early volumes of the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* are replete with historical articles, but among the archaeological contributions are diverse studies of artefacts and monuments. The first volume begins with a disquisition on the archaeology of Ulster, probably by Robert MacAdam who declared that 'the study of Archaeology is daily becoming more attractive to all persons of education and taste'. Also included were studies of the ancient remains on Tory Island, Co. Donegal, by Edmund Getty, and on Iona by J. Huband Smith of Dublin. Getty also provided details of excavations of round towers at Armoy, Drumbo, Drumlane and Clones—he was keen to prove that they were burial monuments.[73] He was sometimes accompanied by John Grattan, whose interest lay in human skulls. They and others examined the round tower at Clones in September 1842 and found a gratifying quantity of human remains (5.8).

In an account of his excavation at Devenish, Co. Fermanagh (where he failed to find any human bones), Getty would later write:

> Another question, however, arises out of the facts observed during the explorations made at this famous seat of our early Christianity, more closely connected with an inquiry into the uses of the Irish Round Towers. There are few candid investigators, whatever may be the views with which they commence, who do not feel compelled to admit that the most reasonable conjecture on the subject is the one so ably supported by Dr. Petrie in his celebrated essay. The writer, however, cannot join the learned author and his admirers (many of them very injudicious friends) in altogether ignoring the conjectures of such persons as the gentlemen who compose the South Munster Antiquarian Society; for it is one of the cases in which both views may be correct. Indeed it is difficult to imagine any more natural course than for an enthusiastic people to deposit in such buildings the recent bodies or the remains of those whom they highly venerated during life, and whose good works had become associated with the place. That this may have actually occurred, the human remains found in the towers give some reason for believing, without, at the same time, adopting the extreme view



5.8. Plan and section of the base of the round tower at Clones, Co. Monaghan, showing the human remains unearthed in an excavation by Edmund Getty and others in 1842.

> of what is called the 'sepulchral origin' theory; for it is a very different thing to view the towers as sepulchres, and to consider them as ecclesiastical buildings appropriated, as a secondary object, to the reception of the bodies of those venerated in connection with the religious foundations of the locality.[74]

The Dublin-born apothecary John Grattan, a member of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society and interested in the fashionable pseudo-science of phrenology, published two papers on craniology. He developed an instrument for making accurate measurements of human skulls and along with William Wilde was one of the pioneers in the study of such anatomical criteria in Ireland. Grattan never completed his proposed *Crania Hibernica* but was evidently influenced by the work of the Swedish anatomist Andreas Retzius who was responsible for the division of crania into long or dolicocephalic and short or brachycephalic according to their relative length and breadth, and who used this cephalic index to try to reconstruct European racial history.

In the later nineteenth century skull shape and size as a racial indicator became an important ingredient in arguments about racial superiority. Dolicocephaly with a length-breadth ratio of less than about 80 was considered to indicate high intellectual capacity and brachycephaly with an index of more than about 80 was a mark of inferiority. In 1858, Grattan did attempt a chronological classification of Irish skulls into Primeval or Pre-Historic, Remote but not Primeval (including Celtic or long-headed), and Modern or Comparatively Modern.[75] Only three skulls from Ireland figure in the monumental *Crania Britannica* published by Joseph Barnard Davis and John Thurnam in 1865.[76]

Giant's graves, ringforts, medieval architecture, folklore and ogham stones were some of the topics that preoccupied the contributors to the first volume of the *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*. John G.A. Prim was clearly familiar with Worsaae's *Primeval antiquities of Denmark* (published in English in 1849) and he recognised that the absurdly named giant's graves were 'a very ancient and mixed form of Irish sepulture' assignable to the Stone Age. The Revd James Graves and John Windele debated the significance of an ogham inscription, which the latter confessed was probably 'an opiate subject' for many readers.

It was not a soporific or inconsequential argument, however; the tussle between a 'pagan' and 'Christian' use of ogham was an echo of the old debate about the antiquity of writing in Ireland. A large ogham stone found in a souterrain at Burnfort, near Mallow, Co. Cork, and once preserved in the museum of the Royal Cork Institution, bore the name SAGITTARI. Windele thought this was a rendering of SAGI DAIRE, 'the priest Daire', an early Druidical name, a conclusion he thought supported by the existence of a

nearby Druidical stone circle. Graves, on the other hand, believed the name to be later and similar to that of a French bishop of the sixth century.

John Windele was the leading member of the South Munster Antiquarian Society, a group of kindred spirits especially interested in ogham stones and round towers. Numerous inscriptions were recorded in Cork, Kerry and Waterford, an impressive amount of fieldwork by any standard. Round towers at Ardmore, Cashel, Cloyne, Kinneigh and Roscrea were enthusiastically dug in the early 1840s particularly in the hope of discovering human remains, for Windele too thought they could have been funerary monuments.[77]

Edmund Getty and his Ulster colleagues and the members of the South Munster Antiquarian Society were not the only people to mount an assault on round towers at that time. Others investigated the towers at Kildare and Dysert Oengusa, Carrigeen, Co. Limerick, and Kilkenny was dug by Vignoles, Graves and Prim. Unlike the excavations of Walker in County Sligo and John Bell in County Armagh, some particulars are recorded.[78] Erratic and amateurish it may have been, and happily relatively short-lived, but this was the first sustained campaign of antiquarian excavation in Irish archaeology of which we have any published information.

Learned journals and popular periodicals like the *Dublin Penny Journal* were by no means the only form of antiquarian publication in the earlier nineteenth century. Accounts of archaeological discoveries appeared from time to time in newspapers. For example, Windele, who had contributed to the short-lived *Dublin Penny Journal,* also published an account of some of his round tower investigations in the pages of the *Cork Southern Reporter.* John Bell of Dungannon provided an early description of the linear earthwork known as the Dane's Cast and an illustrated description of a court tomb at Annaghcloghmullin, Co. Armagh, in the *Newry Magazine* in 1815. By 1814, judging from an article in the *Newry Telegraph,* he had already dug a considerable number of 'Druid's Altars' and concluded they were burial places; he is said to have excavated as many as sixty such cairns but very few details are recorded.[79]

It is a measure of the extraordinary growth of interest in archaeology in and around the middle of the nineteenth century that a special exhibition of Irish antiquities was organised in the Belfast Museum to mark the visit to the city of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in September 1852. It and an exhibition in Cork at the same time were inspired by that great Victorian triumph, the Great Exhibition held in London in 1851, which, however, contained no archaeology. The Cork Exhibition, which inspired a patriotic anthem proclaiming 'Let peace and wealth upon us smile, Bless our Monarch! Bless our Isle!', contained a relatively small number of archaeological objects.[80]

In Belfast, however, in addition to the museum's own collection, archaeological material on loan from over fifty collectors was on display in this

pioneering event, a dramatic indication of how widespread the collection of archaeological objects had become among the middle and upper classes in the first half of the nineteenth century. Talbot de Malahide exhibited a small number of bronze axeheads and a spearhead and Shirley lent over seventy objects, all from the barony of Farney in County Monaghan. Most of the exhibitors were from the north of Ireland and of these John Bell displayed over a thousand stone and bronze items as well as hundreds of other objects including pottery and wooden vessels, glass beads, clay pipes and a gold lunula. His collection contained over 500 flint arrowheads, a type recognised as 'anciently manufactured by the Celtic tribes of Britain and Ireland'. Another large collection was exhibited by James Carruthers of Belfast and included two bronze trumpets and the famous flesh-hook from Dunaverney, Co. Antrim, now in the British Museum. Some items from the collection of Thomas Murray, agent of the Marquis of Downshire at Edenderry, Co. Meath, were also shown and John Windele of Cork displayed two bronze trumpets, a number of axeheads and spearheads and rubbings of five ogham inscriptions. Richard Caulfield, like Windele, a member of the Cork Cuverian Society, furnished some rubbings of inscriptions and a model of buildings on the Rock of Cashel.[81]

There were four women exhibitors: Miss Getty, Belfast, Miss Atherton, Liverpool, the Countess Ranfurly, Dungannon, and Jane, Countess of Caledon. Their activities and those of nineteenth-century women antiquarians are very poorly documented; Louisa Beaufort's work has been mentioned and it is recorded that Lady Louisa Tenison of Kilronan Castle, Co. Roscommon, a significant minor artist and early photographer, investigated at least one Sligo megalithic tomb.[82] Margaret Stokes stands apart and her work will be considered later.

Interestingly the *Catalogue* of the Belfast exhibition drew the attention of collectors to the problem of forgeries and noted a bronze axe on display, 'one of a number offered for sale here' and described by the vendor 'to give effect to the imposition ... as found near Navan fort'.[83] It is a further measure of the widening interest in archaeology that a noteworthy trade in antiquities had developed by the 1830s: for instance, a Dublin watch and clockmaker, James Henry Underwood, was particularly active, supplying material to individual collectors like George Petrie and Dean Dawson, and to institutions such as the Royal Irish Academy and the British Museum.[84]

The interest in antiquities extended across rural Ireland, as the nineteenth century also witnessed the frequent discovery of archaeological objects when new land was brought under cultivation; treasure-hunting seems to have increased too as modernisation diminished the traditional superstitious respect for ancient remains.[85] Indeed when it was planned to plunder the great mound at Newgrange for road-making material in 1844 and an article in the *Athenaeum* decried the dilapidated state of many Irish monuments, Thomas

Davis was moved to call for a society of antiquaries to protect them and to preserve them, particularly 'from fellows like the Meath road-workers'.[86]

The Great Industrial Exhibition in Dublin in 1853 contained, as something of an afterthought, an important display of antiquities. Organised under the auspices of the Royal Dublin Society, this major exhibition ran throughout the summer of that year in a specially built building of glass and steel erected on the lawn of Leinster House, the society's premises at the time (5.9). The Royal Irish Academy exhibited a large assortment of objects including some of the material obtained from drainage schemes on the River Shannon. The Belfast Museum was represented and individual exhibitors included familiar names like James Carruthers of Belfast, the Countess of Caledon, T.R. Murray of Edenderry, Talbot de Malahide, George Petrie, and W.F. Wakeman. From bronze cauldrons to bear skulls, from gold torques to bagpipes, it was apparently an immense and diverse display, most of it in the 'archaeological court'. One enthusiastic visitor, who paid several visits and filled several notebooks, was the antiquarian Richard Hitchcock (an indefatigable hunter of ogham stones) who thought it the finest exhibition of antiquities ever presented. Carvings in bog oak of various ancient monuments were also on

5.9. The central hall of the Great Industrial Exhibition in Dublin in 1853 with several high crosses visible in the background.

show, and offered for sale, and included models of several round towers.[87]

One of the more spectacular features of the antiquities exhibition was the transportation of large stone sculptured crosses from Tuam, Co. Galway, and Kells, Co. Meath, to Dublin for the occasion. These and casts of some others, including one of the great crosses at Monasterboice, Co. Louth, were also on display.[88] While some credit may go to the illustrated publications on the fine arts and crosses of ancient Ireland by Henry O'Neill in 1855, 1857 and 1863, and Wakeman's illustrated *Hand-book* of 1848, it may be one measure of the impact of the exhibition that only afterwards do gravestones modelled on the high cross become a persistent and triumphant symbol in Irish graveyards.[89]

Appropriating archaeology

For some, like George Petrie, as already noted, the past was a neutral ground, a shared heritage which might offer the prospect of conciliating and transcending contemporary political and religious dissension. Samuel Ferguson, a frequent contributor to the pages of the unionist *Dublin University Magazine,* had a similar vision but was one writer, however, who would clearly articulate his particular conservative political position. For him the appropriation of the past, while healing discord, would allow an intellectual elite to retain their cultural pre-eminence. The past also allowed him to find a refuge from a disquieting present and he was, in his literary work, particularly fascinated by the heroic world of early Irish literature and, when we come to examine some of his archaeological studies, we shall see how his literary compositions helped to give an epic and romantic tone to remote pagan times.

The charismatic Thomas Davis, the leading figure in the Young Ireland movement of the 1840s, had a more populist and inclusive approach. He and other contributors to the pages of their newspaper, *The Nation,* along with supporting Daniel O'Connell's efforts to repeal the Act of Union, made occasional if erratic forays into the Irish past in both poetry and prose. The latter included, for instance, lengthy reviews of O'Donovan's *Genealogies, tribes, and customs of Hy-Fiachrach,* of a pamphlet by William Wilde on the ethnology of the ancient Irish and of Petrie's publication on round towers. There was also a passionate plea for the preservation of ancient monuments:

> We have seen pigs housed in the piled friezes of a broken church, cows stabled in the palaces of the Desmonds, and corn threshed on the floors of abbeys, and the sheep and tearing winds tenant the corridors of Aileach. Daily are more and more of our crosses broken, of our tombs effaced, of our abbeys shattered, of our cairns sacrilegiously pierced, of our urns broken up, and of our coins melted down. All classes, creeds, and politics are to blame in this. The peasant lugs down a pillar for his sty, the farmer for his gate, the priest for his chapel, the minister for his glebe. A mill-

> stream runs through Lord Moore's Castle and the Commissioners of Galway have shaken, and threatened to remove, the Warden's house—that fine stone chronicle of Galway heroism. How our children will despise us for all of this ... He who tramples on the past does not create for the future ...

Occasional though they were, these forays were not inconsequential; the newspaper had a remarkably wide readership. In one article some reckless and heartless antiquarians who were supposed to have vandalised Devenish round tower were attacked (the reference is to the unfortunate Edmund Getty who had dug the interior in May 1844 without finding any burials). There is a quotation from 'the greatest of historians' Augustin Thierry, who had declared that the Irish nation had refused for six hundred years to submit to English government and whose past 'notwithstanding seductions, menaces, and tortures' had been bequeathed by fathers to their sons. The abandonment of the Ordnance Survey memoirs and the vandalism at Devenish is then condemned with the resounding declaration: 'unless taste and patriotism interfere, our soil will, in half a century, be swept of its monuments—the builded and heaped up remnants of the past will perish, and this antique country will be left without shrine, castle, or tomb to declare that it is not a foundling of yesterday'.[90]

Racial conflict between oppressed Celt and Saxon oppressor, and a vision of an idyllic and civilised Celtic past are constant themes in the writings of Thierry and French romantic nationalism, and their influence on Davis and his colleagues is well documented. The rhetoric of the Young Irelanders, populist, secular, republican and Anglophobic, marks an important stage in the cultivation of a nationalist consciousness. Joep Leerssen has shown that their cultural nationalism, far from being just an expression of native anti-colonialism, was a part of a wider European phenomenon that included the rediscovery of vernacular literatures, folklore, antiquarianism, cultural history, new philologies and new institutions of learning. Unlike earlier moves for constitutional or religious equity in the eighteenth century, the claim is now one of ethnic and cultural distinctiveness.[91]

The hope that religious dissention might be overcome was a forlorn one; Daniel O'Connell's great achievement of Catholic Emancipation in 1829, and his subsequent failure to achieve repeal of the Act of Union, were but two factors which would shape the rest of the century. Religion and nationalism, and a volatile combination of the two, would in time create other images of the past. Instead of a secular nation, 'Irish' and 'Catholic' would, in the minds of many, become synonymous. The change in the fortunes of the Catholic church was remarkable. In contrast to the limited control it wielded in the preceding century, it now assumed a dominant role in the social and religious life of its adherents. Most importantly, it also acquired a powerful place in the

state-sponsored system of elementary education conceived in the 1830s and administered on a segregated denominational basis. This would serve to reinforce the strong sense of community based on religious affiliation and, in the latter part of the century, as the Irish language was abandoned, religion was left as the only significant cultural marker for the majority of Irish Catholics at home and abroad.[92]

Much has been written about the extraordinary contribution of the Protestant unionist class to art, literature and antiquarianism in nineteenth-century Ireland. This Protestant commitment to antiquarian study has been seen, in part, as a post-colonial crisis of identity in the face of a resurgent Catholicism, a desire to find a native identification in a changing world. In the case of Samuel Ferguson, it has been argued that his interest was motivated, like a latter-day Ledwich, by a desire to counter the mobilisation of the past by the Catholic community.[93] Political, social and religious divisions inevitably left a mark and Ferguson, as we have seen, did advocate a shared engagement with the past and one in which the Protestant class would have a leading role, but his fascination with Irish antiquity was a deeper and more complex matter. Differences in class, religion and ancestry are always likely to raise problems of loyalty and identification but, as Roy Foster has indicated, the social subcultures of the time were subtler, more flexible and more interwoven than has often been admitted. There were some very obvious reasons for the Protestant exploration of native Irish culture; as a class they had their own psychological identification with Ireland as well as social advantage and university education, not to mention the free time available to Anglican clergymen.[94]

Art and antiquity

The creative interplay between art and antiquarianism—in the imaginative production of images of figures such as Brian Boru (**2.4**) and Ollamh Fodhla for instance—manifests itself in Ireland in the eighteenth century. There are earlier instances elsewhere in Europe of course: for example, Christian IV of Denmark (the patron of Olaus Worm) commissioned a series of paintings depicting scenes from prehistory onwards for Kronborg Castle and James VII of Scotland had Jacob de Wit paint a great set of images of the legendary and historical kings of Scotland for the palace of Holyroodhouse in Edinburgh in the 1680s.[95]

The Cork-born painter James Barry departed from the convention of seeking inspiration in classical themes and exhibited *The baptism of the King of Cashel by St Patrick* in Dublin in 1763, where it was purchased for the Irish parliament. Described as the earliest recorded painting on an Irish historical subject, he composed an oil sketch on the same theme in 1799–1801 (**5.10**). Patrick is depicted about to accidentally pierce the uncomplaining king's foot with his staff, an incident which Barry probably found in O'Connor's 1723 translation of Keating's *History* and which symbolised the fortitude and

heroism of an ancient Celt who, according to legend, thought this painful procedure a part of the baptismal ceremony. The presence of a Stonehenge-like trilithon and a dolmen in the background, and a Greek temple in the foreground, represents not only the retreat of Druidism but also implies that Ireland was then imbued with the glory of ancient Greece, a belief dear to the hearts of Geoffrey Keating, Charles O'Conor and Sylvester O'Halloran.[96]

Not surprisingly, figures from Macpherson's *Ossian* (including Ossian and Gealcossach) make their first pictorial appearance in Scotland in a series of scenes painted in 1772 by Alexander Runciman for the celebrated antiquary Sir James Clerk in his new house at Penicuik.[97] Thanks to James Barry, however, Ossian next appears in Heaven; in another patriotic statement, he portrayed him as an Irish bard (with an Irish harp) among the men of genius in Elysium in his monumental group of historical and allegorical paintings *The progress of human knowledge* (1777–1784) for the Royal Society of Arts in

5.10. The baptism of the King of Cashel by St Patrick *by James Barry (Courtesy of the National Gallery of Ireland).*

5.11. St Patrick lighting the Paschal Fire on the Hill of Slane *by Vincent Waldré in Dublin Castle.*

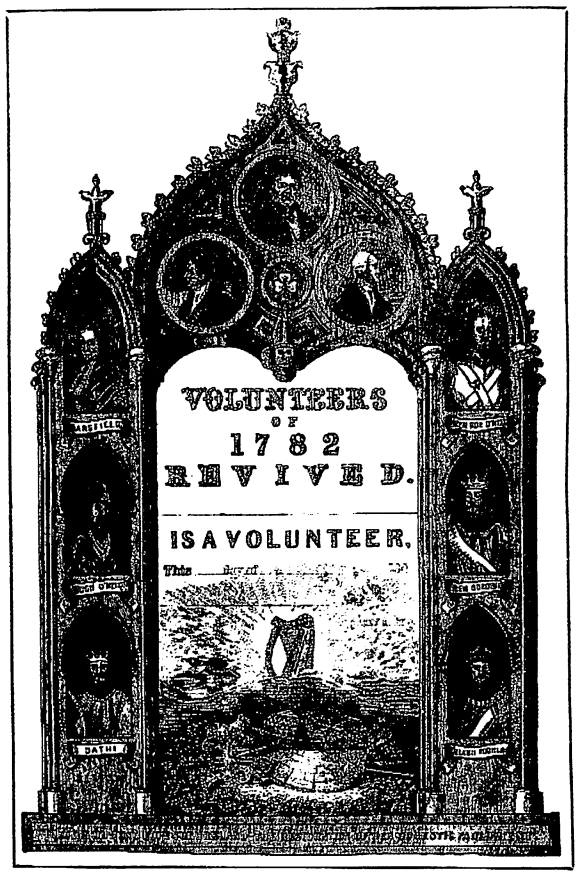
London.[98] In 1790, Joseph Cooper Walker proposed a number of topics 'drawn from the romantic and genuine histories of Ireland' as suitable subjects for painters, including the death of a warrior Conloch at the feet of Cú Chulainn, Fionn Mac Cumhaill discovering a weeping damsel on Slieve Gullion and 'St Patrick encompassed with Druids, Bards, and Chieftains explaining the nature of the Trinity by means of the shamrock. A Druidical temple overthrown, at some distance. The sun rising.'[99]

The mythical law-giver Ollamh Fodhla was depicted (along with Moses, Alfred, Confucius and others) by the sculptor Edward Smyth in 1792 in a series of medallions in the interior of the dome of Gandon's Four Courts in Dublin but these, sadly, were destroyed in 1922.[100] The largest and the most public Druidical painting of the late eighteenth century was a part of the painted ceiling in St Patrick's Hall (then the ballroom) in Dublin Castle. In this work, Vincent Waldré's *St Patrick lighting the Pascal fire on the Hill of Slane,* commissioned in 1787, we have a neoclassical representation of a central moment in the introduction of Christianity to Ireland. According to Patrician legend, the saint disobeyed a royal edict that the first Easter fire should be lit at Tara and started his own Christian bonfire on the nearby hill of Slane. A horrified Druid and his pagan supporters stand beneath an oak tree and a stone circle dominates the landscape behind the flames of the new religion (**5.11**). The theme of the benevolent impact of advanced religion and civilisation on the Irish would certainly have pleased the Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of Buckingham.[101]

The artistic adoption of antiquarian motifs and themes slowly accelerated as the nineteenth century progressed. In proposing a national art with Irish subjects, Thomas Davis suggested a number of suitable topics from antiquity

including The Landing of the Milesians, Ollamh Fodhla Presenting his Laws to his People, Niall and his Nine Hostages, A Druid's Augury, The Burial of King Dathi in the Alps, his thinned troops laying stones on his grave, Saint Patrick brought before the Druids at Tara, as well as many historical topics.[102] The appearance of King Dathi here and more literally on a membership card of the Repeal Association (**5.12**) is worthy of note.

The shadowy Dathi, supposedly the last pagan king of Ireland, figures in some medieval texts, in Keating's *History*, in the Abbé MacGeoghegan's 1758 *History of Ireland* (translated from the French in 1844) and in Sylvester O'Halloran's *General history of Ireland* in 1778 where the tales of his military exploits, his expedition to France and death by lightning in the Alps are recounted. This warrior was then brought back to Ireland and buried in the royal cemetery at Rathcroghan. Unlike Fionn Mac Cumhaill, that other popular warrior of legend, Dathi did have a relatively conspicuous and seemingly authentic archaeological monument to his credit; both Petrie in his *Ecclesiastical architecture* in 1845 and O'Donovan (in one of those many



5.12. A membership card of the Repeal Association of the early 1840s displaying various iconic figures in a Gothic frame, among them Daniel O'Connell in a prominent position and the legendary King Dathi and Ollamh Fodhla appearing at the base. The gold crown which first materialised with Brian Boru (2.4) is also shown along with other archaeological paraphernalia below the harp.

footnotes in his edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters*) claimed to have identified his grave, a burial mound surmounted by a large pillar stone, in Rathcroghan.

The legend of Dathi and the notion of an early Irish military foray to the Continent clearly fascinated many people and he inspired a poem by Thomas Davis entitled 'The fate of King Dathi' and another by James Clarence Mangan on 'The expedition and death of King Dathy'. He makes a brief appearance in Martin Haverty's *History of Ireland* in 1860; and in A.M. Sullivan's immensely popular *The story of Ireland,* first published in 1867, he is cited as an instance of Ireland's military power in Europe. Remote and innocuous as it might seem, this sort of rhetoric was one element in a glorification of militarism that would become a noxious constituent of separatist nationalism.

Dathi, along with other warriors like Cú Chulainn, are a part of the heroic past in Lady Ferguson's *The story of the Irish before the conquest* which appeared in 1868. 'Dathi's world-embracing fame' would be the subject of special study by her husband, Samuel Ferguson. Dathi's fame, however, would peak at the end of the century when this Iron Age hero would be eclipsed by that quintessential Celtic warrior, Cú Chulainn. The legendary Ollamh Fodhla achieved further prominence too in the second half of the nineteenth century when Eugene Conwell, a local school inspector, claimed to have identified his grave in the passage tomb cemetery at Loughcrew, Co. Meath.[103]

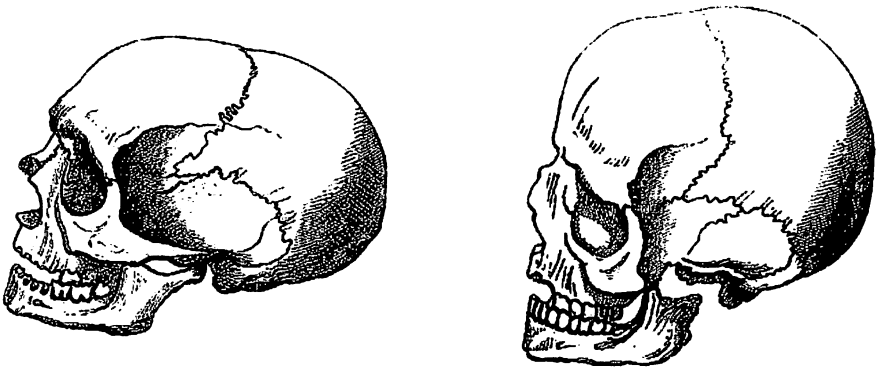
William Wilde

An outstanding and innovative eye and ear surgeon, the versatile William Wilde (1815–1876) also made a hugely important contribution to archaeology (**5.13**).[104] His interest in the subject, and in folklore and history, was undoubtedly fostered in his childhood in Castlerea, Co. Roscommon, where his father was a medical doctor, and among his mother's people in Cong, Co. Mayo. Most of his views on Irish archaeology are encapsulated in the several volumes for which he is best remembered: his *Beauties of the Boyne and Blackwater* first published in 1849 (and dedicated to George Petrie and John O'Donovan), his three catalogues of the archaeological material in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy, published in 1857, 1861 and 1862, and his *Lough Corrib: its shores and islands*, which first appeared in 1867.

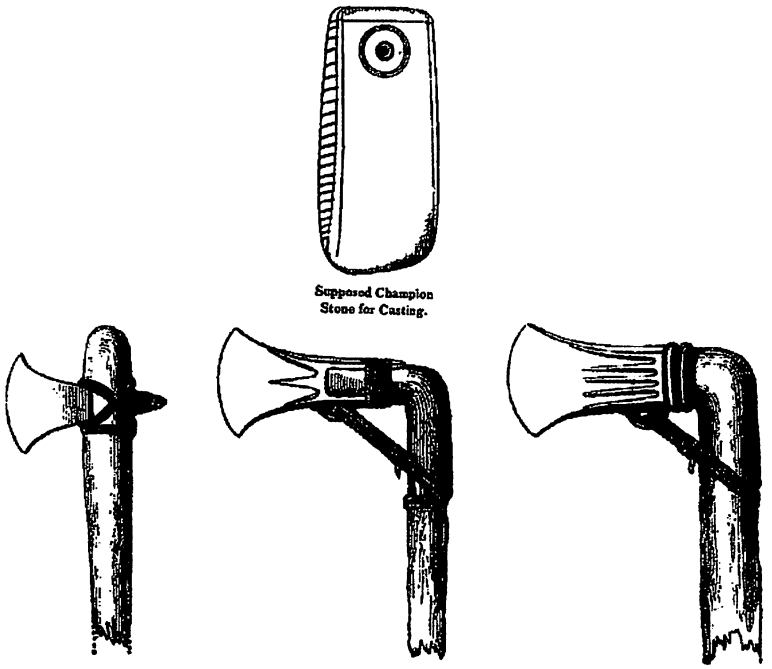
His pioneering work on craniology has been mentioned and here his interests in anatomy, medical statistics and archaeology came together. His fascination with skulls, 'this beautiful and most interesting subject of the physical history of the human race', is already apparent in his account of his voyage to Madeira, Tenerife and the eastern Mediterranean as a young doctor in 1837. Two full-page plates in this work are devoted to some skulls 'of distinct and separate races', which he confesses he stole from a rock-cut tomb near Jerusalem.[105]

He published a short account of the ethnology of the ancient Irish in 1844

5.13. William Wilde from an engraving by T.H. Maguire in 1847.



5.14. According to William Wilde, the Fir Bolg, who came from the east via the Mediterranean, were represented by long-headed, flat-sided skulls with low foreheads, like the example on the left found in a megalithic tomb in the Phoenix Park; and the Tuatha de Danann race, who probably came from northern Europe, were represented by broad, round skulls such as the one on the right found in a cist near Dunamase, Co. Offaly.



5.15. Fact and fancy. Above: a perforated stone which William F. Wakeman (1891) thought might be a 'champion's hand-stone', a stone missile referred to in early Irish legend. Below: an illustration of the progressive typological development of the Irish copper and bronze axehead, a sequence primarily based on technological improvements in hafting technique, from William Wilde's Catalogue of the antiquities of animal materials and bronze in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy *of 1861.*

and while it is true that the number of skulls at his disposal for study was very small, it is probably not surprising that he does little more than confirm the existence of long and short skulls. Nonetheless, it is fascinating to see how, like Petrie and O'Curry, he too accepts the essential historical truthfulness of those origin myths of early literature. While he does express some doubt about the legends of the earliest inhabitants such as the story of Partholon (that descendant of Japheth) and his followers, he can identify two races, one the Fir Bolg, the other the Tuatha de Danann, the former exemplified by a skull from a megalithic tomb discovered in the Phoenix Park, the latter by a skull from a cist found near Dunamase, Co. Offaly (**5.14**):

> ... the long headed, dark haired, black visaged, swarthy aborigines, or Gothic Fir Bolgs, and also, (for they are by far the most numerous) the oval or globular-headed, fair-haired, light coloured, blue or grey-eyed Celtae, or Tuath da Danan ... .[106]

The idea that the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha de Danann were real people or at least had some basis in fact persisted well into the twentieth century. Almost a century after Wilde, in 1935, another anatomist, Cecil P. Martin, in his *Prehistoric man in Ireland*, would claim that these two mythical invaders were represented among the prehistoric skulls he studied.[107]

Like Petrie and the supposed location of the second Battle of Moytirra at Carrowmore, Wilde believed that groups of cairns and other monuments might mark ancient battlefields. He was familiar with the extraordinary concentration of ancient remains in the vicinity of Cong, Co. Mayo, and was convinced that these marked the spot of the first epic battle which a medieval writer had located in the Cong area. He walked the locality, with a translation by John O'Donovan of this account in his hand, happily identifying individual monuments with particular people and events. For example, one young Fir Bolg warrior slain in combat was said to have been buried in 'The Carn of the One Man' and the enthusiastic Wilde, on digging into a likely burial mound and discovering a small cist holding a vase containing some cremated bone, was fully persuaded that he had found the warrior's grave, exclaiming 'perhaps a more convincing proof of the authenticity of ancient Irish or any other history has never been afforded'. Today the many burials of this sort can be accurately if prosaically dated to about 2000 BC so it is not easy to recapture the romantic colour that an epic tale could once apply to such a relatively nondescript prehistoric pottery vessel and to a simple burial cairn.[108]

The combination of archaeological and literary evidence available in Ireland and accepted by Petrie and Wilde impressed James Fergusson, whose *Rude stone monuments of all countries* was published in 1872 and was the first world-wide study of megalithic monuments in the English language. He had stayed with Wilde in Moytura House, his house near Cong, and had also visited

Carrowmore. He too was convinced of the value of the literary sources and rather rashly declared: 'It is probable, after all, that it is from the Irish annals that the greatest amount of light will be thrown on the history and uses of the Megalithic monuments'.[109]

In 1856, Wilde undertook the task of compiling a catalogue of the collections of the Royal Irish Academy in time for a meeting of the British Association in Dublin in September the following year. He succeeded in producing one volume on the 'stone, earthen and vegetable materials' in that relatively short timespan. In what was the first comprehensive museum catalogue, he describes and comments on an enormous number of objects, providing 159 engravings by Wakeman and du Noyer of a selection of these. In his account of over 500 stone axes in the collection with some petrological analyses, he illustrates one hafted example and considers whether these objects were weapons or implements. In this prodigious work, literary romance is never far away, however, and he cites some references provided by O'Curry to that baffling 'champion's hand-stone', one of which was supposed to have been thrown in an encounter a century before the birth of Christ (**5.15**).

In the catalogue of bronze metalwork which followed a few years later he outlined at some length the classic typological sequence of the copper and bronze axehead, a 'classification founded on the mode of fixing these implements in their handles' (**5.15**) and considered some early metallurgical studies, but at a time when English and Continental archaeologists were assigning artefacts and monuments to Ages of Stone, Bronze or Iron, the respective metalworking capabilities of the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha de Danann still received careful consideration:

> Shortly after the arrival of the latter, the two first memorable battles recorded in Irish history were fought,—those of the northern and southern Moytura, in the counties of Sligo and Mayo, the memorials on the fields of which, to this day, attest the truth of the statements made by the historians. In these battles the superior skill and weapons of the Tuatha de Danann prevailed, and drove the Firbolgs to the southern islands of Aran, where those stupendous barbaric monuments of unhewn stone, erected without mortar, tend to prove that these people had then no knowledge of lime or of metal tools, although they, probably, had some copper or bronze weapons ... In an ancient poem quoted by Keating, it is said that the Tuatha de Danann brought with them to Ireland ... the sword of Lughaidh Lamhfhada, a spear, and the cauldron called Coire-an-Daghdha... .[110]

It has been suggested that some members of the Academy's organising committee would have preferred to see the Three-Age model employed in the

cataloguing system and that Wilde, because of pressure of time, chose a different path, categorising objects on the basis of material and use. Another explanation seems more likely: the historical evidence that was accepted in varying degrees by Petrie, O'Curry and Wilde himself did not support the new classificatory scheme of successive ages. Wilde's reference to the copper or bronze weapons of the mythical Fir Bolg is an allusion to those halberds identified by O'Curry in his recent lectures and he, Wilde, would later declare:

> While I have no doubt that, generally speaking, such was the usual progress of development in these particulars, I deny that this division can, as a rule, be applied to Ireland, where undoubtedly each period overlapped with the succeeding, so as to mix one class of implement with another ...[111]

Worsaae in Ireland

The idea of remote ages of stone, bronze or iron was familiar to some Greek, Roman and Renaissance writers. For example, Lucretius (95–53 BC) in *De Natura Rerum* said: 'The earliest weapons were the hands, nails and teeth, as well as stones, pieces of wood, flames and fire as soon as they were known. Later the properties of iron and bronze were discovered, but bronze came first, the use of iron not being known until later ...'. In the sixteenth century, Michael Mercati, Superintendent of the Vatican Botanical Gardens, drew on Classical writers like Lucretius, on the Old Testament and on the growing collection of ethnographic materials coming from Asia and the Americas to explain that flint implements were not celestial thunderbolts or 'elf-arrows' but ancient artefacts, which he related to the Classical notion of successive ages. His work, the *Metallotheca*, though not published until 1717, was in circulation in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century and by the following century French and British antiquarians had recognised the nature of these objects.[112]

It was not until the early nineteenth century, however, that the concept of successive ages was applied in a practical way to a body of archaeological material. The early development of museums with large representative national collections in Sweden and Denmark, in Stockholm and Copenhagen, was an important stimulant, concentrating attention on the artefactual evidence. The archaeological principle of a Three-Age system of a Stone Age, a Bronze Age and an Iron Age was first employed between 1818 and 1825 by Christian Thomsen in the Museum of National Antiquities in Copenhagen when the collections were rearranged and exhibited in separate cases reflecting these three consecutive ages. It was applied in several other Scandinavian museums at this time as well.

His achievement was more than a representation of the sequential deployment of stone, bronze and iron objects. He was aware, for instance, that bronze and iron had been in contemporaneous use in the Iron Age, a detail that

might seem to nullify a simple evolutionary technological model. Thomsen appreciated the importance of find associations—objects of a similar age tended to be found together and objects of different ages were found separately. Empirical observation of the importance of archaeological contexts provided him with the basis for what was essentially a chronological system.[113] This famous and influential hypothesis—simple, effective and radical—was published briefly by Thomsen in his guide to the museum's collections in Danish and German in the 1830s and, in English, in a *Guide to northern archaeology,* in 1848.[114]

The Three-Age system was promoted and developed by Jens Worsaae, another celebrated Danish archaeologist, who visited Ireland early in his career and addressed the Royal Irish Academy on two occasions in November and December 1846. In his second lecture, he briefly summarised the Stone, Bronze and Iron Periods and firmly placed certain Irish megalithic tombs, for instance, those 'stone structures called *Cromlechs, Druidical altars, etc.*', in the Stone Period. Both of his contributions were promptly published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.* In the 1849 English version of his book *The primeval antiquities of Denmark,* various Irish stone, bronze and iron finds were allocated to their respective periods.[115] The following year saw 'the theory of the learned Dane' being put into practice by Henry Thomas, a mining engineer in west Cork, who on the basis of three polished stone axeheads found in an old copper mine was prepared to assign these workings not to the Danes of old but to those early people who used stone implements and built cromlechs and giant's chambers and who were 'the Celtic ancestors of the tribes occupying this country at the dawn of modern history'.[116]

This evolutionary model of successive ages offered a new framework for studying the material remains of the past, one that confirmed popular belief in human progress, from savagery, to barbarism to civilisation. It also provided a very important measure of chronological depth and enshrined the principle of the progressive typological development of tools and weapons, but for all this it was only slowly and sometimes reluctantly accepted in Britain and Ireland. Early supporters in Britain were mainly interested in physical ethnology and particularly in craniology, and it was only with the publication of John Lubbock's *Pre-historic times* in 1865 and John Evans' monumental *Ancient stone implements* in 1872 and his *Ancient bronze implements* in 1881 (both containing Irish material) that artefact-based study within the Three-Age framework was widely accepted.[117]

Despite its potential, this model found only limited application in Irish scholarly circles in the nineteenth century. The apparently contemporaneous use of stone, copper and bronze was one reason for scepticism. Thus when drainage operations on the River Shannon at Keelogue, near Portumna, Co. Galway, in the early 1840s, were said to have uncovered a number of stone axes stratified some 30cm below a layer of gravel containing bronze weapons, the

claim for the discovery of stone and bronze 'relics of very different and distinct periods' prompted considerable controversy. As already mentioned, it was dismissed by Eugene O'Curry in his lectures in 1860 on weapons and warfare. An historian, Revd James O'Laverty, remarked that the Three-Age system was inconsistent with the *Book of Genesis* where it is stated that Tubal-cain was, as he put it, 'a hammerer and artificer in every work of brass and iron' and he also observed that bronze weapons from the River Bann had been found in the river-bed while stone axes had been recovered above them on the bed of the river. Whatever their motivation, these claims are interesting because here we find early instances of the use of the stratigraphic method, still the basis of archaeological excavation, and an early appreciation of its significance.[118]

If Irish historical evidence seemed to contradict the idea of distinct ages, for some this was the case in Britain as well. The well-known Anglo-Saxon historian John Mitchell Kemble addressed the Royal Irish Academy in 1857 and launched a robust attack on Worsaae and the Northern antiquarians. The documented use of stone implements in historical times convinced him that the model was unsound.[119] James Fergusson, who, it will be remembered, had been entertained by Wilde and who had also been convinced of the value of the Irish literary sources, did not embrace the system in his 1872 *Rude stone monuments.* In Britain, he noted numerous cases where stone and metal objects had been found on the one site, sometimes in close association, and since Roman writers had nothing to say about megalithic tombs, he concluded—for this and for other reasons—they had to be post-Roman and date to the first millennium of the Christian era.[120]

The protracted reluctance to adopt the new chronological model is also evident in the first two editions of Wakeman's *Hand-book of Irish antiquities.* Six years after the closure of the Ordnance Survey's topographical department, the artist and draughtsman W.F. Wakeman published the first popular account of Irish archaeological monuments. The full title of this small book, published in 1848, is revealing, reflecting as it does improvements in transport and the increasing popularity of antiquities: *A Hand-book of Irish antiquities, pagan and Christian: especially of such as are easy of access from the Irish metropolis.* Indeed Wakeman would publish a series of travel guides in the following decades, including *The tourists' picturesque guide to Ireland* where antiquities and history figure prominently and which went through several editions. In one, around 1885, we find the enterprising Slievemore Hotel on Achill Island, 'The British Madeira', offering a visit to a 'Druid's Altar' among other attractions.[121]

The excitement of early railway travel is not easily recaptured today: railways completed and proposed as well as antiquities are a feature of J.B. Doyle's *Tours in Ulster* published in 1854; he expressed delight 'in the sensation of flying at the rate of some thirty or fifty miles an hour'.[122] Wakeman's pioneering synthesis, offered to the mobile 'antiquarian student', provided summary illustrated accounts, in three parts, of Pagan Antiquities, Early

Christian Antiquities and Anglo-Irish Remains. Pagan monuments included cromlechs (considered to be burial places, not Druid's altars or anything else), pillar stones, burial mounds, stone circles, and monuments such as Newgrange and Tara. Churches, crosses and round towers are described in the second part, and Anglo-Irish remains (as he called them) covered in the third, comprised abbeys, fonts, castles, town gates and walls. A short final section briefly dealt with a number of artefact types of different periods. Pre-Christian monuments, if attributed at all, are considered a part of a Celtic past and the new Three Age model is not employed. Revised and expanded editions of this work were published in 1891 and (by J. Cooke) in 1903.

Even though he had conceded the existence of a Bronze Age preceded by an Age of Stone in popular articles in 1867, in the second edition of his *Handbook* (considerably augmented and now addressed to the 'archaeological student'), Wakeman retained the threefold, Pagan, Christian and Anglo-Irish, division of the first. The influence of O'Curry and his literary studies is evident (though slight enough) for there is an illustration of a perforated axe-like stone which Wakeman thought might be one of those 'champion's hand-stones' (**5.15**) and, of course, a supposed instance of the use of stone implements at a late date. There was empiric evidence as well and in a new section on crannogs he remarked:

> It should be observed that almost season after season evidence is produced to indicate that in Ireland at least the contemporaneous adoption of flint, stone, bone, and iron in the manufacture of weapons, implements, and ornaments for the person, had existed for a period to be counted by tens of centuries. ... It may be stated, in short, that in nearly every crannog hitherto discovered, and more or less explored, in Ireland, articles formed of flint or stone, and similar in every respect to remains usually assumed to belong to the so-called 'Stone Age', have occurred, and very frequently in apparent connexion with implements of bronze and iron.[123]

Wakeman's friend, the Sligo antiquarian W.G. Wood-Martin was less hesitant. Like Wakeman, who had assisted him in his work on megalithic tombs and crannogs, he was familiar with John Lubbock's *Pre-historic times* published in 1865. This was a particularly significant and popular publication, no less than seven editions appearing between this date and 1913. Indeed, it has been described as the most influential work on archaeology of the nineteenth century, a Victorian imperial synthesis offering a Darwinian evolutionary model which presented an enduring and racist picture of European civilisation as culturally and biologically superior to both ancient and modern less developed societies.[124] Lubbock, later Lord Avebury, was a banker, politician

and naturalist interested in geology and anthropology, and a friend and neighbour of Charles Darwin. It is he who is remembered for giving a wide currency to the term 'prehistoric', which had been coined just over a decade before.[125] His achievement in this work, however, was to combine the Three-Age concept with the accumulating evidence for the great antiquity of human activity in Europe. The story of the revelation of the latter has often been recounted.[126]

The discovery, since at least the 1830s, of crude stone implements and the bones of extinct animals such as mammoth and rhinoceros in canal, railway and other diggings in the gravels of the valley of the River Somme in the Abbeville region of north-western France was brought to public attention by Jacques Boucher de Perthes in 1838, but nearly twenty years were to elapse before his claims for 'antediluvian' tools were recognised in both France and England. The French discoveries and similar finds in England were accepted in papers delivered to the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries in London and to the British Association in Aberdeen in 1859, the same year that saw the publication of Darwin's *On the origins of species.*

At a time when Archbishop Ussher's date of 4004 BC for the Creation was still printed in the margins of the Bible and widely accepted, the very first sentence of *Pre-historic times* was unambiguous: 'The first appearance of man in Europe dates back to a period so remote, that neither history nor even tradition, can throw any light on his origin, or mode of life'. Lubbock was unwilling to be more precise but the extraordinary perspectives now presented by geology are evident in his quotation of the words of the eminent geologist Sir Charles Lyell in a lecture the year before: 'We of the living generation, when called upon to make grants of thousands of centuries, in order to explain the events of what is called the modern period, shrink naturally at first from making what seems so lavish an expenditure of past time'.[127]

This concept of an immeasurable prehistory distinct from and beyond history was an important factor in the shaping of the new discipline of archaeology. In time it would help to separate text and artefact and seal the fate of objects like the 'champion's hand-stone'. Lubbock proceeded to divide what he called Prehistoric Archaeology into four great epochs, the Palaeolithic, the Neolithic, the Bronze Age and the Iron Age. He used Irish material, as depicted in Wilde's *Catalogue*, to illustrate some of the objects considered characteristic of the Bronze and Stone Ages.

In his study of megalithic tombs, Wood-Martin saw the period of the stone monuments he was investigating as one defined by the presence of 'flint-using man, with (perhaps) a slight knowledge of metallurgy' and, following Lubbock, he summarised the new thinking as follows:

> The stone age is subdivided by archaeologists into two eras; the Palaeolithic, or ancient stone period, being, according to those

> authorities, when the manufacture of implements was so rude, that it is difficult to distinguish between the flints artificially chipped by human agency and those shaped by natural causes. In the Neolithic, or new stone period, implements were worked with more care—sometimes beautifully finished and polished—and they bear distinct traces of an advance in the art of fabrication. The bronze, like the stone age, has also two subdivisions; for man may have first used pure copper before he learnt the art of hardening it; or, as is highly probable, the early discovery of the blending of metals may have been the result of accident. Lastly, we arrive at the iron age, which may be looked upon as a fusion of the historic and pre-historic periods ... in Ireland it appears to have been long subsequent to the erection of the Rude Stone Monuments ...[128]

Gifted amateurs and antiquarians

William Gregory Wood-Martin (1847–1917) is a good example of the gifted and energetic amateur who played a major role in Irish archaeology in the second half of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth century as well. The term 'amateur' is used in the sense that all were otherwise employed or had independent means and like William Wilde many of them, though by no means all as we have seen, came from the Protestant professional classes or from the ranks of the Church of Ireland.[129] Their interests tended to focus on megalithic tombs, crannogs, forts, ogham stones, churches and, inevitably, round towers, and their names often figure prominently in the pages of the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* and in the *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society,* later the *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland* and finally called the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.* In addition to these exceptional individuals, there was a host of other minor figures as well whose contributions also fill the pages of these journals—they too collected artefacts and undertook fieldwork with impressive zeal (**5.16**).

Sligo-born Wood-Martin became High Sheriff of County Sligo after a short military career in which he rose to the rank of Colonel.[130] His *Rude stone monuments* was the fruit of a programme of survey and excavation at Carrowmore and other Sligo sites. This 'delving in the cromleacs', as his co-worker in the field, the Revd James Graves, described it, effectively dismissed all notions that these monuments were ever places of Druidical worship. Graves, when editor of the *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland,* had hoped to see a county-by-county survey of megalithic tombs and Wood-Martin's work first appeared as a series of articles in the pages of that *Journal.*

His major archaeological publication, the one for which he is best

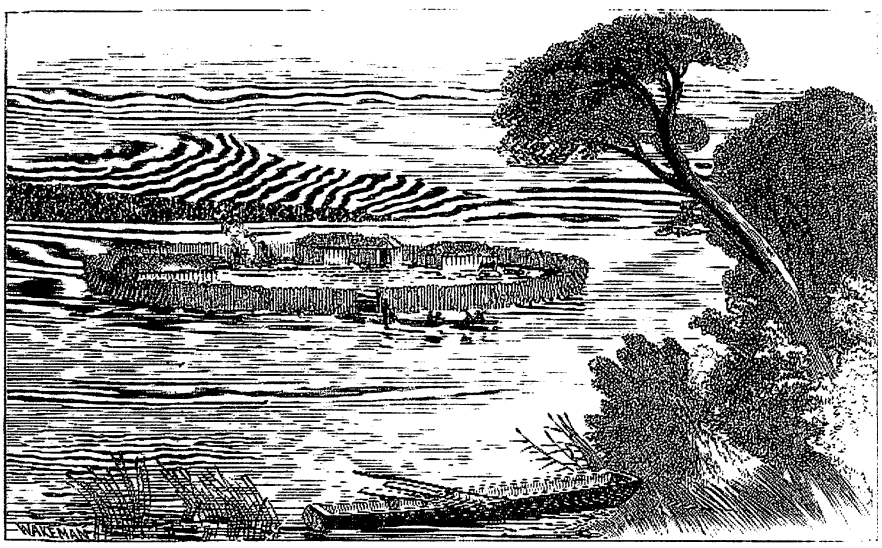
ANCIENT TROGLODYTE RETREAT.

A passage in the Great Cave of Gleniff, Co. Sligo (see p. 5). From a photograph taken by Magnesium light.

5.16. A nineteenth-century antiquarian visit to a troglodyte retreat in County Sligo from W.G. Wood-Martin's Pagan Ireland *(1895).*

remembered, *The lake dwellings of Ireland,* was published in 1886. This remained the standard work and, indeed, the only synthesis on the subject of Irish crannogs, for over a century. It has been described as a classic study based both on fieldwork and on a review of the many discoveries already reported in published notes and articles by Wilde, Wakeman, Graves, Shirley and others.[131] It was inspired by Ferdinand Keller's *The lake dwellings of Switzerland* of 1866 and Robert Munro's *Ancient Scottish lake-dwellings or crannogs* which appeared in 1882. It is an impressively analytical piece of work unaffected by the antiquarian romanticism that hindered understanding of the Swiss sites, for instance, where nineteenth-century lake fever inspired picturesque reconstructions, plays and novels. Wood-Martin methodically recorded structures, finds and historical references, and the picture he offered of the lake dwelling as an isolated defended island retreat (**5.17**) has only been modified in recent years.

Wood-Martin was also deeply interested in anthropology and folklore, which he saw as an important branch of archaeology, and these various elements form a part of his large 600-page book, *Pagan Ireland,* published in 1895. This was a rambling thematic work dealing with topics such as architecture (embracing stone forts, ringforts, souterrains, crannogs, middens, burnt mounds, and more) and stone implements (where related folklore figures prominently). It is a testimony to nineteenth-century antiquarian vigour, however, being based, as he himself remarks of his bibliography, on upwards of one thousand published papers and works by three hundred different authors. For the sober but querulous Wood-Martin, who believed that the spade was the great solver of archaeological problems, the tales of the Fir Bolg and Tuatha de Danann were just vague traditions, put into concrete form, of various past invasions. Like a latter-day Ledwich criticising 'bardic fictions', he complained: 'The mythical stories by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and other scribes of that school, relative to the colonization and history of England, have long been consigned to the literary waste-paper basket; and why should the extravagant legends related of Ireland be treated with more leniency?' He published Wakeman's drawing of that perforated stone object which his friend had thought to be a 'champion's hand-stone' (**5.15**) but prudently called it a perforated stone hatchet without further comment. He asked the pertinent question: 'Supposing we did not possess the fanciful Irish Annals, how would archaeology have been written?'[132]



5.17. A crannog as drawn by W.F. Wakeman for W.G. Wood-Martin's Lake dwellings of Ireland.

His knowledge of folklore convinced him of the long survival of pagan practices side by side with Christianity, and these 'elder faiths' were the subject of his final two-volume book *Traces of the elder faiths of Ireland*. Here, as in *Pagan Ireland,* he is preoccupied with what he sees as the very slow process of evolution from savagery to civilisation. Even though he can assign—in a general way—much of the archaeological material at his disposal to a Neolithic period, a Bronze Age or an Iron Age, to his evident frustration this approach, combining as it did the technological and the moral, failed to provide him with a clear pattern of social advancement in what he described as 'the huge mass of undigested matter now accumulated in the pages of learned societies'.[133] Today, in addition to a more refined chronology, Wood-Martin would probably have a very different perception of natural evolution and, in place of his very Victorian vision, he would probably recognise that evolution and notions of social and moral progress are very different concepts.

Some of the work of William Frederick Wakeman (1822–1900) has already been mentioned. He had been a pupil of Petrie's who had produced many illustrations for the Ordnance Survey and who had supplied drawings for Wilde's *Catalogue* and many other publications as well (**5.18**). He became an art teacher, antiquarian and artist. He spent a number of years as drawing master in St Columba's College, Dublin, where he wrote the first edition of his *Hand-book of Irish antiquities*. He was later appointed art master in Portora Royal School in Enniskillen. In addition to various popular articles on archaeological topics, over fifty contributions to the *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland* and the two editions of his important *Hand-book,* he published a major survey of the ecclesiastical remains on Inishmurray, Co. Sligo, in 1888. This was undertaken on behalf of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association (that forerunner of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland) who were concerned about the nature of various conservation measures being undertaken there by the then Office of Public Works. The posthumous publication in 1903 of an expanded third edition of the *Hand-book* (by John Cooke) was a measure of the popularity of this work. The threefold division of monuments is retained but now labelled Prehistoric, Early Christian and Anglo-Irish; also retained are that old favourite, the 'champion's hand-stone' (which makes a simultaneous appearance in P.W. Joyce's *Social history of Ancient Ireland*), and the traditional picture of the great Banqueting Hall at Tara:

> The ruins ... consist of two parallel lines of earth, running in a direction nearly north and south, and divided at intervals by openings which indicate the position of the ancient doorways. ... It ... was evidently intended for the accommodation of a large number at the same time. From the Mss. that have come down to us, we have reason to suppose that the songs of the old Irish

5.18. Left: William F. Wakeman. Right: Richard Rolt Brash.

> bards, descriptive of the royal feasts of Teamhair, are not the fictions that many people are ready to consider them. If, upon viewing the remains of this ancient seat of royalty, disappointment is felt, and even the tales of its former magnificence questioned, it should be remembered that, since the latest period during which the kings and chiefs of Erin assembled here, thirteen centuries have elapsed, and our surprise will not be that so few indications of ancient grandeur are to be found, but that any vestige remains to point out its site.[134]

The published work of Richard Rolt Brash (1817–1876) is the most public monument to the activities of the gifted amateurs of the South Munster Antiquarian Society. A builder and architect, born in Cork, his main interests lay in medieval architecture, including—of course—round towers, and in ogham stones (**5.18**).[135] He published some fifty papers in the usual journals and in the *Irish Builder.* The articles in the latter were collected to form his first book, *The ecclesiastical architecture of Ireland,* published in 1875, where his architect's eye sometimes provided useful insights. For instance, he quickly disposed of the suggestion that the inclination of the gently leaning round tower at Kilmacduagh, Co. Galway, exceeded that of the famous bell-tower at Pisa. Of the romantic school, and clearly captivated by early myth and legend, he could not resist wider and wilder speculation. Like George Petrie, he believed the Gobán Saor, a famous craftsman and master builder of Irish

legend, to have been a historical figure, but unlike Petrie who considered him the architect of some round towers, Brash assigned him to remote antiquity as one of the artificers of the Tuatha de Danann.[136]

His faith in the literary sources is even more in evidence in his posthumously published work on ogham stones. *The ogam inscribed monuments of the Gaedhil in the British Islands* gives an excellent idea of the indefatigable energy of local ogham hunters like John Windele, Richard Hitchcock and Fr Matthew Horgan, parish priest of Blarney, and records the discovery of over 180 examples in the southern counties of Cork, Kerry, Waterford and Kilkenny alone. Their work is a good illustration of how by the middle of the nineteenth century antiquarianism was not just practised by individuals but had become a middle class social activity.[137] Like other members of the South Munster Antiquarian Society, Brash believed that ogham stones were pre-Christian and evidence of early literacy in Ireland. He was further convinced that they were probably of Egyptian inspiration and evidence of a Milesian invasion from Spain in the south-west of the country (**2.1**). Neither he nor most of his colleagues favoured Petrie's theory that round towers were primarily Early Christian belfries. Brash preferred to see them as pagan burial places, the imposing tower reflecting the idea of a prehistoric pillar stone.[138]

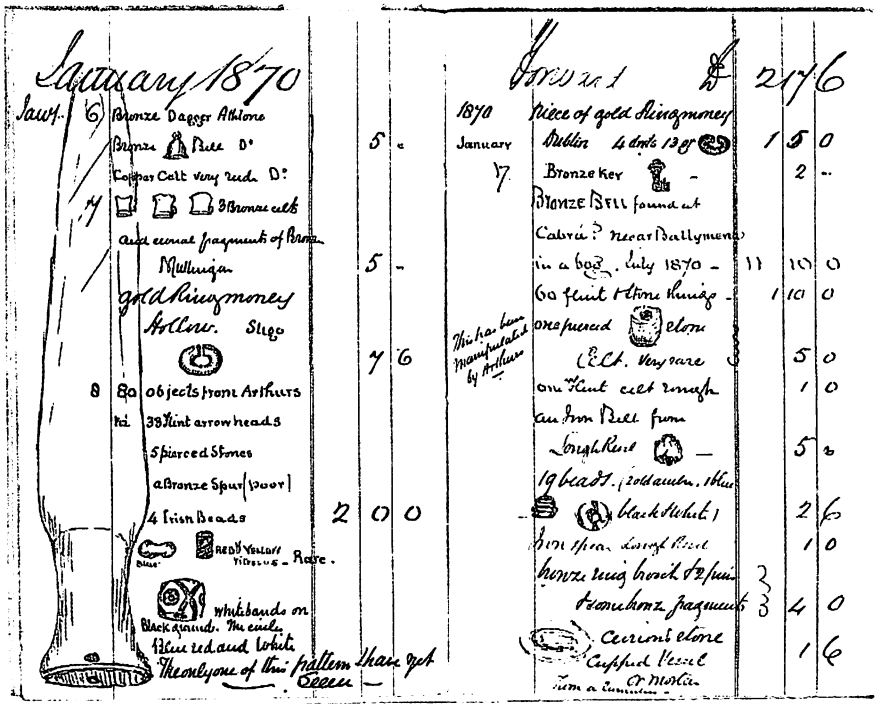
Another participant in the society's activities, Fr Richard Smiddy, argued in his 1871 book, *An essay on the druids, the ancient churches, and the round towers of Ireland,* that the round towers were baptisteries and was confident that this interpretation was the final word in the controversy. His confidence was misplaced—the works of Canon Ulick Bourke were yet to come—but then he was equally confident that megalithic tombs were Druidical altars for animal and human sacrifice, this despite the work of Wood-Martin and despite the fact that just six years before, Wakeman had clearly asserted that those who argued the Druidical case were wrong.[139]

Hodder M. Westropp (1820–1885), a Cork antiquarian of independent means, was another contributor to the round tower debate. He suggested in several repetitive papers and in a pamphlet in 1865 that these monuments did have a funereal role and were analogous to slender pillars in some French cemeteries. These *lanternes des morts* or *fanaux des cimetières* were beacons to guide funeral parties, and he proposed the Irish towers had a similar purpose. On a more positive note, he was the first to introduce the term Mesolithic in a lecture in 1866. His other archaeological publications included a book on aspects of Mediterranean archaeology in 1867 and *Pre-historic phases, or introductory essays on pre-historic archaeology,* published in 1872, in which he attempted to outline successive, world-wide phases of human progress, namely the hunting phase, the pastoral phase and the agricultural phase. His global perspective did allow him to observe that human migration could not explain the wide distribution of megalithic tombs around the world and he believed in every country they exhibited 'their independent development'.[140] This

suggestion fell on deaf ears; diffusionist theories were increasingly in vogue and would dominate the study of these monuments for almost a century.

The work of John Windele (1801–1865) in the earlier part of the century has been mentioned. He was an exceptionally energetic and enthusiastic member of the South Munster Antiquarian Society, and his principal legacy is the large collection of his field notes and manuscripts now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.[141] Robert Day (*c.* 1836–1914) was a founding member of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society in 1891 and a prolific contributor to various publications, writing over ninety papers on archaeological and historical topics, from spearheads to poesy rings, for the Cork Society's *Journal* alone.[142] Among his writings in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries* is a short account of a founder's hoard, a quite exceptional assemblage of scrap bronze in an Irish context, consisting of 'bronze fragments, about two hundred in number'. Unfortunately, the exact location of the find was not recorded, though it was said to come from somewhere in County Roscommon, and because the dealer demanded too high a price for the whole hoard, Day only purchased a small selection for five shillings (**5.19**). When his enormous collection was sold at Sotheby's in 1913, over 470 lots—some comprising over a dozen objects—were disposed of over four days and included many hundreds of Irish stone and bronze objects, dozens of gold artefacts, as well as items from as far away as Denmark and America.[143] He was also instrumental in the sale of the famous Broighter hoard to the British Museum in 1897. Only after a celebrated legal battle was the find declared Treasure Trove and returned to Dublin.[144]

Another huge collection was amassed by William J. Knowles (1832–1927) of Cullybackey, near Ballymena, Co. Antrim. It too was eventually sold by Sotheby's in more than 800 lots over four days in 1924. He was an avid collector of stone implements and one lot alone comprised a hundred axe rough-outs from the axe factory at Tievebulliagh, near Cushendall, Co. Antrim. His collection also contained prehistoric pottery, bronze objects and glass beads in considerable quantities along with some material from other countries. Indeed, he was particularly possessive about glass beads, boasting how few there were in other collections.[145] Knowles published widely and his main contribution was probably to Stone Age studies. He was, for example, the first to draw public attention to the famous Tievebulliagh site, the first insular rough-out production location to be identified, and now recognised as the principal source for the porcellanite for Irish Neolithic polished axes. The discovery was a family affair and included one of his daughters, Matilda, an antiquarian in her own right whose sister Margaret was the author of many of the drawings in her father's publications (**5.20**). Knowles records the discovery as follows:

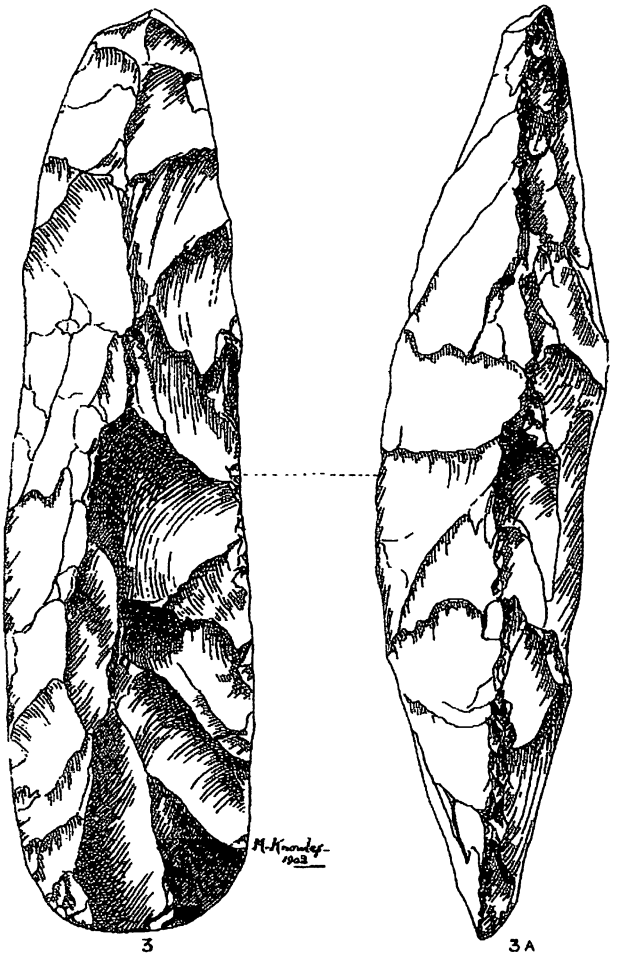


5.19. Pages from an antiquarian dealer's notebook: on January 7th 1870, Robert Day records the purchase from a dealer in Mullingar for five shillings of some of the objects from an important metalworker's hoard found somewhere in County Roscommon.

My wife and I went to Cushendall for a short holiday, and spent our time in wandering about the hills. One day in climbing to the top of Tievebulliagh, we came upon where the peat and soil had been denuded and washed away, revealing several sites which had never been disturbed. We found a great many axes, broken specimens, and partially worked objects, rounded hammerstones of black rock, and some large ones made of waterworn boulders of quartzite. The flakes were in thousands, and many of them were worked along the edges into points and scrapers, like the 'pointes' and 'racloirs' of palaeolithic time, which are described and figured by French authors. It took my wife and daughter, with myself, several days to remove all the manufactured objects. I did not seek other assistance, as my previous finds had now come to be talked about, and I did not wish to reveal my discovery on Tievebulliagh until I had made a thorough investigation.[146]

He was an assiduous if horrifyingly destructive explorer of the sandhills at Portstewart and Whitepark Bay, and in 1880 could boast 'from Portstewart, Castlerock, and Ballintoy, the places where animal remains and implements are found buried up in the black layers, I think I may safely estimate the number of manufactured flint implements, obtained by myself and others, up to the present time, without taking account of flakes or cores, at 2,000'.[147]

Knowles was also a protagonist in a relatively short-lived but acrimonious late nineteenth-century debate on the question of a Palaeolithic in Ireland, a controversy that would surface again in the 1920s. He saw traces of the survival of Palaeolithic types in many quarters: even the rough-outs from Tievebulliagh, which he recognised for what they were, looked like hand-axes. Crude rolled flints from Larne, Co. Antrim, were—he believed—Palaeolithic survivals too and some pointed flints from the valley of the River Bann might even be that



5.20. A 'fine specimen' about 37cm in length of a rough-out for a polished stone axe of Tievebulliagh porcellanite, drawn by the daughter of W.J. Knowles who, along with members of his family, discovered the axe factory site in 1902.

old as well because river valleys elsewhere had produced finds of that remote period, and pointed tools, of course, could have been weapons to attack the larger animals when they came to drink or even have been used to break holes in the ice. Even though his Palaeolithic claims were quite ill-founded, it must be said he was working at a time when the Mesolithic period had yet to be generally accepted. He was the first to detect a chronological difference between the material from coastal sites like Larne and from sandhills sites like Portstewart.[148]

William Gray (1830–1917), a Cork-born resident of Belfast with an interest in geology and fossils, sparred with Knowles on the Palaeolithic question. He did not believe in such an early date for any Irish material mainly because of the absence of any associated fauna such as mammoth bones.[149] He too had a collection of antiquities and estimated that there were a dozen other significant collections of stone implements and other objects in the north of Ireland in 1879. Canon John Grainger (1830–1891) was one of the more noteworthy of these collectors. His large and poorly catalogued collection, comprising a library, geological, zoological and archaeological specimens, was presented to Belfast Corporation shortly before his death and required the construction of a special annex to the Belfast Free Public Library Art Gallery and Museum. He, like Knowles, undertook some excavations but their purpose was just to recover specimens and they kept no records.[150]

While it may be unfair to judge nineteenth-century antiquarian practices by today's standards when modern archaeology may be said to benefit from the cumulative experience of over a century and a half, even the succeeding generation was highly critical of these northern collectors. Just a few decades later R.A.S. Macalister would write in his characteristic forthright fashion '... the rank and file of collectors are an unmitigated curse to archaeology. They import an element of commercialism into the subject which is wholly to its detriment. Their interest is limited to making their cabinets fuller and richer than those of their rivals: in the competition prices go up, and museums, which have no resources but inelastic grants of money, have to struggle against very unfair odds. And when death claims the collector, his cabinet is auctioned and dispersed to the four winds ... to make antiquities merely the sport of a collector is to degrade them.'[151]

From neither Cork nor Belfast, William Copeland Borlase (1848–1899) came of a distinguished Cornish family and was a descendant of the celebrated eighteenth-century antiquary William Borlase. He made his own important contributions to the study of local archaeology, wrote a family history and became a Member of Parliament. But in 1877 some moral and financial lapses were exposed by a vindictive mistress and scandal, bankruptcy and ruin followed.[152] His misfortune would benefit Irish archaeology, however, because of necessity he became a remittance man in Ireland for a period and published a monumental three-volume account of the country's megalithic tombs in

1897. This, *The dolmens of Ireland,* was not just an enormous and profusely illustrated synthesis of the available data on these monuments gleaned from Ordnance Survey maps and records, from published accounts and from private correspondence, it was also a wide-ranging review of the Continental material from the Mediterranean to the Baltic, even venturing eastwards to Russia and India. Also included were examinations of topics that took his fancy, such as cannibalism, and a somewhat bewildering study of associated medieval legend, folklore and ethnology.

He attempted a classification of the Irish megaliths, identifying dolmen-circles (as at Carrowmore), wedge-shaped dolmens, and chamber-cairns (as in the Boyne Valley). This classification, as he noted, was broadly similar to that proposed for the tombs of Scandinavia in 1874 by Oscar Montelius. He also envisaged the possibility of a series of immigrations of tomb builders stemming from northern Germany and Scandinavia and from the Iberian peninsula and western France. Particularly struck by resemblances between some Irish monuments and examples in the western Baltic region, he made prolix efforts to correlate mythical invaders with peoples in that part of Continental Europe.

Perhaps the most gifted of all the talented nineteenth-century amateurs, Samuel Ferguson (1810–1886) is renowned for his literary achievements but was a significant student of Irish archaeology as well. Born in Belfast, he was at times political commentator, barrister, the first Deputy Keeper of the Records of Ireland, writer and poet (**5.21**). Some of his poetic works have been praised by W.B. Yeats and others and it was he who first explored the literary possibilities of the early Irish texts being unearthed by his contemporaries. He has been dubbed the 'inventor of the Celtic Twilight'.[153] Of his early writings, his comments on the work of George Petrie in 1839 have been mentioned but in the late 1830s and in the following two decades he not only welcomed and summarised that scholar's essay on round towers, but he also described the ancient monuments at Clonmacnoise and Aran, addressed the question of Celto-Scythic progress (including the arrival of the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha de Danann), and the proliferation of saints and miracles in early Ireland. This last article was inspired more by his Protestant antipathy to Catholic superstition than scholarly objectivity. He had noted that over 650 saints had materialised in the two centuries following the arrival of Saint Patrick (an impressive rate of one every four months).[154]

Like William Wilde romanticising about the warrior's grave at the suppositious battlefield of Moytirra, Ferguson was able—with equal equanimity—to envisage in his poem *The cromlech on Howth,* 'a cup of bodkin-pencilled clay' holding just a handful of the grey ashes of the once mighty Oscar, son of Fionn Mac Cumhaill. This work was published in a special volume illuminated with finely executed initial letters from the *Book of Kells* and the *Book of Durrow* by Margaret Stokes.[155] Poems such as *The Tain Quest* and his three-thousand line epic *Congal* depict a heroic and essentially pre-

5.21. Samuel Ferguson: a sketch by W.F. Burton, 1848.

Christian world peopled with knights, kings, warriors and maidens. These tales of a land 'glory-crowned in war' presented an image of the Iron Age that is still very much with us.

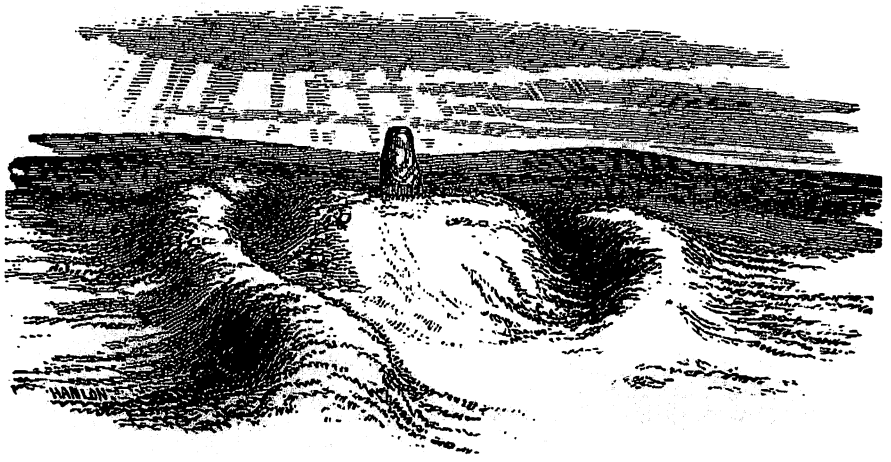
The subject of *The Tain Quest,* published in 1864 in his *Lays of the Western Gael,* is the medieval legend of the re-discovery of the lost tale of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*. In this tale Muirghein succeeds in identifying the grave of Fearghus Mac Róich who is then resurrected to recount the story of the great cattle raid. The grave is marked by a pillar stone, and in Ferguson's words:

> Shone the sunset red and solemn: Murgen, where he leant, observed
> Down the corners of the column letter-strokes of Ogham carved.
> ' 'Tis, belike a burial pillar,' said he, 'and these shallow lines
> Hold some warrior's name of valour, could I rightly spell the signs'.

'Letter then by letter tracing', Murgen eventually reads the dramatic legend: 'Fergus, son of Roy is here'. These lines allow a glimpse of the romantic excitement that ogham inscriptions had for Samuel Ferguson; they held the promise of encountering figures from a living past. In September of that same year, 1864, he visited the famous royal site of Rathcroghan, in County Roscommon, legendary home of Queen Maeve and the place where the *Táin* began. With his wife, he explored the celebrated entrance to the Otherworld, a small cave with a souterrain attached known as Oweynagat. Anxious to explore the inner cave, he left his wife a short distance inside the entrance and she, having sensibly lit a candle, discovered markings on the edge of one of the roof stones of the souterrain. To his delight this was an ogham inscription which he read as FRAICCI MAQI MEDFFI meaning '(The stone of) Fraic son of Medf'. Though confessing some scepticism, he was very struck by what appeared to him to be proof of a historical Maeve. He commented: 'we are impressed, perhaps awe-struck, with the possible presence of a memorial to the Helen ... of Irish epic romance' and, moreover, since she was supposed to have lived about the time of Christ, one which appeared to confirm the use of alphabetic writing in Ireland before the advent of Christianity. Ogham stones became his main archaeological interest in later life and he adopted a means of making paper casts of these inscriptions in the field using blotting paper and glue. The Rathcroghan report was the first of many papers on the subject and his Rhind Lectures in Edinburgh on these monuments were published the year after his death.[156]

The Rathcroghan ogham stone was not the only assumed proof of the historical truthfulness of the ancient texts provided by the monuments at that royal site. In 1837, in his work for the Ordnance Survey, John O'Donovan drew attention to a burial mound surmounted by pillar stone, which, according to a reference in a seventeenth-century text (in Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh's *Book of Genealogies*), marked the grave of Dathi, the last pagan king of Ireland. Once again, monument and history seemed to verify one another. Ferguson described this burial mound (**5.22**) to the Royal Irish Academy in 1872:

> At about three hundred yards to the south-east of Relig-na-ree stands the pillar-stone thought to indicate the grave of Dathi, the last Pagan Monarch of Ireland, who is recorded to have been buried at Rathcroghan A. D. 428. When seen by O'Donovan in 1837 it was prostrate, lying beside the little mound on which it has since been erected. It is undoubtedly the *coirthe dearg,* or red pillar-stone, which tradition affirmed to be the monument of Dathi, when Mac Ferbis wrote in A. D. 1666. Its weight is such as would make it unlikely that it should have been transported from its original site, so that some probabilities point to this spot as being the sepulchre of Dathi. It is a little mound of about 18



Above:
5.22. Dathi's Mound and pillar stone in the royal site of Rathcroghan, Co. Roscommon, drawn after Samuel Ferguson and reproduced by J. Cooke in his edition of W.F. Wakeman's Hand-book.

Right:
5.23. The bier of King Dathi carried in the Alps: 'The fate of King Dathi' by J. Hoey from John Boyle O'Reilly's Irish songs and ballads *(1888).*

> feet in diameter. ... As if conscious that, for so great a personage, this must seem a very inadequate memorial, the old writers have been careful to assign a reason for its insignificance and obscurity. The reason suggested for the meanness of his sepulchre is that the ex-king and hermit, Formenius, in storming whose cell Dathi met his death by fire from heaven, had prayed, on that occasion, that Dathi's reign might be short, and his monument not conspicuous.[157]

As we have seen, there was considerable interest in the exploits of the warlike Dathi in the nineteenth century (**5.12**), and Ferguson was sufficiently fascinated by the story of his military excursion to the Continent to follow in his footsteps. Following manuscript clues, he claimed to have traced the warrior-king's journey to the location of the tower of Formenius, where that former king of Thrace had lived as a hermit, in the region of Bad Ragaz at the foot of the Swiss Alps. It was here that Dathi had been struck by lightning and it was from here that his 'thunder-blackened limbs', as Ferguson poetically described them, were carried back to Rathcroghan for burial (**5.23**). He reported his conclusions to the Royal Irish Academy and Dathi's foreign adventures, now recognised as medieval fiction, were accepted as historical fact well into the twentieth century. In 1886 W.F. Wakeman would seem to have added this heroic figure to the roll of the patriot dead when he commenced a series of short newspaper articles on the *Graves and monuments of illustrious Irishmen* (such as Robert Emmet and Wolfe Tone) with an account of Dathi's Mound and Relignaree.[158]

If the late prehistoric Iron Age was being increasingly represented as a heroic era, the discovery of fine metalwork such as the Ardagh Chalice in 1868 gave added impulse to the depiction of Early Christian Ireland as a 'Golden Age' of learning, sanctity and artistic achievement. This famous object was brought to public attention by Edwin Quin, third Earl of Dunraven, in 1873. Dunraven (1812–1871) was keenly interested in archaeology and is said to have visited almost every part of the country, with a photographer, studying early architecture. His monumental work, *Notes on Irish architecture,* was prepared for publication after his death by Margaret Stokes who had often accompanied him. The superb photographs are an important record of many monuments before restoration or before further decay.

Margaret Stokes (1832–1900), the first woman to figure prominently in the nineteenth-century study of Irish archaeology, made an outstanding contribution, particularly in the fields of art and architecture (**5.24**). In addition to preparing Dunraven's work for publication, she also edited Petrie's study of cross-inscribed slabs, *Christian inscriptions in the Irish language,* for publication in 1872. Her studies of high crosses, including a monograph on the crosses of Castledermot and Durrow, are pioneering analyses. Her own books included

Early Christian art in Ireland, a popular work first published in 1887 which ran to several editions (and included a succinct account of round towers in a section on building and architecture). Here and in other studies, in the comparative examination of the art of illuminated manuscript, metalwork and stone sculpture, she and J. Romilly Allen (whose *Early Christian symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland* appeared in the same year) established a branch of scholarship that would dominate the study of the archaeology of early medieval Ireland for over half a century.

Her *Early Christian architecture in Ireland* was a methodical survey extending from the great stone forts on the western seaboard to the churches of the Irish Romanesque, and she offered a discerning judgment on the legends attached to those imposing forts:

> If in the opening of an essay which, of necessity, deals with many material remains of an unknown and certainly prehistoric age, the writer be thought to linger too long in the labyrinths of Irish legend, it is by no means the intention that these tales should in any sense be taken as history. Their authors, who, while recording others' names have left their own unsung, will doubtless appear as unreal as the heroes whose deeds they have perpetuated in their song; but since so it is, that for untold centuries these primitive strongholds have been associated with the ancient heroes of the Irish people, we have no more right to discard such tales as in all sense worthless, and to destroy all memory of such connection, than we have to accept them in any way as history.

This study also contained a perceptive and moderate reproof of those who continued to argue that the round towers were pagan structures:

> The reluctance still shown by many to part with their faith in the vast antiquity of these 'pillar towers', even now, after the conclusive arguments by which Dr Petrie fixed their Christian origin and use, can only be understood when we realize the visionary charm that such experience robbed them of, which to men of poetic feeling has seemed to cling around their walls as naturally as the mosses and lichens with which they are clothed.[159]

Margaret Stokes deserves the gratitude of succeeding generations not just for her scholarship but because she can probably be credited with laying the protracted round tower controversy to rest. We cannot be sure but it is likely that Marcus Keane was not included among those men of poetic feeling she mentions. His outlandish work on round towers, *The towers and temples of*

5.24. Margaret Stokes by Walter Frederick Osborne 1895 (Courtesy of the National Gallery of Ireland).

ancient Ireland, appeared the year after Petrie's death and advocated a pagan usage and serpent and phallic worship; and poetic is too kind a description for its author. Nonetheless he belonged to the romantic school as did Getty, Brash and Canon Ulick Bourke.

The genial and enthusiastic Canon Bourke (1829–1887) was a teacher and president of St Jarlath's College, Tuam, Co. Galway, and a student of the Irish language whose knowledge of the subject rested on a rather slender basis. It was reported he sometimes used words unknown to Irish literature in his sermons in Irish and his book *Easy lessons in Irish* was, sadly, described as 'thoroughly unsafe'. He combined history, philology and archaeology to try and achieve a union between the conflicting romantic and scientific visions of the Irish past. By the middle of the nineteenth century philology had demonstrated that the Celtic languages were a branch of the Indo-European language family, and attempts were underway to identify the homeland of this reconstructed ancestral tongue.

Bourke was familiar with Adolphe Pictet's *Les origines Indo-Européennes, ou les Aryas primitifs,* published in 1859, where an eastern origin, in Iran, for the Aryan peoples was suggested. This was philological good news: comparative philology and traditional tales of origin seemed to be in agreement and Bourke was able, in his *Aryan origin of the Gaelic race*, published in 1875, to assert that the first colonists who came to Ireland were the Aryan descendants of Japheth who had migrated from the east, and all those remote invaders, the Fir Bolg, the Tuatha de Danann and the Milesians, were Celts 'marching onward from the Aryan motherland in Persia'. He promoted the Celtic racial myth, then being espoused by Matthew Arnold, and the notion of successive Celtic migrations:

> That the Keltic tongue, of which Irish-Gaelic is the living leading dialect, had been borne by the very earliest emigrants to the north of Italy and onward to Iberia or Spain, and to the south or west of Gaul, and to Eire, where the vanguard of emigrants had been forced by the onward march of those myriad migrations that followed.

His book *Pre-Christian Ireland* is a peculiar catechism on the mythical past with sections such as: 'Q. 1. What race succeeded the Firbolg in acquiring supreme dominion of Eire? A. The Tuatha de Danann', and a long account of the Battle of Moytirra. The authenticity of medieval text is defended at every turn and the criticisms by Ledwich and some 'scholars and fellows of Trinity College, Dublin' are dismissed as fantasy. The ancient Celts are described in glowing terms:

> They were a living reality, not a myth, nor an abstract conception; they had a name, they were a chosen people, a gifted

> race; they were endowed with intelligence and knowledge, they were warlike, and brave to a fault, capable of heroic deeds of heart and hand, trained to the directive influence of laws, they were children of civilization, holding the rights of others and their own in due regard, they fostered learning, they loved their kith and kin, as their descendants do today. Looking back into the past, our ancestors bear a favourable comparison when put in line with the primitive progenitors of the other nations of Europe—the Roman, the Greek, or the Teuton.[160]

The theme of the 'coming of the Celts' would become a long-lasting feature of Irish archaeology and early history and would be given an archaeological gloss and an enduring archaeological effect by John Rhys in the following decades.

Bourke was also able, to his own satisfaction, to resolve the round tower conflict with a neat compromise:

> ... the Round Towers were first built in the early Pagan period by those of the Aryan race who had settled in this island of destiny; but that after the Gospel had been preached in Ireland, St. Patrick turned the Round Towers, as he did the pagan fountains, to the service of Christian rites ... .[161]

Joep Leerssen has placed Bourke's *Aryan origin* in context: 'His book, which comes from a Catholic, populist-nationalist background, is also indirect testimony to the extent to which the middle classes had been left bewildered by the entire tradition of conflicting interpretations. ... Here, then, is a book evidently aimed at popularising knowledge and insights from the historical sciences to a non-professional audience, and we see that that audience is left to acquiesce in the mythical version of Irish history to a far greater extent than was warranted by rigorous scholarship. ... Bourke's attempt to accommodate Milesian myth within the terms of positive scholarship is therefore no mere idiosyncrasy; it bespeaks a tendency ... that pre-scientific thought and mythical lore concerning the past survived their scholarly disestablishment and maintained their currency within Irish historical consciousness and Irish national thought at large.' This, as Leerssen goes on to point out, is myth triumphing over history.[162] Whether in A.M. Sullivan's popular *The story of Ireland* or in Standish O'Grady's 1894 *The story of Ireland,* both written for 'the youth of Ireland', the obsessive telling and re-telling of the imaginative story of a picturesque past from Milesian times onwards had the deliberate aim of inspiring the present and, in these works, was driven by an educational, nationalist purpose.

The Celtic veneer now given to traditional Milesian myth was to prove to be of fundamental importance in the development of Irish archaeological

thinking. The appearance of a Celtic race on the archaeological stage in Continental Europe was to have an equally profound effect on the study of later prehistory there as well. The nineteenth century saw the creation of both the genetic family tree model of linguistic change and the concept of distinct biologically defined racial groups. The ancient Celts were given an archaeological identity with the discovery of characteristic artefacts in a great cemetery at Hallstatt, near Salzburg, in Austria and in watery deposits at La Tène, on Lake Neuchâtel, in Switzerland in the middle of the century.

These artefacts were a part of the body of evidence that enabled the construction of the first detailed chronology of the prehistoric Iron Age, which was divided into two major phases named after these two sites. La Tène swords, or brooches, or art were then considered to be the material remains of those Celts known to Greek and Roman writers. Whether in Central Europe or in Ireland, La Tène material was simple confirmation of the presence of a Celtic people and appeared to confirm their dispersal across a wide area of Europe from a homeland usually placed in the region of the upper Rhine and Danube where a Celtic, La Tène, art style developed. Indeed it was John Mitchell Kemble in that address to the Royal Irish Academy in 1857 (when he attacked the Three-Age system) who drew attention, for the first time, to a distinctive art form which, as he put it, 'deals with curves'. He labelled this 'Keltic art' and considered it quite different from the spiral art of the Greeks, Etruscans and the Teutonic nations.

Kemble was one of a number of English scholars active in the field of Anglo-Saxon studies in the 1830s and 1840s. He published numerous manuscripts, including a nameless Anglo-Saxon poem, which he entitled *Beowulf*. In his two-volume *The saxons in England,* which appeared in 1849, he was one of the principal proponents of the belief that England's Germanic roots were the foundation of that nation's genius and of its imperial achievements. Here as elsewhere there is abundant evidence to show that nineteenth-century origin myths were by no means confined to Ireland. For instance, the influential historian William Stubbs declared 'The English ... are a people of German descent in the main constituents of blood, character, and language'. Others would assert the Teutonic origins of English greatness even more stridently and, later in the century particularly, sometimes with a remarkable degree of racial prejudice.[163]

Joseph Barnard Davis had very mixed views on the inhabitants of the west of Ireland, writing in *Crania Britannica* in 1865: 'the peculiar character of the natives proclaims their descent from a primeval race. They are wild, superstitious, vengeful, addicted to extravagant legend, and timidly susceptible to every impression which can arouse their fatalism or their fears. ... They are the children of the British populations, incapable of ruling themselves in any high sense, and require a fostering hand to carry out their improvement—of which they stand in perpetual need. They show a great want of independence,

and without extraneous support they can accomplish little, and have always been apt to fall into confusion and a state of degeneracy.' The Welsh fared equally poorly, being described as 'sly, insincere, deceptive and cunning'.[164]

History, philology, cranial indices and a lot more besides filled many pages here and elsewhere and breeding metaphors were not uncommon: 'The people of England ... are to a very large extent of Teutonic origin, into which stock elements of the mixed population of ancient Britain have been grafted. The race thus formed, has greater vigour and pliability of character, than would have been the case had they been a pure race ...'. This was written by N.C. Macnamara who was of a County Clare family and author of a history of the MacNamaras.[165] Not surprisingly, racial matters were more complicated in the north and west of these islands. John Beddoe, for instance, in his *Races of Britain*, detected traces of an aboriginal Mongoloid race in the west of England, Wales and possibly in Ireland. In the west of Ireland, he encountered what he believed was an elusive derivative of this type, 'though the head is large, the intelligence is low, and there is a great deal of cunning and suspicion'; he still had to confess 'it is curious, psychologically, that the most exquisite examples of it never would submit to measurement'.[166] Charles Kingsley, better remembered for his *Water-babies* than his prejudices, believed the possession of a deep respect for rank and blood was one mark of the Teutonic peoples, those simple noble forefathers from the German forests. Gaul and Briton, on the other hand, were slave-nations and early Irish Celts were distinguished by their saffron scarfs, and skenes, and darts, and glibs of long hair hanging over their 'hypo-gorillaceous visages'.[167]

Prejudice aside, one point worth noting here is that the hyperbole of the champions of Germanic excellence matched anything that a Canon Bourke might write on the character of the Celt. In both countries, as in France and Germany, archaeology, physical anthropology, myth and history were being accommodated to ideological purposes. In England, naturally enough, the popularity of the Germanic myth did not survive the First World War, but Celtophilia would have a longer life in Ireland. The bloody apotheosis of this Celtic and Teutonic racial mythology was achieved in 1916 when Celt and Teuton met at Verdun and some half a million died; this at least was the judgement of David Lloyd George on that atrocious battle between French and German armies: 'On those heights Gaul and Teuton had, from the blizzards of February to the snows of the following December, been fighting out a racial feud which had existed for thousands of years'.[168]

Thomas Johnson Westropp (1860–1922) was the last of the great gifted amateurs who—like some others of his kind—achieved a prodigious amount in some forty years of exceptionally energetic fieldwork (**5.25**).[169] While the recording and the study of field monuments was his abiding interest, he was equally adept at scholarly research on a range of topics including history, cartography and folklore. Of the sixth generation of a family with lands in

5.25. Thomas Johnson Westropp.

Limerick and Clare, a youthful interest in archaeology seems to have been inspired by a ringfort near his home at Attyflin, Co. Clare, and by books such as Lady Ferguson's *The story of the Irish before the conquest* published in 1867. He was the prolific author of almost 300 papers, on monuments in County Clare and further afield, on megalithic tombs, churches, castles, ringforts, promontory forts and folklore. His presidential address to the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland in 1916 was the first wide-ranging survey of the history of the study of Irish archaeology, from the work of Sir James Ware in the seventeenth century to George Petrie and the foundation of the Kilkenny Society in the nineteenth.[170]

He undertook detailed studies of the great Aran forts and his major work on the Ancient Forts of Ireland in 1902 included a review of the Continental and British evidence and attracted international attention. In England it was matched by Hadrian Allcroft's *Earthwork of England* several years later. Westropp's perceptive comments on the legends attached to Dun Aonghasa and other stone forts were a small step in the very slow process of the expulsion of the Fir Bolg from these monuments:

> The Firbolgic origin of the cahers has been impressed on Irish archaeology by the great names of Petrie and O'Donovan ... and accepted by a large body of antiquaries without any thought of the vast impossibility involved in the legend and its hopelessly weak foundation. Even if the legend ... rested on some earlier and better authority than (it should appear) a poem of the tenth century, still, the story in that poem is alone enough to

> undermine the popular belief; and it is surprising that any of the above antiquaries should have been carried away by so wild a theory. We are called upon to believe that several hundred, if not a couple of thousand, stone forts were built by a handful of fugitives who ... were exterminated or scattered in a year or two after settling in Galway, Mayo and Clare.[171]

The demise of the Fir Bolg along with the Tuatha de Danann and the sons of Míl would be a protracted affair. It was Eoin MacNeill, soon to be appointed the first Professor of Early Irish History in University College, Dublin, who in a series of lectures in 1904 and published in *The New Ireland Review,* laid the foundations for the modern study of early Irish history and supplanted the erudite but uncritical tradition of O'Donovan and O'Curry. MacNeill recognised the invasion tales to be artificial medieval creations, a recognition not always appreciated by those of a more traditional or romantic disposition.[172]

In his study of forts, Westropp also included a brief account of medieval mottes, simple and complex motes as he called them, and ascribed an early date and native construction to some of them:

> Many English motes are undoubtedly of Saxon and some even of Norman times. Perhaps some Irish motes may be as late, but apart from other questions the mention in our Annals of Downpatrick, A.D. 495, Donaghpatrick, A.D. 745, and of Knockgraffan, and probably Kilfinnane, as residences of the King of Cashel, by the Book of Rights (at latest ninth century, possibly fifth) shows that some motes were of early and possibly prehistoric date.

He elaborated on this theme of early mottes in a subsequent paper, which attracted the attention of the historian Goddard Orpen, who then argued in a series of studies that most of the sites considered by Westropp were built by the early Normans.[173] The debate, the first major archaeological controversy of the twentieth century, was in part about native and Norman earthwork construction, in part about date and in great measure about definition, and Orpen's comments in 1907 still hold true today:

> Motes should of course be distinguished from sepulchral mounds, and in the absence of excavation the distinction is not always easy. Motes normally have flat tops, and sepulchral mounds are generally more or less rounded; but this is not an unfailing criterion. ... Apart however from sepulchral mounds there was another kind of artificial mound in use in Ireland from

> early times, which must be distinguished from a mote in the sense of a residential fortress. At the inauguration places of Irish kings—and they were very numerous—an artificial mound of earth or stones, bearing sometimes a superficial resemblance to a mote is, I think, generally to be seen. The mound at Magh Adhair, for instance, the place where the O'Briens of Thomond were inaugurated, is shaped somewhat like a mote, and is actually claimed by Mr. Westropp as an example of a mote where there was no early Norman settlement. But one has only to look at Mr. Westropp's sketch and description of this mound to see that it never could have been a fortress.[174]

One participant in this debate was the Mayo historian and antiquarian Hubert T. Knox who published a series of befuddled and befuddling papers on western earthworks. Because of indifferent health, he was a self-confessed 'armchair antiquary', the fieldwork being undertaken by his 'field antiquary', Sergeant Patrick J. Lyons of the Royal Irish Constabulary, whose passion for archaeology was so severe it adversely affected his chances for promotion.[175] They are but two of a large number of minor figures, men and women, who contributed an immense amount of information to archaeological and historical journals in the latter part of the nineteenth and the earlier twentieth century.

Apart from this work of Orpen and others on earthworks, and numerous accounts of individual castles and ecclesiastical buildings in various publications, these and other aspects of later medieval archaeology received relatively little scholarly attention at the time. Constanca Adams published an illustrated and mainly historical account of a series of castles in 1904, some town fortifications were the subject of a slim volume by James S. Fleming, which was a collection of sketches with brief commentaries, and Arthur Champneys, in a broad scholarly survey, introduced the Irish Transitional style and placed church architecture generally in its European context.[176]

One other gifted individual deserves mention here because he was the cause of a significant development at the 1902 meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Belfast. A Scotsman, John Abercromby, the 5th Baron Abercromby (1841–1924), delivered a paper on 'The oldest Bronze-Age ceramic type in Britain, its close analogies on the Rhine; its probable origin in Central Europe'. In this lecture he introduced his audience to 'Beaker' pottery, as he named it, and to what would become known as the 'Beaker Folk'. He had identified the Continental affinities of British beaker pottery, the 'drinking cups' of earlier writers, and proposed that this ceramic type represented the arrival in the south and east of England of invaders from the Continent, from their homeland in the Netherlands or the Rhineland. In a detailed typological and chronological study, he not only

correlated a pottery type with a population group, a new tribe as he described them, but gave archaeological substance to the concept of migration and trade which—though familiar cultural determinants in historical times— could now be seen to operate in this way in prehistory as well.

This was the beginning of an extensive study of British and Irish prehistoric pottery, which would result in several classic papers in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* and culminate in his monumental two-volume *Study of the Bronze Age pottery in Great Britain and Ireland* published in 1912. At the time the only certain trace of the so-called Beaker Folk in Ireland were some sherds from Moytirra, Co. Sligo, that might be due as he later put it 'to the hand of one of their women who had been captured by Hibernian raiders'. Abercromby's work was very influential and consolidated a classic scheme of ceramic typological devolution for Britain and Ireland in which beakers were early in the Bronze Age, cinerary urns were late and food vessels were in between. This model formed the essential basis for pottery studies for almost half a century. He went on to endow the Abercromby Chair of Archaeology in the University of Edinburgh, specifying that the first incumbent should 'not only be a specialist in archaeology but also a vigorous man in the prime of life', and he bequeathed his library to the university.[177]

Notes

1 G. Hooper (ed.), *The tourist's gaze: travellers to Ireland 1800–2000* (2001), xx.

2 J. Carr, *The stranger in Ireland* (1806), 299.

3 W. Hamilton, *Letters concerning the northern coast of the County of Antrim* (1790), 27.

4 R.C. Hoare, *Journal of a tour in Ireland AD 1806* (1807). The critical comments by William Beckford are quoted by E. Malins and the Knight of Glin, *Lost demesnes: Irish landscape gardening, 1660–1845* (1976), 82. Endearing simplicity is perhaps a kinder judgment: M.W. Thompson (ed.), *Journeys of Sir Richard Colt Hoare* (1983), 30.

5 Mr and Mrs S.C. Hall, *Ireland: its scenery, character, etc.* (1843). The Halls began the first of five tours in 1825; S.C. Hall had antiquarian leanings and was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, London, in 1842: M. Keane, *Mrs S.C. Hall* (1997), 113. P. Knight, *Erris in the 'Irish Highlands'* (1836), 110.

6 T. Ó Raifeartaigh (ed.), *The Royal Irish Academy* (1985), 9ff.

7 S. de hÓir, 'The Mount Callan ogham stone and its context', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* **25** (1983), 43 [and a note in the following volume]. It is not known who produced the ogham inscription but O'Flanagan did boast about his early ability to 'ridicule the wily attempts of the Scots of Alba, to make the reputed poems of Oisin their own': quoted by M. Í Sheanacháin, 'Theophilus Ó Flannagáin', *Galvia* **3** (1956), 20. The Royal Irish Academy had paid O'Flanagan eight guineas to investigate the Mount Callan ogham: G.F. Mitchell in T. Ó Raifeartaigh (ed.), *The Royal Irish Academy* (1985), 100. O'Flanagan may have been a more influential figure than commonly believed: J. Leerssen, *Mere Irish* (1996), 365. Also C. O'Halloran, *Golden ages* (2004), 169ff.

8 G.F. Mitchell in T. Ó Raifeartaigh (ed.), *The Royal Irish Academy* (1985), 94.

9 The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland also suffered a phase of inactivity and torpor at this time: A. Graham, 'Records and opinions', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* **102** (1969–1970), 246.

10 C. O'Halloran, *Golden ages* (2004), 168.

11 L.C. Beaufort, 'Essay upon ... architecture and antiquities', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* **15** (1828), 101. Louisa Beaufort (1781–1867) was the daughter of Daniel Augustus Beaufort, Rector of Navan, a founding member of the Academy who had published an *Atlas of Ireland* with an accompanying *Memoir* in 1792; see A. Crookshank and the Knight of Glin, *The watercolours of Ireland* (1994), 202, 298, and M. Davis, 'The Beaufort visits to Downhill', in J. Fenlon *et al.*, *New perspectives* (1987), 157.

12 G.F. Mitchell in T. Ó Raifeartaigh (ed.), *The Royal Irish Academy* (1985), 110.

13 J.H. Andrews points out that this was the only survey of the whole island ever brought to a successful conclusion: *A paper landscape* (1975), vii and *passim* for the fullest account. Also his *History in the Ordnance Map* (1974) and T. Reeves-Smyth, 'Landscapes in paper', *British Archaeological Reports* **116** (1983), 119.

14 C. Lynn, *Navan Fort* (2003), 8.

15 Lane Fox's conclusions, published in the *Transactions of the 3rd Session of the International Congress of Prehistoric Archaeology* (London, 1869), 316, are quoted by E. Twohig, 'Pitt Rivers in Munster', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **92** (1987), 37; C. Graves, 'On a previously undescribed class of monuments', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* **24** (1873), 429; M. Stokes, 'Carte montrant la distribution des principaux dolmens d'Irlande', *Revue Archéologique* **54** (1882) 1; W.C. Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland* (1897), 418; T.J. Westropp, 'Ancient forts of Ireland', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* **31** (1902), 579; G.H. Orpen, 'Mote and Bretesche building in Ireland', *English Historical Review* **21** (1906), 417.

16 The cultural significance of this initiative has been explored by G.M. Doherty, *The Irish*

Ordnance Survey: history, culture and memory (2004), 55ff.

17 A list of those employed in the topographic department is provided by R. de Valera, 'Seán Ó Donnabháin', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **79** (1949), 151. Aran: W.F. Wakeman, 'Aran', *Duffy's Hibernian Magazine* **1** (1862), 461, 469, and quoted at length in G.M. Doherty, *The Irish Ordnance Survey* (2004), 75, who also gives Wakeman's description of Petrie's house: pp. 61–2 and 199.

18 J.H. Andrews, *Paper landscape* (1975), 158. T.F. Colby, *Ordnance Survey of the County of Londonderry, volume the first* (1837).

19 G.L. Herries Davies, *Sheets of many colours* (1983), 100.

20 T.F. Colby, *Ordnance Survey of the County of Londonderry, volume the first* (1837), 229.

21 The complex story has been documented by J.H. Andrews, *Paper landscape* (1975), 145–79 and by G.M. Doherty, *The Irish Ordnance Survey* (2004), *passim*. The material collected for the memoirs is preserved in the Royal Irish Academy; that for Armagh, Antrim, Londonderry, Down, Tyrone, Donegal, Cavan, Leitrim, Louth, Monaghan and Sligo has been published in a series of volumes edited by A. Day and P. McWilliams (1990–1998). As Andrews notes, the publication of the first edition of Samuel Lewis' two-volume *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* in 1837 may have weakened the case for memoirs too; for comment on the archaeological content of the *Dictionary*, see C.S. Briggs, 'Review', *Irish Archaeological Research Forum* **2** (1975), 42.

22 Wm. Stokes, *Life of George Petrie* (1868), 108 [with bibliography]. A.S. Green, *Irish nationality* (1911), 244. The influential Thomas Davis encouraged the use of the Survey maps, lauded the Templemore volume and lamented the abandonment of the memoir programme in the pages of *The Nation*: T. Davis, *Literary and Historical Essays* (1846), 139.

23 M. Hamer, 'Putting Ireland on the map', *Textual Practice* **3** (1989), 184, has also written: 'For the English, time-honoured deprecation of the Celt could now be put on a scientific basis'. According to S. Ó Cadhla, 'Mapping a discourse', *Irish Journal of Anthropology* **4** (1999), 96, the Ordnance Survey can be viewed as a Foucault-type geographic 'panopticon'!

24 In a more nuanced contribution, A. Smith points out that maps may also allow communities to re-appropriate their landscape: 'Landscapes of power', *Archaeological Dialogues* **5** (1998), 69. The uncritical and inconsistent use of the colonial model is well recognised: J. Ruane, 'Colonialism and the interpretation of Irish historical development', in M. Silverman and P.H. Gulliver (eds), *Approaching the past* (1992), 293.

25 J.H. Andrews, 'The cartography of Celtic place-names', *Ulster Local Studies* **14** (1992), 18. According to Friel, the glaring inaccuracies were just 'tiny bruises inflicted on history': B. Friel *et al.*, '*Translations* and *A paper landscape*', *The Crane Bag* **7** (1983), 123. For some of the literature on this debate, see W. Zach, 'Brian Friel's *Translations*', in R. Wall (ed.), *Medieval and modern Ireland* (1988), 74, and references in Andrews' preface to the second edition of his *Paper landscape* (2001).

26 M. Dillon, 'George Petrie', *Studies* **56** (1967), 266. On Petrie's life and art: P. Murray, *George Petrie (1790–1866)—the rediscovery of Ireland's past* (2004).

27 B. Hayley, 'Irish periodicals', *Anglo-Irish Studies* **2** (1976), 99. N. Lee, *Irish identity and literary periodicals* (2000), vi. Petrie was involved with the *Dublin Penny Journal* (published 1832–1837) from issue no. 8 to no. 55 until a change of editor in 1833 at which time it claimed a circulation of 40,000. He was also editor of the *Irish Penny Journal* which appeared for about a year in 1840–41 and to which he contributed fifty-one articles, again mostly archaeological.

28 J.M. McEwan, *Archaeology and ideology* (2003), 88ff.

29 G. Petrie, 'Historic sketch of the past and present state of the fine arts in Ireland', *Dublin*

Penny Journal 1, no. 11, September 8 (1832), 83, 84.

30 J. Hutchinson, 'Archaeology and the Irish rediscovery of the Celtic past', *Nations and Nationalism* 7 (2001), 514.

31 Wm. Stokes, *Life of George Petrie* (1868), 67; Petrie's publications are listed on p. 439; S. Ferguson, 'Dublin Penny Journal', *Dublin University Magazine* **15** (1840), 115; W.F. Wakeman, *Hand-book of Irish antiquities* (1848), 148.

32 B. Hayley, 'Irish periodicals' (1976), 104.

33 S. Ferguson, 'George Petrie', *Dublin University Magazine* **14** (1839), 638. In fact no bell can be attributed to St Patrick with any confidence: C. Bourke, *Patrick: the archaeology of a saint* (1993), 46.

34 Petrie never published his essay on military architecture; it was prepared for publication by Jane O'Malley to mark the centenary of his death: Petrie (1972).

35 Wm. Stokes, *Life of George Petrie* (1868), 95. On his role in the acquisition of manuscripts: D. Greene, 'George Petrie and the collection of Irish manuscripts', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **72C** (1972), 158; also J. Raftery, 'George Petrie, 1789–1866: a re-assessment', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **72C** (1972), 153–7.

36 G. Petrie, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 1 (1838), 140. Walker excavated at least a dozen monuments in the Carrowmore area in the 1830s; various finds are preserved but no details survive. Fortunately his plans to ransack the great cairn on Knocknarea came to naught. He had a significant collection of antiquities: A. Ireland, 'Roger Chambers Walker', *Journal of Irish Archaeology* **11** (2002), 147. William Wilde pointed out that the discovery of human remains in a megalithic tomb in the Phoenix Park in 1838 also went far in helping to dispel the 'druidic altar' theory: *Catalogue* (1857), 180.

37 G. Petrie, 'Tara Hill', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* **18** (1839), 25. E. Bhreathnach, 'Cultural identity and Tara', *Discovery Programme Reports* 4 (1996), 93; M. Herity, *Ordnance Survey Letters Meath* (2001), xiii.

38 The consequences of Betham's ire are summarised by P. Murray, *George Petrie* (2004), 103.

39 *Gael and Cymbri* (1834), 12, 236; 'On the ring money of the Celtae', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* **17** (1837), 7.

40 J. Leerssen, *Remembrance and imagination* (1996a), 92; 'On the edge of Europe', *Comparative Criticism* 8 (1986), 91.

41 F. Dobbs, *A concise view from history and prophecy* (1800), 209, 222.

42 J. Raftery, 'George Petrie', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **72C** (1972), 155; W.F. Wakeman, 'The Petrie collection', *Dublin Saturday Magazine* 2 (1867), 411.

43 J. Leersen, *Remembrance and imagination* (1996a), 108–43.

44 Second edition, 91; a third edition with a brief account of the short life of Henry O'Brien (1808–1835) was published in 1898. A review by P.D Hardy in the *Dublin Penny Journal,* 10 May 1834, described it as wretched trash which proved that mind, like a crab, can march backward as well as forward.

45 *Etruria Celtica* (1842), vol. 2, 210.

46 *Ecclesiastical architecture*, 2, 96. The same year saw the publication of another concise review of ancient Irish architecture from Newgrange to round towers to Gothic work: G. Wilkinson, *Practical geology and ancient architecture* (1845).

47 As Leerssen points out, O'Brien's survey of phallic worship foreshadows anthropological and psychological insights into links between sex and religious ritual: *Remembrance and imagination* (1996a), 119. Henry O'Neill, a sympathetic supporter, later wrote: 'O'Brien's book throws much light on Phallic worship, but the poor fellow wrote it in a few months, and lost his reason and his life after the over-exertion' (*Fine arts* (1863), 111); O'Neill

attacked Petrie and argued a pre-historic 'Danan' origin for round towers in an 1877 pamphlet.

48 *Ecclesiastical architecture*, 3.

49 See 'Round towers after Petrie' in Leerssen, *Remembrance and imagination* (1996a), 134. A review by Samuel Ferguson declared that at last the Academy had 'ceased to publish the most insane philological ... reveries': *Dublin University Magazine* **25**, no. 148 (1845), 391.

50 *Fine arts* (1863), 112, 118.

51 J. Sheehy, *The rediscovery of Ireland's past* (1980), 58; S. O'Reilly, 'Birth of a nation's symbol', *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* **15** (1999), 27.

52 P. Boyne, *John O'Donovan: a biography* (1987) [with bibliography]; N. Ó Muraíle, 'Seán Ó Donnabháin', *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* **27** (1997), 11.

53 Three such Chairs were filled in the new Queen's Colleges in Belfast, Cork and Galway but these positions were abolished as vacancies occurred between 1861 and 1863: B. Ó Madagáin, 'Irish: a difficult birth', in T. Foley (ed.), *From Queen's College to National University* (1999), 353. It has been suggested that the Catholic O'Donovan (who wanted to go to Cork) was offered Belfast and a Protestant Owen Connellan (who preferred Belfast) was given Cork in an attempt to curb the appeal they each might generate for Irish in their respective constituencies: C.G. Buttimer, 'Celtic and Irish', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **94** (1989), 89.

54 *Annals of the Four Masters*, vol. 1, 23; vol. 3, 204, 221; vol. 1, 22.

55 The original Ordnance Survey letters of O'Donovan and others are preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. Typescript copies, prepared by Fr M. O'Flanagan from 1926 onwards, are held in a number of libraries. The letters from several counties have been published by M. Herity, *Donegal* (2000), *Down* (2001), *Dublin* (2001), *Meath* (2001), *Kildare* (2002), *Kilkenny* (2003); also *Clare* (Maureen Comber 1997), *Kerry* (J.B. Keane 1983) and *Wicklow* (C. Corlett and J. Medlycott 2001).

56 The rise and fall, and the publication record, of these societies, and of the Ossianic Society, from 1840 to 1880 have been studied by D. Murray, *Romanticism, nationalism and Irish antiquarian societies* (2000).

57 Newman's views are cited by M. Herity, 'Eugene O'Curry's early life', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* **10** (1967), 147. Student numbers in the Catholic University were always very small: McCartney, *UCD* (1999), 1. For O'Curry also see: N. Ó Muraíle's introduction to the 1996 reprint of O'Curry's *Manners and customs* (1873); P. MacSweeney, *A group of nation builders* (1913), 40ff; M. Tierney, 'Eugene O'Curry', *Studies* **51** (1962), 449; P. de Barra, 'Saol agus Saothar', in P. Ó Fiannachta (ed.), *Ómós do Eoghan Ó Comhraí* (1995), 5; P. Ó Riain, 'Saothar Suaithinseach', in P. Ó Fiannachta (ed.), *Ómós do Eoghan Ó Comhraí* (1995), 23.

58 G. Clark, *Prehistory at Cambridge* (1989), 27. O'Looney was appointed lecturer in Irish and Irish literature in 1873, eleven years after O'Curry's death: D. Breathnach and M. Ní Mhurchú, *Beathaisnéis* (1986), 86. The Revd Denis Murphy was appointed a lecturer in Irish history, language and archaeology in the new Jesuit University College which succeeded the Catholic University in 1883: Jesuit Community, *A Page of Irish History* (1930), 83. Primarily an historian, an account of an urn burial found on Aran published in 1888 and a study of Tara with T.J. Westropp in 1894 are among Murphy's few archaeological publications; obituary in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **26** (1896), 181.

59 E. O'Curry, *Manuscript materials* (1861), 246, 321. The accolade is Aubrey Gwynn's: 'Newman and the Catholic historian', in M. Tierney (ed.), *A tribute to Newman* (1945), 294.

60 *Manners and customs* (1873), vol. 2, 240, 244, 263ff, 277. W.K. Sullivan, who prepared O'Curry's lectures for publication, illustrates some of these weapons in vol. 1, ccccxxxviii ff.

61 On the kilt: J. Sheehy, *The rediscovery of Ireland's past* (1980), 148.

62 Thomas Wood also queried traditional Milesian history, arguing that the Irish were 'partly of the Gauls and partly of the Goths': 'On the mixture of fable and fact in the early annals of Ireland', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* **13** (1818), 40.

63 S.F. Pettit, 'The Royal Cork Institution', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **81** (1976), 70; for some acquisitions see J.P. McCarthy, 'In search of Cork's collecting traditions', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **100** (1995), 39. For the Cuverian Society: M. MacSweeney and J. Reilly, 'The Cork Cuverian Society', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **63** (1958), 9; J.E. Rockley, 'The Cork Cuverian Society, reconsidered', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **108** (2003), 117.

64 A. Deane (ed.), *The Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society* (1924), 16, 64, 130, 148; N. Nesbitt, *A museum in Belfast* (1979), 13; the Benn collection of over 1500 objects was received in 1879; also W.H. Patterson, 'Benn collection', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **15** (1880), 294, and F. Heatley, 'The Benn family', *Ulster Local Studies* **5** (1980), 21. The early *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* had a chequered life, the first series ceased publication in 1862; a second series was published from 1895 to 1911, the third from 1938 to the present.

65 A. Buchanan, 'Science and sensibility', in M. Myrone and L. Peltz (eds), *Producing the past* (1999), 173.

66 A. Ireland, 'The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland 1849–1900', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **112** (1982), 72. Prim played a crucial role in publishing the *Journal*: M. Phelan, 'John George Augustus Prim', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **105** (1975), 159. A helpful summary of the various name changes of the Society and a concordance of all volumes in the seven series of its *Journal* will be found in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **125** (1995), 148. The adoption of the name Society of Antiquaries was probably in emulation of the long-established Societies of Antiquaries in Edinburgh and London; the terms archaeologist and antiquarian were often interchangeable in the nineteenth century: P. Levine, *The amateur and the professional* (1986), 87ff.

67 J.M. McEwan, *Archaeology and ideology* (2003), 50ff.

68 S.P. Close, *Holy Cross Abbey, County Tipperary* (1868), an award-winning study prepared to compete for a prize offered by the Royal Institute of Architects of Ireland; M.E.C., *A short account of Holy Cross Abbey* (1868); J.J. Philips, *St Mary's of Grey Abbey, County Down* (1874); J. Graves and J.G. Prim, *The history, architecture, and antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St Canice, Kilkenny* (1857).

69 M. Cahill, 'Mr Anthony's bog oak case', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **94C** (1994), 53; also M. Herity, 'Irish antiquarian finds and collections of the early nineteenth century', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **99** (1969), 26. Anthony died in 1848 and his museum collection was dispersed. According to John Keegan of the Ordnance Survey, in 1839 the collection also contained ancient coins, medals, fossils, stuffed birds and reptiles: W. Clare, *A young Irishman's diary* (1928), 22.

70 E.P. Shirley, 'On crannoges, and remains discovered in them', *Archaeological Journal* **3** (1846), 44. He was also the author of *Some account of the Territory or Dominion of Farney* (1845) and *The history of the County of Monaghan* (1877).

71 J. Talbot, 'Memoir on some ancient arms and implements found at Lagore', *Archaeological Journal* **6** (1849), 101. In 1959 the then Lord Talbot de Malahide presented an extensive collection of archaeological objects to the National Museum of Ireland which included a

number of objects from Lagore: A.T. Lucas, 'National Museum of Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **91** (1961), 93. On the Archaeological Institute see: L. Ebbatson, 'Context and discourse: Royal Archaeological Institute membership 1845–1942', in B. Vyner (ed.), *Building on the past* (1994), 46; D. Wetherall, 'From Canterbury to Winchester: the founding of the Institute', in B. Vyner (ed.) *Building on the past* (1994).

72 G.V. du Noyer, 'On the classification of bronze celts', *Archaeological Journal* **4** (1847), 1; 'Bronze celts, and celt-moulds of stone and bronze', *Archaeological Journal* **4** (1847), 333. P. Coffey, 'George Victor du Noyer', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **123** (1993), 102; F. Croke (ed.), *George Victor du Noyer* (1995).

73 For Edmund Getty (1799–1857): A. Deane (ed.), *The Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society* (1924), 76.

74 E. Getty, 'Round towers of Ulster', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **4** (1856), 189.

75 J. Grattan, 'Notes on the human remains discovered within the round towers of Ulster', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **6** (1858), 27. For John Grattan (1800–1871) see A. Deane (ed.), *The Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society* (1924), 79, and J. Symington, 'John Grattan', *Proceedings of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society* (1903), 19; a catalogue of the skulls and casts of skulls acquired by Grattan appeared in the *Proceedings of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society* (1873–74), 121. Retzius contributed a paper to the Southampton meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1846 in which he claimed the original inhabitants of Britain were of a 'Turanic' (aboriginal) or brachycephalic race (represented today by the Finns or Lapplanders) who were followed by a Celtic or dolicocephalic race. The cranial index was discredited at the beginning of the twentieth century when it was shown to vary widely between adults of a single group and between generations: S.J. Gould, *The mismeasure of man* (1981), 108.

76 J.B. Davis and J. Thurnam, *Crania Britannica* (1865), pl. 55 (from a small cist in the Phoenix Park), pl. 22 (from the megalithic grave in the Phoenix Park), and pl. 56 (from the Viking grave at Larne, Co. Antrim). For Thurnam (who had examined the Bronze Age pottery in the collections of the Royal Irish Academy in 1870 for his 1871 study of round barrows) see S. Piggott, 'John Thurnam', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* **86** (1993), 1.

77 G. Petrie's *Ecclesiastical architecture* (1845), 79 (quoting Windele in the *Cork Southern Reporter)*, 87, and R.R. Brash's posthumously published *Ogam inscribed monuments* (1879) give some idea of their activities; also see J. Coleman, 'The South Munster Antiquarian Society', *The Irish Monthly* **26** (1898), 182, 314.

78 G.L. Barrow, *Round towers* (1979), *passim*.

79 R. Haworth, 'John Bell of Dungannon 1793–1861', *Ulster Local Studies* **7** (1981), 1; **8** (1982), 10. Bell's description of the Dane's Cast is reprinted by V. Buckley, *Emania* **6** (1989), 17, and some of his activities in Armagh are recounted in W.C. Borlase's *Dolmens of Ireland* (1897), 298 ff.

80 John Windele and Richard Caulfield were among the exhibitors in Cork's National Exhibition of the Arts and Manufacturing Products of Ireland: J.P. McCarthy, 'Dr Richard Caulfield', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **92** (1987), 17. The enthusiastic anthem, written for the opening was by J.F. Waller, *Inauguration Ode* (1852).

81 Richard Caulfield (1823–1887) became a distinguished antiquarian and local historian: J.P. McCarthy, 'Dr Richard Caulfield', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **92** (1987), 1. On James Carruthers see M. Cahill *et al.*, 'James Carruthers, a Belfast antiquarian collector', in C. Hourihane (ed.), *Irish Art Historical Studies* (2004), 219.

82 Lady Louisa Tenison: W.G. Wood-Martin, *Rude stone monuments* (1888), 174.

83 Anon., *Descriptive Catalogue of the Archaeological Exhibition, at Belfast, September, 1852.* The seventy-page unillustrated catalogue lists contributors and summarises their exhibits; an appendix offers comments on various types of artefact. Some of the Shirley collection was acquired by the National Museum of Ireland in 1965; most of the Bell collection went to Edinburgh; the Caledon collection was eventually donated to Armagh County Museum, while the Murray collection (E. O'Leary, 'Irish antiquities lately at Edenderry', *Journal of the Kildare Archaeological Society* 3 (1902), 325) found its way to Cambridge and recently to the National Museum of Ireland.

84 C.S. Briggs, 'Dealing with antiquities in nineteenth-century Dublin', *Dublin Historical Record* **31** (1978), 146; 'James Henry Underwood: first dealer in Irish antiquities', *Dublin Historical Record* **33** (1979), 25; 'A historiography of the Irish crannog', *The Antiquaries Journal* **79** (1999), 347. W.F. Wakeman, *Dublin Saturday Magazine* **2** (1867), 591, described Underwood, who would travel long distances to acquire objects, as 'an indefatigable jackall and feeder to our public and private museums'.

85 G.M. Smith, 'Spoliation of the past', *Peritia* **13** (1999), 154; also G.M. Doherty, *The Irish Ordnance Survey* (2004), 89ff.

86 T. Davis, *Literary and historical essays* (1846), 46; *Essays and poems (*1945), 172. J.O.W. in *The Athenaeum,* June 29th, 1844, also reported at Glendalough 'everything portable had disappeared'. A part of the *Athenaeum* article and Davis' original protest appeared in *The Nation,* July 6th 1844, under the headline 'Irish antiquities and Irish savages'. J. Huband Smith had drawn the attention of the Royal Irish Academy to the threat to Newgrange on May 27th 1844.

87 R. Hitchcock, 'Notes made in the archaeological court of the Great Exhibition', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 2 (1853), 280. Anon., *Carvings in bog oak* (1853).

88 J. Meenan and D. Clarke, *The Royal Dublin Society* (1981), 36, 64, 228; J. Sproule, *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853* (1854), 476.

89 J. Sheehy, *The rediscovery of Ireland's past* (1980), 73. Given that O'Neill's finely illustrated 1857 work on stone crosses, containing thirty-six plates with a short accompanying text 'printed for gratuitous distribution', was privately published at a cost of five guineas, large-scale sales seem unlikely. The eccentric O'Neill ostensibly attached a 'free' text to his compendium of pictures to avoid the designation of a literary work and the consequent costly obligation to provide copies to copyright libraries. He did, however, display some of his illustrations at the exhibition. On the replication of high crosses: M.M. Williams, 'The "Temple of Industry": Dublin's Industrial Exhibition', in C. Hourihane (ed.), *Irish Art Historical Studies* (2004), 261.

90 In *The Nation,* founded in 1842, there are within a two-year period: comments on O'Donovan's *Genealogies*: September 7th 1844; Wilde's *Ethnology*: October 5th 1844; Petrie's *Ecclesiastical architecture:* May 10th 1845; the preservation of ancient monuments: October 28th 1843; Devenish round tower: January 18th 1845. According to R. Foster, *Modern Ireland* (1988), 311, *The Nation* may have had a readership of 250,000 by 1843.

91 J. Leerssen, 'Irish cultural nationalism', in B. Stewart (ed.), *Hearts and minds* (2002), 170.

92 M.A.G. Ó Tuathaigh, 'Religion, nationality and community', in M.A.G. Ó Tuathaigh (ed.), *Community, culture and conflict* (1986), 68.

93 O. MacDonagh, *States of mind* (1983), 106; D. Cairns and S. Richards, *Writing Ireland* (1988), 31.

94 R. Foster, *Paddy & Mr Punch* (1995), 26.

95 S. Smiles, *The image of antiquity* (1994), 27.

96 W.L. Pressly, 'James Barry's *The baptism of the King of Cashel by St Patrick*', *The Burlington*

Magazine **118** (1976), 643.

97 The paintings, destroyed by fire in 1899, included *Ossian singing to Malvina*, *The valour of Oscar*, *The death of Oscar* and *Gelchossa mourning over Lamderg*; far from her native Donegal, Gealcossach has the distinction of appearing in America in 1792, painted by John Trumbull, famous for his scenes of the American Revolution: H. Okun, 'Ossian in painting', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* **30** (1967), 327.

98 L. Gibbons, 'History, art and romantic nationalism', in C. Brady (ed.), *Ideology and the historians* (1991), 120.; S. Smiles, *The image of antiquity* (1994), 64, 102; T. Dunne, 'Paintings by Barry and Maclise', in B. Stewart (ed.), *Hearts and minds* (2002), 260.

99 J.C. Walker, *Outlines of a plan for promoting the art of painting in Ireland* (1790), 32.

100 C.P. Curran, 'Edward Smyth', *The Capuchin Annual 1948,* 411; E. McParland, *James Gandon* (1985), 163. Smyth also produced carved heads of Brian Boru and St Patrick for the Chapel Royal, Dublin Castle, between 1807 and 1812: R. Kennedy, *Dublin Castle art* (1999), 15. Photographs of two of the Four Courts medallions, those of Solon and the Inca Manco Capac, are preserved in the Irish Architectural Archive.

101 J. Gilmartin, 'Vincent Waldré's ceiling paintings in Dublin Castle', *Apollo* **95** (1972), 42; R. Kennedy, *Dublin Castle art* (1999), 19.

102 In *The Nation*, 'Hints for Irish historical paintings', July 29th 1843; reprinted in T. Davis, *Literary and historical essays* (1846), 169, and in *Essays and poems* (1945), 113.

103 E.A. Conwell, 'On ancient sepulchral cairns', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **9** (1866), 355; *Discovery of the tomb of Ollamh Fodhla* (1873).

104 On William Wilde: P. Froggatt, 'Sir William Wilde', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **77C** (1977), 261; R. Kavanagh, 'Sir William Wilde', *Co. Roscommon Historical and Archaeological Society Journal* **4** (1992), 34; T. G. Wilson, *Victorian doctor* (1974); T. De Vere White, *The parents of Oscar Wilde* (1967); E. Lambert, *Mad with much heart* (1967); M. Ryan, 'Sir William Wilde and Irish antiquities', in E. Ní Chuilleanáin (ed.), *The Wilde legacy* (2003), 69.

105 W. Wilde, *Narrative of a voyage* (1840), vol. 2, 341.

106 *A lecture on the ethnology of the ancient Irish* (1844), 15; incorporated in his *Boyne and Blackwater* (1849), 212ff. The fact that Wilde considered the aboriginal Fir Bolg to be a simple pastoral people and the Tuatha de Danann to be more sophisticated metalworkers does not mean he accepted the Three-Age system as M.A. Morse, 'Craniology', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **65** (1999), 5, claims. In 1874 Wilde still denied that the Three-Age system could be applied in Ireland and considered the Fir Bolg to be primarily pastoralists but possibly agriculturalists without a knowledge of metalworking; the Tuatha de Danann were still superior: 'The ancient races of Ireland', *Proceedings of the British Association* (1874), reprinted in Lady Wilde's *Ancient legends of Ireland* (1887), 339.

107 C.P. Martin, *Prehistoric man* (1935), 163. The Fir Bolg (and the Aran forts) figure in various writings in Irish in the 1920s and 1930s (Philip O'Leary, *Gaelic prose* (2004), 274) and even more recently in P.A. Ó Síocháin, *Aran Islands of legend* (1962), 9.

108 W. Wilde, 'On the Battle of Moytura', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **10** (1866), 22; an expanded account is to be found in his *Lough Corrib* (1872), 224.

109 J. Fergusson, *Rude stone monuments* (1872), 174.

110 W. Wilde, *Catalogue of stone, earthen and vegetable materials* (1857), 73 (champion's hand-stone); *Catalogue of animal materials and bronze* (1861), 366, 352. His catalogue of gold objects was published in 1862.

111 W. Wilde, *Ireland: past and present* (1864), 8.

112 A. Laming-Emperaire, *Origines de l'archéologie préhistorique en France* (1964), 44; A. Cheynier, *Jouannet: grand-père de la préhistoire* (1936), 8. M.R. Goodrum, 'The meaning of ceraunia',

British Journal of the History of Science **35** (2002), 255.

113 B. Gräslund, *The birth of prehistoric chronology* (1987), 19.

114 The English edition was translated by Lord Ellesmere, a British member of Denmark's Royal Society, as a *Guide to northern archaeology ... edited for the use of English readers* (1848); the section by Thomsen entitled 'Of the different periods to which the heathen antiquities may be referred' is reprinted in G. Daniel, *Origins and growth of archaeology* (1967), 81.

115 *Proceedings* **3** (1847), 310; reprinted in D. Henry (ed.), *Viking Ireland* (1995), 20. Additional Irish and British material was illustrated in footnotes in *Primeval antiquities,* with Worsaae's approval, by the translator of the German edition, W.J. Thoms. Worsaae acquired a collection of Irish antiquities for the Copenhagen Museum: G. Eogan, 'Irish antiquities ... in the National Museum of Denmark', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **91C** (1991), 133.

116 Quoted in W. O'Brien, 'Bronze Age copper mines of the Goleen Area', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **103C** (2003), 16.

117 M.A. Morse, 'Craniology and the adoption of the Three-Age system in Britain', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **65** (1999), 1.

118 Keelogue: R. Griffiths, 'Antiquities discovered in the Shannon', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **2** (1843), 312; the claim was retracted in 1858 according to O'Curry, *Manners and custom* (1873), 267, also p. ccccvii. River Bann: J. O'Laverty, 'Relative antiquity of stone and bronze weapons', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **5** (1857), 122. E. Clibborn, the Secretary of the Royal Irish Academy, was concerned about factors that might distort the stratigraphical record: 'On the probable age of flint implements', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **7** (1859), 333.

119 J.M. Kemble, 'On the utility of antiquarian collections', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **6** (1857), 462. Kemble died in Dublin one month later and is buried there: B. Dickins, *J.M. Kemble* (1939), 17. His *Horae Ferales* was published posthumously in 1863 and includes some illustrated notes on a few Irish stone, ceramic and bronze antiquities including several 'late Celtic' brooches; it also contains a reprint of his address to the Royal Irish Academy.

120 J. Fergusson, *Rude stone monuments* (1872), 9, 26.

121 W.F. Wakeman, *The tourists' picturesque guide to Ireland* [1885], advertisements in appendix, p. 17.

122 J.B. Doyle, *Tours in Ulster* (1854), 45.

123 W.F. Wakeman, *Hand-book* (1891), 246; the champion's hand-stone is figured on p. 274. Among his various contributions to the short-lived *Dublin Saturday Magazine* (ranging from 'The Petrie Collection', to 'Tara Hill, County Meath', to 'Portumna Castle, County Galway') were 'The Bronze Age in Ireland' and 'The Age of Stone' (1867).

124 B.G. Trigger, *History of archaeological thought* (1989), 114. For aspects of the impact of Darwinism in Ireland: J.W. Foster, 'Tyndall, Darwin and the Ulster Presbyterians', in B. Stewart (ed.), *Hearts and minds* (2002), 40.

125 By the Scottish antiquarian Daniel Wilson in his book *The archaeology and prehistoric annals of Scotland* published in 1851: see C. Chippindale, 'The invention of words for the idea of "Prehistory"', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **54** (1988), 303. A.B. Kehoe has shown how Lubbock, because of his position in British society and his espousal of a popular imperial vision, eclipsed the pioneering work of Daniel Wilson, whose *Prehistoric man* was published in 1862, three years before Lubbock's work: 'Recognizing the foundation of prehistory', in A.B. Kehoe and M.B. Emmerichs (eds), *Assembling the past* (1999), 53.

126 G.E. Daniel, *A hundred years of archaeology* (1950), 57; *Origins and growth of archaeology* (1967), 107; *The idea of prehistory* (1962), 38; J. Evans, *History of the Society of Antiquaries* (1956), 280.

127 *Pre-historic times* (1865), 1, 329. Lubbock (p. 330) was uncertain about the date of the Neanderthal skull (claimed by some to be the remains of a recent Mongolian Cossack or a bow-legged Dutchman) but identified as ancient by William King, Professor of Mineralogy, Geology and Natural History in the new Queen's College, Galway, who had named it *Homo neanderthalensis:* D. Harper, 'Professor William King', in T. Foley (ed.), *From Queen's College to National University* (1999), 253.

128 W.G. Wood-Martin, *Rude stone monuments* (1888), 9.

129 Church of England clergymen played a prominent role in Victorian antiquarian societies in Britain too and Roman Catholic and Nonconformist clergy were rarely to be found: K. Hudson, *A social history of archaeology* (1981), 19. Also S. Piggott, 'The origins of the English county archaeological societies', *Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society* **86** (1974), 1. In Ireland Roman Catholic clergy begin to become involved in antiquarian activities in numbers only later in the century; J.M. McEwan, *Archaeology and ideology* (2003), 50ff, has examined the membership of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society. The short-lived Ossory Archaeological Society was founded in 1874 with an initial focus on the lives of the saints of the diocese and other holy men: Dr Moran, 'Inaugural Address', *Transactions of the Ossory Archaeological Society* **1** (1874), 1; and the foundation of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society in 1891 was blessed with the support of no less than five Catholic bishops: P. Holohan, 'The Cork Historical and Archaeological Society', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **96** (1991), 20ff

130 A. Ireland, 'Wood-Martin', *Journal of Irish Archaeology* **10** (2001), 1.

131 A. O'Sullivan, *The archaeology of lake settlement in Ireland* (1998), 17.

132 W.G. Wood-Martin, *Pagan Ireland* (1895), vi, 61, 64, 395, 418, 585.

133 W. G. Wood-Martin, *Pagan Ireland* (1895), 580.

134 W.F. Wakeman, *Hand-book* (1903), 199, 169. P.W. Joyce, *Social history* (1903), vol. 1, 100.

135 Anon., 'Three memorable Cork archaeologists', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **6** (1900), 32; J.P. McCarthy, 'Journeying to a Journal: the Society's predecessors', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **96** (1991), 15.

136 *Ecclesiastical architecture* (1875), 155.

137 Though he deliberately chose to forget it, the celebrated Augustus Henry Lane Fox, later Lt General Pitt Rivers, first Inspector of Ancient Monuments of Great Britain and excavator of Cranborne Chase, began his archaeological career in Cork and adjacent counties when stationed there in the 1860s. He briefly collaborated with Brash and other antiquarians: E. Twohig, 'Pitt Rivers in Munster', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **92** (1987), 34; M. Bowden, *Pitt Rivers* (1991), 60.

138 R.R. Brash, 'The round tower controversy', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **7** (1859), 155; **8** (1860), 280.

139 W.F. Wakeman, '"Druids' Altars" or cromlechs', *The Dublin Saturday Magazine* **1** (1865), 100.

140 H.M. Westropp, *Pre-historic phases* (1872), 171. F. Mitchell, 'Hodder Michael Westropp', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **92** (1987), 27; P. Nicholson, 'Hodder Westropp', *Antiquity* **57** (1983), 205.

141 See Anon., 'Three memorable Cork archaeologists', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **6** (1900), 32, and J.P. McCarthy's account of antiquarian activity in Cork: 'Journeying to a Journal' (1991), 1. Windele's energy and enthusiasm is evident in the narrative of his excursion to south Kerry in 1848: M. Herity, 'A tour of John Windele's in South Kerry', *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society* **3** (1970), 99.

142 Robert Day: P. Holohan, 'The Cork Historical and Archaeological Society', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **96** (1991), 20ff; P. Woodman, 'Archaeology and the

Journal', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **96** (1991), 104ff; obituary in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **45** (1915), 67.

143 The description 'magpie collector' is Frank Mitchell's, 'Voices from the past', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **113** (1983), 51; the purchase of the Roscommon finds is recorded in a copy of a manuscript account book cum catalogue of Day's collection (1863–1872) in the National Museum of Ireland; also Sotheby's, *Catalogue* (1913); both Belfast and Dublin Museums acquired material at the sale. Day published some details of the Roscommon hoard in 1880.

144 E. Crooke, *Politics, archaeology and the creation of a National Museum in Ireland* (2000), 128; G.F. Mitchell in T. Ó Raifeartaigh (ed.), *The Royal Irish Academy* (1985), 139.

145 P. Wilson, 'The father of Ulster antiquaries', *Archaeology Ireland* **14**, no. 1 (2000), 20; Sotheby's, *Catalogue* (1924); again both the Belfast and Dublin Museums were among the purchasers of some material at the auction; W.J. Knowles, 'Ancient Irish beads and amulets', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **15** (1881), 523.

146 'Stone axe factories near Cushendall', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* **33** (1903), 362.

147 'Portstewart and other flint factories', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* **9** (1880), 322.

148 'Survivals from the Palaeolithic Age', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **27** (1897), 1; 'Flint implements from the valley of the Bann', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* **10** (1881), 152. The debate about the age of the Larne material was summarised by H.L. Movius, 'An historical account of the investigations at Larne', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **16** (1953), 7.

149 W. Gray, 'Rudely worked flints of the North of Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **15** (1879), 109. For Gray see A. Deane (ed.), *The Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society* (1924), 79. The debate between Gray and Knowles has been briefly summarised by P. Woodman, *The Mesolithic in Ireland* (1978), 7. Knowles rather querulously reviewed the affair in 1914: 'The antiquity of man in Ireland', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* **44**, 83.

150 For J. Grainger see A. Deane (ed.), *The Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society* (1924), 77; N. Nesbitt, *A Museum in Belfast* (1979), 23. J. Grainger, 'Some diggings of an antiquary', *Proceedings of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society* (1879), 49. Lord Antrim's collection of some two thousand objects, mostly from the north of Ireland, went to Oxford in 1880 and is now in the Ashmolean Museum: M. Herity *et al.*, 'The "Larne" material', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **67C** (1968), 9.

151 R.A.S. Macalister, *Ireland in Pre-Celtic times* (1921), 16.

152 W.C. Borlase's career and work are briefly noted in P. A. S. Pool's, *William Borlase* (1986), 277.

153 M. Brown, *Sir Samuel Ferguson* (1973), 34. Also M. Ferguson, *Sir Samuel Ferguson in the Ireland of his day* (1896); P. Denman, *Samuel Ferguson* (1990) [with bibliography]; E. Patten, *Samuel Ferguson* (2004); G. Ó Dúill, *Samuel Ferguson Beatha agus Saothar* (1993).

154 'Petrie's Round Towers', *Dublin University Magazine* **25** (1845), 379; 'Clonmacnoise, Clare, and Aran', *Dublin University Magazine* **41** (1853), 79; 'Celto-Scythic progresses', *Dublin University Magazine* **39** (1852), 277; his study of early saints is in 'The thaumaturgists', *Dublin University Magazine* **9** (1837), 345—the monthly calculation, it should be emphasised, is by Malcolm Brown, *Ferguson* (1973), 63.

155 S. Ferguson, *The cromlech on Howth: a poem* (1861).

156 For photographs of some of his casts see: 'S. Ferguson, fasciculus of prints', *Transactions of the*

Royal Irish Academy **27** (1886), 47; Rathcroghan: 'Account of ogham inscriptions', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **9** (1864), 160; *Ogham inscriptions* (1887), 58. P. Ní Chatháin, 'Sir Samuel Ferguson and the ogham inscriptions', *Irish University Review* **16** (1986), 159.

157 'On ancient cemeteries at Rathcroghan and elsewhere', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **15** (1872), 116.

158 'On the legend of Dathi', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **16** (1882), 167; W.F. Wakeman's articles were reprinted in pamphlet form in the following year as *'Evening Telegraph' Reprints—No. 1* (1887). See T.F. O'Rahilly, *Early Irish history and mythology* (1946), 212. Limited excavation in 1981 at Dathi's Mound produced some small amounts of charcoal which provided a series of radiocarbon dates possibly indicating construction and use in the last century BC and in the early centuries AD: J. Waddell, 'Excavation at "Dathi's Mound"', *Journal of Irish Archaeology* **4** (1988), 23.

159 M. Stokes, *Early Christian architecture* (1878), 16, 89.

160 U. Bourke, *Pre-Christian Ireland* (1887), 36, 90, xi.

161 U. Bourke, *Aryan origin of the Gaelic race* (1875), 178, 378, 413, 416; in his *Pre-Christian Ireland* (1887), 199, he conceded that some round towers were built in the Early Christian Period. The unflattering assessment of his Irish language skills is given in an anonymous obituary in *The Athenaeum* (1887), 711. A nineteenth-century belief in a Japhetan origin for the races of Europe was by no means confined to Ireland: see for example T. Wright's (1862) history of the early inhabitants of Britain, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon.*

162 J. Leerssen, *Remembrance and imagination* (1996), 139, 140, 153.

163 W. Stubbs, *The constitutional history of England* (1875), vol. 1, 2; J.W. Burrow, *Victorian historians* (1981), 120ff; H.A. MacDougall, *Racial myth in English history* (1982), 89ff. Pitt Rivers, who had to contend with Fenian conspiracy during his four-year stay in Ireland, believed that Irish violence had racial roots: M.W. Thompson, *General Pitt-Rivers* (1977), 114, 134n (where he is quoted as saying, 'I arrived at the conclusion that Fenianism must be regarded as a war of races indeed').

164 J.B. Davis and J. Thurnam, *Crania Britannica* (1865), 199, 205. Skulls were not the only measure of ability; long noses were also considered a measure of intellect, a view expressed by one professor in Queen's College, Galway: T. Collins, 'R.J. Anderson', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* **56** (2004), 198.

165 N.C. Macnamara, *Origin and character of the British people* (1900), 175, he was happy to claim Aryan Celts as ancestors who—he asserted—had settled in his native county around 419 AD (p. 188).

166 J. Beddoe, *The races of Britain* (1885), 10. He did succeed in acquiring two skulls from Temple Brecan and Killeany on Aran, which he presented to Davis: J.B. Davis, *Thesaurus Craniorum* (1867), 64.

167 C. Kingsley, *The Roman and the Teuton* (1864), *passim.*

168 David Lloyd George, *War memoirs,* vol. 1, 875.

169 Westropp's life and work have been studied by Mairéad Ashe Fitzgerald (2000).

170 T.J. Westropp, 'Address on the progress of Irish archaeology', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **46** (1916), 2.

171 T.J. Westropp, 'Ancient forts', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* **31** (1902), 635.

172 E. MacNeill, 'The ancient Irish genealogies', *The New Ireland Review* **26** (1906), 131; the lectures published in a series of articles in 1906 and 1907 formed the basis for his book *Celtic Ireland* (1921); see F.J. Byrne, 'MacNeill the historian', in F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds), *The scholar revolutionary* (1973), 17.

173 T.J. Westropp, 'Ancient forts' (1902), 584n; the contributions of Westropp and Orpen are

summarised by Ashe Fitzgerald, *Thomas Johnson Westropp (1860–1922): an Irish antiquary* (2000), 70ff.

174 G.H. Orpen, 'Motes and Norman castles', *English Historical Review* **22** (1907), 464.

175 J. Waddell, 'Knocknagur, Turoe and local enquiry', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* **40** (1986), 131.

176 C.L. Adams, *Castles of Ireland* (1904); J.S. Fleming, *Town-wall fortifications of Ireland* (1914); A. Champneys, *Irish ecclesiastical architecture* (1910). The mid-nineteenth-century flurry of interest in ecclesiastical architecture by the Catholic Irish Ecclesiological Society and the Protestant Down, Connor and Dromore Chuch Architecture Society has been briefly examined by J.M. McEwan, *Archaeology and ideology in nineteenth century Ireland, British Archaeological Reports* **354** (2003), 42ff.

177 *Reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science 1902* (1903), 755 (Abstract); this paper to the British Association was also delivered to the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland and published in its *Journal* **32** (1902), 373; Abercromby's studies on beaker pottery and cinerary urns appeared in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* **38–41** (1904–1907). The allusion to Hibernian raiders is in his *Bronze Age pottery* (vol. 1, 1912), 83, and the reference to his will comes from G. Daniel, 'Megalithic studies in Ireland', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **43** (1980), 1.

6. Museum and University: a professional archaeology

The Dublin Museum of Science and Art opened its doors in 1890 to a fanfare of trumpets thirteen years after the passing of the Government's Science and Art Museum Act. National idealism, the success of the various exhibitions in Belfast, Cork and Dublin, and the pressing need to find a suitable home for the collections of the Royal Dublin Society and the Royal Irish Academy were all compelling reasons for this development. Larger forces were at work as well, of course; public institutions like museums were expressions of political virtue and, along with its particular fascination with the past, the Victorian age had a strong belief in progress and a desire for the improvement of the middle classes. In the 1860s two Commissions of Inquiry had examined the provision of science and art instruction in Ireland and the educational role of the existing bodies. A Museum of Science and Art was recommended in 1868 by the second commission under the chairmanship of Lord Kildare, and the hope of some members of the Royal Irish Academy, William Wilde among them, that there might be a separate museum of antiquities was not to be fulfilled.

The new museum would be an amalgamation of several Dublin collections including that of the Geological Survey, the Royal Dublin Society, a natural history collection, and the archaeological material in the Academy. Operating under the supervision of the Department of Science and Art in London, the institution would eventually have three divisions: a Natural History Division, an Art and Industrial Division and an Antiquities Division. In 1899 control of the museum would pass to a Dublin-based Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction.[1]

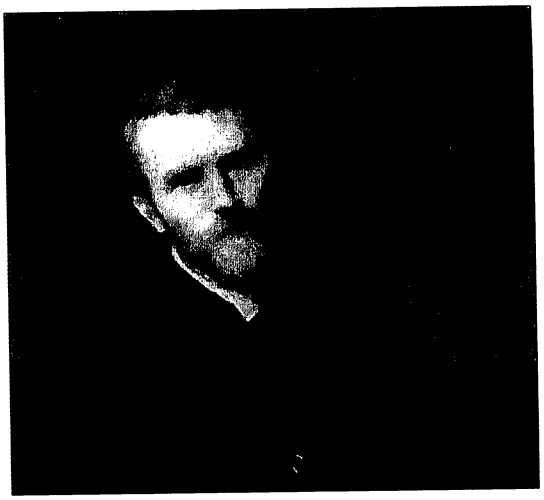
The collection of the Royal Irish Academy formed the core of the material in the Antiquities Division but this hugely important archaeological assemblage did not become a prominent part of the museum's public exhibitions until the following century. Early collection and display policies had an industrial focus aimed at encouraging local crafts and skills, and had a distinctly international flavour. In his opening address, the first Director, Dr Valentine Ball, enunciated the principle of the educational and industrial application of the arts and declared the exhibits were displayed 'not as mere curiosities but as illustrations, which, in connection with their surroundings, are calculated to convey definite instruction'. Acquisitions in 1889 included a cast of the porch of Amiens Cathedral, Persian tiles and glass and some modern wrought iron-work from

Munich. Casts of a number of high crosses did dominate the museum's centre court but the Academy's rich collection of antiquities was exhibited in two large rooms on the first floor.[2]

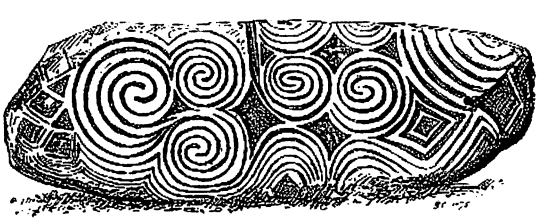
The installation of the Academy's collection was a convoluted affair. George Coffey was appointed superintendent in 1897 and given the title of Keeper only several years later. His appointment was of great significance, not only because he and his work demonstrated that this museum, like others at the time, was meant to be a place of scholarship and research, but also because he was in effect the country's first professional archaeologist. The slow demise of the gifted amateur as the leading figure in archaeological studies had begun. While the nature of their contribution would change, slowly becoming subordinate to professional concerns, the level of non-specialist interest in archaeological matters if anything increased. By 1895, the Great Northern Railway Company was advertising excursions by rail and char-a-banc from Belfast and Dublin and intermediate stations to Dowth, Newgrange, Mellifont and Monasterboice. Newgrange had been taken into State care a few years before under the *Ancient Monuments Protection Act for Great Britain and Ireland 1882*, and a popular guide—by no means the first—to the ruins and history of Mellifont (with many advertisements for the commercial charms of Drogheda) appeared in 1897.[3]

New archaeological and historical societies were founded in various localities towards the turn of the century, in Kildare and Cork in 1891, in Waterford in 1894, in Limerick in 1897, in Galway in 1900 and in Louth in 1904 for instance, and the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* (which had ceased publication in 1862) was revived in 1895. In its pages and in the pages of the publications of the other societies, amateur archaeologists continued to make an enormous contribution in the new century.[4] Nonetheless, the emergence of the professional in both Ireland and Britain was a slow but inexorable process in the nineteenth century with the gradual formulation of practices and regulations to exclude the unsuitable and the unqualified in certain fields. The establishment of the Civil Service Commission in the middle of the century gave greater emphasis to the question of training and qualification in certain areas and rather than the simple acceptance of a good general education as a requirement, the need for specialist knowledge was admitted.[5] The British Museum, for instance, eventually agreed to examine candidates with proficiency in certain desirable subjects (establishing a Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography in 1866).[6] Since archaeology, other than classical archaeology, would not become a university subject in either Britain or Ireland until well into the twentieth century, the acquisition of appropriate expertise took many forms.

George Coffey (1857–1916) graduated from Trinity College, Dublin, in experimental science and engineering and was called to the Bar but never practised for any length of time in any of these fields (**6.1**). He was an



6.1. George Coffey.



6.2. Illustrations of a well-known spiral-decorated stele found at Mycenae by Heinrich Schliemann, a bronze disc from Scandinavia and the entrance stone at Newgrange, all from George Coffey's studies of prehistoric ornament in which he argued that this motif had an eastern Mediterranean origin in the Bronze Age.

accomplished artist and had the title Professor of Archaeology in the Royal Hibernian Academy. Politically active, he was a supporter of free trade and addressed public meetings in favour of Home Rule. It is not clear where and how he developed his interest in archaeology but he was a friend of the Cork collector of antiquities Robert Day and had read an important paper on Newgrange and the Boyne Valley to the Royal Irish Academy in 1890, which was published two years later. By 1897 when he joined the museum, he had an international reputation and was well known to major figures such as Oscar Montelius in Stockholm, John Evans in Oxford and William Ridgeway in Cambridge.[7]

Early work included a lengthy study of prehistoric ornament in Ireland, which was the first attempt to study the art of the passage tombs, its relationship to rock art and its Continental parallels, and a classification of bronze spearheads, the first of many detailed studies of the prehistoric metalwork in the Museum collections. His interest in art and the international dimension he brought to his studies were two significant aspects of his approach to his work. When he first examined the carved decoration at sites such as Newgrange, the spiral motifs recalled late Celtic art and he therefore dated the great tomb to the last century BC on this basis. Having studied the international distribution of the spiral motif in a series of papers on prehistoric ornament, however, he concluded that this motif (from which he believed the concentric circle derived) had spread from the eastern Mediterranean to the Baltic and thence to Ireland in the Bronze Age; therefore passage tombs like Newgrange were of an earlier date than he had first thought, probably about 800 BC (6.2). In appropriating this spiral art of ultimately Mediterranean origin he was, of course, laying claim to an artistic element that Kemble had considered to be a hallmark of the Greek, Etruscan and the Teutonic peoples.

Though he conceded it was doubtful ground, he was unable to resist addressing the issue of the invasion legends to support his argument. Since the Tuatha de Danann were supposed to have travelled from Greece to northern Europe to Ireland, he thought it possible that 'we have an echo of the ancient cultural route from the Aegean to the Baltic, and thence to Ireland'.[8] His various papers on prehistoric art and his examinations of passage tombs in the Boyne Valley and elsewhere formed the basis for his 1912 book on *Newgrange* with its uncompromising subtitle: *the influence of Crete and the Aegean in the extreme west of Europe in early times.*

His other major interest was the prehistoric metalwork in the Academy's collection; his study of bronze spearheads has been mentioned but he also published a guide to the Celtic antiquities of the Christian period in the museum. Following Montelius, he had a keen appreciation of the importance of typological analysis and of the significance of associated finds. The existence of a number of hoards of copper implements without any admixture of later types, the results of metal analyses and a typological study of simple copper axes

were all presented as evidence for a Copper Age in the second of his important metalwork studies in 1901. Understandably, chronology was one of the principal preoccupations in the developing discipline of prehistoric archaeology. The absolute dates of the Stone and Bronze Ages were still imperfectly understood towards the end of the nineteenth century, though it was appreciated that they spanned several thousands of years before the Christian era.

It was the Swedish archaeologist Oscar Montelius who first offered a considered calendrical chronology based on cross-dating. The discovery of objects in direct association, in a grave or a hoard for example, may indicate their contemporaneity, and if an example of a particular artefact type could be correlated with the historical chronologies of the Near East then absolute dates could be extrapolated. Similarities between European and eastern Mediterranean material, and actual imports, were the two significant elements in this process which—though imprecise—was the only mechanism for chronological estimation before the discovery of chronometric methods such as radiocarbon dating.

Other studies by Coffey included papers on copper halberds, gold lunulae, amber beads, some Irish monuments of the La Tène period and Viking finds from Kilmainham and Islandbridge. The international dimension is everywhere evident as is a concern to counter the notion that all cultural influences were derived from Britain and necessarily later in date as well. In studying the copper halberds he concluded that they were of native manufacture (because they differed somewhat from Continental forms) and cast from local ores. The knowledge of copper, however, had to derive from the higher civilisations of the east—as was commonly believed at the time:

> Whether this new knowledge of metal, coming from the eastern Mediterranean, first crept round by way of Spain, or struck across the Continent to the north and west of Europe, and so to Ireland, we cannot at present say definitely; the line of march as indicated by the halberds, which are strongly deficient both in the south and the north of France, seems to point to North Germany and Scandinavia, by way of the rich ore-fields of Middle Europe ... There are indications even in Neolithic times which perhaps point to Spain; but again there are relations which indicate a considerable correspondence with Brittany and the north of France in the early Bronze Age. It may be sufficient at present to note that there is no reason to believe that even at that early time the sea imposed any insuperable obstacle to the spread of cultural influences.[9]

Coffey pursued the question of direct Irish-Continental contacts in a paper on the Turoe stone and other decorated Iron Age stones. When the term Late

Celtic Art was introduced by Wollaston Franks (the first Keeper of British Antiquities in the British Museum) in his contribution to J.M. Kemble's posthumous *Horae Ferales* in 1863, it was thought that objects bearing this sort of art were a British and Irish feature. Since then, an ever-growing body of La Tène material had been identified on the Continent and a La Tène phase of the Continental Iron Age defined, commencing in the fifth century BC and divided into early, middle and late phases. Coffey was able to declare that these decorated stones, and the Turoe example in particular, which he thought to be stylistically early, indicated that this art style had been widely distributed in the country and was unlikely to be accounted for just in terms of trade.

In a later paper he developed the theme of direct contact between Ireland and Continental Europe. He wrote 'we must disabuse ourselves of the old notion that the movements of the Celtic peoples always took place as a hydrostatic wave filling up the neighbouring parts'.[10] Coffey was the first to provide significant archaeological support for the thesis already being presented by some Celtic language scholars that early Celtic peoples had come directly to Ireland from the Continent, bypassing Britain. In this he countered the 'old notion' of John Rhys of successive waves of Celts migrating westward from the Continent via Britain to Ireland. Rhys had proposed that the Goidels (Q Celts) coming from Continental Europe had invaded southern Britain and then moved westwards to Ireland; they were followed by the Britons (P Celts) who drove the Goidels westward where some survived in Ireland.

Both Rhys and Coffey, in their different ways, helped to establish an image of the Celticisation of Ireland, a picture of invading Celts, that persists to this day.[11] The concept of an archaeologically independent Ireland capable of receiving various important cultural stimuli directly from mainland Europe and unadulterated by British influences would become a noteworthy feature of some subsequent archaeological debates on topics as diverse as megalithic tombs and La Tène Celts.

Coffey's later years were marred by ill-health and his books on *Newgrange* and *The Bronze Age in Ireland,* the latter mainly a collation of his studies on the art and metalwork of the period and published in 1913, were only made possible by the assistance of E.C.R. Armstrong who eventually succeeded him. In his book on the Bronze Age, Coffey presented a succinct but cautious chronology for the period and although he followed the subdivisions proposed by Montelius, he dated an Irish copper period from 2000 BC to 1800 BC, with the ensuing Bronze Age extending from 1800 BC to about 350 BC.

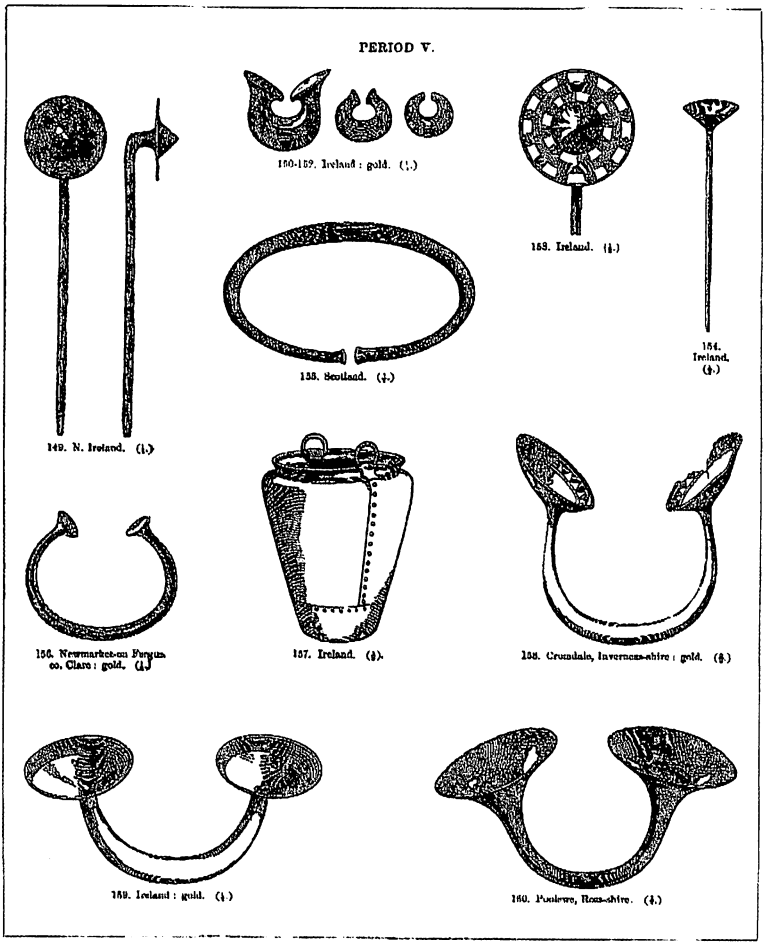
Even though writers such as John Evans in his *Ancient bronze implements* in 1881 had recognised the importance of hoards in determining 'the synchronism of various forms of instruments' and was able to divide the Bronze Age into three more or less distinct stages, Montelius produced a considerably more refined chronology. In 1885, in his *Dating the Bronze Age, with special reference to Scandinavia,* a work which was the culmination of fifteen

years of study of over 340 associated finds of objects and was, for its time, a unique contribution to archaeological studies, he divided the northern Bronze Age into a series of consecutive numbered periods.[12] In 1908, in a prescient paper in the journal *Archaeologia,* Montelius had extended his Bronze Age scheme to Britain and Ireland. In this landmark study he gave a shape to the insular Bronze Age and after another detailed study of associated finds, in both graves and hoards, he presented a remarkably accurate relative chronology of five successive dated periods, each with characteristic artefact types, to which he gave absolute dates based on Continental evidence. His Period I was a Copper Age commencing about 2500 BC, his final Period V extended from about 1150 to 800 BC (**6.3**). He was quite emphatic: 'There can be no doubt that the Copper Age had begun in the British Isles at least 2,500 years before our era' and he was equally insistent that 'the Iron Age began in Great Britain and Ireland about 800 BC'.[13]

Thanks to Montelius, Coffey, Armstrong and R.A.S. Macalister, who was appointed Professor of Archaeology in University College, Dublin, in 1909, and their considered use of the Three-Age model, the elements of a more explicit linear archaeological narrative emerged in the early decades of the new century, one in which Fir Bolg and Tuatha de Danann and their ilk, surprisingly, still had an occasional role. As we shall see, Macalister would produce the first modern survey of Irish archaeology from the Neolithic period to the coming of the Anglo-Normans in a long series of successive articles in the pages of *The Irish Monthly* from 1917 to 1920.

George Noble, Count Plunkett, was appointed Director of the Dublin Museum in 1907. A nationalist and a member of the Gaelic League, he decided the year after his appointment that the institution should be re-named 'The National Museum of Science and Art, Dublin'. He also decided that greater prominence should be given to Irish material and that collection policy be directed towards objects 'distinctively Irish, both ancient and modern'.[14] It may be that he was simply responding to the pressures of more nationalist times but a greater emphasis on the native past would certainly have been a public act of support and approbation for an increasingly enthusiastic national sentiment. Museums are never neutral ground, of course, inevitably they emphasise and idealise selected aspects of the past. A national museum would be expected to offer a national history and the casts of high crosses in the centre court of the National Museum proclaimed the achievements of one supposed 'Golden Age' just as the prehistoric bronze and goldwork did of another.

Of a County Kilkenny family, Edmund C.R. Armstrong (1879–1923) was born in England and had gained some archaeological experience in the British Museum and on the Continent. He was appointed an assistant in the Dublin Museum in 1906 and succeeded Coffey as Keeper of Irish Antiquities in 1914.[15] He continued the tradition of studying and publishing the collections,



6.3. Even though Myles na gCopaleen would ridicule typological studies, they were crucial for the elucidation of early chronologies. He invented the 'Royal Myles na gCopaleen Institute of Archaeology' which was not just 'a gatherum of clay-minded prodnoses'; within it, for instance, was 'the Institute of Comparative Bronzes ... concerned only with time-bronze progressions'. The illustration, from Oscar Montelius' pioneering chronological study of 1908, depicts objects typical of his Period V of the Bronze Age in Britain and Ireland.

his catalogues of seals and seal matrices and of the rich corpus of prehistoric gold being two of the surprisingly few catalogues of museum material published by serving museum staff. Like Coffey, he pursued associated finds and published papers on hoards of bronze and stone axes. He ranged even further afield, however, with studies of medieval metalwork such the great reliquary known the Domnach Airgid and silver and ecclesiastical antiquities in the Academy's collection.[16] Sadly, disillusioned with the political changes of

1922, he retired to London and died the following year.

Two important papers by Armstrong, one published in 1923, the other a posthumous publication in 1924, were the first detailed accounts of the two phases of the Irish Iron Age, which, following Continental practice, were called the Hallstatt Period and the La Tène Period. These were a sequel to Coffey's synthesis on the Bronze Age and like his work also attempted to study the Irish material in a European context. Since various writers were now arguing that the insular Iron Age was initiated by the arrival of Celtic-speaking peoples, Armstrong drew attention to the paucity of diagnostic Hallstatt types in Ireland and dryly noted that the similarly modest amounts of pre-Roman material in Scandinavia, for example, did not prompt theories of a Celtic invasion there at the beginning of the Iron Age. In his unfinished study of the La Tène material, he, like Coffey, had no difficulty in accepting that the new art style and other novel features had been introduced by the Celts and that this period had begun about 300 BC, but he did not explore this issue any further. He accepted, as indeed did everybody else, that 'the La Tène culture in Ireland is contemporaneous with the Heroic period', an allusion to the even wider acknowledgment in the early years of the twentieth century that tales such as the epic *Táin Bó Cuailnge* did represent a Celtic Ireland populated by a warrior aristocracy towards the end of the prehistoric era.[17]

Those durable images of a 'Golden Age' of Early Christian saints and scholars and a pre-Christian era peopled by heroic and noble warriors and wise kings and law-givers inevitably coloured archaeological thinking in the nineteenth and twentieth century. The warrior hero Fionn Mac Cumhaill may be the best known figure from this intrepid past. He is certainly long established, from the early medieval period, to Geoffrey Keating's seventeenth-century *History*, to Macpherson's Fingal in the eighteenth century and to many other appearances in more recent Irish and English literature.[18] Thanks to Keating in particular, Fionn and his warrior band, the Fianna, have left their mark on Irish archaeology in the widely held belief that those burnt mounds or *fulacht fiadh* were the cooking places of prehistoric hunting bands. Many joints of lamb have been boiled to try to prove the point but the function of these puzzling monuments is still debated. Fortunately there is no record that Keating's account of Druidical animal sacrifice on the capstones of megalithic tombs inspired similar re-enactments.

Like Fionn and the Fianna, Dathi and other martial figures helped to give a distinctly war-like cast to perceptions of the Iron Age, an impression supported and accentuated by Classical accounts of the bellicose nature of the Continental Celts. The publication of scholarly and popular translations of the *Táin* and accounts of the deeds of its hero Cú Chulainn also helped to promulgate a representation of pagan Ireland that emphasised the activities of kings and queens and the courageous feats of warriors who indulged in such manly tasks as single combat, head-hunting, cattle raiding, chariot riding and

feasting. Given the frailty of the archaeological evidence, this exaltation of a particular vision of the period would not have been possible without literary support from medieval Irish texts conflated with the opinions of much earlier Greek and Roman authors.

As Philip O'Leary has so ably charted, tales of the heroes of the Ulster cycle in particular were the subject of new and popular translations in the Gaelic literary revival at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. An expurgated English version of the *Táin* (from the Book of Leinster) by Standish O'Grady appeared in Eleanor Hull's compilation *The Cuchullin saga in Irish literature* published in 1898, and this was followed by Lady Augusta Gregory's influential adaptation of the epic in her *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* in 1902. In a preface W.B. Yeats declared that she was giving Ireland 'its *Mabinogion,* its *Morte d'Arthur,* its *Niebelungelied'*, adding with a poetic flourish, 'to us Irish these personages should be more important than all others, for they lived in the places where we ride and go marketing, and sometimes they have met with one another on the hills that cast their shadows upon our doors at evening'.[19]

A particularly graphic depiction of the young warrior Cú Chulainn achieved wide circulation in 1908 in a penny pamphlet entitled *Cuchulain of Muirtheimhne* by A.M. Skelly. This was a black-and-white version of a colourful picture (along with an equally dramatic illustration of a sultry Queen Maeve) commissioned for an article in *The Century Magazine* in New York in the previous year (**6.4**). This was a contribution on the ancient Irish sagas written by Theodore Roosevelt, prolific author and President of the United States. For him, these tales told of an Ireland 'in which still obtained ancient customs that had vanished elsewhere even from the memory of man'. He admired in particular 'their exhaltation of the glorious courage of men and of the charm and devotion of women'.[20] He was by no means alone; the model of the heroic warrior was especially popular as a vigorous rejection of the image of an emotional and feckless race promoted by Matthew Arnold and favoured by those believers in the sturdier qualities of the Teuton who, like Tennyson in his *In Memoriam,* deprecated 'the blind hysterics of the Celt'.

This image of Cú Chulainn is a powerful and imaginative creation; a Late Bronze Age gorget, elegantly askew, and a large looped bronze spearhead are among the few acknowledgements to Irish archaeological material of any period. The artist was probably unaware of efforts at the time to identify the weaponry of the *Táin* and to date the context of the epic. William Ridgeway (1853–1926), of Ballydermot, Co. Offaly, and former Professor of Greek in Queen's College, Cork, had been appointed Disney Professor of Archaeology in Cambridge in 1892. In his work *The early age of Greece* in 1901 he focused on the discrepancies between the Homeric poems and the archaeological evidence from the Mycenean world and vigorously proposed the controversial theory that the fair-haired Homeric Achaeans were Celts who invaded Greece

6.4. Cú Chulainn by J.C. Leyendecker: a dramatic and imaginative illustration commissioned by The Century Magazine *for an article on the ancient Irish sagas by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1907.*

bringing with them various fashions in weaponry and personal ornament, the practice of cremation and the knowledge of iron. At the opposite end of Europe, he argued that some La Tène type brooches in Ireland and in Britain were introduced by other related fair-haired Celtic invaders.

He developed this theme a few years later and attempted to demonstrate that the world of Cú Chulainn and the *Táin* was also the world of La Tène Iron Age Celts. He accepted the traditional date around the beginning of the Christian era for the events recounted in this epic and noted how the tall, fair-haired physique, and the arms and dress of the warriors of the *Táin* agreed with descriptions of the Gauls, of the Celts of northern Italy and the Danube region, and of the Belgic tribes described by Julius Caesar. The material evidence included swords and scabbards, the Broighter torc, trumpets like Loughnashade and carved stones such as Turoe. Pairs of bronze bridle bits were indicators not just of paired draught but of the use of the two-horse chariot. There was, he asserted, a striking correspondence between these material remains and the culture depicted in the *Táin* and it could be justifiably inferred that there had been an invasion of Celtic peoples from Gaul in the centuries immediately before the birth of Christ. The Director of the National Museum, Count Plunkett, then confidently pointed out that if you visited the Department of Antiquities there with a copy of an English translation of the *Táin* in hand, 'you will at once recognize that in the book, as in the collection, you are brought face to face with the actual past'.[21]

In an attempt to prove the historical character of the *Táin,* Ridgeway and the Cambridge philologist E.C. Quiggin, accompanied by R.A.S. Macalister, undertook some desultory diggings at Rathcroghan in 1913. Unfortunately no details of their work were ever published though it is known they investigated the supposed burial mound of Dathi and the enclosure called Relignaree. Ridgeway did record that he and Quiggin 'had long contemplated some excavations in Irish tumuli in the hope of obtaining some first-hand scientific knowledge of their contents. Rath Croghan, Co. Roscommon, with its huge tumulus and adjacent rath, identified in story with Queen Meave [*sic*] and Ailill, and other worthies of the oldest Irish Epic, naturally attracted us ... We got to work on Sept. 8th, 1913 ... By sunset, to our disappointment, tempered with mirth, we had proved that the grass-grown mounds within the old rath instead of being the tombs of kings and queens were simply the ruins of miserable cabins, which, as we learned later (from a priest whose family had lived in one of them) had been levelled in 1812 by the proprietor.'[22]

Like the doctrine of 'the coming of the Celts', the belief in the archaeological value of the *Táin* and other tales of the Ulster cycle is to be found in the work of R.A.S. Macalister who wrote: '*The Cattle Raid of Cúalnge* illuminates for us, in a way that no other document does, the manners and thought of Europe in the later La Tène period'.[23] The notion that this literature was 'a window on the Iron Age' persisted for some seventy years and

continues to colour archaeological interpretation. Wood-Martin's question 'Supposing we did not possess the fanciful Irish Annals, how would archaeology have been written?' never received serious consideration. Warfare, feasting, chariot riding and cattle raiding, rather than more mundane occupations like sheep rearing, crop growing and coppicing woodland, are assumed to be the pre-eminent activities of the inhabitants of the island in late prehistory.

University archaeology: the beginnings

University College Dublin, a college of the Catholic University, became a constituent college of the National University of Ireland in 1908 and appointed R.A.S. Macalister to a newly created chair of Celtic Archaeology in 1909.[24] Bertram Windle, President of Queen's College, Cork, saw the parallel transition of that institution into University College, Cork, and became the first holder of the chair of Archaeology there in the same year (6.5). The son of a Staffordshire vicar who moved to Kingstown (now Dun Laoghaire), Co. Dublin, when he was four, and educated both in Ireland and England, Bertram Windle (1858–1929) pursued a medical career and became Professor of Anatomy in the new University of Birmingham.

Deeply interested in archaeology, his books included *Life in early Britain* published in 1897 and the *Remains of the prehistoric age in England* in 1904, the year he came to Cork. He was an outstanding University President until his resignation in 1919 when, disenchanted with an ever more intolerant separatist nationalism and Government mishandling of the situation in Ireland, he accepted an academic position in Canada. His responsibilities in Cork evidently left him little time to pursue his archaeological interests. He published short notes on various topics including a brief account of early man in Palaeolithic Europe but his most significant contribution was a report on some of the remains in the Lough Gur region.[25] However, the first Master of Arts thesis in Archaeology in the National University was completed in Cork by Miss Johannah Holland in 1912; this was a pioneering review of the growing body of literature on coastal middens and it was published two years later.[26]

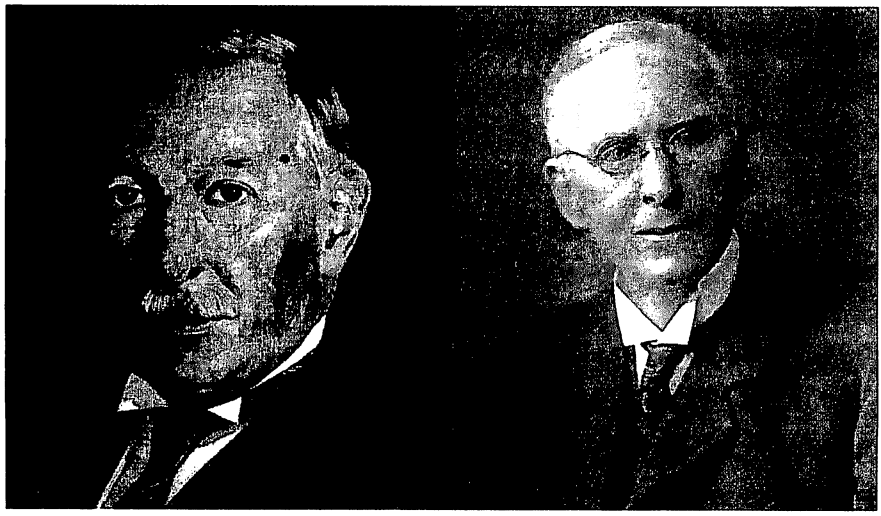
Windle's assistant, Revd Patrick Power (1862–1951) succeeded him as Professor of Archaeology in 1915, a post he held until his retirement in 1932. He was a prolific writer on place-names, and on a remarkably wide range of historical and archaeological topics, notably in the *Journal of the Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*. Among his books were short popular and unillustrated accounts of *Prehistoric Ireland* and *Early Christian Ireland* and he was ahead of the times in suggesting a 'constant dribble' theory to explain the Celticisation of Ireland. He wrote: 'Certainly it is beyond the genius of man to fix the year or even, perhaps, the century in which formal Celticisation was effected' and he suggested 'a more or less constant dribble into these islands of

visitors from the continent—merchants, adventurers, fugitives, mercenaries, captives and others'. His vision of Ireland and the Celtic world, however, was traditional and romantic:

> Ireland alone, of all the once wide Celtic Empire, remained untouched, and thus it came about in Ireland there survived till the twelfth, or perhaps to the seventeenth century the last trace of the national independence of a people whose renown once filled the world.[27]

Irish archaeology between the two World Wars was dominated by the remarkable Robert A.S. Macalister (1870–1950) who held the chair of Archaeology in University College Dublin from 1909 to 1943 (**6.5**). Born in Dublin, the son of a Trinity College Professor of Anatomy who moved to a chair in Cambridge, his early education was in Dublin and he gained his degree in Cambridge. An early interest in Irish archaeology was evident; he applied for the post awarded to Coffey in the Dublin Museum in 1897 and the following year he received a grant from the Royal Irish Academy for a survey of the many archaeological monuments in the Fahan area in County Kerry, 'the Silchester of Primitive Ireland' as he called it.[28]

In 1902 he began several seasons of excavation of the ancient royal Canaanite city of Gezer (Tel el Jezari), often mentioned in the Old Testament,



6.5. Left. R.A.S. Macalister, Professor of Celtic Archaeology, University College, Dublin, 1909–1943. Right. Bertram Windle, Professor of Archaeology, University College, Cork, 1909–1915.

for the Palestine Exploration Fund. This was one of the earliest large-scale excavations in that part of the world and was published in 1912. In addition to this and other publications on Palestine, he produced an enormous number of papers and books on almost every facet of Irish archaeology throughout his long career.[29] He had an abiding interest in early Irish literature and in epigraphy, especially ogham inscriptions, publishing a three-volume *Studies in Irish epigraphy* between 1897 and 1907 and a two-volume *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum* in 1945 and 1949. His work on ogham has been criticised and, as Damian McManus has remarked, his greatest fault was a reluctance to be defeated by an inscription even when it presented insuperable difficulties but he achieved an enormous amount in the face of great difficulties.[30]

His work on medieval texts has had its critics too. He worked on the *Lebor Gabála Érenn* or *Book of Invasions* for many years and once again negative reviews have tended to obscure the scale of his achievement and his painstaking scholarship.[31] His scholarly work in this area, however, deeply influenced his archaeological thinking—as his reconstruction of the Banqueting Hall on Tara illustrates (**2.2**). As early as 1908 he expressed a view he would hold for the rest of his career: 'Even in their confused and artificial form, the Book of Conquests and similar works preserve far more early *historical* (as distinguished from legendary) material, and more information on the society and religion of pre-Christian Ireland, than many scholars have conceded'.[32]

Macalister had prodigious energy; his first major work of synthesis on Irish archaeology was *Ireland in Pre-Celtic times* published in 1921, a work based on a series of public lectures (on the Neolithic and the Bronze Age) delivered in University College, Dublin, in 1915 and 1916 and then reproduced in a succession of some seventeen articles on Pre-Celtic Ireland in *The Irish Monthly* in the following years. A second set of lectures on Celtic Ireland (to the coming of the Anglo-Normans), published in the same fashion in some twenty articles, was intended to be the subject of a second book which never materialised but did form the basis for the latter part of his 1928 *Archaeology of Ireland*. It was his intention that his lectures on the archaeology of Continental Europe would provide material for a four-volume *Text-book of European archaeology*—which would probably have supplanted Joseph Déchelette's great *Manuel d'archéologie*—but only one large volume covering the Palaeolithic and the Mesolithic periods appeared in 1921.

Macalister's long sequence of papers in *The Irish Monthly* from 1917 to 1920 was the first modern survey—on a chronological basis—of the archaeology of Ireland from the Neolithic to the medieval period. In his very first paper, in asserting the importance of chronology, the basis of his lecture scheme, and in emphasising the need to consider Ireland not as an island set apart by itself but as an intrinsic part of Europe, he introduced themes that would figure in all of his subsequent syntheses: *Ireland in pre-Celtic times* in 1921, the first edition of his *Archaeology of Ireland* in 1928, a work supplemented by his *Ancient Ireland* in

1935. Peppered with characteristic anecdotes and digressions (on such diverse topics as cannibalism, poor English usage, and bull-roarers) these books summarise the state of knowledge on a wide range of artefact and monument types and, in typical fashion, an explanation is often offered no matter how tenuous the evidence might be. These three books between them cover Irish archaeology from its beginnings to medieval times, but it is worth remembering that he wrote them before the significant developments in the subject that began in the mid-1930s. Time and again he deplores the lack of data and the need for comprehensive surveys whether to redress the inadequacies of Borlase in the case of megalithic tombs or to illuminate the virtually unstudied field of medieval castles.

Chronology was another problem and to the end of his career Macalister professed difficulties with the application of aspects of the Three-Age system in Ireland. To his credit he was never afraid to engage in controversy or to change his opinion if he thought the facts warranted it. In 1928 he believed the people represented by the flint implements found in the raised beaches of the north-east were probably the first colonists but of uncertain date and no earlier than 2500 BC. Since dolmens were assigned to the very end of the Stone Age and chambered tumuli like Newgrange to the Bronze Age, prehistory only began to take shape about 2000 BC. After this date and throughout this whole period there was evidence for commercial contacts with Britain and Continental Europe and intriguing links with the Iberian peninsula, the possible homeland of this aboriginal population. In 1935, more than a decade after the notion of an invasion of Bronze Age 'sword-bearers' had been proposed in Britain, Macalister, with characteristic vigour, revised his earlier ideas and proposed a similar Irish event (even though Walther Bremer, whom he greatly admired, had dismissed the possibility that such ethnic conclusions could be drawn from the distribution of just one bronze type).

In Macalister's rather apocalyptic vision the sword bearers enslaved the earlier Bronze Age inhabitants around 1000 BC:

> The more closely the facts are considered, the more clearly they are seen to be straws which indicate the blowing, not of a wind but of a tornado. They speak of a destroying invasion by hosts from overseas—beyond all reasonable doubt from Britain—and a consequent destruction of the civilization, such as it was, of the Halberd-People. ... The Sword-People had come with an invincible energy, and had subdued the land to themselves. They had established a complete social system, and had built their vast tumuli. But they reckoned without the climate. It was deteriorating annually during the whole time of their occupation, sapping their vitality, and reducing them to impotence. After building Newgrange they never did anything else: their stone circles are trumpery affairs ...

Possibly because he firmly—and rightly—believed that archaeology would shed light on historical problems, he could not agree with his colleague Eoin MacNeill that tales such as those in the Book of Invasions were medieval fictions. His vision of prehistory combined evolutionary and migrationary interpretations and the archaeological evidence for what he assumed to be successive immigrations suggested these stories contained a kernel of truth. He believed the Sword-People were Celtic-speakers whose appearance was enshrined in the myth of the coming of the Tuatha de Danann:

> A reminiscence of this catastrophe lived on in memory for generations. Warped and distorted, cut up into a number of incoherent and mutually contradictory folk-tales, it reached the early Christian historians of Ireland, who did what they could to reduce its chaos to a semblance of order ... The ancient historians, like all of us, made mistakes: but they did the great service of preserving much that otherwise would have disappeared forever; and beneath all their weird dreamland delirium we can even yet discern real, if elusive, truths.[33]

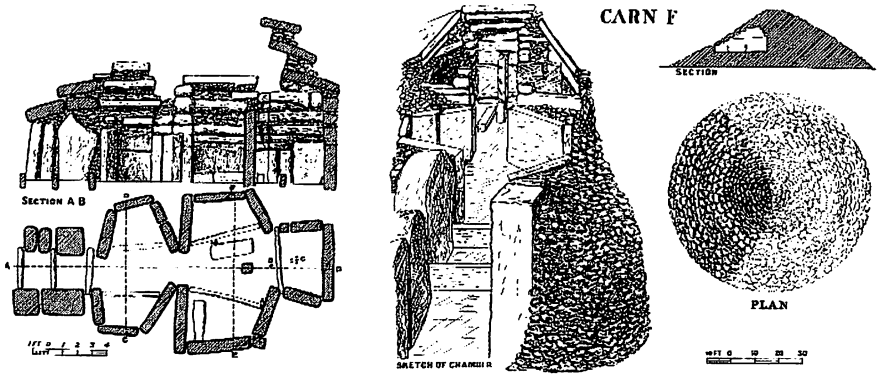
The people of the La Tène Iron Age followed of course, and because they were tall and fair-haired, they were Teutons, albeit Celtic-speaking ones. He reiterated these views in the 1949 edition of his *Archaeology of Ireland* where, romantically, he still saw the great stone forts on the Aran Islands, for example, as monuments to this violent invasion model:

> Granted that stones are the commonest objects of the bare, rocky Aran Islands, and that ample material for the building of these gigantic constructions twenty times over still remains, why did any company think it worth their while to build them in such a desolate place? And the only reasonable answer which presents itself is, that the essential germ of the story transmitted to us by the medieval scholastic historians is true, whatever we may think of its specific details: they were the last shelter of expelled refugees, fleeing from some rapacious conqueror. Driven, step by step, back to the western coast, and to the islands beyond, they here made their final stand, by no mere conventional metaphor but in grim, literal reality, 'between the devil and the deep sea'. Nothing but massacre, or drowning in the Atlantic deeps awaited them outside their island fortresses; in desperation they heaped them up these vast walls, to shield them from the fury of the tempest that had burst upon their country and their kindred.[34]

While Macalister's inventive imagination certainly seemed to put flesh on the bare bones of archaeology, F.J. Byrne's assessment is perceptive: 'Irish archaeology was then in its infancy, and under the direction of Macalister in MacNeill's lifetime it tended to borrow from and intrude into the realm of documentary history—not always to the benefit of either discipline—rather than to offer independent evidence of its own finding'.[35]

Macalister was the first to initiate archaeological excavation on a significant scale and he examined a range of monuments throughout his career. In April, June and October 1911, with some funding from the Royal Irish Academy, he, along with E.C.R. Armstrong, the naturalist Robert Lloyd Praeger and two labourers, spent a total of just over twelve days investigating eight cairns in the passage tomb cemetery at Carrowkeel, Co. Sligo. Seven of these mounds contained burial chambers and these were examined in a straightforward fashion: cairn material was removed until an entrance was located, the tomb contents were then extracted and the monument was planned. Macalister's excavation techniques at Carrowkeel (and elsewhere) have been criticised but here, at least, it is fair to say the work was reasonably well done by the standards of the time and promptly published with fairly well-drawn plans and some sections (**6.6**).[36]

After a long hiatus (encompassing a World War, a War of Independence and a Civil War), Macalister and Praeger, puzzled by the failure to discover anything of significance at Rathcroghan, turned their attention to another site celebrated in early Irish literature. They commenced excavation at Uisneach, Co. Westmeath, in 1925. The first series of investigations, extending over several seasons from 1925 to 1928, comprised a total of nine weeks with an average of twenty labourers a day employed. This work was mainly financed by the Percy



6.6. A selection of Macalister's somewhat schematic plans and sections of the passage tomb named Carn F at Carrowkeel, Co. Sligo, including a novel 'perspective view' of the complex chamber and a miniscule section of the cairn.

Sladen Fund, which had grant-aided several excavations in Britain at the time including those at the well-known flint mines at Grimes Graves. It is interesting to note that Cyril Fox, who had been pioneering excavation techniques in England (and who was successively Keeper of Archaeology and Director of the National Museum of Wales), assisted in 1926 and 1927.

Macalister and Praeger returned to excavate another site in the Uisneach area in 1929 and 1930 (this time with some financial assistance from the Governor-General of the Irish Free State), making this the most extensive excavation programme of its time. Unfortunately the results of all this work were inconclusive, neither the abilities of the excavators nor the resources and techniques of the period being adequate to the task of clearly deciphering subtle stratigraphical details and ephemeral traces of human activity on what were evidently complex sites.[37] Even though deeply knowledgeable and deeply interested in Tara (**2.2**), he never attempted to excavate there, and this was probably because of the extraordinary controversy generated at the beginning of the century by the credulous attempts of the British Israelites (supported by the British Archaeological Association) to unearth the Ark of the Covenant on that famous hill.[38]

The only other excavation of note in the 1920s was undertaken at the church site at Nendrum, Co. Down, by Henry Cairns Lawlor (1870–1943) on behalf of a newly founded Archaeological Section of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society. Funds were raised by public subscription and the work occupied the summer months from 1922 to 1924 with from four to twelve labourers being employed. The great trivallate monastic enclosure was extensively dug, and the church, cashel wall and the stump of a round tower were partly restored. Few records exist about the pre-restoration condition of these remains and even by the standards of the time excavation technique was poor, no detailed plans and only one rudimentary section being published. Among his other investigations, again with the support of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society, was some fairly extensive digging in the great enclosure known as the Giant's Ring near Belfast in 1917; some trenches were opened in the interior and the central megalithic tomb was investigated all with inconclusive results. Lawlor was a Belfast linen merchant with a strong interest in archaeology. His many publications included a popular account of Ulster's archaeology and antiquities in 1928 based on a series of radio broadcasts to schools the year before and he may be credited with coining the term 'souterrain ware'.[39]

Notes

1 E. Crooke, *Politics, archaeology and the creation of a National Museum in Ireland* (2000), 100ff; R.B. McDowell and G.F. Mitchell in T. Ó Raifeartaigh (ed.), *The Royal Irish Academy* (1985), 57ff, 132ff. Pls 1:18 and 1:29 in P.F. Wallace and R. Ó Floinn, *Treasures of the National Museum* (2002) give an idea of the exhibits in the museum's centre court in the late nineteenth century.

2 *Irish Times,* August 30th, 1890; E. Crooke, *Politics, archaeology and the creation of a National Museum in Ireland* (2000), 124.

3 *Irish Times,* May 28th, 1895; R. Lohan, *Guide to the archives of the Office of Public Works* (1994), 97, 99; Anon., *Mellifont Abbey* (1897).

4 C.M.L. Clements, '100 Years of the County Kildare Archaeological Society', *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society* **17** (1991), 5; P. Holohan, 'The Cork Historical and Archaeological Society', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 19; S.C.P. Reynolds and M.J.P. Scannell, 'A history of the Limerick Naturalists' Field Club, *Irish Naturalists' Journal* **24** (1992), 101 (the Limerick Naturalists' Field Club was founded in 1892 but became the Limerick Field Club in 1897 and the North Munster Archaeological Society in 1908); C. Townley, 'The Galway Archaeological and Historical Society', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* **35** (1978), 5; J. O'Halloran, 'The Galway Archaeological and Historical Society', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* **53** (2001), 162. S.E. Comerford, 'The early years', *County Louth Archaeological Journal* **12** (1952), 227. The Waterford and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society produced a journal which continued to 1913. A Meath Archaeological and Historical Society was founded in 1919: M. Ní Chonmhidhe-Piskorski, 'Margaret Conway, founding editor of *Ríocht na Midhe*', *Ríocht na Midhe* **16** (2005), 195.

5 P. Levine, *The amateur and the professional* (1986), 124.

6 T. Kendrick, 'The British Museum', *Antiquity* **28** (1954), 139.

7 This account of Coffey's career is based on G.F. Mitchell's contribution in T. Ó Raifeartaigh (ed.), *The Royal Irish Academy* (1985), 147; obituary in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **47** (1917), 96.

8 'Prehistoric ornament', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **26** (1896), 67. His study of bronze spearheads appeared in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* in 1894.

9 'Halberds', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **27** (1908), 111; lunulae were studied in the *Proceedings* in 1909, amber in 1912, La Tène monuments in 1904, Viking material in 1910, and his *Guide to the Celtic antiquities* appeared in 1909.

10 'Some monuments of the La Tène period', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **24** (1904), 257; 'Intercourse of Gaul with Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **28** (1910), 103.

11 Rhys popularised this model in his *Celtic Britain* in 1882 and in subsequent works. The convoluted tale of differing theories on the coming of the Celts to Ireland is summarised in J. Waddell, 'The Celticization of the West', in C. Chevillot and A. Coffyn (eds), *L'Age du Bronze Atlantique* (1991), 349.

12 B. Gräslund, *The birth of prehistoric chronology* (1987), 70.

13 O. Montelius, 'The chronology of the British Bronze Age', *Archaeologia* **61** (1908), 162; J. Evans, *Ancient bronze implements* (1881), 456ff.

14 P.F. Wallace and R. Ó Floinn, *Treasures of the National Museum* (2002), 9.

15 G.F. Mitchell in T. Ó Raifeartaigh (ed.), *The Royal Irish Academy* (1985), 150; obituary in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **54** (1924), 100.

16 All in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* from 1913 to 1918. His *Catalogue of Irish gold ornaments* was published in 1920.

17 'La Tène Period in Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **53** (1923), 2. The posthumous 1924 paper on the Hallstatt Period was preceded by a note on the subject in *The Antiquaries Journal* in 1922.

18 J. MacKillop, *Fionn Mac Cumhaill* (1986).

19 P. O'Leary, *The prose literature of the Gaelic revival* (1994), 223ff; A. Gregory, *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* (1902.), viii, xvii; on Lady Gregory's *Táin:* J. Leerssen, *Remembrance and imagination* (1996), 198.

20 T. Roosevelt, 'The ancient Irish sagas', *The Century Magazine* **73**, no. 3 (1907), 327; D. Lester, 'Theodore Roosevelt, the ancient Irish sagas and Celtic studies', *Éire-Ireland* **24** (1989), 3.

21 *The early age of Greece* (1901), 582; a critical review by the Oxford scholar J.N.L. Myres in 1902 was followed by a long rejoinder by Ridgeway in *The Classical Review* **16** (1902), 68. W. Ridgeway, 'The date of the first shaping of the Cuchulainn saga', *Proceedings of the British Academy* **2** (1906), 135. Count Plunkett, 'About museums', *The Irish Monthly* **40** (1912), 611. Further correspondences between the *Táin* and archaeological material were adduced by M.E. Dobbs, 'On the date of the shaping of the *Táin*', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **42** (1912), 8.; she followed this with an attempt in the same journal to show a correlation between spiral ornament and sites associated with the Tuatha de Danann. Ridgeway also presented some archaeological evidence to date the tales of the Fenian cycle: 'The historical background of the later Irish epic (The Cycle of Finn and Ossian)', *Proceedings of the British Academy* **4** (1910), 343.

22 Ridgeway's brief account appeared in his obituary of E.C. Quiggin, *The Caian* **28** (1920), 104.

23 Ridgeway's argument is accepted by Macalister in *The Irish Monthly* **44** (1916), 501; the quotation comes from his *Ancient Ireland* (1935), 127.

24 A single chair in Archaeology and Early Irish History was advertised in Dublin but, when both R.A.S. Macalister and Eoin MacNeill applied, the university had the foresight to secure the services of both: D. McCartney, *UCD* (1999), 68. The year 1909 also saw the appointment of a Cornishman, K.T. Frost, a Classical archaeologist, as Lecturer in Archaeology and Ancient History in the Queen's University of Belfast: see W.M. Dunlop, 'Kingdon Tregosse Frost', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **59** (2000), 2. Frost, who was killed near Mons in 1914, was the first to suggest a connection between the myth of the lost continent of Atlantis and the destruction of Minoan Crete.

25 'On the European Palaeolithic', in *The Church and science* (1917), 229; 'Megalithic remains surrounding Lough Gur', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **30C** (1912), 283. On the Windle era: J.A. Murphy, *The College: a history of Queen's/University College Cork* (1995), 164–213; also M. Taylor, *Sir Bertram Windle: a memoir* (1932), which has little to say about his archaeological activities.

26 Mrs J. Brunicardi, 'The shore dwellers of ancient Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **44** (1914), 185; Michael Brunicardi submitted his MA thesis on the ruined parish churches of Cork in 1913 and published it the following year.

27 'The problem of the Celts', *Studies* **16** (1927), 108, 114.

28 G.F. Mitchell in T. Ó Raifeartaigh (ed.), *The Royal Irish Academy* (1985), 152; R.A.S. Macalister, 'On an ancient settlement in the south-west of the Barony of Corkaguiney', *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* **31** (1899), 335.

29 Bibliographies: M.L. Brennan, 'Robert Alexander Stewart Macalister', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **103** (1973), 167; S. de hÓir, 'Additions to the bibliography of R.A.S. Macalister', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **123** (1993), 170. Palestine: J.J. Moscrop, *Measuring Jerusalem* (2000), 173ff. See E.E. Evans' sympathetic

obituary and negative review of the second edition of *The archaeology of Ireland* in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **14** (1951), 2, and S. Ó Lúing on R.A.S. Macalister in *Celtic studies in Europe* (2000), 259.

30 D. McManus, *A Guide to ogam* (1991), xi; Preface to 1996 reprint of *Corpus Inscriptionum*.

31 J. Carey, *A new introduction to Lebor Gabála Érenn* (1993), 9ff.

32 'The legendary kings of Ireland', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **38** (1908), 16.

33 The quotations come from *Ancient Ireland* (1935), 73, 55. O.G.S. Crawford had advanced his detailed 'invasion-hypothesis' of Late Bronze Age sword users in *The Antiquaries Journal* in 1922.

34 *Archaeology of Ireland* (1949), 281; also *Ancient Ireland* (1935), 58.

35 F.J. Byrne, 'Ireland before the Norman invasion', in T.W. Moody (ed.), *Irish historiography 1936–70* (1971), 2.

36 'Bronze-Age carns on Carrowkeel Mountain', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **29C** (1912), 311. E.E. Evans, *Prehistoric and Early Christian Ireland* (1966), 186, described the excavations as 'hurried, crude and inadequate', which they were by modern standards; G.F. Mitchell, in T. Ó Raifeartaigh (ed.), *The Royal Irish Academy* (1985), 152, declared 'his excavation methods were those of Schliemann rather than of Pitt-Rivers' but failed to point out that the much-lauded exemplary excavation techniques of General Pitt Rivers at Cranborne Chase (whose first report was published in 1887) did not revolutionise excavation practices in Britain, where detailed three-dimensional recording only really began, in Romano-British archaeology, in the 1920s.

37 R.A.S. Macalister and R. Ll. Praeger, 'Report on the excavation of Uisneach', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **38C** (1928), 69; 'Excavation of an ancient site on the townland of Togherstown, Co. Westmeath', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **39C** (1931), 54; see C. Donaghy and E. Grogan's comments on Uisneach: *Archaeology Ireland* **11**, no. 4 (1997), 24. The stratigraphical complexities of other sites also defeated Macalister: for example J. Lyttleton, 'Loughpark "crannog" revisited', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* **50** (1998), 151.

38 M. Carew, *Tara and the Ark of the Covenant* (2003). Money may have been a factor too; in a 1937 radio broadcast he expressed the opinion that the proper excavation of Tara would require very substantial Government funding: C. Corlett, 'The Tara broadcast', *Ríocht na Midhe* **14** (2003), 18.

39 H.C. Lawlor, *The monastery of Saint Mochaoi of Nendrum* (1925); 'The Giant's Ring', *Proceedings of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society 1917–18* (1919), 13; *Ulster: its archaeology and antiquities* (1928). Obituary (by R.A.S. Macalister), *Irish Naturalists' Journal* **8** (1944), 165.

7. The 1930s: growth and change

Several key events initiated significant changes in archaeological thinking and practice in the 1930s. Despite economic difficulties and in complete contrast to the two or three individuals active in the 1920s, there was a modest but noteworthy increase in the number of practising archaeologists. Archaeology in the six counties of Northern Ireland, a separate political entity since the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921, entered a new phase with the appointment of Estyn Evans as Lecturer in Geography in Queen's University in 1928. A geographer with strong archaeological interests, he soon deflected the then Lecturer in Ancient History, Oliver Davies, whose primary interest lay in Classical archaeology, into a pioneering programme of excavation of megalithic tombs, field survey and other archaeological work. An Advisory Committee on Ancient Monuments was set up and a voluntary survey of field monuments initiated in 1934, which resulted in the publication of *A preliminary survey of the ancient monuments of Northern Ireland* in 1940, the first work of its kind.

In the Free State a young Seán P. Ó Ríordáin completed a two-year Travelling Studentship (awarded by the National University of Ireland in 1931) which—with the considerable support of Adolf Mahr—allowed him to study excavation techniques and museum material in Britain and on the Continent and afforded him the opportunity to begin a major study of the halberd in Bronze Age Europe, which earned him a PhD and was published in 1937. After a few years on the staff of the National Museum, he moved to Cork as Professor of Archaeology in 1936.

The energetic Adolf Mahr, appointed Keeper of Antiquities in 1927, became Director of the National Museum in 1934. He played an important role in facilitating the establishment of the Harvard Archaeological Mission in Ireland, which commenced work in 1932. Again with the support of Mahr and of the Royal Irish Academy, a Quaternary Research Committee was established; Knud Jessen of Copenhagen was invited to undertake a programme of pollen analysis in Irish bogs and this effectively marked the commencement of the study of the island's vegetation history. He was assisted by the recently graduated Frank Mitchell and the first report on this work appeared in the *Irish Naturalists' Journal* in 1934. Harold Leask, who had been appointed Inspector of National Monuments in the Free State in 1923, published a series of papers on castles and churches in the 1930s, which would form the basis for a number

of books on medieval architecture in the following decades, in effect beginning the study of this aspect of medieval archaeology. Last but by no means least, a Government Special Employment Scheme initiated in 1934 provided significant amounts of State monies for excavation and no less than 26 were undertaken in the following four years alone.[1]

Estyn Evans

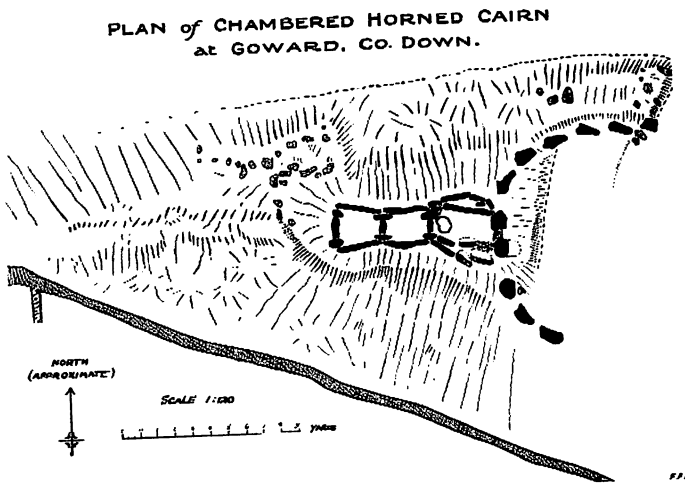
If, as Carlyle claimed, 'history is the essence of innumerable biographies', then a large part of the history of Irish archaeology north and south in the 1930s is very much the story of just a half dozen dynamic individuals: Macalister, Leask, Mahr, Ó Ríordáin, Davies and Evans. Emyr Estyn Evans (1905–1989) was born in Shrewsbury and studied geography and anthropology under the human geographer H.J. Fleure in the University of Aberystwyth (7.1). The breadth of his interests, embracing geography, ethnography and archaeology, is especially evident in his later books on *Irish heritage* (1942), his evocative and comprehensive *Mourne Country* (1951), *Irish folk ways* (1957) and *The personality of Ireland* (1973).[2] Given his perceptive appreciation of the interrelated nature of these fields of study, his understanding of the physical components of the land and the human responses, the necessity to focus on his contribution to archaeology inevitably does him some injustice. His first significant piece of work was the joint excavation with Davies of a megalithic tomb at Goward, near Hilltown, Co. Down, in 1932.

Oliver Davies (1905–1986) was equally important in the study of the archaeology of the north of Ireland up to 1948 when he departed for another career in South Africa as Professor of Classics in the University of Natal. In just under two decades he wrote three books and some 155 papers on a wide range of Irish archaeological topics from megalithic tombs to medieval castles.[3]

7.1. Estyn Evans by Raymond Piper, 1969.

The work at Goward was initiated 'to set on foot a series of scientific investigations into the antiquities of Northern Ireland and to train University students in the methods of archaeological research' and it was the first court tomb to be examined in this fashion. The excavation lasted six days, the three chambers of the monument were dug to virgin soil and two trenches were dug across the forecourt, a general plan (7.2) and sections were produced. Coarse pottery was considered Iron Age in date and it was prudently decided to withhold interpretative comment until more work was done on other examples of these 'horned cairns' as they were then called. It is worth noting that one of the participants here and in many subsequent excavations was Miss Maisie Gaffikin who along with Lady Dorothy Lowry-Corry were among a number of indomitable women who made an exceptional amateur input to northern archaeology.[4]

Standing as so many 'gaunt grey ghostly gossips', the horned cairn caught the attention of James Joyce in 1939 and by the following year Evans was able to report that some eight examples had been investigated along with one wedge-shaped gallery grave and a single-chambered dolmen. Passage graves were well known, of course, and the essentially four-fold classification of megalithic tombs still in use today had taken shape. The emphasis on these stone monuments is easily explained. Given the absence of diagnostic settlement forms, their attraction was understandable, they were prominent features in the landscape and were the only recognisable prehistoric monument type which at that time could be claimed to point to human activity as early as 2000 BC. They had the added attraction of having an international dimension, being a part of what seemed to have been a megalithic civilisation in Atlantic Europe. While gallery graves had parallels in northern France, the horned cairns, with a supposed primary focus around Carlingford Lough, were



7.2. Estyn Evan's plan of the horned cairn at Goward, Co. Down.

recognised as a regional variant with evident affinities with chambered cairns in south-western Scotland.[5]

Gordon Childe, the first holder of the Abercromby Chair of Archaeology in the University of Edinburgh, had published the first edition of his hugely influential *Dawn of European civilization* in 1925. This, a magisterial review of European prehistory to the beginning of the Bronze Age, was followed by his *The Danube in prehistory* in 1929. In Childe's *Dawn,* as it was popularly and aptly called, theories about the diffusion of megalithic tombs from Egypt or suggestions that they were an indigenous invention of the Atlantic region were discounted, and instead the concept of the migration of megalith-building people from the eastern Mediterranean, from Crete and the Cyclades, to Iberia and France to north-western Europe, was persuasively presented. This was also a deliberate refutation of the claims of German archaeologists that northern Europe had been the centre of European cultural development in prehistory.

In addition to promoting this migrationary model for 'tomb builders', and indeed for 'Beaker Folk' as well, Childe also promoted the concept of archaeological cultures, which he borrowed from German prehistorians of the late nineteenth century. He succinctly defined an archaeological culture, in his *Danube in prehistory,* as a recurring assemblage of artefacts that was the material expression of a particular group of people: 'pots, implements, ornaments, burial rites, house forms—constantly recurring together'.[6] Ethnicity was now considered to be embedded in the material record of the past and megalithic tombs became one of the prime indicators of cultural diffusion in early prehistoric Europe and, not surprisingly, their study generated a large, scattered and complicated body of writing in which conflicting explanations involving migrations of one sort or another figured prominently.

Childe had also noted a basic division in European megaliths—on the basis of chamber form he had distinguished between passage graves and gallery graves, a division which would later form the basis for a distinction between the builders of long mounds and round mounds and Glyn Daniel's more elaborate concept of a dual colonisation of the British Isles.[7]

Though matters of detail were debated, there was general agreement that Irish passage tombs ultimately derived from Iberia and gallery graves from north-western France, the Atlantic sea-ways forming the route for megalithic missionaries, saints, prospectors, or whatever form the migrants were thought to have had. The Scottish connections of the horned cairns were accepted too, though their ultimate origins were more difficult to determine. As Evans wrote of the megaliths of Northern Ireland in 1952:

> The two major groups of chamber graves—the round-cairned passage graves and the long-cairned gallery graves—are represented, but in a specialised form of the gallery grave, segmented and provided with an elaborate forecourt, the so-

> called horned cairn, which is most characteristic. To this complex the name Carlingford Culture has been given, because one of its concentrations is around that fiord-entry in the south-east of the province, whence it spread inland to embrace a territory curiously coterminous with that of historic Ulster. Here one may see an early example of the space-relations which have influenced the cultural geography of north-eastern Ireland through the ages, for the nearest relations of the Ulster horned-cairns are in south-western Scotland. Whether the horned cairn builders reached Ulster via Scotland or directly up the Irish Sea from their presumed homeland in France or the western Mediterranean—there are striking analogies with the Giants' Tombs of Sardinia—we cannot at present say, but it is clear that close connexions with Scotland and the Isle of Man were maintained at this period, and the Irish Sea became a culture pool which preserved its identity into the Christian era.[8]

While evidence for cultural connections with Scotland may have produced a positive resonance in Ulster hearts, archaeologists and others elsewhere on the island preferred to emphasise other cultural links and, like Coffey for example, preferred to seek evidence for direct contact with the Continent and to minimise the British connection. Adolf Mahr declared 'the Irish megaliths are a direct implantation from the western Continent, together with the monuments in Wales, Man, and along the western coasts of North Britain, but not derivative from them' and Macalister himself claimed 'For all that the two islands are so near together, Britain is essentially an island of the North Sea, Ireland of the Atlantic Ocean'. While he based his argument on archaeological evidence, there were others whose stance was motivated by either Anglophilia or Anglophobia and Macalister expressed his opinion on these extremists with customary vigour. Indeed, he offered a somewhat depressing picture of an early twentieth-century Ireland as politically and culturally polarised as it had been in the eighteenth:

> The Anglophile extends his energies in displaying England to us as an all-wise, all-ruling, and all-bountiful Providence, incarnate in a superior race before which we in Ireland are less than nothing and vanity. The Anglophobe devotes himself entirely to the task of setting forth England as the progeny of Mephistopheles and Aunt Sally, with a combination of the active and passive qualities of her respective parents ... The special point I wish to emphasise is that this division is equally traceable in popular archaeology. By reason of these two dominating conceptions of the present, there have evolved two conceptions

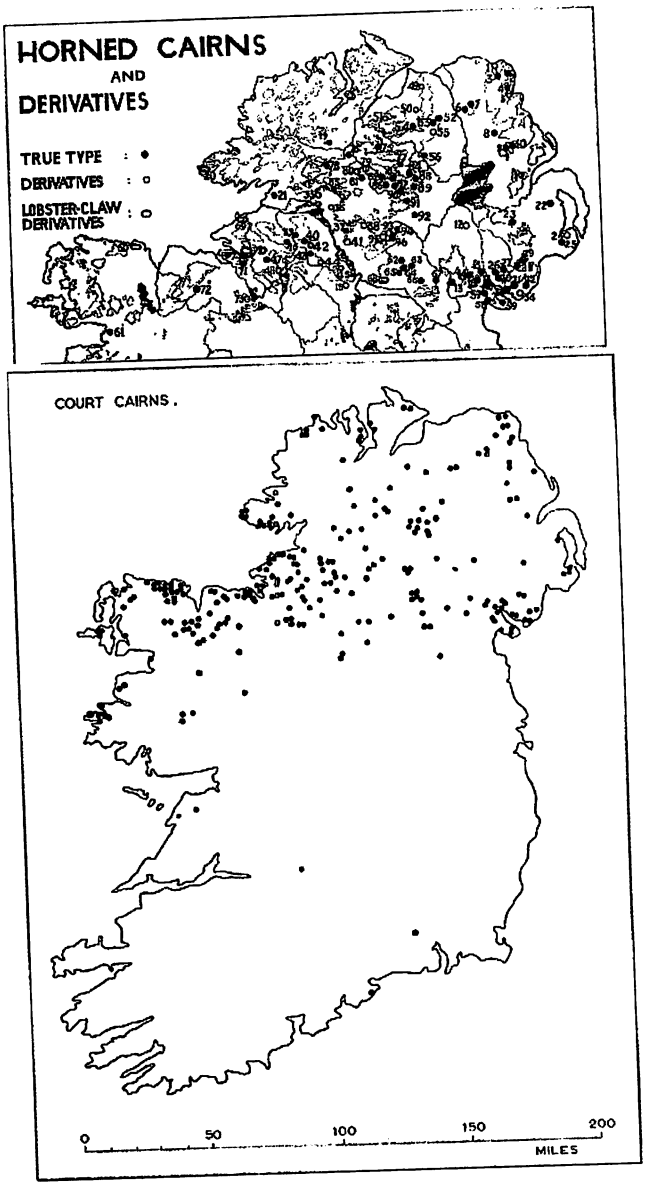
> of the past, diametrically opposite in every detail and mutually destructive. The Anglophile looks back into the dim ages of the past of his native land, and he can descry nothing but hordes of naked savages, living mere animal lives, and expending their whole time and energies in devastating tribal wars: a savagery from which England has raised us. The Anglophobe scans the same horizon, and sees the cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces, the solemn temples, of a vast and imposing civilisation, devoted to letters and to learning: a civilisation which England has destroyed.[9]

The search for evidence of direct Continental contact, whatever its motivation, remained a factor in Irish archaeological studies and it and Evans' horned cairns became the focus of a remarkable controversy in the 1960s. Ruaidhri de Valera, Professor of Celtic Archaeology in University College, Dublin, published a comprehensive study of court graves, as they were then called, which showed that the weight of their distribution lay not in the north-east but in the north-west of the country (**7.3**). On the basis of a detailed study of distribution and tomb typology, he argued that the primary focus of these tombs lay not in the east but in the west, and that they were not derived from Scotland but were the first such megalithic monuments to be built in Ireland:

> A group from overseas, arriving at our western coast, possibly having made small initial settlements between Clifden and Achill, establish major settlements between Buntrahir and Malin More. From foci at Buntrahir and the Sligo-Leitrim coast they move along three main lines—coastwise to north Donegal, across the Erne to the Tyrone uplands and across the central lakelands towards Carlingford ... . Carlingford, and perhaps also, the Antrim coast are ... diffusion centres to Scotland ...[10]

The later identification of a number of north-western court tombs with transeptal chambers, a configuration known in western France, convinced de Valera that the court tomb builders came from France and, since these were the tombs of the first farmers, that the Irish Neolithic originated there as well. Though cogently argued and promoted in the 1960s, and proclaimed in the one major synthesis on Irish prehistory of the following decade, published in 1977, the French thesis never found general acceptance.[11] The lack of convincing prototypes on the Continent for tombs with forecourts and a growing appreciation of the reciprocal nature of contacts with Britain were just some of the reasons.[12]

Instead of the futile search for a point of origin (as likely to succeed as a hunt for the first Viking), attention would later turn to the question of why



7.3. Distribution of horned cairns after Adolf Mahr in 1937 and court cairns after Ruaidhri de Valera in 1961.

megalithic tombs were built and the symbolic social roles they may have had. There also would be the realisation that the advent of farming may have been a complex process perhaps connected with the intensity of coastal interaction in north-western Europe generally and not just an event connected with a migration of one group of tomb builders.

Political attitudes did intrude in that 1960s debate. De Valera persistently referred to Northern Ireland as the 'six counties', a familiar synonym usually

implying rejection of the partitionist Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921. Evans recognised that political self-consciousness had contributed to the development of archaeological research in both Northern Ireland and in the Republic where it had also produced what he described as 'a kind of Sinn Féin movement in prehistoric studies' with that search by 'the Dublin school' for Continental origins and lines of diffusion untainted by English contacts.[13]

The study of human settlement was one of Evans' abiding interests and as early as 1935 he was speculating on the significance of the rath or ringfort, that other prominent monument type in the Irish landscape. With Maisie Gaffikin he undertook a pioneering study of early settlement patterns. The short chronology then in vogue which suggested that most megalithic tombs dated from about 2000 BC to the Iron Age and the belief that ringforts might date from later prehistoric, even Bronze Age times, to the early medieval period allowed a comparison to be made between the upland distribution of megaliths and the lowland distribution of ringforts. He was struck by the questions posed by the dispersed nature of this settlement form, which seemed to him to stand 'in the same kind of relation to the hill camp as the Irish homestead does to the English village'.

This interest in settlement led him to study small nineteenth-century house clusters, which he called clachans and which he thought had an origin in medieval or even earlier prehistoric times. He believed that both the single farmstead and the nucleated clachan were echoes of a distant past, part of a wider tradition of cultural continuity from remote times in Ireland. However, the sheer complexity and the dynamic nature of older settlement patterns are now recognised, though the significance of both ringfort and clachan-type settlement is still debated. More importantly, the notion that peasant societies in parts of rural Ireland preserved, in a timeless and enduring fashion, traditions long discarded elsewhere has been seriously questioned.[14]

It was probably that interest in settlement that prompted Evans to investigate the 'hill camp' at Lyles Hill. This hilltop enclosure in County Antrim had been identified through aerial photography in 1927 and was the subject of limited excavation in 1937 and 1938 when attention focused on a circular cairn in the interior, and again in the 1950s. The results, he confessed, exceeded his wildest expectations for he found thousands of sherds of Neolithic pottery at a time in the 1930s when there were those, like Adolf Mahr who (though recognising a Mesolithic or epi-Mesolithic stratum) denied the very existence of a Neolithic phase in Ireland given the paucity of evidence. It is fair to say that with relatively limited resources the labours of Evans, Davies and others in the north were one of the transforming factors in Irish archaeology in this decade.[15]

Adolf Mahr

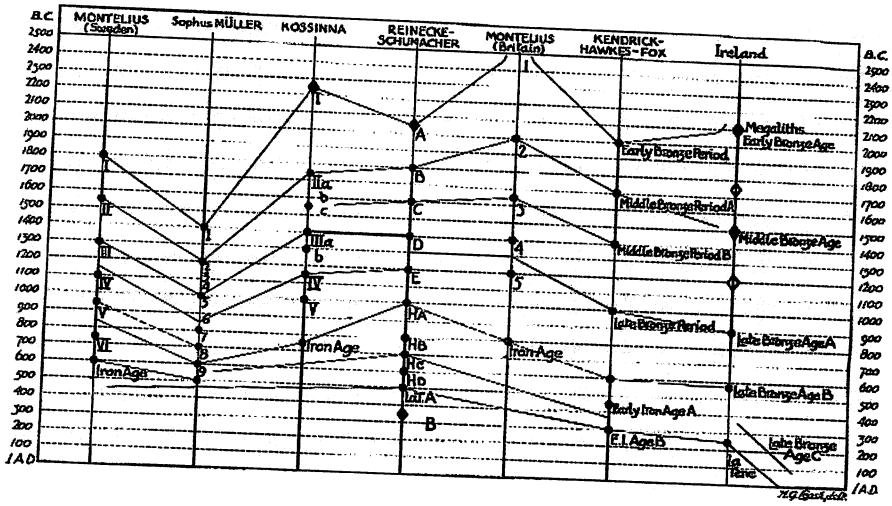
Although he only spent a dozen years in Ireland, Adolf Mahr (1887–1951) was another transforming factor of a very different character (**7.4**) and, in a

7.4. Adolf Mahr photographed in 1936 with Michael Duignan, who would be appointed Professor of Celtic Archaeology in University College, Galway, in 1945.

relatively short timespan, he proved to be enormously influential. In 1927 he was appointed Keeper of Antiquities in the National Museum of Ireland where he succeeded the German incumbent Walther Bremer (1887–1926) who had died after just nine months in the post.[16] He became Director in 1934. Born in Austria, he had studied geography and prehistory at the University of Vienna and had worked in museums there and in Linz. In Dublin he was a generous and vigorous supporter of Irish archaeology and archaeologists and was utterly committed to the work of the National Museum.[17]

Unfortunately, he was equally committed to German National Socialism; he joined the Nazi Party in 1933, the year Hitler became Chancellor. He made no secret of his political views or of his belief in Aryan superiority and was the *Ortsgruppenleiter* or leader of the Nazi Party local organisation and chief of the powerful *Auslandsorganisation*, the Nazi foreign organisation, in Dublin. At the outbreak of war he left Dublin for Berlin where, after a brief spell in museum work, he joined the Foreign Office and helped to devise radio propaganda broadcasts to Ireland. He was interned at the end of the war and, though he was technically on leave of absence from his post as Director, the Irish Government refused to allow him to return.[18]

In the National Museum, Mahr was particularly energetic in pursuing the acquisition of archaeological material, and a series of short annual reports on the museum's activities published between 1927 and 1936 give an indication of the work that was done. He was also active in cultivating correspondents and friends around the country who would assist the museum. Among them, Dermot J. Gleeson, a District Justice in County Clare, was instrumental in saving the well-known gold gorget found in Gleninsheen, and Thomas J. Barron, a schoolmaster in County Cavan, assisted the museum in the



7.5. The short chronology of the 1930s. Adolf Mahr attempted to correlate various phases of the Bronze and Iron Ages in Ireland, Britain and Europe in 1937. Here Irish prehistory spans just over two thousand years and begins shortly before 2100 BC when the arrival of megalithic tomb builders heralds the commencement of the Bronze Age.

acquisition of the famous Corleck stone head. Henry Morris, an Irish scholar and school's inspector in Sligo, and Thomas B. Costello, a medical doctor in Tuam, Co. Galway, were long-standing archaeological helpers as well and it was said that Dr Costello's consulting room became 'the most important archaeological information bureau and clearing-house in the West'.[19]

His political affiliations notwithstanding, Mahr was elected President of the Prehistoric Society in 1937 and his Presidential Address, delivered in the Society of Antiquaries in London to the foremost society for the study of prehistory in Britain, was an extremely long review of the progress in the study of Irish prehistoric archaeology in those formative years of the 1930s. Unfortunately, he scandalised his hosts at dinner afterwards, loquaciously glorifying the Nazi system and Adolf Hitler and vilifying a Jewish colleague.[20] Unhappily, his paper is best remembered for his identification of the 'Riverford Civilization', a concept which sank without trace. He was impressed by the conspicuous number of stone club-like implements and axes in the collections of the National Museum, a great many from particular locations in or near rivers such as the Bann and the Shannon, and he documented comparable material in Britain and on the Continent. This, he believed, was lithic evidence for a distinct culture, a people whom he tentatively correlated with the Picts because the distribution of these finds seemed to coincide with the location of Pictish tribes in Ireland as identified by Eoin MacNeill.

The broad framework of Mahr's prehistory was a familiar migrationary and culture-historical model and he was able to trace five distinct immigrations or

invasions: a Mesolithic group who probably came from the western Continent via southern Britain, his Riverford People whose source probably lay in the Maglemose Culture in north-western Europe, an invasion of megalithic builders who came from Iberia via Brittany, Cornwall and the Irish Sea around 2100 BC, a Late Bronze Age invasion of Celtic people about 900 BC (displaced by the expansion of the Central European Urnfield Culture) and finally a 'La Tène wave' of British Celts from south-western Scotland who arrived in north-eastern Ireland around 200 or 150 BC. What is remarkable about this picture is not merely the common belief in a succession of immigrations but the short chronology (7.5). All of these hypothetical cultural movements took place in the space of just over two thousand years, and in such a limited timespan it was not entirely unreasonable to suppose that simple and typologically 'degenerate' megalithic tombs in County Clare might belong to the Iron Age, that souterrains (which he thought first appeared in the Bronze Age) might reflect megalithic building practice, or that stone-using 'Riverford' dwellers might be Picts.

A belief in Bronze Age souterrains was a consequence of excavations by Seán P. Ó Ríordáin of the National Museum at Cush, Co. Limerick, in 1934 and 1935, financed by the new Government scheme for the relief of unemployment. Cush was an interesting cluster of ringforts, several of which were conjoined, with an associated field system and three burial mounds. Excavation revealed a number of Bronze Age urn burials in the interior of one ringfort (which also contained a souterrain) and even though he presented no stratigraphical evidence to support his claim, Ó Ríordáin was convinced that the burials represented the final stage of activity on this site. Since urn burial was believed to be a Late Bronze Age phenomenon and some covering stones at Cush could even be seen as 'an extreme degeneration of the dolmen form of grave', the supposedly earlier ringfort and souterrain were assigned a prior date in that period. While Ó Ríordáin maintained his belief in Bronze Age ringforts, others were not convinced and it was eventually recognised that the ringforts at Cush were built in a location used for prehistoric burial many centuries before.[21]

In 1932, the National Museum gave support to that triumphant expression of Catholic nationalism, the Eucharistic Congress held in Dublin. Liam Gogan produced a slim volume on the Ardagh Chalice, 'the most tangible evidence in the domain of art of Ireland's ancient devotion to the Eucharist', and suggested the maker of this chalice might have been inspired by descriptions of the Holy Grail. Adolf Mahr published a large illustrated volume on *Christian art in Ancient Ireland* with a second volume, edited by Joseph Raftery, appearing much later in 1941. Though an eclectic gathering of material, this was a stimulus to a growing scholarly interest in the art of early medieval Ireland—in stone, metal and illuminated manuscript. The same year saw the claim by T.D. Kendrick of the British Museum that a series of bronze bowls with finely decorated and

enamelled mounts were not Saxon but 'from the first to last British' and had a Romano-British origin.

This claim was an even greater stimulus and it initiated a controversy that would rumble on for over half a century. The suggestion of a Romano-British origin was an assault on some long-cherished Irish beliefs. As Kendrick declared: 'You do see it stated sometimes that Ireland preserved the native Celtic arts and crafts while the Romans possessed our island, and gave them back to us when the Romans left; but in reality there is not the slightest reason to suppose that this was so'.[22] A pioneering student of art history, Françoise Henry (1902–1982) responded with a long and detailed study of these hanging-bowls.[23] She had just published both her Sorbonne doctorate, the two-volume *La sculpture Irlandaise,* and a major study of enamel work, her 'Émailleurs d'occident', in 1933 and she now argued that the artistic skill displayed in the enamel-work on these bowls was Celtic in origin and Irish in execution. This was a debate that would develop to focus on the question of an Irish or a British origin not just for some finely crafted metalwork but for great illuminated gospel books like the Book of Durrow as well. The hanging-bowl question was still being rehearsed by Rupert Bruce-Mitford some fifty years later.[24]

The argument that the Hiberno-Saxon art of the illuminated manuscripts was in origin in no sense Irish was advanced by Alfred Clapham in 1934 and marked the commencement of a parallel and equally prolonged dispute about the relative contributions of Ireland and Northumbria to the stylistic development of Insular gospel books. Françoise Henry participated in this debate too; she promoted her views on sculpture, metalwork and illuminated manuscripts in her first book in English, her notable 1940 synthesis, *Irish art in the Early Christian Period,* 'a study of Irish art wherever it flourished'. Carl Nordenfalk described her as 'the Jeanne d'Arc of Irish art, vindicating its independence in a steady flow of specialised papers and comprehensive surveys ...'.[25]

The study of the art of early medieval Ireland generated a large body of literature; and questions about stylistic comparisons, conflicting opinions about origins and date and about the relative merits of British and Irish achievements were all undoubtedly a stimulus to much research, but many aspects of the debate were pointless and incapable of resolution, and with this focus on artistic achievement, many other questions about the archaeology of the period went unasked. It is now recognised that most hanging bowls were probably of British manufacture but there is also a greater appreciation of the extent and complexity of the interplay between the Irish and the Anglo-Saxon worlds.

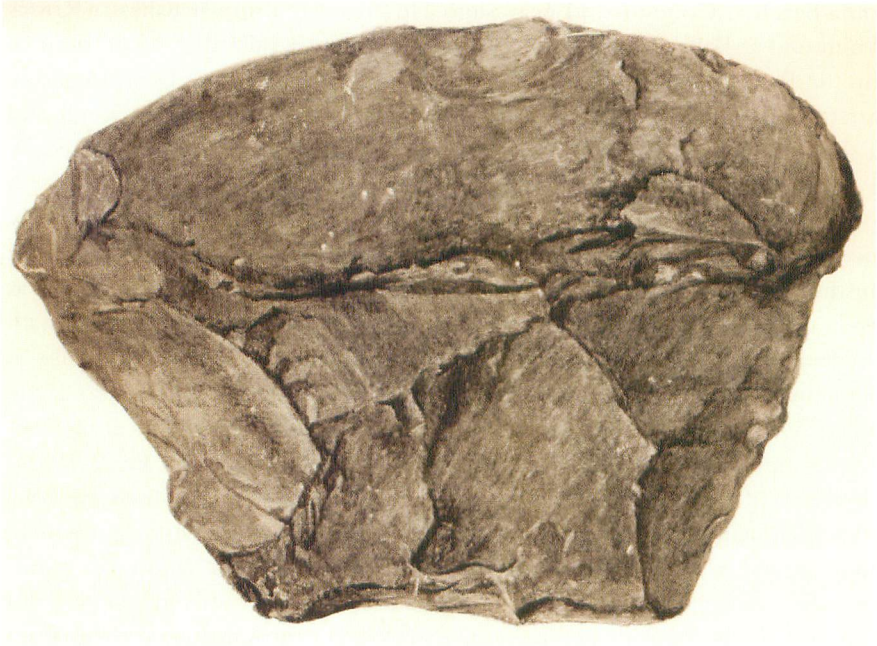
A very different question and a very archaeological one, an issue that many thought satisfactorily answered, surfaced again at the end of the 1920s, and Adolf Mahr was inevitably though briefly involved. It all started in June 1927 when J.P.T. Burchell, on holiday from Dorset, picked up two limestone flakes

on a beach at Coney Island near Sligo. He discovered similar flakes at Rosses Point and at Ballyconnell to the north and promptly published an account of his finds in the periodical *Nature*, claiming the objects to be Palaeolithic artefacts. R.A.S. Macalister was one of the first to dismiss them as natural, and a short but intense controversy ensued which has been well documented by Peter Woodman.[26]

In a little over two years over forty papers for or against appeared, mostly in the pages of *Nature* or *Man*, the journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Various newspaper reports appeared as well, the *Daily Express* excitedly declaring that geologists were 'at war' with archaeologists. Some of the protagonists did indeed meet on the beaches in Sligo in the summer of 1928 and that gathering included Burchell and Claude Blake Whelan, a Northern Ireland civil servant with archaeological interests who supported his claim for a time, and Mahr, Macalister and Praeger who doubted them.[27] Burchell, supported by J. Reid Moir, claimed to have identified handaxes, choppers and scrapers of undoubted human origin which, they argued, were comparable to Palaeolithic types but, as Woodman points out, this was a part of a wider battle. Reid Moir, a friend of Burchell, was also claiming at the time that a series of East Anglian flints, many of them from beaches, were of Palaeolithic date. Since they did not come from securely dated contexts, identification depended on their primitive method of manufacture and on morphological comparisons with British and Continental material, and the Sligo discoveries could be seen as important supporting evidence.

Burchell and Reid Moir published a slim monograph, for private circulation, entitled *The Early Mousterian implements of Sligo* in 1928 in which a selection of their finds was illustrated in full-size wash-drawings (7.6). Most specialists were unconvinced of their Palaeolithic age, however, though it was accepted some pieces were man-made but of uncertain date, a judgement that still holds true today. Burchell and Reid Moir also argued that some crude heavy flint implements from north-eastern Ireland were lower Palaeolithic forms but Mahr maintained a telling silence on their work in 1937 and their claims were soon disproved on both archaeological and geological grounds.[28]

The quest for an Irish Palaeolithic took another form as well. The University of Bristol Spelaeological Society, with a long history of cave exploration and Palaeolithic discovery, turned its attention to Ireland in 1928. With financial support from the Royal Irish Academy, a programme of cave investigations focused on excavation in Kilgreany cave, near Dungarvan, Co. Waterford, which along with other finds of later date produced a human skeleton apparently sealed by stalagmite growth in a level that also contained the remains of giant Irish deer, reindeer and Arctic lemming. This association implied that the skeleton was contemporary with this fauna and even though no Palaeolithic implements were found, the excavators not unreasonably believed they had good evidence for human activity in south-eastern Ireland



7.6. A large limestone flake from Rosses Point, Co. Sligo, measuring over 20 cm in maximum width. Considered a Palaeolithic implement by James P.T. Burchell and James Reid Moir in 1928, its flake scars indicate human working but its age is unknown and its coastal context provided no clues. The wash-drawing is by the talented C. O. Waterhouse who illustrated the British Museum Guides of the time.

in late Glacial times in the cold tundra landscape favoured by these animals.

Hallam L. Movius and the Harvard Archaeological Expedition to Ireland undertook further excavation at Kilgreany in 1934 in the hope of making additional Palaeolithic discoveries. They determined that the stalagmite floor which supposedly sealed the earlier finds was not a continuous formation and repeated fluctuations in the water table had played havoc with the stratification in the cave; even relatively modern finds were associated with the remains of extinct animals in the basal levels. Comparative material suggested that a Neolithic date was likely for that human skeleton and the notion of a Palaeolithic 'Kilgreany Man' was discredited.[29]

The Government scheme for the relief of unemployment that financed the Cush excavations had an exceptional impact on archaeological research in the 1930s. This Special Employment Scheme, begun in 1934, provided significant sums of money for excavation and among these was the first examination of a wedge tomb in the south of Ireland. The celebrated monument at Labbacallee, Co. Cork, that Mr Gethings had reported to John Aubrey in the seventeenth

century (3.2) and later described by Charles Smith (4.2) was investigated by Harold Leask and Liam Price in that first year.[30] Liam Price (1891–1967) was a District Justice with a deep interest in archaeology, place-names, folklore and history whose scholarly achievements in these fields were recognised by the publication in his honour of a special volume of the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* in 1965.[31]

Harold Leask held the post of Inspector of National Monuments in the Office of Public Works from 1923 to 1949. The Office of Public Works or the Board of Works had been established by Act of Parliament in 1831 and over the years its many duties included the oversight of famine relief schemes, arterial drainage, inland navigation, public buildings and—with the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1871—the care of some important monuments such as those on the Rock of Cashel. By 1877, over one hundred ecclesiastical monuments were vested in the care of the Board and with the passing of the *Ancient Monuments Protection Act for Great Britain and Ireland 1882* it began to accept into ownership or guardianship non-ecclesiastical monuments like Newgrange and Tara. Further legislation extended the Board's powers in 1892 and in 1920 the *Government of Ireland Act* transferred a number of monuments in Northern Ireland to the care of the Ministry of Finance there. In Saorstát Éireann or the Irish Free State, the *National Monuments Act 1930* was a substantial and comprehensive piece of legislation which introduced the term 'national monument', prohibited the illicit exportation of antiquities, initiated the licensing of archaeological excavations and stipulated that all archaeological finds be reported to the National Museum. There had been various part-time monument inspectors in the Office of Public Works but with the passing of this Act, Leask (who had had other duties) became the first full-time Inspector of National Monuments.[32]

Harold G. Leask (1882–1964) will be remembered as the founder of the study of Irish medieval architecture, a reputation he firmly established with the publication of his book *Irish castles and castellated houses* in 1941. The first of his many architectural studies, however, appeared in 1913 and was a detailed account of a seventeenth-century moated house at Oldbawn, Co. Dublin, which, three centuries ago, was the centre of a self-sufficient rural domain in Tallaght with all the one hundred inhabitants of the village of Oldbawn, including plowholders, carters, a smith, a broguemaker, a carpenter and a miller, being retainers of the estate.[33] His *Irish castles* was the first general survey of a neglected subject which, as he remarked, spanned six centuries of architectural development and presented enormous difficulties, not least the challenge of drawing and planning ruined and often inaccessible buildings. After this ground-breaking study, while his interest in castles continued, medieval ecclesiastical monuments became the focus of study culminating in the three volumes of his *Irish churches and monastic buildings,* the first of which

was published in 1955.

The limited amount of work in medieval archaeology in the first half of the twentieth century is explicable in part by the remarkably small number of people working in Irish archaeology generally. In the mid-1930s, for instance, Evans and Davies were active in Queen's University but not in a Department of Archaeology (a subject that did not materialise there until the appointment of E.M. Jope to a Lectureship in Archaeology in 1948). Leask was alone in the Office of Public Works in Dublin, Macalister and Power were solitary figures in the University Colleges in Dublin and Cork respectively and Macalister, it seems, was often reluctant to encourage his students to pursue an archaeological career. Indeed both Professors Power and Macalister were criticised in 1929 for their failure to put additional archaeological personnel in the field and for their 'paper' contributions 'of singularly little value'.[34] In University College, Galway, a Chair of Celtic Archaeology, created in 1924, was occupied by a popular administrator and minor historian, Revd John Hynes, and Adolf Mahr had just three assistants in the National Museum, one of whom, Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, would shortly replace Power in University College, Cork.[35]

While such small numbers go some way to explaining this scholarly neglect, there was also a perception that Irish medieval art and architecture were just an impoverished and sometimes eccentric version of what obtained in Britain and on the Continent, and a 'decline from the achievements of Celtic Ireland' as one writer put it. There also may be some truth in the claim that the study of castles, perceived as symbols of English domination, was an unwelcome guest at the academic feast in the new Irish state.[36] The Anglophobia denounced by Macalister took and continued to take many bizarre forms. The image of Ollamh Fodhla was only a minor casualty in the destruction of the Four Courts in 1922, incalculably worse was the catastrophic loss of centuries of historical records, and yet for one Republican writer their fiery annihilation was a singing flame, 'the spirit of freedom lighting a torch'.[37]

Decades later—as recently as 1967—Athlone Urban Council voted to demolish Athlone Castle which dominates a strategic crossing on the Shannon that figures prominently in that river's turbulent history since at least the tenth century. Parts of the castle date to the early thirteenth century and are the remains of a royal fortress erected to protect the Anglo-Norman settlement of Connacht. The proposer of the motion had no doubt the monument was a symbol of ancient repression: 'it was built to oppress and persecute the people of this country' he declared and its seconder said the castle had no historical significance and 'was a monstrosity and should have been pulled down long ago'. Fortunately it was the property of the State and beyond the control of the patriotic councillors.[38]

The Harvard Archaeological Expedition

The Harvard Archaeological Expedition to Ireland was yet another important transforming factor in Irish archaeology in the 1930s. It was a part of the Harvard Irish Study, under the general direction of Earnest Hooton of the Department of Anthropology at Harvard, which embraced archaeology, social anthropology and physical anthropology. This relatively short-lived but influential venture lasted from 1931 to 1936 and was made possible by an initial grant of $25,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation and funds from other sources including the Irish Government's Special Employment Scheme, which provided monies for labour on archaeological excavations. Research in the field of social anthropology focused on County Clare and its best known outcome was Conrad M. Ahrensberg's *The Irish countryman* published in 1937 and Ahrensberg and Solon T. Kimball's *Family and community in Ireland,* a study of some rural communities in County Clare, in 1940. The studies in physical anthropology were mainly conducted by C. Wesley Dupertuis and Helen Dupertuis and these were published by Hooton and Dupertuis in 1955 as *The physical anthropology of Ireland.*

The first of five annual archaeological expeditions commenced in the summer of 1932 and in a five-year period, with the active assistance of Adolf Mahr and the National Museum, Hugh O'Neill Hencken (1902–1981—7.7) and Hallam L. Movius (1907–1987) undertook the investigation of some fifteen significant sites.[39] The first season saw excavations by Hencken at a crannog at Ballinderry not far from Moate in County Westmeath, where some innovative if inconclusive tree-ring analysis was attempted, and at a prehistoric burial mound at Knockast also near Moate. This burial mound proved to be one of the richest ever excavated, containing some forty-four burials and a range of pottery and other grave-goods, mostly of Bronze Age date. The human remains, both burnt and unburnt, were the subject of a detailed twenty-six page study by Movius, who believed there was a racial difference between those who were cremated and those who were not, the latter being a larger and more rugged physical type than the other.

While the work of Hencken and Movius met with general acclaim, the Knockast investigation did not find favour with the Revd L.P. Murray, editor of the *County Louth Archaeological Journal,* who protested at the desecration of ancient burial grounds 'under foreign supervision' and 'the measuring-out of bones in pints and quarts'. Even though he recognised his views would not be endorsed by many others, not least by the members of the County Louth Archaeological Society, he questioned 'If it is permissible, today, to rifle a Bronze Age cemetery, will it not also be permissible, in the years to come, to excavate the consecrated burial grounds of today?' but few were excited by the spectre he tried to raise.[40]

Excavation in the second season included Ballinderry, Co. Offaly, a well-known crannog first noted in 1844, where Hencken produced—with the later

assistance of Jessen and Mitchell—one of the first pollen diagrams from an archaeological excavation site; he also adopted metric measurement, a feature of all subsequent Harvard work. The reports on both Ballinderry sites revealed the extraordinary potential of wetland environments and included specialist studies of the faunal remains. Important technical reports of one sort or another would continue to be a characteristic feature of their publications. In 1934 Movius excavated Kilgreany cave, already mentioned, and then moved to the north of Ireland to begin a series of investigations of Mesolithic sites there, commencing with Glenarm, Co. Antrim, quickly followed by Cushendun. Hencken turned his attention to two sites in County Clare, a cairn at Poulawack near Castletown and a cliff-edge multivallate fort at Cahercommaun near Carron, the first excavation of a stone fort.

The significance attached to physical anthropology is neatly illustrated in the Cahercommaun report where Movius provides a five-page study of the few fragmentary human bones found (among which were hints of cannibalism), but the four tons of animal bones recovered were cursorily dispatched in a specialist report of a page and a half. Excavation began at Lagore crannog as well in 1934 and continued throughout the final two years of work. In 1935

7.7. Hugh Hencken's accomplishments received public recognition in 1936 when he was awarded an honorary D. Litt. by the National University of Ireland. In the photograph he is third from the left and is flanked by R.A.S. Macalister, Professor of Celtic Archaeology in University College, Dublin (second from left), and Eamonn de Valera, Chancellor of the University. The Revd John Hynes, President and Professor of Celtic Archaeology in University College, Galway, is on the far right.

Hencken excavated Creevykeel, near Cliffony, Co. Sligo, the first court tomb to be examined in the north-west, and Movius investigated Curran Point at Larne, Co. Antrim. As part of the fifth and last expedition, with Hencken engaged at Lagore, Movius returned to the north in 1936 and excavated a raised beach at Rough Island on Strangford Lough. His reports on both Cushendun and Rough Island were published in 1940 and in these he introduced the term Larnian Culture for the Irish Mesolithic. There followed, in 1941, his major study *The Irish Stone Age,* a remarkable synthesis which brought together the evidence from his own excavations, from the work of earlier antiquarians, from geology and from palynology.[41]

The objective of the Harvard Irish Study was to attempt a scientific anthropological analysis of a modern nation that had made a significant contribution to the population of the United States. It was intended that the sociological, racial and archaeological data would contribute to 'a single unified anthropological history' of Ireland.[42] For various reasons, including lack of funding and the disruptive effects of the Second World War, these different strands of research were never brought together, though Hooton did try to correlate the modern anthropometric data with the limited skeletal evidence from archaeological contexts. Indeed in a discussion, in which cranial indices and brachycephalic and dolicocephalic skulls figured prominently, he even went so far as to try and correlate the supposed early population groups with some of the invaders (including the irrepressible Fir Bolg) recorded in legendary and historical sources. Early literature might still be called upon to support such diffusionist theories, even though there were now some archaeologists who questioned the evidence for numerous invasions, even advocating in the case of the Beaker Folk, the 'notion of a peaceful penetration of unaccompanied pots' as Hooton wryly put it.[43]

In the programme of archaeological investigation, the sites in County Clare, the burial mound at Poulawack and the settlement at Cahercommaun were presumably selected in the expectation that they might complement the study of the modern population of that county. Elsewhere personal research interests seem to have determined the choice of excavation location to a great degree, Hencken focusing on settlements, Movius on early prehistoric, mostly Mesolithic, sites.[44] Many of their investigations, however, proved to be classic excavations for their time and are still crucial for an understanding of aspects of Irish archaeology from the Mesolithic to the early medieval period. The fact that the excavations at Cahercommaun and Ballinderry, Co. Offaly, for example, have been the subject of detailed modern reassessment is just one measure of their significance.[45] Equally importantly, these were excavations that set new professional standards for excavation practice and publication.

The bright promise of the 1930s is hard to discern in the following two decades. It is true, of course, that the impact of a World War and the severe economic difficulties of the 1950s did not help, but the nationalist rhetoric of

the Irish Free State (and the Republic of Ireland declared in 1949) did not result in the allocation of any significant resources in the archaeological field. In 1944, Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, appointed the year before as Professor of Archaeology in University College, Dublin, lamented the scarcity of personnel in State institutions, such as the National Monuments section of the Office of Public Works and the National Museum, and in the three University Departments of Archaeology. He also remarked on various other deficiencies including the very limited number of local museums, the want of a national archaeological field survey and the dearth of funding for research excavation.[46]

There were positive developments but remarkably limited State support would continue to seriously inhibit the development of archaeology. Overall, however, the twentieth-century story remains an exciting and complex one. The latter part of the century would see the subject change beyond recognition; the eventual provision of greater resources and dramatic developments in archaeological method and theory would transform the discipline. New socio-economic pressures would have their effect on archaeology of course but the rankerous influence of the old religious and political divisions and the divergent myths they promoted would—thankfully—slowly begin to diminish.

Notes

1 Though suspended for a time during the Second World War, as Joseph Raftery would later point out, these monies, administered efficiently by the Office of Public Works or sometimes by the Special Employment Schemes Office, provided considerable support for archaeological research, the effects of which continue to the present day: 'A backward look', *Archaeology Ireland* **2**, no. 1 (1988), 24.

2 On his life and work: see E.E. Evans, *Ireland and the Atlantic heritage* (1996) with a biographical memoir by G. Evans and a bibliography; also G. Evans, 'Emyr Estyn Evans', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **58** (1999), 134, which addresses some of the more remarkable inaccuracies in M. Stout's 'Emyr Estyn Evans and Northern Ireland', in J.A. Atkinson *et al.* (eds), *Nationalism and archaeology* (1996), 111. For a sensitive assessment of Evans' work and its context see: V. Crossman and D. McLoughlin, 'A peculiar eclipse: E. Estyn Evans and Irish studies', *The Irish Review* **15** (1994), 79, which overstresses his academic isolation at least as far as archaeology was concerned.

3 E.E. Evans, 'Oliver Davies 1905–1986', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **50** (1987), 1.

4 E.E. Evans, 'Miss Mary McMurry Gaffikin', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **22** (1959), 2; 'Lady Dorothy Lowry-Corry', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **30** (1967), 151: O. Davies and E. Evans, 'Excavations at Goward', *Proceedings of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society 1932–1933* (1934), 90.

5 E.E. Evans, 'Introduction to prehistoric monuments', in D.A. Chart (ed.), *Preliminary survey of the ancient monuments of Northern Ireland* (1940), xii. The quotation is from Joyce's *Finnegans Wake,* 594.

6 See also C.F. Meinander, 'The concept of culture in European archaeological literature', in G. Daniel (ed.), *Towards a history of archaeology* (1981), 100.

7 Summarised in S. Piggott, *The Neolithic cultures of the British Isles* (1954), 124.

8 E.E. Evans and E.M. Jope, 'Prehistoric', in E.E. Evans *et al.* (eds), *Belfast in its regional setting* (1952), 79.

9 *The present and future of archaeology in Ireland* (1925), 11; this was written just a few years after he had declined to join a new and short-lived National Academy founded in opposition to the Royal Irish Academy: T. Bourke, 'Nationalism and the Royal Irish Academy', *Studies* **75** (1986), 196. The quotation about the North Sea and the Atlantic Ocean is from his *Archaeology of Ireland* (1928), 52, and is discussed in J. Waddell, 'The Irish Sea in prehistory', *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* **6** (1992), 29. Mahr's comment is from his 1937 Presidential Address to the Prehistoric Society, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **3** (1937), 335.

10 'The court cairns of Ireland', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **60C** (1960), 47; reviewed by E.E. Evans, *Studia Hibernica* **1** (1961), 228.

11 'Transeptal court cairns', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **95** (1965), 5. For some of the literature see J. Waddell, 'The invasion hypothesis in Irish prehistory', *Antiquity* **52** (1978), 121.

12 Some of these difficulties were quickly pointed out by M.J. O'Kelly, 'Review of *Survey of the Megalithic Tombs of Ireland, Vol. II*', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **71** (1966), 166. In the Republic O'Kelly was one of the admirers of Evans' work: see P. Durcan, in his foreword to the 1992 edition of *The Personality of Ireland.*

13 E.E. Evans, 'Archaeology in Ulster since 1920', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **31** (1968), 7. In the second edition of his *Personality of Ireland* (1981, 112) Evans wrote 'one detects a reluctance on the part of the Dublin school to admit that Ireland was ever civilized from Britain'. For him the very name Sinn Féin, 'ourselves alone', was a denial of the process of renewal under the stimulus of culture-contact, which was the essence of Irishness: *Ireland*

and the Atlantic heritage (1996), 38.

14 E.E. Evans and M. Gaffikin, 'Megaliths and raths', *Irish Naturalists' Journal* **5** (1935), 251. On 'the hunt for the clachan', see C. Doherty, 'Settlement in Early Ireland', in T. Barry (ed.), *A history of settlement in Ireland* (2000), 59. Also K. Whelan, 'Settlement and society in eighteenth-century Ireland', *A history of settlement in Ireland* (2000), 187.

15 E.E. Evans, 'Lyles Hill', *Belfast Municipal Museum and Art Gallery Quarterly Notes* **54** (1940), 1; Oliver Davies remarked that Mahr's list of 35 excavations in the six counties of Northern Ireland compared to 43 in the twenty-six counties of the Free State proportionately spoke for itself: *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **2** (1939), 127; Mahr's list and his denial of a Neolithic phase are to be found in his 1937 Presidential Address to the Prehistoric Society (*Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **3**, 422, 332).

16 For Bremer see R.A.S. Macalister's foreword to W. Bremer's posthumously published essay, *Ireland's place in prehistoric and Early Historic Europe* (1928). On the controversy surrounding Bremer's appointment (after the Royal Irish Academy intimated to Cyril Fox that he would be offered the post): C. Scott-Fox, *Cyril Fox* (2002), 55; also T. Ó Raifeartaigh (ed.), *The Royal Irish Academy* (1985), 86, 155, and J. Raftery, 'A backward look', *Archaeology Ireland* **2**, no. 1 (1988), 23. Fox was appointed Director of the National Museum of Wales in 1926. The National Museum in Dublin had had a turbulent time: Count Plunkett was dismissed as Director following the 1916 rebellion and went on to become a Minister in the Free State Government. The Directorship was only revived when Mahr was promoted to the post. The minor poet (in Irish) William Gogan was also dismissed, returning in 1922 as Liam S. Gogan (1891–1979) and as an Assistant in the Antiquities Division.

17 Mahr's support for the young Seán P. Ó Ríordáin has been documented by Pat Wallace, 'Adolf Mahr and the making of Seán P. Ó Ríordáin', in H. Roche *et al.* (eds), *From megaliths to metals* (2004), 254.

18 See A. Stephan and P. Gosling, 'Adolf Mahr', in G. Holfter *et al.* (eds), *Connections and identities: Austria, Ireland and Switzerland* (2004), 105. Mahr's departure seems to have been prompted primarily by loyalty to Germany but also by fear of internment in Ireland: D. O'Donoghue, *Hitler's Irish voices* (1998), 4, 20, 59, 167. Opinions differ as to whether he was ever a spy, he denied it vehemently (O'Donoghue, *Hitler's Irish voices,* 25, 178) but compare E.E. Evans, 'Adolf Mahr: archaeologist and Nazi spy', in his *Ireland and the Atlantic heritage* (1996), 216, and H.E. Kilbride-Jones, 'Adolf Mahr', *Archaeology Ireland* **7**, no. 3 (1993), 29. Joseph Raftery, who in 1949 realised his ambition to succeed Mahr as Keeper of Irish Antiquities, has claimed that Mahr simply 'formally retired under some pressure from English sources': 'A backward look', *Archaeology Ireland* **2**, no. 1 (1988), 23.

19 National Museum of Ireland, *Reports on the National Museum of Ireland 1927–1936;* reports on museum activities are also to be found in the Royal Irish Academy's *Minutes of Proceedings.* J. R[aftery], Dermot F. Gleeson, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **93** (1963), 88; D.F. Gleeson, 'Discovery of gold gorget at Burren, Co. Clare', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **64** (1934), 138; T.J. Barron, 'Some beehive quernstones', *Clogher Record* **9** (1976), 98; on Henry Morris: E. Morris, 'A northern scholar in County Sligo', in M. Timoney (ed.), *A celebration of Sligo* (2002), 251 (with bibliography); M.V. D[uignan], 'Thomas Bodkin Costello', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* **26** (1956), 94 (with bibliography).

20 The tale is recounted by C.W. Philips, *My life in archaeology* (1987), 65.

21 S.P. Ó Ríordáin, 'Excavations at Cush', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **45C** (1940), 112, 176; V.B. Proudfoot, 'The economy of the Irish rath', *Medieval Archaeology* **5** (1961), 99, and references.

22 T.D. Kendrick, 'British hanging bowls', *Antiquity* **6** (1932), 161.

23 J. White, 'Françoise Henry', *Studies* **64** (1975), 307; C.L. Curle and E. Kane, 'Obituary', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **112** (1982), 142; H. Richardson, 'Bibliography', *Studies* **64** (1975), 313.

24 F. Henry, 'Hanging bowls', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **66** (1936), 209; R. Bruce-Mitford, 'Ireland and the hanging-bowls—a review', in M. Ryan (ed.), *Ireland and Insular art* (1987), 30.

25 A.W. Clapham, 'Notes on the origins of Hiberno-Saxon art', *Antiquity* **8** (1934), 43; C. Nordenfalk, 'One hundred and fifty years of varying views on the early Insular gospel books', in M. Ryan (ed.), *Ireland and Insular art* (1987), 2.

26 P. Woodman, 'Rosses Point revisited', *Antiquity* **72** (1998), 562; reprinted with additional notes and a postscript on Claude Blake Whelan in 'The search for an Irish Palaeolithic', in M. Timoney (ed.), *A celebration of Sligo* (2002), 73. On James Reid Moir see G. Clark, 'The Prehistoric Society', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **51** (1985), 2.

27 The contributions have been listed by J.K. Charlesworth and R.A.S. Macalister, 'The alleged Palaeolithic implements of Sligo', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **39** (1930), 18, and by E.B. Renaud, 'Palaeolithic man in Ireland', *American Anthropologist* **32** (1930), 640. *The Daily Express,* May 12th 1928.

28 J.P.T Burchell and J. Reid Moir, 'The evolution and distribution of the hand-axe in north-east Ireland', *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia* **7** (1932), 18; H.L. Movius, *The Irish Stone Age* (1942), 106.

29 E.K. Tratman *et al.*, 'Report on excavations in Ireland in 1928', *University of Bristol Proceedings of the Spelaeological Society* **3** (1929), 109; A.M. ApSimon, 'The Spelaeological Society's contribution to archaeology', *University of Bristol Proceedings of the Spelaeological Society* **12** (1969), 39; H.L. Movius, 'Kilgreany Cave', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **45** (1935), 254. The Spelaeological Society's choice of Kilgreany cave was partly dictated by the fact that they were warned not to examine their first choice because that cave may have contained an arms cache dating from the 'Troubles' some years before: C.W. Philips, *My life in archaeology* (1987), 13.

30 According to Frank Mitchell, it was Eamon de Valera, then in charge of a new Fianna Fáil Government in the Irish Free State, who extended the employment scheme to include archaeological excavation: G.F. Mitchell in T. Ó Raifeartaigh (ed.), *The Royal Irish Academy: a bicentennial history 1785–1985* (1985), 157.

31 On Liam Price, see C. Corlett and M. Weaver (eds), *The Price notebooks* (2002), ix.

32 On the Office of Public Works and monument legislation: R. Lohan, *Guide to the Archives of the Office of Public Works* (1994), 85ff; J. Scarry, *Monuments in the past* (1991), vii.

33 Obituary and list of published work: A.T. Lucas, Harold G. Leask, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **96** (1966), 1; also A. Carey, *Dr Harold G. Leask and the conservation of National Monuments,* MUBC Thesis, UCD (2004). H. G. Leask, House at Old Bawn, Co. Dublin, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **43** (1913), 314.

34 Liam S. Gogan, 'Carn Tighearnaigh', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **34** (1929), 70. Macalister's reluctance is recorded by S. Ó Lúing, *Celtic Studies in Europe* (2000), 260. In addition to Ó Ríordáin, Mahr's assistants in 1935 included Liam Gogan and M. Ó hÉanaigh: *Report on the National Museum of Ireland 1934–1935,* 2.

35 H. Kilbride-Jones recalled a visit to Hynes in Galway: *Archaeology Ireland* **9**, no. 4 (1995), 22.

36 A claim made by T. McNeill, *Castles in Ireland* (1997), 2, among others. It was R.A.S. Macalister, *Archaeology of Ireland* (1928), 356, who considered the products of medieval Ireland 'a sad decline from the achievements of Celtic Ireland'.

37 Ernie O'Malley, *The singing flame* (1978), 123; 'pieces of white paper were yet gyrating in the upper air like seagulls ... Flame sang and conducted its own orchestra simultaneously' (p. 115).

38 The proposer of the motion to demolish was Mr Thomas Kilroy, the seconder Mr M. Casey, and the motion was passed by five votes to two: *Irish Times*, 21st January 1967. A parliamentary question in Dáil Éireann on the 9th February 1967 established that the castle was State property and there was no question of its demolition.

39 The Harvard excavations were listed by Mahr in his 1937 Presidential Address to the Prehistoric Society, *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 3 (1937), 422. E. Hooton provided a brief account of the Harvard Irish Study in his preface to *The physical anthropology of Ireland* (1955), v; further details are given by Paul Gosling and Anne Byrne in an introduction by A. Byrne *et al.* to a reprint of Ahrensberg and Kimball's *Family and community in Ireland* (2001), i–ci. For a brief biography of Hencken with bibliography, see V. Markotic, *Ancient Europe and the Mediterranean* (1977), xi.

40 L.P. Murray, 'The cemetery-cairn at Knockast', *County Louth Archaeological Journal* 8 (1933), 65.

41 The various Harvard Expedition excavation reports by Hencken and Movius are listed under the author's name in the Bibliography. Glyn Daniel and M.J. O'Kelly paid warm tributes to Hencken in *Antiquity* 56 (1982), 6.

42 See A. Byrne *et al.*, Introduction to Ahrensberg and Kimball's *Family and Community in Ireland* (2001), xix.

43 E.A. Hooton and C.W. Dupertuis, *The physical anthropology of Ireland* (1955), 203; the Fir Bolg emerge on p. 205.

44 It is not clear that a desire to identify 'Celtic origins' lay behind the archaeological excavations as claimed by A. O'Sullivan, 'The Harvard archaeological mission', *Archaeology Ireland* 17, no. 1 (2003), 22.

45 Cahercommaun: C. Cotter, 'Cahercommaun Fort, Co. Clare', *Discovery Programme Reports* 5 (1999), 41. Ballinderry, Co. Offaly: C. Newman, 'Ballinderry Crannóg No. 2', *Journal of Irish Archaeology* 8 (1997), 91, and 11 (2002), 99.

46 S.P. Ó Ríordáin, 'Post-war archaeology in Ireland', *Studies* 33 (1944), 475.

8. Epilogue

The transformation of Irish archaeology in the second half of the twentieth century deserves a detailed study and only the briefest of summary accounts is possible here. Though some important developments occurred, the immediate post-war decades were relatively lean years. True, the Professorships of Archaeology in the three Colleges of the National University of Ireland were filled as they became vacant, but few other resources were forthcoming and that scarcity of personnel lamented by Seán P. Ó Ríordáin persisted. As already mentioned, Ó Ríordáin moved from Cork and replaced R.A.S. Macalister as Professor of Celtic Archaeology in University College, Dublin, in 1943, Michael Duignan became Revd John Hynes' successor in University College, Galway, in 1945 and Michael J. O'Kelly succeeded Ó Ríordáin in University College, Cork, in 1946.

Seán P. Ó Ríordáin (1905–1957) was a forceful personality and an energetic and skilful excavator.[1] Even though funds were scarce, Government support for excavation being suspended in 1941, he pursued his investigations at Lough Gur, Co. Limerick, commenced in 1936. Apart from a break in 1952–3 (when he turned his attention to Tara) this unparalleled campaign of settlement excavation continued until 1954. Among the more remarkable results was the discovery of the country's first Neolithic rectangular house, one of the few then known in north-western Europe. In another first, Ó Ríordáin became a television personality appearing on the BBC's successful archaeological series *Animal, Vegetable, Mineral?* which began in 1952 and in a subsequent series entitled *Buried Treasure* for which a full-size reconstruction of the Lough Gur house was built on site.[2]

His interest in large-scale settlement excavation led him to examine a number of important ringforts, notably Garranes and Ballycatteen in County Cork and, in 1952, to excavate the Rath of the Synods (Ráith na Seanad) on the celebrated Hill of Tara. The decision to investigate Tara prompted a brief but bitter controversy. Eoin MacWhite, who had just published his doctoral thesis on Bronze Age relationships between Ireland and the Iberian peninsula, wrote a long newspaper article claiming that no Irish archaeologist had the expertise to excavate such an important site: '... while we can point to a number of excavations which have been done competently in this country during recent years, can we honestly say that we have produced anyone whose

experience and achievements can rival those of the leading excavators of Northern Europe, where excavation technique is even more refined than in the lands of Classical antiquity?'[3]

Though no one was named, this was clearly an attack on Ó Ríordáin, and while offering some valid comments about the scarcity of trained personnel, it ignored his eighteen years of excavation experience and his unrivalled knowledge of Irish soil conditions. The most significant rejoinder was an immediate reply from the eminent Gordon Childe in the University of London's Institute of Archaeology, who expressed confidence in his Irish colleagues' ability to undertake exemplary excavation and meticulous publication.[4] This embarrassment notwithstanding, Ó Ríordáin commenced excavations at the Rath of the Synods later in 1952 and he also began to examine a part of the large enclosure called Ráith na Ríg. He then turned his attention to the Mound of the Hostages (Duma na nGíall). Sadly, he died in 1957 and the excavations here had to be completed by his successor in University College, Dublin, Ruaidhri de Valera, and, regrettably, Childe's confident expectation of meticulous publication was not realised for almost half a century.

Ó Ríordáin's premature death was an immeasurable loss to Irish archaeology and not just because parts of his excavations at Lough Gur and virtually all his work at Tara were unpublished. He had planned to write an account of Irish prehistory, and a study of Newgrange and other tombs in the Boyne Valley had to be completed by his co-author Glyn Daniel.[5] When in Cork, in 1942, he published a slim account of Irish field monuments entitled *Antiquities of the Irish countryside*. This went through many editions, the last being a revision by Ruaidhri de Valera in 1979; it became an introductory text for generations of students of archaeology. Máire de Paor joined the Department of Archaeology as assistant to Ó Ríordáin in 1947 and with her husband Liam de Paor, then in the Department of History, published *Early Christian Ireland,* another landmark study unsurpassed for decades.

Michael Duignan (1907–1988) was a Celtic scholar who had assisted Rudolf Thurneysen's publication of his *Handbuch des Alt-Irischen* and who, like Ó Ríordáin, had spent a brief spell under Mahr in the National Museum, before becoming Professor of Celtic Archaeology in Galway. His interests were primarily in early medieval Ireland and his excavations, published posthumously, included an early ecclesiastical site at Kiltiernan and a ringfort at Rathgurreen, both near Clarinbridge in County Galway. He devoted much time to university administration, becoming Registrar and Deputy President, and is probably best known to a wider audiance as the major (and sometimes querulous) contributor on archaeological, architectural and historical topics to the encyclopaedic *Shell guide to Ireland*.[6] Michael J. O'Kelly (1915–1982), a student of Ó Ríordáin's in University College, Cork, would succeed him as Professor there and display an equal energy and skill in a whole series of

important excavations among which his fourteen-year programme of investigation and reconstruction at Newgrange is only the most familiar.[7] His synthesis on Irish prehistory, *Early Ireland,* was published seven years after his death.

It is easily forgotten that in the 1940s and 1950s the numbers of undergraduate students of archaeology in the three universities were very small indeed and postgraduates were a rare commodity. Numbers only began to increase with the economic and demographic changes and university expansion of the 1960s, when additional teaching staff began to be appointed too. In the thirty years since the mid-1960s the number of students in higher education generally increased four-fold and Departments of Archaeology enlarged commensurately.

Frank Mitchell (1912–1997), who had assisted Jessen in his palynological work before the war, became a one-man department in Trinity College, Dublin, initially as Reader in Irish Archaeology, then in 1965 as Professor of Quaternary Studies. In a series of papers he made an outstanding contribution to our knowledge of the island's vegetation history and undertook a number of significant excavations of late Mesolithic sites.[8]

The National Museum languished under Department of Education control for many years after Adolf Mahr's departure, and its fortunes only began to change when it came under the direction of the Department of the Taoiseach in 1984 and then received the support of the country's first Minister for Arts, Culture and the Gaeltacht, Michael D. Higgins, in the 1990s. A civil servant was installed as an administrator in place of Mahr, Joseph Raftery became Keeper of Antiquities in 1949, and a full-time Director, A.T. Lucas, was appointed in 1954. Even then, constrained by a depressing lack of funding and personnel, the institution succumbed to Civil Service procedures and struggled to survive. Compared to the late 1930s, the number of visitors almost halved for most of the 1950s and 1960s and exhibition space decreased by almost a third.[9]

Joseph Raftery (1913–1992) published widely and undertook a number of excavations on behalf of the museum.[10] A preliminary report on one of his excavations illustrates the continuing appeal of the short chronology popular in the 1930s (in which some megalithic tombs might be late prehistoric in date). In 1950, on the basis of finds we now know to be secondary, he suggested that one of the passage tombs in the cemetery at Loughcrew was built in the Iron Age.[11] This was on the eve of the radiocarbon revolution—which would in due course dispel such notions for ever. In fact, M.J. O'Kelly obtained the first radiocarbon dates in Irish archaeology for two burnt mounds at Killeens, Co. Cork, which he excavated in 1953. These archaeological samples were dated by Willard Libby at the University of Chicago and the first radiocarbon dating facility was established in Trinity College, Dublin, in 1959.[12] Raftery's *Prehistoric Ireland* was a survey apparently written during the war years and published in 1951. In this book he reiterated his claim that some passage tombs

continued to be built in late prehistoric times, and this and other evidence for supposed cultural continuity led him to argue, as he had done elsewhere, that there had been no major influxes of people into the island since the Neolithic, a novel view in its day and contrary to the prevailing diffusionist beliefs of the time.[13]

Much of the scholarly work of A.T. Lucas (1911–1986) was in the area of Irish folk-life studies, but most of his ethnological and historical research, whether on straw-rope built granaries, sacred trees, or block-wheel carts, was of archaeological significance as well. The latter study of carts with wheels made of three solid wooden parts is a classic example, for Stuart Piggott later showed how the same technique (a constructional method employed in County Tipperary in the 1950s) had been in use across a wide area of Europe and Asia in the late Neolithic over three thousand years before, a striking illustration of the conservatism of the wheel-wright's craft in non-industrialised societies.[14]

In the north of Ireland a long campaign by Estyn Evans and Oliver Davies finally bore fruit in 1949 with the establishment of a Department of Archaeology in Queen's University, Belfast, when E.M. Jope was appointed Lecturer and later Professor in Archaeology. Martyn Jope (1915–1996) played a major role in transforming the study of archaeology in the north. The encouragement of laboratory disciplines such as palaeoecology and archaeological conservation, along with pioneering investigations in medieval and post-medieval archaeology and some innovative studies of Iron Age material, were among his achievements.[15] He became director of the Archaeological Survey of Northern Ireland, initiated in 1950.

Building on the fieldwork of Evans and Davies, the Survey began with the recording of the castles of County Down, and also proceeded to undertake a programme of selective excavation. D.M. Waterman and A.E.P. Collins, who, like Jope, came from England to work in Belfast, were to the fore in this effort and a monumental monograph, *The Archaeological Survey of County Down,* was published in 1966. Regrettably this was the only volume to appear but the Survey proceeded with its work and compiled a comprehensive Sites and Monuments Record which would serve as a crucial component in the planning process in protecting archaeological monuments from the pressures of development. The publications of both Dudley Waterman (1918–1979) and Pat Collins (who died in 1991) fill the pages of the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* and include many meticulous excavation reports. Waterman's momentous ten-year programme of excavations at Navan Fort, which radically altered our understanding of that royal site, commenced in 1961 and were published after his death by Chris Lynn.[16]

Perhaps, to paraphrase Estyn Evans, Government encouragement for archaeology in Northern Ireland 'was quickened by political self-consciousness'[17], but in the 1950s and 1960s it certainly stood in sharp contrast

to the level of State support offered in the Republic. This is especially evident in the museum field. As the National Museum in Dublin declined and its folk-life collections suffered in storage, the Ulster Folk Museum was created in 1959. The foundation stone of a new Ulster Museum was laid in 1966 and its doors were opened to the public in 1971 with the ever popular Egyptian mummy Kabouti still given pride of place in one of the exhibition galleries. There were five departments, including Antiquities, with two Assistant Keepers, one each in Prehistoric and in Later Antiquities, and the 60,000 square feet of gallery space exceeded the 57,000 square feet of exhibition area then open in the National Museum in Dublin.[18]

A similar contrast was evident as far as archaeological surveys were concerned. As a result of the efforts of Ruaidhri de Valera and Seán Ó Nualláin, a survey of megalthic tombs was established in an archaeological branch in the Ordnance Survey in 1949, but the necessity for a full record of monuments remained. This had been recognised since the nineteenth century and figures such as Macalister, Leask and Ó Ríordáin in the Republic had, in their turn, all emphasised the urgent need for such an undertaking. A rudimentary paper record, compiled from cartographic and printed sources, had been initiated by Leask and Mahr in 1933 but no fieldwork personnel were supplied.[19] The Office of Public Works eventually commenced field survey in County Louth in 1965 and the first of a series of archaeological inventories appeared over twenty years later in 1986.[20]

The university expansion in the 1960s and the rise in student numbers studying archaeology were eventually reflected in the establishment of the Association of Young Irish Archaeologists in 1969. One of its founding members was Tom Delaney (1947–1979) whose short but influential archaeological career was commemorated in a series of essays on Irish medieval archaeology edited by Gearóid Mac Niocaill and Pat Wallace in 1988. Early meetings were held in Belfast, Dublin and Galway and in its first year the nascent association circulated a typescript 'Archaeological Bulletin' summarising twenty-six excavations in all four provinces. In the following year this became the first 'Excavations Bulletin', whose successor over thirty years later is the official annual summary of Irish excavations. The Association in time gave birth to the Irish Association of Professional Archaeologists and a number of its members began to express concern about the slow progress of archaeological survey in the Republic and the evidence for worrying destruction rates of archaeological monuments. In 1975 when the Government claimed that systematic field survey had been completed by the Archaeological Survey in three counties (including Louth but only embracing monuments up to the early medieval period), one writer, Richard Haworth, estimated that it might take a hundred years for the Survey to complete its work.[21] Frustrated by the lack of progress, communities in areas like Donegal, the barony of Ikerrin in County Tipperary and the Dingle peninsula in County Kerry

initiated their own regional archaeological surveys in the early 1980s.[22]

It also became clear just how agricultural and industrial developments were threatening the archaeological heritage. Terry Barry was one of the first to draw public attention to the scale of destruction: since the work of the Ordnance Survey in the nineteenth century 44% of ringforts had been destroyed in the Dingle area, 29% in southern Donegal, 66% in the Cork harbour area, and just over 31% in the barony of Middlethird in County Tipperary. In County Dublin, a survey of all monuments revealed a destruction rate of 27% but over half of these had been removed since 1930.[23] This evidence did prompt the Government (in 1982) to agree to the publication of preliminary surveys, but with the inventory for County Louth, already mentioned, only appearing four years later, progress remained painfully slow and the pressures on the archaeological heritage did not diminish.

The pressures of urban development were well illustrated by the Wood Quay controversy in Dublin, which began in 1973 when the rich remains of part of the Viking town were threatened by the proposed construction of Dublin Corporation's Civic Offices.[24] Just ten years later, limestone quarrying near Navan Fort endangered that famous monument and the issue was only resolved after one of the longest planning enquiries in the history of Northern Ireland. A proposal by Sligo County Council to turn a large quarry in the area of the Carrowmore passage tomb cemetery into a landfill dump was successfully challenged in the Supreme Court by a courageous group of local activists.[25] Each of these controversies divided the archaeological community.

The Irish Association of Professional Archaeologists (later the Institute of Archaeologists of Ireland) was founded in 1973 and George Eogan, then a lecturer in University College, Dublin, was elected its first chairman. It usually met twice a year in various locations and in 1983 held a meeting in Ballinasloe devoted to the question of archaeological surveys. More alarming destruction rates from several counties were quoted there and received quite an amount of publicity in the national press.[26] Some participants felt that anything less than the production of full surveys was a retrograde step but it was agreed after much discussion that while field survey should continue as a matter of urgency a desk-based Sites and Monuments Record on the Northern Ireland model should be provided to local planning offices and other agencies in a position to discourage or prevent the destruction of archaeological sites and monuments. A recommendation to this effect was made to the Minister for Finance, Alan Dukes, and was eventually adopted with the help of some enlightened people in the Office of Public Works. The threat to wetland archaeology was addressed by the establishment of the Irish Archaeological Wetland Unit in 1990, a joint venture between the Office of Public Works and University College, Dublin.

The 1970s and the decades that followed were by no means all destruction and discord; significant progress was made in many areas besides archaeological

survey and much more occurred than an increase in student numbers and archaeological personnel. Various research excavations funded by the Office of Public Works and administered by the Royal Irish Academy, radiocarbon dating programmes—especially in Belfast and Groningen—that provided a more refined chronological picture, palynological studies that produced an increasingly detailed picture of vegetation history and of the human impact on the landscape and the enormous strides in tree-ring dating made in Queen's University, Belfast, were all exceptionally positive developments.

Important contributions to knowledge also came from an ever-increasing amount of rescue excavation, notably those on a number of natural gas pipeline routes published in exemplary fashion. Grants for archaeological research from the National Heritage Council, set up by the then Taoiseach Charles J. Haughey in 1988, and its statutory successor the Heritage Council, established by Michael D. Higgins, Minister for Arts, Culture and the Gaeltacht, in 1995, began to produce exceptional results, as did the research strategies of the Discovery Programme, another initiative of Mr Haughey in 1991. A measure of the widespread interest in the subject, a popular magazine, *Archaeology Ireland*, was founded in 1987.

These decades since 1970 saw profound theoretical developments as well. That familiar interpretative model of cultural development with its appealing picture of successive immigrants, Mesolithic hunters followed by Neolithic farmers, Early Bronze Age Beaker Folk, Food vessel people, Urn folk, Celts, and so on, finally succumbed. Among the developments prompted by processual archaeology were an emphasis on scientific method and a more rigorous approach to data as well as a rejection of simplistic migration models, the archaeological versions of those foundation myths that had been so popular and so powerful for so long. Thanks to modern genetic research those pernicious and equally influential nineteenth-century biological concepts of race were also discredited.

Notes

1 M. J. O'Kelly, Obituary, *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **87** (1957), 89; S. de hÓir, Seán P. Ó Ríordáin: a personal memoire, *Archaeology Ireland* **16**, no. 2 (2002), 29; G. Cooney, The legacy of Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, *Archaeology Ireland* **11**, no. 4 (1997), 30. Ó Ríordáin's early career received generous support from Adolf Mahr: P. F. Wallace, Adolf Mahr and the making of Seán P. Ó Ríordáin, in H. Roche *et al.* (eds), *From megaliths to metals* (2004), 254.

2 The reconstruction was built by John Hunt: P. Johnstone, *Buried treasure* (1957), pls 28 and 29; G. Daniel, 'Archaeology and television', *Antiquity* **28** (1954), 202.

3 E. MacWhite, 'Should Hill of Tara be excavated?', *Irish Times,* February 2nd 1952.

4 In a letter to the editor, *Irish Times,* February 8th 1952. F.P. Thomas, *The Leader,* February 9th 1952, attacked MacWhite (then employed in the Department of Foreign Affairs), describing him as a very able amateur desk archaeologist and wondering at the propriety of a civil servant appealing to the public on a matter likely to be adjudicated on in another Government department. On MacWhite (1923–1972), see M. O'Sullivan, 'Eoin MacWhite', *Journal of Iberian Archaeology* 0 (*sic*) (1998), 133 (with summary bibliography).

5 S.P. Ó Ríordáin and G. Daniel, *Newgrange* (1964), 12. The remaining Lough Gur excavations were published by Eoin Grogan and George Eogan in 1987.

6 J. Waddell, 'Professor Michael V. Duignan 1907–1988 [Obituary with bibliography]', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* **41** (1988), 1; E.M. Jope, 'Michael Duignan and the study of Irish archaeology and history', in B. G. Scott (ed.), *Studies on Early Ireland* (1982), 1. Excavations: J. Waddell and M. Clyne, 'M.V. Duignan's excavations at Kiltiernan, Co. Galway', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* **47** (1995), 149; M. Comber, 'M.V. Duignan's excavations at the ringfort of Rathgurreen, Co. Galway, 1948–9', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **102C** (2002), 137. Niall Brady has evaluated Duignan's study of early Irish agriculture: 'Fifty years a-ploughing', *Archaeology Ireland* 8, no. 3 (1994), 15.

7 See E.E. Evans' appreciation in D. Ó Corráin (ed.), *Irish antiquity* (1981), xxv, and the bibliography of O'Kelly's published work by H. Moloney-Davis, in the same volume, 343.

8 M. Ryan, 'Obituary', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **128** (1998), 125.

9 Institute of Professional Civil Servants, *Museum Service for Ireland* (1973), 32. Frank Mitchell, President of the Royal Irish Academy, declared 'the National Museum of Ireland remains obstinately in the nineteenth century': F. Mitchell, 'Planning for Irish archaeology in the eighties', *Irish Archaeological Research Forum* **5** (1978), 2.

10 Bibliography of his publications in M. Ryan (ed.), *Irish antiquities* (1998), vii.

11 J. Raftery, 'Loughcrew, Co. Meath—ein Megalithgrab der La-Tène-Zeit', *CISPP Actes de la IIIe Session Zurich 1950* (1953), 284.

12 The Killeens samples were numbered C-877 and C-878 in Chicago; the first Irish materials to be radiocarbon dated were palynological samples, numbered C-355, C-356 and C-358, submitted by G.F. Mitchell. The radiocarbon dating facility was established in the Physics Department, in Trinity College, Dublin: *Radiocarbon* **3**, 26

13 J. Raftery, *Prehistoric Ireland* (1951), 106, 178.

14 See E. Rynne, 'The published work of A.T. Lucas', in C. Ó Danachair (ed.), *Folk and farm* (1976), 9; P.F. Wallace, 'Obituary', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **117** (1987), 152. S. Piggott, *The earliest wheeled transport* (1983), 24.

15 Some of his Irish publications are listed in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **30** (1967), 122; T. McNeill, 'Obituary', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **57** (1994), 1.

16 D.M. Waterman: obituary by E.M. Jope, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **41** (1978), 1; A.E.P.

Collins: obituary by C.J. Lynn, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **54–5** (1991–92), 1. C.J. Lynn (ed.), *Excavations at Navan Fort 1961–71* (1997).

17 E.E. Evans, 'Archaeology in Ulster since 1920', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **31** (1968), 7.

18 N. Nesbitt, *A museum in Belfast* (1979), 54, 58; Institute of Professional Civil Servants, *Museum Service for Ireland* (1973), 34.

19 H.G. Leask, 'The Archaeological Survey', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **72** (1942), 12; also S.P. Ó Ríordáin, 'Preserve, examine, illustrate': a commentary on the position of Irish archaeology', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **85** (1955), 20. Local societies such as the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society and the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society had compiled various lists of monuments and the latter body succeeded in publishing a 79-page illustrated volume on the archaeological monuments of County Cork in 1913, edited by Robert Cochrane, and based on several lists published in the Society's *Journal*.

20 V.M. Buckley, *Archaeological inventory of County Louth* (1986). In 1966 successful representations were made to the Minister for Finance, C.J. Haughey, concerning an instruction from the Commissioners of Public Works that the work of the Archaeological Survey should be done in Irish.

21 R. Haworth, 'Archaeological field survey in Ireland', *Irish Archaeological Research Forum* **2** (1975), 12.

22 B. Lacey, *Archaeological Survey of County Donegal* (1983); G. Stout, *Archaeological Survey of the Barony of Ikerrin* (1984); J. Cuppage, *Archaeological Survey of the Dingle Peninsula* (1986).

23 T.B. Barry, 'The destruction of Irish archaeological monuments', *Irish Geography* **12** (1979), 112; the figures were based on surveys by Gillian Barrett (Dingle and Donegal), M.J. O'Kelly and Elizabeth Shee (Cork harbour), Mary Cahill (Middlethird), and Paddy Healy (Dublin).

24 J. Bradley (ed.), *Viking Dublin exposed* (1984); N.C. Maxwell (ed.), *Digging up Dublin* (1980); T.F. Heffernan, *Wood Quay* (1988).

25 J.P. Mallory, 'Navan Fort: a quarry once again?', *Archaeology Ireland* **1**, no. 1 (1987), 20 [and letter in vol. 1, no. 2, 83]. Carrowmore: M.A. Timoney and P. Heraughty, 'Sligo Field Club', in M. Timoney (ed.), *A celebration of Sligo* (2002), 304, and references; also *Archaeology Ireland* **3**, no. 1, (1989), 3.

26 For example, Frank McDonald, 'Concern about destruction of old monuments', *Irish Times*, May 16th 1983; Mary Raftery, 'Farmers threaten national heritage', *Sunday Tribune*, April 24th 1983.

Bibliography

Abercromby, J. 1902 The oldest Bronze Age ceramic type in Britain; its close analogies on the Rhine; its probable origin in Central Europe. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* **32**, 373–97.

Abercromby, J. 1903 The oldest Bronze Age ceramic type in Britain; its close analogies on the Rhine; its probable origin in Central Europe [Abstract]. *Report of the Seventy-Second Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science held at Belfast in September 1902*, 755–6.

Abercromby, J. 1904 A proposed chronological arrangement of the drinking-cup or Beaker class of Fictilia in Britain. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* **38**, 323–410.

Abercromby, J. 1905 The ornament of the Beaker class of pottery. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* **39**, 326–44.

Abercromby, J. 1907 The relative chronology of some cinerary urn types, of Great Britain and Ireland. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* **41**, 185–274.

Abercromby, J. 1912 *A study of the Bronze Age pottery of Great Britain and Ireland and its associated grave goods.* Oxford.

Adams, C.L. 1904 *Castles of Ireland: some fortress histories and legends.* London.

Alberro, M. 2002 Celtic heritage in the north-west of the Iberian Peninsula. *Emania* **19**, 75–84.

Allcroft, A.H. 1908 *Earthwork of England: prehistoric, Roman, Saxon, Danish, Norman and Medieval.* London.

Allen, J.R. 1887 *Early Christian symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland before the thirteenth century.* London.

Andrews, J.H. 1974 *History in the Ordnance Map: an introduction for Irish readers.* Dublin.

Andrews, J.H. 1975 *A paper landscape: the Ordnance Survey in nineteenth-century Ireland.* Oxford. [Reprinted with a preface by J.H. Andrews, Dublin 2001.]

Andrews, J.H. 1986 Mapping the past in the past: the cartographer as antiquarian in pre-Ordnance Survey Ireland. In C. Thomas (ed.), *Rural landscapes and communities: essays presented to Desmond McCourt*, 31–63. Dublin.

Andrews, J.H. 1992 The cartography of Celtic place-names. *Ulster Local Studies* **14**, 7–21.

Andrews, J.H. 1997 *Shapes of Ireland: maps and their makers 1564-1839.* Dublin.

Anon. 1852 *Descriptive catalogue of the archaeological exhibition, at Belfast, September 1852.* Dublin.

Anon. 1853 *Irish antiquities: carvings in bog oak. Great Industrial Exhibition, 1853.* Dublin.

Anon. 1887 Rev. Ulick J. Burke, *The Athenaeum*, no. 3135, 711.

Anon. 1897 *Mellifont Abbey, Co. Louth: its ruins and associations. A guide and popular history.* The Cistercians, Roscrea.

Anon. 1900 Three memorable Cork archaeologists. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **6**, 32–47.

ApSimon, A.M. 1969 1919–1969: fifty years of archaeological research. The Spelaeological Society's contribution to archaeology. *University of Bristol Proceedings of the Spelaeological*

Society **12**, 31–56.

Armstrong, E.C.R. 1913 *Irish seal-matrices and seals*. Dublin.

Armstrong, E.C.R. 1915 Catalogue of the silver and ecclesiastical antiquities in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **32C**, 287–312.

Armstrong, E.C.R. 1915 On the localities and distribution of the various types of bronze celts in the National Museum, Dublin. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **27C**, 253–9.

Armstrong, E.C.R. 1917 Some associated finds of bronze celts discovered in Ireland. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **33C**, 511–26.

Armstrong, E.C.R. 1917 The Great Clare Find of 1854. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **47**, 21–36.

Armstrong, E.C.R. 1918 Associated finds of Irish Neolithic celts. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **34C**, 81–95.

Armstrong, E.C.R. 1920 *Guide to the collection of Irish antiquities. Catalogue of Irish gold ornaments in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy*. Dublin. [Second edition Dublin 1933].

Armstrong, E.C.R. 1922 Note on the Hallstatt Period in Ireland. *The Antiquaries Journal* **2**, 204–7.

Armstrong, E.C.R. 1923 The La Tène Period in Ireland. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **53**, 1–33.

Armstrong, E.C.R. 1924 The Early Iron Age, or Hallstatt Period in Ireland. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **54**, 1–14.

Armstrong, E.C.R. and Lawlor, H.J. 1918 The Domnach Airgid. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **34C**, 96–126.

Ashe FitzGerald, M. 2000 *Thomas Johnson Westropp (1860–1922): An Irish Antiquary*. Dublin.

Asher, R.E. 1969 Myth, legend and history in Renaissance France. *Studi Francesi* **39**, 409–19.

Baines, P. 1997 'Our Annius': antiquaries and fraud in the eighteenth century. *British Journal for Eighteenth-century Studies* **20**, 33–51.

Barnard, T.C. 1972 Miles Symner and the New Learning in seventeenth-century Ireland. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **102**, 129–42.

Barnard, T.[C.] 2003 From Imperial *Schatzkammer* to the Giant's Causeway: collecting in eighteenth-century Ireland. *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies* **6**, 140–61.

Barron, T.J. 1976 Some beehive quernstones from Cavan and Monaghan. *Clogher Record* **9**, 95–107.

Barrow, G.L. 1979 *The round towers of Ireland*. Dublin.

Barry, T.B. 1979 The destruction of Irish archaeological monuments. *Irish Geography* **12**, 111–13.

Bartlett, R. 1982 *Gerald of Wales 1146–1223*. Oxford.

Bartlett, T. 1995 Protestant nationalism in eighteenth-century Ireland. In M. O'Dea and K. Whelan (eds), *Nations and nationalisms: France, Britain, Ireland and the eighteenth-century context*, 79–88. Oxford.

Beauford, W. 1786 The antient topography of Ireland. *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* **3**, no. 11, 253–426.

Beaufort, L.C. 1828 Essay upon the architecture and antiquities previous to the landing of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland. *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* **15**, 101–242.

Beddoe, J. 1885 *The races of Britain: a contribution to the anthropology of Western Europe*. London. [Reprinted 1971 with an introduction by D.E. Allen.]

Bell, A.S. (ed.) 1981 *The Scottish antiquarian tradition: essays to mark the bicentenary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and its museum, 1780–1980*. Edinburgh.

Benn, G. 1823 *The history of the town of Belfast, with an accurate account of its former and present state: to which are added a statistical survey of the parish of Belfast, and a description of some remarkable*

antiquities in its neighbourhood. Belfast. [Reprinted by Davidson, Ballynahinch, Co. Down, 1979; second revised edition in two volumes, London 1877 and 1880.]

Betham, W. 1826 *Irish antiquarian researches.* Part I. Dublin.

Betham, W. 1827 *Irish antiquarian researches.* Part II. Dublin.

Betham, W. 1834 *The Gael and the Cymbri; or an inquiry into the origin and history of the Irish Scoti, Britons, and Gauls.* Dublin.

Betham, W. 1837 On the ring money of the Celtae, and their system of weights, which appears to have been what is now called Troy weight. *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* **17**, 7–20, 91–8.

Betham, W. 1842 *Etruria Celtica: Etruscan literature and antiquities investigated.* Dublin.

Bhreathnach, E. 1993 The topography of Tara: the documentary evidence. *Discovery Programme Reports* **2**, 68–76.

Bhreathnach, E. 1995 Tara: a select bibliography. *Discovery Programme Reports* **3** [*Discovery Programme Monograph* **1**], Dublin.

Bhreathnach, E. 1996 Cultural identity and Tara from *Lebor Gabála Érenn* to George Petrie. *Discovery Programme Reports* **4**, 85–98.

Bhreathnach, E. 1998 The *tech midchúarta*, 'the house of the mead-circuit': feasting, royal circuits and the king's court in early Ireland. *Archaeology Ireland* **12**, no. 4, 20–22.

Bieler, L. 1979 *The Patrician texts in the Book of Armagh.* Dublin.

Boate, G. 1726 *A natural history of Ireland, in three parts by several hands.* Dublin.

Borlase, W.C. 1897 *The dolmens of Ireland,* vols 1–3. London.

Boswell, J.W. 1790 *Syllegomena of the antiquities of Killmackumpshaugh, in the County of Roscommon, and Kingdom of Ireland, in which it is clearly proved that Ireland was originally peopled by Egyptians.* Dublin.

Bourke, C. 1993 *Patrick, the archaeology of a saint.* Belfast.

Bourke, T. 1986 Nationalism and the Royal Irish Academy. *Studies* **75**, 196–208.

Bourke, U.J. 1875 *The Aryan origin of the Gaelic race and language: the round towers, the Brehon law, truth of the Pentateuch.* London. [Second edition 1876.]

Bourke, U.J. 1887 *Pre-Christian Ireland.* Dublin.

Bowden, M. 1991 *Pitt Rivers: the life and archaeological work of Lieutenant-General Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt Rivers, DCL, FRS, FSA.* Cambridge.

Boyne, P. 1987 *John O'Donovan (1806–1861): a biography.* Kilkenny.

Bradley, J. (ed.) 1984 *Viking Dublin exposed: the Wood Quay saga.* Dublin.

Bradley, R. 2002 *The past in prehistoric societies.* London.

Brady, J. and Corish, P.J. 1971 *The Church under the Penal Code.* Dublin.

Brady, N. 1994 Fifty years a-ploughing. *Archaeology Ireland* **8**, no. 3, 15–17.

Bradshaw, B. 1993 Geoffrey Keating: apologist of Irish Ireland. In B. Bradshaw, A. Hadfield and W. Maley (eds), *Representing Ireland: literature and the origins of conflict, 1534-1660*, 166–190. Cambridge.

Brash, R.R. 1859 Notes on the round tower controversy. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **7**, 155–65.

Brash, R.R. 1860 The round tower controversy: the belfry theory examined. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **8**, 280–91.

Brash, R.R. 1875 *The ecclesiastical architecture of Ireland, to the close of the twelfth century; accompanied by interesting historical and antiquarian notices of numerous ancient remains of that period.* Dublin.

Brash, R.R. 1879 *The ogam inscribed monuments of the Gaedhil in the British Islands; with a dissertation on the ogam character.* London (ed. G. M. Atkinson).

Braude, B. 1997 The sons of Noah and the construction of ethnic and geographical identities in the medieval and Early Modern Periods. *The William and Mary Quarterly* **54**, 103–42.

Breathnach, D. and Ní Mhurchú, M. 1986 *1882–1982 Beathaisnéis a hAon.* Dublin.

Breeze, A. 2002 Merlin, Stonehenge, and the Hill of Uisneach, Ireland. In R. Allen, L. Perry and J. Roberts (eds), *Layamon: contexts, language, and interpretation,* 97–101. London.

Bremer, W. 1928 *Ireland's place in prehistoric and Early Historic Europe.* Dublin.

Brennan, M.L. 1973 Robert Alexander Stewart Macalister 1871–1950. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **103**, 167–76.

Briggs, C.S. 1975 [Review of] Survey of the Megalithic tombs of Ireland. *Irish Archaeological Research Forum* **2**, 41–6.

Briggs, C.S. 1978 Dealing with antiquities in nineteenth-century Dublin. *Dublin Historical Record* **31**, 146–8.

Briggs, C.S. 1979 James Henry Underwood: first dealer in Irish antiquities. *Dublin Historical Record* **33**, 25–36.

Briggs, C.S. 1999 A historiography of the Irish crannog: the discovery of Lagore as prologue to Wood-Martin's *Lake Dwellings of Ireland* of 1886. *The Antiquaries Journal* **79**, 347–77.

Briggs, C.S. and Haworth, R. 1978 Dean Sankey Winter and the bronze trumpet from 'Manooth'. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **108**, 111–15.

Bright, K. 2004 *Royal Dublin Society, 1815-1845.* Dublin.

Brown, I.G. 1980 *The hobby-horsical antiquary: a Scottish character 1640–1830.* Edinburgh.

Brown, M. 1973 *Sir Samuel Ferguson.* New Jersey.

Bruce-Mitford, R. 1987 Ireland and the hanging-bowls: a review. In M. Ryan (ed.), *Ireland and Insular art,* 30–39. Dublin.

Brunicardi, J. 1914 The shore dwellers of ancient Ireland. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **44**, 185–213.

Brunicardi, M.H.J. 1914 The ruined parish churches of the diocese of Cork. *The Irish Architect and Building Trades' Journal,* June-July 1914, 904–7, 1017–19.

Buchanan, A. 1999 Science and sensibility: architectural antiquarianism in the early eighteenth century. In M. Myrone and L. Peltz (eds), *Producing the past: aspects of antiquarian culture and practice 1700–1850,* 169–86. Aldershot.

Buckley, V.M. 1986 *Archaeological Inventory of County Louth.* Dublin.

Buckley, V.M. 1989 The Dowagh: an early account of the Dane's Cast. *Emania* **6**, 17.

Buckley, V.M. and Sweetman, P.D. 1991 *Archaeological Survey of County Louth.* Dublin.

Buick, G. 1891 Fresh facts about prehistoric pottery. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **21**, 433–42.

Burchell, J.P.T. and Reid Moir, J. 1928 *The Early Mousterian implements of Sligo, Ireland.* Ipswich.

Burchell, J.P.T. and Reid Moir, J. 1932 The evolution and distribution of the hand-axe in north-east Ireland. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia* **7**, 18–34.

Burke, P. 1969 *The Renaissance sense of the past.* London.

Burl, A. 2001 Stonehenge: how did the stones get there? *History Today* **51**, 19–25.

Burrow, J.W. 1981 *A liberal descent. Victorian historians and the English past.* Cambridge.

Buttimer, C.G. 1989 Celtic and Irish in college 1849–1944. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **94**, 88–112.

Byrne, A., Edmondson, R. and Varley, T. 2001 Arensberg and Kimball and anthropological research in Ireland. Introduction to the third edition of C.M. Ahrensberg and S.T. Kimball, *Family and Community in Ireland,* i-ci. Ennis.

Byrne, F.J. 1971 Ireland before the Norman Invasion. In T.W. Moody (ed.), *Irish historiography 1936–70,* 1–15. Dublin.

Byrne, F.J. 1973 MacNeill the historian. In F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds), *The Scholar Revolutionary: Eoin MacNeill, 1867–1945, and the making of the New Ireland,* 17-36.

Shannon.

Cabot, D. 1997 Essential texts in Irish natural history. In J.W. Foster and H.C.G. Chesney (eds), *Nature in Ireland: a scientific and cultural history,* 472–96. Dublin.

Cahill, M. 1994 Mr Anthony's bog oak case of gold antiquities. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **94C**, 53–109.

Cahill, M, Ireland, A.M. and Ó Floinn, R. 2004 James Carruthers, a Belfast antiquarian collector. In C. Hourihane (ed.), *Irish Art Historical Studies in honour of Peter Harbison*, 219–260. Dublin.

Cairns, D. and Richards, S. 1988 *Writing Ireland: colonialism, nationalism and culture.* Manchester.

Camden, W. 1722 *Britannia or a chorographical description of Great Britain and Ireland with the adjacent islands. Written in Latin by William Camden ... and translated into English with additions and improvements ... by Edmund Gibson.* London.

Campbell, J.L. 1960 The tour of Edward Lhuyd in Ireland in 1699 and 1700. *Celtica* **5**, 218–28.

Campbell, T. 1777 *A philosophical survey of the South of Ireland in a series of letters to John Watkinson, MD.* London.

Campbell, T. 1789 *Strictures on the ecclesiastical and literary history of Ireland from the most ancient times till the introduction of the Roman ritual, and the establishment of Papal Supremacy, by Henry II King of England.* Dublin.

Canny, N. 1982 The formation of the Irish mind: religion, politics and Gaelic Irish literature 1580–1750. *Past and Present* **95**, 91–116.

Carew, M. 2003 *Tara and the Ark of the Covenant: a search for the Ark of the Covenant by British-Israelites on the Hill of Tara (1899–1902).* Dublin.

Carey, A. 2004 *Dr Harold G. Leask and the conservation of national monuments in the Irish Free State and Éire 1923–1949.* Master of Urban and Building Conservation Thesis, University College, Dublin.

Carey, J. 1990 Time, memory, and the Boyne necropolis. *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* **10**, 24–36.

Carey, J. 1993 *A new introduction to Lebor Gabála Érenn.* London.

Carey, J. 1994 *The Irish national origin-legend: synthetic pseudohistory.* Quiggin pamphlets on the sources of medieval Gaelic History 1. Cambridge.

Carey, J. 1995 Native elements in Irish pseudohistory. In D. Edel (ed.), *Cultural identity and cultural imagination: Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages,* 45–60, Dublin.

Carpenter, A. 2000 *The Dublin Scuffle with an introduction and notes by Andrew Carpenter.* Dublin.

Carr, J. 1806 *The stranger in Ireland; or a tour in the southern and western parts of that country in the year 1805.* London.

Case, H. 1977 An early accession to the Ashmolean museum. In V. Markotic (ed.), *Ancient Europe and the Mediterranean*, 18-34. Warminster.

Caulfield, S. 1981 Celtic problems in the Iron Age. In D. Ó Corráin (ed.), *Irish antiquity: Essays and studies presented to Professor M. J. O'Kelly,* 205–15. Cork.

Champion, J.A.I. 2001 John Toland, the Druids, and the politics of Celtic scholarship. *Irish Historical Studies* **32**, 321–42.

Champion, T. 2001 The appropriation of the Phoenicians in British imperial ideology. *Nations and Nationalism* **7**, 451–65.

Champneys, A. 1910 *Irish ecclesiastical architecture with some notice of similar or related work in England, Scotland and elsewhere.* London. [Reprinted with an introduction by Liam de Paor, Shannon 1970.]

Charlesworth, J.K. and Macalister, R.A.S. 1930 The alleged Palaeolithic implements of Sligo: a summary. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **39**, 18–32.

Chart, D.A. (ed.) 1940 *A preliminary survey of the ancient monuments of Northern Ireland.* Belfast.

Cheynier, A. 1936 *Jouannet: grand-père de la préhistoire.* Paris.

Childe, V.G. 1925 *The dawn of European civilization.* London.

Childe, V.G. 1929 *The Danube in prehistory.* Oxford.

Chippindale, C. 1988 The invention of words for the idea of 'prehistory'. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **54**, 303–14.

Clapham, A.W. 1934 Notes on the origins of Hiberno-Saxon art. *Antiquity* **8**, 43–57.

Clancy, T.O. 2003 King-making and images of kingship in medieval Gaelic literature. In R. Welander, D.J. Breeze and T.O. Clancy (eds), *The Stone of Destiny: artefact and icon*, 85–105. Edinburgh.

Clare, W. (ed.) 1928 *A young Irishman's diary (1836–1847): being extracts from the early journal of John Keegan of Moate.* March.

Clark, G. 1985 The prehistoric society: from East Anglia to the world. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **51**, 1–13.

Clark, G. 1989 *Prehistory at Cambridge and beyond.* Cambridge.

[Clayton, R.] 1743 Part of a letter from the Right Reverend Father in God Robert Lord Bishop of Corke, and F.R.S. to the Right Honourable John Earl of Egmont, F.R.S concerning the remains of an antient temple in Ireland, of the same sort as the famous Stonehenge, and of a stone-hatchet of the antient Irish. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* **42**, 581–90.

Clements, C.M.L. 1991 100 years of the County Kildare Archaeological Society. *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society* **17**, 5–7.

Clibborn, E. 1859 On the probable age of flint implements found in gravel-beds. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **7**, 324–33.

Close, S.P. 1868 *Holy Cross Abbey, County Tipperary: a series of measured drawings of the church with descriptive letterpress.* Belfast.

Cochrane, R. 1913 *A list of ancient and national monuments in the County of Cork. Illustrated* (Reprinted from the *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*). Cork.

Cody, E. 2002 *Survey of the megalithic tombs of Ireland*, vol. VI: *County Donegal.* Dublin.

Coffey, G. 1892 On the tumuli and inscribed stones at New Grange, Dowth and Knowth. *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* **30**, 1–96.

Coffey, G. 1894 Notes on the classification of spear-heads of the Bronze Age found in Ireland. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **19**, 486–510.

Coffey, G. 1894 The origins of prehistoric ornament in Ireland. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **24**, 348–79.

Coffey, G. 1895 The origins of prehistoric ornament in Ireland. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **25**, 195–211.

Coffey, G. 1896 The origins of prehistoric ornament in Ireland. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **26**, 34–69.

Coffey, G. 1897 The origins of prehistoric ornament in Ireland. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **27**, 28–52.

Coffey, G. 1904 Some monuments of the La Tène period in Ireland. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **24C**, 257–66.

Coffey, G. 1908 Irish copper halberds. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **27C**, 94–114.

Coffey, G. 1909 The distribution of gold lunulae in Ireland and north-western Europe. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **27C**, 251–8.

Coffey, G. 1909 *Royal Irish Academy Collection. Guide to the Celtic Antiquities of the Christian Period preserved in the National Museum, Dublin.* Dublin.

Coffey, G. 1910 Archaeological evidence for the intercourse of Gaul with Ireland before the first century. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **28C**, 96–106.

Coffey, G. 1912 Some recent prehistoric finds acquired by the Academy. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **30C**, 83–93.

Coffey, G. 1912 *New Grange (Brugh na Boinne) and other incised tumuli in Ireland. The influence of Crete and the Aegean in the extreme west of Europe in early times.* Dublin.

Coffey, G. and Armstrong, E.C.R. 1910 Scandinavian objects found at Island-bridge and Kilmainham. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **28C**, 107–122.

Coffey, P. 1993 George Victor du Noyer 1817–1869: artist, geologist and antiquary. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **123**, 102–19.

Cohen, J.J. 1999 *Of giants: sex, monsters, and the Middle Ages.* Minneapolis.

Colby, [T.F.] 1837 *Ordnance Survey of the County of Londonderry, volume the first. Memoir of the City and North Western Liberties of Londonderry, Parish of Templemore.* Dublin.

Coleman, J. 1898 The South Munster Antiquarian Society. *The Irish Monthly* **26**, 182–9, 314–20.

Collins, T. 2004 Rhymes and races, a note on the life and published work of R.J. Anderson, Professor of Natural History, Geology and Mineralogy, 1883–1914. *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* **56**, 190–212.

Comber, Maureen (ed.) 1997 *The antiquities of County Clare. Letters ... of the Ordnance Survey in 1839* .... Ennis.

Comber, Michelle 2002 M.V. Duignan's excavations at the ringfort of Rathgurreen, Co. Galway, 1948–9. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **102C**, 137–97.

Comerford, S.E. 1952 The early years of the Society. *County Louth Archaeological Journal* **12**, 227–38.

Connolly, S. and Picard, J-M. 1987 Cogitosus: *Life of Saint Brigit. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **117**, 11–27.

Connolly, S.J. 1995 Popular culture: patterns of change and adaptation. In S.J. Connolly, R.A. Houston and R.J. Morris (eds), *Conflict, identity and economic development. Ireland and Scotland, 1600–1939,* 103–13. Preston.

Connolly, S.J. 2000 A woman's life in mid-eighteenth-century Ireland: the case of Letitia Bushe. *The Historical Journal* **43**, 433–51.

Conwell, E. A. 1866 On ancient sepulchral cairns on the Loughcrew Hills. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **9**, 355–79.

Conwell, E. A. 1873. *Discovery of the Tomb of Ollamh Fodhla (Ollăv Fóla), Ireland's famous monarch and law-maker upwards of three thousand years ago.* Dublin.

Cooney, G. 1996 Building the future on the past: archaeology and the construction of national identity in Ireland. In M. Díaz-Andreu and T. Champion (eds), *Nationalism and archaeology in Europe*, 146–63. London.

Cooney, G. 1997 The legacy of Seán P. Ó Ríordáin. *Archaeology Ireland* **11**, no. 4, 30–31.

Corlett, C. 2000 The antique sketches of James Saunders. *Archaeology Ireland* **14**, no. 3, 16–17.

Corlett, C. 2003 The Tara broadcast. *Ríocht na Midhe* **14**, 5–21.

Corlett, C. and Medlycott, J. (eds) 2001 *The Ordnance Survey Letters—Wicklow.* Ashford.

Corlett, C. and Weaver, M. (eds). 2002. *The Price notebooks.* Dublin.

Corner, D.J. 1985 The *Vita Cadoci* and a Cotswold-Severn chambered cairn. *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* **32**, 50–67.

Cotter, C. 1999 Cahercommaun Fort, Co. Clare: a reassessment of its cultural context. *Discovery Programme Reports* **5**, 41–95.

Crawford, O.G.S. 1922 A prehistoric invasion of England. *The Antiquaries Journal* **2**, 27–35.

Croke, F. (ed.) 1995 *George Victor du Noyer 1817–1869: Hidden Landscapes.* Dublin.

Crooke, E. 2000 *Politics, archaeology and the creation of a National Museum in Ireland: An Expression of National Life.* Dublin.

Crookshank, A. and the Knight of Glin 1994 *The watercolours of Ireland.* London.

Crossman, V. and McLoughlin, D. 1994 A peculiar eclipse: E. Estyn Evans and Irish Studies. *The Irish Review* **15**, 79–96.

Cunningham, B. 1986 Native culture and political change in Ireland, 1580-1640. In C. Brady and R. Gillespie (eds), *Natives and newcomers: essays on the making of Irish colonial society 1554-1641,* 148-170. Dublin.

Cunningham, B. 2000 *The world of Geoffrey Keating: history, myth and religion in seventeenth-century Ireland.* Dublin.

Cunningham, B. and Gillespie, R. 1995 'The most adaptable of saints': the cult of St Patrick in the seventeenth century. *Archivium Hibernicum* **49**, 82–104.

Cuppage, J. 1986 *Archaeological Survey of the Dingle Peninsula.* Ballyferriter.

C[urle], C.L. and K[ane], E. 1982 Obituary Françoise Henry. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **112**, 142–6.

Curran, C.P. 1948 Edward Smyth. *The Capuchin Annual 1948,* 392–426.

Daniel, G. 1950 *A hundred years of archaeology.* London. [Reprinted 1975 as *A hundred and fifty years of archaeology* with an additional chapter, revised bibliography and calendar of events.]

Daniel, G. 1954 Archaeology and television. *Antiquity* **28**, 201–5.

Daniel, G. 1962 *The idea of prehistory.* London.

Daniel, G. 1967 *The origins and growth of archaeology.* New York.

Daniel, G. 1980 Megalithic studies in Ireland, 1929-79. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **43**, 1–8.

Daniel, G. 1982 Editorial [tribute to H. Hencken]. *Antiquity* **56**, 1–7.

Davidson, T. 1956 Elf-shot cattle. *Antiquity* **30**, 149–55.

Davies, O. 1939 [Review of] A. Mahr, new aspects and problems in Irish prehistory. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **2**, 123–7.

Davies, O. and Evans, E. 1934 Excavations at Goward, near Hilltown, Co. Down. *Proceedings of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society 1932–1933,* 90–105.

Davis, J.B. 1867 *Thesaurus Craniorum. Catalogue of the skulls of the various races of man in the collection of Joseph Barnard Davis.* London.

Davis, J.B. and Thurnam, J. 1865 *Crania Britannica. Delineations and descriptions of the skulls of the aboriginal and early inhabitants of the British Islands: with notices of other remains.* London.

Davis, M. 1987 The Beaufort visits to Downhill. In J. Fenlon, N. Figgis and C. Marshall (eds), *New perspectives: studies in art history in honour of Anne Crookshank,* 157–75. Dublin.

Davis, T. 1846 *Literary and historical essays* (ed. C. Gavan Duffy). Dublin.

Davis, T. 1945 *Essays and poems with a centenary memoir 1845–1945.* Dublin.

Day, A. (ed.) 1991 *Letters from Georgian Ireland: the correspondence of Mary Delaney, 1731–68.* Belfast.

Day, A. and McWilliams, P. (eds) 1990–1998 *Ordnance Survey Memoirs of Ireland,* vols 1–40. Belfast.

Day, R. 1880 Find of broken things, including fragment of sword scabbard. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **15**, 265–6.

Deane, A. (ed.) 1924 *The Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society Centenary Volume 1821–1921.* Belfast.

De Barra, P. 1995 Saol agus Saothar Eoghain. In P. Ó Fiannachta (ed.), *Ómós do Eoghan Ó Comhraí,* 5–22. Dingle.

De hÓir, S. 1983 The Mount Callan ogham stone and its context. *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* **25**, 43–57.

De hÓir, S. 1984 The Mount Callan Ogham Stone: a footnote. *North Munster Antiquarian Journ* **26**, 99.

De hÓir, S. 1993 Additions to the bibliography of R.A.S. Macalister .... *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **123**, 170.

De hÓir, S. 2002 Seán P. Ó Ríordáin: a personal memoir. *Archaeology Ireland* **16**, no. 2, 29–31.

Delury, J.P. 2000 *Ex Conflictu et Collisione*: the failure of Irish historiography, 1745–1790. *Eighteenth-Century Ireland* **15**, 9–37.

Denman, P. 1990 *Samuel Ferguson: the literary achievement*. Gerrards Cross.

De Valera, R. 1949 Seán Ó Donnabháin agus a lucht cúnta. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **79**, 146–59.

De Valera, R. 1960 The court cairns of Ireland. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **60C**, 9–140.

De Valera, R. 1961 The 'Carlingford Culture', the Long Barrow and the Neolithic of Great Britain and Ireland. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **27**, 234–52.

De Valera, R. 1965 Transeptal court cairns. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **95**, 5–37.

De Vere White, T. 1955 *The Story of the Royal Dublin Society*. Tralee.

De Vere White, T. 1967 *The parents of Oscar Wilde: Sir William and Lady Wilde*. London.

Dickens, B. 1939 *J.M. Kemble and Old English scholarship*. London. [Reprinted from the *Proceedings of the British Academy* **25**.]

Dillon, M. 1967 George Petrie (1789–1866). *Studies* **56**, 266–76.

Dobbs, F. 1800 *A concise view from history and prophecy, of the great predictions in the sacred writings, that have been fulfilled; also of those that are now fulfilling, and that remain to be accomplished*. Dublin.

Dobbs, M.E. 1912 Some further evidence on the date of the shaping of the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 42, 8–12.

Dobbs, M.E. 1912 The spiral and the Tuatha De Danann. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **42**, 331–4.

Doherty, C. 2000 Settlement in early Ireland: a review. In T. Barry (ed.), *A history of settlement in Ireland*, 50–80. London.

Doherty, G.M. 2004 *The Irish Ordnance Survey: history, culture and memory*. Dublin.

Donaghy, C. and Grogan, E. 1997 Navel-gazing at Uisneach, Co. Westmeath. *Archaeology Ireland* **11**, no. 4, 24–6.

Dooley, A. and Roe, H. (eds) 1999 *Tales of the Elders of Ireland (Acallam na Senórach)*. Oxford.

Doyle, J.B. 1854 *Tours in Ulster: a hand-book to the antiquities and scenery of the north of Ireland. With numerous illustrations, chiefly from the author's sketch-book*. Dublin.

Droixhe, D. 2002 *L'Étymon des Dieux: mythologie gauloise, archéologie et linguistique à l'âge classique*. Geneva.

Duddy, T. 2002 *A history of Irish thought*. London.

D[uignan], M.V. 1956 In memoriam Thomas Bodkin Costello 1864–1956. *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* **26**, 94.

Dunlop, W.M. 2000 Kingdon Tregosse Frost: first lecturer in archaeology at the Queen's University of Belfast. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **59**, 2–10.

Dunne, T. 2002 'One of the tests of national character': Britishness and Irishness in paintings by Barry and Maclise. In B. Stewart (ed.), *Hearts and minds: Irish culture and society under the Union*, 260–90. Gerrards Cross.

Du Noyer, G.V. 1847 On the classification of bronze celts. *Archaeological Journal* 4, 1–6.

Du Noyer, G.V. 1847 Bronze celts, and celt-moulds of stone and bronze. *Archaeological Journal* 4, 333–7.

Dunraven, E. 1875-1877 *Notes on Irish architecture* (ed. M. Stokes). London.

Ebbatson, L. 1994 Context and discourse: Royal Archaeological Institute membership 1845–1942. In B. Vyner (ed.), *Building on the past: papers celebrating 150 years of the Royal Archaeological Institute,* 22–74. London.

Edgeworth, R.L. 1783 A further account of discoveries in the turf bogs of Ireland. *Archaeologia* 7, 111–12.

Eiffe, J. 1987 Lord Cloncurry's Roman collection. In J. Fenlon, N. Figgis and C. Marshall (eds), *New perspectives: studies in art history in honour of Anne Crookshank,* 143–55. Dublin.

Eliade, M. 1971 *The myth of the eternal return, or Cosmos and history.* Princeton, New Jersey.

Ellesmere, Lord 1848 *Guide to northern archaeology by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen, edited for the use of English readers.* London.

Eogan, G. 1983 *The hoards of the Irish Later Bronze age.* Dublin.

Eogan, G. 1991 Irish antiquities of the Bronze Age, Iron Age and Early Christian Period in the National Museum of Denmark. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **91C**, 133–76.

Evans, E.E. 1940 Introduction to prehistoric monuments. In D. A. Chart (ed.), *A preliminary survey of the ancient monuments of Northern Ireland,* xii-xvii. Belfast.

Evans, E.E. 1940 Lyles Hill: a prehistoric site in Co. Antrim. *Belfast Municipal Museum and Art Gallery Quarterly Notes* **54**, 1–15.

Evans, E.E. 1942 *Irish heritage: the landscape, the people and their work.* Dundalk.

Evans, E.E. 1951 *Mourne country: landscape and life in South Down.* Dundalk. [Revised editions 1967, 1978, 1989.]

Evans, E.E. 1951 R.A.S. Macalister and the archaeology of Ireland. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **14**, 2–6.

Evans, E.E. 1957 *Irish folk ways.* London.

Evans, E.E. 1959 Miss Mary McMurry Gaffikin. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **22**, 2–4.

Evans, E.E. 1961 [Review of] R. de Valera: the court cairns of Ireland. *Studia Hibernica* **1** (1961), 228–32.

Evans, E.E. 1966 *Prehistoric and Early Christian Ireland: a guide.* London.

Evans, E.E. 1967 Lady Dorothy Lowry-Corry. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **30**, 1.

Evans, E.E. 1968 Archaeology in Ulster since 1920. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **31**, 3–8.

Evans, E.E. 1973 *The personality of Ireland: habitat, heritage and history.* Cambridge. [Second revised edition Belfast 1981; reprinted with a foreword by P. Durcan, Dublin 1992.]

Evans, E.E. 1981 Introduction [appreciation of M.J. O'Kelly]. In D. Ó Corráin (ed.), *Irish antiquity: essays and studies presented to Professor M.J. O'Kelly,* xxv-xxviii. Cork.

Evans, E.E. 1987 Oliver Davies 1905–1986. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **50**, 1–2.

Evans, E.E. 1996 *Ireland and the Atlantic heritage: selected writings. Emyr Estyn Evans.* Dublin.

Evans, E.E. and Gaffikin, M. 1935 Belfast Naturalists' Field Club survey of antiquities: megaliths and raths. *Irish Naturalists' Journal* **5**, 242–52.

Evans, E.E. and Jope, E.M. 1952 Prehistoric. Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Ages. In E.E. Evans *et al.* (eds), *Belfast in its regional setting: a scientific survey prepared for the meeting [of the British Association for the Advancement of Science] held in Belfast 3rd to 10th September, 1952,* 75–87. Belfast.

Evans, G. 1999 Emyr Estyn Evans [A review of M. Stout, Emyr Estyn Evans and Northern Ireland (1996)]. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **58**, 134–42.

Evans, Joan. 1956 *A history of the Society of Antiquaries.* Oxford.

Evans, J. 1872 *The ancient stone implements, weapons and ornaments of Great Britain.* London.

Evans, J. 1881 *The ancient bronze implements, weapons and ornaments of Great Britain and Ireland.* London.

Falkiner, C. Litton 1904 *Illustrations of Irish history and topography*. Dublin.

Ferguson, A.B. 1993 *Utter antiquity: perceptions of prehistory in Renaissance England*. London.

Ferguson, M. 1868 *The story of the Irish before the conquest*. London.

Ferguson, M. 1896 *Sir Samuel Ferguson in the Ireland of his day*. London.

[Ferguson, S.] 1837 The thaumaturgists. *Dublin University Magazine* **9**, no. 51, 345–59.

[Ferguson, S.] 1839 George Petrie, RHA, MRIA: Author of 'An essay on the round towers of Ireland'. *Dublin University Magazine* **14**, no. 84, 638–42.

[Ferguson, S.] 1840 The Dublin Penny Journal. *Dublin University Magazine* **15**, no. 86, 112–28.

[Ferguson, S.] 1845 Petrie's round towers. *Dublin University Magazine* **25**, no. 148, 379–96.

[Ferguson, S.] 1852 The Celto-Scythic progresses. *Dublin University Magazine* **39**, no. 231, 277–91.

Ferguson, S. 1853 Clonmacnoise, Clare, and Aran. *Dublin University Magazine* **41**, 79–95, 492–505.

Ferguson, S. 1861 *The Cromlech on Howth: a poem with illuminations from the Books of Kells and of Durrow and drawings from nature [by Margaret Stokes] with notes on Celtic ornamental art, revised by George Petrie*. London.

Ferguson, S. 1864 Account of Ogham inscriptions in the cave at Rathcroghan, County of Roscommon. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **9**, 160–70.

Ferguson, S. 1872 On ancient cemeteries at Rathcroghan and elsewhere in Ireland (as affecting the question of the site of the cemetery at Taltin). *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **15**, 114–28.

Ferguson, S. 1882 On the legend of Dathi. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **16**, 167–84.

Ferguson, S. 1886 Fasciculus of prints from photographs of casts of ogham inscriptions. *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* **27**, 47–56.

Ferguson, S. 1887 *Ogham inscriptions in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland*. Edinburgh.

Fergusson, J. 1872 *Rude stone monuments of all countries: their age and uses*. London.

Fitzpatrick, D. 1991 The futility of history: a failed experiment in Irish education. In C. Brady (ed.), *Ideology and the historians*, 168–83. Dublin.

Fleming, J.S. 1914 *The town-wall fortifications of Ireland*. Paisley.

Forbes, W. 1990 The first recorded archaeological find at Emain Macha. *Emania* **7**, 43–5.

Foster, J.W. 2002 Changes of address: Tyndall, Darwin and the Ulster Presbyterians. In B. Stewart (ed.), *Hearts and minds: Irish culture and society under the Act of Union*, 40–70. Gerrards Cross.

Foster, R. 1988 *Modern Ireland 1600–1972*. Harmondsworth.

Foster, R. 1995 *Paddy & Mr Punch: connections in Irish and English history*. Harmondsworth.

Fowles, J. and Legg, R. (eds) 1980–1982 *Monumenta Britannica: John Aubrey (1626–97)*. Sherborne, Dorset.

Fraher, W. 1997 Charles Smith 1715–1762: Pioneer of Irish topography. *Decies. Journal of the Waterford Archaeological and Historical Society* **53**, 33–44.

Friedman, J.B. 1981 *The monstrous races in medieval art and thought*. Cambridge, Mass.

Friel, B., Andrews, J. and Barry, K. 1983 *Translations* and *A paper landscape. The Crane Bag* **7**, no. 2, 118–24.

Froggatt, P. 1977 Sir William Wilde, 1815–1876, A Centenary Appreciation, Wilde's place in medicine. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **77C**, 261–78.

Getty, E. 1856 The round towers of Ulster. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **4**, 173–91.

Gibbons, L. 1991 'A Shadowy Narrator': history, art and romantic nationalism in Ireland 1750–1850. In C. Brady (ed.), *Ideology and the Historians*, 99-127. Dublin.

Gibbons, M. 1990 The archaeology of early settlement in County Kilkenny. In W. Nolan and K. Whelan (eds), *Kilkenny: history and society. Interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish*

county, 1–32. Dublin.

Gillespie, R. 1997 The social world of County Down in the seventeenth century. In L. Proudfoot (ed.), *Down history and society,* 141–57. Dublin.

Gillingham, J. 1993 The English invasion of Ireland. In B. Bradshaw, A. Hadfield and W. Maley (eds), *Representing Ireland: literature and the origins of conflict, 1534-1660,* 24-42. Cambridge.

Gilmartin, J. 1972 Vincent Waldré's ceiling paintings in Dublin Castle. *Apollo* **95**, no. 119, 42-47.

Gleeson, D. F. 1934 Discovery of gold gorget at Burren, Co. Clare. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **64**, 138.

Gogan, L.S. 1929 Carn Tighearnaigh Mhic Dheaghaidh. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **34**, 57–70.

Gogan, L. S. 1932 *The Ardagh Chalice: a description of the ministral chalice found at Ardagh in County Limerick in the year 1868; with a note on its traditional conformity to the Holy Grail of legend and story.* Dublin.

Goodrum, M.R. 2002 The meaning of ceraunia: archaeology, natural history and the interpretation of prehistoric stone artifacts in the eighteenth century. *British Journal of the History of Science* **35**, 255–69.

Gottfried, R.B. 1943 The early development of the section on Ireland in Camden's *Britannia. ELH* **10**, 117–30.

Gould, S.J. 1981 *The mismeasure of man.* London.

Graham, A. 1970 Records and opinions: 1780–1830. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* **102**, 241–84.

Grainger, J. 1879 Some diggings of an antiquary. *Proceedings of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society* (1878–1880), 49–52.

Gräslund, B. 1987 *The birth of prehistoric chronology.* Cambridge.

Grattan, J. 1858 Notes on the human remains discovered within the round towers of Ulster, with some additional contributions towards a 'Crania Hibernica'. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **6**, 27–39, 221–46.

Graves, C. 1873 On a previously undescribed class of monuments. *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* **24**, 421–31.

Graves, J. and Prim, J.G. 1857 *The history, architecture, and antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St Canice, Kilkenny.* Dublin.

Gray, W. 1879 The character and distribution of the rudely worked flints of the North of Ireland, chiefly in Antrim and Down. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **15**, 109–43.

Green, A.S. 1911 *Irish nationality.* Dublin.

Greene, D. 1972 George Petrie and the collection of Irish manuscripts. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **72C**, 158–63.

Gregory, A. 1902 *Cuchulain of Muirthemne: the story of the men of the Red Branch of Ulster arranged and put into English by Lady Gregory. With a preface by W.B. Yeats.* London.

Griffiths, R. 1843 A collection of antiquities discovered in the Shannon .... *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **2**, 312–16.

Griscom, A. and Jones, R.E. 1929 *The Historia Regnum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth.* London.

Grogan, E. and Eogan, G. 1987 Lough Gur excavations by Seán P. Ó Ríordáin: further Neolithic and Beaker habitation on Knockadoon. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **87C**, 299–506.

Grose, F. 1791 *The antiquities of Ireland,* vols 1–2. London.

Gwynn, A. 1945 Newman and the Catholic historian. In M. Tierney (ed.), *A tribute to Newman: essays on aspects of his life and thought,* 279–306. Dublin.

Hadfield, A. 1993 Briton and Scythian: Tudor representations of Irish origins. *Irish Historical Studies* **28**, 390–408.

Hall, S.C. and Hall, A. 1843 *Ireland: its scenery, character, etc.*, vols 1–3. London. [Published in weekly parts 1841–43; in three volumes 1843; new augmented edition, London 1853.]

Hamer, M. 1989 Putting Ireland on the map. *Textual Practice* **3**, 184–201.

Hamilton, W. 1790 *Letters concerning the northern coast of the County of Antrim.* Dublin.

Hanning, R.W. 1966 *The vision of history in early Britain from Gildas to Geoffrey of Monmouth.* New York.

Harbison, P. 1979 Celtic migrations in Western Europe. In A. Tovar *et al.*, *Actas del II Coloquio sobre lenguas y culturas prerromanas de la peninsula Iberica,* 225–35. Salamanca.

Harbison, P. 1991 *Beranger's Views of Ireland.* Dublin.

Harbison, P. 1992 *The high crosses of Ireland.* Bonn.

Harbison, P. 1998 *Beranger's antique buildings of Ireland.* Dublin.

Harbison, P. 2000 *Cooper's Ireland: drawings and notes from an eighteenth-century gentleman.* Dublin.

Harbison, P. 2002 *'Our treasure of antiquities': Beranger and Bigari's antiquarian sketching tour of Connacht in 1779.* Dublin.

Harbison, P. 2004 *Beranger's Rambles in Ireland.* Bray.

Harbison, P. 2004 Barralet and Beranger's sketching tour through Wicklow and Wexford in the autumn of 1780. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **104C**, 131–190.

Hardiman, J. 1846 *A chorographical description of West or H-Iar Connaught written A.D. 1684 by Roderic O'Flaherty, Esq., author of the 'Ogygia' edited ... with notes and illustrations by James Hardiman, MRIA.* Dublin.

[Harkin, M.] Maghtochair 1867 *Inishowen: its history, traditions, and antiquities.* Derry. [Reprinted, with a foreword by D. Dickson, Three Candles Printers, Dublin 1985.]

Harper, D.A.T. 1999 Professor William King and the establishment of the geological sciences in Queen's College, Galway. In T. Foley (ed.), *From Queen's College to National University: essays on the academic history of QCG/UCG/NUI, Galway,* 242–65. Dublin.

[Harris, W.] 1744 *The antient and present state of the County of Down.* Dublin. [Reprinted by Davidson, Ballynahinch, Co. Down, 1977.]

Harrison, A. 1992 John Toland (1670–1722) and Celtic studies. In C.J. Byrne, M. Harry and P. Ó Siadhail (eds), *Celtic languages and Celtic peoples. Proceedings of the Second North American Congress of Celtic Studies held in Halifax August 16–19, 1989,* 555–76. Halifax.

Harrison, A. 1997 John Toland's Celtic background. In P. McGuinness, A. Harrison and R. Kearney (eds), *John Toland's Christianity not mysterious: text, associated works and critical essays,* 243–60. Dublin.

Haworth, R. 1975 Archaeological field survey in Ireland—past, present and future. *Irish Archaeological Research Forum* **2**, no. 1, 7–19 [corrections in 2, no. 2, ii].

Haworth, R. 1981 John Bell of Dungannon 1793–1861, Part I. *Ulster Local Studies* **7**, 1–7.

Haworth, R. 1982 John Bell of Dungannon 1793–1861, Part II. *Ulster Local Studies* **8**, 10–19.

Haycock, D.B. 2002 *William Stukeley: science, religion and archaeology in eighteenth-century England.* Woodbridge.

Hayley, B. 1976 Irish periodicals from the Union to the *Nation*. *Anglo-Irish Studies* **2**, 83–108.

Hayton, D. 1988 From barbarian to burlesque: English images of the Irish *c.* 1600–1750. *Irish Economic and Social History* **15**, 5–31.

Heatley, F. 1980 The Benn family of Belfast and Glenravel. *Ulster Local Studies* **5**, 21–3.

Heffernan, T.F. 1988 *Wood Quay: the clash over Dublin's Viking past.* Austin, Texas.

Hencken, H. O'N. 1935 A cairn at Poulawack, County Clare. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **65**, 191–222.

Hencken, H. O'N. 1936 Ballinderry Crannog No. 1. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **43C**, 103–239.

Hencken, H. O'N. 1938 *Cahercommaun: a stone fort in County Clare*. Dublin.

Hencken, H. O'N. 1939 A long cairn at Creevykeel, Co. Sligo. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **69**, 53–98.

Hencken, H. O'N. 1942 Ballinderry Crannog No. 2. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **47C**, 1–76.

Hencken, H. O'N. 1950 Lagore Crannog: an Irish royal residence of the 7th to 10th centuries AD. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **53C**, 1–247.

Hencken, H. O'N. and Movius, H.L. 1934 The cemetery-cairn of Knockast. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **41C**, 232–84.

Hennessy, W. (ed.). 1871 *The Annals of Loch Cé*. London.

Henry, D. (ed.) 1995 *Viking Ireland: Jens Worsaae's accounts of his visit to Ireland 1846–47*. Balgavies, Angus.

Henry, F. 1933 *La sculpture Irlandaise pendant les douze premiers siècles de l'ère Chrétienne*. Paris.

Henry, F. 1933 Émailleurs d'occident. *Préhistoire* **2**, 65–146.

Henry, F. 1936 Hanging bowls. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **66**, 209–46.

Henry, F. 1940 *Irish art in the Early Christian Period*. London.

Herity, M. 1967 From Lhuyd to Coffey: new information from unpublished descriptions of the Boyne Valley tombs. *Studia Hibernica* **7**, 127–45.

Herity, M. 1967 Eugene O'Curry's early life: details from an unpublished letter. *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* **10**, 143–7.

Herity, M. 1969 Early finds of Irish antiquities from the minute-books of the Society of Antiquaries of London. *The Antiquaries Journal* **49**, 1–21.

Herity, M. 1969 Irish antiquarian finds and collections of the early nineteenth century. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **99**, 21–37.

Herity, M. 1970 A tour of John Windele's in South Kerry. *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society* **3**, 99–115.

Herity, M. 1970 Rathmulcah, Ware and MacFirbisigh. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **33**, 49–53.

Herity, M. (ed.) 2000 *Ordnance Survey Letters Donegal: letters containing information relative to the antiquities of the County of Donegal collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1835*. Dublin.

Herity, M. (ed.) 2001 *Ordnance Survey Letters Down: letters containing information relative to the antiquities of the County of Down collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1834*. Dublin.

Herity, M. (ed.) 2001 *Ordnance Survey Letters Dublin: letters containing information relative to the antiquities of the County of Dublin collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1837*. Dublin.

Herity, M. (ed.) 2001 *Ordnance Survey Letters Meath: letters containing information relative to the antiquities of the County of Meath collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1836*. Dublin.

Herity, M. (ed.) 2002 *Ordnance Survey Letters Kildare: letters containing information relative to the antiquities of the County of Kildare collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1837, 1838 and 1839*. Dublin.

Herity, M. (ed.) 2003 *Ordnance Survey Letters Kilkenny: letters containing information relative to the antiquities of the County of Kilkenny collected during the progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1839*. Dublin.

Herity, M. and Eogan, G. 1977 *Ireland in prehistory*. London.

Herity, M., Evans, E.E. and Megaw, B.R.S. 1968 The 'Larne' material in Lord Antrim's collection

at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **67C**, 9–34.

Herries Davies, G.L. 1979 The making of Irish geography, IV: the Physico-Historical Society of Ireland 1744–1752. *Irish Geography* **12**, 92–8.

Herries Davies, G.L. 1983 *Sheets of many colours: the mapping of Ireland's rocks 1750–1890.* Dublin.

Herring, I. 1936 Flints—and folk-lore. *Irish Naturalists' Journal* **2**, 98–9.

Herron, T. 2000 Irish den of thieves: souterrains (and a crannog?) in books V and VI of Spenser's *Faerie Queene. Spenser Studies* **14**, 303–17.

Hill, G. 1936 *Treasure trove in law and practice from the earliest time to the present day.* Oxford.

Hitchcock, R. 1853 Notes made in the archaeological court of the Great Exhibition of 1853. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **2**, 280–95.

Hoare, R. Colt 1807 *Journal of a tour in Ireland AD 1806.* London.

Holohan, P. 1991 The Cork Historical and Archaeological Society: foundation and consolidation, 1891–1943. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **96**, 19–42.

Hooper, G. (ed.) 2001 *The tourist's gaze: travellers to Ireland 1800–2000.* Cork.

Hooton, E.A. and Dupertuis, C.W. 1955 *The physical anthropology of Ireland.* Cambridge, Mass.

Hoppen, K.T. 1970 *The common scientist in the seventeenth century: a study of the Dublin Philosphical Society 1683–1708.* London.

Houghton, W.E. 1942 The English virtuoso in the seventeenth century. *Journal of the History of Ideas* **3**, 51–73, 190–219.

Howley, J. 1993 *The follies and garden buildings of Ireland.* New Haven.

Hudson, K. 1981 *A social history of archaeology: the British experience.* London.

Hull, E. 1898 *The Cuchullin saga in Irish literature.* London.

Hunter, M. 1975 *John Aubrey and the realm of learning.* London.

Hunter, M. 1985 The cabinet institutionalised: the Royal Society's 'Repository' and its background. In O. Impey and A. MacGregor (eds), *The origins of museums: the cabinet of curiosities in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe*, 159–168. Oxford.

Hunter, M. 1995 *Science and the shape of orthodoxy: intellectual change in late seventeenth-century Britain.* Woodbridge.

Hutchinson, J. 2001 Archaeology and the Irish rediscovery of the Celtic past. *Nations and Nationalism* **7**, 505–19.

Inman, T. 1867 *On ancient pillars stones and cairns, their antiquity, the extent of country over which their use extended, and their significance; being an essay read at the Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society.* Liverpool. [Reprinted from the *Transactions of the Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society.*]

Institute of Professional Civil Servants 1973 *Museum Service for Ireland.* Dublin.

Ireland, A. 1982 The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland 1849–1900. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **112**, 72–92.

Ireland, A. 2001 Colonel William Gregory Wood-Martin, Antiquary, 1847–1917. *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* **10**, 1–11.

Ireland, A. 2002 Roger Chambers Walker: a Sligo antiquarian. *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* **11**, 147–87.

Í Sheanacháin, M. 1956 Theophilus Ó Flannagáin. *Galvia* **3**, 19–29.

Jackson, K.H. 1951 *A Celtic miscellany: translations from the Celtic literatures.* London.

Jesuit Community. 1930 *A page of Irish history: story of University College, Dublin, 1883–1909.* Dublin.

Johnson, J.W. 1959 The Scythian: his rise and fall. *Journal of the History of Ideas* **20**, 250–57.

Johnstone, P. 1957 *Buried treasure.* London.

Jones, W.R. 1971 England against the Celtic fringe: a study in cultural stereotypes. *Journal of*

World History **15**, 155–71.

Jope, E.M. 1978 Dudley Mark Waterman 1918–1979 [obituary]. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **41**, 1–2.

Jope, E.M. 1982 Michael Duignan and the study of Irish archaeology and history. In B.G. Scott (ed.), *Studies on early Ireland: essays in honour of M.V. Duignan*, 1-2. Belfast.

Joslin, M.C. and Watson, C.C.J. 2001 *The Egerton Genesis*. London.

Joyce, P.W. 1903 *A social history of ancient Ireland*. London.

Kavanagh, R. 1992 Sir William Wilde, MD, FRCSI 1815–1876. *Co. Roscommon Historical and Archaeological Society Journal* **4**, 34–8.

Keane, J.B. (ed.). 1983 *The antiquities of the County of Kerry—John O'Donovan*. Cork.

Keane, Marcus. 1867 *The towers and temples of ancient Ireland: their origin and history discussed from a new point of view*. Dublin.

Keane, M. 1997 *Mrs S.C. Hall—a literary biography*. Gerrards Cross.

Keating, G. *Foras feasa ar Éirinn* I (ed. D. Comyn 1902), II–IV (ed. P.S. Dinneen 1908–1914). London. [Reprinted Dublin 1987, with foreword by B. Ó Buachalla.]

Kehoe, A.B. 1999 Recognising the foundation of prehistory. Daniel Wilson, Robert Chambers and John Lubbock. In A.B. Kehoe and M.B. Emmerichs (eds), *Assembling the past: studies in the professionalisation of archaeology*, 53–79. Albuquerque.

Kemble, J.M. 1857 On the utility of antiquarian collections in relation to the pre-historic annals of the different countries of Europe. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **6**, 462–80.

Kemble, J.M. 1863 *Horae Ferales or studies in the archaeology of the northern nations* (eds R.G. Latham and A.W. Franks). London.

Kendrick, T.D. 1932 British hanging bowls. *Antiquity* **6**, 161–84.

Kendrick, T.D. 1950 *British antiquity*. London.

Kendrick, T.D. 1954 The British Museum and British antiquities. *Antiquity* **28**, 132–42.

Kennedy, R. 1999 *Dublin Castle art: the historical and contemporary collection*. Dublin.

Kew, G. 1998 *The Irish sections of Fynes Moryson's unpublished itinerary*. Dublin.

Kidd, C. 1994 Gaelic antiquity and national identity in Enlightenment Ireland and Scotland. *English Historical Review* **59**, 1197–1214.

Kidd, C. 1995 Teutonist ethnology and Scottish nationalist inhibition, 1780–1880. *The Scottish Historical Review* **74**, 45–68.

Kilbride-Jones, H.E. 1993 Adolf Mahr. *Archaeology Ireland* **7**, no. 3, 29–30.

Kilbride-Jones, H.E. 1995 A visit to Galway. *Archaeology Ireland* **9**, no. 4, 22–3.

King, J.C.H. 1985 North American ethnography in the collection of Sir Hans Sloane. In O. Impey and A. MacGregor (eds), *The origins of museums: the cabinet of curiosities in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe*, 232–6. Oxford.

Kingsley, C. 1864 *The Roman and the Teuton: a series of lectures delivered before the University of Cambridge*. Cambridge.

Knight, P. 1836 *Erris in the 'Irish Highlands', and the 'Atlantic Railway'*. Dublin.

Knight, R. 2001 Werewolves, monsters, and miracles: colonial fantasies in *Topographia Hibernica*. *Studies in Iconography* **22**, 55–86.

Knowles, W.J. 1880 Portstewart and other flint factories in the north of Ireland. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* **9**, 320–28.

Knowles, W.J. 1881 Flint implements from the valley of the Bann. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* **10**, 150–53.

Knowles, W.J. 1881 Ancient Irish beads and amulets. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **15**, 522–37.

Knowles, W.J. 1897 Survivals from the Palaeolithic Age among Irish Neolithic implements.

Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland **27**, 1–18.

Knowles, W.J. 1903 Irish flint arrow- and spear-heads. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* **33**, 44–56.

Knowles, W.J. 1903 Stone axe factories near Cushendall, County Antrim. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* **33**, 360–66.

Knowles, W.J. 1914 The antiquity of man in Ireland, being an account of the older series of Irish flint implements. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* **44**, 83–121.

Knox, R. 1850 *The races of men: a fragment*. London.

Knox, R.B. 1967 *James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh*. Cardiff.

Koch, J.T. and Carey, J. (eds) 1995 *The Celtic Heroic Age: literary sources for ancient Celtic Europe and Early Ireland and Wales*. Malden, Massachusetts.

Lacy, B. 1983 *Archaeological Survey of County Donegal*. Lifford.

Lacey, B. (ed.) 1998 *The Life of Colum Cille by Manus O'Donnell*. Dublin.

Lambert, E. 1967 *Mad with much heart: a life of the parents of Oscar Wilde*. London.

Laming-Emperaire, A. 1964 *Origines de l'archéologie préhistorique en France*. Paris.

Lawlor, H.C. 1919 The Giant's Ring. *Proceedings of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society 1917–18*, 13–28.

Lawlor, H.C. 1925 *The monastery of Saint Mochaoi of Nendrum*. Belfast.

Lawlor, H.C. 1928 *Ulster: its archaeology and antiquities*. Belfast.

Lazar-Meyn, H.A. 1994 'Colour terms in Táin Bó Cúailnge', in J.P. Mallory and G. Stockman (eds), *Ulidia: Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales*, 201–5. Belfast.

Leask, H.G. 1913 House at Old Bawn, Co. Dublin. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 43, 314–25.

Leask, H.G. 1941 *Irish castles and castellated houses*. Dundalk. [Second revised edition 1944; reprinted and revised 1946, 1951].

Leask, H.G. 1942 The Archaeological Survey. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 72, 1–13.

Leask, H.G. 1955 *Irish churches and monastic buildings I: the first phases and the Romanesque*. Dundalk.

Leask, H.G. 1958 *Irish churches and monastic buildings II: Gothic architecture to A. D. 1400*. Dundalk.

Leask, H.G. 1960 *Irish churches and monastic buildings III: medieval Gothic, the last phases*. Dundalk.

Ledwich, E. 1785 A dissertation on the religion of the Druids addressed to Governor Pownall. *Archaeologia* 7, 303–22.

Ledwich, E. 1786 Some observations on Irish antiquities; with a particular application of them to the Ship-Temple near Dundalk. *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* 3, no. 11, 427–41.

Ledwich, E. 1804 *The antiquities of Ireland: the second edition, with additions and corrections, to which is added a collection of miscellaneous antiquities*. Dublin.

Lee, N. (ed.) 2000 *Irish identity and literary periodicals, 1832–1842*. Bristol. [Reprint in six volumes of *Dublin Penny Journal*, *Irish Penny Journal* and *Irish Penny Magazine*, with introduction by N. Lee.]

Leerssen, J. 1986 On the edge of Europe: Ireland in search of Oriental roots, 1650–1850. *Comparative Criticism* 8, 91–112.

Leerssen, J. 1996 *Mere Irish and Fíor-Ghael: studies in the idea of Irish nationality, its development and literary expression prior to the nineteenth century*. Cork.

Leerssen, J. 1996a *Remembrance and imagination: patterns in the historical and literary representation of Ireland in the nineteenth century*. Cork.

Leerssen, J. 2002 Irish cultural nationalism and its European context. In B. Stewart (ed.), *Hearts and minds: Irish culture and society under the Union,* 170–87. Gerrards Cross.

Le Goff, J. 1972 *History and memory.* New York.

Lennon, J. 2003 Irish Orientalism, an overview. In C. Carroll and P. King (eds), *Ireland and postcolonial theory,* 129–57. Notre Dame.

Lennon, J. 2004 *Irish Orientalism: a literary and intellectual history.* New York.

Lester, D. 1989 Theodore Roosevelt, the ancient Irish sagas and Celtic studies. *Éire-Ireland* 24, 3–10.

Levine, J.M. 1977 *Dr Woodward's shield: history, science and satire in Augustan England.* Berkeley.

Levine, P. 1986 *The amateur and the professional: antiquarians, historians and archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838–1886.* Cambridge.

Lévi-Strauss, C. 1972 *The savage mind (La pensée sauvage).* London.

Lewis, S. 1837 *A topographical dictionary of Ireland.* London.

Lhuyd, E. 1712 Several observations relating to the antiquities and natural history of Ireland, made by Mr. Edw. Lhwyd, in his travels thro' that kingdom. In a letter to Dr Tancred Robinson, Fellow of the College of Physicians and Royal Society. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* **27**, 503–6.

Lohan, R. 1994 *Guide to the archives of the Office of Public Works.* Dublin.

Love, W.D. 1962 The Hibernian Antiquarian Society: a forgotten predecessor to the Royal Irish Academy. *Studies* **51**, 419–31.

Lubbock, J. 1865 *Pre-historic times: as illustrated by ancient remains, and the manners and customs of modern savages.* London.

Lucas, A.T. 1961 National Museum of Ireland: archaeological acquisitions in the year 1959. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **91**, 43–107.

Lucas, A.T. 1966 Harold G. Leask. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **96**, 1–6.

Lucas, A.T. 1973 Souterrains: the literary evidence. *Béaloideas* **39–41**, 165–91.

Lupton, J.R. 1993 Mapping mutability: or, Spenser's Irish plot. In B. Bradshaw, A. Hadfield and W. Maley (eds), *Representing Ireland: literature and the origins of conflict, 1534–1660,* 93–115. Cambridge.

Lydon, J.F. 1995 Nation and race in medieval Ireland. In S. Forde, L. Johnson and A.V. Murray (eds), *Concepts of national identity in the Middle Ages,* 103–24. Leeds.

[Lynn, C.J.] 1992 Alfred Edward Patrick ('Pat') Collins [Obituary]. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **54–5**, 1–2.

Lynn, C.J. (ed.) 1997 *Excavations at Navan Fort 1961–71 D. M Waterman.* Belfast.

Lynn, C. 2003 *Navan Fort: archaeology and myth.* Bray.

Lyttleton, J. 1998 Loughpark 'crannog' revisited. *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* **50**, 151–83.

MacAirt, S. and Mac Niocaill, G. 1983 *The Annals of Ulster (to AD 1131).* Dublin.

Macalister, R.A.S. 1897–1907 *Studies in Irish epigraphy,* vols 1–3. London.

Macalister, R.A.S. 1899 On an ancient settlement in the south-west of the Barony of Corkaguiney, County of Kerry. *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* **31**, 209–304.

Macalister, R.A.S. 1908 The legendary kings of Ireland. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **38**, 1–16.

Macalister, R.A.S. 1916 The Book of Invasions. *The Irish Monthly* **44**, 500–507.

Macalister, R.A.S. 1917–1918 Pre-Celtic Ireland. *The Irish Monthly* vol. **45**, 346–52, 420–34, 482–96, 564–76, 645–56, 732–41, 761–75; vol. **46**, 6–18, 86–95, 149–60, 196–207, 252–67, 328–41, 377–90, 452–62, 509–21, 588–99.

Macalister, R.A.S. 1918–1920 Celtic Ireland. *The Irish Monthly* vol. **46**, 605–19, 691–701; vol.

47, 22–33, 61–70, 134–41, 206–19, 235–50, 320–29, 351–61, 416–25, 499–503, 543–51, 612–21, 656–65; vol. **48**, 10–19, 74–81, 138–44, 175–9, 231–6, 292–9.

Macalister, R.A.S. 1919 Temair Breg: a study of the remains and traditions of Tara. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **34C**, 231–404.

Macalister, R.A.S. 1921 *Ireland in Pre-Celtic times*. Dublin.

Macalister, R.A.S. 1921 *A text-book of European archaeology*, vol. 1: *The Palaeolithic period*. Cambridge.

Macalister, R.A.S. 1925 *The present and future of archaeology in Ireland: an address delivered at a meeting of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland held on 27 January, 1925*. Dublin.

Macalister, R.A.S. 1928 *The archaeology of Ireland*. Dublin.

Macalister, R.A.S. 1935 *Ancient Ireland: a study in the lessons of archaeology and history*. London.

Macalister, R.A.S. 1938 *Lebor Gabála Érenn: The Book of the Taking of Ireland*, part 1. Dublin.

M[acalister], R.A.S. 1944 Obituary, Henry Cairnes Lawlor. *Irish Naturalists' Journal* **8**, 165.

Macalister, R.A.S. 1945–1949. *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum*, vols 1–2. Dublin. [Vol. 1 reprinted with a preface by D. McManus, Dublin 1996.]

Macalister, R.A.S. 1949 *The archaeology of Ireland*. Dublin. [Second revised edition.]

Macalister, R.A.S., Armstrong, E.C.R. and Praeger, R. Ll. 1912 Report on the exploration of Bronze-Age carns on Carrowkeel Mountain, Co. Sligo. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **29C**, 311–47.

Macalister, R.A.S. and Praeger, R. Ll. 1928 Report on the excavation of Uisneach. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **38C**, 69–127.

Macalister, R.A.S. and Praeger, R. Ll. 1931 The excavation of an ancient structure on the townland of Togherstown, Co. Westmeath. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **39C**, 54–83.

Mac Cana, P. 1988 Placenames and mythology in Irish tradition. In G.W. MacLennan (ed.), *Proceedings of the First North American Congress of Celtic Studies, Ottawa 1986*, 319–41. Ottawa.

Mac Cana, P. 2001 *Collège des Irlandais Paris and Irish Studies*. Dundalk.

MacCarthy, C.J.F. 1987 An antiquary's notebook 9. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **92**, 118–24.

MacCartney, D. 1957 The writing of history in Ireland, 1800–30. *Irish Historical Studies* 10, 347–62.

MacDonagh, O. 1983 *States of mind: a study of Anglo-Irish conflict 1780–1980*. London.

MacDougall, H.A. 1982 *Racial myth in English history: Trojans, Teutons, and Anglo-Saxons*. Montreal.

MacGeoghegan, Abbé [James] 1844 *The history of Ireland, ancient and modern, taken from the most authentic sources ... translated from the French by Patrick O'Kelly*. Dublin. [*Histoire de l'Irlande, ancienne et moderne* published in three volumes, Paris 1758–1763.]

MacGregor, A. (ed.) 1994 *Sir Hans Sloane: collector, scientist, antiquary. Founding father of the British Museum*. London.

MacKillop, J. 1986 *Fionn Mac Cumhaill: Celtic myth in English literature*. New York.

Macnamara, N.C. 1900 *Origin and character of the British people*. London.

MacNeill, E. 1906 The ancient Irish genealogies. *The New Ireland Review* **26**, 129–45.

MacNeill, E. 1921 *Celtic Ireland*. Dublin.

Mac Niocaill, G. and Wallace, P.F 1998 *Keimelia. Studies in medieval archaeology and history in memory of Tom Delaney*. Galway.

Macpherson, J. 1771 *An introduction to the history of Great Britain and Ireland*. Dublin.

MacSweeney, M. and Reilly, J. 1958 The Cork Cuverian Society. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **63**, 9–14.

MacSweeney, P. 1913 *A group of nation builders: O'Donovan—O'Curry—Petrie*. Dublin.

MacWhite, E. 1951 *Estudios sobre las relaciones atlánticas de la Península Hispánica en la edad del bronce*. Madrid.

MacWhite, E. 1952 Should Hill of Tara be excavated? *Irish Times,* February 2nd 1952, 5.

Magennis, E. 2002 'A Land of Milk and Honey': the Physico-Historical Society, improvement and the surveys of mid-eighteenth-century Ireland. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **102C**, 199–217.

Mahr, A. 1937 *Christian art in ancient Ireland*, vol. 1. Dublin.

Mahr, A. 1937 New aspects and problems in Irish prehistory. Presidential Address for 1937. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **3**, 262–436.

Malins, E. and the Knight of Glin 1976 *Lost demesnes: Irish landscape gardening, 1660–1845*. London.

Mallory, J.P. 1987 Navan Fort: a quarry once again? *Archaeology Ireland* **1**, no. 1, 20–22.

Manning, C. 1998 Some unpublished Austin Cooper illustrations. *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* **9**, 127–34.

Markotic, V. (ed.) 1977 *Ancient Europe and the Mediterranean: studies presented in honour of Hugh Hencken*. Warminster.

Marley, M. 1743 *The good confessor or, instructions for the due and worthy administration of the sacrament of penance*. Douai.

Martin, C.P. 1935 *Prehistoric man in Ireland*. London.

Martin, F.X. 1988 The image of the Irish—medieval and modern—continuity and change. In R. Wall (ed.), *Medieval and modern Ireland*, 1–18. Gerrards Cross.

Maxwell, N.C. (ed.) 1980 *Digging up Dublin*. Dublin.

McCafferty, J. 1998 St Patrick for the Church of Ireland. *Bullán. An Irish Studies Journal* **3**, 87–101.

McCarthy, J.P. 1987 Dr Richard Caulfield: antiquarian, scholar and academic librarian. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **92**, 1–23.

McCarthy, J.P. 1991 Journeying to a Journal: the Society's predecessors. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **96**, 1–18.

McCarthy, J.P. 1995 In search of Cork's collecting traditions: from Kilcrea's Library to the Boole Library of today. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **100**, 29–46.

McCartney, D. 1999 *UCD. A national idea. The history of University College, Dublin*. Dublin.

McCone, K. 1990 *Pagan past and Christian present in early Irish literature*. Maynooth.

McCormack, W.J. and Walker, K. (eds) 1988 *Maria Edgeworth: The Absentee*. Oxford.

McEwan, J.M. 2003 *Archaeology and ideology in nineteenth-century Ireland: nationalism or neutrality?, British Archaeological Reports* **354**. Oxford.

McGuinness, D. 1996 Edward Lhuyd's contribution to the study of Irish megalithic tombs. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **126**, 62–85.

McManus, D. 1999 *A guide to Ogam*. Maynooth.

[McNeill, T.] 1994 Obituary. Professor Edward Martyn Jope, 1915–1996. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **57**, 1–2.

McNeill, T. 1997 *Castles in Ireland: feudal power in a Gaelic world*. London.

McParland, E. 1985 *James Gandon Vitruvius Hibernicus*. London.

McVeagh, J. 1995 *Richard Pococke's Irish tours*. Dublin.

M.E.C. 1868. *A short account of Holy Cross Abbey*. Dublin.

Meenan, J. and Clarke, D. (eds) 1981 *The Royal Dublin Society 1731–1981*. Dublin.

Meinander, C.F. 1981 The concept of culture in European archaeological literature. In G. Daniel (ed.), *Towards a history of archaeology*, 100–111. London.

Mendyk, S. 1985 Gerard Boate and *Irelands Naturall History*. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **115**, 5–12.

Mendyk, S.A.E. 1989 *'Speculum Britanniae': regional study, antiquarianism, and science in Britain to 1700*. Toronto.

Meyrick, S.R. and Smith, C.H. 1815 *The costumes of the original inhabitants of the British Islands from the earliest periods to the sixth century; to which is added, that of the Gothic nations on the western coasts of the Baltic, the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxons and the Anglo-Danes*. London.

Mitchell, F. 1978 Planning for Irish archaeology in the eighties (The Royal Irish Academy 1978 Presidential Address). *Irish Archaeological Research Forum* **5**, 1–14.

Mitchell, F. 1983 Voices from the past: three antiquarian letters. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **113**, 47–52.

Mitchell, F. 1987 Hodder Michael Westropp. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **92**, 27–30.

Moira, Lady [Elizabeth Hastings] 1783 Particulars relative to a human skeleton, and the garments that were found thereon, when dug out of a bog at the foot of Drumkeragh, a mountain in the County of Down, and Barony of Kinalearty, on Lord Moira's Estate, in the Autumn of 1780. *Archaeologia* **7**, 90–110.

Moloney-Davis, H. 1981 The published work of Professor O'Kelly. In D. Ó Corráin (ed.), *Irish antiquity: essays and studies presented to Professor M.J. O'Kelly*, 343–50. Cork.

Molyneux, T. 1697 A discourse concerning the large horns frequently found under ground in Ireland, concluding from them that the Great American Deer, call'd a moose, was formerly common in that island. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* **19**, 489–512.

Molyneux, T. 1701 An essay concerning giants: occasioned by some further remarks on the large humane os frontis, or forehead-bone .... *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* **22**, 487–508.

Molyneux, T. 1726 *A discourse concerning the Danish mounts, forts, and towers in Ireland. Never before published*. In G. Boate (ed.), *A natural history of Ireland, in three parts by several hands*, 189–213.

Momigliano, A. 1958 Ancient history and the antiquarian. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* **13**, 285–315.

Montelius, O. 1908 The chronology of the British Bronze Age. *Archaeologia* **61**, 97–162.

Moran, Rev. Dr. 1874 Ossory Archaeological Society Inaugural Address delivered by the Right Rev. Dr. Moran, Bishop of Ossory. *Transactions of the Ossory Archaeological Society* **1**, 1–22.

Morris, E. 2002 A northern scholar in County Sligo. In M.A. Timoney (ed.), *A celebration of Sligo. First Essays for Sligo Field Club*, 251–55. Sligo.

Morse, M. A. 1999. Craniology and the adoption of the Three-Age System in Britain. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* **65**, 1–16.

Moscrop, J.J. 2000 *Measuring Jerusalem: the Palestine Exploration Fund and British interests in the Holy Land*. Leicester.

Movius, H.L. 1934 Bronze Age burials from Carrownacon, near Ballyglass, Co. Mayo. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **64**, 73–85.

Movius, H.L. 1935 A tumulus at Carrowlisdooaun, Co. Mayo. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **65**, 75–83.

Movius, H.L. 1935 Kilgreany Cave, Co. Waterford. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **65**, 254–96.

Movius, H.L. 1936 A Neolithic site on the River Bann. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **43C**, 17–40.

Movius, H.L. 1937 A Stone Age site at Glenarm, Co. Antrim. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **67**, 181–220.

Movius, H.L. 1940 An early postglacial archaeological site at Cushendun, Co. Antrim. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **46C**, 1–48.

Movius, H.L. 1940 Report on a Stone Age excavation at Rough Island, Strangford Lough, Co. Down. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **70**, 111–42.

Movius, H.L. 1942 *The Irish Stone Age: its chronology, development and relationships*. Cambridge. [Reprinted by Greenwood Press, New York, 1969.]

Movius, H.L. 1953 Archaeological research in Northern Ireland: an historical account of the investigations at Larne. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **16**, 7–23.

Movius, H.L. 1953 Curran Point, Larne, Co. Antrim: the type-site of the Irish Mesolithic. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **56C**, 1–195.

Mulvin, L. 2001 The Roman sculptures at Russborough House. In M. McCarthy (ed.), *Lord Charlemont and his circle*, 167–75. Dublin.

Murphy, D. 1888 On two sepulchral urns found in June, 1885, in the south island of Arran. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **12**, 476–9.

Murphy, D. and Westropp, T.J. 1894 Notes on the antiquities of Tara (*Teamhair na Righ*). *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **24**, 232–42.

Murphy, J.A. 1995 *The College: a history of Queen's/University College Cork, 1845–1995*. Cork.

Murray, D. 2000 *Romanticism, nationalism and Irish antiquarian societies, 1840–80*. Maynooth.

Murray, L.P. 1933 The cemetery-cairn at Knockast. *County Louth Archaeological Journal* **8**, 65–8.

Murray, P. 2004 *George Petrie (1790–1866)—the rediscovery of Ireland's past*. Kinsale.

Myres, J.N.L. 1902 [Review of] Ridgeway's *Early Age of Greece*. *The Classical Review* **16**, 68–94.

Nagy, J.F. 2001 Observations on the Ossianesque in medieval Irish literature and modern Irish folklore. *Journal of American Folklore* **114**, 436–46.

National Museum of Ireland 1927–1936 *Reports on the National Museum of Ireland 1927–1936 (Being an extract from the Reports of the Department of Education 1927–1936)*. Dublin.

Nesbitt, N. 1979 *A museum in Belfast: a history of the Ulster Museum and its predecessors*. Belfast.

Nevin, M. 1993 General Charles Vallancey 1725–1812. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **123**, 19–58.

Nevin, M. 1995 The finding of the Cashel Crosier. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **125**, 131–34.

Nevin, M. 1996 Joseph Cooper Walker 1761–1810. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **126**, 152–66.

Newman, C. 1997 *Tara: an archaeological survey. Discovery Programme Monograph* **2**. Dublin.

Newman, C. 1997 Ballinderry Crannóg No. 2, Co. Offaly: the Later Bronze Age. *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* **8**, 91–114.

Newman, C. 2002 Ballinderry Crannóg No. 2, Co. Offaly: pre-crannóg early medieval horizon. *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* **11**, 99–123.

Ní Chatháin, P. 1986 Sir Samuel Ferguson and the ogham inscriptions. *Irish University Review* **16**, 159–69.

Ní Chonmhidhe-Piskorski, M. 2005 Margaret Conway, founding editor of *Ríocht na Midhe*. *Ríocht na Midhe* **16**, 194–211.

Nicholson, P. 1983 Hodder Westropp. *Antiquity* **57**, 205–10.

Noonan, K.M. 1998 'The cruell pressure of an enraged, barbarous people': Irish and English identity in seventeenth-century policy and propaganda. *The Historical Journal* **41**, 151–77.

Nordenfalk, C. 1987 One hundred and fifty years of varying views on the early insular gospel books. In M. Ryan (ed.), *Ireland and Insular art*, 1–6. Dublin.

O'Brien, G. 1995 Scotland, Ireland, and the antithesis of the Enlightenment. In S.J. Connolly, R.A. Houston and R.J. Morris (eds), *Conflict, identity and economic development: Ireland and*

Scotland, 1600–1939, 125–34. Preston.

O'Brien, H. 1834 *The round towers of Ireland, or the mysteries of freemasonry, of sabaism, and of budhism, now for the first time unveiled.* Dublin. [Second edition, *The round towers of Ireland, or the history of the Tuath-de-Dananns for the first time unveiled.* Dublin and London 1834; Third edition, *The round towers of Ireland, or the history of the Tuath-de-Dananns.* London 1898.]

O'Brien, W. 2002 Megaliths in a mythologised landscape. In C. Scarre (ed.), *Monuments and landscape in Atlantic Europe: perception and society during the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age*, 152–76. London.

O'Brien, W. 2003 The Bronze Age copper mines of the Goleen Area, Co. Cork. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **103C**, 13–59.

Ó Buachalla, B. 1987 *Foras feasa ar Éirinn* (G. Keating), Foreword to the 1987 edition. Dublin.

Ó Cadhla, S. 1999 Mapping a discourse: Irish *Gnosis* and the Ordnance Survey 1824–1841. *Irish Journal of Anthropology* **4**, 84–109.

Ó Catháin, D. 1989 Charles O'Conor of Belanagare: antiquary and Irish scholar. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **119**, 136–63.

O'Connor, C. and Cook, B.F. 1981 A Greek stele in Dublin. *The Antiquaries Journal* **61**, 29–34.

O'Conor, C. 1753 *Dissertations on the ancient history of Ireland.* Dublin.

O'Conor, C. 1766 *Dissertations on the ancient history of Ireland*, second edition. Dublin.

O'Conor, C. 1782 Reflections on the history of Ireland during the times of heathenism. *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* **3**, 213–46.

O'Conor, C. 1786 Third letter from Charles O'Conor, Esq; [on the pagan state of Ireland] to Colonel Vallancey. *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* **4**, no. 13, 106–34.

O'Curry, E. 1861 *Lectures on the manuscript materials of ancient Irish history, delivered at the Catholic University of Ireland, during the sessions of 1855 and 1856.* Dublin.

O'Curry, E. 1873 *On the manners and customs of the ancient Irish* (ed. W.K. O'Sullivan). Dublin. [Reprinted by De Búrca, Dublin, with an introduction by N. Ó Muraíle, 1996.]

O'Donoghue, D. 1998 *Hitler's Irish voices: the story of German radio's wartime Irish service.* Belfast.

O'Donovan, J. 1848–1851 *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters, from the earliest period to the year 1616*, vols 1–7. Dublin. [Reprinted by De Búrca, Dublin, with an introduction by K. Nicholls, 1990.]

Ó Drisceoil, D. 1990 *Fulacht fiadh*: the value of early Irish literature. In V. Buckley (ed.), *Burnt offerings: international contributions to burnt mound archaeology*, 157–64. Dublin.

Ó Dúill, G. 1993 *Samuel Ferguson Beatha agus Saothar.* Dublin.

O'Flaherty, R. 1693 *Ogygia or a chronological account of Irish events ... by Roderic O'Flaherty translated by Rev. James Hely.* Dublin.

O'Flanagan, T. 1787 An account of an antient inscription in ogam character on the sepulchral monument of an Irish chief. *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* **1**, 1–16.

O'Grady, S. 1892 *Silva Gadelica.* London.

O'Grady, S. 1894 *The story of Ireland.* London.

O'Halloran, C. 1989 Irish re-creations of the Gaelic past: the challenge of Macpherson's Ossian. *Past and Present* **124**, 69–95.

O'Halloran, C. 2004 *Golden ages and barbarous nations: antiquarian debate and cultural politics in Ireland, c. 1750–1800.* Cork.

O'Halloran, J. 2001 'By time everything is revealed': the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society, 1900–1999. *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* **53**, 162–82.

O'Halloran, S. 1772 *An introduction to the study of the history and antiquities of Ireland.* Dublin.

O'Halloran, S. 1778 *A general history of Ireland, from the earliest accounts to the close of the twelfth*

century, collected from the most authentic sources. London.

O'Kelleher, A. and Schoepperle, G. 1918 *Betha Colaim Chille: Life of Columcille.* Urbana, Illinois. [Reprinted Dublin 1994.]

O'Kelly, M.J. 1957 Obituary: Professor Seán P. Ó Ríordáin. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **87**, 89–90.

O'Kelly, M.J. 1966 Review of R. de Valera and S. Ó Nualláin. *Survey of the Megalithic Tombs of Ireland, vol. II, Co. Mayo. Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **71**, 166–7.

O'Kelly, M.J. 1989 *Early Ireland: an introduction to Irish prehistory.* Cambridge.

Okun, H. 1967 Ossian in painting. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* **30**, 327–56.

O'Laverty, J. 1857 Relative antiquity of stone and bronze weapons. *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* **5**, 122–7.

O'Leary, E. 1902 Notes on the collection of Irish antiquities lately at Edenderry. *Journal of the Kildare Archaeological Society* **3**, 325–33.

O'Leary, P. 1994 *The prose literature of the Gaelic Revival 1881–1921: ideology and innovation.* Pennsylvania.

O'Leary, P. 2004 *Gaelic prose in the Irish Free State.* Dublin.

Ó Lúing, S. 2000 *Celtic studies in Europe.* Dublin.

Ó Madagáin, B. 1999 Irish: a difficult birth. In T. Foley (ed.), *From Queen's College to National University: essays on the academic history of QCG/UCG/NUI, Galway,* 344–59. Dublin.

O'Malley, E. 1978 *The singing flame.* Dublin.

O'Meara, J.J. 1951 *The first version of the Topography of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis.* Dundalk.

Ó Muraíle, N. 1996 Aspects of the intellectual life of seventeenth-century Galway. In G. Moran and R. Gillespie (eds), *Galway history and society,* 149–211. Dublin.

Ó Muraíle, N. 1996 *The celebrated antiquary Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh (c. 1600–1671): his lineage, life and learning.* Maynooth.

Ó Muraíle, N. 1997 Seán Ó Donnabháin, 'An Cúigiú Máistir', *Léachtaí Cholm Cille* **27**, 11–82.

O'Neill, H. 1855 *A descriptive catalogue of illustrations of the fine arts of ancient Ireland.* Dublin.

O'Neill, H. 1857 *Illustrations of the most interesting of the sculptured crosses of ancient Ireland, drawn to scale and lithographed.* London.

O'Neill, H. 1863 *The fine arts and civilization of ancient Ireland, illustrated with chromo and other lithographs, and several woodcuts.* London.

O'Neill, H. 1877 *The round towers of Ireland. Part the first, containing descriptions of the four round towers in the County Dublin.* Dublin.

O'Rahilly, C. 1970 *Táin Bó Cúalnge from the Book of Leinster.* Dublin.

O'Rahilly, T.F. 1946 *Early Irish history and mythology.* Dublin.

Ó Raifeartaigh, T. (ed.) 1985 *The Royal Irish Academy: a bicentennial history 1785–1985.* Dublin.

O'Reilly, S. 1999 Birth of a nation's symbol: the revival of Ireland's round towers. *Irish Arts Review Yearbook* **15**, 27–33.

Ó Riain, P. 1995 Saothar Suaithinseach de Chuid Eoghain Uí Chomhraí. In P. Ó Fiannachta (ed.), *Ómós do Eoghan Ó Comhraí,* 23–42. Dingle.

Ó Ríordáin, S.P. 1937 The halberd in Bronze Age Europe: a study in prehistoric origins, evolution, distribution and chronology. *Archaeologia* **86**, 195–321.

Ó Ríordáin, S.P. 1940 Excavations at Cush, Co. Limerick (1934 and 1935). *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **45C**, 83–181.

Ó Ríordáin, S.P. 1942 *Antiquities of the Irish countryside.* Cork. [Second edition 1943; fifth edition revised by Ruaidhri de Valera 1979.]

Ó Ríordáin, S.P. 1944 Post-war archaeology in Ireland. *Studies* **33**, 475–86.

Ó Ríordáin, S.P. 1954 *Tara: the monuments on the Hill.* Dundalk.

Ó Ríordáin, S.P. 1955 'Preserve, examine, illustrate': a commentary on the position of Irish archaeology. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **85**, 1–21.

Ó Ríordáin, S.P. and Daniel, G. 1964 *Newgrange and the Bend of the Boyne*. London.

Orme, B. 1974 Governor Pownall. *Antiquity* **48**, 116–25.

Orpen, G.H. 1906 Mote and Bretesche building in Ireland. *English Historical Review* **21**, 417–44.

Orpen, G.H. 1907 Motes and Norman castles in Ireland (continued). *English Historical Review* **22**, 440–67.

Ó Síocháin, P.A. 1962 *Aran Islands of legend*. Dublin.

O'Sullivan, A. 1998 *The archaeology of lake settlement in Ireland. Discovery Programme Monographs* **4**. Dublin.

O'Sullivan, A. 2003 The Harvard Archaeological Mission and the politics of the Irish Free State. *Archaeology Ireland* **17**, no. 1, 20–23.

O'Sullivan, M. 1998 Eoin MacWhite: archaeologist, scholar, diplomat (1923–1972). *Journal of Iberian Archaeology* **0**, 133–42.

Ó Tuathaigh, M.A.G. 1986 Religion, nationality and a sense of community in modern Ireland. In M.A.G. Ó Tuathaigh (ed.), *Community, culture and conflict: aspects of the Irish experience*, 64–81. Galway.

Otway, C. 1827 *Sketches in Ireland: descriptive of interesting and hitherto unnoticed districts in the North and the South*. Dublin. [Second edition with corrections published as *Sketches in Ireland: descriptive of interesting portions of the Counties of Donegal, Cork and Kerry*. Dublin 1839.]

Otway, C. 1839 *A tour in Connaught comprising sketches of Clonmacnoise, Joyce Country, and Achill*. Dublin.

Otway, C. 1841 *Sketches in Erris and Tyrawley*. Dublin.

Ovenell, R.F. 1986 *The Ashmolean Museum 1683–1894*. Oxford.

Owenson, S. [Lady Morgan] 1807 *Patriotic sketches of Ireland, written in Connaught*. London.

Parry, G. 1995 *The trophies of time: English antiquarians of the seventeenth century*. Oxford.

Patten, E. 2004 *Samuel Ferguson and the culture of nineteenth-century Ireland*. Dublin.

Patterson, A.W. 1908 Tara restored. *Journal of the Ivernian Society* **1**, 21–30.

Patterson, W.H. 1880 A description of the Benn collection. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **15**, 294–303.

Petrie, G. 1832 Historic sketch of the past and present state of the fine arts in Ireland. *Dublin Penny Journal* **1**, no. 11, September 8, 83–4.

Petrie, G. 1838 '... an account of a very remarkable collection of stone circles, cairns, etc., situate in the townland of Carrowmore ...'. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **1**, 140–42.

Petrie, G. 1839 On the history and antiquities of Tara Hill. *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* **18**, 25–232.

Petrie, G. 1845 *The ecclesiastical architecture of Ireland, anterior to the Norman invasion; comprising an essay on the origin and uses of the round towers of Ireland*. Dublin. [Also *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* **20**, with slightly different pagination.]

Petrie, G. 1872 *Christian inscriptions in the Irish language*. Dublin (ed. M. Stokes).

Petrie, G. 1972 An essay on military architecture in Ireland previous to the English invasion, notes and explanatory appendix by D.J.S. O'Malley. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **72C**, 219–69.

Pettit, S.F. 1976 The Royal Cork Institution: a reflection of the cultural life of a city. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **81**, 70–90.

Phelan, M. 1975 John George Augustus Prim 1821–1875. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **105**, 159–61.

Philips, C.W. 1987 *My life in archaeology*. Gloucester.

Philips, J.J. 1874 *St Mary's of Grey Abbey, County Down, Ireland, as existing in the year AD 1874. A series of measured and sketch drawings, details, etc., of this ancient Cistercian monastery, with descriptive and historical letterpress.* Belfast.

Piggott, S. 1937 Prehistory and the Romantic movement. *Antiquity* **11**, 31–38.

Piggott, S. 1954 *The Neolithic cultures of the British Isles.* Cambridge.

Piggott, S. 1965 Archaeological draughtsmanship. *Antiquity* **39**, 165–76.

Piggott, S. 1974 The origins of the English county archaeological societies. *Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society* **86**, 1–15.

Piggott, S. 1975 *The Druids.* London.

Piggott, S. 1978 *Antiquity depicted: aspects of archaeological illustration.* London.

Piggott, S. 1983 *The earliest wheeled transport from the Atlantic Coast to the Caspian Sea.* London.

Piggott, S. 1989 *Ancient Britons and the antiquarian imagination.* London.

Piggott, S. 1993 John Thurnam (1810–1873) and British prehistory. *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* **86**, 1–7.

Plunkett, Count 1912 About museums. *The Irish Monthly* **40**, 608–12.

Pococke, R. 1773 An account of some antiquities found in Ireland. *Archaeologia* **2**, 32–41.

Pool, P.A.S. 1986 *William Borlase.* Truro.

Power, P. [1923] *Prehistoric Ireland: a manual of Irish pre-Christian archaeology.* Dublin. [Second revised edition 1925.]

Power, P. 1925 *Early Christian Ireland: a manual of Irish Christian archaeology.* Dublin.

Power, P. 1927 The problem of the Celts. *Studies* **16**, 99–114.

Pownall, T. 1773 A description of the sepulchral monument at NewGrange, near Drogheda, in the County of Meath, in Ireland. *Archaeologia* **2**, 236–75.

Pownall, T. 1775 An account of some Irish antiquities. *Archaeologia* **3**, 355–70.

Pownall, T. 1785 A letter from Governor Pownall to the Reverend Michael Lort. *Archaeologia* **7**, 269–75.

Pownall, T. 1786 An account of the Ship-Temple, near Dundalk in Ireland ... to which are added some remarks by Lieut. Col. Vallancey. *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* **3**, no. 10, 197–209.

Pressly, W.L. 1976 James Barry's *The baptism of the King of Cashel by St Patrick. The Burlington Magazine* **118**, 643–7.

Price, L. 1942 *An eighteenth-century antiquary: the sketches, notes and diaries of Austin Cooper (1759–1830).* Dublin.

Proudfoot, V.B. 1961 The economy of the Irish rath. *Medieval Archaeology* **5**, 94–122.

Raftery, J. 1941 *Christian art in ancient Ireland*, vol. II. Dublin.

Raftery, J. 1951 *Prehistoric Ireland.* London,

Raftery, J. 1953 Loughcrew, Co. Meath—ein Megalithgrab der La-Tène-Zeit. *Congrès International des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques Actes de la III^e Session Zurich 1950,* 284–7. Zurich.

R[aftery], J. 1963 Dermot F. Gleeson. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **93**, 88–9.

Raftery, J. 1972 George Petrie, 1789–1866: a re-assessment. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **72C**, 153–7.

Raftery, J. 1988 A backward look. *Archaeology Ireland* **2**, no. 1, 22–24.

Rees, A. and B. 1961 *Celtic heritage: ancient tradition in Ireland and Wales.* London.

Reeves-Smyth, T. 1983 Landscapes in paper: cartographic sources for Irish archaeology. In T. Reeves-Smyth and F. Hamond (eds), *Landscape archaeology in Ireland. British Archaeological Reports* **116**, 119–77. Oxford.

Renaud, E.B. 1930 Palaeolithic man in Ireland. *American Anthropologist* **32**, 633–42.

Retzius, A. 1846 On the ethnographic distribution of round and elongated crania. *Report of the*

Sixteenth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science 1846, 116. [Abstract.]

Reynolds, S.C.P. and Scannell, M.J.P. 1992 A history of the Limerick Naturalists' Field Club 1892–1913. *Irish Naturalists' Journal* **24**, 101–6.

Rhys, J. 1882 *Early Britain, Celtic Britain*. London. [Second edition 1884, third edition 1904.]

Richardson, H. 1975 Bibliography of Dr Françoise Henry. *Studies* **64**, 313–25.

Richmond, I. 1932 The Irish analogies for the Romano-British barn dwelling. *Journal of Roman Studies* **22**, 96–106.

Ridgeway, W. 1901 *The early age of Greece*, vol. 1. Cambridge.

Ridgeway, W. 1906 The date of the first shaping of the Cuchulainn saga. *Proceedings of the British Academy* **2**, 135–68.

Ridgeway, W. 1910 The historical background of the later Irish epic (The Cycle of Finn and Ossian). *Proceedings of the British Academy* **4**, 343–5.

Ridgeway, W. 1920 Edmund Crosby Quiggin. *The Caian* **28**, 104–11.

Roberts, B.F. 1986 Edward Lhuyd and Celtic linguistics. In D.E. Evans, J.G. Griffith and E.M. Jope (eds), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Celtic Studies held at Oxford, from 10th to 15th July, 1983*, 1–9. Oxford.

Rockley, J.E. 2003 The Cork Cuverian Society, reconsidered. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **108**, 117–32.

Roe, H. 1992 *Acallamh na Senórach*: the confluence of lay and clerical oral traditions. In C.J. Byrne, M. Harry and P. Ó Siadhail (eds), *Celtic languages and Celtic peoples. Proceedings of the Second North American Congress of Celtic Studies held in Halifax August 16–19, 1989*, 331–46. Halifax.

Rollo, D. 1995 Gerald of Wales' *Topographia Hibernica:* sex and the Irish nation. *The Romantic Review* **86**, 169–90.

Ronayne, M. 2001 The political economy of a landscape: conflict and value in a prehistoric landscape in the Republic of Ireland—ways of telling. In B. Bender and M. Winer (eds), *Contested landscapes: movement, exile and place*, 149–64. Oxford.

Roosevelt, T. 1907 The ancient Irish sagas. *The Century Magazine* **73**, no. 3, 327–37.

Ross, A. 1967 *Pagan Celtic Britain: studies in iconography and tradition*. London.

Rowlands, H. 1723 *Mona antiqua restaurata: an archaeological discourse on the antiquities, national and historical, of the Isle of Anglesea, the ancient seat of the British Druids*. Dublin. [Second improved edition London 1766.]

Ruane, J. 1992 Colonialism and the interpretation of Irish historical development. In M. Silverman and P.H. Gulliver (eds), *Approaching the past: historical anthropology through Irish case studies*, 293–323. New York.

Ryan, M. 1998 Obituary Frank (GF) Mitchell. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **128**, 125–6.

Ryan, M. (ed.) 1998 *Irish antiquities. Essays in memory of Joseph Raftery*. Bray.

Ryan, M. 2003 Sir William Wilde and Irish antiquities. In E. Ní Chuilleanáin (ed.), *The Wilde legacy*, 69–81. Dublin.

Rynne, E. 1961 The introduction of La Tène into Ireland. *Bericht über den V Internationalen Kongress für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Hamburg 1958*, 705–9. Berlin.

Rynne, E. 1976 The published work of A.T. Lucas. In C. Ó Danachair (ed.), *Folk and farm: essays in honour of A.T. Lucas*, 9–14. Dublin.

Scarry, J. 1991 *Monuments in the past: photographs 1870–1936*. Dublin.

Schnapp, A. 1996 *The discovery of the past: the origins of archaeology*. London.

Schofield, R.E. 1963 *The Lunar Society of Birmingham: a social history of provincial science and industry in eighteenth-century England*. Oxford.

Scott, A.B. and Martin, F.X. 1978 *Expugnatio Hibernica: the conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis*. Dublin.

Scott-Fox, C. 2002 *Cyril Fox: archaeologist extraordinary*. Oxford.

Scowcroft, R.M. 1987 Leabhar Gabhála Part I: the growth of the text. *Ériu* **38**, 91–116.

Scowcroft, R.M. 1988 Leabhar Gabhála Part II: the growth of the tradition. *Ériu* **39**, 1–66.

Sheehy, J. 1980 *The rediscovery of Ireland's past. The Celtic Revival 1830–1930*. London.

Shirley, E.P. 1846 On crannoges, and remains discovered in them. *Archaeological Journal* **3**, 44–9.

Simms, J.G. 1969 John Toland (1670–1722), a Donegal heretic. *Irish Historical Studies* **16**, 304–20.

Simms, J.G. 1982 *William Molyneux of Dublin*. Dublin.

Simms, K. 1987 *From kings to warlords*. Woodbridge.

Skelly, A.M. 1908 *Cuchulain of Muirtheimhne*. Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, Dublin. [Reprinted with minor changes and without illustrations in A.M. Skelly, *The Sorrows and Glories of Ireland*, New York 1935.]

Smiddy, R. 1871 *An essay on the Druids, the ancient churches, and the round towers of Ireland*. Dublin.

Smiles, S. 1994 *The image of antiquity: ancient Britain and the Romantic imagination*. Yale.

Smith, A. 1998 Landscapes of power in nineteenth-century Ireland. Archaeology and Ordnance Survey maps. *Archaeological Dialogues* **5**, 69–84.

Smith, C. 1746 *The antient and present state of the County and City of Waterford*. Dublin. [Reprinted by the Mercier Press, Cork, 1969; second augmented edition Dublin 1774.]

Smith. C. 1750 *The ancient and present state of the County and City of Cork*. Dublin. [Second edition Dublin 1774; new edition Cork 1815; reprinted by the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society with notes by T. Crofton Croker and R. Caulfield, edited by R. Day and W.A. Copinger, Cork 1893.]

Smith, C. 1756 *The antient and present state of the County of Kerry*. Dublin. [Reprinted by the Mercier Press, Cork 1969; second edition Dublin 1774.]

Smith, G.M. 1999 Spoliation of the past: the destruction of monuments and treasure-hunting in nineteenth-century Ireland. *Peritia* **13**, 154–72.

Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge 1913 *Catalogue of the important collection of Irish stone and bronze implements, personal ornaments, etc. (in gold, silver and bronze) formed by the well-known antiquary Robert Day* .... London.

Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge 1924 *Catalogue of the well-known and representative collection of prehistoric antiquities, etc. chiefly from Ireland, formed by W.J. Knowles* .... London.

Spenser, E. 1633 *A view of the present state of Ireland* (ed. W.L. Renwick, Oxford, 1970).

Sproule, J. 1854 *The Irish Industrial Exhibition of 1853: a detailed catalogue of its contents with critical dissertations, statistical information, and accounts of manufacturing processes in the different departments*. Dublin.

Stafford, F. 1988 *The sublime savage: a study of James Macpherson and the Poems of Ossian*. Edinburgh.

Stalley, R. (ed.) 1991 *Daniel Grose (c. 1766–1838). The antiquities of Ireland. A supplement to Francis Grose*. Dublin.

Stancliffe, C. 1982 Red, white and blue martyrdom. In D. Whitelock, R. McKitterick and D. Dumville (eds), *Ireland in early medieval Europe: studies in memory of Kathleen Hughes* (1982), 21–46. Cambridge.

Stanford, W.B. 1970 Towards a history of Classical influences in Ireland. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **70C**, 13–91.

Stanford, W.B. 1976 *Ireland and the Classical tradition*. Dublin.

Stead, I.M. 1998 *The Salisbury hoard*. Stroud.

Stephan, A. and Gosling, P. 2004 Adolf Mahr (1887–1951): his contribution to archaeological

research and practice in Austria and Ireland. In G. Holfter, M. Krajenbrink and E. Moxon-Brown (eds), *Connections and identities: Austria, Ireland and Switzerland*, 105–19. Bern.

Stephens, W. 1989 *Giants in those days: folklore, ancient history and nationalism*. Lincoln, Nebraska.

Stokes, M. 1878 *Early Christian architecture in Ireland*. London.

Stokes, M. 1882 Carte montrant la distribution des principaux dolmens d'Irlande. *Revue Archéologique* **54**, 1–22.

Stokes, M. 1887 *Early Christian art in Ireland*. London. [Second edition Dublin 1911 revised by G.T. Plunkett; first edition reprinted Dublin 1927 and 1932.]

Stokes, M. 1894 Celtic crosses at Castledermot. *Journal of the Kildare Archaeological Society* **1**, 282–5.

Stokes, M. 1898 *The high crosses of Castledermot and Durrow*. Dublin.

Stokes, Wm. 1868 *Life and labours in art and archaeology of George Petrie*. London.

Stout, G. 1984 *Archaeological Survey of the Barony of Ikerrin*. Roscrea.

Stout, M. 1996 Emyr Estyn Evans and Northern Ireland: the archaeology and geography of a new state. In J.A. Atkinson, I. Banks and J. O'Sullivan (eds), *Nationalism and archaeology*, 111–27. Glasgow.

Strijbosch, C. 1999 The heathen giant in the Voyage of St Brendan. *Celtica* **23**, 369–89.

Stubbs, W. 1875 *The constitutional history of England*. London.

Sullivan, A.M. 1867 *The story of Ireland: or A narrative of Irish history, from the earliest ages to the present time, written for the youth of Ireland*. Dublin.

Sullivan, R. 1998 John Toland's Druids: a mythopoeia of Celtic identity. *Bullán. An Irish Studies Journal* **4**, 19–41.

Sweet, R. 2004 *Antiquaries: the discovery of the past in eighteenth-century Britain*. London.

Swift, C. 2003 The Gods of Newgrange in Irish literature and Romano-Celtic tradition. In G. Burenhult and S. Westergaard (eds), *Stones and bones. Formal disposal of the dead in Atlantic Europe, British Archaeological Reports International Series* **1201**, 53–63.

Swift, M. 1999 *Historical maps of Ireland*. London.

Symington, J. 1903 John Grattan: a sketch of his work as a craniologist. *Proceedings of the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society* 1903–4, 19–40.

Szövérffy, J. 1956 Some notes on legend migration in Irish and Continental tradition. *Iris Hibernia* **3**, 46–63.

Talbot, J. 1849 Memoir on some ancient arms and implements found at Lagore, near Dunshaughlin, County of Meath, with a few remarks on the classification of Northern antiquities. *Archaeological Journal* **6**, 101–9.

Taylor, M. 1932 *Sir Bertram Windle: a memoir*. London.

Thomas, F.P. 1952 Tara, Irish archaeology and Dr MacWhite. *The Leader* **52**, no. 3, February 9th 1952, 19–20.

Thomas, J. 1995 Where are we now? Archaeological theory in the 1990s. In P.J. Ucko (ed.), *Theory in archaeology: a world perspective*, 343–62. London.

Thomas, J. 2004 *Archaeology and modernity*. London.

Thompson, M.W. 1977 *General Pitt-Rivers: evolution and archaeology in the nineteenth century*. Bradford-on-Avon.

Thompson, M.W. (ed.). 1983 *The journeys of Sir Richard Colt Hoare through Wales and England 1793–1810*. Gloucester.

Thomsen, C.J. 1848 *Guide to northern archaeology by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen, edited for the use of English readers by the Right Honorable The Earl of Ellesmere*. London.

Tierney, M. 1962 Eugene O'Curry and the Irish tradition. *Studies* **51**, 449–62.

Timoney, M.A. and Heraughty, P. 2002 Sligo Antiquarian Society, 1945–1946 and Sligo Field Club, 1946–1947, 1954–2002. In M.Timoney (ed.), *A celebration of Sligo: first essays for Sligo Field Club,* 275–329. Sligo.

Toland, J. 1726 *A collection of several pieces of Mr John Toland* (ed. P. Des Maizeaux). London. [Reprinted as *A new edition of Toland's History of the Druids with an abstract of his life and writings and a copious appendix, containing notes, critical, philological and explanatory,* by R. Huddleston, Montrose, 1814, and by J. Findley, Edinburgh, 1815, as *A critical history of the Celtic religion and learning: containing an account of the Druids,* the latter reprinted by the Balton Press, Largs, 1990.]

Townley, C. 1978 The Galway Archaeological and Historical Society. *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* **35**, 5–11.

Tratman, E.K., Fawcett, E. and Jackson, J.W. 1929 Report on excavations in Ireland. *University of Bristol Proceedings of the Spelaeological Society* **3**, 109–53.

Trench, C.E.F. 1985 William Burton Conyngham (1733–1796). *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **115**, 40–63.

Trigger, B.G. 1989 *A history of archaeological thought.* Cambridge.

Tristram, H.L.C. 1996 Celtic in linguistic taxonomy in the nineteenth century. In T. Brown (ed.), *Celticism,* 35–60. Amsterdam.

Twohig, E. 1987 Pitt Rivers in Munster 1862–65/6. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **92**, 34–46.

Turner, R.C. and Scaife, R.G. (eds) 1995 *Bog bodies: new discoveries and new perspectives.* London.

Vallancey, C. 1786 Druidism revived. *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* **2**, no. 7, 161–217.

Vallancey, C. 1786 An essay on the antiquity of the Irish language. *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* **2**, no. 8, 251–336.

Vallancey, C. 1786 The Iodhan Morain, or Breast-plate of Judgment, etc. *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis* **4**, no. 13, 1–106.

Vaughan, R. 1986 The past in the Middle Ages. *Journal of Medieval History* **12**, 1–14.

Waddell, J. 1978 The invasion hypothesis in Irish prehistory. *Antiquity* **52**, 121–8.

Waddell, J. 1983 Rathcroghan—a royal site in Connacht. *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* **1**, 21–46.

Waddell, J. 1986 Knocknagur, Turoe and local enquiry. *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* **40**, 130–33.

Waddell, J. 1988 Excavation at 'Dathi's Mound', Rathcroghan, Co. Roscommon. *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* **4**, 23–36.

[Waddell, J.] 1988 Professor Michael V. Duignan 1907–1988. *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* **41**, 1–4.

Waddell, J. 1991 The Celticization of the West: an Irish perspective. In C. Chevillot and A. Coffyn (eds), *L'Age du Bronze Atlantique: Actes du Ier Colloque de Beynac,* 349–66. Beynac.

Waddell, J. 1992 The Irish Sea in prehistory. *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* **6**, 29–40.

Waddell, J. 1994 The archaeology of Aran. In J. Waddell, J.W. O'Connell and A. Korff (eds), *The Book of Aran,* 75–135. Kinvara.

Waddell, J. 2000 *The prehistoric archaeology of Ireland.* Bray.

Waddell, J. and Clyne, M. 1995 M.V. Duignan's excavations at Kiltiernan, Co. Galway. *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* **47**, 149–204.

Wakeman, W.F. 1848 *A hand-book of Irish antiquities, pagan and Christian: especially of such as are easy of access from the Irish metropolis.* Dublin. [Second expanded edition Dublin 1891; Third revised edition by J. Cooke, Dublin 1903.]

Wakeman, W.F. 1862 Aran—pagan and Christian. *Duffy's Hibernian Magazine* **1**, 460–71, 567–77.

Wakeman, W.F. 1865 'Druid's Altars' or cromlechs. *The Dublin Saturday Magazine* **1**, 100–101.

Wakeman, W.F. 1867 Portumna Castle. *The Dublin Saturday Magazine* **2**, no. 60, 85–6.

Wakeman, W.F. 1867 Tara Hill, County Meath. *The Dublin Saturday Magazine* **2**, no. 66, 161–2.

Wakeman, W.F. 1867 The Petrie collection. *The Dublin Saturday Magazine* **2**, no. 87, 411–12; no. 92, 471–2.

Wakeman, W.F. 1867 The Bronze Age in Ireland. *The Dublin Saturday Magazine* **2**, no. 102, 589–91; no. 103, 601–3.

Wakeman, W.F. 1867 The Age of Stone. *The Dublin Saturday Magazine* **2**, no. 104, 613.

Wakeman, W.F. [1885] *The tourists' picturesque guide to Ireland, revised and amended second edition.* Dublin.

Wakeman, W.F. 1887 *Graves and monuments of illustrious Irishmen. 'Evening Telegraph' Reprints—No. 1.* Dublin.

Wakeman, W.F. 1893 *A survey of the antiquarian remains on the Island of Inismurray (Inis Muireadhaigh).* London.

Walker, J.C. 1786 *Historical memoirs of the Irish bards.* Dublin. [Second edition Dublin 1818.]

Walker, J.C. 1788 *Historical essay on the dress of the ancient and modern Irish.* London. [Second edition Dublin 1818.]

Walker, J.C. 1790 *Outlines of a plan for promoting the art of painting in Ireland: with a list of subjects for painting drawn from the romantic and genuine histories of Ireland.* Dublin.

Wallace, P.F. 1987 Obituary A.T. Lucas (1911–1986). *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **117**, 152–3.

Wallace, P.F. 2004 Adolf Mahr and the making of Seán P. Ó Ríordáin. In H. Roche, E. Grogan, J. Bradley, J. Coles and B. Raftery (eds), *From megaliths to metals: essays in honour of George Eogan,* 254–63. Oxford.

Wallace, P.F. and Ó Floinn, R. 2002 *Treasures of the National Museum of Ireland: Irish antiquities.* Dublin.

Waller, J.F. 1852 *Inauguration Ode, for the opening of the National Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures, and Materials, at Cork, on the 10th of June, 1852.* Cork.

Ward, R.E., Wrynn, J.F. and Ward, C.C. 1988 *Letters of Charles O'Conor of Belanagare: a Catholic voice in eighteenth-century Ireland.* Washington DC.

Ware, J. 1705 *The antiquities and history of Ireland* (W. Harris, ed.). London.

Webb, W. 1791 *An analysis of the history and antiquities of Ireland, prior to the fifth century. To which is subjoined, a review of the general history of the Celtic nations.* Dublin.

Westropp, H.M. 1872 *Pre-historic phases, or introductory essays on pre-historic archaeology.* London.

Westropp, T.J. 1902 The ancient forts of Ireland: being a contribution towards our knowledge of their types, affinities, and structural features. *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* **31**, 579–730.

Westropp, T.J. 1916 The President's Address on the progress of Irish archaeology. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* **46**, 2–26.

Wetherall, D. 1994 From Canterbury to Winchester: the founding of the Institute. In B. Vyner (ed.), *Building on the past: papers celebrating 150 years of the Royal Archaeological Institute,* 8-21. London.

Whelan, K. 2000 Settlement and society in eighteenth-century Ireland. In T. Barry (ed.), *A history of settlement in Ireland,* 187-205. London.

White, J. 1975 Françoise Henry. *Studies* **64**, 307–12.

Wilcox, D.J. 1987 *The measure of times past: Pre-Newtonian chronologies and the rhetoric of relative time.* Chicago.

Wilde, W.R. 1840 *Narrative of a voyage to Madeira, Teneriffe, and along the shores of the Mediterranean.* Dublin.

[Wilde, W.R.] 1841 Sir Thomas Molyneux, Bart. *Dublin University Magazine* **18**, 365–87, 470–90, 604–19, 744–64.

Wilde, W.R. 1844 *A lecture on the ethnology of the ancient Irish, delivered at the King and Queen's College of Physicians, Dublin.* [Extracted from the *Dublin Literary Journal,* June-July 1844, 231–4, 247–51].

Wilde, W.R. 1849 *The beauties of the Boyne and its tributary the Blackwater.* Dublin. [Second enlarged edition Dublin 1850.]

Wilde, W.R. 1857 *A descriptive catalogue of the antiquities of stone, earthen, and vegetable materials, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.* Dublin.

Wilde, W.R. 1861 *A descriptive catalogue of the antiquities of animal materials and bronze in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.* Dublin.

Wilde, W.R. 1862 *A descriptive catalogue of the antiquities of gold in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.* Dublin.

Wilde, W.R. 1864 *Ireland, past and present; the land and its people. A lecture.* Dublin.

Wilde, W.R. 1866 On the Battle of Moytura. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **10**, 22–4.

Wilde, W.R. 1867 *Lough Corrib, its shores and islands.* Dublin. [Second edition Dublin 1872; reprinted with an introduction by P. Harbison, Headford 2001.]

Wilde, W.R. 1874 On the ancient races of Ireland. *Proceedings of the British Association* 1874, reprinted in Lady Wilde's *Ancient legends, mystic charms and superstitions of Ireland,* vol. 2, 339–70, London, 1887. [One-volume editions 1888, 1902.]

Wilkinson, G. 1845 *Practical geology and ancient architecture of Ireland.* London.

Williams, M.M. 2004 The 'Temple of Industry': Dublin's Industrial Exhibition of 1853. In C. Hourihane (ed.), *Irish Art Historical Studies in honour of Peter Harbison,* 261–275. Dublin.

Wilson, A. 1976 *The making of the Nuremberg Chronicle.* Amsterdam.

Wilson, D. 1851 *The archaeology and prehistoric annals of Scotland.* Edinburgh.

Wilson, D. 1862 *Prehistoric man.* London.

Wilson, P. 2000 The father of Ulster antiquaries. *Archaeology Ireland* **14**, no. 1, 20–22.

Wilson, T.G. 1974 *Victorian doctor: being the life of Sir William Wilde.* London.

Windle, B.C.A. 1897 *Life in early Britain: being an account of the early inhabitants of this island and the memorials which they have left behind them.* London.

Windle, B.C.A. 1904 *Remains of the prehistoric age in England.* London.

Windle, B.C.A. 1912 On certain megalithic remains immediately surrounding Lough Gur, County Limerick. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **30C**, 283–306.

Windle, B.C.A. 1917 *The church and science.* London.

Wood, T. 1818 On the mixture of fable and fact in the early annals of Ireland and on the best mode of ascertaining what degrees of credit these ancient documents are justly entitled to. *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* **13**, 3–79.

Wood, T. 1821 *An inquiry concerning the primitive inhabitants of Ireland. Illustrated by Ptolemy's map of Erin, corrected by the aid of bardic history.* London.

Woodman, P.C. 1978 *The Mesolithic in Ireland. British Archaeological Reports* **58**. Oxford.

Woodman, P.C. 1991 Archaeology and the Journal: concern for a disappearing past. *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society* **96**, 103–15.

Woodman, P.C. 1995 Who possesses Tara? Politics in archaeology in Ireland. In P.J. Ucko (ed.), *Theory in archaeology: a world perspective,* 278–97. London.

Woodman, P.C. 1998 Rosses Point revisited. *Antiquity* **72**, 562–70.

Woodman, P.C. 2002 The search for an Irish Palaeolithic: Rosses Point revisited. In M. Timoney (ed.), *A celebration of Sligo: first essays for Sligo Field Club,* 73–83. Sligo.

Wood-Martin, W.G. 1886 *The lake dwellings of Ireland: or ancient lacustrine habitations of Erin,*

commonly called crannogs. Dublin. [Reprinted by Crannog Editions, Dublin 1983.]

Wood-Martin, W.G. 1888 *The rude stone monuments of Ireland (Co. Sligo and the Island of Achill)*. Dublin.

Wood-Martin, W.G. 1895 *Pagan Ireland: an archaeological sketch. A handbook of Pre-Christian antiquities*. London.

Wood-Martin, W.G. 1902 *Traces of the elder faiths of Ireland: a folklore sketch. A handbook of Irish Pre-Christian traditions*. London.

Woolf, D.R. 1992 The dawn of the artifact: the antiquarian impulse in England, 1500–1730. *Studies in Medievalism* **4**, 5–35.

Woolf, D.[R.] 1996 Of Danes and giants: popular beliefs about the past in Early Modern England. *Dalhousie Review* **71**, 166–209.

Worsaae, J.J.A. 1847 An account of the formation of the museum at Copenhagen, and general remarks on the classification of the antiquities found in the North and West of Europe. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* **3**, 310–15, 327–44.

Worsaae, J.J.A. 1849 *The primeval antiquities of Denmark, translated, and applied to the illustration of similar remains in England, by William J. Thoms*. London.

Wright, T. 1748 *Louthiana: or, An introduction to the antiquities of Ireland*. London. [Reprinted, with an introduction by P. Gosling, Dundalk 2000.]

Wright, T. 1862 *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon: a history of the early inhabitants of Britain, down to the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity*. London.

Wyse Jackson, P.N. 1992 The geological collections of Trinity College, Dublin. *Geological Curator* **5**, no. 7, 263–74.

Zach, W. 1988 Brian Friel's *Translations:* national and universal dimensions. In R. Wall (ed.), *Medieval and modern Ireland*, 74–90. Gerrards Cross.

Index

Foundation myths is an account of the beginnings and development of the study of Irish archaeology from medieval times to the twentieth century.

Political and religious divisions have inevitably shaped different perceptions of the past, but the enduring influence of early Irish literature is evident and ancient origin myths in particular have had a noteworthy role to play.

Archaeological interpretation was coloured well into the twentieth century by a persistent belief in a series of mythical invaders, in a heroic pre-Christian era peopled by fearless Celtic warriors and in a golden age of early Christian saints and scholars.

The growth of Irish archaeology has been a slow and erratic process and in no way presents a neat linear progressive narrative from myth to enlightenment. As in other fields, the foundations of a scientific discipline were laid in the nineteenth century and dramatic methodological and theoretical progress was made in the following century. A critical understanding of the limitations of both the written and material record and an appreciation of the preconceptions and ambiguities that lie in archaeologists' own interpretations are even more recent developments.

An Chomhairle Oidhreachta
The Heritage Council

Wordwell

9 781869 857981

ISBN 1 869857 98 4