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Title	Booleying in Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun: survey, excavation and analysis of booley settlements in the Civil Parish of Achill
Author(s)	McDonald, Bridget Theresa
Publication Date	2014-04-24
Item record	http://hdl.handle.net/10379/4590

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**Booleying in Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun: survey, excavation and
analysis of booley settlements in the Civil Parish of Achill**

Volume I of II

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This Thesis is submitted to the National University of Ireland, Galway for the Degree of PhD
in the School of Geography and Archaeology

December 2013

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Dedication

For Kevin, Margo and Redmond McDonald who in their different ways supported me throughout the writing of this thesis

and

for my late uncle, John Moran, who stimulated my curiosity about the phenomenon of transhumance in the Civil Parish of Achill.

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Abstract

Transhumance, called booleying in Ireland, is a practice found in many parts of Europe that involves the movement of livestock and their keepers from lowland, permanent settlements to summer pasture, usually in the uplands, where they remain generally from May to October. It was once an important part of the Irish pastoral economy but lack of research means that it is little understood.

The study area chosen for the thesis is the Civil Parish of Achill, which includes Achill Island, Achillbeg Island and the Corraun Peninsula in Co. Mayo in the west of Ireland. The principal aim of this thesis is to try to understand the phenomenon of booleying in the Civil Parish of Achill through time. A cross-disciplinary approach is taken in this work, using the combined evidence from fieldwork, excavation, architectural survey, the historical sources, antiquarian accounts, cartography, the pictorial evidence, place-name analysis and folklore to answer this question.

It is shown in the thesis that transhumance was a practice that benefited both man and beast, as the removal of livestock in spring or early summer helped to protect crops and grass for use as winterage at the permanent settlement from the depredations of livestock, while the change of pasture maintained the health of livestock and enabled larger herds to be kept. The social aspects of booleying in the study area were also examined and the combined archaeological, historical and folklore evidence suggests that the nearest modern equivalent experience to the practice is akin to modern camping. It is argued that booleying was common in the field area until the mid-nineteenth century and then declined after that, partly because of the availability of seasonal work in Scotland and England.

The main conclusions of the thesis are fourfold. These are in ascending order of importance: firstly, that cultivation did occur at transhumant sites in the field area; secondly, that lowland transhumance did take place through time, even at quite late dates, in the Civil Parish of Achill; thirdly, that settlements in the study area changed status over time, starting as permanent settlements and then becoming transhumant ones (and vice versa); fourthly, that there are architectural and physical differences between purpose-built booley houses and permanent houses in the study area – this

could be of value in recognising proper transhumant sites elsewhere. This last important conclusion underlines the fact that while an cross-disciplinary approach to research is vital when studying the past, it clear that the discipline of archaeology has a lot to offer in helping scholars understand the very recent, post-medieval past.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor Dr Kieran O’Conor for his invaluable help in guiding me through this thesis. Thanks are also due to Dr Stefan Bergh, NUI, Galway, Professor Audrey Horning, Queen’s University, Belfast, and Margo McDonald for reading a draft of this thesis and offering comments on it. I would also like to thank Joe Fenwick, Professor Michael O’Connell, Professor Jim McAdam, Dr. Paul Tempan, Professor Nollaig Ó Muraile, Professor Dáibhi Ó Cróinín, Dr. Fiachra Mac Gabhann, Dr. Cormac McSparron for useful information and comments, and Ivor Hamrock, Mayo County Library, Castlebar.

The staff of the Achill Archaeological Field School, Dr. Rory Sherlock, Stuart Rathbone, Dolores Kilbane and former students of the school who helped with fieldwork. In particular, I would like to thank Stuart Rathbone, Dr Rory Sherlock, Dr Paul Naessens and Anja Goethals for their help with some of the illustrations.

Thanks to everyone who helped me make the project possible, including Dr. Jeffrey Miller, Nick Brannon, Andrew Whitefield, Richard Clutterbuck, Sheila McHugh, Alexandra Van Tuyl, Gerard Mangan, Michael Gibbons, Alison Giles, Simon Marston, Rosie Dunne, Mary Joe O’Keefe, Anthony Kilbane, James Kilbane, Nora Kilbane, Brid and Josie Heaney, Tom Johnston, Eneas Keane, Michael O’Connor, Michael Gielty, Anne Campbell and Jennifer McDonagh.

For interesting discussions, I would like to thank my fellow Ph.D colleagues at NUI, Galway, who reside in Rooms ARC 204 and ARC 205 – Dr. Fiona Beglane, Dr Eve Campbell, Eugene Costello, Richard and Betty Gray, Ross Ó Maolduin and Kate Leonard.

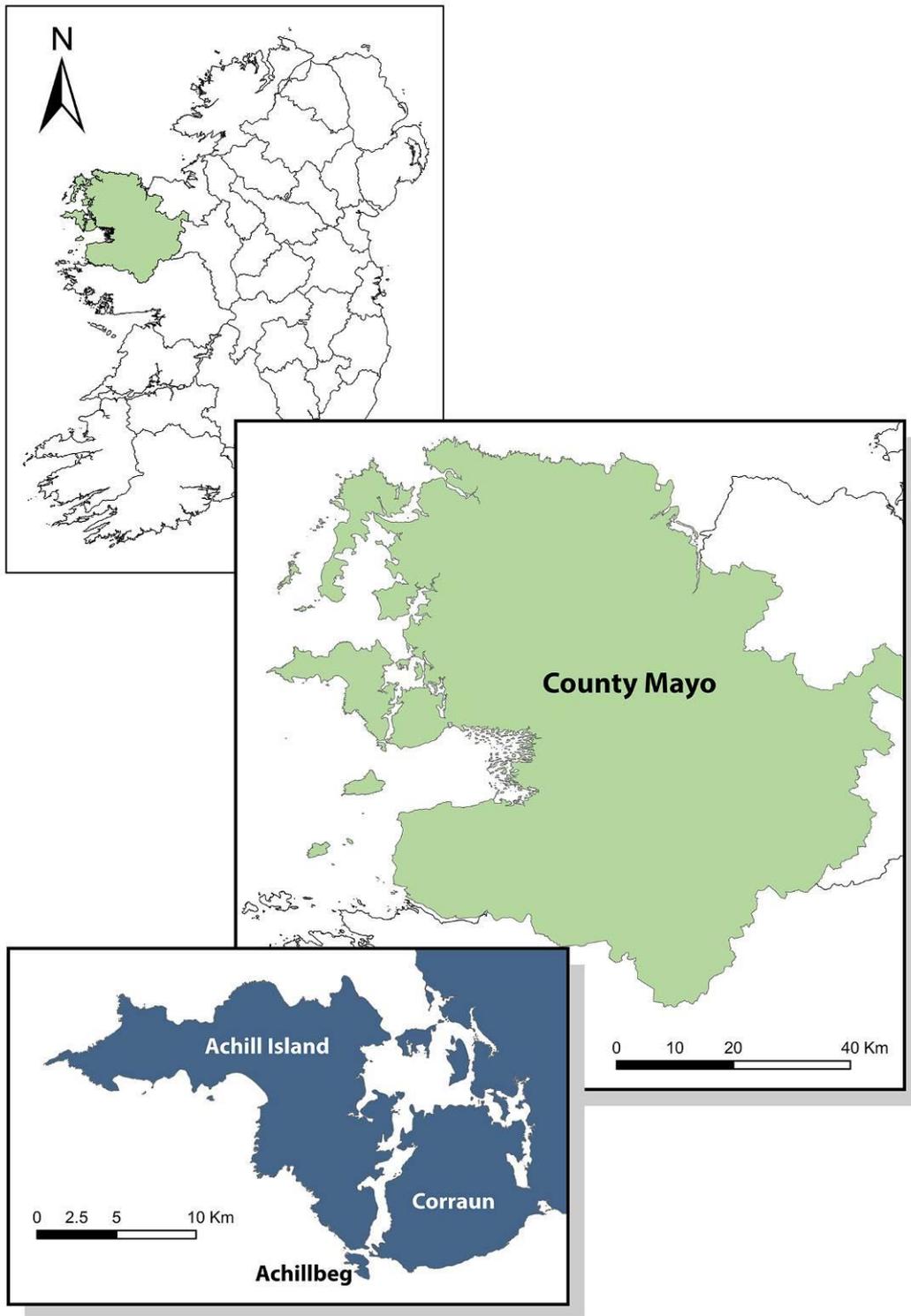


Fig. 1 - Location map of Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun in the Civil Parish of Achill.

Chapter 1 – Introduction to Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun

‘Achill, a parish, in the barony of Burrishoole, County of Mayo, and province of Connaught, 14 miles (W.) from Newport-Pratt, containing 5,277 inhabitants. This district comprehends the islands of Achill and Achillbeg, and the peninsula of Corraun Achill’ (Lewis 1837, i, 6).

1.0 – Introduction

Little attention has been paid to the practice of transhumance, called booleying in Ireland, despite its importance in the farming calendar through time. Some see it as a practice extending back into at least the early medieval period, if not much earlier (Evans 1939b, 1940; Lucas 1989, 67, 104; Kelly 1998, 44). Others see it purely as a post-medieval phenomenon, associated with the so-called clachan settlement form and the Rundale system of agriculture, where unfenced tillage crops necessitated the removal of livestock during the growing season to upland summer pastures that were largely inaccessible at other times of the year (Ó Moghráin 1943, 1944; O' Kelly 1942; MacCarthaigh and Whelan 1999).

Jean Graham's unpublished doctoral thesis in 1954 at Queen's University, Belfast, is the only major study of transhumance practice in Ireland to date. This thesis was written from the perspective of a historical geographer, with no fieldwork component included. Nevertheless, in a chapter devoted to transhumance in the Civil Parish of Achill, she was able to obtain from living people some first-hand accounts of the practice in the early years of the twentieth century when it was in decline and which are included in her thesis. This is important, for while her informants were people who had not themselves participated in transhumance or booleying, they had knowledge about it handed down from a previous generation. Information on earlier transhumance in the Civil Parish of Achill was also derived from historical sources such as the Books of Survey and Distribution, Griffiths Valuation, Ordnance Survey Letters, Ordnance Survey Field Name Books and the Tithe Applotment Books (Graham 1954, 46-69).

The aim of this thesis is to examine the practice of transhumance in the Civil Parish

of Achill – which comprises Achill Island, Achillbeg Island and the Corraun Peninsula (Fig. 1). The main goals of this chapter are to introduce the study area, define what is meant by transhumance, outline the aims of the thesis and indicate the methods and sources used within it. It will also endeavour to correct a prevailing situation of neglect by archaeologists of the study of transhumance. While there is some debate amongst scholars about exact time periods, for the purposes of this thesis, the early medieval period is defined as spanning the period from c. 400AD to 1100. The high medieval period is seen as beginning around the latter year and ending sometime in the late fourteenth century. The late medieval period is seen as starting c. 1380 and ending about 1600. However, the later medieval period is really the high and late periods combined and the term covers the years from c. 1100 to c. 1600. The post-medieval period is seen as beginning in the early seventeenth century and also covers the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (see Duffy *et.al.* 2001, 17; O'Conor 1998, xi).

1.1 – What is Transhumance?

What is or was transhumance, or booleying, as it was and is known in Ireland? It will be seen below and in Chapter 2 that there are a number of somewhat contrasting definitions of transhumance, partly because different types of this pastoral activity have been recognised across Europe. The main aim in this section is to define what the present writer sees as transhumance both in the context of Ireland and the field-study area. The English word 'transhumance' is derived from the Spanish word *Trashumar* and ultimately from the Latin words *trans* and *humus* - literally meaning 'travelling over the ground'. In the *Dictionary of Geography*, transhumance is defined as 'the practice among pastoral farmers of moving their herds and flocks between two regions of different climate' (Moore 1969, 212). However, this definition is too vague and does not really apply to Ireland and is more applicable to horizontal movements in Mediterranean areas where farmers and herders moved their livestock over very long distances from one climatic zone to another (See Chapter 2). It could be argued that this is more like pastoral nomadism than true transhumance. Another more precise definition of transhumance is 'a seasonal movement of men/women and animals between different grazing grounds. Shepherds leave their lowland winter quarters, and move to upland, summer pastures. A farmer

practicing transhumance is not a nomad, since he has two fixed abodes' (Oxford Dictionary of Geography; Moore 1969, 212). However, this too is rather vague, especially for Ireland, as it does not take into account the fact that in many areas of Europe whole families moved to these summer pastures with their livestock. The best definition of transhumance is probably 'the periodic movement with livestock of family groups or herders between summer and winter pasture, with no winter stalling of livestock and little or no provision of fodder' being made in the permanent home settlement (Matley 1968, 250-51).

A relatively recent definition of transhumance or booleying in Ireland states that this important economic practice saw the removal of livestock during the summer months from permanent settlements in low-lying areas to upland, or at least moorland, pastures (Briody 2003, 106; 2011, 219-28). It will be shown that this definition is close to what was practised in the Civil Parish of Achill. Interestingly, in this definition, it is stated that only young women accompanied the herds to the mountains in Ireland (ibid.). The problem with this is that evidence does suggest that for much of the time that transhumance or booleying was practised in Ireland, whole families or large parts of them, including men, went with the herds to the booleys in the summer. A better and more generally-held definition of transhumance across much of Europe and Ireland (or booleying as it is commonly called in this country) is that it involves the seasonal migration of livestock, mostly cattle, and at least some of their owners from a permanent, usually lowland, settlement to summer pastures, which lie in the mountains or at least uplands. The relatively-great distance and nature of the terrain from these permanent settlements to these grazing grounds meant that the people who took part in these movements could not return home at night. The distance involved meant that it would also be impractical to move dairy cattle from the lowlands to the uplands on a daily basis. This meant that the construction of huts was needed to house the people involved, and that these were occupied for the duration of the summer months, or until the pasture there has been eaten by the livestock (Aalen 1978; Bil 1990; Davies 1941; Lucas 1989, 58). This is perhaps how most scholars across Ireland and indeed Britain today would define transhumance/booleying and this definition is the starting point for this thesis.

There is, however, one caveat to this definition. Kenneth Nicholls (1987, 397-98;

1972, 137) has suggested, without much evidence, that in later medieval Ireland (i.e. c.1100AD to c.1600AD), booleying also took place in lowland areas where there were no adjacent mountains or uplands. One of the problems about the modern academic study of the later medieval period in Ireland is that little in the way of detailed socio-economic sources – the equivalent of Anglo-Norman/English Manorial Extents or *Inquisitions Post Mortem* – exist for the Gaelic-dominated parts of Ireland at this time, such as Achill (Nicholls 1987, 398). It is only in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that surviving documents give a more detailed insight into the economy of Gaelic Ireland (Nicholls 1987, 398; O' Conor 1998, 73). This means that little is known about economic practices in earlier periods. Little evidence for lowland booleying has been archaeologically identified in Ireland (see 2.5; 3.2.3; 6.1). This makes it hard at present to prove or disprove Nicholls' belief in lowland booleying in this country during the whole later medieval period. In terms of date, booleying continued as an economic practice down to the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, finally dying out around the late 1940s in the study area (Mc Donald 2006, 225).

1.2 – Aims of the Thesis

Having defined what transhumance is in the last section, what are the aims of this thesis? Relatively little detailed academic work has been carried out on the subject of transhumance/booleying in Ireland, despite its economic importance in the past and its potential to lead to better understanding of medieval and post-medieval Gaelic life (Horning 2004). It seems to be regarded as a post-medieval phenomenon outside the temporal bounds of traditional archaeological research, which stopped around 1700AD, or earlier but this could be regarded as a somewhat short-sighted approach that assumes documentary sources are able to fill this lacuna in our knowledge of the period. An outline of the development of the academic study of the phenomenon of booleying in Ireland will be carried out in detail in Chapter 3 (see 3.1). The aim of this thesis is to try to understand the phenomenon of booleying in Achill, Achillbeg Island and Corraun (i.e. the Civil Parish of Achill) through time – in particular focusing on such questions as its origins, its floruit, the house types and material culture associated with it, how it was carried out and by whom and the reasons for its demise, using a cross-disciplinary approach, although this thesis is dominated by the

physical, archaeological evidence. Comparisons will be made, as much as possible, with the evidence for transhumance from other parts of Ireland and Britain. In this respect, a linked aim of this thesis is to locate the booley settlements on Achill, Achillbeg and the Corraun Peninsula. Each of these settlements will be analysed in terms of their landscape siting, local vegetation, layout, architecture, distance in kilometres from their associated permanent settlements and apparent dating to see if common practices emerge from the evidence. In particular, definite booley houses will be compared to structures in what appear to be contemporary permanent settlements in order to see the exact differences between them, if any, in terms of their size, construction, use of internal space and function. It is hoped that this thesis will add to our limited knowledge of booleying in Ireland and aid other scholars studying the phenomenon elsewhere throughout the country in the future. One related question examined in this thesis will be whether or not there were alternative forms of booleying, as suggested by Nicholls, as outlined above, other than just a simple movement of herds and people from a lowland site to an upland one at the beginning of summer.

1.3 – The Topography of the Study Area

The Londoner Samuel Lewis published his *A Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* in two volumes in 1837. In the second volume, he briefly but lucidly describes the study area. He stated that the Civil Parish of Achill lay in the barony of Burrishoole, Co. Mayo, and that it consisted of the islands of Achill and Achillbeg and the peninsula of Corraun on the mainland (Fig. 2). Achill Island is the largest island lying off the Irish coast (Lewis 1837, i, 6). In all, the parish embraces an area of 197km² and contains 19,764 hectares. Achill Island is separated from the Corraun Peninsula by Achill Sound. This is a sea channel, which at one point at the village of Achill Sound is a mere 200m wide, which runs north/south from Bull's Mouth to Clew Bay. Corraun is technically attached to the mainland but only by a 1.25km-wide isthmus on its eastern side near the modern village of Mullranny. Achillbeg is a small island that lies to the south of Achill and Corraun. It is about 81 hectares in area and is separated from Achill by a narrow channel that is fordable occasionally at low tide but this is rare. Nevertheless, this emphasises the shallow nature of the Sound between the two islands (Mc Nally 1973, 48). The original name of Achillbeg

was *Kil-da-m (n) at*, which means the ‘church of Davnet’ (Mc Donald 2006, 19).

Achill Island is formed of pre-Cambrian quartzites, schists and gneisses, some of the oldest rocks in Ireland, deposited over 600 million years ago. The island can be divided geologically in two by a fault line that runs from Dugort in the north-east and the Minaun cliffs at Keel in the south-west (Fig. 2). This geological boundary also divides Achill into Upper and Lower zones that reflects, glaciological, topographical, cultural and linguistic zones (Mc Nally 1973, 44-45). The underlying geology of quartzite has produced shallow and immature soils, deficient in trace elements such as cobalt and copper (Mc Donald 2006, 34). One of the main advantages Lower Achill has over Upper Achill is access to peat bogs, something that would, in the absence of firewood, have been of crucial importance in the past. An oceanic climate, extremely strong south-westerly winds, occasionally damaging north-westerlies, mean annual temperature ranging from 11 °C to 13 °C in summer to 5 °C to 6 °C in winter and rainfall on an average of 250 days per annum has resulted in the growth of blanket bog, which today covers nearly two thirds of the entire area (Mc Nally 1973, 52). The study area also suffered from the absence of lime which was obtained from Westport in recent centuries in return for boatloads of turf.

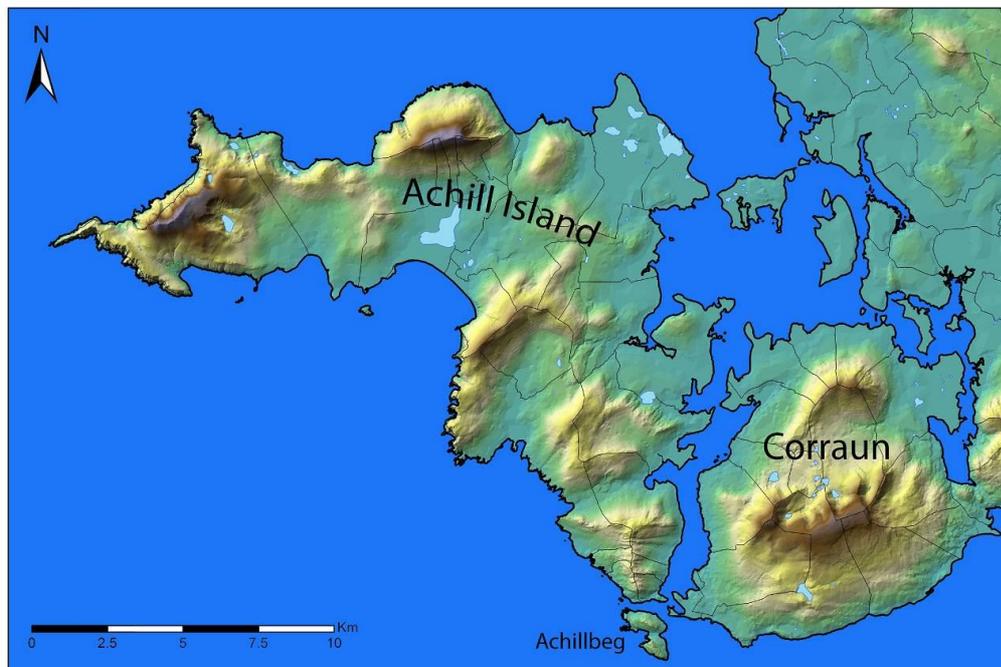


Fig. 2 – Map showing topography of the Civil Parish of Achill – the study area.

Topographically, the two areas are also quite different, Lower Achill exhibiting clear evidence of glaciation with smooth slopes, whereas Upper Achill is characterised by glacial hummocky terrain. Basically Achill Civil Parish consists of a mountainous west, a hilly south, a peat-covered central area and a low-lying coastal strip that embraces an area of some 120km (Mc Nally 1973, 38). Much of study area, therefore, is extremely mountainous and is covered by blanket peat. In all, 35% of the land surface occurs above an altitude of 55m. The two highest mountains in the study area are located in Lower Achill. Slievemore at 672m and Croaghaun rising to 668m dominate the landscape, with settlement spread across their lower slopes. In Upper Achill, Mweelin, a quartzite ridge with steep slopes, is 466m in height. On the west, it merges with the Minaun cliffs, some 243m in height, facing on to Keel Beach and Trawmore Strand. South east of Mweelin is Knockmore Mountain at 341m has a gentle gradient and a substantial area of upland. Corraun Hill rises to 522m on the Corraun Peninsula and this mountain is slightly higher than Corraun Ridge which stretches from Bolinglanna to Srahmore. The highest mountain on Achillbeg Island is The Scalp, rising to 150m in height. It faces Clare Island on the seaward side and *Trá Bó Dearg* (Strand of the Red Cow) nestles under its eastern slopes (Pl. 15; Mc Nally 1973, 48). This brief review of the topography of the study area shows it to be mostly composed of mountains, bogland and poor soil (Fig. 2). Most agricultural farmland in use today and in the past has been reclaimed from bogland and is classified as cultivated peat. The physical constraints of the area have prevented over-intensification of agriculture over the centuries and this has engendered a consequent reliance on pastoral activities by its inhabitants down to the present day (Mc Nally 1973, 52).

The botanist Robert Lloyd Praeger visited the island in 1903 and recorded over four hundred vascular plant species, including upland grasses such as Fiorin (Bent) and Purple Moor Grass (Praeger 1904, 265-89). Over time, some of these species has increased while others have declined, in response to changes in land-use which have occurred in the past century, notably the abandonment of large areas of cultivation, the increase in numbers of sheep and heather, and the spread of invasive species such as *Gunnera*, *Montbrecia* and *Rhododendron* that have successfully colonized large areas of Achill and Corraun.

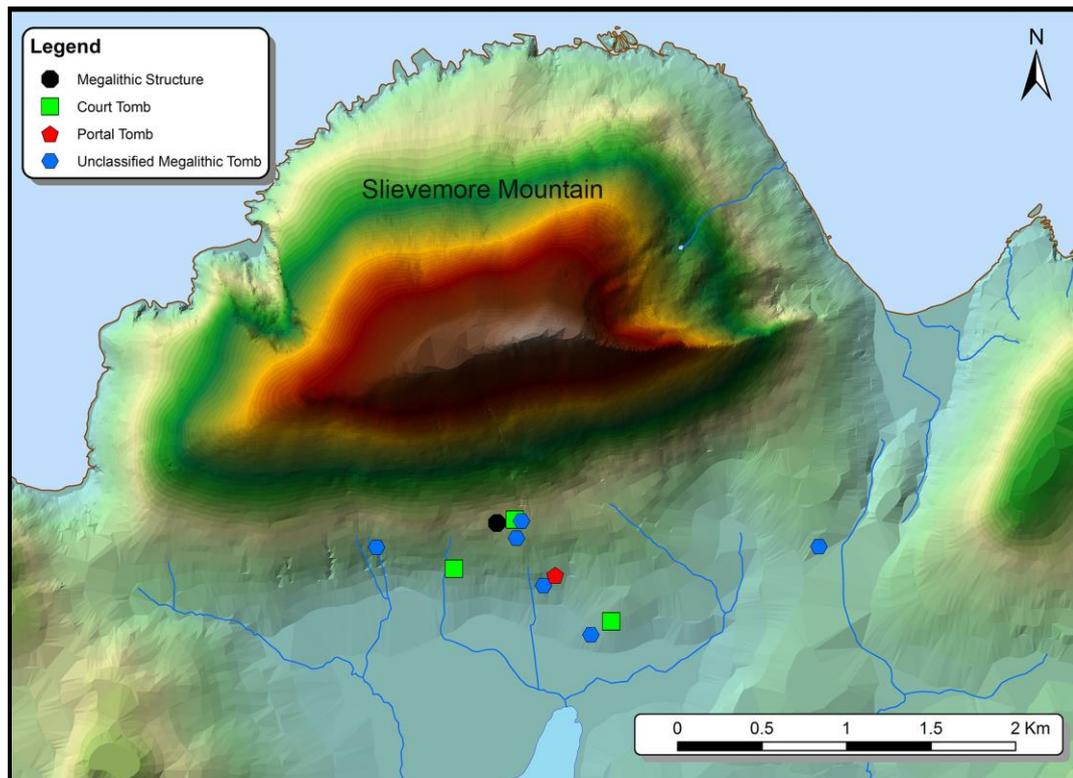


Fig. 3 – Megalithic Tombs on the southern slope of Slievemore Mountain.

1.4 – The History of the Study Area from Earliest Times to the Present Day.

The occurrence of a number of court and portal tombs on Slievemore Mountain on Achill Island suggests that there has been settlement and no doubt associated farming present on Achill in the study area since the early Neolithic, perhaps as early as 4,000BC (Fig. 3.shows a variety of megaliths: Court-Tomb, Keel East MA042-020; Archaeological Complex Keel East/Dugort West MA042-021; Court-Tomb MA042-02101; Tumulus, Keel East MA042-02102; Keel East MA042-02104; Keel East/Dugort West MA042-02110; Portal Tomb, Dugort West MA042-02121; Court-Tomb, Bal of Dookinelly MA042-02401; Slievemore MA042-01702; Portal Tomb, Slievemore (MA042-012; de Valera and Ó Nuallain 1950, 199-227; Mc Donald 2006, 275-79). A number of Bronze Age and possibly Iron Age round houses, field systems and promontory forts have also been recognised within the study area as well (Mc Donald 2006, 287-91).

Evidence for the introduction of Christianity to the study area from the fifth century AD onwards is also present. For example, a promontory fort on Achillbeg Island,

Dun Kilmore, contains a variety of structures within it, including conjoined huts, a stone with a cross on it, a bullaun stone and a stone-pillar or *leacht* (MA075-107). This site is interpreted as having started as a prehistoric promontory fort that was then turned into an ecclesiastical site in the early medieval period (Westropp 1914, 297-317). Other ecclesiastical sites of early medieval date exist at Slievemore and Kildavnet (MA042-019; MA065-024; see Mc Donald 2006, 287-92).

Later Anglo-Norman sources clearly show that the study area lay within the early medieval territory of Umall (later Owyl). The territory is first mentioned in the seventh century and by at least the eighth century was ruled by the Uí Briúin Umail, vassal kings of the king of Connacht (Mac Cotter 2008, 146). Umall in physical terms includes Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun, all the land bordering Clew Bay and Murrisk (ibid.). Kings of Umall are mentioned regularly in the annals from the late eighth century onwards and by the tenth century the main branch of the Uí Briúin Umail were the Uí Maille, later anglicised as the O'Malleys. The Uí Maille, according to recent research, arrived in Umall in the sixth or seventh century AD and purloined the genealogy of the Partraige (Fiachra MacGabhann, pers. comm). Nevertheless, this sept was to remain dominant in the area down to the seventeenth century (Mac Cotter 2008, 146). However, at some stage after 1176AD the O'Malleys, while still important at a local level, were replaced as kings of Umall by a branch of the O'Conor line – the hereditary kings of Connacht. It would seem that either Rory or his brother Cathal Crovderg O'Conor, as kings of Connacht, imposed a branch of their own family – apparently Muirchertach Muimhneach O'Conor, his sons and grandsons – on the territory (ibid.). Certainly this branch of the O'Conors was firmly established as kings of Umall – vassals of their cousins – by the early 1230s (ibid.).

Archaeological evidence for early medieval settlement exists in the study area in the form of five cashels or dry-stone walled ringforts in the townlands of Slievemore, Cashel, Dugort East, Kildavnet and Achillbeg Island (MA042-023; MA043-00401; MA055-009; MA065-028; MA075-00107). Cashels are traditionally seen as representing the remains of the homesteads and farm centres of early medieval freemen and nobles (Edwards 1990, 52-68; Stout 1997, 32-38). A stone-built crannóg or artificial island can be seen on Loughannaderriga lake (Lakelet of the

Oaks) in Dookinelly Thulis townland on Achill Island (MA054-01) (MA054-01; see Wood-Martin 1886, 230-32). A palisade was seen around this crannóg by the present writer during the hot summer of 1984, when water levels on the lake were low, suggesting a much larger structure existed here in the past. Again, crannógs are traditionally regarded as being the defended residences of nobles and kings during early medieval times (e.g. Edwards 1990, 41-48). This evidence shows that there may have been at least some elite settlement in the study area during the early medieval period.

The Anglo-Norman conquest of large parts of Connacht in the mid-1230s, including what is now County Mayo, the study area and Umall (or *Owll*), meant that it came under the control of Richard de Burgh, who became lord of Connacht. De Burgh then set about rewarding his Anglo-Norman followers and supporters for their help in conquering much of Connacht with large grants of land, as was the custom. De Burgh seems to have granted at least half a cantred of land in Umall to Henry Butler – a scion of the important Butler family of Ormond – to be held of him (Orpen 2005, 277-93). In 1238, Henry Butler is called lord of ‘Akkyll and Owyll’, showing that the study area was part of this grant (Curtis 1931-33, 121). This half-cantred appears to have been what later became the barony of Burrishoole (Mac Cotter 2008, 145). The Inquisition of 1333, which was held upon the death of William de Burgh, the Brown Earl, shows that this grant had increased in size to one cantred. The cantred (including the study area) was held by John Butler, a descendent of Henry, of the Brown Earl as part of his lordship of Connacht (Knox 1908, 300). Burrishoole to the east of the study area seems to have been the *caput* or centre of the cantred and this extensive manor from the late 1230s onwards (Mac Cotter 2008, 145).

This discussion shows that the study area was technically in the hands of a branch of the Anglo-Norman Butlers throughout much of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This is somewhat at odds with the fact that the O’Malleys became dominant again in Umall from the second half of the fourteenth century onwards, establishing a strong maritime lordship in the area that lasted until the very late sixteenth century, at one level suggesting that this sept remained important even at the height of Anglo-Norman control in the area (Nicholls 2005, 271). As stated, the

problem for the many parts of Ireland that saw large-scale survival of Gaelic families in the whole later medieval period is that there is little in the way of detailed documentation surviving (see Nicholls 1987, 398; O' Conor 1998, 73). An analysis of Anglo-Norman settlement across the de Burgh lordship of Connacht suggests that in most places it was relatively light and was nothing like what happened in eastern Ireland. Many Gaelic dynasties, like the O'Maddens, O'Heynes and O'Shaughnessys in east Galway or the O'Haras, O'Garas and O'Dowds in Sligo remained in local control of their old lands or at least a substantial proportion of them under Irish (i.e. Brehon) law. It appears that the de Burghs and their Anglo-Norman vassals, like Henry and John Butler, were happy to act merely as overlords (like the O'Conors before them), taking tribute in the form of cattle, rents and military service from the Gaelic lords within their lands (Orpen 2005, iii, 392). This is probably the best way to see the O'Malley's and other local septs' relationship with the Butlers during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and explains their continued presence in the area even at the height of Anglo-Norman power in Connacht. This hypothesis, therefore, suggests little Anglo-Norman settlement in the study area, if any, and Umall in general, with perhaps the *caput* at Burrishoole being their only base. The archaeological evidence from the study area supports this view. No Anglo-Norman masonry castles, mottes, ringworks or moated sites occur in the area. The only castle recognised in the Achill area is the tower house at Kildavnet (MA065-02501). This is clearly late medieval in date and is later than the Anglo-Norman period. However, it is becoming increasingly clear that at least some cashels were occupied, if not even built, during the latter period down to c. 1600AD, if not a bit later, and were not just an early medieval phenomenon (O' Conor 1998, 90-93; 2005, 218-19; FitzPatrick 2009, 271-306). In this respect, a late thirteenth-century Edwardian coin was found in 2006 beside the cashel at Caraun Point in Dugort East townland on Achill Island, hinting that this site was at least occupied at this time. Furthermore, evidence also suggests that many crannógs continued to be occupied, possibly even built, down to c. 1600AD, if not a bit later in some places (Brady and O' Conor 2005, 127-36; O' Sullivan 2008, 225-56; O' Conor 1998, 73-108). This might suggest that the reason why there are so few classic sites of general later medieval date in the study area is because there was no real Anglo-Norman settlement on the ground and that the local Irish continued to occupy at least some cashels and the crannóg during this period. On analogy with elsewhere, what Anglo-Norman presence there was in the study

area was probably abandoned during the course of the later fourteenth century, leaving the O'Malleys in local control again. One possible indication of this is the disappearance of the Mayo Butlers from the study area around the middle of the fourteenth century (Curtis 1931-33, 122).

However, the situation appears to be even more complex than this. In 1583 the famous Grace O'Malley visited the court of Elizabeth I in London. She stated that at least some of the O'Malleys living on Achill were 'tenants' of the Butler earl of Ormond, the heirs of the thirteenth-century Mayo Butlers (Chambers 1979, 130). In 1585AD, it is stated that the earl of Ormond held a full forty quarters of land in Mayo, including land in the study area, of the Crown (Composicion Booke of Conought, 93-109). Again, in the 1590s Thomas Butler (the famous Black Tom), twelfth earl of Ormond, is recorded as being in possession of 'the castle, town, island and four quarters of Achill' – almost 2,000 hectares of land – which he held of the Crown (Strafford's Inquisition of County Mayo; Curtis 1931-33, 121-28; Mc Donald 2006, 10). This suggests that despite all the vicissitudes of the Anglo-Norman colony in the fourteenth century, the Butlers in the late sixteenth-century still had claim to lands in Burrishoole and the study area. One explanation for this is that the O'Malleys and other Irish and Gaelicised septs of Anglo-Norman descent in the barony of Burrishoole paid some sort of yearly tribute to the Ormond Butlers throughout the late medieval period to maintain the status quo, despite the fact they were in de-facto control of the area.

The Butlers perhaps accepted the situation as the best possible compromise, because it would be difficult to assert their claims to lands in Mayo from their base in modern Kilkenny and Tipperary, and probably because the Achill territory was considered outside the jurisdiction of the English courts (Mc Nally 1973, 22). Such a settlement may have been made between the O'Malleys and other Irish and Gaelicised septs with the Butlers in the Burrishoole area. As the Crown and central government became more powerful in the late sixteenth century, the earl of Ormond, with his connections to the court, perhaps felt in a better position to assert his claims and control over these lands in Mayo.

We get a glimpse of the study area at the end of the late medieval period in John

Browne's 1584 map of Mayo (Fig. 4). It depicts Achill as a large, mountainous island and suggests that Kildavnet (*Kill Castle*), with its tower house, was the most prominent settlement in the study area. *Slemore Hill* is also depicted, while Corraun is depicted as *Literagh*. Croaghaun Mountain and Minaun are misrepresented. The entire area is represented as The Barony of the Owles. This is the earliest map depicting the study area. The map was drawn by John Browne at the request of Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connacht, and sent to Sir Francis Walsingham, Queen Elizabeth's Secretary of State, in June 1585. The accompanying explanatory note states that much of Mayo, including the study area, was unsuitable for any form of tillage due to the predominance of mountain, bog and forest in the county. It is stated that the Irish of Mayo live on 'the milk of their kine, sheep and goats' (Blake 1908, 145-58). This indication that pastoralism, particularly the rearing of cattle, was the predominant economic activity in the study area throughout the later medieval period is underlined by the much earlier reference to a raid in 1235AD that mentions hundreds, if not thousands, of cattle in Umall and Achill at this date (The Annals of Connacht 51, 70). Indeed, all the evidence from Gaelic-dominated (and Gaelicised) Ireland throughout the later medieval period is that small, black cattle, akin to the modern Kerry breed, and their various products, including milk, cheese, wheys, curds, hides and oatmeal mixed with their blood, were the mainstay of the economy in these regions. Cattle hides were in fact the main agricultural export from these regions throughout the period and their sale contributed greatly to the wealth of later medieval Gaelic and Gaelicised lordships (Nicholls 1987, 413; Lucas 1989, 223). Basically it can be presumed that there were thousands of cattle at any one time in the study area throughout the whole later medieval period and that this was partly a product of the local physical environment of mountain and bog.

The Civil Parish of Achill is also depicted on John Speed's 1610 map of Connacht and depicts the study area in four separate parts (Fig. 5). *Akill Island* undoubtedly refers to the larger island. The island appears to be divided into two at this stage, with the area of Upper Achill separated from the northern part or Lower Achill. *Can Akill* (i.e. Achill Head) and *Akill beg* are listed together to the west of the map, close to Achillbeg Island. Corraun is referred to as *Baron of Akill*.

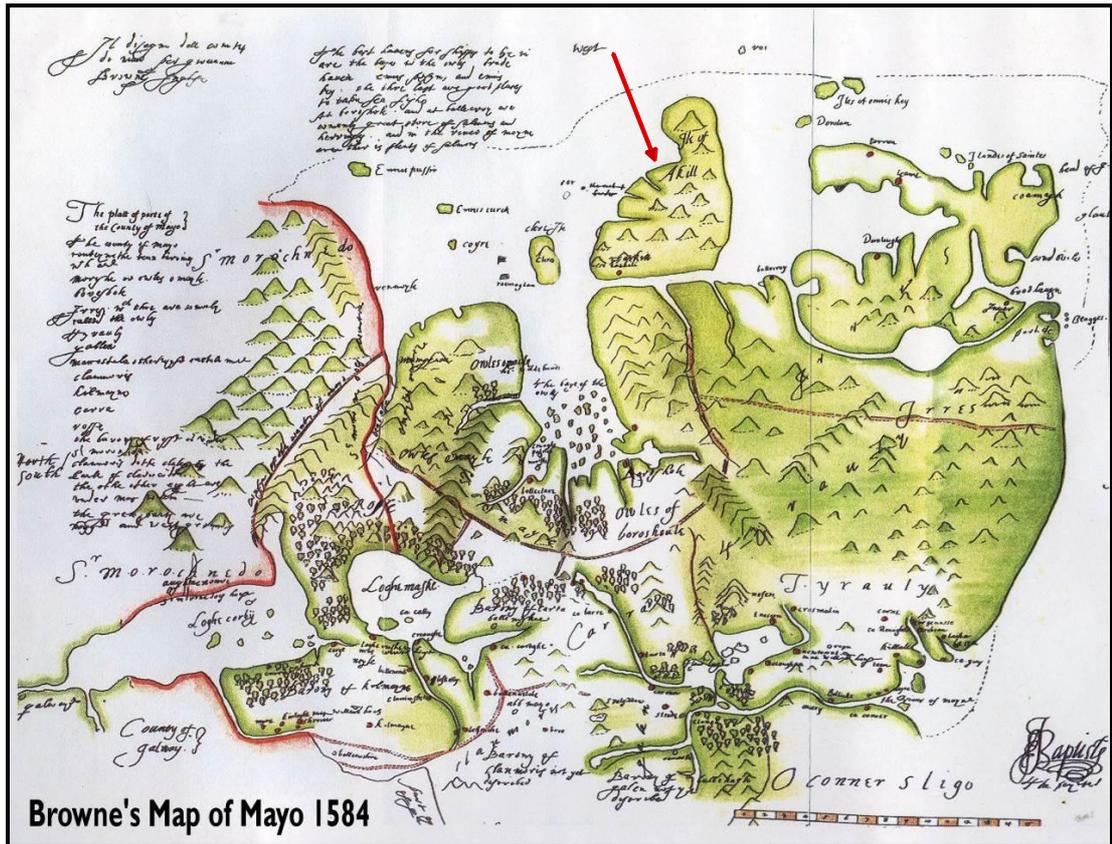


Fig. 4 – John Browne’s 1584 Map of Mayo (after Blake 1908).

The Ormonds certainly remain in a dominant position in the study area and the Barony of Burrishoole in the seventeenth century. The Butlers’ possession of their Mayo lands was confirmed by James I in 1612 and was said to include ‘the castle, land and tenements of *Achille* containing four quarters of land, as they are perambulated in circuit on each side of the seashore; which premises lie in the barony of *Bowresowle*, (i.e. Burrishoole) and in the country commonly called *Owlaghtraghe* (Umall/Owles) (Curtis 1932, 51). Again, James Butler, the twelfth earl of Ormond and the 1st Duke of Ormond, leased large parts of the barony at some stage in the period 1635-41 to one Henry Martin for ninety-eight years for a fee of £5,000.



Fig. 5 – John Speed’s 1610 map of The Province of Connacht (From a proof copy of John Speed’s *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, which was first published in 1616 (Speed 1616).

This included much land in the study area, such as the townlands of Slievemore, Quinn, Carrowgarve and Dookinelly, along with Achillbeg Island (Strafford's Inquisition of County Mayo; Curtis 1931-33, 127-28; Mc Nally 1973, 24). In 1688 Henry Martin (or perhaps a son of the same name) sold on this lease to John Pollexfen and Sir Richard Lovel Edgeworth for £5,000 and it is stated that this land ‘is reputed to belong to the said Duke of Ormond or any of his ancestors in the county of Mayo’ (Mc Nally 1973, 24). In 1690, Pollexfen and Sir John Edgeworth stated that Ormond had in 1688 sold the manor of Burrishoole to Martin (Curtis 1931-33, 128; Mc Nally 1973, 24). Included in this sale were Akill, Kildoanagt, Slewmore, Morenecronane, Inishcroy, Quym, Dowkmally, Litteragh *alias* Moreveagh or Carrowgarrow, Dowagh, Ballycrohy, Claggin and numerous other places in the barony of Burrishoole . This is all quite confusing but it shows that the Butler interest remained in the study area in particular and Burrishoole in general throughout the seventeenth century. In 1719, Thomas Medlycott, Chief Commissioner of Revenue in Ireland, acquired the Burrishoole estate of c. 70,000

acres from Charles Butler, Earl of Arran and brother of the Duke of Ormond (Mc Dermott 1994, 38).



Fig. 6 – Bald’s map of Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun (Bald 1836-40, 263-64).

Parts of these lands, including some townlands in Corraun, were then sold by Medlycott to John Browne, the first 1st earl of Altamont. The Burrishoole Estate, including most of the study area, remained in Medlycott hands until *c.* 1776, when it was sold by Thomas John Medlycott to Sir Neal O’Donnell. Papers relating to the Medlycotts and O’Donnells are housed in packing cases (PC) in the National Library of Ireland, pending their incorporation into the library system. They can be accessed upon request using the following reference (PC263.2. National Library of Ireland).

Bald’s map of Achill, compiled between 1809 and 1817, but only published in the late 1830s, lists many of the permanent settlements that existed on Achill Island, Achillbeg Island and Corraun during the early nineteenth century (Fig. 6). This map depicts two roads traversing the interior of the island. The first road extends from Achill Sound to Keel and onwards towards Keem Bay at the westernmost extremity of the island. A second parallel road branched off from this first road at Cashel in the centre of the island, to the south west, crossing over Cashel Hill and Maumnaman,

before terminating at the old villages of *Baile Thios* and *Baile Thuas* in the townland of Dookinelly Thulis, under the shadow of the Minaun Cliffs at Keel (Bald 1836-40). It is not certain exactly when these roads were constructed but they could be of considerable antiquity. During the course of the fieldwork for this research, a veritable network of minor, grass-covered track-ways, now only used by turf-cutters to access their bogs and never marked on any maps, connected settlements across the length and breadth of Achill and Corraun. Many of these run parallel with streams and in some cases double as townland boundaries, which suggests that these track-ways may be of considerable antiquity. Although this needs to be researched more, the overall impression from all this is that the study area was criss-crossed by tracks, along which livestock and people could travel, throughout the medieval and post medieval periods, if not long before. This suggests that the road network in the study area during the early nineteenth century and before was more complex than the situation depicted on Bald's map. Of course, communities along the coast were also connected by boat since earliest times (Martineau 1852, 1-14). The overall impression from this quick review is that settlements within the study area were not as isolated in the past as their immediate surroundings of bog, mountain and sea suggest to the modern eye.

The study area, like other parts of the West of Ireland, was to suffer greatly during the Great Famine of 1845-50. The Burrishoole Estate, then owned by the O'Donnells, including most of Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun, was sold to the Encumbered Estates Court in 1853 because it was bankrupt due to a fall in rental income, the rise of in the level of poor rates and the closure of credit facilities during and in the aftermath of the Famine, like so many other estates at this time (Lane 1991; Dooley 2003). Two-thirds of Achill Island was then acquired by the proselytising, Anglican Achill Mission Estate and their associates William Pike, Thomas Brassy and Samuel Holme (Mc Nally 1973, 27; Mc Donald 2006, 214-17). It might be added that these Protestant evangelists led by Edward Nangle were already in Achill before the Famine, having set up a missionary settlement at Dugort on Achill Island in 1834 (Royle 2003). The Catholic Church also acquired the townland of Bunnacurry on Achill Island in the early 1850s, while the earl of Altamont retained the townlands of Dooniver on Achill Island and Cuillaloughaun on the Corraun Peninsula. However, William McCormack of the Irish Beetroot and

Sugar Manufacturing Company bought most of the McLoughlins' Achill Estate, including Corraun from the Encumbered Estates Court (Lane 1972-3, 44-74; Mc Donald 2006, 214-17).

A major event in the history of the study area was the building of a bridge at Achill Sound in 1887-1888 (Pl.1). This bridge, which is known as the Michael Davitt Bridge, was re-modelled in the 1940s and again in 2011, connected the island to the mainland and Corraun for the first time (Mc Nally 1973, 118-21). A railway line connecting Achill Sound to Westport was constructed a few years later in 1895 (ibid.). The coming of the railway greatly facilitated the movement of seasonal migratory workers from Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun to England and Scotland and this work became an important source of summer work for many males from the study area down to the 1960s (ibid.). Special trains, known as 'harvesters' specials', carried labourers out of the study area to ports on the eastern seaboard (ibid.). In particular, workers from the study area went to Scotland for the potato harvest, where Achill 'tatie-hokers' (i.e. potato diggers) were well known. Alternatively, the railway brought visitors to Achill Island in particular, such as the painter Paul Henry, and tourism as a source of revenue increasingly became an option for families in the study area, particularly in Lower Achill (Mc Nally 1973, 118-21). This railway line was closed down from Achill Sound to Newport in the late 1930s due to the improved state of the main road between these two places and the subsequent increase in motor traffic and buses (Mc Nally 1973, 22-28).

The people of the study area were also to benefit from the Land Acts of the late nineteenth and very early twentieth centuries. In the early twentieth century all the lands in the study area, such as the Achill Mission Estate and other estates, were purchased by the Irish Land Commission and were granted out for a small fee to their former tenants, who now became owner-occupiers of their farms (Mc Donald 2006, 214-17).



Pl. 1 – Bridge at Achill Sound, sometime around the 1880s (Lawrence Collection 5085)

Today there are seventeen villages in the Civil Parish of Achill, with Achill Island and Corraun having a population of *c.* four thousand persons. Upper Achill and Corraun are Irish-speaking and are part of the Gaeltacht area of County Mayo. Achillbeg Island has been uninhabited since the early 1960s, although local shepherds still send sheep over to graze their during the summer months (Mc Nally 1973, 178). There are seven Roman Catholic churches and one Church-of-Ireland church in the study area and a secondary and a Vocational school, both located at Achill Sound. Employment is largely seasonal and is associated with the tourist industry. Fishing and farming have decreased in recent times, only sheep farming retaining a foothold as a result of subsidies from Europe (Mc Donald 2006, 23).

1.5 – The Methods and Methodology Used in the Thesis

It will be made clear throughout this thesis that the overwhelming amount of evidence for transhumance/booleying in the study area comes from the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see 4.1, 8.2). The evidence also suggests that the people who carried out this economic activity were relatively ordinary people, Irish-speaking for the most part, who have left little in the way of written

sources. In this respect, the discipline of archaeology is ideally placed to understand the lives of ordinary people in the past. Surviving historical documents of all dates tend to concentrate on the elite within society, often telling us little about the everyday life of the vast majority of people who worked the land and belonged to the lower echelons of society. Conversely, the actual excavation and survey of peasant settlements of all dates can yield a lot of information about these people. Such things as their material culture, their economy and how they saw the world can be somewhat better understood using archaeological methods of enquiry. In all, archaeologists, through the discipline of archaeology, can throw light on the lives of lower-status people in the past - giving a 'voice to the voiceless' (Orser 2004; Moreland 2010, 281). This has also been put very succinctly by James Deetz who says that historical documents relate mainly to 'deviant wealthy white males' (i.e. the often power-hungry elite in society) and little else, while archaeology can uncover the way ordinary people lived and thought in the past, by examining the physical remains of these people (Deetz 1991, 5-6). Many scholars such as Marc Bloch see archaeology as the 'handmaiden of history' (Bloch 1953, 52-54) – the thesis being that the written word offers more direct access to the past, than the physical remains of it. It seems that archaeologists have also been unaware of, or at least cautious about, the strengths of their own discipline. For example, the perceived limitations of archaeology in analysing past cultures was first discussed by Christopher Hawkes in his ladder of inference in 1954. He saw archaeology as being restricted to the interpretation of economics and technology and while he admitted it could make some inference on past political matters, he considered it totally impotent in making inferences about religion or the thought processes of man (Hawkes 1954, 161-62). Apart from Deetz and Orser, this view has also been disputed by John Moreland who sees archaeology as the only chronicle of knowledge for the vast bulk of human history, even recent post-medieval times, and believes that the discipline can offer some insight into the deeper feelings of people, other than just making prosaic statements about the economy and technological stage of development of the culture or people under study (Moreland 2001, 2-25; 2010, 299-300). Furthermore, archaeologists have also shown that archaeological methods of enquiry can tell us much about people and life in the twentieth century, even in recent decades (Buchli *et.al.* 2001, 3-18; O' Keeffe 2009, 65). However, it must be acknowledged that

archaeological evidence, just like documentary evidence, is still subject to misinterpretation and bias.

The way people experienced the landscape in the past is of critical importance to our understanding of it in the present. The many landscape transformations undergone over the millennia make this a daunting task. While there is no doubt that archaeology can throw much light on this aspect of the past, the more esoteric motivations of people may be more problematical to understand. The difficulty lies in interpretation. For example, a stone hand-axe may have had numerous attributes from utilitarian to symbolic in the past but these are unknown to the archaeologist excavating this artefact in the present. The only insight into its probable role in a past society lies in the context in which it is found. Post processual approaches seek understanding rather than explanation and is now seen as the most likely method to solve this problem, with its emphasis on social influence, gender and politics (Giddens 1979; Johnson 2007; Horning and Palmer 2009). Material culture is therefore seen as the product of meaningful action in social and historical contexts. However, Hodder takes this theory one step further, saying material culture needs to be seen as something more than a reflection of identity, or adaptive responses (Hodder 1986, 119). Meaning is not seen as inherent in any particular object – this is derived from a relationship with other objects. In other words, context is the key, and is referred to by Hodder as contextual archaeology (*ibid.*).

The post-1700 period across Europe has traditionally been seen as the preserve of historians and historical geographers – not archaeologists. Archaeologists in Ireland in the past, perhaps as a result of a high academic output from historians and historical geographers, somehow felt that there was no need to excavate or survey sites that post-dated 1700, as it was felt that the historical sources provided all the necessary information about the people that created them. For example, the various inventories of monuments in different counties produced by the Archaeological Survey of Ireland since the 1980s have usually not included monuments of post 1700 date within them (e.g. Brindley 1986; Buckley 1986; Buckley and Sweetman 1991). In many ways, again, it could be said that archaeologists in Ireland, like elsewhere, were not aware of the strengths of their own discipline. However, in 1999 the Irish Post-Medieval Archaeology Group was founded, partly to show that archaeological

methods of inquiry can substantially increase and, indeed, alter our knowledge about society in eighteenth – and nineteenth century Ireland. The work of this group culminated in a 2001 conference in Belfast on post-medieval archaeology in Ireland and a book, based on the papers presented at it, entitled *The Post-Medieval Archaeology of Ireland 1550-1850* was published in 2007 and was edited by Horning, Ó Baoill, Donnelly and Logue. Many of the essays published in this book put the archaeological study of the post-medieval period, including the post 1700 era, onto a firmer footing – emphasising the fact that the discipline can and should play a major role in understanding later periods, even up to the mid-nineteenth century (Mc Neill 2007, 7-14; Brannon 2007, 15-22; Simpson 2007, 71-90; Walsh 2007, 151-74; O' Conor 2007, 189-204; Breen 2007, 205-21; Lyttleton and O' Sullivan 2007, 221-234).

One major point being made in the above paragraphs is that the discipline of archaeology, with its emphasis on the study of the past in context, can play a major part in understanding the recent, post-1700 past, including being able to throw light on the practice of transhumance/booleying in the study area. The second major point being made is that archaeological methods of enquiry have the ability to produce meaningful evidence about how ordinary people lived and thought in the past in the way historical sources, with their bias towards the elite in society, often do not. However, these points seem to suggest that only archaeological methods of enquiry will be used to understand transhumance/booleying in the study area. This is not actually the case – the above discussion merely lists the strengths of archaeology as a discipline. For example, Lewis Binford in the early 1980s also suggested that along with data from archaeological excavation, artefact studies and survey, evidence from ethnography, experimental archaeology and historical documents could be used together to better understand aspects of the past (Binford 1983, 25-26). Binford is really arguing for a cross-disciplinary approach to studying the past. Recently, scholars in an Irish context, such as O'Conor (2008, 333) and, more particularly, Finan (2010, 11), have stressed the value of a cross-disciplinary approach to studying the later medieval past, using evidence from such things as archaeology, architectural analysis, the historical sources, literature, folklore, place-name evidence and antiquarian sources to understand it. The same could be said of the post-medieval period. Such a cross-disciplinary approach is taken throughout this thesis but it must

be stated that the main source of information in it comes from archaeological methods of enquiry.

1.6 – Sources and Methods Used in the Thesis

1.6.1 – Fieldwork

Fieldwork can be defined as the examination of the above-ground remains of sites without recourse to excavation (Greene 1983, 55-7). This was the main method of archaeological enquiry used in this thesis. A detailed field survey of the six extant transhumance settlements, four on Achill Island and two on the Corraun Peninsula, in the study area, together with associated structures and remains of lazy beds at selected sites, was carried out. The survey methodology involved the accurate recording of houses and associated structures from each booley settlement in the study area, using a tape measure and compass. This was combined with a detailed written description and photographic record of each house/hut in the various settlements. The tape survey included external and internal wall lengths and heights, along with measuring internal features and layout.

A Tape Survey, an EDM and/or GPS survey of all extant booley settlements and houses in Achill Civil Parish was undertaken, together with surveys of three extant, deserted, associated permanent settlements. The EDM surveys recorded several hundred points around the outlines of each building, enabling a detailed plan of each structure to be generated. Each building was recorded in relation to the National Grid allowing an overall plan of the settlement to be generated. In addition, the survey recorded any additional archaeological features in the area in and around the settlement, such as field walls, enclosures, lazy bed cultivation ridges and animal pens /pounds.

All this survey information and these site descriptions are included in Appendix One that accompanies this thesis.

1.6.2 – Excavation

Excavation, while generally expensive and time-consuming, has the ability to provide dating evidence of the site under investigation and also helps give some

indication of the material culture of people who lived there. The first site selected for excavation was a conjoined hut located in the booley village at Annagh on Achill Island (Appendix One: A1-A2). This settlement has a good range of architectural forms within it, which may but not necessarily suggest multi-period usage, so could give some indication of the longevity of the system of transhumance in Achill Civil Parish. The other site chosen for excavation was a house (Appendix Two: No. K3) within the settlement at Keem on Achill Island, that appears to have originally been a permanent settlement that was then re-used from the mid-nineteenth century as a booley settlement. This building at Keem was selected for investigation as the village appears on Bald's 1809-17 map of Mayo (Fig. 6), with the house K3 identified on a plan of the settlement at Keem, compiled by the English archaeologist, Stuart Piggott, in 1954 (Piggott 1954, 23).

The aim of the excavations carried out as part of this thesis was to retrieve as much information as possible about contemporaneity between permanent and booley settlements, prevailing living conditions, architectural forms, dating evidence and to give some insight into an economic and social system that included transhumance as a major component during particular periods of time.

1.6.3 – Historical Sources

Edited and unedited historical sources are a valuable tool for archaeologists researching medieval and post medieval sites and landscapes (Barry 1987, 3-9). For example, references in these sources can provide information about the date, development and inhabitants of a monument, site or landscape. They can also throw some light on how a site, such as a castle or abbey, or a landscape would have looked like when inhabited (O' Conor 1998, 28-35). Historical sources can also provide information about the society and economy of any given study area and how these developed through time. In all, edited and unedited historical sources, if used with caution and common sense, can help archaeologists better understand the archaeological data generated by their research (Barry 1987, 3; O' Conor 1998, 28-33).

One late sixteenth-century edited source associated with the English administration in Ireland was consulted for this thesis. This was the *Compossicion Booke of*

Conought, edited and transcribed by A. M. Freeman in Dublin in 1936. This source details landholding throughout the province of Connacht in 1585. It gives much information about land ownership and settlement, including castles, churches and villages, throughout the province at this time. In particular, it gives much information about land ownership and settlement in the barony of Burrishoole and the study area in 1585 (Composicion Booke of Conought). Another government-generated source consulted was the twenty-three volumes of the *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, edited by various editors between the 1860s and 1912. These volumes comprise a collection of correspondence between English administrators in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Ireland and the royal government and court in London. They contain many references to settlements, land-holdings and to the economy throughout Ireland at this time (Barry 1987, 4). Various surveys were commissioned by the English administration throughout the seventeenth century to aid taxation and, in particular, the confiscation of Irish Catholic land and its re-granting to loyal subjects, which included Irish Protestants but were mostly English and Lowland Scots settlers. One source for the study area is *The Strafford Inquisition of County Mayo*, which was edited by W. O'Sullivan and published in 1958. This source is an enquiry into the ownership of land in Co. Mayo in 1635AD. It lists the landowners throughout the county, including Achill (Ackill) in the latter year and states the townland and barony that they resided in. Much socio-economic and landholding information can also be gleaned from *The Books of Survey and Distribution*, which were compiled between the 1650s and the 1680s. They record the shift in the ownership of land after the Cromwellian Conquest. Catholic landowners, both Irish and Old English (i.e. the descendants of the Anglo-Normans) forfeited most of their land during this period. This source was edited and published in various volumes by R.C. Simington. The Mayo volume (volume 2 of the series) was published by Simington in 1956. The historian Edmund Curtis has also discussed original seventeenth century documents relating to the study area in two separate articles, which really should be regarded as edited sources (Curtis 1932).

Various eighteenth and nineteenth-century sources, many of which are unedited, provide useful information about land-holding and socio-economic practices in the study area. These include the Rent Rolls of the Medlycott (National Library of Ireland, (MS 2516; MS 5736; MS 5821; MS 5744), Altamont (MS 5788), O'Donnell

(MS 5740-5741) and Achill Mission Estate (MS 410). These list tenants and rentals for townlands in the study area from the late seventeenth century onwards, including descriptions of grazing land potentials. The *Tithe Applotment Books of 1834* lists all property holders in each parish throughout the country, including the study area, and gives the amount of tax levied for the upkeep of the Established Church (i.e. the Church of Ireland), although the data for some parishes is incomplete. This source was edited by R.C. Simington and was published in 1941.

Richard Griffiths' Primary Valuation of Ireland was published at various times between 1847 and 1864. His Valuation of the Civil Parishes of County Mayo was published in 1855. It lists every property holder in each townland throughout the county, the person from whom the property was leased and the size of the holding (Griffith 1855). The 1901 and 1911 Census of Ireland in the Mayo sections name every individual in each house in the study area, giving their age, occupation, religion, marital status, their relationship to the head of household, their ability to read and write and whether they spoke Irish or not. This material is housed in the National Archives in Bishop Street, Dublin and can now be accessed on-line (<http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/>). The 1901 and 1911 census gives a very good insight into the Civil Parish of Achill at the beginning of the twentieth century.

1.6.4 – Aerial Photography

Views from the air give a dramatically new perspective to what can be seen from the ground. A number of pilots in World War 1 used aerial photography to plot enemy activity but some began to realise that it could be used to interpret natural and artificial features, including archaeological ones, on the ground (St. Joseph 1977). The growth in the use of aerial photography since 1918 as a method of analysis has been a feature of the discipline of archaeology. Today it is almost inconceivable that any major archaeological project involving an analysis of sites and landscapes would proceed without using aerial photographs (Swan 1983; Riley 1987). An airborne camera is a remarkably versatile instrument, capable of precisely recording not only visible above-ground sites but also buried sites (St. Joseph 1977, 135). Sites recognised on aerial photographs are usually classified into shadow sites, crop marks and soil marks (Swan 1983). The use of shadows is most beneficial for adding detail to known sites as very slight undulations in the ground can cast shadows in low

sunlight. Hitherto unrecognised features at these sites, such as very low banks, can become apparent in these circumstances. Furthermore, other sites can be completely destroyed but their buried ditches and walls can appear from the air as crop marks or, if in plough, soil marks. Aerial photography has found many new archaeological sites over the years and this ability to record hitherto unknown sites and to throw more light on known sites are its main functions in archaeology today (St. Joseph 1977). Aerial photographs also have the ability to display sites in a wider, landscape context and this particular point is of relevance to this thesis. Any given aerial photograph or set of photographs can effectively portray the geographical features which may have determined the original builders' choice of location for a site. These factors influencing the choice of location for a site may include such things as accessibility to water or route-ways and its economic or defensive potential (Pl. 2).



Pl. 2 – Aerial photograph of the West Village at Slievemore (© Gerry Bracken).

The main source of aerial photographic material used in this study comes from photographs in the possession of the Cambridge Committee for Aerial Photography and those owned by the Ordnance Survey of Ireland. The distinguishing feature of the Cambridge Collection is that these photographs were taken throughout Ireland by Professor J. K. St Joseph in the 1960s on flights (or sorties, as they are called) that were specifically carried out for archaeological purposes. These photographs of sites were taken at an oblique angle at the times of the year when there was low sunlight. These photographs revealed a massive amount of new archaeological material but only the western part of the study area was covered by St Joseph (Barry 1987, 11; St. Joseph 1977). Obviously ground photography was also used to record sites discussed in this thesis.

1.6.5 – Folklore

Folklore can really be defined as the traditional beliefs, stories and customs of a community passed on by word of mouth. The Irish Folklore Commission (*Commissiún Béaloideas Éireann*) was founded in 1935 to collect and preserve oral traditions in both Irish and English all over Ireland and to make this material available to scholars and the general public. Collectors of folklore were employed throughout Ireland to carry out this task and to bring together this data in one place. Questionnaires on local folklore were also sent out to National Schools throughout the country. A massive amount of data was collected by the Commission using these methods. In 1971 the Commission, its staff and its holdings were transferred to University College Dublin and became the Department of Irish Folklore, which is still functioning. The large body of folklore in this department, which includes data relating to the study area, is mostly in manuscript, audio, video and photographic form (Uí Ógain 2003). Much of the material in this collection that relates to the Civil Parish of Achill has been analysed by the present writer and published (McDonald 1997; Kilbane 2002). This data will be incorporated into Chapter 4 of this thesis (see 4.2). It must also be added that the present writer has continued in recent years to collect folklore material from older members of the community in the study area, most notably from my late uncle, John Moran, a distant cousin Anthony Kilbane and John McNamara, all of whom had memories of transhumance in Achill. Much of this folklore data is of use for understanding the social and cultural aspects of booleying, as it was practised on Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun.

1.6.6 – Place-names

Most place-names in Ireland, although the majority of which were anglicised and standardised in the nineteenth century by men employed by the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, derive from the Irish language and the vast majority seem to be of general late medieval date. Most place-names, whether in Irish or any other language, are descriptive, as they describe natural features (i.e. Slievemore or *Sliabh Mór* – the Great or Big Mountain), the economic activity that took place at these locations or may contain a memory of the people who once lived and owned these places (Ó Muráile 1985). The largest category of place-names in Ireland is that of our 63,000 townlands. Other categories of place-names include those of the 2,400 civil parishes

and 324 baronies in the country (Ó Muráile 2001, 240-41). It must also be remembered, however, that in any given townland in Ireland, especially in Irish-speaking or partly Irish-speaking areas (like the study area), there are scores of local names for fields and areas within it. These are known to place-name scholars as *microtoponyms* and these are in danger of being lost as the older generation dies out (ibid.). A major work on the place names of Achill Civil Parish was compiled by Professor Gerry Stockman (Stockman 1974) but contains few references to booleying. Place-names within the Civil Parish of Achill will be analysed as part of this thesis to see if they will throw any light on the practice of booleying in the study area.

There are a number of place-name sources for the Civil Parish of Achill. A comprehensive list of place-names in the study area has been compiled by a local development society that was supervised by Dr. Fiachra MacGabhann, who told the present writer that most references in the study area are no older than *c.* 400 years. This has been published as a CD and includes Ó Murailés' list of 500 place-names recognised in the study area under the title *Logainmeachta Acla*. Four new booley placenames have been added by the present writer for the Civil Parish of Achill (see Fig. 26) – Bunowna (*Boley*) Village, *Lug an Bhaile Buaile* at Annagh (the point of the booley village), *Buaile Raghnaill* (Ragnall's booley) at Dirk and *Boleyclohan* (the stony booley) on the Corraun Peninsula. An unpublished list of Irish-language place-names from the Corraun Peninsula have been given to the author by Brid and Josie Heaney, retired secondary school teachers and live in Belfarsad, Corraun. The late Thomas Toolis of Crumpaun, Keel, provided in conversation a number of place-names to the present writer relating to various areas of Slievemore Mountain.

1.6.7 – Antiquarian Sources, Travellers' Accounts and Pictorial Sources.

A whole variety of antiquarians and travellers visited the study area or adjoining districts of Mayo throughout the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and commented on booleying and agricultural practices in general. These include Richard Pococke's *Tour in Ireland in 1752* (Pococke 1891) and the English agricultural theorist and traveller Arthur Young in 1780 (Hutton 1970, 68-69) and William Wilde in the 1830s (Wilde 1849, 774-75). These will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4. Suffice to say here that a lot of information can be gleaned from

these sources about the social, cultural and economic practices of booleying. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that these visitors were invariably different in terms of class, language and religion to the people of the study area and we must always be aware that biases and misunderstandings could creep into their accounts.

A more reliable source is that produced by the scholar and Irish speaker John O'Donovan who visited Achill and the study area in the 1830s as part of his work for the Ordnance Survey of Ireland. His observations on booleying in the study area are in the *Ordnance Survey Letters Mayo* edited by Michael Herity and published in 2009 (Ordnance Survey Letters Mayo, 118-21). Members of the Wynne family of Hazelwood House in Sligo compiled a series of watercolour paintings and pen-and-ink sketches, two of which feature two villages in Achill in the early nineteenth century. One of these appears to be Dooagh and one may be of the booley village of Bunowna (Pl. 19; Cat. No. B1– B18), north of Keem Bay. The originals cannot be located but were recently published in Sligo by Stella Durand (1990). William Evans of Eton produced a sketch of a house at Keem in the early nineteenth century as well (Pl. 26; Hodge 2011). The famous landscape painter Paul Henry (1870-1968) also produced paintings of Achill landscapes and housing between 1910 and 1919 (Henry 1951, 24-5) A late nineteenth-century painting of a supposed actual Achill booley hut by Francis Sylvester Walker is now housed in the National Library of Ireland (Pl. 16; National Library of Ireland (62911).

1.7 – Conclusions

A definition of transhumance for the purposes of this thesis was outlined in this chapter (see 1.1). The aims of the thesis were also outlined and the study area was introduced in geographical and historical terms (see 1.2). The various methods and sources used throughout the thesis were also discussed in some detail in this chapter (see 1.6). It was stated that a cross-disciplinary approach is to be taken throughout the thesis, as this is clearly the best way to gain a proper understanding of the phenomenon of transhumance in the Civil Parish of Achill through time (see 1.5).

Chapter 2 will examine previous academic work on transhumance and transhumance settlements across Europe and Britain. Chapter 3 outlines the academic work carried

out to date on booleying in Ireland. Chapter 4 reviews the historical, folklore, place-name and pictorial evidence for booleying in the study area. Chapter 5 examines the siting and morphology of booley settlements across Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun. Chapter 6 outlines the results of the excavations of two booley huts (Appendix One: No. A1-2) at Annagh and what appears to have been a permanent house at Keem (Appendix Two: No. K3). Chapter 7 examines the architecture of purpose-built booley houses in the study area and compares them to houses located at permanent settlements that appear to be contemporary. Chapter 8 is the discussion chapter while Chapter 9 offers suggestions for future work.

There are three Appendices at the end of this thesis. The first section Appendix One –describes the houses in the six purpose-built booley settlements in the study area. The next section Appendix Two –describes the houses in the three permanent settlements that became booley settlements at a later date. Finally, the last section Appendix Three –is a report on the artefacts recovered from the excavations at Annagh and Keem.

All radiocarbon dates within the text are quoted at Cal 2 sigma.

Chapter 2 – Transhumance in Europe and Britain

2.0 – Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the origin and demise, description and analysis of the practice of transhumance in Europe and Britain and its ultimate aim is to put the evidence for booleying in Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun into some international context. Transhumance is often confused with nomadism and nomadic pastoralism but all three systems are distinguished by different cultural and social traits (see 1.1; Jones 2005, 357-59).

Transhumance movements are seasonal, generally altitudinal and operate from a permanent village base where at least some arable cultivation is carried out. People, sometimes the whole family or certain members of the family, accompanied by their livestock, moved to the uplands in late April or early May where they stayed until September or October, returning to the permanent settlement for winter and early spring (Jones 2005, 357-59). Alternatively, nomads and nomadic pastoralists are constantly on the move, do little cultivation, although staying at some sites for long periods of time (Evans 1940, 172). They herd their livestock at various grazing grounds, following an irregular pattern of movement, living in camps, tents or temporary shelters established in the same place or area each year, or semi-permanent shelters may be built in at least one place on the migration route. However, they do not have permanent homes (Sayce 1955-56). Nomadic pastoralism is still practiced, for example, by some of the Saami in northern Scandinavia, an indigenous people who form an ethnic minority in Norway, Sweden and Finland (Cribb 1991; Paine 1994).

Nomadism, therefore, involves groups of people (a whole family of herders) with no fixed homes, moving according to the seasons from place to place in search of food, water, and grazing land and living in temporary shelters all year round (Jones 2005, 357-59). This would all suggest that the main difference between transhumance and other pastoral practices, such as nomadism, is a permanent village base, where arable agriculture plays a large part in the economy.

The origin of transhumance in Europe is still a matter of debate. Some see transhumance originating in the Mesolithic/Neolithic where hunter/gatherers may have incorporated domesticated sheep and goats into yearly grazing strategies. The problem with this is twofold. Firstly, it is difficult to distinguish between wild and domesticated sheep and goats. Secondly, hunter/gatherers have no permanent homes fixed in one place and, therefore, are not really transhumants (Geddes 1983, 51-2). It has been suggested in a general way that true transhumance may have its origins across different parts of Europe in the mixed farming economy of the Early Neolithic Period, even as early as around 5000 BC, although this view has its critics (ibid.). A third theory envisages a Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age origin for transhumance, brought about by the development of complex societies, which led to an increase in both population and livestock numbers (Halstead 1981, 309-12; Cleary 1987, 40). It has been argued that the earliest calibrated radiocarbon date for what appears to be transhumance in Temperate Europe comes from the Central Balkans c.3300 BC. This is based on zoo-archaeological techniques involving examination of the tooth remains of three domestic animals – cows, sheep/goat and pigs, the period of the year when culling occurred and the location of the culling which was in a transitional zone between lowland and upland. The period c. 3300 BC coincided with a shift of emphasis from primary products e.g. meat, hides and bone to that of secondary products based on milk, wool and hides. To produce and protect winter fodder, animals were moved to the uplands in summer and returned to the lowlands at the onset of winter (Arnold and Greenfield 2006, 90-93). However, Halstead has also suggested that the beginnings of transhumance across Europe may only have occurred in the Late Bronze Age, as this is when extensive farming and the concomitant clearance of forests for upland pastures occurred (Halstead 1981, 310). This all shows that there is a debate about the origins of and exact time when transhumance started as an economic practice across Europe. Nevertheless, the above review shows that it is accepted that transhumance was used by farming communities as an economic practice across large parts of Europe by the late prehistoric period.

Rathbone (2009) suggests that the practice of transhumance was dispersed throughout Britain and Europe by the Vikings but this is at variance with the views expressed in this thesis. Alternatively, the demise of transhumance across Europe from the late medieval period down to modern times, even as late as the twentieth

century, has been linked to the introduction of better foraging and winterage-production strategies on the part of farming communities, the adoption of chemical fertilisers to make more grass grow in fields around the permanent, lowland settlement and population increase in lowland areas and the associated movement of people into upland areas who then turned transhumant sites into permanent settlements. Obviously the demise of transhumance as an economic practice took place at different rates and times across Europe due to local socio-economic conditions (Davies 1941, 155).

2.1 – The Alpine and Mediterranean Systems of Transhumance

Two systems of transhumance have been recognised across Europe – the Alpine system and the Mediterranean system (Davies 1941, 156; Jones 2005, 357-58). The Alpine system of transhumance can be simply defined as the relatively-short distance movement of people (often the whole family or at least a substantial proportion of it) and their livestock, mainly dairy cattle, at the start of summer from a permanent lowland settlement to adjacent uplands to take advantage of the grass there (which did not grow in winter due to severe weather conditions). Furthermore, while cattle were away in summer, crops were grown in the fields around the lowland settlement. Indeed, the lack of livestock around the permanent settlement in summer time meant that it was less likely that crops would be trampled by them. In a way, their movement to upland pastures was a form of protection against this. Furthermore, standing grass could be preserved in certain fields around the home settlement to be used as winterage for the returning stock in certain areas. The transhumants and their cattle returned in autumn to the permanent settlement and grazed the harvested fields for a time. In deep winter, in parts of Temperate Europe, these cattle were put indoors but this was not always the case in more maritime parts of the continent. The Alpine system of transhumance was concentrated in the valleys and mountain/upland zones of places like the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Carpathians, Scandinavia, Britain and Ireland (Davies 1941, 156; Jones 2005, 357-58). It has been claimed that the practice of Alpine-style transhumance over time has shaped a lot of the landscape in upland areas of Europe, as without it, many areas below 2000m would be forest (Jones 2005, 359). The terms ‘fixed transhumance’ and ‘ascending transhumance’ are also used to describe transhumant movements in the literature. Both clearly belong to the

Alpine system of transhumance and are effectively the same thing, in that in both types during spring/early summer transhumants brought their livestock from lowland, permanent sites up to adjacent upland pastures to take advantage of the grazing there, brought about by the warm conditions. Crops were grown back in the home settlements (Davies 1941, 157).

Climate is also a major factor in Mediterranean transhumance, which occurs in places throughout southern Europe. The lowlands become arid, even desert-like in places, in summer and this contrasts with the lush pasture in the uplands at this time of the year. Conversely, in winter, the rainfall and more moderate temperatures in the lowlands are ideal for growing crops. Overall, the coarse herbage in both upland and lowland areas did not really suit dairy cattle and so sheep and goats were the main livestock reared in Mediterranean areas. Cattle tended to be used as draught animals and as oxen for ploughing. In this system, herders (often without their families) would leave their permanent settlements at the start of summer or late spring and travel long distances, far longer than in the Alpine system, at times as much as hundreds of kilometres. Viticulture and olive growing were practised by those who stayed in the permanent settlement at this time. The livestock would be brought back in autumn by the herders to graze the winter grass in fields around the permanent settlement and crops were grown over this season too (Davies 1941, 156; Jones 2005, 258-59).

A subtle variant of the Mediterranean form of transhumance is known as 'Descending Transhumance' or, alternatively, 'Inverse Transhumance'. This is where the permanent home was in the mountains/uplands, rather than in the lowlands. Here again, however, livestock in the form of goats and sheep were moved to lowland, valley pastures in winter to take advantage of the grass growth in these places, so it is in many respects little different from the normal Mediterranean style of transhumance. The only difference is that the permanent settlement was in the mountains and so the transhumants brought their livestock 'down', rather than 'up', to the transhumance sites. The Vlachs in Greece practised a form of 'Descending' or 'Inverse' transhumance (Winnifrith 1987).

It must be stated that one problem in analysing all this is that there are few detailed

accounts of both systems of transhumance in a European context. For example, apart from accounts of Vlach and Sarakasanai herders of south-eastern Europe in the misleadingly-titled book *The Nomads of the Balkans* (Wace and Thompson 1972) and the book *The Vlachs: The History of a Balkan People* (Winnifrith 1987), there is little in the way of written material for the Mediterranean style of transhumance in English. The literature for the Mediterranean area in English tends to be dominated by works on what appears to be nomadism and nomadic pastoralism, rather than true transhumance (e.g. Bartosiewicz and Greenfield 1999; Chang and Tourtellotte 1993; Galaty and Johnson 1990).

It is clear from the above discussion that the type of transhumance associated with the study area is mainly a form of Alpine-style transhumance (see 1.1). In this respect, while English-language publications on this form of transhumance are also lacking for much of Central and Northern Europe, the situation is not as bad as the dearth of literature in the latter language for the Mediterranean system. A review of this English-language material will now be undertaken to analyse work done in other countries on the Alpine form of transhumance for comparative purposes and to lay the foundations for the discussion in future chapters.

2.2 –Scandinavia

Transhumance in Scandinavia (Norway and Sweden only, as no English-language data exists for Finland) belonged to the Alpine system of seasonal movement of people and livestock from lowland permanent farms and settlements to upland sites in summer (Emanuelsson and Johansson 2003, 10). *Saeter*, which derives from the medieval Old Norse term *setr*, with variants such as *saetr*, is the Norwegian term for transhumance, although it can also mean ‘mountain-pasture’ and ‘forest-pasture’ as well (Albrethsen and Keller 1986, 91-107). *Setr* or *saetr* are also the words used to describe groups of huts utilised for transhumance purposes (Albrethsen and Keller 1986, 91-2).

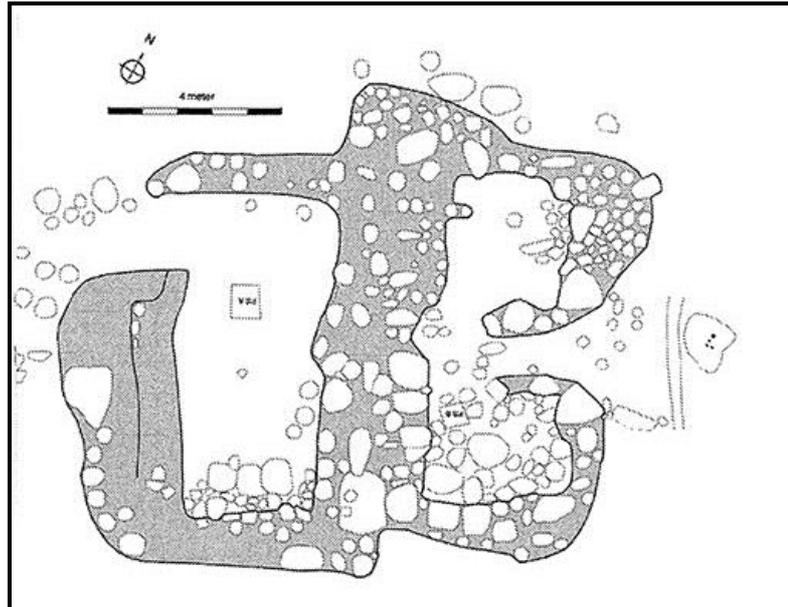


Fig. 7 – House at Svolset, Norway (after Skrede 2005, 34).

The origin of transhumance in Norway is believed by some to extend back to at least the Late Bronze Age or Iron Age (e.g. Zachrisson 2005, 193-202). For example, the excavated, transhumant site at Svolset, north-east of Bergen, consisted of two groups of houses, each house being sub-rectangular with rounded corners in plan (Fig. 7). These houses are between one room and three rooms in size. The two-roomed examples have separate entrances, some of which are in-turned, as in Fig. 7 above. Radiocarbon dates from the site indicated that these two groups of huts were in use continuously from the second century AD until the eleventh century AD (Skrede 2002, 24-25). While there is debate about its exact origins, most observers believe that there is ample evidence for transhumance in Norway from the eighth and ninth centuries AD onwards, all predating the Viking/Norse settlement across parts of North-West Europe, Greenland and Iceland (Albrethsen and Keller 1986, 93). The practice was certainly well established by the eleventh and twelfth centuries AD throughout Norway, as Old Norse laws such as the *Gulatingsshow*, first written down in the eleventh century, mention it. The German chronicler, Adam of Bremen, writing around 1075, also mentions transhumance in Norway (Hougen 1947, 107). The practice continued down to modern times in Norway (ibid.).

Three somewhat different methods of practising transhumance during medieval and post-medieval times have been noted in Norway (Briody 2005, 12). The first type of

transhumant site occurred in western and northern Norway and was located in the outfield but within the boundary of the permanent farm, at not too great a distance from it. This was known as the *melkeseter* or 'dairy' *saeter*. It was occupied by herders who looked after the cows, but it is unclear whether their families or at least a large part of them came and lived at these sites (Albrethsen and Keller 1986, 92-3). The second type of transhumance site was located at a distance from the permanent site and was mainly chosen for its hay-making potential and was occupied only during the short hay-making season, although animals did graze here too. This was known as the *Slattesaeterbruk* and such sites included barns for the storage of hay for winter fodder (ibid.). The third type of transhumant site, the most common, was located in upland valleys and mountains. It was here that families moved with their herds from lowland sites in summer. These were the *fullsaeterbruk* sites. This movement of livestock around grazing areas meant that they had access to high nutritive grasses that ensured a higher milk yield and an increased fat content for butter production (ibid.). It seems that the location of these *saeters* was between one day's and three day's journey from the permanent home farm or settlement (Davies 1941, 167). Very often hay was saved at these *fullsaeterbruk* sites too during the summer months to be used as winterage back at the permanent site (Albrethsen and Keller 1986, 92-4; Briody 2005, 12-13). A number of huts, rebuilt when needed, together with barns thought to be for the storage of hay, dairy pens and storage huts for milk products, such as cheese and butter, occur at these *fullsaeterbruk* sites. The *fullsaeterbruk* sites, as noted, were located in the uplands and mountains. Because of their high altitude and the near-polar conditions for much of the year, these uplands were not free of snow until June and the corresponding early onset of winter meant that the livestock had to return to the lowlands in late August or September to graze on the harvested fields back at the home farm (Davies 1941, 167). This suggests that families or at least part of them were away from the lowland, permanent sites for between three and four months due to the weather conditions in Scandinavia. Later on in the year, the conditions became so bad that the cattle were moved to indoor stalls at the home farm (ibid.). Archaeological studies suggest that transhumance and similar agricultural systems were introduced by Norse settlers to the Faroes and Iceland during early medieval times (Skrede 2005, 32-33). It is also clear that at least some crops were cultivated at these transhumant sites in Norway (Emanuelsson and Johansson 2003, 10).

In Swedish the words *säter* and *fabrodi* in place-names indicate the practice of transhumance took place at those sites at some stage in the past (Seymour-Smith 1985, 1101). The earliest accepted evidence for what was an Alpine-style of transhumance in Sweden dates to between the eighth and tenth centuries AD and it continued down to modern times (Pettersson 2005, 44). Recent excavations took place at Backasatern, where a permanent farm and transhumant site in a forested environment were shown to have been founded concurrently during the eighth to tenth centuries and occupied down to modern times. In this case, the *säter* was created to provide additional forest grazing in summer to that available around the home settlement, allowing land to be freed up to grow crops during the latter season (Emanuelsson and Johansson 2003, 134-35). Transhumance in Sweden is said to date from the Viking Age onwards and is considered part of an egalitarian farming system that is most commonly found north of the *Limes Norrlandicus*, also known as *Fäbodgränsen* (the shieling border) (Johansson and Svensson 2002). Seven sites were examined in Värmland, three of which were subjected to palynological investigation. The results of the pollen analysis showed grazing and hay-making taking place at the shielings between 700 and 900AD and again in the fourteenth century (Emanuelsson and Johansson 2003, 104-8). Suzanne Petersson surveyed fifty three structures at a shieling at Backasäter, most of which seem to be of square shape (ibid.).

Analysis of shielings elsewhere in Sweden showed that different activities were associated with different building types. For example, where cultivation was an activity, the buildings were the same as those at the permanent settlement, whereas when stock-raising was predominant, a more diffuse structure was common. The oldest type of building was called the *eldhus* (fire cabin), a single-roomed timber building with central hearth and hole in the roof to let out the smoke. The entrance was at the gable. A more developed type of the *eldhus* was common in the eighteenth century. It had two rooms, a living area and a pantry for storing milk. The hearth was now located in a corner of a room, lined with stone slabs, placed on edge, with a hole in the roof to let out the smoke. The entrance was on the long side of the building and there were no windows, light coming in through a hole in the roof and through the door. The roof consisted of narrow planks covered by a layer of birch bark on top of which was a layer of wood (Emanuelsson and Johansson 2003, 121-

23).

2.3 – Scotland

Relatively little systematic research has been carried out on the subject of transhumance in Scotland, despite its clear importance to the agricultural economy there in the past (Bil 1990, 2). Place-names ending in the words *ary*, *airigh* and *airidh* (which are Gaelic in origin) or *setr*, *saetr* or *shiel* (which are Norse in origin) are associated with past transhumance (Miller 1967a, 193-4; Fenton 1976, 124; Fellows-Jensen 1985, 65-7). It has also been suggested that in western Scotland the Gaelic word *buaille* often means a ‘cattle-fold’ or ‘enclosure’ in a later medieval context. However, it may also have meant a transhumant settlement associated with lordship and the elite, while the place-name *airigh* (and, therefore, also its derivations *ary* and *airidh*) or place-names ending in that word was indicative of Alpine-style transhumant sites used by ordinary folk (Raven 2005, 434). The term *shieling* is also the general term used to describe huts at sites associated with transhumance (Curwen 1938, 273). The distance between the permanent and seasonal settlements in Scotland was commented on by Bil (1990, 51-3), who said distances from 4km up to 32km were common and suggested that because of the varied topography in different areas, cognizance be taken of the time as opposed to distance from permanent settlement to shieling. He also said that shielings remote from the permanent settlement were used only when pasture was unavailable at the home farm (ibid.).

The earliest evidence for transhumance in Scotland may come from the Iron Age (Raven 2005, 414). Others have argued that transhumance was introduced to Scotland by Irish settlers during the early medieval period from the fifth century AD onwards, as indicated by place-names such as *airidh* and *ary* (Marwick 1923, 251-55). Fenton (1976, 124) believed that transhumance was definitely in place by the twelfth century AD, perhaps being introduced by Norse settlers to Scotland in the eighth and ninth centuries AD. Whatever its origins in Scotland, good evidence for what appears to be an Alpine-type of transhumance in the Highlands comes from eighteenth century travellers’ accounts and writings. For example, Edward Burt was sent to Scotland in 1730 and worked as a contractor and military engineer for the

government. He was based in Inverness for most of his time, finally dying there in 1755. Burt regularly wrote letters about life and society in the Highlands to a friend in London, noting the hardship of life there for ordinary people and their resulting poverty. In 1754 he wrote ‘in the summer the people remove to the hills and dwell in much worse huts than they leave below; these are near spots of grazing and are called *shealings* (*sic* shielings), scattered from one another as occasion requires – there they make their butter and cheese’ (Burt 1876, 31). Again, a little bit later, in 1760 John Home, the famous Scots dramatist, poet, clergyman and sometime soldier, noted large amounts of corn (presumably oats) being grown at an upland shieling site at Inver in Aberdeenshire which he claimed was double the quantity grown in the infield back at the permanent settlement (Home 1774, 130; Adam 1960; Fenton 1976). In 1786 travellers found a permanent coastal village near Lough Hourn, south of Skye on the west coast of Scotland, deserted because the entire community had re-located to an upland shieling for the summer (Knox 1786, 93; Fenton 1976, 124). In his *Tour in Scotland*, the Welsh Naturalist and Antiquary, Thomas Pennant, provided a graphic account of the practice of transhumance recorded c. 1770: “I landed on a bank covered with sheelins, the temporary habitations of some peasants who tend the herds of milch cows. These formed a grotesque group; some were oblong, some conic (i.e. circular tapering to a point), and so low that the entrance is forbidden without creeping through the opening, which has no other door than a faggot of birch twigs placed there occasionally; they are constructed of branches of trees covered with sods; the furniture a bed of heather; placed on a bank of sod, two blankets and a rug; some dairy vessels; and above, certain pendent shelves made of basket-work, to hold the cheese, the product of the summer. In one of the little conic huts, I spied a little infant asleep” (Pennant 1790, 108). Some circular transhumant huts in Perthshire in Scotland had internal measurements of no more than 2m in diameter, with walls of turf or a mixture of turf and stone, and sometimes a turf wall was lined on the inside with stone which was said to be a late innovation. Ovoid huts also occur (Fenton 1976, 126; Boyle 2003, 20-21). Some of the stone huts have stone fire-backs for their hearths and alcoves for storage. Others have small, square or circular, subsidiary annexes attached on to them that are thought to be dairies (ibid.). It is thought that shielings settlements at Greenshiels, Liddesdale in Scotland may have been exploited during the medieval period but this is not certain (Boyle 2003, 17-30; Dixon 2007, 31).



Pl. 3 – Low-lying land of Sanday, Orkney, Scotland where airigh place names are common
([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sanday, Orkney](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sanday,Orkney)).

Good evidence, however, exists for Alpine-style transhumance in Scotland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, this was also the period that saw the gradual decline of the practice. The Highland Clearances of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the widespread eviction and transplantation of hundreds of Gaelic-speaking communities across the Highlands to new coastal villages, but more especially to Canada (in particular Nova Scotia) and the Carolinas in what is now the United States of America.

Modern breeds of sheep and shepherds (often from the Lowlands) took their place. This widespread, forced exodus from many upland areas of Scotland meant that traditional practices died out and transhumance ceased. The people were gone and new economic practices were introduced by the landlord class, many of whom were the hereditary chiefs of the dispossessed (Prebble 1963, 60-61; Fenton 1976, 127-28; Richards 2000, 32-5). Nevertheless, transhumance lingered on in parts of the Scottish Highlands and Islands, particularly in the Western and Northern Isles. Family groups continued to practice an Alpine-style of transhumance up until the twentieth century in places. For example, ‘going to the airigh’ was a common phrase on the large Isle of Lewis, where transhumance was practised as late as the 1950s (Anne Campbell,

pers. comm.).



Pl. 4 – Ovoid shieling in Perthshire (<http://www.incallander.co.uk/shielings.htm>).



Pl. 5 – Occupied shielings on the Island of Jura in the late eighteenth century – note their circular and conical shapes (after Pennant 1790; Caldwell 2001, 69).

A description of occupied transhumant huts in Craigvean in Scotland in 1770 states that the structures or *scalans* were made of ‘divots and trees’ upon the green, suggesting turf or sod-built and possibly wattle houses. They seem to have been built

into banks above a stream and some were clearly circular or beehive in shape, similar to contemporary ones on the Isle of Lewis and the ‘cleits’ of St.Kilda (Gaffney 1959, 28). Captain Thomas, another traveller, described two types of shielings in the Parish of Uig on Lewis in the mid-nineteenth century, one was stone-built with a timber roof called *airidh* and the other a circular, conical beehive-shaped structure built entirely of stone on the corbelled principle and called a *both* (Thomas 1869, 161-4; Curwen 1938, 274-76). Ruined shielings at *Airigh a’ Bhealaich* on the Isle of Lewis were built of sod and stone construction, had two rooms and measured 8m by 4.8m (RCAHMS www.rcahms.gov.uk). The *both* or circular or beehive-shaped huts seen on Lewis (apparently of post-medieval date) are described as having an internal diameter of between 1.8m and 2.4m, was 1.8m tall, with one or two doors (opposing) 0.76m tall (Pl. 6). In examples of the opposing door type, the interior was divided into two unequal parts. The internal shape could be circular, oval or occasionally rectangular (ibid.). In his survey of shieling *bothies* of presumably medieval and post medieval date in Assynt parish Miller (1967a, 202-3) recorded a variety of shapes and forms. Some were circular but many were ovoid or sub-rectangular (i.e. houses which have straight walls on their axis but have rounded ends – see 7.1.3). These *bothies* ranged from 1.8m x 1.2m to 4.5m x 1.5m in size internally and all had one door (Pl. 7).



Pl. 6 – Conjoined conical shielings on Isle of Lewis.



Pl. 7 – Traditional Assynt shieling, with roof of driftwood (after Miller 1967a, 203).

The circular examples at Assynt had an average diameter of 1.8m. Materials used in construction included stone-and turf-walls, with the suggestion that stone was mainly used in the foundation of the huts, or for an inner wall that was sealed by an outer turf wall (ibid.). Many of the Assynt shielings settlements are surrounded by walls of stone or of sod and stone, presumably to restrain the livestock and keep them safe (Miller 1967a, 200).

Shielings at Glenesk, the longest and most easterly of the Angus Glens in Scotland are circular, ovoid or are sub-rectangular in shape (i.e. have rounded external ends). The sub-rectangular examples measure 8.8m x 3.6m and 5.4m x 3.6m (Fenton 1976, 128). They are said to date to the second half of the eighteenth century (ibid.).

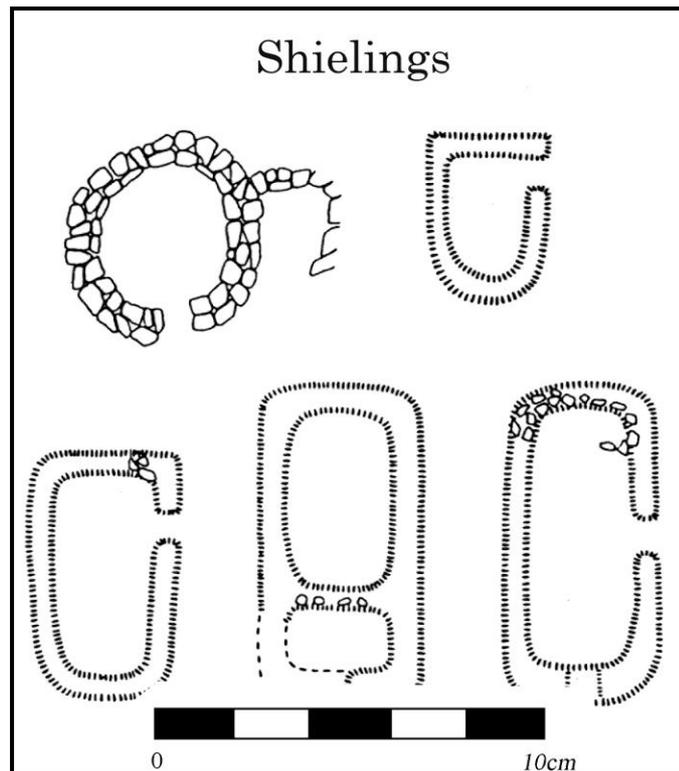


Fig. 8 – Shielings at Lochlee, Glenesk, Angus, Scotland (after Fenton 1976, 126).

Twenty five huts sites associated with post-medieval transhumance were recorded along a stream in Margadale on Islay in Scotland (Fig. 9) by David Caldwell (1994, 315-16). These huts were situated at an elevation of 75m OD, in a sheltered hollow along the middle reaches of the Margadale River between the farms of Margadale and Ardnahoe. The huts consisted of one-room and two-roomed (or annexe) examples, each having its own entrance. In form, they ranged between sub-circular and ovoid forms, measured upwards of 2m in internal diameter and had walls some 1m in thickness. The huts were constructed of stone or sod-and-stone and in 1994 stood to a height of 0.8m. They are thought to date to the eighteenth century (ibid.).

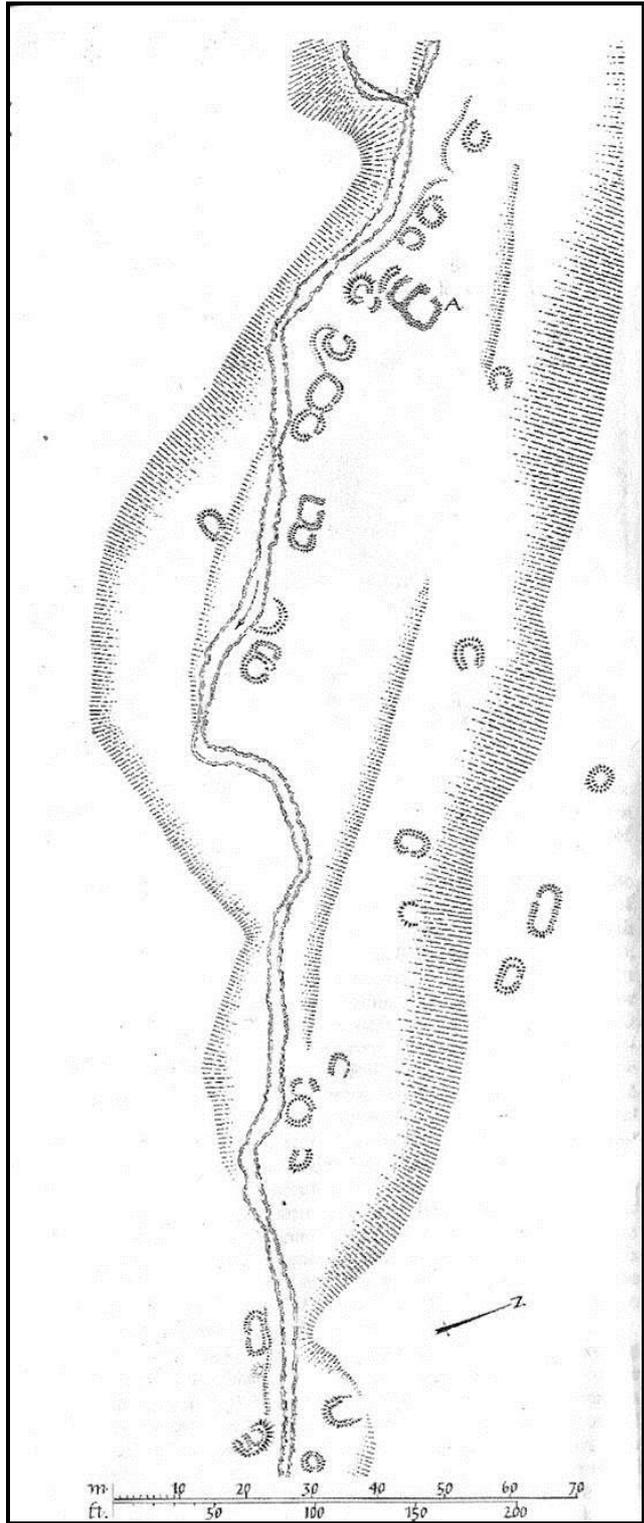


Fig. 9 – Shielings at Margadale, Islay (after Caldwell 1994, 315-316) .

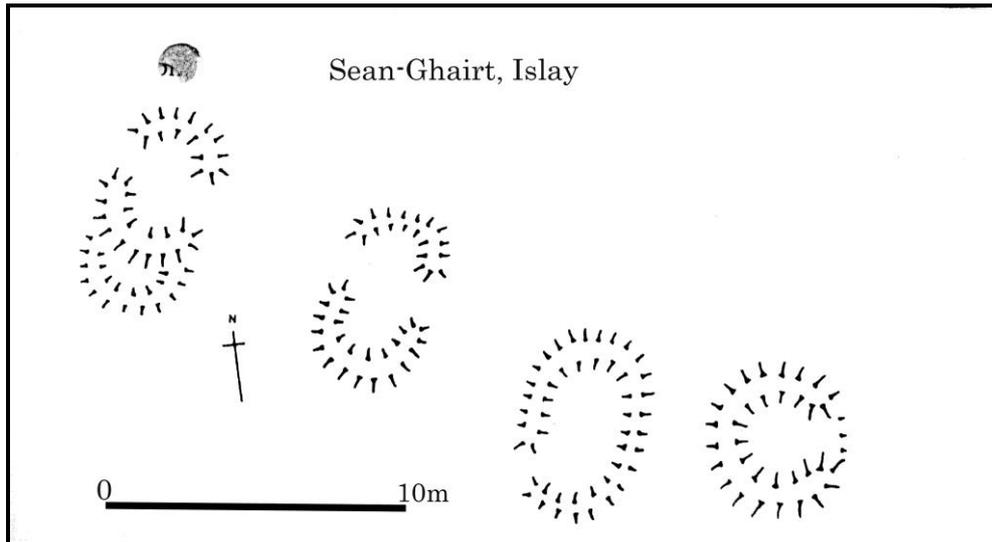


Fig. 10 – Sean-ghairt, Finlaggan, Islay (after Caldwell 2001, 185) .

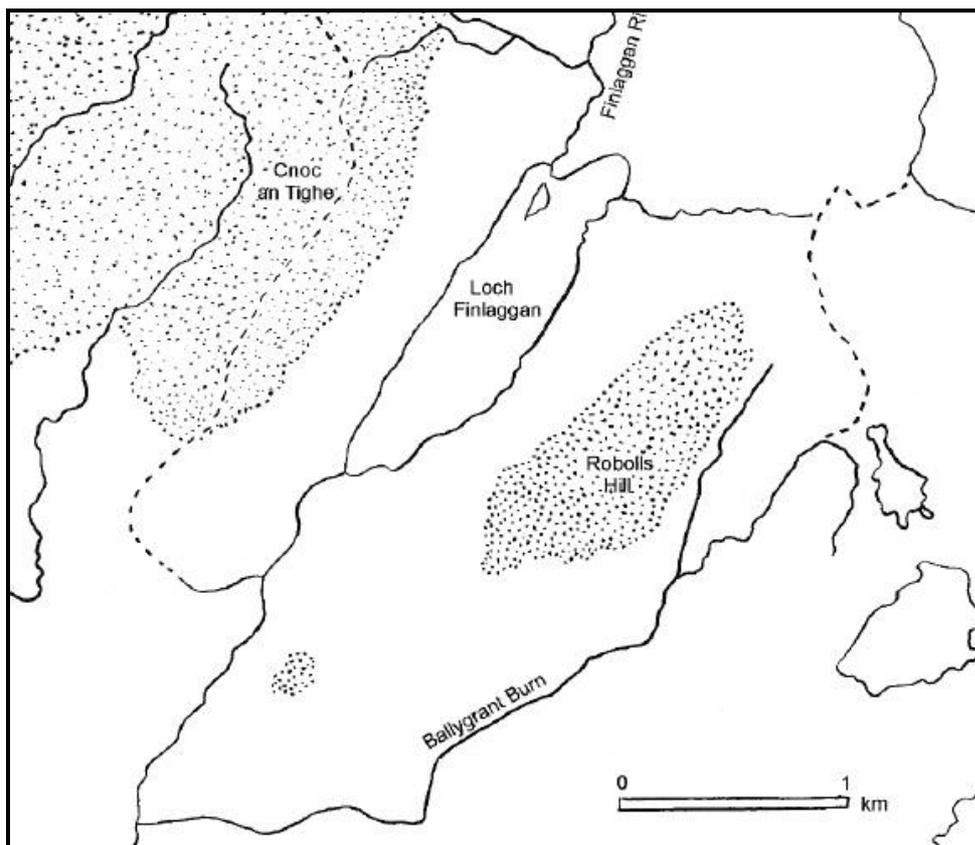


Fig. 11 – Location map of Finlaggan (after Caldwell *et.al.* 2000, 60).

Four transhumant houses of seemingly post-medieval date were recorded at *Sean-ghairt* (Old Garden) and another four, close to head dykes, at Ballaclavan near Finlaggan on Islay by David Caldwell (Figs. 10-11; 2000, 59). Three houses at Sean

Ghairt were single-roomed houses that were sub-rectangular in shape – i.e. they had rounded ends. The easternmost house was circular in shape, while the westernmost had an annexe on its southern side (Fig. 10). Alternatively the houses at Ballaclavan were rectangular in shape and ranged in size from one to four rooms. Multiple construction phases were noted, with evidence for a blocked up doorway in the gable of one example (Building D). Large dressed blocks of dolomite were used as quoins stones, and there was evidence for clay mortar. A kiln which Caldwell thought might be a corn-drying kiln was located 100m to the west of the site. Fields of rig-and-furrow were found at several locations around the site (Fig. 11).

Excavation of a single-celled shieling, one of thirty in a group of seventy six related structures in a settlement at Torrìn, Isle of Skye by Martin Wildgoose in 1991-2 (NG559 226) revealed four occupation phases (Fig. 12). The earliest phase produced sherds of coarse black, hand-made pottery, a hearth but no structures. Phase 2a revealed a single-cell circular turf structure, measuring 2.5m in diameter, with a door measuring 0.6m on the north-east side.

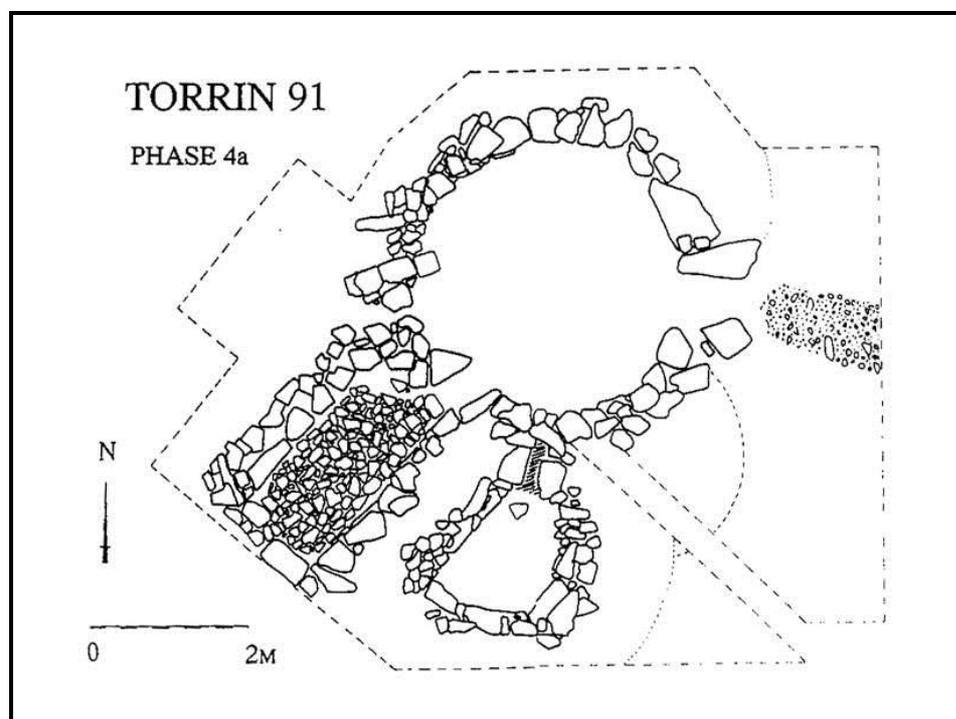


Fig. 12 – Shieling at Torrìn, Isle of Skye NG556 227. (after Wildgoose and Miket 1991-2).

Phase 2b revealed a stone-built cell measuring 3m by 2.5m internally that was added

to the Phase 2a turf building, with access through a narrow opening in the south wall of this structure. Associated with Phase 2b were several sherds of fine wheel-turned pottery with a delicate flared rim in an orange fabric. Evidence for leather-working and the collection of limpers were also recorded. A period of abandonment followed Phase 2b represented by 20cms of black earth, after which a small, stone-lined cell with an internal diameter of 1m was built and rested atop the earlier Phase 2 structure. Access was through a narrow opening on the north side on to a well-laid stone floor. There is no published date for this site but it does show that shieling sites were occupied over long periods of time (Wildgoose and Miket 1991-2). An earlier excavation in 1991 of a shieling at the nearby site of *Airidh na Creige* (Wildgoose 1991) also revealed four occupation phases, the earliest consisting of three pits cut into bedrock, two of which had a post at each end and a central hearth, the third just a single post. Following on from this, a small turf mound 4m in diameter was built and later still a two-celled shieling was partly inset into the turf mound; the larger cell was D-shaped, 4.5m in diameter with walls 1m thick and the smaller cell measured 2m by 2m and was linked to a larger cell by a narrow passage, roofed with large stone lintels that may have been used for smoking cheese and possibly fish. The final phase saw a large rectangular cell inserted into the south west wall of the D-shaped cell measuring 3.5m by 2m and with a well-laid cobbled floor. The entrance facing south-west was later blocked with an earthen floor overlaying the cobbles, followed by abandonment. Again, no date is given for this site but it shows long term occupation of this particular transhumant structure (ibid.).

The view that Scottish transhumant huts and sites were occupied over long periods of time was confirmed by dates from a recent, unpublished excavation of shieling huts at *Ailt Aigeinn*, Skye. This site produced dates ranging from the Iron Age through to the seventeenth century. Excavation also took place of a shieling hut on the north bank of the *Abhainn a' Ghlinne* River in North Skye (Fig. 13; Mac Sween and Gailey 1961, 80). This hut was one of a number of twin-chambered, mostly circular or ovoid huts, but some were rectangular in shape. Some had become mound-like in appearance due to successive occupation and re-occupation over time.

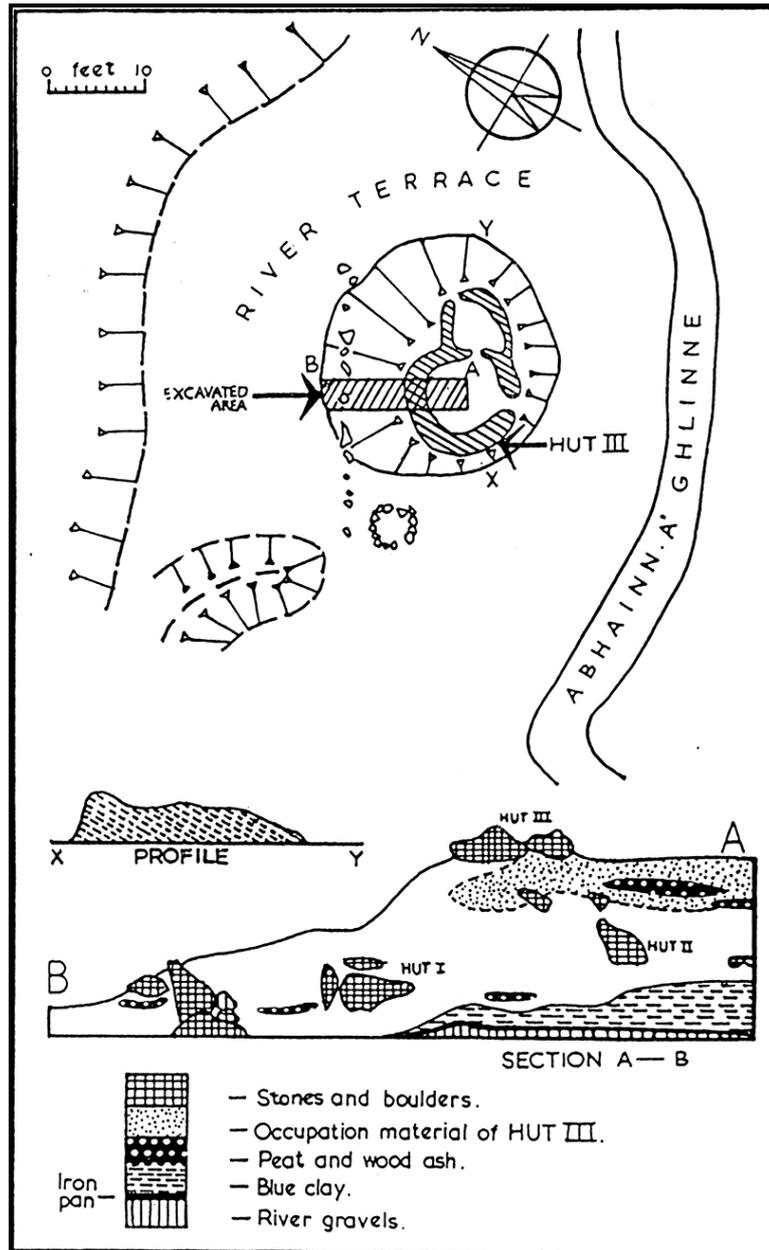


Fig. 13 – Abhainn a' Ghlinne shieling hut in North Skye (after Mac Sween and Gailey 1961, 80).

The excavated shieling had a mound over one metre high and consisted of two circular chambers 2.2m and 1.5m in diameter respectively. The two chambers were connected *via* an internal entrance with the main entrance facing south towards the stream. The smaller chamber had a separate entrance facing south/south west, the purpose of which was said to be related to dairying activity. A small stone-built oval structure is sited west of the hut, measuring 0.9m by 1.2m whose purpose is unknown. Three phases of occupation were identified. A hearth was found in the corner of Cutting A. It was suggested that the roof was covered by heather and that

the absence of roofing timbers indicated that these were dismantled and brought to the shieling each summer, a practice also found on the Isle of Lewis. Two sherds of craggan type pottery were found close to the hearth. This handmade pottery is known to have been manufactured up to the late nineteenth century (Mac Sween and Gailey 1961, 77-84). This may be an indication that this circular shieling hut was occupied up until the latter date or at least until the eighteenth century as it is thought that transhumance ceased on Skye c. 1811-18, coinciding with the demise of runrig and the advent of the Clearances (Mac Sween and Gailey 1961, 83).

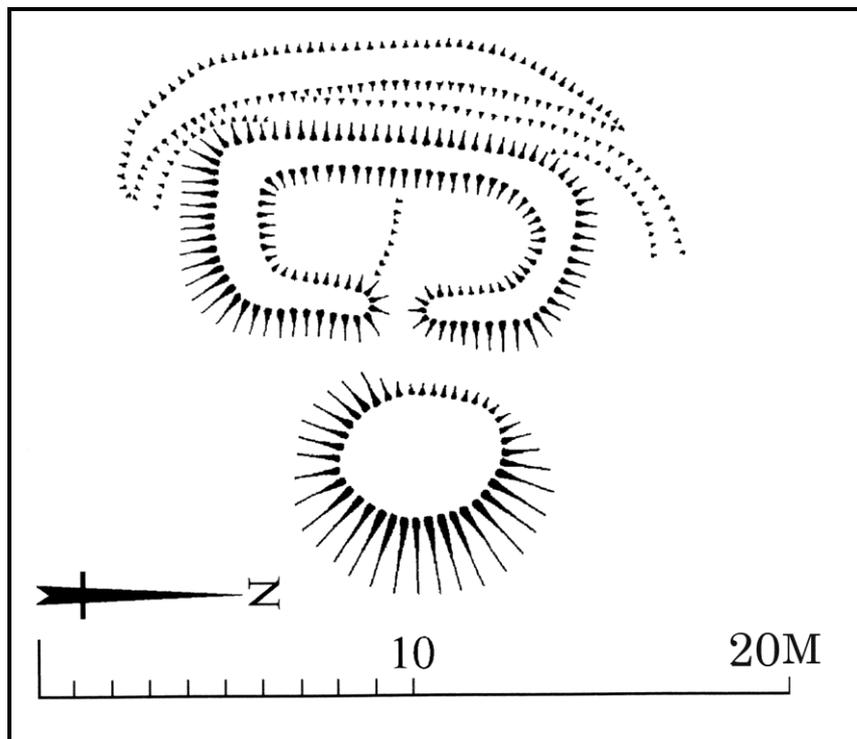


Fig. 14 – Shielings hut at Hazelyside, Liddesdale with midden at entrance (after Dixon 2007, 36)

The overall evidence from Scotland seems to suggest that a variety of hut shapes can be seen at shieling sites there. These include circular, ovoid, sub-rectangular and rectangular shapes. Excavation and historical evidence also indicates that circular and ovoid houses were certainly in occupation well into the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries. Excavation also suggests that in some places these shielings were in use over long periods of time – possibly centuries. A number of purpose-built shieling huts are quite small. For example, in the Central Highlands, circular shieling huts are on average 2m in diameter. Corbelled dry-stone-built shieling houses occur in the Hebrides as well and these had storage niches too (Dixon 2007,

31). At *Aird Mhor* on the Isle of Lewis, conjoined, circular corbelled shielings, with interconnecting passages continued in use into the nineteenth century (Curwen 1938, 273-89).

2.4 – The Isle of Man

On the Isle of Man, evidence for transhumance is indicated by the place-name *earry*, which is synonymous with shieling (Gelling 1962, 167). It is clear that *earry* is derived from the Irish word *áirge*, meaning a milking place and/or a transhumance site. One explanation for this place-name is that it could have been brought over by Norse settlers from Ireland, who having borrowed it from Irish, introduced it to places like the Isle of Man, Scotland and perhaps Northern England as well (Gelling 1976, 200-201). However, a form of Irish was spoken on the Isle of Man long before the coming of Norse settlers in the early tenth century. It is possible, therefore, that the word *áirge* was introduced directly to the Isle of Man by Irish settlers whose presence on the island is indicated by several ogham stones dating from as early as the fifth and sixth centuries AD, the period in which *áirge* is first documented (Broderick 2005, 343).

This suggests at one level that evidence for transhumance practices on the Isle of Man date back to the very beginning of the early medieval period. However, Gillian Quine (1990, 272) has argued that this practice started even earlier on the island, at some stage during the Iron Age, apparently basing her view on the now-dubious assertion that circular huts have to date to that period. However, whatever its exact origins, the floruit of transhumance on the Isle of Man is believed to extend from the tenth century through to the fourteenth century (Gelling 1978). This is based on the fact that a large number of shieling mounds, apparently house sites, dating from the tenth century onwards have been recorded on the Isle of Man. This contrasts with the small number of hut sites that are said to represent pre-tenth century shielings, suggesting an increase in the practice of transhumance with the coming of Norse settlers to the island after AD900 (Gelling 1962, 172). Recognised shieling settlements of all dates on the Isle of Man vary greatly in size, the reasons for which are still unknown. Fieldwork in the late 1950s and early 1960s identified forty-eight possible shieling sites situated above the 330m contour line. Most of these sites

consisted of less than ten hut sites (which were mostly circular or ovoid in shape), with some being much larger. For example, thirty-seven hut sites and structures were identified at Block Eary (Fig. 15; Gelling 1962, 169). Converging banks which enabled cattle to be driven into small pens for day-to-day management purposes were identified at some of these shieling sites on the island. Evidence for some form of crop-growing has also been recorded at various transhumance sites on the Isle of Man. Small fields were seen in some places and evidence for cultivation ridges were visible at one shieling site in the parish of Patrick in association with fourteen hut sites (Gelling 1978).

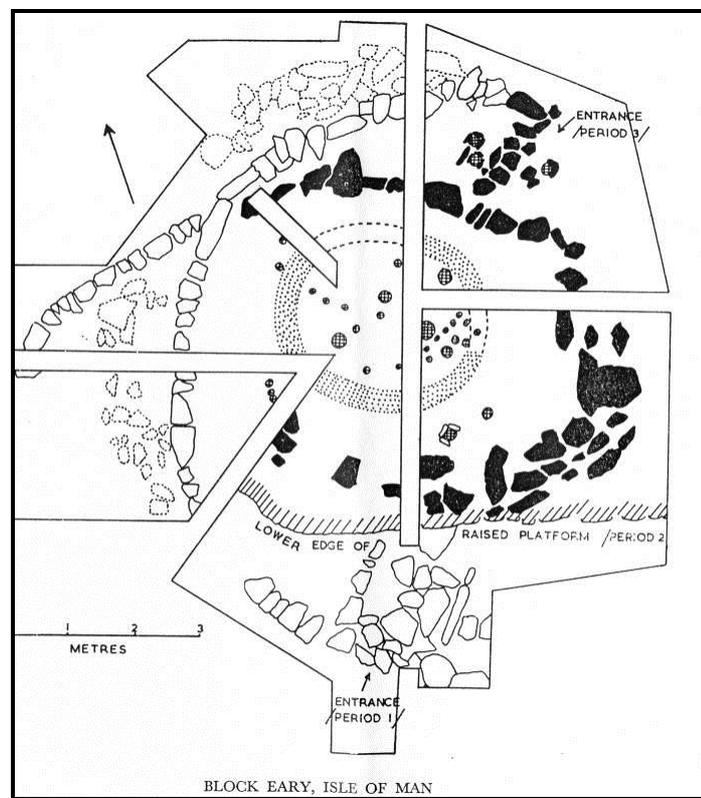


Fig. 15 – Block Eary, Isle of Man (after Gelling 1962, 161).

Shielings at Doarlish Cashen, Kirk Patrick, consisted of a group of ten hut sites and associated enclosures of which only traces remain (Fig. 16). This site is located on marginal land at an elevation of 213m (Gelling 1970). A number of these shielings were excavated, together with a structure that was interpreted as a ‘corn-drying kiln’, with a single flue and a circular drying ‘pot’ said to be of ‘post-Norse’ date (Gelling 1962, 167). However, one of the excavated huts, ovoid/sub-rectangular in shape measured 7m long by 3m wide, had opposing doorways and was thought to date to

the ninth century AD (ibid.).

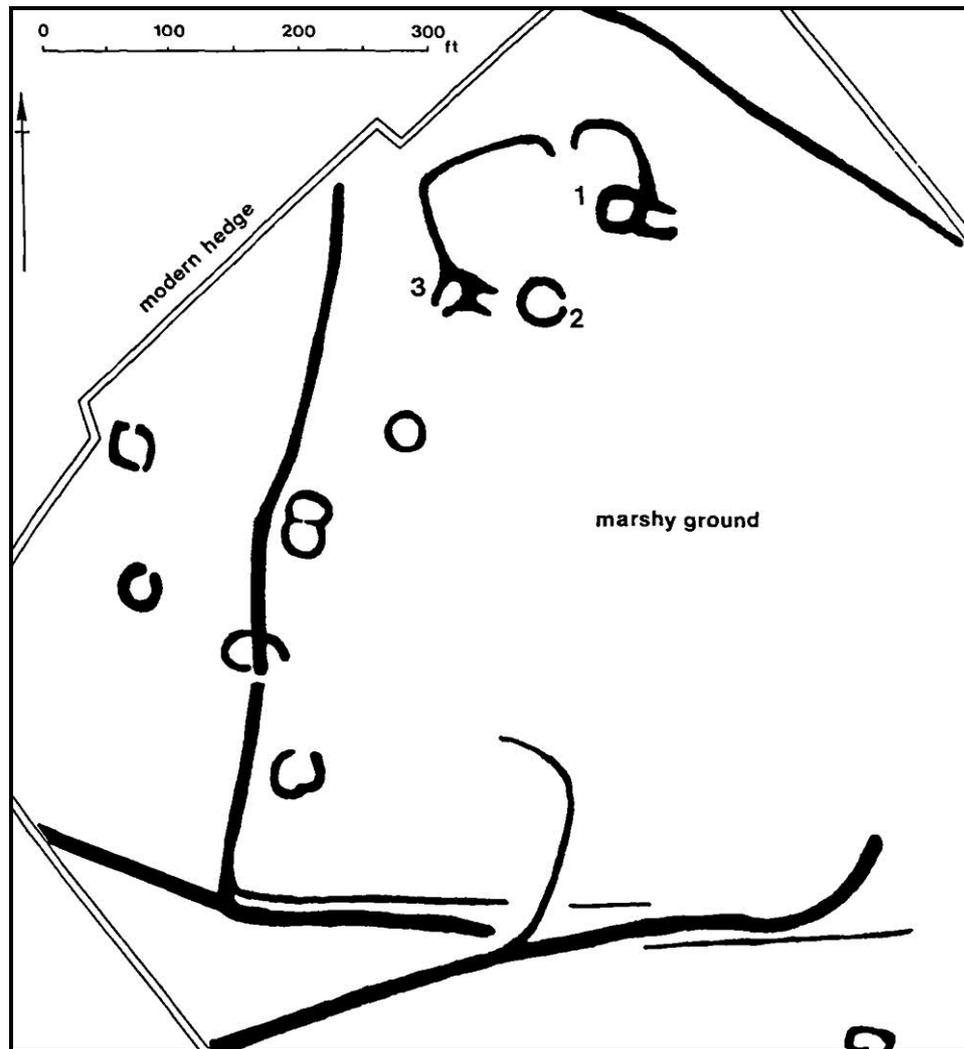


Fig. 16 – Doarlish Cashen Huts (after Gelling 1970, 81).

Finds from the excavation included a spindle whorl and a sherd of very dark grey unglazed pottery. The existence of a corn-drying kiln might suggest a permanent settlement but its excavator argued that the site's high elevation and its location on marginal land well away from other settlements suggested that it was a seasonal, transhumance site (Gelling 1970, 74-84). The existence of the corn-drying kiln may suggest that the inhabitants of this site were growing small quantities of grain with high moisture content. It might be added that the spindle whorl suggests that spinning wool was an activity carried out by at least some of the occupants at this site during the long summer months. Furthermore, a similar shaped house to the one excavated at Doarlish Cashen was excavated at Kirk Malew in what was clearly a

permanent location close to a parish church. This structure which measured 10m by 4m also had opposing doorways, and was dated to the thirteenth century (Gelling 1970). At first glance, this suggests that houses at transhumance and permanent sites on the Isle of Man were not that different from one another, at least during the medieval period.

Another probable transhumant site excavated on the Isle of Man was Block Eary at the head of a valley on the northern slopes of Snaefell, the highest mountain on the island (Gelling 1962). Prior to excavation, it was believed that the thirty-seven mounds that made up this site represented a barrow cemetery or some sort of nucleated settlement of Iron Age date (Gelling 1962, 156). The excavation indicated that the mounds represented circular hut sites occupied over a very long period, being returned to year after year. The sequence at Block Eary indicated that a circular house was replaced by a smaller ovoid house that in turn was replaced by an even smaller house (*ibid.*). The only dating evidence was provided by a coin of mid-thirteenth century date found in the upper levels of one house (Gelling 1962, 158). The huts, as noted, were either circular or ovoid in shape and some had hearths (Fig. 15; Gelling 1962, 159-60). A loom weight was found in one hut, again suggesting that weaving and spinning were activities that were carried out at these shieling sites during the long summer months (Gelling 1962, 162). The huts were built of turf or earth and sod walls, sometimes with upright slabs revetting their external faces. It was postulated that the roofs were flat, consisting of branches and wattle panels laid horizontally with sods placed over them. The circular huts were on average approximately 5m in diameter internally. One ovoid hut measured 3m by 4m in internal measurements (*ibid.*). A possible corn-drying kiln was also recognised at Block Eary, as were two small fields that seem to have been used for some form of cultivation (Gelling 1962, 170). Cheese-making was also postulated for Mound C at Block Eary (*ibid.*).

The English traveller William Blundell visited the Isle of Man in the mid-seventeenth century, writing an account of the island, its history and economy. No mention is made of transhumance (Blundell 1875, 139-60), leading one writer to suggest that transhumance had died out on the Isle of Man at some stage before *c.* 1650, possibly as early the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Certainly no folk

memory of transhumance existed on the island by the twentieth century (Gelling 1962, 171-72). However, Gillian Quine (1990, 69) re-interpreted the evidence from Blundell's text and believed that transhumance as an economic practice continued on the island up to the beginning of the seventeenth century. However, no excavated evidence exists to prove this contention, as yet.

The Manx evidence is interesting in a number of respects. Firstly, transhumance seems to have been relatively common there from at least the fifth century AD onwards, although it had ceased by the seventeenth century. The excavations at sites like Block Eary suggest people returning over time to the same sites year after year. Again, the field evidence suggests that most of the huts associated with these sites were circular or ovoid in shape. The dating from Block Eary suggests that at least some of these circular huts were occupied and built/re-built into the high medieval period, if not later. Furthermore, there is evidence for some form of cultivation at some of these sites. Also, no evidence exists for transhumance being practised on the island from c. 1600 onwards and it may have stopped much earlier there than this.

2.5 – England

Transhumance studies in England have a complicated history, due to the fact that the dearth of artefacts found on excavated sites hinders the construction of a clear chronological framework for the practice (Whyte 1985, 103-4). Therefore, most research on transhumance has concentrated upon place-name and environmental evidence, with most of this work taking place in northern England (ibid.). Harold Fox raised another question at a conference at the University of Leicester when he queried the precise type of transhumance practiced in England, suggesting transhumance in England did not always conform to the vertical Alpine system of transhumance as practiced in Europe because some movements were horizontal (Fox 1996). This seems to be a variant of the Mediterranean system that may have been conflated with the system practiced by the Cistercians who moved their livestock (mostly sheep) from manor to manor (Donkin 1962, 31). On-going debate about the type of transhumance practiced in England continues with the terms *aergi* and *erg* (see 2.5.1), in place-names being cited as evidence for a type of lowland transhumance in places (Higham 1978, 347; Edmonds 2011, 14-15).

2.5.1 – Northern England

The medieval place-name *aergi* or *erg* means a transhumance, shieling site and/or an upland/hill pasture in parts of north-western England, notably Cumbria and Lancashire. This word seems to be a Norse borrowing from the early medieval Irish word *airge* that first appears in Ireland around c. 500 AD (Nolláig Ó Muraile, pers comm.). This place-name may have been introduced to this part of northern England in the early tenth century by Norse settlers from Ireland, having been expelled from the Dublin area (The Annals of Ulster, 418). However, the words *aergi* or *erg* may also have entered the Cumbria area from the Hebrides and Galloway, where there was Irish settlement from the early centuries AD onwards but this is not proved (Fellows-Jensen 1985, 65-88). It might be added that Nick Higham has questioned the view that the place-name *aergi* and *erg* always denote what were transhumance sites, as many places in Lancashire with these names are located well below the 315m and even 70m contour in lowland areas and so, in his opinion, could not be associated with ‘summer hill grazing’ (Higham 1978, 349). However, it could be argued that these place-names may be pointing to places where lowland transhumance occurred at some stage in the past, something Higham did not consider (see 1.1). On the other side of the Pennines mountain range in north-eastern England transhumance sites in Northumberland can be identified by the Norse-derived place-names *scale/scela* and *shield/shieling* (Mc Donnell 1988, 4).

It has been suggested but not proven that the sparse distribution of Late Bronze Age hillforts and settlements in parts of the Pennines may indicate that these upland areas were used for transhumance purposes until the Roman Period (Harding 2004, 46-7). However, it has been suggested that eighth-century references in various hagiographies, such as *Bede’s Life of Cuthbert*, imply that the practice of transhumance was common in northern England by that time (Fox 1996, 10). Another northern English reference to what appears to be a form of transhumance comes in AD1265 and is quoted in Ramm *et al* as when the canons at Lanercost Augustinian Priory in Cumbria were given permission to build two shielings, a cow-fold and sheep-fold (Ramm *et al* 1970, 4). However, it is clear that many former shielings became permanent farmsteads in Cumbria from the eleventh century onwards, presumably due to population growth in the lowlands, although there is at

least one clear reference to transhumance there in the thirteenth century (ibid.).

At one level, this could be taken as suggesting that Alpine-style transhumance was dying out in northern England at this stage. However, a very late sixteenth-century reference seems to suggest that this practice was common in parts of Cumbria and Northumberland at this time. The famous English antiquary and scholar, the Londoner William Camden (1551-1623), who is seen as one of the pioneers of modern historical studies, undertook a comprehensive survey of England and published this in his *Brittania*, the seventh edition of which was published in 1607. He describes what appears to be an Alpine-style of transhumance in operation in the Carlisle/Hadrian's Wall area in 1599. He states: "Here and every way round about in the wastes as they term them, as also in Giliesland, you may see as it were the ancient Nomades, a martiall kind of man who from the month of April unto August, lye out scattering and summering (as they terme it) with their cattell in little cottages here and there which they call Sheales and Shealings" (Camden 1806, 343; Ramm *et.al.* 1970, 1).

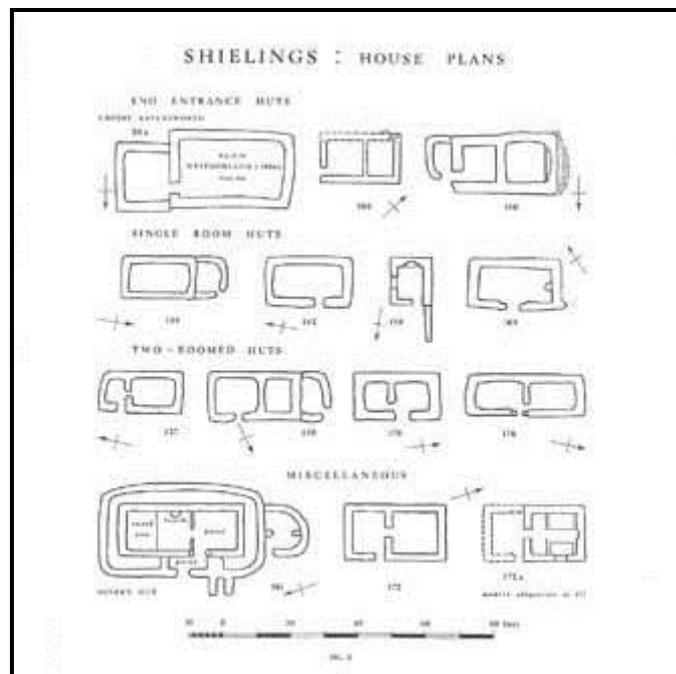


Fig. 17 – Shielings in Cumberland (after Ramm *et.al.* 1970, 37) .

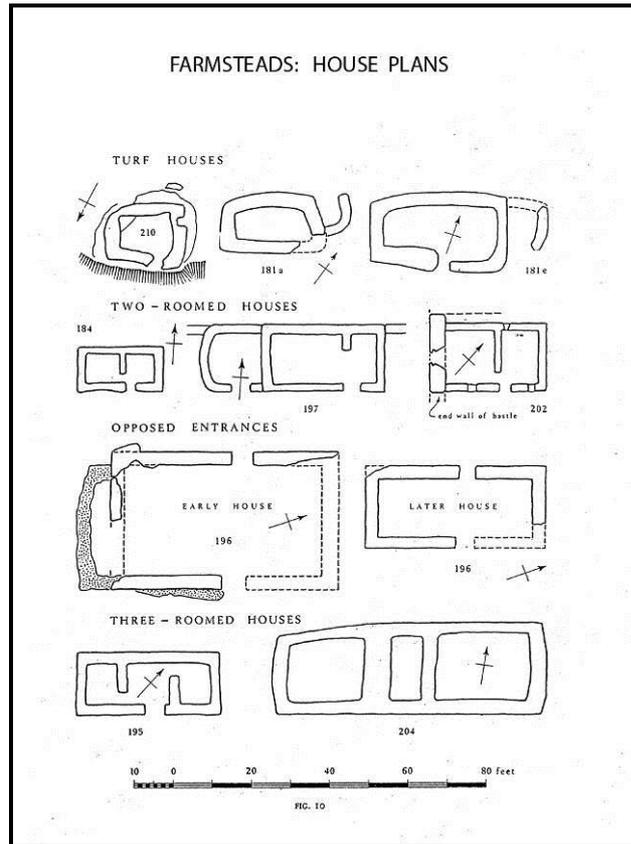


Fig. 18 – Farmsteads in Northern England (after Ramm *et.al.* 1970, 45) .

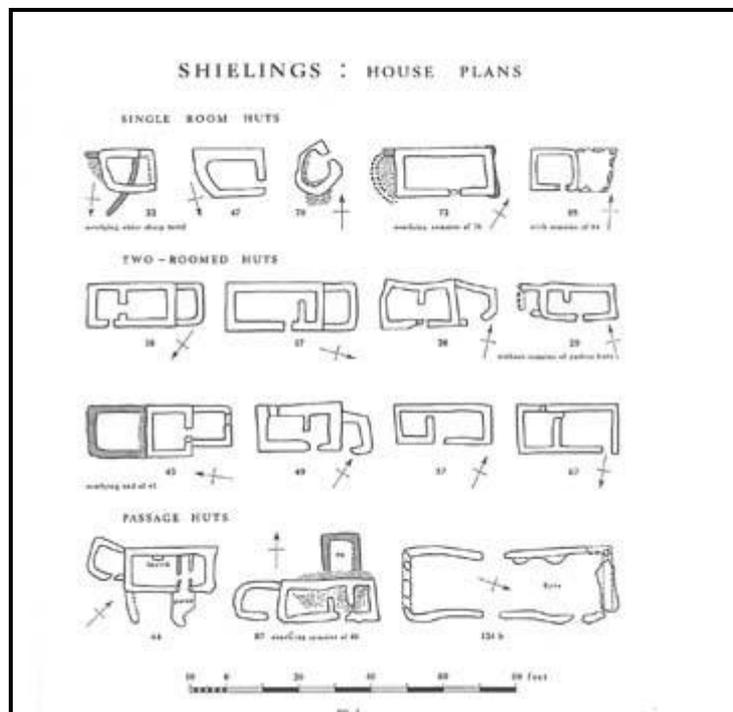


Fig. 19 – Shieling types in Northern England (after Ramm *et.al.* 1970, 11).

McDonnell (1988, 28) noted that medieval lords and monasteries in Northumberland established cattle farms or *vaccaries* and sheep farms or *bercaries* on the upland parts of their estates, such as in Redesdale, from as early as the fifth century until as late as the mid fourteenth century. Professional herdsmen tended the livestock in what appears to be something akin to a Mediterranean-form of transhumance, as families did not accompany them (Fox 1996, 2-4). The Black Death seems to have changed this more aristocratic-system to an Alpine-style of transhumance. Direct demesne-farming by the lords and monasteries seems to have stopped and, instead, lands and upland pastures were rented out to tenants for cash rents. At least some of these men, with their families, practiced transhumance, which was known as 'summering' or 'shielding'. It involved the movement of entire families with their cattle from permanent settlements to nearby higher pastures in April. They returned to their 'wintersteads' in the valleys and lowlands during late August. This practice seems to have continued in places until the late seventeenth-century, as implied by William Camden's observations referred to above. Many of these transhumance sites became permanent settlements in the seventeenth and eighteenth century (Rushworth *et.al.* 2005, 15). For example, Greenhaugh in Tarsdale, recorded as a shieling in the fourteenth-century had evolved into a permanent settlement by the sixteenth century (*ibid.*). A reason cited for this transformation was the practice in Northern England of cutting hay at the summer shielings to supplement the winter fodder gathered on the home farms in the lowlands, a practice that led to the construction of walled or fenced enclosures and the carving out of new farms. Movement to the shieling grounds in Northern England took place in mid to late spring and the return to the permanent settlement in late summer or early autumn (Winchester 2000, 79-83; Rushworth *et.al.* 2005, 14).

Over three hundred shieling sites have been identified in north east Cumberland and Northumberland. The huts of the transhumants are also called shielings in the north of England (Ramm *et.al.* 1970, 1-2). Many of these structures can be difficult to differentiate from permanent houses which they often resemble in size and form (Figs. 17-19). However, in the north of England, most shielings tend to be clustered in groups whereas farmsteads stand alone. They are usually sited along the banks of streams, at some distance from areas of permanent settlement and have no evidence of cultivation, all factors suggesting seasonal settlement (Ramm *et.al.* 1970, 6-7).

The presence of cultivation ridges was used to differentiate between permanent and seasonal settlements in the north of England (ibid.). Shieling structures tend to be rectangular in shape, with one, two or three rooms, measuring from 5m-12m in length by 2.7m-7.6m in width, with a majority being 6m-9.7m in length by 3m-8.2m in width (Figs 18, 20; Ramm *et.al.* 1970, 9-11). Most have a single doorway set in the middle of the long wall and windows were extremely rare. Only one hut, located at Byreshield Hill above Wickhope Burn, Number 124b, measuring 8.8m x 4.8m, had opposing doorways, set off-centre in the long side, and was described as a cabin and milking byre. It was constructed of large and small boulders with rubble-walling (Ramm *et.al.* 1970, 34). In 1604, the tenants of *Le Malyinge* were said to have shielings in this area, again showing transhumance being practised at a late date in northern England (Ramm *et.al.* 1970, 25).

There are few absolute dates available for shielings in England because of the lack of excavations there. Of the small number that have been excavated, dates are generally centred from the twelfth through to the seventeenth century (Ramm *et.al.* 1970, 9-43). Nick Higham excavated a row of three shielings built of Roman stone against the tumbled remains of the Wall at *Mons Fabricus*, east of Castle Nick on Hadrian's Wall and recovered palaeomagnetic dates from a hearth that centred on the period 1500-1525 (<http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/publications/iha-shielings/shielings>). An excavation of one of twelve shielings at the Bogle Hole, against the south face of the Wall also on Hadrian's Wall, produced a radio carbon date from 1451–1659 (ibid). Excavations at Alnhamshieles in Northumberland examined a two-phase stone-built long house on a shieling site first documented in the Inquisition Post-Mortem of John de Vesci in 1265 that produced pottery dating from 1200–1500 (Allen 1979a, 38-9). At Shiels Brae in Cumbria, three phases of occupation were indicated by overlapping shieling huts (English Heritage 4; Ramm *et.al.* 1970, 18-20). A clay pipe found on paving stones associated with the hearth of the latest hut on the site indicated a date as late as 1650-1670. This excavated evidence corroborates Camden's description of widespread transhumance *c.* 1600 in parts of northern England.

In conclusion, the shielings in northern England are clearly not all of the same date – most seem to have been abandoned by the late seventeenth century, or had become

permanent settlements (Atkinson *et.al.* 2000). The morphology of shieling huts in Northern England include single and two-roomed rectangular examples, together with single huts, partially divided internally and with an attached annexe having its own separate entrance. Entrances are generally set into the long sides of the structure but exceptions to this include entrances on the end walls (Figs. 17, 19; Ramm *et.al.* 1970). It is obvious that there is quite a lot of similarity between permanent and transhumance housing in terms of size and shape (see Fig. 18).

This review of transhumance in northern England suggests that an Alpine-form of transhumance continued in this region until the seventeenth century. Its origins may go back to at least the Late Bronze Age but this is not proven. Later evidence suggests that families (or at least some of them) went up to the shieling sites in April and came back in late August. Place-name evidence from Cumbria suggests that a lowland form of transhumance may also have taken place in this area, at some stage after the tenth century. Some hay seems to have been saved at upland shieling sites in northern England through time too.

There is also some evidence in northern England of a more Mediterranean-style transhumance on medieval secular and monastic estates, associated with professional herdsmen. This may have died out due to the changes brought about by the Black Death in the mid-fourteenth century.

2.5.2 – *Southern England*

The place-name *somerset* is associated with transhumance during the medieval period in parts of southern and south-western England. This compound noun combines the Norse word *saetr*, meaning mountain pasture, a shieling or a hut associated with transhumance, and the Anglo-Saxon word *somer* meaning summer (Aston 1997b, 103). The term shieling, as used in Scotland and northern England, is also the word used to describe transhumant sites and huts found in various parts of southern England (e.g. Davies 1941; Fox 1996; Winchester 2000).

It has been argued that transhumance was practised across southern England during early and later medieval times, if not earlier (Aston 1997b, 103; Fox 1996, 4-6). As evidence, for example, it has been suggested that the existence of place-names, such

as Winterton (i.e. winter town, perhaps the permanent settlement), Somerton (i.e. summertown, perhaps the shieling site itself) and Hardwick (the dairy farm), all seem to be Anglo-Saxon in origin and imply the widespread practice of transhumance in the region during the early medieval period (Aston 1997b, 103; Ramm *et.al.* 1970; Herring 2007a, 50-52). Historical evidence from Anglo-Saxon times for transhumance exists as well and Aston is of the opinion that many settlements in upland areas of southern England functioned as shielings at some stage during the medieval period (Aston 1997b, 103). Research has shown that shieling sites in southern England were sited on upland pastures. The numbers of houses in each shieling site ranges from two to fifteen and sometimes more (Winchester 2000, 78-80; Rathbone 2002). Most seem to have been located in areas of dry pasture, close to streams, or on gravel areas beside streams. A great variety of forms were noted e.g. square, with one or two-rooms, square passage huts with two or more rooms, rectangular with one or two rooms, rectangular passage huts, ovoid with one or two rooms and ovoid passage huts. The passage huts seem to consist of single or two-roomed huts with an attached annexe, usually with a separate entrance (Ramm *et.al.* 1970, 11).

2.6 – Cornwall

The Cornish place-name *havos* means a summer dwelling associated with transhumance. Alternatively, the place-name *hendre* evolved from originally being a farm or landed estate to meaning a permanent ‘winter home’ sometime before c. 600AD, which is a somewhat similar situation to its meaning in Welsh (Herring 1996, 35-6). The place names *hendre* and *havos* (*hendre* and *hafod* in Wales) representing winter and summer settlements respectively are used in both areas, with the *havos* names only surviving where they have become permanent settlements, one such example occurring c.1066 (Herring 1996, 35-36; Padel 1985, 129). This all suggests transhumance was being widely practised in Cornwall by the beginning of the early medieval period. However, it has also been suggested that archaeological evidence indicates that Bodmin Moor, an upland area of moorland and mountain in east central Cornwall, was used by people for transhumance purposes from about 1000BC onwards (Herring 2007b).

The Domesday Book, compiled in AD1086, records that roughly one third of Cornwall was comprised of rough ground or pasture, with livestock being moved there in summer, leaving the permanent settlement in early May and returning at Halloween (Collins 1994, 14-15). This saw the movement of people, at least part of their families, their herds and flocks to this area from winter quarters in the lowlands to take advantage of the summer grass there (Johnson *et.al.* 1994). In his analysis of the system of transhumance in Cornwall, Herring has argued that the socio-economic benefits derived from transhumance must have been substantial, such as the exploitation of grazing ground, 'too marginal for permanent occupation and to remove livestock from cultivated open-fields' (Herring 1996, 39). The annual migration would also have meant abandoning the permanent settlement or, alternatively, 'splitting' the household for part of the year by leaving some members back in the *hendre* (Herring 1996, 35). He believed that this form of Alpine-style transhumance ended in Cornwall around 1100AD. (Herring 1996, 37). He says there is no documentation that suggests Alpine transhumance continued in Cornwall after this date. Instead, it was replaced by a Mediterranean form of transhumance that saw livestock being moved to the uplands in charge of professional herders, a practice that continued into the nineteenth century (Herring 2007a, 47). This type of transhumance practiced in relatively recent times involved herds of cattle and flocks of sheep being taken to Bodmin Moor from outlying, quite distant, lowland districts between mid-May and late October where they were tended by professional herdsmen (without their families), who were employed by the owners of this livestock, who were either tenant farmers or landowners (Johnson and Bonney 1994). This suggests that at one level Alpine-style transhumance, with at least part of the families moving with their herds from a relatively-near permanent settlement in the lowlands to the uplands, had died out, perhaps as early as Herring suggests. However, an extant seventeenth-century poem seems to hint that the latter form of transhumance continued on in Cornwall into the post medieval period and that Herring is incorrect. This poem is interesting in that it also suggests one of the reasons for transhumance is that it allows summer grass in the permanent 'homer' (i.e. home) to be kept as winterage to feed cattle (Pounds 1947).

A variety of structures, mostly of sub-rectangular shape and rounded external ends are associated with transhumance practice on Bodmin Moor (Johnson *et.al.* 1994).

These huts are usually found in groups, around 20m apart and associated with a single small pen or enclosure (Herring 2007b, 48-9). They measure approximately 4m by 2m internally suggesting single or at most double occupancy, while the space between the huts is said to indicate private ownership used for tethering animals overnight (ibid.).

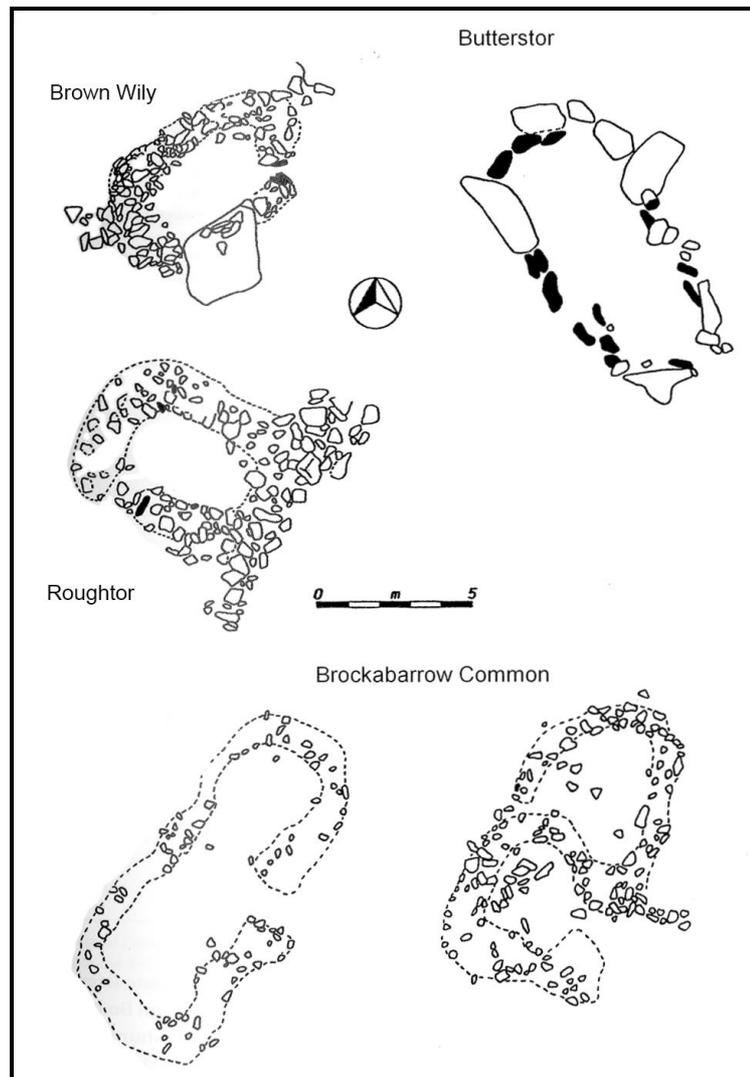


Fig. 20 – Bodmin Moor transhumance huts, Cornwall (after Herring 1996, 38).

Sub-rectangular single-roomed, transhumant huts with rounded ends and a single doorway were recorded on Bodmin Moor, while a second group at Brockabarrow Common to the north east of Bodmin Moor, included huts of circular and sub-rectangular form, with one or two rooms and separate doorways in each compartment (Figs. 20-22). Transhumance huts are also found within older archaeological Bronze Age and Iron Age monuments, as at Leskernick (Bender *et.al.*

2007). Speculation on the motivation for re-use of these older monuments has included territorial connection with ancestors and their spirits (Herring 2011). However, it may just be a simple re-use of a site centuries later, using its scattered stones in an entirely practical way to build a new house to be used for transhumant purposes.

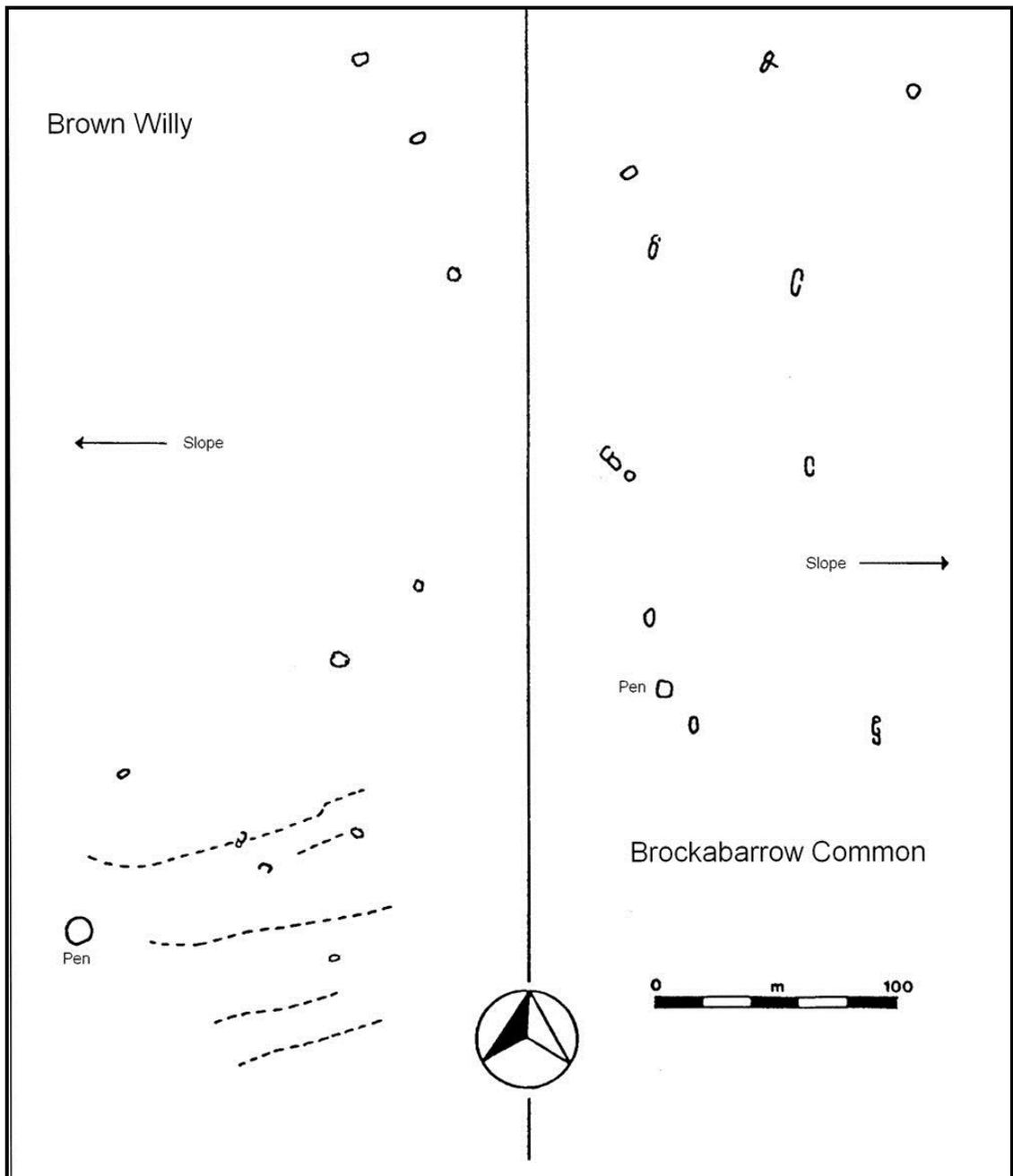


Fig. 21 – Brown Willy transhumance huts (left) and (right) ; Fig. 22 – Brockabarrow Common, Bodmin Moor (after Herring 1996, 38).

In conclusion, there is some evidence to suggest that transhumance of some form was taking place in Cornwall as early as 1000BC. Place-name evidence suggests that this practice was certainly in place by the beginning of the early medieval period. There is some debate about when an Alpine form of transhumance, with families going to the shielings, ended in Cornwall. It may have ended around AD1100, being replaced by a Mediterranean-type of transhumance which saw professional herders bring livestock and sheep to Bodmin Moor. This type of transhumance ended in the eighteenth century but some evidence also suggests that an Alpine form of transhumance co-existed beside it, ending in the seventeenth century.

2.7 – Wales

The Welsh-language words *hafod* and *hendre* were associated with transhumance in Wales from at least the early medieval period, if not the Iron Age onwards. The terms *hafoty* and *hafotai* are generally used in north Wales, while in mid-and south Wales the terms *hafod* and *hafodydd* are preferred (Davies 1985, 76). *Hendre* was the name given to a permanent settlement in the lowlands, under the 225m contour, where crops were grown in summer. Alternatively, the *hafod/hafoty* was the summer dwelling and transhumance site in the uplands or mountains, where grazing for animals, notably cattle, was available (Sayce 1955-56, 117; Davies 1973, 13). May Day was the traditional day for removal to the *hafod* and fines were imposed on people who flouted this tradition, as in the example of Iorwerth Gethin who was fined two shillings at Harlech in AD1326 for keeping his cattle in *communi pasture del Hendreve* after the 1st May. All Souls Day (2nd November) was the traditional date for the return to the permanent settlement (ibid.). The *hafod* is generally situated above 182m OD and the *hendre* below 225m OD. The term *meifod*, which means ‘May dwelling’ and/or ‘middle dwelling’, was also in use and may have represented a middle station, to be stayed at and its environs grazed for a while between summer and winter dwellings but evidence for this is scanty and needs more research (Davies 1973, 25). It was said that soils on Old Red Sandstone bedrock produced more fertile soils than other upland rock formations and allowed *hafotai* to be built high in the uplands and livestock to graze at altitudes as high as 365m OD (Fig. 23; Crampton 1966, 104).

As can be seen from this discussion, it is generally believed that transhumance in Wales was of the Alpine type that saw the movement of people and cattle in the summer from a permanent settlement in the lowlands to upland pastures. However, Aston has also suggested that a form of lowland transhumance was practised in some parts of Wales during the medieval period (Aston 1997b, 103). This saw cattle and other livestock being moved by people in summer from permanent settlements in the lowlands to low-lying pastures and callow areas along rivers. This was because these pastures were either flooded or were too wet to be grazed in winter and could only be utilised for grazing during the summer months (ibid.).

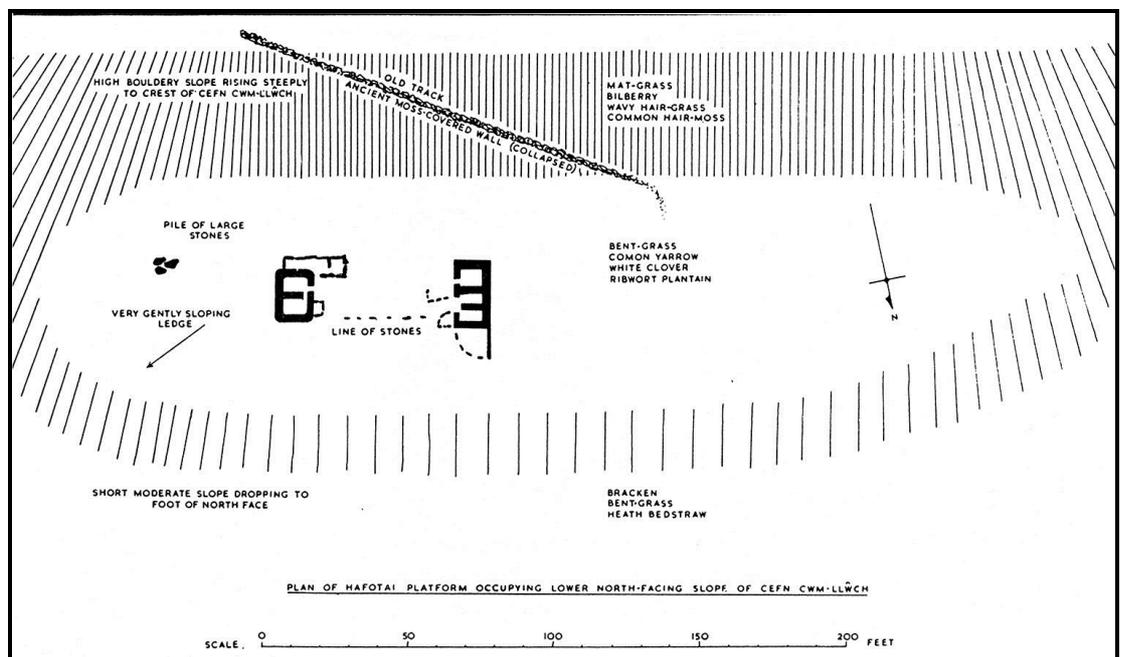


Fig. 23 – Hafotai on the north-facing slope of Cefn Cwm-Llwch in the Brecon Beacons (after Crampton 1966, 103).

Hay would be cut and saved at these lowland transhumance sites during the late summer months too (Aston 1997b, 103). Excavation in 1980 at an upland site, close to a Bronze Age cairn, near *Maen Ceti* on the Gower peninsula revealed four circular cairns in which stone was visible. The first contained a rectangular structure constructed of earth and stone bonded with clay, measuring 2.6m by 2.05m with an entrance in the south east. Fragments of wall plaster were found within the structure and these were dated to 1770-1820. The other three cairns contained the remains of a stone wall thought to be part of a yard, a crescent-shaped bank of earth and stone

0.3m-0.4m high, possibly a support for a lean-to roof, and a circular bank of earth, measuring 3.6m by 3.5m with a gap in the west and an earthen floor burnt red. The site was thought to be a late *hafod* or transhumance site (Ward 1980, 72-4). Peate, in his 1944 book *The Welsh House*, described the average *hafod* of general medieval and post-medieval date as simple, one-roomed structures with low stone walls that could be of rectangular, sub-rectangular (i.e. with rounded ends) or ovoid shape (Peate 1944). However, *hafotai* on the north front of the Brecon Beacons were of rectangular form with rounded external corners and were divided internally into two and three rooms, with no evidence for a fireplace, though there may have been a hearth and a smoke hole at one end of the structure (Fig. 24). These *hafotai* were constructed with double walling and an in-filling of stony rubble (Miller 1967b, 107-10).

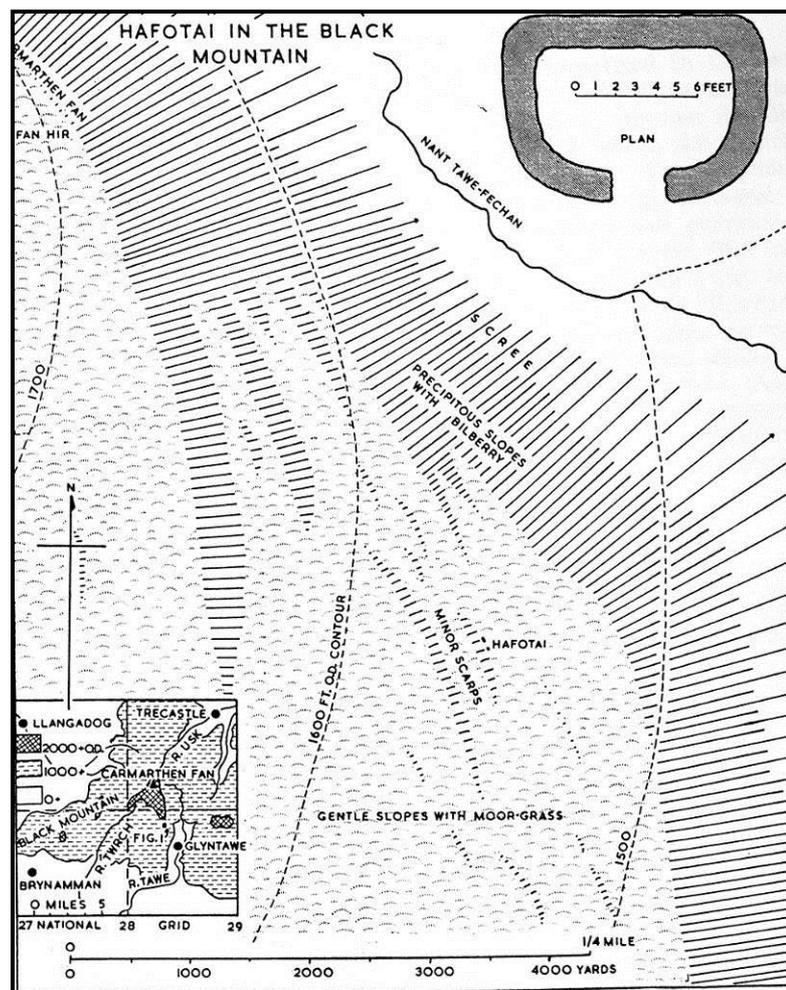


Fig. 24 – Hafotai on the Black Mountain, Wales (after Crampton 1968, 122).

Upland transhumance settlements, *hafodydd*, are found right across Wales in the medieval period and later, usually at altitudes above the permanent farm, in valleys and on hillsides. They can be found singly or in groups as at Nant Criafolen in Denbighshire (Fig. 25). Associated with the *hafod* were small enclosures used to corral young animals or for cultivation (Silvester and Kissock 2012, 159) .

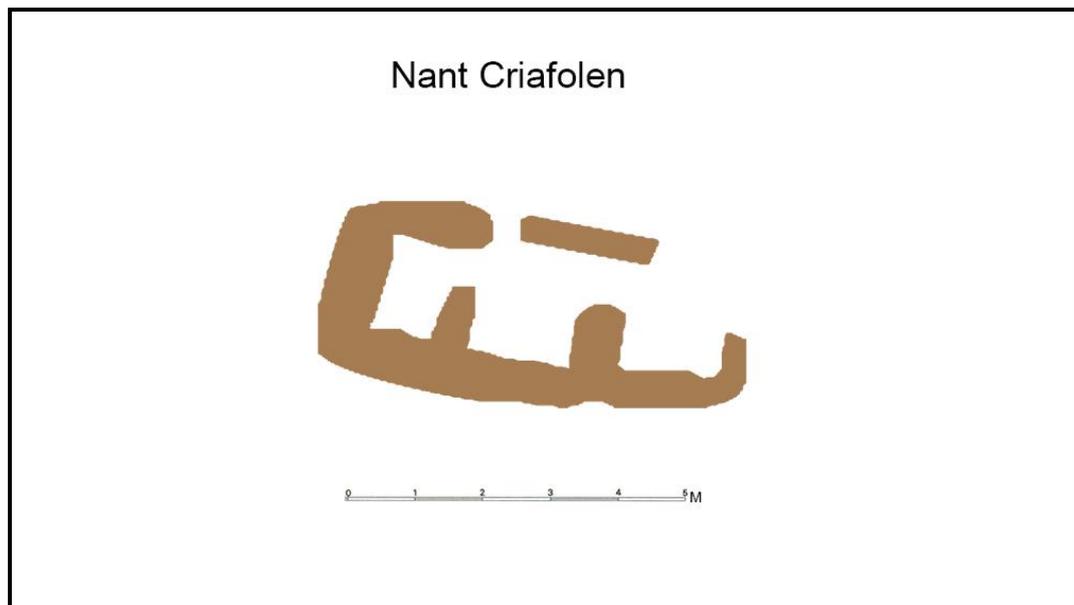


Fig. 25 – Hafod Nant y Criafolen (redrawn and modified from Allen 1979b, 27).

Allen (Fig. 25; 1979b) excavated a transhumance site containing seven structures at *Hafod Nant y Criafolen* in Denbighshire in 1973 and 1974 in advance of the flooding of the Brenig Valley to create a reservoir. The structures were contained within a small enclosure, adjacent to a larger enclosure with no evidence of habitation. The huts were constructed with boulders and shale slabs, mainly in drystone but some had soil infills and clay mortar. They were rectangular in shape and measured 6m by 4m, with two larger examples of 8.44m by 4.4m and another that had been extended from an original 6m by 4m to 12.5m in length. The hearths were located off centre and the huts were divided unequally into two compartments. Finds included pony-shoes and metal spurs. A radiocarbon date of 1470-1540 was obtained for the site (Allen 1979b, 23).

At Er Wen in Gwynedd, three rectangular structures interpreted as transhumant houses, were found overlying a prehistoric enclosure and the remains of a round

house that had subsequently been used as a cattle fold. One of the structures was excavated and was found to have been constructed with large boulders which had a pebble core (Kelly 1988, 128). The entrance was in the northern corner of the building. Finds from the excavation indicated an occupation date at some stage between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries (ibid.).

Surprisingly, apart from these two sites, few *hafod* sites have been scientifically dated. The houses at Gelligaer Common probably date to the twelfth to fourteenth century but their exact status is in dispute (Fox 1937). Others at Hafod Nant y Criafolen in Denbighshire and Blwlch yr Hendre in Cardiganshire are thought to date to the late fifteenth and sixteenth century (Allen 1979b, 1-59).

Sir John David Rhys (Sion Dafydd Rhys, 1534-1609), physician and grammarian, is said to have resided in a *hafod* in the upper reaches of *Cwm-Llwch* while working on his Grammar, indicating that transhumance was still being practised in the Brecon Beacons during the sixteenth century (Williams 1964).

It seems that some *hafod* sites had become permanent settlements by the thirteenth century, presumably due to a population increase in the lowlands. This process had accelerated by the sixteenth century (Davies 1973, 16). This may suggest that transhumance had died out in many parts of Wales by c. AD1600. Nevertheless, the famous Welsh naturalist and antiquarian Thomas Pennant notes *hafodtai* or 'summer dairy-houses' associated with transhumance in Wales in 1778. He describes what appears to be transhumance of the Alpine type in the Snowdon district of north Wales at this time. He stated 'This mountainous tract scarcely yields any corn. Its produce is cattle and sheep, which, during the summer, keep very high in the mountains, followed by their owners, with their families, who reside in that season in Hafodtai, or summer dairy-houses, as the farmers in the Swiss Alps do in their Sennes. These houses consist of a long low room, with a hole at one end, to let out the smoke from the fire, which is made beneath. Their furniture is very simple: stones are the substitutes of stools: and the beds are of hay, ranged along the walls' (Pennant 1883, 269-70). This is clear evidence of transhumance involving whole families or at least a large portion of them going to mountain pastures in a part of Wales at a late date and it must be presumed that the practice died out sometime in

the early nineteenth century.

2.8 – Conclusions and Discussion

There is much debate about the origins of transhumance in Europe although all seem to be in agreement that the practice was in widespread use across the Continent by the Late Bronze Age (see 2.0). The evidence for what appears to be transhumance in Cornwall from around 1000 BC is interesting in the context of these islands, with the first definite evidence for the practice coming from the Iron Age on the Isle of Man (see 2.4). This evidence seems to suggest that by late prehistory, transhumance was practised on the island of Britain, or at least in parts of it. It would seem that the question of when transhumance became widespread across Europe can only be achieved by archaeological excavation and the analysis of artefactual and animal skeletal assemblages from complimentary lowland and upland sites (Arnold and Greenfield 2006, 18). Evidence from this chapter also clearly shows that an Alpine form of transhumance existed in parts of upland Britain as late as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with the practice lingering on in Lewis in Scotland until the 1950s (see 2.3). Transhumance is still practised in some countries, such as Spain, Greece and parts of Scandinavia. Major changes, however, have occurred in these places, one being that livestock involved in the Mediterranean-style, long-distance transhumance are now transported by train or lorry

It was shown that two types of transhumance have been recognised in Europe – the Alpine form of the practice and the Mediterranean one. There are, of course, similarities between the two systems. In both people mostly moved with their livestock from a lowland permanent settlement to an upland site in summer, or participated in long-distance horizontal movements. It is clear that both systems came into being as a result of a realisation that upland and lowland areas, with different climatic regimes, could be used to effect in the yearly grazing strategies of farming communities throughout Europe (Davies 1941, 156-57). This would have provided a buffer against starvation, particularly in areas of marginal land, where there was a limited amount of pasture in the lowlands. However, we must not see this practice as being only associated with subsistence farming as transhumance also allowed farmers across Europe to keep additional livestock – far more than if only

the pastures around the permanent, usually lowland, settlement were used. This means that through time transhumance added to the wealth of many of the communities and individuals who carried out this practice on a yearly basis. These are the reasons why transhumance seems to have been a fairly ubiquitous, traditional practice across areas of Northern and Mediterranean Europe. The balancing of summer and winter food resources required the careful rotation of pastures and social adjustments. Across Europe, sanctions were enforced against overstocking to ensure that animals would have sufficient foods to survive over winter and social solidarity within groups must have increased due to the communal effort needed to move livestock and manage both upland and lowland pasture (Davies 1941, 167). The associations of the beginning and end dates of transhumance movements across Europe with feast days, shows how important the practice was across the continent in the past (ibid.).

In the cultural sphere, it has been suggested that transhumance encouraged the development and growth of music, story-telling, festivals and in some areas encouraged the wearing of distinctive clothing, as for example, the elaborate long woollen cloaks and hats, worn by Vlach transhumants in Greece, who also carried a wooden crook, carved in the form of a shepherd (Wace and Thompson 1972). Other paraphernalia associated with transhumance include cow-bells, the Alp-horn, the Carpathian flute, reed horn and bagpipes. The famous Swiss yodel and the less well-known Basque cry were also associated with transhumance. Magic and superstition were also linked to the practice across Europe too (Jones 2005, 357-59).

The ubiquity of the practice of transhumance across Europe is testimony to the importance of the system in economic and social terms in the past and it deserves more attention from archaeologists than it has received to date. In an archaeological context, the patterning of permanent and transhumance sites in any given landscape must be viewed as the complimentary components of the same economic and social system, not as single entities unrelated to one another (Jones 2005, 357) .

These are the similarities associated with the general practice of transhumance across Europe. A quick review, however, shows that the main differences between the Mediterranean and Alpine styles of transhumance are fourfold. Firstly, cattle, often

dairy cattle, predominated as the main type of livestock moved to summer pastures in northern and central Europe. Sheep and goats were the main species moved in the Mediterranean areas. Secondly, the distances transhumants and their livestock moved in the Alpine system were far less than those covered in the Mediterranean system. Thirdly, there was a tendency (which was not universal) for only herders to go to the summer pastures in the Mediterranean system, rather than families or at least a substantial proportion of them, as occurred in the Alpine system. Fourthly, due to the climatic differences, crops were grown in winter in Mediterranean areas, rather than the summer, as in northern and central parts of Europe.

Most transhumance movements across Europe began between April and June. For example, the Vlachs began (and some still begin) their movement of stock on St George's Day on the 23rd April (Wace and Thompson 1972, 48). It appears that in Scandinavia transhumants left their permanent settlements at the beginning of June for the uplands and came back down again in late August or early September (see 2.2). This movement was clearly dictated by climate and nothing more, as snow lay on the ground until the former month and the weather had deteriorated by around the 1st September making it difficult to stay up in the mountains (see 2.3). In Scotland and Wales historical accounts suggest that the transhumants spent 'summer' in the upland shielings but are not that specific about exact dates (see 2.3). However, accounts from northern England specifically state that this movement took place in April, with the transhumants and their livestock returning to the permanent settlement in late August (see 2.2). Late August seems an early time to be returning, as the weather is still relatively warm in Britain well into October. This may be linked to a desire by the transhumants to harvest or help in the harvesting of their crops around the permanent settlement in late August/September. Late evidence from Cornwall suggests that the transhumance movement began there in mid-May, with livestock being brought down to the permanent settlement in October (see 2.5).

It is also clear from the evidence from Scotland in the eighteenth century, Scandinavia from earliest times to the present and the Isle of Man from the Iron Age through the medieval period that crops and vegetables were grown at many transhumance sites. Hay was also saved in places (see 2.2). This suggests that Ramm's view that any upland settlements with evidence for crop growing or tillage

are not transhumant sites but permanent settlements is flawed (Ramm *et.al.* 1970, 6-7). Put simply, evidence for crop growing can occur at transhumance sites in upland areas (see 2.5.1).

It is also clear from Scotland in particular that circular-, ovoid- and sub-rectangular- (i.e. rectangular houses with rounded, curving ends) shaped houses were commonly in use as transhumant dwellings as late as the late-eighteenth century and some appear to have been built in that century too (see 2.3).

Again, lastly, it must be emphasised that transhumance is not nomadism. Transhumants had permanent homes, around which crops were grown, and moved to the semi-permanent huts in the same locations year after year. Nomads follow a seasonal migratory pattern, have no permanent homes and live in tents or moveable dwellings (see 1.1).

Chapter 3 – Transhumance in Ireland – a Literature Review

3.0 – Introduction

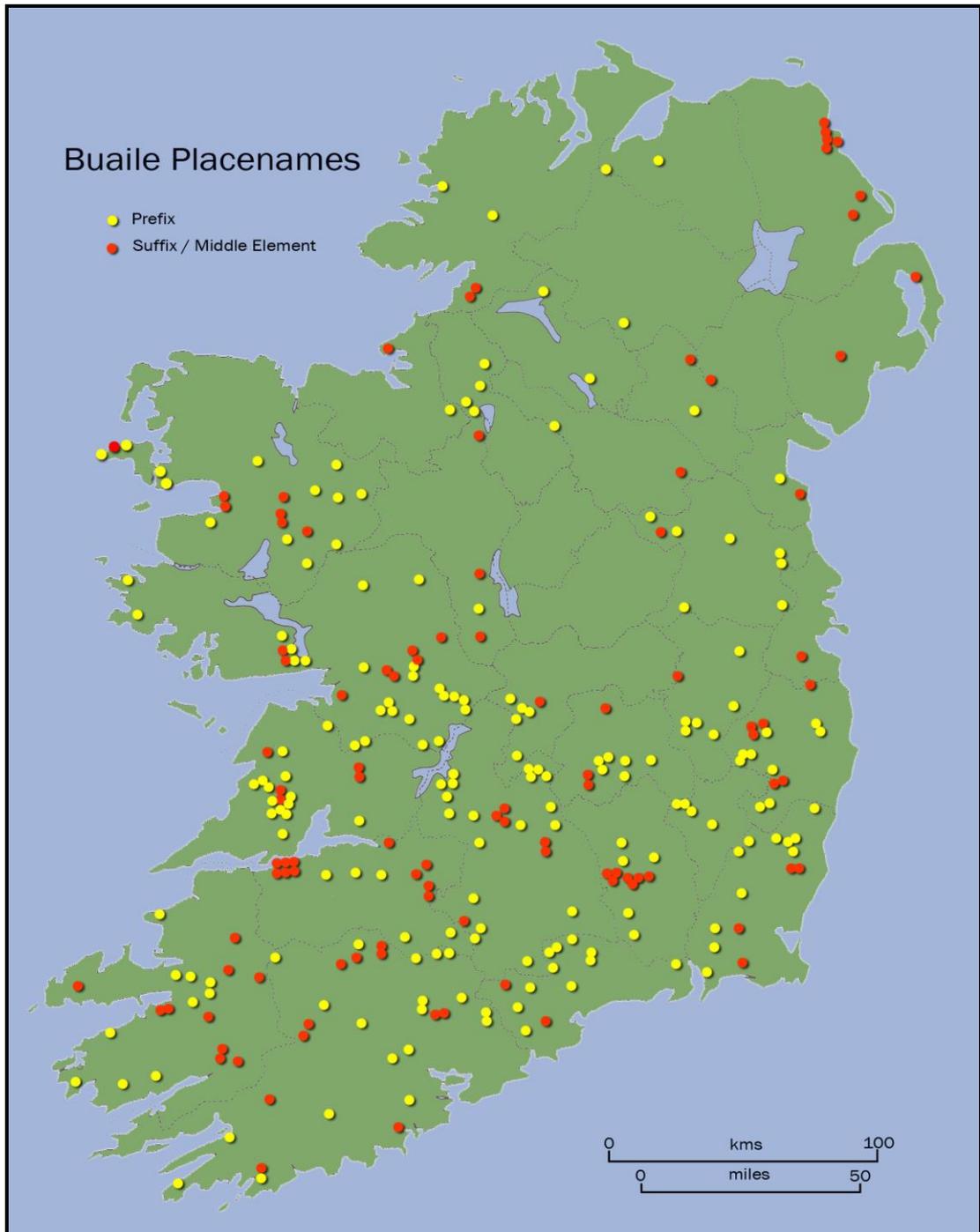


Fig. 26 – Map of booley place-names in Ireland, including four new additions for the Civil Parish of Achill (redrawn and modified from Graham 1954, 8).

This chapter outlines the historical evidence for booleying in Ireland and the work carried out to date by various scholars on the subject of transhumance throughout the country. This, in turn, like Chapter 2, will lay the foundations for later chapters dealing with evidence for the practice in the Civil Parish of Achill. A number of questions are asked in this chapter that can be linked to the aims of the thesis (see 1.2). What is the earliest reliable date for evidence of transhumance in Ireland? Are there problems associated with identifying transhumant sites in the Irish landscape today? What is the morphology of the structures associated with booleying? How and when was the practice carried out in different parts of the country?

It must be pointed out that there was considerable amount of movement of livestock in later medieval Ireland that was not transhumance. For example, the term *caoraigheacht* was used in the sources to describe groups, often dispossessed of their original lands, who wandered the country with their herds of livestock, predominantly cattle, pasturing them on other people's lands, with or without their permission (Simms 1986, 379; Lucas 1989, 96-7). Linked to this was the fact that certain but not all poets and other men of learning, who enjoyed special status in later medieval Ireland, also moved with their herds, servants and families from place to place – presumably in search of patronage and work from benefactors – notably great Gaelic and Gaelicised lords (Nicholls 1987, 414). As noted already, the criteria that differentiated transhumance from nomadism is that transhumants move to summer pastures from permanent settlements, while nomads move with the seasons from place to place and do not have a fixed abode (see 2.0). Arguably, a movement of livestock like the *caoraigheacht* was not transhumance but a form of nomadism (often practised by members of the minor elite in society) and so this practice is not really relevant to this thesis. Furthermore, 'creaching' or cattle raiding was endemic in Ireland up to the seventeenth century – being an essential part of warfare in the country throughout the early and later medieval periods. Two hundred and seventy four cattle raids are recorded in the Annals of Ulster, for example, between the ninth and sixteenth centuries (Lucas 1958, 109). Creach was the term used for both the raid and for the cattle taken in the raid (Lucas 1989, 125). Cattle raids also saw the movement of cattle from one place to another but was clearly not transhumance (Lucas 1989, 68, 85, 125, 146; Nicholls 1987, 414). It has also been noted that cattle and other livestock throughout later medieval Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland were

driven off by their owners from permanent settlements and pastures in times of trouble and hidden away in adjacent remote places, such as woodland, mountain valleys and bogland, until peace was restored. They were then brought back to their home pastures (Nicholls 1987, 410-411; O' Conor 1998, 101). It is entirely possible that cattle were brought up and hidden in upland transhumant sites, for example, during the Desmond wars when the earl of Ormond seized 2000 cows from the earl of Desmond who was at that time in a '*bollicie*' (CSPI, 1595-1592, 137). This practice of hiding cattle was not transhumance but a form of economic defence against attack from the outside. Upon the withdrawal of an invading force from any given area, the inhabitants of the district could come out of their hiding with their main wealth, cattle, intact. This was a highly sensible way of keeping cattle secure from being taken during times of war and unrest (O' Conor 1998, 100-101).

There is also the question of periodic land redistribution – a form of partible inheritance and a practice about which relatively little is known. Large amounts of land (but by no means all) in later medieval Gaelic Ireland were owned by the whole patrilineal family group and not by the individual or even nuclear family. Land appears to have been held in allodial ownership by the group and was periodically redistributed (usually on the death of a member) amongst individuals in the kin group in ways that varied from region to region (Nicholls 1972, 10-12, 37-38, 57-64; 1987, 430-33; O' Conor 1998, 75, 97). This system clearly meant that individuals with their families and livestock would regularly move from one part of the family lands to another but it was a social practice and not transhumance.

Fergus Kelly (1998, 43-44) has indicated that farmers during the early medieval period might send their cattle to graze to nearby damp meadows or to an adjacent turlough in summer, as these could not be used in winter because they were flooded. As farmers still do this, it must be presumed that the practice continued right throughout the later medieval period. This is also not transhumance as the farmers would have returned to their home settlements at night (*ibid.*)

This discussion shows that that there were different forms of movement of people and their livestock in later medieval Ireland, other than true transhumance. This must have been confusing to English observers and it is clear that these various forms of

movement led to false accusations that the Irish were ‘nomads’. For example, one colonial reference in 1596AD states that the native Irish ‘run roving about the country like wild men fleeing from one place to the other’ (Nicholls 1987, 403-5). Again, for example, the English administrator, Fynes Moryson, compared the Irish to nomads in the very early seventeenth century (Kew 1998, 29-30). Sir John Davies (1569-1626), the Welsh-born lawyer and colonial administrator, railed against periodic land redistribution or ‘Irish gavelkind’ in 1612, noting that the habitations of the Irish were ‘so wild and transitory’, making them virtual nomads (Davies 1612, 357). English colonial officials in late sixteenth century Ireland, such as Edmund Spenser and Sir Richard Bingham, often compare the Irish to the nomadic and barbarous Scythians and Tartars (Canny 1973, 587-88). However, work by scholars is showing these colonial accusations of nomadism to be untrue and that permanent settlements in the form of crannógs, cashels, ringforts, tower houses, villages, small towns and complex field systems existed in later medieval Gaelic Ireland (O’ Conor 1998, 73-107 2001, 329-45, 2013, 31-38; FitzPatrick 2009, 271-306). Great wealth also seems to have existed in later medieval Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland, as evidenced, for example, by the explosion of friary building from the late fourteenth century into the sixteenth century (Leask 1960, 89-173). This wealth was at least partly, if not entirely, due to the export of cattle hides from Gaelic and Gaelicised lordships. Literally thousands of cattle were owned by individual Gaelic and Gaelicised lords in later medieval Ireland (Nicholls 1987, 413).

The corollary to the fact that different forms of livestock movement took place in later medieval Gaelic Ireland for this thesis is that care needs to be taken when examining the edited primary sources for what are definite references to transhumance from the early medieval period onwards, as opposed to other forms of livestock movement noted above.

3.1 – Historical references to booleys and booleying in Ireland.

The archaeologist A. T. Lucas maintained that in Ireland pastoral farming predominated over tillage from *c.* 2000BC onwards into early medieval times, as cattle bones formed a high proportion of remains from many archaeological sites. This has led to the belief that transhumance existed in Ireland throughout much of

the prehistoric period, although there is little direct evidence for it (Lucas 1958, 104).

The evidence for transhumance in the early medieval period is much stronger. The *Senchas Mór* is a group of legal texts written down in the eighth century somewhere in the north Midlands. One reference in this source refers to a law relating to the preservation from the depredations of cattle in summer of corn and grass for winterage at what appears to be the permanent settlement and states that people/livestock are “going out on May Day from the green of the old residence (*sen-lios* i.e. the permanent settlement) to a summer pasture” (*áirge* or transhumant site) and “leaving the grassland (of the transhumant site) for the old residence (i.e. the permanent site) about November day” (Kelly 1998, 44). This seems to be a clear-cut reference to transhumance, apparently of the Alpine type (see 2.1), being in existence as an economic practice in Ireland during the eighth century and probably earlier. Furthermore, it suggests that at least some people left their permanent settlement, around which grass was left to grow for winterage and corn (oats) was also left growing, on or around the 1st May and that they returned six months later on or about the 1st November. Again, a reference to a summer milking place (*áirge*), a probable transhumance site, in a forest clearing in what is now south-east Laois, possibly in the Castlecomer Plateau, occurs in an account of the life of the late eighth century Saint Máel Ruáin of Tallaght (*Senchas Mar*, 34-35; Kelly 1998, 44). This reference to what appears to be transhumance in a forest clearing is interesting, as ash foliage was traditionally said to maintain lactation in cows during the autumn period (Carrier 1932, 12). There may also be a reference to transhumance being carried out in a wooded valley close to Glendalough, in the probably twelfth century *Life of Saint Kevin*. Again, the reference suggests that while in the uplands, the pasture in question was within woodland (Kelly 1998, 44). Another possible reference to transhumance occurs in the eight/ninth century *Tochmarc Étaine* (The Wooing of Étain). Here the cowherd Findlám of Tara and his wife slept for the night in a hut in a wilderness-area close to where cattle were confined in an enclosure or *búaile* (Lucas 1989, 241; Kelly 1998, 44). There is also a reference to what appears to be a transhumant site in the *Life of St. Senan* involving the forcible removal of cattle when ‘a sharp struggle took place between them in the midst of the community’s booley’ (*ar lár búailedh in choitchinn*; Kenneth Nicholls, pers. comm.). In all, references in the edited and unedited early medieval historical

sources, be they the Law Tracts, hagiographical tales, or the annals, have led scholars like Lucas (1989, 63-67) and Kelly (1998, 43-45) to conclude that farming in early medieval Ireland included the practice of transhumance or booleying, although they admit that many of the references to the actual practice from this period are inferred, rather than explicit. Audrey Horning (2004, 201) postulates an origin for the practice of transhumance in Ireland in the tenth century but does not elaborate on how she came to this conclusion.

It is noticeable that the term *áirge* seems to mean or sometimes means a transhumant milking place, both lowland and upland, until to at least the tenth century and possibly as late as the twelfth century, while a later form from the twelfth century, *airidh*, is widely used to denote largely lowland transhumance in Scotland. Variant forms of *áirge*, such as *erg* and *aergi* were used in the English Midlands and in Northern England (see 2.5.1; Higham 1978; Fellows-Jensen 1980). The word *búaile* seems to mean a cattle enclosure at both permanent and transhumant settlements during this period, at least from AD700 onwards, and possibly before, or even extending back into the late Iron Age (Paul Tempan, pers. comm.). At some stage before the late sixteenth century, possibly as early as the twelfth century, the latter word replaced the former one as meaning a transhumant site. The term, *áirge* is now extinct in Ireland, apart from a small number of place names in County Kerry. The post medieval words booley and booleying, which are still used by scholars to describe both the practice of and places associated with transhumance in Ireland, are anglicised versions of the word *búaile* (Lucas 1989, 31; Kelly 1998, 43-45; Ó Moghráin 1943, 167). However, the term booley was only ambiguously applied to the practice of transhumance from the sixteenth century, so its occurrence as a place name is not a positive indication of medieval transhumance (Ó Moghráin 1943, 167; Aalen 1964b, 65).

The later medieval period in Ireland can be defined as lasting from c. 1100 until the first years of the seventeenth century and incorporates both the high and late medieval periods (see 1.1; O' Conor 1998, xi). In 1169, the Anglo-Normans invaded Ireland and by c.1250 had taken over large parts of the country. However, large parts of Ireland remained under the control of Irish (i.e. Gaelic) lords. In some areas, furthermore, Anglo-Norman lords were technically in control and there was some

English settlement on the ground but in these places the local Gaelic elite was not displaced but continued in occupation of their lands (see 1.4). These Irish lords paid a yearly tribute to their new overlords in much the same way as they had done to pre-Norman Irish provincial kings. The Gaelic-dominated areas included most of Connacht, Ulster west of the Bann, West Munster, much of the Midlands and most of the bog-land and upland zones in eastern Ireland (Nicholls 1972, 13; 1987, 398; O'Conor 1998, 73). Furthermore, tenants of Gaelic stock, men of lower status holding land under Irish law, were common on Anglo-Norman manors in even the most colonized parts of eastern Ireland. This discussion shows that there was actually very little disruption caused by the Anglo-Norman invasion across wide swathes of Ireland and the corollary to this is that many economic and social practices continued on in these areas as before, although developing through time. The overwhelming evidence suggests that while there was some cultivation of crops, particularly oats but also some wheat, the economy of these Gaelic-dominated parts of medieval Ireland was largely pastoral in nature, with huge herds of cattle attested to in the surviving native and colonial historical sources, with cow-hides being a major export from these regions, as stated already (Nicholls 1972, 131-144; 1987, 413; O'Conor 1998, 41). It might be added that one of the features of late thirteenth and fourteenth century Ireland was the fact that large parts of Anglo-Norman Ireland were reconquered by the Gaelic Irish and, also, many old colonial families became Gaelicised and adopted many features of Irish culture and this included a move towards keeping large herds of cattle, something that was also aided by a deterioration in the island's climate after c. 1300AD that made it harder to grow corn (oats, wheat or barley) (Nicholls 1972, 18-21; O'Conor 1998, 75, 103).

Surviving historical sources containing detailed economic and social information about later medieval Gaelic and, to a lesser extent, Gaelicised Ireland are virtually non-existent for the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth and most of the sixteenth centuries. The Gaelic equivalents of Anglo-Norman Manorial Extents and Inquisitions Post Mortems do not exist. This is partly because the later medieval Gaelic and Gaelicised elite did not produce precise administrative and economic records in anything like the same quantity as elsewhere in Western Europe (Nicholls 1987, 398, 413; O'Conor 1998, 73). It has also been suggested that the great majority of those records that were produced by the Gaelic elite throughout this

period were either destroyed in the endemic warfare that characterised Ireland from the late sixteenth century until the late seventeenth century or lost through simple archival neglect over the last 800 years (Nicholls 1987, 398). This all means that very little information exists about exactly how agriculture and stock-rearing was carried out throughout Gaelic and Gaelicised-dominated parts of later medieval Ireland. This situation changes in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as more detailed information is available from this period about the economy and society of Gaelic Ireland, although much of this comes from colonial sources and English administrators, many of which were biased against and hostile to the native Irish (ibid.). Again, it has been suggested that many of the economic and social practices observed throughout Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland *c.* AD1600 were in existence throughout the whole later medieval period. In other words, while this is open to question, evidence from late sixteenth or early seventeenth century Gaelic Ireland has been used to provide insights into what were the normal social and economic practices throughout native and Gaelicised Irish lordships from the twelfth through to the early sixteenth century (ibid.).

What does this discussion mean for this thesis? It is evident from the above that there are no direct historical references to transhumance/booleying occurring anywhere in Ireland throughout most of the later medieval period. It will be shown below that the first definite evidence for transhumance in Ireland comes in a relatively hostile account of the practice given by an English official and colonist written down in the 1590s. Does this lack of evidence mean that transhumance did not take place anywhere in Ireland from the twelfth century through to the late sixteenth century? The lack of direct evidence does make this question difficult to answer with certainty but it is felt that the evidence (such as it is) does suggest that transhumance took place during this period. Certainly the great historian of later medieval Gaelic Ireland, Professor Kenneth Nicholls, does believe that booleying was a feature of this whole period but offers little evidence to support this view, other than reiterating the historically-attested fact that great cattle herds existed within native and Gaelicised lordships, implying that transhumance was part of the agricultural system that created such massive numbers (Nicholls 1972, 137; 1987, 413). Other historians such as Lennon (2005, 45) and historical geographers such as Graham (1953, 1954; 1970) also believe that booleying was a common practice

throughout the Gaelic-dominated parts of later medieval Ireland, but also offer little direct evidence. So, what arguments can be put forward for booleying being an economic practice that was carried out across Ireland during all of the later medieval period? Firstly, it would appear from the available historical sources that transhumance existed in early medieval Ireland. Secondly, it was argued above that the Anglo-Norman invasion had little impact over large swathes of the country and it must be presumed that economic practices such as transhumance continued across the country, particularly in Gaelic-dominated areas, during later medieval times. Thirdly, there should be no surprise that there are no direct references to the practice in the available historical sources, as hardly any contemporary detailed records of economic practices of any sort exist for later medieval Gaelic Ireland until the late sixteenth century. Fourthly, following Nicholls (1987, 413), the fact that booleying appears to be well established when first noted in the 1590s is a strong hint that it was a long-held practice.

There is another reason why booleying must have been carried out right throughout the later medieval period to be eventually noted in print by a colonial official in the 1590s. Huge herds existed in later medieval Gaelic Ireland, as noted, and were the main form of wealth and the basis of all political power. Many of the main foods consumed by people of all classes were products derived from dairying – butter, milk, sour curds and whey – along with beef and blood drawn from the living cow mixed with oats (Nicholls 1987, 413). Nevertheless, crops were also grown around permanent sites in summer time, particularly oats but also wheat and rye (Nicholls 1987, 411-12). It is generally held that these fields were not enclosed by banks, ditches and hedges/stone walls but were protected by relatively-flimsy, post-and-wattle fences (Nicholls 1987, 411). Furthermore, the available evidence suggests that little or no hay was saved in later medieval Gaelic Ireland – a situation that continued in many parts of the country up to the late seventeenth century (e.g. *Topographia Hibernica*, 14). Instead, grass in many fields around settlements was protected and preserved during the summer season and was not grazed by cattle or any other livestock. This standing grass was then used as winterage and grazed by cattle over the winter months (Nicholls 1987, 415; Lucas 1989, 34-35). It is interesting to note that at least some older farmers still use this system in parts of north Roscommon. These farmers maintain that this grass becomes more palatable to cattle after the first

frost, which occurs sometime in late October, probably because of some chemical reaction which sweetens the grass and makes it fresher (Kieran O’Conor, pers. comm.). This all suggests that it would have been difficult to accommodate the historically-attested large herds of cattle around permanent settlements in summertime as fields were either under cultivation or being preserved for winterage. A sensible solution would have been to move the livestock to summer pastures elsewhere, such as in the uplands. This evidence suggests that booleying was a sensible option in this scenario and so it is argued that the practice was an essential part of the agricultural system in many parts of Ireland during later medieval times, even if there are no direct historical references to booleying before the late sixteenth century.

Edmund Spenser (1552-99), the London-born poet, colonist and Elizabethan official, was a typical example of the New English who flooded into Ireland during the Elizabethan re-conquest of the island. Spenser was appointed secretary to Lord Grey, the Lord Deputy (i.e. governor) of Ireland in 1579 and supported the latter’s harsh treatment of the Irish. His tract *A View of the Present State of Ireland* was published in 1596 and typifies English attitudes to Irish society at that time, expressing open hostility to it and portraying it as backward and savage (Coughlan 2003). This all seems to have been used as a part-justification for the English appropriation of Catholic Irish land that was happening at the time (Simms 1987, 78). Spenser, in this respect, was granted 3,000 acres of land in Co. Cork during the Plantation of Munster after the Desmond Rebellion. His house at Kilcolman, Co. Cork was burnt by Irish rebels during the Nine Years War – his little son dying in the attack (Coughlan 1989, 46-74).

Spenser informs us in 1596 that the Irish “keep their cattle and live themselves for the most part of the year in *bolliés* (booleys), pasturing upon the mountain and waste wyld places, and removing still to fresh pasture as they have depastured the former days” (*View of the Present State of Ireland*, 49). This particular reference is somewhat ambiguous as it could be referring to either a straightforward form of Alpine-style transhumance or to the *caoraigheacht*, posited above to be a form of nomadic pastoralism. Arguably, however, Spenser could have been referring to both practices and effectively mixing them up, seeing them as basically being the same

thing. However, another reference by Spenser does seem to be referring to an Alpine form of transhumance as he notes elsewhere the ‘keeping of cows is itself a very idle life and a fit nursery for a thief’; in particular he dislikes the Irish manner of keeping *bolliies* in summer upon the mountains and living after that savage sort of life (*View of the Present State of Ireland*, 157). It is very clear that Spenser disapproved of booleying and also the *caoraigheacht*, although he realised that there was excellent summer pasture on the mountains and other ‘wyld’ places throughout Ireland, allowing ‘thousands’ of cattle to be kept. He argued that the custom of ‘boolies’ (i.e. booleying) in isolated places led to outlawry. The *bolliies* were too easily used as hideaways for ‘outlaws’ and Irish rebels, who were probably one and the same thing to Spenser (*ibid.*). It is noteworthy that Spenser appreciated the economic sense behind transhumance and the grazing of cattle in isolated, marginal areas but clearly believed its benefits were outweighed by its negative aspects from a political and military point of view.



Pl. 8 – Routeway of transhumants from Keem on the south to Bunowna on the north. Croaghau Mountain the distance (by courtesy of Dr. Scott Johnson).

It has always been believed that Spenser’s observations in AD1596 are the first recorded references to booleying in Ireland. However, it is noteworthy that Sir Richard Bingham, the English governor of Connacht, noted in AD1591 that ‘the tenants do shift their dwellings every year at May’ (Lennon 2005, 47). This seems to be some form of reference to transhumance, as it suggests two places of abode during the year. Furthermore, as noted, there is a reference to 2,000 cows being seized from a ‘bowlie’ during the Desmond Rebellion. The same reference suggests that the rebel earl of Desmond was hiding in this transhumance site in AD1583, due to its isolation (*CSPI. 1588-92*, 566-67).

The overall evidence from these colonial sources suggests that booleying was

widespread and well-established in Ireland in the 1590s. It would appear that people went to the mountains or other ‘wyld’ places (perhaps lowland transhumant sites in forests or adjacent to bogland) in May and spent the summer there. Despite realising the economic benefits of and reasons behind transhumance and even the *caoraigheacht*, English officials, such as Spenser, disapproved of it because the people who took part in these movements were difficult to control and Anglicise due to the isolation of the places they visited in search of grazing for their cattle.

An early seventeenth century reference to what appears to be transhumance states ‘the Irish were now in the summer season living upon the milk and butter of their kine, grazing on the mountains and in fastness’ (Cal. Carew Manuscripts 1603-24, 163). It is noteworthy that this reference makes a distinction between mountains and other fastnesses. This may be a strong hint that booleying took place in lowland areas at forest and bog, and not just the uplands at this time (see 1.1).

An account of Termonmagrath, Co. Tyrone, in AD1682 talks about a building that was sited at what appears to be a permanent settlement that had been formerly used as a place to store possessions belonging to local inhabitants who were away from their ‘winter dwellings’ for the summer in the mountains with their cattle (Lucas 1989, 60). This seems to be a reference to an Alpine form of transhumance. Roderic O’Flaherty (1629-1718) was an Irish-speaking landlord and scholar born in Moycullen on the edge of Connemara, Co. Galway. He remained a devout Catholic all his life and this led to the seizure of his estates and to his eventual impoverishment. His *Chorographical Description of West or h-Iar Connacht*, written in English in 1684 but not published until 1846, gives an excellent account of the geography, economy and natural history of Connemara and west County Galway. He describes a very definite form of Alpine-style transhumance in his day being carried out in the latter area as he states ‘In summer time they drive their cattle to the mountains, where such as looke to the cattle live in small cabins for that season’ (O’Flaherty and Hardiman 1846, 16-17). Around the same time in the 1690s, John Dunton, an English traveller is said to have spent a night in a booley which he described as a single-roomed hut with walls of mud and wattle and a roof thatched with rushes; he said the hut had been newly put up for a booley, the proper dwelling house being some miles further near the sea. He also said that booley houses were

built each year ‘in some place or another’ (Dunton, 59).

The English Catholic, Jacobite diarist and cavalryman John Stevens (died 1726) leaves an account in 1691 at the end of the Williamite War of simple Irish huts called *creaghts*. He states “the country people, armed in a kind of a hostile manner with half-pikes and skeins, and some with scythes and musketsand some will call them *creaghts*, from the little huts that they live in. These huts they build so conveniently with hurdles and long turf, that they can remove them in the summer towards the mountains, and bring them down to the valleys in winter” (Murray 1912, 161-62). This reference implies that ordinary Irish people moved from the lowlands to the mountains in summer and back. Stevens also describes what is clearly *caoraigheacht* still in existence at this time but notes sympathetically that this form of nomadism was common in Ireland during times of war (ibid.). It might be added that the term *creaght* in this case seems to mean *creat*. These are effectively ovoid, one-roomed, mostly windowless, post-and-wattle built houses, which have a central hearth and a hole in their roofs to allow smoke to escape. These appear to be the homes of people of the lowest rank in Irish society throughout later medieval times but may also have been a common form of hut built in upland booley settlements by people of all ranks (Fig. 28; O' Conor 2002, 102).

Alpine style transhumance was recorded by the Church-of-Ireland, Laois-born historian and artist Walter Harris in the Deer's Meadow area of the Mourne Mountains of Co. Down in 1744, with people moving from the Hillsborough area of north Down in summer to this area – a distance of about 25km. He states “great numbers of poor people resort in summer months to graze their cattle. They bring with them their Wives, Children and a little wretched Furniture, erect huts, and live there for two months, and sometimes more, and often cut turf to serve the next returning Season; which done they retire with their Cattle to their former Habitations” (Harris and Smith 1744, 125). Booleying was clearly in decline in even remote areas of Ireland by the nineteenth century and survived only in those areas of the island that were the least affected by modern economic changes, such as parts of the west and south west. These parts of Ireland were places where climate and a mountainous topography meant that there was little cultivable land but plenty of upland grazing in the warmer months of summer (Graham 1954, 212). The 1830

Ordnance Survey Memoirs of County Antrim record what appears to be Alpine transhumance, although the practice had gone out of use at that time “Many call them Bolia houses, as being erected for summer dwellings by the local inhabitants, who, in the latter seasons of the year, repaired with their cattle to mountain grazing and there remained themselves in care of them during the season and sheltered themselves and produce of their cattle in the above temporary habitations....Others ascribe their erection and occupation to the Danes and other strangers who in ancient times so frequently infested different parts of the kingdom. Others ascribe their foundation and original occupation to the ancient Irish at periods when the lowlands were in general under woods and likewise the seats of wolves and other ferocious animals” (Ordnance Survey Memoranda, 78-79). This reference suggests that booleying no longer took place in County Antrim at this date. The practice of moving to upland pasture in summer had also ceased in most parts of Ireland around this time. For example, a deserted booley village, no longer in use, in Bovevagh Parish, near Dungiven in Co. Derry was described *c.* 1840. It was stated that in this year ‘There stands on the mountain bog of Farclone a great number of small and very ancient houses. This place is locally called Bolies Bolies signifies a place where milch cows were brought together and milked. They stand in the interior of the bog or mountain, the number exceeds fifteen, the walls are built of mud and sods varying in height from 2 to 4 feet (0.6m – 1.2m) above the surface of the bog. They vary in length from 3 to 8 feet (0.9m – 2.4m) and 3 to 6 feet in breadth (0.9m – 1.8m). History says nothing about this ancient village, there is no tradition among the parishioners concerning the origin or inhabitants of them’ (Ordnance Survey Memoranda, 167; Lucas 1989, 61). The fact that booleying was in decline by the nineteenth century is probably the reason why accounts of the practice are relatively few in number (Morris *et.al.* 1939). One reason for the decline of booleying across large swathes of Ireland by the mid-nineteenth century could be linked to the large increase in population seen in Ireland between the late eighteenth century and the early 1840s, which rose from about three million at the end of the eighteenth century to about eight million people by 1845 (Aalen *et.al.* 1997, 84; Ó Gráda 1994). This increase must have put huge pressure on land. It has been said that between 1770 and 1840, there was a five-fold increase of settlements in the uplands over 150m OD (Aalen *et.al.* 1997, 84). It is likely that many upland (maybe even lowland) transhumant sites were settled permanently from the late eighteenth century onwards

by land-hungry people. One elderly man, Séamas Ó Highne, recalled in 1936 how his grandfather was the first person to settle permanently on former summer grazing grounds at *Minna Suileach* in south-west Donegal (Morris *et.al.* 1939, 288-98). Nevertheless, transhumance continued in parts of Donegal until the twentieth century. Other accounts relating to transhumance in nineteenth century Donegal describe how villages/hamlets in each townland had access to mountain grazing in the same townland, until population pressure resulted in the permanent settlement of these old summer pastures (*ibid.*).

In the Burren in County Clare, an ‘inverse’ type of transhumance was practiced during post medieval times at least and probably far earlier. Livestock, particularly cattle, were moved in winter from the adjacent lowlands, where much of the land was water-logged, to the Burren uplands, where good nutritious grass and herbage was available until April. Cattle were brought back to the lowlands then to take advantage of the lush grass there which was ideal for livestock grazing because the lowlands were waterlogged in most places in winter but in summer produce a lush, vegetation ideal for livestock grazing (Moran *et.al.* 2008). Certainly, the Burren has been long noted for its exceptional grazing qualities in winter. A reference from *Caithreim Thoirdealbaigh* in AD1317 claims that the Burren was “overflowing with milk and yielding luscious grass” at that time (*Caithreim Thoirdealbaigh* ii. 90). This suggests that this practice was long established in the Burren.

3.2 – The academic study of transhumance in Ireland

The earliest attempt in twentieth century Ireland to understand the practice of transhumance was carried out by the historical geographer Estyn Evans of Queen’s University Belfast (Evans 1939b, 207-22). This stemmed from his interest in landscape history and therefore involved what is today called the culture-historical approach to archaeology where historical societies are defined as distinct ethnic and cultural groupings according to their material culture (Childe 1929). The genesis of Evans’ interest in the practice of transhumance can be traced to 1939 when, along with H. J. Fleure, his tutor and mentor at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, he co-edited a paper in *South Carpathian Studies in Roumania II* in which the lifestyle of the Vlach transhumants is discussed (Evans and Fleure 1939, 58). An earlier paper

by Fleure in *East Carpathian Studies* acknowledged that the practice of transhumance had played an important role in the pastoral life of the Carpathians (Fleure 1936, 45). Evans' interest in Irish transhumance is illustrated in an article entitled 'Donegal Survivals', published in *Antiquity* in 1939 (Evans 1939, 207-22). In this and a subsequent article published in the same year, he claimed that the practice of booleying was necessitated by co-operative farming as exemplified in the Rundale system (Evans 1939a, 24; 1939b, 211).

Like Evans, Horning (2004, 201), also sees booleying as being associated with Rundale. This was a system of agricultural organisation that was characterised by open-field farming in the vicinity of a settlement, in which each family held scattered portions of arable land, which may have been redistributed on occasion. Commonage for grazing surrounded these fields and, as noted, could only be used by the inhabitants of the village associated with it (Evans 1939a, 24-26; 1939b, 207-22; 1942, 50; Feehan 2003, 115-20; Duffy 2004, 952). Evans' knowledge of transhumance was considerable, as indicated by his article in *Geography* in 1940, which examined the practice of transhumance across Europe (Evans 1940). His interest in the subject of transhumance in Ireland continued throughout the 1940s and 1950s and was discussed in his books *Irish Heritage*, *Mourne Country* and *Irish Folkways* (Evans 1942, 50-55 ; 1951, 128-30; 1957, 54-64). Evans understood at an early stage that transhumance could provide a window into which a deeper understanding of later-medieval and post-medieval Gaelic Ireland, particularly in the more remote areas of the west of Ireland, could be obtained. He was puzzled by the lack of academic work on the subject, saying 'that scarcely any attention has been given or any importance attached to this aspect of the Irish past, despite its direct bearing on the then social and cultural as well as the economic development of rural Ireland, on language and literature, music and the arts' (Evans 1942, 52). Evans saw parallels between booleying in Ireland to that practiced in Switzerland and Spain, citing similarities of customs and practices in these two countries with what pertained in Ireland (Evans 1942, 52-54). Evans did not however elaborate on the different systems of transhumance practiced in these two countries (i.e. Alpine in the former and Mediterranean in the latter; see 2.1), nor did he attempt to classify the system in Ireland. He saw the system of booleying extending back in time to the Tudor period and noted errors by colonial commentators in Tudor and Jacobean

times and later historians in differentiating between transhumance and pastoral nomadism. Interestingly, he stated that ‘the incoming planters were bitterly opposed to the creaghts, as the transhumants were called, the custom explains the ease with which, throughout the seventeenth century, the natives withdrew themselves to the mountains, where they lived a life that some historians have mistaken for aboriginal nomadism’ (Evans 1942, 54-55). He saw cattle-herding as being subordinate to agriculture, with young people and even whole families migrating from a permanent, lowland settlement to summer pasture in the uplands (Evans 1942, 52). These seasonal movements from ‘bally to booley’ were an important but neglected aspect of Irish social history and one that could explain many features of traditional life (Evans 1857, 27). This shows that Evans was the first modern scholar to seriously study the practice of transhumance or booleying in Ireland.

I will now outline the main conclusions reached by later scholars researching the subject in Ireland (incorporating more of Evans’s views in this discussion), as well as presenting the evidence from which they drew their views. However, a review of the excavated evidence for booleying will be outlined and discussed in Chapter 6 (see 6.1).

3.2.1 – Why was booleying carried out?

It has been argued that booleying, regardless of when it first started, was a sensible economic practice because it maximised the available grazing resources in any given area throughout the year, including using pastures only easily available in summer, and allowed larger herds of cattle to be kept by individual farmers than if only land was grazed around the permanent settlement (Graham 1954, 19). It has also been suggested that because of the limited availability of arable land in many areas, booleying was necessary as it allowed more food to be produced to feed a large population (Graham 1953, 74-79). As already noted, the need to keep cattle away from flimsily-fenced, lowland fields during the growing season for corn and grass (later to be used as winterage) was another reason why cattle were moved away to the booleys. It has argued that cattle were the healthier if their pastures were changed regularly and booleying provided an opportunity to do this (Ó Moghráin and Ó Duilearga 1944, 48). In south west Donegal in 1755 a deficiency disease was given as the reason why people moved their cattle to the mountain pastures for the summer

(Graham 1970, 141): basically transhumance prevented disease in cattle and kept them healthy.

3.2.2 – How and when in the annual agricultural cycle was the practice of booleying carried out?

Various scholars have assigned dates to when people in different parts of the country throughout post-medieval times (although much of the evidence comes from ethnographic material dating to the nineteenth century and even the early-twentieth century) left the permanent settlement for the booley site. Evidence from north-west Donegal suggests that it was common practice for men to repair and make the booley huts ready in mid-March, in time for the annual migration to the uplands in early summer (Ó hEochaidh 1943). In his book *Irish Heritage*, Evans said that, in Donegal, the absence of fencing meant that livestock needed to be sent to the mountain pastures around St. Patrick's Day (17th March) and returned to the permanent settlement on the last day of October for Halloween, 'where the animals were free to wander over the whole townland throughout the winter' (Evans 1942, 50). Other evidence from Donegal suggest that cattle were driven to the mountain on the 1st May in the charge of young people of both sexes and the summer was spent by them in rough shelters on the mountain. The cattle were milked twice daily and the milk was churned into butter. Dancing and games were evening activities – 'and there was never a hint of any impropriety'! (Morris *et.al.* 1939). Lord George Hill said the departure of the transhumants for the booley settlement was on a fixed day each year but does not say which day with a return to the permanent settlement in time for the Halloween celebrations in very late October (Hill 1887, 24; Evans 1957, 35). Butter-making was the chief occupation of the women at the booley settlements, followed by knitting, sewing and basket-weaving (Evans 1945, 28-9). Úa Danachair described the practice of booleying in the Galtee Mountains on the Tipperary/Limerick border from accounts provided by a Michael Cunningham, a local farmer aged 80 years in 1940 and, again, refers to booleying in these mountains during the nineteenth century. Cattle were taken to the mountains in this area around the middle of April and returned to the permanent settlement in early November. Young people of both sexes looked after the cattle, assisted from time to time by elderly members of the community (Úa Danachair 1945b, 248-50). Each person had about twenty to forty cows to look after. Butter was made at the site and brought down to the

permanent settlement at regular intervals. It is interesting that the practice in the Galtees was called *comainteas* not booleying (Graham 1954, 27). Niall O'Duffy (born 1874) of Beltany in north-west Donegal said that in his mother's time, a girl from each household accompanied the animals to the mountains in summer and that this occurred about the beginning of May. They returned to the permanent settlement at the end of October. The girls spent their time at the booley looking after the cattle and calves, churning butter which was periodically collected by men from the permanent settlement, and spinning and knitting (Ó hEochaidh 1943, 130). Evans seemed to think that the period from the 1st May to the 1st November was the period during which most transhumance in Ireland occurred (Evans 1951, 133), which seems to differ from what he said in 1942 (see above). He also implied that the townland unit equalled a family grouping (ibid.). This may have meant that the inhabitants of a particular townland had their grazing within that townland. In Connemara, near the Twelve Bens Mountains, Martin Lee (born 1878) recalled his grandmother relating how during her time, girls went to the booley in May and returned in October. However, some of them returned home weekly, carrying churns full of cream on their backs, leaving others to tend the cattle (Graham 1954, 21). Another account of booleying in south Connemara tells of how the cattle were taken up to the mountains by girls for a change of pasture in May and again for about four weeks from the beginning of August. They kept the cream from the milk for two to three days after which they carried it home in churns, taking it in turns to leave the booley (Graham 1954, 24). In the Sperrin Mountains of Co. Tyrone, one of the largest inland, upland areas in Ireland, an early nineteenth century report states that May was the preferred date for the removal of families with their flocks and herds to the uplands where they remained for the summer living on butter, curds, milk and cream (Graham 1954, 39).

3.2.3 – *Siting*

A relatively small number of booley sites have been recorded throughout Ireland. This does not mean that this number in any way equals the total for the country, as many have not been recorded or they remain unclassified. As noted, many sites that post-date the year 1700 (as many booley sites do) were not recorded by the Archaeological Survey of Ireland (see 1.5). However, where work has been carried out, surprising numbers of probable and possible booley sites have been recognised.

For example, in Donegal, a preliminary list of over eighty potential booley sites have been compiled by Donegal County Council but this data has not been properly analysed yet (Kerrigan 2011). One further problem is that many sites interpreted as booley settlements by scholars in the past (usually and sometimes solely because of their location in upland areas) have been re-interpreted as permanent settlements or at least something different by other scholars in recent times (see 6.1). This is confusing but an attempt will be made in this section to analyse the siting characteristics of sites interpreted at some stage in the past as booley settlements to see if any patterns emerge.

It is quite clear that an overwhelming majority of sites interpreted as booley settlements in Ireland are sited in upland locations over 182m OD (i.e. 600 ft), mainly beside streams and rivers (Fig. 29; Sidebotham 1950; Graham 1954; Evans 1958; Aalen 1963, 1964; Williams and Robinson 1983 ; Brannon 1984, 1988; Horning and Brannon 2004; Mc Sparron 2002; Horning 2007; Naessens 2010; Gardiner 2011b; Costello 2011; Úa Danachair 1945b). In terms of the highest elevation, the booley settlement at Knocknascrow in the Galtee Mountains on the Limerick/Tipperary border was located at 475m OD (Úa Danachair 1945a, 248). The Galtees are Ireland's highest mountain range with Galtymore Mountain rising to a height of 920m OD. It is interesting that nutritious Nardis Grass is still found at high elevations in the Galtees and this is probably the reason why transhumance took place at these heights in the past (Feehan 2003, 401). The definite booley site at the Deer's Meadow in the Mourne Mountains of County Down is located at 335m OD, with other recognised booley sites in the area being sited at similar elevations (Evans and Proudfoot 1958, 128; Rathbone 2009, 121; Gardiner 2011b, 108). These booley sites lie in sheltered grassy, heather-free strips beside small streams. They are sited in small clusters, relatively close together, on the north-west facing slopes of the Mournes (Fig. 30; Gardiner 2011a, 112-113).

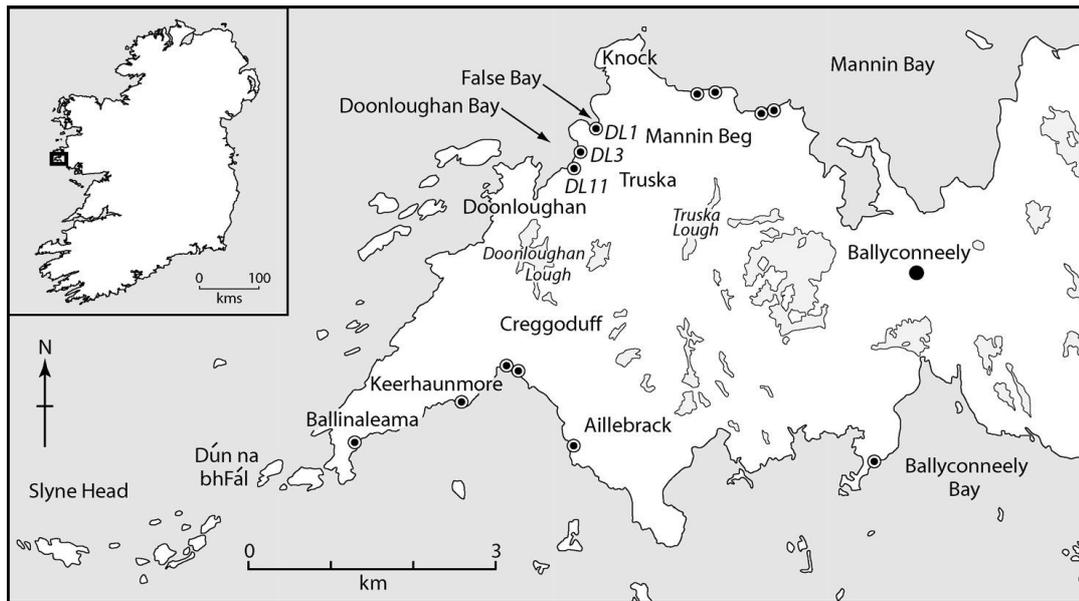


Fig. 27 – Doonloughan coastal and lowland transhumant site, Co. Galway (after Murray and McCormick 2013, 96).

This evidence makes one come away with the initial conclusion that booleying in Ireland was always purely an upland affair. The recent historical accounts of the practice also suggest this (see 3.1). Recent unpublished fieldwork also underlines this impression. For example, the remains of a small group of booley huts of circular and sub-rectangular form were found in 2012 on the eastern side of Cashel Hill, Connemara, Co. Galway. These were located at an elevation of 311m OD (Michael Gibbons, pers. comm.). However, it was also noted that Nicholls suggested, admittedly without much evidence, that booleying in medieval times may have been a movement of cattle from permanent centres to booley sites in under-populated marginal areas that could be located in both upland and lowland areas (see 1.1). Furthermore, it was already noted in this chapter that Spenser in the late sixteenth century stated that booleying took place not just in mountainous areas but in other ‘waste wild places’ (see 3.1). It was also shown that an early seventeenth century reference to booleying seems to suggest that booleying was not only carried out in upland areas but also in ‘fastnesses’, presumably meaning isolated areas of low elevation (see 3.1). In this respect, Murray and McCormick of Queen’s University Belfast, excavated a coastal site at Doonloughan near Ballyconneely, Co. Galway. Their conclusions, which were based on very detailed analyses of the artefacts and the paleo-environmental remains at the site, were that Doonloughan was an early

medieval booley site, despite the fact it was located beside the coast at 10m OD (Fig. 27; Pl.9; Murray and Mc Cormick 2012). All this evidence perhaps suggests that we should be cautious in believing that transhumance in Ireland was always a simple movement of cattle and people from lowland centres to upland summer pastures.



Pl. 9 – The circular hut site DL 11 at Doonloughan, Co. Galway, with portal stones (one standing, one recumbent), central hearth and eroded western edge, after removal of the baulk (after Murray and Mc Cormick 2012, 98). This photograph shows its lowland, coastal location.

As stated, it will be noted in Chapter 6 that at least some supposed upland booley sites have been re-interpreted as permanent settlements (see 6.1). The corollary to this must be that an upland location is not necessarily a pre-requisite for a booley site over time and space in Ireland. Lowland transhumant sites did exist and more are presumably waiting to be recognised by scholarship.

3.2.4 – Settlement morphology

The great majority of known and supposed booley sites in Ireland consist of unplanned, nucleated clusters of houses ranging in number from three at Glenmakeeran in Co. Antrim to as much as about one hundred and twenty-nine at Goodland in the same county (Fig. 31; Evans 1939b, 1940; Sidebotham 1950; Evans and Proudfoot 1958; Aalen 1963; Williams and Robinson 1983; Horning 2002, 2004,

2007, 2012; Naessens 2010; Gardiner 2011b; Costello 2011).



Fig. 28 – The Creat, a sub-rectangular structure, with rounded ends, supported on cruck trusses that lay directly on the ground (after Hayes-McCoy 1964, 8).

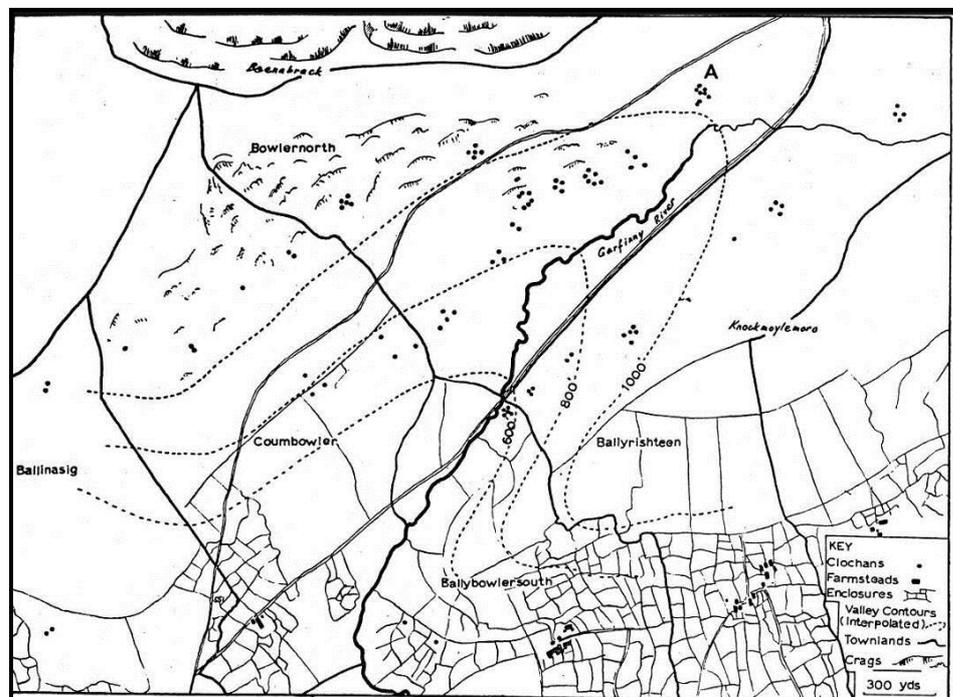


Fig. 29 – Location of booley huts in the Garfinny Valley, Co. Kerry (after Aalen 1964a, 42).

In particular, Jean Graham has stated that a typical booley site in Ireland contained single-roomed huts, usually from four to fifteen in number, mostly clustered together, near or beside a stream (1954, 45). Again, similarly, Horning (2012, 181) has stated that most booley houses are clustered together and located close to streams. The recently recognised booley site at Cashel Hill, Co. Galway, consisted of a cluster of dry-stone built houses, beside a stream (Michael Gibbons, pers. comm.). Most of the supposed booley huts in the Garfinny Valley in Co. Kerry consist of small clusters of three to six houses, but isolated single examples do exist (Fig. 29). The site at Tildarg, Co. Antrim consists of two adjoining houses within a single rectangular enclosure, isolated from other settlement (Brannon 1984). It will be argued below, however, that this site may not in fact be a booley site (see 6.1). It is only in the Galtee Mountains of the Limerick/Tipperary border that individual booley houses stand in isolation from one another and present a dispersed settlement pattern. Booleying continued here to the late nineteenth century (Úa Danachair 1945b, 248-50).

It is interesting to note that Estyn Evans stated that permanent settlements in the parts of Ireland that saw booleying before the Famine generally consisted of fifty to sixty houses, considerably more than the average booley settlement associated with them (Evans 1942, 48-50). This may suggest that only a relatively small percentage of the population went to the booley at any one time. This certainly seems to be the case in Gweedore, Co. Donegal in the nineteenth century, as it appears to have been common practice for every three households at the permanent settlement (who were probably connected by blood) to co-operate in the annual transhumance cycle. In this case, one girl from one of the three households was selected to go to the booley settlement to look after the cattle (Úa Danachair 1945b, 248).

3.2.5 – House types at booley settlements

In terms of morphology, a variety of house shapes have been recognised at probable and possible booley sites throughout Ireland, as was the case across Britain (see Chapter 2). These include houses of rectangular, square, ovoid, circular and sub-rectangular (i.e. structures with rounded, curving ends but relatively straight walls along their long axis) shape, either sod-built or dry-stone built and often with annexes of various shapes (Figs. 30, 31, 32; Sidebotham 1950; Úa Danachair 1945b;

Graham 1954; Evans and Proudfoot 1958; Aalen 1963, 1964; Williams and Robinson 1983; Williams 1984, 1988; Horning 2002; Horning 2004; Rathbone 2009; Horning 2007; Gardiner 2011b; Higham 2004; Costello 2011). The recently recognised booley houses at Cashel Hill, Connemara, Co. Galway are all circular or sub-rectangular in shape (Michael Gibbons, pers. comm.). In all, the typical booley house in Ireland, whatever its shape or date, seem to be single-room structures, sometimes with an annexe, built of sod or dry-stone, with no chimney (Horning 2012, 181).

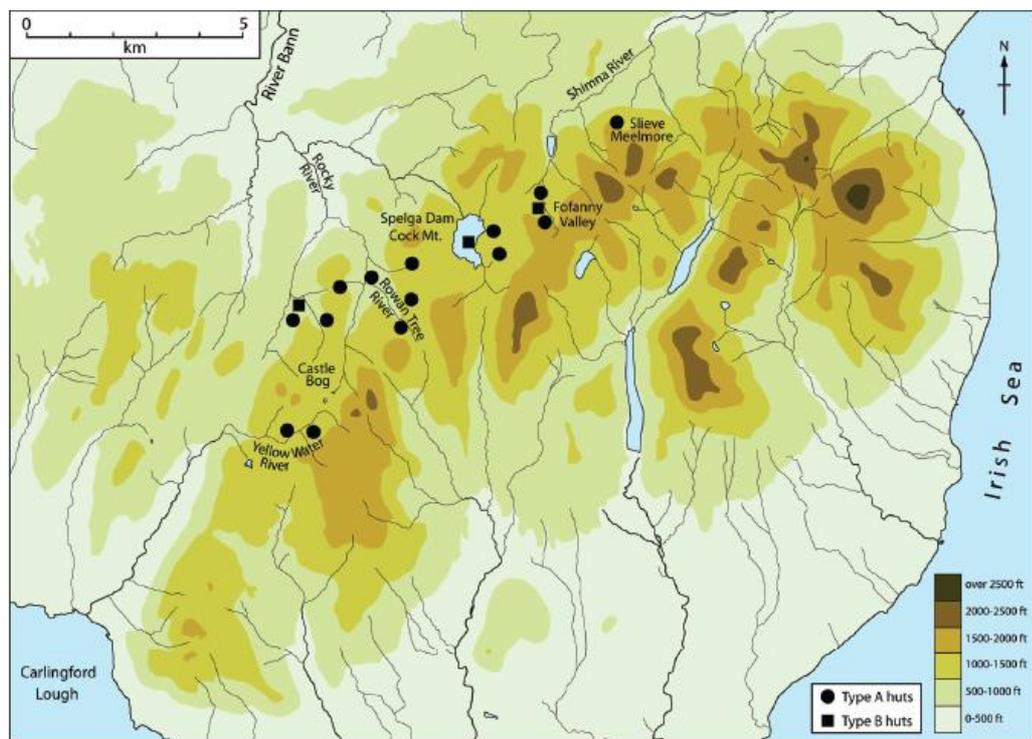


Fig. 30 – Booley huts in the Mourne Mountains, Co. Down (after Gardiner 2011, 112).

The traditional scholarly way to view this evidence would be to suggest in a linear, Darwinian way that the circular, ovoid and, for that matter, sub-rectangular shaped houses at these booley sites are earlier than the rectangular, straight gabled houses seen at the same sites, as the latter shape is the nearest to modern house shapes (e.g. Evans 1969; Aalen 1964a; Úa Danachair 1972; Gailey 1984). For example, in reviewing the archaeological evidence for secular houses at permanent settlements in Ireland, Lynn has argued that circular-shaped houses had been replaced by well-built rectangular houses with straight gables as the dwellings of choice by the year AD

1000 (Lynn 1978). Certainly the transhumant huts at Doonloughan in Co. Galway seem to date to the seventh and eighth centuries (Pl. 9; Murray and Mc Cormick 2012). The rectangular houses associated with post-medieval booleying in the Galtee Mountains seem to have been in use as late as the second half of the nineteenth century (Fig. 33; Úa Danachair 1945b). At first glance, therefore, the development from circular houses to rectangular-shaped ones in permanent settlements seems to be replicated in booley houses. However, O’Conor (2002) has argued that there is growing historical, archaeological and pictorial evidence to suggest that at least some circular-, ovoid- and sub-rectangular (i.e. having rounded, curved ends) post-and-wattle (including creats) and sod-walled houses continued to be built and occupied down to the seventeenth century (Figs. 28, 34). For example, an ovoid sod-walled house (Hut C) was excavated at Goodland in Co. Antrim in the late 1940s. Supposedly associated with booleying, it seems to have been built and occupied in the seventeenth century (Fig.35; Sidebotham 1950, 48, 52). Ovoid-shaped and sub-rectangular-shaped houses dating to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were found on the Beara Peninsula in West Cork and seem to have belonged to ordinary people (Breen 2005, 94-100).

Further evidence since 2002 has shown that at least some circular-shaped houses continued to be built long after the year AD1000. For example, recent excavations have shown that circular-shaped wooden houses continued to be built on the crannóg at Drumclay, Co. Fermanagh, down to the first years of the seventeenth century (<http://rmchapple.blogspot.ie/2013/02/drumclay-crannog-open-day-feb-16-2013.html>).

Audrey Horning has recently excavated a sub-rectangular house at Goodland in Co. Antrim (Pl. 10). While we have to be very careful of over extrapolating the evidence from one date, a recent radiocarbon date suggested occupation occurring in this house as late as the eighteenth century. Additional radiocarbon dates need to be taken to confirm this but the date is still interesting (Audrey Horning and Nick Brannon, pers. comm.).

A sub-rectangular (i.e. a house with somewhat rounded, curving ends) sod-built or cob house of two rooms with opposing doorways was recently excavated by Brian Shanahan at the *Sean Bhaile* at Carns in Co. Roscommon. This structure appears to be eighteenth century in date too, being possibly occupied into the first years of the nineteenth century (Shanahan 2007).

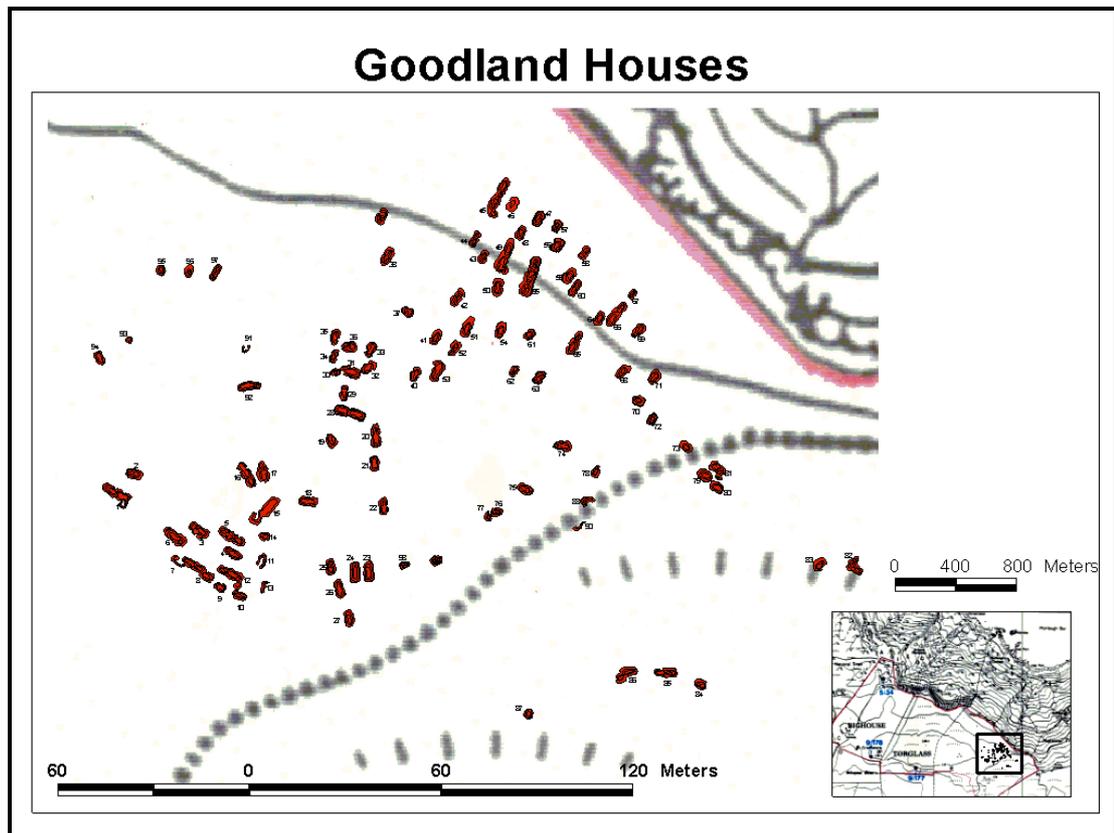


Fig. 31 – The unplanned, clustered settlement at Goodland (after Horning and Brannon 2004 29).

This all suggests that there is some evidence in Ireland for circular, ovoid and sub-rectangular houses continuing to be built and occupied into even post medieval times. Possibly this should come as no surprise as it was shown above that similar evidence exists in Scotland, usually but not always at transhumant sites (see 2.3).

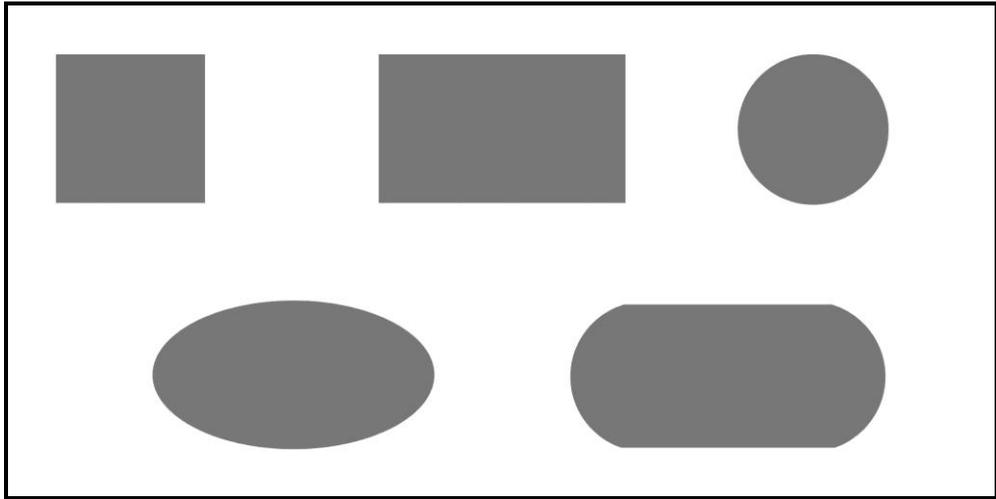


Fig. 32 – Schematic booley house plans showing square, rectangular, circular, ovoid and sub-rectangular shapes.

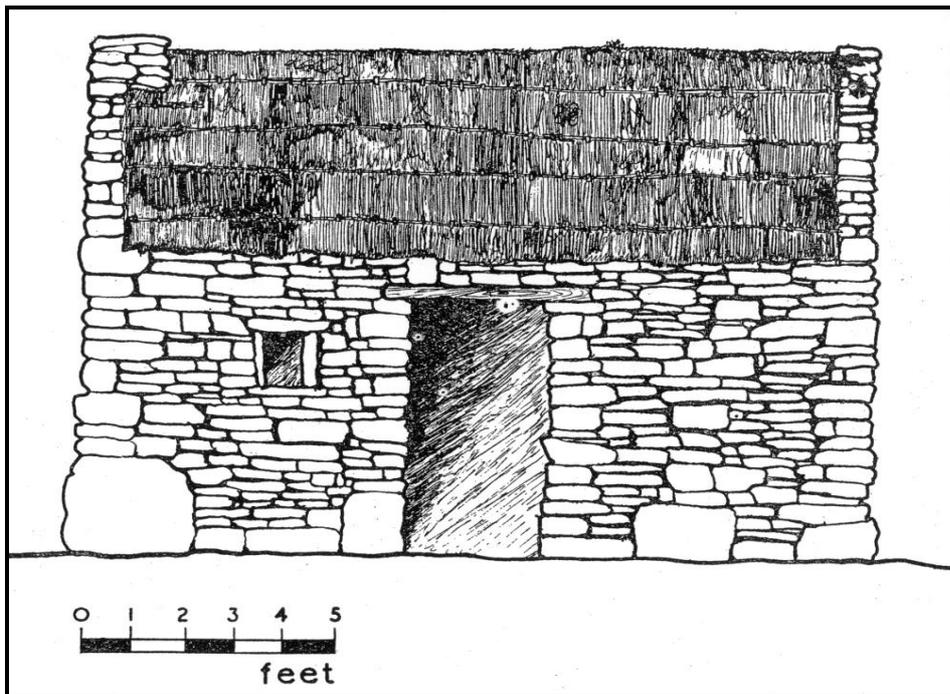


Fig. 33 – Reconstructed Booley House in the Galtee Mountains (after Úa Danachair 1945, 252).

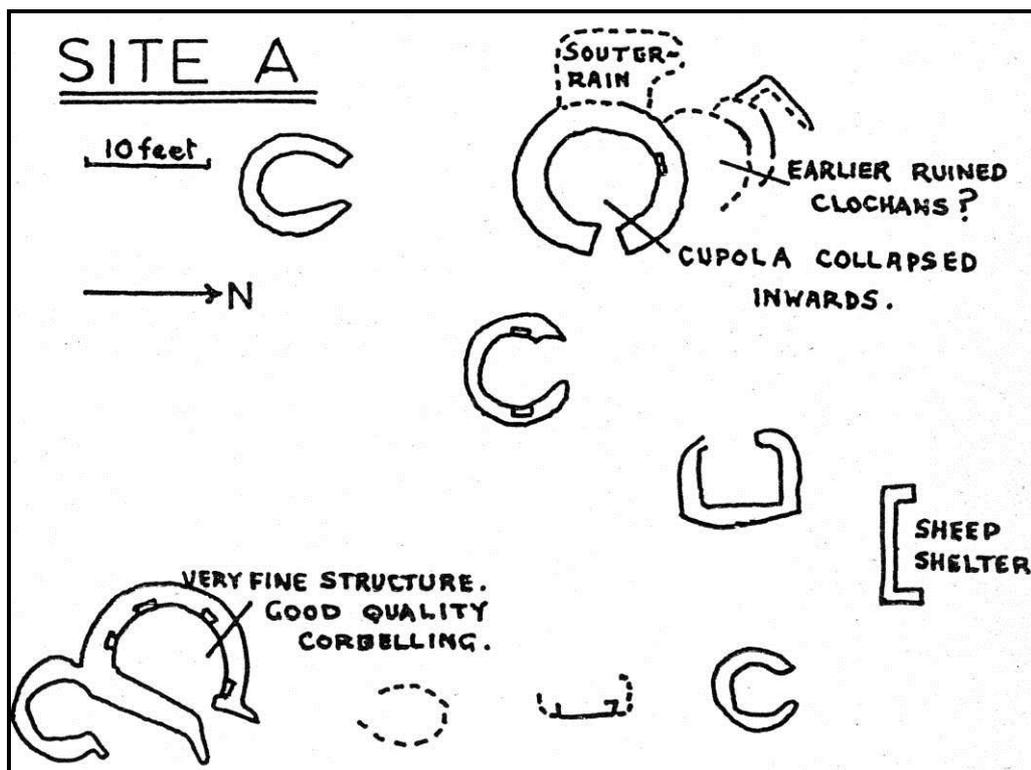


Fig. 34 – Plans of supposed booley huts in the Garfinny Valley that must have been occupied into the nineteenth century (after Aalen 1964a, 45).

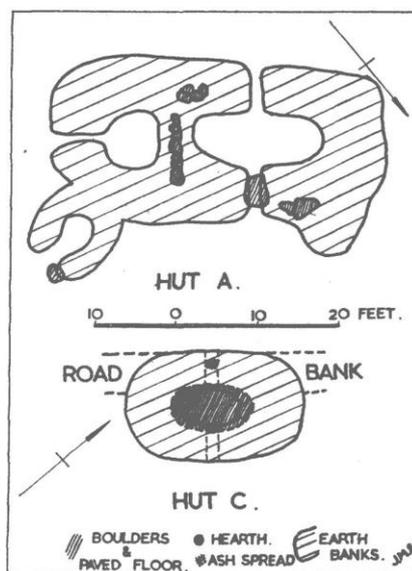


Fig. 35 – Huts A and C at Goodland, Co. Antrim (after Sidebotham 1950, 47).



Pl. 10 – Excavation at House 27, a sub-rectangular house at Goodland, Co. Antrim (by courtesy of Nick Brannon).

3.3 – Grass types and grazing at booley sites

It has been suggested that extensive areas of rough grazing required by the practice of transhumance or booleying preserved the open, mostly tree-less character of the hills in Ireland until the seventeenth century (Graham 1954; Aalen *et.al.* 1997, 26, 97). This may be related to the fact that grass differs from other plants in that the growth starts at the base of the stem, so constant grazing encourages growth.

Was there a particular type of grassland that transhumants preferred and if so, what were its characteristics? Permanent grassland contains a diverse mix of plant species and provides good growth throughout much of the growing season, and is widely used in sheep, beef and dairy enterprises (Feehan 2003, 401-3). Soil impoverishment because of a lack of nutrients can however result in a diminution in plant species while grazing on the other hand can help to maintain plant species and restrict the growth of shrubs and trees. The development of grassland is therefore influenced by a grazing regime, climate, soils and topography (Feehan 2003, 381). Feehan also maintains that booleying in Ireland was responsible for profound changes in upland vegetation, primarily because cattle are less selective in their grazing preference and

will happily eat the less palatable Mat Grass and Purple Moor grass that are shunned by sheep. A positive by-product of this type of grazing regime is that it encourages the growth of more palatable grass species such as Sheep's Fescue, Sweet Vernal and Bent grasses (Feehan 2003, 398). Cattle-grazing also helps to prevent the growth and spread of furze, bracken, heather and scrub vegetation, while cattle trampling (known as poaching) can help in the germination of a variety of short-lived herbs and grass species (ibid.). In areas of poor soils, marginal habitats and reclaimed bogs, such as the study area, Fiorin Grass and Purple Moor Grass provide valuable herbage for livestock. Fiorin, *Agrostis stolonifera*, also known as *Gaeilge* as *Fiorthann* or wheat grass is usually found in moist places and is well adapted to peaty soils or bog. According to J.C. Loudon (1783-1843), it can however provide excellent grazing for cattle. A nineteenth century experiment involving Fiorin Grass found that twenty-three milch cows and one horse were fed for two weeks on one acre of this grass (Loudon 1825).

In the uplands, grasses are usually classified as heath that can be either dry or wet, the difference being in the associated plant species. Dry heath is usually dominated by Ling and Bell heather, Mat and Bent grasses, whereas wet heaths have a high percentage of Purple Moor Grass, Sedges and heather. The most common grasses associated with upland vegetation include Purple Moor Grass, Mat Grass, Wavy Hair-grass, Fiorin or *Agrostis*, Sheeps Fescue, Green-ribbed Sedge, Cross-leaved Heather, Bell Heather, Bilberry, Black Crowberry, Deergrass and Bog Aspedel.

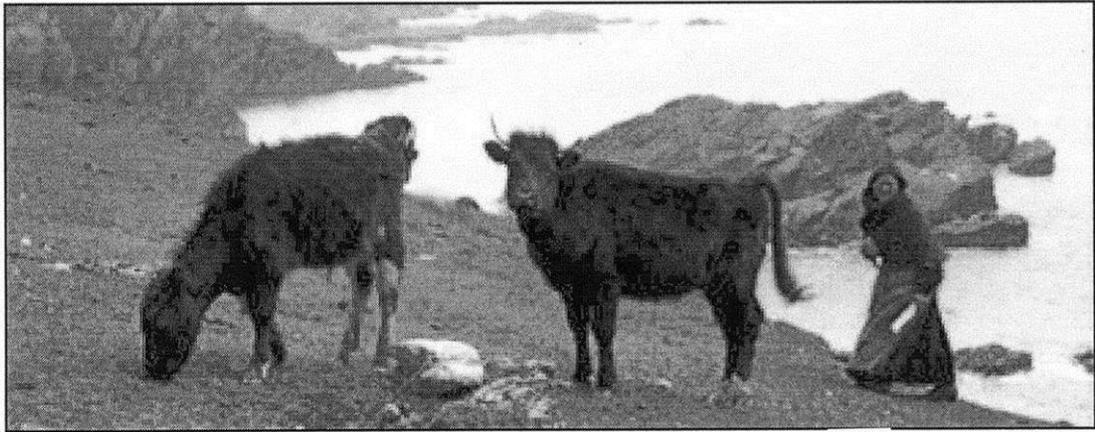
Cessation of cattle grazing and the advent of sheep grazing in upland or moorland areas as occurred when the practice of transhumance ended, has resulted in the amount of grass, wild flower, herbs and grazing becoming diminished, with various species of heather, scrub and bracken, becoming dominant (Feehan 2003, 405). This indicates that when booleying was carried out in the field, grazing by cattle meant that far more grasses existed in the vicinity of the booley settlements than the now heather-clad hills suggest. From this it would seem that only traditional farming practices, such as a return to transhumance, will ensure survival of this rich range of plants in upland areas of Ireland (Feehan 2003, 405). The importance of transhumance in helping to preserve this rich plant species-diversity is an indicator of its importance in the farming practices of an earlier time.

The diversity of habitats in Ireland will have influenced the plant species in upland areas where transhumance was practiced. In Scotland, shieling sites are said to be easily recognizable because of the patches of bright green colour that stand out in an otherwise purple moorland (Mac Sween and Gailey 1961, 82). Conversely, it has also been claimed that transhumance practice led to a mosaic of heather and grass in upland areas of Scotland but, since the introduction of sheep, has been reduced to a less diverse grassland environment (Dodgshon and Olsson 2006, 21-37). Like Ireland, this simply means that since the cessation of cattle grazing and transhumance in upland areas of Scotland, the amount of grass species and grazing has steeply declined, with heather becoming predominant.

3.4 – Breeds of cattle

What breeds of cattle in Ireland were taken to the booley settlements through time? In the late sixteenth century, English observers stated that Irish cattle were of small size (but hardy) in comparison to English and continental breeds – producing on average about 200lbs of meat and about five gallons of butter a year. It is generally held that the modern-day Kerry and Dexter breeds are the descendants of these medieval cattle (Pl. 11; Nicholls 1987, 415; Kelly 1998, 31). These two breeds, noted for their hardiness and agility, are both good milkers and produce good beef. In many ways, it was the fact that these breeds were excellent all-rounders in terms of milk and beef production that led to their replacement since the 1950s with specialised breeds like the Frisian cow that is far larger and produces much more milk (Brown 1930, 57-58). The Shorthorn cow was another breed associated with booleying and is also a good all-rounder in terms of both beef and milk production (ibid.). It must be presumed that the relatively small, hardy and productive nature of these breeds made them suitable for transhumance down to its demise. Their small size made them more agile on mountain pastures, where the ground is often soft underfoot, and so less likely to get injured. Their hardiness made them suitable for upland grazing, where weather conditions can be bad in Ireland, even at the height of summer, with heavy winds (Pl. 11). This would also have made them suitable for being kept outdoors over winter back in the permanent settlements and less susceptible to disease. The Kerry cow was the main breed on Achill in the nineteenth and twentieth century,

with an introduced mixture of Aberdeen Angus and Hereford cows, all of these breeds were suitable for coping with the harsh environmental conditions on the Achill hills (Kilbane 2002, 85).



Pl. 11 – Woman moving cattle near Annagh, Achill Island c. late nineteenth century (by courtesy of John Twin McNamara).

3.5 – Discussion and Conclusions

It has been argued by at least one prominent scholar that transhumance was a common agricultural practice in prehistoric Ireland but it has to be admitted that there is little direct evidence for it (see 3.1; Lucas 1989). Nevertheless, over time and space in Ireland, booleying was clearly a sensible economic practice. It allowed larger herds of cattle to be kept in any given area to what would have been there if only the grazing around the permanent settlement was utilised. It is also clear that a change of grazing from the permanent settlement to the booley settlement was good for the health of cattle, if not essential (see 3.1). The benefits of booleying may well be a strong hint that this practice did take place in prehistoric times and evidence for it should be sought in future research projects on prehistoric Ireland. Certainly there is some historical and archaeological evidence for booleying in Ireland by the seventh and eighth centuries AD (i.e. Doonloughan; see 3.1, 3.2.3). There is less direct evidence for the practice of transhumance in later medieval Ireland but it was argued that it did take place (see 3.1). Like other socio-economic aspects of the economy of Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland, good accounts of booleying survive in colonial descriptions of the practice dating to the late sixteenth century – the view in

this thesis being that these are late descriptions of a long-established economic practice (see 3.1). It is noticeable also that while the economic benefits of booleying were recognised by colonial officials such as Spenser, officialdom did not approve of the practice as the isolation of the booley settlements meant that the native population could not be firmly controlled (see 3.1). Later historical and archaeological evidence for the practice, which was clearly an Alpine form of transhumance and was associated with the Rundale system of agriculture, are strong for the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries (see 3.1, 3.2.5). Booleying was in decline over large parts of Ireland by the Famine, continuing in places like the Galtees and Connemara down to the late nineteenth century and even into the twentieth century in places like Donegal and the study area (see 3.1). The population increase seen between the late eighteenth century and the 1840s meant that many booley settlements became permanent ones (see 3.1). One possibility that could be explored is that its demise may have been partly linked to cultural and social factors as it seems likely that the people who went booleying were badly hit by the effects of the Famine, either dying in it or emigrating because of it or in the decades after it. However, we do know that booleying had ceased in large parts of Ireland by the time of that terrible event. It would appear that the demise of booleying and the subsequent rise of sheep farming have led to environmental change across the upland areas of Ireland. It is clear that cattle grazing, usually by hardy and agile native and semi-native breeds (Kerry, Dexter, Shorthorn and Hereford), encouraged grass growth in these areas and kept the heather at bay. Basically, during the time booleying was practised, these upland areas had far more grass and herb cover than we now see (see 3.3; 3.4). This makes sense as sometimes quite large herds of cattle were kept around the transhumant settlements and so would have needed lots of grass (see 3.1).

It is clear that in terms of siting the great majority of recognised booley settlements of all dates occur in what would be called upland locations, close to or beside streams (see 3.2.3). However, it was argued that there is evidence for lowland transhumance, at least in early and later medieval times – the point being that an upland location in Ireland is not an absolute prerequisite for a booley site (see 3.1; 3.2.3).

Most booley settlements across Ireland consist of unplanned nucleated clusters, usually but not always between four and fifteen houses in extent – only in the Galtees and to a lesser extent the Garfinny Valley in Co. Kerry can isolated booley houses be found (see 3.2.3, 3.2.4). The fact that both these areas occur in Munster may be an indication that the practice of booleying was a more isolated affair in that province, with individual families living away from other transhumants. Recognised booley huts of all dates had a number of things in common. The average booley hut was relatively small, windowless and chimneyless. Standing ones are either dry-stone built or sod built (see 3.2.5). However, historical evidence suggests that many booley huts up to the late seventeenth century at least were built of post-and-wattle and were known as *creats*. Obviously these have decayed and are difficult to recognise archaeologically (see 3.1; O' Conor 2002, 105). Recognised booley huts have a variety of shapes. The important point was made that there is evidence to suggest that circular, ovoid and sub-rectangular (i.e. structures with curving, rounded ends) houses in both permanent and transhumant settlements continued to be occupied and even built into post medieval times, with similar evidence coming from Scotland (see 3.2.5). It would be wrong to suggest on morphology alone that such houses are early in date.

The general evidence from across much of Ireland is that people in post-medieval times went to the booley settlements around the beginning of May (possibly on May day) and returned in very late October around Halloween and the 1st of November (see 3.2.2). Evidence from the early texts and late medieval Connacht suggests that these dates were the same for much of Ireland from earliest times (see 3.1). However, people in post-medieval times in the Galtees went up with their cattle to the booley settlements in mid-April and returned in early November (see 3.2.2). This suggests that booleying in this area was nearly seven months long, possibly up to three weeks longer than elsewhere. This may be due to the fact that the spurt of grass growth in spring comes slightly earlier in Munster than in the provinces to the north. Munster's southerly location means that it has a generally milder climate than elsewhere and so this may suggest that the length of time spent at the booley settlements there was that little bit longer than elsewhere.

Much of the historical evidence suggests that whole families went up to the booleys (see 3.1). Later evidence from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries suggest in many cases that it was girls or young women that went up to these places to tend the cattle (see 3.2.2). However, in the Galtees it was young people of both sexes that took part in transhumance (see 3.2.2). This suggests that not all people went to the booleys and at least some remained in the permanent settlements throughout the summer. This is corroborated by the fact that post-medieval permanent settlements do appear to be considerably larger than contemporary, associated booley settlements (see 3.2.2). What did people do in the booley settlements? Cattle clearly had to be milked two times a day and butter had to be churned. It is clear that people in the booleys lived on milk, curds, whey and cream, amongst other things (see 3.2.2). Butter seems to have been brought back every few days to the permanent settlement for consumption there or to be brought onwards for sale in a local market town (see 3.2.2). It is sometimes difficult to ascertain where the permanent settlement associated with any booley lay. Nevertheless, evidence from eighteenth century booleying in the Mournes suggests that permanent settlements were up to 30km away from the transhumant sites (Gardiner 2011, 132). Evidence from seventeenth century sources suggests that booley settlements in Connemara lay between 4km and 27km from the permanent ones (Graham 1970, 197-98). These figures suggest quite long journeys at times. The fact that butter had to be brought back on a regular basis to the permanent settlement is also a reminder that people, particularly young people who went to the booley settlements, regularly saw their family members and neighbours who stayed over summer at the permanent settlement. This suggests that booleying was not as isolated a practice as assumed and family life and relationships were not disrupted as much as once thought (see 3.2.2). These frequent trips back to the permanent settlement also hint at something else. It could well be that people took turns to go to the booleys – meaning that individuals did not spend the whole six months or so away from the permanent settlements. It is also clear that sewing, knitting and weaving were other activities that took place at booley settlements to productively while away the time in between tending the cattle (see 3.2.2).

Chapter 4 – The History, Folklore and Place-name evidence for booleying in Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun

4.0 – Introduction and aims of chapter

It was noted in Chapter 1 that archaeology as a discipline can play a major part in helping us understand the medieval, post-medieval and even recent past (see 1.7). This fact permeates the approach taken by the present writer in this thesis. However, it was also stated that to gain a fuller picture of transhumance or booleying in the study area, a cross-disciplinary approach (meaning knowledge which explains aspects of one discipline in terms of another) needs to be taken, such as evidence from the historical sources, usually in the form of travellers' accounts, cartography, folklore and place-name analysis can help in understanding the practice of transhumance in the study area. This chapter is solely dedicated to evaluating the evidence for transhumance from these different non-archaeological sources, so as to lay the foundations for later chapters dealing directly with the physical evidence for booleying in the Civil Parish of Achill. Note will be taken in this chapter of travellers' descriptions of housing in permanent villages as well, so as to facilitate later discussions about the differences between hut sites associated with booleying and house sites in the permanent villages.

It was already briefly mentioned in Chapter 1 that a certain amount of care needs to be taken when using travellers' accounts as a window on the past in the study area, as they were mostly separated from the inhabitants of the Civil Parish of Achill by such things as class, language and religion, even ethnicity (see 1.6.3). This point is very true of many visitors to Achill Island in the nineteenth century, especially those commentators who were associated with the Achill Mission, an Anglican proselytising station that was established in Dugort in the northern part of Achill Island in 1834 by the Rev. Edward Nangle (1799-1883).



Pl. 12 – Achill Mission settlement at Dugort today.

The aim of the Mission was to convert local Catholics to the Church-of-Ireland faith by establishing such things as schools, an orphan asylum, a hospital and a newspaper. Improving local agriculture by introducing new methods and technologies was another goal (Pl.12; Kelley 2004). Edward Nangle himself, very definitely portrayed the locals in the study area as being uncivilised, lacking in education and extremely ‘backward’ in their farming methods and use of technology. This was at least partly done to gain support from England for his evangelising activities (ibid.). Accounts like this have to be treated carefully and at times not taken literally. Nevertheless, despite these misgivings about certain accounts, these sources are an important font of information about transhumance, the housing associated with it and the appearance of permanent settlements in the area from the late eighteenth century onwards.

4.1 – Historical evidence for booleying/transhumance in Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun.

The earliest extant reference to booleying in Achill can be found in an account of a visit to the area in 1752 by Dr. Richard Pococke, the Church-of-Ireland Bishop of Ossory who seems to have stayed with the Medlycotts (Medlicotes) who were the owners of Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun at that time (see 1.4). He stated that cattle in the area were moved to the ‘mountains’ for a period of up to six months and then

were taken elsewhere. He emphasised the fact that this practice was well established and that the people of the area were knowledgeable about different types of pasture in the region, such as what grasses were suitable for cattle of different ages at different times of the year. It might be added that Poccocke also mentioned sheep in the district that produced coarse wool that was used to make yarn and stockings. The implication from this report is that the latter products were sold for cash by the people to pay the actual rent, rather than dairy products linked to booleying (Poccocke 1891, 93). In all, Poccocke's account suggests a widespread pastoral practice of moving cattle on a seasonal basis, an in-depth knowledge of grazing grounds and implies a transhumant lifestyle and communal endeavour on the part of the people of the area.

Some years later, Arthur Young, the agricultural theorist, traveller and political reformer (1741-1820), visited Ireland in 1776 and again in 1778. His book *A Tour in Ireland* was published in 1780 and it gives an account of his travels throughout the country, as well as valuable observations on the Irish economy, agricultural practices and housing (Lalor 2003, 1161). His statements on Ireland are regarded by modern scholars as perceptive and accurate (ibid.). He visited Co. Mayo and stayed with Lord Altamont at Westport. While he did not actually visit Achill, Achillbeg or Corraun, he did state that 'in summer livestock were all fed on the mountains' in the county (Young 1780, 68-69). This seems to be a reference to widespread booleying in the whole Mayo area in the late eighteenth century.

The Reverend Caesar Otway (1780-1842), born in north County Tipperary was a Church-of-Ireland clergyman who visited Achill in 1834. He noted that all the land in Achill was held in common. People in a particular village (who were often related to one another) held an area of land in common, usually in the same townland (Otway 1839, 351). He stated that ground nearest the permanent villages were enclosed for growing potatoes and oats (Pl. 13). Mountain land and bog-land at some distance from the settlement was grazed in common by the inhabitants of the village and no-one else. The enclosed fields used for growing oats and potatoes were not the property of one family, each family had individual ridges within the field itself, along with other ridges in other fields (ibid.). Otway was describing the Rundale system, common in Achill and across much of the West of Ireland at the

time. Rundale was a system of agricultural organisation that was characterised by open-field farming in the vicinity of a settlement, in which each family held scattered portions of arable land, which may have been redistributed on occasion. Commonage for grazing surrounded these fields and, as noted, could only be used by the inhabitants of the village associated with it (Evans 1939b, 207-22; Feehan 2003, 115-20; Duffy 2004, 952). Otway noted that cattle in Achill were pastured on the mountains for periods of up to six months, which included all of the summer, suggesting booleying (Otway 1839, 404). Furthermore, Otway may have left a description of people coming back from the booley, although this could be open to other interpretations. He states that he saw ‘coming towards us a group of men and women, driving before them a small herd of cattle. The cows, some red, some black and some white; the women with scarlet cloaks, and deep yellow handkerchiefs tied around their heads, and the men in their dark sombre frieze’ (Otway 1839, 373). This account vividly recreates the sights and colours associated with the movement of cattle and the practice of transhumance.



Pl. 13 – A very late 19th-century photograph of a permanent village on Achill Island, showing cultivation ridges beside houses. This photograph is of Dooagh, which was initially a booley settlement until the late 1830s but was a permanent settlement by the time of the photograph (see Lawrence Collection 192, National Library of Ireland).

The Castlerea, Co. Roscommon-born eye surgeon and antiquarian Sir William Wilde (the father of the famous Oscar) contributed greatly to the development of Irish

archaeology in the mid-nineteenth century (Waddell 2005, 131-36). He visited Achill as a young man in 1835 and provides a great deal of information about the practice of booleying in the study area and even stayed one night in a booley house (Wilde 1849, 775-76). He stated that ‘During the spring, the entire population of several of the villages, close their winter dwellings, tie their infant children on their backs, carry with them their loys (i.e. spades), and some corn and potatoes, a few pots and cooking utensils, drive their cattle before them, and migrate into the hills, where they find fresh pasture for their flocks’ (ibid.). Wilde also states that these people remained only two months at the booleys before returning to their dwellings at villages beside the coast. He mentions that they return to the booley settlements in autumn to harvest the corn and potatoes sown earlier in the year (Wilde 1849, 775). This is a clear reference to booleying in the study area and it is noteworthy that crops and potatoes were also cultivated at least at some booley sites.

Edward Newman (1801 – 1876) was an English entomologist, botanist and writer who visited Achill in 1839 and subsequently published an article in the *Magazine of Natural History* in which in his comments on housing on the island, he inadvertently implies that booleying was being practised. He stated that ‘These little cabins or huts are built in what may be called loose clusters, varying from twenty to eighty in a cluster; these clusters or villages are sixteen in number, some of them are summer residences only, are entirely deserted in the winter; - others winter residences only, and deserted in the summer (Newman 1839, 5-9).

The Kilkenny-born Gaelic scholar and writer, John O’Donovan (1806 – 1861), was recruited to assist in the compilation and recording of Irish place-names, antiquities and folklore for the Ordnance Survey from 1830 to 1842. His letters to Col. Larcom, the head of the Ordnance Survey in Ireland, are regarded as an important record of the ancient lore of Ireland for those counties he documented during his years of travel throughout much of the country (Waddell 2005, 113-14; O’Donovan 1928). One of these letters related to his visit to Achill in 1838 where he lamented, without explaining, the fact that Achill had given him more trouble than anywhere he had yet visited! This has been interpreted as meaning he was overwhelmed by the number of place names in the area (Fiachra McGabhann, pers. comm.). Commenting on

booleying, he said: ‘It is a great habit among the people on the island to have two townlands and houses built on each where they remove occasionally with their cattle - one of these farms is called a booley’ (Ordnance Survey Letters Mayo 118-20).

The English journalist and writer Samuel Carter Hall and his Irish wife, Anna Maria (nee Fielding), wrote a three-volume guide to Ireland entitled *Ireland: its Scenery and Character* between 1841 and 1843. Each chapter in each of the volumes is dedicated to a different county. Volume III deals with the Connacht counties, including Mayo. Booleying in the study area is mentioned briefly in the context of the movement of cattle from inland areas to the ‘coast’ in summer, where cattle grazed on ‘young herbage’. Interestingly, the modern village of Dooagh is called a ‘bully (booley)’ village at this time (Hall and Hall 1841-43, iii. 403).

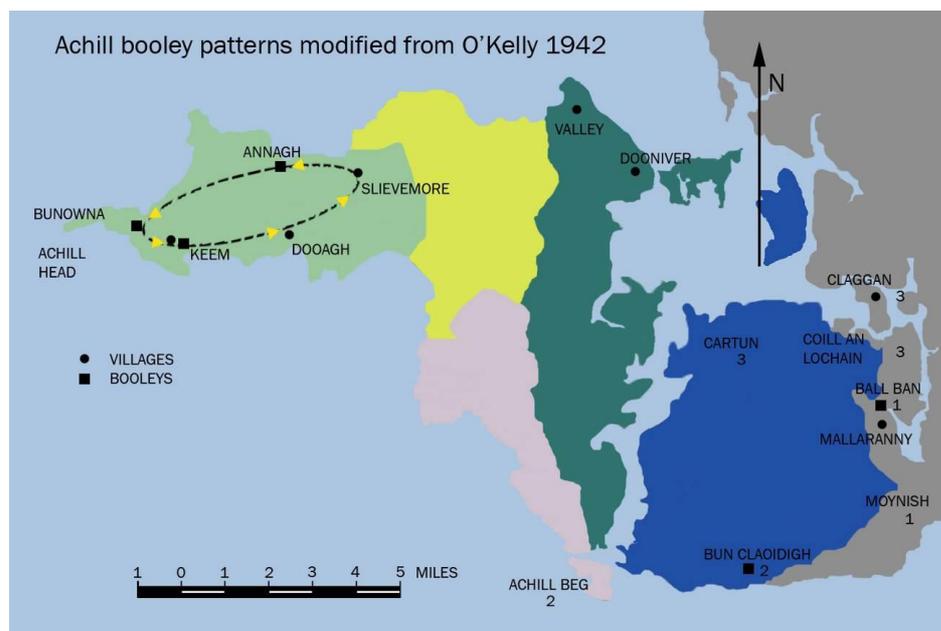


Fig. 36 – Conjectural transhumance route in Lower (western) Achill (redrawn and modified from Ó Moghráin 1943, 168).

In 1906, the publisher and writer Harris Stone described the village of Keem in west Achill as being ‘totally uninhabited, ruined cabins used by boys and girls for summer grazing’ for cattle. This again seems to be a reference to booleying in the study area in the first years of the twentieth century (Stone 1906, 309-316). The last vestiges of booleying continued in the study area into the 1940s, when it seems to have ceased. The system was noted and commented on by the archaeologist Michael J. O’ Kelly

(1942) and the historical geographers Pádraig Ó Moghráin (1943) and Jean Graham (1954).

The archaeologist, Michael J. O’Kelly, later of University College Cork, but then working for the Irish Tourist Board, visited Achill in 1942 and afterwards wrote a short paper on Achill traditions and customs entitled ‘Antiquities and Folk Culture on Achill Island’. This paper was never published but a copy of it survives in the Topographical Files of the National Museum of Ireland. He refers in his paper to booleying in Achill. He mentions that Bunowna was a booley village used in summer by the inhabitants of Slievemore and was last occupied *c.* 1880 (O’ Kelly 1942, 3). O’Kelly seemed to think that the Rundale system had led to the practice of booleying - ‘once the crops were sown in spring, the cattle had to be kept off the fields, so the families and the cattle moved to hill pastures where there were summer dwellings. The cattle were herded there ‘till autumn when all again return to the permanent winter dwellings’ (O’ Kelly 1942, 4). From information received locally, O’Kelly was able to piece together quite a lot of information about the practice of transhumance, particularly in its final stages. He noted that the people of the now substantial village of Dooagh ‘went to booley near Slievemore and also to Annagh, while the Slievemore people came to Dooagh and Keel which eventually brought about the foundation of these villages as they exist today’ (*ibid.*). This is quite confusing as he had already stated that the people of Slievemore went to Bunowna to booley in Keel West townland around 1880. However, Slievemore was already deserted as a permanent village around 1851-52 (Mc Donald 1997, 309-11). It seems possible that much of O’Kelly’s information is suspect. This will be discussed below in Chapter Eight. Nevertheless, some information in this paper does throw light on the subject of booleying in the study area.

The historical geographer, Pádraig Ó Moghráin, wrote two papers on booleying in Achill and on Achillbeg Island that were published in the 1943 and 1944. He describes how the people of Dooniver and the Valley in the early 1940s, villages in the north east of the island, sent their cattle to Slievemore during the summer for two periods of five weeks each, where they rented the grazing from the Dooagh people who owned it. Furthermore, the people of the latter village were sending their own livestock to Slievemore for part of the summer months (Ó Moghráin 1943, 164).

From a local informant, Mr. Calvey, he was told that booleying was still being practiced at this time, with cattle being brought to Slievemore every summer (ibid.). The main reason given for the movement of cattle to Slievemore was the sandy nature of soils in the coastal villages of the Valley, Keel and Dookinella. Ó Moghráin was told by Mr. Calvey that if cattle grazed in areas where sand was mixed with grass, they could contract a disease known as *garla dumhach* (apparently a form of cobalt deficiency). To avoid this, cattle needed to spend at least one month on the mountain each year (Ó Moghráin 1943, 162). Ó Moghráin also described how the people of Achillbeg Island sent their cattle across to Bolinglanna in Corraun, which was done – ‘to allow grass on the island to grow and to give a change of pasture to cattle’ (Ó Moghráin 1943, 161). Ó Moghráin also left information about how people occupied their time at the booleys, apart from milking and making butter in churns. In earlier periods, he states that people used to spin and knit at the booley. This reflects Pococke’s observation in the mid-eighteenth century that yarn and stockings were produced in quantities by the people of the study area. However, in more recent times this activity had ceased and only milking and sometimes butter-making were carried out by people at the booley settlements. This seems to have been because people now tended to stay for shorter periods at the booley or only tended cattle during the day, returning to the permanent settlement each evening. Ó Moghráin went on to say that the now Deserted Village of Slievemore ‘was the original permanent settlement, while Dooagh and Keem and at an earlier period, Annagh and Bunowna, were the summer booley grounds, occupied in succession each year’ (ibid.). He also left a depiction of a reconstruction of what he and O’Kelly considered to have been a typical booley hut on Achill Island during the nineteenth century. This reconstruction is based on folk memory of what a typical purpose-built booley hut would have looked like (Fig. 37; Ó Moghráin 1943, 170). It is noticeable that this booley house is ovoid in shape, externally and internally, reminding us again that houses of this shape were occupied down to relatively recent times (see 3.2.5, 3.5).

The historical geographer Jean Graham (nee Sidebotham) included a chapter on booleying in Achill in her unpublished thesis, which was entitled ‘Transhumance in Ireland’ (Graham 1954, 32-69). She said the practice of booleying had finally ceased in Achill in 1944 but that ‘the proper booley huts had not been used for about a

century' (Graham 1954, 34).

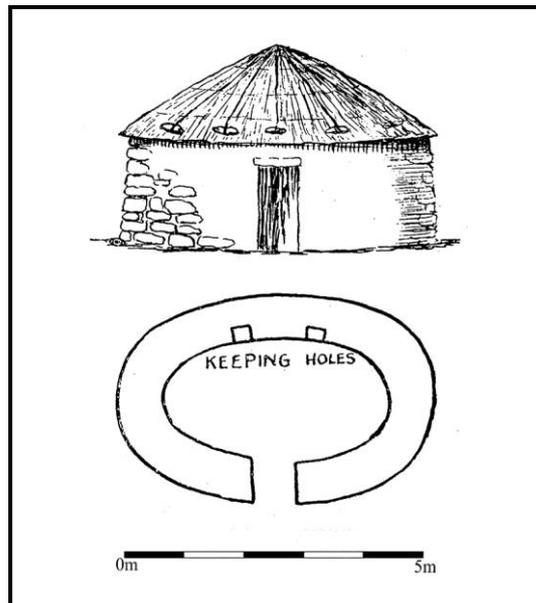


Fig. 37 – Plan of Achill booley hut (after Ó Moghráin 1943, 170).

She also notes that for several decades before this, booleying had only been practised by people from the villages of the Valley and Dooniver, who moved their cattle over to Slievemore for some of the summer, renting the land from the Dooagh Village people. The implication from Graham is that booleying had effectively died out in the first years of the twentieth century over the rest of the study area. She says that during the 1845-49 Famine, many booley settlements in Upper Achill were overlain by lazy bed cultivation ridges (Graham 1954, 35). She implies that transhumance had gone out of use partly because of the availability of paid seasonal work in England and Scotland (Graham 1954, 49).

4.2 – Oral evidence for transhumance in Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun

As a form of booleying continued to be practised in the study area until the beginning of the twentieth century, finally dying out in the early 1940s, it was realised by the present writer that information about the practice could be gained from living people and not just from folklore taken down by the Irish Folklore Commission decades ago. One person interviewed was Anthony Kilbane, a nonagenarian living in Cloughmore in Upper Achill, a native Irish speaker who spent much of his life involved in farming and seasonal labouring in Scotland and England.

His ancestors were from Achillbeg Island and he proved to be a mine of information on booleying in the Upper Achill area. According to him, the people of the latter island would send out their cattle to Bun Claoidigh (Fig. 36), in Dooghbeg townland, on the southern side of the Corraun peninsula on the mainland. The reasons given for this movement were to allow grass on the island to grow again and give a change of pasture to cattle. The cattle from Achillbeg seemingly swam across the channel to the mainland at Corraun at low tide. According to Anthony Kilbane, people stayed with the cattle to attend to the milking but also to prevent clashes with livestock owners from Dooghbeg. The Achillbeg people also had to prevent their cattle trespassing on tillage and from going back to the island at low tide. According to Kilbane, the Achillbeg herders had no huts or ‘bohauns’ as they were called in Upper Achill but lived in structures called ‘sgelpi’, along the banks of the stream. Cattle were also sent from Claggan on Achill Island to *Coill an Lochain* (Cuillaloughaun) on the Corraun Peninsula on the mainland. The Claggan people also sent cattle to a place called *Boireann*, a stony place (like the Burren) with excellent grass in the townland of Cartron, west of *Coill an Lochain* (Anthony Kilbane, pers comm., aged 96, interviewed by Theresa McDonald in 2010).

John Moran (1900 – 1990), the present writer’s uncle, lived in Dooagh all his life and worked in both farming and shoemaking. He stated that in Lower Achill one reason given for taking cattle to Slievemore from Dooagh during the summer months was to prevent disease prevalent in sandy areas affecting cattle and that the water at Slievemore had curative qualities. Cattle were often hardly able to stand (some were brought there on carts) going there but within the space of one week they made a remarkable recovery (John Moran, pers. comm.) interviewed by Theresa McDonald in 1988). John Moran recalled taking five or six cows to Slievemore from Dooagh during the summer holidays when he was about 10 years of age (1910) and said that he often slept there in what his family called the ‘old house’. He also told me, in his recollections, that his great, great-grandmother booleyed in Annagh presumably sometime in the late eighteenth century or even earlier. The reason this was remembered by John was due to a story told to him as a boy. His great, great-grandmother was one of a number of young, newly-married women booleying in Annagh when they saw a young girl walking on the hillside above the booley village, whom they assumed was a maidservant who had recently arrived on the island.

Despite calling on her to come and join them at the booley, she ignored them and when they looked again, she had vanished! This was seen as a bad omen. On the return journey to the permanent settlement, John's great, great-grandmother fell and broke her hip, leaving her bedridden for the rest of her life (John Moran, pers. comm.), interviewed in the summer of 1984 by Theresa McDonald).

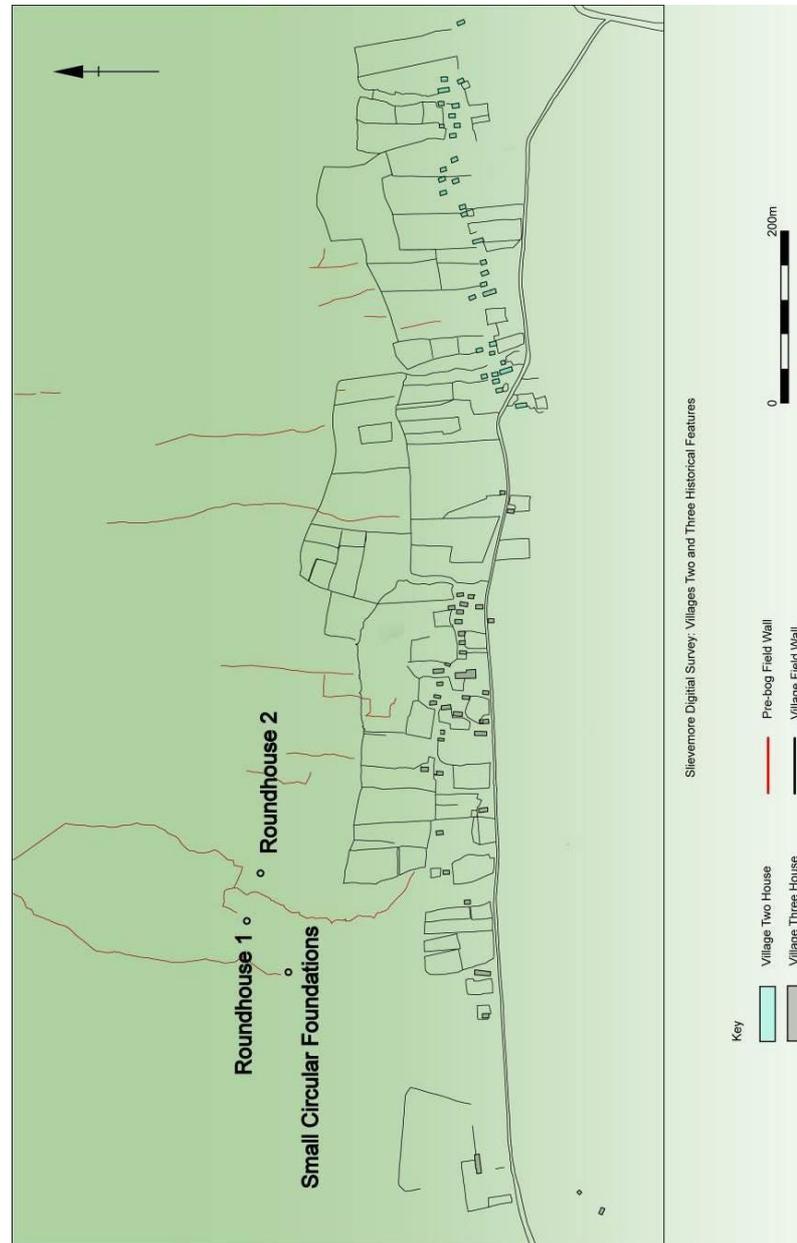


Fig. 38 – Plan of Slievemore Deserted Village showing Village One and Village Two. Red lines indicate Middle Bronze Age field walls. Houses S1 to S74 are featured on this plan. Only three very dilapidated houses survive in Faiche (Village Three) and were not included in this survey being inaccessible owing to a dense vegetation cover.

There are a limited number of tape recordings of the practice of booleying from Upper Achill and Lower Achill and these can be found the Irish Folklore Commission. However, some of these recordings were transcribed by James Kilbane, as part of his BA thesis at GMT, Castlebar (Kilbane 2002, 46-50). The first relates to a recording of Catherine Cartron from Dooniver in 1950, looking back at people going in the summer with their cattle from Dooniver and the Valley to booley in Slievemore in the very late nineteenth century. She states that ‘I remember it as good as seeing you there. It was lovely; we had a lovely life (at the ‘booley’). There was a crowd of us, girls and boys, as you know. And every family would take a field from the farmer behind (at Slievemore). They would rent out a field for their cattle, from Dooniver. And one or two out of each house would go back watching the cattle in Slievemore. We would go to this little ‘booley’, a nice little ‘booley’. We would have a fine turf fire. A fine big bag of straw for beds, and there used be Valley ones too with us. We would lie there. Some people would have four or five head of cattle and others maybe two or three, suckler calves. There would be two or three milkers in every family, milk cows... Windows and doors, ah ya, one window and one door, and a little hole on the roof to let out the smoke. There was no chimney, but it didn’t bother us, it was made for that. Thatch roof. The owner would thatch it every year, before the cattle would be coming up. Yes, four or five girls. We used to be sleeping on a big tick (mattress) of straw and our fine fire. And it would be on our turn to get up every morning to see the cows and calves. We would all look after the same cattle. All the cattle would be together. There were eight or nine houses... [On Dancing] We used to have a great time, I can assure you! The fellows from back the village would come back, the Burns, Tommie Vesey, Patrick Burns, all them fellows. I remember them so well. They used come from Slievemore, back the end of the village. They would come back for the dancing, and we used dance. We had the accordion and fiddle and sure what harm’ (Kilbane 2002, 48-50). Much of the above has been confirmed to this researcher by Anthony Kilbane who remembers cycling from Cloughmore to attend various *ceillidh* (dances) in the houses in the now Deserted Village of Slievemore in the 1930s, which was then a booley village, as noted above (Anthony Kilbane, pers. comm.).

John Twin McNamara, a retired National School teacher with a deep interest in local history and an Irish speaker, who is now aged about 70, has a story from his family

about a relative of his, a young woman, who booleyed in Annagh in the late nineteenth century. It seems that this girl and her friend were sleeping in one of the booley huts when their dog was thrown in on top of them in the middle of the night. They got such a fright that they never went back (John McNamara, pers. comm., interviewed by Theresa McDonald in June 2001).

The following was recorded in 1941 by the Irish Folklore Commission and describes booleying on the Corraun Peninsula around 1880. The respondent stated that ‘About sixty years ago (*c.* 1880) the people from Corráun used to go up to the booley at ‘Coire’ (apparently *Botóg na Muice*, Bolinglanna), a glen on the east side of Corráun Hill (Pl. 14). They had little botógs there and one night all the women left the Coire and came down home with the milk and the butter except for one woman. The people used to go up with cattle early in June, up to the Coire. The women and young girls used to go up, but men used to go up as well if there were no women in the house to go. There used to be good wholesome grass in the Coire in June and July and the cattle used to thrive well whilst they’d be above and they’d be the better of it again for the year after’ (Kilbane 2002, 48).

In *c.* 1998, Achill Tourism employed a young university student, Margo McDonald, to collect stories from people in Dooagh who had participated in booleying in Slievemore in the early twentieth century or who had been the recipients of oral information from now deceased older people relating to the practice. There were tales about how enjoyable the annual foray to Slievemore had been and lots of tales concerning supernatural occurrences (Fig. 38; Pl. 16). The living conditions in the houses were said to have been comfortable and the work not too onerous as it involved looking after the cows and milking them morning and evening. Some churning was done and the butter was collected and taken back to Dooagh. The Dooagh people stated that the main groups involved in booleying at Slievemore in the early twentieth-century were older women and children between ten and fourteen years of age. Again, it was stated that booleying first declined and then stopped because of seasonal migration to England and Scotland (Mc Donald 1998, 75).

4.3 – Place-name evidence for transhumance in Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun

Despite the long-lived practice of booleying in Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun, there are very few booley place-names to be found in the area. The only townland with a booley place-name in the study area is Bolinglanna (*Buaile na Gleanna* – ‘the booley in the valley’, also known as *Coire*), the name of a townland on the Corraun Peninsula where there is an extant booley settlement. It might be added Bunowna (*Bun Abhainn* – the end of the river) in the townland of Keel West is depicted as a ‘Booley’ on the 1838 Ordnance Survey Six-Inch map Number 41 (Fig. 39).

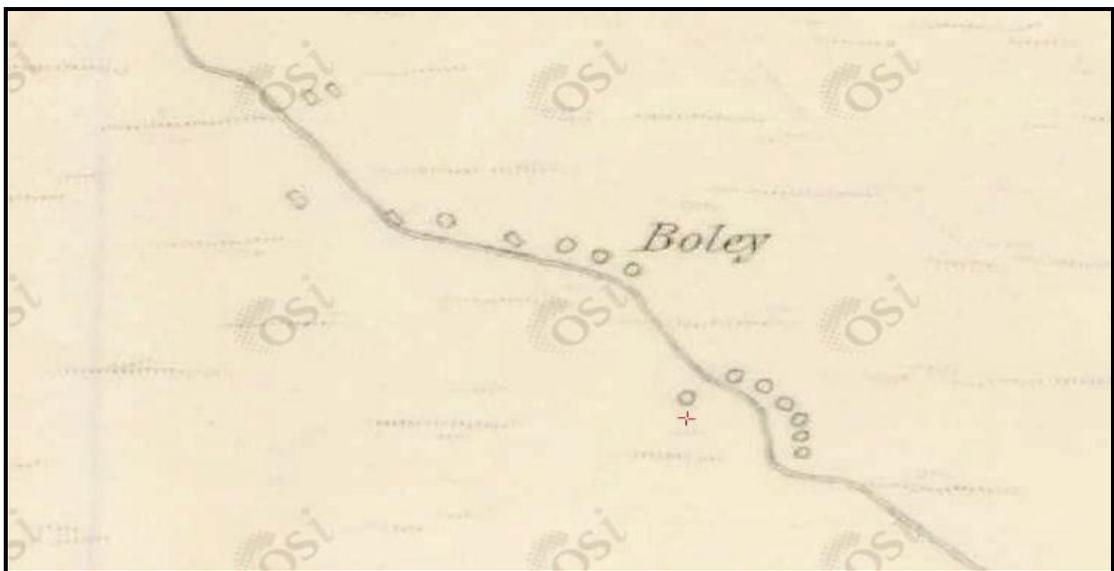


Fig. 39 – Bunowna is marked as a ‘Boley (booley)’ settlement in 1838 on the First Edition Ordnance Survey Six-Inch map for the area (by courtesy of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland).

The area to the south of the booley village at Annagh (*Eanach* – Marsh), on top of a ridge overlooking it and Lough Nakeeroge, is called *Lug an Bhaile Bhuaile* (the hollow of the booley settlement). *Buaile Ragnail* (Ragnall’s booley) occurs in the townland of Doogort West high up on Slievemore Mountain (possibly Dirk). Boleycloghagh (*Buaile Chlochach* – the stony summer pasture or booley) in Pollranny Sweeney is now a small village beside Achill Sound on the Corraun Peninsula. This place-name evidence may suggest that it was once a booley settlement at some stage in the distant past but no folk memory of this exists (Fig. 26).

It is surprising how few place-names exist that relate to booleying across the study area, given the widespread practice of transhumance there in the past. It could be that many of the names of places associated with booleying or summer grazing have been lost. For example, Thomas Toolis, a shepherd from Dookinella, who died in 1992, had stated that there was a multitude of unrecorded place-names on Slievemore Mountain that related to various types of grazing, most of which are now lost, apart from those written down by the present writer (Thomas Toolis, pers. comm., interview conducted by Theresa McDonald in 1990). Nevertheless, the four place-names linked to booleying do attest that this practice was carried out in the study area in the past. It is noteworthy that three of these four place-names are not townland names but local place-names (the equivalent of field-names). This makes it imperative that such local names are collected from older people, particularly Irish speakers, in the study area before they die.

4.4 – Historical references to permanent housing in Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun

This section deals with references to what appear to be permanent housing throughout the study area from the late eighteenth century onwards. The reason why such descriptions are included is to allow a comparison to be made between them and booley houses in later chapters. Was there a difference?

Arthur Young on his visit to west Mayo in 1780 said ‘the cottages of the Irish, which are called cabins, are the most miserable looking hovels that can well be conceived. The furniture of the cabins is as bad as the architecture; in very many consisting only of a pot for boiling their potatoes, a bit of a table, and one or two broken stools; beds are not found universally, the family lying on straw’ (Young 1780, 250-58).

In 1815, J .B. Trotter, the Liberal Church-of-Ireland barrister from Co. Down, who had been private secretary to the Whig politician Charles James Fox, found himself sheltering from a storm on Achillbeg Island. He noted that the hamlets on Achill itself were situated chiefly on the sea-shore. The houses at these villages had no gables and were built with round stones, suggesting ovoid-shaped or sub-rectangular shaped houses. He called these houses ‘comfortable’. He has left a description of

eating a meal in one of the Achillbeg houses. He states that a snowy white linen table-cloth was laid out on a table in their best room, suggesting that this house had at least two rooms in it, and that potatoes, milk, eggs and butter were placed upon it for their meal (Trotter 1819, 473-74).

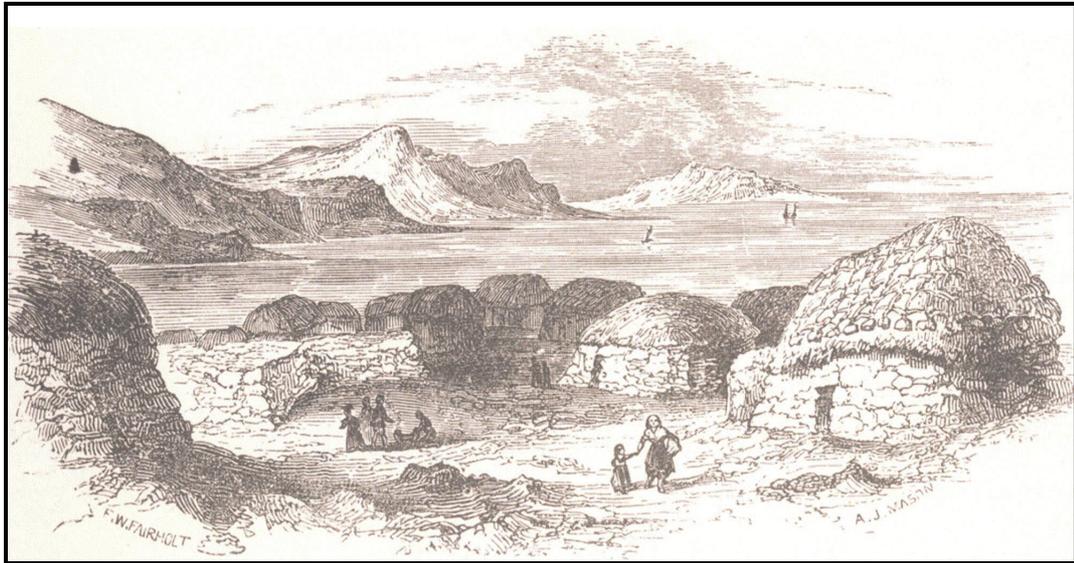


Fig. 40 – A depiction of the permanent Keel Village around 1840. It shows dry-stone, ovoid-shaped, windowless, chimneyless, thatched houses. One house even seems circular in shape but this is not totally clear (after Hall and Hall 1841-43, Vol. iii. 404).

William Wilde who, as noted, visited Achill in 1835 described houses in the permanent settlements of Keem (which later became a booley settlement) and Keel. He stated that these structures were ‘circular or oval’ in shape. They were built for the most part of round, water-washed stones, collected from the beach. No mortar was used in their construction (Wilde 1849, 774-75). As noted, Otway visited Achill at around the same time as Wilde. He has left us a description of the villages of Keel, Dooagh, Keem and Slievemore in western Achill. Keem was described as ‘a village only inhabited in summer’ (Otway 1839, 373). He described the building method in use at the time in the permanent villages. He stated that the houses were oval in shape with no gables. Two dry-stone walls were built, one inside the other. The space between these walls was filled with sea sand. These houses were roofed with timber washed on shore from wrecks and these beams were covered with heather. He stated that the heather-clad roof did not reach over the outside wall and form an eave, but rested in the middle between the walls. This meant that water from the roof

dripped down onto the sand fill between the two walls (Otway 1839, 353).

In terms of space, Samuel Lewis in his 1837 *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* noted that three-quarters of the population of Achill and surrounding areas lived in one-roomed cabins, meaning that the other quarter lived in houses that were two-roomed or more (Lewis 1837, i, 6-7). The botanist Edward Newman stayed in Dugort on Achill in the late 1830s, as a guest of the proselytising evangelical Church-of-Ireland Achill Mission Settlement. He saw Achill as being like a 'foreign' land and that the housing of the inhabitants was comparable to the dwellings used by 'Eskimos'. He stated that the houses had no chimneys or windows and 'no gables'. This perhaps again suggests that most houses in Achill at this time were ovoid or sub-rectangular in shape and had hip roofs. Newman, whose views on Achill were clearly influenced by personnel working for the Achill Mission, also stated that these houses were clustered in villages of between twenty and eighty houses (Newman 1839, 5-9).

As noted, the Halls visited Achill in the early 1840s and described houses in Dooagh Village, which was in the process of being turned into a permanent village as a result of an influx of settlers from Slievemore (Faiche) Village. They state that Dooagh consisted of forty houses that had no chimneys and had rounded, thatched roofs, again suggesting ovoid-shaped houses (Hall and Hall 1841-43, iii, 395). However, at a later date, the Parliamentary Gazetteer 1881 described Dooagh as a village with parallel streets at right-angles to the road. The houses were said to have been constructed of undressed stone with thatched roofs and gables, built in terraces of three units. It also said that the village expanded between 1838 and 1897. This suggests a lot of re-building in Dooagh between the 1830s and the 1890s, perhaps indicating that many but, perhaps not all, of the ovoid/sub-rectangular shaped houses had been taken down and their stone used in the building of new houses.

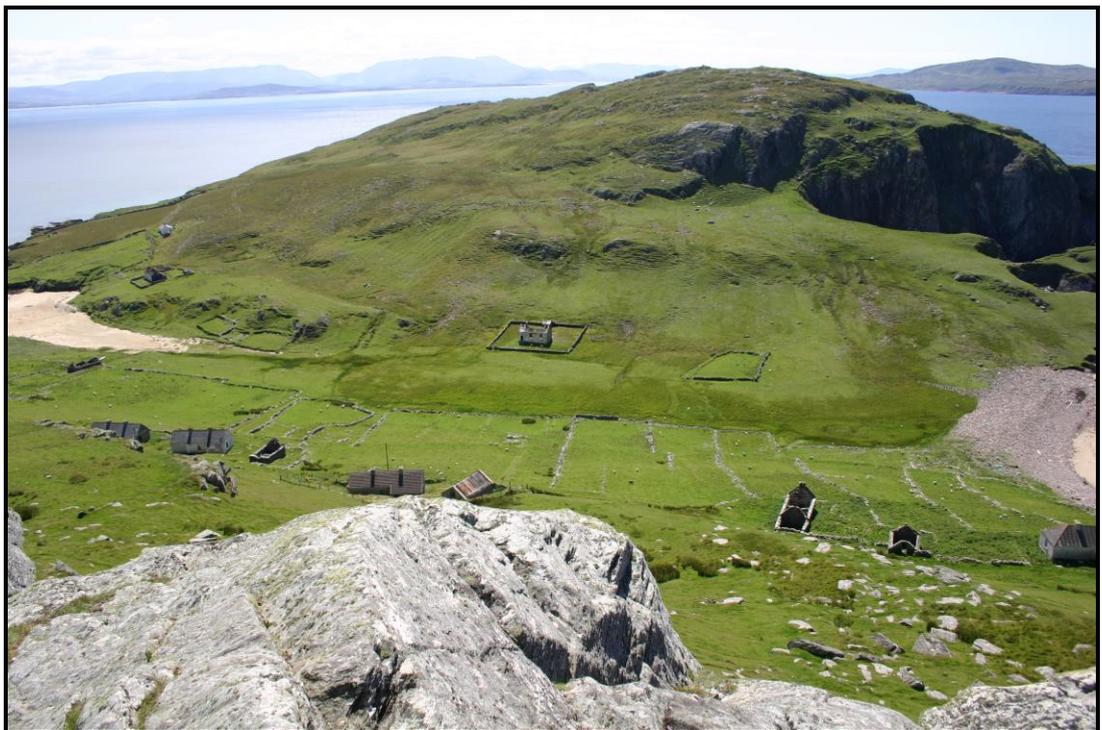
In 1906, the writer John Harris Stone spent some time in Achill and described ovoid or sub-rectangular houses with rounded gables in the village of Dooagh. Many of these houses were roofed with sods and had no chimneys, merely a hole in the roof to allow smoke to escape. Many of these 'cabins' had no windows and had earthen floors, with a sprinkling of sea sand. The average internal size of these houses was

30 feet long (9.15m) by 15 feet (c. 4.55m) wide. The height to the beginning of the roof beams in these houses was on average 6ft (1.83m). Some of the better houses had opposing east/west doorways and some had a loft for storage of hay and tools (Stone 1906, 352, 417). Stone also states, rather confusingly, that the hearths in these houses occurs at the gable end (ibid.). This perhaps suggests that the hearth in these houses lay on the internal wall on one of their rounded ends. Stone (1906, 416) also states that these houses were surrounded by patches of tillage, in particular rye. Stone (ibid) also describes an intact and presumably inhabited circular-shaped house (then locally called the Beehive House) in the village of Keel, which was different to other houses in the area. It had a pole in its centre that acted as the main support for a sod roof. There was a hole in the roof, 6 inches (0.15m) in diameter, which provided light and allowed smoke from the more-or-less central hearth to escape. Another visitor to Achill at the beginning of the twentieth century stated that an old, inhabited dwelling on Achill Island consisted of ‘a low circular room, thatched outside but within ceiled (sic) with stout rafters, a massive bog pine pillar in the centre holds up the roof. There is a low door, no window and a small hole in the roof to let out the smoke...one or two little sleeping berths close to the fire, a stone ledge for a candle end, a bag of meal within reach for the stirabout and an iron pot which cooks food for man and beast....The stone walls of the building are several feet thick’ (Mac Lysaght 1950, 338; Chambers 1979, 45).

As noted, the archaeologist Michael J. O’Kelly visited Achill in the early 1940s. His informants told him that round houses, very definitely circular in plan, built of dry-stone walling on the corbelled principle to a height of five feet were once built on Achill (along with houses of other shapes), although none were standing at that time. Local people stated that such a house had a conical thatched roof that was weighted down with stones and ropes. There seems to have been no central pole to support the roof. Instead, the roof rested on the walls of the house. The hearth was located in the centre of the house and there was no chimney, only a hole in the roof and no windows (O’ Kelly 1942, 3). The so-called Beehive House, mentioned by Stone, seems to have been the last of these houses to have been occupied.



Pl. 14 – *Botóg na Muice*, Bolinglanna on the Corraun Peninsula.



Pl. 15 – Houses on Achillbeg Island overlooking *Tra Bó Dearg* (Strand of the Red Cow).

Caoimhin Úa Danachair, the folklorist and scholar of vernacular architecture, obtained a description of nineteenth and early-twentieth century Achill houses from the Irish Folklife Commission. Like Otway's description, these houses had walls about three feet thick, with a layer of dry stone inside and outside, with mud (or sand) packed firmly in the centre. O'Kelly and Úa Danachair (1942, 3; 1946, 91-3)

also described an older rectangular form of house that was once common in Achill, of which there were only two surviving examples on the island during his time - possibly in Tawnaghmore or Slievemore. These dry-stone walled houses were plastered on their insides but not always on their exteriors. There was one door close to the byre end of the building, inside of which was a stone drain to carry away the dung out through the doorway (see Pl. 92). The hearth, with a low stone hob on each side, was located at the gable end of the house, in the area occupied by the humans (see Appendix Two). To the left of the fire was a stone slab seat under which was the ash pit. A four-poster bed surrounded by cloth curtains lay close to the right hand side of the fire. The roof of the bed was of 'boards' on which were stored many odds and ends. This type of house had no chimney and the smoke exited through a square hole in the roof. A small window was located north of the doorway. The outside gable walls were stepped, the steps rising above the thatch level. The roof timbers consisted of a number of 'couples' (crucks?) supporting a ridge pole and purlins. All joints were dowled together with wooden pegs. On top of these were laid turf sods or 'scraws', measuring two feet wide and between five feet and ten feet long (O' Kelly 1942, 3). Rye thatch was used to cover the 'scraws' and this thatch was held down by a network of rope with large stones tied to their ends while the horizontal cords passed over the gable steps and were tied to pegs on the face of the gable wall (O' Kelly 1942, 4).

4.5 – Historical references to booley houses in Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun.

It is noteworthy that there is little in the way of descriptions of booley houses by antiquarians visiting Achill, other than descriptions of what had been houses in permanent villages that had been turned for various economic reasons into booley villages (Otway 1839, 401). Straightforward, purpose-built booley houses are barely mentioned in the antiquarian accounts and there is only one surviving depiction or drawing of one, which will be discussed below (see 5.7). Presumably, this is due to the remote location of these sites, as this made them difficult to access, particularly for men in advanced middle age. The only antiquarian account of actual booley houses from the study area comes from William Wilde, who as a presumably fit twenty-five-year old, actually spent a night in an Achill booley house. He states that these booley houses were annually built of sod-and-wattle (Wilde 1849, 774-75).

4.6 – Oral references to booley houses in Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun.

It was mentioned above that Catherine Carton described her sojourn at a so-called booley house at Slievemore. However, this is not as straightforward an account as it first appears. Slievemore was a permanent settlement up until the mid-nineteenth century and only became a booley settlement after the village was deserted. The old houses only then became booley houses. They were not initially constructed as transhumant houses (Mc Donald 1997, 266-67). There is a dearth of oral material describing purpose-built booley houses in transhumance settlements across Achill. They are generally referred to as *bótoigs* today.

As noted above, Anthony Kilbane stated that the houses associated with booleying by the Achillbeg islanders in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century were impermanent structures called ‘sgelpi’, which do not seem to have been dry-stone built huts (Anthony Kilbane, pers. comm.). One wonders if these houses were built of post-and-wattle, rather like the ones described by Wilde in the mid-nineteenth century.

4.7 – Pictorial evidence for booley houses in the Civil Parish of Achill.

Frances Sylvester Walker (1848 – 1916) was an Irish painter, often of landscapes, illustrator and etcher. His late nineteenth century watercolour of a booley house on Achill is very interesting in the context of this thesis. It shows a dry-stone built, one-storey, one-roomed dwelling that appears to be sunk into the ground and dug into the slopes of a hill or bank at its rear and sides. There are no windows and no chimney – smoke escaping through the doorway, in which two young women are seen (Pl. 16). In all, the house seems to have been remarkably simple in design. The house is located in wild-looking, mountainous country. While it might be taking the evidence too far, the man, who is dressed as a fisherman, is presenting fish in a creel to the girls, intimating that he is a visitor, perhaps suggesting at that stage young women were associated with booleying in the study area. Furthermore, in the background, is a semi-shadowy woman, almost ghostlike in appearance, perhaps emphasising the fact that transhumance was associated throughout Europe and the study area with superstition and story-telling.

4.8 – Demise of booleying.

The demise of booleying in the study area is attributed to various reasons, notably population pressure, the Famine of 1845-1850 and the availability of seasonal work in England and Scotland (see 4.1, 8.4). Another factor was the expansionist policy of the Achill Mission headed by the Reverend Edward Nangle shortly after his arrival at Dugort in 1834 resulted in some booley villages becoming permanent settlements and certainly Dooagh in the townland of Slievemore would be one such example (Hall and Hall 1841-43, iii. 404; Graham 1954, 48; Mc Donald 1997, 190). Conversely, cognisance needs also be taken of reverse trends such as Slievemore village's change of status from a permanently-occupied settlement to a booley village. This first occurred in 1838 when the inhabitants of Faiche, the easternmost section of Slievemore Village moved to Dooagh – their former booley village – following acquisition of their lands by the Achill Mission. People from the two westernmost sections of Slievemore Village also moved to Dooagh in the aftermath of the Great Irish Famine and this exodus increased in momentum in the wake of the Encumbered Estates courts which saw the Civil Parish of Achill sold to the Achill Mission Estate and a number of minor landlords, including the Reverend John McHale, Archbishop of Tuam who established a Franciscan Monastery and farm in the townland of Bunacurry. The former inhabitants of Slievemore, now living in Dooagh, brought their cattle to pasture at Slievemore during the summer months and Slievemore then became a booley village – a status it retains in the memory of many local inhabitants today, who refer to it as ‘the boley (sic) booley village’. A somewhat, similar situation occurred in Gweedore in Co. Donegal when the inhabitants of a coastal village were moved to the uplands in the late nineteenth century by Lord George Hill, fifth son of the second Marquis of Downshire, in his drive to eradicate the Rundale system and its associated booleying practice. Old farm clusters were abandoned and new farms built, but the people, in a show of resistance, continued the practice of booleying, using their former permanent settlement in the lowlands as a booley village (Hill 1887, 40-41). Jean Graham (1954, 74-79) generally concurs with the above stating that a reduction in the numbers of cattle kept by people in the study area in the aftermath of the Famine and money received from seasonal migration to the potato fields of England and Scotland finally ended

booleying in Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun. It became more profitable for people to migrate to work in England and Scotland, rather than keep large numbers of cattle at home. This reduction in cattle numbers obviated the need to use the grass at the booleys in summer. The grass around the permanent settlements was sufficient to keep the lower numbers of cattle fed. Another reason for the demise of booleying in the study area was the subdivision of townlands that often resulted in separation of the permanent settlement from its traditional upland grazing, as occurred when the old 'quarter' of Slievemore was subdivided into Slievemore, Keel East and Keel West. Incoming landlords such as Charles Cunningham Boycott prohibited the tenants of Keel East from pasturing their cattle in Keem in Keel West townland which he leased from the Achill Mission in 1856. However, his departure from Achill for Ballinrobe *c.* 1870 seems to have resulted in a resumption of the practice, albeit in much diminished form as outlined by Harris Stone (1906, 416).

In summary, the arrival of the Reverend Edward Nangle and the establishment of the Achill Mission at Dugort and the acquisition of lands by them in other townlands such as Mweelin and Polranny Sweeney led to the disruption of the old way of life and was probably the catalyst for the slow decline of booleying in the Civil Parish of Achill. This trend was exacerbated by the arrival – at the invitation by the Achill Mission – to other like-minded people such as Murray McGregor Blacker and Charles Boycott to come to Achill where they leased Keel West, at 4071 acres, the largest townland in the Civil Parish of Achill, leading to a disruption of booleying in that townland (see 4.0, 4.1, 5.11). The advent of the Great Irish Famine resulted in the sale of most, if not all, cattle and was followed by immigration of large numbers of both sexes to the potato fields of Scotland and England that brought final closure to the practice of transhumance (except in a modified form) in the Civil Parish of Achill.



Pl. 16 – Francis Sylvester Walker’s late nineteenth century watercolour of a booley house somewhere on Achill Island (National Library of Ireland, 62911).

4.9 – Discussion

The antiquarian accounts above are informative only to the extent that they confirm that booleying in Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun was well established by the mid-eighteenth century (Wilde 1849; Poccocke 1891). Folk tradition, as outlined in John Moran’s story about his great, great grandmother booleying in Annagh, also suggests that it was definitely being practiced as early as the above date (see 4.2). This will be discussed in Chapter Six in the analysis of the excavation undertaken in 2010 of a booley house at Annagh. The duration of time spent at the booley seems to have varied from two months (Wilde 1849) to six months (Poccocke 1891; Otway 1839). Jean Graham said that the people of Keel, Slievemore, Dugort and Dookinella villages sent their livestock to summer pasture between the 1st and 12th May, depending on the weather, and the return from the booley was scheduled for the end of October (Graham 1954, 74-79). This confirms comments made by Poccocke (1891) and Otway (1839) but would call Wilde’s two-month sojourn at the booleys into question (see 4.1).

William Wilde seems to suggest that booleying involving the entire family was being practiced in Achill in 1835 (see 4.1; Wilde 1849, 774-75). This form of booleying seems to have involved the movement of entire families with their livestock to the upland summer pasture. He also implies that more than one booley site was involved, with families moving between booleys and not just staying in one. Wilde's comment regarding cultivation in the hills and the return there in the autumn to harvest the crop of oats and potatoes is confusing (ibid.), as it has always been assumed that cultivation was carried out at the permanent settlement. Indeed, one of the reasons given for the practice of booleying was to move livestock, mainly cattle, to the uplands so that marauding beasts would not trample the 'unfenced' arable crops (Graham 1954, 74-79).

Booleying was practised in areas where good summer grazing was available and was a valuable adjunct for people with a limited area of land for cultivation and lowland grazing. In areas with large herds of livestock, areas of marginal land used for booleying provided essential supplementary pasture and so allowed farmers to keep larger herds of cattle than if they only used the grass at and around the permanent settlement. The distance between the permanent settlement and upland grazing, accessible only in summer, was another reason. The distance from the permanent settlement to the summer pasture necessitated the construction of huts/houses, as dairy cattle cannot be moved over long distances on a daily basis (Lucas 1989, 67).

The avoidance of disease was another reason for moving livestock to upland grazing in summer in the study area. Ó Moghráin (1943, 164-65) said that when cattle in Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun contracted a disease called *garla dumhach*, they were taken to Slievemore where they made a speedy recovery (see 4.2). This can be attributed to the presence of cobalt and copper in the soils of Slievemore, minerals absent from soils in sandy coastal areas. This indicates that farmers in the study area had a good knowledge of pasture and bovine disease and were excellent stockmen. A similar situation prevailed in Donegal: a deficiency disease was quoted in 1755 as the reason for moving cattle to mountain pastures (Graham 1954, 81).

Along with tending the livestock, Richard Pococke (1891, 93) implied that yarn was

spun and stockings knitted at the booley in the eighteenth century, which was also documented by Ó Moghráin for the nineteenth century (1943, 164-65). Milking was done morning and evening and surplus milk was churned into butter. In his description of booleying in Achill, Wilde said that the people carried some items of food and cooking utensils with them (Wilde 1849, 774-75). As noted, Wilde states that cultivation of oats and potatoes took place in the general vicinity of the booleys. This is interesting as some commentators in Britain have argued that an upland site that has evidence for cultivation and tillage plots around it is not a transhumant settlement, but a permanent one (Ramm *et.al.* 1970, 7). Wilde's evidence suggests something different and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

It has been stated that 'The dwelling house is the most important single artefact for the characterisation of any group of people at any time. The combination of sizes, range of designs and methods of construction of the house provides one of the best means of assessing the way of life of a culture, period or region.' (Lynn 1994, 82). The reason why antiquarian descriptions of houses at permanent settlements were gathered in this thesis was to allow a comparison in terms of size, shape and internal space to be made with the houses in the booley settlements. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7. Various (antiquarian) observers in the nineteenth century stated that a common form of house in Achill was an ovoid-shaped or sub-rectangular-shaped, dry-stone walled house, that had no chimneys, no gables and few had windows. These houses had a central hearth and were roofed with sods or rye thatch (see 4.4). No example of this form of house survives down to the present day. Aalen believed that such houses derived from the circular-shaped dry-stone walled 'clochan' but this is unclear (Aalen 1966, 47). The description of a functioning circular house with a central pole at Keel in the early twentieth century is interesting, showing that some circular-shaped houses did continue in use to modern times (see 3.2.5). O'Kelly also seems to indicate that, along with these ovoid-shaped and round houses, a rectangular-shaped, gabled house also existed in nineteenth century Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun (see 4.4). This evidence will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

The one thing that becomes clear from the discussion in this chapter is that there is very little written or oral evidence for booley houses in the study area, apart from

Wilde's description and Ó Moghráin's reconstruction of a nineteenth century ovoid one (Fig. 37; see 4.5). The reason for this must lie in the fact that the booley settlements were inaccessible to all but the most intrepid visitor to the study area, a situation that applies even today. It is probably no coincidence that Wilde was 25 years of age and so presumably physically fit to actually make the journey.

There is ample evidence from people still living today about how enjoyable the annual foray to the booley in the study area had been (see 4.6). Nobody has a bad word to say about the seasonal journey or stay at the booleys. Indeed, transhumance on the Isle of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides is also remembered fondly as a place where young people got away from authority (Professor Finlay MacLeod, pers. comm.). Singing, storytelling and *ceilidhs* all took place at the booley settlements in the study area, presumably at night. This is a reminder that the practice of booleying had social dimensions to it and was not just a cold economic practice. The mid-nineteenth-century description of the colourful dress of the women, complimented by plain frieze of the men's dress, apparently returning from the booley, provides a rare glimpse of this past activity (see 4.1).

The main conclusion of this chapter is that there is little antiquarian and oral evidence for the appearance of booley houses in Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun. Also, no evidence exists as to how these settlements were organised in terms of space or why they were sited where they were. This lack of evidence mandates a detailed and critical investigation of the upstanding material remains of booley houses and settlements in the study area.

Chapter 5 – Siting of Booley Settlements in the Civil Parish of Achill

5.0 – Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to examine the siting of booley settlements in the study area, in terms of both trying to understand the nature of the natural resources in their immediate vicinities and their actual physical locations in the landscape. It is hoped that this exercise will indicate why these particular locations were chosen for building transhumant settlements at them. Do these sites have features in common with one another? If so, perhaps this information can be used in the future to find other booley sites in this area of Connacht or even further afield in the country as a whole. Furthermore, it must be presumed that the transhumants at these booley settlements spent a lot, but not all, of their time tending their cattle. Other activities may also have taken place at these booleys. An analysis of the locations of each of the transhumant settlements in Achill and Corraun may provide some indication as to what other activities were carried out at these sites when they were in use.

The antiquarian and surgeon, William Wilde, was the first person to directly describe the practice of booleying on Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun in the mid-nineteenth century but he did not provide a specific location or locations for any booley sites in the study area (see 4.1; Wilde 1849). Again, the Reverend Edward Nangle visited Bunowna (Appendix One: Site Bun) in the late 1830s but does not refer to the site as a booley settlement but did say that a man named *Brian a Stalkire* lived there about two hundred years ago, living on wild deer that abounded in the area at that time (McDonald 2006, 179-80). One could be forgiven for believing that he was referring to a permanent settlement. This is also true of other later-nineteenth century visitors to the island who also refer to the practice of transhumance in the study area but do not pinpoint locations as to where it was carried out (see 4.1). It is really only with the work of O’Kelly (1942), Ó Moghráin (1943) and, in particular, Graham (1954, 46-69), as part of her unpublished PhD thesis on booleying in Ireland, that we get direct mention of the sites and townlands associated with transhumance in the study area. Their evidence for these locations is mainly based on folklore then current amongst

older people in the area and, to a far lesser extent, historical records. These locations will now be discussed before an in-depth analysis of their siting will be undertaken. The evidence discussed by these three writers, particularly Graham, is wide ranging and at times confusing. Therefore, the evidence is broken into manageable sections. These are purpose-built transhumance sites for which there is folklore and historical evidence at which there is physical evidence for booley houses today; booley sites that became permanent settlements, apparently in the nineteenth century; the opposite of this – permanent sites that became booley settlements, again in the nineteenth century; lastly, townlands where it is known that booleying took place at some stage in the past but where the booley sites cannot be located today (Fig. 41). Each section will be explained in more detail below.

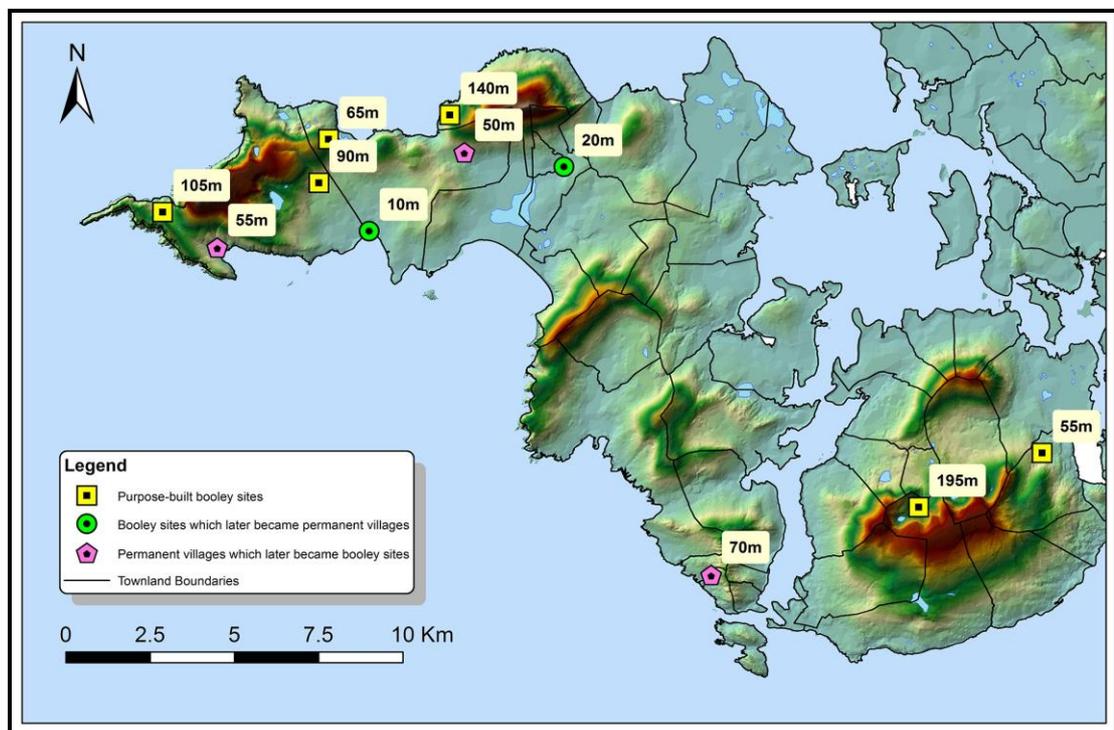


Fig. 41 – Distribution map of booley sites in the study area and their elevation above sea level.

5.1 – Sites in the Civil Parish of Achill for which there is folklore and historical evidence for booleying and at which there is physical evidence for purpose-built booley houses today.

This group consists of six sites, Annagh (in Slievemore townland on Achill Island), *Botóg na Muice* (in Bollinglanna townland on the Corraun Peninsula), Bunowna (in

Keel West townland on Achill Island), Cuillaloughaun (in Cuillaloughaun townland on the Corraun peninsula), Dirk (in Dugort West townland on Achill Island), and Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghaur (in Keel West townland).

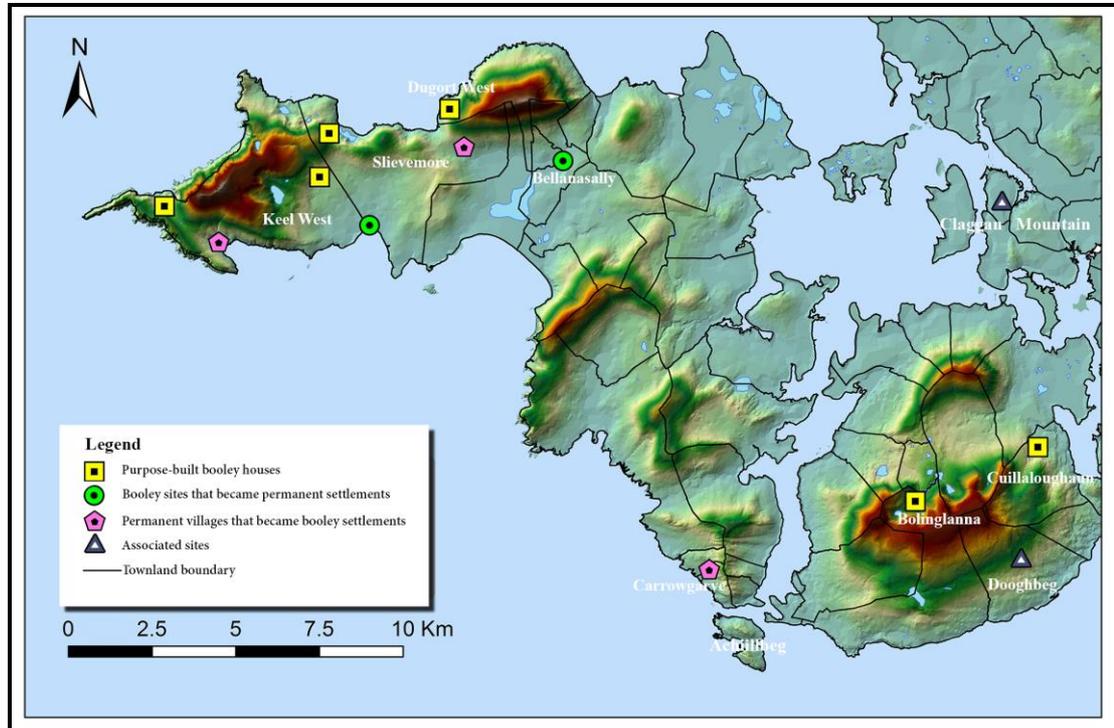


Fig. 42 – Location of booley sites in the Civil Parish of Achill within their respective associated townlands. Also shown are the associated townlands of Dooghbeg and Claggan Mountain.

Almost by definition for this thesis, these sites are the most important from an analytical point of view in this and future chapters, as definite statements can be made about them, due to the fact that they can be located exactly in the modern landscape and physical remains can be found at them.

5. 2 – Annagh (Fig. 42; see Appendix One, Site A: MA042-008001).

O’Kelly (1942, 3), Ó Moghráin (1943, 169) and Graham (1954, 36), using folklore then current, indicated that Annagh had functioned as a booley settlement. More recently, as noted in Chapter 4, the late John Moran of Dooagh (died 1990) stated that his great, great grandmother had booleyed in Annagh in the late eighteenth century (see 4.2; John Moran, pers. comm. interviewed by Theresa McDonald in 1988).

5.2.1 – General siting

The booley village of Annagh consists of twelve identifiable buildings and lies on the north-western coast of Achill Island in the townland of Slievemore (Fig. 42). The settlement is located at between 60m and 70m OD on a flat plateau on what is effectively the lower north-western slopes of Croaghaun Mountain, in a coastal valley between this mountain and O'Connor's Hill to its east. The ground falls away sharply to Annagh Strand 160m away to the east of the site. The small freshwater lake of Lough Nakeeroge East (the Lake of the Cockroach) is located 140m away, down-slope to the south-east of the site. This lake is separated from Annagh Strand by a glacial moraine that runs east to west. The ground rises relatively steeply from the western edge of the plateau where uninhabited good grazing land extends as far as Saddle Head, about 3km to the northwest. Three other low-lying lakes, Lough Tinney, Lough Bunafreya East and Lough Nakeeroge West, are located to the north west of the site. Streams also occur in the vicinity of the site, as at Annagh (Pl. 18).

The majority of these structures at Annagh occur at the base of the slope that rises from the western edge of the plateau – some are even cut into it (Site A8, Site A12). This was done presumably to give the occupants of these buildings some shelter from the elements. Local farmers say that Annagh is a very difficult place to access in winter either by land or by sea due to its exposed coastal position (Aneas Keane, sheep farmer, pers. comm.).

In all, the valley of Annagh is bounded by the steep slopes of both O'Connor's Hill and Croaghaun Mountain to its east and west respectively, Annagh Strand to its north and east and higher ground to its south and south west, which gives onto flat moorland.

5.2.2 – Morphology of the settlement

The 12 buildings (Site A1 – A12) which make up the site form an unplanned nucleated settlement that runs 100m from north to south along the flat plateau (Fig. 43). Within the settlement, two separate clusters can be seen. The first cluster occurs on the northern edge of the settlement and consists of eight structures (Sites A1 – A8), four of which are conjoined (Sites A1 – A4). The second cluster begins 20m to

the south south-east of the first group and consists of three structures (Sites A9 – A11). An outlier (Site A12) occurs 40m to the south south-east of this second group.

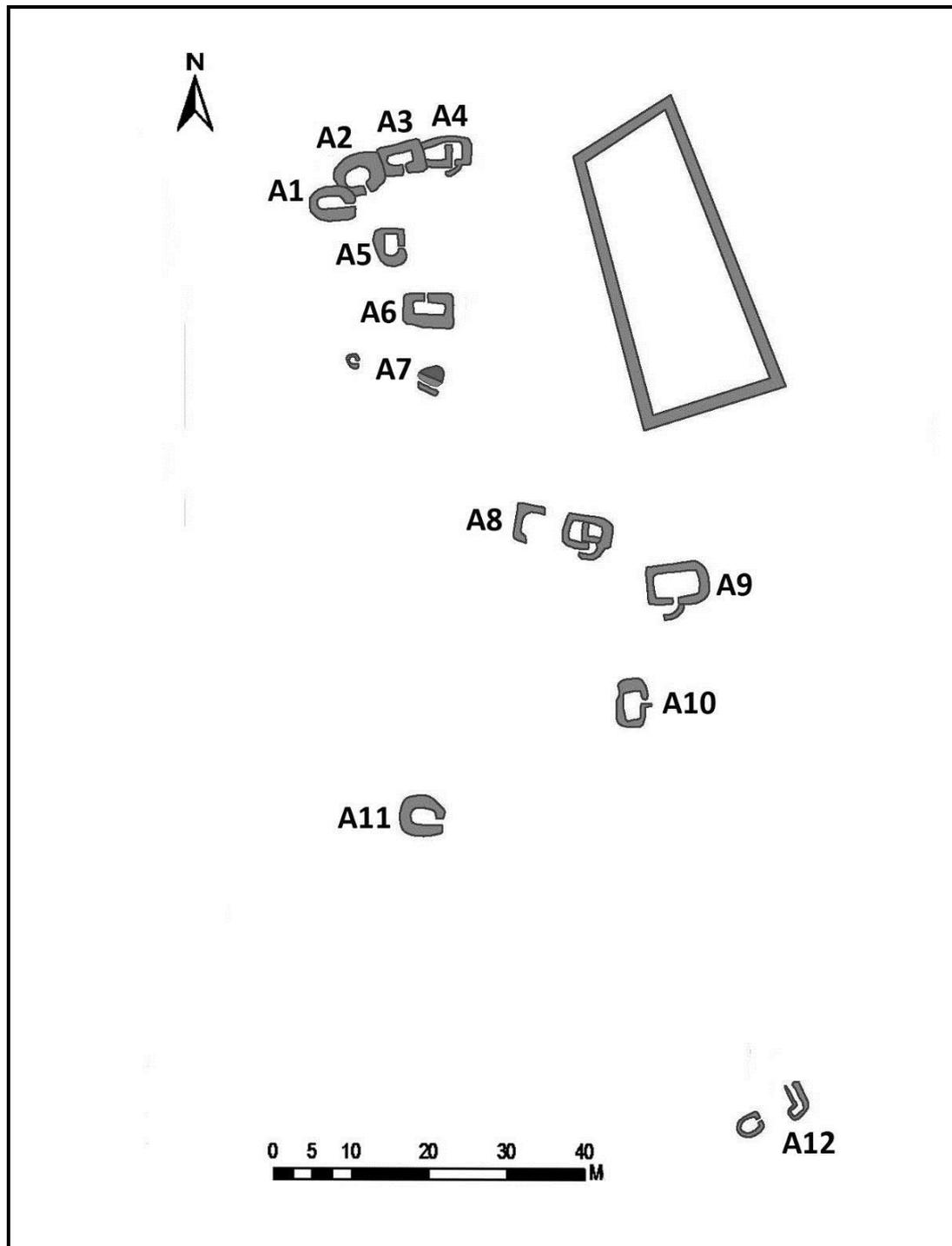


Fig. 43 – Site plan of Annagh showing houses and enclosure.

A large, more-or-less rectangular enclosure can be seen a few metres to the east of the northern cluster of houses at Annagh. This enclosure is bounded by a collapsed

dry-stone wall and measures about 35m north/south by about 13m east/west. Lazy beds (cultivation ridges) can be seen within it (see Fig. 80). Presumably potatoes were once grown within this enclosure.

5.2.3 – *Natural resources at Annagh*

Vegetation covering the valley of Annagh today consists of mountain pasture in the form of Purple Moor Grass, Fiorin Grass (Creeping bent grass), Ling Heather, Dwarf Willow and Siberian Juniper. Indeed, the area was noted for its mountain grazing in the early twentieth century (Joyce 1910, 270-73). This area of natural grassland stretches from Annagh westwards to Saddle Head, along relatively flat ground. It is known that cattle, sheep and goats availed of this resource from at least the eighteenth century through to the early twentieth century (John Moran, pers. comm.). An O'Donnel Rent Roll of c. 1838 shows that the townland of Slievemore (within which Annagh lies) had 2,040 acres of mountain pasture, 24 acres of bog and 217 arable acres (presumably in the vicinity of the then permanent village of Slievemore Village) within it (PC 263.3. Unindexed O'Donnel papers). This shows the grazing potential of the townland. Sheep still graze the area in considerable numbers today. Feral goats also frequent the area and presumably these are descended from the domesticated goats of earlier times. Other common plant species in the vicinity include Bell Heather (*Erica cinerea*) and Bilberry (*Vaccinium myrtillus*), along with flora of Arctic/Alpine, Lusitanian and North American types (Praeger 1904, 265-89). Bilberry or blueberries are edible, nutritious and tasty. They are still collected in parts of the West of Ireland today and go well with ice cream, making them a favourite with children (Kieran O'Connor, pers. comm.)! A lone Strawberry tree (*Arbutus unedo*) and furze and juniper occur on the southern shores of Lough Nakeeroge. Annagh's coastal location is also important, although it is very windswept and inhospitable in winter, as noted. The edible seaweed Dulse grows abundantly along the shoreline at Annagh. Fishing from currachs and the shore is also possible (Dornan 2000, 147). Other seaweeds from here were clearly used as manure. Folklore indicates that in the late nineteenth century the residents of Dooagh Village harvested seaweed at Annagh and transported it back to the former settlement in creels mounted on donkeys (John Twin McNamara, pers. comm.). Presumably some of this seaweed was used to manure the lazy bed enclosure noted above at this booley settlement. It might also be added that barrels of oil and other

goods were washed ashore here during both World Wars and were also transported back to Dooagh (John Moran, pers. comm.). Annagh Strand seems to have been a place where goods were regularly washed up, including timber (ibid.). The lakes, noted above, and various mountain streams in the vicinity would have provided freshwater to livestock. Small trout occur in the lakes as well.

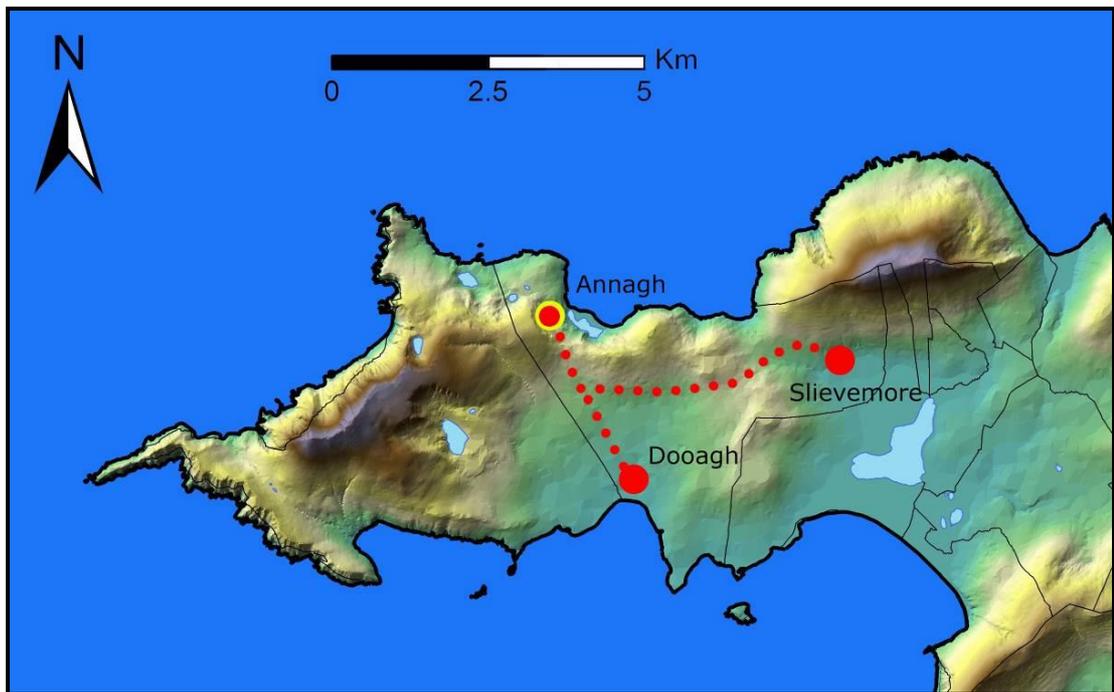


Fig. 44 – Line of approach to Annagh booley settlement from the then permanent settlements.

5.2.4 – Line of approach to Annagh booley settlement

The natural line of landward approach to the site is from the south and south-west (see Fig. 44). The steep slopes of Croaghaun Mountain to the west and O'Connor's Hill to the east, almost precipitous in places, preclude moving cattle to the site from these directions. In this respect, local folklore (John Moran, pers. comm.) and research by Graham (1954, 54) suggests that it was the Slievemore people (when it was a permanent settlement prior to the early 1850s) who booleyed originally at Annagh. However, Slievemore was abandoned around the mid-nineteenth century and its people moved to Dooagh, which had been a booley settlement linked to the latter settlement prior to this (Graham 1954, 36). However, the people from the now permanent settlement of Dooagh continued on the tradition of transhumance at Annagh (Graham 1954, 36). Dooagh lies 3.5km from Annagh. The routeway from Dooagh to Annagh is across blanket bog but is relatively gentle terrain. Ascending

the hillside along one or other of the two parallel stone-strewn pathways (the High Path and the Low Path) brings one to the top of the ridge overlooking Lough Nakeeroge East. The apex of the ridge here before the grounds falls away to Annagh Valley is called *Lug an Baile Buaille* (the ridge of the booley settlement). Descent down into the valley of Annagh is via another steep rock-strewn pathway. Approaching the booley site involves crossing a small stream which would have provided water for the cattle when they were being moved to the booley settlement. Slievemore is 4km as the crow flies from Annagh but a direct route would have been very difficult due to the mountainous terrain. It is possible that the Slievemore people travelled some of the way along the bog road from Slievemore towards Dooagh and then turned westwards towards an old settlement called Caislean (mostly covered by bog), and joined one or other of the pathways leading to the settlement at Annagh. The two pathways referred to above and located northwest of Caislean, are called the high path and the low path respectively, both leading towards the summit and down to a point overlooking Lough Nakeeroge East and a rock-strewn path that leads down into the valley of Annagh. This would have made the journey from Slievemore to Annagh about 4.5km – 5km.

5.2.5 – *Adjacent sites*



Pl. 17 – Portal Tomb at Annagh (MA042-012).

A small portal tomb (MA042-012) is sited 0.75km to the east of the booley

settlement site and of Loughnakeeroge East, beside Annagh Strand (Pl. 17). This megalithic tomb is in close proximity to a dry-stone built stone house and associated platform, known locally as ‘The Scotch House’. This was built as a fishing station and used by Alexander Hector, a Scot, who arrived to Achill Island around 1856 at the invitation of Reverend Edward Nangle of the Achill Mission (Mc Donald 2006, 233-38). A fulacht fiadh has been identified on the northern side of Bunnafreya Lough about 0.7km to the north west of the site.



Pl. 18 – The importance of water: a stream to the east of the booley settlement at Annagh.

5.3 – Bunowna (Fig. 42; see Appendix One, Site Bun; MA053-001).

Michael J. O’Kelly and Jean Graham (1942, 3-4; 1954, 35-6) as well as Ó Moghráin (1943) using folklore then current, indicated that Bunowna had functioned as a booley settlement. Furthermore, O’Kelly (1942, 3) stated that according to his informants, the last transhumance movement to Bunowna took place around 1880.

5.3.1– General siting

The booley village of Bunowna (‘the mouth of the River’) consists of eighteen identifiable buildings and lies in the townland of Keel West. It is located in a glaciated valley on the isolated north-western coast of Achill Island at between 90m and 140m OD (Fig. 42). The settlement is nucleated but mostly strung out in a linear fashion, descending steeply from the south-east to the north-west, following the line of the Sruffaunbunowna River (which is really only a large stream), about 0.4km before it emits into a small isolated inlet in Blacksod Bay (Fig. 45). The stream has cut into the valley and has created a small ravine. Seven of the huts are built into and nestle into the sides of this steep-sided natural feature (Sites Bun1, Bun2, Bun3, Bun4, Bun5, Bun6, Bun7), presumably to give shelter from the elements. Bunowna Valley is bounded by Croaghaun Mountain to its east and by Benmore Ridge, which end in cliffs, to its west. The ground rises more gently to the south-east. Steep cliffs form most of the northern boundary to the valley.

5.3.2 – The morphology of the settlement

The settlement is really a nucleated settlement strung out in an unplanned, linear fashion over 250m of ground along the Sruffaunbunowna River, as noted (Pl. 19). However, one outlier is located over 100m to the north of the north-western edge of the settlement (Site Bun17). This structure is clearly located here because of a large rock outcrop, into which it is built, presumably to take advantage of the shelter provided by it. A stretch of wall or the remains of a house occurs just to its north-west (Site Bun18). This may have been built to provide further shelter to Bun18 from the prevailing wind (Mc Donald 2006, 180). It is quite clear that Edward Nangle visited this particular house in 1838 (ibid.).

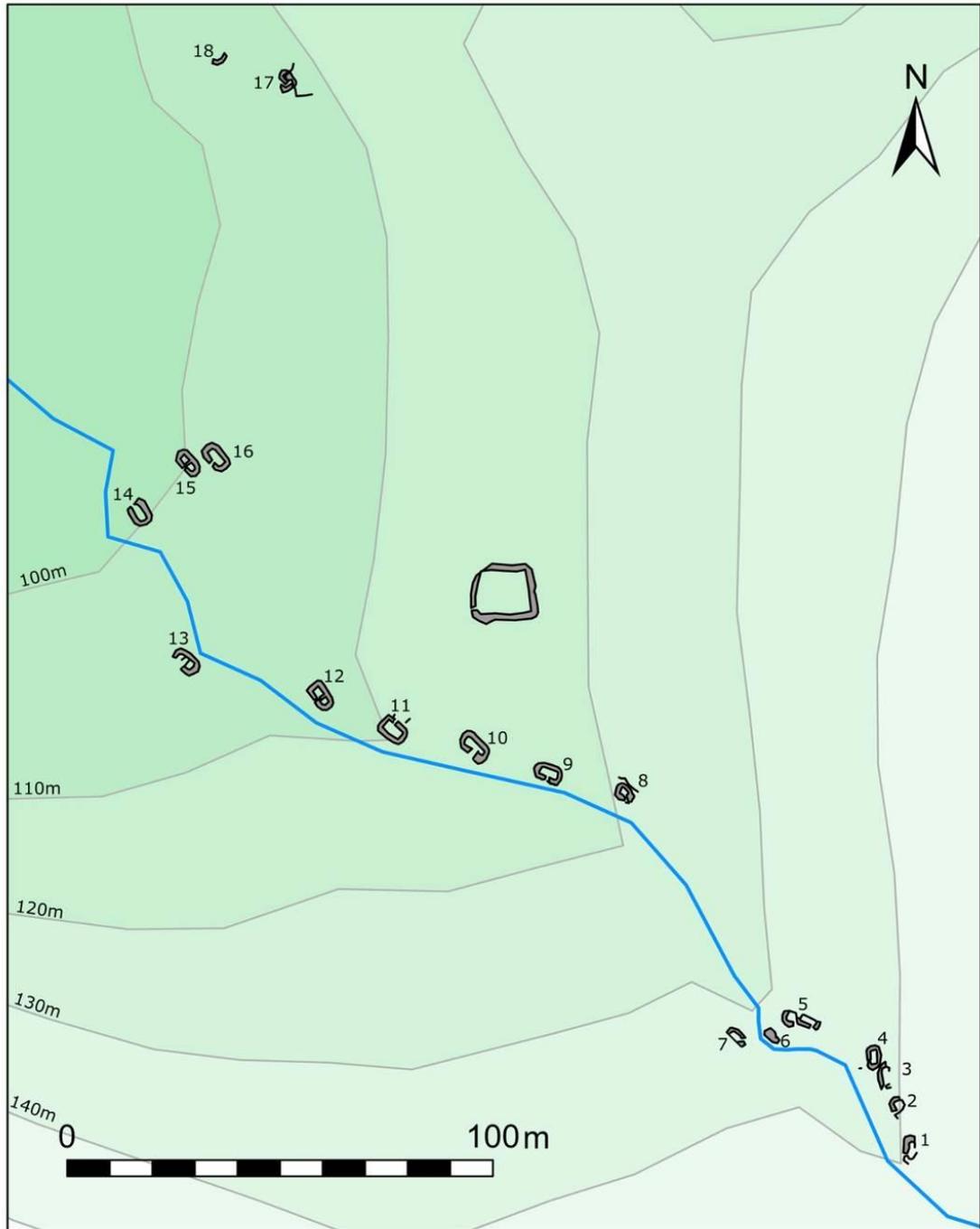


Fig. 45 – Site plan of Bunowna Booley settlement.

The main settlement along the river can be divided into two clusters – a north-western group and a higher south-eastern group. The former cluster consists of nine structures (Sites Bun8 – Bun16). The latter cluster consists of seven structures (Sites Bun1 – Bun7), which are mostly located on the eastern side of the ravine created by the river.



Pl. 19 – Bunowna Booley Village from the south looking north towards Blacksod Bay and Blackrock Lighthouse.

A rectangular enclosure, which has internal measurements of 12.7m east/west by 10.36m north/south, is located on a low rise just to the north and east of the northern cluster (Fig. 45). This enclosure is mostly defined by a dry-stone wall, today 1.15m - 1.9m in width and surviving to a height of 1.2m. However, it is possible that the southern side of this wall is made of earth re-vetted by stones. The entranceway is at the northern end of its western wall. No evidence of cultivation occurs in this enclosure and it may have been used to isolate livestock, to keep them away from the main herd. It is still known locally as ‘the Pound’ (John Moran, pers. comm.).

5.3.3 – Natural resources at Bunowna

An extensive area of pasture is available at Bunowna. For example, c. 1834 the townland of Keel (now divided into Keel West townland, within which Bunowna is located, and Keel East townland) is recorded as having 384 arable acres (presumably at the permanent settlements at Keel and Keem), 2980 acres of upland pasture and 68 acres of bog and waste. It might be added that 135 tenants are listed within the townland at that date and it had a yearly valuation of £95 (*Tithe Applotment Books of 1834*). Apart from various upland and moorland grasses, such as a profusion of

Purple Moor Grass and Fiorin Grass, various bog and heather species have been noted here (Praeger 1904, 270). Bunowna is still avidly grazed by sheep today, along with some feral goats. The Sruffaunbunowna River would have provided an excellent water supply for both cattle and humans. The deep pools in it would have been suitable for washing clothes etc. as well and would have provided small mountain trout. Fishing for sea fish would have been possible off rocks to the north of the site. Presumably seaweed for fertiliser for use back at the permanent settlements could also have been collected, along with edible dulse, although access to the inter-tidal zone would have been hazardous in places, unlike the situation at Annagh.

5.3.4 –The natural line of approach to Bunowna booley settlement.

The natural line of approach to Bunowna is from the east towards Keem, parallel to the line of the Sruffaunbunowna River. In 1838 a report by Edward Nangle seems to suggest that Bunowna was no longer used as a booley settlement at that time, calling them ‘former’ habitations (Mc Donald 2006, 180). However, this seems to be incorrect as (O’ Kelly 1942, 3) states that booleying ceased at Bunowna around 1880. It may well be that Nangle visited the site at a time of the year when nobody was there and just presumed it was deserted.

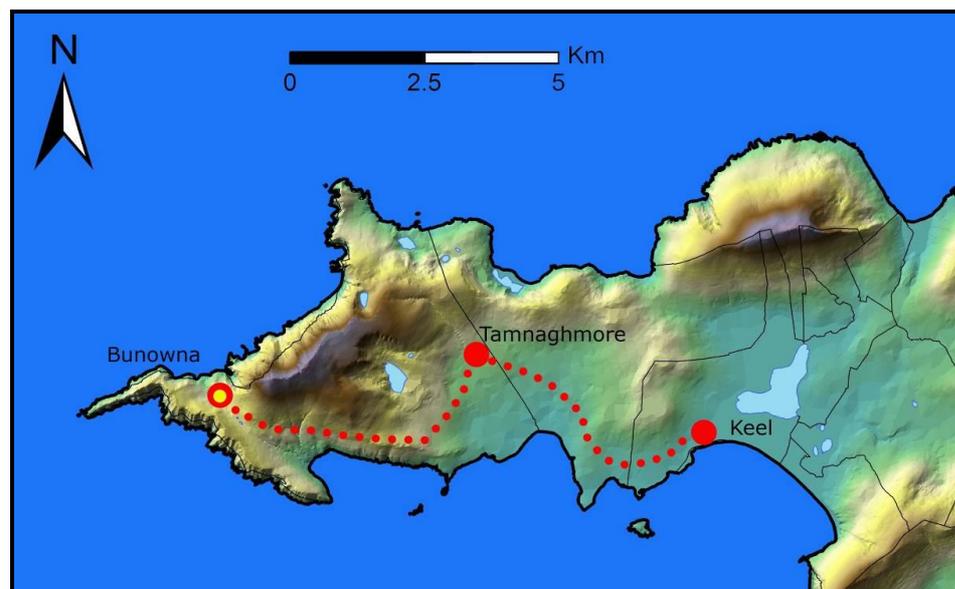


Fig. 46 – The natural line of approach to Bunowna booley village from the then permanent villages Keel and Keem.

Jean Graham (1954, 59-60) stated that local folklore indicated that the Keem and Keel people booleyed at Bunowna. However, it is clear that Keem had been deserted as a permanent settlement around the late 1830s, with many of its people moving to Keel and Dooagh (Otway 1839, 373; Martineau 1852). It then became a booley settlement (Stone 1906, 309-316; O' Kelly 1942, 3; Ó Moghráin 1943, 169; Graham 1954, 54). This may suggest that the people of Keem booleyed at Bunowna prior to the 1830s and then continued to do the same after they moved to Keel. Keem, therefore, was the nearest permanent settlement to Bunowna prior to the 1830s. It lies a mere 2km from Bunowna. Access from Keem to Bunowna involves a moderate climb up from the former settlement onto a relatively flat plateau that is capped by hummocky boggy terrain, in the midst of which is a small lake. Sruffaunbunowna River issues from this lake and the natural line of approach to Bunowna would have been along this river, which again would have provided water for cattle on the move. The Keel people who booleyed at Bunowna, apparently in the second half of the nineteenth century, had a longer trek. Due to the very mountainous and precipitous nature of the ground, it is probable that the Keel people went to Bunowna via Tawnaghmore and Keem (Graham 1954, 54). This would have made it a journey of 10km (Fig. 46).

5.3.5 – Adjacent sites

A raised earthen bank, about 3.5km in extent, about 1m in height and 0.75m in width, surrounds Bunowna Valley. It extends from an inlet of the sea, known locally as Ooghnagertleen, on the north-western slopes of Croaghaun Mountain and extends along the cliffs to the north of the site, descends into the valley where it crosses the Sruffaunbunowna River, before forking westwards up along the northern cliff edge and then turns southwards along the Benmore Cliffs, where it continues towards Moyteoge Hill west of Keem Bay. This bank was a huge undertaking and encloses an extensive area of about 1,025 hectares (Pl. 20). It is not marked on the 1838 First Edition Six-Inch Map for the area and it may postdate it. Alternatively, it may have gone out of use by the 1830s or was in use but was too insubstantial to be marked in by the Ordnance Survey sappers. It may have been more substantial at one time and its probable function, at least to the north of the site but in other places as well, was to keep cattle from falling over the cliffs into the sea. Its height may have been augmented by a wattle fence but this would need to be tested by excavation.



Pl. 20 – The earthen bank along the cliffs at Bunowna. This bank was built to prevent cattle falling off the cliffs at this point and was probably built by transhumants.

5.4 – Botóg na Muice, Bolinglanna (Fig. 42; see Appendix One, Site Bol).

Folklore collected in the early twentieth century indicated that the site known as *Botóg na Muice* in Bolinglanna townland had functioned as a booley settlement (Graham 1954, 55; Josie Heaney, pers.comm.).

5.4.1 – General siting

The booley settlement here is located in an isolated, sheltered, flat-bottomed, uninhabited mountain valley, about 396 hectares in area, which mostly lies between the 190m and 300m contour, at the northernmost tip of Bolinglanna townland on the Corraun Peninsula (Fig. 42). However, the site itself lies at 196m OD. The valley is bounded on three of its sides by mountains. Corraun Hill at 524m in height bounds the valley on its south-western side. Basically the valley is bounded to its north, east, south and south-west by mountains and ridges, with the ground only opening out to the west, where there is a panoramic view of Achill Sound and, beyond that, Slievemore on Achill Island. Knockacorraun Lough lies 0.75km uphill to the south-

west of the site, while Lough Ard and Lough Ardbeg lie *c.* 2.5km to its south-east. Lough Cam and a series of other lakes lies 0.7km – 1.5km to the west of the site. A stream called the Fiddaunnatramore emits from Knockacorraun Lake and courses its way northwards, passing the site as a major stream meander. Seven of the houses in the settlement are clustered on the south-eastern side of a dry, low, oval knoll or glacial hummock. The rear of six of these houses is built into this hummock, presumably to give shelter from the elements (Sites Bol1 – Bol6). The ground slopes away from these houses to the Fiddaunnatramore (which flows westwards) about 50m to 60m away to the south east. Four further houses (much less preserved and very tumbled) occur about 200m to the south of this main group in a small group on the southern side of this stream on ground sloping to the north east (Sites Bol8 – Bol11). This area is very damp today in a patch of meadow.

5.4.2 – The morphology of the settlement

As noted, the site consists of two unplanned, nucleated clusters separated from one another (Fig. 47). The fact that the houses in the southernmost group are very tumbled and not as well preserved as the northernmost group may be in indication that they are earlier and that it was the original booley settlement here (see Sites Bol8 – Bol11), with the village being rebuilt just to the north at a later date. Only future excavation will determine whether this hypothesis is correct.

5.4.3 – The natural resources at Botóg na Muice, Bolinglanna

An extensive area of rough pasture, including much Purple Moor Grass and Fiorin Grass, is available in this valley, which is today grazed extensively by sheep. Apart from Purple Moor grass, other species in the general vicinity of the site include ling heather, cross-leaved heather and bog asphodel (Mayo's wild things and places, 2012, 24). In the early nineteenth century the townland of Bolinglanna is listed as comprising 93 arable acres (presumably located at permanent settlements in the townland, such as Bolinglanna itself), 1,660 acres of mountain pasture and 34 acres of bog and waste (PC263.2). This shows that most of the townland at that time, including the area around the booley site, was regarded as rough pasture and not waste. Another reference lists a population of 105 people living in eighteen houses in Bolinglanna Village in 1841 before the Great Famine (1841 MS P.R.O.I). Pre and post-famine population and housing figures dealing with the Civil Parish of Achill

are listed in a Mayo County Library on-line exhibition paper ([http://www.mayolibrary.ie/media/Exhibition/Famine/FamineCombined/pdf, 16](http://www.mayolibrary.ie/media/Exhibition/Famine/FamineCombined/pdf,16)).

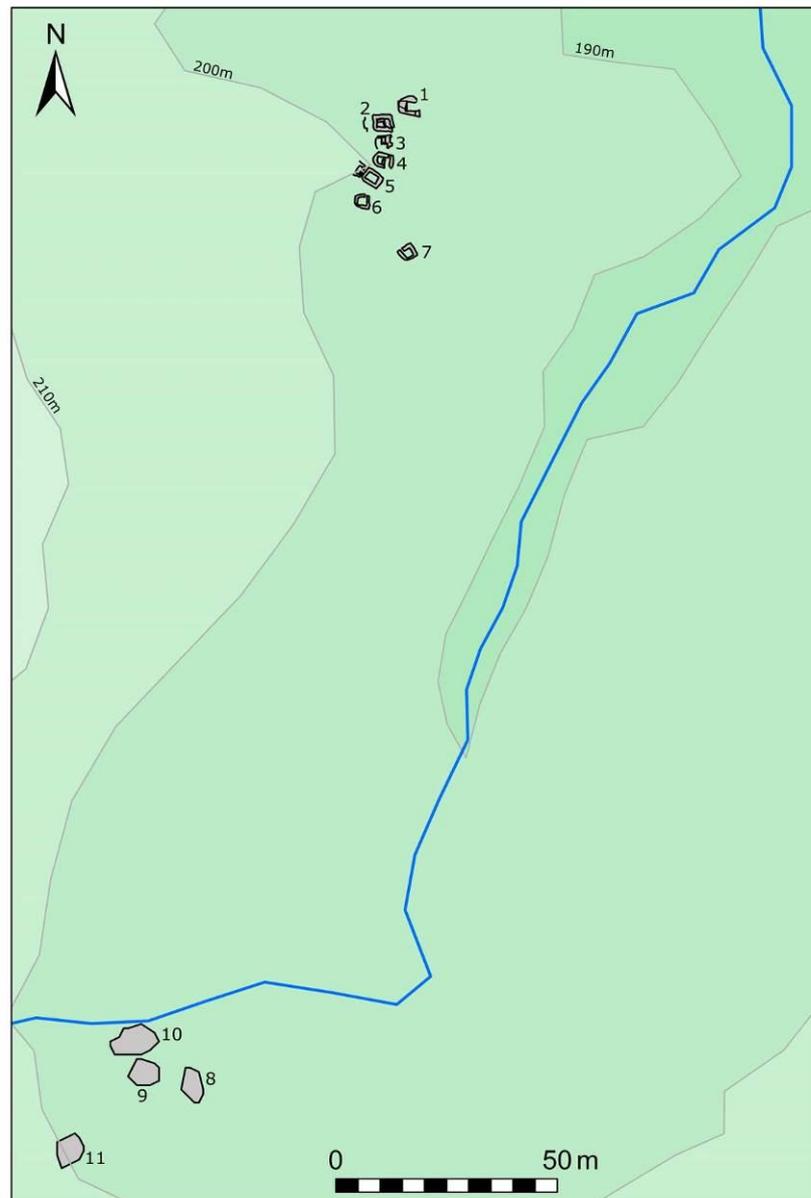


Fig. 47 – Plan of the settlement of *Botóg na Muice* at Bolinglanna.

The stream called Fiddaunnatramore has a series of deep sandy pools along its length. This stream would have provided water for livestock and humans, as well as being useful for washing purposes. Trout measuring six inches in length have been caught in this stream and it is noticeable that otters still frequent it – a sure sign that good fish are to be had within any given stretch of water. Knockacorraun Lough, noted above as being located 0.75km from the site must also have been used for the

watering of livestock, as well as for fishing. This was probably true of the lakes to the north-east of the site. It is noticeable that the local name for the site is called *Botóg na Muice*, meaning ‘the little houses of the pigs’ (Josie Heaney, pers. comm.). Booleying is mainly associated with cattle but it is just possible that this local place-name is hinting at the fact that the occupants of the booley village raised pigs as well over their summer sojourn at the site. Alternatively, it may be a local derogatory name for the people who booleyed here in the past! It might be added that Bolinglanna is *Buaile na Gleanna* in Irish, which translates as ‘the booley of the valley/glen’. This describes the site at *Botóg na Muice* perfectly in terms of its function and location and seems to suggest that the whole townland is named after it.

5.4.4 – *The natural line of approach to Botóg na Muice, Bolinglanna*

Geographically speaking, the best and easiest natural line of approach to the site appears to be from the north and northwest along relatively low ground from Belfarsad or Achill Sound. At first glance, this may suggest that people from the permanent settlement of Belfarsad booleyed at *Botóg na Muice*. However, local folklore collected in the early twentieth century links *Botóg na Muice* with Bolinglanna Village on the coast to the south. Three permanent settlements occur along the coast in Bolinglanna Townland – Bolinglanna itself, Glassilaun and Knocknamona (also Crucknamona) (Josie Heaney, per. comm.). Graham (1954, 60), using local folklore, states that the people from Glassilaun and Knocknamona were associated with booley sites in the townlands of Bunanioo and Srahmore. Furthermore, she stated that the people of Bolinglanna booleyed somewhere within the townland but was not sure where exactly (ibid.). However, local folklore collected early in the twentieth century, as noted above, stated that *Botóg na Muice* was the place where the Bolinglanna Village people booleyed in the past. Strangely, despite the fact that the easiest way into the site is from the west from the Belfarsad area, this folklore suggests that cattle and people approached *Botóg na Muice* from Bolinglanna Village by going directly over Corraun Hill, via Lough Ard – a distance of 5km (Fig. 48; Josie Heaney, pers. comm.). A mountain track, located north-east of the Catholic Church at Bolinglanna leads to Lough Ard. An area along this route, beside the lake, known as the Fiddaun Bawn, was noted for its grass and was the place where the transhumants rested and pastured their cattle for a while, en-route to *Botóg na Muice*. This folklore emphasises the steepness of the mountain path

between the two settlements and states that the milk being carried on panniers loaded onto donkeys had been churned into butter by the time it reached Bolinglanna, as it had been rocked backwards and forwards so many times due to the rough nature of the terrain (Josie Heaney, pers. comm.).

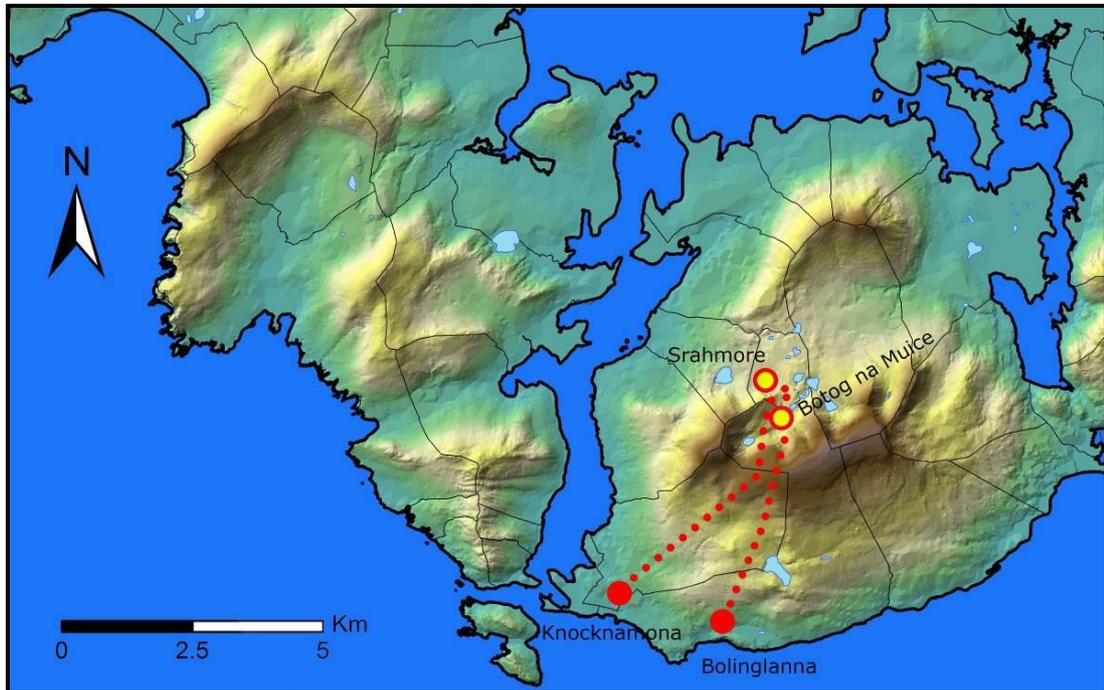


Fig. 48 – Approach from Bolinglanna to *Botóg na Muice*.

5.4.5 – Adjacent sites

No adjacent sites are visible in the general vicinity of the site.

5.5 – Dirk (Fig. 42; see Appendix One, Site D; MA042-01302).

Graham (1954, 55) using folklore then current, indicated that Dirk had functioned as a booley settlement. The Medlycott Rent Rolls and the O’Donnel papers indicate that Dirk was associated with the permanent settlement of Keel during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, despite lying in the townland of Dugort West today (National Library of Ireland MS 5736).

5.5.1 – General siting

The settlement at Dirk is sited at a height of between 140m –185m OD on relatively gently sloping ground on the otherwise extremely steep north-western slopes of

Slievemore Mountain (Fig. 49; Pl. 21).

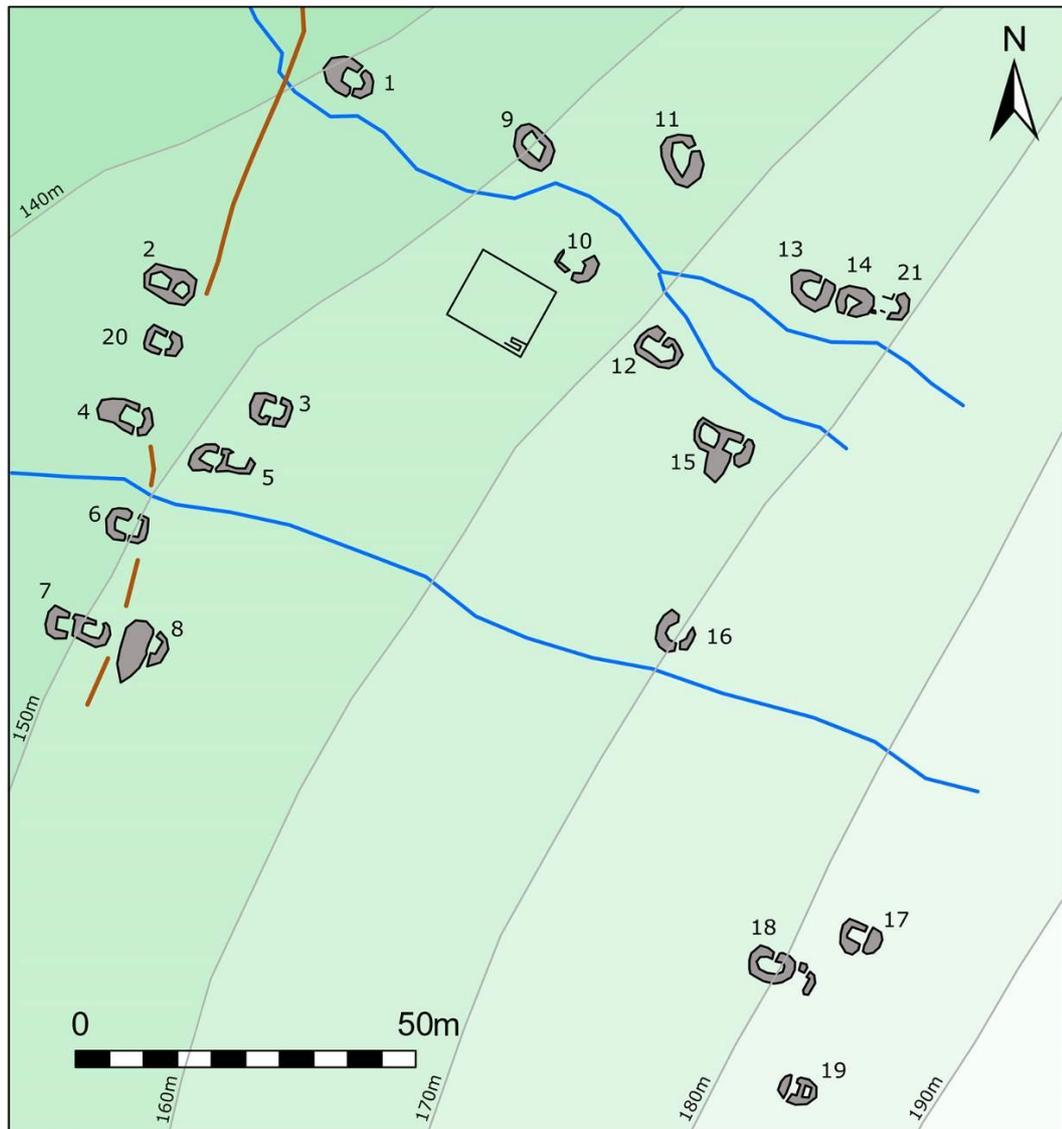


Fig. 49 – Site plan of Dirk booley settlement.

Cliffs overlooking Blacksod Bay occur 0.2km to the north, north-east and west of the site. A dangerous inlet of the sea, known as Ooghnadirka is located 0.7km to the north-east of the site. This has been the location of several tragic misadventures involving shepherds and livestock in the past – the last tragic accident taking place in 1985 when three sheep farmers and their dogs were swept off the cliffs here in the summer of the that year. Dirk is very hard to access in winter due to high winds and its general exposure to the elements (Tom Fadian, farmer, pers. comm.). Two streams run downslope through the site in a westerly direction towards the cliffs.



Pl. 21 – Dirk booley village looking south west towards Annagh (indicated by red arrow). Fiorin Grass is visible in this photograph, along with rushes.

5.5.2 – The morphology of the settlement

The site consists of an unplanned nucleated settlement of 21 houses, which can be divided into three clusters (Fig. 49). Houses D1, D9, D10, D11, D12, D13, D14, D15 and D21 run east to west on the northern and southern sides of the northern stream that courses through the settlement. Houses D2, D3, D4, D5, D6, D7, D8 and D20 are clustered on the western side of the site, close to the southern stream. Three houses, D17, D18 and D19, are located on the south-eastern side of the site, 80m or so from the other two clusters. House D16 is located on its own in the middle of the site between three clusters on the northern bank of the southernmost stream.

A square enclosure, 10m by 10m in area, defined by a collapsed 0.8m high, 1m-wide, dry-stone built wall occurs just to the south of the northern stream and cluster on the site. This seems to have been used for cultivation or possibly as an enclosure or pen to keep certain cattle (perhaps calves or sick livestock) away from the rest of the herd. Furthermore, an earthen, stone-lined bank, 1.5m – 1.9m in width and 1m in

height, can be seen running along the cliff edge from the south-east to the north-east of the site. It is about 500m in length. It is clear that this bank was created to prevent cattle and other livestock from falling over the nearby cliffs.

5.5.3 – The natural resources at Dirk

The settlement of Dirk occurs in a virtual green oasis of grassland, about 120 hectares in extent, surrounded on its landward sides by a rock-strewn, blanket-bog mountain landscape. This grassland consists of Purple Moor Grass, particularly Fiorin Grass and salt-tolerant herbs (Harkin 1995; Praeger 1904, 270). The grazing in the area is still highly valued by people in Keel today who drive large flocks of sheep there in summertime (Martin Calvey, farmer, and Martin Gallagher, farmer, pers. comm.). The two streams that run through the settlement would have been used for washing purposes and watering livestock.

5.5.4 – The natural line of approach to Dirk

As noted above, Dirk seems to be associated with the permanent settlement of Keel, which lies 4km from it (Fig. 50). It is noticeable that Keel farmers still pasture their sheep at Dirk today, as stated, confirming the long association between the two places. This is also interesting because sheep are moved today along what must be the same route taken by earlier transhumants and their livestock. The easiest and best line of approach from Keel was (and is) to move livestock to the western end of the now-deserted village of Slievemore, then across flat, peat-covered, rocky terrain to an inlet of the sea at Ogul on the northern coast of the island. Then there was a climb north-eastwards up Slievemore along the western end of Dugort West townland boundary to an elevation of 170m OD. From here, access to Dirk is across rock-strewn blanket bog. The journey time from Keel to Dirk, tested during the course of the research for this thesis, taken this the easiest route, is two and a half to three hours for a modern walker due to the rough nature of the terrain. Presumably cattle would have taken longer.

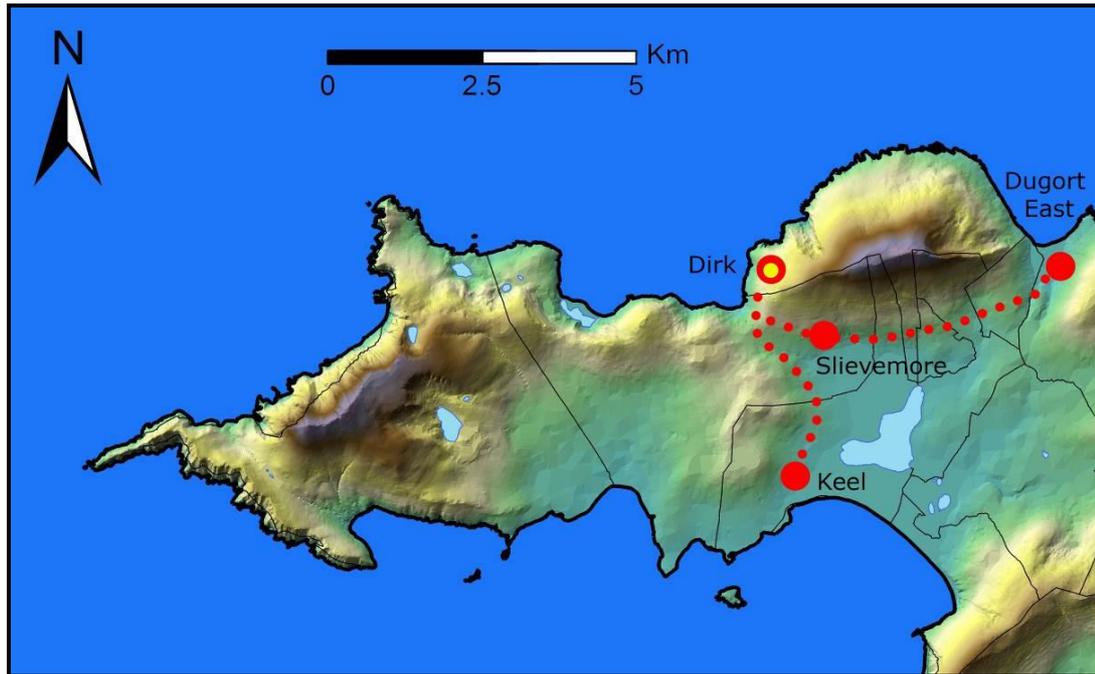


Fig. 50 – Line of approach to Dirk from Keel Village and Dugort East townland.

5.6 – Cuillaloughaun (Fig. 42; see Appendix One, Site C).

Evidence from nineteenth century Rent Rolls and Tithes show that people from the permanent settlement of Dooniver on Achill Island and Claggan Mountain, off the Corraun Peninsula in Ballycroy, booleyed at Cuillaloughaun on the eastern side of the Corraun Peninsula (Graham 1954, 48). Furthermore, this site at Cuillaloughaun is described as booley of Dooniver in 1838-40. However, folklore still extant also confirms that people from the permanent settlement of Claggan on Achill Island and from Claggan Mountain in Ballycroy booleyed at Cuillaloughaun and Cartron (*Seanteach an Chartúin*) townlands as well (Anthony Kilbane, pers. comm.). A permanent settlement in the townland is marked down by the coast on Bald's map of 1817, about 1km to the north-east (Fig. 6). About 30 acres of oats and potatoes and some rye were cultivated along the shore in the east of the townland and on the banks of the Glennaneen River (Tithe Applotment Books 1834). Strangely, no tradition exists of people in this nearby settlement booleyng at the site.

5.6.1 – General siting

The site at Cuillaloughaun is sited in a sheltered valley at a height of 60m OD (Pl. 22). The surrounding area comprises uncultivated bog and good heathy pasture. The

three definite booley houses there are situated on the left and right bank of the Glenanean River which flows northwards to the sea.



Pl. 22 – Cuillaloughaun looking north-west.

5.6.2 – The morphology of the settlement

The site consists of three booley houses located in a small, nucleated cluster on either side of the Glenanean (*Gleann an Éin*) River (Fig.51). The site is marked on the 1838 First Edition Ordnance Survey map and this suggests that there was a fourth house at the site, which can be seen today as a scatter of stones. However, a large 5-roomed farmhouse, with a large yard, also marked on the First Edition Ordnance Survey Six-Inch map occurs 60m to the north of site. Historical and still-extant folklore evidence suggests that this house was a permanent herd's house linked to the Marquis of Sligo's estate in the area. This was confirmed by Josie Heaney (Josie Heaney, pers. comm). The three extant houses (C2, C3 and C4) are partly built into the banks of the Glenanean River, presumably to provide better insulation and shelter from the elements.

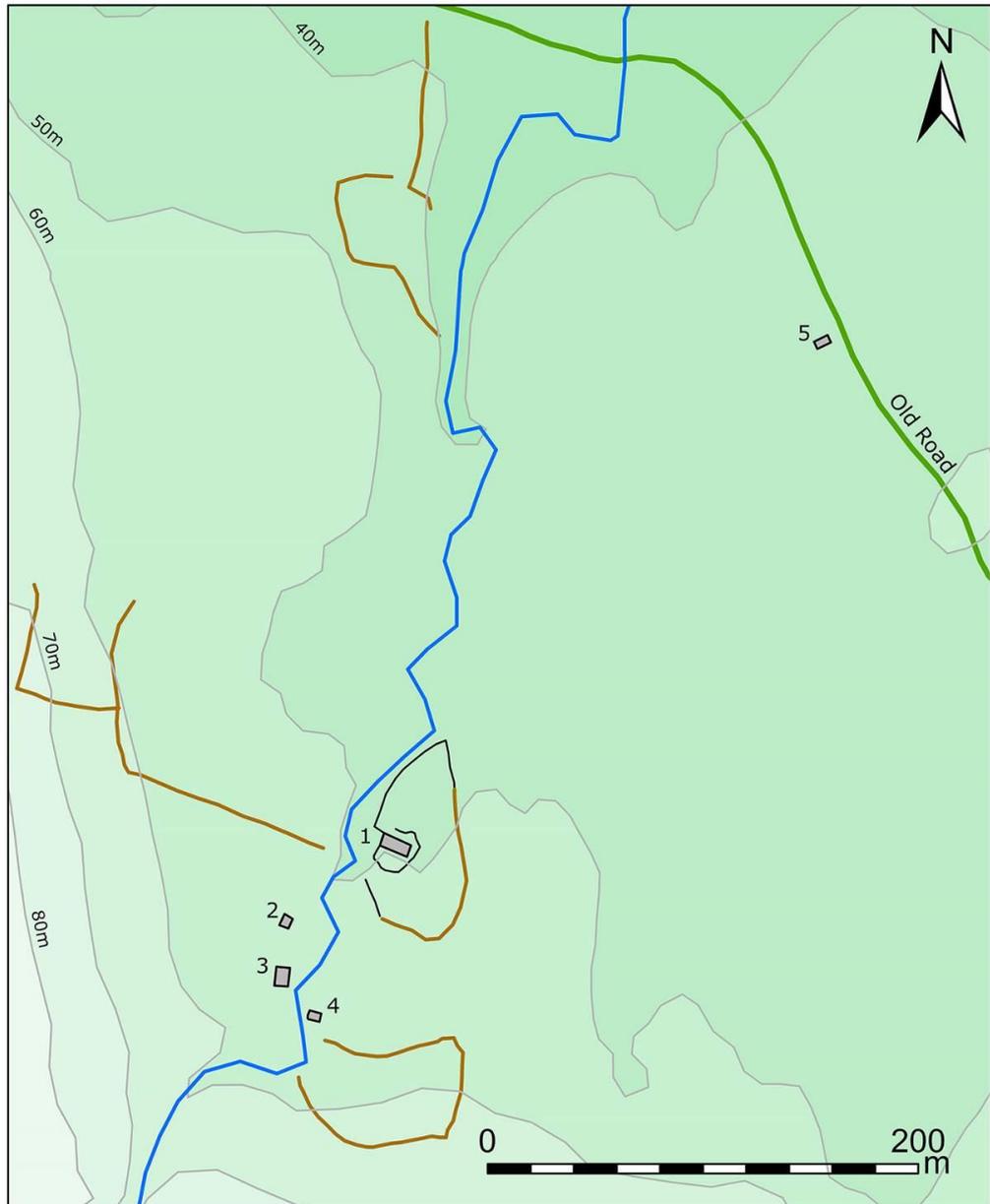


Fig. 51 – Plan of the booley settlement at Cuillaloughaun. An old road, locally called *Bóthar Lady Mahon* can be seen on the north east of the plan with C5 lying to the south east.

5.6.3 – *The natural resources at Cuillaloughaun*

The Gleanaean River would have provided water for both cattle and humans to drink. It would also have provided trout. A substantial amount of lazy bed cultivation ridges occur just to the north of the site. These are probably associated in their present form with the large herd's house but show the potential of the site for cultivation. Rough grazing with Purple Moor Grass, Fiorin Grass and ling heather exist in the vicinity of site. Blanket bog also exists around the site. The coast is only 1km to the east of the site and possibly this would have also provided additional marine resources. The old

roadway that runs 200m north east of the site would also have provided access to nearby Mullranny and Claggan Mountain in Ballycroy.

5.6.4 – The natural line of approach to Cuillaloughan.

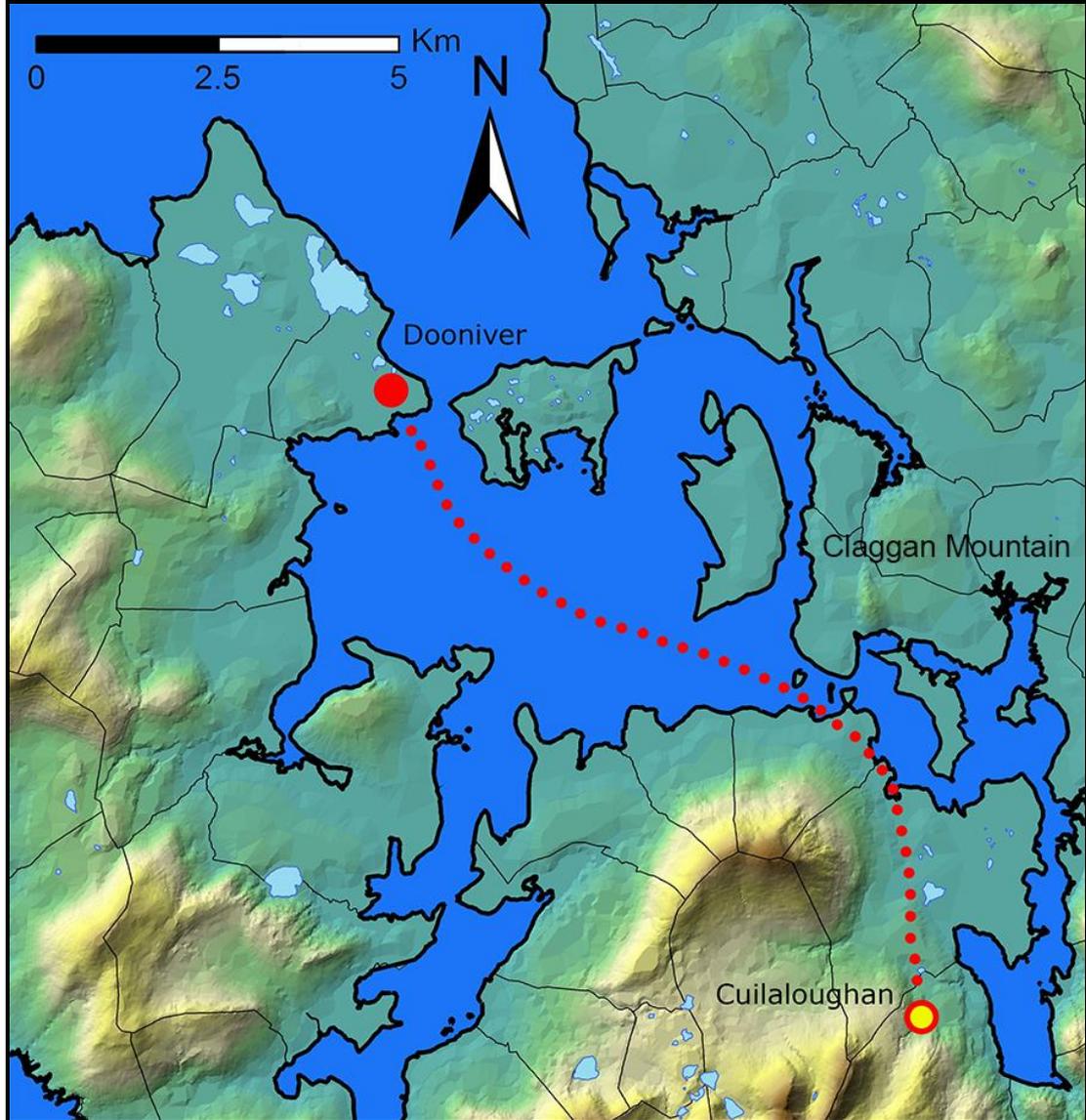


Fig. 52 – The line of approach to Cuillaloughan.

As noted, the site of Cuillaloughan is stated to be both the booley of Dooniver on Achill Island and Claggan Mountain, Ballycroy. Dooniver is 15km as the crow flies across the Corraun Peninsula and Achill Sound from the site (Fig. 52). Graham (1954, 60) suggests that the Dooniver people took their cattle across the Sound, presumably at low tide, using boats to help ferry swimming cattle across to Corraun. Presumably they would have driven the cattle down the present R319, the Mullranny/

Achill Sound Road (marked on Bald's early nineteenth century map) and then up the Gleanaean River to the site – a trip of about 14km.

The Claggan Mountain people probably swam their cattle at low tide across the 0.25km shallows between Claggan and Gubillannawaud peninsula on Corraun and then down the present R319 and then up the Gleanaean River to the site – a distance of 5.5km.

5.7 – Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghaur (Fig. 42; see Appendix One, Site T).

The clusters of houses at Tawnaghmore and Tawnaghaur in Keel West townland are separated by a mere 300m and should be seen as one site (Fig. 53). Graham (1954, 59) using folklore then current, indicated that Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghaur had functioned as a booley settlement in living memory. However, there is no indication of where the permanent settlement associated with this booley was located. However, the nearest permanent settlement to it is Dooagh, at least after *c.* 1850.

5.7.1 – General siting

The site is located on ground sloping gently south-eastwards. The sixteen houses (T1-T16) visible today at Tawnaghmore are located at an elevation of 97m OD, while the four houses at Tawnaghaur (T17 – T20), which is downslope from it, are sited at a height of 79m OD. The former site is located along the left and right banks of the *Abhainnabhaile* River, which flows in a south easterly direction and enters the sea at Dooagh. Tawnaghaur occurs just to the south-west and is sited along a stream that is a tributary of the latter river.

5.7.2 – The morphology of the settlement

Tawnaghmore is really a nucleated settlement of unplanned houses running in linear fashion over 170m of ground along the *Abhainnabhaile* River, as noted. However, three of the sixteen houses (T14, T15 and T16) are located 100m west of the main group in a somewhat separate cluster (Fig. 53). Two of the four houses at Tawnaghaur (T17 – T18) are located beside one another on the banks of the above mentioned stream. One house (T19) occurs about 120m to the north of the latter two houses, while the last one (T20) occurs on its own about 80m to their south west.

This means that there are twenty houses visible at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaure in all.



Pl. 23 – Houses at Tawnaghmore strung out in linear formation on the banks of the *Abhainabhaile* River.

5.7.3 – The natural resources at Tawnaghmore /Tawnaghlaure

Purple Moor Grass, Fiorin Grass, herbs and heather grow amid and on the blanket bog around the site. A number of reclaimed fields, used for pasture today, can be seen to the south of the site, again emphasising the grazing potential of the site's immediate vicinity. There are faint traces of lazy bed cultivation over an area of 1 hectare, about 40m to the north-west of the site. Some 200m south of Tawnaghmore, near Tawnaghlaure to its east, are two enclosures defined by eroded earthen banks that are *c.*0.5m in height, and 0.6m in width. The first enclosure measures *c.*20m east/west by 11.5m north/south. The second enclosure sited *c.*50m away to the south east measures *c.*17m east/west by 12m north/south.

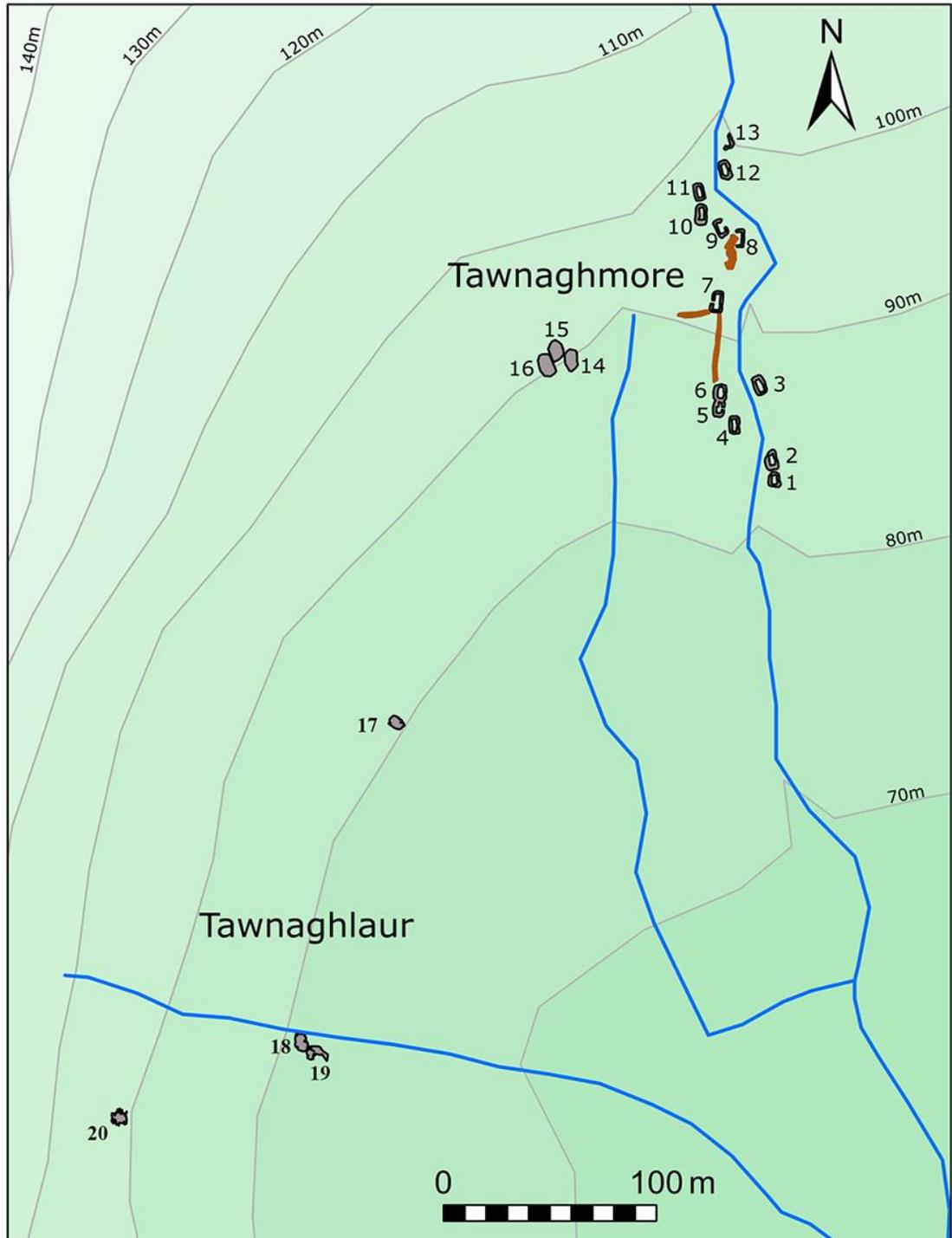


Fig. 53 – Site plan of Tawnaghmore and Tawnaghlaur.

5.7.4 – The natural line of approach to Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaur

It is uncertain what permanent settlement was associated with Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaur but it was suggested above that it was Dooagh, which lies on the coast about 2.5km to the south east. Access to Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaur from Dooagh is

really along the banks of the *Abhainnabhaile* River, following a bog road, a narrow grass-covered track and a glacial ridge to reach the site (Fig. 54).

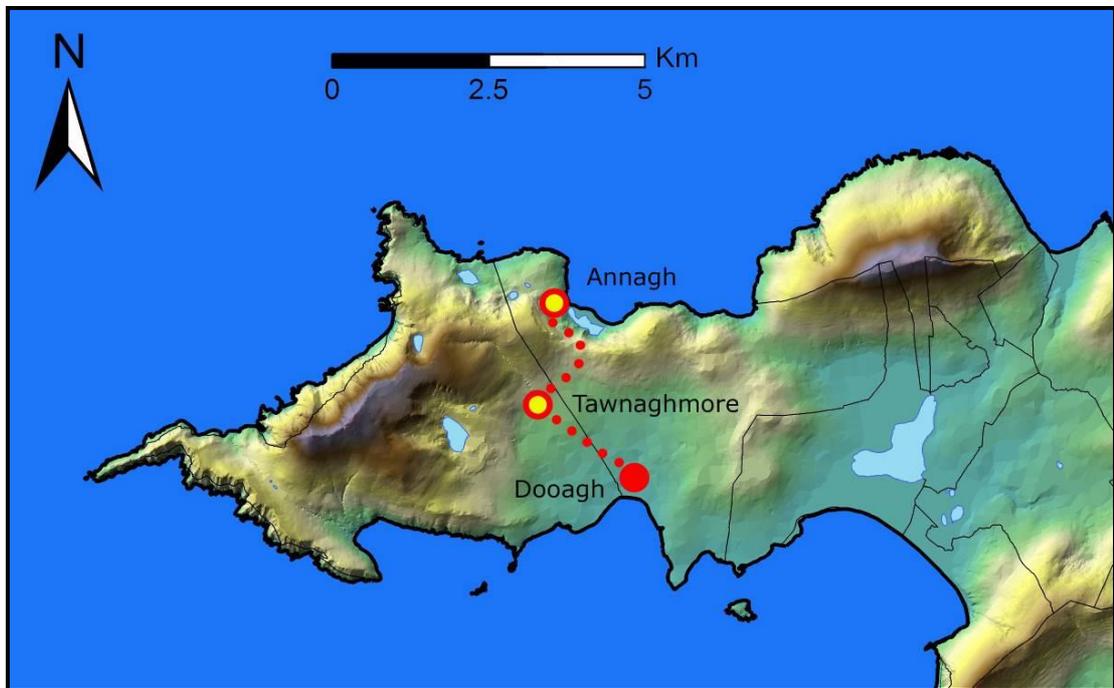


Fig. 54 – The line of approach from Dooagh to Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaur and onwards to Annagh.

5.8 – Sites in the Civil Parish of Achill that were once booleys that became permanent settlements.

This section refers to two sites, Bellanasally and Dooagh, where the historical and folklore evidence suggests were once booleys but became permanent settlements over the course of the nineteenth century (Figs. 41 – 42). No physical remains of booley houses occur in these places today, as the later permanent settlements have destroyed all evidence of them. However, much can still be said about the siting of these old booley sites, the natural resources that were available at them and the distance transhumants would have to travel to them from the original permanent settlements associated with them.

5.8.1 – Bellanasally (Fig.42; NGR: 66164, 306870)

The small townland of Bellanasally located in the centre of Achill Island is stated to be the booley of Dookinelly Thulis in the late 1830s – the landlord being Sir Richard

O'Donnell (OSFNB Mayo, 20). In 1838, this townland belonged to Sir Richard O'Donnell and was said to be the booley of Dookinelly Calvy. Confusingly, at that time, there were two places named Bellanasally, one adjoining the townland of Dookinelly Thulis and the other (the present day permanent settlement adjoining the townland of Dookinelly Calvy). Each of the Bellanasally settlements was the booleys of Dookinelly Calvy and Dookinelly Thulis (ibid.). There is no trace of the Bellanasally associated with Dookinelly Thulis. This settlement was also situated close to Maumnaman townland which was also said to be the booley of Dookinelly Thulis which means that this townland had two booleys. This arrangement would seem to hark back to the seventeenth century when this entire area was listed as 6 Bals in the Books of Survey and Distribution (see 8.3; Books of Survey and Distribution, Vol 2, 158). John O'Donovan may have been confused about this arrangement for it was in relation to this that he says 'the people in both the island and parish have two townlands and houses built on each where they remove occasionally with their cattle. These townlands are held under one lease, one of these farms is called a boulay' (OSFNB Parish of Achill 1838, 25). This seems to confirm a much older origin for booleying, harking back to the seventeenth century.

Graham (1954, 59) also stated that Bellanasally had once been a booley site, despite the fact that it was a permanent settlement when she visited the island. In 1841 the townland had no population but 26 houses. A decade later, in 1851, the population of the townland was thirty six, distributed between nine houses (ibid.). This seems to suggest that at some stage during the decade 1841-1851, Bellanasally moved from being a booley settlement to a permanent one, despite the fact that the Great Famine had occurred during these years.

5.8.2 – General siting

Bellanasally is located on the gentle southern slopes of a gravel ridge in an area of good pasture and lowland blanket bog at a height of between 20m and 50m OD. A stream flows through the settlement.



Fig. 55 – Location of Dooagh Village showing relationship to Slievemore and Keel.



Pl. 24 – A general view from the top of Minaun showing Loughannaderriga crannóg and lake in foreground, Keel Lake in the middle and Bellanasally to the left of this lake.

5.8.3 – The morphology of the settlement

This is unknown as no visible surface remains of the booley settlement can be seen

above ground level today. However, as just stated above, twenty six houses may have been located here when it was a booley settlement prior to the 1840s. A wooden spade (gowl-gob) and a wooden bowl were found in a bog to the north of the Bellanasally Road and near an old bog road that leads to Dugort in the 1990s and are /were in the possession of the O'Malley family of Bellanasally.

5.8.4 – The natural resources at Bellanasally

There is good pasture throughout the townland. Furthermore, lots of lazy-bed cultivation ridges can be seen at several locations within it. It is probable that many of these ridges are the result of cultivation carried out since the 1850s and linked to the people who have lived in the permanent settlement of Bellanasally since then. However, it is noteworthy that Bellanasally is described as having good pasture and 130 acres cultivated for potatoes in the late 1830s, at a time when nobody lived permanently within the townland and when it seems to have functioned as a booley settlement (OSFNB Parish of Achill 1838, 20). This strongly suggests that the people who booleyed at Bellanasally cultivated at least some potatoes. Gallagher's River which flows through the townland would have provided water for both humans and livestock.

5.8.5 – The line of approach

As noted, Bellanasally is linked with the permanent settlements of Dookinelly Thulis and Dookinelly Calvy before the mid-nineteenth century. The former settlement lies about 2.5km to the south of Bellanasally, while the latter adjoins it. The approach from Dookinelly Thulis would have been about 2 miles across relatively easy low-lying ground and likewise from Dookinelly Calvy (Fig. 56).

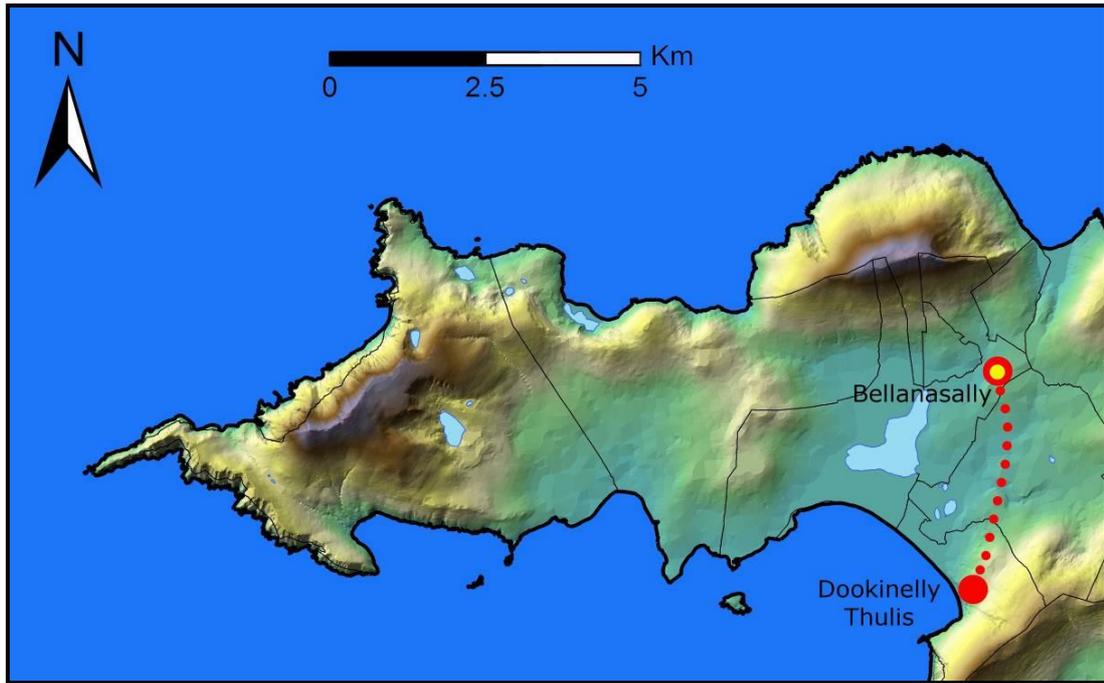


Fig. 56 – The line of approach from Dookinelly Thulis to Bellanasally.

5.9 – Dooagh (Fig. 42; NGR: 60383, 304935).

Dooagh appears to have been the booley of Slievemore, prior to when the latter settlement was deserted in the mid-nineteenth century. Hall and Hall (1841-43, iii, 403) state that Dooagh was still a booley around 1840, with apparently up to forty houses at the settlement. It appears to have been an unplanned, clustered settlement when it was a booley, although the influx of settlers from Slievemore *c.* 1838 saw the beginning of a more ordered arrangement (see Fig. 57). Ó Moghrain referred to the Dooagh people booleying at Slievemore and stated that this settlement was once occupied ‘by the ancestors of the present Dooagh tenants’ (Ó Moghráin 1943, 164-65). Michael J. O’Kelly stated that the Slievemore people had booleyed at Dooagh but ‘when they were evicted from Slievemore they went to live permanently at Dooagh’ (O’ Kelly 1942, 7). Eventually all of the Slievemore people moved permanently to Dooagh and this process seems to have been finished by *c.* 1852 (Graham 1954, 51). Graham also stated that the seventy-one houses in Dooagh Village were held ‘free at will’ and ‘reckoned with the Slievemore houses owned by the same tenants, but no mention is given of seasonal migration from one house to the other’ (Graham 1954, 59). People from the then permanent settlement at Keem also moved to Dooagh and Keel around this time too (Martineau 1852). This all

shows that Dooagh was a booley settlement prior to the mid-nineteenth century and that it functioned as a permanent settlement after this date, as it does today.

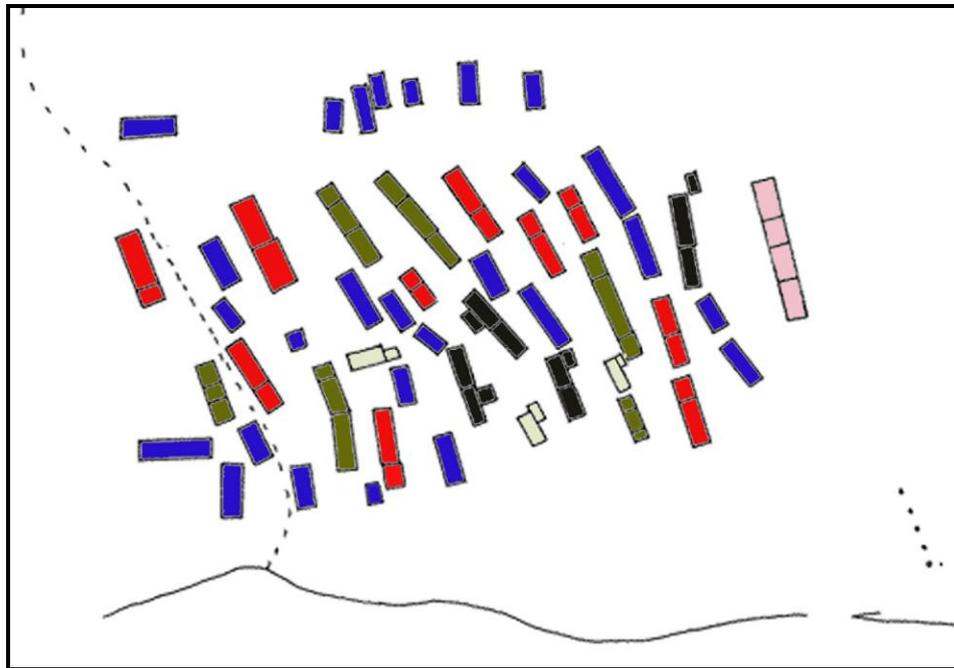


Fig. 57 – Dooagh Village in the late 1830s, when it was a permanent village (copied by the author from an unknown Surveyor’s sketch on the First Edition Ordnance Survey Six-Inch map, with permission of the Irish Land Commission).

5.9.1 – General siting

Dooagh is located both on ground slightly sloping towards the south and on flat ground beside the seashore at an elevation of about 10m OD. The original and main settlement is sited between the *Abhainnabhaile* and Tonreege (*Teangai*) Rivers above.

5.9.2 – The morphology of the settlement

There are no visible surface remains of the booley settlement today but it appears that up to forty houses may have been associated with the site (Hall and Hall 1841-43, iii, 403). However, a plan of the site in 1838 suggests it was an unplanned nucleated cluster (Fig. 57).

5.9.3 – The natural resources at Dooagh

Excellent grazing occurs in the vicinity of Dooagh today. Lazy bed cultivation ridges

also occur around the settlement. It is probable that many of these ridges are the result of cultivation carried out since the 1850s and linked to the people who have lived in the permanent settlement at the site since then. Nevertheless, it shows the potential of the soil here for cultivation and suggests that potato and crop growing may have been carried out by transhumants at Dooagh prior to the mid-nineteenth century. However, local tradition states that seed potatoes for sowing at Dooagh were purchased from the tenants at Slievemore, presumably the Achill Mission tenants who settled in Faiche after the exodus of the former tenants to Dooagh. The coastal location of Dooagh would have allowed the transhumants a chance to fish, collect seaweed for manure, collect driftwood for both burning and building purposes and to gather shellfish for food. Indeed, Hall and Hall (1841-43, iii, 403) suggest that fishing and cultivation was carried out at Dooagh by menfolk during the summer, while the cattle were tended by what are referred to as ‘dairy girls’. The *Abhainnabhaile* River and Tonragee Rivers would have provided water for both humans and livestock.

5.9.4 – The line of approach from Slievemore to Dooagh

The transhumants travelling from Slievemore to Dooagh prior to the 1850s would have had a journey of 4km. Again, this would have been across relatively flat, low lying ground that would have easy for cattle to traverse (Fig. 58).

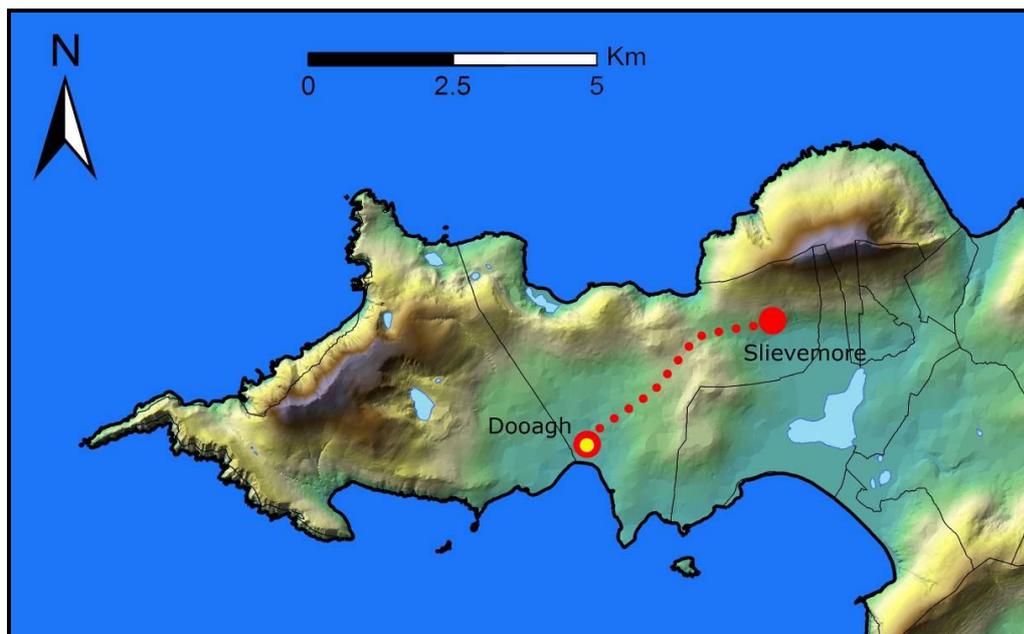


Fig. 58 – The line of approach from Slievemore to the then booley village of Dooagh.

5.10 – Permanent sites in the Civil Parish of Achill that became booleys.

This section consists of three sites, Carrowgarve, Keem and Slievemore, that the historical and folklore evidence suggests were once permanent settlements that became booleys over the course of the nineteenth century (Fig. 42).

5.10.1 – Carrowgarve/Carrowgarrow (Fig. 42; see Appendix Two, Site CE)

Using folklore then extant, Graham (1954, 60) stated that Carrowgarve, also known as Carrowgarrow, which is a small townland in the south of Achill Island, was involved in booleying at some stage in the past. She also stated that Carrowgarve was the booley of Mweelin (ibid.). It appears to have been a small permanent settlement as it is marked as one on Bald's early nineteenth century map of Achill (Fig. 6). The Ordnance Survey Field Name Books 1838 state that Carrowgarve was a very rocky townland, the booley of Mweelin with fifty acres reclaimed and cultivated with potatoes and rye (OSFNB 1838 Parish of Achill, 21). When Carrowgarve was deserted as a permanent settlement by the mid nineteenth century, it became the booley of Mweelin, north of Dooega.

5.10.2 – General siting

The site which comprises four clusters of houses, totalling fourteen in 1921, is located at 150 m OD on a relatively flat plateau of rocky ground generally sloping to the south west (Fig. 59; Pl. 25). A stream is located on the south eastern side of the site. Downslope to the south, east and west are substantial cultivation ridges.

5.10.3 – The morphology of the settlement

Carrowgarve Village, then a permanent settlement, is depicted as a cluster of five houses on the 1838 First Edition Ordnance Survey Six-Inch Map 65. The five houses in what was depicted as Carrowgarrow Village have been demolished and holiday homes built on the site. The site was an unplanned nucleated settlement. About three hectares of cultivation ridges or lazy beds can be seen adjoining the site downslope to its south and south west.

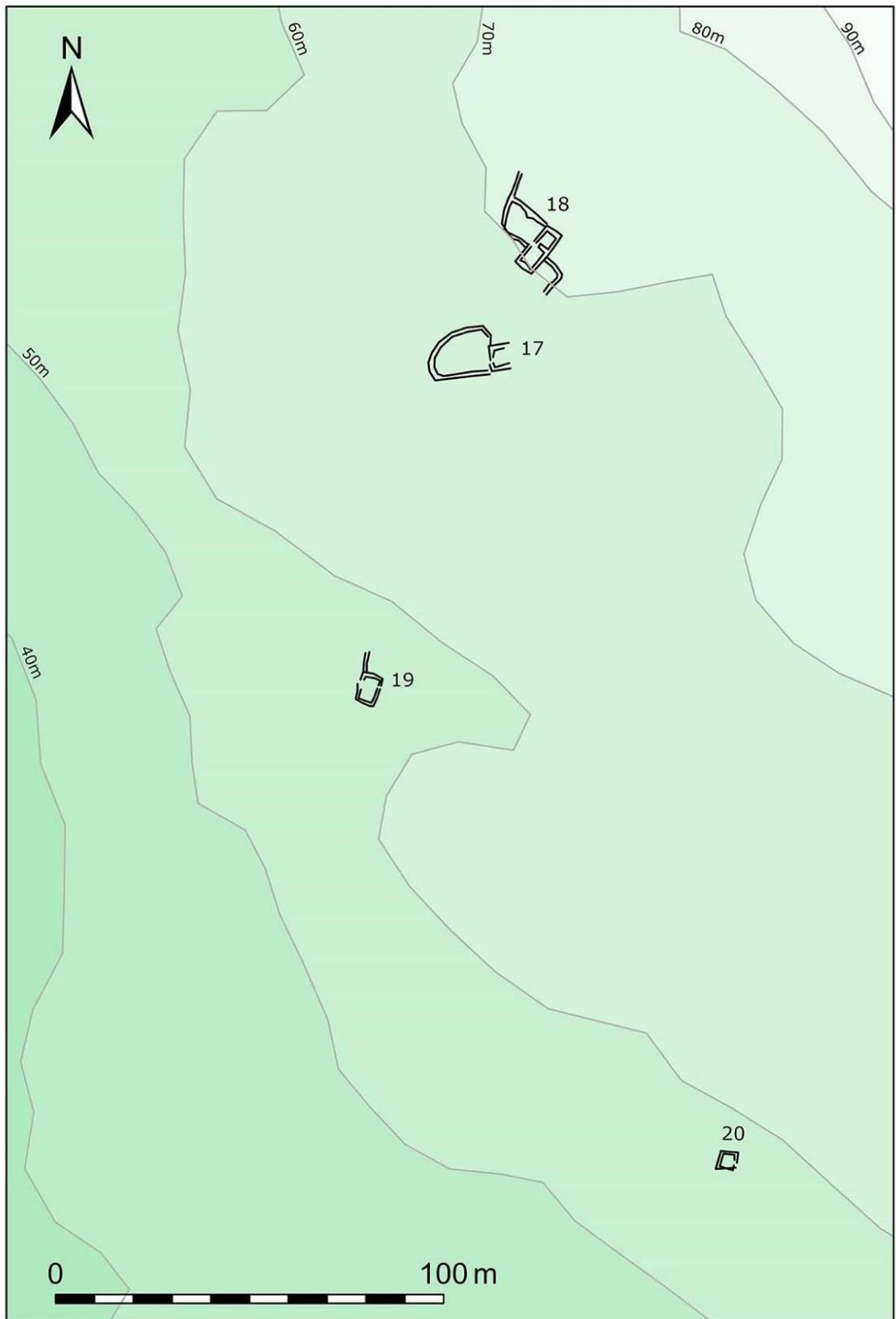


Fig. 59 – Site plan of Carrowgarve and remaining houses and enclosures.



Pl. 25 – Carrowgarve 2013 looking southeast with the remains of CE17 in foreground.

5.10.4 – The natural resources at Carrowgarve/Carrowgarrow

The townland in the nineteenth century and before consists of mostly mountain pasture but some arable was found within it. Furthermore, it would appear that the Mweelin tenants who were booleying there in the mid-nineteenth century were also growing rye (see 5.10.1). Rough pasture can be seen throughout the townland with heather, Fiorin Grass and Purple Moor Grass predominant. However, the area of lazy beds that can be seen to the south and south-west of the site shows the potential for potato and crop growing in the vicinity of the site.

5.10.5 – The line of approach to Carrowgarve/Carrowgarrow

It must be presumed that the Mweelin people walked their cattle southwards across rocky terrain along the coast to Carrowgarve. In all, this was a distance of about 7.5km – 8km (Fig. 60).

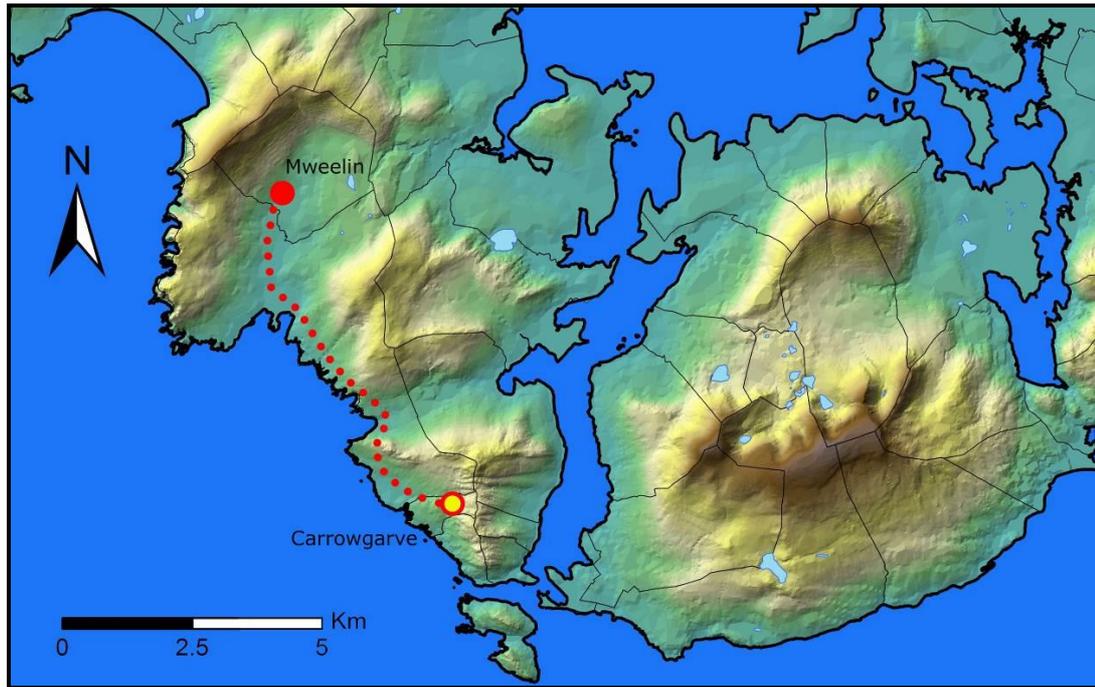


Fig. 60 –The line of approach to Carrowgarve from Mweelin, when it was a booley.

5.11 – Keem (Fig. 42; see Appendix Two, Site K).

Keem is marked as a permanent settlement on Bald’s early nineteenth century map (Fig. 6). A number of writers refer to Keem being deserted as a permanent settlement during the course of the 1830s (Otway 1839, 373; Hall and Hall 1841-43, iii, 157; Martineau 1852, 152; Howard 1855, 164; Graham 1954, 57). It then became a booley settlement only occupied during the summer. Otway (1839, 373) stated that the site was only inhabited by ‘girls’ in the summer after it was deserted as a permanent settlement. Harriet Martineau described it in 1852 as ‘a village of roofless stone cottages, now becoming grass-grown (Martineau 1852, 152). Harris Stone referred to boys and girls booleying at Keem in the first years of the twentieth century (Stone 1906, 309-16). Ó Moghrain (1943, 167) on then extant folklore evidence, stated that Keem was a booley settlement. Stone and Ó Moghráin appear not to know that it had once been a permanent settlement prior to the late 1830s. Anyway, the main point is that Keem seems to have been a permanent settlement that had become a booley settlement by the late 1830s. Coincidentally this concurs with the advertising and leasing of Keel West townland by the Land Agent and famous agriculturist, William Blacker, whose nephew Murray McGregor Blacker, together with Charles Cunningham Boycott established a residence at Keem in 1855-

56 (Achill Missionary Herald and Western Witness 1838-1856; Mc Donald 2006, 174).

5.11.1 – General siting.

This coastal site is located at 50m OD in a valley on relatively flat ground sloping gently to the south and south-east (Fig. 66). Keem Beach lies just to the south-east of the site (Pl. 26). A stream runs south-eastwards to the east of the site. The Shruffaunbunowna lies to the west of site. Like the old village at Dooagh, Keem Village was sited between two streams.

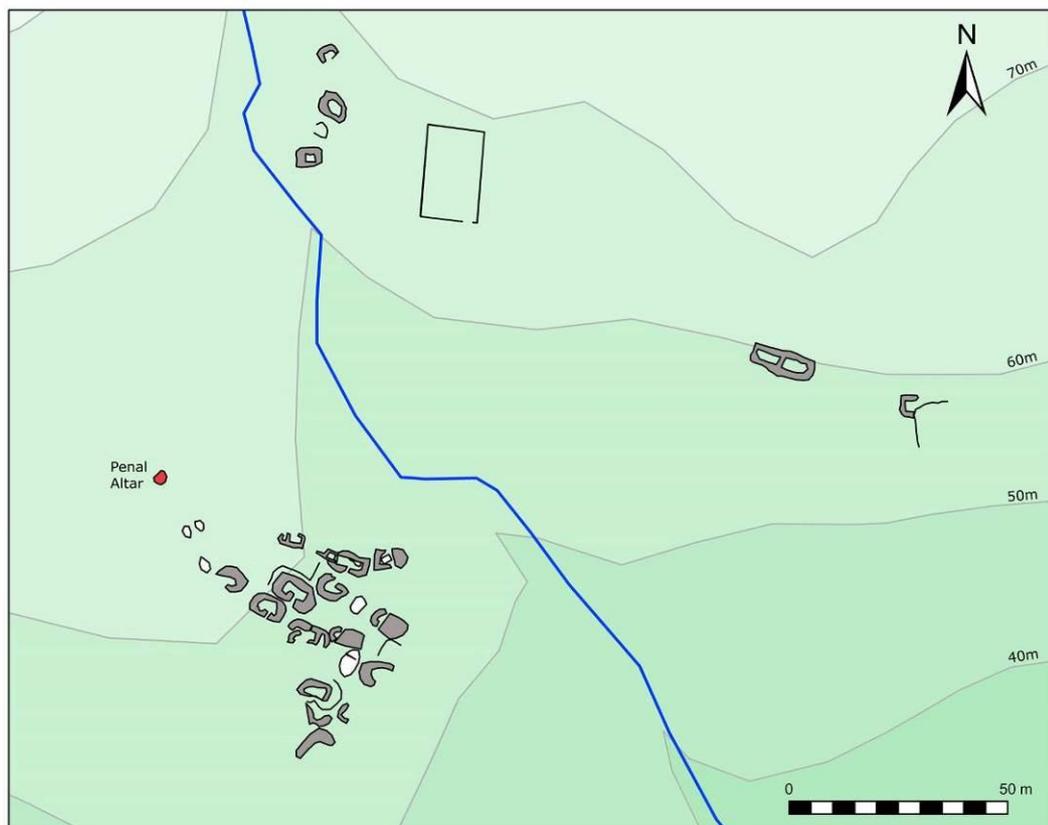
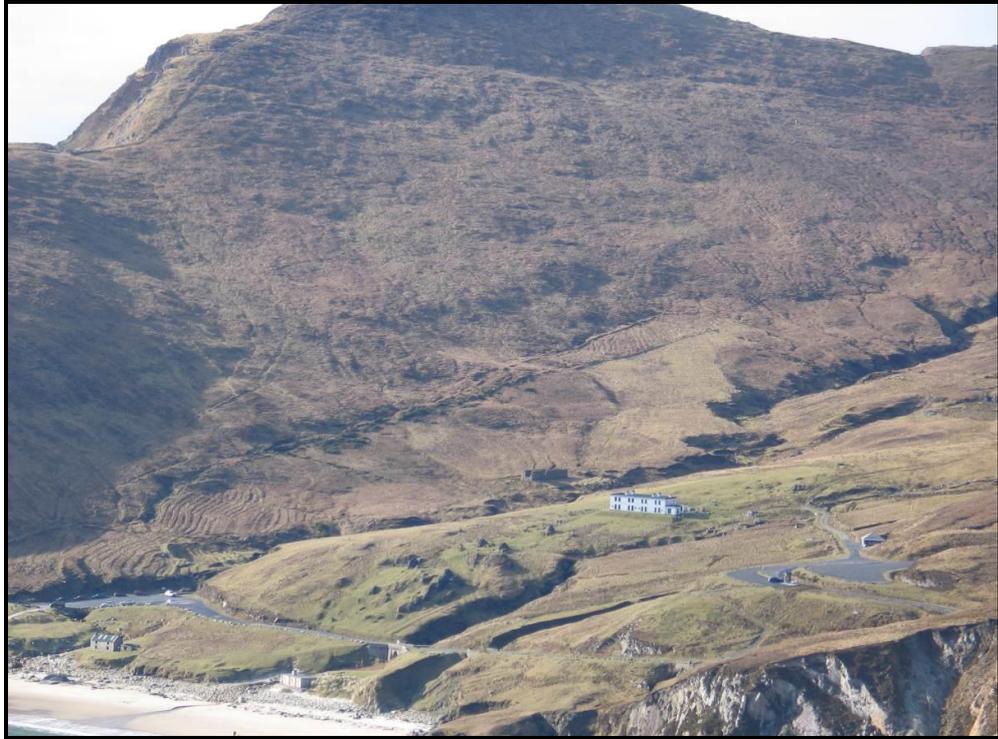


Fig. 61 – The settlement at Keem showing Penal altar and modern sheep enclosure pen.

5.11.2 – The morphology of the settlement

Twenty houses can be seen today at Keem, the majority occurring as a nucleated cluster on the southern edge of the site, with a few outliers. However, the 1838 Ordnance Survey Fair Plan of the site shows a full forty one houses at the site (Fig. 61; Appendix Two: Site K1 – 23). It must be remembered that the settlement here was originally a permanent one and only became a booley settlement at a later date.

It shows forty-one houses, the two streams running through the settlement and a roadway/track into the valley. The white area seems to represent the area around the settlement that was cultivated at that time.



Pl. 26 – Keem Bay – the remains of Keem Village are located directly north of the Coastguard Station. Note extensive areas of lazy bed cultivation ridges to the west and south west.

5.11.3 – The natural resources

The area around the site is regarded as excellent pasture today, with Purple Moor Grass, Fiorin Grass in abundance. In the nineteenth century, Keem was also well-known for a variety of medicinal herbs, none of which are available today (Howard 1855, 163-64). This is corroborated by local tradition that also refers to people gathering medicinal herbs at Keem (John Moran, pers. comm.). Cultivation ridges occur in profusion around Keem. The fact that they are of different sizes suggests that oats and other crops were grown, not just potatoes. It must be presumed that these ridges are linked to cultivation by the people who lived here permanently before the late 1830s but it is highly likely that the transhumants continued to cultivate at least part of this area during their summer sojourn at the site, as it would have been a waste of good resources not to do so. Furthermore, fishing (a small salmon fishery existed here in the late nineteenth century) was possible from Keem

Beach and off the rocks nearby. Shellfish, dulse and seaweed for manure could also have been gathered by the transhumants at Keem. Dulse gathered from Keem Beach (along with dulse from Annagh – Site A) is regarded as the best quality and best-tasting in the study area (Michael Gielty, pers. comm.). Driftwood from the beach could also have been collected for burning and roofing purposes (Otway 1839, 356). The two streams would have provided water for both humans and livestock. The water at Keem is valued for its properties even today being collected by the inhabitants of Dooagh village and beyond from two spring wells that are sited up from Keem Bay beach, close to the Shruffaunbunowna River which lies on top of the only limestone seam in the entire study area.

5.11.4 – The line of approach to Keem

Harris Stone mentioned that the boys and girls who booleyed in Keem came from Keel (Stone 1906, 416). This seems to be the permanent site associated with Keem. This is confirmed by O’Donovan who stated that Keel West townland including Kim (Keem) was ‘the boulay belonging to Keel East’ (OSFNB 1838 Parish of Achill, 28-9, 41). Keel village lies in the townland of Keel East, about 7km to the east along the coast from Keem. Cattle may have been brought to Keem, via Dooagh, along what is now the R319, across basically gentle terrain. However, some evidence suggests that the Keel people went via Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghaur to Keem, perhaps because the Dooagh people would have been unhappy with cattle from Keel moving through their area, eating their grass (Graham 1954, 57). This would have made the journey from Keel to Keem a little longer than the direct route – possibly 8km (Fig. 62).

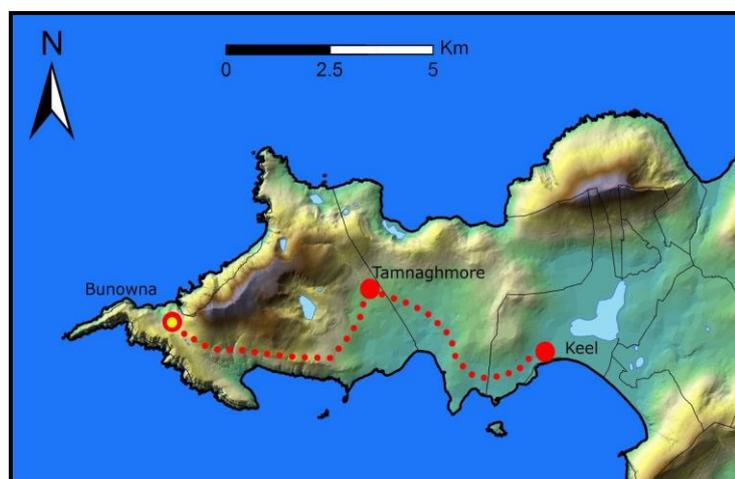


Fig. 62 – Line of approach from Keel to the then booley settlement at Keem to Bunowna.

5.11.5 – Adjacent sites

A Coastguard Station constructed in 1906 lies within the old Keem village, its construction destroying some of the houses. Immediately adjacent and north of the village is a Penal Altar where a priest would say Mass during the period of the Penal Laws. Several large partially submerged rocks in Keem Bay and a cave on Keel Strand bear place-names associated with this period i.e. *Gaoi Saggart* (Priests' Rock). Some 200m to the west of the village on the western side of the Shruffaunbunowna River is a large two-storey rectangular building known as the Grain Store. 400m north of the village is Charles Boycott's manor house that was burnt down in the late nineteenth century. Local tradition maintains that stones from Keem Village houses were used in the construction of this house (John McNamara, pers. comm.). On top of Moyteoge Hill that shelters Keem Bay to the west is a Signal House used as a lookout during World War 1 and World War 2.

5.12 – Slievemore (Fig. 42; see Appendix Two, Site S1 – 74)

Slievemore was clearly a permanent settlement in the early nineteenth century. It was deserted gradually between 1838 and 1852, with its people moving to what had been a booley settlement at Dooagh (Ó Moghráin 1943, 169). It would appear that after its desertion as a permanent settlement, it became the booley of Dooagh (O' Kelly 1942; Graham 1954, 49). It also appears that the Dooagh rented grazing land to people from Dooniver and the Valley in the early twentieth century up to the 1940s (Ó Moghráin 1943, 170; Graham 1954, 48). Catherine Cartron of Dooniver, interviewed by the Irish Folklore Commission in the early years of the twentieth century remembers booleying at Slievemore in c. 1916 (Kilbane 2002, 42).

5.12.1 – General siting.

The settlement is located on the lower south-facing slopes of Slievemore Mountain at a height of 78m OD. Seven streams run through the settlement and there are four spring wells visible within the settlement. Cultivation ridges/lazy beds occur in all directions around the site over an area of about 90 hectares (Fig. 38).

5.12.2 – The morphology of the settlement

The First Edition Ordnance Survey Six-Inch map for the area depicts one hundred

and thirty-seven houses at Slievemore, just prior to its desertion (Fig. 63), (Mc Donald 1998,75). There are a total of 80 houses visible today (Fig. 38). It is a nucleated settlement that runs east to west in an unplanned, linear fashion on either side of an old roadway. The site can be divided into three clusters – *Tuar*, *Tuar Riabhach* and *Faiche*. *Tuar* has a total of thirty-seven houses visible today – *Tuar Riabhach* has the same number of houses surviving, while *Faiche* has only foundations of two to three houses within it today. It must be remembered that these structures represent the remains of permanent houses, even if some of them were occupied by transhumants at a later date (Fig. 63).

5.12.3 – *The natural resources*

Local tradition has always felt that there was and is good grazing, good soils for cultivation and excellent water at and around Slievemore due to the presence of cobalt and copper in the soils (Ó Moghráin 1943; Mc Nally 1973, 51; Mc Donald 2006, 310). It was understood that cattle in poor health could be taken to Slievemore (sometimes by cart), where their recovery was assured within a couple of days, attributed to the minerals within the soils (Ó Moghráin 1943, 170). It was also always said that potatoes from Slievemore were better than those at Dooagh (John Moran, pers comm.). The streams and wells at Slievemore (with their higher than average mineral content) would have provided water for both humans and livestock.

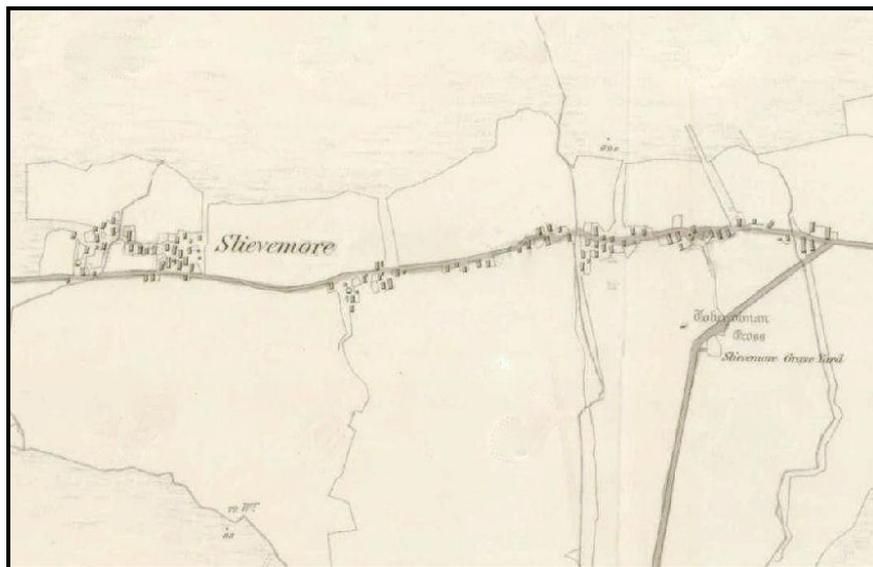


Fig. 63 – Map of settlement at Slievemore, redrawn and modified from Ordnance Survey 42, 1838 to show all three settlements, Tuar, Tuar Riabhach and Faiche (Faitche) sited along the original old roadway.

5.12.4 – *The line of approach*

The transhumants travelling from Dooagh to Slievemore from the 1850s onwards would have had a journey of 4km. Again, this would have been across relatively flat, low lying ground that would have been easy for cattle to traverse (Fig. 58). The Dooniver people would have travelled via the Valley with their livestock and then would have taken a coastal route via Dugort and then along lowland trackways to the south of Slievemore Mountain to the settlement. This is a journey of 9km from Dooniver to Slievemore, while it is 7km from The Valley to Slievemore (Fig. 64).

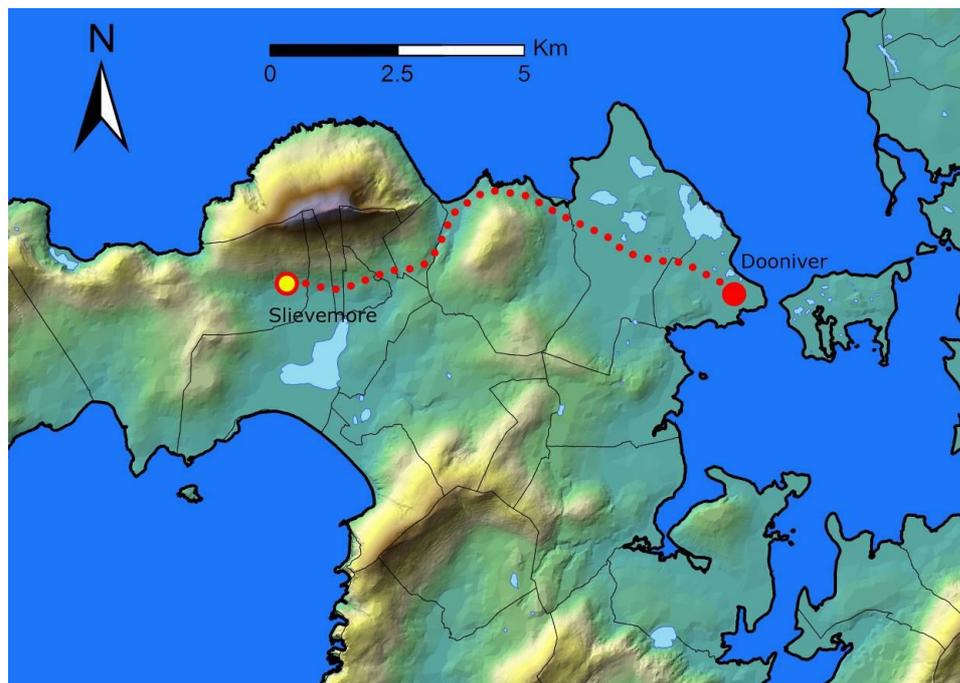


Fig. 64 – The line of approach from Dooniver to the then booley village at Slievemore.

5.12.5 – *Adjacent sites*

Within less than a kilometre of Slievemore, four megalithic sites occur – three court tombs and one portal tomb (de Valera and Ó Nuallain 1950, 199-227; Mc Donald 2006, 275-79). Ten mid Bronze Age houses, within a field system, were recognised about 200m to the north of the western end of the site (Mc Donald 2006, 292). This is probably an indication that Neolithic and Bronze Age farmers recognised the potential of this area for farming. An early medieval round house was excavated just to the south of these Bronze Age houses (Interim Report 2011, Achill Field School). The remains of the masonry church at Slievemore, that was re-built in the fourteenth century, occurs in the middle of the site within an oval-shaped graveyard that may be

early medieval in date (Mc Donald 2006, 248). A holy well dedicated to St. Colman is also be found in association with the church and a bullaun stone was once noted there (Mc Donald 2006, 269). This all suggests fairly intensive occupation at Slievemore from early prehistoric times down to the mid-nineteenth century. It also suggests that the good copper and cobalt-rich soil at Slievemore attracted settlement through the ages.

5.13 – Booley sites for which there is no extant evidence today (Fig. 42).

This section considers references to townlands to which there were transhumance movements in the past but where the actual booley sites cannot be located on the ground, despite extensive fieldwork and walking by the present writer. Little can be said about these places except that in some cases the permanent settlements associated with them can be ascertained. Therefore, some attempt can be made to judge the distances travelled during these annual movements of livestock.

5.13.1 – Bunanioo

Graham (1954, 63) stated that according to folklore evidence extant in her day, booleying took place within this townland. No visible surface remains of booley sites could be found. Graham states that Glassillaun was the permanent settlement associated with Bunanioo which is less than 2km away (ibid.). O'Donovan in his description of Bunanioo states that this townland was the property of a Mr. McLoughlin of Ards Village in Gubnahardia townland on the coast of Corraun, let to the inhabitants of Knocknamona and Glassillaun, west of Bunanioo. Bunanioo was said to consist of uncultivated bog, except for portions that had been reclaimed near the villages (OSFNB 1838 Parish of Achill, 2).

5.13.2 – Claggan

The townland of Claggan was also associated with booleying in the past (Graham 1954, 55). She also stated that cultivation ridges were noted at this site (ibid.). It appears that Cashel was the permanent settlement associated with Claggan in the nineteenth century (OSFNB 1838 Parish of Achill, 21-2). O'Donovan described it as being very rocky but that thirty acres were cultivated (ibid.). The location of this booley settlement cannot be found today. Transhumants travelling from Cashel to

Claggan would have a journey of about 7.5km over relatively low-lying terrain. Rough pasture, with plenty of Purple Moor Grass, occurs in the townland today and much of it lies on the south-west facing slopes of a low hill. A stream runs through this small townland.

5.13.3 – Dooghbeg

Graham (1954, 61) maintained that according to folklore evidence extant in her day, booleying had once taken place within this townland, which lies on the southern side of the Corraun Peninsula on south-east facing slopes. No visible surface remains of booley sites could be located within its bounds. The evidence suggests that Dooghbeg was the booley of the Achillbeg Islanders (ibid. Anthony Kilbane, pers. comm.). This suggests that the latter swam their cattle over the 0.2m channel between Achillbeg Island and the Corraun Peninsula and then walked their cattle eastwards along the coast to Dooghbeg – in all, a distance of about 9km (Pl. 27). At least two streams exist in Dooghbeg townland today.



Pl. 27 – View from Achillbeg Island towards the Corraun Peninsula. Cattle appear to have swam across in low tide on their way to the unlocated booley settlement in Dooghbeg townland.

5.13.4 – Cartron

According to folklore evidence then extant, Graham (1954, 66) indicated that booleying had once taken place within this townland. It has been suggested to the present writer that the people of Claggan on Achill Island had once booleied somewhere within it or in the adjoining townland of Carrowgarve (Anthony Kilbane, pers. comm.). However, Ó Moghráin (1943, 161) stated quite clearly that in his day, one Patrick Calvey, then aged 71 and a native of Claggan, Ballycroy, on the mainland to the north of the Corraun Peninsula, remembers booleying at Cartron (*Seanteach an Chartúin*) and Cuillaloughaun as a boy in the 1880s. Ó Moghráin also mentions that Seamus Mhac Diarmada also brought his cattle from Claggan to a place called Boireann between Cartron and Cuillaloughaun and that this place stood out because of its greenness, due seemingly to cattle droppings during milking time (Ó Moghráin 1943, 161). These clear references seem to suggest that Cartron was the booley of Claggan, Ballycroy, rather than Claggan on Achill Island. Presumably the Claggan people swam their cattle at low tide across the 0.25km-wide shallows between the townland and Gubillannawaud peninsula on Corraun. The cattle would have then been driven southwards down what is now the R319 until they met the Cartron River. They would have then followed the banks of this river up to Cartron. In all, this would have been a distance of about 6km. Apart from the Cartron River, a number of loughs occur within this townland. Trout are to be found in the loughs and river. The actual booley site could not be located as much of the townland lies under forestry today.

5.13.5 – Dooega

According to then extant folklore evidence, Graham (1954, 55) stated that booleying took place within this townland, which effectively lies in a valley, bounded by Dorary Mountain to the east. The topography increases gradually in height from the sea shore northwards towards Mweelin townland boundary. According to John O'Donovan, Dooega was mostly mountain bog and pasture (the deepest bog in the study area occurs at Dooega), with the reclaimed part (120ha) producing oats, flax, rye and potatoes. He said the four villages in the townland were named Dhueega (Dooega), Compurt (Campport) Bunafahy and Pulbawn (OSFNB 1838 Parish of Achill, 24). The permanent settlement appears to have been Dooega itself, suggesting

that the transhumants had to travel at most 3km to their booley site, which cannot be located today. The Dooga River and various streams run through this townland today.

5.13.6 – Maumnaman

Another townland once said to be involved in booleying was Maumnaman in the centre of Achill Island (OSFNB 1838 Parish of Achill, 29-30). The permanent settlement associated with it was Dookinelly Thulis (Graham 1954, 59). This suggests that transhumants from the latter settlement had to move their stock about 2.5km – 3km to get to their booley site, which cannot be located on the ground today. The townland consist mainly of blanket bog with two streams flowing through the townland today. Much of Maumnaman lies on ground sloping down into a valley and then rising steeply to the northwest towards Loughannaderriga crannóg (MA054-017) in the adjoining townland of Dookinelly Thulis.

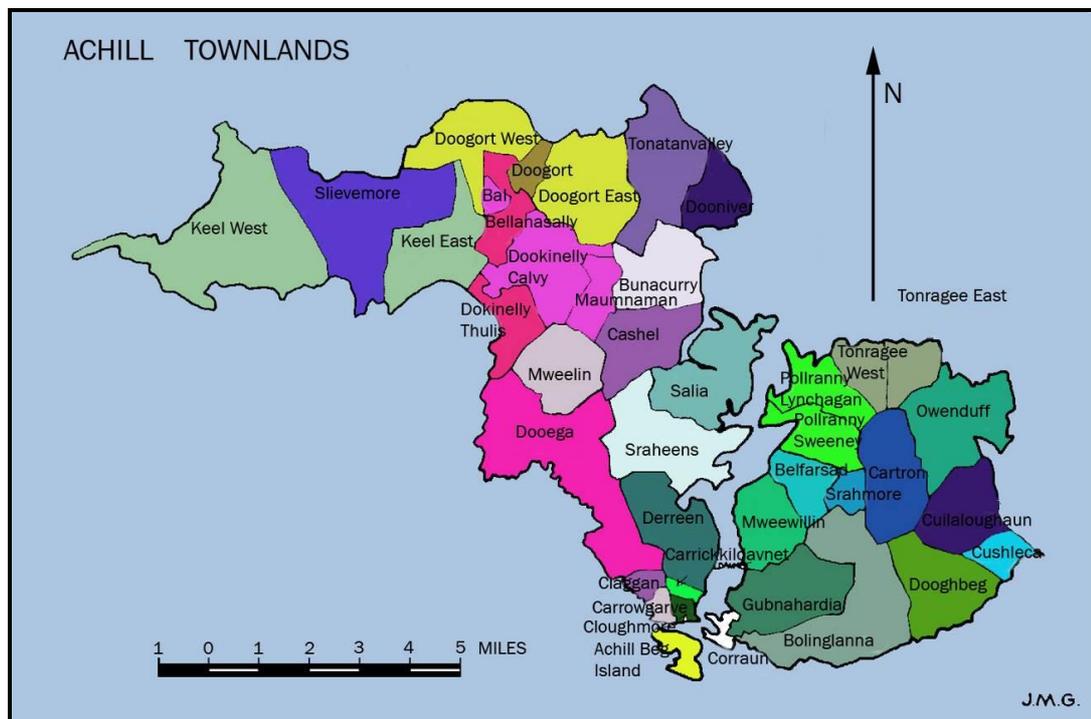


Fig. 65 – Townlands in Achill Civil Parish.

5.14 – Discussion

The first thing that is noticeable from the preceding sections of this chapter is that the status of booley settlements within the study area was a far more complex and shifting affair than has been understood by scholarship to date. For example, while as many as six settlements in the study area seem to have been constructed as booley villages, remaining so throughout their history (see 5.1 – 5.7), two sites appeared to have started existence as transhumance settlements but became permanent ones later in their life (see 5.8 – 5.9), while the opposite happened on three occasions – functioning, quite populous permanent centres become booley sites (or at least some of the old houses within these places were reused during summertime by transhumants) (see 5.10 – 5.12). This shows that the status of some settlements within the study area has changed over time. Furthermore, historical and folklore evidence suggest that booley sites occur in six more townlands within the study area but the exact location of these has not been found. Nevertheless, some information can still be gleaned about these sites (see 5.13 – 5.13.6). In all, this combined evidence suggests that there were at least seventeen places within the study area that functioned for at least part of their lives as booley settlements (Figs. 41, 42).

5.14.1 – Distance of the journey from permanent settlements to the transhumant sites

The approximate or exact distances of twenty-one transhumance journeys are known. These include journeys where transhumants came from different permanent settlements to the one booley site. For example, transhumants came from both Dooagh and Slievemore to Annagh (see 5.2.4). This is counted as two transhumance journeys. Another example of this is Cuillaloughaun booley site on the Corraun Peninsula. Transhumants came from both Dooniver on Achill Island and Claggan Mountain, Ballycroy, to this booley site (see 5.6; 5.6.4). Again, this is taken to be two separate journeys for this thesis. In all, therefore, this makes it possible to analyse the distances travelled by transhumants and their stock in the study area from permanent settlements to booley sites.

No transhumant journeys were less than two 2km. A full 86.36% of all journeys (eighteen out of twenty one) were less than 8km in distance. Of these, 27.27% (i.e. five out of the twenty one) of the distances travelled were between 2km and 4km. As

many as 36.36% (i.e. seven out of the twenty one) of transhumant journeys in the study area were between 4km and 6km. Only two journeys were between 8km and 10km. This was the 9km one from the permanent settlement of Dooniver to the then booley settlement of Slievemore (see 5.12, 5.12.4). Lastly, the second and longest journey appears to have been from Dooniver on Achill Island to the booley settlement of Cuillaloughaun on Corraun – a distance of 14km (see 5.6.4). This particular transhumance journey seems to be linked to the fact that the Marquess of Sligo was the landlord of both settlements (MS 5821). It implies that this long transhumance journey by the standards of the study area was possibly linked to a desire by the landlord to have his tenant's booley on his own relatively small landholdings in the study area.

The fact that the vast majority of transhumant movements in the study area seem to have been between 2km and 8km in distance must have had implications for the experience of booleying there. It must have meant that while livestock may have stayed at the booleys for the duration of the summer, individual transhumants could regularly return home by foot without having stock to slow them down, as the journey time (even ones across rocky terrain) must have been at most one and a half hours long between transhumant site and the permanent settlement in these cases. Conversely, people who stayed in the permanent settlement may regularly have visited their relatives in the booleys. It suggests that booleying in the study area was not as isolating an experience as is implied by the traditional definition of transhumance (see Chapter 1).

In three out of twenty one cases within the study area, the transhumant journey involved the swimming of cattle across relatively short stretches of sea at low tide (see 5.6.4, 5.13.2, 5.13.3). This does not seem as difficult as it first sounds. Cattle were regularly swum out to cargo boats from offshore islands well into the 1970s (Dixon 2007, 39).

5.14.2 – Heights of booley settlements above sea level

The general consensus to date is that booleying in Ireland through time saw the movement of cattle from lowland permanent settlements to upland, mountain pastures (see Chapter 1). The results from the study area are mixed in this regard.

Exact data in this respect exists for eleven booley sites, including three (Carrowgarve, Keem and Slievemore) that originated as permanent settlements. No booley site in Achill occurs at a place that is over 200m in height above sea level (Fig. 65). Eight of the eleven booley settlements for which exact heights exist lie below the 100m line, some considerably so (see 5.21, 5.6.1, 5.7.1, 5.8.1, 5.9.2, 5.10.1, 5.12.1, 5.13.1). The booley settlement at Bunowna (See Appendix One, Site Bun) is sited between 90m OD and 140m OD. In other words, much of the settlement's houses are located below the 100m contour. This shows that the simple equation of booley sites and upland locations of over 200m does not work for the study area. Topography rather than actual distance determine the duration of the journey from the permanent to the booley settlement. Mountains do occur in the immediate vicinity of most of the booley sites and it must be presumed that the cattle of these settlements grazed at least some of these upland pastures during their summer sojourn at these sites. Furthermore, the immediate vicinity of eleven of these booley sites is what we would call moorland, with Purple Moor and Fiorin Grass (nutritious for grazing cattle) and various types of heather (particularly Ling Heather, which makes nutritious grazing when young) in abundance around these places (see 3.3, 5.2.3, 5.3.3, 5.4.3, 5.5.3, 5.6.3, 5.7.3, 5.8.4). It can also be said that the 'experience' of transhumants going to these booley settlements must mostly been one of movement from more cultivated landscapes around the permanent settlements to wilder, less regulated ones around the booley sites. In this respect, the experience of booleying in the study area to a certain extent would have been one of transition from 'lowland' to 'upland' zones, despite the fact that no identifiable transhumant settlement in the study area lies over the 200m mark, with two-thirds lying well below the 100m contour line. Nevertheless, there is a feeling of remoteness engendered at these sites and this must have had some impact on the transhumants. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

The exception to this is Dooagh. This settlement lies at a mere 10m above sea level and is situated beside the coast (see 5.9; 5.9.3). It clearly started life as a booley settlement linked to Slievemore but became a permanent settlement in the mid-nineteenth century, simply changing roles with the latter settlement. Prior to the latter date, however, it is clear that Dooagh was not just used for booleying purposes during the summer period, although this was clearly one of its major functions. An

early nineteenth century reference states that the cattle at this then booley site were cared for by ‘dairy girls’ but that the menfolk were involved in fishing and ‘cultivating’ – presumably potatoes and oats, given the potential of the site (Hall and Hall 1841-43, iii, 403). This suggests that Dooagh was not only visited by transhumants from the then permanent settlement of Slievemore for its summer grazing potential but also for its access to seaweed (providing salt for cattle), good soils and fishing. This indicates, therefore, that Dooagh (when it functioned as a booley settlement) was a good example of ‘lowland’ transhumance. Again, the experience of the transhumants coming from Slievemore would have been one of going ‘down’ the landscape to Dooagh, as the former settlement lies about 68m higher in altitude to it.

5.14.3 – Cultivation at booley settlements

Cultivation, therefore, took place at Dooagh when it was a booley settlement. Fieldwork has also shown that extensive systems of lazy beds of various sizes can be seen at Bellanasally (see 5.8.4), Carrowgarve (see 5.10.4), Keem and Slievemore (see 5.11.3, 5.12.3). As noted, however, these are either booley sites that became permanent villages or the opposite – permanent villages that became booley ones. The argument could be made that the cultivation ridges that are visible today were created when these places were or became permanent villages. Rye and potatoes were grown on 50 acres of reclaimed land at Carrowgarve in 1838 (see 5.10.1. OSFNB 1838 Parish of Achill, 20-1)). Nevertheless, it is highly possible that many of the ridges seen at these sites today may be linked to their permanent phase but given the evidence from Dooagh, the potential for some cultivation at these places when they were used for booleying is high. Further work is needed to verify this – possibly an excavation of some of these ridges and a subsequent analysis of the pottery found within them may throw light on whether cultivation took place at these sites when they functioned as booley settlements .

More interestingly, three sites that always seemed to have functioned as booley settlements do show evidence for cultivation (see 5.2.2, 5.5.2, 5.6.3). The potential for cultivation at Cuillaloughaun when it was a booley is also high (see 5.6.3). The site at Annagh is also interesting in this regard. Evidence for lazy beds exists over an area of 455m² beside the booley huts there (Figs. 43, 80; see 5.2.2). The relatively

small ridges suggest potato cultivation. A small enclosure also exists at Dirk that may have been used for potato cultivation (see 5.5.2). The overall evidence suggests that cultivation was an activity that took place at some booley sites in the study area.

5.14.4 – Other activities at booley sites in the study area

It is true to say that the primary activity at transhumant sites in the study area and elsewhere would have been the tending of cattle. Cattle would have needed to be minded and watered regularly (see below), cows milked, cheese and butter made and calves and sick animals looked after. In this respect, two sites, Bunowna and Dirk, show evidence that suggest that the transhumants who visited these sites went to considerable trouble to prevent the livestock there from falling down cliffs. This was done by building (and presumably repairing each year) long earthen banks along dangerous sections of cliffs and high ground. As both these banks are literally hundreds of metres long, these safety measures must have involved a lot of strenuous labour and considerable community effort (Pl. 20; see 5.3.6, 5.5.2). The small enclosure than can be seen at Bunowna seems to be best interpreted as a pound to tend and isolate sick stock. It would need to be maintained each year (see 5.3.2).

Cultivation occurring at some booley sites in the study area is a reminder that other activities took place at these sites during the long summer sojourn, other than just the primary one of minding cattle. Seaweed seems to have been regularly collected at Annagh for use as fertiliser, according to extant folklore, with most of it being brought back to the permanent settlements by panniers on donkeys (see 5.2.3). Some of this seaweed must have found its way on to the lazy beds at the booley site too. The potential for seaweed gathering for fertiliser is also there at Dooagh and Keem and to a lesser extent at Bunowna (see 5.3.3, 5.19.3, 5.11.3). Extant folklore suggests that edible (and tasty) dulse was also collected by transhumants at Annagh and Keem (see 5.2.3, 5.11.3). The potential to do this is also to be seen at Bunowna and Dooagh (see 5.3.3, 5.9.3). It was already noted that fishing took place at Dooagh when it was a booley settlement. Fishing from the rocks and from currachs (which could have been landed on adjacent beaches) is certainly possible at Annagh (folklore and historical evidence exists for fishing at this site, including commercial fishing) and Keem (see 5.2.3, 5.11.3). While coastal in their location, it is unlikely that fishing (unless from rocks or cliffs) took place at Bunowna and Dirk, due to the rugged

nature of the coastline in these places (hence the need to build banks along cliff edges in these places, as noted above) (see 5.3.6, 5.5.2). The potential for gathering shellfish is also possible at Annagh, Keem, Dooagh but unlikely at Bunowna (see 5.2.3, 5.3.3, 5.9.3, 5.11.3). It is also possible that fishing for small trout in either adjacent rivers, loughs or both at a number of sites – Annagh, Bunowna, Cuillaloughaun and *Botóg na Muice* (see 5.2.3, 5.3.3, 5.4.3, 5.6.3.). It is also possible that pigs and goats were kept at all these booley settlements in the study area as well, as the place-name of the latter site suggests, and lived on a mixture of scraps, fish and edible seaweed (see 5.4.3).

Otway (1839, 373) stated that the roofs of many Achill houses were built of driftwood. It was noted that extant folklore suggests that the beach beneath the booley settlement at Annagh is renowned for driftwood (see 5.2.3). The potential for collecting driftwood is also present at the beaches beside Keem and Dooagh (see 5.9.3, 5.11.3). Presumably some of the driftwood, particularly the scrappy bits, was used as firewood in these settlements and the substantial bits were taken back to the permanent settlements for use on the roofs of houses at these sites.

This discussion all shows that there were a considerable amount of ancillary activities at booley sites to enable the transhumants to get full economic and nutritional potential from them, other than the primary task of tending cattle.

5.14.5 – *Water Provision*



Pl. 28 – Lakes in Bolinglanna and Srahmore townlands. Such lakes would have provided water for both cattle and transhumants, along with trout for the table.

Exact data concerning water provision exists for twelve booley sites in the study area – all the booley sites that remained transhumant settlements throughout their lives

(see 5.2.1, 5.3.1, 5.4.1, 5.5.1, 5.6.1, 5.7.1), the two booley sites that became permanent settlements (see 5.8.2, 5.9.1) and the three permanent villages that became booley settlements (see 5.10.1, 5.11.1, 5.12.1). Ten of these twelve sites have streams or rivers (up to 5m wide) flowing through them (see 5.3.1, 5.5.1, 5.6.1, 5.7.1, 5.8.1, 5.9.2, 5.10.1, 5.11.2, 5.12.1, 5.13.1). It might be added that at Bunowna seven houses (Sites B1-8) are built into the ravine cut by the Sruffaunbunowna River over millennia. A similar situation exists for three houses at Cuillaloughaun (Site C2 – 4). These are built into the sloping banks of the Gleanaean River (see 5.3.1, 5.6.2). This was presumably done to provide insulation and shelter for the occupants of these huts against the elements. It might be added that two houses at Annagh (A8, A13) and six houses at *Botóg na Muice* (B1-B6) are built into sloping ground as well, obviously for the same reasons of insulation and shelter against inclement weather. One further site, *Botóg na Muice*, is located about 50m from the upper reaches of Fiddaunnatramore River (see 5.4.1). The last of the twelve sites for which there is information about their exact siting, Annagh, is located about 140m upslope from Lough Nakeeroge East (see 5.2.1). This shows that all of these booley sites in the study area are located close to water (Pl. 28).

The fact of being located close to water at first glance may come as no surprise. Humans need water for drinking, cooking and washing purposes. However, a constant supply of clean, fresh water (which would have been more than adequately supplied by the rivers and streams flowing through or beside these settlements. (See Pl. 18) was and is absolutely essential for cattle to remain productive, particularly dairy cows, as water is essential for the production of milk and, hence, all dairy products. A general rule in terms of volume is that cattle drink approximately two times the amount that they eat per day. A modern milking cow will drink between thirteen to twenty two gallons of water per day (<http://www.farmersjournal.ie/Sitc/farming-ensuring-plenty-of-water-for-cows-15202.html>). Running water also reduces coliforms and therefore sickness in animals (www.epa.ie/pubs/reports/water/drinking/). Access to water along transhumance routes (particularly long-distance ones) would also have been an important requisite.

It was noted above that the type of cattle that were brought to the booleys in Achill

were closely related to the modern Kerry breed (see 3.4). These are smaller but hardier than the modern dairy breed and presumably needed somewhat less water as a result. Nevertheless, it is clear that large amounts of flowing, clean water was needed at booley sites, particularly as they were there over the hotter summer months. This is probably the principal reason why booley sites in the Civil Parish of Achill are so closely related to flowing water. It suggests, therefore, that the unlocated booley sites in Bunanioo, Claggan, Dooaghbeg, Cartron, Dooega and Maumnaman lay somewhere along the rivers and streams that flow today through these townlands (see 5.14.1 – 5.14.6).

5.14.6 – Types of settlement

All booley sites in the area are nucleated but are unplanned in their design. They do not present as isolated individual houses in the landscape (see 5.2.2, 5.3.2, 5.4.2, 5.5.2, 5.6.2, 5.7.2, 5.8.2, 5.9.3, 5.10.2). The reason for this unplanned nucleation seems to be linked to the fact that the contemporary permanent settlements were themselves nucleated (for example, see 5.10.3, 5.11.2, 5.12.2). This suggests tradition, and perhaps consanguinity, played a part in the clear desire for transhumants in the study area to live in close proximity to one another, alongside the practical reason of neighbours being able to help one another in terms of day-to-day tasks. Company was probably also a reason for nucleation and it is clear from both extant and recorded folklore that much fun and merriment took place at these sites when they were in use (see 4.2). This will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

The numbers of houses in these settlements varied. The extant sites that always remained booley sites have mostly between ten and twenty houses visible at them today (see 5.2.2, 5.3.2, 5.4.2, 5.5.2, 5.7.2). Cuillaloughaun seems to have had four houses, although others may have been demolished over time (see 5.6.2). Historical records suggest that Dooagh had up to forty houses, when it was a booley settlement while Bellanasally had twenty six (see 5.8.1, 5.9.2). The figures for Keem and Slievemore are in many ways irrelevant, as these are deserted permanent settlements that became booley settlements. It is not clear how many of the houses within these settlements were used at a later date by transhumants but presumably not all (see 5.11.2, 5.12.2). This shows that Dooagh, with its forty houses during its booley phase, was a far larger settlement than contemporary booley sites. This may be because

other major activities in the form of fishing and crop cultivation were going on here, alongside booleying. This may have meant that more accommodation was needed at this settlement than elsewhere, as a larger workforce was needed there (Fig. 57; see 5.9.3).

This may suggest that anywhere between ten and twenty houses was regarded as the normal number of buildings in booley settlements throughout the study area, if all were used contemporaneously. It will be argued below that most houses in these settlements could only house about three people comfortably (see 7.5). This suggests a resident population at any one time of between thirty and sixty people at most. In all, folklore and the various historical records suggest that in total about seventeen distinct booley settlements (whether purpose-built booley settlements, permanent settlements that became booleys or booley sites that became permanent settlements) once existed in the study area (Fig. 41). The pre-famine population of the study area *c.* 1840 was about 5,000 people (Mc Nally 1973, 178) and arguably this is the time when booleying is historically attested to as being a common agricultural practice in the area, albeit in a modified form. Leaving aside Keem and Slievemore which were permanent settlements up to about the latter date, this suggests about fifteen booley sites in the study area. If all these places were occupied continuously (which is possible but not certain), at a very rough estimate this suggests that each summer between four hundred and eighty five to nine hundred and sixty; nearly a thousand people; may have been booleying at any one time in the study area *c.* 1840. This suggests that only a portion of the people in the study area went to the booley sites during the summer, with between 80% and 90% of the population staying in the permanent settlements.

Chapter 6 – Excavations

6.0 – Introduction

It was decided early on in the research for this thesis, as the present writer is licensed to conduct excavations, to excavate at least one booley house out of the many recognised in the study area, in order to get some idea of their date, the material culture associated with transhumance and the use of internal space within these houses. The site chosen was two conjoined houses of the twelve houses recognised at the definite booley village of Annagh (MA042 – 00801: see Appendix One, Houses A1-A2) located on the north-west coast of Achill Island. Furthermore, it was also decided to excavate one of the houses at Keem (MA041 – 002; see Appendix Two, House K3). Keem was chosen because it was originally a permanent settlement, only becoming a booley settlement in the second half of the nineteenth century (see 5.11; Hall and Hall 1841-43, iii, 152, 157; Martineau 1852, 152). This meant that the house chosen for excavation was in all probability a permanent house originally and would make a useful comparison with definite booley houses of generally similar date. Keem is marked on the First Edition Ordnance Survey Six-Inch map for the area, which dates to 1838, when it was a permanent settlement (Fig. 66; Pl. 29). Furthermore, it was thought possible that its latest phase (presumably when it had become a booley house) would also throw some light on the demise of booleying at Keem and the material culture associated with the practice at that time.

6.1 – Previous excavations of possible booley sites in Ireland

There have been few excavations of possible and probable booley houses in Ireland. Presumably this paucity of excavated sites is due to the lack of detailed research carried out on transhumance in Ireland (see Chapter 3) but may also be linked to the fact that almost by definition, booley sites occur in areas that see little intensive development and, therefore, little in the way of excavation. Furthermore, to confuse the matter further, it is clear that a number of sites seen by their original excavators as booley houses, have been re-interpreted in recent years as being permanent

settlements or at least something other than transhumant sites.

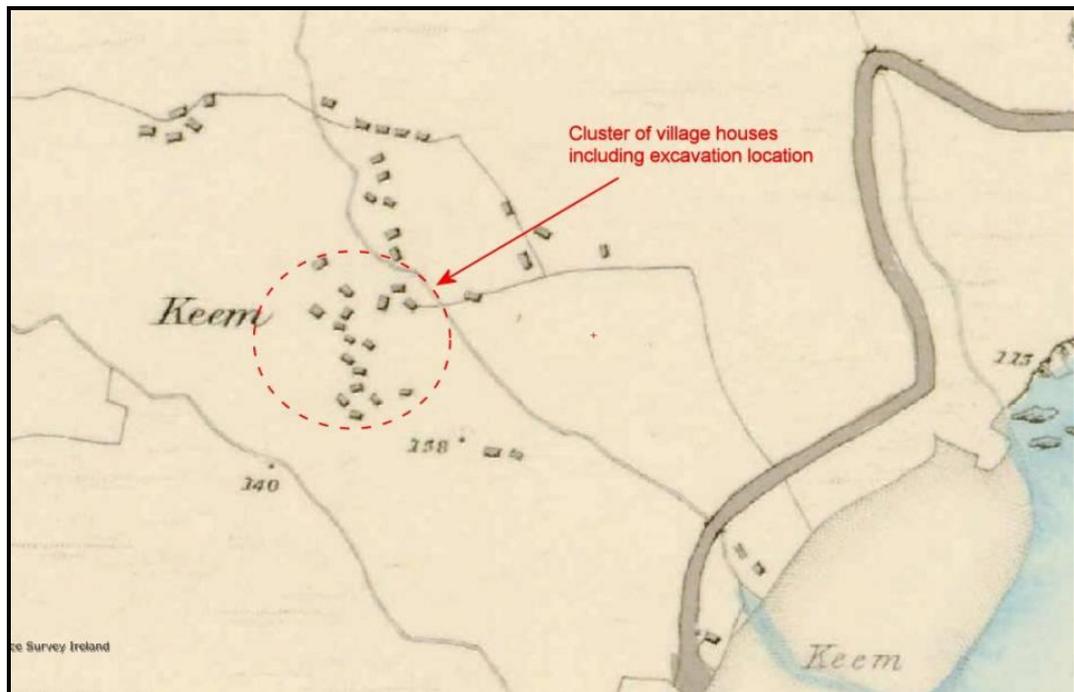


Fig. 66 – Keem Village as marked on the 1838 Ordnance Survey Six Inch sheet 41. The excavated house (see Appendix Two, K3) is indicated by the red arrow on it.



Pl. 29 – The house at Keem (K3) before excavation, looking north-west.

About one hundred and twenty-nine sod-built ovoid huts were recognised at Goodland, which lies in an upland area in north east Antrim between the 230m and

250m contour. A number of these were excavated by (Sidebotham 1950; Case *et.al.* 1969). Due to their upland location and the general paucity of finds from the excavations, it was argued that these huts effectively constituted a large transhumant village, dating to the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Sidebotham 1950; Case *et.al.* 1969, 43, 52). Another ovoid house at the Deer's Meadow in the Mourne Mountains of Co. Down was also excavated in the 1950s and interpreted by its excavators as a transhumant hut, due to its upland location at 335m OD (Evans and Proudfoot 1958). Williams and Robinson undertook a survey of three ovoid (or sub-rectangular houses with rounded ends depending on your point of view), sod-built houses with opposing doors at Glenmakeeran in north Antrim, just below the 200m contour line – excavating one of them. Again, due to the upland nature of the site and the relative paucity of finds from the excavated house, along with the historical and ethnographic evidence for transhumance in the area, it was argued that this little cluster of houses, which appear to have been cruck-roofed, represented the remains of transhumant dwellings (Williams and Robinson 1983, 29-40). The excavated house was associated with what was then known as 'everted rim ware' and what is now called 'Ulster Coarse Ware'. It has been suggested that the occupation of the house could date to as early as the thirteenth century and to as late as the first years of the seventeenth century (O' Conor 1998, 96, 205). However, recent research by Cormac McSparron (2009, 11-15) suggests that it is possible to divide Ulster Coarse Ware into two types, the earliest dating from the mid-to late-thirteenth century to the late-fourteenth century which he calls Type A and a second group, Type B, that comes into use in the late fourteenth century and continues into the seventeenth century. A future re-examination of the pottery from Glenmakeeran would be useful as it might provide a more focused date for the site.

Williams (1984) also excavated another supposed upland transhumant site at Ballyutoag in Co. Antrim – a house close to a ring fort. Its occupation was dated to the mid-1st millennium AD and, again, its upland nature at 270m OD led to its interpretation as an early medieval booley site. A large rectangular enclosure located at a height of 274m OD on the side of a mountain at Tildarg, near Ballyclare, Co. Antrim, was excavated and its occupation was dated to the thirteenth century. This enclosure, whose internal dimensions are approximately 65m north/south by approximately 36m east/west, is defined by a 5m – 6m wide earthen bank and a ditch

of similar width. Three house platforms, one of which at least appears to have had a cruck roof, occurred with this enclosure. Again, due to its upland location, its excavator believed it to represent the remains of a transhumant site and it was suggested that its defences were constructed to protect cattle at night (Brannon 1984, 170).

McSparron (2002) re-visited the area of Ballyutoag and excavated two hut sites there that were both sited at 270m OD. The small size of the huts approximately 2m in diameter, their location in an upland area and the lack of finds from them made their excavator interpret them as booley houses of unknown date (Mc Sparron 2002, 154-55). Two coastal habitation sites with one circular hut with stone foundations with an organic superstructure, 4.4m in internal diameter, and one 'tent-like' slight wicker structure were excavated at Doonloughan in Connemara. The finds from the structures suggested temporary habitation and seasonal occupancy for them - probably late-spring/summer occupation of the more-substantial hut site and autumnal occupancy of the second, less substantial site (Murray and Mc Cormick 2012). It is suggested that the machair plain, beside which the dunes are located, was most probably the attraction for settlers to the area and was exploited as an alternative pasture for the seasonal grazing of livestock. Midden sites at the same location were excavated in the late 1990s and were dated to between the late seventh and ninth centuries AD – which seems to be the date of the houses. The defining feature that distinguished this excavation is that the remains were subjected to a series of detailed paleo-environmental analyses. Archaeobotanical studies of the plant remains from the sites indicated no evidence for cereal cultivation. The evidence suggested that fishing had not been carried out in any intensive way by the occupants of the two sites and that which did occur was biased towards the seasonal exploitation of salmon, eel and shellfish. All this evidence led the authors to conclude that the sites represented the remains of transhumant huts occupied during the late summer and autumn for the purpose of allowing cattle graze the local machair plain (ibid; Fig. 67).

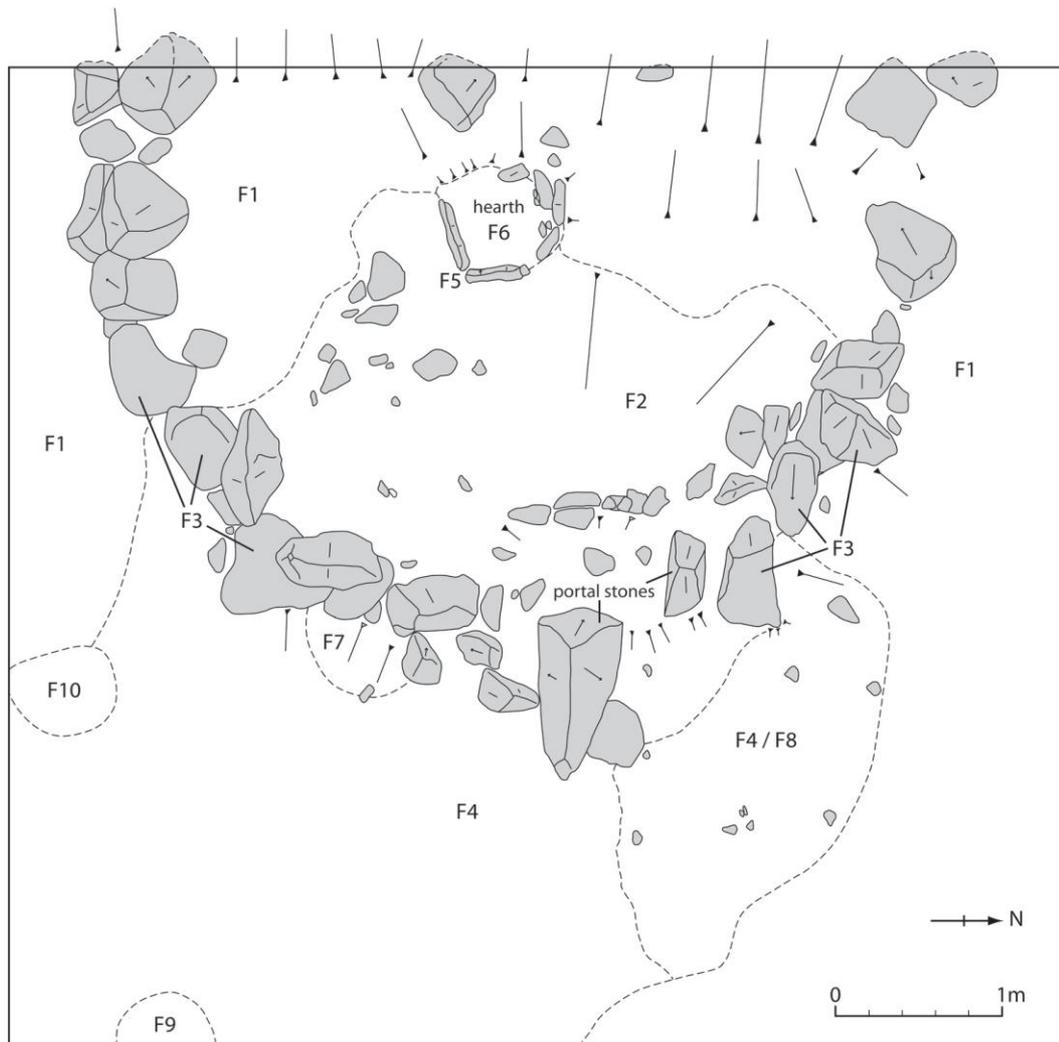


Fig. 67 – Mid-excavation plan of the circular hut site DL11 at Doonloughan, Co. Galway after removal of most of the windblown sand (F1) and central baulk (after Murray and McCormick 2012, 103).

At one level this suggests that a number of booley sites have been excavated in Ireland since the 1950s. However, as noted, the interpretation of some of these sites as transhumant houses has been called into question. For example, Horning (2004, 30-31) has cogently argued that the large concentration of the one hundred and twenty-nine houses in an upland location at Goodland is likely to be the remains of a large, permanent village occupied by marginalised Scots immigrants to the area in the seventeenth century. Horning's reassessment of this site is a reminder to us that, apart from booleying, there are other explanations to people deciding to live in upland areas through time. Such things as climate, security, political turmoil, access to natural resources not seen elsewhere and population pressure in the adjacent lowlands are also reasons why people over time and space may settle and live

permanently in upland locations. Horning's reinterpretation of the *raison-d'etre* for the Goodland settlement should make us wary of interpreting all upland sites as representing the remains of booley settlements, without further corroborating evidence, whatever their date.

It is not just the evidence from Goodland that has been reinterpreted in recent times. It has been suggested that the upland enclosure at Tildarg is a permanently-settled moated site, perhaps built and lived in by Gaelic Irishmen living away from Anglo-Norman controlled manorial centres (O' Conor 1998, 88). Furthermore, the site at Ballyutoag, with its association with a ring fort, further hut sites and a field system in what appears to have been an organised landscape, is perhaps way too complex to have been a non-permanent settlement. It is also noticeable that a number of the above sites were postulated by their excavators as transhumant sites partly because of the paucity of finds found in them. Presumably the reasoning behind this thinking was that transhumants of whatever period brought relatively little in the way of goods to their booley sites in the summer and lived quite a frugal life. This is possibly a correct assumption but, again, paucity of finds should not be taken on its own to link an upland hut with transhumance. It has long been noted by scholars of rural life in medieval and post-medieval Ireland, Britain and Europe that excavated, clearly permanent house sites belonging to peasants, even those sited in fertile, prosperous, lowland locations, invariably produce little in the way of artefacts. This is partly because household rubbish was very often collected and used for manuring surrounding garden plots and fields. This helps explain why so little is found when these houses are excavated (Wrathmell 1984, 31-33; O' Conor 1998, 65). It may also be an indication that many of the everyday objects used on a daily basis on medieval and post medieval farms were made of organic materials and, so, do not survive to be found on modern excavations (O' Conor 1998, 65). Nor can a lack of finds in any given medieval or post medieval peasant site be taken as evidence that the place was occupied for only a short while (Wrathmell 1984, 31-33; O' Conor 1998, 65). Basically long-occupied, permanent, even wealthy, farmsteads across Britain, Ireland and further afield have produced little in the way of artefacts upon excavation. Paucity of finds is not just a feature of the excavation of transhumant sites.

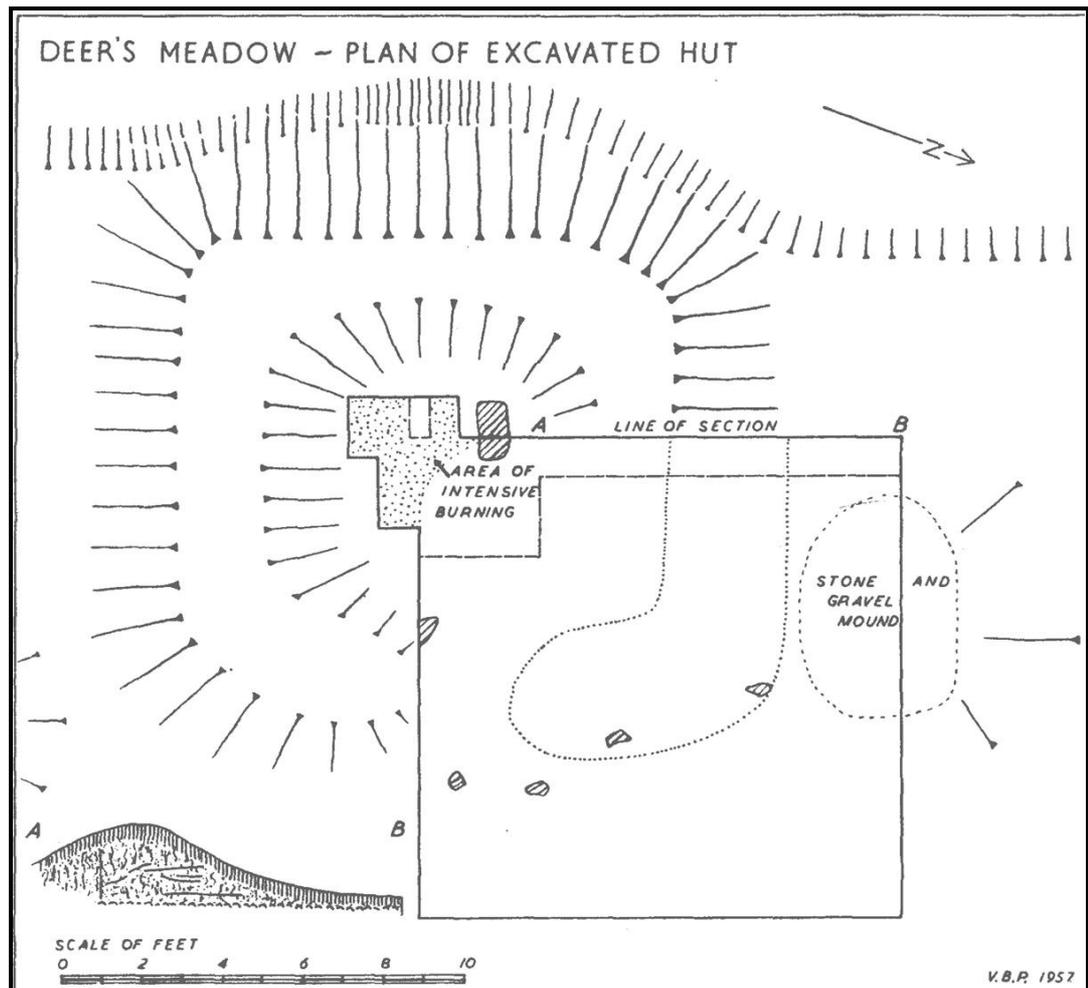


Fig. 68 – Booley huts in the Mournes excavated by Evans and Proudfoot (after Evans and Proudfoot 1958, 130).

This discussion calls into question the identification of many of the excavated sites identified as booley settlements in Ireland. Nevertheless, saying that, many of these sites may well be linked to transhumance. For example, one is impressed by the lengths the excavators of Doonloughan went to argue that it was a transhumant site, despite the fact that this was located in a lowland, coastal location. We also know that booleying very definitely took place in the Deer's Meadow area of the Mournes in post-medieval times at least but probably at earlier periods as well (Harris and Smith 1744, 16). This strongly suggests that the ovoid hut excavated by Evans and Proudfoot at this place in the 1950s really is linked to booleying (Fig. 68). Nevertheless, at least some doubt exists as to whether or not many of the excavated sites, discussed above, really are booleys. This makes the excavation of the house at Annagh particularly important as all the evidence shows it to have been part of a true

booley village. It is also noteworthy that most of the excavations of possible booley sites have taken place in Antrim and Down in the north-east of Ireland. The excavation of Annagh and to a certain extent the house at Keem on Achill Island in the west of Ireland should be viewed as a welcome change from this and is a reminder that booleying was not just a feature of Ulster in times past.

6.2 – The excavations at Annagh

6.2.1 – General

The available historical, folkloric, siting and archaeological evidence indicate that the twelve houses recognised at Annagh (see Appendix One, Site A), on the isolated north-western coast of Achill Island, definitely represents the remains of a booley settlement. It has all the characteristics of a booley site in terms of elevation, size of houses and folklore associating the site with transhumance (see 5.2). Given the problems of identifying definite transhumant sites in the landscape today, discussed above, this is important (see 6.1). Two, conjoined, oval houses (A1 and A2) were chosen for excavation and were excavated during the summer of 2010. These two houses form part of a conjoined group of four huts at the western edge of the site at Annagh (Fig. 43).

These houses were orientated on a south-west/north-east axis and their entrances mostly faced south, presumably to take advantage of maximum daylight. However, House A1's entranceway opened out to the east. Some sort of a small, walled courtyard-enclosure lay to the south of House A2 and to the east of House A1.

The excavation was conducted in the eastern half of House A1, the eastern half of House A2, and in the enclosed area outside the entrances to both areas (Fig. 69).

6.2.2 – The Excavation of Annagh House (A1)

The house at Annagh (A1) is a small ovoid, dry-stone built building, with its long axis aligned east/west. The building has maximum internal measurements of 3m east/west by 1.5m north/south at ground level – showing that it has an internal floor area of a mere 4.5m² for living space. It has corbelled, 1.8m – 2m wide walls, which gradually slope inwards from base to top, consist mainly of neat courses of flat stone

slabs and stand to a height of just over 1.2m today. Occasionally smaller flat stones have been used in between the slabs to level off particular stones. However, a large rectangular boulder, 1m in length, has been used in the construction of the lower southern wall of the house. It might be added that the corbelling was not continued to close the roof space and it is probable that timber, probably driftwood covered with sods, was used to close the gap. The house is entered by a very narrow entranceway located at its south eastern corner. This entranceway is roofed by a large lintel and is 1.2m in height. It is 0.44m wide at its base and just 0.3m wide at its top, making it quite narrow (Pl. 30).

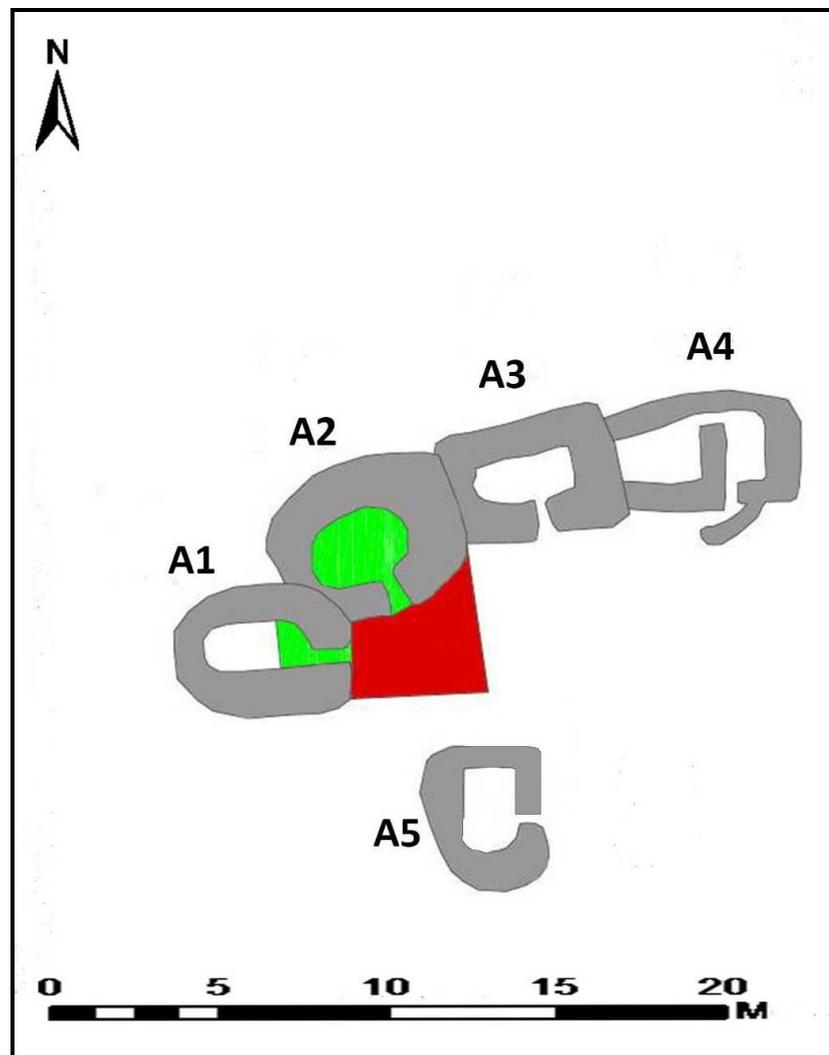


Fig. 69 – Plan of four conjoined houses at Annagh (A1-A4) showing the excavated areas coloured green and red.



Pl. 30 – Narrow entrance at Annagh A1 looking north-east towards Slievemore.

There are four alcoves or shelves built into the southern wall of the house (Fig. 71; Pl. 31). These are formed of two pairs, each one consisting of a small alcove above a larger alcove. The eastern pair consists of an upper alcove that is 0.46m wide, 0.44m tall and 0.46m deep. The base of this is formed by a large lintel which also forms the roof of the lower alcove. The lower alcove is 0.9m wide, 0.75m tall and 0.65m deep, measured to the top of the infilling rubble. The western pair of alcoves consists of an upper alcove that is 0.56m wide, 0.36m tall and 0.4m deep. Again the base of this alcove is a lintel that forms the top of the lower alcove. The lower alcove of the western pair is 0.52m wide and 0.46m tall and 0.4m deep, again measured to the top of the infilling rubble.



Pl. 31 – Western pair of stacked storage niches at Annagh House A1.

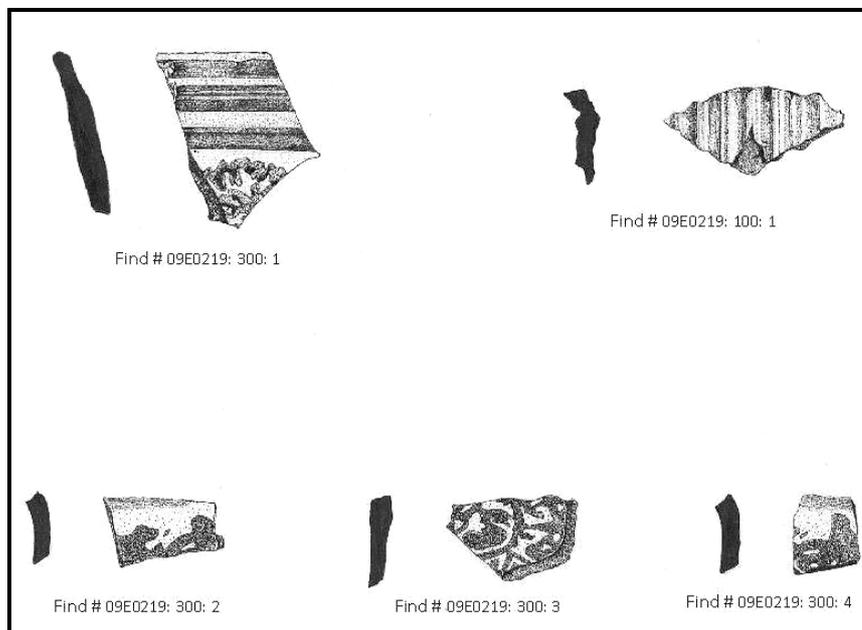


Fig. 70 – Refined white earthenware underglaze brown sponge and hand-painted decoration from excavations at Annagh House A1-A2 (see Appendix Three).



Pl. 32 – Purpose-built line of stones on the external northern sides of Annagh houses A1 and A2.

There is a dense build-up of stones along the northern exterior of this house, which slopes down from close to the top of the surviving wall down to the height of the surrounding ground surface. This spread of stones is 1.5m in width. This feature continues along the northern side of the adjacent house (A2), and appears to be more than simply building collapse, given that it is only present along the northern side of the buildings. It may represent a deliberate building up of material to provide additional insulation along the exposed northern walls of these buildings (Pl. 32).

In this respect, there is an additional piece of low walling running along the whole southern length of House A1. This wall consists of four courses of stone standing to a maximum height of 0.65m at the eastern end. It has a vertical face and is around 0.5m wide. This walling was possibly built to provide additional insulation along the area behind the alcoves where the building's wall is obviously much thinner.



Pl. 33 – The excavated paved floor in the interior of the house (A1) at Annagh.

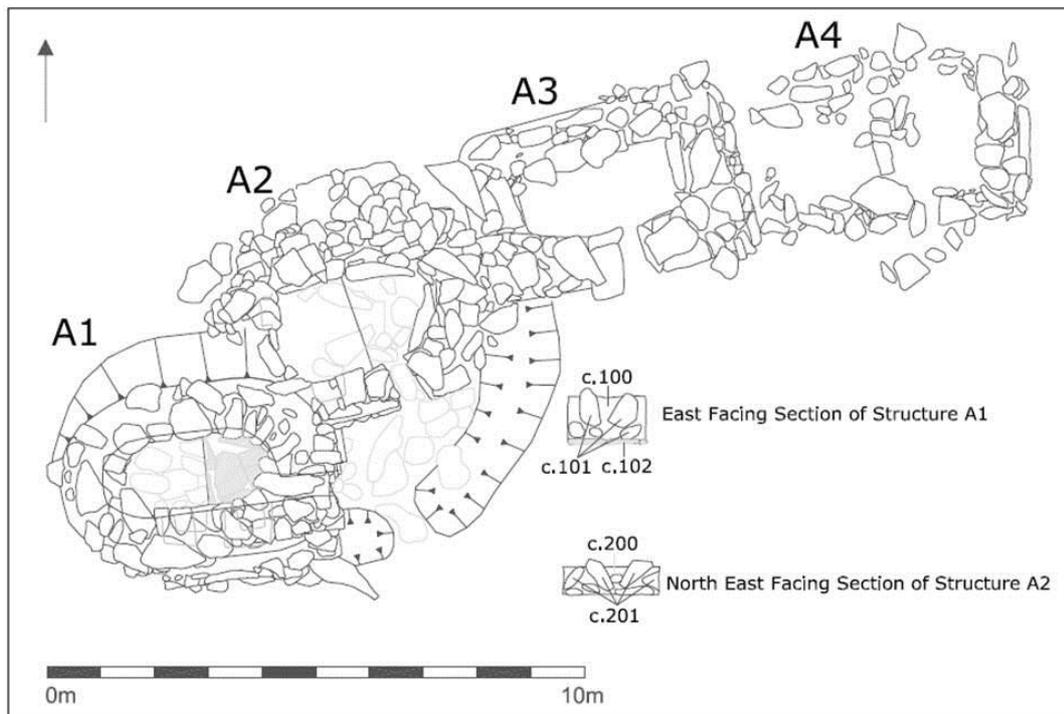


Fig. 71 –Cross-section of stratigraphy at House A1 and A2 at Annagh.

As noted, excavation was confined to the eastern side of House A1's interior and a

1.2m – wide trench was opened here (Fig. 71). The topsoil, Context 100 or the uppermost layer, within the building was a soft black silty soil with a very dense mass of fern roots throughout, which made excavation surprisingly difficult. This layer continued into the lowermost alcove at the eastern end of the southern wall of the building. A sherd of Whiteware was found in this layer within the alcove (see Appendix 3: C: 100.2). Underneath this topsoil layer in both the alcove and the house proper was a mass of angular stones, some large, which were clearly collapse from the corbelled roof and upper parts of the building's walls. A similar soil to the topsoil filled the spaces between these stones and there were no noticeable voids. This mix of stones and soil is called Context 101. A sliver of glass, a sherd of Creamware and a large piece of a green glass from a bottle was found in this layer (see Appendix 3, C: 101:1 – 3). Contexts 100 and 101 were between 0.4m and 0.7m in combined depth.

Context 101, the collapse layer, was removed within House A1 to reveal its original floor surface or Context 102 (Pl. 33). A small deposit, known as Context 103, consisting of a mixture of ash, charcoal and limpet shells, some of which were crushed, was found in the north eastern corner of the building, underneath Context 101 and lying on top of the floor surface (Fig. 73). A sample of this material was retrieved for analysis that unfortunately proved to be sterile (Dr. Ingelise Stuijts, pers.comm.). It is argued that this deposit represents the remains of a small fire or hearth site, possibly used to cook the limpets. Excavation also indicated that originally the walls of A1 it would have been about 1.5m in height from its floor to the top of its corbelled roof. While children could have stood upright within the house, adults would not have been able to do so.

The floor surface (Context 102) consisted of large stone slabs forming a neat paved surface that slopes gently down towards the entrance in the south-eastern corner. The slabs utilised in this floor are up to 0.7m in maximum length but smaller stones are used around the edges and to fill in gaps between the larger stones. The fact that the floor of House A1 slopes gently to the entranceway feature must be linked to a desire for drainage, possibly if the roof leaked on occasion in heavy rain. Any water percolating into the building would quickly run off out of the structure. In this respect, it is likely that the roof was repaired in the late spring of each year by people

returning to booley at Annagh, so it is unlikely that the roof of House A1 leaked during the course of the summer. It is far more likely that the sloping floor was built to prevent the build-up of water in the structure during winter, when it was unoccupied and the roof unattended, so that a relatively, dry structure was available for habitation by transhumants when they came back in late spring.

The excavations also extended into the lower of the eastern alcoves. This was also filled with a mixture of the dark root infiltrated soil (Context 100) and collapsed stones (Context 101), and this was fully removed to expose the mineral soil at the base of the alcove. A sherd of Whiteware was found in the collapse (see Appendix 3, C: 100.2). The base of the alcove was around 0.1m lower than the top of the adjacent stone-floor surface. The base of this alcove also contained a pile of limpet shells, (see Appendix 3, C: 103.1) in its rear, western corner in what appears to be a pre-abandonment context, presumably linked to the final occupation of House A1. This is further confirmation that transhumants in coastal booleys throughout the study area did utilise shell-fish from the inter-tidal zone as food and spent at least some of their time gathering this resource (see 5.15.4). The stone floor surface, Context 102 overlay a further deposit of dark soil, Context 104 that was identical in nature to Context 100.

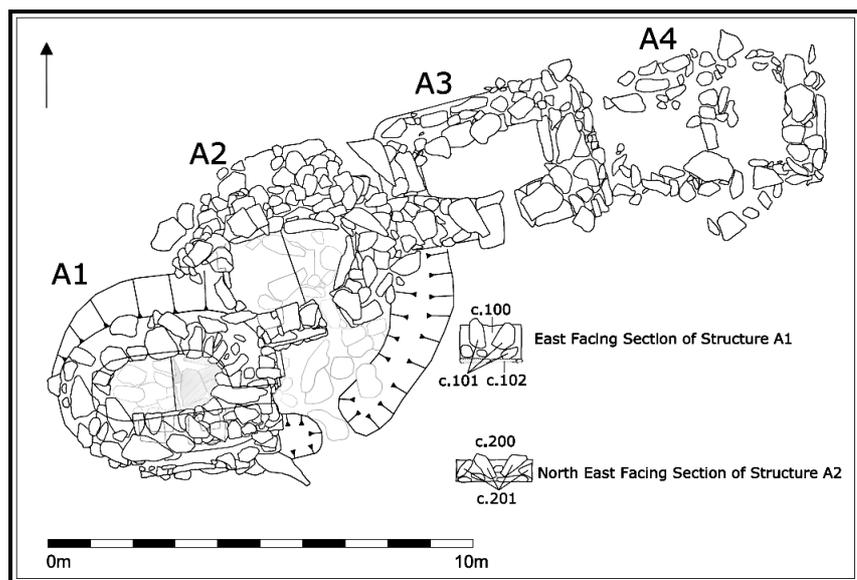


Fig. 72 – Plan of excavated areas at Annagh within and outside Houses A1 – A2.

The floor of House A1 sloped to the south-east on the bed of dark soil, Context 104, and seems to have been deliberately deposited to function as a slightly – sloping bed to take the slabs that make up the internal floor, Context 102, of House A1. Therefore, this layer seems to be linked to the construction of House A1. In this respect, a small sherd of Creamware was found within it (see Appendix 3, C: 104. 1).

6.2.3 – The excavation of the small enclosure to the east of House A1 and to the south of House A2

House A1 opened out into a small enclosure to its east (Fig. 69; Pl.34). This enclosure, whose maximum dimensions are approximately 3m south-west/north east by approximately 2m north west/south-east, is bounded on its north by House A2 (whose entranceway also opens onto this area) and is defined on its eastern and southern sides by a curving, 1m – 1.2m wide, 0.5m high, dry-stone built wall. A 0.6m – 0.8m wide gap, marking the entranceway to this area, can be seen along the southern side of this wall.

The excavation of a 2m² area revealed a simple sequence of deposits that to a certain extent matched those found in House A1 (Fig. 72). The topsoil, Context 300, consisted of the same dark soil interspersed with fern roots that were also seen in House A1. A large build-up of stones and soil, Context 301, lay underneath this topsoil. These stones, particularly the larger ones, were located close to the curving enclosure wall. Context 301 as a whole did not extend as far as House A2. This suggests that these stones did not come originally from Houses A1 and A2 but came from the collapse of the curving wall itself, suggesting that this feature was once much higher.

A series of flat, rounded stones, set in a line, were uncovered within the western part of the small enclosure leading to the entranceway of House A1 (Fig. 72; Pl.34). These deliberately placed stones, Context 302, lie on top of Context 303, the natural. This feature is interpreted as a simple pathway in front of the latter entranceway, presumably built to ensure that the footwear (or feet, if barefoot) of those entering House A1 were as dry and clean as circumstances would allow.



Pl. 34 – The small enclosed area outside the doorways of houses at Annagh (A1 and A2).

Three pieces of a cast-iron cooking pot, sherds of at least three Spongeware vessels and a piece of clay-pipe stem were recovered from underneath the topsoil in a shallow occupation layer, Context 300, in the area within the enclosure adjacent to the entrance to House A2 (see Appendix 3, C: 300: 1 - 5; Fig.70).

What was the function or functions of this enclosure area? The curving wall of the enclosure clearly acted as a windbreak to the entranceways to Houses A1 and A2. Therefore, the wall acted as further insulation to these houses, making their interiors more comfortable and dry. However, as this wall is visible above the ground surface today, excavation was not needed to come to this conclusion. The excavation was

useful because it produced evidence for an occupation layer to the south of the entranceway to House A2. This was associated in particular with a number of sherds of Spongeware. Spongeware is a patterned pottery, consisting of mugs, bowls and plates, that became popular in Ireland during the second half of the nineteenth century (although the first Spongeware was produced in Scotland and England during the 1830s) and was in use in this country well into the twentieth century. The pottery was made by cutting a pattern into a sponge, which was then dipped in colour. The sponge was then applied to a piece of bisque-fired pottery, which was then dipped in glaze and fired again. Relatively few pieces have a maker's mark and this makes it difficult to ascertain the place of pottery where any given piece or sherd was produced. Nevertheless, it is held that most Spongeware in Ireland came from potteries in England and Scotland, although the potteries at Belleek, Co. Fermanagh, and Arklow, Co. Wicklow, produced some. Its occurrence in rural contexts throughout Britain and Ireland is regarded as an indication of a general increase in wealth amongst ordinary people (Sinclair 1953; Williams 1964; Callahan and Breen Unpublished).

These teacups, mugs, plates and bowls were in everyday use but were highly valued for their decorative and display value, in Ireland as elsewhere – adorning many a rural dresser well into the twentieth century. The existence of sherds of Spongeware mugs, bowls and plates in the enclosure suggests occupation at Annagh well into the late nineteenth century, even into the early twentieth century. Furthermore, the occurrence of these sherds suggests that another function of this sheltered enclosure is that it was where the occupants of Houses A1 and A2 ate much of their food, away from the wind. The fragments of iron cooking pots found alongside these Spongeware sherds also support the idea that this was an area of the site at Annagh where food was prepared and consumed. Furthermore, the fragment of a clay-pipe stem suggests that the leisure activity of smoking tobacco took place in this sheltered area. While it might be pushing the evidence, the finds from this sheltered enclosure area suggest that it was a centre of social activity, where people ate their food and, following this, talked leisurely over pipes of tobacco.

6.2.4 – The excavation of House A2

House A2 is located immediately north-east of House A1 and is second in the row of

four conjoined structures that make up the houses in this part of the site at Annagh (Fig. 69; Pl. 35). The general shape externally of this dry-stone built house is ovoid. It shares its south-western wall with House A1 and its north-eastern wall with House A3. Excavation of where these walls join, along with careful cleaning of stones, seems to suggest that all these houses were built simultaneously with little or no time difference in their construction. Presumably the conjoined nature of these four buildings, with their shared walls, was linked to a desire for maximum insulation from the elements.

The internal shape of House A2, however, is not really ovoid, despite the fact that its walls curve on its eastern sides. Elsewhere the walls are straight while the space within the house is more-or-less rectangular. Its internal dimensions at ground level are 2.75m east/west by 1.8m north/south – showing that it had a mere 4.95m² for living space. This makes House A2 very similar in its internal habitable space to House A1.

House A2's corbelled, 1m wide walls, which gradually slope inwards from base to top, consist mainly of neat courses of flat stone slabs and stand to a height of about 0.85m today. Occasionally smaller flat stones have been used in between the slabs to level off particular stones. It might be added that the corbelling was not continued to close the roof space and it is probable that timber, probably driftwood, covered with sods, was used to close the gap.

This is all very similar to the construction methods used in House A1 and is another indication that these houses were built more-or-less contemporaneously. A narrow entranceway (very like the one at House A1) can be seen located halfway along the southern wall of the house. This splayed entrance has an external width of 0.44m, an internal width of 0.33m and a height of 1m.

As noted above, there is a dense build-up of stones along the northern exterior of House A2, which slopes down from close to the top of the surviving wall down to the height of the surrounding ground surface (Pl. 32). This spread of stones is also about 1.5m in width and, as stated, seems to be linked to a desire to insulate this wall of the building against the elements.

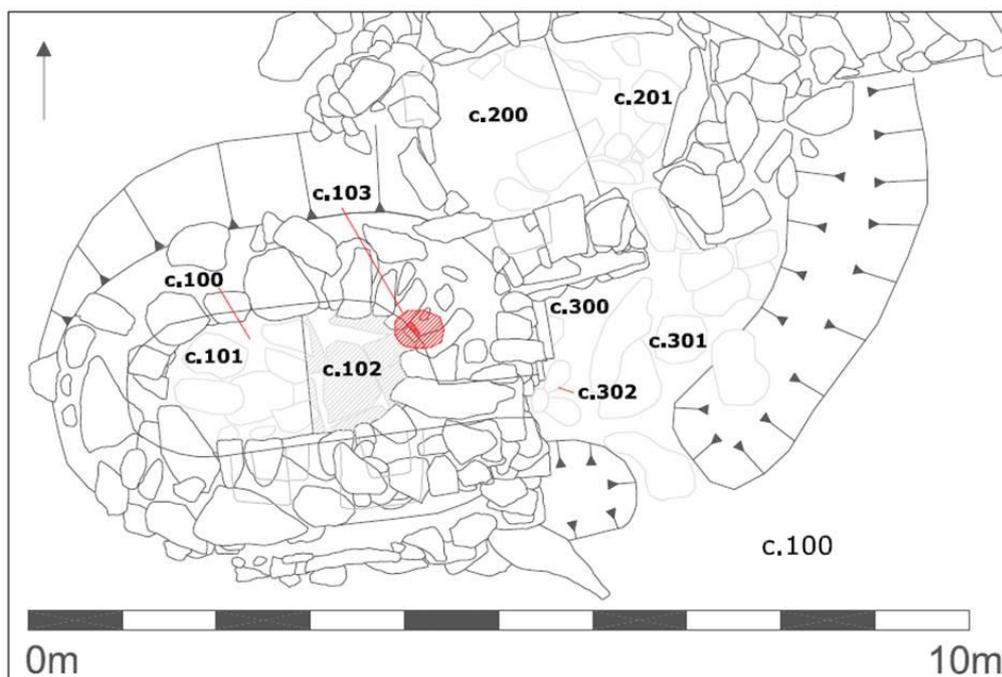


Fig. 73 – Context numbers for excavations at House A1 and A2 Annagh. C. 103 indicates the cache of limpet shells.



Pl. 35 – The jumbled, collapsed interior of house (A2) at Annagh showing the excavated area to the south and east of the ranging rod.

Two alcoves (one large one and one small one) can also be seen on the internal walls of House A2. The larger alcove can be seen in the house's southern wall, just to the west of the entranceway. It was built in a similar fashion to the ones in House A1, with a large, thin flat lintel forming its roof. This opening was 0.85m in width, 0.4m in depth and was probably about 0.6m in height. The second visible alcove can be seen at the northern end of the house's western wall. It too has a lintel for a roof and is 0.4m in width, 0.3m in depth and a mere 0.15m in height. This makes it far smaller than the other alcoves and it may have functioned primarily as an aperture to place lighted candles in to provide at least some light within the house.

The whole of the interior of House A2 was excavated (Figs. 69, 73). Again, as elsewhere on the site, the topsoil, Context 200, consisted of a dark soil that is penetrated by a mass of fern roots. This topsoil lies on top of a dark layer of stones, Context 201, which appears to be collapse from the partially-corbelled roof and upper walls of the house after it was abandoned. This layer of collapse is similar to Context 101 in House A1 and both seem to have been caused by the same event – the gradual collapse of the walls of the houses after their abandonment. Two finds were found in this layer – a small piece of a clay pipe bowl, hinting yet again that tobacco was consumed at Annagh late in its occupation, and a spoon that had corroded onto one of the stones (see Appendix 3,C: 200: 1). Context 201 was only partially removed due to the size of the stones and their interlocking nature. Part of what appears to have been the slab-lined floor of the house was uncovered and was called Context 202. Context 202 lay on top of the natural.

6.2.5 – Discussion – the excavations at Annagh

The excavation at Annagh was like most excavations of rural sites of medieval and post-medieval date sparse in the number of finds in the occupation levels of the site (see 6.1). Nevertheless, one sherd of Creamware (see Appendix 3, C: 104. 1) was found in a stratified context in what was considered to be a construction layer of House A1, under the slab-lined floor of that house. The excavation also suggested that Houses A1, A2 and A3 (while A3 may have been rebuilt) were all more-or-less constructed at the same time. This is confirmed by the similarities between the three houses in terms of their size, the construction methods used to build them and their internal features, especially their alcoves. This suggests that the one sherd of

Creamware is an important find as it not only helps date House A1 but also throws light on what general date Houses A2, A3 and presumably A4 (the north-easternmost house of this conjoined row) were erected.



Pl. 36 – Spongeware from Annagh excavations (Appendix 3. C: 300 1-4).

Creamware is a cream-coloured, refined earthenware that began being produced by potters (including the famous Josiah Wedgwood) in the Staffordshire region of England around the year 1750 and it remained popular in these islands until about 1840. Its genesis lay in the desire of Staffordshire potters to create a native pottery in the form of plates, jugs and bowls that was acceptable as a cheaper substitute to imported Chinese porcelain. This process led to the evolution of fine white earthenware with a rich, light yellowish (i.e. cream-coloured) glaze. As noted, Creamware's main popularity was between the mid-eighteenth century and c. 1840. However, the ware continued to be produced until the end of the nineteenth century (Miller 1991, 1-3; Godden 1990, 21-2).

While it is necessary to be wary about using only one artefact to date a structure, this discussion suggests that House A1 (and, therefore, Houses A2 – 4) was constructed

during the time Creamware was in use – between *c.* 1750 and *c.* 1900. However, as noted above, Creamware was particularly popular across Britain and Ireland during the ninety-year period between *c.* 1750 and *c.* 1840, making it more likely that House A1 and the other houses were erected sometime in the second half of the eighteenth century or in the early nineteenth century. However, it is possible that a more accurate date of these houses can be tentatively deduced from examining the folklore evidence for booleying at Annagh. It was noted in Chapter 4 that the late John Moran, who died in 1990, was quite clear that his great, great grandmother had booleyed at Annagh at some stage in the second half of the eighteenth century (see 5.2). Using this evidence and the fact that Creamware started to be produced around 1750, it could be argued that House A1 (and by association Houses A2 – 4) was constructed at some stage in the second half of the eighteenth century.

How long were Houses A1 and A2 at Annagh occupied? This is a difficult question to answer but some attempt will be made to do it. For example, Creamware also occurs in Context 101 at House A1, the layer associated with the structure's abandonment, meaning that it could have been deserted at some stage in the second half of the nineteenth century, if not earlier. However, the Sponge-ware sherds from the small enclosure in front of House A2 and to the east of House A1 suggests this part of the site at Annagh at least was occupied into the second half of the nineteenth century, if not a bit later. However, combining the evidence for the occurrence of Creamware (not really in use after *c.* 1900) in the abandonment phase of House A1 and the Sponge-ware sherds from the enclosure (in common use in Ireland from *c.* 1850 to *c.* 1900), it is tentatively suggested that Houses A1 and A2 (and presumably A3 and A4) were abandoned at some stage in the late nineteenth century.

6.3 – The excavation of House 3 (K3) at Keem

6.3.1 – General

Before its excavation, House 3 (K3) at Keem consisted of the grass-covered remains of an ovoid house that measured *c.* 10m north-west/south-east in overall length and *c.* 7m south-west/north-east in overall width (Pl. 29). The house also appears to have had two opposing entrances on its long axis, towards its south-eastern end (Fig. 74). These two entrances appear to have been more apparent back in the 1940s when

Stuart Piggott planned the building, amongst other structures at Keem. Piggott also indicated that the house had a distinct annexe attached onto its southern corner (Fig. 75; Piggott 1954, 21-22). This particular feature presents today as merely a widening of the bank that defines the house.

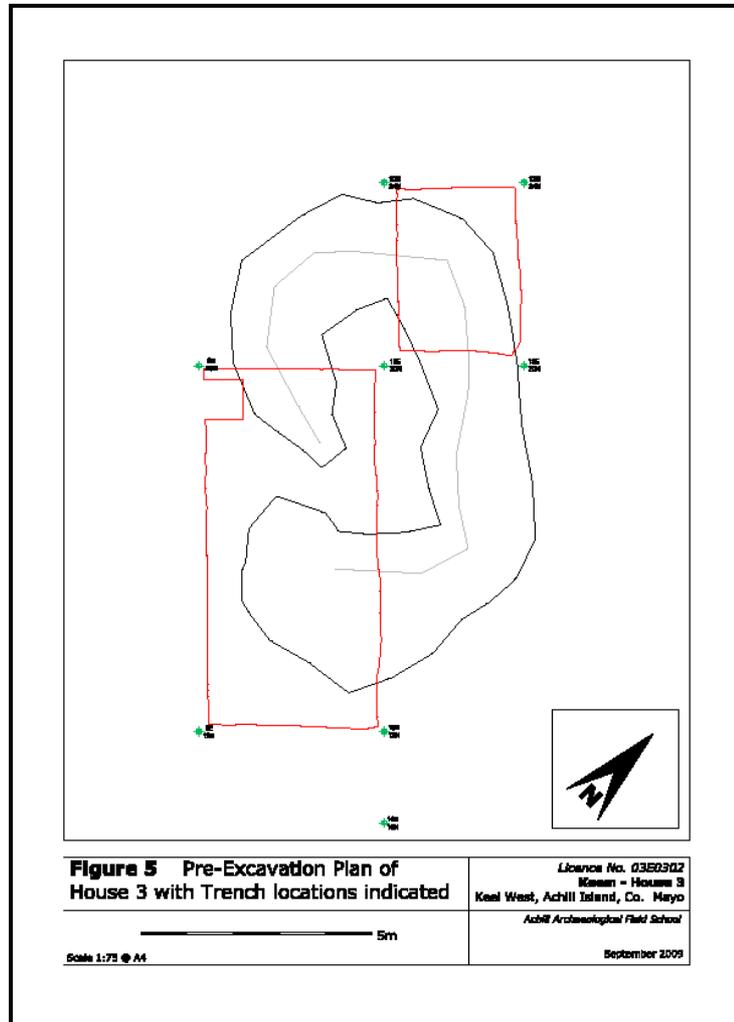


Fig. 74 – Pre-excitation plan of house (K3) at Keem, showing Trench 1 (north-east) and Trench 2 (south-west).

Keem is marked on Bald's 1809-17 map of Achill Island as a permanent settlement (Fig. 6). The First Edition Ordnance Survey Six-Inch map for the area, which was published in 1838, depicts forty one structures at Keem in the late 1830s (Fig. 66). Only the remains of twenty three grass-covered foundations of former buildings can be seen today (Fig. 61; Appendix Two).

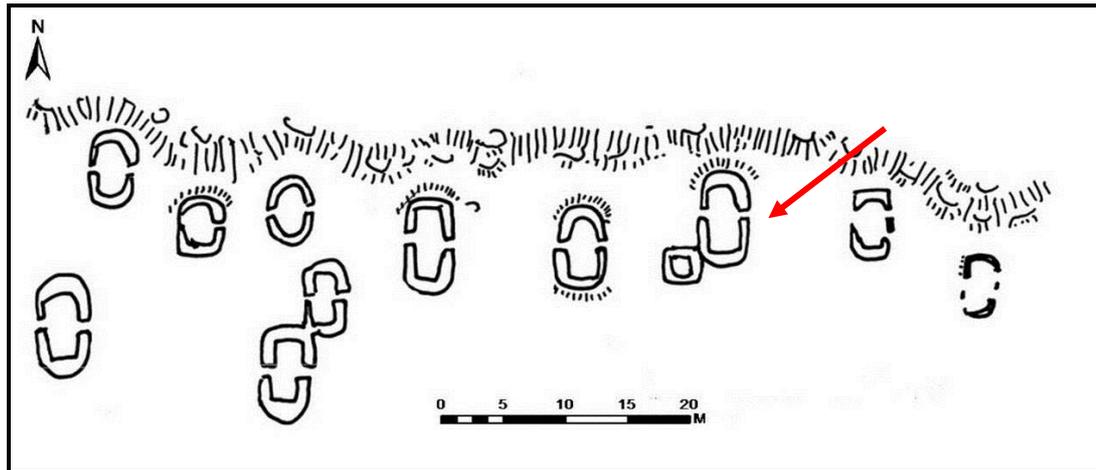


Fig. 75 – Plan of a select number of Keem houses (after Piggott 1954, 23): House K3 with annexe indicated by the arrow.

There are only vague surface remains today of the other twenty one structures recorded here by the Ordnance Survey in the 1830s. Interestingly, two ogham stones (MA053-003 009), presumably of fifth century to seventh century AD date, were found at Keem in the 1940s and deposited in the National Museum of Ireland (Mc Donald 2006, 246). A bullaun stone, basically a boulder with a man-made concave depression in it for holding water, which was probably used for blessing people, was also found at Keem, along with a stone cross (Mc Donald 2006, 223). Bullaun stones, like ogham stones, are often associated with early medieval church sites and monasteries (Harbison and Shields 2002). This evidence suggests that an ecclesiastical site may have existed at Keem at some stage, if not throughout, the early medieval period. This association with ecclesiastical activity at Keem continued in post-medieval times as an outdoor Penal Altar (MA053-003008), with an equal-armed plain cross of unknown date inserted into it, can be seen just to the north-west of the main complex of buildings at the site. Various writers in the mid nineteenth century noted that Keem was originally a permanent village that was abandoned by its population at some stage in the 1830s and instead became a booley settlement used only in the summer by people from the permanent villages of Keel West and Dooagh (see 5.11). Harris Stone in the first years of the twentieth century stated that only ‘boys and girls’, presumably meaning non-adults, booleyed at Keem (Stone 1906, 312).

The main point in this discussion is that House 3 (K3) at Keem, the one chosen for

excavation, was originally a permanent house and was apparently in existence by the early nineteenth century and probably earlier.

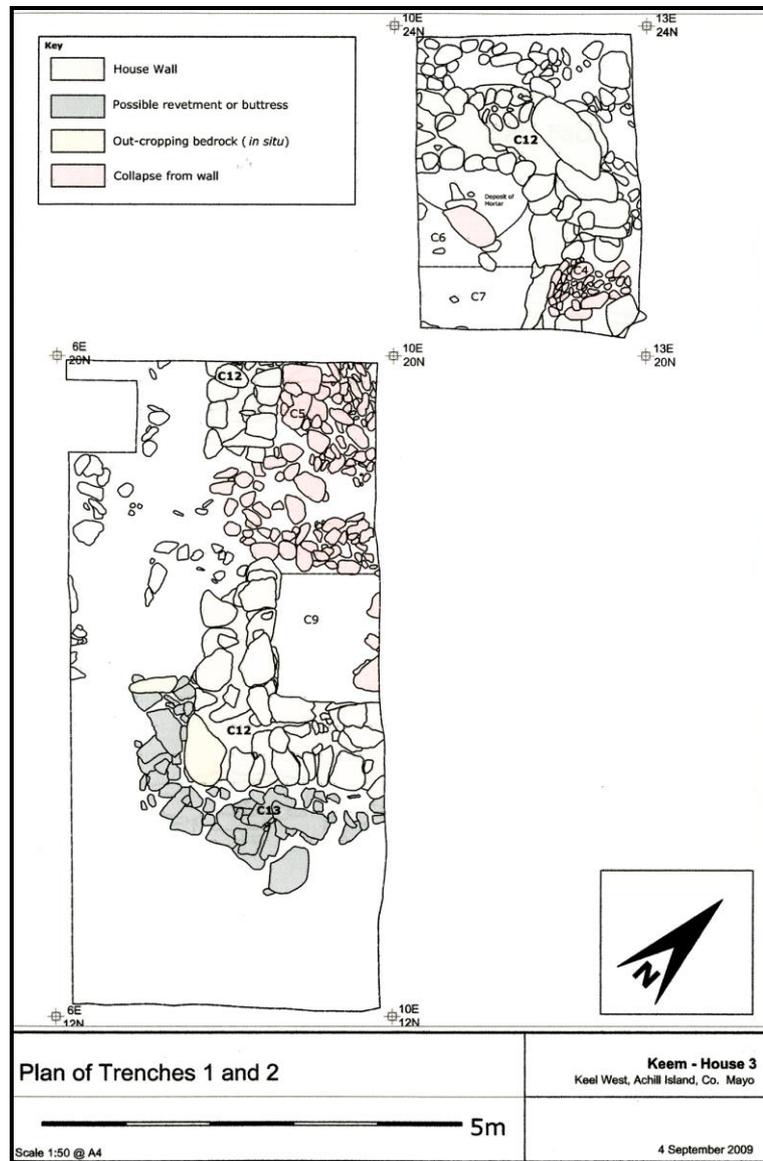


Fig. 76 – Excavation plan of floor of House K3 at Keem.

The excavation at House K3 at Keem took place over a two-week period in August 2009. Two trenches were opened within the house – Trench 1 and Trench 2. It might be added that once the sod layer, Context 1, and the topsoil, Context 2, were taken off, the original internal dimensions of the house were visible. The house had original internal measurements of 7.5m north-west/south-east by 5.5m south-west/north-east. This meant that the house had a living space of 41.25m² within it. The original dry-stone built walls of the building were c. 1m in width. Today they survive

to a height of 0.5m - 0.6m above ground level but were once clearly much higher. Furthermore, after Contexts 1 and 2 were removed in both trenches, it was clear that the walls of the house were rounded and curved externally on its north-western and south-eastern ends, suggesting that the house was sub-rectangular in shape (i.e. rounded, curving ends with straight walls on its long axis) and originally had a hip roof, although to be fair much of this had been clear before excavation. What was interesting was that the excavation indicated that internal walls within the house were straight-sided and demarcated a clear rectangular space (Pl. 37).

6.3.2 – The excavation of Trench 1

This trench was opened in the north-eastern quadrant of the house and measured 4m north-west/south-east by 3m south-west/north-east. Removal of the sod and topsoil layers, Context 1 and 2 revealed the dry-stone built walls of the house, as noted and designated Context 3. The excavation provided some evidence of how these walls were constructed. It would appear that, initially, two separate lines of stone walls seem to have been built a little apart from one another consisting of stones that measured on average 0.35m by 0.30m by 0.2m. These were laid without mortar in flat courses (of which only five survive today) presumably to the full desired height of the walls. Then the area between these two lines was filled with a dump of stone rubble, which was permeable – thus creating a solid, very well-insulated, thick wall that was approximately 1m in width. It might be added that sherds of Whiteware, shell-edged, blue-painted Pearlware and unglazed Red Earthenware and Stoneware, along with some unidentifiable corroded iron objects, were found in Contexts 1 and 2 in Trench 1 (see Appendix 3, C: 1.7 – 2. 40; 4.3). Whiteware was popular in the nineteenth century and is generally ascribed a starting date of 1820 (Miller 1980; Godden 1963; Noël-Hume 1978). Pearl Ware is effectively a derivative of Creamware and started to be produced in Staffordshire potteries from the 1770s onwards and the cups, plates and bowls of this ware remained popular into the late nineteenth century, although it seems to have been more popular before 1840 (Fig. 80). In the 1770s Staffordshire potteries, including the ones owned by Josiah Wedgwood, began to lighten the cream colour in their products to a bluish white, by using cobalt in the lead overglaze. Nevertheless, despite the popularity of Pearl Ware due to its delicacy, Creamware never lost favour as a product – both wares existed side by side (Lockett 1986).

Context 4 was a rubble layer associated with the collapse and abandonment of House K3 at Keem. Corroded pieces of unidentifiable ironwork were found within this layer, alongside some sherds of unglazed Red Earthenware, a sherd of Stoneware, a copper alloy disc and some sherds of green glass (See Appendix 3, C : 4, 1 –5). Furthermore, a simple, small round button, approximately 0.018m (18mm) in diameter with thread attached also occurred within this layer (see Appendix 3, C:4 - 6). Context 6 lay under Context 4. This was a compact, hard-packed, sandy, brown-coloured clay layer. This is interpreted as the floor of the house and large fragments of light-brown coloured mortar/plaster occur on its upper surface. As the walls of the house are dry-stone built, it would appear that this mortar is collapsed render from the inside walls of the house. The only find from this layer is a piece of semi-precious amethyst (see Appendix 3, C: 6.1) from a nearby quarry found beside a possible hearth, Context 14, on the northern edge of the house. This seems an odd place for a hearth in a hip-roofed house – one would have expected it to be somewhere near the centre of the building. It may have been located here because of a desire to use the wall of the house as a back to the fire. Presumably smoke exited through a hole somewhere in the central part of the roof. The find of semi-precious amethyst is interesting. It may be a hint that the inhabitants of the house were quarrying for this stone to sell for cash or goods in kind.

A sub-floor deposit of orange-yellow sandy clay with patches of red and black discolouration, possibly from oxidation, was found under Context 6 and was known as Context 7. This may be the natural or at least the old pre-house ground surface, as no finds or charcoal flecks were found within it. Certainly the definite natural occurs under this layer and is known as Context 3. It comprises an orange-brown sandy clay with moderate-sized stone inclusions within it (Fig. 77).



Pl. 37 – One of the doorways to house (K3) at Keem.



Pl. 38 – Excavation of Trench 1, in house (K3) at Keem, showing the straight-sided walls of the interior, which contrast with the curving, rounded external ends of the building.

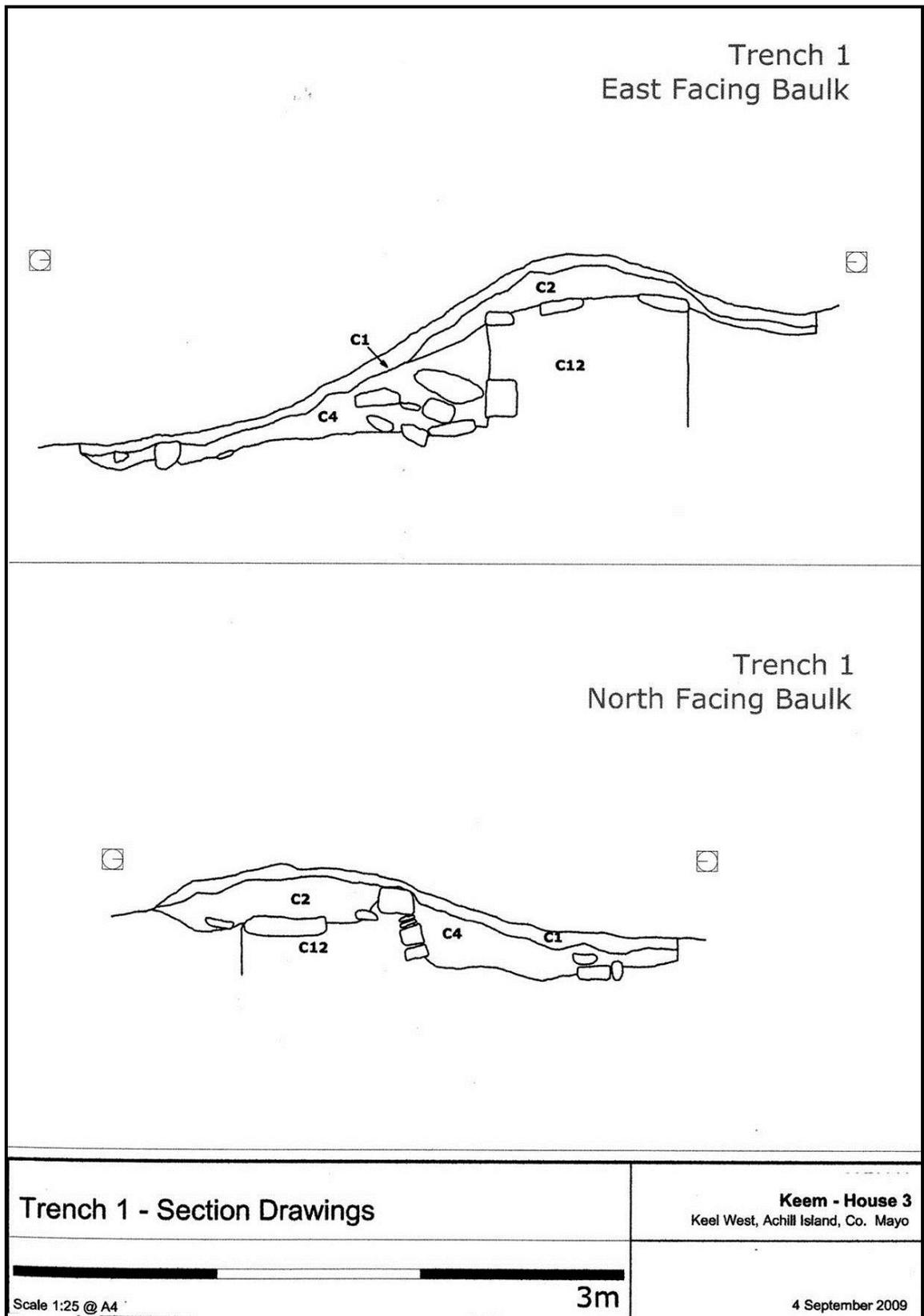


Fig. 77 – Cross-section showing the stratigraphy of Trench 1 within House K3 at Keem.

6.3.3 – The excavation of Trench 2

This was located in the southern part of the house and measured 8m north-west/south-east by 4m south-west/north-east (Fig. 78). Again, the sod layer and topsoil (Contexts 1 and 2) were found to contain sherds of Whiteware, Pearl Ware and unglazed Red Earthenware (see Appendix 3, C: 1.1 – 2.40). Once these layers were exposed, another stretch of the wall of the house was uncovered. This stretch was also a full 1m in width and seems to have been built in exactly the same way as the piece of wall described above in Trench 1 (see 6.3.2). However, the rubble core that makes up the inner part of this wall had a deposit of orange-brown sandy clay within it – this was known as Context 10. This overlay Context 11, which was a small deposit of light-grey, moderately compact sandy clay. A paved doorway, approximately 0.70m in width, was uncovered along the line of the wall towards its south-eastern end (Pl. 38). This entranceway, as noted, seems to have had an entrance opposite to it in the unexcavated part of the house.

A rubble layer lay under Contexts 1 and 2 within the interior of the house. This was called Context 5 but it is clearly the same layer as Context 4 in Trench 1, noted above as being associated with the collapse and abandonment of House K3 at Keem. Sherds of unglazed red-coloured earthenware were found in this layer (see Appendix 3, C: 5. 1). Context 5 sealed Context 8 – a thin layer of black organic peaty soil that seems to be associated with the occupation of the house. Unfortunately no finds were associated with this layer. Context 8 lay on top of Context 9, which was a compact, hard-packed, sandy, brown-coloured clay layer with lumps of mortar in it. This is clearly the same as Context 6 in Trench 1 and represents the remains of the original floor of the house. Apart from the mortar lumps (which seem to represent the remains of collapsed render from the internal wall of the house), no finds were found within or associated with this layer. A sub-floor deposit of orange-yellow sandy clay with patches of red and black discolouration, possibly from oxidation, was found under Context 9 and was known as Context 15. This may be the natural or at least the old pre-house ground surface, as no finds were found within it and is the same layer as Context 107 in Trench 1. Certainly the definite natural occurs under this layer, as in Trench 1. This natural is an orange-brown sandy clay with moderate-sized stone inclusions in it.

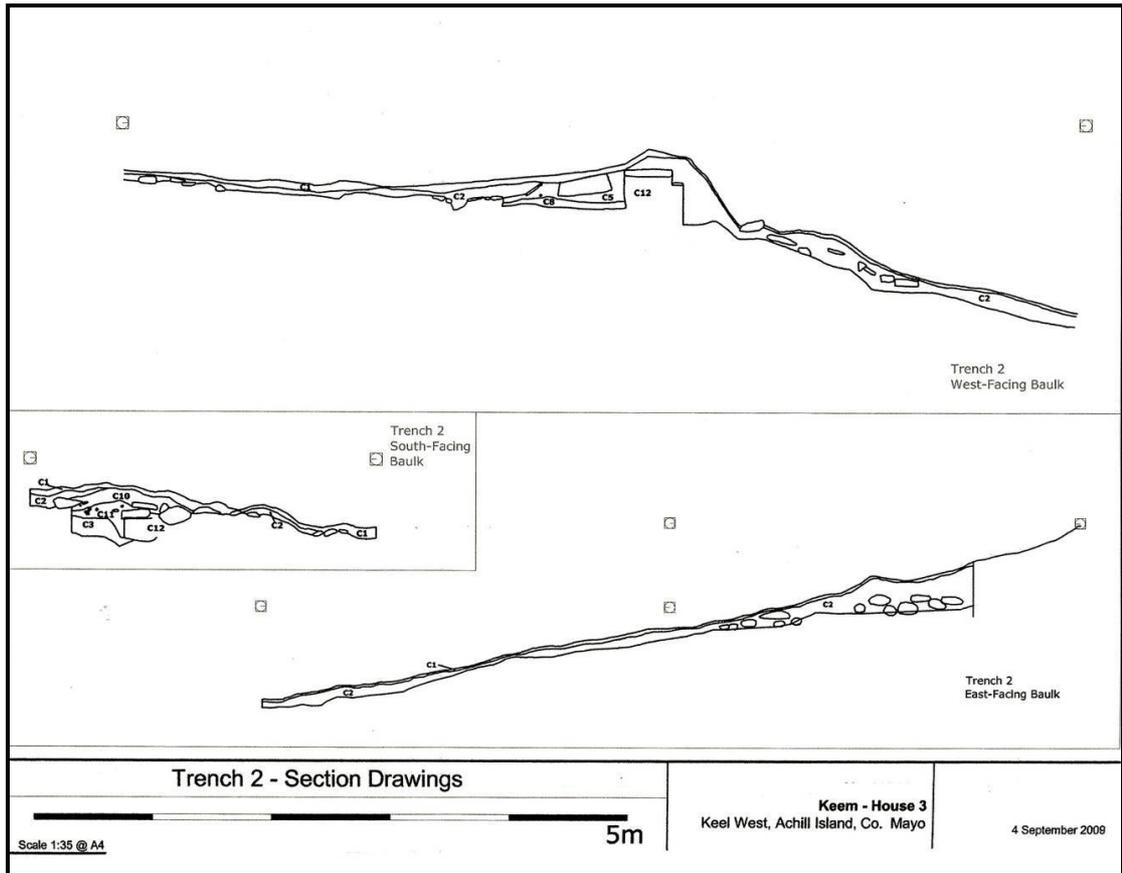


Fig. 78 – Cross-section of the stratigraphy in Trench 2 within house (K3) at Keem.



Pl. 39 – Buttness on the external southern corner of house (K3) at Keem.

It must also be stated that the so-called annexe, marked on Piggott's plan, turned out be nothing more than a dump of stones, Context 13, which acted as a buttness to the

southern corner of the house. It lay on a natural rock outcrop (Pl. 39).

6.3.4 – Discussion – the excavation at House K3 in Keem

The excavation of House K3 at Keem was disappointing in so far that no dateable finds were found in the building that could date its construction and occupation, although it was noted above that this is a common problem encountered by the excavators of peasant houses of general medieval and post medieval date across Europe (see 6.1). The date of the abandonment and the collapse of the house walls are not that clear either. Sherds of Pearl Ware and Creamware seem to be associated with the abandonment phase or at least were deposited after the abandonment had taken place. The ‘tinker’ or repair of the Pearlware plate (see Appendix 3, C: 2.28) shows how much valued this item was in the eyes of the owners of House K3, and also indicates the presence of a dresser or shelves within the house where plates such as this would have been displayed. Based on the presence of this pottery, it could be argued that the abandonment of this house occurred during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. However, the negative evidence from the site may be useful in dating the abandonment of the house. No Spongeware sherds were found in either the rubble layer linked to the collapse of the house’s walls or to the topsoil layers above it. This perhaps suggests that the abandonment of the house took place before the appearance of Spongeware around 1850 (see 6.3.2). In this respect, the fact that Keem was deserted as a permanent settlement in the 1830s is important (see 6.3.1). It is possible that this is the best time to see the desertion of the house during this decade. The fact that there are no definite artefacts from the site that only date to after c. 1850 (for example, Spongeware) supports this view but also suggests that this house was not used for booleying either during the course of the second half of the nineteenth century or the early years of the next century. The evidence, such as it is, suggests this permanent house was deserted completely in the 1830s and was never re-occupied by transhumants.

The excavation, however, did shed some light on permanent housing in the study area during the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The excavation provided evidence for quite a large, dry-stone, hip-roofed house, which was sub-rectangular in shape with curving, rounded ends, whose thick, well-insulated walls were rendered internally and whose interior consisted of a clean,

compact sandy-clay floor. A possible hearth site existed within the interior of the building as well, on its northern side and the house had opposing, ordinary-sized doorways at its south eastern ends. It bears some similarity in its general shape to the house sites, mentioned above (see 3.2.5, 6.1), at Glenmakeeran, Co. Antrim, that have been postulated as being generally later medieval in date (Williams and Robinson 1983). Could House K3 at Keem date to the medieval period? It is possible but it must be remembered that the house is also similar in shape to some of houses seen at Goodland, Co. Antrim, that seem to be seventeenth century in date (Sidebotham 1950) or even later. For example, one of these houses at Goodland has produced a mid-eighteenth century radiocarbon date for its occupation (Audrey Horning, per. comm.). Brian Shanahan, as part of his work for the Discovery Programme, has recently excavated a similar house to House K3 at Keem in what was a permanent settlement at Carns, near Tulsk, in Co. Roscommon. It appears to have been occupied up to the late eighteenth and even into the early nineteenth century (Shanahan 2007). The building had sod-built or earthen walls; artefacts recovered indicate that it was post-medieval in date. This all suggests that such sub-rectangular, almost ovoid houses, with rounded or curved ends, were built and used over a long period in rural Ireland – literally over hundreds of years. Finds included a bone-handled iron knife, a glass-bead necklace, and the stem of a clay pipe (ibid.). It is difficult, therefore, to date this house at Keem with accuracy, except to say that the available historical and archaeological evidence suggests that it was occupied into the 1830s and seems to have been in existence by the late eighteenth century at least.

How was the house roofed? No evidence for postholes or stone pads for crucks was found in the interior of the house during the course of the excavation. At one level, this makes it difficult to figure out how the house was roofed. However, Caesar Otway left us an account of how houses like the one at Keem were roofed in the early nineteenth century. Otway states that ‘a dry-stone wall was built in the form of an obtuse oval’ and that ‘outside this wall, at about a foot distant, another loose (dry-stone) wall was run up, and the space between the two filled with sea sand, and this was roofed, generally with timber washed on shore from wrecks and covered with heath (heather), which covering did not reach over the outside wall and form an eave, but rested in the middle between the walls, and the moisture from above, passed as it should, through the intervening sand’ (Otway 1839, 353). Otway seems to be

describing exactly the same type of house to House K3 at Keem. His account indicates how the house at Keem was roofed – the weight of the roof being taken by the walls of the house, rather than by posts within the building or crucks. The method of house construction described by Otway seems to be extremely similar to the way the walls of House K3 at Keem were built. The only difference was that the gap between the walls at the Keem house was filled with stone rubble rather than sand. Nevertheless, like sand, water from the heather thatch could percolate down through the rubble core of this wall. Otway's description is also interesting from a dating point of view, as it shows that elongated-ovoid or sub-rectangular houses, like the one at Keem, were still being built and occupied into the nineteenth century, as late as the 1830s, again emphasising the fact that such houses were constructed and used over a very long period in rural Ireland and cannot be dated by their morphology alone.

6.4 – Conclusions – a comparison between the excavated houses at Annagh and House K3 at Keem.

The major difference between House K3 at Keem and the two excavated houses at Annagh, Houses A1 and A2, is their size. House K3 has literally almost ten times more living space within its walls when compared to the two conjoined booley houses at Annagh. This raises the possibility that the main difference in the study area between houses at permanent settlements from those in booleys lay in their size. Permanent houses were perhaps far larger and this question will be addressed further in Chapter 7. The small size of the definite booley houses at Annagh (A1 and A2) and the fact that adults could not stand up within them gives the impression of a tent-like space. Both are less than 5m² in overall internal space, suggesting that not more than two to three people could sleep within them. This will also be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

However, despite the small size of Houses A1 and A2 at Annagh, this does not mean that they were uncomfortable when used as sleeping quarters. Their thick, well insulated walls, their narrow entranceways, their floors (which were deliberately designed to be well drained) and the small walled enclosure in front of their doorways, providing additional shelter, and the fact that there might have been a

small fire in the interior all suggest that these two houses were relatively comfortable, especially if heather was placed on the floor as bedding. Despite the evidence for burning in one of the houses and due to its confined space, it is unlikely that cooking took place within these two houses at Annagh. There simply was not enough space.

The doorway at the permanent house at Keem (K3) is about 0.7m in width, which seems a normal width for a door, even today. However, the two doorways into the excavated booley houses at Annagh are extremely narrow – both are merely 0.3m – 0.35m wide in places. This is too narrow for an adult to get through, even for a relatively-slim one. This suggests two scenarios. The first one is that only children used the two excavated houses at Annagh, the second, is that adults got into the house through a hole in a roof of each house, leaving the entranceway for children to use but also allowing some light and air to get into the booley houses. The fact that these entranceways are only about 1m in height also means that whoever is entering them needs to crawl in. This does not seem to be the case in the permanent house. Again, the comparative evidence from House K3 and Houses A1 – 2 at Annagh may suggest that one of the differences between permanent houses and booley houses in the study area may be door sizes, with the latter being far smaller than the former both in terms of width and height. This again will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Evidence for Whiteware, Creamware, Pearlware and Spongeware at both Annagh and Keem also raises questions about the wealth of the people in the study area from the late eighteenth century onwards (Fig. 79). These wares were not produced locally but instead were produced on an industrial scale at various potteries, most of which were located in England, particularly Staffordshire, and Scotland. However, from the 1790s onwards, Creamware was also produced in the Belfast area (Francis 2001, 152-54). The fact that people in the area had the surplus wealth to buy these wares shows that these people were not as economically backward as observers like Caesar Otway (1839) would imply in their writings. The existence of clay pipe fragments at both Keem and Annagh is another indication of an import into the island – in this case tobacco. This again illustrates that at least some people within the study area in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were wealthy enough to buy clearly imported goods.

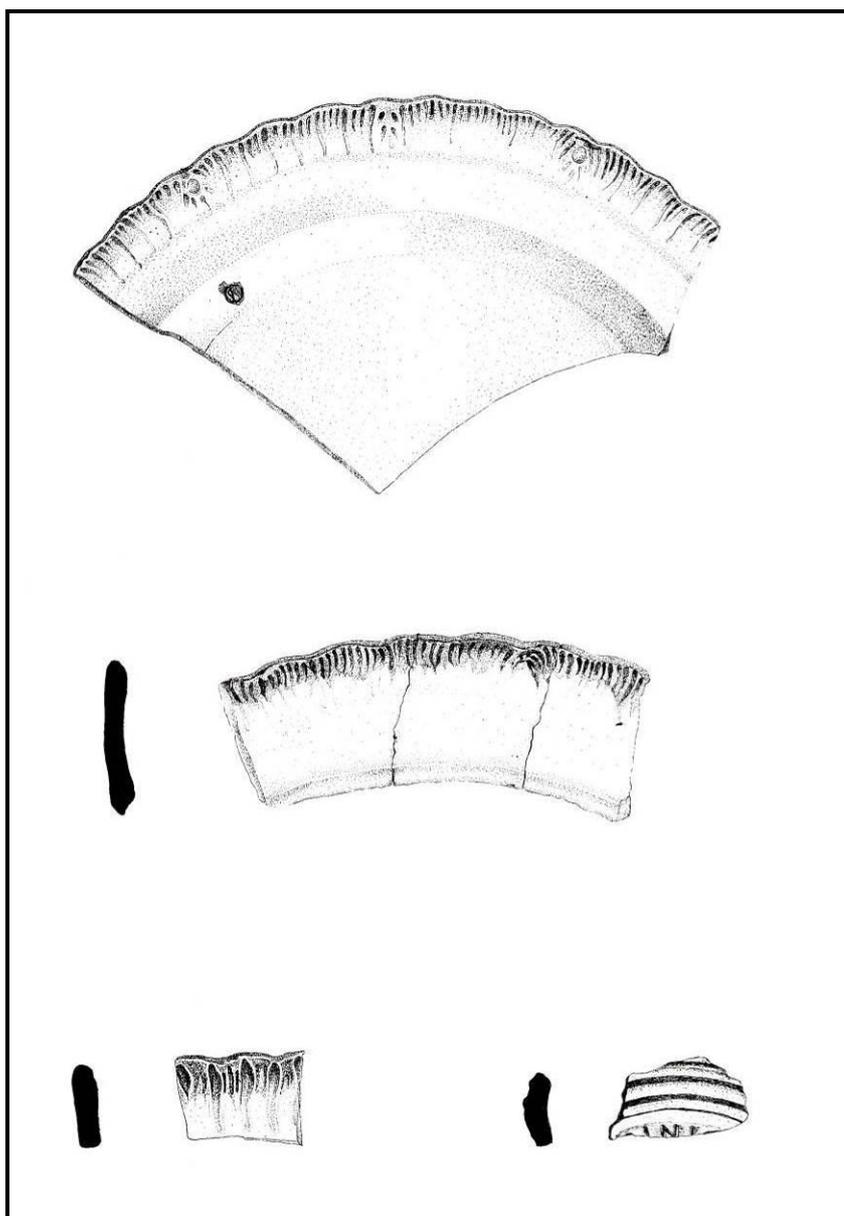


Fig. 79 – Pearlware plate with ‘tinker’ from the excavations at House K3 at Keem.

The alcoves within the two excavated houses at Annagh were presumably used as storage places – literally the equivalent of cupboards – to keep food and clothes in. However, it is entirely possible that these alcoves were also the places where these imported ceramic plates, cups and bowls were stored. Presumably these pieces of imported ceramics were kept permanently in the alcoves at Annagh. This would be the most sensible thing to do as to bring them back to the permanent settlement each autumn and then transport the same goods back to the booleys in spring would endanger these imported ceramics. Far safer to leave them in these alcoves all year

around and so keep them from harm. The finding by the writer of a tin mug in one of the storage niches at Bunowna booley settlement lends credence to this scenario.

The question of surplus wealth in the study area during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries brings us back to the question of housing. As noted, House A3 at Keem is far, far larger than Houses A1 – 2 at Annagh. However, despite this great difference in size, all three houses are ovoid to sub-rectangular (i.e. had curving, rounded ends, basically without gables) in shape – at least externally. As noted, Otway dismissively discussed the erection of such houses in the study area during the late 1830s stating ‘a dry-stone wall was built in the form of an obtuse oval, for they had not yet arrived at the art of making a square quoin, or erecting a gable end’ (Otway 1839, 353). Houses described by Edward Newman during a visit to the area in 1838 were ‘miserable wigwams’ and were ‘all built without gable ends’ (Newman 1839, 571-74). Caesar Otway was clearly influenced by the Achill Mission, of which he was a Board member, and believed the study area to be a place of backwardness, ignorance and poverty, in need of help and modernisation. Firstly, Otway’s observations were not correct in a general sense. Gable-ended houses were being built within the study area from the mid-to-late eighteenth-century at least, although not all people choose to do this (Mc Donald 1998, 80-81). Nevertheless, the three houses under discussion in this chapter are ovoid or sub-rectangular in external shape. However, it is noticeable that the interior of House K3 at Keem is rectangular in shape, having straight-side walls, so it is not ovoid internally. House A2 is more-or-less rectangular in shape internally. Given that the imported pottery shows widespread contact with the outside world, as well as an amount of surplus wealth amongst the inhabitants of the study area, why would many people in the Civil Parish of Achill opt for building structures seen by observers to the area like Otway as backward in design? One answer could be that ovoid or rounded-ended houses were less susceptible to wind damage in comparison to straight-sided, gabled ended houses (O’ Conor 2002, 201-202). Arguably the wind funnels around such rounded, curvilinear ends in a very efficient way when compared to gabled houses. It is suggested, therefore, that the ovoid or rounded-ended shape of many houses in the study area is a sensible environmental response to constant wind, which is a major climatic factor on Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun, as it is along the whole of the Atlantic seaboard (see 1.1; Mc Nally 1973, 52). Long experience of very strong

winds and the best ways to offset the damage these can do to housing would seem to be a better explanation for the continued building and occupation of essentially ovoid or sub-rectangular houses well into the nineteenth century throughout the study area, rather than stubborn intransigence.

Chapter 7 – The Architecture of Booley Houses in the Civil Parish of Achill

7.0 – Introduction.

Weather patterns have always been of major concern for farming communities and this was and is certainly true for farmers in the west of Ireland. Summer storms there can devastate even permanent settlements, as winds can regularly reach Gale Force eight or higher. High rainfall is a major feature of the region throughout the year too (see 1.1). (Mc Nally 1973, 52). Shelter from wind, particularly from the northwest, and rain, both major climatic factors in the study area, must have been a major concern for both transhumants in the booley settlements and those living back in the permanent settlements, even at the height of summer.

There are a number of aims in this chapter. Firstly, one aim is to assess and analyse the type or types of houses used by the transhumants in the study area. This is not as simple as it sounds. It was noted above that some settlements changed status over time, some starting as booley settlements and then becoming permanent settlements, with other permanent ones becoming booley sites at a later date (see 5.2; 5.8). It was noted above that only six settlements, at which there are standing remains, *seem* to have been purpose built as booley settlements and remained so throughout, according to folklore and the historical evidence (see 5.1). How do we deal with this information and data? Firstly, it is clear that no visible surface remains exist for transhumant houses at Bellanasally and Dooagh, which are two booley sites that became permanent settlements around the mid-nineteenth century (see 5.2.1 – 2; 5.8). Presumably the booley houses here were taken down and their materials incorporated into new permanent houses or even field walls since that time. While much information was gained about the siting of these two settlements in Chapter 5 for the purposes of understanding the practice of transhumance in the study area (see 5.2.1 – 2; 5.5), nothing can be said about transhumant architecture at these two sites without a large-scale excavation (which is beyond the scope of this thesis and the resources of the present writer). Nothing can also be said in this chapter about the six

booley sites that cannot be located except to townland (see 5.4.1 – 5; 5.13). This leaves the six, so-called purpose-built booley settlements for which there is physical evidence and the three sites, Carrowgarve, Keem and Slievemore, that were once permanent settlements that became booley sites, also at which there are standing remains (see 5.10).

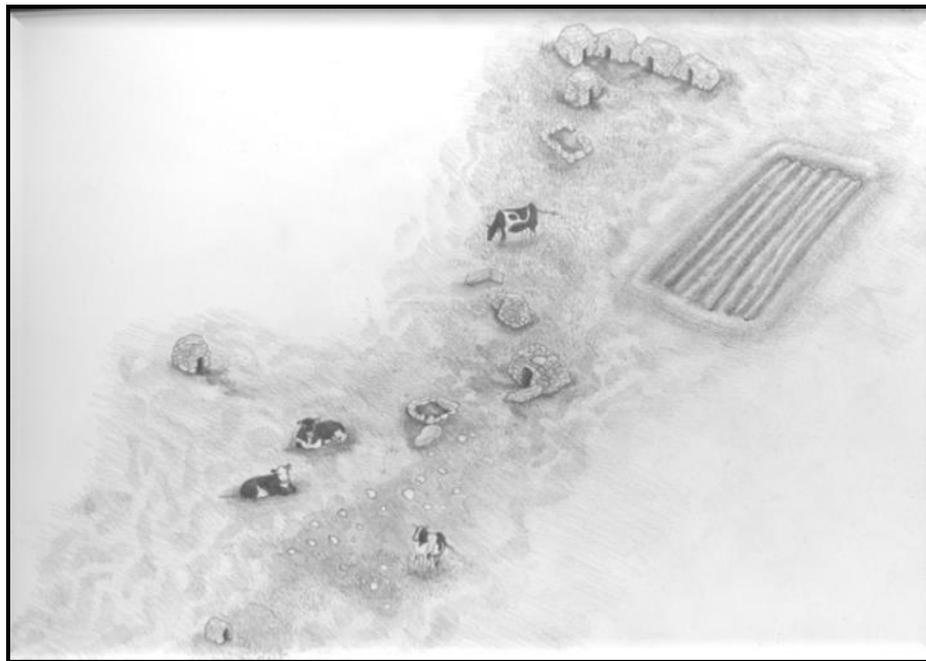


Fig. 80 – Reconstruction of booley settlement at Annagh (Drawn by Ella Hassett).

It was noted in Chapter Six that the results of the excavation at the house at Keem suggest strongly that this structure was not used for booleying and was probably deserted around the mid-nineteenth century (see 6.3). This comes to the crux of the problem. Arguably, while some of the houses at Carrowgarve, Keem and Slievemore were used at a later date for booleying, the structures at these settlements were originally constructed as permanent homes. Any architectural analysis of them would skew or distort the evidence from the purpose-built booley houses in the study area. Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis, while admitting that booleying did take place at some of the houses in these settlements, these houses are not considered booley houses but purpose-built permanent homes apparently built in the eighteenth and early to mid-nineteenth century (Mc Donald 2006, 273). However, this does not mean that these houses at Keem, Carrowgarve and Slievemore are of no interest to this thesis. On the contrary, their architecture will be compared later in this chapter to

see what differences there were between them and purpose-built booley houses in terms of size, construction, morphology and use of internal space. They are important because the physical remains at these three sites allow an insight in what houses at permanent settlements looked like in the study area around the mid-nineteenth century.

This means that much of the analysis and discussion in this chapter will deal with the standing structures at the six sites, that are believed to be purpose-built booley settlements – namely Annagh, Bunowna, *Botóg na Muice* at Bolinglanna, Dirk, Cuillaloughaun, Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghaur. The discussion and analysis will revolve around their morphology, size, doorway orientation, roofing, insulation, use of internal space and whether annexes were attached or opposing doorways were present. It will then proceed to compare the findings from these six sites under the same headings with the evidence from the houses at Keem, Slievemore and Carrowgarve.

7.1 – The morphology of booley houses in the study area

This section examines the external shape of booley houses in the study area. A number of house forms exist at these six settlements. It should be pointed out that there is some difficulty in assigning some houses to a particular group. For example, in particular, there is a lot of subjectivity in differentiating between an ovoid house and a sub-rectangular one with rounded ends. A true ovoid house is basically oval or egg-shaped. A sub-rectangular house is one with more-or-less straight walls on their long axis but with rounded, curving ends. In reality, therefore, the major feature of both the ovoid house and sub-rectangular houses is that they have rounded, curving ends and no quoin stones (see 4.4; 6.1). It could be argued for the purposes of this thesis and the analysis in this chapter, due to the fact that both have rounded or curving gables and the difficulty in differentiating between the two, that these two house types would be classified together. It was decided, however, to differentiate between the two in this section of the chapter, remembering that it is a somewhat subjective exercise. One person's ovoid sometimes being another person's sub-rectangular!

A rectangular house is one with straight sides but even here there are slight differences, in that some of these have rounded external corners, effectively they have no quoins, although their end walls are straight-sided (see Bol4 – 5, Bol7, T4). Two houses are really square in shape (see Bol7, Bol10).

Occasionally a house can have one rounded or oval end and a straight wall with rounded external corners at the other end (see T1). Another reason that can make it difficult to classify a particular structure is the often sparse nature of the evidence, particularly where erosion or poaching by animals has eclipsed or altered the shape of the grass-covered foundations (see Bol10). Nevertheless, in most cases the morphology of most of the booley houses can be ascertained.

7.1.1 – The circular house

Four single-roomed more-or-less circular houses with opposing doorways can be seen at Dirk (Figs. 81 – 82; A8; D1, D2, D8, D15). One circular house can be seen at Annagh (Fig. 81; A7). A possible circular house exists at Bunowna but this is uncertain (Bun18). No other circular houses can be seen at the other three booley sites.

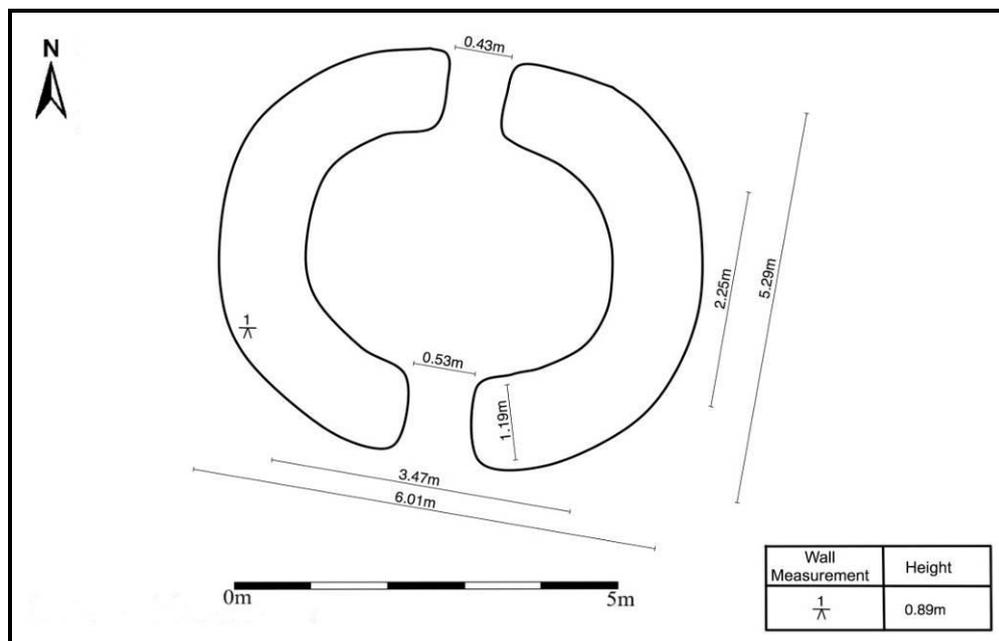


Fig. 81 – Plan of a circular house at Dirk with opposing doorways (D1). Note width of doorway.

7.1.2 – *The ovoid house*

As noted, the difference between the ovoid house and sub-rectangular house is at times quite subjective, as both have the rounded, curved external ends in common and have no quoin stones and gables. What the present writer considered to be egg-shaped ovoid or oval houses included four at Annagh (Figs. 42, 69, 112, 113; A1, A2, A11, A12), one at Bunowna (Pl. 68; Bun6), eleven at Dirk (Figs. 83 – 84, 127, 128, 130, 132, 134, 139, 140, 142, D3, D4, D5, D7, D9, D11, D13, D17, D18, D20, D21) and two at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaure (Fig. 53; Pl.84; T15, T18). This makes a total of eighteen definite ovoid-shaped booley houses in the study area.

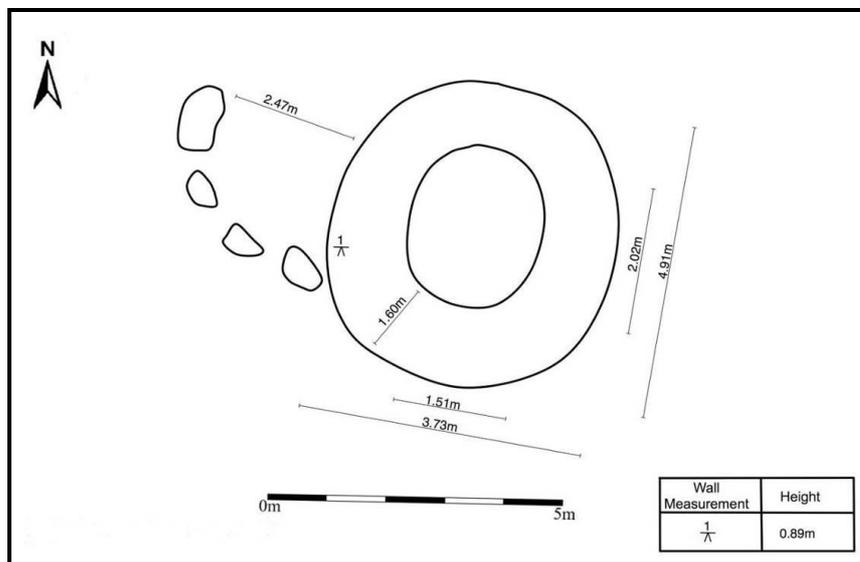


Fig. 82 – Plan of a circular house (D2) at Dirk.

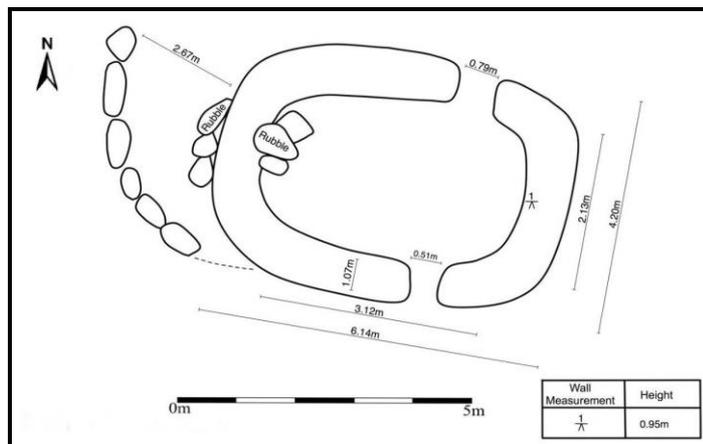


Fig. 83 – Ovoid house (D4) at Dirk. Some would classify this as ‘ovoid’, others as ‘sub-rectangular’. The main point is that this house has curving ends.

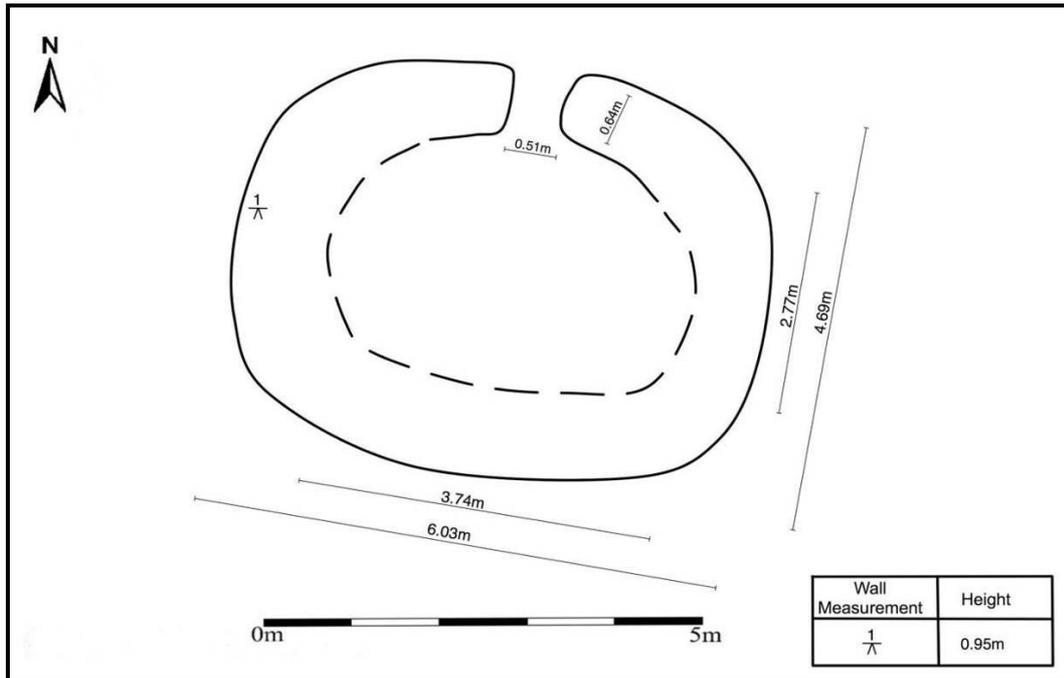


Fig. 84 – Ovoid-shaped house (D13) at Dirk.

7.1.3 – The sub-rectangular house

As noted, these are the houses which have relatively straight sides on their long axis but have rounded external ends and no quoins or gables. Four sub-rectangular houses can be seen at Annagh (Figs. 106, 109, 110, 111; A5, A8 – 9, A10). Fifteen definite sub-rectangular houses can be seen at Bunowna (Figs. 45, 85, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122; Bun1 – 5, Bun7 – 16), six occur at Dirk (Figs. 129, 133, 135, 136, 138, 141; D6, D10, D12, D14, D16, D19), three exist at Bolinglanna (Fig. 86; Pls.62, 63; Bol6, Bol9 – 10), and sixteen are visible at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghaur (Figs. 53, 144, 145, 146, 148; T1 – 3, T5, T7 – 17, T19 – 20). This suggests that forty-four sub-rectangular houses can be seen in the booley settlements.

In all, between ovoid and sub-rectangular-shaped structures, this suggests that there are sixty-two houses of these shapes in the six purpose-built booley settlements of the study area that have rounded, curving ends and no quoin stones.

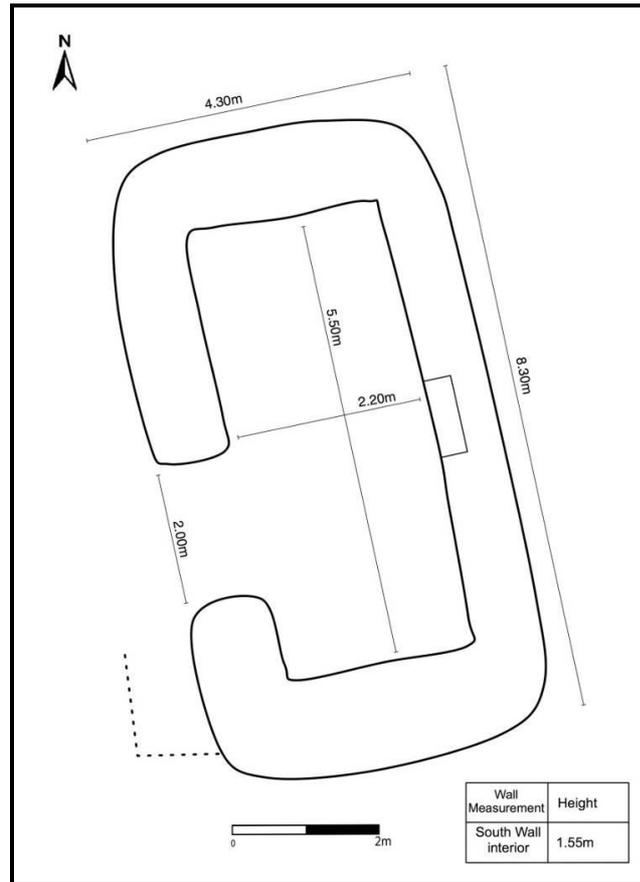


Fig. 85 – Plan of a sub-rectangular house at Bunowna (Bun10).

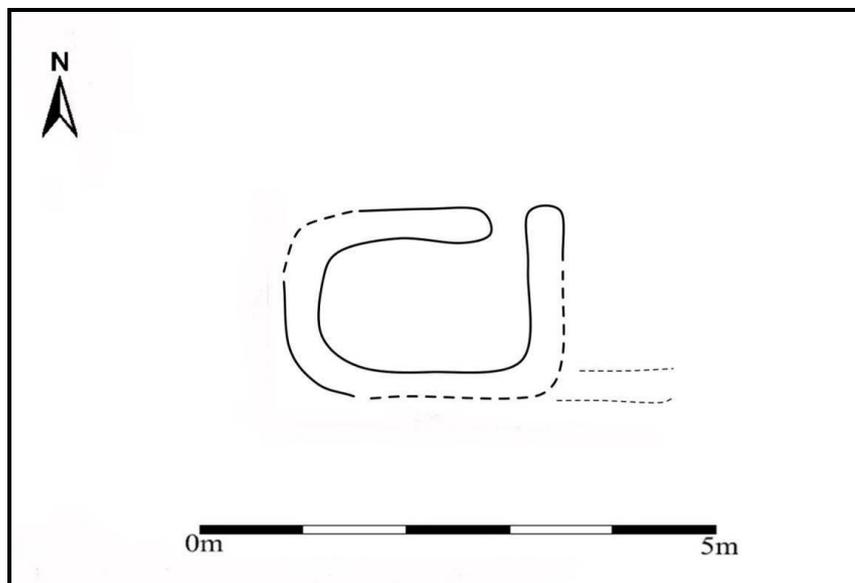


Fig. 86 – A sub-rectangular house (Bol 6) at Bolinglanna.

7.1.4 – Rectangular houses (i.e. houses with straight-sided ends)

Three definite rectangular-shaped houses can be seen at Annagh (Figs. 105, 107; A3 – 4, A6). One more can be seen at Bunowna (Bun17). Five houses at *Botóg na*

Muice, Bolinglanna (Figs. 47, 113, 114, 115; Bol1 – 5). One of these has rounded corners (Fig. 87; Bol5). Two basically square houses also occur at this site too (Bol7, Bol10). Only one rectangular house can be seen at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaun (Figs. 146; T4). This has rounded corners (T4). Three rectangular-shaped houses occur at Cuillaloughaun (Figs. 149, 150, 151; C2 – 4). One of these has rounded corners (Fig. 151; C4). This shows that fifteen rectangular (including two basically square ones) houses can be seen at the purpose-built booley sites of Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun. Even then six of these have rounded corners and lack distinct quoins.

7.1.5 – Two-roomed purpose-built booley houses

Regardless of whether booley houses are circular, ovoid, sub-rectangular or rectangular/square in shape, the vast majority appear to have been single-roomed. Only four of the extant eighty-six, purpose-built booley houses, c. 4.5% of the total, show evidence of being more than two rooms in size. Evidence for definite internal partition walls exist at House 12 (Bun12), House 13 (Bun13) and House 16 (Bun16) at Bunowna and House 3 (C3) at Cuillaloughaun. A further two may have been divided into two rooms but this is not at all clear (see Bun7 and D19).

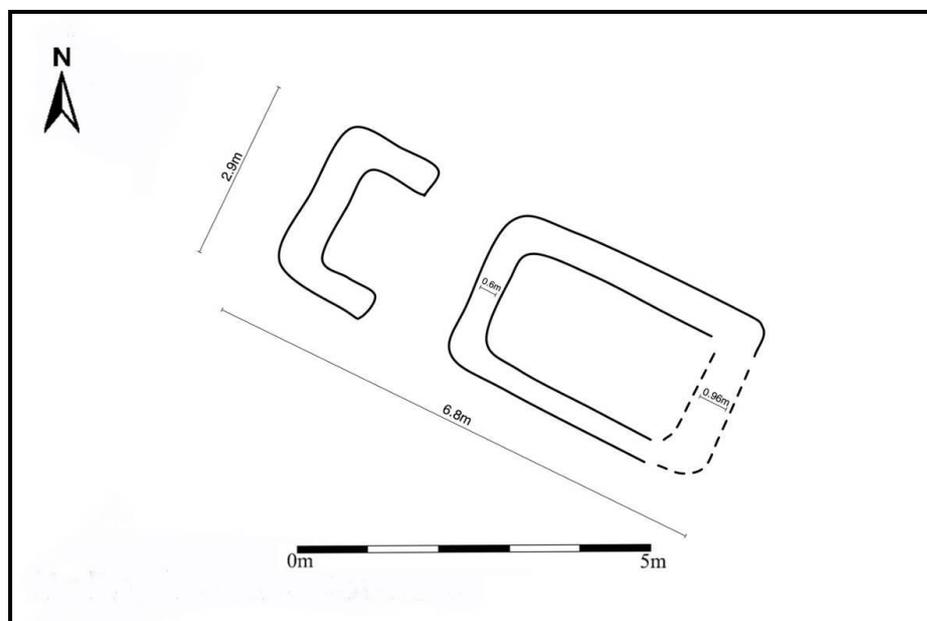


Fig. 87 – Rectangular house (Bol 5) at Bolinglanna. Note the rounded corners.

7.2 – Methods of construction.

All houses at Annagh, Bunowna, *Botóg na Muice*, Bolinglanna, Cuillaloughaun, Dirk, and Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghaur are dry-stone built of locally-sourced stones, often laid in neat courses with smaller stones used as infill. Most buildings were built of layers of coursed stone. This is interesting as it goes against Otway's (1839, 373) statement that the walls of houses in the study area consisted of two dry-stone walls, one inside the other, with the space between them filled with smaller stones. Only two booley houses seem to have been built like this – both of these can be seen at Annagh (A6, A10).

Evidence for corbelled roofs exists at four of the six purpose-built booley settlements. Seven of the houses at Annagh (A1 – 2, A5, A7-8, A11 – 12), three at Bunowna (Bun1 – 2, Bun10), three at *Botóg na Muice*, Bolinglanna (Bol4, Bol6 – 7) and one at Dirk (D18) show evidence of having originally had corbelled roofs. Some of the other houses may have had corbelled roofs but this cannot be ascertained or proved today due to their eroded state. The others may have been roofed with rough beams obtained from driftwood, with heather laid on top to waterproof them (Otway 1839, 373). As none of the booley houses in the study area, possessed gables, it must be presumed that the weight of the roof was carried by the walls of these structures. While driftwood may have been used for the roofs in some booley houses in the study area, sods cut from the surrounding bog and moorlands may have been used instead of heather. Indeed, sods may have been placed on top of stone-corballed roofs as well to further waterproof them and act as more insulation. At least two of the corbelled-roofed houses at Annagh show evidence of having sods placed on top of them (Pl. 47; A11 – 12).

7.3 – Annexes

A number of medieval and post medieval probable and possible booley houses in Ulster have sub-circular or square annexes attached onto them. These were not additional rooms but are seen as ancillary cool places (cold rooms) used to store dairy products, such as cheese, whey and particularly butter, until they were either consumed or brought back to the permanent settlement for consumption there or for

onward sale (Williams and Robinson 1983, 36-38; O'Conor 1998, 96).

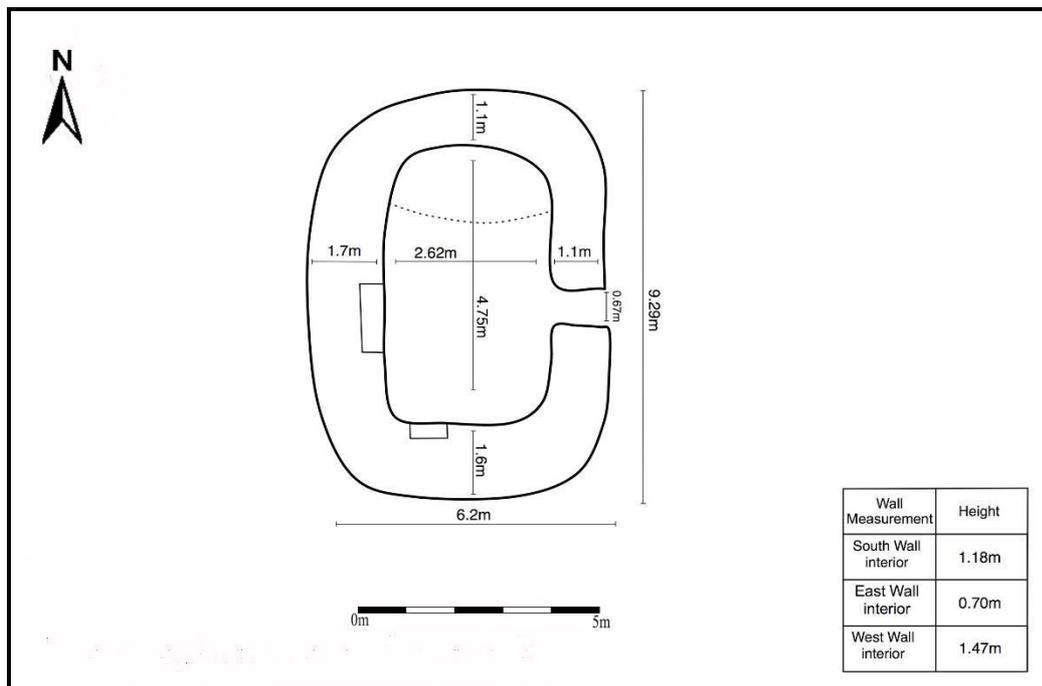


Fig. 88 – Plan of House 1 at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghaur (T1) showing round external ends.

Nine purpose-built booley houses in the study area have what appear to be annexes attached onto them (Bol2, Bol.5, D2, D4 – 5, D7, D9, D15, D18). No entranceways connect these spaces to their attached houses. Furthermore, their walls are considerably thinner than their adjacent houses and the openings into them are originally between 1.2m – 2.67m in width, which are markedly wider than the entrances into the booley houses proper (see 7.6). Also, most of these openings face towards the north-east – arguably the direction with the least amount of sunlight in summer, making them ideal for the storage and preservation of dairy products (Figs. 83, 86, 128, 130, 137, 140). The souterrain-like, above-ground tunnel seen to the south-east of House 12 (A12) at Annagh was probably also used for the storage of dairy products, as its interior would have been cool in summer as well (Fig. 113).

7.4 – Internal habitable space within the purpose-built booley houses

International ethno-historical comparisons of space allocation and use in peasant houses indicates that the amount of space required per person to live comfortably varies considerably from 10m² (Naroll 1962) to 3.4m² and to 2.6m² respectively

(Dodd 1984; Lennox and Murphy 1983). It has been argued, also, that a large number of people can live in a very small space and remain healthy (Casselberry 1974).

Six out of the twelve houses at Annagh have less than 5m² in internal space (A1 – 3, A5, A7, A12; see 6.2.1 – 6.2.4). Five houses there are between 5m² and 10m² in internal area (A4, A6, A8, A10 – A11). Only one house has more than 10m² in internal space. This is House 9 (A9) which has 14.85m² in internal area, making it almost three times the size of many of the houses in this settlement. Noticeably this house is located in the centre of the cluster of houses that make up the booley site at Annagh. Using the entries for Annagh in Appendix One (A1 – A12), the present writer estimates that the overall habitable space within the houses at Annagh (i.e. the combined total internal area within the structures) is 73m² (Fig. 43). It was just noted above that Dodd (1984) believes that an adult person needs as little as 2.6m² of space within a building to live comfortably and, for that matter, healthily. This suggests at a rough estimate that the accommodation at Annagh could house twenty-eight people comfortably, possibly more if children were involved.

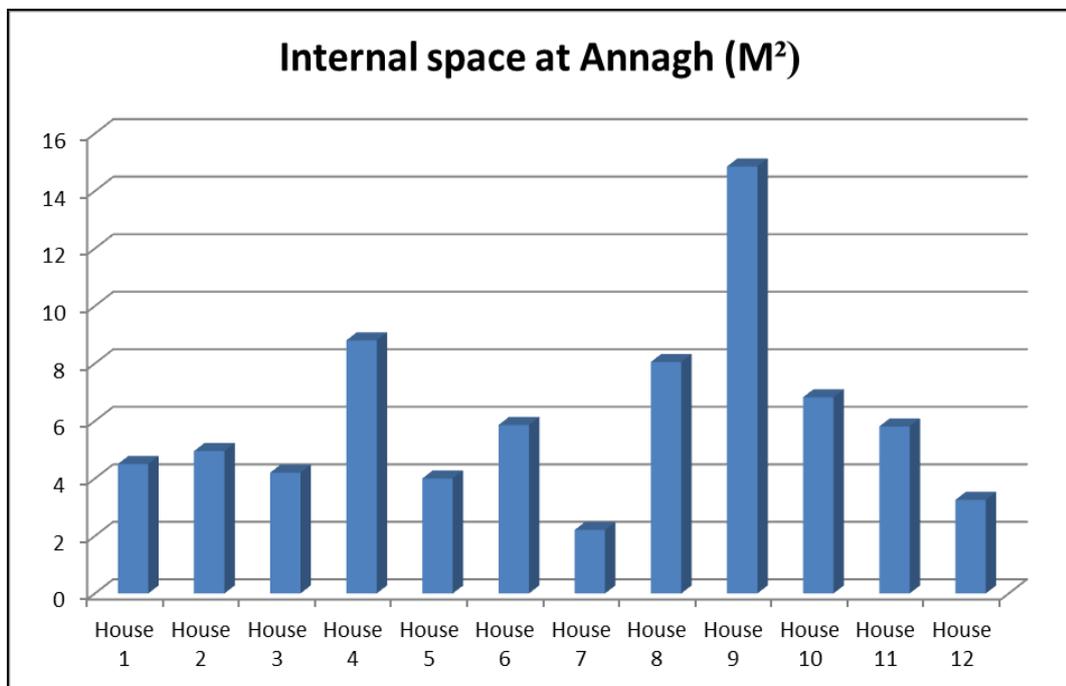


Fig. 89 – Graph of internal space at Annagh booley settlement.

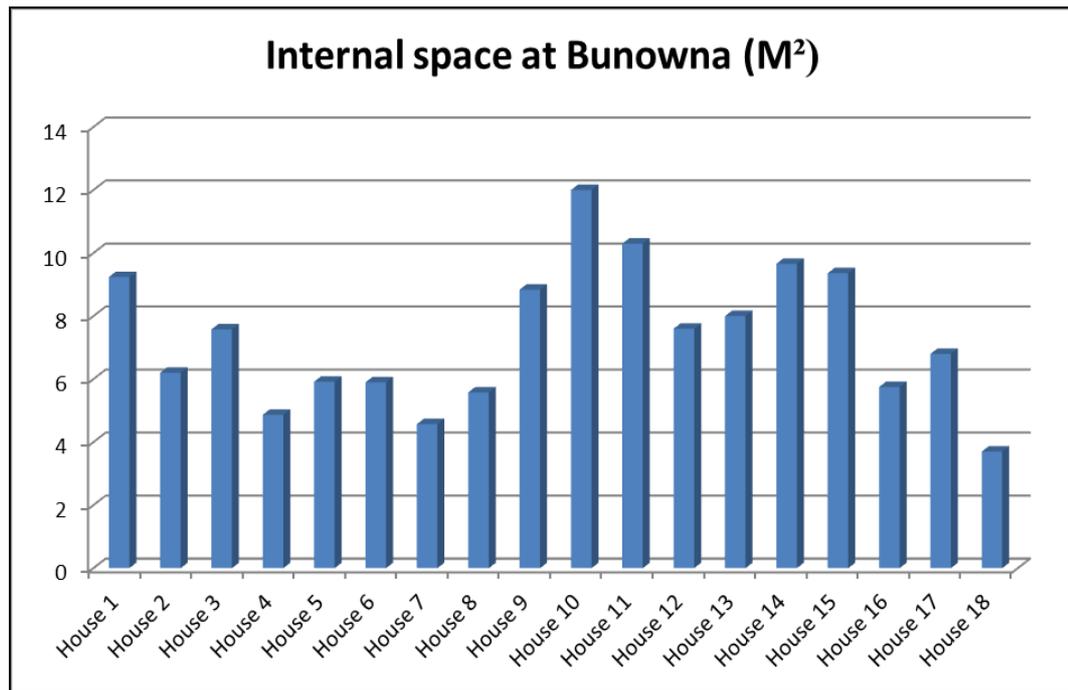


Fig. 90 – Graph of internal space at Bunowna booley settlement.

The situation at the booley village at Bunowna is somewhat similar (Fig. 45). Three houses there have less than 5m² in internal space (Bun4, Bun7, Bun18). A total of thirteen houses are between 5m² and 10m² in internal area (Bun1 – 3, Bun5 – 6, Bun8 – 9, Bun12 – 17). House 10 (Bun10) is 12m² in habitable space, while House 11 (Bun11) is 10.3m². Noticeably, again, the two largest houses occur in the centre of the settlement. The overall inhabitable space within the houses at Bunowna is 132m², suggesting at a rough estimate that approximately fifty-one adults could be housed comfortably at Bunowna.

The eleven houses at *Botóg na Muice*, Bolinglanna, show a somewhat similar pattern (Fig. 47). Five houses there have less than 5m² in internal space (Bol5 – 7, Bol9, Bol11). Five further houses are between 5m² and 10m² in inhabitable space (Bol2 – 4, Bol8 and 10). House 1 (Bol1) stands out at 13m² in internal area. It stands on the northernmost edge of the settlement in close proximity to Houses 2 – 7 (Bol2 – 7). The overall inhabitable space at Bolinglanna is 64m². This roughly indicates that about twenty-five adults could be accommodated at this site at any one time.

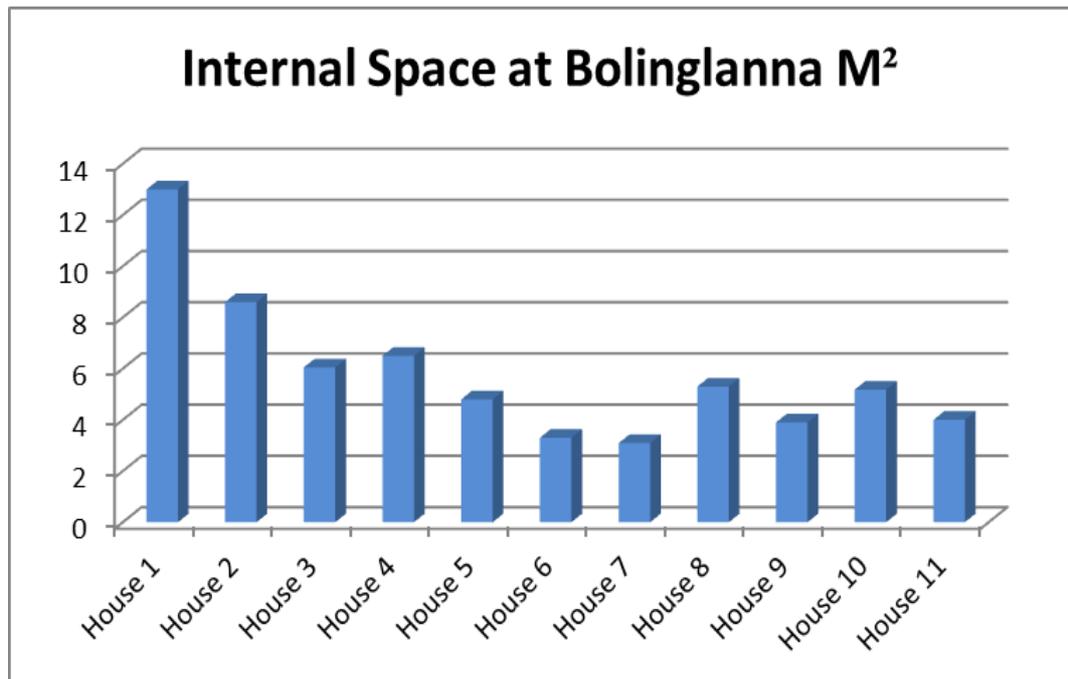


Fig. 91 – Graph showing internal space at *Botóg na Muice* booley settlement.

The twenty-one houses at Dirk portray something similar (Fig. 49). Four houses are under 5m² in inhabitable space (D2, D8, D14, D21). Twelve houses are between 5m² and 10m² in internal area (D1, D3 – D7, D12, D15, D17 – D20). Three houses are between 10m² and 15m² in inhabitable space (D10, D13, D16). Two houses stand out as large and have internal space in excess of 15m², D9 at 18m² and D11 at an incredible 37.5m². Noticeably, unlike the other nineteen houses at Dirk, these structures are in a very dilapidated condition and only the bare outline survives. It is possible that these two structures were once considerably smaller when upstanding and that these measurements are an exaggeration of their original internal area. Certainly the majority of the houses at Dirk are considerably smaller in area. Indeed, it is possible that House 11 (D11) was not a house at all but may represent the remains of an enclosure not unlike the one seen to the south of House 4 (T4) at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghaur. Only excavation will properly answer this question. Nevertheless, including House 11 (D11), the overall inhabitable space at Dirk is approximately 189m², suggesting that about seventy-three adults could have lived at Dirk when in use. The twenty houses seen at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghaur are in general larger than those seen at Annagh, Bunowna, Bolinglanna and Dirk (Fig. 53). None is below 5m² in internal area.

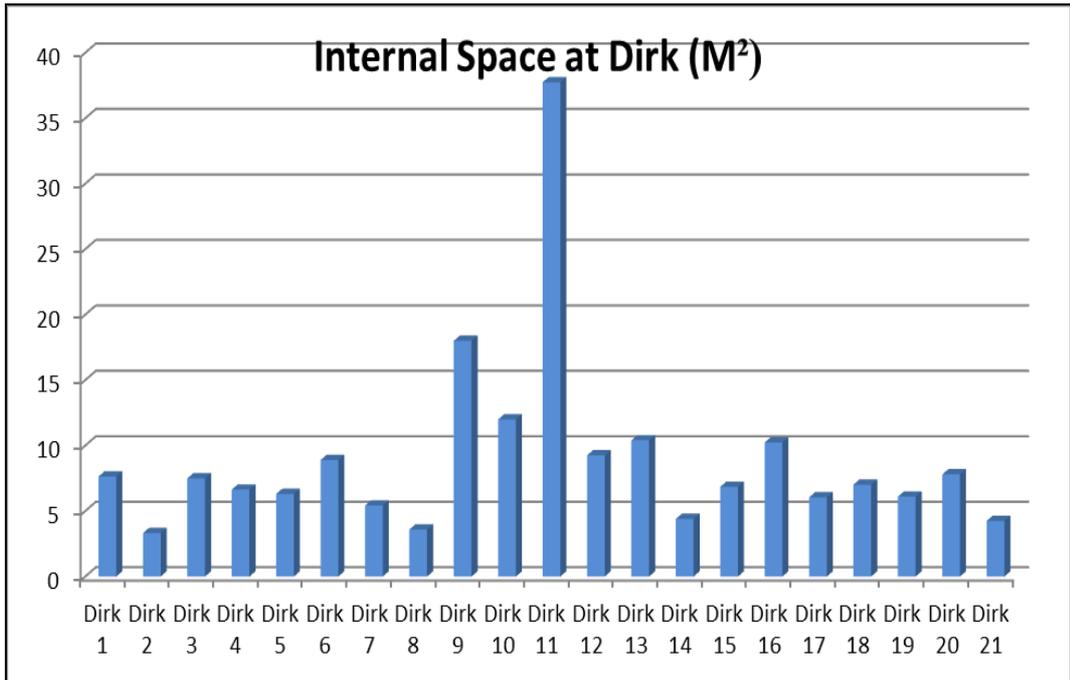


Fig. 92 – Graph showing internal space at Dirk booley settlement.

Only two are between 5m² and 10m² in inhabitable space (T1, T18). Six are between 10m² and 15m² in internal area (T2, T5, T9, T11, T17, T19). Nine are between 15m² and 20m² (T3, T6, T8, T12 – 16, T20). Three are between 20m² and 23m² in internal area (T4, T7 and T10). In all, the overall inhabitable space at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghaur is 313m², suggesting a possible adult population of one hundred and twenty at any one time.

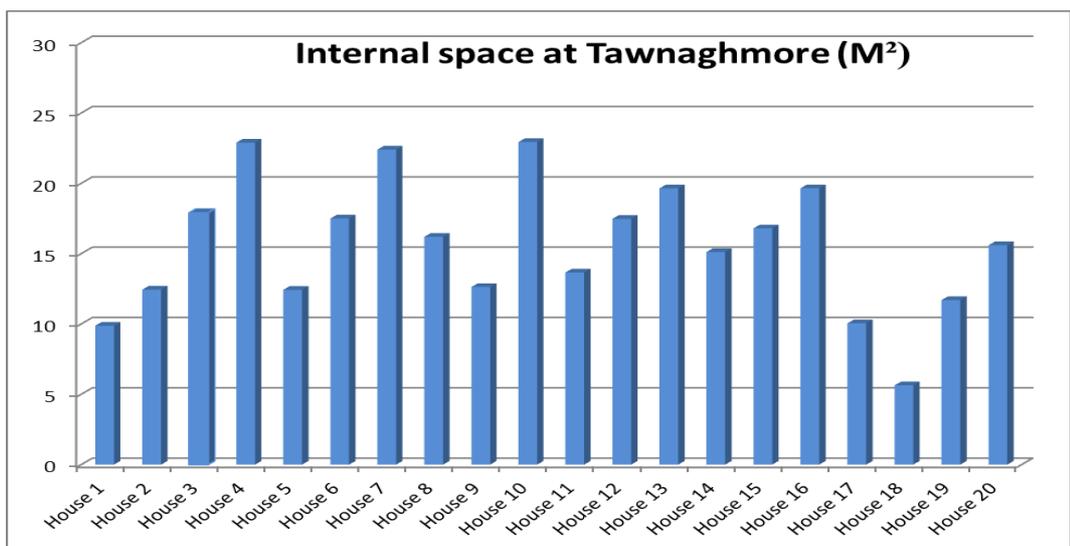


Fig. 93 – Graph showing internal space at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghaur settlements.

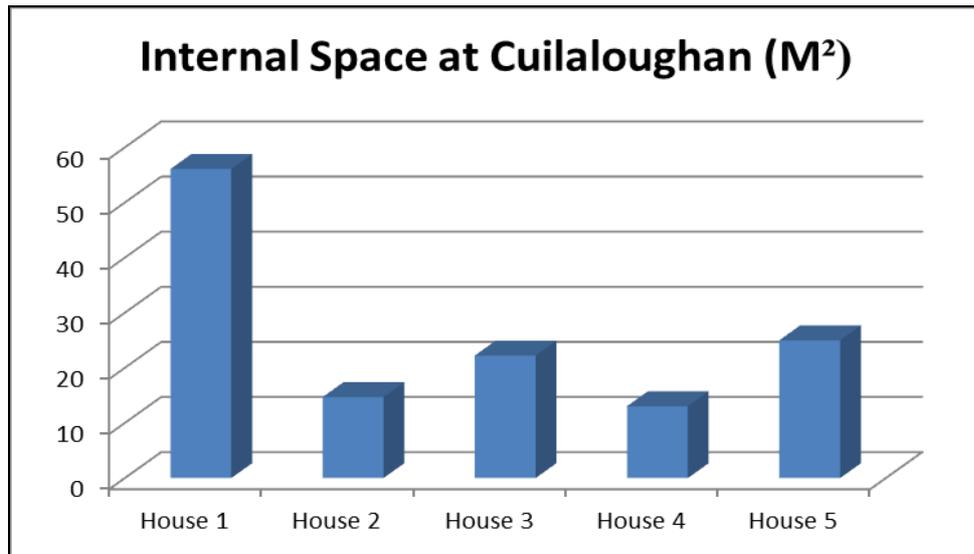


Fig. 94 – Graph showing internal space at Cuillaloughan.

All indications are that House 1 (C1) with an internal area of 56m² at Cuillaloughan is a permanent house lived in by a herd working for the Marquess of Sligo in the nineteenth century (see 5.6). This means that it was not a booley house and should not be included in this particular discussion. The other houses at this site *appear* to be booley houses according to extant local folklore (Josie Heaney, pers. comm.). House 2 (C2) is 14.7m² in internal area. House 3 (C3) is 22.24m² in inhabitable space. House 4 (C4) and House 5 (C5) are respectively 13m² and 25m² in internal area. These houses, even House 4, are considerably larger in internal area than the houses at Annagh, Bolinglanna, Bunowna and Dirk. The four houses have combined total area of 75m² of habitable space, larger than the totals for twelve houses at Annagh and the eleven houses at Bolinglanna. The spaces available for habitation within these houses bear more similarity to the situation at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaur.

In conclusion for this section, there is evidence for the standing remains of eighty-six houses at purpose-built booley houses in the study area. This analysis shows that 64% have less than 10m² in internal space, while 17% are between 10m² and 15m² and 12% are between 15m² and 20m² in measured inhabitable space. Only 7% are over 20m² in internal area, meaning that approximately 93% of all booley houses in the study area are below 20m² in inhabitable space.

7.5 – Storage niches

The discussion in the last section indicated that most of the purpose-built booley houses in the study area are relatively small in terms of the habitable space within them. However, it was noted in Chapter 6 that storage niches can be seen in House 1 (A1) and House (A2) at Annagh (see 6.2.1 – 6.2.4). A further twenty-five, purpose-built booley houses at Annagh, Bolinglanna, Bunowna, Cuillaloughaun, Dirk and Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaun have one or two storage niches visible on their internal walls today (A8, Bol5, Bun1 – 2, Bun4, Bun7 – 8, Bun11, Bun13, C2 – 5, D15, D17 – 18, T1 – 2, T6, T9 – 12, T14, T16). It was stated that House 1 (A1) at Annagh had as many as four storage niches visible in it. Other purpose-built booley houses in the study area had multiple storage niches within them too. House 4 (T4) at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaun has three storage niches on its internal walls, while House 9 (Bun9), House 10 (Bun10), House 12 (Bun12) and House 16 (Bun16) at Bunowna have four each. House 9 (A9) at Annagh has six storage niches on its interior walls but it is House 11 (A11) that has the most. It has a seven storage niches visible on its internal walls. This suggests that thirty-four (about 40%) out of the eighty-six standing booley houses in the study area have storage niches, meaning that they were a relatively common feature of transhumance architecture.

It was noted in Chapter 6 that the small niche in House 2 (A2) at Annagh may have functioned primarily as an aperture to place lighted candles in to provide at least some light for the interior of this building (see 6.2.1). It is probable that many of the smaller niches in these booley houses provided a similar service. The existence of the larger storage niches in a substantial proportion of booley houses did not, at one level at least, add to the directly habitable space within the buildings in which they occur, as none are even remotely large enough for even children to sleep in. However, these niches would have provided space for storage leaving the floors of the buildings completely free for habitation and sleeping.



Pl. 40 – Storage niche at House 1 at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghaur (T1).

What was stored in these niches? Obviously clothes would be one important item. However, it was also shown in Chapter 6 that the occupation of House 1 (A1) and House 2 (A2) at Annagh was associated with Creamware and Spongeware (see 6.2.1 – 6.2.4). Presumably the mugs, bowls and plates associated with these wares were placed within the niches for safe-keeping when not in use. Furthermore, it was noted in Chapter 5 that many of the journeys from the permanent settlements to the transhumant sites within the study area were across quite difficult terrain and were somewhat arduous (see 5.14). This suggests the strong possibility that these mugs, plates and cups, along with other utensils, were left in these storage niches permanently (i.e. over winter) to prevent them from being broken on the journeys to and from the booley settlements.

7.6 – How habitable were these purpose-built booley houses?

Storage niches would have been important as they would have ensured that the floors of the relatively small booley houses were not cluttered with belongings. It was noted in Chapter 6 that House 1 (A1) and House 2 (A2) had what appeared to be a

deliberate dump of stones placed against the external face of their northern sides. House 1 (A1) had a further dump of stones against its southern wall (6.2.1). This seems to have been done to provide insulation against the elements and, therefore, these features were designed to make the interiors of these houses dry for their occupants in inclement weather. Similar purposely-created dumps of stone can be seen against at least one of the external walls (usually the northern one) of House 3 (A3), House 5 (A5), House 8 (A8), House 11 (A11) at Annagh and House 1 (T1), House 2 (T2), House 3 (T3) and House 7 (T7) at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaun. Furthermore, it was also noted in Chapter 5 that a number of booley houses in the study area were cut into natural slopes presumably to give further insulation against the elements (see 5.1.2, 5.2.1, 5.3.1, 5.5.2). Some houses, also, are conjoined and presumably the fact that walls were shared with other buildings was also a form of stability and insulation against the elements for these structures (See A1 – 4, Bun5 – Bun6, T5 – 6).

It was also noted in Chapter 6 that the wall of the small enclosure to the east of the entranceway to House 1 (A1) and to the south of the entrance to House 2 (A2) acted as a windbreak and prevented draughts getting into the interior of these buildings (See 6.2.1 – 6.2.4). Walls, often curving ones, also occur in front of the doorways at House 3 (A3), House 9 (A9) at Annagh, House 1 (Bun1), House 10 (Bun10) and House 17 (Bun17) at Bunowna and, lastly, House 14 (Bol14) at Bolinglanna. Again, the purpose of these walls was also to provide windbreaks in front of the entranceways to these houses.

The prevailing wind in the study area comes from the south-west. However, the most damaging winds often come from the north-west (Mc Nally 1973, 50). It is noteworthy that only 20% of the recognisable entranceways to the booley houses (or at least one of them) in the study area open out to the south-west, west and northwest (see Bun1 – 2, Bun4 – 6, Bun11, Bun16, C2, D6, D10, D16, D20). Therefore, 80% of the entranceways to these structures face away from the prevailing winds, with almost 56% of them opening out to the north-east, east and south-east. In fact, a full 37% of all recognisable entranceways to the booley huts in the study area open out to the east (A1, A5, A7, A10 – 11, Bun7, Bun10, Bun12 – 13, Bol1, Bol3 – 4, T1 – 8, T10 – 13, T16 – 17).

Doorway widths are also interesting. Sixty-five exact doorway widths of booley houses in the study area survive to be measured today, including those that have two opposing entranceways. It was already noted in Chapter 6 that the entranceways to House 1 (A1) and House 2 (A2) at Annagh were narrow (see 6.2.3, 6.2.4). About 17% are between 0.35m and 0.5m in width (A1 – 3, A10 – 12, Bun4, Bol6, D1 (N), D14, D21), making them very narrow indeed. About 26% of booley entranceways are between 0.51m – 0.60m in width (A5, A7, Bun1, Bun12, D1 (S), D3 (S), D5 (N), D6 (SW), D7 (S), D9 (N), D9 (S), D12-13, T3, T10 – 12). Furthermore, another 23% of measurable entranceways are between 0.61m and 0.7m in width (Bun5, Bun7 – 8, Bun11, D3 (S), D5 (N), D6 (SW), D7 (S), D9 (N), D9 (S), T3, T10 – 12). In all, it shows about 66% of all measurable entranceway widths of purpose-built booley houses in the study area are below 0.7m in width. It will be shown below that a full 86% of all measurable entranceways at the originally permanent settlements at Keem, Slievemore and Carrowgarve are over 0.71m in width (see 7.7.4). This difference must be at least partly due to desire to make the interiors of the booleys more secure from the elements as it seems unlikely that proper doors were ever fitted to them, particularly as many of them are located in isolated, exposed locations with little or no access to suitable materials.

It was noted in Chapter 6 that the excavation of House 1 (A1) at Annagh indicated that the original plan of this structure consisted of flat, well-laid slabs sloping gently downwards to its entranceway. It was argued that this floor was built in this way to prevent the build-up of water in the structure during winter when the structure was unoccupied and its roof unattended to by anyone, so that a relatively dry interior within the building was available for habitation in spring (see 6.2.1). Collapse occurs in almost all of the other eighty-five extant purpose-built booley houses in the study area. Nothing can really be said about their original floors without excavation or least until the collapse within them is cleared out. However, because the corbelled roof of House 11 (A11) at Annagh is still extant, this means that its original floor is still visible as there is almost no build-up of debris or collapse on top of it. It has a very similar floor to House 1 (A1) – slightly sloping towards its entranceway. The evidence from both House 1 (A1) and House 11 (A11) at Annagh strongly suggest that the floors of other booley houses in the study area were built in a similar way –

consisting of flat, stone slabs sloping very gently to their respective entranceways.

The overall impression from this data is that while booley houses were generally quite small in area, their interiors were relatively comfortable and well protected against the elements.

7.7 – The morphology of the originally permanent houses at Carrowgarve, Keem and Slievemore.

As stated above, at least some of the houses at Carrowgarve, Keem and Slievemore were used from the second half of the nineteenth century for booleying but were originally built as permanent houses (see 5.3 – 5.3.1 – 5.3.3). The importance of these houses is that they give us an idea about the size and morphology of permanent houses in the study area prior to the mid-nineteenth century and their details can be compared to the data gathered from the purpose-built booley houses (see 7.0). The originally permanent houses will now be analysed.

7.7.1 – Ovoid-shaped houses.

No extant circular-shaped houses can be seen at Carrowgarve, Keem or Slievemore. House 7 (K7) and House 8 (K8) at Keem are ovoid in shape.

7.7.2 – Sub-rectangular houses.

As stated, sub-rectangular shaped houses are structures that have relatively straight sides on their long axis but have rounded ends and at times are difficult to distinguish from some ovoid-shaped structures. Sub-rectangular houses did not have quoins or gables (see 7.1, 7.1.3). Twenty-one houses at Keem can be defined as being sub-rectangular in shape (see K1 – 6, K9 – 23). Only one house at Slievemore was of this shape (S54).

7.7.3 – Rectangular houses

Three of the four houses at Carrowgarve are rectangular in shape (CE18 – CE19). It might be added that House 2 (CE2) and House 3 (CE3) at Carrowgarve, while rectangular in shape, have slightly rounded corners (Figs. 149, 150, 151). House 20 (CE20) at Carrowgarve is square in shape. Seventy out of the seventy-four extant

houses at Slievemore are rectangular in shape (Figs. 153, 154, 155, 156, 159, 160; S1 – 24, S26 – 38, S40 – 74). House 39 (S39) there is square in shape while House 25 (S25) is best described as wedge-shaped.

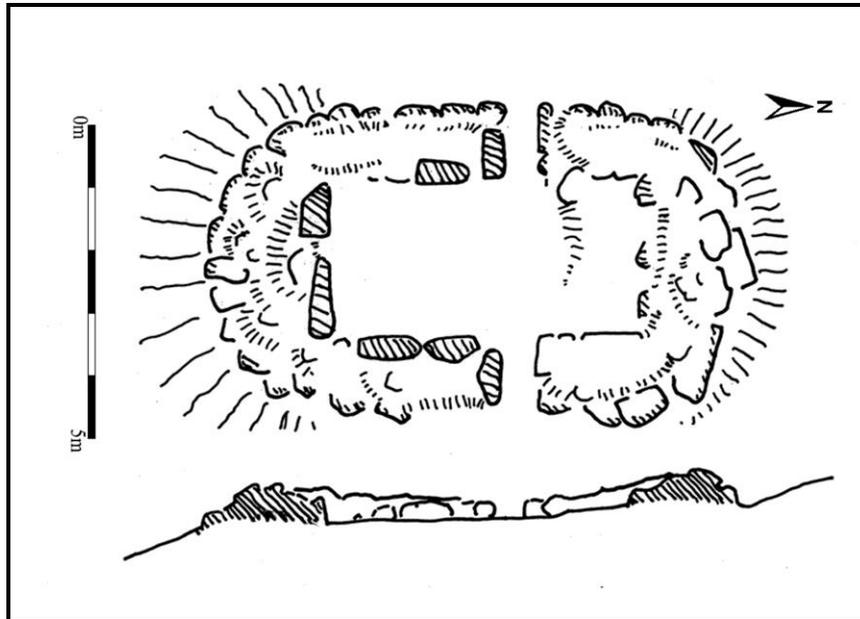


Fig. 95 – Plan of sub-rectangular house at Keem (after Piggott 1954, 23).

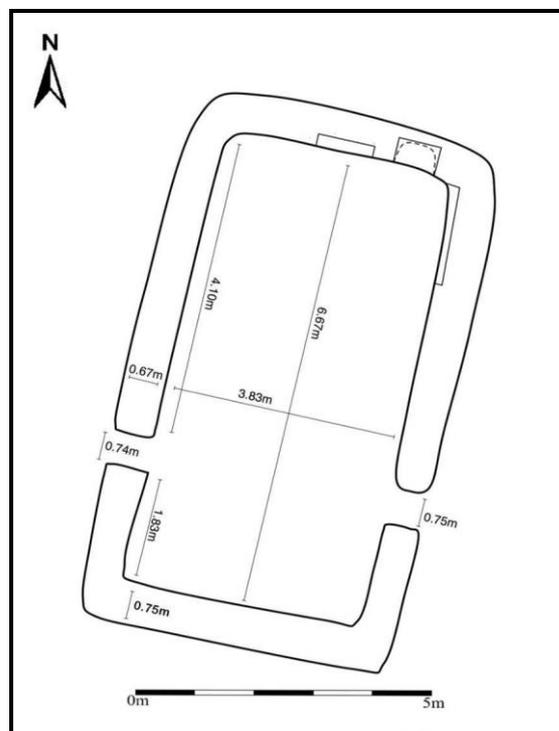
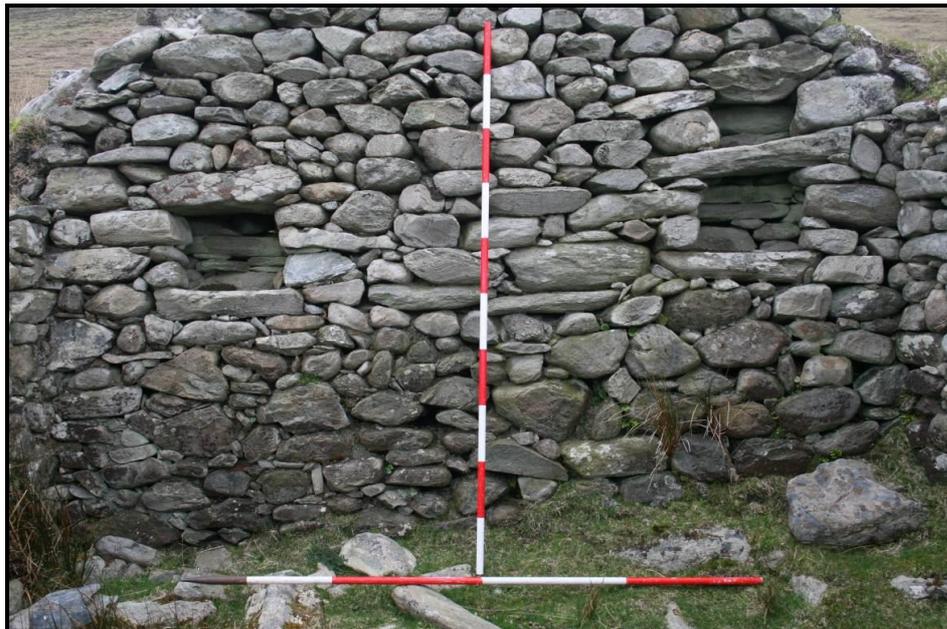


Fig. 96 – Plan of House 19 (CE19) at Carrowgarve.

7.7.4 – Features within these permanent houses

Storage niches are a common feature of the houses at Carrowgarve (CE18, CE19) and Slievemore, as in the purpose-built booley houses. Forty houses (54%) of the visible houses at the latter site have storage niches built within them that are constructed in exactly the same way as the ones seen in the booley houses (S1, S5 – 9, S11 – 13, S15 – 20, S22, S26, S28 – 29, S31, S35 – 37, S40, S44 – 45, S47, S49, S52 – 58, S60, S62, S67 – 68). Little can be said in this respect about the houses at Keem as only their foundations survive. However, many of them (but not all) have features within them that are not seen in purpose-built booley houses. For example, forty-three (58%) of all houses at Slievemore and two of the four houses at Carrowgarve show that at least some, but probably all, of their walls had a lime-mortar render (S4 – 8, S10 – 12, S15 – 21, S27 – 28, S31 – 33, S35, S38, S40 – 41, S43 – 48, S51 – 56, S59 – 63, S66, S72, CE18 – CE19). Again, at one level, it could be argued that little can be said about the use of lime-mortar renders on the internal walls of the houses at Keem as only the bare, grass-covered foundations of them can be seen today. However, it noticeable that the excavation of House 3 (K3) at that site produced evidence suggesting that its internal walls were originally covered with a mortar render (see 6.3.1). This hints strongly that many, if not all, of the houses at Keem had a mortar render on their internal walls.



Pl. 41 – Storage niches in north gable wall at House 40 (S40) at Slievemore.

Thirty-nine (53%) of the houses at Slievemore and two of the four houses at Carrowgarve produced evidence for having at least one window in them (CE18–CE19, S3, S8 – 9, S11 – 14, S17, S19, S21, S24 – 28, S33, S35 – 37, S44 – 45, S49, S55, S57, S67 – 68, S71 – 73). Presumably many more houses at Slievemore had windows but these cannot be confirmed today due to collapse. Again, nothing can be said in this respect about the Keem houses as so little survives of them. No windows were noted at any of the purpose-built booley houses in the study area.



Pl. 42 – Traebate window and storage niche at House 28 (S28) Slievemore.

Bed out-shots can be seen in at least fourteen (19%) of the Slievemore houses (S12–16, S24, S26, S28, S32, S57, S60, S64, S71 – 72). No bed out-shots were noted at any of the purpose-built booley houses. Evidence for sleeping lofts were seen at thirteen (17%) of the houses at Slievemore. Again, only House 3 (C3) at Cuillaloughaun produced evidence for a loft in the data gathered from the purpose-built booley sites. Seventeen houses at Slievemore had specially constructed fireplaces within them, something not seen in any of the purpose-built booley houses (S9, S13 – 14, S16, S23 – 24, S26, S28, S32, S35, S47, S52, S55, S62, S66, S71). Nothing could be said about door widths at Keem as so little survives, except the doorway at the excavated House 3 (K3) was about 0.70m in width (See 6.3.3). However, only thirteen doorways at Slievemore (S3 (N), S22, S24 (W), S36 and one

doorway at Carrowgarve (CE20) were between 0.61m and 0.71m in width. The vast majority at 86% were over 0.71m in width, many considerably so. This makes them far wider than the entranceways in most (but not all) purpose-built booley houses (See 7.6).



Pl. 43 – Remains of the stone ridge of an overhead loft on internal south gable wall at House 19 (S19) at Slievemore.

Doorway orientation, however, is similar to the booley houses. While many houses at Slievemore and two at Carrowgarve (CE18 – CE19) have doorways in their western walls, literally all of these have doorways in their eastern wall. On analysis, only one house at Slievemore had a doorway that faced towards the south west (S1) – even then it had another doorway in its north-eastern wall. The vast majority of houses (94%) at Slievemore and Carrowgarve had a doorway within them that faced and opened to the east away from the prevailing wind. Like some of the purpose-built booley houses, six of the houses at Slievemore had extra walls built up against at least one of their external walls (normally the north one) to give further insulation to the interiors of these buildings (S1, S10, S12, S35, S55, S70). Only five purpose-built booley houses in the study area have more than one room (see 7.1.4). One house at Carrowgarve (CE18) and twenty (27%) at Slievemore (S3, S5, S9, S11, S13

– 14, S16 – 18, S23 – 26, S30, S32, S40, S45, S48, S64, S71) have more than one room.

All houses at Keem, Slievemore and Carrowgarve were dry-stone built either of coursed or un-coursed masonry, like all the purpose-built booley houses. Most of the houses at Slievemore have evidence for stepped gables. This means that the thatched roofs of these houses lay inside the gables and were tied down by ropes attached onto the steps of the gable (O' Kelly 1942, 5-6; Anthony Kilbane, pers. comm.). This is clearly different to the purpose-built booley houses – none of which had gables, stepped or otherwise. However, like a number of the latter houses, three of the permanent houses at Slievemore show evidence for once having corbelled roofs (S23, S54, S65). Furthermore, none of the houses at Carrowgarve or Keem appear to have ever had gables and, like many of the purpose-built booley houses, would have had roofs that were carried on their walls.

The next section will examine the size of internal space within the houses at Keem, Slievemore and Carrowgarve available for habitation.

7.8 – Internal space available for habitation within the houses in the permanent settlements that became booley settlements.

The twenty-three Keem houses are far larger in terms of habitable space than what the great majority of purpose-built booley houses, even those seen at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaun and Cuillaloughaun, which are considerably larger than those surveyed at Annagh, Bunowna, Bolinglanna and Dirk (Figs. 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53). None is below 10m² in internal area, while only three are between 10m² and 15m² in inhabitable space (K10, K16, K19). A mere two are between 15m² and 20m² in internal area (K8, K12). Four are between 20m² and 25m² in internal area (K1, K7, K21, K23). A further four are between 25m² and 30m² (K2, K11, K15, K17) in habitable space. Five are between 30m² and 35m² in internal area (K4, K6, K9, K14, K18). The last five are over 35m² in internal area (K3, K5, K13, K20, K22). This shows that 78% of the houses at Keem are over 20m² in internal area (Fig. 61).

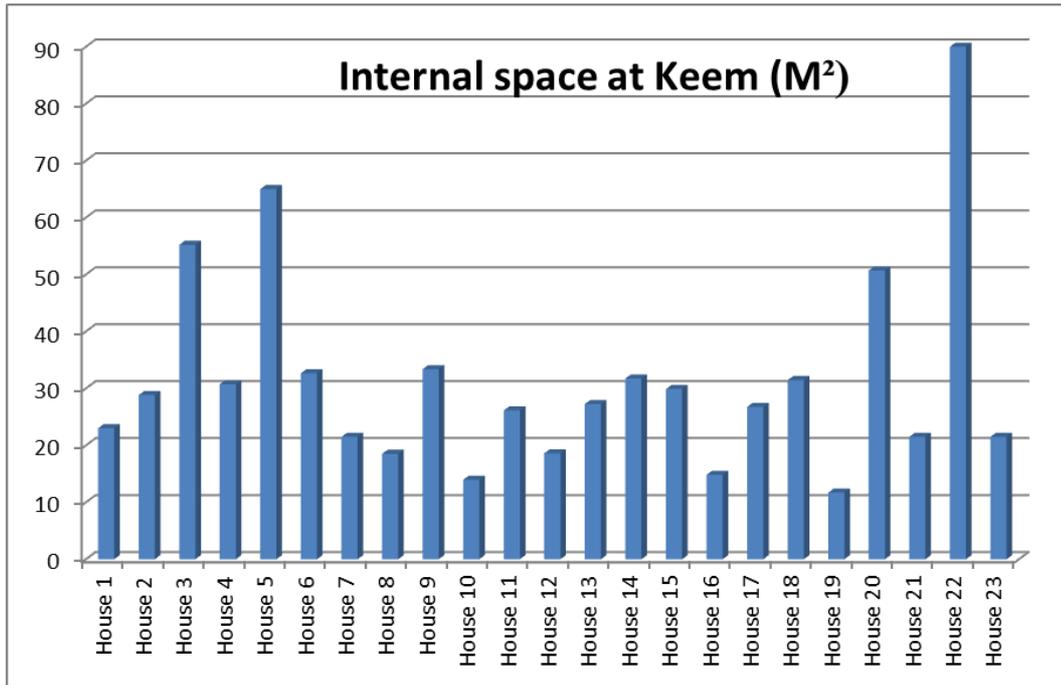


Fig. 97 – Graph showing internal space at Keem houses (K1-K23).

Something similar can be seen at Slievemore with its seventy-four standing houses (Figs. 38, 154, 155, 156, 159, 160). None is below 10m² in internal area. A mere three have internal space of between 10m² and 15m² (S2, S39, S66). Twenty are between 15m² and 20m² in internal area (S1, S6, S12, S15, S19 – 20, S22, S27, S31, S37, S44, S50 – 52, S54, S56, S58, S67 – 69). Twenty-six houses are between 20m² and 25m² in inhabitable space (S4, S21, S23, S28-29, S33, S36, S38, S40 – 43, S47, S49, S53, S55, S59 – 63, S65, S70, S72 – 74). Nine houses are between 25m² and 30m² in internal area (S7 – 8, S10, S13, S16 – 18, S32, S35). Five are between 30m² and 35m² in habitable space (S11, S34, S48, S57, S64). Eleven are over 35m² in internal area (S3, S5, S9, S14, S24 – 26, S30, S45 – 46, S71). This shows that 69% of the houses at Slievemore are over 20m² in area, some considerably so.

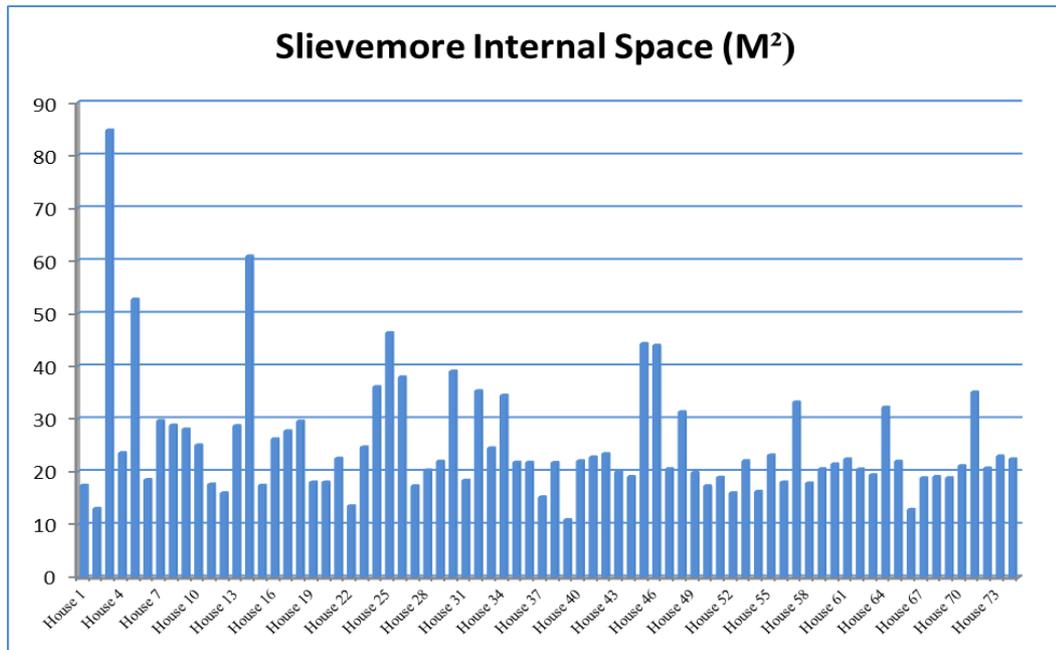


Fig. 98 – Graphs of internal space at Slievemore houses (S1-S74).

Carrowgarve shows a similar pattern (Figs. 149, 150, 151). Two of the four houses surveyed here were over 20m² in internal area (CE18 – CE19). However, House 20 (CE20) was only 11.73m² in internal area (Fig.151).

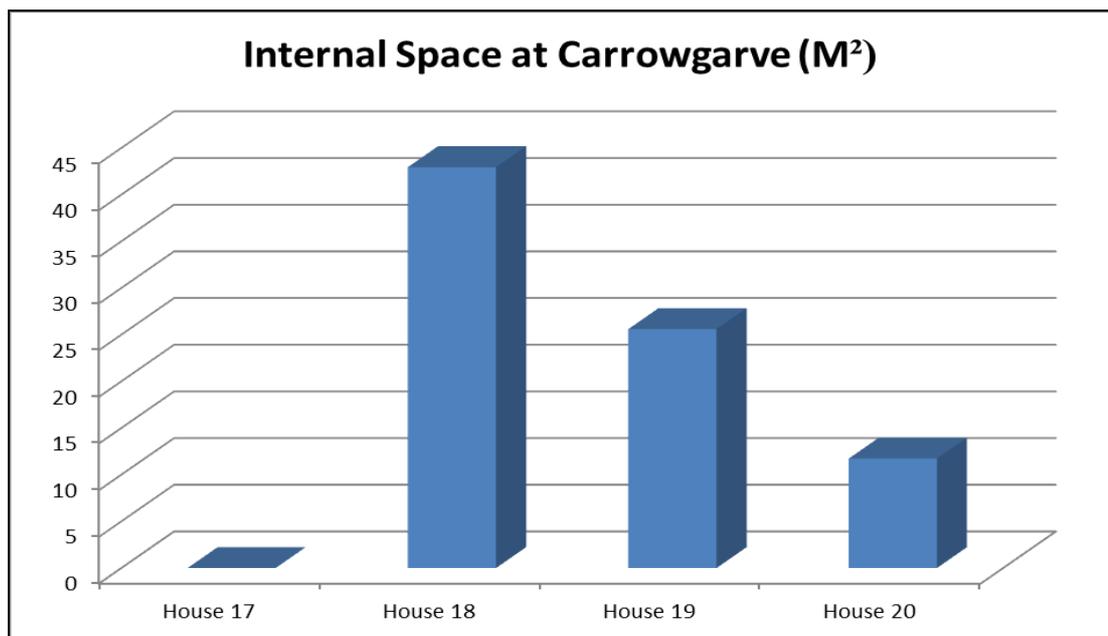


Fig. 99 – Graph showing internal space at Carrowgarve houses (C17-C20).

This indicates that out of the remains of one hundred and one houses that appear to have been built originally as permanent houses in permanent settlements sometime before the second half of the nineteenth century, about 70% are over 20m² in internal area (compared to 7% of the purpose-built booley houses). A mere 8% are under 15m² in habitable space (compared to 81% of the purpose-built booley houses).

7.9 – Discussion and Conclusions

Eighty-six purpose-built booley houses, and what appears to be one hundred and one permanent houses, of pre mid-nineteenth century date were analysed in this chapter from data outlined in Appendices 1 and 2. It was noted that one of the major problems for scholars studying the practice of transhumance from the early medieval period onwards in Ireland is that it has proved difficult to distinguish true booley sites from permanent settlement, particularly in the uplands (see 6.1). Can the analysis in this chapter be of any use in this regard? Were there differences between purpose-built booley houses and contemporary permanent houses?

There certainly were similarities between booley houses and permanent ones in the study area. All were dry-stone built and there is no evidence of mortar being used to bond any of their walls. Features such as storage niches and extra walls for insulation occur in both sets of houses. Evidence for corbelled roofs is stronger amongst purpose-built booley houses but there are instances of corbelled houses at the originally permanent settlement at Slievemore. House shape is of some interest. Circular houses are to be seen in purpose-built booley houses in the study area but they are rare. Ovoid houses are quite common in these settlements but examples also exist within the permanent settlements. Sub-rectangular houses exist in large numbers in the purpose-built booley settlements but, for that matter, virtually all the houses at Keem and at least one at Slievemore are of this shape. There is a tendency for houses in both types of settlement to have entranceways that face away from the prevailing wind.

Differences do exist. The walls of purpose-built booley houses in the study area do not have any evidence at all for a lime-mortar render on their internal walls, while many houses do in the permanent settlements. Windows, bed out-shots and fireplaces

do not occur in purpose-built booley houses in the study area but they do in many of the permanent houses for which data is available. Overhead sleeping lofts also occurred in many permanent houses. Nevertheless, houses did exist in the permanent settlements that did not have these features.

What then are the distinguishing differences between the purpose-built booley houses and the permanent houses in the study area? Arguably one difference is entranceway size. It was shown that over 86% of all measureable entranceways to the houses at Slievemore, Keem and Carrowgarve were over 0.71m in width, many considerably so. Alternatively, 66% of all the measureable entranceways to purpose-built booley houses in the study area were less than 0.7m in width, again with many being considerably so. However, the major difference between permanent houses (whatever their final function) and purpose-built booley settlement was size; the combined evidence from Keem, Carrowgarve and Slievemore indicated that 70% of them are over 20m² in internal area, compared to only 7% of the purpose-built booley houses. This means that 93% of the latter are below 20m² in internal area. The analysis can be brought further. Only 8% of permanent houses are below 15m² in internal area and habitable space, compared to 81% of purpose-built booley houses. This all shows that while there are exceptions, the average booley house is far smaller and has a narrower entranceway to the average permanent house in the study area. It shows that there are differences between the two types of houses in the study area. Furthermore, combined with its smaller internal area and generally narrower entranceways, booley houses did not have bed out-shots, a lime-mortar render on its walls, sleeping lofts and formal fireplaces. It is possible that these differences can help scholars in the future identify booley houses and distinguish them from contemporary permanent houses in the Mayo area, if not much further afield.

Chapter 8 – Discussion: The Phenomenon of Booleying in the Civil Parish of Achill

8.0 – Introduction

The general aim of this thesis is to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon of booleying in the Civil Parish of Achill, Co. Mayo, in the west of Ireland, which comprises Achill Island, Achillbeg Island and the Corraun Peninsula on the mainland. It is hoped that the findings and conclusions of this thesis will add to the body of scholarly research on transhumance in Ireland, Britain and Europe. An outline of the main findings of the thesis will be discussed in this chapter under various headings and the results compared to research carried out elsewhere. It was noted above that little detailed work has been carried out on the subject of transhumance/booleying in Ireland, despite its economic importance to rural communities in the past. This lack of work is at least partly due to the feeling amongst some archaeologists that transhumance was a post-medieval practice and, therefore, outside the temporal bounds of normal archaeological research, which stopped around 1700, if not 1600 (see 1.1, 1.2). This is regrettable and in many ways short-sighted as it is a tenet of this thesis that archaeological methods of enquiry can yield a massive amount of information about life in rural Ireland up to very recent times. It could be argued that the belief that somehow historical research has all the answers to life in eighteenth, nineteenth and even twentieth century Ireland indicates a lack of confidence by archaeologists in their own discipline and lends credence to the view that archaeology is the ‘handmaiden of history’ (Hooke 1998, xii). As noted, the approach and methodology taken in this thesis is an cross-disciplinary one, garnering evidence from archaeological methods of enquiry (including architectural analysis), the surviving edited and un-edited historical sources, cartography, place-name analysis and folklore (see 1.6.5). As noted by scholars such as Thomas Finan, this is the most efficient way to study aspects of the medieval and post medieval past in Ireland (Finan 2010, 11) (and, of course, elsewhere). It is clear that no one discipline has the full answer to outstanding questions. Nevertheless, saying all of this, one major methodological conclusion from the research carried out for this thesis is that the discipline of archaeology can produce massive amounts of new

information about the post-medieval period, particularly concerning the day-to-day lives of ordinary people (see 1.5). With this in mind, while the general goal of the thesis is to better understand the practice of transhumance in the study area, the various answers to the specific aims of the thesis outlined in Chapter 1 and partly answered in different parts of the thesis, will now be discussed and compared to the practice elsewhere in Ireland and beyond.

8.1 – Why did transhumance take place?

Regardless of date, why did transhumance take place? A number of reasons have been postulated by various scholars for the occurrence of transhumance over time and space throughout Europe, including Britain and Ireland. The principal reason, given for this movement of livestock and people which pertains to the study area as much as elsewhere, was to take advantage of nutritive grasses (such as Fiorin and Purple Moor Grass) located at a distance from permanent settlements that were only easily accessible in summer due to their location, which was often in upland parts of Europe (see 2.1, 2.2, 2.5, 2.8, 3.3, 3.5). It can be seen as a very sensible economic practice as it maximised the grazing resources in any given area throughout the year, including pastures that could only be easily utilised in summer, due to harsh weather conditions throughout the rest of the year, or their remoteness (see 3.2.1). Importantly, it meant that individual farmers and agricultural communities could keep more cattle and, therefore, this meant that they produced more food than if only the grass around the permanent settlement was used (see 3.2.1, 3.5, 4. 8). At one level, this extra food must have been a protection against starvation, especially in marginal areas and allowed larger populations to live relatively comfortably in these places, than if only the land around permanent settlements was used (see 2.8, 3.2.1, 4.8). However, while this was not discussed in any great depth in the thesis, transhumance should not be seen as purely being associated with agricultural communities living at subsistence levels in marginal areas, although there has been a tendency in Ireland to do this (see 3.2). It must be remembered, again, that the practice of transhumance and the seasonal utilisation of plant resources in any area allowed larger herds to be kept by individuals and this would have made them far wealthier than if stock were grazed only around the permanent settlements. This is an argument that suggests that transhumance could have taken place in what could be

described as fertile, relatively rich areas over time and space, especially where there was adjacent upland or under-populated land. The practice would have allowed certain individuals to build up considerable herds of cattle and become wealthy by the standards of the time (see 2.8). In all, transhumance was a sensible, well-thought-out economic practice that utilised the full grazing potential of any given area. It is noteworthy in late sixteenth century Ireland that the Englishman and colonial official Edmund Spenser, so often highly critical of the native Irish, fully appreciated the economic benefits that could be derived from transhumance but argued against it for what would be termed today 'security reasons'. In his opinion, transhumance movements made people, in this case the Irish, difficult to control (see 3.1).

Very little attention has been paid by scholars writing about transhumance over time in Britain and Europe to the relationship between the practice and livestock health. It was stated that one reason for the movement of cattle to upland pastures in eighteenth century Donegal was the prevention of disease (Graham 1954, 81). The evidence from the study area, which is based on folklore taken down by the historical geographer Padraig Ó Moghráin in the 1940s and particularly by the present writer during the course of the research for this thesis, is that another major reason for the movement of cattle to the booley settlements in summer was that it prevented disease and produced far healthier animals (see 3.2.1; 4.2). This evidence from the Civil Parish of Achill, therefore strongly suggests that another major reason for transhumance across Britain and Europe through time was linked to animal health – something that has not really been acknowledged before. Does this tell us anything about the transhumants in the study area over time? The fact that it was realised down to the demise of booleying in the Achill area that the practice improved the general health of cattle, underlines Pococke's 1752 account of transhumance in the study area where he stated that transhumants were knowledgeable and intelligent stockmen who had a deep understanding of the values of the different types of pasture available to them (see 4.1; Pococke 1891, 93). This intimate knowledge of pasture and animal health amongst peasants (this term is used by anthropologists/archaeologists and sociologists to refer to communities characterised by self-sufficient economies and small scale agricultural production; see O' Dowd 1981, 15) in the study area runs counter to the allegations of economic and social backwardness amongst the Achill peasantry made by various mid-nineteenth century

observers, especially those linked to the evangelical Protestant Achill Mission (see 4.0). It suggests that transhumants in the study area, far from being ‘backward’, were in fact extremely knowledgeable about their surroundings and knew exactly how to make a living from the landscape in which they lived their lives – facts ignored or glossed over by certain observers.

Another general reason given for transhumance across Ireland, Britain and Europe over time was that the movement to the summer pastures was partly done to prevent cattle trampling standing crops (see 2.1, 3.1, 4.1; Davies 1941, 156; Graham 1954, 74-75; Kelly 1998, 45-46; Jones 2005, 357-58). O’Kelly clearly believed that this was one of the reasons why booleying took place in the study area and also in areas of post-medieval Ireland where the Rundale system of agriculture prevailed (see 4.1; O’ Kelly 1942, 4). In many ways, however, it is unlikely that this was a major reason for carrying out transhumance as it implies that transhumants were incapable of building solid fences or stone walls. It is noteworthy that this was not a reason given for the practice of transhumance in the study area by Anthony Kilbane (see 4.2). Instead, he stated that livestock were moved away from permanent villages to the booley settlements to allow ‘grass to grow’ in the former places (Anthony Kilbane, pers. comm.). Fergus Kelly also believed that another reason given for booleying in the early medieval law tracts was that it too allowed ‘grass’ to grow in the permanent settlement over summer (see 3.2.1; Kelly 1998, 44-46). What is meant by this? It would appear that some grass was allowed to grow in fields around the home settlements during the summer and cattle were given access to this standing grass when they came back from the booley settlements around November. It might be added that even today in north Roscommon cattle are still brought to fields of standing grass in winter, which are not grazed and are allowed to grow to full maturity in summer. The attraction of this system of grazing is that it ensures that a substantial amount of nutritious winterage is available for cattle, even if the summer weather is wet and unsuitable for haymaking or even silage making. Farmers, particularly older ones (as the European Union does not approve of this grazing strategy) in Roscommon, attest to the efficiency of this system due to the difficulties of saving hay and even silage due to the usually high rainfall over the summer (Kieran O’Conor, pers. comm.). Obviously cattle could have been prevented from eating this grass in summer by simply fencing it off. However, it was a much better

option to send cattle to the upland booleys as it meant that no grazing was needed over summer around the permanent settlements, which meant that it could all be allowed to grow undisturbed and be used as winterage for at least part of the winter. Again, booleying and the associated grass growing back in the permanent settlements would have resulted in the fact that more cattle could be kept by individuals and communities, than if only pasture around the home settlements were used and transhumance did not take place. This returns to the point made above that transhumance was part of an integrated farming system that used all the resources in a given area in a managed, efficient way.

8.2 – The origins, floruit and demise of booleying in the study area

This discussion, therefore, shows that the main importance of transhumance was that more cattle could be kept in any given area than the grazing around the permanent settlements could allow. This would have meant that more food would have been produced in any given area and would have allowed a larger population to have lived even in what could be described as marginal areas. However, it was also a system that would have increased the wealth of individuals and communities if practised properly (see 8.1).

The overwhelming evidence for booleying in the study area and, indeed, Ireland comes from the eighteenth, nineteenth and even early twentieth centuries (see 1.4, 3.2, 3.2.1, 3.5, 4.1, 4.2, 6.2.2, 6.2.3, 6.2.4, 6.4). Actually, the first direct historical reference to what appears to be booleying in the general Achill area comes as late as the mid-eighteenth century (see 3.1; Pococke 1891). Jean Graham maintained that details of farming practice, including booleying, rarely went further back than three centuries and ‘usually not more than half that time’ (Graham 1954, 13). The above discussion, however, suggests that transhumance was a sensible economic practice that allowed more food and wealth to be produced in any given area. Intuitively, this suggests that the practice of booleying took place at far earlier dates than the eighteenth century. What is the evidence for this? There is clearly an ongoing debate about the origins of transhumance in Europe that has never been satisfactorily resolved due to the difficulties in recognising true transhumance sites and distinguishing them from contemporary permanent ones and, indeed, from other

pastoral practices (see 6.1, which discusses this problem in an Irish context). Scholars such as Øye (2005, 1-20) have suggested that the origins of transhumance in Europe occur in the Neolithic (see 1.4). Certainly many commentators believe that transhumance was being practised in parts of Britain and Europe by the late prehistoric period (see 1.4, 2.2 - 2.5. 2.8; e.g. Skrede 2002, 24; Harding 2004, 46-47; Raven 2005, 414; Herring 2007b, 50-51). Lucas (1958, 14) has suggested that transhumance was being carried out in prehistoric Ireland but offers little evidence for this, other than noting that the large numbers of cattle bones from prehistoric sites suggest an efficient pastoral farming system that may have included transhumance to increase herd size. What can the evidence from the study area add to this debate? At one level, the answer to this is very little but there is a hint, no more, that transhumance could have taken place at an early date. The overall archaeological evidence from the study area shows that there was a farming presence there, particularly in the Slievemore area, since early Neolithic times. This farming activity can be traced throughout prehistory (see 1.4). It was noted in Chapter 5 that the booley settlement at Annagh (Appendix One, Site A) was sited in a really remote, inhospitable location on the north-western edge of Achill Island, in a place that is very difficult to access in winter and some would say even in summer (see 5.2.1). Interestingly, a portal tomb is found just to the east of the settlement in a north-facing situation (Pl. 17). This is an unusual location for a megalith in the study area, as all the rest are sited on the south-facing slopes of Slievemore Mountain (see 1.4; McDonald 2006, 275-279). The isolated location of this portal tomb in an inhospitable moorland location that is buffeted by winds and rain throughout the year (not to mention the fact that it is overshadowed by higher ground, meaning that at times it does not get full light in winter) is noteworthy. Was the portal tomb located at Annagh as a statement of a Neolithic community's (whose permanent settlement may have been on the southern slopes of Slievemore) right to summer grazing in the area? It has been suggested that one of the functions of megalithic tombs in Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Ireland was to proclaim their associated communities' rights and ownership over the surrounding land (Bergh 1995, 157-62). The location of the portal tomb at Annagh may be an indication that people were bringing livestock to the site in summer to graze the surrounding area during this period and that transhumance was being practised in the study area as early as the Neolithic. This is a possibility that needs further investigation.

There is historical, place-name and, to a lesser extent, archaeological evidence for transhumance in Europe and Britain during the early medieval period from the fifth century through to the eleventh century (see 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.5.2, 2.6). There are clear references in the early medieval historical sources to what appears to be a system of transhumance in existence in Ireland during this whole period, which usually saw the movement of families from permanent settlements to summer settlements and pastures (see 3.1). There is also a certain amount of archaeological evidence for booleying during this period too, although some of it is open to interpretation (see 6.1). Although there is no direct evidence for the practice in the study area due to the absence of direct historical references to the Achill region in the surviving sources, it is presumed it did occur, due to the economic benefits of the system (see 8.1) and to the fact that the historical and archaeological evidence suggests that booleying was widespread throughout the whole country and presumably this included the study area (Lucas 1989, 63-67; Kelly 1998, 43-45; Horning 2004, 201).

One of the problems for the study of later medieval Ireland lies in the fact that little detailed socio-economic documentation, such as the equivalent of the Manorial Extents and Inquisitions-Post-Mortems that exist elsewhere, survive for Gaelic-dominated parts of later medieval Ireland, which included the study area. It is only in the late sixteenth century that detailed social and economic information becomes available, much of it written down by somewhat jaundiced English colonial officials (see 1.4; 3.1). Very little is known about the economy of Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland throughout this whole period except that thousands of cattle existed at any time in individual lordships, including the general study area (see 1.4). This lack of detailed documentation for Gaelic-dominated parts of Ireland is compounded by a lack of modern excavation at sites occurring in what were these areas (O' Conor 1998, 107, 109-11; 2001, 329-32). This lack of documentation and excavated evidence for later medieval Gaelic Ireland is probably also one of the main reasons why so little is written about the practice of transhumance during the period. Nevertheless, the present writer believes that transhumance was a widespread practice in later medieval Ireland. There are a number of reasons that suggest this. Firstly, as just stated, the evidence indicates that booleying seems to have been a

widespread practice in early medieval Ireland. Many areas of Ireland that remained under the regional or even local control of Gaelic lords after AD1169 and down to the seventeenth century presumably continued booleying, as before, as it was a sensible economic and cultural practice long in place. Furthermore, direct historical and archaeological evidence exists for transhumance throughout this period across Britain (see 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 2.5.2, 2.8). In this respect, it would seem strange that transhumance would not have continued to take place across later medieval Ireland, as it was an environmentally similar country to Britain, with, tellingly, an even greater emphasis on pastoralism. Furthermore, the late sixteenth century historical sources in Ireland show that booleying is a well-established practice at that date and certainly this implies that the practice of transhumance had continued uninterrupted since the end of the early medieval period (see 1.4; 3.1). It is known that hay was not saved across large swathes of Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland during this period (Kelly 1998, 46-48; Nicholls 1987, 413). This would have made it even more important to graze pastures away from those around permanent settlements so that the grass in these fields could be allowed to grow to full maturity to be used as winterage for cattle after November.

In all, the overall evidence does suggest the likelihood that booleying continued to be practised across many parts of later medieval Ireland. It certainly explains the high numbers of cattle in places like the study area during this whole period, as booleying as part of the yearly agricultural cycle would be a better means of increasing herd numbers, than if only the grass around the permanent settlements was used (see 8.1). Furthermore, it has been noted that the Civil Parish of Achill was divided into quarters – Slievemore, Dookinella, Kildavnet, Carrowgarve and Achillbeg (as one quarter) and Quinn (Corraun). It is noticeable that each quarter included valued upland pastures and this hints that transhumance took place to these areas (Fig. 100; Graham 1954, 64).

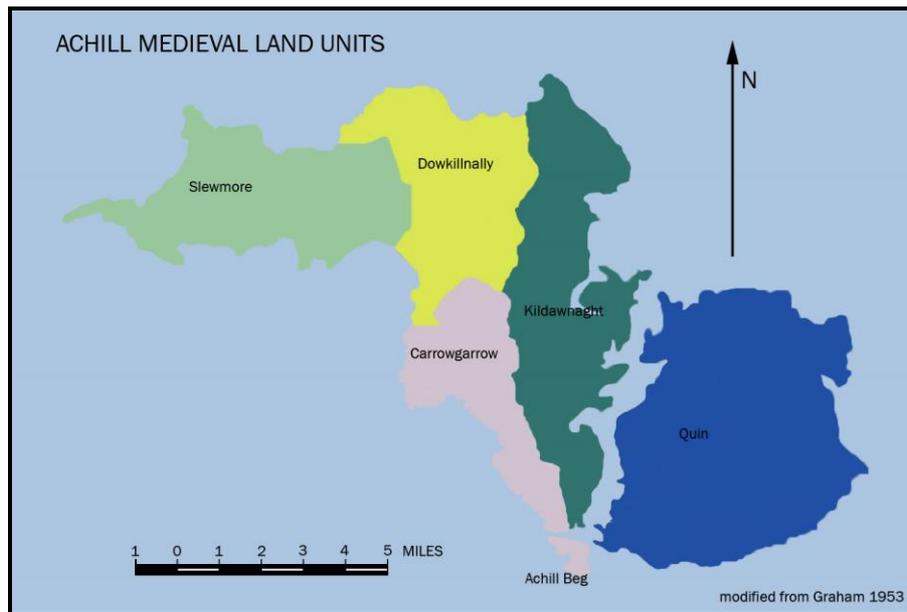


Fig. 100 – Late Medieval Land units in Achill Civil Parish referred to as Quarters in the Books of Survey and Distribution (redrawn and modified from Graham 1954, 64).

When was the floruit of booleying in the study area? This is a difficult question to answer as there are very few direct references to the study area before the late seventeenth and eighteenth century, like so many other localities in Ireland. Even then detailed accounts of the study area are rare down to the second quarter of the nineteenth century (see 1.4; 4.1). This in itself is yet another indicator as to the value of archaeological methods in understanding life and society in post-medieval Ireland, as it could be said that at a parish level, many parts of Ireland are virtually ‘prehistoric’ up to the latter date, as there is so little direct contemporary information written about them up to the 1830s (see 8.1). As argued above, it is likely that booleying was carried out throughout the study area every year throughout early and later medieval times, although there is little direct evidence for this, apart from a hint in the division of Achill Civil Parish into quarters and the denomination of two of these (Dookinella and Quin (Corraun) as baliboes, a situation paralleled in Donegal (Books of Survey and Distribution, 63-64; Mc Erlean 1983). For example, the townlands of Dooghbeg and Claggan Mountain, although not in the Civil Parish of Achill were associated with the booley system here. This association probably stems from their former incorporation, along with Achill, in the ownership of the Duke of Ormond, who in the seventeenth century owned the Manor and Lordship of Burrishoole (see 1.6.3). Historical, cartographic and folklore evidence indicates that

booleying continued to be practised regularly in the Civil Parish of Achill up to the mid-nineteenth century, although it was in decline in many parts of Ireland or had even ceased by the latter date (see 3.1, 4.1, 4.2, 4.3).

When did it stop? It is well known that a form of booleying took place at Slievemore (once a permanent settlement which became a booley settlement) as late as the early 1940s (see 4.1). This is late by comparison with most other places in Britain or Ireland, apart from the Isle of Lewis in Scotland where it continued into the 1950s (Anne Campbell, pers. comm.). The general consensus amongst scholars, which is based on historical and archaeological evidence, is that transhumance movements finally stopped in England in the late seventeenth century (see 2.5; Rushworth *et.al.* 2005, 15). The archaeological and historical evidence from Wales suggests that transhumance continued in parts of that country into the first years of the nineteenth century and then ceased (see 2.7 Pennant 1883, 296-70; Ward 1980, 72-74). There is good evidence for transhumance continuing across large parts of Scotland up to the late nineteenth century (see 2.3). The late evidence for booleying at Slievemore in the 1940s is not unique, for as noted above it continued even later on the Isle of Lewis and lingered on in other parts of Scotland until the first years of the twentieth century (see 2.3). True transhumance also continued in Norway well into the twentieth century (See 2.2). Furthermore, booleying continued in parts of Donegal well into that century too (see 3.2). However, booleying was clearly declining in the study area after *c.* 1850. Jean Graham (1954, 34), while fully realising that a form of booleying took place at Slievemore up to the 1940s, stated that the ‘proper’ booley settlements (by which she meant all the purpose-built booley settlements) in the study area had not been used for a ‘century’ before her time, meaning she believed that transhumance had effectively died out across much of the Achill area by the 1850s. This seems strange as booleying was in full swing in the study area at least until the early 1840s (see 4.1). Stuart Piggott (1954) quoting O’Kelly (who seems to be referring to Wilde’s comments), said that the people of Slievemore regularly used four sets of pastures, staying at each one as long as the grass lasted but no dates for this practice are given. Folklore gathered by the present writer suggests that purpose-built, isolated booley settlements like Annagh and Bolinglanna (see Appendix One, Site A and Site Bol) were visited by transhumants and their cattle up to the 1880s (see 4.2). The excavated evidence from Houses A1 and A2 suggests that

these houses were last occupied in the late nineteenth century, perhaps further confirming that the last booley movement to Bunowna was in the 1880s (see 6.2.5). Booley movements also continued to Keem into the early twentieth century too, but it must be remembered that like Slievemore, this was not originally a booley settlement but a permanent one. Both were not as isolated as the purpose-built booley settlements, being connected to other settlements by roads (see 4.1, 5.11, 5.12). This suggests that while booleying finally died out at more accessible sites in the study area in the 1940s, the final transhumance movements to the more remote and, by comparison, more inaccessible purpose-built sites took place in the 1880s.

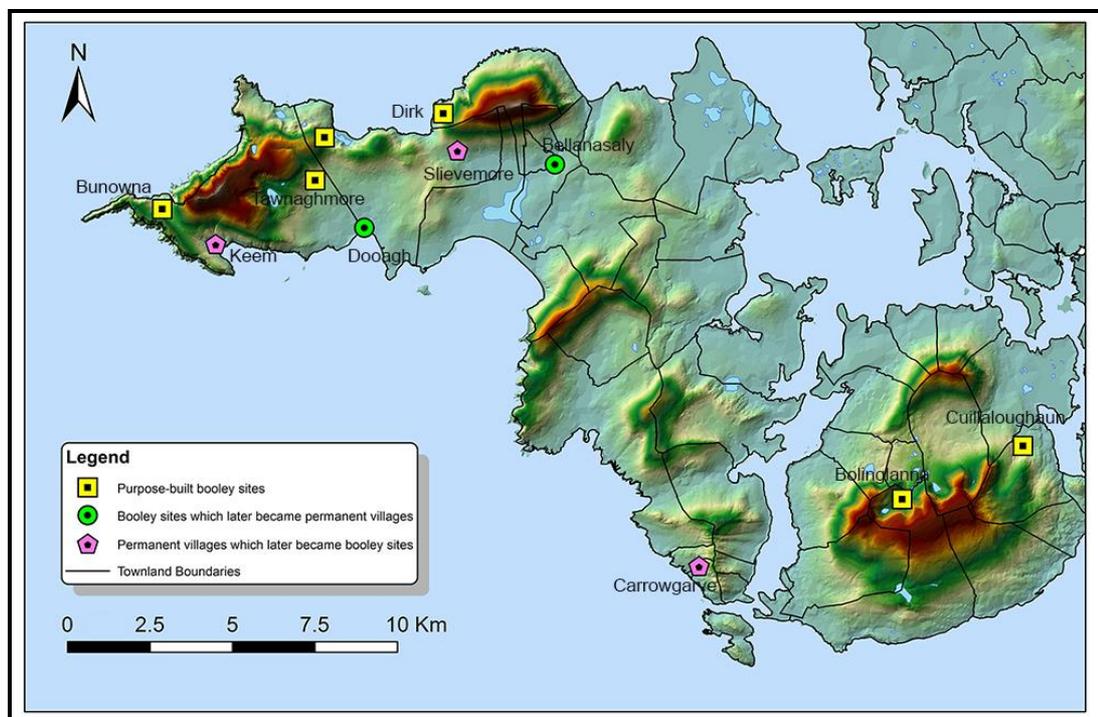


Fig. 101 – Location of booley sites in the Civil Parish of Achill.

Why did the practice of transhumance decline and then cease in the study area? A variety of reasons have been given for the decline and cessation of transhumance across Europe from the later medieval period down to the recent times. These include the introduction of better foraging and winterage-production strategies (partly linked to the introduction of more efficient fertilisers) over time which allowed more grass to be grown around permanent settlements and, thus, negated the need for communities to utilise the grass in the remote and often difficult-to-access transhumant sites (see 2.0). A common reason given for the decline of transhumance

over time across Europe is that population increase led to transhumant sites being transformed into permanent settlements – this was happening as early as the eleventh century to shieling sites in England. This process accelerated during the sixteenth century and later in both England and Wales (see 2.0; 2.5, 2.7). This is the reason why many booley sites became permanent settlements in nineteenth century Donegal and this seemed to have happened in many parts of Ireland as well, especially in the period 1770-1840 (see 3.1). Conversely, population decline, brought on by the introduction of intensive sheep-farming by landlords, over large parts of the Scottish Highlands, led to the decline of transhumance in the latter upland region over the course of the nineteenth century. Put simply, traditional practices, such as transhumance, died out with this massive exodus of ordinary people, which is known as the Highland Clearances (see 2.3).

What was the situation in the study area? The population of the Civil Parish of Achill in 1840 before the Famine was about 5,200 people and it has declined since then to about 4,000 people (see 1.4). Therefore, population increase was not a reason for the decline of transhumance in the study area during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It is true that at least two booley settlements became permanent settlements around 1850 but these were linked to land acquisition by the Achill Mission (see 5.8). Equally, however, at least three permanent settlements were deserted during this period to become booley settlements over the summer months (see 5. 10). This shift in settlement function at these sites was not linked to population increase or decrease but to changes in economic practices linked to Improvement (Mc Donald 1998, 2006). One argument, which is based on folklore evidence, is that booleying gradually stopped being practised over the course of the late nineteenth century due to the increased availability of seasonal agricultural work in Scotland and England – a practice that lasted up to the 1960s. This extra money would have negated the need for booleying and made life easier and more comfortable. There would have been less need to keep large herds of cattle. This seasonal movement of labourers would have been further facilitated and the trend increased by the building of a bridge at Achill Sound in the late 1880s and the coming of the railway in the 1890s (see 1.4, 4.1, 4.2, 4.8). It is noteworthy that the last transhumance movements to the purpose-built, more remote booley settlements took place at this time, as just noted above. This improvement in infrastructure also

brought tourists to the study area, particularly to Dugort on Achill Island, in numbers for the first time and this would also have increased household wealth, further negating the need for booleying and larger herds of cattle than hitherto (see 1.4). Increased opportunity, both at home and abroad, leading to increased wealth and a more comfortable lifestyle, seem to have contributed greatly to the abandonment of booleying as a regular practice in the late-nineteenth century throughout the Achill area. It is clear that people from the study area were very successful migrant workers, particularly in Scotland. One wonders if this success and the ability to work away from the home place seasonally and as a matter of course and without too much regret, was linked to centuries of doing something similar every summer in the annual transhumance movement to the booley settlements. In other words, transhumance was replaced by a new sort of movement, seasonal work elsewhere, but it still involved leaving the permanent settlement for a while and so was culturally familiar. Perhaps people from the study area and elsewhere in Ireland where booleying still took place into the late nineteenth century had a special advantage when taking up seasonal work, as movement in summer had been part of their youth, as well as part of their culture and economy for centuries.

8.3 – Who carried out the practice of booleying in the study area and when?

Who went to the booley settlements in the study area over time? Historical evidence from northern England suggests that whole families went to the transhumant sites in summer (see 2.5). Travellers and antiquarian accounts from eighteenth century Wales and eighteenth/nineteenth century Scotland suggests that entire families went to the transhumant sites in summer (see 2.3; 2.7). Accounts of transhumance in Norway also suggest that whole families were involved in transhumance there up until the twentieth century (see 2.2).

The evidence from Ireland is mixed. It seems that only young women went to the booley settlements in summer, in what is supposed to be the definitive statement on booleying in the 2003 *Encyclopaedia of Ireland* (Briody 2003, 106). However, again, the evidence appears to be more complex than this. We are told that ‘young people’ of both sexes were involved in booleying during the nineteenth century in Donegal and in the Galtees, along the Tipperary/Limerick border. However, in the latter area,

it is also noted that ‘elderly’ people accompanied the youngsters to the booleys (see 3.2.2). However, in pre-Famine north-west Donegal and South Connemara, accounts suggest that girls went booleying, but at an earlier period the whole family was involved in the latter area (see 3.2.2).

What was the situation in the study area? Again, the evidence is very mixed. William Wilde (1849, 774-76) definitely states that whole families, including infants, were involved in booleying in Achill in the 1830s and this is also implied by various observers such as John O’Donovan and Edward Newman (see 4.1,4.8). The presence of children is indicated by the cache of limpet shells found in the excavations at Annagh A1 and A2, their small size suggesting they were not collected by adults who would have been aware of their limited nutritional value (see 6.0). However, folklore evidence from late nineteenth century Slievemore suggests ‘boys and girls’ booleyed there (see 4.2). Oral evidence, collected by this writer states that in the early twentieth century, only children, aged between ten and fourteen, and older women booleyed at this settlement (see 4.2). Harris Stone stated that ‘boys and girls’ went with the cattle to Keem in the first years of the twentieth century (see 4.1).

How do we interpret this evidence? Certainly, it can be stated that Briody’s (2003) statement that only young women were involved in transhumance in Ireland is incorrect, even for quite late periods. The evidence suggests at the very least that boys and more elderly members of the community took part in the practice, even into the twentieth century. However, the evidence from Achill Civil Parish, which is backed up by evidence from Connemara, does suggest such a pattern. Booleying before the mid-nineteenth century in Achill and before the early nineteenth century in South Connemara involved whole families taking part in transhumance. It is clear the evidence from Achill and South Connemara (and, also, other parts of Ireland) suggests that this was not the case after 1850. Whole families did not go to the booleys after that date. Depending on the informant, the people who did go could include girls, boys and older members of the community. While it might be an obvious thing to state, the one thing that the latter groups had in common is that they were not men in their prime or even boys in their later teens. The evidence from Achill suggests that men of prime working age did not go to the booleys after *c.* 1850. Indeed, Walker’s late nineteenth century watercolour suggests this, as an

analysis of it seems to indicate that the man in the picture was a visitor, while the two young women, basically girls, were the transhumants (Pl. 16). For that matter, the negative evidence also suggests that married and young women of child-bearing age and middle age and infants did not go to the booleys in the study area during the later nineteenth and early twentieth century. How do we explain this observation? Obviously the Great Famine took place in Achill in the 1840s and this caused major changes. However, it was noted that the phenomenon of families being replaced by 'girls' in the booley settlements took place long before the Famine in South Connemara. This, perhaps, suggest that we should look for another reason for seeing the same phenomenon in Achill at a somewhat later date, other than blaming the Famine.

O'Dowd in her book *Spalpeens and Tatie Hokers – history of the Irish migratory worker in Ireland and Britain*, has clearly shown that migratory labourers were moving from their home areas each summer to carry out agricultural work in eastern Ireland and Britain long before 1840 but notes that this phenomenon increased in certain places like Achill due to a better transport infrastructure during the second half of the nineteenth century (O' Dowd 1990, 20-2). It was already noted above that the availability of seasonal work in Britain, particularly Scotland, was one of the major reasons, if not the main one, for the gradual demise of booleying in the study area.

In all, this discussion suggests that a social chronology of booleying can be established in the Civil Parish of Achill. Before the 1840s, it would appear that whole family (not necessarily whole settlements) went to the booley settlements in summer, including men, their wives and all their children, including very young children. It must, also, be presumed that if booleying took place in the study area during the medieval period, as argued, one of the functions of the men at the booleys was to protect their livestock against raids and, so, would have been armed. Presumably armed men were no longer needed after the end of the Williamite War in the 1690s, due to the relatively peaceful conditions of the eighteenth (bar the Rebellion of 1798) and nineteenth centuries, in comparison to what went before. After the mid-nineteenth century, the situation changed. Men (and boys over fourteen years or more) throughout the study area began to take up seasonal summer

work in Britain and so did not go to the booley settlements. Something that is harder to explain, however, is why their wives and very young children now stayed in the permanent settlements. One possible (if unlikely) reason for this could be that increased wealth from seasonal work elsewhere would have meant a higher standard of living for people, meaning perhaps that more luxuries and goods were bought, leading to an increased material wealth. Perhaps the reason why these women did not go to the booley settlements anymore, was that this increased material wealth needed to be protected and minded, as much of it could not be brought to the booleys. Graham (see 4.1) also states that fewer cattle were kept in large parts of western Ireland after the Famine (Graham 1954, 119). It is possible that another, possibly more likely, reason why married and middle-aged women did not go to the transhumant sites was because fewer cattle meant that their labour at the booley settlements was not needed anymore. It made more sense for them to stay at home, minding the larger, permanent home, tending their adjacent land and looking after the young children at least some of whom must have been at school during the months from April to late October. In this connection it should be noted that the National School system set up by the National Board of Education in Ireland dates from 1831 (Coolahan 1981, 3-4).

It is argued, therefore, that whole families went booleying in Achill Civil Parish before the mid-nineteenth century. The next question must be did all the families from permanent settlements go to the booley settlements before that date? As noted on a number of occasions, the total population of the study area around 1840 was about 5,200 people. Overall the evidence suggests that there were at most sixteen booley settlements in the study area over time, which seems perhaps to have had on average somewhere between ten and twenty houses located at each of them (see 5.14.6). One of the major conclusions in Chapter Seven was that purpose-built booley houses were much smaller in size to contemporary permanent houses in early nineteenth and apparently eighteenth century Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun (see 7.4). Furthermore, while it was a rough estimate, it was argued based on size and computations of the *minimal* amount of space needed by an individual to live comfortably and healthily, that the settlements at Annagh, Bunowna and Dirk, for example, could only house at any one time twenty-eight, fifty-one and seventy-two adults respectively, if all houses were used contemporaneously (see 7.4). Figures like

this do not suggest that all the inhabitants of permanent villages went to the booleys before the mid-nineteenth century, only certain families. The implication from the oral evidence is that it was actually the wealthier families who went to the booleys, simply because they had more cattle (John Moran, pers. comm.). Again, we are back to the conclusion that booleying was a sensible, economic practice that increased and maintained wealth in any given area and was far from being something that was carried out by the marginalised in any given community (see 2.6, 3.1, 4.9, 8.1).

It was noted that oral tradition on the Isle of Lewis remembers the practice of transhumance with fondness, where young people got away from authority. Singing, dancing and storytelling took place at transhumant sites (*airidh*) there according to extant folklore (see 4.8). It was shown that storytelling and merrymaking, including music and dancing, took place at transhumant sites throughout Europe over time and space (see 2.8). Whilst little attention has been paid to this aspect of transhumance in Ireland, it is clear that dancing and games were important evening activities at booley sites in nineteenth century Donegal (see 3.2.2). The oral evidence from the Civil Parish of Achill, which dates to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, suggests that similar activities took place each evening. Booleying was fun and nobody seems to have had a bad word to say about it (see 4.2, 4.6, 4.8). However, remembering that much of this evidence comes from a time when only young people went to the booleys, one wonders if booleying was as much fun in the study area before c. 1850, when middle-aged, possibly careworn adults would have been present! It was possibly less fun but the overall evidence from across Ireland and Europe does suggest merriment in the evenings at these places which was enjoyed by all age groups. In Europe, the spring/summer movement to transhumance sites is marked by festivals and likewise the return to the permanent settlement in the autumn (see 2.1). What can we compare the experience of booleying to from our own modern lives? The small size of the purpose built booley huts (see 7.4), the location of most booley sites in relatively-remote, beautiful parts of the study area (see Chapter 5) and the oral evidence for merrymaking in the summer evenings, presumably around communal, open-air fires suggests that booleying was rather like modern camping – albeit camping with an economic purpose.

Furthermore, booleying in the study area was not quite as isolating as one would first think. For example, it was shown that transhumant sites in Norway were between one day's journey and three day's journey from the permanent settlements (see 2.1). It was noted that transhumant journeys in Scotland could be up to thirty-two kilometres long in places, although a number were as short as four kilometres (see 2.3). The lengths of twenty-one distinct transhumant journeys were calculated by the present writer for the study area. Noticeably just over 86% of these journeys were below eight kilometres in length. None were below two kilometres in length while the longest movement was fourteen kilometres in length (see 5.14.1). This suggests that without cattle to slow them down, individual transhumants could regularly return home to visit family or friends. Alternatively, people from the permanent settlements must regularly have visited the booley settlements, as, indeed, the oral evidence suggests and is implied in Walker's late nineteenth century watercolour of a booley house on Achill (see 4.2; Pl. 16). Indeed, the relatively short distances may have meant that individual transhumants may have been replaced at times by members of their families to stay at the booleys. A later nineteenth century example of this may have been an eighteen-year old girl, who took the cattle up to the booleys at the start of summer, being replaced there by a school-going younger sister or brother during their summer holidays. A similar situation appears to have pertained in west Connemara with the girls taking turns to leave the booley (Graham 1954, 23-24). The relatively-short distances involved shows that booleying over time in the Achill area was not just a question of going up to the booleys and then staying put for six months, or at least did not need to be, unlike the situation in other parts of Europe. Contact with the outside world must have been common.

When did people go up with their cattle to the booley settlements in the study area? In Norway due to the high altitude of some transhumant settlements and the cold climate, transhumant movements took place in June and livestock was taken down again in late August or early September, suggesting that transhumance was an annual three-month event in that region of Europe (see 2.2). In England cattle were moved to the shielings in April and came back in late August or early September, presumably for the transhumants to help with the harvest (see 2.5). Evidence from Wales, Cornwall and Scotland suggests the movements took place around the 1st May with a return to the permanent settlements for Halloween or around the 1st of

November (see 2.3, 2.6, 2.7). The cattle and at least some transhumants were away from the home settlements for about six months. The overall historical and oral evidence suggests similar dates for Ireland over time from the early medieval period down to modern times (see 3.1, 3.2.2). The fact that booleying started a little earlier in the Galtees may be an indication that because grass growth was more advanced there that transhumance was a longer affair in Munster, possibly up to three weeks more than areas of Ireland that lie farther north (see 3.2.2).

The evidence from the study area is often vague – merely stating that cattle were away in the booleys for the six months of summer, although in the twentieth century this period had shortened (see 4.1). However, William Wilde mentions that cattle were only away for two months (Wilde 1849, 775). This goes against all the other evidence and must be incorrect, or maybe suggest shorter periods of time spent at a number of booley sites. For example, Graham, using oral evidence then extant, stated that booleying started in the study area up to the late nineteenth century sometime between May 1st and the 12th May, depending on the weather, and stooled in late October, with cattle coming back to the permanent settlements (Graham 1954, 50-61). This suggests that transhumance was effectively a six-month affair in the study area, taking advantage of the summer growth of grass, although, as just noted, not all transhumants would necessarily have stayed up in the booley settlements for that length of time, only the cattle. Obviously, with the onset of winter and the general weather conditions, there was less grass in the booleys and this meant that cattle had to be brought back to the permanent settlements or would lose condition. However, it is also clear from work carried out in north Roscommon, that the first frosts had occurred by late October. Why is this important? Farmers in north Roscommon today maintain that the first frost always sweetens the grass left growing over the summer and it becomes more palatable to cattle (Kieran O’Conor, pers. comm.). Basically the return of the cattle to permanent settlements in late October or even early November comes a time when the standing summer grass comes into its own as easily digestible, nutritious winterage. Again, one is impressed by the efficiency and knowledge of farmers in Ireland and the study area through time concerning use of the different types of pasture and grasses in their respective regions.

One further point about this section is that it is clear that the majority of information discussed in it comes from the historical sources, including relatively recent travellers' accounts, and oral evidence. It is another reminder that a cross-disciplinary approach is important in understanding the social aspects of booleying.

8.4 – How was the practice carried out?

The most obvious and primary activity at the booley sites was clearly tending to the needs of the cattle, which needed to be milked twice a day. Calves also needed special attention. What happened to this milk? In Scandinavia, most of this milk was turned into butter and cheese (see 2.2). A late eighteenth century account of transhumance in Scotland states that cheese was the main product of the transhumance sites (see 2.3). In Ireland it would appear that butter alone was produced by churning – there are no direct references extant to cheese making, curds, whey and cream were also made and consumed by people at the booley sites (see 3.2.2, 3.5). The oral evidence from the nineteenth and early twentieth century relating to the study area, also suggests that milking and butter making were the main pastoral activities at the booley sites (see 4.1, 4.2). Again, there is no reference to cheese making at these places. Kenneth Nicholls notes that cheese was made in later medieval Gaelic Ireland, both at permanent settlements and in the booleys (Nicholls 1987, 413). The evidence from the study area and other parts of Ireland suggests that cheese was no longer part of the diet of ordinary people by the nineteenth century. Exactly why this was the case is hard to understand but it helps explain why there are no truly traditional Irish cheeses. One explanation is that the growth of the butter trade throughout Ireland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries concentrated production on it, to the detriment of cheese making and consumption (Allen 2003, 185).

Another linked task was that this butter had to be brought back on a regular basis to the permanent settlements for consumption there or onward sale. This was mostly done by individual transhumants bringing this butter back on a regular basis, perhaps once or twice a week (see 3.2.2, 3.5). However, one nineteenth century account from Donegal states that it was men from the permanent settlements who came up to the booleys to collect this produce (Ó hEochaidh 1943, 130). There is no direct evidence

from the study area as to who brought this butter back to the permanent settlements – all that is known is that it was brought back on a regular basis (see 4.2). Whatever the situation, the fact that butter needed to be brought back to the permanent settlement on a regular basis is further evidence that the practice of booleying in the study area was not as isolating an experience as one would first think (see 8.2).

This evidence also suggests that butter (and, indeed, other dairy products such as wheys, curds and cream) needed to be stored for a few days in the booley settlement, something that may have presented problems in hot weather. How was this done? It would appear that at least some of this produce was stored in the annexes that can be seen on at least nine houses in the study area. It is noticeable that the openings in the vast majority of these annexes face to the north east, the one quadrant that sees no sun during the summer, thus making them more efficient for the storage of dairy products (see 7.3). However, most houses in the study area do not have annexes and so other methods of dairy storage were needed, perhaps the ‘tunnel’ associated with house A12 at Annagh might have served such a purpose. It was noted all booley settlements in the study area, whatever their status, occur beside or close to some form of freshwater, usually streams or small rivers (see 5.14.5). One possibility is that transhumants in the study area stored butter and other dairy products for a few days in cool pools along or in these watercourses. Another alternative may have been to store butter, wrapped in cloth, in similarly cool, waterlogged bog-holes close to the booley settlements. Such a practice over time may explain the regular finding of bog-butter in such locations.

It was also noted, that while the majority of booley settlements occur below the 100m contour line, many of these places lie in quite exposed locations (see 5.14.2). Tending cattle was not just about milking them. At times, they needed more protection from the natural dangers around these sites. The occurrence of long linear, earthen banks at Dirk and Bunowna was noted and it seems that these were basically constructed to prevent cattle falling and wandering off cliffs. The building and yearly maintenance of these linear banks were tasks that took place at both these sites and presumably had to be done in a communal way as these features are hundreds of metres long (see 5.14.4). It is highly unlikely that these tasks were done by either women or children and suggests that men came to these two booley sites for a while,

perhaps in early spring or summer (see 8.2). A feature of life in Achill Civil Parish up to the 1960s was that men and teenage boys cut turf in April before the annual migration to England and Scotland, so a similar situation probably pertained to repairs and maintenance at the booley sites. The construction and maintenance of such protective screens must have added to the strong community feeling at many booley sites in the study area that is suggested by the convivial evenings had by transhumants at these places (see 8.2).

Historical evidence outlined in Chapter 4 and the siting evidence for booley sites in the study area discussed in Chapter 5 also indicate that other activities such as the collection of seaweed for fertiliser, the gathering of wrack, fishing and weaving also took place or may have taken place at these sites (see 4.1, 4.2, 5.14.4). In this respect, Pococke's mid-eighteenth century account of booleying in the general study area suggests that it was the production of a coarse wool, rather than pastoral products, that was sold by peasants to pay the rent (Pococke 1891). This is interesting because it suggests that the denizens of the study area were not linked to the growing butter trade at this time, which was centred on Cork (Rynne 1998).

A number of scholars in Britain and Ireland have emphatically stated that evidence for cultivation at any particular site, particularly ones located in upland settlements, is an indication that it was a permanent settlement and not one linked to transhumance (Graham 1954, 38; Ramm *et.al.* 1970, 6-7; Higham 1978, 349). However, Úa Danachair (1945b, 250) clearly states that cultivation was carried out at booley sites in the Galtee Mountains. Graham (1954, 38, 69) stated that if cultivation was practiced at booley sites, it would defeat one of the main reasons for booleying i.e. the removal of livestock to protect unfenced tillage crops. However, there is clear historical and field evidence for cultivation of potatoes and oats being carried out at booley sites throughout the study area, including purpose-built ones (see 5.14.3) which may indicate that another perhaps more important criterion for the removal of livestock was to enable the grass to grow at the permanent settlement, as suggested by Úa Danachair (1945b, 250) and Anthony Kilbane (see 4.2). This evidence for cultivation at transhumance sites is not unique to Ireland or the study area as it is backed up by historical and archaeological evidence throughout Scandinavia and Britain, including ones of medieval and post-medieval date (see 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.7,

2.8). It can be stated, therefore, that the occurrence of evidence for cultivation at any given site does not preclude it from being a transhumant site. This is an important conclusion that will help in the future identification of transhumant sites throughout Europe and these islands.

8.5 – Was there lowland transhumance?

It is clear that the practice of transhumance, regardless of date, across western and northern Europe, including Ireland, is seen by most scholars as being a movement of livestock in summer from permanent lowland settlements to upland ones (see 1.1, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.5, 3.2.3). However, as stated, the historian Kenneth Nicholls (1987, 397-98; 2003, 137) has tentatively suggested, without giving any evidence, that in areas of later medieval Ireland where there were no adjacent uplands, lowland booleying took place, meaning that cattle were moved in summer from permanent settlements in the lowlands to booley settlements in peripheral, under-populated lowland sites where pasture was available. Nicholls does not provide any evidence to support this view, as noted (see 1.1).

It was stated that one of the aims of this thesis was to attempt to see if lowland booleying took place within the study area and, indeed, elsewhere. Before discussing this further, it must be stated again that one of the main economic benefits of booleying or transhumance over time and space is that it allowed individuals and/or communities regardless of where they were located to keep more cattle than if only the grazing around the permanent settlements were used to fatten them (see 3.2.1, 3.5, 4.8, 8.1, 8.2). It was also noted that later medieval Gaelic and Gaelicised lords, regardless of whether their lordships were located in upland or completely lowland regions, kept huge herds of cattle and this was their main source of wealth (see 4.1). Intuitively, this suggests to the present writer that lowland booleying did take place in later medieval Ireland as it is the best way to explain the presence of these large herds. This intuitive view is reinforced by the conclusion, noted above, that cattle are healthier if moved to completely different pastures, something that transhumance allows (see 8.1).

Intuition, however, is not evidence. Firstly, what evidence exists for lowland

transhumance outside Ireland, despite the general view that it was a movement of livestock from a lowland permanent settlement to an adjacent upland site? It was noted, for example, in Sweden that transhumance also included the movement of livestock to underdeveloped forested areas that were not just in the uplands (see 2.1; Emanuelsson and Johansson 2003, 134-35). The late Mike Aston (1997a, 103) using historical evidence, believed that communities in some parts of early and later medieval Wales practised a form of lowland transhumance in summer that involved the movement of people and livestock to areas of *callows* beside great rivers to take advantage of nutritious pasture in these places, not available in winter due to flooding (see 2.7). These two examples show that lowland transhumance did take place outside Ireland.

A critical review of the Irish evidence is also important. It was noted that the historical evidence from the early medieval period hints strongly that at least some transhumance took place in forested regions, as opposed to upland areas (see 3.1). One is seriously impressed by the lengths Murray and McCormick (2012) went to in their detailed analysis of the artefacts and paleo-environmental remains from the early medieval site of Doonloughan in Connemara, sited in a coastal location at 10m OD, to prove that this was a transhumant site, despite its very lowland location (see 3.2.3). Again, when examining colonial references to booleying in Ireland on both sides of the year AD1600, it was noted that commentators seem to state that booleying took place not just in upland areas but also in places that they refer to as ‘fastnesses’. The implication is that these ‘fastnesses’ were underdeveloped, perhaps forested areas on the peripheries of lordships in lowland areas (see 3.1). There is some evidence, therefore, for booleying in lowland areas in Ireland or at least a case can be made for it.

The evidence from the study area suggests that what can only be described as a lowland form of booleying took place at Dooagh prior to c. 1840, with people from the then permanent settlement of Slievemore literally coming ‘down’ in summer to booley, fish and cultivate crops there. The coastal settlement of Dooagh, now a permanent settlement, is located at 10m OD (see 4.1; 5.2b, 5.6). Boleycloghan (*Buaile Chlochach*) is now a small village on the Corraun Peninsula beside Achill Sound in a very definite lowland location. The place-name can be translated into

English as ‘The Stony Booley’. This may be an indication that it was once a transhumant settlement that at some stage became a permanent settlement, although no current folk-memory exists to prove this (see 4.3). This all suggests that lowland transhumance did take place in the study area, in Ireland and in other parts of Europe at different stages in the past. It suggests that transhumance should not just be seen as a lowland-to-upland movement in summer, although this was common. Variations did occur and at least some movements appear to have been to lowland transhumance sites. The occurrence of lowland transhumance also helps explain why the place-name *aergi*, which seems to mean a transhumant site, can occur in essentially lowland locations in northern England. These place-names should be seen as further indicators of lowland transhumance during medieval times rather than being dismissed as evidence for this practice due to their location, as suggested by Higham (1978, 349) who only saw transhumance movements over time as being solely to upland areas (see 2.5).

8.6 – The architecture of transhumance.

Without doubt, the greatest problem facing scholars interested in the subject of transhumance is that there are difficulties in recognising transhumant sites. In Ireland, for example, sites postulated as transhumant habitations by some scholars, usually and solely because of their upland locations, have often been re-interpreted by others as permanent settlements unrelated to booleying (see 6.1). What has the research for this thesis achieved in this respect? How can it help scholars recognise booley sites in the future? It could be argued at a superficial level that the research for this thesis has made it more difficult to recognise booley settlements. The fact that transhumant settlements can show evidence for cultivation and can occur in lowland locations arguably make it harder to identify booley settlements over time and space. Furthermore, one major and to a certain extent unexpected finding of this thesis is that settlements can change status over time. Settlements such as Dooagh and Bellanasally were originally booley settlements that evolved into permanent settlements over the course of the nineteenth century (see 5.2.1, 5.2.2, 5.6). Alternatively, it was shown that other settlements, even populous ones, changed from being permanent villages into booley settlements (see 5.3.1, 5.3.2, 5.3.3, 5.6). Arguably, similar processes happened across Ireland. In this scenario, it would be

difficult to recognise the booley phases at such sites through excavation alone. A more detailed analysis of the research for this thesis, however, shows something different and gives cause for optimism. The fact that settlements change status over time, that cultivation can occur at booley sites and that purely lowland transhumance did take place merely show that there were considerable variations in the practice of booleying over time. The fact that settlements such as Slievemore, Keem and Carrowgarve were originally permanent settlements before the mid-nineteenth century turned out to be what can only be described as serendipitous for the research carried out in this thesis. It allowed the present writer to compare the architecture of permanent houses, erected before *c.* 1850 and before the great rebuilding of permanent houses in the study area by the Congested Districts Board and Land Commission during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to essentially contemporary booley houses. The results of this comparison were extremely interesting. While these structures had much in common, such as being dry-stone built, sited beside water and having storage niches, it is clear that purpose-built booley houses (i.e. houses that were built purely to house transhumants) were considerably smaller in size and had narrower doorways in comparison to permanent houses (see 7.8, 7.9). Furthermore, while less obvious, such booley houses lacked such things as fireplaces, windows, lofts, internal plaster and bed outshots – features that were common in permanent houses (see 7.9). It can be said that houses at permanent settlements were more comfortable than booley houses. In a way, this should be no surprise as permanent houses were built for year-round living, including winter, while booley huts, although comfortable enough for their purpose were only used during the warmer months of summer. In turn, these observations of architectural difference reinforce the argument made above that the physical experience of transhumance was akin to modern camping (see 8.2). This might suggest that in the future scholars, using this evidence from the study area, may be able to identify purpose-built transhumant houses and settlements elsewhere and distinguish them from contemporary permanent ones. The caveat to this is that booleying and transhumant sites cannot be studied in isolation but only as part of integrated study of an area, where there is clear evidence for permanent settlement and its architecture (see 2.8; Jones 2005). Meaningful comparisons and identifications between permanent houses and booley houses can only be made in such a study.

Lastly, the research for this thesis also indicates something else. There is clear evidence for ovoid and more-or-less circular houses in purpose-built booley settlements in the study area that appear to have been used for transhumance right up to the 1880s (see 7.1). The excavated evidence for House A1 at Annagh suggests that this oval house was built in the late eighteenth century and was not being used after the late nineteenth century (see 6.2.2). Oval and circular houses are rare in contemporary permanent settlement, although sub-rectangular, gable-less houses are quite common (see 4.1, 7.7.1). Furthermore, the evidence from transhumance settlements in Scotland also show that circular and oval-shaped houses occur in eighteenth and nineteenth century contexts there, meaning that the evidence from the study area is not unique (see 2.3). This is interesting from a dating point-of-view. Lynn (1978) has argued for a change in house shape throughout Ireland from round (and, apparently, oval) to rectangular during the course of the tenth century AD. He based this observation on excavated evidence from both rural and urban sites. There is much to commend this theory but, as noted, O’Conor (2002) argued against it in a rural, later medieval Gaelic context, as there is occasional excavated evidence there for the building of quite simple dry-stone built or post-and-wattle built circular and ovoid houses right up to the seventeenth century (see 6.4).

The evidence from the purpose-built booley houses in the study area supports this view that simple-looking oval and more-or-less circular houses could be built at late dates – indeed, even later than O’Conor argued for in his 2002 paper. Again, it was noted in Chapter 5 that most of the purpose-built booley settlements in the study area are located in relatively exposed locations (see 5.1.1, 5.1.2, 5.1.3, 5.1.4, 5.1.5).

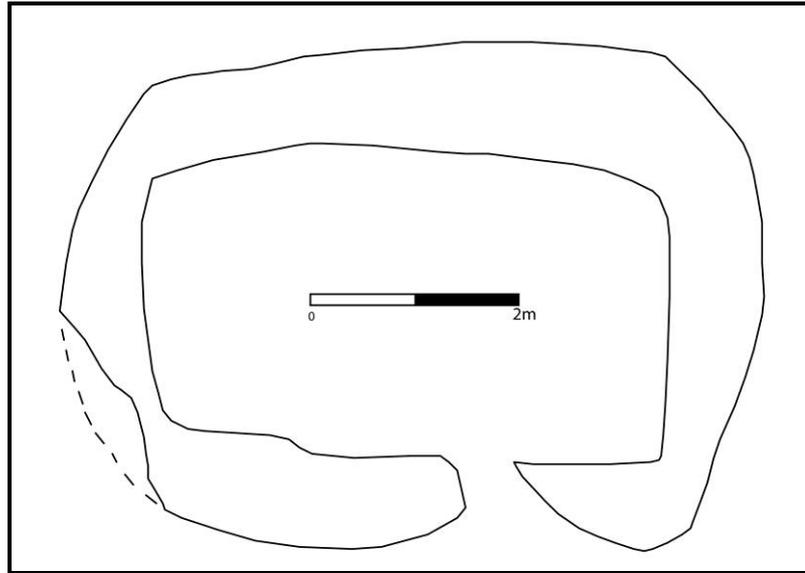


Fig. 102 – Booley House at Bunowna (Bun8).

Given the manner of survival and state of preservation of prehistoric houses in Ireland and their similarity to booley huts/houses, the question must be asked: how can we differentiate between the two? The answer seems to be size. Two Middle Bronze Age circular houses excavated by the Achill Field School at Slievemore were approximately 6m and 6.8m in internal diameter (Achill Field School Interim Report 2010 – 11). Circular houses, also of Bronze Age date, excavated by Bergh at Carrowkeel in County Sligo were all in excess of 6m in diameter (Dr. Stefan Bergh, pers comm.). The average size of the equivalent booley huts/houses is about 3m in diameter. This shows that prehistoric houses of circular or ovoid form are considerably larger than post medieval booley houses which are, by contrast, demonstrably similar shape, noted above.

It was argued that one explanation for the continued use of ovoid or circular-shaped houses into modern times was that such houses were ideal in a windy environment and were less susceptible to damage as heavy winds would be funnelled around such houses (see 6.4). Two things emerge from this discussion. Firstly, oval and, for that matter, circular-shaped houses in Ireland and, for that matter, Scotland can be seen in clear post-medieval contexts and their occurrence at any given site should not be taken as definite evidence for an early medieval or prehistoric date without excavation. Secondly, the existence of such houses at post medieval booley

settlements and the occurrence of sub-rectangular houses at the latter settlements and in permanent villages throughout the study area should not be seen as an indication of backwardness and conservatism, as suggested by many nineteenth century observers (see 4.1), but perhaps as a sensible adaption to the windy environment of the study area.

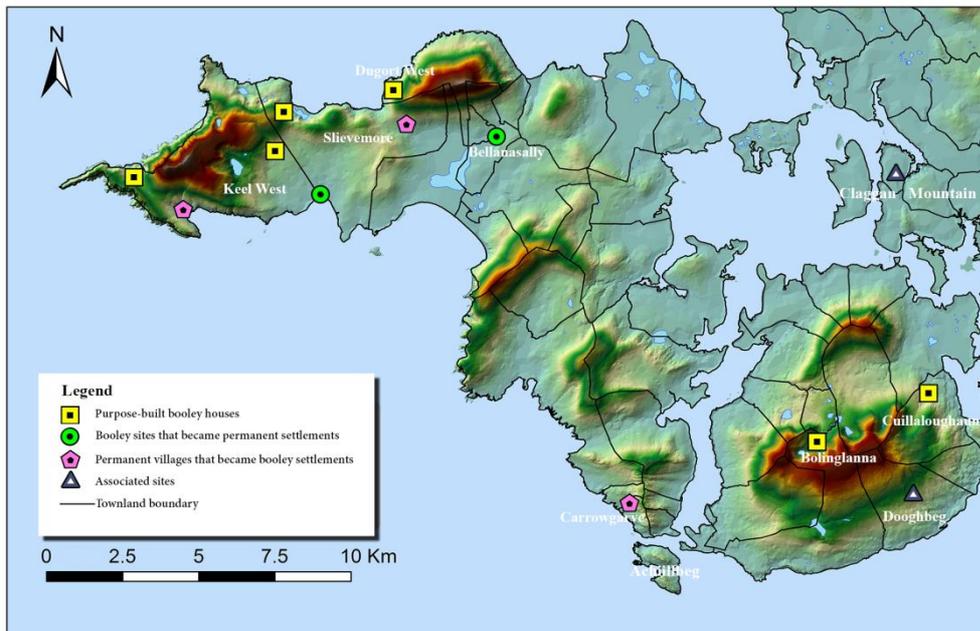


Fig. 103 – Map showing booley sites in the Civil Parish of Achill, including Claggan Mountain and Dooghbeg townlands that were associated with Cuillaloughaun and Achillbeg Island respectively.

Chapter 9 – Conclusions

9.0 – Summary of main conclusions.

The main findings of this thesis were outlined and discussed in an integrated way in the last chapter – Chapter 8. It is certainly hoped that the research for this thesis has led to a better understanding of how the practice of transhumance, known in Ireland as booleying, was carried out in the study area through time. In a general sense, also, it could be argued that the main conclusions from the research carried out for this thesis that will be of value for the future study of transhumance in general across other parts of Ireland, Britain and perhaps further afield are fourfold. These are in ascending order of importance: firstly, that cultivation did occur at transhumant sites; secondly, that lowland transhumance did take place through time, even at quite late dates; thirdly, that settlements can change status over time, starting as permanent settlements and then becoming transhumant ones (and vice versa); fourthly, that there are architectural and physical differences between purpose-built booley houses and permanent houses – this could be of value in recognising proper transhumant sites elsewhere. This last important conclusion underlines the fact that while an cross-disciplinary approach to research is vital when studying the past, it is clear that the discipline of archaeology has a lot to offer in helping scholars understand the very recent, post-medieval past.

9.1 – Future research.

One clear methodological lesson from the thesis was that to fully understand the practice of transhumance in the study area, a cross-disciplinary approach was vital. This suggests that any future project on transhumance in any given area should take a similar approach. Arguably, in a general sense, all projects examining aspects of landscape and material culture in the medieval and post medieval world should do the same. The present writer has come to realise that no one discipline has the full answer and something near the truth can only be gleaned from a cross-disciplinary approach that involves collaboration with scholars from disciplines other than their own. The next statement should not be seen as the opposite of what has just been stated. The research for the thesis, particularly the evidence outlined in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, has surely shown that the discipline of archaeology has a huge amount to offer

in helping scholars understand the very recent, post-medieval past. Archaeological methods of enquiry should be an essential element in helping understand the development of society in Ireland and elsewhere up to the present day – something that is not always obvious to modern historians.

It is clear that more work needs to be done on the origins of transhumance in both Ireland and elsewhere. It is unclear as to when transhumance started to become part of the annual agricultural cycle across wide areas of Europe. It is definitely in place in Ireland by the early medieval period but its origins may be much earlier. As noted, there are hints from the study area that transhumance movements may have taken place there as early as the Neolithic but this is uncertain (see 8.2).

Direct archaeological evidence for transhumance is relatively slim for the later medieval period in Ireland and some of it is problematic. As noted, direct historical references to transhumance are rare for this period too, with the majority coming from the years either side of *c.* 1600. This is simply because detailed socio-economic sources for later medieval Gaelic Ireland have rarely survived. Perhaps one way around this is a detailed research project through the surviving literary sources of the period, in particular bardic poems, for references to the practice, something that has never been attempted (see Simms 2001) for the value of using bardic poetry as a means of better understanding the material culture and economy of later medieval Gaelic Ireland, amongst other things). Furthermore, given the fact that transhumance took place in medieval England and Wales (see Davies 1941; Fellows-Jensen 1980; Higham 1996; Herring 2007b) indicate that it was a sensible economic practice that increased herd numbers in any given area. There is no reason why Anglo-Norman lords and their English tenants in Ireland should not have practised transhumance too, along with their Gaelic tenants. Again, a review of the available sources, such as Manorial Extents and Inquisitions-Post-Mortem, may be useful in this regard and may turn up evidence for the practice in even the manorialised lands of eastern Ireland during the thirteenth century. Also, can evidence be found in Ireland for more long-distance Mediterranean-style transhumance during later medieval times? Did great secular lords and Cistercian monasteries send their livestock to pasture in distant upland estates belonging to them under the care of professional herders in summer, as was the case in England, for example (see 2.5). Did the owners of large

estates compel their tenants to pasture livestock on the estate?

Further work in the study area on the subject of transhumance is also necessary. It would be useful to excavate at least one other more-or-less circular or oval house site at one of the purpose-built booley settlements, preferably Dirk, to perhaps reinforce the conclusion made in this thesis that such-shaped houses were both built and occupied at very late dates (see 8.4). More excavated evidence is perhaps necessary to counter the long-held belief that such houses are only early in date. It is also clear that the cessation of booleying in the study area has led to the decline of grass and herb species around transhumant sites there. This is the case for other parts of Ireland too (see 3.3, 3.5). It might also be useful to investigate if climate has influenced the practice of transhumance in the past. One future project could be to try to reconstruct the habitat around booleying sites in the study area when they were in use by taking pollen cores from surrounding bog land. This could give an indication of the type and amount of grazing available to livestock during summer at these places. Furthermore, such a project, which would include the radiocarbon dating of the cores, may also indicate how long these transhumant sites were in use for, giving scholars a rough idea of when exactly the practice started in the Civil Parish of Achill.

Another aspect of booleying that is of considerable interest but beyond the scope of this study is what might be termed the ‘sociology’ of booleying. For example, how did the annual migration to the uplands affect people and to what extent did splitting the household for part of the year affect social relations? Booleying is universally regarded as a very pleasant experience that may be linked to the perceived liminality of these sites, occupying space between childhood and adulthood; was there a sense of coming of age associated with booleying? Liminality is a temporary or midpoint between a starting point and an end point that ends with reincorporation into the social structure. While the distance between the lowland permanent and upland booley settlements may not have been great, the psychological distance engendered by these liminal places – on the edge of a known and safe or adult world – must have represented, at least to the younger transhumants, a rite of passage involving separation, absence and re-assimilation within the wider community. In the liminal world of the booley, the transhumants were equal in status, unlike perhaps their

actual position in society with its structured and hierarchical system separating people according to status.

These are just some ideas for future research into the subject of transhumance in the study area and elsewhere in Ireland. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the large amount of fieldwork and analysis carried out during the course of the research for this thesis has contributed to knowledge and has allowed a better understanding of the practice of transhumance in the Civil Parish of Achill and elsewhere.

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Booleying in Achill, Achillbeg and Corraun: survey, excavation and analysis of booley settlements in the Civil Parish of Achill

Volume II of II

Bridget Theresa McDonald

This Thesis is submitted to the National University of Ireland, Galway for the Degree of PhD in the School of Geography and Archaeology

December 2013

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Appendix One – Purpose-Built Booley Settlements

It was noted in Chapter 5 that six purpose-built booley settlements at which there is physical evidence today were identified in the Civil Parish of Achill (see 5.0; 5.1 – 5.7). This Appendix, effectively a catalogue, consists of a description of each of the houses and physical remains at each settlement. It also includes various plans and photographs of selected sites, although it must be remembered that some plans of individual houses are to be found in the text of this thesis.

Annagh (A1 – A12)

Site Name:	Annagh (A)
Townland:	Slievemore
Database No:	A1 – A12
NGR:	55881, 30445
SMR Number:	MA042–09/4



The booley settlement at Annagh is located on the north-western coast of Achill Island in the townland of Slievemore. Twelve houses were identified at the site. Furthermore, a rectangular enclosure can be seen on the north-eastern edge of the site. It is bounded by a collapsed stone wall and its internal measurements are about 35m north/south by 13m east/west. The remains of now grass-covered lazy beds can be seen within the enclosure (Fig. 43).

The site at between 60m and 70m in height above sea level is on a relatively flat plateau on the lower north-western slopes of Croaghaun Mountain in a coastal valley above Annagh Strand. The small freshwater lake of Lough Nakeeroge **east** lies 140m to the south-east of the site. Each of the houses at Annagh will now be described in turn.

House 1 at Annagh (A1). (Figs. 42, 43, 44, 69, 80, 105 (Pls. 30, 31, 32, 33, 44).

General: House 1 (A1) is the south-westernmost building in a range of four conjoined houses to the north of the northern cluster of buildings on the site (see A2 – 4). It shares part of its north-eastern wall with House 2 (A2). This was one of the two houses chosen for excavation at Annagh (see 6.2 – 6.2.5).

External Shape: Ovoid.

Internal Shape: Ovoid.

Internal Dimensions: 3m east/west by 1.5m north/south.

Internal Habitable Space: 4.5m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The walls of the house mostly consist of flat stone slabs set in courses, but the occasional large boulder is used.

Wall Width: 0.8m – 0.9m.

Wall Heights: The top of the house's walls are 0.65m (at W) to 1.60m (at E) above the internal floor of the building (after excavation), while they are 0.3m (at W) and 1.2m (at E) above external ground surface.

Doorway: The doorway opens out to the north east into a small enclosed area, which it shares with Annagh A2 (A2; see 6.2 – 6.2.5). This entranceway is 1.2m in height, 0.44m wide at its base and 0.3m wide at its top. This makes it very narrow indeed.

Roofing: The walls of the structure incline inwards as they rise, showing that this building was originally corbelled, but perhaps topped by a covering of sod and heather.

Internal features within the building: Four storage niches occur on the southern wall, formed as two pairs, consisting of a smaller alcove above a larger one. The upper niche of the pair to the east is 0.44m wide, 0.46m in height and 0.46m in depth. The lower niche here is 0.42m in width, 0.9m in height and 0.75m in depth. The upper niche in the pair to the west is 0.46m in width, 0.52m in height and 0.4m in depth. The lower niche here is 0.36m in width, 0.56m in height to the present ground surface and 0.4m in depth.

Additional comments: There is a dense build-up of stones against the northern exterior of the house that slopes down from the top of building to ground level. This appears to be original and must have been placed here to give added insulation to the building and functions as a wind break. This feature continues around to the northern

side of Annagh A2 (see A2). There is also an additional piece of low walling running just to the south of the external face of the building. This wall consists of four courses of stone standing to a maximum height of 0.65m. It is 0.5m in width. It also appears to have functioned as added insulation and as a windbreak, at a point where the structure's walls are quite narrow in places due to the internal storage niches.



Pl. 44 –House 1 (A1) in foreground, and associated conjoined houses A2, A3 and A4 looking NE.

The entranceway to the house gives out onto a small enclosed area to its east, which it shares with the entranceway to House A2 (see 6.2 – 6.2.5). This small enclosure measures 1.9m east/west by 1.5m north/south. It is defined by a collapsed dry-stone built wall, 1.3m in width. This wall has a narrow entranceway along its southern wall. Again, the most likely explanation for this area is that its wall acted as a windbreak to Houses A1 and A2. It is also clear from the internal and external heights of the wall that the house's interior is somewhat below external ground level, presumably this was done to provide further insulation for the interior of the building.

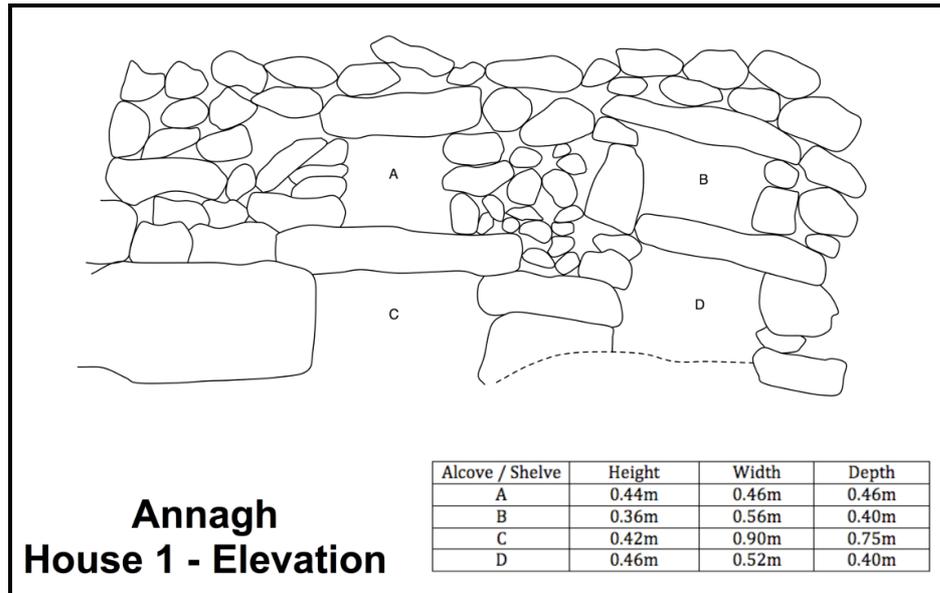


Fig. 104 – Storage niches on south wall of House 1 at Annagh (A1).

House 2 at Annagh (A2). (Figs. 42, 43, 69, 105; Pls. 34, 36, 44).

General: House A2 is the second in a row of four conjoined houses (A1 – A4) running from the south-west to the north-east on the western edge of the site. This was one of the two houses chosen for excavation at Annagh (see 6.2.1 – 6.2.4).

External Shape: Ovoid.

Internal Shape: Sub-rectangular, as its eastern wall is curving.

Internal Dimensions: 2.75m east/west by 1.8m north/south.

Internal Habitable Space: 4.95m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The walls consist of neat courses of flat stone slabs.

Wall Width: 0.8m – 1m.

Wall Heights: The top of the house's walls are 0.6m (at E) to 1m (at W) in height above the internal floor of the building, while they are 0.2m (at W) and 1.2m (at N) above external ground surface.

Doorway: The doorway occurs in the southern wall and opens out into a small enclosed area, which it shares with Annagh A1 (A1; see 6.2.1 – 6.2.4). This entranceway is 0.6m in height and 0.35m in width internally and 0.6m wide externally. This gives it a funnel-like appearance and shows that the entranceway is very narrow.

Roofing: There is a slight incline of the walls internally and the interior of the

building is full of large stone slabs. This all suggests that building was corbelled originally.

Internal features within the building: A storage niche is present in the internal face of the southern wall of the structure to the west of the entranceway. This niche is 0.85m in width and 0.4m in depth. Its height could not be established as its lower part is concealed by masonry collapse. A small niche can also be seen in the northern end of the internal face of the structure's western wall. This niche is 0.4m in width, 0.3m in depth and is only 0.15m in height.

Additional comments: As noted above, a dense build-up of stones occurs on the external face of the northern wall of the building. This appears to have been created to provide additional insulation to the building (see A1). Furthermore, like House A1, the southern doorway gives out onto a small walled enclosure. Again, this wall appears to have been built to act as a windbreak and to stop draughts blowing into the interiors of the two houses (see A1). It is also clear from the internal and external heights of the wall that the house's interior is somewhat below external ground level, presumably this was done to provide further insulation for the interior of the building.



Pl. 45 – House 2 at Annagh (A2) in conjoined group – the north-east wall indicated by the two ranging rods.

House 3 at Annagh (A3). (Figs. 42, 43, 69, 105; Pls. 44, 45).

General: House A3 is the third in a row of four conjoined houses (A1 – A4) running from the south-west to the north-east on the western edge of the site.

External Shape: Rectangular.

Internal Shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 3m east/west by 1.4m north/south.

Internal Habitable Space: 4.2m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The walls consist of small blocks of stone (different to the thin stone slabs used in Houses A1 and A2), with the occasional upright slab and large stone used in it. The walls are much more denuded than Houses A1 and A2 and its stones may have been robbed out at some stage in the past.

Wall Width: 0.9m to 1.15m (at E).

Wall Heights: The height of the house's walls is a uniform 0.5m in height above both its internal and external ground level.

Doorway: The entrance to the building lay in its southern wall. It is *c.* 0.4m in width. Its height could not be ascertained due to the denuded nature of the structure's remains.

Roofing: Uncertain due to the denuded state of the building.

Internal features within the building: None

Additional comments: It is noteworthy that this house is not marked on the 1838 First Edition Ordnance Survey map. This may mean that it was not built at that time. However, its denuded state may mean that it was already so much in disrepair at the time that it was not included in the survey. Some of its stones may already have been robbed out and used elsewhere on the site, but only excavation will sort out this question.

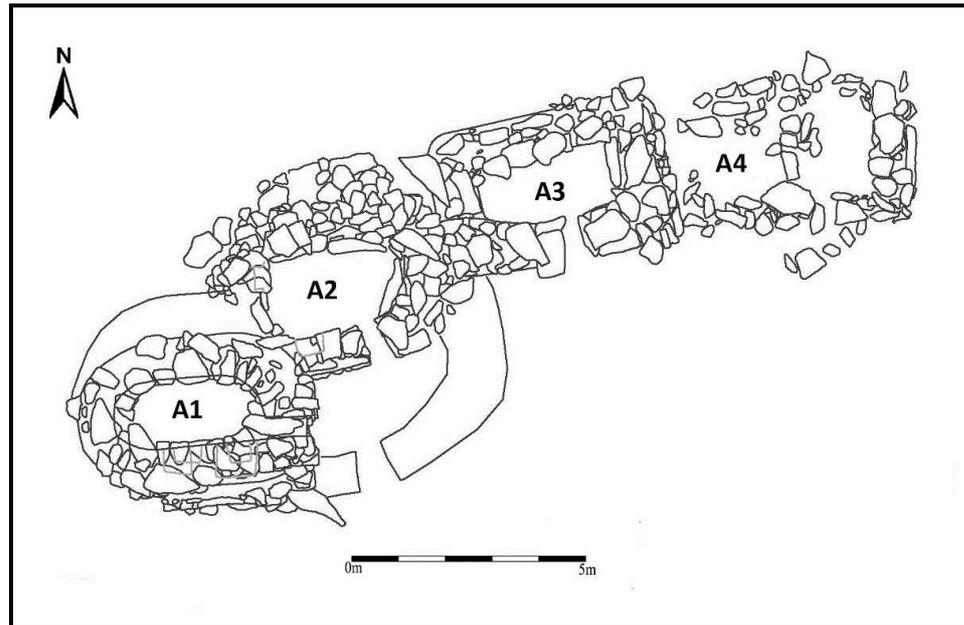


Fig. 105 – Plan of Houses 1 – 4 (A1 – A4) at Annagh.

House 4 at Annagh (A4). (Figs. 42, 43, 69, 105; Pl. 44).

General: House A4 is the fourth in a row of four conjoined houses (A1 – A4) running from the south-west to the north-east on the western edge of the site.

External Shape: Rectangular.

Internal Shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4m east/west by 2.2m north/south. The building is divided into two rooms by a line of north/south boulders.

Internal Habitable Space: c. 8.8m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: 0.6m-1m. The walls are denuded in places.

Wall Heights: 0.7m high.

Doorway: The doorway is towards the eastern end of the southern wall. It is 0.4m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain due to the denuded state of the building.

Internal features within the building: Dividing wall.

Additional comments: A curving line of stones occurs in front of the entranceway to its south. This is clearly a windbreak and was probably built to stop draughts getting in through the doorway of House A4.

House 5 at Annagh (A5). (Figs. 42, 43, 106; Pl. 46).

General: House A5 is dug into the slope of rising ground to its west. It is located about 3m to the south east of House A1.

External Shape: Sub-rectangular. Its southern end is rounded, while its northern external face is straight sided.

Internal Shape: Sub-rectangular. The southern internal wall of the building is rounded.

Internal Dimensions: 2.5m north /south by 1.6m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 4m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: 0.58m (at N) - 0.75m (at S).

Wall Heights: The top of the house's walls are 0.9 m (at S) to 1.6m (at E) in height above the internal floor of the building, while they are 0.4m (at N) and 1.8m (at E) above external ground surface. Much of the interior of the building is below external ground level.

Doorway: The doorway seems to have been in the eastern wall, where there is a collapsed door lintel. The doorway seems to have been about 0.5m in width.

Roofing: The walls incline inwards as they ascend so there is clear evidence of corbelling.

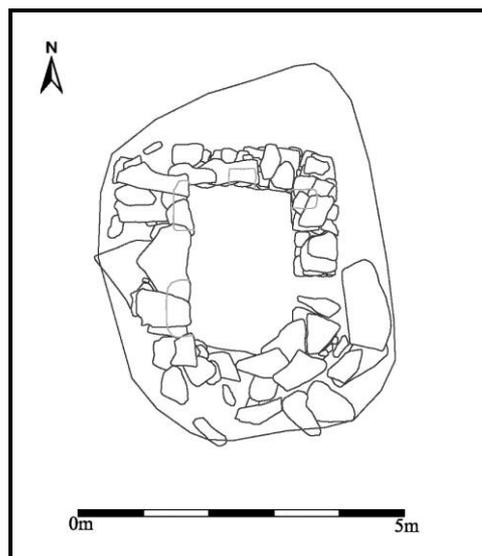


Fig. 106 – House 5 at Annagh (A5) showing square and round internal plan, with storage niches in walls indicated by light grey lines.

Internal features within the building: A small storage niche occurs in the centre of the structure's internal northern wall. It is 0.4m wide, 0.25m in height and 0.22m deep. Another niche occurs at the northern end of the eastern wall. This is 0.28m in width, 0.26m in height and 0.35m in depth. Two hollows occur at floor level on the structure's western wall which may represent large, partially collapsed alcoves. The hollow at the southern end of the western wall is 1m in width, 0.83m in height and 0.36m in depth. The other hollow is 0.72m in width, 0.61m in height and 0.25m in depth.

Additional comments: The interior of the building is filled with stones, some large, clearly collapse from the walls and corbelled roof. A lot of collapse occurs around the house. However, on its northern side, the external face of building has a sloping build of stones against it that appears to have been put there to provide further insulation to the building.



Pl. 46 – House 5 at Annagh (A5) showing square external north wall.

House 6 at Annagh (A6). (Figs. 42, 43, 107; Pl. 47).

General: House A6 is located a short distance south of House A5. Much of it has collapsed, particularly on its eastern side.

External Shape: Rectangular.

Internal Shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 3.45m east/west by 1.7m north/south.

Internal Habitable Space: 5.86m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. While the house is quite denuded and there is much collapse, the method of construction seems to have consisted of two rows of stone uprights, with the gap between filled with smaller stones.

Wall Width: Probably 0.7m in width.

Wall Heights: 0.6m (at W) – 1.1m (at SE).

Doorway: The entrance to the house lies just west of centre in the northern wall of the house. It is demarcated by two large stone slabs set at right angles to the line of the wall. The gap between these stones (i.e. the width of the doorway) is 0.45m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain due to the denuded and collapsed state of the building. However, a roof could have been supported by internal posts within the building, or it could have been supported by the tops of the wall.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: The poor state of the building may suggest that its stones were robbed out at some stage to provide stones for the building or renovation of other, better-preserved booley houses at Annagh.

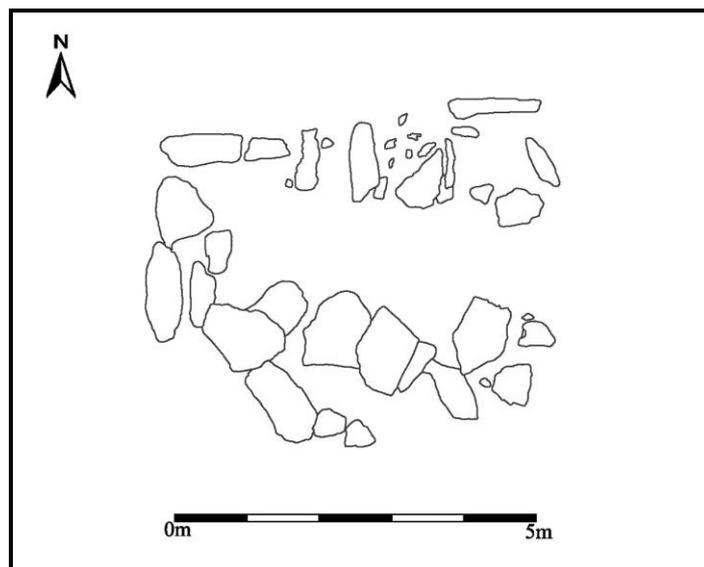


Fig. 107 – House 6 at Annagh (A6) showing a narrow northern entrance and double walling.



Pl. 47 – House 6 at Annagh (A6) with blue/white ruler marking northern entrance and ranging rod marking double walling.

House 7 at Annagh (A7). (Figs. 42, 43, 108; Pl. 48)

General: This small structure is almost subterranean as it is cut into a slope and largely concealed by overlying soil. It lies to the south-west of House 6.

External Shape: Circular.

Internal Shape: Ovoid.

Internal Dimensions: c. 1.7m east/west by 1.3m north/south.

Internal Habitable Space: 2.2m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: 0.8m.

Wall Heights: Internally the top of the roof stands a mere 0.7m above the floor level. As the roof is intact, no collapse occurs within the building. Therefore, this internal height within the building must be close to its original height. This suggests limited space within the building and people could only crawl within it. It may have been used for storage or for housing young calves or kid goats.

Doorway: The entranceway lies on the eastern side of the building. It is 0.6m in

width and currently c. 0.5m tall.

Roofing: An intact corbelled roof covers the structure. The final capstone, however, is missing.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: At first glance this virtually subterranean house seems too small to have been a domestic house. It may well have been used to store dairy produce as its underground nature would be conducive to this, as cool temperatures could be maintained. However, it is big enough to have functioned as the sleeping quarters of one average-sized adult and possibly two children. Its subterranean nature would have made excellent insulation and its interior would be virtually windproof.

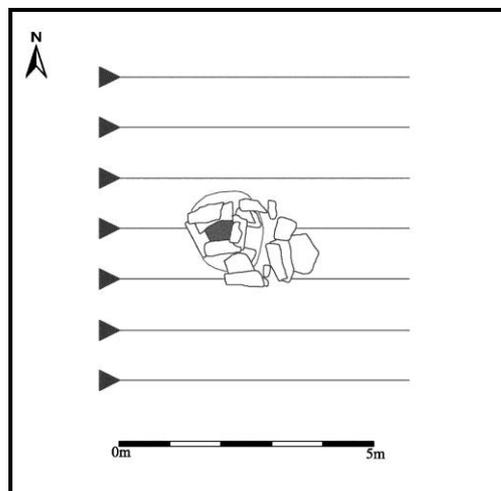


Fig. 108 – House 7 at Annagh (A7) showing corbelling and gap in domed roof.



Pl. 48 – Entrance to House 7 at Annagh (A7) and roof detail.

House 8 at Annagh (A8). (Figs. 42, 43, 109; Pl. 49)

General: This somewhat denuded house lies within a small wedge-shaped enclosure that originally measured 9.5m north-west/south-east and between 3m and 4m north-east/south-west. This enclosure is defined by a low wall that is 0.7m in width.

External Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 3.5m east/west by 2.3m north/south.

Internal Habitable Space: 8.05m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The walls of the structure consist of neat courses of flat, rounded stones.

Wall Width: 0.8m.

Wall Heights: The wall survives to a maximum height of 0.45m above the base of the interior of the house, while it is 0.55m in height above external ground level.

Doorway: Unknown due to collapse.

Roofing: The walls incline slightly inwards as they ascend on the better-preserved eastern side of the structure. This may suggest that the original roof was corbelled but this uncertain due to the denuded state of the building.

Internal features within the building: Two storage niches occur on the internal walls of the building. The first alcove is 0.5m in width, 0.5m in height and 0.4m in depth. The second alcove is 0.45m in width, 0.5m in height and 0.4m in depth.

Additional comments: It must be presumed that the location of this house within an enclosure is linked to a desire to insulate the building from the prevailing wind. Perhaps it was also used as a small stock enclosure as well. There is also some evidence for the walls of an earlier, smaller, dry-stone built structure visible within the interior of the house but excavation would be needed to acquire more information on this.

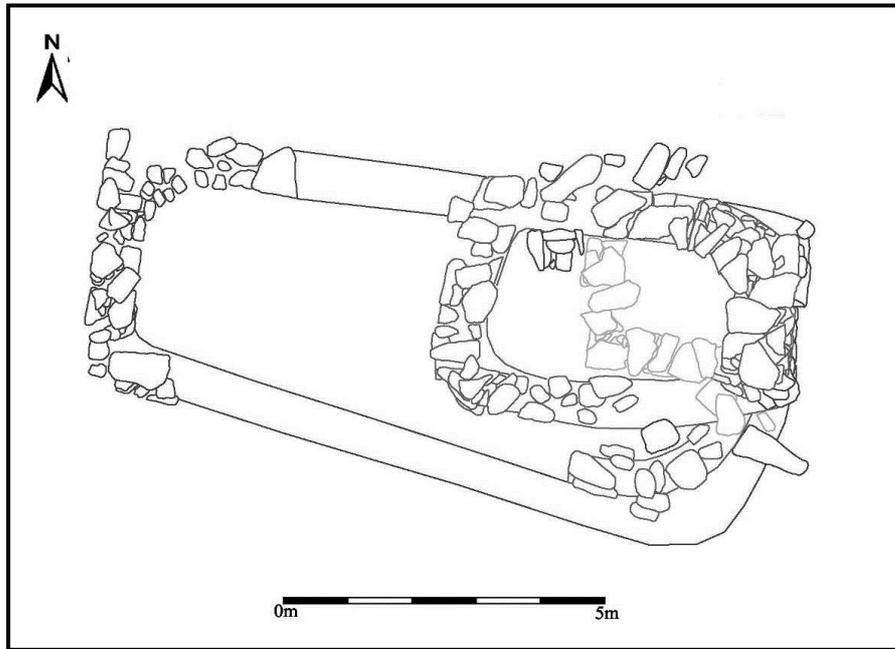


Fig. 109 – House 8 at Annagh (A8) sited within and partially overlying a wedge-shaped enclosed area and underlying walls of another structure.



Pl. 49 – House 8 at Annagh (A8) and wedge-shaped enclosure looking southeast towards O'Connor's Hill.

House 9 at Annagh (A9). (Figs. 42, 43, 110; Pl. 50).

General: House A9 is located a short distance south-east of House A8. It is a far larger building than the other structures at Annagh. It is also very well preserved.

External Shape: Sub-rectangular – while its western exterior end is straight sided, its eastern end is very definitely rounded externally.

Internal Shape: More or less rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: c.5.5m east/west by c. 2.7m north/south.

Internal Habitable Space: 14.85m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The building is constructed of neat courses of large-slab like and rectangular stones.

Wall Width: 0.75m (at W) to 1.2m (at S).

Wall Heights: The top of the house's walls are 1.35m (at S) to 1.75m (at W) in height above the internal floor of the building, while they are 1.35m (at S) and 1.9m (at W) above external ground surface.

Doorway: The doorway is located more or less centrally in the southern wall of the building. This doorway is 0.75m in width.

Roofing: There are no gables and so the weight of the roof may have been carried by the four walls of the building.

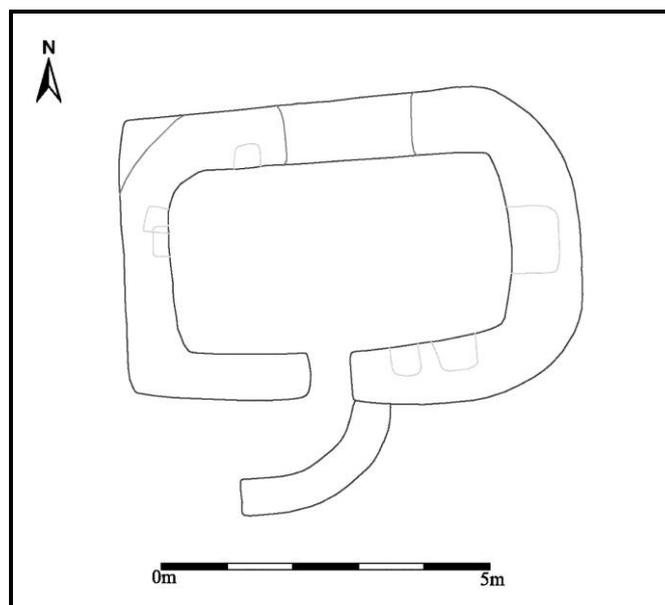


Fig. 110 – House 9 at Annagh (A9) showing rounded corners on east and square on west of building.

Six storage niches are indicated by light grey lines and wind-break is on the south.

Internal features within the building: Six storage niches can be seen within the building. Two storage niches can be seen along the length of the building's wall at floor level. The one near the south-eastern corner is 0.7m in width, 0.83m in height and 0.45m in depth. The other one is located beside the entrance. It is 0.43m in width, 0.7m in height and 0.45m in depth. One storage niche can also be seen along the building's eastern wall at floor level. It is 1m in width, 0.8m in height and 0.7m in depth. Another of these storage niches can be seen on the northern wall of the building. It is 0.4m in width, 0.19m in height and 0.35m in depth. The last two storage niches can be seen in the western wall. Here one niche is stacked above the other, separated by a stone lintel. The lower niche is 0.35m in width, 0.28m in height and 0.26m in depth. The upper one is 0.45m in width, 0.33m in height and 0.26m in depth.

Additional comments: There is evidence within the building for repairs being carried out on its walls over time. A curving wall, 2m in length, 0.4m – 1.1m in height and 0.55m in width, runs out from the southern external wall of the building in front of the doorway. This was clearly built as a windbreak to prevent draughts from getting into the interior of the house. This is by far the largest house at Annagh.



Pl. 50 – House 9 at Annagh (A9) showing doorway, external south wall and wind-break.

House 10 at Annagh (A10). (Figs. 42, 43, 111).

General: This house is located a short distance to the south-west of House A9 and only its foundations survive.

External Shape: Sub-rectangular as it has curving ends.

Internal Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 3.5m north/south by 1.95m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 6.82m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The construction method used was of double rows of upright slabs and large natural, presumably in-situ boulders, similar to the method used to build House A6 at Annagh. Presumably smaller stones would have originally filled up the gaps between the two parallel rows.

Wall Width: 0.8m - 0.9m wide.

Wall Heights: 0.4m (at W) – 0.8m (at E).

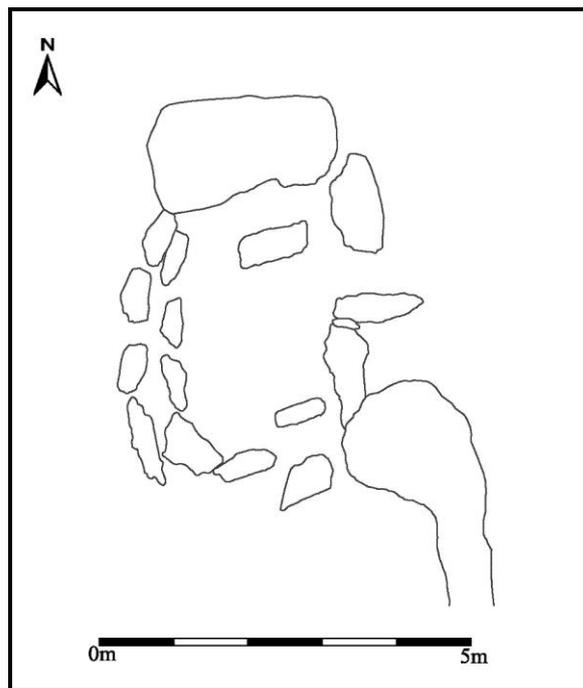


Fig. 111 – House 10 at Annagh (A10) showing double rows of stones and boulders.

Doorway: This opens out to the east and may have been about 0.45m in width. Its original height cannot be determined.

Roofing: Uncertain. However, there is no evidence for gables and so the weight of the roof may have been carried by the four walls of the building.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: The denuded state of this building may be because its stones were robbed out to build or repair other buildings at Annagh.

House 11 at Annagh (A11). (Figs. 42, 43, 112; Pls. 51, 52)

General: This well preserved house is located on the southern edge of the site at Annagh.

External Shape: Ovoid.

Internal Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 2.95m east/west by 1.97m north/south.

Internal Habitable Space: 5.81m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The walls of this house mostly consist of neat flat, slab-like stones with some large upright stones within it.

Wall Width: 0.8m (at E) – 1.5m.

Wall Heights: It is 1.5m – 1.86m in height from the original floor to the uppermost corbel. The top of the building is up to 1.6m in height above external ground level.

Doorway: This occurs on the eastern side of the building. This doorway is 0.5m wide at its base to 0.38m wide at its top. This entrance is covered by a large lintel. The original height of the doorway is 1.1m.



Pl. 51 – House 11 at Annagh (A11) showing north wall and large boulders on west. Notice difference in height between outside ground surface and walls of building.

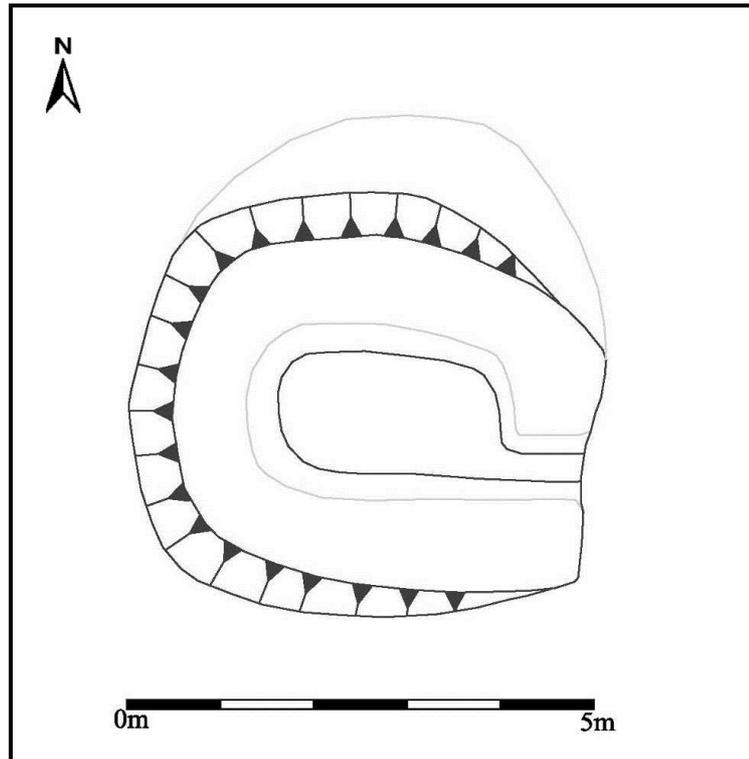


Fig. 112 – House 11 at Annagh (A11) – a corbelled house.

Roofing: Much of the corbelled roof of this house survives. However, little collapse occurs in the interior. This may be because the corbelled roof never fully covered the interior and was capped by a small sods and heather roof.

Internal features within the building: A total of seven storage niches were built into the internal walls of the buildings. The first is located above the door lintel on the eastern wall. It is 0.28m in width, 0.4m in height and 0.2m deep. Another niche is located at floor level in the southern wall. This is 0.69m in width, 0.37m in height and 0.88m in depth. Another alcove occurs in this wall just to the left of and above this one. It is 0.86m in width, 0.38m in height and 0.53m in depth. Three more niches are located at the western end of the northern wall. The westernmost is 0.51m in width, 0.25m in height and 0.36m in depth. The second alcove in this group is located at floor level. It is 0.75m in width, 0.55m in height and 0.75m in depth. The third niche is located above this last one. It is 0.29m in width, 0.24m in height and 0.5m in depth. The final niche in the building occurs at the very eastern end of this northern wall. It is 0.43m in width, 0.37m in height and 0.44m in depth.

Additional comments: There is a dense build-up of stone on the northern external face of the structure's northern wall, which is 1.2m wide and 0.5m high. This may be

to give added insulation to the building on this side. There has been little collapse within the interior of the building and it is clear that its original floor consisted of large stone slabs slightly sloping to the doorway. This is similar to the excavated floor in House A2 (see 6.0).



Pl. 52 – House 11 at Annagh (A11) showing roof opening.

House 12 at Annagh (A12). (Figs. 42, 43, 113; Pls. 53, 54).

General: This well preserved house, which is built into a slope, is sited some 50m to the south-east of the main settlement at Annagh. Much of the structure is covered by a considerable build-up of peat, which is topped by heather, which made the analysis of it quite difficult.

External Shape: Ovoid.

Internal Shape: Ovoid.

Internal Dimensions: 2.1m south-west/north-east by 1.55m north-west/south-east.

Internal Habitable Space: 3.26m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The lower walls of the building consist of large stones forming the lowermost course, with thin slabs forming the remainder of the wall.

Wall Width: 0.5m-0.7m.

Wall Heights: The highest point of the corbelled roof is 1.25m in height above what appears to be the original floor level of the house.

Doorway: The doorway opens out to the north-east. It appears to have been originally 0.4m in width. Only the base of the doorway is intact today.

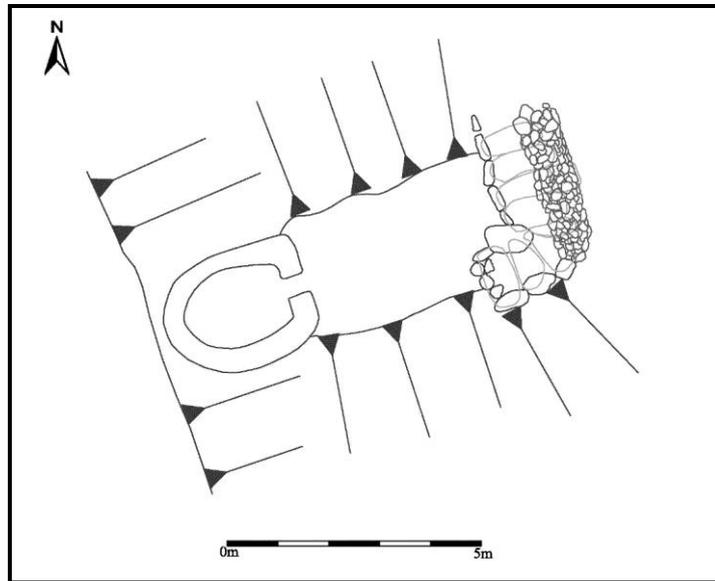


Fig. 113 – House 12 at Annagh (A12) showing house and above-ground tunnel.

Roofing: The roof is corbelled essentially intact and consists of several overlapping stone slabs.

Internal features within the building: An upright stone slab cuts off the south-eastern corner from the rest of the interior. It may represent the remains of a storage feature.



Pl. 53 – House 12 at Annagh (A12) showing entrance doorway and north wall of house.



Pl. 54 – House 12 at Annagh (A12) showing entrance to above-ground tunnel.

Additional comments: A flat stony area that measures 4m south-west/north-east by 2.5m north-west/south-east opens out to the north-east of the entranceway. This may be a deliberately flattened area. A curious feature exists on the north-eastern end of this platform. This is essentially an above-ground, dry-stone built, now peat-covered, sloping roofed tunnel. This tunnel is entered at the north-west and runs 2.35m northwest/southeast before turning 90 degrees and running for a further 1 – 4m. The tunnel is 0.8m in width and is between 0.55m and 0.85m in height. It is probable that this tunnel represents a storage area for dairy products, as its interior would have remained cool in summer.

Bolinglanna (Bol1 – Bol11)

Site Name:	<i>Bótog na Muice</i> (Bol)
Townland:	Bolinglanna
Database No:	Bol1–Bol11
NGR:	76693, 296632
SMR Number:	MA065-001



In Bolinglanna townland on the Corraun Peninsula, in a valley surrounded by several mountains, there are two groups of booley houses, seven and four, totalling eleven, sited along and close to the Fiddaunnatramore stream at a height of 196m above sea level (Fig. 47). Six of the huts are built into a low knoll with a seventh facing the main group. Four other huts are located east of this in a damp meadow close to the Fiddaunnatramore stream. Two upright boulders are located to the north and south of the site and may be scratching stones for cattle. This booley site is locally known as *Bótog na Muice* ('Houses of the Pigs').

To summarise, this site is in an ideal location for the practice of transhumance; a sheltered location, nearby source of water, excellent grazing and good views all round. The houses at the settlement will be now described.

House 1 at Bolinglanna (Bol1). (Figs. 47, 48; Pls. 55)

General: House 1 (Bol1) is the northernmost house in the Bolinglanna complex. Its western side is built into the eastern side of a low knoll or glacial hummock. It lies to the west of the left bank of Fiddaunnatramore stream.

External shape: The external shape appears to be sub-rectangular. Its western ends are curved externally.

Internal shape: This house has a curved internal plan.

Internal Dimensions: It measures 5m east/west by 2.6m north/south.

Internal Habitable Space: 13m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The house was constructed in dry-stone fashion of un-coursed large and small stone slabs, including some large boulders.

Wall Width: The walls are c. 0.9m (at N) and 0.89m (at W). The east wall has gone.

Wall Height: The maximum height of the surviving walls is 0.35m.

Doorway: The entrance appears to have been on the east but no measurements are possible as most of the wall has been destroyed.

Roofing: Uncertain. The house does not appear to have had gables.

Internal features within the building: (Pl. 55). The interior is filled with collapsed masonry.

Additional comments: This house may have had an annexe but the collapsed nature of the remains makes it difficult to be certain.



Pl. 55 – House 1 at Bolinglanna (Bol1) looking south-east

House 2 at Bolinglanna (Bol2). (Figs. 47, 113).

General: House 2 (Bol2) lies just to the south of House 1 (Bol1). Its western side is built into the eastern side of a low knoll or glacial hummock. It lies to the west of the left bank of Fiddaunnatramore stream.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.3m east/west by 2m north/south.

Internal Habitable Space: 8.6m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The walls are built of a mixture of large angular stones and small flat stones and do not form proper courses.

Wall Width: c. 1m.

Wall Height: 0.2m (at E) – 0.85m.

Doorway: The doorway was located in the southern wall of the house, where there is a 2m wide gap today. It is uncertain what the original width of the entranceway was when in use.

Roofing: Uncertain. The house does not appear to have had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: An ovoid annexe appears to occur to the west of the house. It has 1.8m-wide opposing entranceways in its northern and southern sides. The internal measurements of this structure are about 2.2m east/west and 2.8m north/south. The wall of the annexe is 0.8m in width.

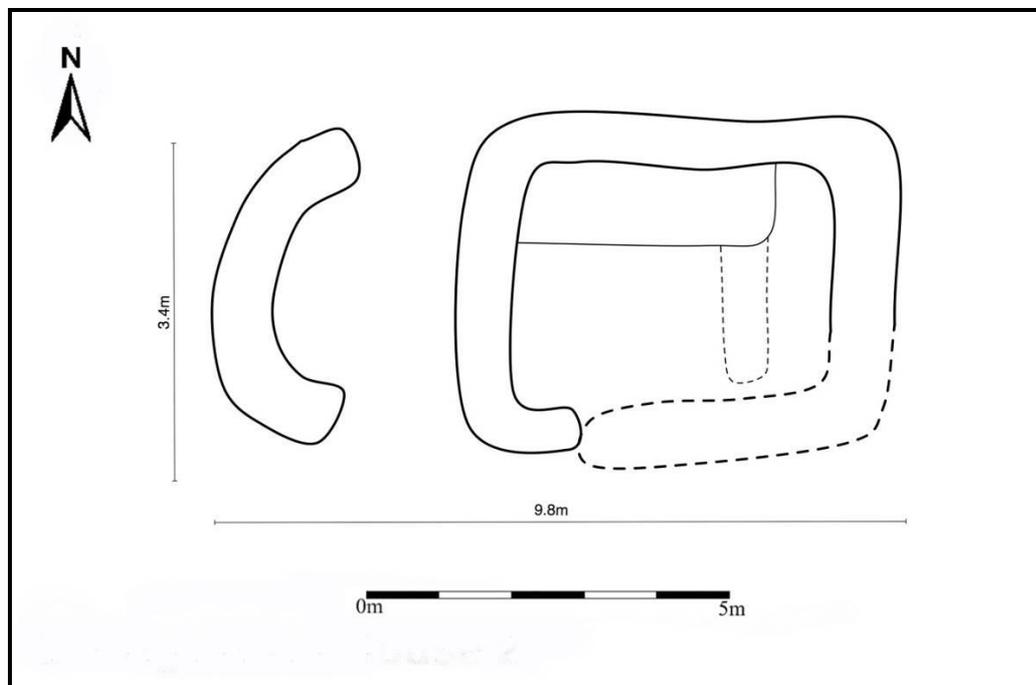


Fig. 114 – House 2 at Bolinglanna (Bol2) showing rectangular and curved internal plan and annexe with opposed doorways.

House 3 at Bolinglanna (Bol3). (Figs. 47, 114; Pl. 56)

General: House 3 (Bol3) lies just to the south of House 2 (Bol2). Its western side is built into the eastern side of a low knoll or glacial hummock. It lies to the west of the left bank of Fiddaunnatramore stream.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 2.75m east/west by 2.2m north /south.

Internal Habitable Space: 6.05m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. Bol3 is constructed of large boulders with a large slab-like stone lying prostrate on the floor of the house (Pl. 56). A number of large back-stones and a cluster of smaller boulders make up the rest of the structure. The walls that comprise this house consist of a confused array of large boulders to form a rectangular building. The eastern side is defined by a wide double row of large angular boulders, loosely stacked and two or three metres tall. The southern side is almost completely gone and the western side is defined by a vertical cut with a few large stones to the south.

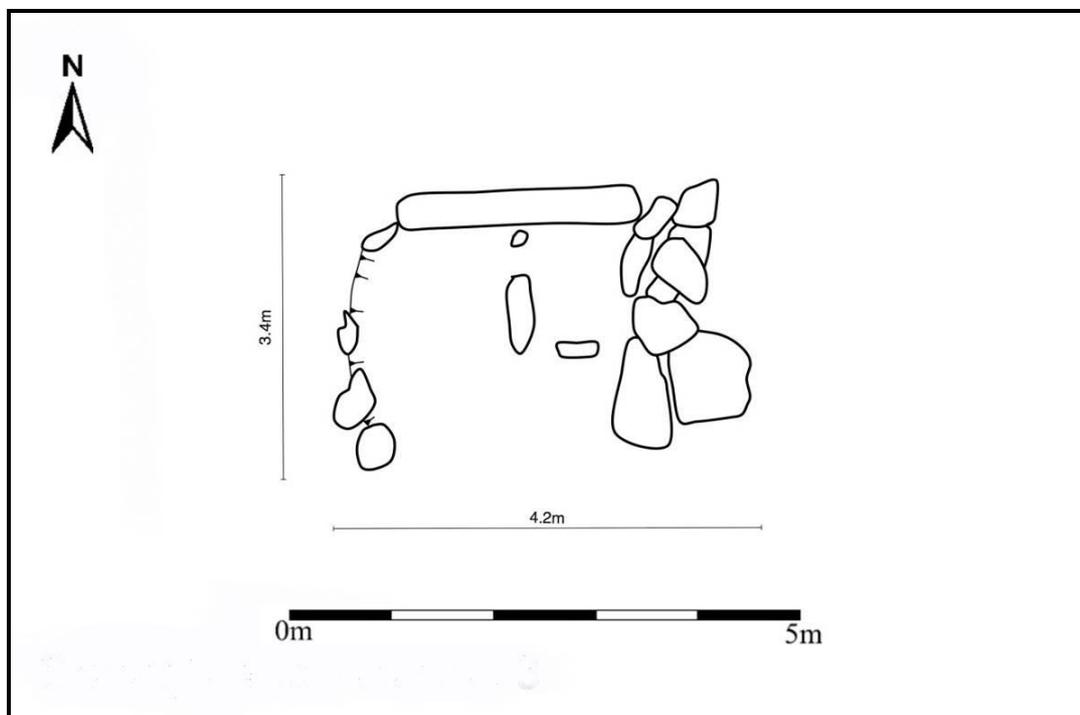


Fig. 115 – House 3 at Bolinglanna (Bol3).

Wall Width: c. 1m – 1.4m.

Wall Height: Maximum wall height is c. 0.2m – 0.6m.

Doorway: A doorway set in the eastern end of the south wall has a width of c. 1m.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: The large prostrate stone is the main feature within this building.

Additional comments: None.



Pl. 56 – House 3 at Bolinglanna (Bol3) showing the large-slab like stone lying in the interior of the building.

House 4 at Bolinglanna (Bol4). (Figs. 47, 115; Pl. 57).

General: House 4 (Bol4) lies just to the south of House 3 (Bol3). Its western side is built into the eastern side of a low knoll or glacial hummock. It lies to the west of the left bank of Fiddaunnatramore stream.

External shape: Rectangular with a rounded south-western corner.

Internal shape: Rectangular (but slightly curved on the west).

Internal Dimensions: 3.25m east/west by 2m north/south.

Internal Habitable Space: 6.5m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The northern wall is comprised of

rectangular blocky stones and is roughly coursed on a base of large rectangular stones. The west wall has one single very large triangular boulder which is incorporated into the wall (Pl. 57). The southern wall is degraded and may not be continuous. The eastern inner wall is made up of large rectangular slabs. The outer wall has three large sub-rectangular stones that are fronted by a row of smaller blocky stones.

Wall Width: c.1.15m.

Wall Height: 0.95m.

Doorway: Uncertain due to collapse. However, the doorway may have been at the eastern end of the southern wall.

Roofing: There is evidence for corbelling on the north-eastern corner of the building's interior.

Internal features within the building: There is some collapse within the interior of the building.

Additional comments: There is a possible wind-break to the east and the south-east of the building.

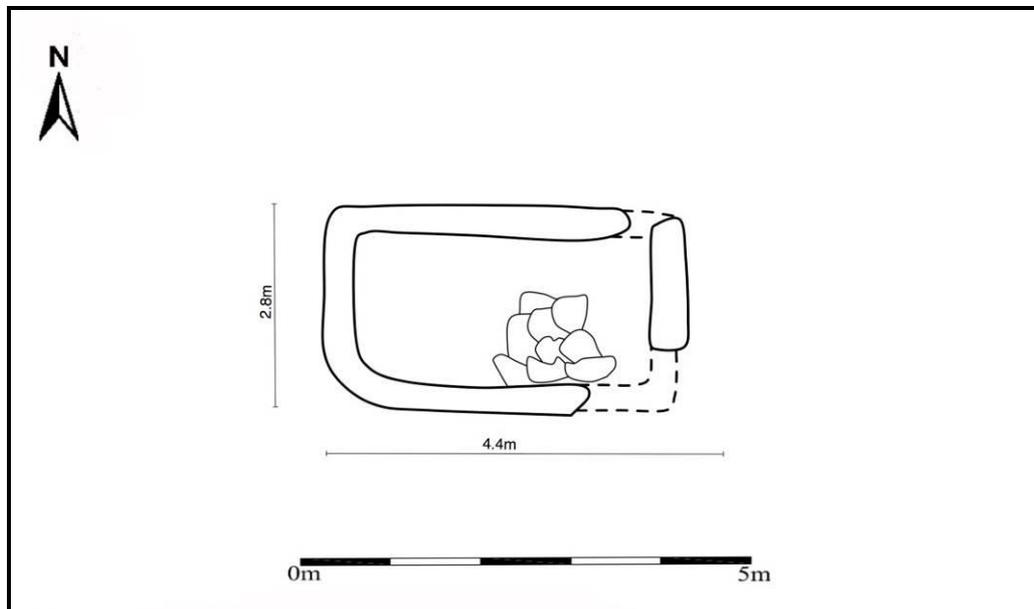


Fig. 116 – House 4 at Bolinglanna (Bol4) showing curved and straight walls.



Pl. 57 – House 4 at Bolinglanna (Bol4) showing a large boulder in corner and rough coursing in wall.

House 5 at Bolinglanna (Bol5). (Figs. 47, 87; Pl. 58).

General: House 5 (Bol5) lies just to the south of House 4 (Bol4). Its western side is built into the eastern side of a low knoll or glacial hummock. It lies to the west of the left bank of Fiddaunnatramore stream.

External shape: Rectangular (but with rounded corners).

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 3m by 1.6m.

Internal Habitable Space: 4.8m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The walls are constructed with very rough coursing using a wide variety of different stones, including large stones. The north-eastern wall in particular features very large blocky stones in the lower course whereas the other walls are relatively nondescript.



Pl. 58 – House 5 (Bol5) – looking north-west showing storage niche in corner.

Wall Width: 0.8m – 1m.

Wall Height: 0.84m to 1.1m.

Doorway: A doorway may have been set in the south-east end wall but collapsed stone makes it difficult to be certain.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: A storage niche can be seen at the north-western end of the south-western wall (Pl. 58).

Additional comments: What appears to be an annexe occurs to the north-west of the house. This annexe had internal measurements of 2m north-west/south-east by 1.6m south-west/north east. Its walls are *c.* 0.73m wide and stand to a height of 0.6m. Again, as elsewhere, two openings, *c.* 1.2m in width, can be seen opposing one another on its north-eastern and south-western sides.

House 6 at Bolinglanna (Bol6). (Figs. 47, 86; Pl. 59).

General: House 6 (Bol6) lies just to the south of House 5 (Bol5). Its western side is built into the eastern side of a low knoll or glacial hummock. It lies to the west of the left bank of Fiddaunnatramore stream.

External shape: Sub-rectangular (with a rounded end at west).

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 2m east/west by 1.65m north/south.²

Internal Habitable Space: 3.3m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The western wall consists of a large boulder with a number of stones stacked on top of it. The corners of this wall curve onto the adjoining walls. The north wall consists of small stones roughly coursed with larger stones visible at the western corner. The eastern wall is low and consists of only one course of stones. The southern wall is covered by moss and rises from east to west. There are traces of another wall outside the house close to the south eastern corner (Pl. 59).

Wall Width: 0.5m – 0.75m.

Wall Height: 0.92m.

Doorway: There is a narrow entrance in the north wall that measures 0.5m in width.

Roofing: There is some evidence for corbelling.

Internal features within the building: The interior consists of fallen masonry.

Additional comments: None.



Pl. 59 – House 6 (Bol6) showing remaining walls.

House 7 at Bolinglanna (Bol.7). (Figs. 47, 116; Pl. 60).

General: House 7 (Bol7) lies just to the south of Houses 1 – 6 (Bol1 – 6), to the west of the left bank of the Fiddaunnatramore stream.

External shape: Square but with rounded corners.

Internal shape: Square but with rounded corners.

Internal Dimensions: 1.78m east/west by 1.74m north/south.

Internal Habitable Space: 3.09m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. Relatively large stones were used in the construction of this house and there is a large upright boulder standing in the north-east corner (Pl. 60). Large stones were used in the walls. The walls lean outwards and consist of roughly coursed stonework. The eastern wall has an upright stone at its centre with stonework piled on top. The southern wall leans noticeably outward and contains two upright stones at its west end near the doorway.

Wall Width: This ranges between 0.51m – 0.72m.

Wall Height: 1m.

Doorway: The western wall has a gap that appears to be the doorway. The doorway faces west and measures 0.95m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for corbelling within the building.

Internal features within the building: The interior is filled with fallen masonry.

Additional comments: Two large aligned boulders to the south and north appear to demarcate the six houses set into and along the mound from this house. They may be scratching stones for cattle, or for some other unknown purpose.

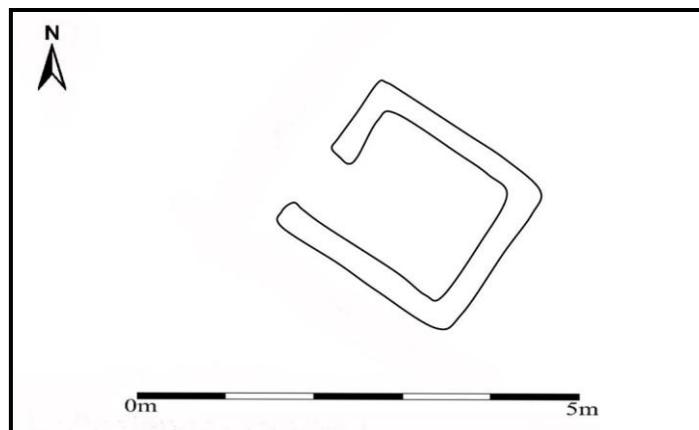


Fig. 117 – House 7 at Bolinglanna (Bol7).



Pl. 60 – House 7 (Bol7) showing east wall courses and large stone slab in north-west corner.

House 8 at Bolinglanna (Bol8). (Fig. 47; Pl. 61).

General: House 8 (Bol8) is the easternmost house in the southern cluster of houses at Bolinglanna. It occurs just to the south of the right bank of the Fiddaunnatramore stream and lies in marshy ground. This house is in poor condition.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular with curved internal corners.

Internal Dimensions: 2.6m north/south by 2.05m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 5.33m².



Pl. 61 – House 8 at Bolinglanna (Bol8) showing the partition wall and fallen masonry within the house.

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built, with some coursing in the lower courses.

Wall Width: 1.2m – 1.3m.

Wall Height: The walls are between 0.2m to 0.4m in height.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its location.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: The house is divided into two rooms by a stone wall midway along the north-south axis of the house (Pl.61).

Additional comments: None.

House 9 at Bolinglanna (Bol9). (Fig. 47; Pl. 62).

General: House 9 (Bol9) is one of a group of four houses that make up the southern cluster of houses at Bolinglanna. It lies just to the south of the right bank of the Fiddaunnatramore stream in marshy ground. This house is poorly preserved.

External shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal shape: Square.

Internal Dimensions: 1.95m north/south by 2m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 3.9m².



Pl. 62 – House 9 (Bol9) showing the collapsed nature of the remains.

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. Possible elements of double walling can be seen on the west wall.

Wall Width: 0.6m.

Wall Height: 0.2m to 0.3m.

Doorway: It was not possible to trace the doorway owing to the collapsed nature of the house (Pl. 62).

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: The interior is filled with rubble.

Additional comments: None.

House 10 at Bolinglanna (Bol10). (Fig. 47; Pl. 63)

General: House 10 (Bol10) is one of a group of four houses that make up the southern cluster of houses at Bolinglanna. It lies just to the south of the right bank of the Fiddaunnatramore stream in marshy ground. This house is poorly preserved.

External shape: Square.

Internal shape: Square.



Pl. 63 – Bolinglanna (Bol10) showing its location close to the stream.

Internal Dimensions: 2.25m north/south by 2.3m east/west. Internal measurements are approximate only.

Internal Habitable Space: 5.18m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone, un-coursed rubble

Wall Width: 0.6m – 0.7m.

Wall Height: 0.2m to 0.3m.

Doorway: Uncertain.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: The interior is filled with rubble.

Additional comments: None.

House 11 at Bolinglanna (Bol.11). (Fig. 47).

General: House 11 (Bol11) is one of a group of four houses that make up the southern cluster of houses at Bolinglanna. It lies just to the south of the right bank of the Fiddaunnatramore stream in marshy ground. This house is poorly preserved.

External shape: Ovoid/sub-rectangular?

Internal shape: Square.

Internal Dimensions: 2m north/south by 2m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 4m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built of un-coursed rubble.

Wall Width: c. 1m.

Wall Height: 0.2 to 0.3m.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its location.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: The interior is filled with rubble.

Additional comments: None.

Bunowna (Bun1 – Bun18)

Site Name:	Bunowna
Townland:	Keel West
Database No:	Bun1 – 18
NGR:	54257, 305511
SMR Number:	MA041/16/6



The settlement at Bunowna booley village in Keel West townland on Achill Island is located in a coastal valley on the north-western coast of Achill Island at a height of between 90m and 140m above sea level. The settlement consists of the remains of eighteen small dry-stone built masonry houses and a large square-shaped walled enclosure (Fig. 45). The site is marked as a ‘Boley Village’ on the 1838 Six-Inch Ordnance Survey map 41 (see Fig. 39).

The settlement is situated on the east and west banks of the Bunowna River that has cut a ravine that has resulted in a steep descent from the high point overlooking the valley, continuing northwards as a small stream with deep pools until it discharges itself into the sea. In the distance can be seen Blackrock Lighthouse and to the north-east the islands of Duvilaun and the Inishkeas.

Surrounding the valley is a raised earthen, stone-revetted bank some one metre in height and *c.* 0.75m wide that extends northwards into the valley at Bunowna from an inlet at Oochnagertleen at an elevation of *c.* 150m OD on the northwest slopes of Croaghaun Mountain (Pl. 20). Upon its descent into the valley, the field bank forks to the west, crossing the Bunowna River and heading upslope to Oochnasauna at an elevation of 258m OD. It then turns south along the top of the Benmore cliffs where it continues into Keem Bay to meet a second raised bank close to Moyteoge Head. At a point overlooking Keem Bay, the bank peters out and appears to turn into a path. It seems to have enclosed a huge area (*c.* 500 hectares).

The booley houses at Bunowna are grouped into two main clusters with a pair of outliers sited on the eastern side of the stream and south of the Pound/Enclosure. This enclosure has internal measurements of 12.7m east/west by 10.36m north/south. It is defined by a dry-stone wall, which is about 1.15m – 1.9m in width and it survives to a height of 1.2m. There is no evidence for cultivation within it.

The southern cluster of houses consists of seven buildings that are, as noted, located within a steep ravine cut by the Bunowna River. Houses Bun1 to Bun6 are located on the eastern side of the ravine with House Bun7 located to the west of the stream where it forks to the west. Shelter and proximity to running water seems to have been the main criteria in locating the huts at this location. The northern cluster consists of nine buildings (Bun8 – Bun16). This group is located in a more open area beyond the end of the ravine but all follow the course of the stream (Pl. 19). Two outlying houses (Bun17 and Bun18) are located further north and well away from the stream in the shelter offered by a large outcrop of bedrock. The houses at Bunowna will now be described in turn.

House 1 at Bunowna (Bun1). (Figs. 39, 45, 46; Pls. 18, 19, 64).

General: This is the southernmost building in the settlement at Bunowna. It is built into the eastern side of the ravine above the Bunowna River.

External Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.2m north/south by 2.2m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 9.24m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The lower part of the structure's walls consist of roughly-coursed larger stones while the upper parts use much smaller stones.

Wall Width: 0.75m in width.

Wall Heights: The walls are up to 1.2 in height above external ground surface and survive up to 1.14m above the interior of the building.

Doorway: The original door is located towards the southern end of the western wall. It is 0.6m in width.

Roofing: Corbelled or partly corbelled originally. There is evidence of corbelling on the building's north-eastern and south-eastern corners.

Internal features within the building: A single storage niche can be seen built at floor level into the north-eastern corner of the building. It is 0.6m in width, 0.6m in height and 0.7m in depth.

Additional comments: There is a spread of large stones immediately west of the entrance, which may be the remains of a wall used as a windbreak to prevent draughts getting into the interior of the building. There is a slight slope from north to south within the interior of the building. There is a possible east/west running wall in the centre of the building's interior, which may have divided it into two. However, this is not clear.



Pl. 64 – House 1 at Bunowna (Bun1) showing position of doorway.

House 2 at Bunowna (Bun2). (Fig. 45; Pl. 65).

General: This structure is located just to the north of House 1 at Bunowna (Bun1) and so lies on the southern side of the settlement at Bunowna. It is built into the eastern side of the ravine above the Bunowna River.

External Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 2.7m north/south by 2.3m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 6.2m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The walls consist of roughly-coursed stonework.

Wall Width: 0.9m.

Wall Heights: The walls survive to a height of 1.3m above external ground level and 0.9m above the interior of the building.

Doorway: The doorway occurs at the southern end of the west wall. There is much collapse here but it is possible that the doorway was originally 0.75m wide.

Roofing: Corbelled or partly-corbelled. There is clear evidence of corbelling on the north-eastern corner of the building.

Internal features within the building: Two small storage niches can be seen in the northern wall of the structure. Another storage niche can be seen in the south-eastern corner of the building. It is 0.5m in width, 0.37m in height and 0.6m in depth.

Additional comments: None.



Pl. 65 – House 2 at Bunowna (Bun2) showing wall height on the west and probable doorway.

House 3 at Bunowna (Bun3). (Fig. 45).

General: This poorly-preserved structure is located just to the north of House 2 at Bunowna (Bun2) and so lies on the southern side of the settlement at Bunowna. It is built into the eastern side of the ravine above the Bunowna River.

External Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.12m north/south by 1.84m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 7.58m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The structure is built of roughly coursed stonework.

Wall Width: 0.7m.

Wall Heights: 0.10m to 1.3m (at NE).

Doorway: There are no visible surface remains of this feature due to the poorly-preserved nature of most of the remains of this house. Nevertheless, it is likely that the doorway was located somewhere along the western wall of the house.

Roofing: Uncertain. However, the house never had gables so the weight of the roof must have been carried by the walls of the building.

Internal features within the building: None visible but not surprising given the poorly-preserved state of the building.

Additional comments: None.

House 4 at Bunowna (Bun4). (Fig. 45; Pl. 66).

General: This structure lies just to the north west of House 3 (Bun3) and so lies on the southern side of the settlement at Bunowna. It is built into the eastern side of the ravine above the Bunowna River.

External Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 3.23m north/south by 1.5m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 4.84m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. Where preserved, the building consists of well-constructed, coursed stone.

Wall Width: 0.7m.

Wall Heights: 0.2m (at SW) – 1.15m.

Doorway: A doorway is located at the southern end of the western wall. It is 0.33m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain. The house never had gables and it is possible that the weight of the roof was carried by the walls of the house.

Internal features within the building: A single storage niche is built into the centre of the structure's southern wall. This niche is 0.39m in width, 0.3m in height and 0.4m in depth.

Additional comments: Much of the southern end of the structure's western wall has collapsed and has been robbed out.



Pl. 66 – House 4 at Bunowna (Bun4) showing well-preserved east wall.

House 5 at Bunowna (Bun5). (Fig. 45; Pls. 67, 68).

General: This building is located about 13m to the north-west of House 4 (Bun4) and so still lies on the southern side of the settlement at Bunowna. It is conjoined with House 6 (Bun6) to its north west, with which it shares a wall. It is built into the eastern side of the ravine above the Bunowna River.

External Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 3.8m north-west/south-east by 1.56m north east/south-west.

Internal Habitable Space: 5.92m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The walls consist of neat courses of stone.

Wall Width: 0.8m.

Wall Heights: 0.2m – 1.2m (at the NE and N).

Doorway: A doorway occurs along the south-western wall of the building. It is 0.7m in width.



Pl. 67 – House 5 at Bunowna (Bun5) showing well-preserved north east wall and entrance on the south-west.

Roofing: Uncertain due to collapse. The house never had gables and it is possible that the weight of the roof was carried by the walls of the house.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: As noted, the north-western wall of this house is shared with House 6 (Bun6).

House 6 at Bunowna (Bun6). (Fig. 45; Pl. 68).

General: This building is conjoined with House 5 (Bun5), and shares a wall with it, and so it too lies on the southern side of the settlement at Bunowna. It is also built into the eastern side of the ravine above the Bunowna River.

External Shape: Ovoid.

Internal Shape: Ovoid.

Internal Dimensions: 2.46m north-west/south-east by 2.4m north-east/south-west.

Internal Habitable Space: 5.9m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The walls consist of roughly-coursed stonework with larger stones used at the bases of the walls and smaller stones used higher up.



Pl. 68 – House 5 and House 6 at Bunowna (Bun5 – Bun6) conjoined building showing shared connecting wall in centre.

Wall Width: 0.73m.

Wall Heights: 0.2m – 1.3m.

Doorway: The entrance is located at the southern end of the south-western wall. It is 0.94m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain. The house never had gables and it is possible that the weight of the roof was carried by the walls of the house.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 7 at Bunowna (Bun7). (Figs. 45, 117; Pl. 69).

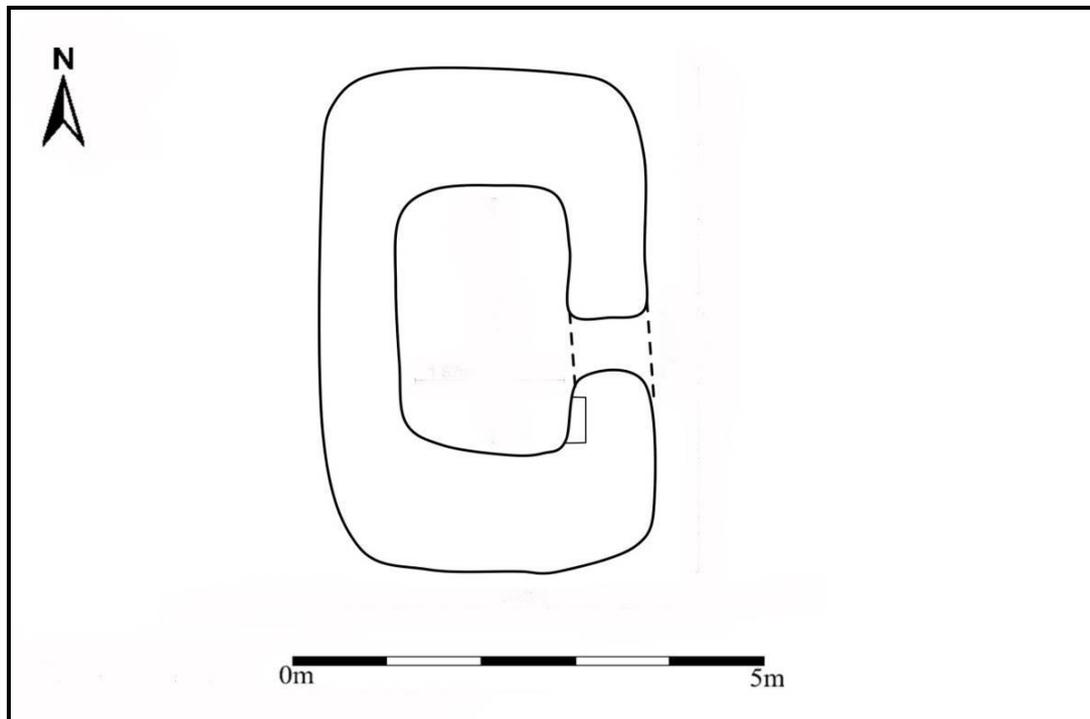


Fig. 118 – House 7 at Bunowna (Bun7) – sub-rectangular house with round internal plan and entrance on east.

General: This house is located on the southern side of the settlement of Bunowna but is located on the west side of the stream. The western side of this building is built into the slopes of the ravine above the latter stream.

External Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 2.74m north/south by 1.67m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 4.57m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The walls were built of neat horizontal courses.

Wall Width: 0.8m – 1.3m.

Wall Heights: 0.5 – 1.17m.

Doorway: The doorway occurs towards the southern end of the eastern wall. It is 0.7m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain. The house appears never to have had gables and so the weight of the roof may have been carried by the walls of the building.

Internal features within the building: There may be an internal partition running east/west across the building, dividing it into two, but this unclear. A small storage niche occurs to the south of the doorway.

Additional comments: None.



Pl. 69 – House 7 at Bunowna (Bun7) showing possible east-west partition and east-facing doorway.

House 8 at Bunowna (Bun8). (Figs. 45, 118).

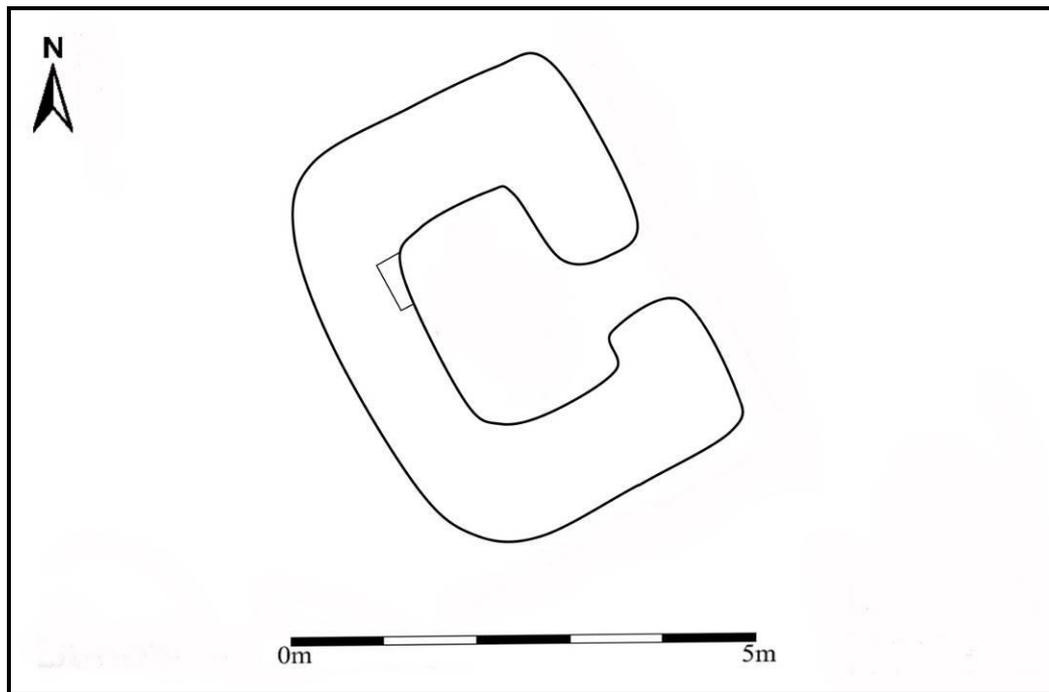


Fig. 119 – House 8 at Bunowna (Bun 8) – sub-rectangular house with square and round internal plan and storage niche.

General: This house is located in the centre of the settlement at Bunowna and is the southernmost building in the northern cluster of structures at the site. Its eastern corner is built into the last vestiges of the ravine above the right bank of the stream.

External Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 3.1m north-west/south-east by 1.8m.

Internal Habitable Space: 5.58m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: 0.9m – 1.2m.

Wall Heights: 0.5m – 1.85m.

Doorway: An entranceway to the house occurs along the north-eastern wall of the structure. It is 0.7m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: A storage niche can be seen at the northern end of the south-western wall of the structure.

Additional comments: There is what could be an artificially-flattened area to the

north-east, outside the entranceway.

House 9 at Bunowna (Bun9). (Figs. 45, 119).

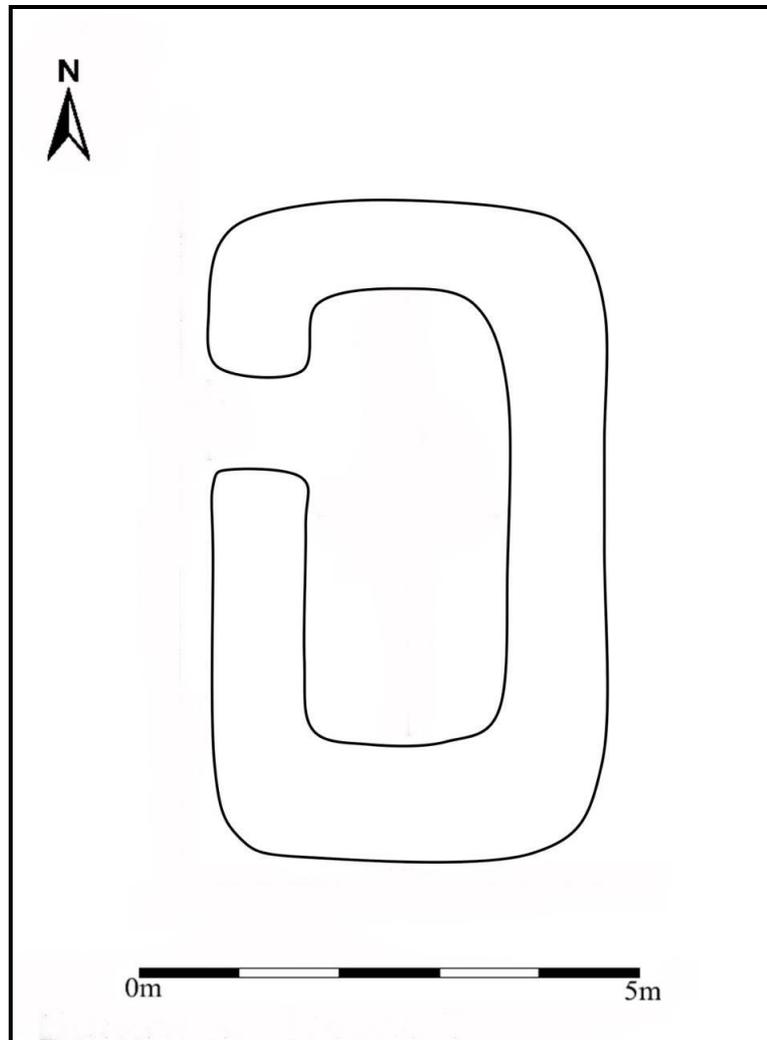


Fig. 120 – House at Bunowna (Bun 9) – sub-rectangular house.

General: This building is located about 13.5m to the northwest of House 8 (Bun8) and is located just to the north of the stream, on its right bank.

External Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.42m north/south by 2m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 8.84m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The stonework of the structure is roughly coursed.

Wall Width: 0.9m – 1.3m.

Wall Heights: 0.6m – 1.48m.

Doorway: The doorway is located at the northern end of the western wall of the building. It is 0.8m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: Four storage niches can be seen within the interior of the building. Two are located along the eastern wall of the building. Two can be seen in the northern wall.

Additional comments: None.

House 10 at Bunowna (Bun10). (Figs. 45, 85).

General: This structure is located just to the north of the stream, on its right bank, about 13m north-west of House 9 (Bun9). Parts of the eastern, northern and western walls have collapsed.

External Shape: Sub-rectangular, having curved ends.

Internal Shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.5m north-north west/south-south east by 2.2m.

Internal Habitable Space: 12m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. Where it survives, the house displays particularly well-finished neatly coursed stonework.

Wall Width: 0.9m – 1.3m.

Wall Heights: 0.4m – 1.55m.

Doorway: The doorway originally existed in the eastern wall of the structure but a 2m wide gap occurs where it once stood.

Roofing: There is some evidence for corbelling within the building.

Internal features within the building: Four storage niches are present in the building. The first is located towards the northern end of the eastern wall. It is 0.34m in width, 0.3m in height and 0.28m in depth. A second niche is located at floor level in the northern wall of the building. This is 0.57m in width, 0.28m in width and 0.4m in depth. Two niches can be seen towards the southern end of the eastern wall, one constructed above the other. The lower niche here is located at floor level and is 0.28m in width, 0.18m in height and 0.41m in depth. The niche above it is 0.46m in width, 0.4m in height and 0.3m in depth.

Additional comments: A low curving wall attached to the south-east external corner of the building may represent the remains of a windbreak that continued northwards to give additional shelter to the door.

House 11 at Bunowna (Bun11). (Figs. 45, 120, 121).

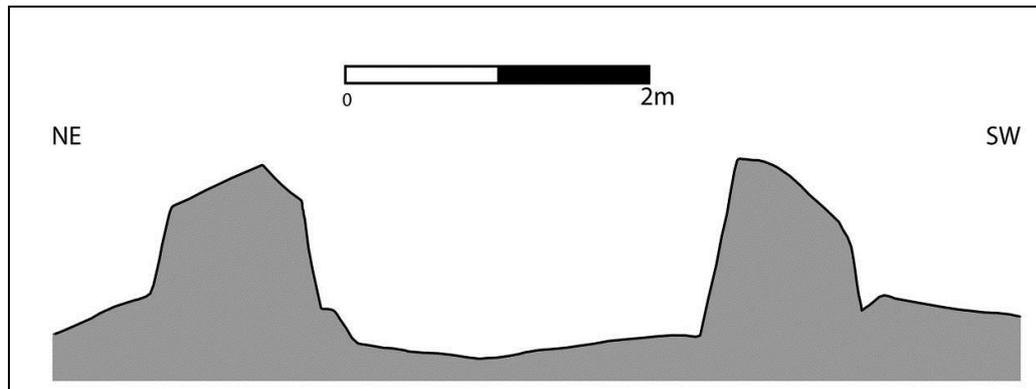


Fig. 121 – House 11 at Bunowna (Bun11) showing north/east by south/west profile.

General: This structure is located just to the north of the stream, on its right bank, about 13m north-west of House 10 (Bun10). This house is well preserved with little collapse.

External Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.7m north-west/south-east by 2.2m north-east/south west.

Internal Habitable Space: 10.3m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone constructed in neat courses.

Wall Width: 1m.

Wall Heights: The wall has a maximum height of 1.1m – 1.4m. It is clear that the internal floor area is about 0.3m below external ground level.

Doorway: There is evidence for two entranceways in the building. A 0.47m-wide entranceway which was subsequently blocked can be seen along the south-western wall of the building. Another entranceway, which is open, can be seen along the north-eastern wall. This is 0.7m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: A storage niche is located in the north-western end of the south-western wall. It is 0.32m in height, 0.32m in width and

0.33m in depth.

Additional comments: The dual entranceway feature is interesting. It may be that the entranceway along the south-western wall was blocked up to insulate the building against the prevailing wind. The entranceway along the north-eastern wall is more sheltered but also looks out directly onto the enclosure known as the Pound, where cattle were kept overnight.

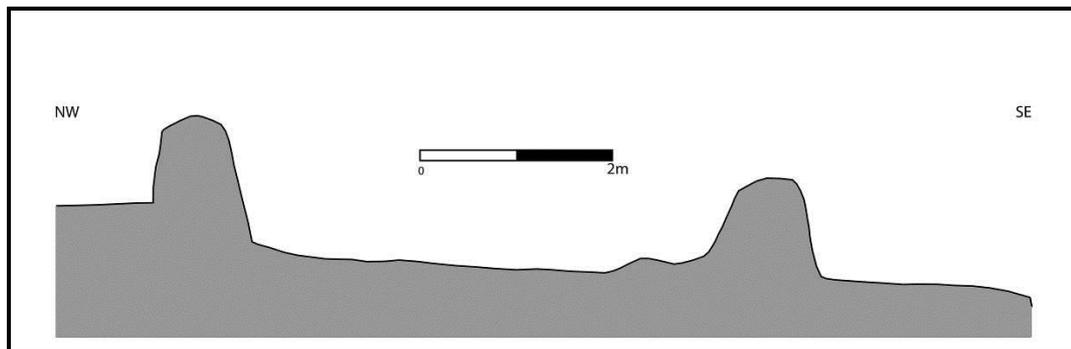


Fig. 122 – House 11 at Bunowna (Bun11) showing north west/south/east profile.

House 12 at Bunowna (Bun12). (Figs. 45, 112).

General: This structure is located just to the north of the stream, on its right bank, about 13m north-west of House 11 (Bun11). This house is well preserved with little collapse.

External Shape: Sub-rectangular, with curving ends.

Internal Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.49m north/south and 1.89m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 8.48m² but see below. The true inhabitable space is really 7.6m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The walls are built of neatly coursed stone.

Wall Width: 0.8m – 1.1m.

Wall Heights: The walls survive to a maximum external height of 1.53m.

Doorway: The doorway is located on the eastern side of the building and is 0.6m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain. The house never appears to have had gables and so the weight of the roof may have been carried by the walls of the building.

Internal features within the building: There are four storage niches in the building.

Additional comments: A wall, 0.73m in width and 1.25m in length, runs east/west across the interior of the building, dividing it into two. This means that the habitable space within the interior is 7.6m².

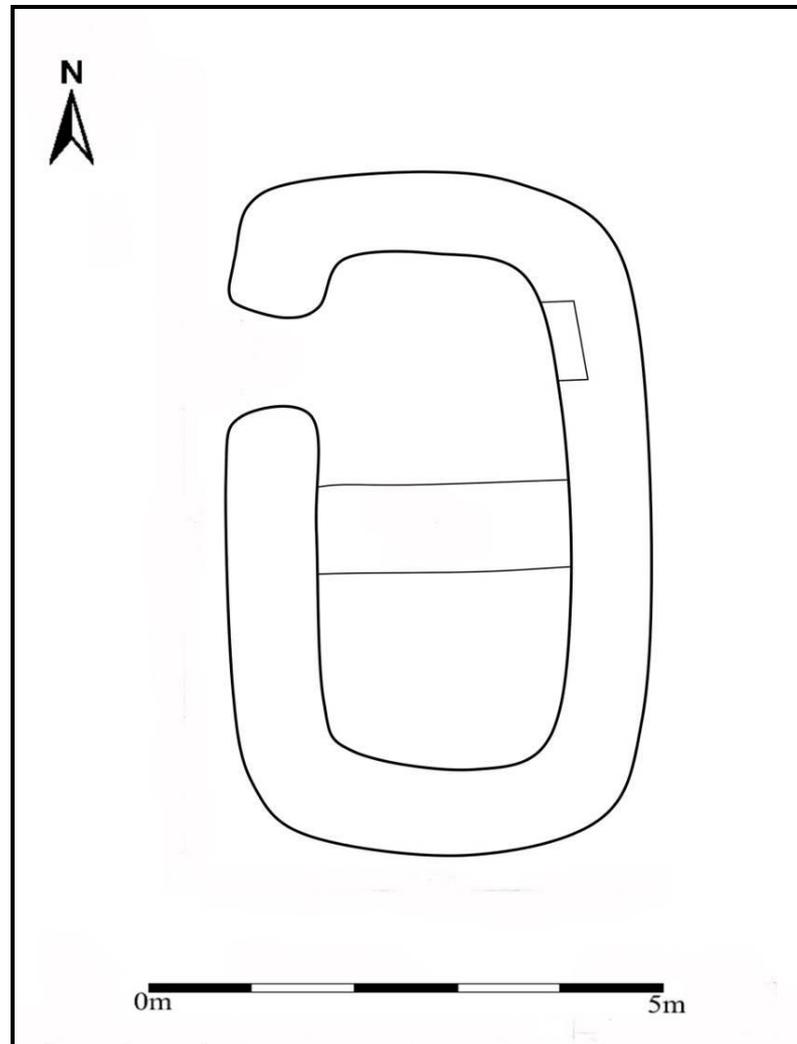


Fig. 123 – House 12 at Bunowna (Bun12) showing internal partition wall and storage niche.

House 13 at Bunowna (Bun13). (Fig. 45).

General: This building is located 25m north-west of House 12 (Bun12) but is sited on the left bank of the stream (i.e. to the west of it). Many of the structure's walls have collapsed and only the south-western wall of the building is in a state of good repair.

External Shape: Sub-rectangular, with curving ends.

Internal Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.5m north-west/south-east by 2.12m north-east/south-west.

Internal Habitable Space: 9.54m² but see below. The true inhabitable space within the building seems to be about 8m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The walls of the building are roughly coursed.

Wall Width: 0.95m – 1.1m.

Wall Heights: 0.2m – 1.2m.

Doorway: No doorway could be identified due to the poorly preserved state of the building but it probably opened out to the east or north-east.

Roofing: Uncertain due to the collapsed state of the building.

Internal features within the building: A 0.3m wide dry-stone wall divides the interior of the house into two rooms. This suggests that the real inhabitable space within the building was about 8m². Two definite storage niches are visible within the building. The first one in the south-eastern end wall is 0.57m in width, 0.4m in height and 0.27m in depth. The niche in the north-western end wall is 0.5m in width, 0.4m in height and 0.27m in depth. There is a possibility that another niche occurs underneath the latter one but this is uncertain due to the collapsed stone in this area.

Additional comments: None.

House 14 at Bunowna (Bun14). (Fig. 45).

General: Some of the building's walls have completely collapsed. The structure is the most north-westerly house in the settlement of Bunowna. It occurs beside the right bank of the stream, which lies just to its west and south.

External Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.56m north/ south by 2.12m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 9.66m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. Where surviving, the walls of the structure are built of neat horizontal courses.

Wall Width: 0.9m – 1.12m.

Wall Heights: The walls of the building survive to a maximum height of 0.82m.

Doorway: There is a 1m – wide gap in its northern wall but it is unlikely that a

doorway existed at this end and is more likely to be located in the site's long eastern and western walls, as can be seen everywhere else.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 15 at Bunowna (Bun15). (Fig. 45).

General: This structure occurs towards the northern end of the settlement at Bunowna. It is located 18m north east of House 14 (Bun14), 30m from the right bank of the stream.

External Shape: Sub-rectangular, with curving ends.

Internal Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.46m north-west/south-east by 2.1m north-east/south-west.

Internal Habitable Space: 9.36m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The walls of the structure are roughly coursed.

Wall Width: 0.9m – 1.2m.

Wall Heights: The walls are 1.1m in uniform height.

Doorway: Uncertain.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables. This may mean that the weight of the roof was carried by the walls of the building.

Internal features within the building: A possible storage niche occurs in the north-western wall.

Additional comments: None.

House 16 at Bunowna (Bun16). (Fig. 45).

General: This building is located immediately north-east of House 15 (Bun15), close to the right bank of the stream.

External Shape: Sub-rectangular, with curving ends.

Internal Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.22m north-west / south-east by 1.6m north-east/south-west.

Internal Habitable Space: 6.75m² but see below. The true space is more likely to be 5.75m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The walls consist of roughly coursed stone.

Wall Width: c. 1m.

Wall Heights: 0.7m – 1.3m.

Doorway: A doorway can be seen in the long south-western facing wall of the structure. It is 0.77m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: The building contains an internal, dry-stone built wall that is 1.6m in length and 0.6m in width. This divided the interior of the structure into two rooms. Its existence also means that the real inhabitable space within the interior is 5.75m². The house contains four storage niches. The first niche is located in the north-eastern wall at floor level. It is 0.56m in width, 0.29m in height and 0.6m in depth. Another niche is also located in this stretch of wall. This is 0.32m in width, 0.21m in height and 0.44m in depth. Two further niches are located in the south-eastern wall, one built on top of the other. The lower one, which is located at floor level, is 0.56m in width, 0.52m in height and 0.8m in depth. The upper alcove is 0.26m in width, 0.26m in height and 0.47m in depth.

Additional comments: None.

House 17 at Bunowna (Bun17). (Fig. 45; Pl. 70)

General: This is one of two outlying structures lying c. 80m to the north of the main groups of houses at Bunowna. The building is built underneath a large sloping outcrop of bedrock, which forms the eastern wall of structure. Its other walls are in quite a good state of preservation.

External Shape: Rectangular.

Internal Shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 2.9m north/south by 2.35m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 6.8m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The walls are formed of neat stone courses of large slab-like stones.

Wall Width: 0.9m – 1.2m.

Wall Heights: The walls survive to a maximum height of 1.05m.

Doorway: This is located on the southern end wall.

Roofing: A large triangular slab of natural rock covers the space over the interior of the structure and acted as its main roof.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: A curving wall emanating out from the end wall of the rock outcrop acts as a windbreak and prevent draughts from getting in to the interior of the house.



Pl. 70 – Rock-shelter at Bunowna (Bun17).

House 18 at Bunowna (Bun18). (Fig. 45).

General: Faint traces of a demolished building are located approximately 13.5m north-west of Bun17. All that survives is a curving arc of stones at ground level. This appears to be the base of a wall foundation that was several stones thick.

External Shape: Unknown.

Internal Shape: Unknown.

Internal Dimensions: It measures 3.7m from north/east to south/west and is up to 1m wide.

Internal Habitable Space: *c.*3.7m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built but see below.

Wall Width: 0.7m.

Wall Heights: Unknown.

Doorway: Unknown.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

Cuillaloughaun (C1 – C5)

Site Name:	<i>Seanteach an Fhrancaigh</i>
Townland:	Cuillaloughaun
Database No:	C1 – C5
NGR:	80357, 298269
SMR Number:	MA0 – 001



The small settlement of Cuillaloughaun, known locally as *Seanteach an Fhrancaigh* (the old house of the Frenchmen) is situated in a remote valley on the banks of the Gleananean River (*Glean an Éin*), a little over 2km south-east of the main Achill Sound to Mulranny road. There is no access road or path into the site and the terrain consists of deep bog, indented with small streams (see 5.6.1).

The settlement consists of four houses (see Fig. 51). Apart from a large Herd's house, the three booley houses are sited on or built into the bank of the Glennanean River. East of the river/stream is a scatter of stones that may have represented one or possibly two other booley houses. A large field with the remains of lazy bed cultivation ridges is situated south of the yard of House C1.

House 1 at Cuillaloughaun (C1). (Figs. 51, 52; Pl. 71).

General: This house is located north of the main cluster of four houses at Cuillaloughaun. All the evidence, such as its size and local tradition, points to this being a permanent house. It is sited on flat ground beside the right bank of the Gleananean River (see 5.6).

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: east/west by north/south.

Internal Habitable Space: 56.09m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built in neat courses.

Wall Width: 0.85m.

Wall Height: 1.6m.

Doorway: It has two opposing doorways.

Roofing: Probably thatch or slate.

Internal features within the building: This house is divided by a partition wall into two main rooms and three subsidiary smaller ones. A fireplace occurs in the larger room. A storage niche is inset into the wall of room one.



Pl. 71 – House 1 at Cuillaloughaun (C1). This is known locally as the Herd's house.

Additional comments: House 1 (C1) is locally said to have been the Herd's House and is regarded as representing the remains of a permanent house lived in by a herd working for the Marquess of Sligo (Josie Heaney, pers.comm.). It is by far the largest house in this settlement. It is a substantial building with five rooms, large windows and opposing doorways. It has a back yard that is approached by a funnel-shaped entrance passageway to the east. The yard has a raised platform on the east and west with a depression in the centre. At the north-east corner, a corbelled wall is attached to the east wall of the house. This house seemingly replaced an earlier one on the site sometime within the last twenty to thirty years (Josie Heaney, pers. comm.). The house is rectangular in shape with its long axis orientated east-west. The north façade

has one doorway to the west and two windows to the east. An opposing doorway to the rear is the only feature in the south wall. The larger room features opposed doorways, one window, a large fireplace in the east wall and a recessed cupboard/pantry at the east end of the south wall.

House 2 at Cuillaloughaun (C2). (Figs. 51, 123; Pl. 22).

General: This is the northernmost of the four houses (C2 – C5) that make up the booley settlement at Cuillaloughaun. Its western side is built into a bank above the left bank of the Gleanaean River. The Herd’s House (C1) occurs about 60m to the north.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.3m north/south by 3.42m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 14.7m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built in neat courses.

Wall Width: 0.9m to 1.02m.

Wall Height: 1.35m.

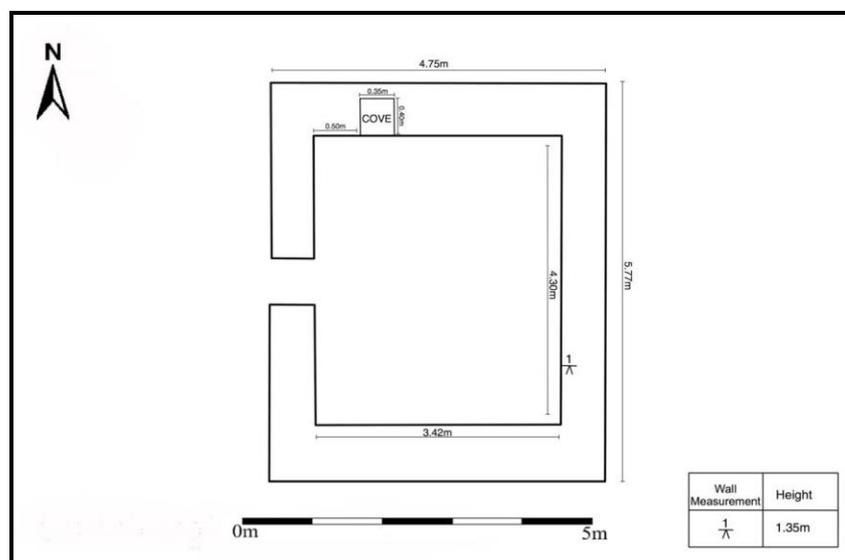


Fig. 124 – House 2 at Cuillaloughaun (C2) – This is a rectangular-shaped house with a doorway in its west wall and a storage niche in its north wall.

Doorway: The doorway is set in the centre of the west wall. It is 0.8m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never appears to have had gables.

Internal features within the building: A storage niche occurs at the western end of the northern wall of the building. It is 0.35m in width, 0.4m in depth and 0.28m in height.

Additional comments: This is a substantial, solidly built house with the walls surviving best towards the northern end of the west wall. Its end walls are straight sided and do not have rounded corners.

House 3 at Cuillaloughaun (C3). (Figs. 51, 124).

General: This three-roomed house, which is divided by two partition walls, is located to the south of House 2 (C2) and its western side is built into the bank above the right bank of the Gleanaean River.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 7.12m north/south by 4m wide east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: The internal space within the building is 28.48 m². However, the partition walls within the building reduce the habitable space to 22.24m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built in neat courses.

Wall Width: 0.6m.

Wall Height: 0.4m – 1.84m.

Doorway: Somewhere in the now collapsed eastern wall.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: A storage niche occurs towards the western end of the end wall in the southernmost room in the house. It is 0.8m in width, 0.42m in depth and 0.81m in height. Another storage niche occurs in the centre of the northern wall of the house (within the northernmost room). It is 0.35m in width, 0.46m in depth and 0.44m in height. Two beam holes in this wall (over the latter storage niche) suggest that a loft or half-loft once existed within this building.

Additional comments: As noted, two internal walls now divide the space within the building into three rooms. However, the southernmost partition wall does not appear to be an original feature, as it does not bond into the main walls of the house. This may suggest that this house was originally a two-roomed dwelling.

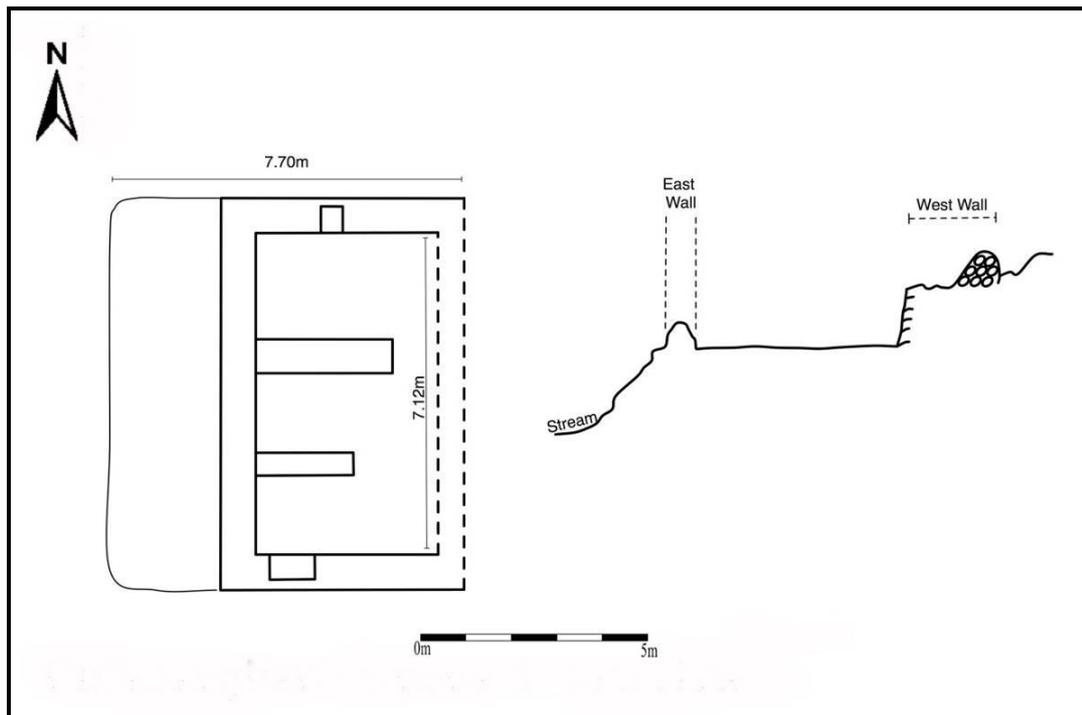


Fig. 125 – Plan and profile of the three-roomed house at Cuillaloughaun (C3).

House 4 at Cuillaloughaun (C4). (Figs. 51, 125; Pl. 72).

General: This house is located south-east of House 3 (C3). Its eastern side is built into the slope above the right bank of the Gleanaean River. Much of the western side of the house has collapsed.

External shape: Rectangular (with rounded corners).

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.12m east/west by 3.17m north/south.

Internal Habitable Space: 13m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. This house is built of coursed masonry.

Wall Width: c. 0.6m.

Wall Height: 1.29m.

Doorway: The entrance was probably situated towards the western end of the northern wall of the house but this is uncertain due to the collapsed nature of this part of the building.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never appears to have had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

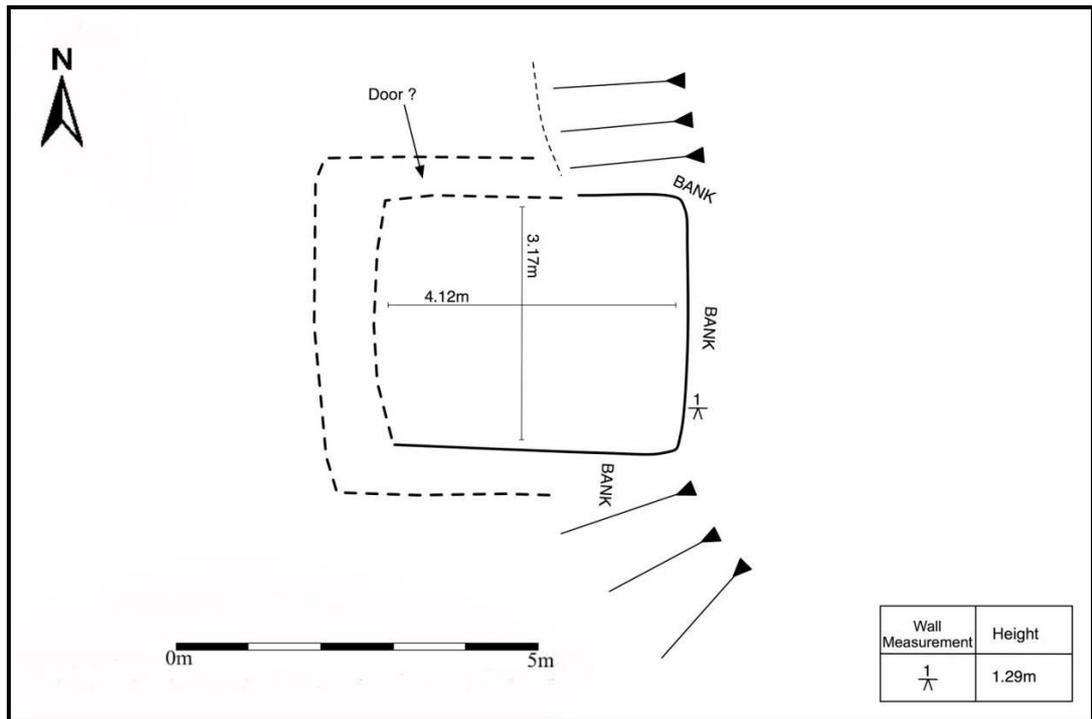


Fig. 126 – The rectangular-shaped house with rounded ends at Cuillaloughaun (C4).



Pl. 72 – House 4 (C4) at Cuillaloughaun, showing rounded ends and stonework of its interior.

House 5 at Cuillaloughaun (C5). (Figs. 51, 126; Pl. 73).

External shape: Rectangular with rounded ends.

Internal shape: Round.

Internal Dimensions: 7.14m east/west by 3.5m north/south.

Internal Habitable Space: 25m².

Method of Construction: Coursed masonry.

Wall Width: Unable to determine.

Wall Height: c. 1m.

Doorway: The building features opposed entrance doorways towards the western ends of the north and south walls, and measured 0.66m in width.

Roofing: Sod roof.

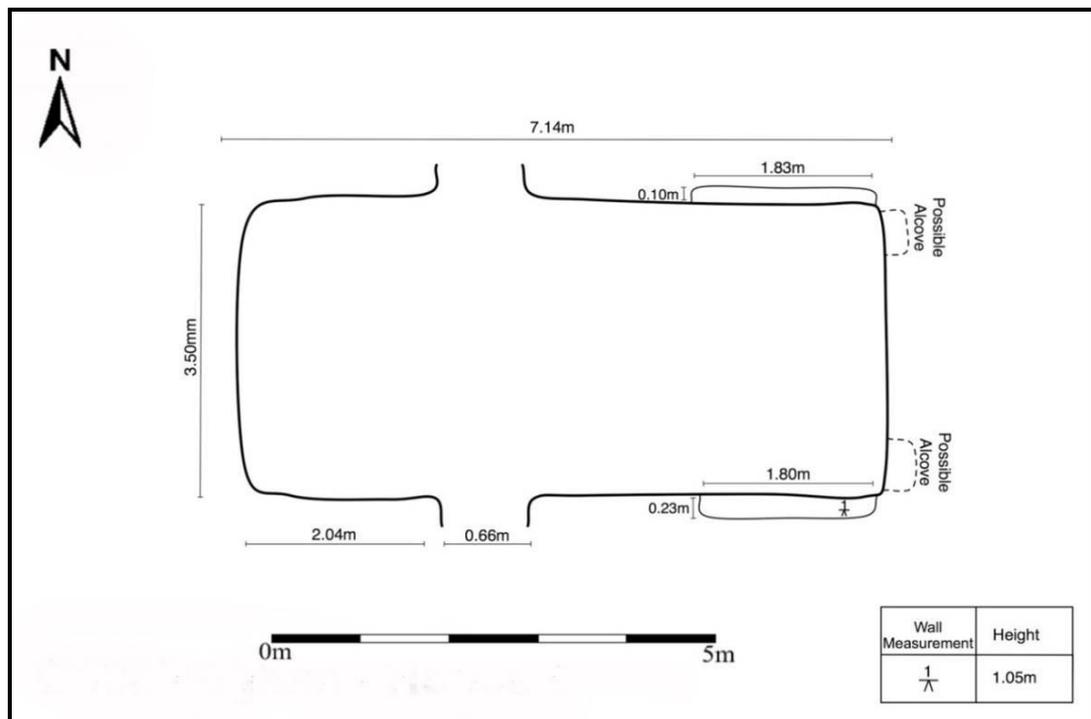


Fig. 127 – Sub-rectangular house at Cuillaloughaun (C5), possibly with sod-roof that has collapsed into the interior of the house.

Internal features within the building: The east end of the house has recessed areas/storage niches inset into the eastern ends of the north and south walls. There is some evidence to suggest that alcoves also existed in the north and south ends of the east wall. These measured 1.83m in width by 0.10m in depth and 1.8m in width and 0.23m in depth respectively. A raised mound in the centre of the house may represent

the collapsed remains of a sod roof (Pl. 73).

Additional comments: This house is located beside an old road, 300m north east of House C1. It is an unusual house partially built into the bog with its long axis orientated east-west. The external dimensions could not be measured due to the high level of the surrounding bog.



Pl. 73 – House C5 at Cuillaloughaun showing collapsed sod roof in the interior of the house.

Dirk (D1 – D21).

Site Name:	Dirk
Townland:	Dugort West
Database Number:	D1 – D21
NGR:	6278, 30843
SMR Number:	MA042 – 01302



Dirk is located on gently sloping ground on the otherwise steeply sloping north-western slopes of Slievemore Mountain in the townland of Dugort West at a height of 140m and 185m OD. The site consists of twenty one houses, through which two streams flow (Fig. 49; 5.5.2).

A square enclosure, 10m by 10m in area, defined by a collapsed 0.8m high, 1m wide, dry-stone built wall occurs just to the south of the northernmost stream.

An earthen, stone-lined bank, 1.5m – 1.9m in width and 1m in height, can be seen running for a length of 500m along the cliff edge from the south east to the north east of the site. Each of the houses at Dirk will now be described in turn.

House 1 at Dirk (D1). (Figs. 49, 50, 81).

General: House 1 at Dirk (D1) is the northernmost house in the settlement of Dirk. It is located just to the north and east of the right bank of the northernmost of the two streams running through Dirk.

External Shape: Circular, about 5.5m-6m in external diameter.

Internal Shape: Ovoid.

Internal Dimensions: 3.47m east/west by 2.2 m north/south.

Internal Habitable Space: 7.64m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built in courses.

Wall Width: 1m – 1.2m.

Wall Heights: The walls survive to a maximum height of 0.89m.

Doorway: There are two opposing doorways. The one on the northern side of the house is 0.43m in width, while the entranceway on the southern side is 0.53m in

width.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: None are visible.

Additional comments: None.

House 2 at Dirk (D2). (Figs. 49, 82).

General: House 2 (D1) at Dirk is located to the south of House 1 and lies between the two streams that run across the site. This is not a well-preserved structure.

External Shape: More-or-less circular.

Internal Shape: Ovoid.

Internal Dimensions: 1.51m north-west/south-east by 2.2m south-west /north-east.

Internal Habitable Space: 3.32m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: 1.6m.

Wall Heights: The walls survive to a maximum height of 0.89m.

Doorway: Uncertain of its location due to the collapse.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: None are visible.

Additional comments: The possible remains of a half-moon shaped annexe, apparently open to the north-east, can be seen externally on the north-western side of the house. It is defined by a line of stones curving north-westwards from the south-western edge of the site and had maximum internal dimensions of 2.47m north-west/south-east and 2.4m north-east/south-west.

House 3 at Dirk (D3). (Figs. 49, 127).

General: House 3 is situated to the south-east of House 4 and is located between the two streams that run through the site.

External Shape: Ovoid.

Internal Shape: Ovoid.

Internal Dimensions: 3.52m north-west/south-east by 2.13m north-east/south-west.

Internal Habitable Space: c. 7.5m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: 0.9m – 0.94m.

Wall Heights: The walls survive to a maximum height of 0.98m.

Doorway: There are two opposing doors in the house towards the eastern end of the house. The northern doorway is 0.94m in width, while the southern one is 0.53m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain. The house never possessed gables.

Internal features within the building: None are visible.

Additional comments: None.

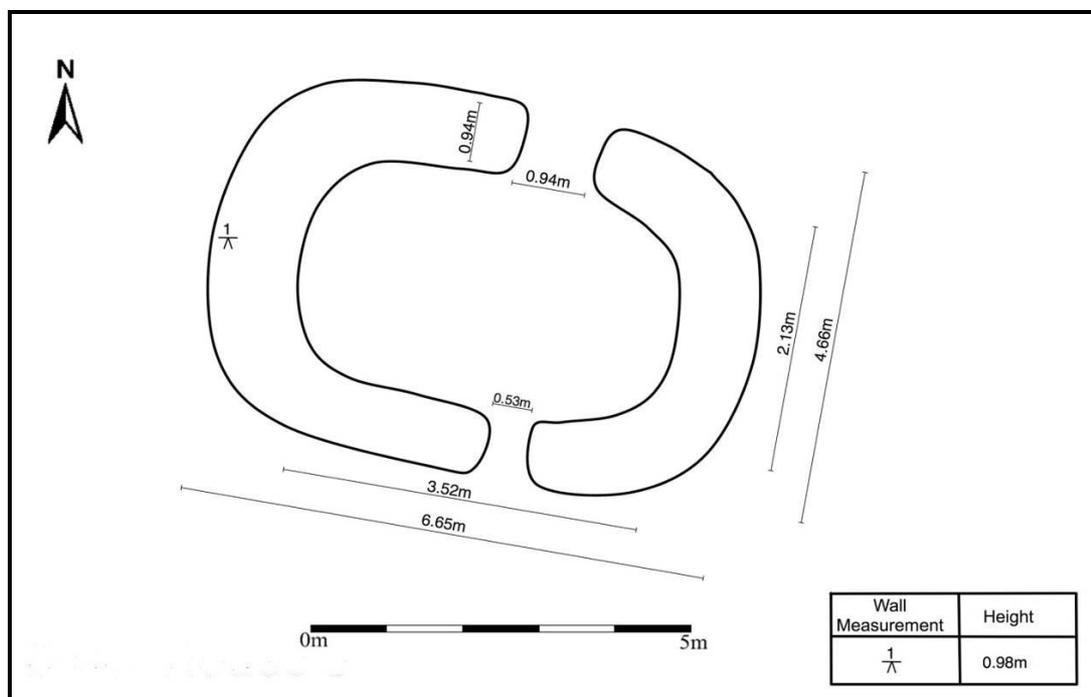


Fig. 128 – Plan of an ovoid-shaped house at Dirk (D3).

House 4 at Dirk (D4). (Figs. 49, 83).

General: House 4 (D4) is located to the south-west of House 3 (D3) and to the south of House 2 (D2). It lies near the west bank of the southern stream that flows through the site.

External Shape: Ovoid.

Internal Shape: Ovoid.

Internal Dimensions: 3.12m north-west/south-east by 2.13m north-east/south-west.

Internal Habitable Space: *c.* 6.64m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: 1m – 1.07m.

Wall Heights: The walls survive to a maximum height of 0.95m.

Doorway: The house has opposing doorways towards the eastern ends of the long north-eastern and south-western walls of the building. The northern doorway is 0.79m in width and the southern one is 0.51m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain. The house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: There is a massive amount of collapsed stone up against the internal and external north-western end wall of the building.

Additional comments: The possible remains of a half-moon shaped annexe, apparently open to the north-east, can be seen externally on the north-western side of the house. It is defined by a line of stones curving north-westwards from the south-western edge of the site and had maximum internal dimensions of 2.67m north-west/south-east and 2.4m north-east/south-west. It is very similar in morphology and location to the annexe attached on to House 2 (D2).

House 5 at Dirk (D5.) (Figs. 49, 128).

General: House 5 (D5) is located just to the south-east of House 4 (D4) and to the south-west of House 3 (D3). It is located beside the west bank of the southernmost stream that runs through the site. This house seems to consist of one room, with a large annexe to its south-east.

External Shape: Ovoid.

Internal Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: The room of the house proper measures 3.05m north-west by 2.07m north-east/south-west.

Internal Habitable Space: 6.31m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: The walls of the house proper are 1.2m-1.76m (at NW) in width.

Wall Heights: The walls survive to a maximum height of 1.07m.

Doorway: The house proper has opposing doorways towards its eastern end. The northern doorway is 0.5m in width, while the southern one is 0.61m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain. The house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: What appears to be an annexe is attached on to the south-eastern side of House 5 (D5). There is no doorway between the interior of the house and this annexe. There is a wide, original 2.86m wide entrance/gap facing towards the north-east. The walls proper are a mere 0.5m in width and so are far thinner than the walls of the house. Its interior is really heel-shaped and has maximum internal measurements of 3.49m north-west/south-east by 2.2m south-west/north-east.

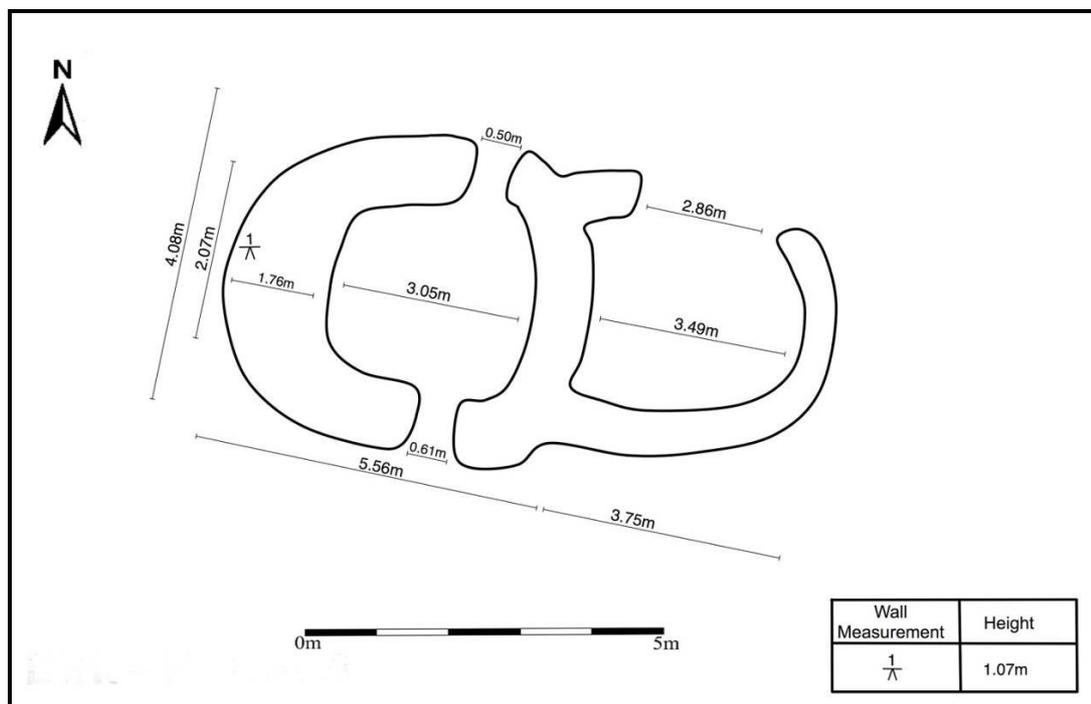


Fig. 129 – Plan of House 5 at Dirk (D5) – ovoid-shaped house with an annexe to its south-east.

House 6 at Dirk (D6). (Figs. 49, 127).

General: House 6 (D6) lies to the south-west of House 5 (D5) on the left bank of the southernmost stream that runs across the site.

External Shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.13m north-west/south-east by 2.16m north-east/south-west.

Internal Habitable Space: 8.9m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: 1m – 1.3m.

Wall Heights: 0.92m – 1.12m.

Doorway: There are opposing doorways in this house. The first doorway occurs towards the eastern end of the long north-east facing wall. It is c. 1m in width, although it may have been narrower than this originally. The other doorway occurs in the long south-west facing wall. It is 0.55m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain. The house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

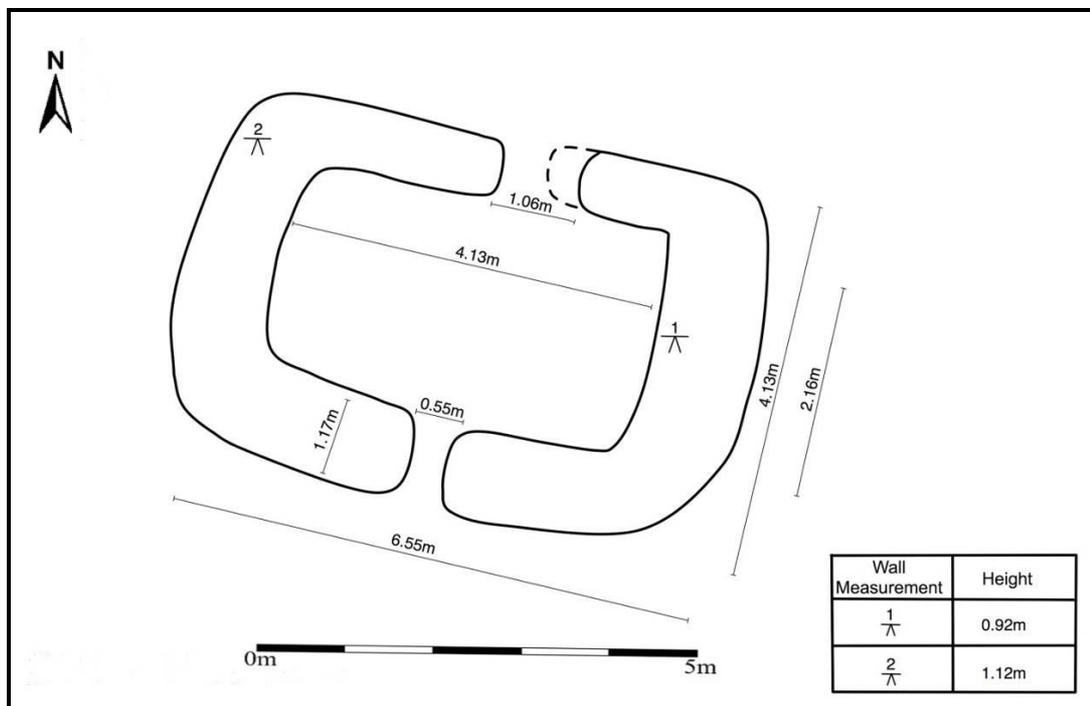


Fig. 130 – Plan of House 6 at Dirk (D6) – it is a sub-rectangular shaped house with opposing doorways.

House 7 at Dirk (D7). (Figs. 49, 130; Pl. 74).

General: House 7 (D7) is located just to the south-west of House 6 (D6) and to the west of House 8 (D8). This house seems to consist of a one-roomed house with a large annexe to its east.

External Shape: Ovoid.

Internal Shape: Ovoid.

Internal Dimensions: The house proper has internal dimensions of 2.26m north north-east/south south-west by 2.4m west north-west/east south-east.

Internal Habitable Space: The house proper is 5.42m² in internal habitable space.

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: 1m – 1.3m.

Wall Heights: The walls survive to a maximum height of 0.89m.



Pl. 74 – House 7 at Dirk (D7) showing curved wall

Doorway: There are two opposing doorways towards the eastern end of the house proper. The northern one is 0.74m in width, while the southern one is 0.59m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: What appears to be an annexe is attached on to the eastern side of House 7 (D7). There is no doorway between the interior of the house proper and this annexe. There is a wide, original 2.3m wide entrance/gap facing towards the north and north-east. The walls proper are a mere 0.8m in width and so a little thinner than the walls of the house proper. Its interior is really ovoid in shape and has

maximum internal measurements of 3.06m east/west by 2.2m north/south.

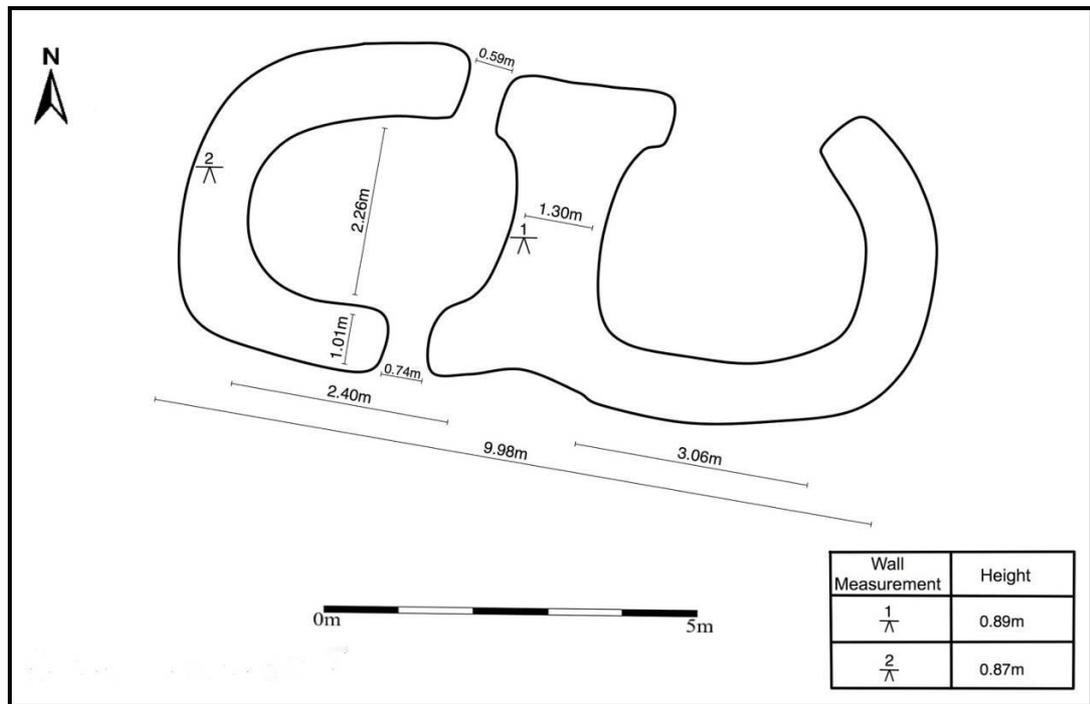


Fig. 131 – Plan of House 7 at Dirk (D7). This appears to be an ovoid-shaped house with opposing doorways that has an annexe to its east.

House 8 at Dirk (D8). (Figs. 49, 131; Pl. 75).

General: House 8 (D8) occurs just to the east south east of House 7 (D7) and is a more-or-less circular shaped house, with opposing doorways and has an associated platform to its west.

External Shape: More-or-less circular.

Internal Shape: Ovoid.

Internal Dimensions: 2.08m north/south by 1.73m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 3.59m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built in neat stone courses.

Wall Width: 0.89m – 95m.

Wall Heights: The walls survive to a maximum height of 1.07m.



Pl. 75 – House 8 at Dirk (D8) showing possible underground storage niche.

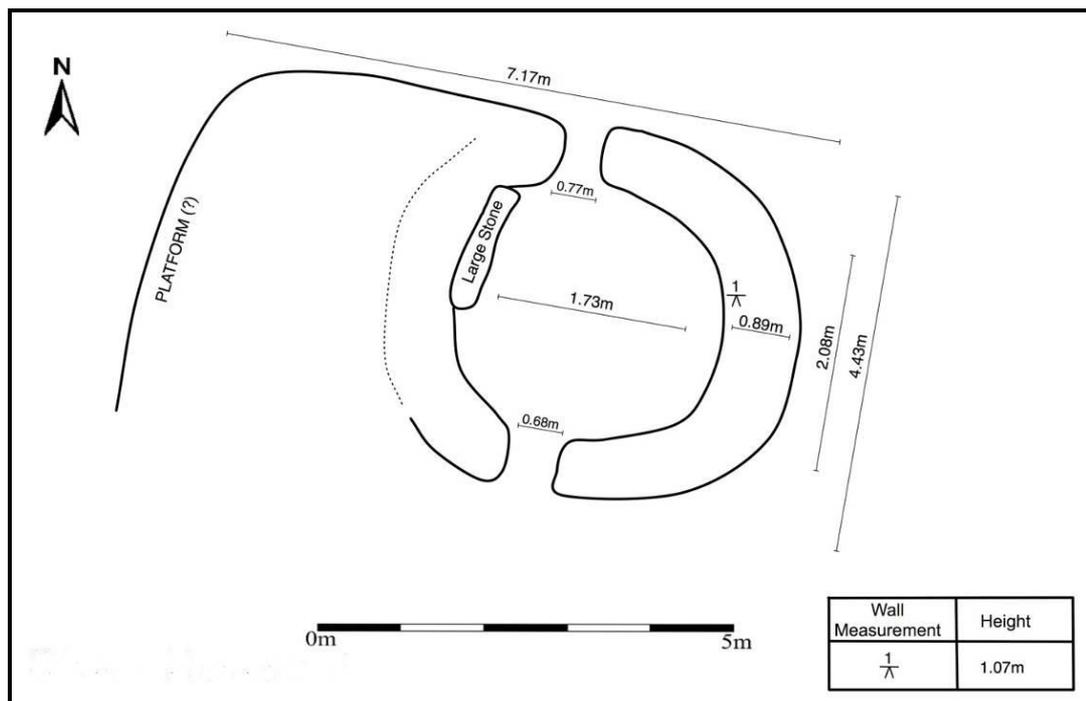


Fig. 132 – Plan of House 8 at Dirk (D8) – a more-or-less circular shaped house with opposing doorways and a level platform area to its west.

Doorway: There are two opposing doorways. The northern one is 0.77m in width, while the southern one is 0.68m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: A large stone slab can be seen up against the

north-western side of the interior wall of the building. There is a possible underground storage niche in this house.

Additional comments: A platform area occurs to the west of the site.

House 9 at Dirk (D9). (Figs. 49, 132).

General: House 9 at Dirk (D9) lies to the south of House 1 (D1) just beside the right bank of the northernmost of the two streams that runs east/west across the site. It is in a very dilapidated condition and only its vague outlines can be made out.

External Shape: Ovoid.

Internal Shape: Ovoid.

Internal Dimensions: About 4.63m north-west/south-east by 3.89m north-east/south-west.

Internal Habitable Space: Possibly 18m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

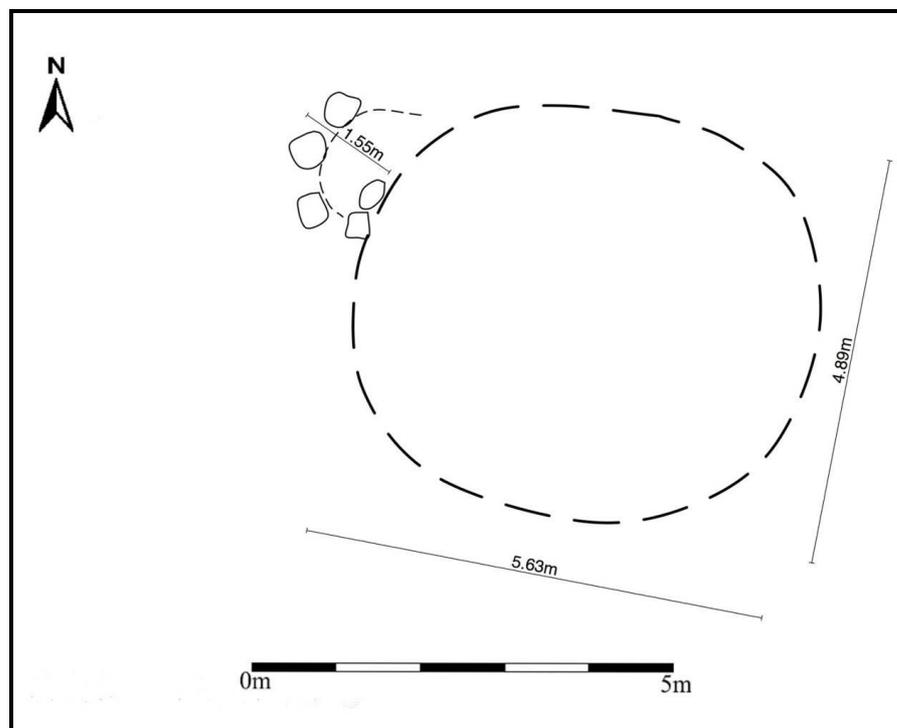


Fig. 133 – Plan of House 9 at Dirk (D9) – while very dilapidated, it appears to have been an ovoid house with a small attached annexe.

Wall Width: c. 1m.

Wall Heights: The walls survive to a maximum height of 0.3m.

Doorway: It has opposing doorways. The northern one is 0.6m in width, while the southern one is 0.55m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: The interior is heavily overgrown.

Additional comments: An annexe, defined by large upright stones, is attached on to the north-western edge of the site. It opens out to the north-east. This original opening seems to be about 1.55m in width. There is no doorway linking the house proper to this annexe. The internal dimensions of the annexe are c. 1.55m

House 10 at Dirk (D10). (Figs. 49, 133).

General: House 10 (D10) lies to the south-east of House 9 (D9), beside the square enclosure. This house is in poor condition with only its south-eastern half surviving.

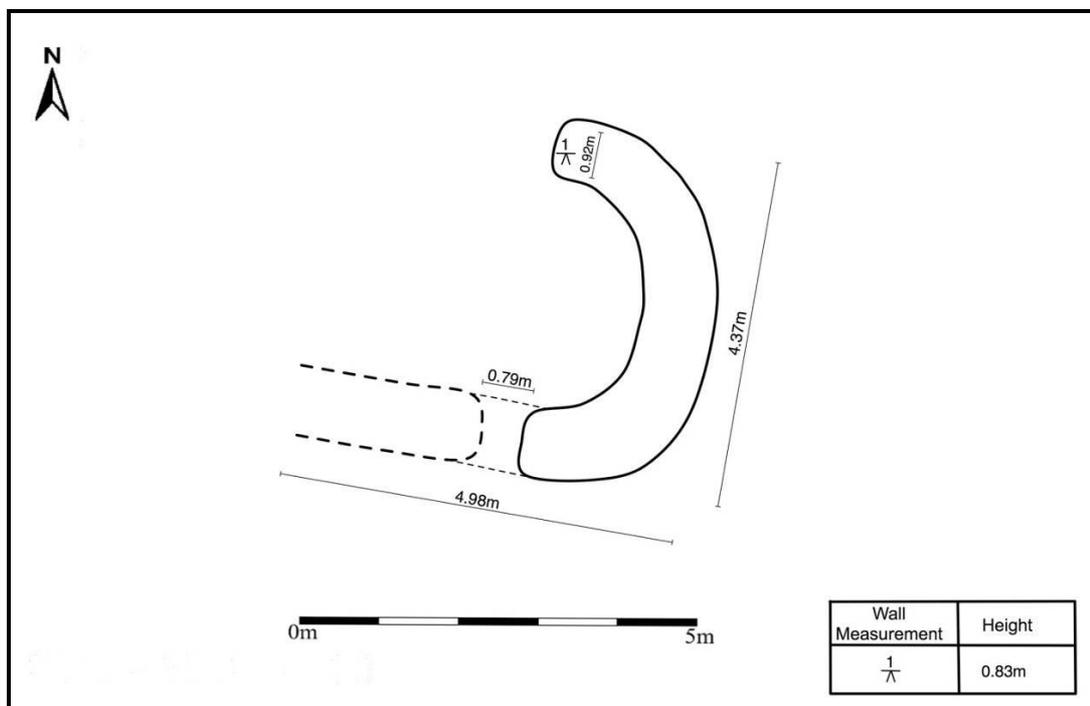


Fig. 134 – Plan of House 10 at Dirk (D10) – it appears to be the remains of a sub-rectangular house.

External Shape: Sub-rectangular? The south-eastern end of this house is curved but its long walls appear to have been straight.

Internal Shape: Sub-rectangular?

Internal Dimensions: *c.* 4m north-west/south-east by 3m north-east/south-west.

Internal Habitable Space: *c.* 12m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: 0.92m.

Wall Heights: The walls survive to a maximum height of 0.83m.

Doorway: At least one doorway occurs at the south-eastern end of the south-western wall of this building. It is 0.79m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 11 at Dirk (D11). (Figs. 49, 134).

General: House 11 (D11) lies to the east of House 9 (D9) to the north of the northernmost stream that runs through the site. It is in a very dilapidated condition and only the bare outlines of it can be made out. The site is very overgrown in places.

External shape: Ovoid?

Internal shape: Unknown but probably round.

Internal Dimensions: Possibly about 6.5m north-west/south-east by 5.5m north-east/south-west.

Internal Habitable Space: Estimated at 35.75m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: Hard to decipher but about 1m – 1.2m.

Wall Height: 0.10m.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its location due to collapse.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

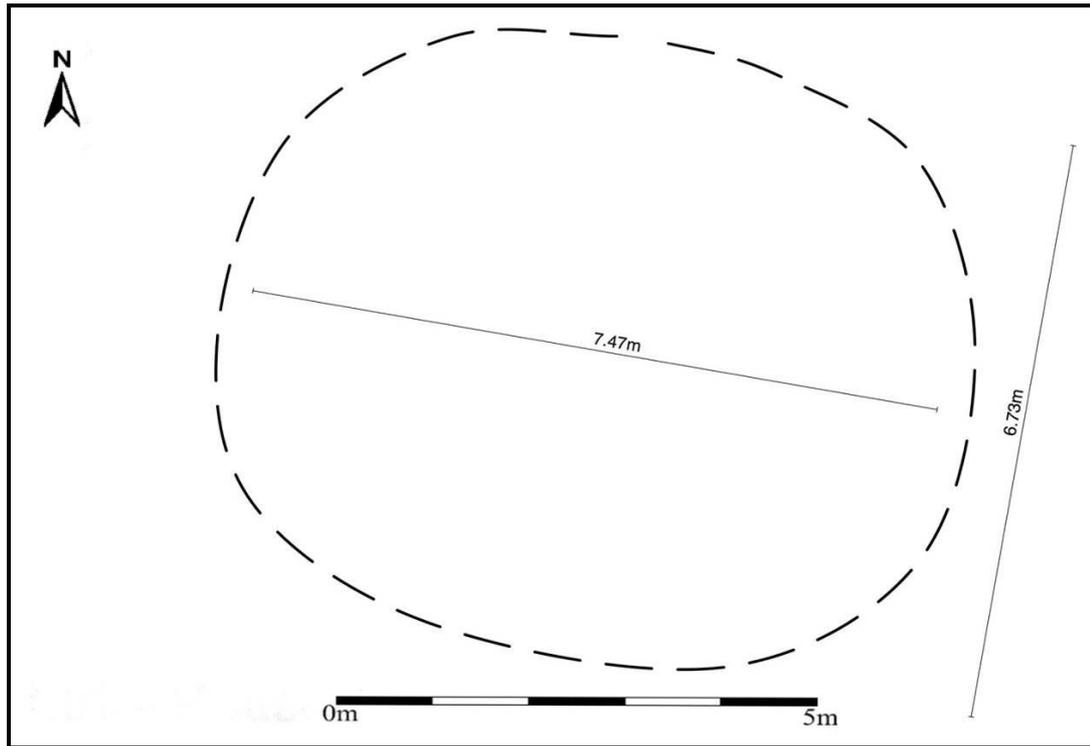


Fig. 135 – Plan of House 11 at Dirk (D11) – It appears to be the remains of an ovoid house.

House 12 at Dirk (D1). (Figs. 49, 135).

General: House 12 (D12) lies to the south-east of House 10 (D10), just to the south of the northernmost stream that flows through the site.

External shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.7m north-west/south-east by 1.97m north-east/south-west.

Internal Habitable Space: 9.25m².

Method of Construction: Partly dry-stone built but also sods seem to have been used in its construction.

Wall Width: 1.28m.

Wall Height: 0.5m.

Doorway: A doorway can be seen towards the north-western end of the house's north-eastern wall. It is c. 0.6m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain but it is clear that the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: There is a large boulder that spans an area between the internal northern corner of the building's interior and the entrance.

Additional comments: None.

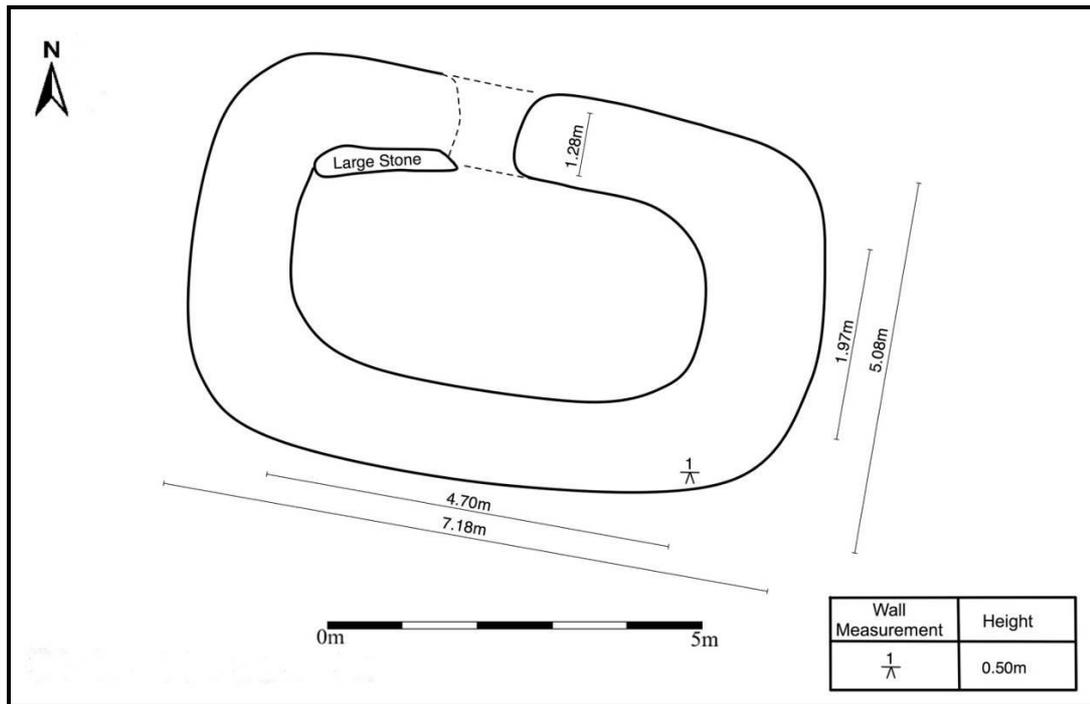


Fig. 136 – Plan of Dirk D12 – sub rectangular house with doorway in centre of north wall.

House 13 at Dirk (D13). (Figs. 49, 84).

General: House 13 (D13) is located on the north-eastern edge of the settlement at Dirk beside House 14 (D14) and House 21 (D21), just to the north of the right bank of the northern stream that flows through the site.

External shape: Ovoid.

Internal shape: Ovoid.

Internal Dimensions: 3.74m north/east by 2.77m south/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 10.4m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: 0.64m –1m.

Wall Height: The walls survive to a maximum height of 0.95m.

Doorway: It occurs along the centre of the northern wall of the building. It is 0.51m in width

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: Collapsed stone.

Additional comments: None.

House 14 at Dirk (D14). (Figs. 49, 136).

General: House 14 (D14) is located on the north-eastern edge of the settlement at Dirk beside House 13 (D13) and House 21 (D21), just to the north of the right bank of the northernmost stream that runs through the site. There is much collapsed stone within the interior of the building.

External shape: Sub-rectangular (having curved ends).

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 2.51m north-west/south-east by 1.78m north-east/south-west.

Internal Habitable Space: 4.4m².

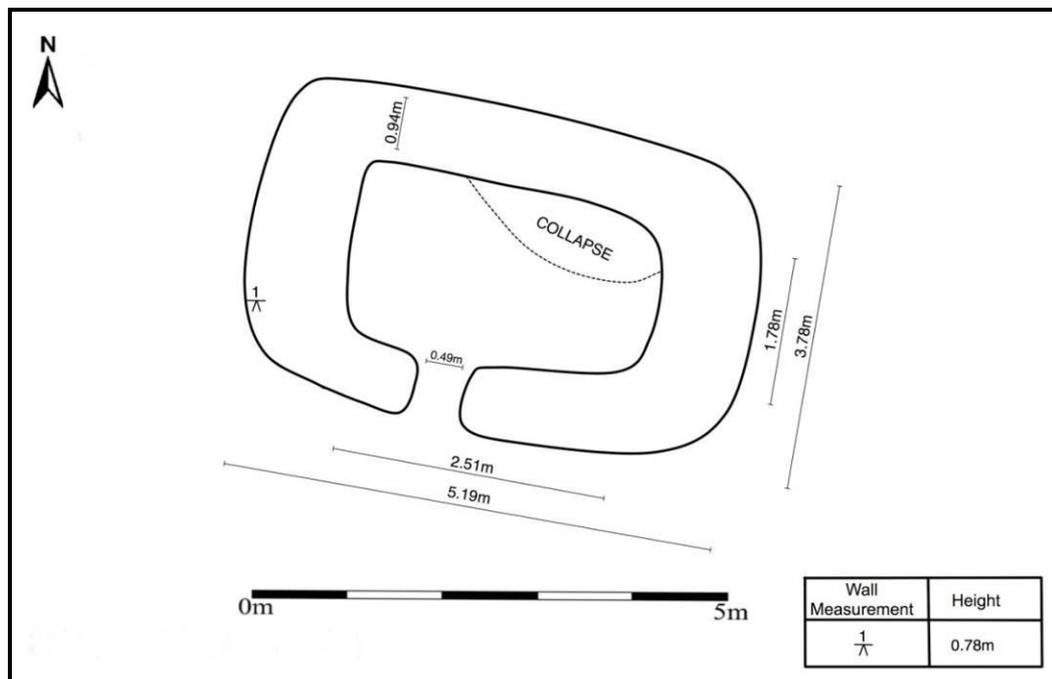


Fig. 137 – Plan of House 14 at Dirk (D14) – it is a sub-rectangular shaped house with a doorway in its south wall.

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with some sod.

Wall Width: 0.94m – 1.2m.

Wall Height: The walls survive to a maximum height of 0.78m.

Doorway: A doorway occurs in the southern wall of the house. It is 0.49m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: A large stone occurs within the building that

has been used for sharpening knives or blades, or some unknown purpose.

Additional comments: None.

House 15 at Dirk (D15). (Figs. 49, 137).

General: House 15 (D15) is located to the south-east of House 12 (D12) on the eastern side of the settlement at Dirk.

External shape: More-or-less circular.

Internal shape: Ovoid.

Internal Dimensions: 2.38m north-west/south-east by 2.88m north-east/south-west

Internal Habitable Space: 6.85m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with some sod.

Wall Width: 1.2m.

Wall Height: The walls survive to a maximum height of 0.93m.

Doorway: The house proper has opposing doorways – one on its northern side with the other on its southern side. The northern entranceway is 0.81m in width, while the southern one is 0.84m wide.

Roofing: There is some evidence for corbelling within the building on its eastern side.

Internal features within the building: A storage niche can be seen on the north-eastern side of the house.

Additional comments: What appears to be an annexe is attached on to the north-western side of House 15 (D15). There is no doorway between the interior of the house proper and this annexe, indicating that this is not a two-roomed house. Furthermore, there is a wide, original 3m wide entrance/gap facing towards the north-east. The walls proper are a mere 0.5m – 0.72m in width and so are thinner than the walls of the house proper. Its interior is really heel-shaped and has maximum internal measurements of 4.16m north-west/south-east by 3m south-west/north-east.

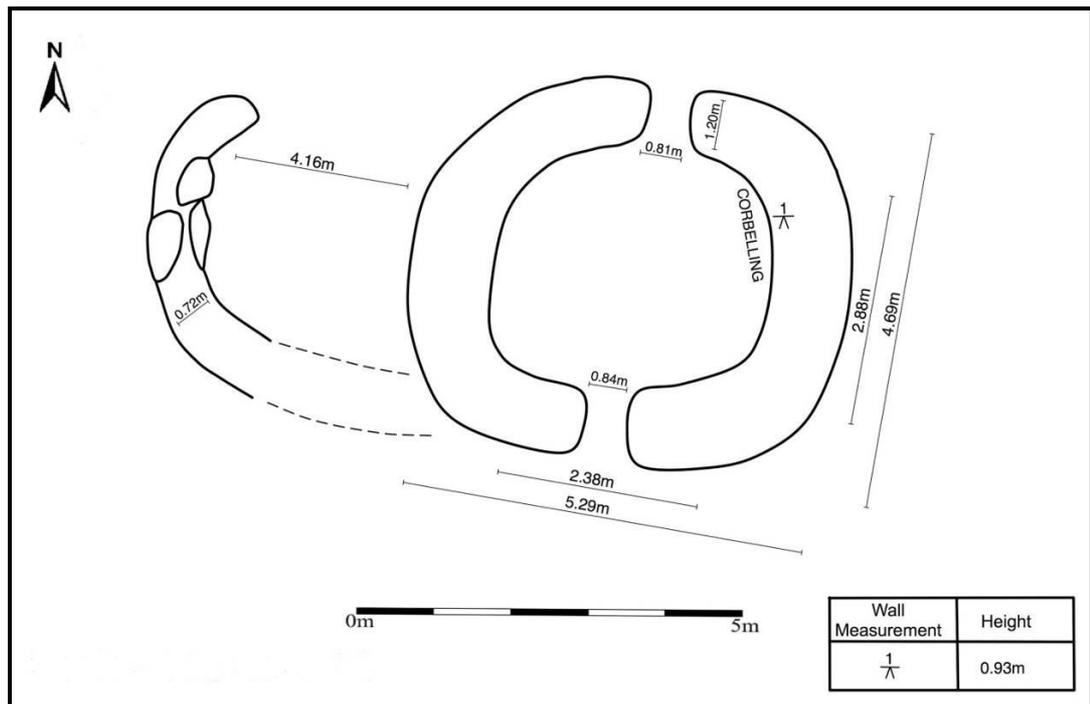


Fig. 138 – Plan of House 15 at Dirk (D15) – a more-or-less circular-shaped house with opposed doorways and an annexe to its north-west.

House 16 at Dirk (D16). (Figs. 49, 138).

General: House 16 (D16) occurs to the south of House 15 (D15) on the eastern side of the settlement at Dirk, just to the north of the right bank of the southern stream that flows through the settlement. There are no visible surface remains of the north-eastern end wall.

External shape: Sub-rectangular (having rounded ends).

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: c. 4m north-east/south-west by 2.56m north-west/south-east.

Internal Habitable Space: 10.24m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with some sod.

Wall Width: 0.92m.

Wall Height: The walls survive to a maximum height of 0.62m.

Doorway: A doorway can be seen at the south-eastern end of the south-western end wall facing the stream. It is 0.65m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house appears never to have had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: The orientation of this house differs from all the other

houses at the site.

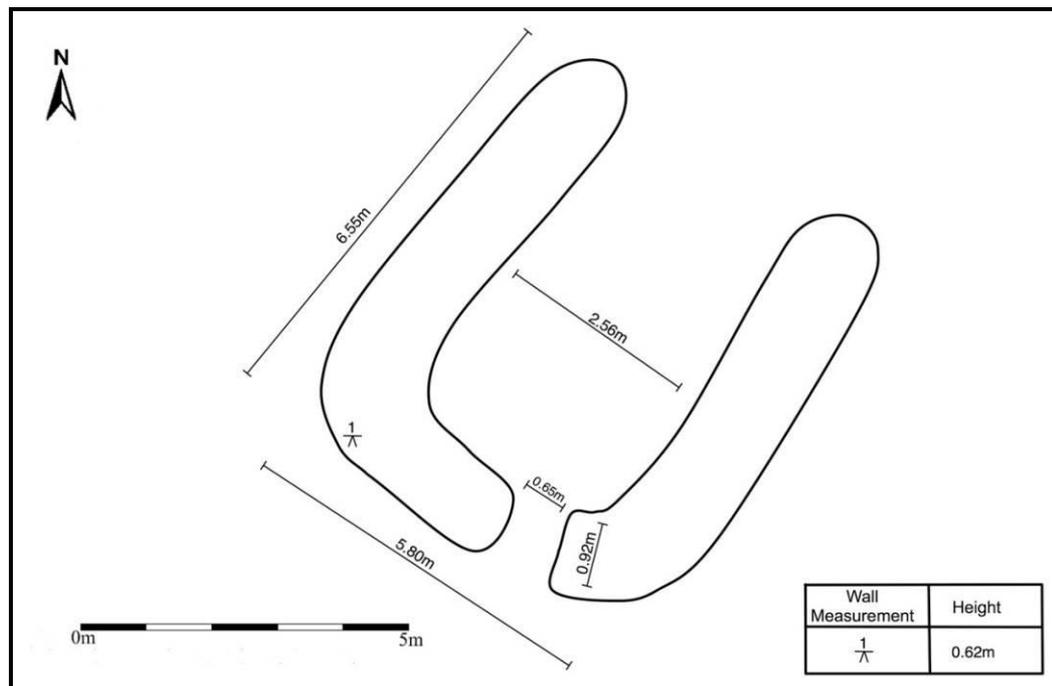


Fig. 139 – Plan of House 16 at Dirk (D16) - it is a sub-rectangular shaped house.

House 17 at Dirk (D17). (Figs. 49, 139; Pl. 76).

General: House 17 (D17) is part of a cluster of 3 houses (see D18 and D19) that occur on the south-eastern edge of the settlement at Dirk.

External shape: Ovoid.

Internal shape: Ovoid.

Internal Dimensions: 2.92m northwest by 2.07m southeast.

Internal Habitable Space: 6.04m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with some sod.

Wall Width: 1.22m (at W) – 2.1m (at E).

Wall Height: The walls survive to a maximum height of 1.02m.

Doorway: The house has opposing doorways. The doorway to the north measures 0.73m in width and the southern doorway is 0.63m wide.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: A storage niche can be seen in the north-western wall of the building.

Additional comments: The south-eastern end wall of the house is exceptionally

wide.



Pl. 76 – House 17 at Dirk showing sod-and-stone wide south-east wall.

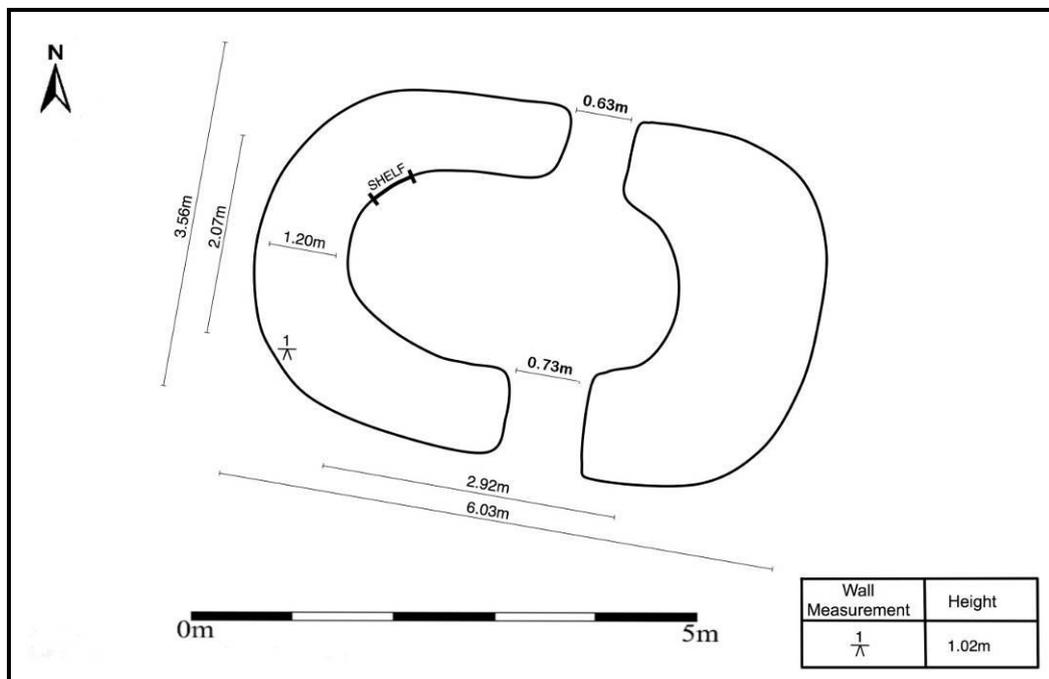


Fig. 140 – Plan of House 17 at Dirk (D17) -it is an ovoid-shaped house with opposing doorways.

House 18 at Dirk (D18). (Figs. 49, 140; Pl. 77).



Pl. 77 – House 18 (D18) at Dirk showing main room of house.

General: House 18 (D18) is part of a cluster of three houses (see D17 and D19) that occur on the south-eastern edge of the settlement at Dirk. The house has an annexe attached onto its south-eastern side.

External shape: Ovoid.

Internal shape: Ovoid.

Internal Dimensions: 3.57m north-west/south-east by 2.02m north-east/south-west.

Internal Habitable Space: 7.02m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with some sod.

Wall Width: The walls of the house proper are *c.* 1.5m in width.

Wall Height: The walls survive to a maximum height of 1.17m.

Doorway: There is a door on the north side. The width of the door in the house is 0.59m and *c.* 0.85m in the annexe.

Roofing: There is evidence for corbelling within the building on its eastern side.

Internal features within the building: Two storage niches can be seen at floor level on the northern wall of the building, on either side of the doorway.

Additional comments: A rectangular-shaped annexe is attached on to the eastern side of the house. It has no southern wall and this appears to be an original feature, meaning that there was a 2.8m-wide gap here. Also, there is no doorway linking the house proper to this annexe. There is 0.85m wide entranceway in its northern wall and the width of its wall is 0.5m – 0.6m, much thinner than the walls of the house proper. The internal dimensions of the annexe seem to be about 3m north/south by about 2.8m east/west. The walls of the annexe survive to a maximum height of 0.87m.

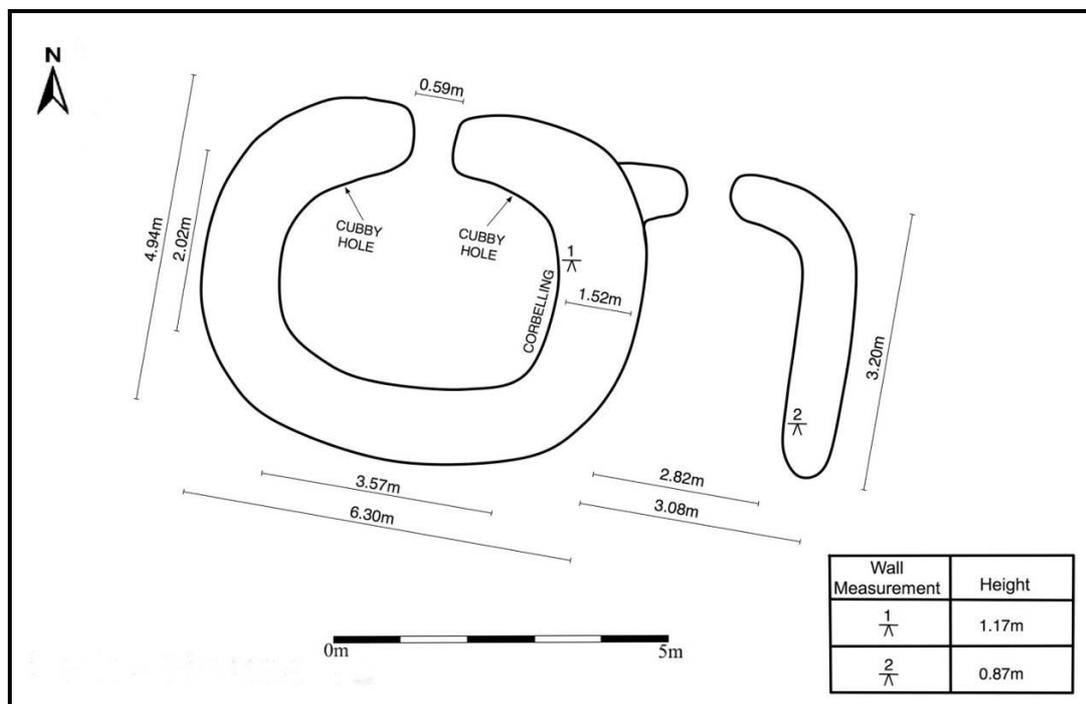


Fig. 141 – Plan of Dirk (D18) – ovoid house with rounded internal plan and attached annexe.

House 19 at Dirk (D19). (Figs. 49, 141).

General: This sub-rectangular shaped house may have been divided into two rooms but this is unclear. House 19 (D19) is part of a cluster of three houses (see D17 and D18) that occur on the south-eastern edge of the settlement at Dirk

External shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 3.5m north-west/south-east by 1.76m north-east/south-west.

Internal Habitable Space: 6.1m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with some sod.

Wall Width: 0.96m.

Wall Height: The walls survive to a maximum height of 0.93m.

Doorway: An entranceway can be seen at the north-western end of the north-east facing long wall. It is 0.85m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: Two large boulders seem to divide the interior of the house into two rooms but this is unclear.

Additional comments: None.

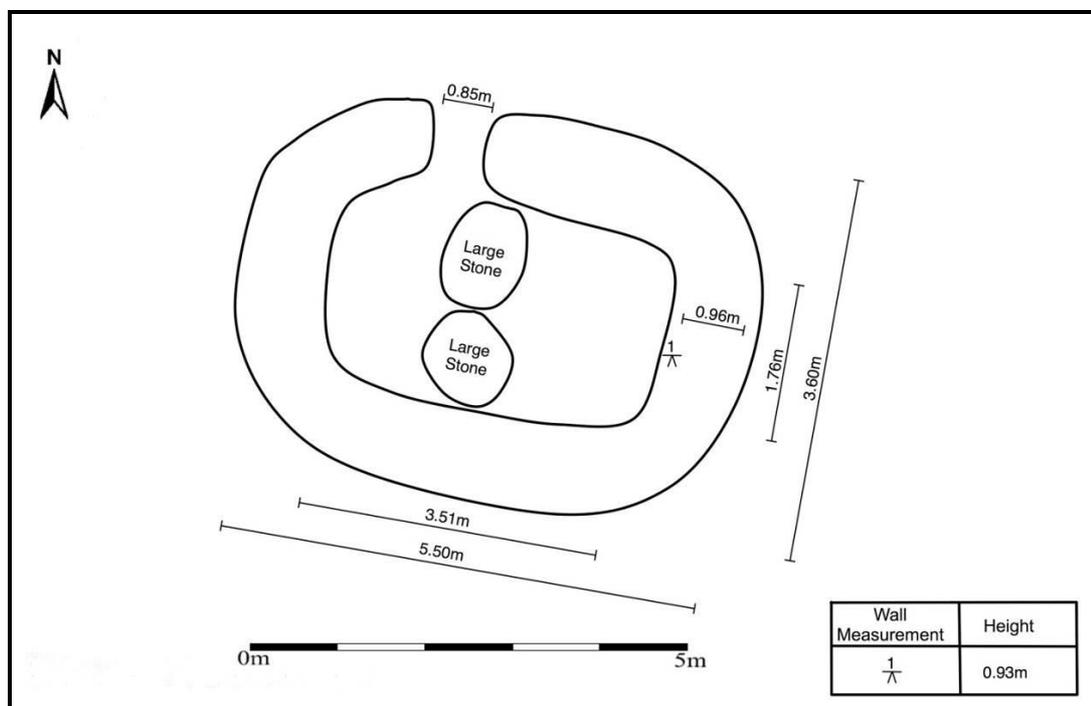


Fig. 142 – Plan of House 19 at Dirk (D19) – a sub-rectangular shaped house.

House 20 at Dirk (D20). (Figs. 49, 142).

General: House 20 (D20) is situated immediately south of House 2 (D2). The house is in a very dilapidated condition.

External shape: Ovoid.

Internal shape: Ovoid.

Internal Dimensions: 3.71m north/west by 2.1m south/east.

Internal Habitable Space: 7.8m².

Method of Construction: Sod and stone.

Wall Width: 0.56m – 0.7m.

Wall Height: The walls survive to a maximum height of 0.63m (at W).

Doorway: 2: The house has opposing doorways – one opening out to the north east, which is 0.64m in width, and one opening out to the south-west which is 0.73m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never appears to have had gables.

Internal features within the building: The west wall is the best preserved.

Additional comments: None.

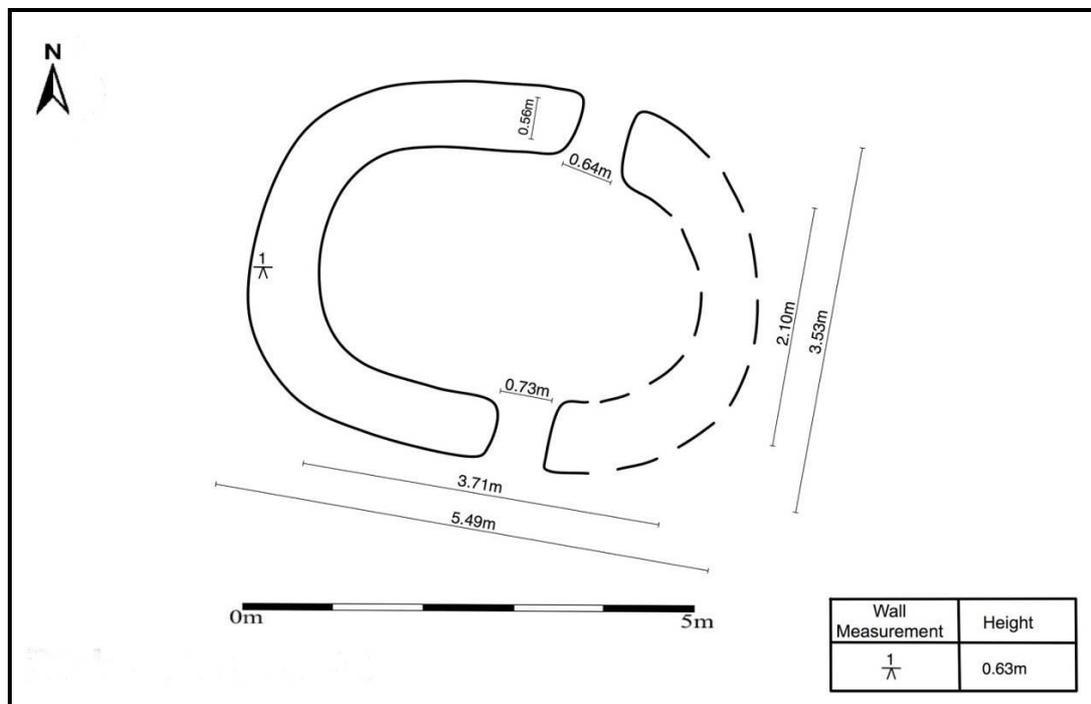


Fig. 143 – Plan of House 20 at Dirk (D20) – it is an ovoid-shaped house with opposing doorways.

House 21 at Dirk (D21) (Figs. 49, 143).

General: D21 is in a very dilapidated condition and is very difficult to make out. It is sited just to the east of House 14 (D14) on the north-eastern side of the settlement at Dirk, to the north of the right bank of the northernmost stream that flows through the site.

External shape: Ovoid.

Internal shape: Ovoid.

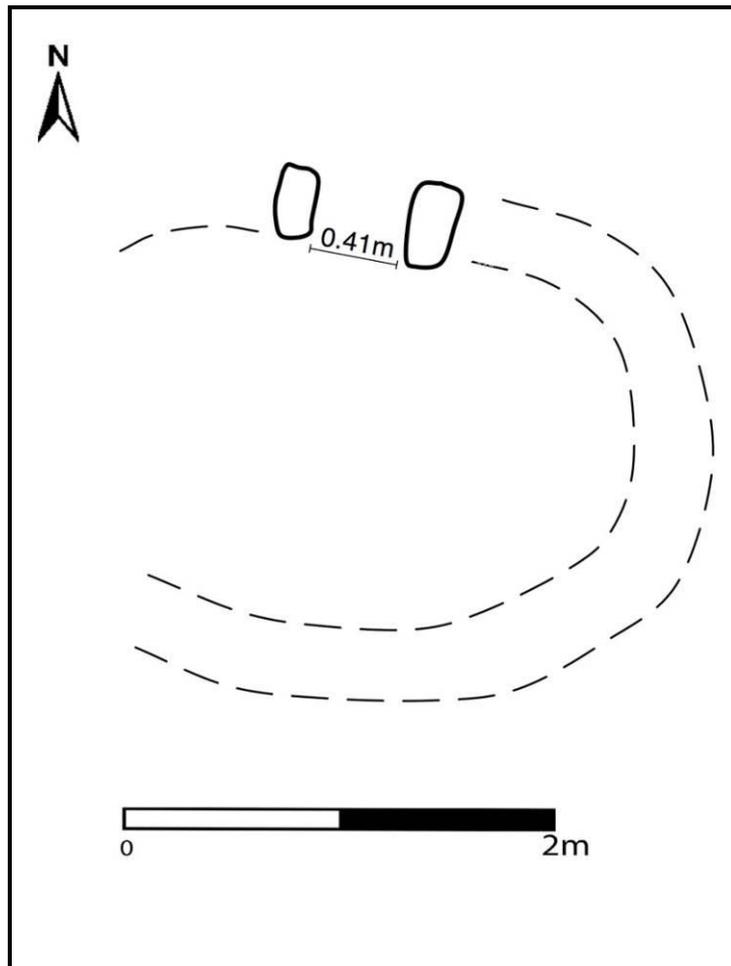


Fig. 144 – Plan of House 21 at Dirk (D21) – it is an ovoid-shaped house with a doorway in its northern wall.

Internal Dimensions: 2.5m east/west by 1.70 north/south (approximate only)

Internal Habitable Space: 4.25m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with some sod.

Wall Width: The walls survive to a height of 0.55m.

Wall Height: 0.20m.

Doorway: It has a single doorway in its north wall, marked by two upright stones.

This entranceway is 0.41m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comment: None.



Pl. 78 – The enclosure/pound at Dirk looking towards the north-west.

Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaur (T1 – T20).

Site Name:	Tawnaghmore/ Tawnaghlaur	
Townland:	Keel West	
Database No:	T1 – 20	
NGR:	5889, 30639	
SMR Number:	MA041-002	

The clusters of houses at Tawnaghmore and Tawnaghlaur are represented by two adjoining settlements located at a height of 97m OD, situated 3km north of Dooagh Village on the gentle south-eastern slopes of Croaghaun Mountain in the townland of Keel West and should be seen as one site (see 5.7). Tawnaghmore, comprising sixteen houses, is situated on the banks of the *Abhainabhaile* River. Tawnaghlaur occurs just to the south-west and is sited along a stream that is a tributary of the latter river. Four houses can be seen here (see 5.7.1; 5.7.2). Tawnaghmore is translated as ‘great or large meadow’ and Tawnaghlaur means the ‘small or little meadow’.

It appears first on Bald’s early nineteenth-century map (Fig.6), apparently as a permanent settlement, but there is no memory of this in local tradition. It was seen as being purely the remains of a booley settlement in the mid-twentieth century (Graham 1954, 59). There is evidence of lazy beds in the vicinity of the site and one large field to the south has been recently reclaimed.

House 1 at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaur (T1). (Figs. 53, 54; Pl. 79).

General: House 1 (T1) is the southernmost house at Tawnaghmore and is located just to the east of the left bank of the *Abainnabhaile* River, in close proximity to House 2 (T2).

External shape: Sub-rectangular (but with straight walls on its southern side).

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4m north/south by 2.47m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 9.88m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: The walls are between 1.25m and 1.35m wide.

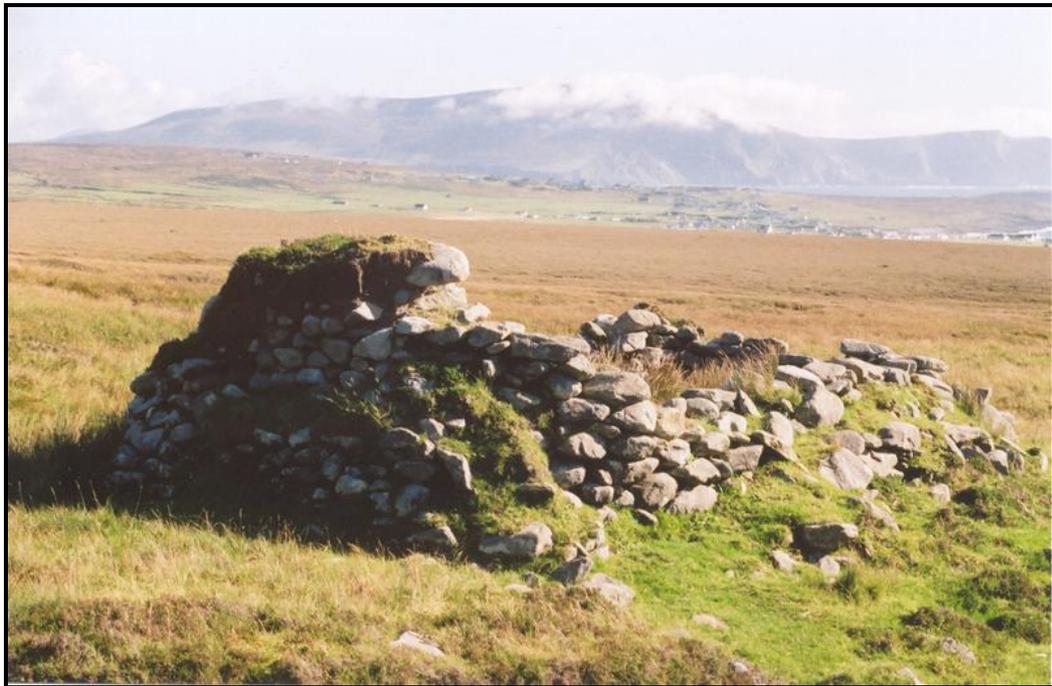
Wall Height: 0.63m (at S) to 1.5m (at N).

Doorway: An entranceway can be seen at the southern end of the house's eastern wall. It is 0.66m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: A single storage niche is located half-way along the west wall, which is 0.21m in width, 0.47 in height and 0.35m in depth. The bottom of the niche is located 0.32 m above the current floor surface.

Additional comments: A large spread of stone can be seen lying against the southern external wall of the building, forming an area 1.85m by 4.85m. This could have been placed there for extra insulation or it could be the remains of an annexe. There is a buttress on the external north-west end wall.



Pl. 79 – House 1 at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghaur (T1) looking south-east.

House 2 at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghaur (T2). (Figs. 53, 144).

General: House 2 (T2) lies just to the north of House 2 (T2), just to the east of the

left bank of the *Abainabhaile* River.

External shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.75m north/south by 2.62m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 12.44m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: The walls measure between 1.1m to 1.7m in width.

Wall Height: 0.7m (at E) to 1.6m.

Doorway: An entranceway can be seen on the eastern side of the building. It is 0.67m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: A storage niche can be seen on the west side of the southern wall. It is 0.33m in width, 0.26m in height and is 0.46m deep. It is sited 0.46m above the existing floor surface. A possible storage niche can be seen in the middle of the west wall. It is 1.35m wide, but it was not possible to measure the depth or height due to growth of peat and heather.

Additional comments: There is an additional external wall around the south-western part of the house, which seems to have been built for additional insulation.

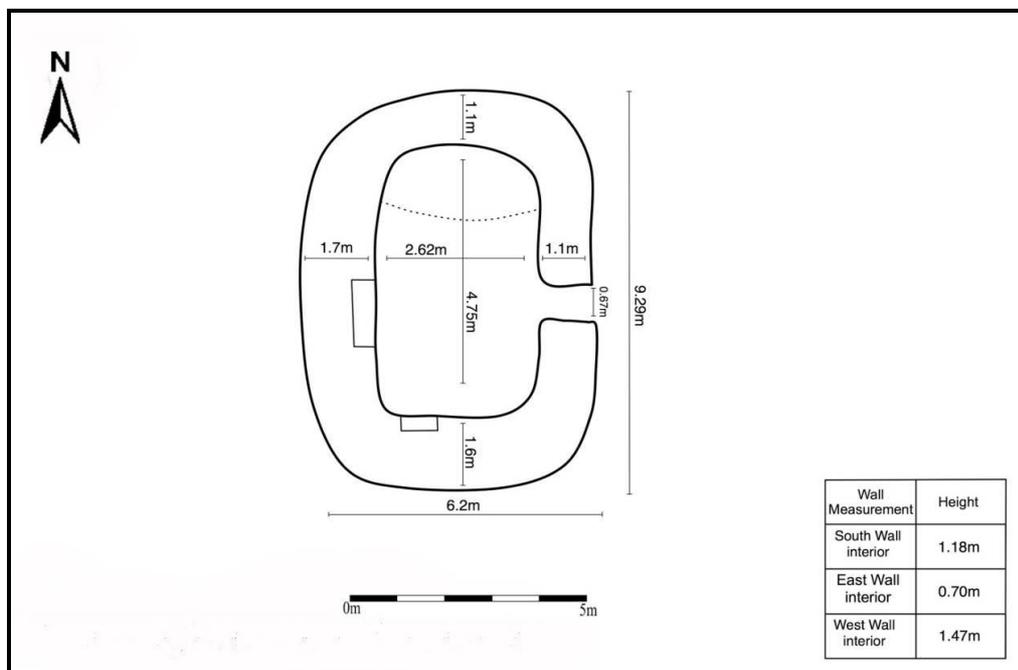


Fig. 145 – House 2 at Tawnaghmore (T2) – it is a sub-rectangular shaped house with rounded ends.

House 3 at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghaur (T3). (Figs. 53, 145).

General: House 3 (T3) occurs to the north of House 2 (T2), just to the east of the right bank of the *Abainnabhaile* River.

External shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular (with rounded corners).

Internal Dimensions: 6.24m north/south by 2.87m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 18m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: 1.1m to 1.4m.

Wall Height: Wall height is from 1.1m to 2m (at N).

Doorway: An entranceway can be seen at the southern end of the eastern wall. It is 0.6m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never appears to have had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: There is an additional wall/dump of stone around the northern and eastern external faces of the building. This seems to have been done to give extra insulation to the building.

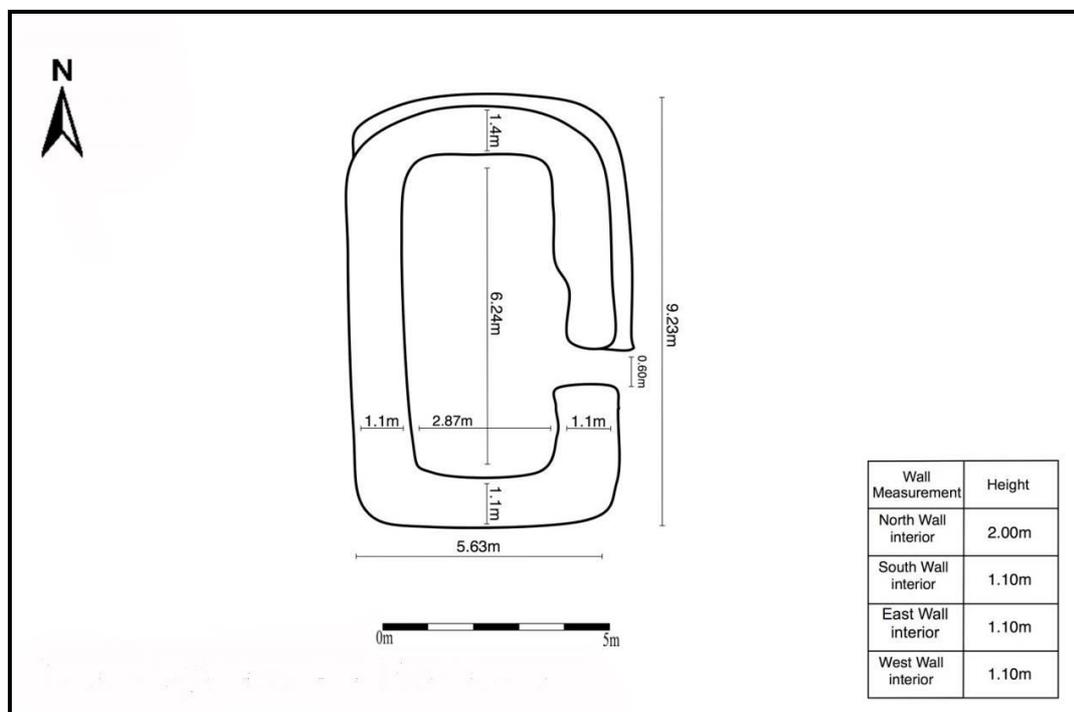


Fig. 146 – Plan of House 3 (T3) at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghaur – it is sub-rectangular in shape.

House 4 at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaur (T4). (Figs. 53, 146).

General: House 4 (T4) occurs to the south west of House 3 (T3), on the west side of the *Abainnabhaile* River beside its right bank.

External shape: Rectangular (with rounded corners).

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 7m north/south by 3.27m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 22.9m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: The walls are 0.73m in width.

Wall Height: The walls are from 0.75m to 1.5m (at W).

Doorway: An entranceway can be seen in the centre of the east wall. It is 0.7m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: There are three visible storage niches within the building. One is situated in the centre of the west wall, 0.17m above the current floor surface. It is 0.34m wide, 0.35m high and 0.40m in depth. The second niche can be seen at the northern end of this west wall. It is 0.40m in width, 0.40m in height and 0.40m in depth. There is a large gap in the north-east corner that is most likely collapse. A third niche is located next to this gap on the northern end of this east wall. It is 0.40m wide, 0.2m high and 0.30m deep.

Additional comment: An oval enclosure, at least 11m north /south in measurement and defined by a collapsed dry-stone wall, occurs attached on to the south of the building. This is full of lazy beds and is clearly a garden associated with the house.

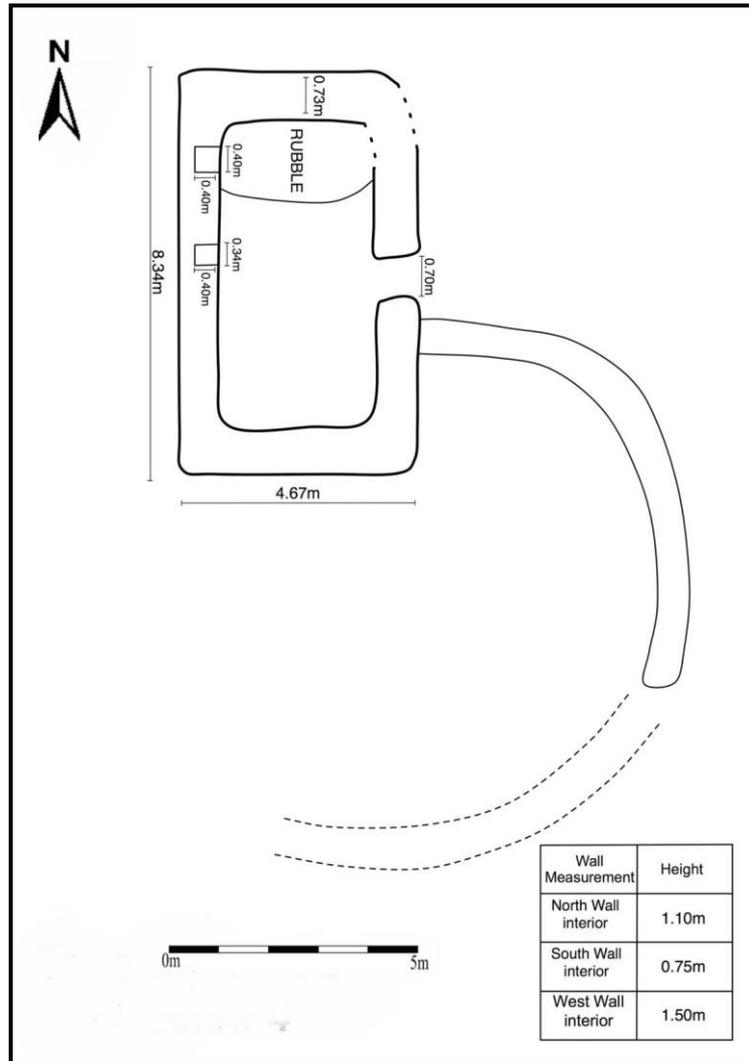


Fig. 147 – Plan of House 4 at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaurlaur (T4) – a rectangular-shaped house with a doorway on its eastern side and an attached garden to its south.

House 5 at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaurlaur (T5). (Figs. 53, 146).

General: House 5 (T5) is conjoined with House 6 (T6), with which it shares its eastern wall. Both lie just to the north-west of House 4 (T4), to the west of the right bank of the *Abainnabhaile* River. There is a lot of collapse in the northern side of the interior.

External shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal shape: Wedge-shaped.

Internal Dimensions: 5.18m north/south by 2.4m / east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 12.42m².

Method of Construction: Un-coursed masonry but stones are so tightly packed,

leaving very few gaps.

Wall Width: 1.3m to 2.14m.

Wall Height: The walls vary in height from 1.2m to 2.4m.

Doorway: 1.23m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house did not have gables.

Internal features within the building: There is a band of collapsed stone running east-west through the centre of the building and several stones are strewn across the northern and southern ends of the building. The house narrows to 1.68m at the northern end, giving the building a heel-shaped outline.

Additional comments: This is a conjoined building being attached to House T6 by a shared north wall. The entrance is located in the eastern wall, some 3.23m from the external south-east corner and 2.92m from the external north-east corner. This house's western wall shows an increase of 0.84m in width that curves from north-west to south-east.

House 6 Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghaur (T6). (Figs. 53, 147; Pl. 80).

General: House T6 is located to the north of House T4. A 'flash-flood' in 1992 did a lot of damage to both T5 and T6 but a plan compiled by this writer shows it as it was prior to the flood.

External shape: Ovoid.

Internal shape: Rounded corners on north and square on south.

Internal Dimensions: 5.94m north/south by 2.96m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 17.5m².

Method of Construction: The stonework is neat un-coursed masonry, except for a small area in the north wall.

Wall Width: The walls are from 1.1m to 1.5m in width.

Wall Height: Wall height ranges from 1.03m to 1.72m.

Doorway: 1.1m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: The entrance to House T6 is 2.5m north of the south-east corner and is 2.86m south of the north-east corner. The south wall of the house abuts the north wall of House T5. The house has two alcoves. The first is

located in the east wall, 1.03m north of the entrance and measures 0.8m across, 0.59m in height and 0.68 m in depth. The second alcove is situated in the west wall some 1.23m from the south west corner. It is 0.41m above floor level and measures 0.37m across, 0.37m in height and 0.38m in depth. The northern internal area of this house contains a large amount of collapsed stone that continues north of the external area of the building's west corner. The southern wall and corner of the house are wider than those on the northern end. The eastern internal area also contains collapse located some 0.98m west of the entrance. The entrance contains a small amount of collapsed stone but can be clearly identified.

Additional comments: This house is joined to House T5 to the south and has an entrance in the east façade.



Pl. 80 – Tawnaghmore house 6 (T6).

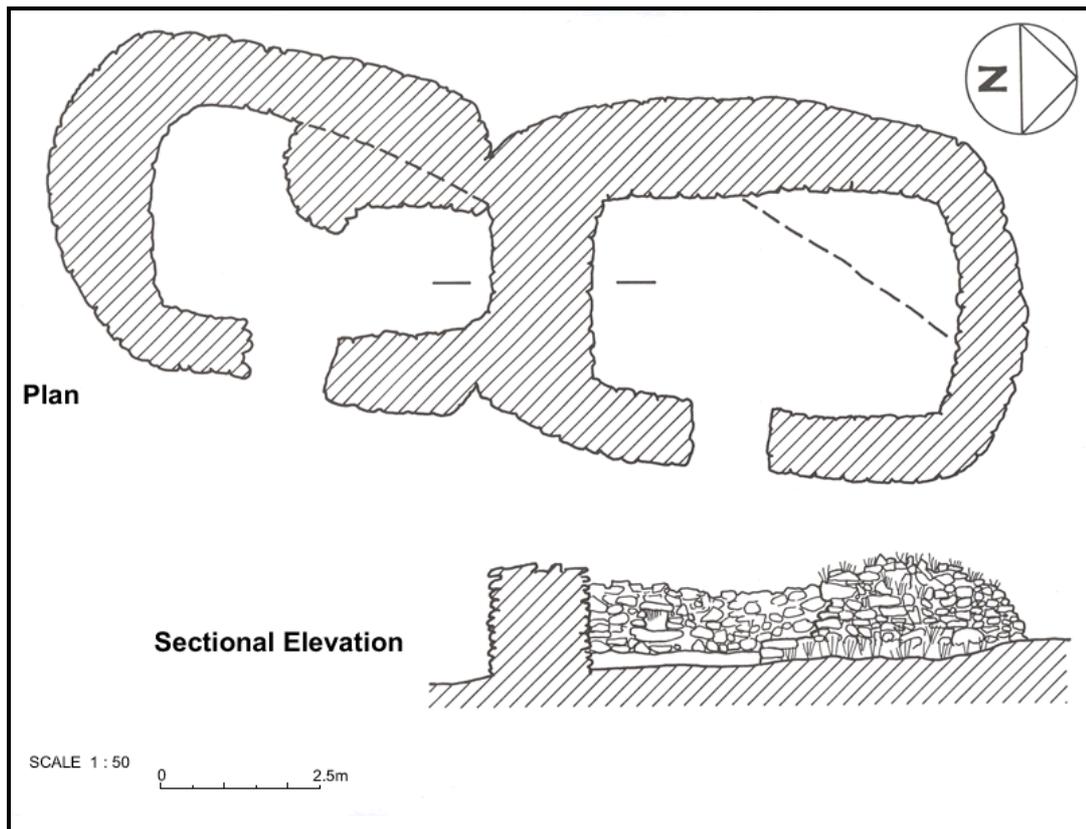


Fig. 148 – Plan of conjoined houses at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaure (T5 and T6) showing separate doorways in 1992.

House 7 at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaure (T7.) (Fig. 53).

General: House 7 (T7) occurs to the north of conjoined Houses 5 and 6 (T5-T6), just to the west of the right bank of the *Abainnabhaile* River.

External shape: Sub-rectangular (with rounded ends).

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 7.76m north/south by 2.9m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 22.4m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built of neat coursed masonry.

Wall Width: The walls are between 0.71m and 1.7m in width.

Wall Height: 1.2m.

Doorway: An entranceway can be seen towards the southern end of the east wall. It is 0.95m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: There is a large amount of collapsed stone

along the internal south wall, particularly in the southwest corner. Collapsed stone was also noted in the north east quadrant of the house.

Additional comments: There is a build-up of stone along the external north wall, possibly a buttress or some form of insulation.

House 8 at Tawnaghmor /Tawnaghlaur (T8). (Fig. 53).

General: House 8 (T8) lies to the north of House 7 (T7), to the west of the right bank of the *Abainnabhaile* River. The west wall of the building has collapsed.

External shape: Sub-rectangular (with rounded ends).

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.73m north/south by 2.83m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 16.2m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The stones in the north wall are neatly coursed but there are spaces where stones have fallen down. The western wall of the building is not definable as this wall is mainly collapsed masonry.

Wall Width: 1.30m to 1.74m.

Wall Height: 0.62m (at NE) – 0.96m (at N).

Doorway: An entranceway can be seen in the eastern wall. It is 0.78m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 9 at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaur (T9). (Fig. 53).

General: House 9 (T9) occurs just to the north-west of House 8 (T8), just to the west of the right bank of the *Abainnabhaile* River. Much of the long north-eastern wall of the structure has collapsed.

External shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.1m north-west/south-east by 2.07m north-east/south-west.

Internal Habitable Space: 12.62m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built of un-coursed masonry. It is constructed

of large stones, with smaller stones inserted to fill gaps between the stones.

Wall Width: 0.73m to 1.39m.

Wall Height: 0.45m.

Doorway: The entrance to House 9 (T9) is presumed to have been set in the long north-east facing wall, as there is no evidence for a door in any of the remaining walls, which are in better condition. No measurements were possible owing to collapsed nature of the remains.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: There are two storage niches in the north-western end wall. The first is set 0.24m above floor level and is 0.42m in width, 0.45m in height and is 0.36m in depth. The second niche is 0.47m in width, 0.93m in height and 0.24m in depth.

Additional comments: None.

House 10 at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghaur (T10). (Fig. 53; Pl. 81).

General: House 10 (T10) occurs to the north-west of House 9 (T9), to the west of the right bank of the *Abainnabhaile* River. There is a lot of collapse within the interior of the house and much of it is overgrown with heather.

External shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.2m north/south by 3.7m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 22.94m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The stonework in this house consists of large oblong slabs and smaller uncut stone masonry.

Wall Width: The walls measure between 1.05m to 1.3m in width.

Wall Height: 0.3m to 2.0m.

Doorway: An entranceway occurs north of centre in the eastern wall of the structure. It is 0.51m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: There is a storage niche in the northern wall. It is 0.41m above floor level. It is 0.41m in width, 0.36m in height and 0.51m in depth.

Additional comments: None.



Pl. 81 – House 10 (T10) at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaurl looking north-west.

House 11 at Tamnaghmore/Tawnaghlaurl (T11). (Fig. 53; Pl. 82).

General: House 11 (T11) occurs to the north of House 10 (T10), to the west of the right bank of the *Abainnabhaile* River. Much of the building has collapsed.

External shape: Sub-rectangular (having rounded ends).

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

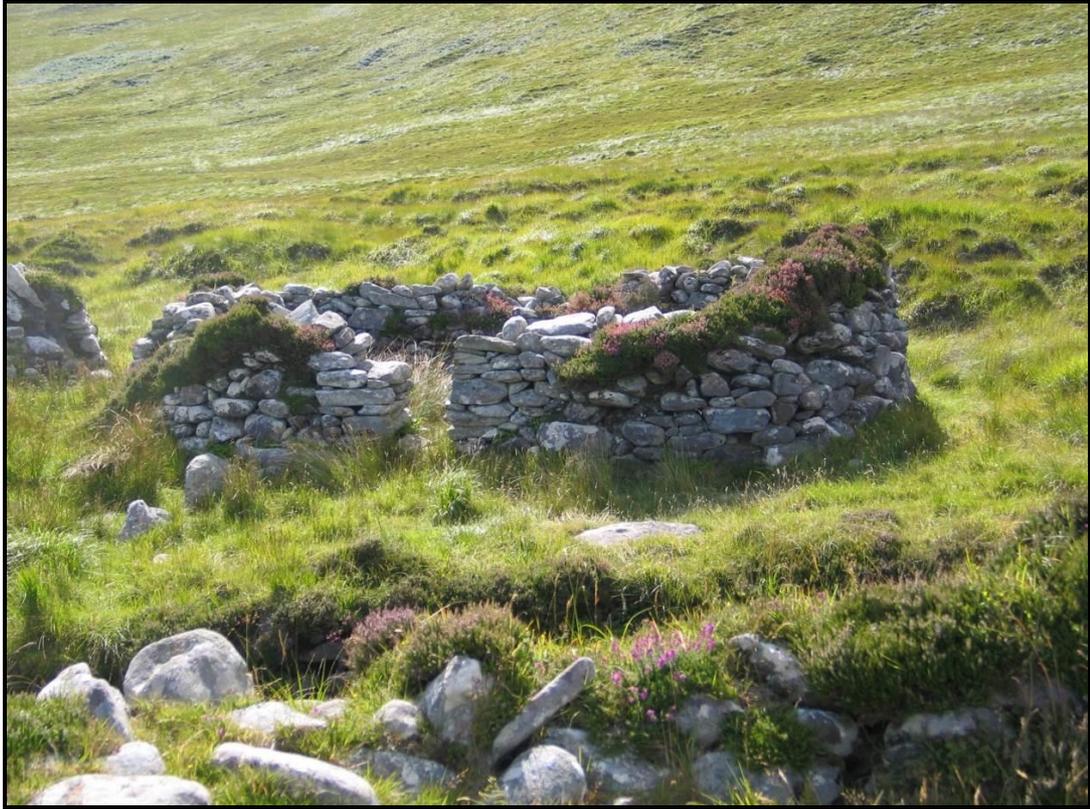
Internal Dimensions: 5.45m north/south by 2.5m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 13.6m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built of coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 0.73m.

Wall Height: 1.48m -1. 94m.



Pl. 82 – House 11 (T11) at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaurlaur showing curved end walls.

Doorway: An entranceway can be seen on the building's eastern wall. It is 0.57m in width

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: A storage niche can be seen at the northern end of the east wall. It is 0.68m in width, 0.74m in height and 0.56m in depth. Another storage niche can be seen at the western end of the southern wall. It is 0.23m in width, 0.53m in height and 0.28m in depth.

Additional comments: A possible pathway, consisting of paving stones heading east-south-east away from the entrance, can be seen to the east of the building.

House 12 at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaurlaur (T12).(Fig. 53; Pl. 83).

General: House 12 (T12) lies to the north east of House 11 (T11), to the east of the left bank of the *Abainnabhaile* River. Much of the house has collapsed.

External shape: Sub-rectangular (having rounded ends).

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.5m east/west by 2.69m north/south.

Internal Habitable Space: 17.48m².



Pl. 83 – House 12 (T12) at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghaur showing collapsed nature of remains.

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built of un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 0.94m -1.67m.

Wall Height: 0.85 to 1.25m.

Doorway: An entranceway can be seen in the east wall. It is 0.6m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: Two storage niches occur in the north wall. The westernmost niche is 0.9m above floor level. It is 0.5m in width, 0.3m in height and is 0.47m in depth. The easternmost niche is 1.04m above floor level. It is 0.6m in width, 0.4m in height and 0.54m in depth.

Additional comments: None.

House 13 at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghaur (T13). (Fig. 53).

General: House 13 (T13) lies to the north of House 12 (T12), just to the east of the

left bank of the *Abainnabhaile* River. Much of it has collapsed. The north and west walls are mostly gone and appear to have been washed away during a major flood that occurred in this area during August 1992.

External shape: Sub-rectangular (having rounded ends).

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: About 5.71m north/south by 3.44m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 19.64m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry which has large and small stones interlinked to form the walls.

Wall Width: 0.88m – 1.15m.

Wall Height: 0.84m to 1.15m.

Doorway: The entrance is set in the east wall. Only the southern edge of the entrance was identifiable, so no measurement was possible.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never appears to have had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 14 at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghaur (T14). (Fig. 53; Pl. 84).

General: House 14 (T14) is part of a cluster of three houses (see T15 and T16) that occur to the west of the main group of houses at Tawnaghmore. Much of the house has collapsed.

External shape: Sub-rectangular (having rounded ends).

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.5m north-west/south-east by 2.8m north-east/south-west

Internal Habitable Space: 15.12m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: 0.95m.

Wall Height: 0.6m – 1.4m

Doorway: The doorway is located centrally in the long north-east facing wall of the structure. It is c. 0.75m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: Two storage niches occur in the north wall.

The larger niche is 0.48m in height, 0.58m in width and 0.63m in depth. The smaller niche is only 0.18m in height, 0.33m in width and 0.46m in depth.

Additional comments: None.



Pl. 84 – House 14 at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaun (T14) in foreground and House (T15) in background.

House 15 at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaun (T15). (Fig. 53; Pl. 84).

General: House 15 (T15) is part of a cluster of three houses (see T14 and T16) that occur to the west of the main group of houses at Tawnaghmore. Much of the house has collapsed.

External shape: Ovoid.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.6 north-west/south-east by 3m north-east/south-west.

Internal Habitable Space: 16.8m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built in un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 0.68m-1.51m.

Wall Height: 0.63m to 1.12m.

Doorway: An entranceway can be seen in the long north-east facing wall of the building. It is 0.79m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house appears to have had no gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: Neatly arranged, large, flat stones occur in the interior. These may have been used to prepare food.

House 16 at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaure (T16). (Figs. 53, 148).

General: House 16 (T16) is part of a cluster of three houses (see T14 and T15) that occur to the west of the main group of houses at Tawnaghmore. Much of the house has collapsed.

External shape: Sub-rectangular

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.18m north/south by 3.19m east/west

Internal Habitable Space: 19.7m²

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. The stonework is coursed with regular, vertical internal faces.

Wall Width: The walls are between 0.89m and 1.03m in width.

Wall Height: 0.89m – 1.32m.

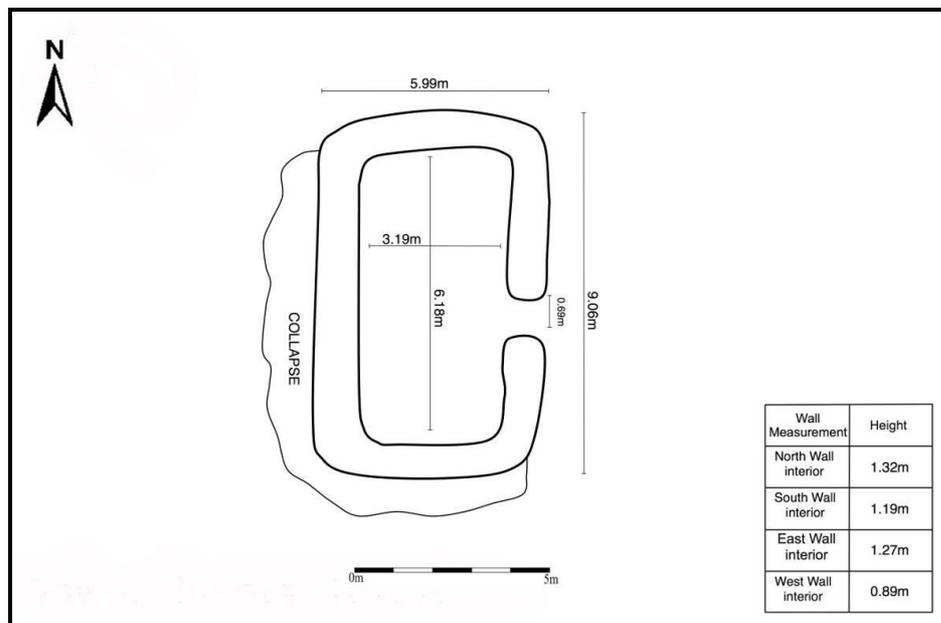


Fig. 149 – House 16 at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaure (T16) – it is a sub-rectangular shaped house.

Doorway: An entranceway can be seen south of centre in the eastern wall. It is

0.69m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: There is a storage niche at the northern end of the eastern wall. It measures 0.64m in height, 0.75m in width and has a depth of 0.87m. A second storage niche occurs on the northern wall. It is 0.5m in width, 0.25m in height and 0.4m in depth.

Additional comments: None.

House 17 at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaure (T17). (Fig. 53).

General: House 17 (T17) occurs in an isolated position between Tawnaghmore and the main cluster of houses at Tawnaghlaure (see T18 and T19).

External shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.07m north/south by 2.47m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 10.05m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: 0.92m.

Wall Height: 1.1m.

Doorway: An entranceway can be seen on the eastern wall of the house. It is 0.67m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 18 at Tawnaghmore/Tawnaghlaure (T18.). (Fig. 53).

General: The north-western wall of this house is one large natural erratic boulder. It is located in an isolated position to the south-west of House 19 and 20 (T19 and T20) in Tawnaghlaure.

External shape: Ovoid.

Internal shape: Almost square.

Internal Dimensions: 2.4m north/south by 2.35m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 5.64m².

Method of Construction: A large natural boulder forms its north-western wall. The rest of the building is dry-stone built.

Wall Width: 0.8m.

Wall Height: 1.3m.

Doorway: Not able to determine but it probably lay on the south-eastern side.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 19 at Tawnaghmore/ Tawnaghlaur (T19). (Fig. 53).

General: This house occurs beside House 20 (T20), constituting the main cluster in the Tawnaghlaur part of the site and located just to the south of the right bank of a stream that is a tributary of the *Abainnabhaile* River.

External shape: Sub-rectangular (having rounded ends).

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.46 north-west/south-east by 2.16m north-east/southwest.

Internal Habitable Space: 11.7m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: 1.2m.

Wall Height: 0.97m.

Doorway: A 0.66m-wide entranceway can be seen in its long north-east facing wall.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 20 at Tawnaghmor /Tawnaghlaur (T20). (Fig. 53).

General: This house occurs beside House 19 (T19), constituting the main cluster in the Tawnaghlaur part of the site and located just to the south of the right bank of a stream that is a tributary of the *Abainnabhaile* River. It is in a very dilapidated condition.

External shape: Sub-rectangular (having rounded ends).

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.89m north-west/south-east by 3.19 m north-east/south-west.

Internal Habitable Space: 15.6m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: *c.* 1.1m.

Wall Height: *c.* 1m.

Doorway: Not able to identify.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

Appendix Two – Permanent settlements that became booleys

Carrowgarve (CE17 – C20).

Site Name:	Carrowgarrow
Townland:	Carrowgarve
Database No:	CE17 – C20
NGR:	70536, 294598
SMR Number:	MA065-017-020



The Ordnance Survey 1838 Six-Inch sheets show three small settlements at Carrowgarve, that is locally referred to as Carrowgarrow, meaning the rough quarter – rough for extremely rocky terrain and quarter defining a seventeenth century land unit in the Books of Survey and Distribution (Books of Survey and Distribution vol. 2, 6). Carrowgarrow is the name used on Bald’s map of Achill for this townland. Carrig is the name given to the hill that backs on to the site on the north and north-east.

The Ordnance Survey 1838 six-inch sheets shows four fields demarcated with houses within them. The northern field contains one house and a separate enclosure. The next field to the south-east contains three houses. A field also to the south-east contains five houses and attached enclosures. A stream bisects this field running from the north-east to the south-east where it discharges into the sea (Clew Bay) at Tourrevagh (*Tuar Riabhach*). According to local sources *Tuar Riabhach* refers to the group of five houses in Carrowgarve below (Mary-Jo O’Keefe, pers. comm.). This southernmost field is listed as Carrowgarve and contains five houses, making a total of fourteen houses (see above). All of the houses in the last named field (Carrowgarve) have been demolished and new houses built on the site. Several of the houses in the other fields no longer exist or may be completely covered by dense

vegetation. There is no evidence for a road or a trackway to access the site, only some linear grassy tracks mainly running uphill between lines of boulders that appear to more random than organised. Some of these are demarcated by large white quartz boulders, similar to ones on Slievemore Mountain that do demarcate drove-roads to areas of pasture (see Appendix 2.2). The northernmost field has been bisected by the adjoining Claggan townland boundary, indicating that it predates this demarcation or carving up of Carrowgarve which, as noted, was one of the original quarters of Achill. There is an access track from the coast, west of the Carrowgarve/Claggan townland boundary, leading to a small settlement that is locally known as Bunafahy where cattle from Deerens townland were pastured in the early to mid-twentieth century, being driven across Carrig Hill into Bunafahy which lies in the townland of Dooga. The numbering system used follows that of the Sites and Monuments Record for Carrowgarve.

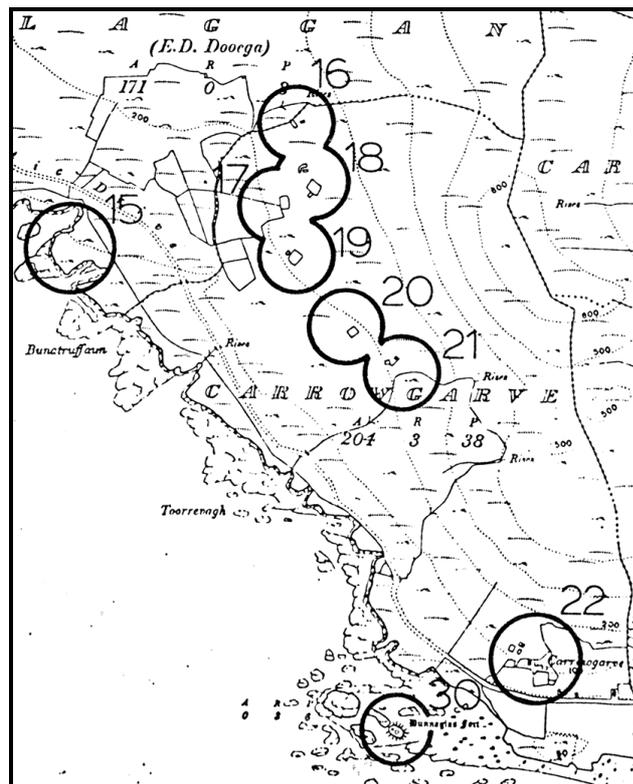


Fig. 150 – Sites and Monuments Record for Carrowgarve townland showing number of houses on Ordnance Survey Six-inch sheet (OS65) in 1921. The extant houses listed below are given the SMR numbers for ease of identification.

House 17 at Carrowgarve (CE17). (Figs. 59, 60, 149; Pl. 25; 85).

General: Only the remains of the west and south walls and the outline of the east wall survive at House 17 (SMR 065 – 017) at Carrowgarve.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: North/south by east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: Unknown.

Method of Construction: Coursed masonry.

Wall Width: c.1m.

Wall Height: 1.2m.

Doorway: Not able to determine width.

Roofing: Unknown.

Internal features within the building: Fireplace and built-in hob.

Additional comments: The doorway appears to have been in the south wall and there is some slight evidence for opposing doorways in the opposite north wall area. There was a window in the south-west corner of the south wall of the house. There was a circular enclosure on the south side of the house.



Pl. 85 – Fireplace and built-in hob in west-wall at House 17 (CE17) Carrowgarve.

House 18 at Carrowgarve (CE18). (Figs. 59, 149, 150; Pl. 86).

General: CE18 is a large two-roomed rectangular house, aligned north south, the south room having opposing doorways.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rounded internal corners.

Internal Dimensions: 10.93 north/south by 3.93 east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 42.95m².

Method of Construction: Coursed masonry. Lime mortar was used to bind the stones in the north and south gable walls. There was evidence for an infilling of mortar and small stones in the centre of the east and west walls, such as a cavity infill, with larger stones on the east and west facades. Red sandstone blocks were noted in the stonework of the external south gable wall, together with banded schist and schist slabs.

Wall Width: The walls measure between 0.53m and 0.67m in width.

Wall Height: 2.1m.

Doorway: The width of the eastern doorway measures 0.75m, while the blocked opposing doorways in the west and east walls measure 0.74m and 0.75m in width respectively.

Roofing: Probably thatch or slate.

Internal features within the building: The internal dividing wall had an entrance immediately east of the west wall and was 0.91m wide. South of dividing wall, there was an entrance in the west wall that measured 0.82m wide. There was a second blocked entrance in the east wall. A splayed window was inset into the northern section of the east wall. The window measured 0.3m wide on the east façade and 0.81m inside and was 0.63m high. An alcove was inserted into the north-east corner of the northern gable wall and measured 0.65m high, 0.6m wide and had a depth of 0.42m. There was what appears to be another alcove set into the east wall, immediately south of the wall that divides the house in two. It was quite shallow with a depth of 0.3m. A second alcove was noted in the internal south gable wall and measured 0.38m high, 0.34m wide and 0.46m in depth. Four putlog holes were inserted into both the north and south gable wall, indicating the house had a second storey. A small linear wall c. 0.32m wide was sited underneath the alcove on the south wall and extended for c. 0.15m northwards and looks as if it might have

divided the southern part of the building into two separate cells.

Additional comments: There is a rectangular enclosure attached to the house on the west side. A second enclosure was also found on the east of the house that was comprised of large boulders. It extended for 3.94m to the east before turning southwards through a growth of *c.* 5m high ferns. There were tying-stones in the east and west walls which suggests a thatched roof. A piece of slate found on top of the east wall may suggest that a slate roof replaced an earlier thatched roof.

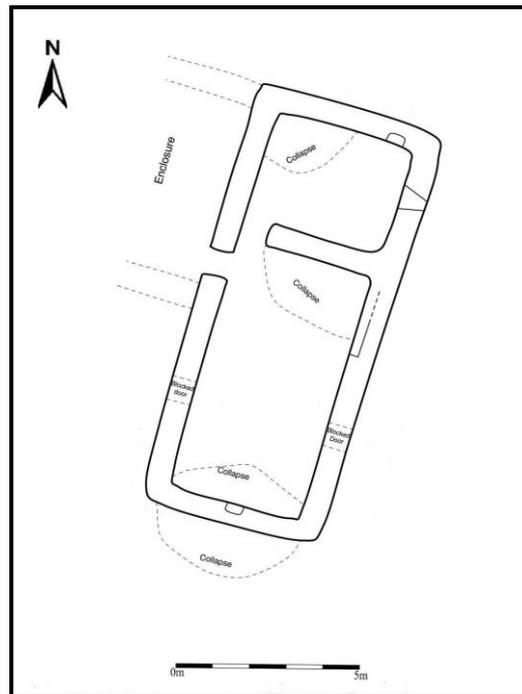


Fig. 151 – House CE18 with two rooms, opposing doorways and enclosure.

House 19 at Carrowgarve (CE19). (Figs. 59, 149, 151; Pl. 87).

General: House CE 19 is a well-built house of substantial size. The area surrounding the site is however covered by dense vegetation (ferns), with the enclosure wall only visible initially from within the house.

External shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal shape: Rounded internal corners.

Internal Dimensions: 6.67m north/south by 3.84m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 25.6m².

Method of Construction: Coursed masonry with lime mortar as infill between the

stones.

Wall Width: The walls measure between 0.53m and 0.67m in width.

Wall Height: 1.95m.

Doorway: The opposing doorway in the west wall measured 0.74m in width and the door in the opposite east wall measured 0.75m in width.

Roofing: Probably thatch and/or slate.

Internal features within the building: In the south-east corner of the east wall, there is an alcove or possible shallow bed outshot that measured 1.83m wide and had a depth of *c.* 0.3-0.35m in depth. A short distance away in the adjoining south gable wall, there is a lovely corbelled alcove in the internal south gable wall (Pl. 46). This alcove had been inserted 0.37m from the corner of the south gable and west wall of the house. It measured 0.64m in height, 0.66m in width and had a depth of 0.38m on the bottom, narrowing to *c.* 0.3m at the top and was capped by a large schist stone. A large vertical stone was inset into the east side of this alcove.

Additional comments: This is a substantial well-built house and in relatively good state of repair.



Pl. 86 – House CE18 at Carrowgarve.

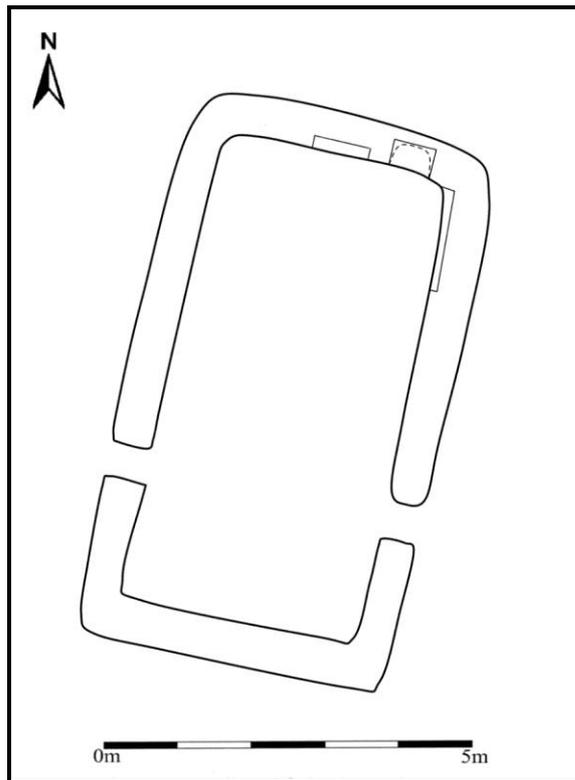


Fig. 152 - House CE19 with opposing doorways and large alcove in north east corner.

House 20 at Carrowgarve (CE20). (Figs. 59, 149; Pl. 88).

General: This house is in a poor state of repair and the remaining walls covered by dense vegetation making access difficult.

External shape: Square.

Internal shape: Square.

Internal Dimensions: 3.44m north/south by 3.41m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 11.73m².

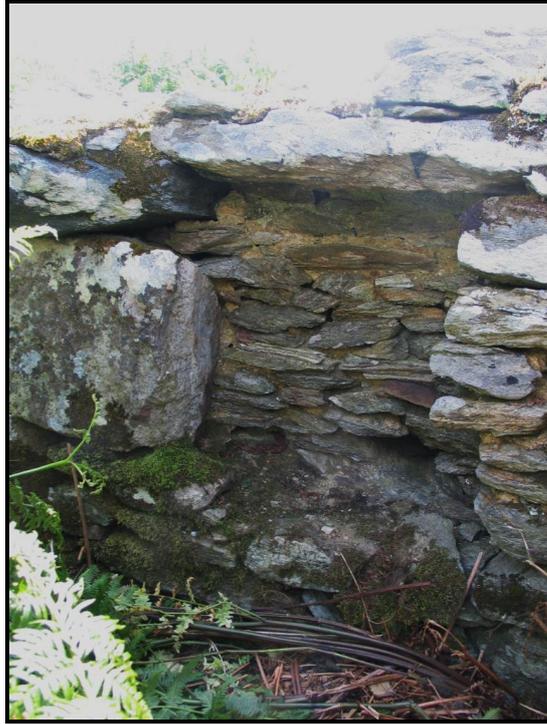
Method of Construction: Dry-stone.

Wall Width: 0.75m.

Wall Height: 2m.

Doorway: 0.68m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain, but probably thatch and/or slate.



Pl. 87 - Corbelled alcove/storage niche at house CE19, Carrowgarve.

Internal features within the building: A recess in the north wall may represent a fireplace with a built-in hob inset into the wall.

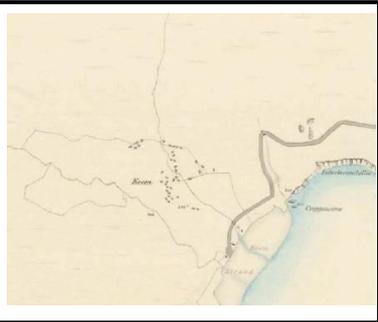
Additional comments: Only the south gable wall and a small part of the west wall remain intact.



Pl. 88 – The remains of CE20 showing the north-west wall in the foreground and the more intact south-east wall in the background.

Keem (K1 – K23)

Site Name:	<i>Cím (Keem Bay)</i>
Townland:	Keel West
Database No:	K1 – 23
NGR:	55881, 304445
SMR No:	MA041-003



Keem Bay is located at the far western end of Achill Island. It is renowned as an area of great beauty and safe swimming, and is accessed by a tarmac road which crosses the southern slopes of Croaghaun Mountain from Dooagh. Above the beach is a small plateau upon which are sited numerous sites of archaeological and historical interest.

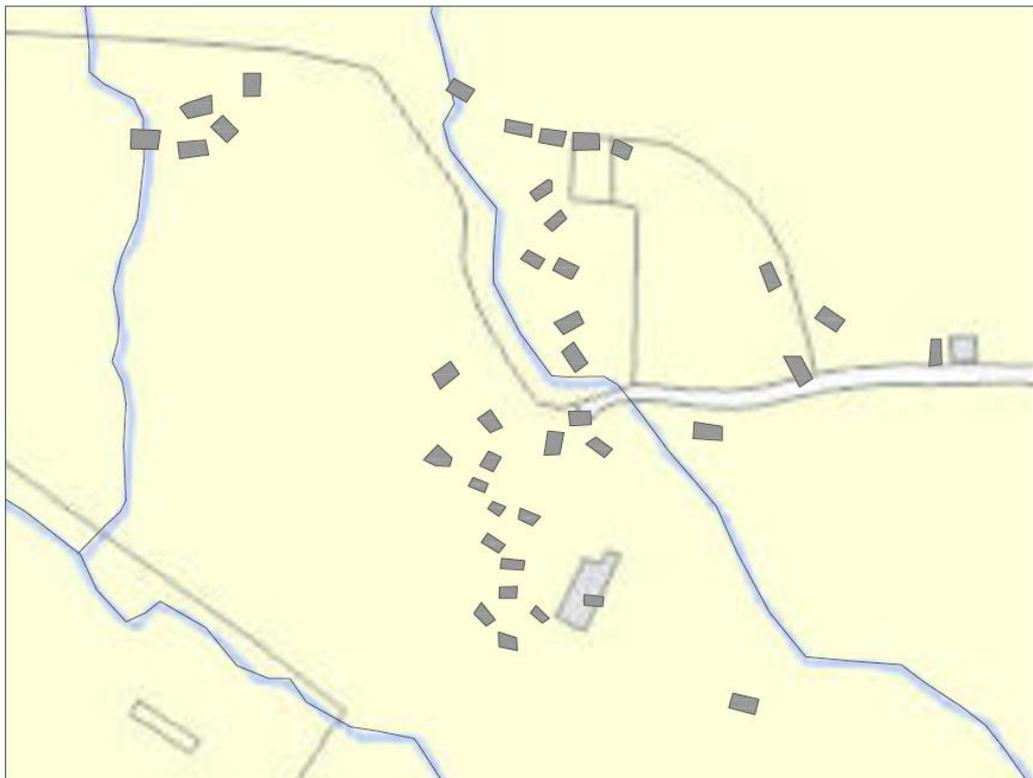


Fig. 153 - Keem Village from 1838 OS map superimposed on 1921 OS map.

The only intact building is the large early twentieth century Coastguard Station which is now a private residence. Further up slope and inland are the ruins of the Captain Boycott's mansion house and between the two lies the remains of Keem Bay Village (MA053 – 00303). To the south-west of the site is a Grain Store that is probably contemporary with the Blacker/Boycott tenure. To the north-west of the identifiable house foundations is a reconstructed Penal altar (Mc Donald 2006, 52-3), the stone cross on the top may have originally come from the graveyard at Slievemore.

Keem Bay village is of unknown date, but must have been abandoned by the time William Blacker, a land agent from the North of Ireland acquired the lands of Keel West c. 1838, and subsequently leased them to his nephew, Murray McGregor Blacker and Charles Boycott, because, by 1855 grazing and booleying was prohibited in this area (Mc Donald 2006, 174, 232-33). There are records, including Ordnance Survey Field Name Books which state that the village of Keem lay in the townland of Keel West, a little to the east of the diamond (amethyst) quarry. It also states that Keel West was the boulay (sic), of Keel East townland, with the inhabitants having houses on each and remove from one to the other occasionally with their cattle (OSFNB 1838 Parish of Achill, 29).



Pl. 89 – Painting of house at Keem by William Evans of Eton c.1830s.

The first edition Ordnance Survey map (sheet 41) records forty one houses in this area (Fig. 61), but now only twenty three remain visible. A number of houses at the

south end of the cluster were destroyed or removed when the Coastguard Station and the Boycott house were built. However the First Edition Ordnance Survey shows houses extending further inland (towards the later Boycott mansion) and also upland onto the base of Croaghaun Mountain.

The visible house foundations at Keem Bay consist of low sod-covered walls defining small rectangular buildings with their long axis aligned northwest/ southeast and rounded gable ends. The buildings range between 7m and 12m in length and between 5m and 8m in width; little is known about the method of construction.

House 1 at Keem (K1). (Figs. 61, 62, 76, 152; Pl. 26, 89, 90).

General: Only the low grass-covered remains of this house exist today.

External shape: Sub-rectangular (with curved ends).

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5m north/south by 4.6m east/west

Internal Habitable Space: 23m².



Pl. 90 - The low foundations of House I at Keem Village - all that remains today!

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with sod.

Wall Width: Unable to ascertain exactly but c. 0.70m.

Wall Height: 0.2m today.

Doorway: Two opposing doorways – one in the east wall, with the other in the west wall.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 2 at Keem (K2). (Fig. 61).

General: Only the low grass-covered remains of this house are visible today.

External shape: Sub-rectangular (with rounded ends).

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.7m north/south by 4.4m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 28.81m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with sod.

Wall Width: Uncertain but possibly c. 0.8m

Wall Height: 0.2m.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its location.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 3 at Keem (K3). (Figs. 61, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79; Pl. 26).

General: The remains of this house consist of low-grass covered foundations today.

External shape: Sub-rectangular. Its northern and southern ends are curved externally.

Internal shape: Curved on the north and square on the south.

Internal Dimensions: 9.2m north/south by 6m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 55.2m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with sod.

Wall Width: Uncertain but probably originally 0.75m.

Wall Height: 0.25m.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its location.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 4 at Keem (K4). (Fig. 61).

General: The remains of this house consist of low-grass covered foundations today.

External shape: Sub-rectangular (with rounded ends).

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular but the southern, internal wall of the building is straight-sided. Only the northern wall is curved.

Internal Dimensions: 6.4m north/south by 4.8m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 30.72m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with sod.

Wall Width: Uncertain but probably 0.76m.

Wall Height: 0.3m.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its location.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 5 at Keem (K5). (Fig. 61).

General: The remains of this house today consist of grass-covered foundations.

External shape: Sub-rectangular. Its northern and southern ends are curved externally.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 13m north/south by 5m east/ west.

Internal Habitable Space: 65m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with sod.

Wall Width: 0.7m.

Wall Height: 0.3m.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its location.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 6 at Keem (K6). (Fig. 61).

General: The remains of this house today consist of low, grass-covered foundations.

External shape: Sub-rectangular. Its northern and southern ends are curved externally.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 7.1m north/south by 4.6m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 32.66m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: Uncertain but probably 0.8m.

Wall Height: 0.3m.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its exact location.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 7 at Keem (K7). (Fig. 61).

General: The remains of this house today consist of low, grass-covered foundations.

External shape: Ovoid.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.3m north/south by 5m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 21.5m²

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with sod.

Wall Width: Uncertain but probably 0.75m.

Wall Height: 0.3m.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its location.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 8 at Keem (K8). (Fig. 61).

General: The remains of this house today consist of low, grass-covered foundations.

External shape: Ovoid.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 3.7m north/south by 5m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 18.5m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with sod.

Wall Width: Uncertain but probably 0.9m.

Wall Height: 0.25m.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its location.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 9 at Keem (K9). (Fig. 61).

General: The remains of this house today consist of low, grass-covered foundations.

External shape: Sub-rectangular. Its northern and southern ends are curved externally.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular – its northern end wall is curved but the southern wall is straight sided.

Internal Dimensions: 7.1m north/south by 4.7m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 33.37m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with sod.

Wall Width: Uncertain but probably 0.7m.

Wall Height: 0.25m.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its location.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 10 at Keem (K10). (Fig. 61).

General: The remains of this house today consist of low-grass covered foundations.

External shape: Sub-rectangular. Its northern and southern ends are curved externally.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.1m north/south by 3.4m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 13.94m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with sod.

Wall Width: Uncertain but probably 0.9m.

Wall Height: 0.5m.

Doorway: Uncertain.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 11 at Keem (K11). (Fig. 61).

General: The house consists of low, grass-covered foundations today.

External shape: Sub-rectangular. Its northern and southern ends are curved externally.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.7m north/south by 3.9m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 26.13m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with sod.

Wall Width: Probably 1m.

Wall Height: 0.4m.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its location.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 12 at Keem (K12). (Fig. 61).

General: The remains of this house today consist of low, grass-covered foundations.

External shape: Sub-rectangular. Its northern and southern ends are curved externally.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 3.1m north/south by 6m east/west

Internal Habitable Space: 18.6m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with sod.

Wall Width: Uncertain but probably 1m.

Wall Height: 0.5m.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its location.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None

House 13 at Keem (K13). (Fig. 61).

General: The remains of the house today consist of low, grass-covered remains.

External shape: Sub-rectangular. Its northern and southern ends are curved externally.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.9m north/south by 3.95m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 37.26m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with sod.

Wall Width: Probably 1m.

Wall Height: 0.45m.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its location.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 14 at Keem (K14). (Fig. 61).

General: The remains of the house today consist of low, grass-covered foundations.

External shape: Sub-rectangular. Its northern and southern ends are curved externally.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.9m north/south by 4.6m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 31.74m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with sod.

Wall Width: Probably 1m.

Wall Height: 0.4m.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its location.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 15 at Keem (K15). (Fig. 61).

General: The remains of the house today consist of low, grass-covered foundations.

External shape: Sub-rectangular. Its northern and southern ends are curved externally.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 8.3m north/south by 3.6m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 29.88m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with sod.

Wall Width: About 0.9m.

Wall Height: 0.6m.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its location.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 16 at Keem (K16). (Fig. 61).

General: The remains of this house today consist of low, grass-covered foundations.

External shape: Sub-rectangular. Its northern and southern ends are curved externally.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 3.8m north/south by 3.9m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 14.82m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with sod.

Wall Width: 0.95m.

Wall Height: 0.6m.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its location.

Roofing: Uncertain as to its location.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 17 at Keem (K17). (Fig. 61).

General: The remains of this house consist of low, grass-covered foundations.

External shape: Sub-rectangular. Its northern and southern ends are curved externally.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5m north/south by 5.35m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 26.75m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with sod.

Wall Width: 1m.

Wall Height: 0.4m.

Doorway: Uncertain unto its exact location.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 18 at Keem (K18). (Fig. 61).

General: The remains of this house consist of low, grass-covered foundations.

External shape: Sub-rectangular. Its northern and southern ends are curved externally.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 8.5m north/south by 3.7m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 31.45m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with sod.

Wall Width: 0.9m.

Wall Height: 0.5m.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its location.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 19 at Keem (K19). (Fig. 61).

General: The remains of this house consist of low, grass-covered foundation.

External shape: Sub-rectangular. Its northern and southern ends are curved externally.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 3.9m north/south by 3m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 11.7m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with sod.

Wall Width: 0.95m.

Wall Height: 0.45m.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its location.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 20 at Keem (K20). (Fig. 61).

General: The remains of this house consist of low, grass-covered foundations.

External shape: Sub-rectangular. Its northern and southern ends are curved externally.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 8.45m north/south by 6m east /west.

Internal Habitable Space: 50.7m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with sod.

Wall Width: 1m.

Wall Height: 0.6m.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its location.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 21 at Keem (K21). (Fig. 61).

General: The remains of this house consist of low, grass-covered foundations.

External shape: Sub-rectangular. Its northern and southern ends are curved externally.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5m north/south by 4.3m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 21.5m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with sods.

Wall Width: 0.95m.

Wall Height: 0.45m.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its location.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 22 at Keem (K22). (Fig. 61).

General: The remains of this house consist of low, grass-covered foundations.

External shape: Sub-rectangular. Its northern and southern ends are curved externally.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 20m east/west by 4.5m north/south.

Internal Habitable Space: 90m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with sod.

Wall Width: 0.7m.

Wall Height: 0.5m.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its location.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: This is an exceptionally large house.

House 23 at Keem (K23). (Fig.61).

General: The house consists of the remains of low, grass-covered foundations today.

External shape: Sub-rectangular. Its northern and southern ends are curved

externally.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5m north/south by 4.3m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 21.5m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with sod.

Wall Width: 1m.

Wall Height: 0.5m.

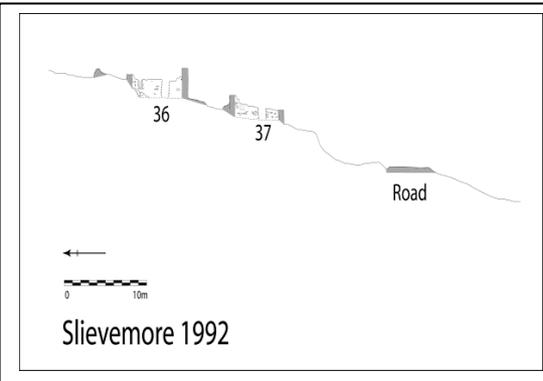
Doorway: Uncertain as to its location.

Roofing: Uncertain but the house never appears to have had gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

Slievemore S1 – S74

Site Name:	Deserted Village	
Townland:	Slievemore	
Database No:	S1 – S74	
NGR:	6321 / 30731	
SMR No:	MA042-01601	

Slievemore Village, one of the largest settlements on Achill Island, comprising 137 houses in the nineteenth century was deserted between 1838 and 1852, apart from one house (S3) at the western end of the site, which continued in occupation until the 1950s (Fig. 63). The group who left in 1838 were the tenants at *Faiche* (Fahy) the easternmost segment of the Deserted Village. They moved to their former booley village at Dooagh. The move from *Faiche* was precipitated by the arrival of the Achill Mission at Dugort in 1834 and the subsequent acquisition of the lands of *Faiche* by Achill Mission tenants from Sir Richard O'Donnell, the owner of the Burrishoole Estate i.e. Barony of Burrishoole in which lies the Civil Parish of Achill.

Slievemore Deserted Village is located on the south-facing slopes of Slievemore Mountain, the entire settlement of three separate villages, linked by an old pathway, are sited along the 61m contour. Access to the village today is *via* a relatively recent pathway (1914) that commences south of the modern graveyard of Slievemore.

74 houses remain out of 137 which were recorded on the first edition Ordnance Survey maps of 1838 (Fig. 63). All of the houses are aligned north-south (apart from S3), parallel to each other and fall into three categories of one room, two rooms and a single room with an outhouse or stable attached (Mc Donald 1998, 73-112). Two-thirds of the houses have an east west channel, sunk into the floor and located immediately south of the doorway which is set in the east façade of the building. This channel effectively divides the house into two compartments. To the north is the

area occupied by humans, while south of the channel was the byre area, where tethering rings in the walls indicate that cattle were probably brought indoors to be milked, or they may have been stalled indoors during the winter months. Twenty percent of the houses have overhead lofts that are always located over the byre area of the house and which are indicated by a projecting ridge that runs east-west in line with the tops of the east and west walls of the house.



Pl. 91 - The western area of *Faiche*, Slievemore today showing a modern two-storey house and un-mortared stone building used as a School by the Achill Mission from 1838 to 1850.

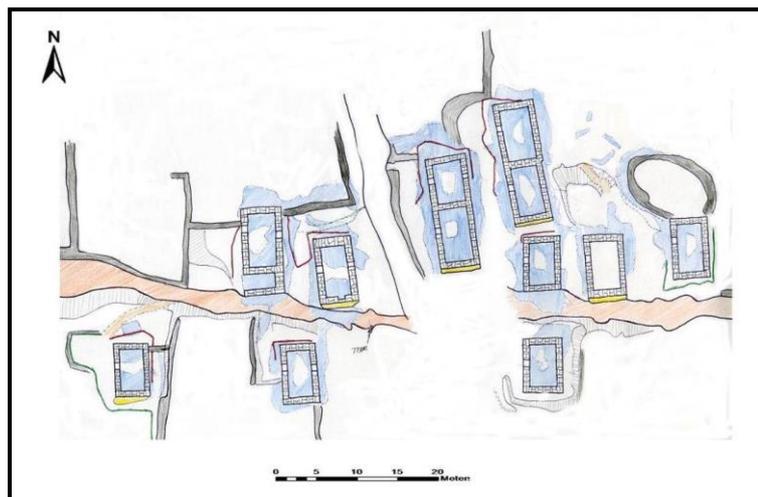


Fig. 154 - Plan of houses sited along an old roadway at Slievemore. A stream bisects the group of four houses to the west from the group of six houses to the east.

Associated with the village are extensive lazy bed cultivation ridges, an agricultural method suited to the sloping hillside of Slievemore where water coursing downhill would drain away in the furrow separating the ridges. This farming system was known as Rundale (see 1.0; 4.1), a system of joint ownership of detached pieces of land, each family having their holding of arable land scattered amongst those of their neighbours and communal sharing of mountain pasture.

Ceramics from the excavations at Houses twenty three and thirty-six (S23 and S36) indicates that the origin of the village lies in the early eighteenth century. The arrival of the Achill Mission in 1834 and the Great Irish Famine of 1845-50 resulted in the almost complete desertion of the village by 1852 when the Burrishoole Estate of Sir Richard O'Donnell was sold in the Encumbered Estates Court of 1852-53 (Lane 1972-3, 44-74).

House 1 at Slievemore (S1). (Figs. 38, 153; Pl. 91).

General: House 1 (S1) is a single-roomed house located, along with House 2 (S2), at the far western end of the Deserted Village and south of the present roadway that runs through the village.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.8m north-east / south-west by 3m north-west / south-east.

Internal Habitable Space: 17.4m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built of un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 0.76m.

Wall Height: 2.5m.

Doorway: There is a single doorway in the north-east façade that measures 1.54m in height, 0.88m in width and 0.73m in depth.

Roofing: There is evidence of stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: A storage niche is located in the west wall and measures 0.19m in height, 0.3m in width and 0.29m in depth.

Additional comments: There is an additional wall outside the north east gable wall, presumably built to give further insulation to the house.

House 2 at Slievemore (S2). (Fig. 38).

General: This single-roomed house is almost square in shape and occurs at the western end of the Deserted Village beside House 1 (S1).

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4m north-east/south-west by 3.52m north-west / south-east.

Internal Habitable Space: 14.08m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: 0.7m.

Wall Height: 2m.

Doorway: There is a single doorway set in the long south-west facing side of the building. It is 1.84m high and 0.91m wide, with a depth of 0.61m.

Roofing: There is evidence of stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: The house has a buttress on the north-east facing wall, which is 0.45m in height and 0.95m in width.

House 3 at Slievemore (S3). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a four-roomed house that seems to be of different phases, as there is vertical straight joints to be seen in the masonry in places. All four rooms are interconnected by doorways in their eastern walls.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 18.5m east/west by 4.58m north/south.

Internal Habitable Space: 84.73m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone but with traces of lime mortar on its internal walls.

Wall Width: 0.9m-1m.

Wall Height: 2.5m.

Doorway: The house has three doorways occurring respectively in its north, west and south walls. These doorways respectively measure 1.54m, 1.52m and 1.5m in height by 0.7m, 1m and 0.78m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence of stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: Two windows can be seen in the southern wall of the house. These respectively measure 1m and 0.91m in height and 0.9m to 0.93m in width. There are two hearths in this house. The first hearth is located in the westernmost room in the house. It measures 0.4m in height, 1.63m in width and is 0.44m in depth. The second hearth can be seen in the next room to the east. It measures 0.5m in height, 1.1m in width and 0.5m in depth.

Additional comments: This is a very large house.

House 4 at Slievemore (S4). (Figs. 38, 154).

General: This one-roomed house (S4) was already in a serious state of collapse in 1990 and has deteriorated further since that time. Only part of the west and south walls now survive.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.2m north/south by 3.8m east/west.

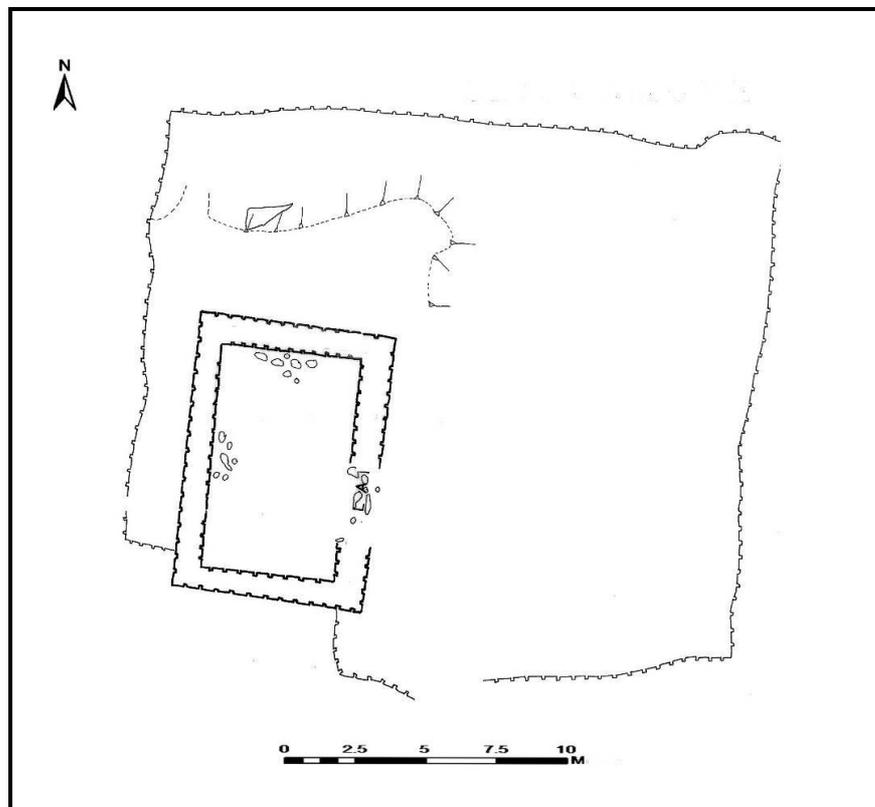


Fig. 155 – Plane Table plan of House 4 at Slievemore (S4) – it is a rectangular-shaped house.

Internal Habitable Space: 23.56m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built of un-coursed masonry. There is evidence for a lime-mortar render on the external walls but none on the remaining internal walls.

Wall Width: 0.85m.

Wall Height: 1m.

Doorway: The entranceway can be seen towards the southern end of the eastern wall. It is 0.85m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence of stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 5 at Slievemore (S5). (Figs. 38, 155).

General: This is a three-roomed house, with the small southernmost one being a byre or stable, as there is the depression of a manure pit in front of it. The internal partition wall between the middle and northern room seems to be an addition as it is not bonded into the wall of the building.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: The small southernmost room measures 3.5m east/west by 3m north/south. The middle room measures 7.5m north/south by 3.5m east/west. The northern room measures 6.4m north/south by 3.5m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: The middle room is 26.25m² in internal area. The northern room is 22.65m² in internal area. This gives an internal habitable area in the house of almost 49m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built in un-coursed random rubble walls. There is evidence of a lime-mortar render on the west walls of both the northern and middle rooms.

Wall Width: 0.95m – 1.1m.

Wall Height: 2.2m.

Doorway: This house has three doorways. The doorways are located in the southern wall of each room, including the possible stable/byre. The doorway is the northern

room measures 0.95m in width. The one in the middle room measures 0.74 in width, while the doorway in the southern room measures 0.84m in width. The remains of a wooden door frame can be seen in the doorway into the northernmost room.

Roofing: The house has the remains of stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There are two storage niches in the west wall of the middle room. They respectively measure 0.38m in height, 0.39m in width, 0.38m in depth and 0.31m in height, 0.4m in width and 0.68m in depth.

Additional comments: None.

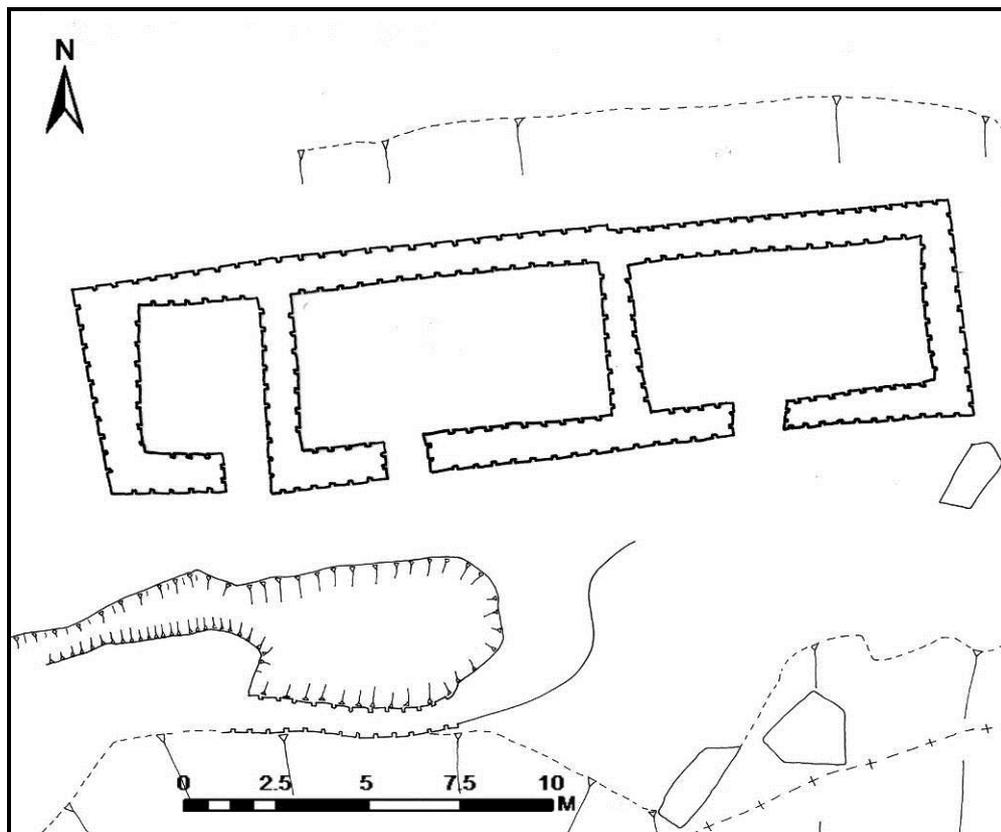


Fig. 156 – House 5 at Slievemore (S5).

House 6 at Slievemore (S6). Fig. 38; Pl. 92).

General: This is a one-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.6m north/south by 3.3m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 18.48m². This may have been more as there is evidence

for a sleeping loft within the building.

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built in un-coursed rubble masonry. The internal west wall and southern gable wall have evidence for a lime-mortar render.

Wall Width: 1m.

Wall Height: 2m.

Doorway: An entranceway can be seen in the east wall. It is 0.8m in width and 1.6m in height.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.



Pl. 92 – Excavation of entrance doorway at House 6 at Slievemore (S6) showing east-west channel running towards the door inside the house.

Internal features within the building: There is evidence for a loft on the internal south gable wall of the house, 1.3m above the present internal floor level. There are two alcoves/cupboards on the west and north wall, measuring 0.7m in height, 0.42m in width and 0.4m in depth and 0.57m in height, 0.47m in wide and 0.36m deep respectively.

Additional comments: There is no definite evidence for a manure pit but there is a semi-circular enclosing wall that extends from the north-east of the building as far as

the doorway. There is a buttress on the external south gable wall that is *c.* 0.8m wide and 0.6m high. There are tying-stones projecting from the external south and west walls, indicating a former thatched roof.

House 7 at Slievemore (S7). Fig. 38).

General: This is a one-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.9m north/south by 4.3m east west.

Internal Habitable Space: 29.67m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built in un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 1m.

Wall Height: 2.5m.

Doorway: It appears to have been in the east wall but this wall has partially collapsed so the width of the doorway could not be measured.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There is evidence for a lime-mortar render on both the internal south and west walls. There is one storage niche on the north wall that measures 0.3m in height, 0.37m in width and 0.33m in depth.

Additional comments: A manure pit is located to the east of the house and measures 6.3m by 5.3m with a depth of 0.6m. It is partially stone-lined. Tying-stones to tie down the thatch are visible in the south gable wall, 1.1m above outside ground level.

House 8 at Slievemore (S8). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a one-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 7.2m north/south by 4m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 28.8m².

Method of Construction: Un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 1m.

Wall Height: 2.6m.

Doorway: The entranceway is located in the east wall. It is 1.25m in height and 0.9m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: There is evidence for a lime-mortar render on the west and east walls. There is one window in the east wall located north of the doorway. There is evidence for an overhead loft on the internal south gable wall 1.19m above inside floor level. There are two storage niches in the west and north walls that measure 0.17m in height, 0.22m in width, 0.3m in depth and 0.45m in height, 0.7m in width and 0.37m in depth respectively. There is also a recess, another possible storage niche, in the west wall that measures 1m in height, 1.4m in width and 0.37m in depth.

Additional comments: A manure pit east of the doorway measures 4m by 3.76m and is of circular shape.

House 9 at Slievemore (S9). (Figs. 38, 156).

General: This is a two-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 8.5m north/south by 6.6m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 56.1m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built in un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 1m.

Wall Height: 2.5m.

Doorway: There is one entranceway at the southern end of the eastern wall. It is 1m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: The northern room is separated from the southern room by a 0.6m wide, dry-stone walled partition. This has a doorway in it that provides internal access between the two rooms. This doorway is 1.3m in height and 0.6m in width. A fireplace is set into the southern side of this partition wall with a storage niche on its west side. The niche measures 0.35m in height, 0.34m in width and has a depth of 0.28m. There is evidence for an overhead loft in the

internal southern gable wall. There is a splayed window in the northern room that measures 0.23m in height, 0.41m in width internally, 0.2m in width externally and 0.41m in height.

Additional comments: There is a manure pit east of the doorway that measures 5.75m N – S by 4.8m E – W with a depth of 1m and is of sub-rectangular shape.

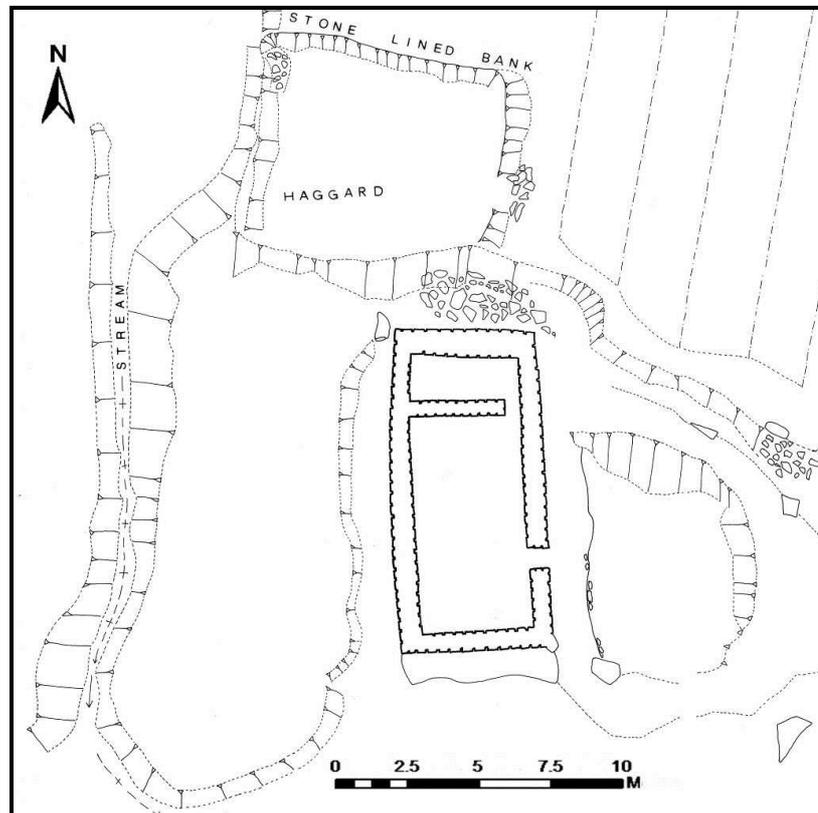


Fig. 157 – House 9 in Tuar (West Village) is one of the largest single-roomed houses in the Deserted Village.

House 10 at Slievemore (S10).

General: This house is a one-roomed-structure and is in an advanced state of collapse. Its west wall has largely collapsed.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 7m north/south by 3.58m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 25.06m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. There is evidence of a lime-mortar render on all internal walls.

Wall Width: 0.77m.

Wall Height: 2.6m.

Doorway: There is an entrance in the east wall. It is 0.76m in height and 0.77m in width. There may have been a doorway in the west wall opposite this door but this is unclear due to collapse.

Roofing: There is evidence of stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There is evidence of an overhead loft on the southern side of the room.

Additional comments: There is a buttress on the external north wall of the house that measures 4.1m in length by 1.47m in width, with a height of 0.78m. This would have given added insulation to the house.

House 11 at Slievemore (S11.) (Fig. 38).

General: This is a two-roomed house. Most of walls of the northern room have collapsed.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 9.75m north/south by 3.2m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 31.2m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built in un-coursed rubble masonry. There is evidence of a lime mortar render on the west wall.

Wall Width: 0.6m.

Wall Height: 2.4m.

Doorway: There is a doorway in the east wall of the southern room. It is 1.29m in height and 0.71m in width. There is a blocked doorway in the west wall of this room. It measures 1.29m in height and 0.84m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence of stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There is a window in the east wall of the southern room north of the doorway that measures 0.84m in height, 0.71m in internal width and 0.5m in external width. There is a single storage niche in the north internal wall that measures 0.54m in height and 0.49m in width.

Additional comments: There is a distinct batter evident on the external face of the southern gable wall. There is a manure pit east of the doorway that measures 2.5m by 1.7m and is sub-rectangular in shape.

House 12 at Slievemore (S12). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.5m north/south by 2.9m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 15.95m².

Method of Construction: Un-coursed rubble masonry.

Wall Width: 0.7.

Wall Height: 2m.

Doorway: There is a doorway in the east wall. It is 1.42m in height and 0.82m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There is evidence for a lime-mortar render on the west wall. A recessed area or bed outshot is inset into the northern end of the west wall of the house. The bed outshot measures 2m north/south by 1.2m east/west and has a depth of 0.3m. A splayed window is inset into the east wall north of the doorway and measures 0.24m in external height and 0.16m in width. Internally it measures 0.55m in height and 0.46m in width. There are two storage niches visible in the house. One measures 0.42m in height, 0.55m in width and has a depth of 0.74m. The second niche measures 0.35m in height, 0.23m in width and has a depth of 0.26m.

Additional comments: The south gable wall has a distinct batter. The northern wall has a second external wall built up against it that is 1.34m in width. This would have given added insulation to the building.

House 13 at Slievemore (S13). (Fig. 38; Pl. 93).

General: This is a two-roomed house. The walls of the northern room have almost totally collapsed.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 8.25m north/south by 3.5m east /west.

Internal Habitable Space: 28.9m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built of un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 1m.

Wall Height: 2.1m.

Doorway: A doorway can be seen in the east wall of the southern room. It measures 1.4m in height and 0.92m in width. The internal doorway between the northern and southern rooms measures 0.77m in height, 0.83m in width and 0.74m in depth.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.



Pl. 93 – Three storage niches, one above the other, in House 13 (S13) at Slievemore.

Internal features within the building: There is a bed outshot at the northern end of the eastern wall corner that measures 1.9m in height, 1.28m in width and 0.34m in depth. A pot support stone that would normally be associated with a fireplace is located to the west of the bed outshot. A three-tiered storage niche is located on the internal north wall of this southern wall. The tiers of the alcove are 0.32m, 0.33m and 0.37m in height, 0.59m, 0.58, and 0.47m in width and 0.3m, 0.39m and 0.45m in depth respectively. A splayed window located north of the doorway in the east façade measures 0.28m in height and 0.23m in width externally and 0.84m in height, 0.7m in width internally. Evidence exists for an overhead loft in the internal southern end of the southern room of the house. A large projecting corbel stone is located in the west wall of this room and was a support stone for the timber floor of the overhead loft. The northern room has almost totally collapsed, but there was an internal doorway in the 0.80m wide partition wall leading into it from the southern room. This internal doorway measures 0.77m in height and 0.83m in width.

Additional comments: A manure pit located east of the doorway measures 6.5m by 3.58m and a depth of 0.9m and is of semi-circular (half-moon) shape. A substantial platform composed of large stones underlies the external southern gable wall.

House 14 at Slievemore (S14). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a large three-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: The northernmost room measures 6.1m north/south by 3.3 east/west; the middle room measures 6.4m north/south by 3.3m east/west. The southernmost room measures 5.6m north/south by 3.5m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 60.85m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with roughly coursed large and small stones.

Wall Width: 0.7m.

Wall Height: 2.7m.

Doorway: There is a single door in the central room that measures 1.4m in height and 0.89m in width. Opposing doorways can be seen in the eastern and western walls of southern room. The eastern doorway is 1.5m in height and 0.85m in width and

0.6m in depth. The doorway in the western wall is 0.95m in height and 0.84m in width and 0.58m.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There is a small splayed window in the west wall of the central room that measures 0.48m in height and 0.35m in width, while the splayed window in the east wall of the same room measures 0.13m in height and 0.3m in width externally and is 0.75m in height and 0.65m in width internally. A bed outshot is located in the internal north wall of the southern room and measures 1.6m in height, 1.1m in width and 0.15m in depth. A fireplace is located immediately east of this and measures 1.5m in height and c. 1m in width.

Additional comments: Two circular-shaped manure pits are located outside the eastern doorways of the central and southern rooms.

House 15 at Slievemore (S15). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a one-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.8m north/south by 3m east /west.

Internal Habitable Space: 17.4m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built in un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 0.85m.

Wall Height: 1.6m.

Doorway: There are the remains of an entranceway in the east wall of the house. It is 1.6m in height and 0.85m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence of stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There is evidence for a lime-mortar render on all internal walls. A bed outshot is unusually located at the northern end of the east wall and measures 0.4m in width and 0.2m in depth. Storage niches are located in the west and north walls, measuring 0.5m in height, 0.48m in width and 0.41m in depth and 0.76m in height, 0.5m in width and 0.37m in depth respectively.

Additional comments: There is a stone-lined rectangular-shaped manure pit east of the doorway that measures 5.4m by 2m, with a depth of 0.75m. The south gable of this house has a distinct batter which extends to the doorway in the east façade.

There is a spring well beside the house.

House 16 at Slievemore (S16). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a two-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: The northern room measures 3.5m north/south by 2.7m east/west. The southern room measures 6.2m north/south by 2.7m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 26.19m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built of un-coursed masonry. There is evidence for a lime-mortar render on some of the walls of the building.

Wall Width: 0.75m.

Wall Height: 2.4m.

Doorway: The entrance doorway is set in the east wall of the southern room. It measures 0.69m in height and 0.88m in width. There is a blocked opposing doorway in the west wall of this room. It measures 1.3m in height and 0.74m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence of stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: A splayed window is set into the east wall of the northern room but due to collapse no measurements were taken. A fireplace was located in the southern face of the partition wall that separates the two rooms. It measured 0.64m in height, 1.2m in width and 0.2m in depth. A bed outshot is located immediately west of the fireplace in the west wall of this southern room. This feature measures 0.45m in height, 2m in width and 0.88m in depth. There are two storage niches, one above the other, in the east wall of the southern room.

Additional comments: None.

House 17 at Slievemore (S17). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a two-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: The north room measures 5.7m north/south by 3.3m east/west. The south room measures 2.7m north/south by 3.3m east/west. It is separated by a partition wall.

Internal Habitable Space: 27.72m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry. There is evidence for a lime-mortar render on all internal walls of the north room.

Wall Width: 0.7m.

Wall Height: 3m.

Doorway: The entrance doorway in the east wall of northern room measures 1.5m in height and 0.75m in width. There is a blocked traebate-shaped doorway in the east wall of the smaller southern room that measures 1.55m in height and is 0.7m – 0.8m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There is evidence for an overhead loft in the northern room with two projecting corbel stones set into the east and west walls. There is a splayed window north of the doorway in the east wall of the northern room. It measures 0.3m in height and 0.65m in width externally and is 0.4m in height and 0.65m in width internally. A storage niche in the east wall of the northern room measures 0.4m in height, 0.4m in width and 0.4m in depth.

Additional comments: The external south wall has a distinct batter. There is an oval-shaped manure pit east of the doorway of the southern room that is partially demolished and measures 3.4m east/west and has a depth of 0.7m.

House 18 at Slievemore (S18). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a two-roomed house which is in a very bad state of collapse, with the northern room almost completely gone.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 8.7m north/south by 3.4m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 29.58m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built of un-coursed masonry. There is evidence for lime mortar on the west wall of the southern room.

Wall Width: 0.9m.

Wall Height: 0.47m (at S) and 1.7m (at N).

Doorway: There is a doorway in east wall of the southern room. It measures 1m in height and 0.8m in width. A blocked opposing doorway in the west wall of the same

room measures 1m in height and 0.8m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence of stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There is a storage niche in the west wall of the southern room that measures 0.3m in height, 0.33m in width and 0.27m in depth. A tiered storage niche located at the northern end of the west wall of the same room has a maximum height of 1.27m, a width of 1.12m and a depth of 0.38m.

Additional comments: An ovoid-shaped manure pit is located east of the doorway of the southern room and measures 5.5m by 2.5m and has a depth of 0.7m.

House19 at Slievemore (S19). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.8m north/south by 3.1m east /west.

Internal Habitable Space: 17.98m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry. There is evidence of lime mortar on all internal walls.

Wall Width: 0.64m.

Wall Height: 2.9m.

Doorway: The doorway set in the east wall of the building measures 1.1m in height, 0.8m in width and 0.6m in depth.

Roofing: There is evidence of stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: Support stones for a loft can be seen within the house. A two-tiered storage niche in the north wall measures 0.68m in height, 0.8m in width and 0.3m in depth. A second storage niche in the same wall measures 0.37m in height, 0.3m in width and 0.23m in depth. A splayed window in the east wall measures 0.34m in height and 0.26m in width externally and 0.5m in height and 0.49m in width internally.

Additional comments: The southern gable wall has a distinct batter. A shallow depression east of the doorway may have been a manure pit but the evidence is scanty.

House 20 at Slievemore (S20). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6m north/south by 3m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 18m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry. There is evidence for lime mortar on the internal west wall of the building.

Wall Width: 0.8m.

Wall Height: 1.9m.

Doorway: The entrance door in the wall measures 1.5m in height and 0.8m in width. There is a blocked opposing doorway in the west wall that has the same dimensions.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There are three storage niches in the west wall of the building.

Additional comments: A manure pit east of doorway measures 2.98m by 1.84m and with a depth of 0.83m.

House 21 at Slievemore (S21). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house. It sits on a platform of large stones.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.27m north/south by 3.6m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 22.5m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry. There is evidence for a lime-mortar render only on the east wall.

Wall Width: 0.87m.

Wall Height: 3.7m.

Doorway: There is an entrance doorway set in the east wall that measures 1.3m in height, 0.8m in width and 0.7m in depth. A blocked opposing doorway in the west wall measures 1.7m in height, 0.9m in width at the base and 0.7m at the top.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There is a window in the east wall, north of

the doorway that measures 0.55m in height and 0.31m in width. There is a projecting corbel stone two-thirds of the way along the internal face of the north wall that is thought to be a pot support stone.

Additional comments: An oval-shaped manure pit east of the eastern doorway measures 4.3m by 2.76m and has a depth of 0.76m.

House 22 at Slievemore (S22). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house, parts of which are in a poor state.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.5m north/south by 3m east /west.

Internal Habitable Space: 13.5m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 0.76m.

Wall Height: 2m.

Doorway: The doorway measures 0.72m in height, 0.69m in width and 0.65m in depth.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: A tiered storage niche at the western end of the north wall can be seen that measures 1.1m in height, 1m in width and 0.87m in depth.

Additional comments: A shallow manure pit located east of the doorway measures 3.9m N – S by 3.15m E –W.

House 23 at Slievemore (S23). (Figs. 38, 158, 159).

General: This is a two-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 7.7m north/south by 3.2m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 24.64m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 0.8m – 1.3m.

Wall Height: 0.9m.

Doorway: Opposing doorways are visible in the east and west walls of the building. The east doorway measures 1.1m in width. The west doorway measures 0.98m in width.

Roofing: Despite its size, there is evidence that the roof was originally corbelled or at least partly corbelled. It is the only house of this type in the Tuar (or west village) part of the Deserted Village at Slievemore.

Internal features within the building: The north wall of this building is not bonded into the northern ends of the eastern and western walls and may be a later insertion, possibly meaning that the house was once longer. A north/south aligned drain with two shallow curving channels formed a roughly circular arrangement around the northern part of the house. This house has a fireplace and hob at the mid-point on the northern (inserted) wall.

Additional comments: The south wall has a distinct batter on the southern gable wall. This house was excavated in the years 2004-2006 (Excavations Bulletin 2004-06). Interestingly, there was an east-west channel just to the south of the doorway and a second narrow channel that extended from close to the fireplace and continued south before running under the east-west channel and exiting via a concealed hole in the south wall. Hundreds of artefacts were recovered from the excavations including sponge wares, white wares, glass fragments and shards of North Devon ware. The latter pottery provided a date of around 1750AD for this house.

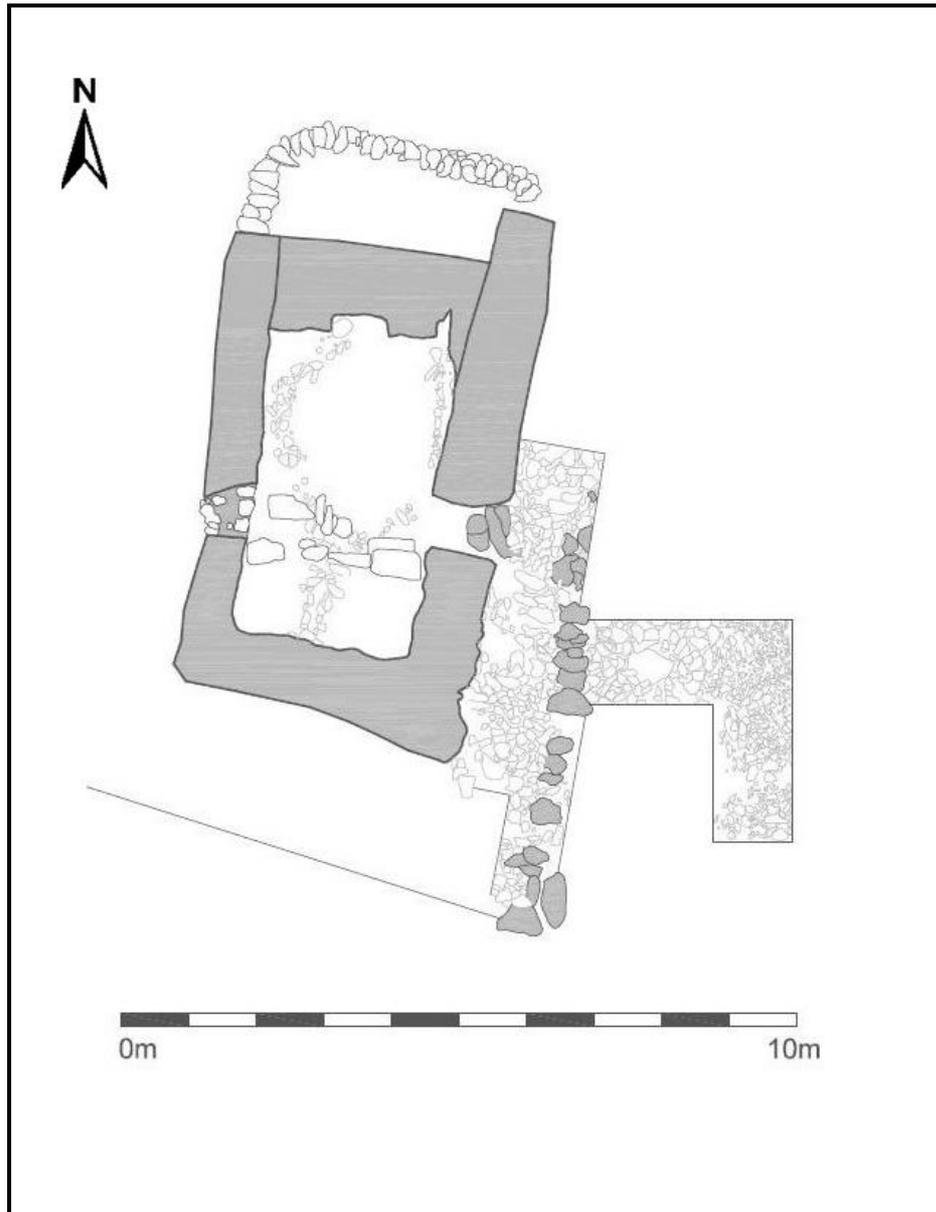


Fig. 158 – House 23 (S23) at Slievemore may have had a corbelled roof.

House 24 at Slievemore (S24). (Figs. 38, 159).

General: This is a two-roomed house. The northern room is in a bad state of collapse, part of the east and west wall completely demolished.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

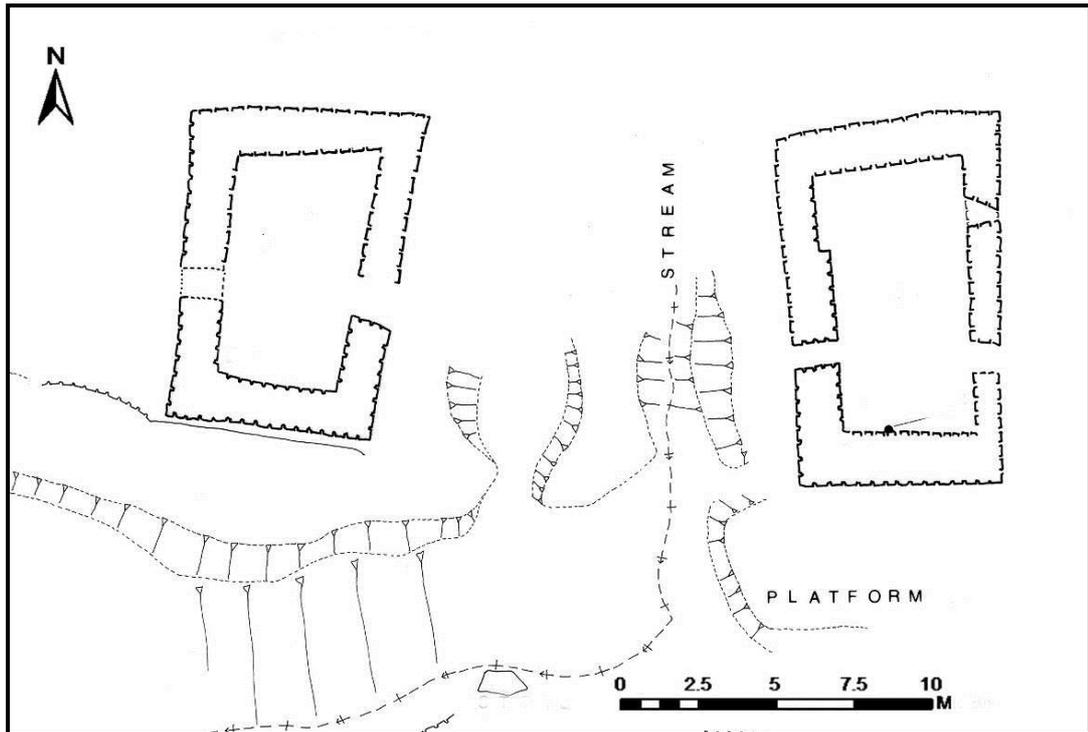


Fig. 159 – Plan of Houses 23 (W) and 24 (E) at Slievemore (S23 and S24 before excavation of House 23 (S23). The northern collapsed area of House 24 was not surveyed.

Internal Dimensions: 8.2m north/south by 4.4m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 36.08m²

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 0.78m – 0.8m.

Wall Height: 3.5m.

Doorway: This house has three doorways. There is a single doorway in the northern room and opposing doorways in the southern room. The doorway in the west wall of the southern room measures 0.66m in width. The doorway in the east wall of this room is 0.8m in width. No measurements were possible for the door in the northern room, due to the collapse.

Roofing: There is evidence of stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There is a window in the east wall of the southern room, north of the doorway. There is a bed outshot on the northern end of the west wall of the southern room which measures 1.63m in width and 0.25m in depth, and there is also evidence for a fireplace east of the bed recess in the northern partition wall.

Additional comments: The external southern gable wall is comprised of large semi-

dressed stones, with an initial carved on one stone.

House 25 at Slievemore (S25). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a two-room house with much of its northern room in a poor state of repair.

External shape: Wedge-shaped with the east/west measurements differing in size between the two rooms.

Internal shape: Wedge-shaped.

Internal Dimensions: The northern room measures 7.1m north/south by 4.4m east/west. The southern room measures 5.2m north/south by 2.9m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 46.32m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 0.8m.

Wall Height: 1.75m.

Doorway: There is some slight evidence for a doorway in the external collapsed east wall of the northern room but no measurements could be taken.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: The partition wall between the northern and southern walls is not bonded to either the west or east walls. There is one window inset into the east wall at the northern end of the southern room. It is splayed and measures 0.51m in height and 0.26m in width externally and is 0.53m in height and 0.87m in width internally.

Additional comments: This house appears to have been remodelled with the west wall of the southern room recessed, with a remnant of the original north/south line of the house south gable visible on the south-west corner of the building. There is evidence of re-modelling on the external east wall of the building, south of the doorway. There is some evidence for a manure pit east of the doorway.

House 26 at Slievemore (S26). (Figs. 38, 160).

General: House S26 was originally a large two-roomed rectangular house, with the northern room almost completely demolished. The house is built on an existing stone platform which is clearly visible under the south gable wall.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

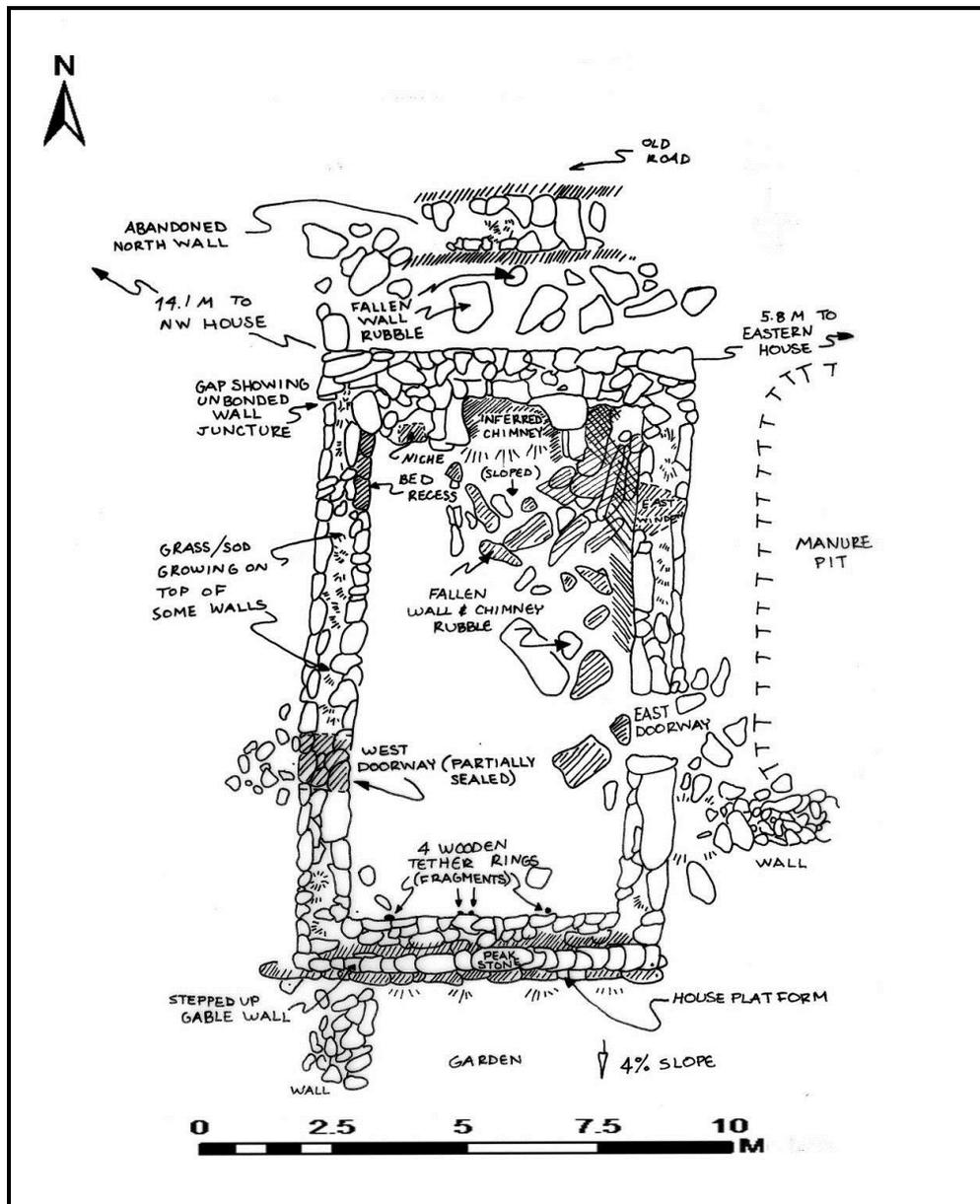


Fig. 160 – Sketch plan to scale of House 26 at Slievemore (S26).

Internal Dimensions: The southern room measures 6.3m north/south by 3.3m east/west. The northern room measures 5.2m north/south by 3.3m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 37.95m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built in un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 0.75m.

Wall Height: 3.1m.

Doorway: This house has two doorways. The doorway in the east wall of the

southern room measures 1.65m in height, and 0.85m in width. The doorway in the west wall measures 1.4m in height and 0.65m – 0.8m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: The partition wall between the two rooms is not bonded to either the east or west walls, suggesting that it is a later insertion. There is a bed outshot at the northern end of the west wall of the southern room that measures 1.18m in height, 1.4m in width and 0.2m in depth. There is a storage niche in the north wall of the southern room west of a fireplace that measures 0.89m in height, 1m in width and 0.55m in depth. The fireplace measures 1.4m in height, 1.2m in width and 0.51m in depth. There is a splayed window in the northern end of the southern room's east wall that measures 0.3m in height, 1.8m in width externally and 0.6m in height and 0.76m in width internally.

Additional comments: There is an oval-shaped manure pit east of the east doorway that measures 5m N – S and 2.6m E – W.

House 27 at Slievemore (S27). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.4m north/south by 3.2m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 17.28m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry. There is evidence for a lime-mortar render at the corners of the southern and west walls.

Wall Width: 0.75m.

Wall Height: 3m.

Doorway: 0.85m.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: Unusually, there is a window in the west wall of this house that measures 0.42m in height, and 0.28m in width.

Additional comments: There is a buttress along the external north gable wall and a vent or smoke hole in the southern wall, suggesting the hearth was located against the internal face of this wall. This southern gable wall has a distinct batter externally. There is evidence for a shallow manure pit east of the doorway but no measurement

was possible.

House 28 at Slievemore (S28). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.8m north/south by 3.5m east /west.

Internal Habitable Space: 20.3m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry. There is evidence of a lime-mortar render in a bed outshot at the north end of the west wall.

Wall Width: 0.77m.

Wall Height: 2.69m.

Doorway: The house has opposing doorways in its east and west walls. The doorway in the east wall measures 1.25m in height and 0.78m. The western doorway is 1.25m in height and is 0.65m – 0.8m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There is a bed outshot and raised platform at the northern end of the west wall of the house. It measures 0.84m in height, 1.8m in width and 0.25m in depth. There is a fireplace in the middle of the north wall and a storage niche to its east. Collapsed stone made it impossible to measure either the fireplace or the storage niche. There is a splayed window in the east wall north of the doorway there. It measures 0.39m in height and 0.39m in width externally and 0.76m in height and 0.53m in width internally. There is evidence of lime mortar in the bed outshot only.

Additional comments: There is a manure pit east of the doorway that measures 4.6m by 4.3m and has a depth of 0.7m.

House 29 at Slievemore (S29). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.1m north/south by 3.6m east /west.

Internal Habitable Space: 21.96m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 0.7m. There is a double wall on the north measuring 1.4m in thickness.

Wall Height: 3m.

Doorway: Opposing doorways are inset into the east and west walls. The eastern one measures 1.7m in height and 0.96m in width. The western one is 1.36m in height and 0.73m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence of stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There are two storage niches in the north wall that measure 0.34m in height, 0.65m in width and 0.43m in depth and 0.3m in height, 0.39m in width and 0.42m in depth respectively.

Additional comments: The extra wall abutting the external face of the north wall was built to give extra insulation to the building. A rectangular-shaped manure pit east of the doorway measures 6.4m by 2.9m and is 0.8m in depth.

House 30 at Slievemore (S30). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a large two-roomed house, with the southern room in a bad state of collapse.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: The northern room measures 6m north/south by 3.3m east/west. The southern room measures 6m north/south by 3.2m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 39m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed rubble.

Wall Width: 0.6m.

Wall Height: 1.6m.

Doorway: 0.84m.

Roofing: There is evidence of stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: There is a manure pit located to the east of the northern wall of the southern house, an unusual position! It measures 5.6m by 4.3m and seems to be of ovoid shape.

House 31 at Slievemore (S31). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a small single-roomed rectangular house. It is in a bad state of preservation.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.4m north/south by 3.4m east /west.

Internal Habitable Space: 18.36m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry. There is evidence for a lime-mortar render on the west wall.

Wall Width: 0.7m.

Wall Height: 1.55m.

Doorway: A doorway in the east wall measures 1.06m in height and 0.89m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There is a blocked storage niche in the west wall. It measures 1.22m in height and 1.44m in width. There is evidence for lime mortar on the west wall.

Additional comments: S31 is a small single-roomed rectangular house. It is in a bad state of preservation. There is a circular manure pit east of the doorway that measures 3.25m N – S by 3.79m E – W.

House 32 at Slievemore (S32). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a two-roomed house in a bad state of collapse.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: The north room measures 3.21m north/south by 3.6m east/west. The southern room measures 6m north/south by 3.6m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 35.3m²

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry. There is evidence for a lime-mortar render on the west wall of the southern room.

Wall Width: 0.7m.

Wall Height: 2.25m.

Doorway: There are opposing doorways in the east and west walls of the southern room. Owing to collapse, only the blocked western doorway could be measured. It

was 1.05m in height and 0.71m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: An internal doorway in a dry-stone built partition wall connects the southern room to the now mainly collapsed north room. There is a fireplace set two-thirds of the way along the southern side of this internal wall that measures 1.3m in width and 0.6m in depth. There is an odd crescent-shaped bed outshot in the northern end of the western west wall of the southern room but no measurements were possible.

Additional comment: None.

House 33 at Slievemore (S33). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.8m north/south by 3.6m east /west.

Internal Habitable Space: 24.48m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry. There is evidence for a lime-mortar render on the west and east walls.

Wall Width: 0.75m.

Wall Height: 2.95m.

Doorway: Unusually, this house had two doorways in the east wall, one of which is blocked up. Measurements are 1.5m in height and 0.8m in width and 1.34m in height and 0.75m in width respectively.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: A splayed window was located in the east wall north of the doorway. It measures 0.42m in height externally (no width possible), 0.64m in height and 0.45m in width internally.

Additional comments: A rectangular-shaped manure pit located east of the doorway measures 7m by 2.7m.

House 34 at Slievemore (S34). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-room house of which only its foundations survive.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.5m north/south by 5.3m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 34.45m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built of un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 0.7m.

Wall Height: 0.2m.

Doorway: Probably in the east wall but this is uncertain due to the collapsed nature of the remains.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: None visible.

Additional comments: A circular or ovoid manure pit on the east of the structure measures 5.9m north/south by 2.6m east/west.

House 35 at Slievemore (S35). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house. A double wall abuts the external northern gable wall.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.6m north/south by 3.3m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 21.78m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry. There is evidence for a lime-mortar render on all internal walls.

Wall Width: 0.74m.

Wall Height: 3.17m.

Doorway: A doorway can be seen in the east wall of the building. It is 1.37m in height, 0.75m in width and 0.6m in depth.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There is a window in the east wall north of the doorway that measures 0.28m in width externally and 0.43m width internally. No other measurements were possible. There is a fireplace in the middle of the north wall that measures 0.57m in height, 0.82m in width and 0.36m in depth. There is a small storage niche east of this fireplace in the north wall that measures 0.36m in height, 0.33m in width and 0.32m in depth.

Additional comments: The extra wall at the northern external face of the building was presumably built to give further insulation to the building. There is an ovoid-shaped manure pit east of the doorway that measures 3m by 2.5m.

House 36 at Slievemore (S36). (Figs. 38, 161).

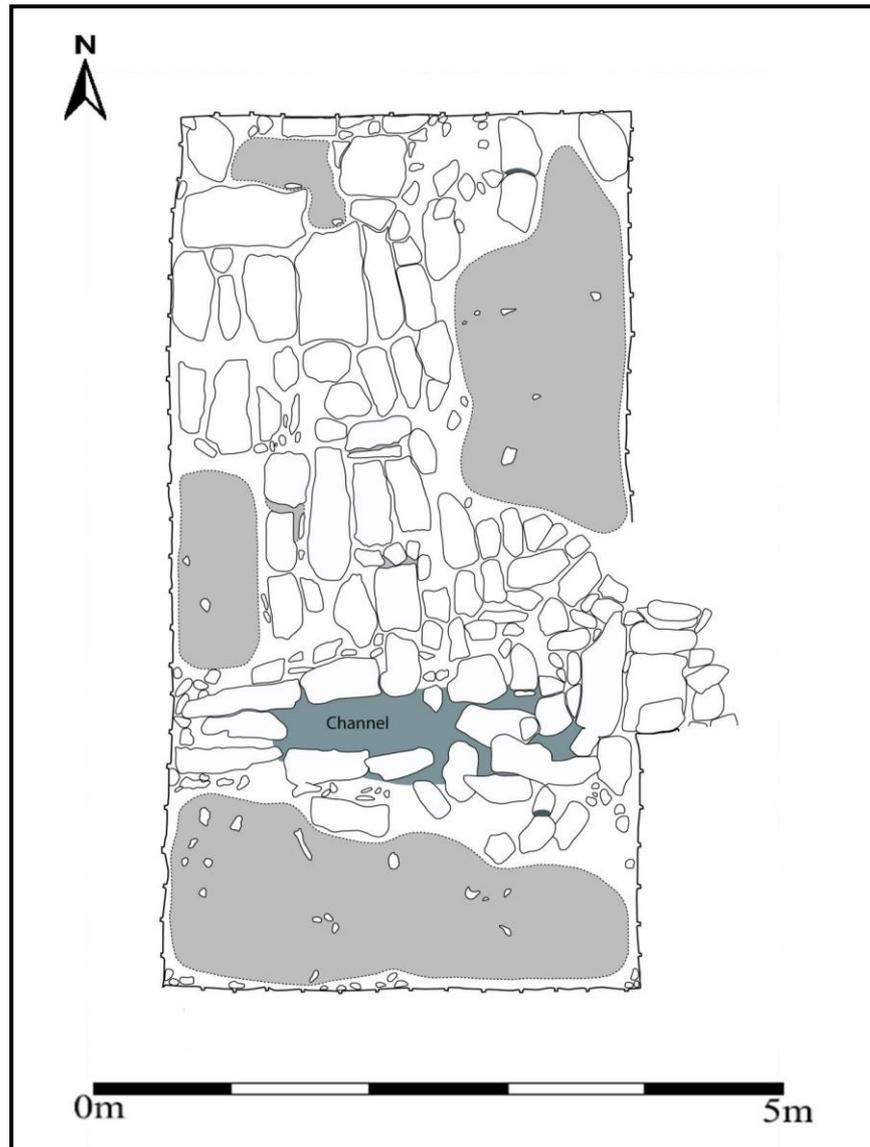


Fig. 161 – Plan of excavated floor of House 36 at Slievemore (S36).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.4m north/south by 3.4m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 21.76m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 0.85m.

Wall Height: 1.6m.

Doorway: There is a doorway in the east wall. It is 0.7m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There is a window in the east wall north of the doorway that measures 0.20m in width externally and 0.62m in width internally. There is a small storage niche at the eastern end of the northern gable wall that measures 0.45m in height, 0.40m in width and 0.3m in depth. Evidence for an overhead loft exists in the southern end of the house.

Additional comments: A manure pit is located east of the doorway and measures 5.43m by 2.76m east-west and has a depth of c. 1m.

House 37 at Slievemore (S37). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.9m north/south by 3.1m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 15.19m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 0.74m.

Wall Height: 2m.

Doorway: There is a doorway in the east wall. It is 1.4m in height, 0.78m in width and 0.63m in depth.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: A splayed window in the east wall north of the doorway had an external aperture of 0.19m and an internal aperture of 0.6m. There are two storage niches visible within the building. The one in the north wall measures 0.42m in height, 0.5m in width and 0.47m in depth. The niche in the west wall measures 0.13m in height, 0.30m in width and 0.2m in depth.

Additional comments: A manure pit east of the doorway measures 5m by 4.2m.

House 38 at Slievemore (S38). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed building. It is in an advanced state of collapse with the north wall almost gone.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.2m north/south by 3.5m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 21.7m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry. There is evidence for a lime-mortar render on the south and west walls.

Wall Width: 0.8m.

Wall Height: 1.4m.

Doorway: The doorway is in the east wall. It is 0.8m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: There is an oval-shaped manure pit east of the doorway but no measurements were possible due to the amount of collapsed stone in this area.

House 39 at Slievemore (S39). (Figs. 38).

General: This is a single roomed house in a state of collapse.

External shape: Square.

Internal shape: Square.

Internal Dimensions: 3.3m north/south by 3.3m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 10.89m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: 0.7m.

Wall Height: 0.9m.

Doorway: Not able to determine its location, due to the collapsed nature of the building.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 40 at Slievemore (S40). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a two-roomed house, with the northernmost room in a state of collapse.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.48m north/south by 3.42m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 22.16m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry. There is evidence for a lime-mortar render on all four walls of the southern room.

Wall Width: 0.9m.

Wall Height: 0.5m-1m.

Doorway: There are two doorways in the east wall of the house – one in each room. The doorway in the northern room is 0.66m in width. The doorway in the southern room measures 0.65m in width and 0.63m in depth.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: A partition wall with a doorway in it separates the two rooms. There are two storage niches in the north wall of the southern room. They measure 0.33m in height, 0.34m in width and 0.28m in depth and 0.34m in height, 0.57m in width and 0.57m in depth respectively.

Additional comments: The stone-lined manure pit to the east of the house is comprised of large boulders with evidence of corbelling on its NE corner. It measures 3.1m north/south/by 4.8m east/west and has a depth of 0.98m.

House 41 at Slievemore (S41). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.5m north/south by 3.5m east /west.

Internal Habitable Space: 22.75m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry. There are traces of a lime-mortar render on the south and west walls of the building.

Wall Width: 0.76m.

Wall Height: 2.45m.

Doorway: There is a doorway in the east wall. It is 0.7m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: Corbels to support the floor of a loft are located on the internal face of the south wall.

Additional comments: There is a manure pit east of the doorway that measures 1.45m by 1.35m and has a depth of 0.5m.

House 42 at Slievemore (S42). (Figs. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house. The building is in an advanced state of collapse with masonry strewn around the external area of the house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.5m north/south by 3.6m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 23.4m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 0.88m.

Wall Height: 2.1m.

Doorway: There is a doorway in the east wall of the house which is 0.76m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: None visible.

Additional comments: None.

House 43 at Slievemore (S43). (Fig. 38; Pl. 94).

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.8m north/south by 3.6m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 20.88m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry. There are traces of lime mortar on all of the internal walls.

Wall Width: 0.65m.

Wall Height: 2.45m.

Doorway: A doorway occurs in the east wall of the house. It is 1.55m in height and

0.95m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables. There are tying stones (used to tie down the thatch) on the external faces of the south and north walls.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: There is an ovoid-shaped manure pit east of the doorway that measured 1.9m by 2.05m, with a depth of 0.55m.



Pl. 94 – House 43 (S43) at Slievemore in the foreground.

House 44 at Slievemore (S44). (Fig. 38).

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.6m north/south by 3.4m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 19.04m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry. There are traces of a lime-mortar render on all internal walls.

Wall Width: 0.72m.

Wall Height: 2.15m.

Doorway: There is a doorway in the east wall. It is 1.35m in height and 0.95m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There is a storage niche in the west wall that may have been a window originally.

Additional comments: There is an ovoid-shaped shallow manure pit east of the doorway that measures 2.7m by 1m.

House 45 at Slievemore (S45). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a two-roomed house with separate entrances.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: The north room measures 6.4m north/south by 3.3m east/west. The southern room is 6.8m north/south by 3.4m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 44.24m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry. There is evidence for a lime-mortar render on all internal walls.

Wall Width: 0.75m –1.23m.

Wall Height: 2.7m.

Doorway: This house has two doorways. The doorway in the north room's east wall measures 0.8m in width. The doorway in the south room's east wall measures 0.9m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: The middle wall that partitions the north room from the south room measures 1.07m in width. The remains of a possible window can be seen in the east wall of the northern room but no measurements were possible. There are four storage niches set into the north wall of the north room with maximum dimensions of 0.42m in height, 0.35m in width and 0.3m in depth.

Additional comments: There appears to have been two manure pits located east of the doorways in the north and south rooms but collapsed stone made measurements impossible.

House 46 at Slievemore (S46). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a two-roomed house, with the walls of the north room in a state of collapse.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: The north room measures 6.8m north/south by 3.6m east/west. The south room measures 5.4m north/south by 3.6m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 43.92m². There is some evidence for a lime-mortar render on the internal west wall.

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. There is some evidence for a lime-mortar render on the internal west wall of the southern room.

Wall Width: 0.8m.

Wall Height: 1m – 1.55m.

Doorway: There is a blocked doorway in the west wall of the southern room that measures 0.9m in height and 0.63m in width. No measurements were possible for the east doorway in the north room.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: The masonry of the internal partition wall between the two rooms does bond into the walls of the house.

Additional comments: There is a manure pit of rectangular shape located east of the house and this measures 3m north/south by 1.6m east/west and it has a depth of 0.47m.

House 47 at Slievemore (S47). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.15m north/south by 3.34m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 20.54m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built. There is evidence of a lime-mortar render on the west wall.

Wall Width: 0.78m.

Wall Height: 1.23m - 1.4m.

Doorway: There are two doorways. The one in the east wall is 0.8m. The doorway in the west wall is 0.78m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There is evidence for a fireplace in the north wall that measures 1.23m in height, 1m in width and 0.45m in depth. It has two wall niches on either side of it. Measurements could only be acquired for the eastern wall niche. It is 0.4m in height, 0.45m in width and 0.82m in depth. There are three other storage niches in this wall. They measure 0.29 in height, 0.45m width and 0.4m in depth, 0.64m in height, 0.35m in width and 0.3m in depth, and 0.26m in height, 0.48m in width and 0.3m in depth respectively.

Additional comments: The external face of the south wall has a distinct batter. This wall is built on an underlying base of large boulders that differ in construction from the overlying wall. A spring well is located north of this house.

House 48 at Slievemore (S48). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a two-roomed house, with the small northern room probably serving as an outhouse or byre.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: The north room measures 1.9m north/south by 3.6m east/west. The south room measures 6.8m north/south by 3.6m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 31.32m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with coursed masonry. A lime-mortar render was noted on all internal walls of the south room.

Wall Width: 0.75m.

Wall Height: 1.75m.

Doorway: Collapsed stone prevented measurement of the doorway in the north room's east wall. Two opposing doorways occur in the east and west walls of the southern room. The east doorway measures 1.55m in height and 0.9m. The doorway in the opposite west wall measures 1.55m in height and 0.9m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: There is a platform of large boulders underlying the southern wall of this house. There is an almost square-shaped manure pit located to the east of the east doorway of the southern room that measures 4.45m north/south by 3.95m east/west and is 1.1m in depth.

House 49 at Slievemore (S49). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6m north/south by 3.4m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 20.4m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 0.73m.

Wall Height: 2.05m.

Doorway: There are two opposing doorways – one in the east wall and the other in the west wall. The east doorway measures 1.19m in height and 0.84m in width. The west doorway measures 1.38m in height and 0.63m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There is a splayed window in the east wall north of the doorway that measures 0.19m in height and 0.2m in width externally and 0.45m in height and 0.47m in width internally. There is a storage niche in the north wall that measures 0.45m in height, 0.43m in width and 0.51m in depth.

Additional comments: There is a rectangular-shaped manure pit east of the east doorway that measures 2.4m north/south by 1.3m east/west, with a depth of 0.5m.

House 50 at Slievemore (S50). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house in a poor state of repair.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.4m north/south by 3.2m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 17.28m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with coursed and un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 0.7m.

Wall Height: 1.7m.

Doorway: There is a doorway in the east wall of the building. It is 1.29m in height and 0.9m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: There is a manure pit located east of the doorway that measures 3.9m north/south by 4.2m east/west.

House 51 at Slievemore (S51). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.1m north/south by 3.1m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 18.91m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built in coursed and un-coursed masonry. There was evidence for a lime-mortar render on the internal face of the north wall.

Wall Width: 0.73m.

Wall Height: 1.72m.

Doorway: The remains of a doorway can be seen in the east wall. It is 1.19m in height. It was not possible to exactly measure the width of the doorway due to collapse but it was probably about 0.8m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 52 at Slievemore (S52). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.7m north/south by 3.4m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 15.98m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with coursed and un-coursed masonry.

There is evidence for a lime-mortar render on all internal walls.

Wall Width: 0.73m.

Wall Height: 1.87m.

Doorway: A doorway can be seen in the east wall. It is 1.46m in height and 0.72m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: Some evidence for a blocked fireplace can be seen on the northern wall. This seems to have measured 1.2m in height, 1.7m in width and 0.57m in depth. There is a blocked storage niche in this wall, also, which measures 0.85m in height, 0.73m in width and 0.41m in depth.

Additional comments: A circular or ovoid manure pit is located east of the doorway and measures 3.5m north/south by 3.9m east/west with a depth of 0.6m.

House 53 at Slievemore (S53). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a one-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.3m north/south by 3.5m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 22.05m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with coursed and un-coursed masonry. A lime-mortar render was noted on all internal walls.

Wall Width: 0.8m.

Wall Height: 2.3m.

Doorway: There is a doorway in the eastern wall. It is 1.3m in height and 0.9m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: The supports for an overhead loft can be seen on the southern side of the house. There are two storage niches, one above the other, on the west wall. They measure 0.7m in height, 1.05m in width and 0.77m in depth. Two more storage niches, also one above the other, can be seen on the north wall. Their dimensions are 0.65m in height, 0.78m in depth and 0.67m in depth.

Additional comments: Traces of a shallow manure pit were noted on the east of the house but no measurements were possible.

House 54 at Slievemore (S54). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Sub-rectangular (having rounded ends).

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular. Corbelling was noted in the south-west corner of this house.

Internal Dimensions: 5.6m north/south by 2.9m east/west

Internal Habitable Space: 16.24m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry and wall batter on south wall and a second wall abutting the external north gable wall. Evidence for a lime-mortar render exists on the internal face of the north wall.

Wall Width: 0.85m.

Wall Height: 2.18m.

Doorway: There are two opposing doorways – one in the east wall and one in the west wall. The eastern doorway measures 1.52m in height and 0.72m in width. The western doorway is 1.45m in height and 0.75m in width.

Roofing: Corbelling was noted in the south-western corner of this house.

Internal features within the building: There are two intact storage niches in the north wall that measure 0.31m in height, 0.43m in width, 0.34m in depth and 0.41m in height, 0.31m in width and 0.28m in depth respectively.

Additional comments: The external face of the southern wall of the house has a distinct batter. The external face of the north wall has a second wall abutting it. This was presumably built to give extra insulation to the house. There is a manure pit located east of the doorway in the east wall but overgrowth prevented measurements being taken of it.

House 55 at Slievemore (S55). (Fig. 38).

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.8m north/south by 3.4m east /west.

Internal Habitable Space: 23.12m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with coursed masonry and with a

pronounced batter on the south gable. There is evidence for a lime-mortar render on all internal walls in the building.

Wall Width: 0.72m.

Wall Height: 2.3m.

Doorway: There are two opposing doorways – one in the east wall and one in the west wall. The eastern doorway measures 1.23m in height and 0.75m in width. The western one is 1.19m in height and 0.8m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There is a window at the northern end of the west wall – only the internal width of which could be measured, which is 0.35m. A fireplace is located in the north wall that measures 0.82m in height, 0.83m in width and 0.48m in depth. A storage niche is located beside the fireplace that measures 0.53m in height, 0.33m in width and 0.47m in depth.

Additional comments: A manure pit of rectangular shape is located east of the doorway and measures 3.2m north/south by 2.5m east/west and has a depth of 0.5m.

House 56 at Slievemore (S56). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5m north/south by 3.6m east /west.

Internal Habitable Space: 18m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with coursed and un-coursed masonry. All internal walls show evidence of a lime-mortar render.

Wall Width: 0.74m.

Wall Height: 2.14m.

Doorway: There is a single doorway in the east wall that measures 0.81m in height and 0.83m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: A storage niche is located in the north wall and measures 0.21m in height, 0.16m in width and 0.21m in depth.

Additional comments: An ovoid-shaped manure pit is located east of the doorway that measures 3.7m north/south by 4.3m east/west and has a depth of 0.4m.

House 57 at Slievemore (S57). (Fig. 38; Pl. 95).

General: This is a two-roomed rectangular house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: The north room measures 5.3m north/south by 3.1m east/west. The southern room measures 5.4m north/south by 3.1m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 33.17m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with coursed and un-coursed masonry, with a large crescent-shaped boulder incorporated into west wall of the house. Several similar upright boulders abut the south-west gable of this house.

Wall Width: 0.65m.

Wall Height: 2.3m.

Doorway: This house has two doorways. The doorway located in the east wall of the northern room measures 1.57m in height and 0.95m in width. The doorway in the east wall of the southern room measures 1.5m in height and 0.92m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: The remains of what appears to be a doorway connecting the two rooms can be seen at the eastern end of a partition wall. A bed outshot is located in the northern end of the west wall of the southern room. It measures 1.28m in height, 1.8m in width and 0.1m in depth. There is a window in the east wall of this south room that measures 0.7m in height and 0.34m in width externally and 0.8m in height and 0.46m in width internally. There is a storage niche in the west wall of the south room that measures 0.6m in height, 0.5m in width and 0.3m in depth.

Additional comments: There are two manure pits located outside each of the two doorways. Measurements were only possible for the pit associated with the south room. This pit measured 3.4m north/south by 3.7m east/west and is of square shape.

House 58 at Slievemore (S58). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Sub-rectangular (its northern end is curved).

Internal Dimensions: 5.4m north/south by 3.3m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 17.82m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry, with mostly rounded stones used in its walls.



Pl. 95 – House 57 at Slievemore (S57), showing the large curved boulder inset into the wall.

Wall Width: 0.72m.

Wall Height: 2.63m.

Doorway: 4m in height, 0.77m in width and 0.72m in depth.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There is a two-tier storage niche in the north wall that measures 0.85m in height, 0.73m in width and 0.75m in depth.

Additional comments: None.

House 59 at Slievemore (S59). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.7m north/south by 3.6m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 20.52m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built in coursed and un-coursed masonry. A lime-mortar render was noted on all internal walls.

Wall Width: 0.75m.

Wall Height: 3.6m.

Doorway: There is a doorway in the east wall. It is 1.38m in height and 0.93m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: Corbels to support the floor of an overhead loft can be seen on the southern side of the room.

Additional comments: None.

House 60 at Slievemore (S60). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.5m north/south by 3.3m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 21.45m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built in coursed and un-coursed masonry. There is evidence of a lime-mortar render on all walls.

Wall Width: 0.8m.

Wall Height: 2.14m.

Doorway: There is a doorway in the east wall. It is 1.37m in height and 0.85m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: Evidence for an overhead loft can be seen in the southern part of the house. There is a storage niche in the west wall that

measured 0.64m in height, 0.93m in width and 0.46m in depth. A bed outshot is located in the northern end of the east wall and measures 1.33m in height, 1.67m in width and 0.29m in depth.

Additional comments: There is a rectangular-shaped manure pit located east of the doorway that measured 5.3m north/south by 2.3m east/west and is 0.5m in depth.

House 61 at Slievemore (S61). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-room house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.4m north/south by 3.5m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 22.4m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with coursed and un-coursed masonry. There is a pronounced batter on all external walls. All internal walls have evidence of a lime-mortar render on them.

Wall Width: 0.7m.

Wall Height: 1.5m.

Doorway: There is a doorway in the east wall. It measures 0.98m in height and 0.92m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: There is a two-tier storage niche in the north wall that measures 0.61m in height, 1.1.8m in width and 0.53m in depth.

Additional comments: A circular or oval-shaped manure pit is located east of the doorway and measures 1.8m north/south by 1.9m east/west and has a depth of 0.5m.

House 62 at Slievemore (S62). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.2m north/south by 3.3m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 20.46m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with coursed and un-coursed masonry. There is evidence for a lime-mortar render on the western and southern walls of the

building.

Wall Width: 0.9m.

Wall Height: 2.2m.

Doorway: The east doorway measures 1.5m in height and 0.78m in width and the west opposing doorway is 1m in height and 0.72m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There is a fireplace in the north wall that measures 0.89m in height, 1.13m in width and 0.47m in depth. There is a storage niche in the east wall that measures 0.37m in height, 0.2m in width and 0.36m in depth.

Additional comments: There is an ovoid-shaped manure pit east of the east doorway that measures 3.5m north/south by 2.5m east/west with a depth of 0.55m.

House 63 at Slievemore (S63). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.8m north/south by 3.6m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 20.88m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with coursed and un-coursed masonry. A lime-mortar render was noted on all internal walls.

Wall Width: 0.7m.

Wall Height: 2.95m.

Doorway: There is a doorway in the east wall. It measures 1.55m in height and 0.85m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence of stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: There is an ovoid-shaped manure pit east of the doorway that measures 2.7m north/south by 3.5m east/west and has a depth of 0.8m.

House 64 at Slievemore (S64). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a two-roomed house in some state of collapse.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: The north room measures 2.6m north/south by 3.7m east/west. The southern room measures 6.1m north/south by 3.7m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 32.19m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 0.65m.

Wall Height: 2.5m.

Doorway: No measurements were possible for the doorway in the east façade but a blocked opposing doorway in the west wall measures 1m in height and 0.67m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: The northern chamber is in a bad state of collapse so it was not possible to ascertain if this room had a doorway. The east wall of the southern chamber is also badly collapsed in places, particularly in the area where a window would normally be located. There is a bed outshot visible at the northern end of the southern room's west wall. It measures 1.2m in height and 1.55m in width. No measurement for depth was possible as this feature is blocked.

Additional comments: There is an ovoid-shaped manure pit east of the doorway that measures 2.2m north/south by 3.5m east/west and has a depth of 1.2m.

House 65 at Slievemore (S65). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house in a poor state of repair.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.1m north/south by 3.6m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 21.96m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with coursed and un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 0.7m.

Wall Height: 0.9m.

Doorway: There seems to have been a doorway in the east wall. No measurement was possible due to collapsed masonry.

Roofing: There is evidence of corbelling.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: None.

House 66 at Slievemore (S66). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house which seems to have been constructed within an earlier house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 4.2m north/south by 2.9m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 12.18m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry. This house appears to have been built within the walls of an earlier building. The original building was both larger and wider than the later more modern building and had an external area of *c.* 36m². There is evidence for a lime-mortar render on the north and south walls.

Wall Width: 0.69m.

Wall Height: 2.67m.

Doorway: The doorway is in the east wall and is 1.3m in height by 0.85m in width.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: There is a fireplace in the northern gable wall that measures 0.17m in height, 0.43m in width and has a depth of 0.42m. Support stones for the floor of a loft can be seen in the southern part of the room.

Additional comments: There is a rectangular-shaped manure pit east of the doorway that measures 3.75m by 2.6m and has a depth of 0.65m.

House 67 at Slievemore (S67). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.7m north/south by 3.3m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 18.81m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built of coursed and un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 0.64m.

Wall Height: 2.07m.

Doorway: There is a doorway in the eastern wall. It is 1.72m in height, 1m in width and 0.55m in depth.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: A splayed window is located in the east façade north of the doorway and measures 0.3m in height and 0.27m in width externally and 0.44m in height and 0.43m in width internally. There is a storage niche in the west wall that measures 0.6m in height, 0.47m in width and 0.38m in depth.

Additional comments: There is a rectangular-shaped manure pit east of the doorway that measures 3.5m north/south by 2.5m east/west and has a depth of 0.73m.

House 68 at Slievemore (S68). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.6m north/south by 3.4m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 19.04m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with coursed and un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 0.94m.

Wall Height: 1.95m.

Doorway: This house has two doorways. The doorway in the east wall measures 1.48m in height and 0.81m. The blocked opposing doorway in the west wall measures 1.51m in height and 0.62 m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: The area of the window has collapsed so no measurements were possible. There are three storage niches in the north wall measuring 0.42m in height, 0.44m in width, 0.38m in depth, 0.3m in height, 0.28m in width, 0.45m in depth and 0.37m in height, 0.36m in width and 0.45m in depth respectively. There are loft support stones on the southern wall.

Additional comments: There is an ovoid-shaped manure pit east of the doorway that measures 4.5m north/south by 2.65m east/west with a depth of 0.65.

House 69 at Slievemore (S69). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house in an advanced state of collapse.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.7m north/south by 3.3m east /west.

Internal Habitable Space: 18.81m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry.

Wall Width: 0.63m.

Wall Height: 1.04m.

Doorway: Uncertain as to its location but it was probably located in the east wall.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: None visible.

Additional comments: An ovoid-shaped manure pit was located east of the house that measures 3.6m north/south by 3m east/west and has a depth of 0.55m.

House 70 at Slievemore (S70). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.7m north/south by 3.7m east /west.

Internal Habitable Space: 21.09m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with un-coursed masonry with a second wall abutting the north gable wall.

Wall Width: 0.65m.

Wall Height: 1.66m.

Doorway: The doorway measures 0.77m in height and 0.8m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: None.

Additional comments: The second wall abutting the external face of the north wall was probably built to provide greater insulation for the house. A semi-circular shaped manure pit east of the doorway measures 2.6m north/south by 2m east/west and is shallow in depth.

House 71 at Slievemore (S71). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a two-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: The northern room measures 5m north/south by 3.3m east/west. The southern room measures 5.9m north/south by 3.3m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 35.97m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built with coursed and un-coursed masonry. The external walls have a pronounced batter.

Wall Width: 0.64m.

Wall Height: 2.07m.

Doorway: The doorways in the east wall of the northern and southern rooms measure 1.35m in height, 0.82m in width, 0.6m in depth and 1.27m in height, 0.72m in width and 0.6m in depth respectively. The blocked opposing doorway in the west wall of the south room measures 1.07m in height, 0.79m in width and 0.62m in depth.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: The windows in both the east walls of the north and south rooms were not able to be measured due to collapsed stone. There is a fireplace in the north wall (i.e. the partition wall) of the south room that measures 0.7m in height, 1.16m in width and 0.44m in depth. There is a bed outshot in the northern end of the west wall that measures 1.15m in height, 1.48m in width and 0.33m in depth.

Additional comments: There are two manure pits outside the doorways to the east. The first manure pit to the north measures 3.9m north/south, 2m east/west and has a depth of 0.2m. The second manure pit to the south measures 3.65m north/south by 3.5m east/west and has a depth of 0.65m.

House 72 at Slievemore (S72). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 5.9m north/south by 3.5m east /west

Internal Habitable Space: 20.65m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built of coursed and un-coursed masonry. There is evidence for a lime-mortar render on all walls.

Wall Width: 0.75m.

Wall Height: 2.38m.

Doorway: The doorway measures 1.61m in height, 0.73m in width and 0.65m in depth.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: A window north of the doorway measured 0.25m in height, 0.22m in width externally and 0.63m in height and 0.35m in height internally. There are support stones for an overhead loft in the south wall. A bed outshot is located at the southern end of the west wall. The height was not available to be measured due to collapse but the width was 1.47m and the depth was 0.23m.

Additional comments: There is a manure pit east of the doorway that measures 3.4m north/south by 3m east/west.

House 73 at Slievemore (S73). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-roomed house.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.2m north/south by 3.7m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 22.94m².

Method of Construction: Dry-stone built of coursed and un-coursed masonry

Wall Width: 0.62m.

Wall Height: 3m.

Doorway: There is a doorway in the east wall which measures 1.53m in height and 0.88m in width.

Roofing: There is evidence for stepped gables.

Internal features within the building: There is a window in the east wall north of the doorway. External measurements are 0.45m in height and 0.24m in width, while its internal measurements are 0.56m in height and 0.6m in height.

Additional comments: None.

House 74 at Slievemore (S74). (Fig. 38).

General: This is a single-room house with only its foundation remaining.

External shape: Rectangular.

Internal shape: Rectangular.

Internal Dimensions: 6.4m north/south by 3.5m east/west.

Internal Habitable Space: 22.4m².

Method of Construction. Dry-stone built.

Wall Width: 0.8m.

Wall Height: 0.20m.

Doorway: Uncertain but it was probably located in the east wall.

Roofing: Uncertain.

Internal features within the building: None visible.

Additional comments: None.

Appendix Three – Artefact Report

Introduction – Background information on refined white earthenwares

Refined Earthenware

Refined earthenware is a phrase applied to earthenwares which are fired at a higher temperature than coarse earthenwares, but below the point of vitrification. Refined earthenwares possess a harder paste than coarse earthenwares, and the clays used in the production of refined earthenware generally have had one or more of the following substances added; quartz, feldspar, ‘china stone’ (composed of feldspar quartz and mica, found naturally in Cornwall), or flint. The addition of these substances both increased the density of the ceramic and also imparted a whiter colour to the body (Miller 1980; Noël-Hume 1978; Godden 1963). The first true refined earthenware was produced by English potters Thomas Astbury and Thomas Whieldon in the 1740s. Through experimentation, the pair had discovered that the addition of a particular quantity of ground flint to their basic clay produced a cream coloured, hard paste ceramic which could be dipped in glaze after a biscuit firing. The first popular refined earthenwares, which also employed under glazed colouring, are known as Whieldon or ‘clouded’ ware because of the mixture of colours below the clear glaze (Godden 1963; Noël-Hume 1978; Miller 1980).

Creamware: Through his early partnership with Whieldon, which began in 1754, Josiah Wedgwood had learned the formula for the cream bodied ware created by Astbury and Whieldon. Setting up his own pottery in 1759, Wedgwood set about perfecting the formula and around 1762 he introduced what is now known as Creamware or Queen’s ware – a plain lead glazed cream coloured ceramic. The earliest Creamwares are often described as possessing a deeper cream or yellow colour, and tend to exhibit greenish pooling of the glaze. Production continued well into the nineteenth century. Please see below under ‘cream-coloured refined earthenware’ (Godden 1963; Noël-Hume 1978; Miller 1980).

Pearlware: The ceramic known as Pearlware was Josiah Wedgwood’s next innovation after Creamware, introduced in the late 1770s. Through the addition of

more flint and the use of cobalt blue in the glaze, Wedgwood produced a ceramic which was whiter in appearance than Creamware. Early Pearlwares exhibit a characteristic bluish colour from the cobalt in the glaze, which is often found to have heavily pooled around foot rings and other crevices. Like Creamware, which graded into cc or cream coloured refined earthenware (see below) in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century, Pearlware also gradually lightened in colour grading into what is known as Whiteware, generally ascribed a starting date of 1820 (Godden 1963; Noël-Hume 1978; Miller 1980). Although bluing of the glaze is often employed to distinguish between Pearlware and Whiteware, it should be noted that numerous Whitewares do exhibit occasional blue specks or an overall blue cast while also possessing a clearly whiter body than Pearlwares, which possess an off white or light cream coloured body. For a sherd to be classified as Pearlware it should exhibit both bluing of the glaze and more importantly an off white or cream body.

Whiteware: Whiteware is a term applied to refined earthenwares which possess a white or slightly off-white paste and a clear or white glaze. In general, Whiteware began replacing Pearlware around 1820, and dominated the ceramics market by mid-century. A wide variety of decorative treatments were applied to Whiteware ceramics, which themselves were produced in a range of forms, mainly tablewares. Plain or minimally decorated Whitewares gained popularity around the middle of the 19th century (some collectors and material culture specialists refer to the period 1864-1880 as the “non-decorated period”). Many sherds identified as Whiteware exhibit some crazing of the glaze. Crazing results from sudden changes in temperature which causes the glaze to crack. Because the body of a Whiteware has not been fired to the point of complete vitrification, any moisture seeping through the cracked glaze can be absorbed by the paste and stain the body. Tea is a common staining agent.

A variety of decorative treatments were applied to the Whitewares represented in Achill assemblages. The most common treatment is polychrome underglaze sponge stamping combined with hand-painting. Excavation of the *Taymouth Castle*, shipwrecked in 1867 off Tornamoney Point and Runabay Head on the Antrim coast, unearthed a large selection of sponge-stamped and hand painted wares from Bell's Pottery in Glasgow. The sponge wares were nearly all polychrome. Colours represented in the Taymouth Castle assemblage included cornflower, vivid and violet

blue, citrus green, grape purple, and mulberry. Sponge wares were also produced in Greenock, Bo'ness, and Kircaldy in Scotland, as well as in Staffordshire and some Northeast England potteries (Callahan and Breen Unpublished; Kelly *et.al.* 2001).

Cream-coloured refined earthenware: Also known as CC ware, the term 'cream coloured ware' is used to describe refined earthenwares with off-white bodies and a clear glaze. Cream coloured wares are generally temporally distinguished from true Creamware, which was first produced by Josiah Wedgwood in 1762 (see above). Original Creamware (or Queensware as it was then known) is primarily distinguishable by a slight greenish cast to the glaze, and often the presence of greenish pooling around the foot ring of tablewares. Although Wedgwood's next popular product, Pearlware, was introduced in the 1770s, Pearlware did not replace the production of Creamware. Creamware continued to be produced into the nineteenth century, eventually evolving into CC (cream-coloured) ware which lacks the characteristic green pooling. CC ware represents the cheapest refined earthenware available on the market (Miller 1980).

Semi-vitreous whiteware: Sherds identified as 'semi-vitreous Whiteware' exhibit slight porosity, but generally are glazed with a high gloss clear glaze on one side and a white glaze on the other. Generally, semi-vitreous Whitewares are not affected by sudden changes in temperature, in other words, crazing and staining is not a common feature of these wares. Semi-vitreous wares are distinguishable from porcellaneous ceramics by the relative density and porosity of the body. True 'Ironstone' Whitewares possess a semi-vitreous paste, although the product name ironstone was applied to some completely vitrified wares as well as low fired examples.

Yellowware: is a non-specific term applied both to the yellow or buff bodied paste of Rockingham-type ceramics as well as to refined earthenwares which are glazed yellow. These wares tend to be utilitarian as exemplified by their thick bodies. Yellowware was initially introduced in the 1830s, although the bright canary yellow glaze was not in use until around 1880.

Description of artefacts

Annagh (A1–A2).

HOUSE 1 (A1)

09E0219 C:100

- C:100.1 – body sherd, refined white earthenware, moulded hollow form, whiteware jam/ storage jar
- C:100.2 – body sherd, refined white earthenware (whiteware), flat form, no decoration
- C: 101
- C: 101.1– glass bottle fragment, shoulder, probably part-blown into a mould (the type of mould would require seeing mould lines and the neck/finish and base, which are missing). No earlier than the nineteenth-century.
- C: 101.2 – sherd of creamware
- C:102
- C: 102.3 – window glass fragment, industrially produced
- C: 103
- C: 103.1 – cache of limpet shells
- C:104
- C: 104. 1 – sherd of creamware

HOUSE 2 (A2)

09E0219 C:200

- C: 200.1 – worn fragment of a kaolin tobacco pipe bowl, thick-bodied. No diagnostic features remaining (looks as if it has been in water)
- C: 200.2 – corroded spoon

ENCLOSURE IN FRONT OF A1 AND A2

09E0219 C: 300

- C: 300.1 – rim sherd, refined white earthenware underglaze brown sponge and hand-painted decoration. Hollow form, tea cup

- C: 300.2 – two mending body sherd (but just below rim) refined white earthenware, underglaze blue and rose-coloured sponge and hand-painted decoration, plate or saucer form
- C: 300.3 – body sherd, refined white earthenware, underglaze rose-coloured sponge stamped decoration, plate or saucer form
- C: 300.4 – chip of unmodified stone
- C: 300.5 – Pipestems fragment, white kaolin clay, tapered
- C: 300.6 – Small sherd of whiteware

Keem

HOUSE K3

- 09E302:C: 1.
 - C: 1.1 – body sherd coarse earthenware, sand temper, one smooth face, flat
 - C: 1.2 – body sherd coarse earthenware, sand temper, flat form – one smooth edge, one flat edge- looks more like a floor tile/ brick than a vessel
 - C: 1.3 – body sherd coarse earthenware, sand temper, one smooth face, flat
 - C:1.4 – corner fragment of machine made brick – late nineteenth-century at the earliest
 - C:1:5 – body sherd, coarse earthenware, no faces survive so may be a brick fragment. Sand and grit temper
 - C: 1:6 – body sherd refined white earthenware (white ware), plain, flat form (plate/saucer/platter).
 - C:1:7 – basal sherd refined white earthenware, whiteware, undecorated hollow form-bowl.
- (09E302:C: 2
 - C: 2.12 – body sherd refined white earthenware, yellow underglaze ‘yellow ware’ hollow form, probable bowl
 - C: 2:13 – body sherd red earthenware. Unglazed, highly fired, hollow form (probable flower pot)
 - C:2:14 – plastic- Bakelite fragment, black and peach coloured. This is Bakelite, which is a hard plastic. There is writing on the base but fragmentary – second letter. May be clay pigeon cartridge!
 - C:2:17 – three mending rim sherds, refined white earthenware, blue shell edged, scallop shape PEARLWARE plate
 - C:2:18 – two mending basal sherds refined white earthenware, late pearlware (body more white than buff coloured)
 - C:2:20 – Body sherd refined white earthenware, white ware, plain, flat form
 - C:2:21 – body sherd refined white earthenware, white ware, plain, flat form

- C:2:22 – body sherd refined white earthenware, white ware, plain, flat form
- C:2:23 – body sherd refined white earthenware, white ware, plain, hollow form.
- C2:24 – body sherd refined white earthenware, white ware, plain, flat form.
- C:2:25 – body sherd refined white earthenware, white ware, plain, flat form.
- C:2:26 – body sherd refined white earthenware, white ware, plain, flat form
- C:2:27 – basal sherd, refined white earthenware, Pearlware – heavy pooling of blue glaze, body buff coloured, thus likely to be an early pearlware (c. 1780-1820). Plate or saucer base
- C:2:28 – body sherd refined white earthenware, cream-coloured whiteware. Probable plate/ saucer
- C:2:29 – rim sherd, refined white earthenware, blue shell-edged underglaze decoration.
- C:2:30 – body sherd, stoneware storage jar
- C:2:31 – body sherd refined white earthenware, Pearlware.
- C:2:32 – two mending basal sherds refined white earthenware-PEARLWARE. Hollow form – bowl.
- C:2:33 – two mending rim/body/base sherds refined white earthenware plate. Most likely to be late pearlware - it has a nearly white body – so likely to be no earlier than the 1820s.
- C:2:34 – body sherd, refined white earthenware, whiteware (not creamware as the bag claims). Hollow form.
- C:2:35 – body sherd refined white earthenware, whiteware, plain, hollow form
- C:2:36 – body sherd refined white earthenware, whiteware, plain. flat form
- C:2:37 – rim sherd refined white earthenware blue shell-edged. PEARLWARE). Flat form (plate/saucer/platter)
- C:2:38 – body sherd red earthenware. Unglazed, highly fired, hollow form (probable flower pot)
- C:2:39 – stem fragment kaolin tobacco pipe. End of stem
- C:2:40 – glass bottle, partial base and sides. Appears to be part-blown into a mould (to know the type of mould would require seeing mould lines and the neck/finish, which are missing). No earlier than the nineteenth-century. Most important thing to note is that the bottle is heavily worn – there is considerable wear on the portion of the base that survives and numerous scratches on the exterior- this bottle was reused for some time – the wear may even indicate that it was routinely placed on a hard surface such as a niche which caused the basal wear.
- 09E302: C: 4
- C: 4:1 – unglazed red earthenware sherd
- C: 4.2 – green glass

- C: 4.3 – copper alloy disc, more likely a token than a coin but needs conservation and an X-ray.
- C: 4.4 – fragments of iron
- C: 4.5 – body sherd highly fired brown stoneware, industrially produced

- 09E302: C: 5
- C: 5.1 – sherd of unglazed red-coloured earthenware

- 09E302: C: 6
- C: 6.1 – fragment of amethyst

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